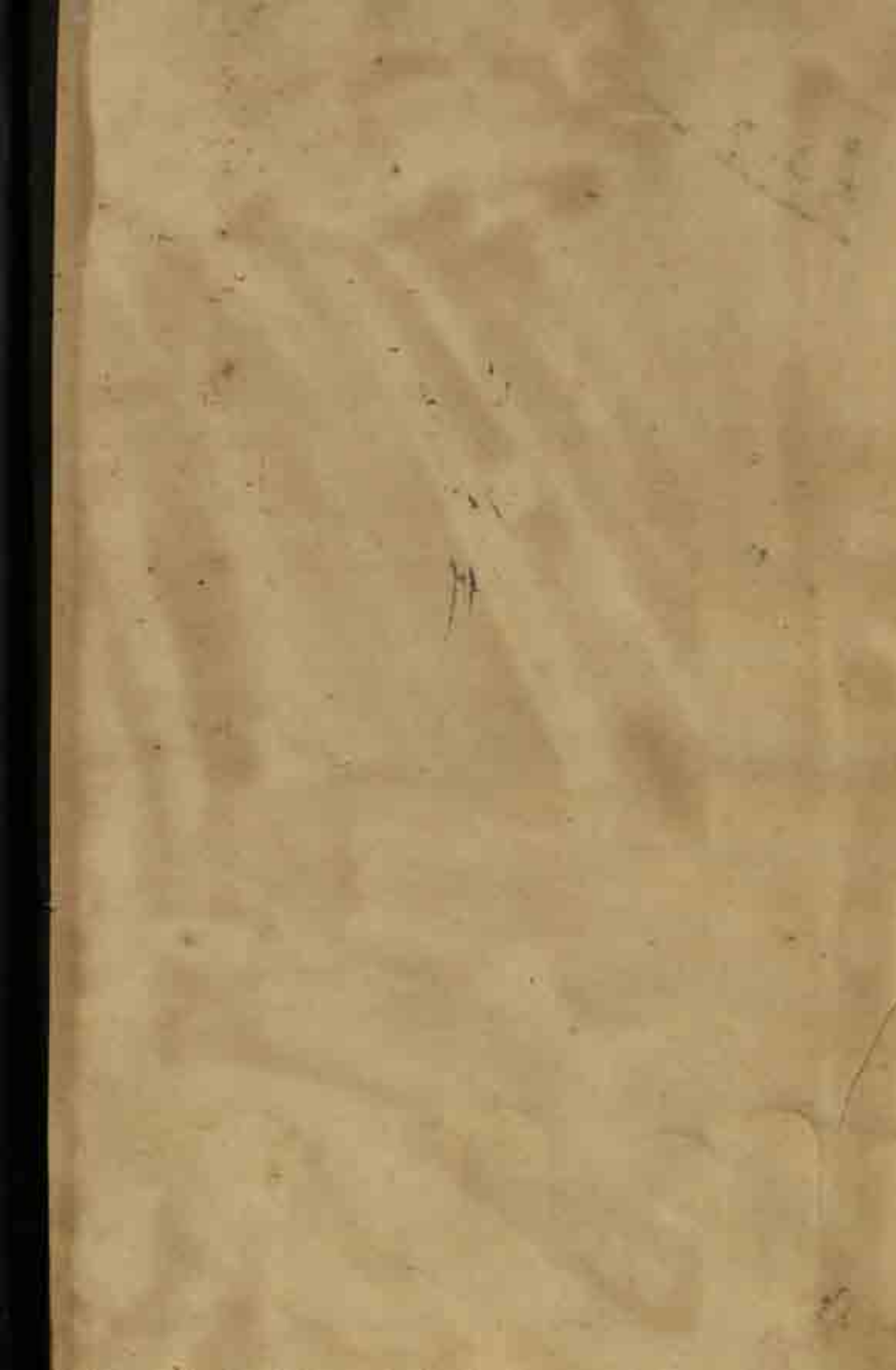


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OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

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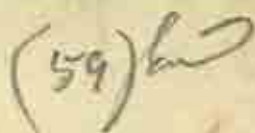
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(59) 



## ANIMAL NAMES IN ILOKO

MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C. I. C. M.

KABUGAW-APAYAW, MOUNTAIN PROVINCE, P. I.

IN A PREVIOUS PAPER, published in the JOURNAL 47.133-173, we described the different kinds of plants, whose Iloko names had come to our notice. We shall try to do the same now with the names of animals; but, instead of arranging them alphabetically in one large list, we shall separate them into several smaller lists, according to the most common zoological classifications.

We shall not give scientific names, both because they are not so necessary here as in the treatment of flowers, and because we should be much handicapped on account of a less thorough knowledge of ornithology, ichthyology, entomology, carcinology, and conchology.

Animals that have no native Iloko name will not be included here: e.g., the horse, *kabáyo*, Spanish, *caballo*; the cow, *báka*, Sp., *vaca*; the sheep, *karnéro*, Sp., *carnero*; etc.

### I. MAMMALIA

*abíó*: cfr. *pása*.

*aliáyo*: wild boar. This animal is very common in the Philippines, where extensive forested areas afford it ample shelter and hunting is not practiced on a very large scale. The different Iloko names for boar, sow, etc. are the same as those used to designate the corresponding domestic animals. Cfr. *óówy*.

*aso*: dog. As is the case with all domesticated animals, the dogs they have here are generally much smaller than the corresponding breeds in Europe and America, and besides little or no care is taken to prevent promiscuous breeding. In some places dogs form a real asset to the hunter, but in general they are simply house guards roaming about freely, very often in search of food. A strange fact is that, as soon as a member of the so-called non-Christian tribes wearing his native dress enters an Iloko village, all dogs bark in unison, so that the person can hardly escape notice. Sometimes the Iloko explain this on the ground that some of these people relish dog meat, and consequently a dog seems a danger at their approach and considers them as a real enemy; it would be superfluous to comment on this explanation. The Iloko have no special name for bitch.

*óken*: the puppy or whelp of the dog.

*burbúr(an)*: a kind of poodle, spaniel or pekinese dog with long.

thick hair, generally wavy or curly. From the stem *ɖurbár* "fur," and the locative suffix *ən*.

*idog*: a kind of dog with grayish hair.

*palidw*: a kind of dog with white hair.

*pasakt*: lap dog. Perhaps a corrupt Spanish term from *pasa* "come along" and *agut* "here."

*ɖɖɖuy*: hog, pig, swine. Hogs are domestic animals exceedingly useful here, as pork forms the bulk of the animal meat in most towns and villages. They are generally black-haired, the white-haired ones being very rare.

*ɖuld*: boar.

*takɔŋ*: sow.

*ɖurids*: shoat.

*ɖɖkes*: ape, monkey (in general). One kind of monkey is rather common in the forests, and the Iloko sometimes catch it and keep it in captivity. It is comparatively small, and has a rather long tail.

*ɖaó*: rat. A name very often applied to all rodents that have the general appearance of rats or mice.

*(ɖá)ɖao*: a kind of rat with diminutive ears and short tail. The term *ɖɖao* (a reduplicated form of *ɖaó*) means, "resembling the *ɖaó*, or rat."

*ɖuld*: cfr. *ɖɖuy*.

*ɖurɔŋ(ən)*: the male of the monkey, when old.

*ɖurbár(ən)*: cfr. *ɖeo*.

*ɖurids*: cfr. *ɖɖuy*.

*(marə)butit*: a kind of small mouse. In other dialects, e.g. Isege, *butit* means, "rat" or "mouse"; the prefix indicates resemblance or similarity. This word is sometimes spelled *marabutik* (the final *t* or *k* pronounced more or less as a glottal catch), and *butik* means "speckled animal."

*ɖayɔŋ*: dugong.

*idog*: cfr. *ɖeo*.

*kaldinŋ*: goat. Goats are sometimes milked, but rather rarely; they are mostly kept for their meat, and, as they generally roam about at liberty, they cost the owner little or nothing and annoy the neighbors immensely. A collar consisting of a kind of triangle made of three pieces of wood or bamboo occasionally keeps them from passing through bamboo fences. Hogs ornamented with the same device may sometimes be seen in places where these animals are not kept in sties.

*kigaw*: cfr. *ugad*.

*kuisŋ*: guinea pig, cavy.

*kurapnɪt*: bat. The small bat, found especially in large buildings, as churches, rectories, towers, municipal buildings, etc.

*ludlud(ən)*: cfr. *ugad*.

*mɔsɔŋ*: wild cat.

*mɔtɪt*: Philippine squirrel.

*mudŋ*: carabao or water buffalo. One of the most useful domestic

animals in the Iloko country, where rice is the staple food crop and is grown on land that has been overflowed. In waste places wild carabaoa may be met, but they are the offspring of domesticated ones that escaped from bondage in bygone times.

*óken*: cfr. *áo*.

*orbón*: young. A name actually applied to the young of the horse (colt), the cow (calf), the carabao (calf), the sheep (lamb), the goat (kid), etc.

*polidw*: cfr. *áo*.

*pansiki*: fruit bat, flying fox. It is sometimes eaten, but not generally, by the Iloko.

*pasuki*: cfr. *áo*.

*púsa*: cat. This animal is much less common here than in many other countries, where their young are often killed; this rarely happens here, as the kittens are generally much desired.

*obló*: a cat running wild, a runabout.

*adagay*: a kind of wild animal, resembling the wild cat. The same name is applied to a kind of bird.

*asúgic*: shrew. This animal, which closely resembles a mouse, diffuses a peculiar odor that keeps the cats away.

*takóny*: cfr. *babuy*.

*ugad*: deer. This animal is very common in the forested areas, and is easy to hunt at night, provided one has a strong light that attracts and dazzles it. The practice is actually forbidden by the authorities. The same word is applied to venison. The Iloko have no special names for doe and buck.

*kigaw*: fawn.

*ludlad(en)*: a young deer whose antlers are still simple spikes without tines.

## II. BIRDS

*ado(en)*: cfr. *manók*.

*adúyo*: jungle fowl. This bird is very common in the forested areas and is often caught in snares with the help of a cock used as a decoy.

*(pantúnny)adúyo*: a large gallinaceous bird with striped plumage and large bill. It strongly resembles the common barnyard fowl, especially in its legs. From the stem *adúyo* "jungle fowl," and the instrumental prefix *pantúnny*, derived from the prefix *manúnny*, which forms transitive verbs and means "gathering."

*alimbuyág(en)*: cfr. *manók*.

*alimukénny*: a kind of wild dove with gray plumage.

*allagadd(en)*: a kind of small bird with black plumage; its size is that of the *lawlawigan*.

*alukáp*: a kind of small bird, generally found near rivers and brooks.

*arben*: the chick of the *toklénny*. *Arben* means also "flock."

*(awit-)awit*: a kind of bird with black plumage; its size is that of a turtledove, and it lives near the water; its cry is generally heard at dusk.



*Awté* means "carrying on the shoulder or on the back," but the name is probably onomatopoeic for the cry of this particular bird.

*bagó*: a kind of small bird with yellow breast and blackish back. *Bagó* means "strip of bark (used to bind palay into bundles)."

(*bina*)*bái*: cfr. *manók*.

(*bai*)*ballínayaw*: a kind of small bird, otherwise unknown to us.

*bálog*: a kind of wild pigeon, larger than the turtledove, but with the same plumage.

*bandág*: cfr. *bindág*.

*bannatir(an)*: a kind of bird with dark-colored plumage; its size is that of the turtledove and it has a similar bill.

*bariñkokórony*: a kind of small bird with speckled plumage, black and white; its size is that of the *toldó* and it lives on the hills. *Bariñkokórony* is also the name of a tree.

*bárog*: cfr. *bálog*.

*berkakók*: a kind of large bird with speckled plumage; in size and general appearance it resembles a pigeon.

*berróko*: a kind of small bird living near the water.

*bidiñy*: a kind of kingfisher. *Bidiñy* means also "black wart."

*billit*: a general name for small birds, as sparrows, etc.

*billit(en)*: cfr. *manók*.

*billit táleny*: a kind of sparrow-devastating rice fields. *Táleny* means "deaf."

*bindág*: a kind of large bird with speckled plumage, black and white; its size is that of an ordinary barnyard fowl.

(*bis*)*biñag*: a kind of small bird with grayish-brown plumage; it nests among pebbles on the banks of rivers.

*bistagaw*: a kind of insectivorous bird; its size is that of a crow.

*bokkarát*: a kind of very wild bird. The same name is applied to a kind of crocodile.

*bólas*: a kind of bird, otherwise unknown to us.

*bolaw*: cfr. *manók*.

*bolidá*: cfr. *manók*.

*bullillaiñy*: a kind of green parakeet, very common and often kept in captivity.

*d(um)aldá*: cfr. *manók*.

*dalampaw*: a kind of bird living near the sea and feeding on *ípon*, a kind of small fish.

(*dal*)*dalladso*: a kind of small bird with blue plumage; its size is that of the *lawlawigan*.

(*dal*)*dalokdók*: a kind of very small bird; its size is that of the *pít-pítñy*. *Dalokdók* means "needle thrust;" the reduplication implies resemblance.

*dalosápi*: cfr. *manók*.

*darisdy(en)*: cfr. *manók*.

(*dil*)*dilladso*: cfr. *daldalladso*.

*dién*: a kind of bird, probably fabulous.

*dárog*: a kind of sparrow much resembling the common house sparrow.  
*(gabur)gabúr*: a kind of bird of the size of a quail; its cry is heard when it is ill and it covers its dead with dirt, etc. *Gabúr* means "covering with earth, etc.;" the reduplication indicates either resemblance or repetition of an action.

*(gan)ganiákaw*: a kind of bird of the size of a turtledove. The Iloko threaten disobedient children with the coming of the *ganganídkaw*, which is supposed to fly away with wayward children.

*gikgik*: a kind of bird with white breast and black beak; its size is that of a turtledove.

*(gt)giut*: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; it resembles the *terakatk*.

*idaw*: cfr. *manók*.

*itik*: a kind of fresh-water duck with speckled plumage, yellow, brown, etc.; it is not very common.

*(masṅṅ)dkab*: a kind of small bird with speckled plumage; its size is that of the house sparrow. *Kakab* means "coop;" it is hard to understand what the transitive prefix *masṅ* has to do with the name of this particular bird; the initial *k* of the stem is dropped after a prefix ending in *ṅ*.

*kakúk*: a kind of cuckoo.

*kalánṅay*: a kind of parrot with plumage of different colors.

*kalapiti*: pigeon. Pigeons are kept, although not extensively, for their young whose flesh is much valued; no other use is made of them.

*kalapini*: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; it lives near the water.

*kálaw*: a kind of hornbill. It is very common in forested areas and its cry is very loud and easily recognizable.

*kali*: a kind of large hawk with speckled plumage, brown and white; it devastates the poultry yards.

*kallaw*: a kind of large wading bird with yellow plumage; its neck is very long and its body is larger than that of an ordinary duck.

*kamaso (én)*: cfr. *manók*.

*kamṅway*: a kind of heron with white plumage; it is very common and lives in the vicinity of rivers and brooks.

*(kuma)káput*: a kind of pelican. *Káput* is the name of a kind of fishing net; *um* is an infix for neutral verbs, and the reduplication of the stem implies easiness of action.

*karordy (an)*: cfr. *manók*.

*(masṅ)atúday*: the *saucase-it* or tailor bird, so called because it is very fond of *katúday* (*Sesbania grandiflora*); the initial *k* of the stem is dropped after the prefix *masṅ*, which means "gathering."

*kacóitan*: cfr. *manók*.

*kaukdu*: a kind of bird with black plumage; it resembles a pigeon in size and general appearance. *Kaukdu* means "dipping (the hand, etc.) in water."

*kepkep*: a kind of bird with speckled plumage; its size is that of a turtledove. *Kepkep* means "embracing."



- kidae*: a kind of oriole with yellow and black plumage.
- killaseit*: a kind of small bird with light-colored plumage; it resembles the *dannatiran*, and is smaller than the *tokliay*.
- konniber*: a kind of large, fabulous bird, supposed to fly away with men.
- konykóny*: a kind of small bird; its cry is heard at dusk. *Kóny-kóny* means "hollowing out, beating something hollow."
- kulalábany*: a kind of large bird with gray plumage; it feeds on chickens.
- kullaw*: a kind of owl, larger than the *púck*; its lugubrious cry is heard at night and considered a bad omen.
- kuripattóny*: a kind of insectivorous bird with dark-colored plumage; it resembles a martin. *Kuripattóny* is also the name of a vine.
- kusiény*: a kind of small bird with green and white plumage.
- lanḡaw(én)*: cfr. *manók*.
- lanḡgóny*: a kind of bird whose cry is considered augural by the Igorota. The Kankanay call it *tala*. *Lanḡgóny* means "fool."
- lászak*: cfr. *manók*.
- (lase)lawig(an)*: a kind of bird with very bright, showy plumage; it is smaller in size than the common chick and is given to hopping.
- layólay*: a kind of small bird with striped plumage. *Layólay* is also the name of a fish.
- liḡay(én)*: cfr. *manók*.
- liḡi(én)*: a kind of bird, otherwise unknown to us.
- mannabél*: a kind of wading bird with long neck and legs and brown plumage; it feeds on fish. *Mannabél* is probably either a corruption of *manḡabél*, or *manḡanḡabél* from the transitive prefix *manḡ* and the stem *abél* "weaving," or a contraction of the same prefix *manḡ* and some unknown stem in *d*, *s*, or *t*.
- manók*: barnyard fowl, chicken. This bird is exceedingly common, but the varieties found here are generally smaller than the European or American. Chickens usually roam at liberty and very little or no care is taken in keeping the breeds pure. On the other hand, gamecocks are taken much care of, as cockfighting is a general pastime and very often the occasion of heavy betting. All of which may help to explain why the Iloko have more names for the different varieties of cocks than for the different breeds of chickens.
- kawitan*: the cock.
- upa*: the hen. *Upa* means also "rent, borrowing, lending." Both these names are used also for the males and females of other birds.
- piék*: the chick.
- d(um)alóga*: a pullet. *Dalóga*, in Tagalog, means "girl, maiden"; the infix *um* forms verbs meaning "to become, to grow."
- pamusían*: a laying hen. *Pamusían* is derived either from the stem *pási* "shelling (grain, etc.)," or from the stem *busi* "popped (corn, etc.)," combined with *panḡ* . . . *an*, which is the locative of the transitive prefix *manḡ*; the initial *p* or *b* of the stem is combined with the final *ny* of the prefix into *m*.

(*bina*)*bái*: a capon; a cock with the general appearance and the gait of a hen. *Babái*, from the stem *bái*, means "female;" the infix *in* implies resemblance. The same terms are applied to men.

*agursár*: a chicken whose feathers stand on end. The same term is applied to thread full of bits of fiber (because it was spun badly) or full of knots (because it was broken several times).

*tókong*: a tailless chicken. The same term is also used for other birds without tail.

*karordy* (*sn*): a breed of chickens with yellow legs.

In the following, which are the most common varieties of cocks, the suffix *en* indicates resemblance:

*abo* (*én*): a cock with gray plumage and reddish tail. *Aboén* means also "gray or ash-colored."

*alimbuyúg* (*en*): a cock with very dark red plumage.

*billit* (*én*): a cock with red plumage and red legs. *Billit* means "small bird."

*boldw*: a cock with dark brownish-yellow or drab plumage.

*bolíla*: a cock with yellowish plumage.

*dalosapi*: a cock with light-red plumage.

*darisay* (*en*): a cock with black and white plumage. *Darisay* means "purity, good quality."

*idaw*: a cock with black and white plumage, and black legs. *Idaw* means also "heathen sacrifice or superstition."

*kamaso* (*én*): a cock with black and white plumage.

*laŋgaw* (*én*): a cock with red and white plumage.

*laak*: a cock with black and white plumage and white legs.

*liŋgay* (*én*): a cock with black and white plumage and legs. *Liŋgay* means "diversion." *Liŋgayén* is also the name of an important town in the province of Pangasinan.

*pannago* (*én*): a cock with gray plumage. *Pannagoén* is probably derived from the combination *paŋy...en*, which indicates resemblance, and some unknown stem in *d*, *s*, or *t*, perhaps: *tagó* "subterraneous place," or *ságo* "pus."

*sinduyóng* (*en*): a cock with dark-reddish plumage.

(*man*)*manók*: a general name for birds. Cfr. *tumatayáb*. *Manók* means "chicken;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.

*oridaw*: a kind of small bird with blue breast and black back; it is a little larger than the *laselawigan* and lives in bushes and hedges on cultivated areas.

*oríŋed*: a kind of bird with brown and yellow plumage; its size is that of a turtledove.

*págaw*: a kind of turtledove; in plumage and size it very much resembles the common European turtledove.

*pomusidn*: cfr. *manók*.

*pendi*: a bird with grayish plumage; it is a little larger than the *bullitisiŋ* or parakeet.

*pannago* (én): cfr. *manók*.

*pépa*: wild duck, mallard.

*pattiki*: a kind of bird feeding on fishes.

*perrokd*: a kind of small bird with brown plumage; it is a little larger than the *lawlawigan*.

*piék*: cfr. *manók*.

(*pi*)*piit*: a kind of very small bird similar to the *sawsaw-it* or tailor bird in size and plumage.

(*pié*)*piéek*: a kind of very small bird with white breast and black back; its size is that of the *sawsaw-it* or tailor bird.

(*pir*)*piriw*: a kind of small bird with greenish back; its size is that of a common chick and it appears in the months of June and July.

(*pit*)*pititay*: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; its size is that of the house sparrow. *Pititay* means "very alight movement;" the reduplication indicates repeated small movements.

(*pit*)*pitlagaw*: a kind of very small bird with white and black plumage.

*pitápit*: a kind of small bird with grayish-brown plumage. The name of this bird is onomatopoeic for its cry, which it utters at regular intervals while it ascends higher and higher, in the same way as the skylark.

*piás*: a kind of small bird with black plumage and red eyes. Its size is about that of a common chick.

*pák*: a kind of owl, smaller than any other species known by the Iloko, e. g. the *kullánc*. *Pák* is often used as a general name for all owls.

*págo*: a kind of quail. *Págo* is the name of an unimportant municipality in the province of La Union.

*púnay*: a kind of large bird with plumage of a dirty green, in general appearance like the turtledove.

(*rak*)*rakít*: a kind of small bird with white breast and black back.

(*ro*)*roidaw*: a kind of small bird with dark-colored plumage, except for the breast which is blue; it is a little larger than the *lawlawigan*.

*ságang*: a kind of large bird with black and white plumage; its size is that of the pigeon.

*sagursár*: cfr. *manók*.

(*sak*)*sakálap*: a kind of large bird with plumage resembling the soil in color, which makes it difficult to see when sitting; its size is that of the turtledove.

*salakak*: a kind of kingfisher with blue and black plumage; it resembles the *biditay*, but is larger.

*sallapitáwaw*: a kind of swallow.

*edci*: a kind of hawk; it resembles the crow in size and the turtledove in plumage.

(*saw*)*saw-it*: a kind of tailor bird; it builds its nest under the eaves.

*seppég*: a kind of large bird with speckled plumage; its size is that of the pigeon. *Seppég* means also "plunging down (like a bird of prey)."

*siakák*: cfr. *kakák*.

*sibeg*: a kind of bird resembling the quail, but with red plumage, and very quick.



(*man*)*ibrong*: a kind of small bird, otherwise unknown to us. *Manibrong* means also "murderer," namely: the relative of a dead person, who executes the latter's supposed last will, which consists in ordering the death of a number of persons, according to the number of fingers he extended while in a dying condition; this superstition of observing the fingers extended by a dying person is called *ibrong*. It goes without saying that this is not practised any more. It should be remembered that the final *ng* of the transitive prefix *maang* is combined with the initial *s* of the stem into *n*.

*sinduyóng(en)*: cfr. *manók*.

*sippáyot*: a kind of small bird with brownish plumage; it resembles a kingfisher and feeds on fish, palay, etc. *Sippáyot* means also "catching (e.g. something flying, etc.)."

(*tag*)*tagá*: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; its size is that of the common chick and it bores holes in trees to make its nest. *Tagá* means "carving;" the reduplication indicates repetition of an action or resemblance.

*togo(dn)*: a kind of small bird with speckled plumage; it resembles the *toló*. Cfr. *manók—pannagoén*; the suffix *an* is a locative.

*talañgguatáng*: a kind of bird, otherwise unknown to us.

*tánjád*: a kind of wading bird with brownish plumage; it is smaller than the *kannaway* or heron. *Tánjád* means also "looking up;" the name of this particular bird probably alludes to the manner in which it flies.

*tanjrab(an)*: a kind of bird with short tail and speckled plumage, black and yellow; it resembles the *págo* or quail in general appearance but is larger in size. *Tanjrab* means "cutting aslant;" the suffix *an* is a locative; the name of this particular bird probably alludes to its tailless appearance.

*tarokaták*: a kind of small bird with gray plumage.

*tardá*: a kind of small bird with white breast and black wings and tail; it resembles the *latawigan* but is a little larger.

*taridák*: a kind of large bird with green and red plumage. *Taridák* is also the name of a province and of its capital.

*tariás*: Cfr. *tardá*.

*toák(on)*: a kind of wading bird with speckled plumage, white and black, chiefly white; it is smaller than the *kannaway* or heron.

(*man*)*aál*: a kind of small bird with black plumage; its cry is heard at night. *Toál* means "barking," and the prefix *manas* (combined with *t* into *man*) indicates usual action, an allusion to the cry of this particular bird.

(*tuma*)*taydb*: a general name for birds. Cfr. *manmanók*. *Taydb* means "flying;" the infix *um* and the reduplication indicate an action performed with ease, with skill.

*tebbég*: a kind of bird with gray plumage and strong legs; it resembles the turtledove. *Tebbég* is also the name of a kind of wild fig.

*teggdák*: a kind of wading bird with a plumage resembling that of a duck; its size is that of the turtledove, except for the legs and the neck.

*tig-i*: the *kall*, so called for its cry.

(ti)*tiit*: a kind of very small bird with blue plumage.

(ti)*tirabonŷ*: a kind of small bird with brown plumage and long tail.

(tog)*tog-ó*: the *pégaw* or turtledove, so called for its cooing.

*toklínŷ*: a kind of bobolink; it lives in grassy places. Its chick is called *arban*.

*tókosŷ*: cfr. *manók*.

(pann)*októk*: a kind of speckled woodpecker. *Toktók* means "knocking, pecking;" *pann* is the contraction of the instrumental prefix *panŷ* (derived from the transitive prefix *manŷ*) and the initial *t* of the stem.

*toldó*: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; it appears at dusk and lives in damp, grassy places, on the banks of rivers, etc. *Toldó* means also "hole in the lobe of the ear, model, teaching, etc."

*tubbó*: a kind of small bird with black and white plumage; its size is that of the *bullilisinŷ* or parakeet. *Tubbó* means also "pulling out (sugar cane)."

*tuggarénŷ*: a kind of small bird with blue plumage; it resembles a kingfisher in size and general appearance. *Tuggarénŷ* means also "stupid, dull."

(tá)*tuit*: a kind of very small bird with green and yellow plumage.

*tuók*: a kind of large bird with red plumage, except for the breast, which is blue; it is larger than the turtledove.

*tuedtit*: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; its size is that of the common chick.

*tuedáo*: a kind of small bird with black plumage; its cry is heard at dusk.

*uák*: a kind of crow.

(manŷŷ)*ábug*: a kind of large bird with black plumage; it resembles the barnyard fowl in size and in shape of the legs. *Ubug* means "unspread leaf," e.g. of bananas; the prefix *manŷ* means "gathering."

*áps*: cfr. *manók*.

(arəm-)*áram*: a kind of small bird, otherwise unknown to us. *Uram* means "arson, burning;" the reduplication indicates repeated action or resemblance.

### III. REPTILIA

*alibát*: a kind of lizard, larger and of darker hue than the common house lizard, and living outdoors, in forests, on grasslands, etc. The *alibát* is very common, especially in uncultivated areas.

(áleg)*alinddyag*: a kind of large venomous snake resembling the *bartín*. *Uleg* is the general name for snake; *alinddyag* means "floating in the air, the wings not moving."

*alutiit*: lizard; any of the Lacertilia, e.g.: the *alibát*, the *salték*, etc.; more especially the *salték*.

*babaw*: a kind of small, venomous snake. The *babaw* should not be confounded with the *babac* (from *baó*), which see under Mammalia.

*baníds*: a kind of iguana, which is rather common in these parts. The



*banida* loves rice, eggs, etc., and is esteemed as food by some people, while by others it is abhorred. It is inoffensive, although a stroke of its triangular tail is not to be relished.

*burtin*: a kind of venomous snake with variegated skin.

*beklat*: a large, non-venomous snake, a kind of boa.

*bokkarat*: a kind of crocodile with variegated skin.

*budya*: crocodile. These animals, which formerly were quite common, are actually confined to a few districts and appear less and less in the open.

*karas(en)*: a kind of venomous snake, green with patches of different colors. It is the most dreaded of all the snakes that live in the Iloko country.

*karetkét*: a kind of venomous snake, otherwise unknown to us. *Karet-két* means "shrinking."

*melmel*: a kind of small, venomous snake with striped skin. *Melmel* means "with mouth filled with food," e. g., as of children, when eating.

*pag-óy*: tortoise, a land and fresh-water turtle.

*palápal*: a short, thick, non-venomous snake. *Palápal* means "throwing a stick." The name of this particular snake alludes to its custom of throwing itself forward.

*paucikan*: sea turtle.

*salték*: the common house lizard. The *salték* is harmless and exceedingly common; its cry is supposed to announce the arrival of visitors at the house. *Salték* means "striking forcibly downward"; also it indicates the sound uttered by the lizard.

*(man)ápaw*: a kind of non-venomous snake. It is very often found in the thatched roofs of temporary huts, built for watching crops and afterwards abandoned; these huts are called *ápaw*, hence the name of this particular snake; the final *ay* of the transitive prefix *manay* is combined with the initial *a* of the stem into *a*.

*(man)ácaay*: a kind of venomous snake, otherwise unknown to us. *Sácaay* means "uttering, opening."

*sákaw*: a kind of venomous snake, otherwise unknown to us. *Sákaw* is also the name of a kind of lotus or *Nelumbo*.

*(ta)tanáy(en)*: a kind of venomous snake, otherwise unknown to us.

*tekká*: a kind of gecko. It is called *tekká* from the sound it utters.

*tikék*: a kind of house lizard, which is supposed to bite.

*(áleg) táleay*: a kind of small, non-venomous snake. Its head is hardly differentiated from the rest of its body, hence the name: *áleg*, "snake," *táleay* "deaf."

*áleg*: serpent, snake. Almost all snakes are known to the Iloko only by this generic name; the *beklat*, however, and occasionally the *karas(en)* and the *palápal*, form exceptions to this rule.

## IV. AMPHIBIA

*bagañ* (án): a kind of newt or salamander found in brackish pools along the seashore; it is very alert and jumps around like a frog.

*bannasák*: a kind of two-legged tadpole.

*bayyék*: tadpole. A few Iloko eat them, but most do not.

*kenyékáñ*: *cf.* *pilat*.

*kíniga*: *cf.* *pilat*.

*kuyas* (da): a kind of tree frog, with toes for clinging. *Kuyas* means "thin;" the name of this particular frog alludes to the shape of its body, as the suffix is a locative.

*pilat*: a kind of big-bellied toad that croaks at night.

*tukák*: frog. *Tukák* is a general name for all frogs and toads, but it is more especially applied to the edible frogs that have aquatic habits.

## V. FISH

*abbét*: a kind of edible fresh-water fish, found mostly in brooks in the hilly part of the Iloko country.

*abbít*: a kind of small, edible marine fish of about the size and shape of a silver dollar coin. *Abbít* also means "glutton."

*áber*: a kind of marine fish of about the size and shape of a sardine; its meat is esteemed.

*agabuét*: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed.

*agóot*: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed.

*aguda*: a kind of edible fresh-water fish; it is very similar to the *puróng*, but its scales are smaller.

*agúroñ*: a kind of edible marine fish.

*alidenyñ*: a kind of very small marine fish, bluish on the back, white on the belly; its meat is much esteemed.

*alláy*: a kind of large, edible marine fish with elongated body.

*alokén*: a kind of edible fresh-water fish.

*altóg*: a kind of small, edible marine fish with broad, flattened body.

(*al*)-*alut* (én): a kind of rather small, edible marine fish, entirely blackish except for its breast, which is white, flat, and more or less hot when it touches you, hence its name. *Alutén* means "firebrand;" the reduplication indicates similarity.

*ampó*: a kind of small, blackish fresh-water fish, whose meat is esteemed. Its fins secrete a kind of poison, and wounds occasioned by their sharp points may prove mortal, at least to small animals.

*entatado*: a kind of blackish fresh-water fish, generally as thick as an arm and more than one foot long; its meat is esteemed by the Chinese.

*angápasñ*: a kind of fresh-water fish resembling the *puróng*. The same name is applied to that part of any meat, vegetable, etc., which sticks to the vessel in which it is cooked.

*angrát*: a kind of large, edible, either marine or fresh-water fish, resembling the corvina; its gall is often added to *béat*, a native drink made from sugar cane.

*apsdy*: a kind of small marine fish, whose meat is esteemed; its size is about that of the palm of the hand. *Apady* means "stretching out of the legs."

*aptá*: a kind of fish, which, after having been hatched in sea water, ascends rivers, where it grows and spawns; unlike the ordinary anadromous fishes, it does not live in sea water for any considerable length of time, and, unlike the *ipon*, it appears at irregular intervals.

*aptá*: the name of this fish when just hatched and still living in the sea; it is white, exceedingly small and esteemed as food.

*bursi(án)*: the same fish when found at the mouths of rivers; it is striped black and white, and about as large as the common *ipon*, but less esteemed as food.

*bagsét*: the same fish when found in rivers and brooks; it is yellowish with black dots and stripes, about two inches long, and not much esteemed as food.

*ariawya*: a kind of small, edible marine fish; it resembles the *ipon*, but is smaller in size.

(*ar*)-*aró*: a kind of blackish fresh-water fish; it is about four inches long and its meat is esteemed.

*atítgal*: a kind of small, inedible fish, which clings to the gills of sardines, causing their death.

*áwa*: a kind of marine fish with a thick, elongated body and numerous spines; it resembles the bonito and its flesh is esteemed.

*baaglót*: the name of this fish, when it is still small.

*áwa*: the same fish when it is about half a meter long.

*ayungin*: a kind of small, blackish, edible fish, found in brackish pools along the seashore. When not too small, its meat is esteemed.

*ayáyeñ*: a kind of middle-sized fresh-water fish; it lives in brooks and its meat is esteemed.

*babáyo*: a kind of large marine fish, about half a meter long; its meat is esteemed.

*bagsáñ*: a kind of small, fat, edible fish, living either in the sea or at the mouths of rivers, the sea variety being the larger.

*bagsét*: cfr. *aptá*.

*bagsáw*: cfr. *ariawya*.

*bakará*: a kind of small fish, found at the mouths of rivers; it resembles the *boktó*, but is smaller; its meat is esteemed.

*bakoláw*: a kind of fresh-water fish, whose meat is esteemed; its body is flattened and about six inches long and four broad.

*balagbág(an)*: a kind of hammer-head, a shark whose eyes are placed at the end of two long, lateral processes at the sides of the head.

*baláki*: a kind of middle-sized, white marine fish; it is provided with barbels and its meat is esteemed. *Baláki* means "mixing up things of different size, shape, etc."



*baliga*: a kind of edible fresh-water fish. *Baliga* is also the name of a knife-shaped tablet used in weaving.

*balitok* (da): a kind of speckled marine fish; it is about sixteen inches long and its meat is esteemed. *Balitók* means "gold;" the suffix is a locative; the name of this particular fish alludes to its color.

*ballá*: a kind of grayish fresh-water fish; it is about six inches long and fatter than the *boktó*; its meat is esteemed. *Ballá* also means "frenzy."

*ballañaw* (an): a kind of marine fish; it is larger than the *barambán* and its meat is esteemed.

*ballawit* (an): cfr. *bulóng unda*.

*bannagaw*: a kind of fish living at the mouths of rivers and in brackish pools along the seashore; it is smaller than the sardine and not edible.

*banylót*: cfr. *duca*.

*barambán*: a kind of marine fish resembling the sardine; it is about eight inches long and very fat; its meat is esteemed, but it is full of spines.

*barány* (an): a kind of small, black-gray, fresh-water fish, whose meat is esteemed.

*barasút*: a kind of blackish marine fish, about six inches long; it is also found at the mouths of rivers and its meat is esteemed.

*barasúy* (an): a kind of fresh-water fish, from one to two inches thick, and striped black and white; its meat is not much esteemed.

*barácanay*: a kind of large marine fish resembling the *ballañaw*; its meat is esteemed.

*barisakwak*: a kind of large, edible marine fish with a large mouth. *Barisakwak* means "vastness of space."

*barakóng* (an): a kind of large, thick marine fish, whose meat is esteemed. *Barakóng* means "chest, breast;" the name of this particular fish means "with a broad chest."

*bat-óg*: a kind of large, elongated, edible marine fish. *Bat-óg* means "beating the ground."

(*bayanay*) *bayanay*: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed; its body is flattened and triangular. *Bayanaybayanay* is also the name of the gable in native houses, which fills the space between the tiebeam and the ridge.

(*igat*) *berkdák* (an): a kind of large, eel-like fish resembling the lamprey. *Igat* means "eel," and *berkdák* "swelling in the throat;" the suffix is a locative.

*biála*: a kind of very large, blackish marine fish, whose meat is much esteemed.

*bibir* (án): a kind of marine fish whose meat is not very much esteemed. *Bibir* is an antiquated form of *bibig* "lip;" consequently *bibirán* means "with great lips."

(*bidaw*) *bidaw*: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed, but full of spines.

*bille*: a kind of sardine.

*bintó* (an): a kind of edible marine fish.

*birát*: a kind of blackish, very fat fresh-water fish. *Birát* means also "worn-out knife;" and the same term is sometimes applied to the pudenda of women.

*bérút*: the name of this fish when less than eight inches long.

*burdrog*: the same fish when much larger.

(*mama*) *osó*: a synonym for *birát*; it alludes to the latter's feeding on *sosó*, a kind of snail. The final *oŋ* of the prefix *maŋŋ*, which means "gathering," is combined with the initial *s* of the stem into *n*.

*boktó*: a kind of white, fat fresh-water fish, whose meat is esteemed.

*kosait*: the name of this fish when it is still small.

*boktó*: the same fish when about four inches long; this name is the most used.

*bánog*: the same fish, when at its largest.

*bolóri*: a kind of marine fish, otherwise unknown to us.

*boraikaw*: *cf.* *dalág*.

*borikikkik*: *cf.* *dalág*.

(*bo*) *boaló*: a kind of large marine fish whose meat is esteemed.

(*bota*) *bóta*: a kind of marine fish; its body is flattened and elongated, from twelve to sixteen inches long, and its meat is esteemed.

*botta* (*du*): a kind of fresh-water fish, mostly found in brooks. Its size is about that of the palm of the hand and it has large, round eyes; it resembles the *talakitok*, but has a long tail; its meat is esteemed. *Bottoán* means also "callus." *Bottó* means "pivot," also the position of the child ready to be born. *Bottoán* should mean literally "full of pivots" or "with a large pivot," hence "with projecting parts."

*bugá*: a kind of small marine fish; it resembles the *tariptip*, but it is a little larger and its meat is better.

*bugai*: a kind of small, black-gray, fresh-water fish, found in rivers and pools; it is about an inch long and its meat is esteemed.

(*bu*) *bugaót* (*en*): a kind of small, blackish, edible marine fish. *Bugaót* means "agonizing;" the suffix in conjunction with the reduplication indicates easy action, readiness to do what the stem implies.

(*bulaŋ*) *búlan*: a kind of fish found either in the sea or in fresh water; it is larger than an ordinary sardine and its meat is soft, full of spines and not much esteemed. *Búlan* means "moon;" the reduplication indicates resemblance. We do not know wherein the resemblance between the moon and this particular fish consists.

*bullilisiŋ*: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed; it resembles the sardine in shape and size. *Bullilisiŋ* is also the name of the green parakeet.

*buloŋ* (*án*): a kind of large marine fish whose meat is esteemed; its body is elongated, rather broad and about sixteen inches long. *Buloŋ* means "leaf;" the suffix is a locative.

*buloŋ* *unds*: a kind of edible marine fish with elongated, flattened body.

*ballawit* (*an*): the name of this fish when it is still small.

*salapedp*: the same fish when much larger.

*bulóng unds*: the same fish when it is about half a meter long. This is the most common name and a very characteristic one. *Bulóng* means "leaf," and *unds* "(of) sugar cane."

*tambokóg(an)*: the same fish when at its largest.

*bumrd*: cfr. *mondamon*.

*bánog*: cfr. *boktó*.

*bunot(dn)*: a kind of large marine fish whose meat is not much esteemed. *Bunót* means "coir, outer husk of the coconut;" the suffix is a locative. The name of this particular fish alludes to the general appearance of its scales.

*kulanýt*: a name applied to the same fish before it has reached its full size.

*(talený)talený*: cfr. *kulanýt*.

*burdrog*: cfr. *birát*.

*bursi(dn)*: cfr. *aptd*.

*butiti*: a kind of large, fat marine fish, about half a meter long and covered with spines, especially on the back. Its gall is poisonous and its meat is rarely eaten.

*butubát*: a kind of blackish fresh-water fish; it resembles the *birát*, but it is not so dark-colored. *Butubát* means with large buttocks.

*daddli*: a kind of elongated marine fish, about six or eight inches long; only the meat of its back is edible and it is not much esteemed.

*daióg*: a kind of fresh-water mudfish, black on the back and white on the belly; its body is almost cylindrical and it tapers from the head toward the tail. Its meat is esteemed and it is practically the only specimen used in fish culture.

*borikikkik*: the name of this fish when it is still very small.

*boraikaw*: the same fish when somewhat larger.

*daióg*: the same fish when about eight inches long.

*dálaw*: a kind of small, white marine fish; it resembles the *criatoyde* and its meat is esteemed. *Dálaw* also means "sweet flag."

*dalupitpit*: a kind of small marine fish, which much resembles the *turiñyturiñy*. Cfr. *gumabbék*. *Dalupitpit* means "flattening" also "refuse, sputa, etc."

*damds*: a kind of white marine fish, a little longer than the *bagadny*; its meat is esteemed.

*(dap)dapilag*: a kind of edible fresh-water fish. The *dapilag* is a small basket, and the reduplication indicates resemblance.

*darumpapék*: a kind of elongated marine fish, whose meat is esteemed.

*(du)dutdút(an)*: a kind of large, elongated marine fish, whose meat is esteemed. *Dutdút* means "hair;" the suffix is a locative and the reduplication emphasizes the meaning.

*g(um)abbék*: a kind of flattened, almost round, white fish, whose meat is esteemed; it has the same characteristics as the *aptd* in the question of habitat, hatching, and migration.

*(turiñyturiñy)*: the name of this fish when its diameter is about half an inch; at this stage it is still living in the sea.



*sapsáp*: the same fish, when it has about the shape and size of a silver dollar; at this stage it is found in fresh water. *Sapsáp* means "cleaning, thinning by cutting."

*g(um)abbék*: the same fish when at its largest.

*gínas*: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed; it resembles the *puróng* in size, but its body is broader.

*igat*: eel.

*kúet*: young of the eel.

*igat berkak(an)*: *cfr. berkákan*.

*ikán*: fish.

*ikúr(an)*: a kind of white fresh-water fish, about three inches long and almost as broad; its meat is esteemed.

*lák*: a kind of large, speckled marine fish; it is about half a meter long and from four to eight inches broad; its meat is very much esteemed.

*ipon*: a kind of fish which, after having been hatched in sea water, ascends rivers, where it grows and spawns; unlike the ordinary anadromous fishes, it does not live in sea water for any considerable length of time. From August or September to January, about nine days after the new moon, it appears in exceedingly numerous shoals near the mouths of rivers. The Iloko catch enormous quantities of *ipon*, whose meat is very much esteemed and which is the best kind of fish to be made into *boggóón* (fermented fish). *Boggóón* is of prime importance to the Iloko for the seasoning of vegetables and other food products, and every year it is exported in large quantities from the coastal Iloko provinces.

*ipon*: the general name of this fish, whether it still lives in sea water, in which case it is white, or has ascended the river and has become striped white and black. The *ipon* rarely exceeds an inch in length, and when it has grown larger, it is known by some other name.

*sonón*: a name applied to the *ipon* before it has ascended the river.

*Sonón* means "gathering."

*(ma)lápát*: a name applied to the thinnest, least fat specimens of the *ipon*. *Lápát* means "thinness;" the prefix *ma* is adjectival.

*tlák*: the same fish when it has become blackish and has reached a length of about two inches; its meat is esteemed.

*palilén*: the same fish when about four inches long; it is very abundant in the mountain region, especially from February to May, and its meat is esteemed.

*ipás(an)*: a kind of small fresh-water fish, with a comparatively large head; its meat is not much esteemed. *Ipás* means "tail;" the suffix is a locative. The name of this particular fish probably alludes to its shape, as it seems to be composed exclusively of a large head and a long tail.

*kabáai*: a kind of large marine fish, whose meat is esteemed.

*kabibi*: a kind of elongated fish, found at the mouths of rivers; it is about two or three inches long and its meat is esteemed. *Kabibi* is also the name of a kind of mussel.

*kogtén*: a kind of striped marine fish resembling the *birat*, but larger. The name may perhaps be derived from the prefix *ka*, which often enters

the composition of substantives, and the stem *daténŷ* "arriving." "To be able to arrive, to get at," is expressed in Iloko by *makaŷténŷ*, from the prefix *maka* and the stem *daténŷ*.

*kákap*: a kind of edible marine fish.

*kampá*: a kind of white fresh-water fish; it resembles the *boktó*, but its head is relatively very large. Its meat, and more especially its spawn, are esteemed.

*kapiŷed*: a kind of speckled, black and white, fresh-water fish, whose meat is esteemed; its body is much flattened and almost round, in size and shape resembling a flat saucer.

*kardáb*: a kind of large, white, elongated fish, whose meat is esteemed; it lives either in the sea or in fresh water.

*katáy(an)*: cfr. *barasáŷan*. *Kátay* means "saliva," and the suffix is a locative.

(*puma*)*kób*: a kind of rather small, much flattened, triangular marine fish, whose meat is not much esteemed. *Keób* means "curving;" *pa* "turning over," from the prefix *pa*, indicating causation, and the stem *keób*; the infix *um* is used to form intransitive verbs.

*kikkik*: a kind of marine fish, otherwise unknown to us.

(*kisiŷ*)*kisiŷ*: a kind of very small marine fish whose meat is esteemed. The same name is applied to a kind of snail.

*kúet*: cfr. *igat*.

*koleráw*: a kind of edible marine fish, about four inches long; it is provided with barbels.

*koliŷeŷ*: a kind of speckled, black and white, fresh-water fish, about one foot long; its meat is esteemed.

*kosáit*: cfr. *boktó*.

*kágaw*: a kind of fish resembling the *purónŷ*, but with smaller scales; its meat is esteemed.

*kulanŷit*: cfr. *bunotán*.

*kurapó*: a kind of speckled marine fish, a little larger than the sardine; its meat is not much esteemed.

*kurikur*: a kind of small, inedible, eel-like fish with a rough skin. *Kurikur* also means "earpick."

*kurimaŷng*: a kind of fish very similar to the *barasáŷan* in shape and size.

*kuritaŷtánŷ*: a kind of edible marine fish.

(*kut*)*kutimek*: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed.

(*labenŷ*)*labenŷ*: all fishes caught with one cast of the net, whether they be large or small, edible or not.

(*la*)*lakás(en)*: a kind of marine fish, very much resembling the sardine but broader; its meat is esteemed.

*lakép*: a kind of edible marine fish; its body is much flattened and of about the size of the palm of the hand.

(*lamo*)*lamo*: a kind of edible marine fish. *Lamolámo* means "naked."

*landy*: a kind of marine fish, whose body is almost cylindric and from two to three feet long; its meat is esteemed.



*lasýóg(án)*: a kind of brownish marine fish whose meat is esteemed; its body is elongated, but more or less flattened, and about eight inches long.

*lasýkds(án)*: a kind of edible marine fish; its body is much flattened and of about the size of the palm of the hand; its dorsal fin is black and its ventral one is yellow.

*lasýóg(án)*: a kind of large, edible marine fish.

*(ma)lápát*: cfr. *ípon*.

*lawéid*: a kind of small marine fish. *Lawéid* means "surrounding."

*layálay*: a kind of elongated marine fish, about half a meter long; its meat is very firm and esteemed, its backbone is green. This is also the name of a bird.

*(pa)lút*: a kind of black, edible, fresh-water mudfish; it resembles the *delág*, but it is provided with barbels. *Lút* means "not being in the water" (e.g. a fish, a boat, etc.); the prefix *pa* indicates causation.

*(libený)libený*: a kind of rather small marine fish whose meat is esteemed. *Libený* means "extraordinary fruitfulness;" the reduplication indicates similarity or repetition.

*l(um)itog*: a kind of marine fish, otherwise unknown to us. *Litog* means "report (of a gun), cracking, etc.;" the infix forms intransitive verbs.

*(lo)lonýloný(án)*: a kind of inedible marine fish without scales; wounds occasioned by its fins are at least very painful. *Lonýloný* means "shade;" the suffix is a locative, and the reduplication emphasizes the meaning.

*ludóný*: cfr. *puróný*.

*(lumba)lumód*: a kind of large, edible marine fish, a kind of tunny. *Lumód* means "running in competition;" the reduplication indicates repetition or similarity.

*(lup)lupéit*: a kind of small, speckled marine fish, whose meat is esteemed; it very much resembles the *pallogéit*, and perhaps both are identical. *Lupéit* means "slight rubbing off of the skin;" the reduplication indicates similarity or steady and continuous action.

*luyáay*: a kind of marine fish, larger than the sardine. *Luyáay* means "running at the nose."

*maldga*: a kind of large marine fish, whose meat is esteemed; its body is flattened and its skin is more or less dark-colored.

*(mara)mdra*: a kind of reddish-black marine fish; its scales are small and its meat is esteemed; it very much resembles the *bakoldu*.

*maspók*: a kind of white fresh-water fish, whose meat is esteemed; it resembles the *sisaw*. Cfr. *puróný*.

*(mata)mata*: a kind of marine fish, otherwise unknown to us. *Mata* means "eye;" the reduplication indicates either similarity or plurality. The reduplication affects the place of the accent; this occurs very rarely in Iloko, although it is quite common in some other Philippine dialects.

*mata(án)*: a kind of grayish marine fish from eight to twelve inches long; its eyes are very large and its meat is esteemed. *Mata* means "eye," and the suffix is a locative.

(maya)māya: a kind of red marine fish; it is about sixteen inches long and its meat is not much esteemed.

mayó: a kind of large marine fish, whose meat is better than that of the payó.

mólmól: a kind of red-and-yellow, tongue-shaped marine fish; it is edible in its entirety, meat and bones alike. *Mólmól* means "keeping in the mouth."

mómo: a kind of large, striped, edible marine fish. *Mómo* also means "small wounds at the commissures of the lips."

monáman: a kind of small, edible marine fish; it is about two or three inches long and is very often used in the preparation of *boggóonŷ* (preserved or fermented fish). Cfr. *Ipón*.

bumró: the same fish when it is much larger.

nito: a kind of small, edible marine fish, striped black and white. *Nito* is also the name of several species of twining ferns.

oóox: a kind of white, fresh-water fish, very much resembling a garfish; its meat is soft and esteemed.

pádas: a kind of marine fish, very much resembling the *baggóonŷ*, but redder. *Pádas* means "trying."

(pa)payét: a kind of thick, elongated marine fish, about twelve inches long; its skin is rather tough and its meat is not much esteemed.

pági: a kind of ray whose meat is esteemed.

palienŷ: cfr. *Ipón*.

pallogait: a kind of small, speckled, elongated marine fish; it is smaller than the sardine and its meat is esteemed. Cfr. *Iuplupsit*.

(pon)panó: a kind of marine fish resembling the *barambá*; its meat is not much esteemed.

páo: a kind of large, edible marine fish.

patinŷ: cfr. *yo*.

payó: a kind of eel-like, light-colored, edible marine fish.

(piga)pigá: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed; it resembles the *piŷpiŷgán*, but its fins are larger.

piŷgáw: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed; it is about one meter long by one foot broad. *Piŷgáw* means "notched, partially cut off, etc."

(piŷ)piŷgán: Cfr. (puma)kóó. *Piŷgán* means "plate;" the reduplication indicates resemblance. *Piŷpiŷgán* is also the name of a kind of mollusk.

puránŷ: a kind of white, elongated fresh-water fish, whose meat is very much esteemed.

(si)siac: the name of this fish when it is small.

purónŷ: the same fish when it is about a foot long.

ludónŷ: the same fish when at its largest.

(ruma)rónŷat: a kind of edible marine fish, about four inches long. *Rónŷat* means "brim, border;" the infix forms intransitive verbs and the reduplication indicates easiness of action.

(*ron̄go*)*ron̄go*: a kind of small, edible marine fish with long barbels. *Ron̄go* means "barbel, barb;" the reduplication indicates either multiplicity or extension.

*rukóp*: a kind of rather small fresh-water fish, whose meat is not much esteemed. *Rukóp* means "rotteness."

*rumpég*: a kind of small, white, much flattened, edible marine fish.

*sagóga*: a kind of large, elongated marine fish, whose meat is esteemed. *Sagóga* means "protecting;" it is also the name of a kind of sea urchin.

(*sak*)*sakálap*: a kind of small, black, edible fresh-water fish; it resembles a cockroach in shape and size. The same name is applied to a kind of bird.

*salapasp*: cfr. *bulóng unds*.

*sapadp*: cfr. *g(um)abbék*.

*sawók(an)*: a kind of large, marine fish with a large mouth; it is about as broad as the *talakítok*.

(*pa*)*sáyaw*: a kind of edible marine fish. *Sáyaw* is the name of a kind of dance, and the prefix indicates causation.

(*say*)*say-út*: a kind of very small fish whose meat is esteemed; it is smaller than the *ariwáyaw* and resembles the *bulóng unds* in shape; it lives either in the sea or in fresh water.

(*pa*)*agá*: a kind of white, elongated fish, about six inches long; it lives either in the sea or in fresh water and its meat is not much esteemed. *Seggá* means "anxiety, solicitude"; the prefix indicates causation.

(*si*)*siaw*: cfr. *puróng*.

*siápín̄g*: a kind of edible marine fish.

*siwio*: a kind of marine fish with long and narrow jaws; its back is bluish and its belly is white; its meat is not much esteemed.

*sonaón*: cfr. *ipon*.

(*mann*)*osó*: cfr. *birát*.

*súsay*: a kind of small fish very much resembling a garfish; it lives either in the sea or in fresh water and its meat is esteemed.

*taban̄gón̄go*: a kind of middle-sized marine fish, whose meat is esteemed.

*taburkík*: a kind of middle-sized marine fish, whose meat is esteemed.

*talakítok*: a kind of small, much flattened, speckled marine fish, whose meat is esteemed.

*tariptíp*: the name of this fish when it is still smaller than a silver dollar; its meat is not much esteemed. *Tariptíp* is also the name of a kind of herpes.

*taliboknó*: the same fish when it is a little larger.

*talakítok*: the same fish when it is at its largest.

(*talen̄g*)*talen̄g*: cfr. *bunótán*.

*taliboknó*: cfr. *talakítok*.

*tambokóg(an)*: cfr. *bulóng unds*.

*tan̄ggigi*: a kind of marine fish resembling a bonito; its meat is much esteemed.



*tañgi*: a kind of elongated marine fish whose meat is esteemed; it is about one meter long and some five inches broad.

(*tañg*)*tañgkén*: a kind of marine fish resembling the *g(um)abbék*. *Tañgkén* means "hardness," and the reduplication indicates resemblance.

*tarakotók*: a kind of small marine fish, about four or five inches long, whose meat is esteemed; it is striped blue and white.

*taripítip*: cfr. *talakitak*.

*tibék*: cfr. *ipón*.

*tiróny*: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed; it resembles the sardine, and its size is that of the sardine, or a little larger.

(*tiwan*)*tiwan*: a kind of very large marine fish, a kind of swordfish.

*tuliný(du)*: a kind of rather large marine fish whose meat is esteemed; its back is red and it resembles the *matadn*.

(*turing*)*turing*: cfr. *g(um)abbék*.

*tútót*: a kind of fresh-water fish, mostly living in pools; its body is flattened and about eight inches long; its meat is esteemed. *Tútót* means "resin, pus, etc."

*úsoób*: a kind of short, fat edible eel.

(*walín*)*walín*: a kind of rather small, edible marine fish. *Walín* means "rejecting, putting aside"; the reduplication indicates resemblance or repetition.

*welwél*: a kind of thin, edible eel; it lives either in the sea or in brooks. *Welwél* means "widening a hole with a stick," also "simulating deafness."

*yo*: shark.

*patiný*: the young of the shark; its meat is edible.

## VI. MOLLUSCA

*alak(án)*: a kind of mollusk, otherwise unknown to us.

(*ap*)*apátut*: a kind of edible, marine, gastropodous mollusk (shellfish). *Apátut* is the name of a shrub (*Morinda bracteata*); the reduplication indicates similarity.

*arásies*: a kind of edible, gastropodous mollusk (shellfish). *Arásies* means "swarming (of worms)."

*arásyás*: cfr. *arásies*.

*arásies*: cfr. *arásies*.

(*bád*)*bádáný*: a kind of rather large, broad, lamellibranchiate mollusk. *Bádáný* means "large knife"; the reduplication indicates resemblance.

(*badoñ*)*badoñý*: a kind of elongated, edible, lamellibranchiate mollusk.

*b(um)agtó*: a kind of small, light-colored, edible, cephalopod mollusk, a kind of cuttle or cuttlefish. *Bagtó* means "jumping"; the infix forms intransitive verbs.

*lókí*: the same mollusk when much larger.

*balínýydas*: a kind of rather large, lamellibranchiate mollusk.

*barda*: a kind of gastropodous mollusk, identical with the *gospéný*.

except that the latter's shell is comparatively smooth, while that of the *barán* is very rough to the touch.

(bat) *bató*: the general name for all mollusks, either lamellibranchiate or gastropoda, whose body is protected by a calcareous shell, e. g. mussels, clams, snails, etc. *Bató* means "stone"; the reduplication indicates similarity.

*bayángon*: a kind of marine, gastropodous mollusk (shellfish).

*beldát*: a kind of rather large, edible, lamellibranchiate mollusk, living at the mouths of rivers.

*bennék*: a kind of very small, edible, fresh-water, lamellibranchiate mollusk. Its shell is brown and some specimens are not larger than a grain of maize.

*billagút*: a kind of gastropodous mollusk with a striped shell.

*birdbid*: a kind of edible, fresh-water, gastropodous mollusk, with a round, thin shell.

*bíroróko*: the general name for land snails.

*bisokól*: a kind of edible, gastropodous mollusk, with a round shell; it mostly lives in the mud, in brooks, rice fields, etc.

(bok) *bokdíg*: cfr. *bennék*.

*bólo(án)*: a kind of inedible, gastropodous mollusk; its shell is elongated and it lives mostly in brooks. *Bólo* is the name of a kind of bamboo, the suffix is generally a locative, but the relation between this particular mollusk and the meaning of its name is far from obvious.

*buttikí*: a kind of cowry, whose shell is used by children as a toy.

*dalm(án)*: a kind of rather large, fresh-water, lamellibranchiate mollusk. Probably from *dólem* "liver," and the locative suffix *án*.

*darawisots*: a kind of edible, fresh-water, gastropodous mollusk, with an elongated shell, sharp at the top.

*dawdáo*: a kind of marine, gastropodous mollusk, with a brown elongated shell, sometimes attaining a length of four inches. *Dawdáo* means "overlapping, too long, etc."

(dila) *díla*: a kind of brown slug, generally about two inches long. *Díla* means "tongue"; the reduplication indicates resemblance. *Díladíla* is also the name of a kind of cake and of the bowstring hemp.

*durík(án)*: a kind of edible, gastropodous mollusk, identical with the *gospéñg*, except that the latter's shell is less even than that of the *duríkan*.

*durík(en)*: cfr. *duríkan*.

*gakkó*: a kind of large, black, edible, lamellibranchiate mollusk, found in brackish pools along the seashore.

*gerret(án)*: a kind of edible, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk, whose shell is wedge-shaped. *Gerrét* means "piece (of meat or fish)"; the suffix is a locative.

*gospéñg*: a kind of small, edible, fresh-water, gastropodous mollusk, with a brown shell.

(im-) *immokó*: a kind of very elongate, dark-brown, lamellibranchiate mollusk, whose meat is much esteemed. *Immokó* means "small knife"; the reduplication indicates resemblance.



(ma)iaŋpis: a kind of marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk; it very much resembles the kapkappó, which are smaller, but more elongate than the kappó; its shell, however, is very thin, hence its name: iaŋpis means "thinness," and the prefix is adjectival.

kabibi: a kind of very large, brown, lamellibranchiate mollusk. Kabibi is also the name of a fish.

kalluit: a kind of rather large, edible, gastropodous mollusk, with an elongated red-and-white shell.

kappó: a kind of edible, brown, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk, about three inches long. Kappó is sometimes used as a general name for mussel, clam, etc.

(kap)kappó: a kind of lamellibranchiate mollusk, identical with the kappó, except that it is smaller and more elongate. The reduplication indicates resemblance. The term kapkappó is sometimes used as a general name for all mussels of about the same shape and size as the typical kapkappó.

(katay)kátay: a kind of greenish-gray slug, generally about an inch long. Kátay means "saliva"; the reduplication indicates resemblance. The name refers to the mucus secreted from the skin of this animal.

(kuma)káyat: a kind of small, edible, marine, gastropodous mollusk, with a more or less round, brown shell.

kayumpaw: a kind of edible, lamellibranchiate mollusk; the animal is rather small, especially when compared with its relatively large shell.

(kisiŋ)kisiŋ: a kind of small, fresh-water, gastropodous mollusk, whose meat is esteemed; it has a round shell, which resembles that of the kusiliŋ but is smaller. Kisiŋkisiŋ is also the name of a fish.

kubbdal: a kind of large, edible, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk.

(kub)kubbdal(an): a kind of very large, marine lamellibranchiate mollusk. The reduplication indicates similarity, the suffix is a locative, which may mean here: larger than (the kubbdal).

kubbdasŋ: a kind of edible, fresh-water, gastropodous mollusk; its shell is speckled, round, and larger than that of the kusiliŋ.

kulintipay: concha, a translucent shell used for window glass; also the mollusk from whose shell the concha is made.

kurarday: a kind of edible, fresh-water, gastropodous mollusk; its shell is speckled and resembles that of the kusiliŋ but is broader.

kuritá: a kind of blackish, edible, cephalopod mollusk, a kind of squid, generally rather small, but occasionally up to twelve or sixteen inches long.

kusiliŋ: a kind of small, edible, fresh-water, gastropodous mollusk, with a blackish, round shell.

lakt: cfr. b(um)ogtó.

leddég: a kind of rather small, edible, gastropodous mollusk, with an elongate, pointed shell; its habitat is the same as that of the disokól.

liddasŋ(an): a kind of rather large, edible, gastropodous mollusk, with an elongate, pointed shell; it is found mostly in brooks.

*tokadit*: a kind of small, marine, gastropodous mollusk with a round shell.

*(lus)lus*: a kind of small, edible, purple, oval, lamellibranchiate mollusk, found in brackish pools along the seashore.

*ngarusangis*: a kind of very small, speckled, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk, a kind of scallop.

*ngarapngap*: a kind of edible mollusk, almost identical with the *gosi-péng*, but smaller. *NGarapngap* means "spreading (of skin diseases)". The same name is applied to a kind of plant.

*ngarusangis*: a kind of very small, speckled, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk. *NGarusangis* is also the name of a plant.

*onnók*: a kind of small, black, edible, fresh-water, lamellibranchiate mollusk, about one and a half inches in length.

*pallók*: a kind of small, edible, almost spherical, lamellibranchiate mollusk.

*(sosó) pápa*: a kind of edible *sosó*, with a soft, round shell; it generally floats on the water. *Sosó* is the general name of freshwater snails; *pápa* is the wild duck or mallard.

*(piñg)piñgán*: a kind of white, edible, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk; in shape and size it resembles a silver quarter. *Piñgán* means "plate;" the reduplication indicates resemblance. *Piñgpiñgán* is also another name for the *(puma)kkó*-fish.

*pittók*: a kind of small, black, round, inedible, lamellibranchiate mollusk.

*(sosó s) pokr (dn)*: a kind of *sosó*, whose shell is round and whiter than the common *sosó*.

*radáng*: a kind of large, white, marine, gastropodous mollusk; its shell is elongated and pointed, and its meat is esteemed. *Radáng* also means "naers" or "mother-of-pearl" in general.

*remmek*: a kind of small, white, edible, almost spherical, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk.

*ráso*: a kind of small, white, lamellibranchiate mollusk, burrowing in submerged wood, a kind of shipworm.

*sutit*: a kind of small, yellowish-brown, almost spherical, lamellibranchiate mollusk; its shell is more or less hairy and it is generally smaller than the *luslus*.

*(sara)sarí (sn)*: a kind of edible, gastropodous mollusk; it is almost identical with the *kuellín*, but the animal is provided with a couple of hornlike projections. *Sara* means "horn;" the reduplication either indicates resemblance or emphasizes the meaning; the suffix is a locative.

*sorosang*: a kind of edible, oval, lamellibranchiate mollusk; its shell is generally covered with all kinds of warts.

*(mara)siko (dn)*: a kind of edible, marine, gastropodous mollusk; it very much resembles the *radáng*, but it is smaller. *Siko* means "elbow;" the combination *mara . . . sn* indicates resemblance.

*siñit (sn)*: a kind of white, lamellibranchiate mollusk, a kind of scal-



lop. *Singit* means "short pole;" the suffix is a locative. *Singitan* is also the name of a plant.

*sóbol*: a kind of gastropodous mollusk resembling the *kusiliŋ*.

(so)*sokto*(en): a kind of small, edible, marine, gastropodous mollusk; its shell is round and resembles that of the *bisokól*. *Soktó* means "separating, disjoining;" the reduplication together with the suffix indicates an action easily performed.

*sosó*: the general name for fresh-water snails, which ordinarily have a blackish shell; most of them, if not all, are edible.

*sosó a pokr*(en): cfr. *pokrán*.

*sosó pápa*: cfr. *pápa*.

*tarumdtim*: a kind of animal with a long, thin, white, calcareous shell or skeleton, which is often found attached to bamboos and grows in colonies, either a mollusk or a coral.

*tírem*: a kind of blackish, middle-sized, edible, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk, a kind of oyster.

*tokmém*: a kind of brown, edible, lamellibranchiate mollusk, a kind of scallop.

(*tubiŋ*)*túbiŋ*: a kind of large, edible, marine, gastropodous mollusk, with a blackish, thick shell.

*ukidŋ*: a kind of marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk, with a thin, white shell.

## VII. WORMS AND LARVAE

*addl*(en): a kind of white larva, that lives in the earth, and kills plants by gnawing at their roots.

*alimdték*: leech. Terrestrial leeches abound in several forested areas and are a great nuisance to the traveller; some are very small and black, others are much larger and speckled or striped, black and yellow.

*alimbobódo*: cfr. (*bodo*)*bódo*.

*alimpupúsa*: cfr. (*pusa*)*púsa*.

*alintá*: earthworm.

*amag*: a kind of reddish, broad, intestinal worm, about two inches long; it is parasitic on men and animals. *Amag* also means "cambium tissue."

*antatáteg*: a kind of white larva, very much resembling the *addlen*.

*antáteg*: cfr. *antatáteg*.

(*opat*)*opat*: tapeworm or ténia.

*ardbas*: a kind of thick, short larva, speckled yellow, green, blue and black; it is very destructive to plants, especially palay.

*arick* or *arict*: a kind of yellowish-red, intestinal worm, parasitic on man, a kind of ascaris or roundworm. *Arick* means "nausea, ticklishness."

*balót*: a kind of blackish, edible worm, resembling a leech; it is found in brackish pools along the seashore. *Balót* means "falling down (posts, sticks, etc.),"

(*bal*)*baltik*: wiggler, larva of the mosquito.

*batar* or *batar*(en): a kind of white larva, about three inches long.

(bodo)bodo: a kind of large, soft, black or dark-brown, hairy, stinging caterpillar. Bodo means "stinging hair;" the reduplication emphasizes the meaning.

bukbúk: larva of the grain beetle; also, wood worm or wood borer. Bukbúk means "pouring out."

(dangyan)dangyan: a kind of green larva, about an inch long; it is destructive to plants, especially beans. Dangyan means "palm (linear measure)"; the reduplication hints at similarity.

iggés: a general name for larva, worm, grub, and caterpillar.

karusakés: a kind of small, brown, rather hard worm, found in bog-goon. Cfr. Ipon, under Fish.

(kuyam)kuyam: cfr. epat-dpat.

pillipig: a kind of gray larva, destructive to palay; it lives in a portable case.

(puen)pása: a kind of thick, soft, white grub, generally living in timber, especially in coco palms; it is about an inch long and has at least one yellowish patch at the rear; it is exceedingly harmful, as is also the rhinoceros beetle, whose larva it is. Pása means "cat;" the reduplication hints at similarity.

raker: several kinds of small larvae destructive to tubers, fruits, etc., e.g.: the larva of the fruit fly.

samrid: a kind of small, black, hairy, stinging caterpillar, mostly found on fire trees (*Erythrina indica*).

sāya: larva of the clothes moth and of other tinean moths.

sarera: a kind of small, brown, hairy caterpillar.

(sol)solbót: a kind of worm or larva resembling the ubet-ubet.

eor-it: maggot.

takudóg: a kind of scaly larva, which leaves traces of its passage whenever it moves.

(tap)tapáyaw: larva of the ant lion.

(tap)tapúyo: cfr. taptapáyaw.

(tat)tátég: cfr. antatátég.

(ubet-)ubet: a kind of worm or larva resembling the solsolbót. Ubet means "breach"; the reduplication indicates resemblance.

## VIII. INSECTA

(abal)dbal: a kind of brown, burrowing June beetle or June bug. Many people eat it. Cfr. arus-drus.

siðbecóng: the same beetle, when just out of the ground, after the larval stage.

(akut-)akut: a kind of hymenopterous insect, resembling a bumblebee but more slender, and very thin at the junction of the abdomen and the thorax.

alig: a kind of hymenopterous insect, a kind of small bee.

alimbayáng(us): a kind of horsefly, which may cause the death of animals.

*alimbubunḡḡaw*: cfr. *bunḡḡaw*.

*alimbubunḡḡog*: humblebee.

(*al*)*alukáp*: water strider. *Alukáp* is the name of a bird; the reduplication indicates resemblance. Cfr. *kotokóto*.

*alumpipiníg*: wasp.

*ambunḡḡaw*: cfr. *bunḡḡaw*.

*ampipít*: a kind of large, stinging, red ant.

*dnay*: white ant or termite. This insect is very abundant and exceedingly destructive to buildings, furniture, books, etc.

*andídít*: cicada. Cfr. *riári*.

*antotónḡal*: a kind of large, black ant; it is found especially in forests, on trees, etc.

*oplát*: a kind of small, white, wingless insect, very destructive to plants, probably a kind of aphid or plant louse.

*araraw* (*aw*): a kind of thin, gray, soft-winged insect, about an inch long; it lives in wet places and is heard at night. *Araraw* means "lamenting"; the suffix is a locative.

(*arus*)*drus*: a kind of whitish, not burrowing June beetle or June bug. *Arus* means "going with, following"; the reduplication indicates similarity or repetition of the action. Cfr. *abal-abal*.

*ayákan*: cfr. *oyákan*.

*bakábak*: a kind of boring weevil, which eats away the interior of timber, leaving only a shell.

*barraironḡ*: a kind of rhinoceros beetle, very destructive to coco palms; its larva is called *pusapúsa* or *alimpupúsa*.

*binḡḡaw*: a kind of large, green fly.

*bákaw*: a kind of small, greenish insect; its wings resemble those of a fly, and it is destructive to palay. *Bákaw* means "empty ear or rice."

*bunḡḡaw* or *tuedto* a *bunḡḡaw*: a kind of large, green dragon fly. *Bunḡḡaw* means "with swollen testicles."

*dánḡaw*: a kind of stinkbug very destructive to young ears of palay.

*dódon*: locust. They travel in vast swarms, destroying the vegetation of the places they visit. Locusts are eaten extensively.

*laktón*: young locust.

(*doran*)*dóran*: pupa of the dragon fly.

*ípes*: cockroach.

(*ka*)*kág*: an insect resembling the *alumpipiníg* or wasp in color and size. *Kág* means "stupid;" it is also an obsolete term for young of the monkey. *Kakág* is also the name of a plant.

*kámog*: cfr. *kóto*.

*kambodaw*: a kind of large, green grasshopper, which is heard at night.

*kanít*: a kind of small, stinging, black ant.

(*kar*)*kartib*: a kind of elater, which has the peculiarity of being able to cut threads, hair, etc., with its mandibles, which are scissorlike. *Kartib* means "scissors;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.

(*panḡḡ*)*artib*: Cfr. *karkartib*. The initial *k* of the stem is dropped after the instrumental prefix *panḡḡ*.



*kauwkaw*: a kind of brownish insect with a small slender body and long legs; it has wings like those of a grasshopper. *Kauwkaw* means "upper part of a jarful of cooked rice (less good than the rest)."

*kiteb*: bedbug.

(*kolaw*)*koldaw*: cfr. *dorandóran*.

*koridd*: cricket.

*kotálo*: a kind of green insect, about as large as the *dánjao*-stinkbug, and very destructive to palay; its wings resemble those of a grasshopper.

*kóto*: head louse.

*kdmay*: young head louse.

*lis-á*: egg of the head louse, or nit.

*kóto ti donám*: cfr. *kotokóto*. *Kóto ti donám* means literally "louse of the water" or "water louse."

(*koto*)*kóto*: water strider. *Kóto* means "head louse;" the reduplication indicates resemblance. Cfr. *al-alukáp*.

*kotón*: the general name for ant or pismire.

*kulalanti*: firefly or glowworm.

*kulalángaw*: cfr. *bákaw*.

*kulibangbáng*: the general name for butterfly and moth.

*kulintabá*: cfr. *kulalanti*.

*lamók*: mosquito. Its larva is called *balbaitik*.

*lapayág(an)*: a kind of small, soft, striped, wingless insect, found in forests. *Lapáyag* means "ear"; the suffix is a locative.

*leglég*: a kind of small gnat or mosquito, moving in swarms.

*lis-á*: cfr. *kóto*.

*laktón*: cfr. *dódon*.

*nánjo*: a kind of large *dánjao*-stinkbug.

*ngilaw*: house fly. Its larva is called *sor-ít*.

*oyúkan*: honeybee.

*patillág*: a kind of insect resembling the *silam*.

*patináng*: cfr. *patillág*.

(*pit*)*pitik*: a kind of small, hard insect, moving like a grasshopper. *Pitik* means "palpitating;" the reduplication indicates either resemblance or repetition of the action.

*ridri*: male cicada. Cfr. *andidit*.

*rekét*: rice weevil.

(*ri*)*ried*: a kind of small, brown grasshopper.

*sakáb(an)*: a kind of small insect resembling the *alumpipinig* or wasp. *Sakáb* means "covering (a book, etc.);" the suffix is a locative.

(*salang*)*salang*: a kind of brown insect resembling a mantis. *Sálang* means "pitch pine, pine tree;" the reduplication indicates resemblance. *Salangsalang* is also the name of a plant.

(*sammi*)*sammi*: a kind of small, thin, bright, green-and-violet beetle; children attach a string to this animal and play with it.

(*sanj*)*sanjldy*: a kind of small, thin, elongated dragon fly. *Sanjldy* means "Chinaman;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.

(*sar*)*sarubub*: a kind of small, black beetle.



*aepsép*: a kind of very small gnat or mosquito. *Sepsép* means "sucking out."

*abbawéñy*: cfr. *abal-abal*.

*silam*: a kind of edible, greenish grasshopper resembling the locust, but with sharper jaws and abdomen.

(*simut*)*simut*: winged white ant, winged ant. The name is sometimes applied to other insects that fly around lighted lamps, candles, etc., in the evening. *Símút* means "dipping (in salt, sauce, etc.);" the reduplication indicates repetition of the action.

*sípet*: cfr. *ípes*.

(*síram*)*síram*: a kind of small, soft insect resembling a grasshopper and flying around lighted lamps, etc. *Síram* means "passing over the fire;" the reduplication indicates repetition of the action.

(*pann*)*obsób*: a kind of dark-brown dung fly. *Sobsób* means "digging with the snout;" the final *ny* of the instrumental prefix *pany* is combined with the initial *s* of the stem into *n*.

(*mann*)*uká*: a kind of vinegar fly. *Suká* means "vinegar;" the final *ny* of the transitive prefix *many* is combined with the initial *s* of the stem into *n*.

(*taný*)*taný-éd*: snapping beetle or click beetle. *Taný-éd* means "nodding;" the reduplication indicates repetition of the action.

(*mann*)*drug*: a kind of black beetle resembling the *sammisammí* but a little larger and with more compressed and elongate body. *Tdrug* means "cooling (by stirring);" the final *ny* of the transitive prefix *many* is combined with the initial *t* of the stem into *n*.

*tegtég*: a kind of small bee making dry honeycombs. *Tegtég* means "mincing."

*tímel*: flea.

(*tok*)*tokláv*: a kind of small gnat or mosquito resembling the *leglég*. It is very annoying at night, as it flies around all the time and enters the eyes.

*táma*: body louse.

*túedto*: the general name for dragon fly.

(*paný*)*úbet*: a kind of ant resembling the *kanít*, but smaller and with a longer narrow section between the thorax and the abdomen. *Úbet* means "breach;" *paný* is an instrumental prefix derived from the transitive prefix *maný*.

(*wasay*)*wásay*: mantis. *Wásay* means "ax"; the reduplication indicates similarity.

*yúkan*: cfr. *oyúkan*.

## IX. ARACHNIDA AND MYRIAPODA

(*ab*.)*abél*: a kind of large, thick, hairy spider. *Abél* means "weaving;" the reduplication represents the progressive form of verbs.

*andidikén*: cfr. *dikendikén*.

*anýpás*: a kind of tick; it attaches itself to the legs of cows and carabao.

*ayám*: chicken tick. A kind of mite which is very annoying to man, and may be the occasion of skin diseases.

(*bag*)*bagió*: a kind of small spider with long legs; when resting it shakes itself continuously. *Bagió* means "typhoon;" the reduplication indicates resemblance. Cfr. *ginginé*.

(*diken*)*dikén*: millipede. *Dikén* is a circle which women place on their head when carrying loads; the reduplication indicates resemblance, as this particular animal rolls itself up when touched. Cfr. *lingkalingkád*.

(*manṅga*)*gamá*: scorpion.

(*panṅga*)*gama(én)*: cfr. *manṅgagamá*.

*gayám(an)*: centipede.

(*gin*)*ginéd*: cfr. *bagbagió*. *Ginginé* means "earthquake."

*kágaw*: itch mite.

(*kap*)*kápét*: spider nest; it resembles a cocoon and is very tough. *Kápét* means "clinging;" the reduplication represents the progressive form of verbs.

(*lawa*)*lawé*: the general name for spider.

(*lingka*)*lingkád*: cfr. *dikendikén*. *Lingkád* is a folded band of rattan placed in native hats; the reduplication indicates resemblance.

(*pas*)*pasáy(au)*: a kind of aquatic, cylindric, stinging bug, about two inches long. *Pasáyan* is the name of a crustacean; the reduplication indicates resemblance.

*tánṅaw*: cfr. *ayám*.

## X. CRUSTACEA

*agabís*: a kind of small, edible, marine shrimp; it is smaller than the *armánṅ*.

*agatól*: a kind of edible fresh-water crab, living mostly in brooks; it has one claw much enlarged.

*ageb-éb*: a kind of small, blackish *káros*; its meat is not much esteemed.

(*manṅay*)*andk*: a kind of crab resembling the *road*, but smaller. *Andk* means "child, young"; *manṅayandk* "having many young."

*arimbukénṅ*: a kind of edible crab, larger and thicker than the *kappi*; it burrows in brackish pools along the seashore and comes out at night.

*armánṅ*: a kind of small, edible, marine shrimp.

*biṅgaló*: the same shrimp when much larger.

(*babuy*)*bábuy*: pill bug. *Bábuy* means "hog;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.

(*baken*)*bakes*: a kind of wood louse with a bluish tint. *Bákes* means "monkey;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.

(*balaw*)*bálaw*: a kind of very small, fresh-water shrimp or prawn; it is not much larger than the head of a pin.

*bansawéy*: a kind of edible, speckled *razed*-crab with elongated claws or chelae.

*biṅgaló*: cfr. *armánṅ*.

*bakót(an)*: a kind of *káros* with a blackish back; its meat is somewhat bitter to the taste. *Bákot* means "back;" the suffix is a locative.

*burros*: cfr. *kappi*.

*dakomo*: a kind of crab, otherwise unknown to us.

*dariway*: cfr. *bansawdy*.

*gummarotŷ*: a kind of edible mud crab resembling the *kappi* in shape and size.

(*gay*)*gəŷəm*(*an*): a kind of edible, marine shrimp or prawn, more or less resembling a centipede. *Gəŷəman* means "centipede;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.

*kallokmó*: any crustacean deprived of its shell.

*kappi*: a kind of small, edible, fresh-water crab. *Kappi* means "sitting with crossed legs."

*burros*: young *kappi*-crab.

*karamakom*: a kind of small, edible marine crab resembling the *kappi*.

*kommó*: a kind of edible marine crab resembling the *kappi*; it feeds on dung, etc.

(*kor*)*koráyo*: a kind of edible ocypodian crab, much smaller than the *kappi*.

*kurét*: a kind of small, poisonous crab, very often found in seaweed. *Kurét* means "shriveling."

*kúres*: a kind of small, edible, fresh-water shrimp or prawn, generally less than two inches long.

*lagdáu*: a kind of edible fresh-water shrimp or prawn, about two inches long.

*padáu*: a kind of relatively small, edible marine lobster.

*p(um)akdék*: young *padáu*.

*p(um)akdék*: cfr. *padáu*.

*pasəy*(*an*): a kind of edible shrimp about two inches long; it lives in brackish pools along the seashore.

*payəpay*: a kind of small, edible, ocypodian crab, burrowing near brackish pools along the seashore; one of its claws or chelae is much longer than the other. *Payəpay* means "beckoning;" the name of this particular crab alludes to its custom of waving its enlarged chela.

*raməy*(*an*): a kind of prawn or shrimp, about three inches long; its limbs are at least twice as long. *Ramay* means "finger;" the suffix is a locative.

*r(ín)dəŷat*: a kind of *kappi*-crab full of warts. *Rəŷat* means "brim;" *in* is an infix of past participles.

*raəd*: a kind of large, edible crab; it generally lives in brackish pools along the seashore.

(*səm*)*səm-ít*: a kind of small, fresh-water crab; its meat is not much esteemed. *Səm-ít* means "sweetness;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.

*səpilatlat*: the name applied to old fresh-water crayfishes; their limbs become very long and their shell very hard.

*simbəbuy*: a kind of blackish pill bug. Cfr. *bəbuybəbuy*.

(*tək*)*təklá*: a kind of small, edible, fresh-water crayfish; it is about an inch long and has a couple of small chelae. *Təklá* means "clicking;"



the reduplication either indicates resemblance or represents the progressive form of verba.

(tar)taráy: cfr. tarókoy. Taráy means "running;" the reduplication represents the progressive form of verba. Tartaráy is also the name of a plant (*Spinifex littoreus*).

tarókoy: a kind of small, ocypodian crab, found all along the seashore; one of its claws or chelae is much longer than the other, and it very much resembles the fiddler crab.

(mann)epdāy: a kind of tarókoy-crab, living in and around freshwater brooks. Teppāy means "precipice;" the final āy of the transitive prefix masāy is combined with the initial t of the stem into n.

udāy: the general name for lobster and crawfish or crayfish.

ūmasāy: hermit crab.

## XI. OTHER ANIMALS

andayad: a kind of stinging marine animal, perhaps a kind of medusa or jellyfish.

bituén baybáy: starfish. Bituén means "star;" baybáy "(of the) sea."

karorét: a kind of animal, probably entirely imaginary, which is supposed to be heard in times of sickness. Karorét means "wheel."

karomínas: a kind of medusa or jellyfish.

(lima)límá: cfr. bituén baybáy. Líma means "five;" the reduplication emphasizes the term. Límalímá is also the name of a kind of yam, *Dioscorea pentaphylla*.

(pana)pána: a kind of edible, reddish sea urchin, larger than the (mara)tasṭátāy and with finer spines. Pána means "arrow;" the reduplication emphasizes the meaning.

(puma)pána: cfr. panapána. The infix forms intransitive verba, and the reduplication indicates easiness in performing the action.

sagága: a kind of edible sea urchin. Sagága means "protecting," keeping from harm. It is also the name of a kind of fish.

tasṭál: cfr. karomínas.

(mara)tasṭátāy: a kind of edible sea urchin of a dirty greenish color. Cfr. panapána. Tasṭátāy means "breaking, spoiling;" the prefix indicates resemblance.

tarumdám: cfr. under Mollusca.

THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA VEDA, BOOK THIRTEEN  
EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

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*Introduction*

THE THIRTEENTH BOOK of the Pāippalāda is here presented, with regrets that somewhat protracted labor has not brought more complete success; there are many points yet unclear, but they are mostly minor points, for the division into hymns and stanzas will probably be accepted. Much of the material is interesting but of familiar sort: three hymns well known in RV appear in this book, bringing again to our attention the close relations between RV and Pāipp.

*Of the ms.*—This thirteenth book in the Kashmir ms. begins f144b11 and ends f155a16; but the numeral 150 is not used, and the material which appears f153b12 to 154b5 has been edited as part of Book 12 (see JAOS 46.34); so the extent of the book is about nine and one-half folios. The folios are in good condition for the most part: there is a little defacement on both sides of f145, a very small piece chipped from f146a, and also from 154a, and the beginnings of the first eight lines of f155a are gone.

*Punctuation, numbers, etc.*—The text is punctuated in the usual haphazard manner. Only one hymn is numbered, the numeral “1” standing at the end of the hymn which I have numbered seven; space for a number is left at the end of five other hymns. Some stanzas are numbered in hymns 1, 2, 4, and 5; and some of the numerals are correctly placed. Accents are marked in hymn seven except on the last two stanzas, in hymn eight except on the last stanza, and on four stanzas in hymn thirteen; all the accented stanzas are in RV, yet the unaccented stanza in hymn eight is also in RV but not with the rest of the hymn. It should be remarked that hymn six (RV. 1.32) is not accented.

There are several colophons in this book, three of them certainly wrong. At the end of hymn five stands *ity atharvaṇīkapāippalādayāś śākhāyān trayodaśā kāṇḍas sasamāptāḥ* 22 22 *prathamānūvākaḥ*

22 *atha caturdaśā likhyate* 22. At the end of hymn eleven stands *ity atharvanikapippalādayaś śākhāyām trayodaśaś kāṇḍaś samāptah* 22 22 *kāṇḍa 13* 22 22 *atha trayodaśaś prathamadyāyah* 2 *om namo nārāyaṇāya* 2 *om mahāgaṇapati* 2 *om namo jvalābhagavatyāih om namas tilottamāyāi* 2 2 *om namas sūryāya* 2 2. At the end of hymn thirteen stands *ity atharvaṇi trayodaśa kāṇḍa prathamo nuvākaḥ* 2 2. At the end of hymn fourteen stands the regular colophon, followed by the introductory phrases for Book 14. The confusion is evident and there is no clear indication of division into anuvākas.

There are a number of corrections both marginal and interlinear; also several quasi titles in the margin.

*Extent of the book.*—As edited this book has fourteen hymns; if there is a stanza norm it is sixteen. The following table shows the number of stanzas:

1 hymn has	10 stanzas	— 10 stanzas
1 " "	12 "	= 12 "
1 " "	13 "	= 13 "
2 hymns have	15 "	= 30 "
4 " "	16 "	= 64 "
2 " "	17 "	= 34 "
1 hymn has	18 "	= 18 "
1 " "	23 "	= 23 "
1 " "	28 "	= 28 "
<hr/>		<hr/>
14 hymns have		232 stanzas

*New and old material.*—In this book are hymns which are § 4. 37; 5. 22, 25, 29; 19. 10, 11 (RV 7. 35), 28-30; 20. 34 (RV 2. 12). Also RV 1. 32, some stanzas from RV 10. 97, and some hits from other collections. There are about 98 new stanzas and about 372 new pādas.



ATHARVA-VEDA PAĪPPALĀDA-ŚAKHĀ  
BOOK THIRTEEN

1

(§ 5. 22)

[f144b11] *atha trayodaśaṣ kāṇḍā likhyate* zz zz *om namo*  
*nārāyaṇāya* z z [12] *om agnis takmānam apa vāyatām itas somo*  
*grāvā marutaṣ pūṭadakṣāt. vedī-* [13] *bhukis samidhas samśīśāno*  
*pa rakṣāṁsy amugnyā yamantu* z 1 z *ayan rūro abhi-* [14] *soṇayīṣ-*  
*nur viśvā rūpāṇi haritā kṛnoṣi | tasmāi te aruṇāya babhra-* [15] *ve*  
*lapurmaghāvāya namo stu takmane* z 2 z *takmaṁ sārthīnam*  
*iśhasva vaśī* [16] *saṁ mṛṇayāsi nah | yathehy atra te gṛhānyat*  
*pūrteṣu danyatu* z 3 z *yaṣ pu-* [17] *ruṣaṣ pārśvayo badhvāṁsa*  
*hivāruṇaṣ takmānam viśvadhārīryādhanāmca* [18] *parā suva* z 4 z  
*adharāñcam pra kīnoṣi namaṣkṛtyāya takmane* z *śakambhārasya*  
 [f145a] *muṣṭihā | punar gaścha mahāvṛṣām* z 5 z *mahāvṛṣām*  
*mūjavato rkhedhi* [2] *parenyah prajāni takmane vrūmo nyakṣet-*  
*trāni vā yaśām* z 6 z *kāusya mūjavām-* [3] *ta okasya mahāvṛṣām |*  
*mayā jātaṣ takmaṁ tad asi bahlikemukhu nyotarah takma* [4]  
*vyāla vakadavyaṁ atūr yāvayaḥ dāsim naṣ lakurim aprīcha tām*  
*vajreṇa sam arpa-* [5] *ya | giriṁ gaścha girijāsi rūtēna māguṣo*  
*gṛhāḥ dāsim rīyuścha prapharvyām tām-* [6] z *takmaṁ nīva*  
*dhūnuhi* z *yaṣ tvām śīta atha rūrat sahāgāt saha vīvapa bhīmaṣ te*  
*takma-* [7] z *hetayaṣ tābhīṣ sa pari vṛddhi nā* z z *takmaṁ*  
*bhrātṛā balāṣena svasrā kāsi-* [8] *kayā saha | apāmnā bhrātṛcyena*  
*naḥyeto maracaṁm abhi* z 1 z *gāndhāribhyo māu-* [9] *jāmadbhyaṣ*  
*kāśībhyo mayebhyaḥ jāne priyam iva śavadhi tanmānam pari*  
*dadhmaṣi* [10] *nārkaivirdām nārvidālām nadīyamrēvatukāvatiṁ* z  
*prajāni takmane vrūmo nya-* [11] *kṣettrāni vā yumām |* z *nyakṣet-*  
*tre na ramate sahasrākṣo mārtyah abhūd i prātūṣ ta-* [12] *kmātsa*  
*manīṣyati bahlikam* z 4 z *ado gaścha mūjavatas tato vā ga paras-*  
*taram* | [13] *mā smāto bhīruṇaṣ punaṣ pra tvā takman upa vrūve*  
*paramāiva tvām jara paramasyām par-* [14] *vati | yathā nūnam*  
*tvam dyasi yathā nūnābhi soṇayā |*

The bottom margin of f144b corrects to *śā* (kam°).

For the introductory phrase and invocation read; *atha trayo-*  
*daśaṣ kāṇḍo likhyate* zz zz *om nārāyaṇāya* zz

Read: agnis takmānam apa vāyatām itas somo grāvā marutaḥ  
 pūṭadakṣāḥ | vedir barhiḥ samidhas samśiśānā apa rakṣāṇsy amuyā  
 dhamantu z 1 z ayaṁ rūro abhiśocayīṣṇur viśvā rūpāni haritā  
 kṛṇoṣi | tasmāi te aruṇāya babhrave tapurmaghavāya namo 'stu  
 takmane z 2 z takman sārthinam icchasva vaśi san mṛlayāsi naḥ |  
 athehi yatra te grhā anyat pūrteṣu dāmyatu z 3 z yaś paruṣas  
 pārśvayo 'vadhvaṁsa ivāruṇaḥ | takmānam viśvadhāviryaḍharān-  
 carāṁ parā suva z 4 z adharāñcam prahīṇomi namaḥ kṛtvāya takmane  
 | śakambharasya muṣṭihā punar gaccha mahāvṛṣān z 5 z mahāvṛṣān  
 mūjavato ṛkedhi paretya | prāitāni takmane vrūmo 'nyaksetrāni  
 vā imā z 6 z oko aśya mūjavanta oko 'śya mahāvṛṣāḥ | mahān  
 jātas takman tad aśi bahlikeṣu nyocaraḥ z 7 z takman vyāla vi gada  
 vyaṅga bhūri yāvaya | dāśim niṣṭakvarīm precha tām vajreṇa sam  
 arpayā z 8 z giriṁ gaccha giriṇā aśi ṛautena māyuso grhaḥ |  
 dāśim anv iccha prapharvyaṁ tām takman nīva dhūnuhi z 9 z yaś  
 tvaṁ śīto atho rūraḥ saha kāsāvīpāḥ | bhīmās te takman hetayas  
 tābhiḥ sa pari vr̥ndhi naḥ z 10 z takman bhrātrā balāsena svastā  
 kāsikayā saha | pāmnā bhrātrvyeṇa saha naśyeto marajān abhi  
 z 11 z gandhāribhyo mūjavadbhyaḥ kāsibhyo magadhebhyaḥ | dhāne  
 priyam iva śevadhiṁ takmānam pari dadhmaṣi z 12 z ṛnārkavirdām  
 nārvidālām nadiyaṁ rvatukāvatiṁ | prāitāni takmane vrūmo  
 'nyaksetrāni vā imā z 13 z anyaksetre na ramate sahasrākṣo  
 'martyaḥ | abhūd u prārthas takmā sa gamiṣyati bahlikān z 14 z  
 ado gaccha mūjavatas tato vā gaḥ parastarām | mā smāto 'bhy ṛṇoṣ  
 punaḥ pra tvā takmann upa vrūve z 15 z parasmā eva tvaṁ cara  
 paramasyām parāvati | athā nūnam tvaṁ āyasy athā nūnam abhi  
 śocaya z 16 z 1 z

St 1. If vāyatām in a is not acceptable we should read bādhatām with Ṣ.

St 2. For this cf Ṣ 3. 20. 3abc; 1d.

St 3. Pāda b= Ṣ 5. 22. 9b; 6. 26. 1b.

St 6. In b there may be only a corruption of what Ṣ has, bandhv addhi.

St 11. Pāda d as here is Ppp 5. 21. 3d.

St 12. The emendation in c is neat; but again there may be in the Ppp ms. only a corruption of what Ṣ has.

St 14. Cf Ppp 5. 21. 7.



## 2

## (§ 5.25)

[f145a14] *yatheyam urvi pr-* [15] *thivi viddhiva garbham*  
*ādādhe | yavādadhāmi te garbham tasmāi tvām avase hu-* [16] *ve z*  
*parvatād divo yoner ity ekā z viṣṇur yonim kalpayatu tvā-* [17]  
*ṣṭā rūpāni piṇṣatu | aśīncatu prajāpati vātā garbham dadhātu te z*  
*[18] garbham dehi sinivālī garbham dehi sarasvatī | garbham yom*  
*aśvināsyām ā-* [19] *dhattam puṣkarasrja z garbham te rājā varuṇo*  
*garbham devo vṛhaspatih garbham \* i-* [f145b] *ndras cāgniś ca*  
*garbham dhātā dadhātu te z ō z garbho sy oṣadhīnām garbho*  
*vanaspa-* [2] *tinām | garbho viśvasya bhūtasya so gnaye garbham*  
*e dhā z 6 z yad oṣadhayo garbhi-* [3] *ṇṣ paśavo yena garbhīṇaḥ*  
*yeṣām garbhasya yo garbhas tena tvam ga-* [4] *garbhīṇi bhava z 7 z*  
*vi te granthim vṛtāmasi dhātā garbham dadhātu te | ā* [5] *yonim*  
*putro rohātu jananaṁ prati jayatām z 8 z janīṣṭha iha māijātho*  
*[6] niyam samuhyācarat. adha somāiva bhakṣaṇam ā garbhas svedad*  
*ṛtvīyam z [7] z 3 z savitūś śreṣṭhena z 1 śreṣṭhena 2 z viṣṇoḥ*  
*śreṣṭhena | tvaṣṭuḥ śreṣṭhena 3 | [8] bhagaś śreṣṭhena z rūpendāsyā*  
*nābhā gavīnyoḥ pumsāmsa putram ā dhehi da-* [9] *śame māmī*  
*sūlave | a\*i \* \* \* \* \* ā dh\*hi yonyām \* \* [10]*  
*ṇam vṛṣṇyāvantaṁ prajāyāi tvā nayāmasi | yad veda rājā varuṇo*  
*veda de-* [11] *vo vṛhaspatih indro yad vṛttrahā veda tad u garb-*  
*hakar \* \* \* vā z vi jaṣva [12] bārhatsāme garbhas te yonim ā*  
*śayām | dadat te putram devā somapā ubhayā-* [13] *vinām z*  
*somasyad ṛtvīyo napāima garbhakṛtvana | tatas te putro jāyatām*  
*ka-* [14] *rtāvāi viryebhyaḥ.*

In the right margin of f145a opposite the beginning of this hymn is written garbharakṣagarbhāhuteḥ: in the lower margin below puṣkarasrja is sraja | pāṭheḥ.

Read: *yatheyam urvi prthivī viddheva garbham ā dadhe | evā*  
*dadhāmi te garbham tasmāi tvām avase huve z 1 z parvatād divo*  
*yoner gātrād-gātrāt samāsṛtam | reto devasya devās sarāu*  
*parṇam ivā dhān z 2 z viṣṇur yonim kalpayatu tvaṣṭā rūpāni*  
*piṇṣatu | ā siṅcatu prajāpatir dhātā garbham dadhātu te z 3 z*  
*garbham dhehi sinivālī garbham dhehi sarasvatī | garbham yonyām*  
*aśvināsyām ā dhattam puṣkarasrajā z 4 z garbham te rājā varuṇo*  
*garbham devo vṛhaspatih | garbham ta indraś cāgniś ca garbham*  
*dhātā dadhātu te z 5 z garbho 'sy oṣadhīnām garbho vanaspatīnām*



| garbho viśvasya bhūtasya so 'gne garbham eha dhāh z 6 z yad  
 oṣadhayo garbhiniṣ paśavo yena garbhinaḥ | eṣāṁ garbhasya yo  
 garbhas tena tvam garbhini bhava z 7 z vi te granthim cṛtāmasi  
 dhātā garbham dadhātu te | ā yonim putro rohatu jananaṁ prati  
 jāyatām z 8 z janisthā iha māijātho 'nyam samuhyā cars | adhā  
 soma iva bhakṣaṇam ā garbhas sīdadh ṛtvīyam z 9 z ssvitāś śreṣṭhena  
 rūpenāsyā nāryā gavīnyoh | pumāṁsaṁ putram ā dhehi daśame  
 māsi sūtave z 10 z viṣṇo śreṣṭhena ° ° ° | pumāṁsaṁ ° ° °  
 z 11 z tvaṣṭāś śreṣṭhena ° ° ° | pumāṁsaṁ ° ° ° z 12 z bhaga  
 śreṣṭhena rūpenāsyā nāryā gavīnyoh | pumāṁsaṁ putram ā dhehi  
 daśame māsi sūtave z 13 z adhi <kranda vīrayasva garbham> ā  
 dhehi yonyām | vṛṣāṇam vṛṣṇyāvantaṁ prajāyāi tvā nayāmasi  
 z 14 z yad veda rājā varuṇo veda devo vṛhaspatiḥ | indro yad  
 vṛtrahā veda tad u garbhaka<raṇam pi>bā z 15 z vi jīhiṣva  
 bārhatasāme garbhas te yonim ā śayām | dadan te putram devās  
 somapā ubhayāvinam z 16 z †somasyaḥ ṛtvīyo nūpā† imam gar-  
 bhakṛtvānam | tatas te putro jāyatām kartavāi vīryebhyaḥ z 17 z 2 z

St 2. This is st 1 in Ś; I have given the stanza as it appears in Ppp 3. 39. 5, varying considerably from Ś.

St 7. This and the next two stt are new: 9ab seem doubtful to me.

St 10. The exact intention of the ms in this and the next three stt is not clear: another similar stanza may be indicated. In Ś the corresponding stanzas are at the end of the hymn.

## 3

[f145b14] jāyasvāgne āsvatthād asmāi kṣatrarāyojase | ugrā- [15]  
 pathikād adhi yo vṛkṣān adhi rohatī |

In pāda b read kṣatrarāyau°; in c ugra āpathikād seems satisfactory though āpathika does not seem to be in the lexicons.

vibūdham cit sahamānam tvām a- [16] gne janayāmasi | jātām  
 janisyamānām sapatrā prṇasva me z z

In pādas cd read jātām °mānām sapatnām mṛṇasva.

[17] āsvatthasyāvarohasya vṛkṣasyāranayaḥ kṛtā | tato jātāya te  
 jana [18] vīḍujambhāgnir agraye z

In pāda b read kṛtāḥ; in c †janad and for d vīḍujambho agnir agre.

*tvam jātām jātavedasam ādadāmy amartyām* [19] *pāvakam agnim utaye* | *śucimantam viśāsahī* |

In pāda a read *tvām*, in b *amartyam*; in c *utaye*, in d *viśāsahim*; colon after pāda b.

*uttaraśva dhanu* [1146a] *prati muñcasva varma jahi śatṛn vīryā te kṛṇotu* | *attri-* [2] *rikṣamtayāte*

This does not seem to be metrical: we may read *uttaraśva dhanuḥ* ° ° ° *śatrūn* ° ° *kṛṇotu*, assuming that the colon is properly placed; perhaps we might then read *atṛi rakṣatu*, but for the end I have no suggestion: as the first pāda of the next stanza has been omitted perhaps the omission involved some of this stanza also. This is stanza 5.

*sapatnānām viśāsahim* | *hantaram śatṛnām kṛṇvo virājaṁ gopatiṁ* [3] *gavām. z*

Read: *ṛṣabham tvā samānānām sapatnānām viśāsahim* | *hantaram śatrūnām kṛṇvo virājaṁ gopatiṁ gavām z 6 z*

This is a variant of RV 10. 166. 1.

*samudro sy apā jyēṣṭham indro deveṣu vṛtrahā* | *vyāghram sinham tvā vṛṇvo da-* [4] *mitāram prdanyatām* |

In pāda a read 'sy apām jyēṣṭha, in b *vṛtrahā*; in c *kṛṇvo*, and in d *prtanayātām*.

*indrāiva dhasyon adharām kṛṇvasvogrāiva vāco viśṛṇam sapat-* *trām* [5] *te śuśyan taptāpār ivagne paryāvātrathāyanām z 2 z*

For pādas ab read *indra iva dasyūn adharām kṛṇusvogra iva* ° *vi śṛjan sapatnān*: in c *taptā āpa ivā*°; for d I see nothing satisfactory.

*om samvṛṣvānāns te śuśkam vṛścāi-* [6] *nām somajām śikhaṁ sapattrām sarvās triḍhvā tvam ekavṛṣo bhava* |

In pādas ab we may read *sam vṛścānāns te śuśkā vṛścāinān somajām*, followed perhaps by *śikva*: for c read *sapatnān sarvāns triḍhvā*.

*tvam ugrās tvam balis tva-* [7] *m edhy avivācanam tvam prdanyataḥ pūrvām sapattrām avi dhūnuṣvā z z*

In pāda a read *ugras* and *bali*, in b *edhi vivācanah*: in c *prtanayataḥ pūrvām sapatnān ava dhūnuṣva*. This is stanza 10.

*sapattrus sa-* [8] *patnahendra ivāvṛṣto akṣataḥ adhas sapatnās te padoh sarve satv abhiṣṭhutaḥ*

In pāda a read *asapatnas*, in b *ivāriṣṭo*, in d *santv abhiṣṭhitāḥ*. This is a variant of RV 10. 166. 2.

*mlā-* [9] *yamto te khātamūlāsapatnāgnim eṣām nir hvayāmi śarīrāḥ haviṣe kāma vida-* [10] *dhā prāṇās tade\*o\*\*\*\*ciṣ kṛtāḥ*.

For pāda a read *mlāyantu te khatamūlās sapatnā*, in b *agnim* and *śarīrāt*: in c probably *kāmo vidadhāt prāṇās*: d I am unable to restore.

*abhiwardham abhihavam sapatnākṣayam haviḥ* [11] *rāṣṭrāya tubhya kṛṇvas sapatnabhyas parā tuva*

In pāda b read *sapatnākṣayam*: in c *tubhyam kṛṇvas sapatnabhyas parābhava*. With this stanza cf § 1. 29. 4.

*yo na svo yo aruṇo rātir atipāuru-* [12] *ṣaḥ yugmasyeva prakṣā-yatas tasya muṣ cheṣa kiñ cana |*

In pāda a read *nas* and *aruṇo*, for b *rātir atipūruṣaḥ*: in d *moc cheṣi*. For a see § 1. 19. 3a.

*asapattram iti dve z z*

The two stanzas intended here are probably Pāipp 10. 8. 4 and 5. (§ 19. 27. 14 and 15): they read as follows: *asapatnam purustāt paścān no bhayam kṛtam | savitā mā dakṣinata uttarān mā śac-patiḥ z 15 z divo mādityā rakṣantu bhūmyā rakṣantv agnayam | indrāgni rakṣatām mā purustād aśvināv abhitas śarma yacchatām | tiraścīnāghnyā rakṣatu jātavedā bhūtakṛto me sarvatas santu varma z 16 z 3 z*

The numerals are adjusted to the sequence of this hymn.

#### 4

(§ 4. 37)

[f146a13] *tvayā pūrvam atharvāṇo jaghāno rakṣānsy oṣadhe | tvayā jaghāna kṣāyapas tra-* [14] *yā kaṇvo agastyāḥ tvayā vāyam apsaraso gandharvāṇs cātayāmasi | aja-* [15] *śrāgy aja rakṣas sarvān gandhena nāsayā | nadīm apsaraso apām tāram iva sva-* [16] *sām gulgulūḥ pālā nādy uksagandhiḥ prabandhīti z yatrā-mariyapso antaḥ z* [17] *samudre turūnyariturvaṣṭ puṇḍarikā | tat te parelāpsarasas prativuddhā abhū-* [18] *tana | yatra preṅkho gandharvāṇām divi bandho hiraṇyaya z gandharvāṇām apsara-* [19] *sām ānantam iti saṅgamam z yatrāivātthā nyagrodhā mahāvṛkṣāś śiṇḍināḥ z* [20] *yatra vāukṣā haritārjunāghāṭas karkarī asamvradanti | tat parelāpsarasasḥ* [f146b] *prativuddhā abhūtana*



z [2] *iyam viruṣ chikhaṇḍino gandhasyāpsarāpate bhīnaktu muṣkāṁ*  
*api yātu śe-* [3] *paḥ z yemaganv oṣadhir virudhām viryāvati |*  
*ajaśrṅgi rātakām ti-* [4] *kṣaśrṅgi vartatu | apeteto psaraso gand-*  
*harvā yatra vo grhā | ajaśrṅgi rā-* [5] *ṭaky ajaśrṅgi vartatu z*  
*jāyā dove psaraso gandharvās patayo yūyam | apakrā-* [6] *mat*  
*puruṣād amartyā martyam mā sicadhvam z 2 z bhīmā indrasya*  
*hetayaḥ śatapr-* [7] *ṣṭir ayasmāi | nābhir gandharvān abhedyā*  
*avakāśāvārjataḥ z 3 z avakā-* [8] *śam abhiśāco bhiṣchi bhyānta-*  
*yamānakām | gandharvān sarpān oṣadhe kṛṇutasvapa-* [9] *parāya-*  
*ṇaḥ z 4 z unmādayanti vabhiśocayantir munim agniṁ kṛṇu-* [10]  
*tin mokṣāsinam apsaraso raghaṭo yāś caranti gandharvapātnir*  
*ajaśrṅgy aśe* [11] *z 5 z dvētikṛṇvānaḥ parusaṁ viśvā rūpāni vo*  
*bhuvat. | śevālikam pū-* [12] *rvekam kumāras sarvakeśiṣaḥ | priyo*  
*drśe bhūtvā gandharva sajate sriyam* [13] *tam ito nāśayāmasi z 6 z*

In the middle of f146a15 the ms corrects to (nadīm) ny(aps°), and in f146b8 it corrects bhyām to dyā.

Read: *tvayā pūrvam atharvāno jaghnū rakṣānsy oṣadhe | tvayā*  
*jaghāna kaśyapas tvayā kaṇvo agastyah z 1 z tvāyā vayam apsaraso*  
*gandharvānś cātayāmasi | ajaśrṅgy aja rakṣas sarvān gandhena*  
*nāśayā z 2 z nadīm yantv apsaraso apām tāram iva śvasan | gul-*  
*gulūḥ pālā nalady ākṣagandhiḥ prabandhini z 3 z yatrāmartyā apsv*  
*antaḥ samudre t̥turūnyariturvaśī puṇḍarikā | tat paretāpsarasas*  
*pratibuddhā abhūtana z 4 z yatra preṅkho gandharvānām divi*  
*bandho hiraṇyayaḥ | tat ° ° ° z 5 z gandharvānām apsara-*  
*sām anantam iti saṅgamam | tat ° ° ° z 6 z yatrāśvatthā*  
*nyagrodhā mahāvṛkṣās śikhaṇḍinaḥ | tat ° ° ° z 7 z yatra*  
*t̥vāukṣā haritā arjunā āghātās karkaryaḥ samvadanti | tat paretāp-*  
*sarasas pratibuddhā abhūtana z 8 z iyam viruṣ chikhaṇḍino gand-*  
*harvasyāpsarāpateḥ | bhīnattu muṣkāṁ api yātu śepaḥ z 9 z eyam*  
*agann oṣadhir virudhām viryāvati | ajaśrṅgy arātakī t̥kṣaśrṅgi*  
*vy ṛṣatu z 10 z apeteto 'psaraso gandharvā yatra vo grhāḥ | ajaśrṅgy*  
*arāṭaky ajaśrṅgi vy ṛṣatu z 11 z jāyā id vo apsaraso gandharvās*  
*patayo yūyam | apa krāmata puruṣād amartyā martyam mā sacadh-*  
*vam z 12 z bhīmā indrasya hetayaḥ śataprṣṭir ayasmayīḥ | tābhir*  
*gandharvān abhedyāvākādān vy ṛṣatu z 13 z avakādān abhiśocān*  
*t̥biṣchi dyotayamānakān | gandharvān sarpān oṣadhe kṛṇu t̥tasva-*  
*papariyaṇaḥ z 14 z unmādayantir abhiśocayantir munim agniṁ*  
*kṛṇvantir t̥mokṣāsinam | apsaraso yāś caranti gandharvapātnir*  
*ajaśrṅgy aśe z 15 z dvāidhikṛṇvānaḥ parusaṁ viśvā rūpāni vo*

'bhavat | śvevāikaḥ kapir ivāikaḥ kumāras sarvakeśakaḥ | priyo  
dṛṣa iva bhūtvā gandharvaḥ sacate striyaṁ tam ito nāsayāmasi z  
16 z 4 z

St 3. The reading of b suggested here is not more objectionable than that of S, but perhaps not less so.

St 4. In b it seems as if there were two names of apsaras Urvaśi and Puṇḍarikā, and perhaps one or even two names ahead of these. This and the next two stt are new.

St 9. At the end of this stanza I have kept the reading of the ms because there seems to be no basis for a better reading.

St 14. Our ms gives only a little help in b. In c sarvān might be read for sarpaṇ. At the end of d we might perhaps read tām svaparāyanān.

St 16. It may well be that we should add as a final pāda vrahmaṇā vīryavatā (Ś st 11 f); and then perhaps make two stanzas of our st 16.

## 5

[f146b13] *yo vai vaśāṁ devayate pacāde vāhutām a-[14] mā |*  
*mṛtyosya baddhyate pāṣe devānām ca yamasya ca z 7 z*

In pāda b read pacate and probably °hutām; cf. Ś 12. 4. 53. In c read mṛtyos sa badhyate. The numeral is one of a series of stanza numbers which was started wrongly at st 11 of the preceding hymn.

*dakṣiṇām sū- [15] ryām aditiṁ sarasvatī mṛdayā kalpayantāḥ*  
*imām vaśāvācam āhu- [16] r vaśeti tisro vaśātihatā sadhasthe*  
*tāsām agnāu manasāikām juhomi [17] tām nas svādīn bhūtapatiḥ*  
*kṛṇotu z 8 z*

Read sarasvatīm and place colon after kalpayantāḥ; we thus get two pādas which are possible but somewhat suspicious. In d read vaśā atihatās; in f read tām nas svādvīm.

*svādvīm nayatām savitā kṛṇo- [18] tu | svādvīm nayatām savitā*  
*kṛṇotu svādvīm nayatām janitā paśūnām [19] juhony agre*  
*vayunāni vidvāns tām nas sādviṁ bhūtapatiḥ kṛṇotu z 9 z*

In pāda a (which is written twice) read na etām; also in b: place colon. In c bahūny would be good, but it is not a sure correction; in d read svādvīm.

[f147a] *idaṁ tṛtīyaṁ vaśinī vaśasu mahimnenṇa garbho syā*  
*viveśaḥ usati tram usato gaścha [2] devān sadyās santu yajasānasya*  
*kāmaḥ z 10 z*

The ms interlines a correction "tya" over sadyās.



In pāda b read mahimnenva, or perhaps better °nvan; in c uṣāti and gaccha: for d satyās ° yajamānasya kāmāḥ.

imām bhajāvājasva te stabhe- [3] jor yasyām indro varuṇas tad viṣāte z nrmnām sa uhyam ā gadhiraṣ paśur viryam ā [4] vive |

In pāda a imām bhaja would seem to be the first two words but the rest I cannot solve; in b yasyām, and perhaps viṣāte: in cd I can do no more than divide the words and suggest viveśa at the end. This is stanza 5.

vaśāmsi sruva sthaviṛam vipaśyātām vaśāti sūva vaskayam div-  
sprṣa | vaśāsi [5] sūva taruṇam vibhājane vaśāsi suva sañcitām  
dhanānām

Read: vaśāsi suva sthaviṛam vipaścitām vaśāsi suva baṣkayam  
divisprṣam | vaśāsi suva taruṇam vibhājane vaśāsi suva sañcitām  
dhanānām z 6 z

yat prokṣaṇam ayutaḥ barhi- [6] syas pari cakṣīnato vedayāvatū  
varṣā samvṛtyā atha gaur amīme tasyāṣ pino [7] abhavad varma-  
vāsasam z 12 z

In pāda a ayutaḥ needs correction; one could think of ayatat (impf. tense of yat) but it is not very appealing; in b I would read dakṣīnato vedyā avāiti, with colon following. For c we might read vaśā samvṛktā yathā gaur amīmet, and in d varmavāsaḥ.

namo mahimna uta cakṣuse vām vaśarurṣabho [8] manasā tat  
kṛnōmi | devān abhītam pathibhiḥ śivebhīr mā no hiṁsīṣtām harasā  
[9] dāivyaena |

In the right margin stands "namo mahimnaḥ pāṭhaḥ."

In pāda a read mahimna, in b vaśa ṛṣabha. For a cf. TS 3. 3. 8, and with c cf. RV 1. 162. 21b.

vaśam askandhad ṛṣabhas tiṣṭhantīm aditīm triṣu garbham tam  
adya go veda [10] iti yā soma kalpataḥ z

At the end of pāda b I would read triṣu, or triṣum: in c gor; I can make nothing out of d.

rūpam ekaṣ pary abhavad rājā nāmāyika ucya- [11] te | prati-  
rūpasyaikaṁ rūpam ekaṣ su kartu naṣ (pra°)

In pāda b read nāmāika; in c prati° and rūpam, and then for d possibly rūpam ekasya kartana. This is stanza 10.

prajāpatiḥ paramesṭhi mṛtyur vāśīvā- [12] narasya sarasvatyā  
nasvā yajñasya vaśāyādhi jajñire |

It seems clear that we should read for pāda d vaśāyā adhi jajñire;



pāda a is correct, and other nominatives would seem desirable in b and c, so I would suggest in b and c *vāisvānaraś ca | sarasvaty tñasvā yajñas ca.*

*yasya gṛhājāyeta va-* [13] *śā devakṛtaṁ haviḥ nidhānam asyā yeśyām duhitro patyām iva z*

In pāda a read *gṛha ājāyeta*; in c *asyā eśyam* would seem possible, and in d *duhitaro*; āicchan in c would give a smoother reading.

*nāsyātmakṛ-* [14] *tā patisthan nasya sūtā guhe syā | vaśā kamneva dundamkā parityā vijānatā z*

In pāda a read probably *°kṛtaḥ pra tiṣṭhan*, in b probably *nāsyā* and *syāt*: in c I can suggest nothing for *kamneva dundamkā*; in d *parityā* would give a good reading.

[15] *nāinām orakṣe vrahmaṇebhyo nā mā vi glāpayātī ca | atīm na praty āvartaya-* [16] *d yasya goṣu vaśā syā z*

In pāda a read simply *rakṣe*, in b *na*; in c *atīman*, in d *syāt*.

*nāsyā vaśam ā rundhati devā manuṣyātītā vaśī ya-* [17] *d anviye vrahmaṇām tasmād etā bhavad vaśāḥ z*

For pāda a read probably *nāsyā vaśam ā rundhanti*, in b *manuṣyā atītāḥ*: pādas cd can stand I believe. This is stanza 15.

*vaśam kṛvānā vaśantiya-* [18] *m āgam padaṁ kalyāṇy apavasya-mānaḥ aviṣṭam abhijāyamānā yajñasya* [19] *mātrām abhijal-pamānāḥ z*

In pāda a read probably *vaśam ° vaśiniyam āgan*; in b *apavāsyamānā* (*vas* 'dwell') might be possible: the beginning of c seems to have been lost so that the only sure word in this pāda is *abhijāyamānā*; in d read *°jalpamānā*.

*indravantas te marutas tureya bhejire va-* [20] *śe | turiyam ādityā rudrās turiyam vaśam vo vaśāi z*

In pāda b read *turiyam*, in d *vaśavo vaśe*.

*turiyabhājādi-* [f147b] *tyām vaśāyāḥ kavayo viduḥ yathāsyāḥ satyikā tanuś śatasya śaklapedaśa z*

For pāda a read *turiyabhāja ādityān*; for c I would suggest *athāsyāḥ saty ekā tanuś*, and for d possibly *śatasya cākipe tdaśa*.

[2] *vaśā vānṭhām anv apāsyām nākapṛṣṭhām svarvidādityāya nāmān āyam ṛṣayaś ca* [3] *tapasvināḥ z z*

Read: *vaśām vandyām anv apāśyan nākapṛṣṭhām svarvidah | ādityāya namann āyann ṛṣayaś ca tapasvinah z 19 z*

*pade pade kalpāntādityāṅgiraso yajuh idānām nvā [4] yaṁ  
daśām udīdam saha mucyate z*

In pāda a read 'kalpantādityā°; in c idānām and possibly vayo  
daśanām, and in d possibly tad idyam: in c at least the suggestions  
may look in the right direction. This is stanza 20.

*vaśedā vaśānomatir vaśām āhus sara- [5] svatī virājam manyante  
vrśām vāśvaśā prthivī śā z*

In pāda a read °ānumatir, in b sarasvatīm; in c vaśām, for d  
vaśāśā prthivī vaśā.

*vaśā deṣṭri sini- [6] vāli vaśokhā nirrtir vaśā | vaśāyām manyur  
aviśa tām manyum avāśad va- [7] śā z*

In pāda b read vaśośā; in c aviśat, and in d tām and aviśat.

*agnir vāg udakam cakṣur mano vāto vaśi vaśā | tamnam ko syās  
tān vo- [8] da yayodakrāmad ekayā z*

In pāda c read tanvaṁ ko 'syās, and in d yathod°.

*yām cakṣuśā manasā samvidānā hṛdā pa- [9] paśyanti kavayo  
manīṣiṇaḥ | tasyāś prajā adhipatiś paśūnām vaśa [10] rājūnām  
tavaya sā sviṣṭaḥ*

In pāda b read paśyanti, in c prajādhī°; for d a possible form  
would be vaśā rājūnām taviyasā sviṣṭā.

*ko vaśāya tadho veda ka ulvām ca jarāyu [11] jā tadā tasyāḥ  
ko veda karotuta veda id vahe z*

In pāda a read probably vaśāyā ūdho, for b ka ulvām ca jarāyu  
ca; in c the first word is probably an accusative and stanān seems  
to fit the context best but it is a violent emendation: cf. however  
Ś 12.4.18.; for d we might read ka uta veda yad vahe. Cf. the  
next two stanzas. This is stanza 25.

*aham asyā udo vedā [12] aham ulvām jarāyu jā udān asyāham  
vedā adhotu veda ihad vahe z*

If the suggestions made for the previous stanza are acceptable  
we may read here: aham asyā ūdho vedāham ulvām jarāyu ca |  
stanān asyā aham vedādhota veda yad vahe.

[13] nāinām orukṣe haṁ tvaḥ yāmivasyās ca me tadān asyāham  
veda keṣṭram ulvām ja- [14] rāyu jāḥ z

For pāda a read nāinām rakṣe haṁ tvaḥ, in b yā āmāvāsyās; in  
c stanān asyā aham, and in d jarāyu ca. Cf. st 14 above.

*kratur yoni dadhī vāso jarāyu pāṇdam utvām nābhīr uṣn- [15]  
śam asyām ajaramam dahe tu mātarām vaśi vrahmabhiḥ kṛptas sa*

hy asya bandhuh z [16] zz ity atharvanipāpalādayāś śākhāyām  
trayodasākāṇḍas sa- [17] samāptāh zz zz prathamānūvākaḥ zz  
atha caturdaśā li- [18] khyate z z om namo nārāyaṇāya

In pādas ab the word division given above is the only suggestion I can make toward solving the difficulties of the text: in c read possibly ajaram duhe ° mātāram; d here is S 10.10.23d. This final stanza is number 28.

The entire colophon would best be deleted; but the indication that the first anuvāka ends here is probably correct: all the rest of the colophon is incorrect.

The general theme of this hymn is of course quite clear, but the many uncertainties about details are baffling.

## 6

(RV 1.32)

[f147b18] om indrasya na viryā- [19] ṇi pra vocam yāni cakāru  
prathamāni vajri | aham ahim anv apo- [f148a] has tutardas pra  
vakṣamānā abhinat parvatānām z aham ahim parvata śiśriyānām  
[2] tvastāsmāi vajram svaryam utakṣa avāsrā iva dhenavaḥ syanda-  
mānāmjaḥ samudra- [3] m ava jagmur āpaḥ vrāyāmāno vrāma  
somam trikadrakeśv apivat sutasya | [4] ā māyakam maghavā  
ṛta vajram aham ahinām prathamajām ahinām z yad indrā-  
[5] ham prathamajām ahinām ātmayinām amināś prata māyāḥ āt  
svaryam janayan tyā- [6] m usāsam tāvettrā śatrum na kilā  
yavrīca | aham vrttram vrttraturyam sum indro vajreṇa [7]  
mahatā vadhena | skandhānsiva kulisenā virkṇāhiḥ śayatam upasyk  
pr- [8] thivyāḥ z yodhyeva dūrmada ā hi jihve mahāvīram tuvirbā-  
dham rjīsam [9] nālārīd asya sumatim vasānām sam varāṇā pipīsa  
indrasattruḥ opād aha- [10] sto apunantira indram ahasya vajram  
adhi śāno jupyānaḥ dhṛṣṇo vadhrīḥ pratimānaḥ [11] vubhūsan  
putrā vrttro āsayad vyasatā nadam na bhīṣnam amunā śayānam  
mano ruhāṇā [12] atī yanty āpaḥ | yās ci vrttro mahinā parya-  
tiṣṭhan tāsām ahiḥ pracutahsi- [13] sin vadhāva | nicāvayā  
abhavad vrttraputrendro asyā aravadaḥ jabhāra | u- [14] uttārā  
sūr adharah putra āsīd dānuś śraye mahavatsā na dhenuh āti-  
ṭhanti- [15] nam avruveśanānām kāsṭhārām madhye nihitam  
śarīram. | [16] vrttrasya ninyam vi caranty āpo dirgham tama  
āsayad indrasatruḥ z dāsa- [17] sapatnir ahigopā atisṭham nirud-  
dhā āpaḥ paṇineta gāvaḥ āpām bi- [18] lam apihitam yad āsīd  
vrttram jaghanvān apa ud varāra z āsvayo vā- [19] ro bhagas tur



*indras śruke ya tvā pratyaham deva ekah ajayo gām ajayās chu-*  
 [20] *ra somaghavāsṛjat saptave sapta sindhūn. nāsmāi vidyun na*  
*tanyatuh miše- [f148b] dham na yāmyāmīk dhrājinaṃ ca | indras*  
*ced vidhāte ahiś cotāpavatibhyo [2] maghavā vi jajñe | ahe yatāram*  
*kram apaśya indra indriyat te jaghnušo [3] bhor agaśchat. nava*  
*ca yam navatiṃ ca sravanti cyono na bhīto ata- [4] ro rajānsi |*  
*indro yato vāsitasya rājā śramasya ca śṛṅgino vajrabāhuḥ | [5]*  
*śrayati rājā kṣayati carṣaṇinām alām na lemiś palitā babhūva*  
 [6] *z z*

Read: indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocaṃ yāni cakāra prathamāni  
 vajrī | ahann abim anv apas tatarda pra vakṣaṇā abhinat parva-  
 tānām z 1 z ahann abim parvate śīśriyāṇaṃ tvaṣṭasmāi vajraṃ  
 svaryaṃ tatakṣa | vāśrā iva dhenavaḥ syandamānā aṇjaḥ samudram  
 ava jagmur āpaḥ z 2 z vṛṣāyāmāṇo 'vṛṇīta somaṃ trikadrakeṣv  
 apibat sutasya | ā sāyakam maghavādatta vajram ahann enaṃ  
 prathamajām ahinām z 3 z yad indrāhan prathamajām ahinām ān  
 māyinām amināś prota māyāḥ | āt sūryaṃ janayan dyām uśūsaṃ  
 tādītā satruṃ na kilā vivitae z 4 z ahan vṛtraṃ vṛtrataraṃ vyaṇsam  
 indro vajrena mahatā vadhena | skandhānsīva kuliśenā vivṛk-  
 nāhiḥ śayata upapṛk prthivyāḥ z 5 z ayoddheva durmada ā hi juhve  
 mahāviraṃ tuvibādham ṛjīṣam | nātārīd asya samṛtiṃ vadhānām  
 saṃ ṛurāṇā pipīṣa indrasatruḥ z 6 z apād ahasto apṛtanyad indram  
 āśya vajram adhi sānāu jaghāna | vṛṣṇo vadhrīṣ pratimānaṃ  
 bubhūṣan purutrā vṛtro āśayad vyastah z 7 z nadaṃ na bhinnam  
 amunā śayānaṃ mano ruhānā ati yanty āpaḥ | yāś cid vṛtro mahinā  
 paryatiṣṭhat tāsām ahiś patsūtaḥśīr babhūva z 8 z nicāvayā abhavad  
 vṛtraputrendro asyā ava vadhar jabhāra | uttarā sūr adharah putra  
 āśid dānuś śaye sahavatsā na dhenuḥ z 9 z atīṣṭhantinām anive-  
 śanānām kīṣṭhānām madhye nihitām śarīram | vṛtrasya ninyam vi  
 caranty āpo dīrgham tama āśayad indrasatruḥ z 10 z dāsapatnīr  
 ahigopā atīṣṭhan niruddhā āpaḥ paṇineva gāvaḥ | apām bilam  
 apīhitam yad āśid vṛtraṃ jaghanvāu apa tad vavāra z 11 z āśvyo  
 vāro bhavas tad indra arke yat tvā pratyahan deva ekah | ajayo gā  
 ajayās sūra somaṃ avāśṛjas saptave sapta sindhūn z 12 z nāsmāi  
 vidyun na tanyatuh siṣedha na yām mīham akiraḍ dhrājinaṃ ca |  
 indras ca yad vividhāte ahiś cotāparibhyo maghavā vi jigye z 13 z  
 aber yātāram kam apaśya indra hrīdi yat te jaghnušo bhīr agacchat  
 | nava ca yan navatiṃ ca sravantiś ūyeno na bhīto ataro rajānsi  
 z 14 z indro yāto 'vasitasya rājā śamasya ca śṛṅgino vajrabāhuḥ |

sed u rājā ksayati carṣanīnām arān na nemiṣ pari tā babhūva z 15  
z 6 z

St 6. In pāda d our ms has rarānā for RV rujānāh. This may point towards a real variant, which could even be rarānāh: this is good as to form, and if we should take it as referring to the waters it might give an acceptable meaning.

St 13. The word dhṛājinam given in b does not seem to be in the lexicons, but it is good as to form and its meaning suits the context as well as (d)hrādunim of RV. In c the ms reading points clearly to vividhāte which seems possible and acceptable though not so good as yuyudhāte of RV.

## 7

(RV 2. 12; § 20. 34)

[f148b6] yó jātā evā prathamó mānasvān devó devān krátunā  
pa- [7] ryābhūsat. | yāsya śūsmād ródasi ābhyasetā nṛmṇāsya  
mahná só [8] janāsa indrah yás pṛthivī vānyatamāmnām ādṛṇha-  
bhgyās párvatān prá- [9] kuplān ārikṇām yo āntārikṣam vimamé  
várigo yó yām astabhṛāt sáh | [10] yó tadhim fñāt sa śindhūn yó gá  
yudhājan apadā vadāsya yó sma- [11] nór antār agnīm jajāna  
samvrbhāmātsu sah yēnezā viśvā cyāvanā [12] kṛtāni yó dāsam  
vārnām ūdarām gūhākah syaghnāva yó jigī- [13] cān lakṣmyāda-  
dhīryāh pustyāni sáh yó smā pṛschānti kūha sēti [14] ghoram  
utēm āhūn nezō astīty enām sūryāh pṛstīr dhraja imā [15] mīndti  
śrāddhāsmāi dhātta sāndrah yó radhrā- [16] sya coditā yāh  
kṛṣyāsya yó vrahmāno nādamānasya ki- [17] rēh yuktāgrāvō yó  
vitā susiprā mutāsomanasyamānāh yāsyaśvā- [18] sas pradisi yāsya  
gāvo yāsya grāmā yāsya viśve rāpāsah yās sūryam [19] yó uḡsam  
jajāna yó apā netā sah yām krīndasi samyutā rihvā- [20] yete pāri  
vāra ubhāyā amītrāh samānām cid rātham ātasthivānsā [f149a]  
nānā havete sāndrah | yāsmānāntē vijāyante jānāso yām yūdḍhya-  
mānā āvase hara- [2] nte | yó viśvasya prātimānam babhūzam yó  
cyatucyāt sah yāsyaśruto mahy ēno drah | dhānā- [3] n āvudḍhya-  
mānān sārāvān jaghāna yāh śrāddhete nānu dādāti śrūdḍhyām yó  
dāsyō hantā [4] sas sandra | yās sāmbarām parvātesu kṣiyāntām  
catvāriṇśyā śarābhy anuvāindan. | yo jāyā- [5] māno yó him  
jaghāna dānam śāyānam sāndrah yās sāmbarām paryācarakṣas  
chaci- [6] bhīr yo vāḥkasya vāpibat sutam. antar girāu yajamā-  
nam bahum janam yasmi- [7] n āśurucakṣat sah yās saptaśmīr  
vṛṣabhās tūviśmān avāsrjat sārcave sa- [8] ptā śindhūn. yó rohinām



āspḥuraḍ vājrabahur dyām ārohān teḍṇjā sah dyā- [9] vā ca tasmāi  
 pṛthivī vasete | śūṣmāś cid asya pārvatā bhayante yāḥ sōma- [10]  
 kā nijito vājrabāhu yō vājrahastās sa indrāḥ yās sunvāntīm avati  
 yā [11] pīcantam yās śāmvata yās śaśamānam ūti yāsya vrāhmā  
 vārdhanam yāsya sōmo [12] yāsyaḍam rādhas sā janassa indrah  
 yās sunvatē pācate duddhrā ā cid vācām dā- [13] darṣi sū kilāsu  
 satyāḥ kvayānta indra viśānta priyāsah sūvirā- [14] sō vidādhasā  
 videma jāto vyakṣat putror upasthe bhuvo na veda janitah | [15]  
 parasyā bhaviṣyamāno hnojo kṣad vatā devānām sa janāsa indra-  
 [16] yāḥ z somakāmo haryasya śur yasmād rejamte bhuvandne  
 viśvā yayo ja- [17] ghamna śambaraḥ yās ca śuṣṇam ya ekaviras  
 sa janāssa indrayah z 1 z

In f148b17 over the end of st 6c the ms interlines "mantram";  
 and in f149a2 it corrects (mahy eno) draḥ to dā.

Read: yo jāta eva prathamō manasvān devo devān kratunā parya-  
 bhūsat | yasya śuṣmād rodasī abhyasetām nṛmasya mahnā sa  
 janāsa indrah z 1 z yās pṛthivīm vyathamānām adrñhad yās par-  
 vatān prakupitān aramṇāt | yo antarikṣam vimame variyo yo dyām  
 astabhnāt sa ° ° z 2 z yo hatvāhim arināt sapta sindhūn yo  
 gā udājad apadhā valasya | yo śmanor antar agniḥ jāna samvṛk-  
 samatsu sa ° ° z 3 z yenemā viśvā cyavanā kṛtāni yo dāsam  
 varṇam adharān guhākāḥ | śvaghnīva yo jīgivān lakṣam ādād  
 aryah puṣṭāni sa ° ° z 4 z yām smā pṛechanti kuha seti ghoram  
 utem āhur nūṣo astīty enam | so aryah puṣṭir dhraja ivā mināti  
 śrād asmāi dhatta sa ° ° z 5 z yo radhrasya coditā yās kṛśasya  
 yo vrahmaṇo nādhmānasya kīreḥ | yuktagrāvṇo yo 'vitā suśiprah  
 sutasomasya sa ° ° z 6 z yasyāśvāsāḥ pradiśi yasya gāvo yasya  
 grāmā yasya viśve rathāsah | yās sūryam ya uṣasam jāna yo apām  
 netā sa ° ° z 7 z yām krandaśi samyati vihveyete pare 'vara  
 ubhayā amitrah | samānam cid ratham ātasthivānsā nānā havete  
 sa ° ° z 8 z yasmān na rite vijayante janāso yām yuddhyamānā  
 avase havante | yo viśvasya pratimānam bubhūsur yo 'cyutacyut sa  
 ° ° z 9 z yās śaśvato mahy eno dadhānān abudhyamānān sarvān  
 jaghāna | yās śardhate nānudadāti śrdhyān yo dasyor hantā sa  
 ° ° z 10 z yās śambaraḥ parvateṣu kṣiyantam śatvārīṇśyām  
 śarady anvavindat | oḷāyamāno yo 'him jaghāna dānūm śayānam sa  
 ° ° z 11 z yās śambaraḥ paryaraksac chaoibhir yo vākṛkṣad yo  
 vāpibat sutam | antar girāu tyajamānam bahūm janam yasminn  
 amūrchat sa ° ° z 12 z yās septaraśmīr vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān



avāsarjat sartave sapta sindhūn | yo rūhiṇam asphuraḥ vajrabāhur  
 dyām arohantaṁ sa ° ° z 13 z dyāvū cid asmāi pṛthivī vasete  
 śuṣmāc cid aśya parvatā bhayante | yaḥ somapā nicito vajrabāhur  
 yo vajrahastas sa ° ° z 14 z yas sunvantam avati yaḥ pacantaṁ  
 yaś śaṁsantaṁ yaś śaśamānam ūtī | yasya vrahma vardhanaṁ  
 yasya somo yasyodaṁ rādhas sa ° ° z 15 z yas sunvate pacate  
 dudhrā ā cid vājam dardarṣi sa kilāsi satyaḥ | vyaṁ ta indra  
 viśantaḥ priyāṣaḥ suvīraśo vidatham ā vādema z 16 jāto 'dhyakṣaḥ  
 pitror upasthe bhuvo na veda janituḥ parasya | taviṣyamāṇo 'nu  
 yo 'kṣad vrataḥ devānām sa ° ° z 17 yaḥ somakāmo haryaśvaḥ  
 sūrir yasmād rejante bhuvanāni viśvā | yo jaghāna śambaram yaś  
 ca śuṣṇam ya ekavīras sa janāsa indraḥ z 18 z 7 z

St 9. In pāda c bubhūṣur is given as being rather closer to our ms than babbūva as in RV and Ś.

St 10. In pāda b RV and Ś have amanyamānān charvā; our sarvān may of course be a copyist's mistaken correction.

St 11. In pāda c I cannot see that oḷāyamānam of RV and Ś is any better than the reading of our ms; so I have kept the latter.

St 12. This is not in RV; it is Ś 20. 34. 12.

St 16. This is st 15 in RV, st 18 in Ś; the last stanza in each of those versions. It would be more appropriate as final stanza here.

St 17. This stanza and the next are not in RV; in Ś they are 16 and 17, standing thus before the stanza which in no. 16 here.

The emendations 'dhyakṣaḥ (17a) and 'kṣad (17c) are not inevitable: the beginning of 17b seems to be correct, bhuvo na veda, so I have accepted it here and it is supported by mss of Ś; but RV 5. 12. 3b bhuvo navedā ucathasya navyaḥ suggests that we might read here bhuvo navedā °. In 18a haryaśvaḥ sūrir is surely correct; four mss of Ś point to this reading.

## 8

(Ś 19. 10. and 11; RV 7. 35)

[f149a18] śān na indrāgni bhavatāśvobhiḥ śām na indrāvārunā  
 rātāhavyā śā- [19] m indrāsomaya savitāya śām yōḥ śān indra-  
 pūṣānā vājasya- [f149b] tāu z śām no bhāgas sām u nāś śānsom  
 astu śām no aryamā purujātō astu | śā no dhātā śā- [2] m u dhartā  
 no astu śān na ūrūcī bhavatu svadhābhīḥ śām rōdasi vṛhatt śām  
 no ādriḥ [3] śām no devānām suhāvāni santu | śām no agnir

jōtiraniko astu śā no mītrāvaruṇā [4] āsvinā śāṁ śāṁṁ nās  
 sukṛtām sukṛtāni santu śāṁ na īśiro ābhi vātu vāt. śāṁ no dyā-  
 [5] vāprthivī pūrvahūtāu śāṁ antārikṣām dṛśaye no astu śāṁ  
 ōṣadhīr vanino bhavantu [6] śāṁ no rājasah pātir astu jignūh  
 śā na īndro vāsuhīr devo astu śāṁ ādityēbhi- [7] r vāruṇah  
 suśāṁśaś śāṁ no rudrēbhih jālasaś śā nas tvāṣṭā gnābhih ihā sṛṣotu  
 śāṁ na- [8] s somo bhavatu vrāhma śāṁ no grāvāṇaś śāṁ u santu  
 yajñāh śāṁ nas svārūṇāṁ utayō bhā- [9] vantu śāṁ no bhavantu  
 pradīśaś cātaraḥ śāṁ naś pārvatā dhruvāyo bhavantu śāṁ nas  
 sindhava- [10] ś śāṁ u mantr ūpaḥ śāṁ no ādītīr bhavatu  
 vratībhih śāṁ no bhavantu marūtaś svarkāh śāṁ [11] no viṣṇuḥ  
 śāṁ u pūṣā no astu | śāṁ no bhavitrām śāṁ uv astu vāyūh śāṁṁ  
 no devāś savi [12] tā trāyamāṇah śāṁṁ no bhavantūṣāso vibhātī |  
 śāṁ naś parjānyo bhavatu prajābhya- [13] ś śāṁ na kṣētrasya  
 pātir astu śambhūh z śāṁṁ nas satyāsya pātayo bhavantu śāṁ no  
 ārva- [14] utāś śāṁ u santu gāvaḥ śāṁ na rbhāvas sukṛtaś suhāstlāh  
 śāṁ no bhavantu pītāro [15] hāveṣu | śāṁ no devā viśvā devā  
 bhavantu śāṁ sārāsvatī sahā dhībhih astu | [16] śāṁ ābhīśācaś śāṁ  
 u rātiśācaś śāṁ no divyāś pāṛthivāś śāṁ no āpyāś śā- [17] n no ajā  
 ēkopād devō astu śāṁ no hīr vudhnyāś śā samudrāh śāṁ no apī  
 nāpā- [18] t perūr astu śāṁ naś pīśnīr bhavatu devāgopāh ādityā  
 rudrā vāsavo ju- [19] ṣatām vidām vrāhma kriyāmāṇāṁ nāvīryāś  
 sṛṇvāntu no divyāś pāṛthivā- [f151a] so gōjātā utā ye yajñīyāsaḥ  
 yē devānām rviyo yajñīyāso mānor yājatra amṛtā r- [2] tajñāh  
 tē no rāsantām urugāyām adyā yāyām pāta svastībhih sādā nah z z  
 tad astu mītrā- [3] varuṇā tad agne śāṁ gor asmaḥhyam idam  
 astu śambhum | aśimahi gātum uta pratiṣṭhām namo [4] divē  
 vrhate sādhanūya z z

Read: śāṁ na indrāgnī bhavatām avobhih śāṁ na indrāvaruṇā  
 rātaḥavyā | śāṁ indrāsomā suvitāya śāṁ yoh śāṁ na indrāpūṣaṇā  
 vājasūtāu z 1 z śāṁ no bhagaś śāṁ u naś śāṁso astu śāṁ nah  
 puramdhiś śāṁ u santu rāyah | śāṁ nas satyasya suyamasya śāṁśaś  
 śāṁ no aryamā purujāto astu z 2 z śāṁ no dhātā śāṁ u dhartā no  
 astu śāṁ na urūcī bhavatu svadhābhih | śāṁ rodasi vrhātī śāṁ no  
 adrih śāṁ no devānām suhāvāni santu z 3 z śāṁ no agnir jyotira-  
 niko astu śāṁ no mītrāvaruṇā āsvinā śāṁ | śāṁ nas sukṛtām  
 sukṛtāni santu śāṁ na īśiro ābhi vātu vātah z 4 z śāṁ no  
 dyāvāprthivī pūrvahūtāu śāṁ antārikṣām dṛśaye no astu | śāṁ na  
 ōṣadhīr vanino bhavantu śāṁ no rajasah patir astu jignūh z 5 z



śam na indro vasubhir devo astu śam ādityebhir varuṇaḥ suśaṁsaḥ |  
 śam no rudro rudrebhir jalāṁśaś śam nas tvaṣṭā gnābhir iha śrṇotu z 6 z  
 śam nas somo bhavatu vrahma śam naś śam no grāvāṇaś śam u santu  
 yajñāḥ | śam nas svarūpām mitayo bhavantu śam naś prasvaś śam v  
 astu vedīḥ z 7 z śam nas sūrya urucakṣā ud etu śam no bhavantu  
 pradīśaś catarāḥ | śam naś parvatā dhruvayo bhavantu śam nas  
 sindhavaś śam u santv āpaḥ z 8 z śam no aditir bhavatu vrātebhīḥ  
 śam no bhavantu marutas svarkāḥ | śam no viṣṇuḥ śam u pūṣā no  
 astu śam no bhavitraṁ śam v astu vāyuḥ z 9 z śam no devas savitā  
 trāyamāṇaḥ śam no bhavantūṣaso vibhātīḥ śam naḥ parjanya  
 bhavatu prajābhyaś śam naḥ kṣetrasya patir astu śambhuḥ z 10 z  
 śam nas satyasya patayo bhavantu śam no arvantaś śam u santu  
 gāvaḥ | śam na ṛbhavas sukr̥tas suhastāḥ śam no bhavantu pitaro  
 haveṣu z 11 z śam no devā viśvadevā bhavantu śam sarasvatī saha  
 dhībhir astu | śam abhiśacāś śam u r̥tiśacāś śam no divyāś pārthi-  
 vāś śam no apyāḥ z 12 z śam no aja ekapād devo astu śam no 'hir  
 budhnyaś śam samudraḥ | śam no apām napāt perur astu śam naś  
 pr̥ṣnir bhavatu devagopāḥ z 13 z ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣantām  
 idam vrahma kriyamāṇam navīyaḥ | śr̥ṇvantu no divyāś pārthivāso  
 gojūtā uta ye yajñīyāsaḥ z 14 z ye devānām ṛtvijo yajñīyāso manor  
 yajatrā amṛtā ṛtajñāḥ | te no r̥ṣantām urugāyam adya yūyam pāta  
 svastibhīḥ sadā naḥ z 15 z tad astu mitrāvaruṇā tad agne śam yor  
 asmabhyam idam astu śastam | aśīmahi gātum uta pratiṣṭhām  
 namo dive vṛhate sādhanāya z 16 z 8 z

Our ms omits 2bc, 7d and 8a; these pādas I have restored to the text. St 16 here and Ś 19. 10. 6 are RV 5i. 47. 7.

St 8. In pāda b Ppp and Ś have a word order different from that of RV.

St 11. This stanza and the next are att 12 and 11 in RV; Ś has them as here.

St 13. In pāda d Ś has śam ahir; no should be restored.

St 14. In pāda a Ppp and Ś agree, RV has juṣanta.

St 15. In pāda a Ppp and Ś agree, RV has yajñīyā yajñīyānām.

St 16. Ś and RV have gādham in a, and sādhanāya in d.

9

(Ś 5. 29)

[f151a4] agnāv agniś carati prāviṣṭā f̥ṣṇām putrō a- [5]  
 dhīrāja eṣaḥ | tasmāi juhomi haviṣā ghṛtēna mā devānām yūyavad



bhāgadheyam | [6] yuktāu vaha jātavedaḥ parastād agne viddhi  
 kriyamānam yayedaṁ | tvam bhiṣajad bhesa- [7] jasyāsi garthā  
 tvayā gnam āsvam puruṣam sanema z tathā tvam agne kṛṇu  
 jātavedo nena [8] vidvān haviṣā yaviṣṭhaḥ | piśāco sya tapo dideva  
 yathā so mya paridhiḥ patātiḥ [9] yo sya tadeva yatamo jaghāsi  
 yathā somasya paridhiḥ patātiḥ tathā tvam agne kṛ- [10] ṇu  
 jātavedo viśvebhīr devāis saha samvidānaḥ z mokṣāu na viddhi  
 hr̥dayam na [11] viddhi jīhvām nṛdamidhi pra dabha śr̥ṇihi |  
 piśāco sya tamo jaghāsā- [12] sāgne yaviṣṭhaḥ pratha tām śr̥ṇihi |  
 ya dhasya ḥtam yad itam yat parābhṛtam ātmano [13] jagadham  
 uta yat piśācāḥ tad agne vidvān punar ā bhara tvam śarīre prānam  
 asi- [14] m erayā sam srjema z apām tvā pāne yatamo dadambha  
 odane manthe diva ota [15] lehe | tad ātmanā prajayā piśācā  
 vyātayantām agado yam astu z kṣīre tvā [16] māmse yatamo  
 dadambha ākliṣṭapāśye śatane dhānya yaḥ | tad ātmanā prajayā  
 [17] piśācā vyātayantām agado yam astu z yā me sapakve śavale  
 vipakve i- [18] mam piśāco śane didambhaḥ tvam indro vāji  
 vajreṇa yantu dhanatva somaś śi- [19] ro stu jignuḥ divā tvā  
 naktam yatamo didambhaḥ kravyād yātus śayane piśā- [f151b] caḥ  
 ud agne dvān prthak. śr̥ṇihy apy enam dehi nirṛte upasthe |  
 somasyendrusya va- [2] ruṇasya rājño viṣṇor balena savitus savena  
 | agner hotreṇa prṇute piśācam [3] manohanam jahi jātavedas  
 saho bhīḥ bhṛaddhemaṁ jusatām dakṣiṇāyur yathā ji- [4] vany  
 agado bhavāsi z z punas tvā prāṇas punara ity āyus punas cakṣus  
 punar āitu [5] śrotam | apa śthā no duritāni viśvā śatam himās  
 sarvavīro madema z punar asmāi [6] mano dhehi punar āyus punar  
 balaṁ | apānnam asyaḥ prāṇam cāgnaya vardhaya ji- [7] vase |  
 cakṣus sūrya punar dehi vātas prāṇam sam irayaś śarīram asya  
 māmśany agne [8] sambhāvayā tvam z samābhara jātavedo yaj  
 jagdham yat parābhṛtam | gātrāny asya [9] kalpayatām ayaṁ |  
 agne virapsinam medhyam ayakṣmam kṛṇu jivase z sam mā [10]  
 siṁcatu maruta ity ekā z

In f151a12 the ms corrects (pra)tha to (pra)ca.

Read: agnāv agniś carati praviṣṭa ṛṣiṇām putro adhirāja eṣaḥ |  
 tasmāi juhomi haviṣā ghr̥tena mā devānām yoyuvad bhāgadheyam  
 z 1 z yukto vaha jātavedaḥ parastād agne viddhi kriyamānam  
 yathedaṁ | tvam bhiṣaj bheṣajasyāsi kartā tvayā gnam āsvam  
 puruṣam sanema z 2 z tathā tvam agne kṛṇu jātavedo 'nena vidvān  
 haviṣā yaviṣṭha | piśāco 'sya yatamo dideva yathā so 'sya paridhiḥ

patāti z 3 z yo 'sya dideva yatamo jaghāsa yathā so 'sya paridhiṣ  
 patāti | tathā tvam agne kṛṇu jātavedo viśvebhīr devāis saha saṁ-  
 vidānaḥ z 4 z aksyāu ni vidhya hṛdayaṁ ni vidhya jihvām ni tṛndhi  
 pra dato śrīhi | piśāco 'sya yatamo jaghāsāgne yaviṣṭha prati taṁ  
 śrīhi z 5 z yad asya hṛtaṁ yad itaṁ yat parābhṛtaṁ ātmano jag-  
 dham uta yat piśācāḥ | tad agne vidvān punar ābhara tvam śarīre  
 prāṇam asum irayā saṁ arjema z 6 z apām tvā pāne yatamo  
 dadambhāndane manthe diva uta lehe | tad ātmanā prajāyā piśācā  
 vi yātayantām agado 'yam astu z 7 z kṛire tvā mānse yatamo  
 dadambhākṛiṣṭapacye 'sane dhānye yah | tad ātmanā prajāyā piśācā  
 vi yātayantām agado 'yam astu z 8 z āne supakve śabale vipakve yo  
 mān piśāco 'sane dadambha | tam indro vājī vajreṇa hantu  
 bhīnattu somaś śiro 'sya jiṣṇuḥ z 9 z divā tvā naktam yatamo  
 dadambha kravyād yātuś śayane piśācāḥ | tad agne vidvān pṛthak  
 śrīhi apy enaṁ dhehi nirṛter upasthe z 10 z somasyendrasya  
 varuṇasya rājño viṣṇor balena savitus savena | agner hotreṇa pra  
 nude piśācāṁ manohanaṁ jahi jātavedas sahoḥiḥ | †bhraddhemaṁ  
 juṣatām dakṣiṇāyurṭ yathā jivane agado bhavāsi z 11 z punas tvā  
 prāṇas punar āitu āyus punas cakṣus punar āitu śrotram | apa  
 tiṣṭhān no duritāni viśvā śataṁ himās sarvavīrā madema z 12 z  
 punar asmāi mano dhehi punar āyus punar balaṁ | apānam asya  
 prāṇaṁ cāgne vardhaya jivase z 13 z cakṣus sūrya punar dhehi vāta  
 prāṇaṁ saṁ iraya | śarīram asya māṁsāny agne saṁ bhāvayā tvam  
 z 14 z samābhara jātavedo ya jagdham yat parābhṛtaṁ | gātrāny  
 asya kalpantām aṁśur ivā pyāyatām ayaṁ z 15 z somasyeva jātavedo  
 aṁśur ā pyāyatām ayaṁ | agne virapśinaṁ medhyam ayakṣmaṁ  
 kṛṇu jivase z 16 z saṁ mā siṁcantu marutas saṁ pūṣā saṁ  
 vṛhaspatīḥ | saṁ māyam agnis siṁcatu prajāyā ca dhanena ca  
 dīrgham āyus kṛnotu me z 17 z 9 z

This hymn differs considerably from the version of Ś in general and in details; the more important variations are mentioned.

St 1. This is very close to AŚ 8. 14. 4, which has momuḥad in d. In Ś 4. 39. 9 and in other texts there are numerous variants.

St 4. In Ś st 3 has only three pādas, with nothing to correspond to our a. A pāda similar to our pāda a should probably be restored in Ś.

St 6. For pāda d Ś has śarīre māṁsam asum erayāmah, which is better.

St 7. Pada b is new; diva may not be correct for we seem to need a word to match the other three; such as diha (< dih).



St 9. This is § 6ab and 10cd. In stanza 10 pādas cd are new.

St 11. With pādas abc cf § 9. 2. 6abc; with d cf § 5. 29. 10b; pādas ef are new.

St 12. With pādas abc cf § 6. 53. 2abd, and for d cf § 12. 2. 28d.

Stanzas 13 and 14 are new, and st. 17 has appeared as Ppp 6. 18. 1; it is also § 7. 33. 1.

## 10

[f151b10] *vi muñcāmi vrahmaṇā jātavedasam agniṁ hotāra-*  
 [11] *sajaram rayasprtam | sarvā devānāṁ janimāni vidvān*  
*yathābhāgam vahatu vyam a-* [12] *gniḥ ye pumāṁso yātudhānāṁ yā*  
*striyo yātudhānyah | balavad indrasya vajrenā* [13] *vācīnānu*  
*vahnyatām z z om avācīnānu vahnyatām z z om yam* [14]  
*śapo yo nīś śapāti yam dviṣmo yo dveṣat piśācaḥ kravyādham agne*  
*mahatā vadhe-* [15] *na tam atrāpi pradahāj jātavedah z ārebhe sya*  
*vāghāsyapsarāyus kanvena* [16] *samvide yātumāvān ulūkayātu*  
*bhramalo yasya yātus tvam yā nidesi vāghām* [17] *sipitnyās tena*  
*śrayāhi | r utamamhīdhehibhiḥ yaḥ prapād rodhanasyādide-* [18]  
*vanam kravyāt piśāca kraviśas tutrpsam ulūkayātum bhramalo*  
*yasya yātus tvam. z* [19] *yaḥ pāureneta rathena kravyād yātas*  
*piśunāḥ piśunāḥ piśunāḥ piśācaḥ* [20] *vāiśvānareṇa saṁyujā sūryeṇa*  
*z mo no vanim mrgayān yaś ca naḥ kṛṣim pratiṣṭhā-* [f152a] *d*  
*yātubhir yaś ca naś śaphaddhastā rudras saratha tvāyun asyatām z*  
*vāsātumā vr-* [2] *trā tamṛdatāram alokāsmāi pradīśo bhavantu |*  
*sa neman lapatām rodasi ubhe tam a-* [3] *trāpi pradahāj jātavedah*  
*vyotiṣmatis tatābhā yā salocanā pratyosāntis tam no* [4] *yās te*  
*agne tābhīr me marmāny abhito nudasva mā sā dabhan yātudhānā*  
*nṛcakṣah* [5] *apo devīḥ paśācānām apa niṣyantu āsyam yatheyam*  
*amsamātmanam anadhr̥ṣya pu-* [6] *naḥ pathā sadam puspe sadam*  
*phale sadam indrābhi rakṣatām | sadā piśācān miya-* [7] *ntāmn*  
*mahiṣām ūtseṣi kaś cana z ye patanto yātudhānāṁ divā naktam*  
*upācarām* [8] *rātre mā tebhyo rakṣatv ahnātmanam pari dade z*

In the right margin of f152a is written "maṣaya prapragva" (as nearly as I can make out), with indication that it is to be inserted after pathā sadam.

Read: *vi muñcāmi vrahmaṇā jātavedasam agniṁ hotāram*  
*ajaram rathasprtam | sarvā devānāṁ janimāni vidvān yathābhāgam*  
*vahatu havyam agniḥ z 1 z ye pumāṁso yātudhānā yās striyo*  
*yātudhānyah | balavad indrasya vajrenāvācīnā ni badhyantām z 2 z*  
*yam śapāmo yo naś śapāti yam dviṣmo yo dveṣat piśācaḥ | kravy-*



ādam agner mahatā vādhenā tam atrāpi pra dahāj jātavedāh z 3 z ā  
 rebhe 'sya vaghā asyāpsarā yaś kanvena samvide yātumāvān |  
 ulūkayātūr bhṛmalo yaś ca yātus tvañ yā nudeṣi vaghās sapitryās  
 †tena śrayāhi | r uta māmhidhehibhih† z 4 z †yaś prapād  
 rodhanasyādidevanam† kravyāt piśācaś kraviṣas titṛpsan |  
 ulūkayātūr bhṛmalo ° ° ° z 5 z yaś pāureṇāiti rathena kra-  
 yād yātus piśunah | piśunaś piśunaś piśāco vāiśvānareṇa samyujā  
 sūryeṇa z 6 z †mo no vanim mṛgayām† yaś ca naś kṛṣim pratiṣṭhād  
 yātubhih | yaś ca naś śaphaddhastā rudras saratham †tvāyūn  
 asyatām z 7 z †vāsātu māvytra ta mṛḍatāram† āloka asmāi pradiśo  
 bhavantu | sam enām tapatām rodasī ubhe tam atrāpi pra dahāj  
 jātavedāh z 8 z jyotiṣmatis tapanā vās surocanāh pratiyoṣantis tanvo  
 yās te agne | tābhīr me varmāny abhito nudasva mā mā dabhan  
 yātudhānā nṛcakṣah z 9 z āpo devīś piśācānām apa nahyantv āsyam  
 | †yatheyam aṁsamātmanam† anādhṛya punaś patāt z 10 z sadam  
 puṣpe sadam phale sadam indrābhirakṣatām | sadā piśācā miyantām  
 māiśām uccheṣi kaś cana z 11 z ye patanto yātudhānā divā naktam  
 upācarān | rātri mā tebhyo rakṣatv ahnātmānāh pari dade z 12 z  
 10 z

St 1. For this see also Kāuś. 6. 11.

St 2. In pāda d ny uhyantām might be considered.

St 5. Separately the words of pāda a seem clear but emenda-  
 tion seems needed and I have nothing to offer.

St 6. In pāda c piśunaś piṣṭas would be a much better reading.

St 8. At the end of pāda a probably tam mṛḍitāram is intended.

St 9. With this cf ApŚ 4. 6. 4.

St 11. The first part of this does not seem very good: for d see  
 Ppp 10. 12. 9d.

# 11

(§ 19. 28-30)

[f152a8] imām badhnāmi te mañim dīrghāyutvā- [9] ya varcase  
 | darbham sapatnājam bhanam divīś tapanam hṛdāh śattīnām  
 tāpayam ma- [10] naś druhāndas sarvās tvañ darbha ghar-  
 māivābhīr sa tāpayam z gharmāivābhītapamta [11] darbha divīśo  
 ni caśan mane hṛdih sapatnānām bhindhīr indrāśo vivṛjam [12]  
 balam z bhindhī darbha sapatnānām hṛdayam divīśatām mane |  
 udyam tvacam i- [13] va bhūmyām śrayeṣām vi pātayah z chindhī  
 darbha sapatnān me chi me pṛtanāya- [14] taś chindhī me sarvā

djuhāṇḍaḥ chindī me dviṣato maṇe | bhindhi darbhā sa- [15]  
 patnān me bhindhi me pṛtanāyataḥ bhindhi me sarvā djuhāṇḍaḥ  
 bhindhi me dviṣato ma- [16] ne z klanta darbhā sapatnān me klanta  
 me pṛtanāyataḥ klanta me sarvā djuhāṇḍaḥ [17] klanta me dviṣato  
 maṇe z piṇṣa darbhā sapatrān me piṣa me pṛtanāyataḥ piṇ- [18]  
 ṣa me sarvan djuhāṇḍaḥ piṇṣa me dviṣato maṇe z viddhi darbhā  
 sapatnār me [19] viddhi me pṛtanāyataḥ viddhi me sarvān dru-  
 hāṇḍo viddhi me dviṣato maṇe z [f152b] niksā darbhā sapatnā me  
 niksā me pṛtanāyataḥ niksā me sarvān djuhāṇḍo ni- [2] kṣa me  
 dviṣato maṇe z tṛndhi darbhā sapatnān me tṛndhi me pṛtanāyataḥ  
 | [3] tṛndhi me sarvān djuhāṇḍaḥ tṛndhi me dviṣato maṇe z  
 bhaṅkti darbhā sapatnār me bhakti [4] me pṛtanāyataḥ bhaṅkti  
 me sarvan djuhāṇḍaḥ bhaṅkti me dviṣato maṇe z mṛḍa [5] darbhā  
 sapatrān me mṛḍa me pṛtanāyataḥ mṛḍa me sarvān djuhāṇḍaḥ  
 mṛḍa me dvi- [6] sato maṇe z mantha darbhā sapatnā me mantha  
 me pṛtanāyataḥ mantha me [7] sarvān djuhāṇḍo mantha me  
 dviṣato maṇe z piṇḍhi darbhā sapatnān me piṇḍhi [8] me pṛtanā-  
 yataḥ piṇḍhi me sarvān djuhāṇḍaḥ piṇḍhi me dviṣato maṇe z [9]  
 oṣa darbhā sapatnār me oṣa me pṛtanāyataḥ oṣa me sarvān djuhāṇḍa  
 oṣa [10] me dviṣato maṇe dāha darbhā sapatnā me dāha saha me  
 pṛtanāyataḥ | [11] dāha me sarvān djuhāṇḍo dāha me dviṣato  
 maṇe z jāhi darbhā sapa- [12] tṇā me jāhi me pṛtanāyataḥ jāhi  
 me sarvān djuhāṇḍo jāhi me dvi- [13] sato maṇe z yat te darbhā  
 jarāmṛtyuṣ sate sanmasu manma te | tenemaṇi [14] manmaṇi  
 kṛtvā sapatnān jāhi viryamām, z satam te darbhā varmāni sa-  
 [15] hasram viryāni | te tvam asmāi viṣve tvām devā jarase bhar-  
 tavā daduḥ z tvā- [16] m indrād devavarmāhus tvām darbhā vrāh-  
 manaspatiṁ | tvām indrasydhur varmā tvām [17] rāṣṭrāni sarva  
 rakṣasi z sapatnakṣam darbhā ca dviṣatas tapanam hṛ- [18] dāḥ  
 z sani kṣatrasya vardhasya tanupānam kṛnōmi te | yat samudro  
 bhy akranda- [f153a] t parjanya vidyutā saha | tato hiranyayo  
 hindus tato darbhā ajāyata z z [2] iti kuśadarbhāsūktam.  
 z z ity atharvanīkōpāippalādayaś sūkhā- [3] yām trayodaśaḥ  
 kāṇḍaś samāptāḥ z z kāṇḍa 18 z z atha trayodaśaḥ  
 prathamadyāyāḥ z om namo nārāyaṇāya z om mahāgana- [4]  
 pataye z om namo jvalābhagavatyaḥ om namas tilottamāyāi z z  
 om namas sūrya- [5] ya z z

In the right margin of f152a is "darbhādhi roām": the form  
 viddhi in f152a18 is corrected to vindi, and the two occurrences in



line 19 seem to be corrected to vindhi. In fl52b3 the two forms bhañkti and bhakti are corrected to bhañkti.

Read: imam badhnāmi te mañim dīrghāyutvāya varcase |  
 darbham sapatnajambhanam dviṣatas tapanam hṛdaḥ z 1 z  
 dviṣatas tapanam hṛdaś śātrūnām tāpayan manah | durhārdas  
 sarvāns tvam darbha gharma ivābhīt samtāpaya z 2 z gharma ivā-  
 bhitapan darbha dviṣato niśocan mane | hṛdaḥ sapatnānām bhīn-  
 dhīndra iva virojan balam z 3 z bhīndhi darbha sapatnānām  
 hṛdayam dviṣatām mane | udyan tvacam iva bhūmyām śira eśām  
 vi pātaya z 4 z chindhi darbha sapatnān me chindhi me pṛtanāyataḥ  
 | chindhi me sarvān durhārdaś chindhi me dviṣato mane z 5 z  
 bhīndhi o o o o z 6 z kṛta o o o o z 7 z piṇṣa  
 o o o o z 8 z vidhya o o o o z 9 z nikṣa o o o o  
 z 10 z tṛndhi o o o o z 11 z bhañdhi o o o o z 12 z  
 mṛda o o o o z 13 z mantha o o o o z 14 z piñdhi  
 o o o o z 15 z oṣa o o o o z 16 z daḥa o o o o  
 z 17 z jahi darbha sapatnān me jahi me pṛtanāyataḥ | jahi me  
 sarvān durhārdo jahi me dviṣato mane z 18 z yat te darbha jarā-  
 mṛtyu śatām marmasu marma te | tenemañi tmanmañi kṛtvā  
 sapatnān jahi vīryāṁsām z 19 z śatām te darbha varmāṇi sahasrañ  
 vīryāṇi te | tam asmāi viśve tvām devā jarase bhartavā aduḥ z 20 z  
 tvām indra devavarmanābus tvām darbha vrahmaṇaspatim | tvām  
 indrasyaḥur varma tvām rāstrāṇi sarvā rakṣaśi z 21 z sapatnakṣa-  
 yamañ darbha dviṣatas tapanam hṛdaḥ | mañim kṣatrasya vṛd-  
 dhasya tanūpānam kṛṇomi te z 22 z yat samudro bhyakrandat  
 parjanya vidyutā saha | tato hiranyayo bindus tato darbho ajāyata  
 z 23 z 11 z iti kusadarbhasūktam zz

There is no indication in the ms of three hymns as given in Ś, and there is no reason for separating the material into three. In the first 18 stanzas the variants are unimportant: our stt 5 and 6 are 6 and 5 in Ś; as its seventh Ś has a stanza with vṛśca, which I have not restored to our version. In Ś 19. 29. 3 rundhi appears for our bhañdhi.

The difficulties are in the last five stanzas; I have not solved them but the readings offered here do not depart far from our ms and so may find some commendation.

The colophons are misplaced and do not seem to be worth editing.



## 12

[f153a6] *om antarhitam me vrhad antarikṣam antarhitāḥ parvatā agnayo me | ma-* [7] *hiṣām rādhy avacāra eṣat pratyak enām pratisareṇa hanmi | tapasva māvantaro ma-* [8] *d bhavātho divam varma pṛthivīm ca kṛṇvahe z antarhitam mamāma prasthitam a-* [9] *ntarhitāḥ parameṣṭhī prajāpatih antarhitāḥ sarparājño virān me antarhi-* [10] *taḥ puruṣo medhyo me antarhitāḥ me ṣaḍ ūrvīḥ sadhracir antarhitās sādhyā pa-* [11] *patā me z marṣayaḥ pracetaso antarhitāḥ sūryo mātariśvā antarhitā na-* [12] *dyāḥ syandamānān antarhitā oṣadhīḥ puṣpīṇir me | antarhitōḥ paśava-* [13] *ś kakṣā me antarhitam vayo yat patattri | antarhitā sa iṣavo vrāhmaṇānām a-* [14] *ntarhitā vanaspataya myalā z antarhitā devatālpās puro me ntarhitā jaga-* [15] *tīś chandasān me | antarhitā agnayo dhṛṣṇyā me antarhitā ārtavā me | a-* [16] *ntarhitā me samudrā dvādaśā me ntarhitā uṣaś tārakā me | antarhitā* [17] *me pradiśāś catasra antar bhūta havyam ca deyam mahiṣām rādhy avacāra eṣat pratyak e-* [18] *nām pratisareṇa hanmi |*

Read: antarhitam me vrhad antarikṣam antarhitāḥ parvatā agnayo me | mahiṣām rādhye 'vacara eṣaḥ pratyag enām pratisareṇa hanmi z 1 z tapasva māvantaro mad bhavathā divam varma pṛthivīm ca kṛṇvahe | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 2 z antarhitam me sāmā prasthitam antarhitāḥ parameṣṭhī prajāpatih | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 3 z antarhitāḥ sarparājño virān me antarhitāḥ puruṣo medhyo me | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 4 z antarhitā me ṣaḍ ūrvīḥ sadhracir antarhitās sādhyā apāpatā me | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 5 z antarhitā ma ṛṣayaḥ pracetaso antarhitāḥ sūryo mātariśvā | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 6 z antarhitā nadyāḥ syandamānā antarhitā oṣadhīḥ puṣpīṇir me | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 7 z antarhitāḥ paśavaḥ kakṣā me antarhitam me vayo yat patattri | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 8 z antarhitā ma iṣavo vrāhmaṇānām antarhitā vanaspataya tmyalā | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 9 z antarhitā devatālpās puro me 'ntarhitā jagatīś chāndaśā me | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 10 z antarhitā agnayo dhṛṣṇyā me antarhitā ārtava ārtavā me | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 11 z antarhitā samudrā dvādaśā me 'ntarhitā uṣaś tārakā me | mahiṣām ° ° ° z 12 z antarhitā me pradiśāś catasro antarhitam bhūtam havyam ca deyam | mahiṣām rādhye 'vacara eṣaḥ pratyag enām pratisareṇa hanmi z 13 z 12 z

It seems reasonably sure that the arrangement with refrain is

correct: the d pāda appears § 4. 40. 1d-8d. The emendation of the first pāda of the refrain seems possible but more can hardly be said. At the end of 9b we might read 'mlāh.

13

[f153a18] hanmī te haṁ kṛtaṁ havir yo me ghoram acikṛtaḥ |  
a- [19] pāṁcyo tū ubhāu bāhū apīśyāsyāsyam | api nīśyāsi te bāhū  
api nīhyā- [f153b] myasyāsyam | agner devasya manyamānā tena  
te varṣam havir yome ghomaram adikṛtaḥ z u- [2] dītaś śatayo-  
janam indro vartayate ratham sāyakaṁ kṣuravantam mānim aher  
jātā- [3] nī jambhaya z dṛdhā śentyāyam hatā udara sarpiṇāḥ  
praśchasi dveṣtrāya- [4] ntas svāpindam adan yuva z pāpaka  
pāparūpaka kiṁ me sakhāyam ā turī | [5] namāmi paśyāga rapaḥ  
yasyaśadhayaś prasarpathāṅgam aṅgam paruṣaś paru | tasmā-  
[6] d yakṣmām vi bādhasvam ugrō madhyamaśir iva z anyā vo  
anyām avatv anyānyasyā [7] upāvataḥ z oṣadhayaś samvidhānā  
idam me pratīrtā vacaḥ ārapā- [8] tantir avidam devā oṣadhayaś  
pari | yam jīvam aśnavāmahi na sa riśyāti [9] pūruṣaś z yā  
oṣadhayaś somarājūḥ dviś śata vṛkṣaṇāḥ vṛhaspī- [10] tiprasūtās  
tā no mūñcantv aṇhasaḥ z jīvalām naghāriṣām ā te bādhnāmy o-  
[11] ṣadhīm | vyā tvāyur upāharād apa rakṣāṁsi cātayā z z  
[12] ity atharvaṇi trayodaśā kāṇḍa prathamo nūdvakaḥ z z

Read: hanmī te haṁ kṛtaṁ havir yo me ghoram acikṛtaḥ |  
upāncāu te ubhāu bāhū api nahyāmy āsyam z 1 z api nahyāmi te  
bāhū api nahyāmy āsyam | agner devasya manyamānā tena te  
'vadhiṣam havir yo me ghoram acikṛtaḥ z 2 z uditaś śatayojanam  
indro vartayate ratham | sāyakaṁ kṣuravantam mānim aher  
jātāni jambhayat z 3 z dṛdhā śayanti ya āyan hatā-udare sarpiṇāḥ |  
prechasi dveṣtrāyantas svāpindam | adan yuva z 4 z pāpaka pāpa-  
rūpaka kiṁ me sakhāyam ā tudāḥ | namāmi śacyāgatam \* \* \* \*  
rapaḥ z 5 z yasyaśadhayaś prasarpathāṅgam-aṅgam paruṣ-paruḥ |  
tasmād yakṣmām vi bādhadhivam ugro madhyamaśir iva z 6 z anyā  
vo anyām avatv anyānyasyā upāvata | oṣadhayaś samvidhānā idam  
me pratīrtā vacaḥ z 7 z avapatantir avidan diva oṣadhayaś pari |  
yam jīvam aśnavāmahi na sa riśyāti pūruṣaś z 8 z yā oṣadhayaś  
somarājūḥ bahviś śatavikṣaṇāḥ | vṛhaspatiprasūtās tā no mūñ-  
cantv aṇhasaḥ z 9 z jīvalām naghāriṣām ā te bādhnāmy oṣadhīm |  
rā tvāyur upāharād apa rakṣāṁsi cātayāt z 10 z 13 z

Most of the stanzas which make up this hymn are found else-

where: stt 1 and 2 in TB 2. 4. 2. 2 and 3 (cf. Ś 7. 70. 4 and 5); st 5bc in Ppp 1. 44. 2bc; stt 6-9 in RV 10. 97. 12, 14, 17, 18ab and 15cd; st 10 in PrāṇāgU 1.

St 3. All of pāda c seems uncertain.

St 5. In pāda d there is surely an omission; RV 10. 97. 10d yat kim ca tanvo rapaḥ would fit tolerably well.

St 6. With variants this appears in Ś 4. 9. 4, Ppp 8. 3. 11 and 9. 9. 2.

St 7. In pāda d RV has prāvātā.

St 8. In pāda a RV has avadan.

St 10. In pāda c PrāṇāgU has yā ta āyur upaharād.

Immediately following this hymn in the ms we find the material which has already been edited as parts of hymns one and two in Book Twelve, and so it is not considered here: see JAOS 46. 34.

## 14

[f154b5] kim indrasya parihi- [6] tam kim agneḥ kim viṣṇos  
tvaṣṭur varuṇasya vāsaḥ vṛhaspater uta somasya rājñāḥ [7] kim  
vāsānā maruto varṣantu z

In pāda d vāsānā seems probable; read varṣanti.

dhāto rudrasya kim vāyoh vājinā vraji- [8] nam mahat. | kim  
pūṣā vrahmaṇaspatir viṣve devās ca bibhrati z

In pāda a read dhātū, in b vājinām vṛjanam (or possibly vrajanam).

kim devā [9] devānām paridhānam samānam yassin esām  
sāmnāḥ sambadhūva kva rātri ni [10] visate kvāha kvedam adhraṁ  
bhavati yat sameti veti ca z

In pāda a delete "devā" at end of line 9, in b read yasminn and probably samanām; in c rātri and kvāha, in d vyeti.

katamenūpo divam u- [11] d vahanti kasya tadann eneti nena-  
nelām vātasya tvā vidyatāstanayann urapām [12] prāchāmy evā  
ny agne z

In pāda b I can suggest nothing plausible: in c read vidyuto  
astanayann, and perhaps kva for tvā; in d the first word should  
probably be something like tanūpām; read prāchāmy.

prāchāmi tvā prātiyam rohiṇīm ca vatsam prāchā- [13] mi tvā



*pr̥ṣatiyam rohinīm ca vatsam pr̥schāmi sahamātaramantā indram tvā  
ni* [14] *pr̥schāmi sākṣāt sabhānām ca sabhāpatim.* 2

In pāda a read *pr̥chāmi* and *pr̥ṣatiṁ*, in b *pr̥chāmi* and  
°*mātaram* te followed by colon: in c *pr̥chāmi*. This is stanza 5.

*ko vayasām adadhām nāmā-* [15] *nī kaṣ paśūnām kaḥ sarpānām  
devajanā yāsām ko sya jantor a-* [16] *yad ā vrūhi nas that.* 2

In pāda a read *adadhān*; in c *ya āsan kasya* might be possible, but  
it would be more symmetrical if we read *devajanānām ya āsan ko*  
'*dadhād*'; in d I do not believe *ayad* can stand and so cannot make  
out the first part of the pāda; at the end of d read *tat*.

*katī rohā svar ā rohayanty eti rohito devam ā ru-* [17] *roha  
rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ kṣatrabhṛto vasubhṛto vasudīnavo vasuyavaḥ* 2

In pāda a we may read *rohās*, and *rohayanti*, in b probably *yebhī*  
and *divam*; the rest seems hardly metrical; read *kṣatra*° and  
*vasūyavaḥ*; for *vasudīnavo* I can suggest nothing.

*kaś cat tavā vi* [18] *kramate mahitvā ko rakṣantu ka vo pra-  
śādam. puruṣam tvā nī pr̥schāmi* [19] *sākṣan mṛtyor aṅgāni katī  
tāni vetthaḥ*

In pāda a read *cit tāvān* and *kramate*; in b possibly *rakṣati ko*  
*vā*, but it appears that two syllables have been lost from this pāda  
and so we might better think of something like *ko vadati prasādam*.  
In c read *pr̥chāmi sākṣan*, in d *aṅgāni* and *vettha*.

*aḥamṣi carukaś carṣa-* [20] *nīnām indro vajra mahinā spar-  
dhamānaḥ yena vṛtram maghavā* [f155a] \*\*\**ve tam na pra vrūhy  
ad idam praveṣa*

In the first two words of pāda a perhaps are concealed a form  
of *han* and a derivative of *tar* (e. g. *taruṣa*) or *varyaḥ kaś*; in b  
read *vajram*; in c *vṛtram*, *sam pipise*; the lacuna in c is due to  
peeling of the bark which has deleted the first letters of the first  
eight lines of f155a. For d read *tan naḥ pra vrūhi yad idam  
pravettha*.

*kaḥ parvatānām aridhā nāmāni ko vanaspa-* [2] *\*inām adadhā  
cośadhīnām.* 2 *pr̥schāmi tvā bhuvanasya nābhīm sām tvā pr̥schā-*  
[3] *m\* katamāni sākṣāt.* 2

In pāda a read *adadhān*, for b *ko vanaspatīnām adadhāc oṅga-  
dhīnām*: in c *pr̥chāmi*, in d *sām tvā*, or possibly *sāmtvā pr̥chāmi*.  
This is stanza 10.

*devatālpā devakoṣā kveha tām na pra vrūhy ad ī-* [4]\*\*\* *pravettha | prschāmi tvā gargara kim to yebhyo agnir havyam vahatu prajānan. z* [5] *\*hataṁ martyīr amṛto martyebhyaḥ z*

In pāda a read °koṣaḥ, for b read as st 9d: in c prschāmi and kim tebhya, in d vahati: in e probably āhutaṁ martyāir.

*svapnenekas tapasā sahīty aṅgani grhṇān pu-* [6] \*\**sasya cakṣuḥ sa prātar atī tapasā punas saḥajyotir iti kva sṛjeti |*

In pāda a read svapnenāikas and sāsaḥīty, in b aṅgāni and puruṣasya: in c read eti, in d saḥajyotir eti: for the rest I would suggest kva sarjayati, but the phrase seems somewhat out of place here.

[7] \*\**tapati madhupatiṁ madhuprṣā madhupatiṁ devās tvam sarvaṁ prschāmy ahūtāda-* [8] \*\**a ta kati |*

In pāda a we read vratapatiṁ, in b madhupruṣaṁ or madhupreṁ: for cd possibly devāns tvām sarvān prschāmy ahūtādas ca te kati.

*ko antarikṣāt pratipaścatāide yasmād agra indriyam sambabhūva* | [9] *mahat sada kasmād abhayaṁ vi bhāhi kasye kutasyāndyāsra kvālohitam* [10] *parāpatata kveha |*

In pāda a we might read pratipaśyata idaṁ, in c sadaḥ; it looks as if kasye kutasyāndyāsra represented a fourth pāda, but I can make nothing out of it; the rest would be a good pāda although I have doubts about kvālohitam.

*ītham eke pra vrajanti ītham eke dakṣiṇāḥ pratyāñco* [11] *dañca prāñco bhī vrñjaty eke teṣāṁ sarveṣāṁ iha saṅgatiḥ sākaṁ*

In pādas ab I would read eke 'rvāñcaḥ pra vrajantiītham, in b pratyāñcaḥ (before colon): in c udāñcaḥ and vrñjanty. This is stanza 15, and it seems to me to be the last stanza of the hymn: some seven lines of brāhmaṇa-like material follow in the ms, as given immediately below.

*sa eko bhū-* [12] *tis carati prajānan. | maricar āsit sāmānasas samabhavat. z* z [13] *sā prāvīta sā garbham ādhattā z sa garbho vardhatu sa vṛddho vravij jāyā-* [14] *yati z tasyai prajāpatiḥ juho svadhīṣṭhānād eti svadhicaranāc celi z* [15] *prajāpati samrje kapale vijihātān māsāṁ maitvā patiṁ māha-* [16] *ntam lokam abhipatyamāne | so jā ṛtasya jātasya dyāvāprthiviḥ pārvaya-* [17] *stām samudro kuṣṭi sūryācandramasiv akṣau virāḥ cīruḥ tasmāj jātās su-* [18] *rvo pāpmāno vijayante ya evaṁ veda z z ity*

atharvaṇīkapāi- [19] ppalādaya sākhyām trayodaśaś kāṇḍas  
samāptaḥ zz zz

Perhaps the following is a possible edition of the preceding:  
sa eko bhūtiṃ carati prajānan | maricir āsit sā manasas sam  
abhavat z sā prārdhita sā garbham ādhatta | sa garbho vardhatu  
sa vṛddho 'vraṇīj jāyāiti z tasyāi prajāpatir juhōti svādhiṣṭhānād  
eti svādhicaranāc cāiti z prajāpatis sasrje kapāle tvijihātān māsām |  
matvā patiṃ mahāntaṃ lokam abhipatyamānaḥ z so jā ṛtasya  
jātasya dyāvāpṛthivī pārśve astām samudrāu kuṣī sūryacandra-  
masāv akṣyūn virāṭ chirah | tasmāj jātās sarve pāpmāno vi jayante  
ya evaṃ veda z z

ity atharvaṇīkapāippalādāyās sākhyām trayodaśaś kāṇḍas samā-  
ptaḥ zz zz

NOTE. I have just recently had access to a ms of the AVPāipp which is  
described on pages 276-7 of *Government Collections of Manuscripts, Deccan  
College, Poona*, published by the Government of Bombay 1916. It gives no  
significant or valuable variants, but in a few places it has letters which  
have been lost from the birch bark by peeling. E. g. in 14.9c it has sam  
pīve, and in 14.13a it has vratapati.



## THE MISUSE OF CASE FORMS IN THE ACHAEMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS

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AS A RULE highly inflected languages are remarkably free from gross errors in the use of case forms. It would be difficult to find in the most illiterate of Greek or Latin inscriptions anything parallel to colloquial English "It's me" or "He saw you and I". There are, of course, departures from approved usage, but only in matters less cardinal than the construction of the predicate nominative and the accusative of the direct object, at least in short sentences. Meisterhans-Schwyzler<sup>1</sup> devote about nine pages to case uses in Attic inscriptions; but the variations from normal there treated are no more drastic than *ἰδού, χειλιόων; τὸν ἐνιαυτόν*, "year by year"; the genitive to denote the time within which; the genitive after *νικάω*, "to surpass"; the dative without a preposition to denote time or place; and anacoluthon in long sentences. As far as I know this is about the state of affairs in all save one of the highly inflected Indo-European languages, and it is the situation to be expected in all languages which mark the essential syntactic relationships of nouns by differences of form. All who must depend upon the categories of nominative, genitive, accusative, etc., to make clear the meaning of nearly every sentence necessarily learn to manage them almost perfectly. Our difficulty in distinguishing between *I* and *me*, *who* and *whom*, etc., is due to lack of practice; and this is the reason also why children of English speech find it difficult to manage the case system of Latin or of Greek. German and Russian children have no such difficulty, except, of course, that some effort is required to learn the foreign forms.

The single Indo-European language which appears to form an exception is Old Persian. Although our documents in that language are few and their sentence structure extremely simple, they show several extraordinary aberrations from normal case usage.

Artaxerxes II gives his lineage as follows. For the convenience

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, pp. 203-211.

of readers who are unfamiliar with Old Persian I supply a literal Latin translation.

Art. II Sus. a 1-3:

Ōstiy Artaxšašā, . . . Dārayavaušahyā xšāyaθiyahyā puθ'a, Dārayavaušahyā  
 Loquitur Artaxerxes, Darei regis filius, Darei  
 Artaxšašāhyā xšāyaθiyahyā puθ'a, Artaxšašāhyā Xšāyārcāhyā xšāyaθiyahyā  
 Artaxerxis regis filius, Artaxerxis Xerxis regis  
 puθ'a, Xšāyārcāhyā Dārayavaušahyā xšāyaθiyahyā puθ'a, Dārayavaušahyā  
 filius, Xerxis Darei regis filius, Darei  
 Vištāspahyā puθ'a.  
 Hystaspis filius.

The same formula occurs in Art. II Hamadan 1-4, with certain variations in the orthography of the proper names. Scholars have usually felt that correct syntax would have put the second occurrence of each personal name in the nominative so that the following *puθ'a* would be its predicate nominative (e.g. *Dārayavauš Artaxšašāhyā puθ'a* = *Dareus Artaxerxis filius*); but Ware and Kent<sup>2</sup> point out that we have each name repeated in the form already used, and that the syntactic error is rather in the word *puθ'a*, which ought to stand in the genitive case.

Artaxerxes II uses nominative for genitive again in Sus. b:

Adam Artaxšašā, xšāyaθiya, vazarka xšāyaθiya, xšāyaθiyānā xšāyaθiya.  
 Ego Artaxerxes, rex, magnus rex, regum rex,  
 Dārayavauš xšāyaθiyahyā puθ'a.  
 Dareus regis filius.

Ware and Kent<sup>2</sup> suggest that *Dārayavauš* may be a mistaken writing for the old genitive *Dārayavauš*; but Artaxerxes elsewhere makes the genitive of his father's name *Dārayavaušahyā* (Sus. a 1) or *Dārayavaušahyā* (Ham. 2), and so we must conclude that the old genitive form had been supplanted by an *o*-stem genitive.

An additional reason for thinking that *Dārayavauš* in Art. II Sus. b is a nominative used in place of a genitive is that Artaxerxes III uses this nominative along with several others where correct

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 53, 57.

<sup>3</sup> *TAPA* 55, 53 f.

syntax calls for genitives. The passage (Art. III Pers. 11-20) runs as follows:

Adam Artaxšāθ'ā xšāyaθiya puθ'a, Artaxšāθ'ā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya puθ'a,  
 Ego Artaxerxes rex filius, Artaxerxes Dareus rex filius,  
 I (am of) king Artaxerxes the son, Artaxerxes (was of) king Dareus the son,  
 Dārayavauš Artaxšāθ'ā xšāyaθiya puθ'a, Artaxšāθ'ā Xšayāršā xšāyaθiya  
 Dareus Artaxerxes rex filius, Artaxerxes Xerxes rex  
 Darius (was of) king Artaxerxes the son, Artaxerxes (was of) king Xerxes  
 puθ'a, Xšayāršā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya puθ'a, Dārayavauš Vištāspahyā  
 filius, Xerxes Dareus rex filius, Dareus Hystaspis  
 the son, Xerxes (was of) king Darius the son, Darius (was) of Hyataspes  
 nāma puθ'a, Vištāspahyā Aršāma nāma puθ'a.  
 nomine filius, Hystaspis Arsames nomine filius.  
 by name the son, [of] Hyataspes (was of) Arsames by name the son.

It would scarcely be possible to read such a composition as this unless one had a pretty clear idea of what the author would be likely to say. For us the necessary key is furnished by Herodotus and by the inscriptions of Artaxerxes' predecessors. The most remarkable feature of the passage is that in the midst of the long series of nominative forms, some functioning as nominatives and some as genitives, we meet the genitive form *Vištāspahyā*, which, like its neighbors, functions first as a genitive and then as a nominative.

In the same inscription which presents this thorough confusion of nominative and genitive we find the nominative used for the accusative (lines 5-6):

hya mām, Artaxšāθ'ā, xšāyaθiya akunauš  
 qui me, Artaxerxes, rex fecit  
 who made me, Artaxerxes, king

To make the confusion of the three cases complete, there is a phrase in which the accusative is used for the genitive. The idea, "that which was done by me", is expressed several times by the neuter of the participle and the genitive of the pronoun: *tya manā kartam* = *τό ποῦ ποιεῖν* (Darius Beh. 1. 27, 2. 91, 3. 10, Xerxes Pers. a 19, etc.), *tyamaiy kartam* = *τό μου ποιεῖν* (Xerxes Pers. b 30, c 13, d 19). At the close of his inscription (lines 24-26) Artaxerxes III implores Auramazdā to "protect me . . . and this country and that done by me." The parallelism with certain pe-



titions by Xerxes and Artaxerxes II guarantees the meaning of the last phrase, but it runs: *tya mām kartā* (*mām* is accusative—*id*). Kent<sup>4</sup> suggests that *kartā* may be an abstract noun, and if so we have an additional instance of the nominative standing for accusative; but it seems simpler to regard *kartā* as an error for *kartam* (there are over 25 errors in the 95 words of this inscription!). However this may be, Kent does not succeed in explaining the use of the accusative *mām* to denote the agent; either participle or abstract calls for the genitive of the pronoun.

The facts noted above have long been familiar to scholars; they are a part of the basis for the usual condemnation of the later Old Persian inscriptions—those of Artaxerxes II and Artaxerxes III—as very incorrect.<sup>5</sup> I have here separated the errors in case construction from the others in order to call attention to the fact that the Achaemenian inscriptions present a second instance of this rare and surprising phenomenon—a language with elaborate case inflection and flagrant misuse<sup>6</sup> of the cases. The Babylonian version, in fact, does more violence than the Old Persian to logical case syntax.

The inscription of Artaxerxes III has not been preserved in a Babylonian version, and those of Artaxerxes II consist largely of proper names, which are not declined in Babylonian. I shall therefore take a few striking illustrations from the earlier inscriptions. The formulaic character of some of the texts enables me to cite parallel phrases.

Darius Elv. 2-3 = Xerxes Pers. α 1-2 = d 1:

𐎧𐎱𐎠𐎵𐎲𐎠𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎴𐎡𐎴  
 qui terra hanc fecit  
 who created this earth

<sup>4</sup> TAPA 55, 60 f.

<sup>5</sup> So Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux Perse* 19.

<sup>6</sup> In applying the words "misuse, mistake, error," etc., to certain cases in Babylonian I mean to imply merely that case endings which had once been used quite consistently were frequently interchanged in Achaemenian times, as they had been for many centuries. No doubt such neglect of the grammar of an earlier day did not offend the Babylonian scholars, and so the irregularities were not mistakes in the same sense as our lapses from the rules of normative English grammar.

I am under obligations to Dr. Ettalene M. Grice for several important corrections and suggestions in regard to my Babylonian material.

Compare Xerxes Elv. 3-4:

ša qaq-qa-ra a-ga-a id-din-nu  
qui terram hanc fecit

Darius Pers. g 2-3 = NR c 2 = Xerxes Pers. a 3-4 = d 3 = Elv. 7-8  
= Van. 4: \*

ša dum-ki . . . id-din-nu  
qui salutis fecit  
who created welfare

Xerxes Pers. c 2-3:

ša du-un-qu . . . id-din-nu  
qui salus fecit

Darius Elv. 17-18:

šarru ša \* qaq-qa-ru . . . ra-bi-tum ru-uq-tum  
rex (de) \* terra magna longinqua  
king of the great earth to a distance

Xerxes Pers. a 7-8 = d 7:

šar qaq-qa-ru . . . rabi-ti ru-uq-ti  
rex terra magnae longinquae

Xerxes Elv. 16-18:

šarru ša qaq-qa-ra . . . ra-bi-tum ra-pa-aš-tum  
rex (de) terram magna lata

Xerxes Pers. c 6-7:

šar qaq-qa-ri . . . ra-bi-i-ti ra-pa-aš-tum  
rex terrae magnae lata

Xerxes Van 12-13:

šar qaq-qa-ri ra-bi-tum ra-pa-aš-tum  
rex terrae magna lata

It can scarcely be an accident that a single group of documents exhibits twice over a fully developed and potentially accurate mechanism for making distinctions of case combined with extensive neglect of it. Many languages have given up an inflectional system in favor of other means of marking the essential syn-

\* Non-essential variations between generally equivalent passages are ignored in order to save space.

\* Normal syntax calls for the genitive case after ša in this sense; the nearest Latin equivalent is *de*, but that translation is syntactically misleading.

tactic relationships; but the development of the new mechanism is elsewhere accompanied by the loss of the old. A single exception to this rule would be difficult to explain; it is incredible that what amounts almost to a linguistic miracle should appear twice in the same place. We are forced to believe that one of the two languages has influenced the other.

There can be no doubt that Babylonian has influenced Old Persian in this respect rather than the reverse. Mistakes in the use of the cases are much more common in the Babylonian version, and they occur as frequently in the earlier Achaemenian texts as in the later, while the errors in Old Persian are nearly if not quite confined to the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II and Artaxerxes III. More decisive still is the fact that similar mistakes are to be found in practically all Babylonian and Assyrian documents later than the Code of Hammurabi.\* Brockelmann plausibly suggests that the spoken language early lost the inflectional endings, and that their use by the scribes was merely traditional. The matter needs further investigation; but our present task is merely to point out the fact, and to show that it accounts for the anomalies of Old Persian syntax.

It may be urged that the misuse of case forms in Babylonian is in general confined to common nouns and adjectives; whereas some of the Old Persian phenomena which call for explanation concern proper names and pronouns. It is true, of course, that in Babylonian proper names often lack final vowels and, if they have them, rarely use them to mark case distinctions. In general one may think of the Babylonian proper noun as not declined.<sup>10</sup> But a speaker or writer who did not decline proper nouns in his native language would tend to use foreign proper names in one invariable form. This is precisely the treatment of Persian names in the Babylonian version of the Achaemenian inscriptions. The Persian name *Gaumāta* (gen. \**Gaumātahyā*, acc. *Gaumātam*) appears in the Babylonian version (Darius Beh. 1, 15-28) constantly as *Gu-ma-a-tu*, although it would have been easy to modify the word for genitive and accusative. The transfer of this practice to

\* Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar* 182, 183, 194, 195; Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriss der Vergleichende Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen* 1, 466.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *op. cit.* 181.



Old Persian would account for the use of the nominative of proper names in place of accusative and genitive.

Accadian inscriptions also provide close parallels to the use of the genitive of a proper name for the nominative (*Vištāspahyā* in Artaxerxes III Pers. 19). For example, Sennacherib calls a certain king of Babylon sometimes *Sû-zu-bu* and sometimes *Sû-zu-bi*, and the latter form functions as a nominative in the clause (5. 5): *Arki Sû-zu-bi is-si-hu*, "After Šuzubu had revolted."

Babylonian pronouns also, as employed in the Achaemenian inscriptions, furnish models for the use of Old Persian *mām* in place of a genitive (see above p. 4). To say nothing of the indeclinable pronominal adjectives such as *agā* "this" (fem. *agāta*), *anāku* is freely used not only for *ego* but also for *me*, as in Darius Pers. g. 23:

A-na-ku	ilū-ru-ma-az-da	li-iš-ṣur
Me	Oromasdes	servet

The same form is used for an indirect object, where normal Babylonian syntax demands either an accusative or a prepositional phrase, but where Old Persian syntax calls for a genitive; e.g., Darius NR a 9-10:

Man-da-at-tum	ana-ku	i-na-aš-šid-nu
Tributum	mihi	contulerunt

Others will raise the objection that the Old Persian is the primary text of these inscriptions and that the Babylonian version is a translation of it. Is it reasonable, they will say, to look for Latin idioms in the Greek of the New Testament just because there is a Latin translation?

There is no doubt that the translation was from Old Persian into Elamite and Babylonian.<sup>11</sup> The Old Persian texts are obviously in a genuine colloquial idiom, unaffected by literary artistry;<sup>12</sup> translations could scarcely appear so unstudied. More significant still is the vast difference in style of the Babylonian version from other royal inscriptions in that language; it reflects all the *gaucheries* of the Persian original.

Under these circumstances the only way to explain Babylonian

<sup>11</sup> So, for example, Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* p. xxxii.

<sup>12</sup> See Maillet, *Gramm.* 10-19.

influence upon the Old Persian version is to assume that the texts (perhaps dictated by the king himself) were reduced to writing by Babylonian scribes. It has all along seemed probable that the cuneiform system of writing Old Persian was invented by Babylonian scholars, and here we have evidence that the use of the system remained in Babylonian hands to the end. One may well doubt whether the Persians themselves read or wrote their own language. In that case it is not strange that the later kings failed to secure such efficient service as Darius and Xerxes were able to command; the scribes knew that their masters would be satisfied if the wedges were neatly cut, and that there would be few if any to read their Persian texts.

This is virtually the conclusion reached by Meillet<sup>13</sup> from a study of the Old Persian version of the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II and Artaxerxes III. Ware and Kent<sup>14</sup> undertake to show that the numerous differences between the language of these inscriptions and that of the earlier ones may be ascribed to gravers' errors or to the internal development of the language. While they are undoubtedly right at some points,—Meillet also finds instances of linguistic change in the later inscriptions,—the startling misuse of the Old Persian cases must be charged against scribes whose native speech was Babylonian.

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<sup>13</sup> *Gramm.* 19-22.

<sup>14</sup> *TAPA* 55. 52-61.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Population Problems of the Pacific.* By STEPHEN H. ROBERTS.  
M. A. London: GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, 1927. Pp. 441.  
Price 21/.

The author says: "This book is meant to give an account of the problems of the South Seas islands, both a history of their development and an analysis of their present form." It is a comparative study, attempting to link up the native problems of the Pacific Ocean with similar conditions obtaining elsewhere; the survey deals with racial, economic, and social conditions and interactions. The vast Pacific, with its numerous and yet scattered groups of people, is almost a virgin field for this kind of a study, and the author, though largely a path-finder, has done an excellent piece of work; his survey will remain for a long time a source-book for sociological conditions among the Pacific islanders.

The investigation was along two lines: one of problems concerning the native islanders, the other of the problems resulting from the coming of the Asiatic immigrants. The author shows that, in contradistinction to the opinion held by many that the coming of the Europeans as explorers, missionaries, and traders, is responsible for the decadence of the natives, the old native system was, in fact, beginning to show signs of collapse before the advent of outsiders. He discusses at length the causes and extent of depopulation, and shows that after the coming of the whites, the native social system utterly collapsed because of the breakdown of *taboo* or *tabu*. The discussion of the remedies of population is very full and careful, dealing with psychological, governmental, educational, economic, and social and medical considerations.

Part II deals with the coming of the Asiatic, and with their coming, we find a new set of problems arising. The reason for the advent of the Asiatic is seen in the inadequacy of the natives and the failure of white labor, coupled with the pressing need to develop the resources of the islands. It became clear that outside help must be obtained, and so, during the last fifty years, Asiatics have gone in large numbers from the densely populated countries of China, Japan, and India to these islands.



Professor Roberts takes the Indians in Fiji and the various Asiatic groups in Hawaii as typical cases, and discusses at length the social problems arising from these contacts. He says in dealing with the Hawaiian group: "The facts that there are over 216,000 Asiatics there today, and that one-quarter of the children are of mixed race gives us 'an unparalleled opportunity for the scientific study of racial amalgamation.' In this melting pot of the Pacific, this world in miniature, we have 'the world's greatest experimental station in race mixture,' and a veritable ethnographic museum, the more valuable as the exhibits are living and sentient human beings." In the troublesome question of race mixture through intermarriage our author, from the experience of Hawaii and the Maoris of New Zealand, takes the position that, "if the fusion takes place under suitable conditions, between races not too widely apart in their endowments, and between both sexes of each race, there may be improvement. Hawaii is the best and the most important case in point." Be that as it may, the great need for the Pacific islanders is undoubtedly the re-invigoration of the racial stocks by the introduction of new blood from outside.

The conclusions arrived at are summarized by the author himself, as follows: "As regards the natives, it is fairly clear that the races were enervated and declining before the Europeans came; however, the latter greatly accentuated the decline, both physically and psychologically. But, after about a century and a half of contact, a turning point seems reached; and, taking the ocean as a whole, census reports since prove that the native has established some kind of a harmony between his method of life and his changed environment. This improvement, to continue, must depend upon certain well-defined conditions. Of these, the more important are new interests to fill the existing gap in native life; a 'modified indirect rule' to allow the native to develop in his own conditions to the limit of his capacity; vocational education, chiefly agricultural; 'peasant proprietorship' in the economic world, and taxation for 'social' purposes; adequate medical provision; and, in certain groups, a mixture with more vigorous stocks."

As regards the Asiatics, "Asiatic labor is absolutely inevitable in the Pacific, but its advent means new problems, and is changing the ethnic composition of the Pacific in an unprecedented manner. The Chinese everywhere, the Japanese and Filipinos in Hawaii,

the Indians in Fiji, are making the groups predominantly Asiatic. But this is inevitable if there is to be development; this immigration is not to be deplored but to be desired. To make the position clearer, I have dealt with the problems of Fiji and Hawaii, where the Asiatics are in strongest force, and shown that the resultant problems, while extremely difficult, are not insuperable. Finally, the problem of miscegenation has been analyzed, and the conclusion arrived at that such intermixture, with the safeguards and under the conditions outlined, is one of the hopes of filling the Pacific with an energetic population."

This is a thought-provoking study, and should have an extensive reading by those who are interested in Pacific racial and social problems. The work contains several maps and charts and statistical material; it is well-documented, and at the end has a valuable bibliography. It is by far the most important recent study of the increasing and pressing Pacific problems.

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*La civilisation phénicienne.* By Dr. G. CONTENAU. Paris: PAYOT, 1926. 396 pp. and 133 figures in the text. 25 francs (paper binding).

The French are accustomed to publishing "des ouvrages de vulgarisation," in convenient form at really "popular" prices. This small book by Dr. Contenau contains just as much as many volumes of most impressive external appearance, and yet it costs practically nothing. When it was first published, in the spring of 1926, it might have been bought for 75 cents.

Dr. Contenau is well equipped for writing just such a book, thanks to his years of archaeological and philological research in the Louvre and his excavations at Sidon. There are not many men who combine archaeological and linguistic knowledge as he does. It is not surprising that he has given us a useful and generally accurate account of the present state of our information, written in a very elementary way, as required by the nature of the audience which he is addressing. There are no new discoveries nor sensational viewpoints in his book, but he is up-to-date and in sympathy with the changing attitude of the modern historian



towards the old problems. Thanks to the remarkable results of the excavations of Montet and Dunand at Djebel (Byblos) our knowledge of Phoenicia in the Bronze Age has been completely revolutionized, and the future bids fair to provide us with even greater surprises. Phoenicia is decidedly the most interesting land in the Near East to the archaeologist of to-day—to-morrow his attention will perhaps be diverted to Asia Minor. In the splendid issues of *Syria*, the French have rendered the new finds accessible to the scholar; this book by Contenau will make them intelligible to the layman.

Dr. Contenau's chronology will confuse those who have been following the progress of Palestinian archaeology in the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the *Revue Biblique*, or the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*. His system is, however, essentially the same, aside from the terminology. Following is a comparative table of the two systems:

Contenau	Official Palestinian
	{ Early Bronze (Canaanite) 3000-2000
Cananéen Ancien 3000-1550	{ Middle Bronze " 2000-1600
Cananéen Moyen 1550-1100	Late Bronze " 1600-1200
Cananéen Recent 1100-332	Early Iron (Palestinian) 1200-300

The reviewer is inclined to date the Late Bronze from 1550 to 1150 B. C., or practically to the exact figures given by Contenau for the "Cananéen Moyen." Since English, American, and German scholars all employ essentially the same system as the "official Palestinian," and the foremost French authority, Père Vincent, is one of the authors of it, it will doubtless prevail.

In his account of the Stone Age in Phoenicia (pp. 41 ff.), which is a little short, no mention is made of Karge's monumental *Rephaim*, which has also been overlooked in the otherwise excellent bibliography. The problems of the Stone Age are rapidly shaping themselves along new lines, thanks to the development of our knowledge regarding the Capsian, which in North Africa and Western Asia ran parallel to the Mesolithic of Northwestern Europe. We also know that there was little or no true Neolithic in Western Asia, where the Aeneolithic or Chalcolithic seems to have followed almost on the heels of the Capsian, between 7000 and 5000 B. C.



The discussion of the possible Asiatic origin of Egyptian civilization, pp. 48-56, is a little out of place, not because the book is popular, but because it is an account of Phoenicia. Thanks to the study of comparative ceramics, we now know that the relation between the Egyptian and Mesopotamian foci of culture was fairly stable. During the latter part of the Aeneolithic, we find that Palestine, including Galilee, and presumably Southern Phoenicia, possessed a ceramic art which was essentially identical with that of the Second Predynastic period in Egypt (about the second half of the fourth millennium B.C.). This art was characterized by wavy ledge handles, net designs in red or brown paint, etc. In Central and Northern Syria we find at the same time a wholly distinct type of pottery, consisting of graceful, thin walled vessels, usually buff-colored, or covered with a light slip, and generally decorated with geometric or stylized painting in black or brown. This is the same pottery as that which was characteristic of Mesopotamia throughout the latter part of the fourth millennium (Susa II). In the Early Bronze Age we find that the ledge handles are restricted to Central and Southern Palestine, and that the typical Early Bronze incised ware of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia has invaded all Palestine, south as well as north, and that Egyptian influences in pottery are rarer. Toward the end of the Early Bronze the Egyptian influence declines greatly, but comes to life again in the Middle Bronze, which corresponds to the Middle Kingdom chronologically.

That Byblos was originally an Egyptian colony appears from the fact that its site seems to have been destitute of springs, and was not adapted to the irrigation culture which was characteristic of the other Aeneolithic and Early Bronze Age towns; see *Bulletin of the American Schools*, No. 21, p. 4 f.

The discussion of the Phoenician religion, pp. 99-147, is judicious. Contensu recognizes that Philo Byblus and his source Sanchuniathon have been unduly depreciated, and that they have preserved very ancient traditions, along with some late syncretistic and pseudophilosophical speculations; cf. the reviewer's remarks, *JPOS* 2, 190 f., and *JBL* 43, 365 ff. With regard to the character of Resef (p. 110 f.) the reviewer may refer to the full discussion in the *Haupt Anniversary Volume*, pp. 146 ff., where it has been shown that this god corresponds almost exactly to the Babylonian

Nergal, a fact which strongly suggests that his cult was in part of Mesopotamian origin. In the review of Boylan's *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, *JPOS* 2. 190 ff., we have tried to show that Maspero's old explanation of the name *Ešmūn* as derived from Eg. *Hmw*, title of Thoth as the Ogdoad, is correct. There are some very important additional arguments for this thesis, which the reviewer hopes to present in the near future. It is, however, a mistake to attribute the derivation of the name from *šm*, "name," to Paton (p. 111), since it was first advanced, so far as the reviewer is aware, by Lidzbarski (later by the reviewer, independently, *AJSL* 36. 1920, p. 274, note). In the account of Adonis (pp. 114 ff.) Schroeder's discovery that this god is mentioned in the letters of Rib-Addi of Byblos under the old Sumerian name *Damu* is overlooked, though it is of prime importance for the study of the Byblian syncretism, which undoubtedly had a very complex origin. For the origin of the name *Tut penē Ba'al* cf. *AJSL* 41. 81, n. 2, and 284 f. With reference to p. 120, it may be noted that Gressmann has proved the identity of the *TM* of the Amarna Tablets with Ba'al, in a paper which appeared in the *Baudissin Festschrift*.

The discussion of the alphabet (pp. 309 ff.) naturally revolves around the Ahīrām inscription (cf. the reviewer's treatment of it, *JPOS* 6. 75 ff.), which is dated in the thirteenth century. This date had been accepted by the reviewer, as by other scholars, until he read the recent note by Spiegelberg in *OLZ*, which set him thinking. The cartouche of Rameses II gives us only the *terminus a quo*, and the contents of the tomb do not appear to warrant a more precise date than the end of the Late Bronze or the beginning of the Early Iron. Moreover, the absolute identity of the script with that of the inscriptions of Abiba'al and Eliba'al, contemporaries of Shishak and Osorkon I, respectively, is extremely suspicious. Can the script have remained without modification from the thirteenth century to about 925-900 B. C.? In later times, no period of three centuries or more could pass without very sensible changes in the forms of letters. Another suspicious circumstance is the character of the personal names. Ahīrām and Ithōba'al are both very common Phoenician royal names from the tenth century on, when we have three Hiram of Tyre, two Ithōba'als of Tyre and one of Sidon. But in the Amarna Age, which closed only two



generations before the accession of Rameses II, we have no such names. The names Rib-Addi, Zimrida (Zimri-Adda), Abimilk, etc., are characteristically archaic, and belong to quite a different milieu. The name of Zakar-Ba'al of Byblos, about the end of the twelfth century, is, however, more modern in appearance. The reviewer is inclined to place the Ahiram inscription toward the close of the twelfth century B. C., or perhaps better, early in the eleventh. When the archaeological objects found in the tomb are published, we may have more basis for dating. There is, at all events, no reason for dating the oldest Phoenician inscription before 1150 B. C. The reviewer would, therefore, basing his conclusion on the arguments advanced *JPOS* 6. 82 ff., like to date the adaptation of the alphabet to the twenty-two consonant language of the Phoenicians in the thirteenth, or possibly the fourteenth century B. C.

Contenau's discussion of the cradle of the Phoenicians and their ethnic origin (pp. 351 ff.) is quite judicious. A full account of his views, and consideration of points where the reviewer differs would not be in place in this review, so we shall desist. We are grateful to Dr. Contenau for a very useful account of Phoenicia and the Phoenicians in the light of the latest discoveries.

Jerusalem.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

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*Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde. In Verbindung mit Geheimrat FR. HOMMEL und Prof. NIK. RHODOKANAKIS herausgegeben von Dr. DITLEF NIELSEN. I. Band. Die altarabische Kultur. Mit 76 Abbildungen. Kopenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, ARNOLD BUSCK; Paris: PAUL GEUTHNER; Leipzig: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, 1927. Pp. 273.*

All schools of philology and archaeology will welcome the appearance of this first volume of the long expected Handbook of South Arabian Archaeology. Acknowledgments should be confessed to the liberality of the Danish Rask-Ørsted Fond and Carlsbergfond for the subventions that have made possible the sumptuous form of these quarto volumes, of beautiful make in paper and typography. The editor, Dr. Nielsen, is well known, especially



for his contributions to the study of the South Arabian religion. With him are associated the surviving Nestor of these studies, Professor Hommel; Professor Rhodokanakis, whose fruitful work in the decipherment and peculiarly the interpretation of the obscure texts has introduced a new stadium in the science; Professor Grohmann, who has devoted himself to the physical archaeology of the subject and has laid the foundations of a scientific knowledge of modern Yemen, a desideratum for the understanding of the ancient history; and that master in Semitic philology, Professor Littmann. These names guarantee a production that will be not only encyclopaedic for past results but also, we may trust, creative in new findings.

South Arabic studies have long been, to use the sailor's term, in stays. The tragic story of Glaser's latter days, the long withholding of his store of inscriptions from publication (now in possession of the Vienna Academy, and in part to appear in this series), the indifferent character of the publication of texts in the *CIS*, in general the very sporadic method of publication of the material, and, it must be said, the often fanciful and overstrained deductions made by some of the scholars concerned, have tended to eclipse this particular department of Semitics. Its centre of interest has come to be confined to Central Europe, South Germany and Austria, with now the welcome accession of Denmark. French scholarship is but little interested in the cause, English only at the minimum; we may except Pilster's "Index of South Arabian Proper Names" in *PSBA* 1917, and Professor Margoliouth's recent Schweich Lectures, in which he appears to accept some of the extreme positions of the South Arabists. And so in English there has been lacking any adequate presentation of this field, outside of the articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and the now somewhat aged discussions by Hommel in his *Ancient Hebrew Tradition* and his articles in the Hilprecht Volume. We lack anything like the popular monographs that have appeared in German. May this new corpus render the materials of this fascinating although somewhat mocking field accessible to a larger number of students, so that it may take its place as a full-fledged department of Semitics, and its profound bearings upon Semitic philology, history, and religion be recognized.

The present volume contains the necessary introductions to the

subject. Nielsen contributes a survey of the history of the science. Hommel follows with a timely sketch of the history of South Arabia. (Compare now Kammerer, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Abysinie*, etc., 1926.) He still maintains the early dating for the Minaean kingdom as testified to by the inscriptions, as far back as 1300 (p. 67). In this connection the volume should have contained an essay on the relation of the South Arabic alphabet to the other Semitic alphabets, for it seems impossible to think of it as, according to Hommel's view it must be, the earliest known representative of the alphabet. The freshest and most absorbing section, although the results are necessarily vague, is the following one by Rhodokanakis on the "Public Life of Old South Arabia." In this that scholar presents a summary of his notable results in the interpretation of the data bearing upon the social and economical organization of the land. For here there is a most remarkable blend of the native tribal system, of caste stratifications, and of aristocracy, monarchy, and imperialism, presenting phenomena many of which can be matched elsewhere in history, but which in their sum are unique. In the next section Grohmann treats his specialty, the archaeology of the field in architecture and other plastic arts. It may be remarked that nothing here appears to point to a high antiquity of the art or to any special originality in its expression. In the last section Nielsen handles the religion and sums up the general results which he has set forth in earlier publications. Too categorically he reduces the South Arabian pantheon to a trinity, Moon, Sun, Hesperus (the masculine Venus planet), and allows himself quite too much *religionsgeschichtliche Fantasierung* over the mythology involved, which he substantiates by adducing parallels from over the world. The absence of any such systematic mythology in the abundant material we possess from Babylonia bids caution. The human family is indeed adumbrated in the Semitic pantheon, but the latter never drew the elaborate mythological conclusions therefrom that appear, for instance, in the Greek mythology. It is entirely gratuitous when he claims for the early Hebrews a trinity consisting of Yahu, Ba'al, Ashtart (p. 243). It is a symptom of the unscientific character of much of the "comparative method" in the history of religion when he claims that 'elôhim is not a plural (of majesty) but simply the common Semitic henotheistic deity *ilâh* plus the



mimation, which was then ignorantly treated as the plural (p. 221)—as if the ancients got their religion from their books. He should have been warned against this *jeu d'esprit* by the appearance of the monotheistic 'elāhīn in the Aramaic papyri of Assuan and of ʾilāni in the Babylonian. Also we knew too little of the South Arabian theology to claim that the king "was honored apparently as the earthly representative of Athtar, as the incarnate flesh-made Venus god" (p. 233). What could rationally be meant by the human sonship to the Deity appears in the Hebrew Bible, where Israel was called unreservedly the son of God and the king could be adopted as such (Psalm 2). Scientific method is not advanced by proceeding from the unknown to the known.

Of special interest to the students of Semitic religion will be Nielsen's final sections on the relations between the South Arabic religion on the one hand and those of Israel and Islam on the other. The reviewer agrees absolutely with the writer in his statement that "the home not only of the Hebrews but also of the Hebrew religion is to be sought in Arabia. The central nerve of the Hebrew religion leads back to Old Arabia" (p. 243). The contacts between the Hebrew religion and the Arabian fields are more obvious than those with Babylonia, despite the enormous amount of material known for the latter. And similarly for Islam we shall have to recognize, perhaps still with a minority of scholars, the vast influence exerted upon Muhammad by native developments of religion as over against the claims for Jewish and Christian influences. The students of religion will have to look more than they have been wont to do to the Semitic home land, for which now this Handbook will contain, we are led to expect, the cream of our oldest material.

A desideratum for the series, which may be intended for a later volume, is a good map, which would present as fully as possible the modern known geography as well as the identifications for ancient history. At present the geography can only be painfully worked out through scattered works, many of them not easily accessible.

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*The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A & B of Gudea, to which are added his Statues as Part II, with Transliteration, Translation, Notes, Full Vocabulary and Sign-Lists.* By IRA MAURICE PRICE, Ph. D., Professor Emeritus of the Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. xii + 169, 4to. Leipzig, J. C. HINRICHS'sche Buchhandlung, 1927. YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, New Haven, Conn. Price 50 M.

The great cylinder inscriptions of Gudea are at once the most noteworthy and the most difficult historical documents which have come down to us in the Sumerian tongue. Cylinder A records the rebuilding of the temple of the chief deity of ancient Lagash, including the circumstances which led up to it and the processes by which it was accomplished; cylinder B, the installation of the deity and his associates in the temple and the blessings which in consequence were showered upon the land. At the time they were written Lagash had back of it five or six hundred years of civic and literary development, its ruler not only could draw his material resources from all surrounding lands, but his scribes had developed a marked literary style strikingly in contrast to the meager chronicle-like compositions of the scribes of former rulers of the city. They had carefully observed nature and freely employed its beautiful and striking phenomena in similes. Often, too, they drew their comparisons from objects in their life and cult that are but imperfectly known to us. The fact last mentioned, combined with the polyphonus character of Sumerian ideograms and their many ideographic significations, renders these texts among the most difficult with which the Sumerian scholar has to deal. Professor Price has made the investigation of their problems his life-long avocation. He published the cuneiform text in 1899 in the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, edited by Delitzsch and Haupt (in which series the present volume also appears), and has during the intervening years given to the study of these texts such time as a busy university teacher and administrator could snatch from official duties. The publication of the book was also further delayed by the interruption to international communication caused by the world-war. The author is to be congratulated upon having achieved in spite of all these difficulties so excellent a piece of work. It

is a credit to American scholarship and for the first time places these entire documents before the reading public in English.

The translations are good and clear. Two sets of notes at the bottom of each page deal respectively with the text and the interpretation. Practically all readings suggested up to the time the work went to press, including those in Langdon's and Poebel's Sumerian Grammars, as well as those in books and periodicals, have been brought under contribution. At many points Professor Price's interpretations of the text are most happy and clear up difficult passages. For example his rendering of the enigmatic lines of Cyl. A, xvii, 23-28 so as to make them describe the way Gudea journeyed, during the year materials were being collected for the temple, from lowland to highland, from marsh to mountain, making his personal energy felt everywhere among the workmen, commends itself at once as the true meaning of the passage. Again his rendering of Cyl. A, xiii, 1, 2 as a figurative silencing of the lash of the whip of the task-master is another instance of the same kind. Others might be cited.

In texts of such difficulty no scholar can hope at present to settle all moot points. On some of these every scholar who has worked the texts through will have interpretations of his own which he will prefer to those of Professor Price. The reviewer finds himself in that situation, and it is not an indication of a lack of appreciation of Professor Price's work to mention a few such instances. Thus in Cyl. A, iii, 8, where our author finds a statement that the goddess Gatumdug brought Gudea forth in a secret place, the reviewer understands the line to mean: "O my mother, its (the dream's) meaning declare to me; I am going into thy sanctuary." Subsequent lines relate how he went in, sacrificed, prayed, and waited for an oracle.

Again, the author's translation of A, xxi, 1-10 as a description of the erection and naming of the six upper stages of the *ziggurat* seems forced. True, Gudea mentions building such a structure in Statues D, E, G, and I, as well as in Cone C, and, if this passage does not describe its erection, it is not mentioned in this Cylinder which gives the details of the erection of the temple. The word for the stages of a *ziggurat* is, however, *ub*, not *sá* (or, as it might be read, *sálim*). Moreover, the sentences which the author takes for the names of the stages of the *ziggurat* are not



accompanied by the phrase *mu-ša mu-na-sà*, "with this name he named it," as is uniformly the case in other instances. It seems a *tour de force* to supply them as the author does. The reviewer prefers therefore to follow Thureau-Dangin and regard the seven sentences simply as the utterance of seven blessings.

Again, the author, following Witzel, transliterates in A, xxv, 6 and B, v, *pā-ri-in* (an unknown word), instead of *hu-ri-in*, with Thureau-Dangin, and understands the *am* in each of these sentences to be the figurative word for "lord." The reviewer believes that a much better meaning is to be obtained by reading *hu-ri-in*, taking the word as a corruption of the Akkadian *qarnu* (Hebrew *qersā*),<sup>1</sup> taking *am* in its ordinary meaning of wild-ox, and rendering in both places "the horn of the wild-ox."

To cite other examples would, however, be ungracious. Men still differ as to the interpretation of passages in the Bible after centuries of study, and for a long time to come they will differ in their understanding of many parts of these interesting documents.

It is understood that the translations of the Statues were added while the printing was interrupted by the war. This addition is a welcome extension of the original plan of the work. Only those are included, however, which are contained in Thureau-Dangin's *Sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften*. Those found since 1907 are omitted. None of Gudea's Bricks and smaller inscriptions are included. As the book contains the most interesting of the material of this energetic and interesting ruler, it would not have been difficult to make the book a compendium of what is known of the historical material of his reign.

The Sign-List and Vocabulary are well made and useful. One or two misprints have been noted in the references. The alphabetic order adopted in the Vocabulary is a, e, i, u, b, g, d, p, k, t, z, s, š, ḫ, l, m, n. While one can see a certain philological symmetry in this arrangement, it seems unfortunate that the ordinary order of the English alphabet was not followed. If it had to be departed from, it would seem to the reviewer to have been preferable to follow the order already made familiar to Sumerian scholars in Delitzsch's *Glossar*. A vocabulary is a tool, and for a busy scholar to have to stop and remember a new alphabetical order

<sup>1</sup> In some dialects of modern Arabic *ṣ* becomes *aleph*. In Sumerian the change had gone further; it had become *het*.



every time he takes up a different vocabulary even in the same language, is to place needless obstacles in the way.

These suggestions, however, in no way depreciate the solid merits of Professor Price's work. He has made us all his debtors.

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*Hindu Mysticism.* Six lectures by S. N. DASGUPTA. Chicago: OPEN COURT, 1927. xx + 168 pp. Price \$2.00.

According to the Preface, "Hindu mysticism has as yet received no systematic treatment." Perhaps not under that name. But is not the reason this, that Hindu mysticism is nearly coterminous with Hindu religion? If so, any treatment of the one is necessarily a treatment of the other. So Mr. Dasgupta himself seems to feel; for within the limits of his short book he touches on every important phase of Hindu religion, and so far as I can see he might almost as well have called his subject "Hindu Religion."

It is, nevertheless, interesting to view the subject from this specific point of orientation, and Mr. Dasgupta has done a useful work. The six chapters deal with "Sacrificial Mysticism" (Vedic religion), the Upanishads, Yoga, Buddhism, and devotional religions in their "classical" and "popular" forms. The author is well qualified for the task. He combines deep learning, both Hindu and western, with a generally good historic sense, and lucidity of thought and style. He says little that is strictly new to scholars; this would hardly be possible in so brief a treatment. But his points of view are often fresh and independent, while they yet seldom violate the canons of sound scholarship.

The one phase of Indian religion to which some might think the term "mysticism" wrongly applied in this book is Vedic religion. To cover this case the author defines mysticism as follows (p. 17): "a theory, doctrine, or view that considers reason to be incapable of discovering or of realising the nature of ultimate truth . . . but . . . believes in the certitude of some other means of arriving at it." In other words, mysticism is simply the opposite of rationalism. This seems a good working definition, and perhaps covers Vedic religion.

But it must be noted in passing that Mr. Dasgupta, like many others, wobbles in his interpretation of the troublesome term "mysticism." Thus in his Preface (p. viii) he says: "There can be no true mysticism without real moral greatness." Yet he is certainly too good a scholar to claim "moral greatness" for Vedic ritualism; and it seems to me not an essential element in any mysticism as such. As to the Vedic religion, he holds (and so do I) that it was a pretty thoroughgoing ritualism even in the time of the Rigveda; but he holds further, that it falls within the scope of the definition quoted in that its essence was a collection of commands and prohibitions, regarded as manifestations or parts of a cosmic law, and of course an irrational one, that is, one which cannot be discovered or apprehended by reason. Here he follows the theory of the later Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā philosophy. That this theory corresponds in large part to the priestly attitude of the Vedas, especially of the Brāhmaṇas, I do not doubt. And yet, sympathetic as I am to the ritualistic interpretation of the Vedas, I cannot help wondering whether he does not go somewhat too far in this direction. When on pages 17 f. he summarizes under seven heads "the sacrificial mysticism of the Vedas," I cannot but fear that at least three of these heads (the fourth, fifth, and sixth) unwarrantably project Mīmāṃsā scholasticism into that remote age. Did even the priests of the Brāhmaṇas believe, for instance, that all "truth or reality . . . could be found once for all in the words of the Vedas"?

We regret to read on p. 89 that "the ultimate goal . . . with the Buddha is absolute extinction." This will only confuse laymen, all the more because the very next paragraph makes it clear that the Buddhist nirvāṇa is not that at all.

But such unevennesses are so rare that it is perhaps hardly fair to quote them. In general the book is as reliable as well as an interesting introduction to Hinduism. There is a detailed table of contents but unfortunately no index.

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*The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇviya Recension.* By W. CALAND.  
Volume One (containing full Introduction and part of the text).  
LAHORE PUNJAB SANSKRIT BOOK DEPOT, 1926.

This first volume, as indicated on the title page, contains the full introduction, 120 pages, and 96 pages of text, i. e., about one and one-half books out of the seven books of the text which the author proposes to publish in full, for these correspond to, but differ largely from, the first five books of the Mādhyandina version, while the remaining books in the two versions agree to such an extent that it seems only necessary to give for them a list of the distinctive readings of the Kāṇva text.

The introduction, in addition to treating such matters as the manuscripts and the relation of the Kāṇviya recension to various other texts of the Yajur Veda literature, has an elaborate and valuable study on the grammatical peculiarities of this recension: in matters of accentuation, phonology, morphology, lexicography, syntax, etc, this grammatical treatise records many phenomena which will appeal to one or another student according to his chief interest, and a study of it is sure to be enlightening.

There have been different opinions concerning the significance of the system of accentuation found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: Prof. Caland's statement of the general principles of the scheme is about as follows:

The principal accent is usually marked by a horizontal stroke under the accented syllable; the place of this accent coincides in general with that of the *udatta* of other texts. When several successive syllables are accented, usually only the last is marked. The independent circumflex is marked by a horizontal stroke placed under the preceding syllable.

In this statement Caland sets forth an opinion in agreement with Weber, but Kielhorn and others differ; Macdonnell (*Vedic Grammar*, p. 451) says "An independent Svarita is thrown back on the preceding syllable in the form of an *Udatta*." Caland points out that in this Brāhmaṇa *śunāsīrya* and *śunāsīriya* (and others similarly) are interchangeable forms and that this points to the accentuation *śunāsīryā* not *śunāsīrya*: he seems to have made a strong argument in this.



The completed book will make a worthy addition to the list of Prof. Caland's works, and to the list of published Vedic texts: one must feel regret that the printing is so badly done, but the extensive list of corrigenda deals with almost all of the typographical errors.

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*Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige (Altorientalische Bibliothek, Vol. I).* Von E. EBELING, B. MEISSNER, E. F. WEIDNER. Leipzig: QUELLE & MEYER, 1926. xxxvii + 164 pp.

The *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* seems to have expired, but the loss to international scholarship will not be so heavy if the new *Altorientalische Bibliothek* succeeds in winning a foothold. At all events, the first volume is a scientific achievement of the first rank, as attested by the names of the three joint authors.

In this volume the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings are brought down from the earliest times to the close of the reign of Shalmaneser I; a second will continue the translation of the royal inscriptions to the reign of Tiglathpileser I. Of the 122 inscriptions here given, 35 are published for the first time, from copies of the photographs made by Weidner. The latter has also collated the published texts, as far as possible, with important corrections. Meissner has prepared the study of the inscriptions dating before the reign of Aššur-uballit, while Ebeling has taken the texts of Aššur-uballit, Ellil-narāri, and Arik-dēn-ilu, and Weidner himself has assumed the burden of all the remaining inscriptions.

The learned authors are not content with furnishing full transcriptions, with exact descriptions of the originals and critical apparatus; they have also annotated and discussed every difficult passage in the text, sometimes at great length. What a boon this is to future students may easily be seen. They have given full credit to all their predecessors, notably to Luckenbill, who published the first translation of many of the Assur texts (from Messerschmidt's edition of the originals).

It is very instructive to study the language used in the royal inscriptions during different periods. The texts of the time pre-

ceding Samāi-Adad I, the *šar kiššati*, are written in the Assyrian dialect, characterized then by a failure to distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops. This peculiarity is unquestionably due to the influence of the native Hurrian population, since it reappears in exactly the same way in the business documents of the fourteenth century B. C. found in the Kirkūk region, and now being published by Contenau, Chiera, and Gadd. We already knew that the two early Assyrian rulers Kikia and Ušpia bore characteristic Hurrian names; *Kikkiya* is found in the Kirkūk tablets. Just when they lived is still doubtful, but the indications certainly point to the period just preceding the dynasty of Puzur-Aššur I, that is, before 2000 B. C. (for the chronology cf. the reviewer's discussion in *JSOR* 8, 51 ff., to which he still adheres, so far as the Assyrian dates are concerned; the Babylonian dates should be lowered by about fifty years to agree with the Fotheringham-Schnabel-Schoch system). They surely follow the time of Zāriqu, the contemporary of *AMAR-Sin*, of the Third Dynasty of Ur, since the succession of rulers mentioned by Aššur-rim-nišēšu (p. 34 ff.) as having built on the walls of the inner city of Assur, is relatively close. Between 2300 and 2000 is, at all events, ample room for a whole Hurrian dynasty. Nor can it be accidental that the Hurrian names found in Babylonian documents commence in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon; so far as I know, no Hurrian names have yet been demonstrated in Ur Dynasty tablets, though there probably were Hurrians in Assyria through the entire third millennium. About the middle of that millennium there was a Gutī Empire in Mesopotamia, to which the *aklu*<sup>m</sup>, Ititi son of Yakulaba, may perhaps be referred. The name *Yakulaba* resembles such known Gutī names as *Yarlagaba*, etc., too closely for us to separate them linguistically. We may provisionally date Ititi in the twenty-fifth century B. C.

If it is ever possible to dig the earlier strata of Qal'at Serqāt systematically, we shall unquestionably be flooded with written material from the third millennium. The vast extent of the city in this remote period is enough to prove its importance, for the *ulu*<sup>m</sup> Aššur was one of the great centres of world trade in the last centuries of this millennium if not still earlier. As is proved by the occurrence of aeneolithic painted pottery at the bottom of stratum H, the site was already occupied before the time of the



First Dynasty of Ur, that is, before 3000 B. C., perhaps considerably before. So far, aside from the excavation of the Istar Temple, very little systematic work in the lowest strata of Assur has been accomplished.

In the reign of the great *šar kiššati*, about 1800 B. C., Babylonian scribes were imported, and the language of the royal inscriptions copies the classical style of the Hammurabi Dynasty, which was doubtless the model for all formal composition in Babylonia down to the beginning of the Cossaeon Dynasty, toward the end of the eighteenth century. With few exceptions, all the royal inscriptions of the following centuries, down to the end of the Assyrian Empire, are written in the Babylonian dialect of the time, or rather the literary Babylonian tongue, which was affected by the scribes. There is a very interesting text (pp. 38 ff.), belonging to the scribe of Aššur-uballit, which shows clearly that his inscriptions, at least, were actually written by a Babylonian scribe, with the name Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē, son of Marduk-uballit, son of Uššur-ana-Marduk. Business and legal documents, however, exhibit the language of the people, though presumably with more or less juridical and literary distortion.

With a few notes on the proper names, we shall close this review.—It is better to separate *Awal-Awan* from *Abiak* (i. e., *Apiyak*)-*Apirak* (p. 9, n. 9).—The name [K]is<sup>h</sup>mar reminds one curiously of *Hašmar*, the name of a land in the mountains east of Assyria; for the ending cf. *Namar*.—Tukriš (p. 24, n. 3) is to be located in the region north of later Ellipi, called *Harhar* by the Assyrians in the ninth and eighth centuries B. C.; see *JAOS* 45, 233.—It is very doubtful whether the land of Lab'an, on the shores of the *tāmtu<sup>m</sup> rābitu<sup>m</sup>*, where Šamsi-Adad I set up his stele (*narā*), is the Lebanon or not, since there was also a Mount Labnanu north-west of Assyria, near Lake Van (*JAOS* 45, 234). This location would agree remarkably well with the king's statement immediately before, that he received the tribute of the kings of the Upper Land, that is, Armenia.—The land of Mašgun in Armenia, mentioned in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser I (cf. p. 113, n. 9), is almost certainly to be identified with the Mašgungunnu of IIR 51, 12a-d (cf. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. I, p. 347). One suspects that the name should be read simply *Mašgunnu*, or *Bargunnu*. Where are the most important ancient lead mines of



Armenia to be found? The land of *Harhâ*, mentioned also as a source of lead, was presumably in the neighborhood.—On p. 117, n. 9, Sanduarri is called a Median king, instead of a Cilician, probably by a *lapsus calami*. Since he was a Cilician, the identification of the name with that of Sattuara, pronounced *Sātuara*, or the like, is very plausible.

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*Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia.* By DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL. Vol. I: *Historical Records of Assyria (from the Earliest Times to Sargon)*. Vol. II: *Historical Records of Assyria (from Sargon to the End)*. Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1926, 1927. xvi + 297, xii + 504 pp.

These two beautiful volumes represent the long-awaited beginning of the University of Chicago series of translations of cuneiform texts. For twenty years, ever since the publication of Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*, the publication of the cuneiform records has been promised, only to be checked by the death of President Harper, followed by that of R. F. Harper and more recently by the work on the *Assyrian Dictionary*. The need of a clear and substantially accurate translation of the Assyrian royal inscriptions into English has been increasingly felt, especially since the translations in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* have become increasingly antiquated and do not represent the scholarship of to-day. Moreover, the number of important inscriptions has swelled greatly. One need only mention the texts in the two volumes of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, the annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II, the account of the eighth campaign of Sargon, and the Nabopolassar Chronicle to realize that our knowledge of Assyrian history and historiography has been revolutionized.

In many respects the arrangement of Luckenbill's work is admirable. Bearing the popular intent of it constantly in mind, he has transcribed all proper names into simple Latin characters, eschewing diacritical marks entirely, aside from an occasional circumflex. The correct transcriptions are, however, found for the most part in the full indices at the end of the second volume.

This makes it possible for the non-Assyriologist who may be interested in ancient geography or archaeology to form a clear idea of the transcription without looking up the transcribed text, where the peculiarities of the syllabic division would prove hopelessly confusing, unless he happens to be *au fait* on the character of the cuneiform script. In the introduction to the index of names (Vol. II, p. 443), some mention might have been made of certain peculiarities in the Assyrian script, such as the use of *(k)h* for *ḫ*, *gh*, *h*, etc., or the interchange of *s* and *š*, which is so confusing to the non-Assyriologist.

There are virtually no notes or explanations, so the lay reader will often be puzzled to understand the bare translation. But Professor Luckenbill is nothing if not consistent, so he seems to have decided to eliminate notes entirely, rather than to run the risk of being too diffuse and increasing the already respectable size of his volumes. However, some assistance is furnished for the student. At the end of the second volume there is a chronological table, followed by a complete index of names (which will be valuable to the Assyriologist), an index of Assyrian words and ideograms, a selected bibliography, a table of Assyrian months, and one of weights and measures.

The rich new material given in the *Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, by Meissner-Ebeling-Weidner, was too recent to be incorporated in the first volume, but it has been utilized for the *Additions and Corrections* at the end of Vol. II. When that series has been continued into later periods the Assyriologist will have an invaluable reference work for his purposes, while the value of Luckenbill's volumes, which are frankly intended for non-Assyriologists, will be in no way reduced.

The purpose of the work being what it is, it would not be fair to hunt through it for philological slips, or points on which there might be differences of opinion. Luckenbill has evidently worked under high pressure, and has not always had time to study all the available literature, or to revise his translations. But his knowledge of Assyrian is such that the number of mistakes and oversights in translation is surprisingly small. Signs of haste are evident in the alternation of *Samsi* and *Shamshi*, *Assur* and *Ashir* in the first pages of Vol. I. *Tukulti-urta* for the usually accepted *Tukulti-Ninurta* is a harmless hobby of the author's, which will

not hurt anyone. The name of the goddess *DI-ni-tu* is not *Dinitu*, but *Shulmānitu*, as proved conclusively by Böhl, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, pp. 76 ff. *Shulmānitu* is the feminine counterpart of the North Mesopotamian and Syrian god *Shulmān*, a god resembling Ea and Resheph-Nergal. In Vol. II, p. 274, n. 2 we should read "Hommel" for "Jensen," an easily explicable *lapsus calami*. The reading *Tarsisi* for *Nusisi* is supported by the original, and has now been adopted by all German Assyriologists. *Tarsisi* is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew *Tarshish*, since Assy. *s* was pronounced *sh*, as is well-known. The spelling *Tandamanê* for *UR-da-ma-ni-e* (Vol. II, p. 295) should be replaced by *Tāsdamanê* for *\*Taltamanê = Tnt-amānê*; *t* for Egyptian *n* is so common that no explanation is required. It is a pleasure to find *Musri* and *Meluhha* always translated by "Egypt" and "Ethiopia," meanings which they undoubtedly possessed at that time. Professor Luckenbill is sometimes too hard on Winckler, but that gifted scholar often allowed his fancy to range far from the trodden paths—in doing which he sometimes made brilliant discoveries.

We congratulate Professor Luckenbill on the completion of a tremendous task, for which students of the ancient world can only be profoundly grateful to him. Professor Breasted, who has written the preface to the volumes, deserves the hearty thanks of all lovers of the past for the great undertakings for which he has furnished the impetus and secured the means. To him the science of the Ancient Orient owes a debt which can never be paid.

Jerusalem.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

*Das wieder erstehende Babylon.* Von ROBERT KOLDEWEY. Vierte, erweiterte Auflage. Leipzig, 1925. J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG. M. 25.

A melancholy interest attaches to the appearance of the fourth edition of this useful and widely appreciated work of Koldewey, since its author died while it was passing through the press, and this new edition has his portrait as a frontispiece. The edition differs from previous editions only by the addition of fifteen more illustrations than were in the first edition and a useful index which occupies six pages. The additional illustrations are inserted



on extra sheets and numbered by sub-numerals (as, e. g. 5a), so that neither the paging of the book nor the numbering of the illustrations is changed from the first edition. Apart from the changes noted the fourth edition is printed from the same plates as the first. The book, which is unique in its field, deserves republication, and we wish for it a wide circulation.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

University of Pennsylvania.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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Dr. Jal Dastur C. Pavry is now in England to study the conditions and the religious needs and requirements of the Parsi Community there, and to investigate the possibility of establishing a Zoroastrian Fire-Temple in London.

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

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A Linguistic Institute will be held by the Linguistic Society of America in the summer of 1928, in New Haven, using the facilities of Yale University. The courses will be of graduate character. Among those in the Oriental field are courses in Sanskrit and Pali, conducted by F. Edgerton of Yale; in Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, and Hebrew, by F. R. Blake of Johns Hopkins; in Assyrian and in Arabic, by R. P. Dougherty of Yale; in Hittite, by E. H. Sturtevant of Yale; in Turkish, by K. Renning, of Breslau. Other courses are in general aspects of linguistic study, and in European languages. All deal with the linguistic rather than the literary side of the subject. Intending students should notify as soon as possible the Director, Prof. E. H. Sturtevant, Box 1849, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn., from whom circulars and information may be obtained.

## AMERICAN CULTURE AND ORIENTAL STUDIES<sup>1</sup>

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

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IT SEEMS to be the task, or perhaps better the tendency, of every nation, both great and small, to build up a distinctive, national culture, which shall both shape and express its individual, national soul. I hesitate between the words "task" and "tendency," not quite certain which is more exact. Perhaps both are correct. I am inclined to believe that in former days there was a quiet, largely unconscious tendency to evolve national cultures, a spontaneous, natural process, with in the main fairly happy results. But in the last half-century, and particularly since the close of the Great War, this formerly unconscious tendency has changed for many nations into a conscious, urgent and perplexing task. In many respects this task is alluring and, if carried out with moderation and sense of proportion, even stimulating and creative and worthy of encouragement. But there is always an inherent danger that the balance may be lost, the cultural progress become too rapid and extreme to be properly assimilated. The inevitable result is, on the one hand, a superficial, undigested cultural development, with an unprepared, ignorant and oftentimes mischievous interpretation and administration of its discoveries and newly-established principles; on the other hand, an arrogant and assertive national self-consciousness, making for international disunion, suspicion and hostility, and easily, if the fuel be ready to hand and the wind of world-politics blow strongly in that direction, furnishing the spark which may kindle another world-conflagration.

America too, like other modern nations, is almost of necessity evolving its own national culture. Perhaps with us, for various reasons, the process is still somewhat more unconscious, natural and spontaneous than with the nations of Europe. In certain respects it has been an uncontrolled, haphazard development, and many of its peculiar creations have been of dubious quality. It is predominantly an industrial, scientific culture, with a marked ten-

<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address delivered before the Society at Washington, April 10, 1928.

dency to stress the things immediately productive and creative and possessing material values. Quite characteristically we want a speedy turnover and volume results, not only in business, but in all the affairs of life, both of the individual and the nation, and in things cultural and spiritual as well as material. Our cultural development is likewise strongly influenced by the actual past contributions and the potential future contributions of the manifold national and racial elements which comprise our present population, in large part irresponsibly, fortuitously and superficially assimilated and welded together into a national unity. Ours has been, and must continue to be, at least for some time, a national cultural development unique indeed.

And not the least potent influence therein has been our peculiar geographical situation. As the oldest, largest and most powerful nation upon this western continent, we have developed a position of leadership among, and a benign, paternalistic attitude toward smaller and weaker nations, which has, on the one hand, tended to make our country the ready and generous champion of peoples oppressed and suffering, and the uncompromising advocate of national and international justice and peace. But on the other hand, this, coupled with our national isolation and our consciousness of territorial vastness, inexhaustible resources, immeasurable national wealth and seemingly incomparable power and security, has tended to make us the most independent, self-sufficient, self-righteous and assertive of all peoples; witness the general bearing of American tourists abroad; or witness, even more significantly, our present, superficial, cruel and mischievous immigration, or better non-immigration, system. Every would-be immigrant is regarded with suspicion as a parasite upon the body of the American nation; and, as we all know, some parasites are more irritating than others. The body of the American nation can accommodate a reasonable number; but they must not be permitted to become too many nor too irritating. We have never made an adequate study of these parasites and their peculiar qualities; but, in quite characteristic manner, we have leaped at the conclusion that blond parasites are not quite as annoying or dangerous as those of darker complexion or those with black or yellow skins. And so, with customary American wisdom and assuredness, we divide our immigrants into three groups, with relative undesirability, North European, South and East European, and Asiatics. In the popular mind this last



group represents the lowest, the least contributive, the most parasitic type of immigrant, which has been for some time, and should be permanently, subject to one hundred percent exclusion. In our national fancy the Orient has nothing at all to contribute to evolving American culture; and we, who are devoting our lives to Oriental studies, have, so far as American culture and ideals are concerned, labored vainly for an illusion.

Yet we know what this despised Orient has contributed to civilization in the past; and we have also some general idea of the contributions it might make even today. We know, for example, that every one of the great modern religions is an Oriental creation, that each had its birth and its earliest and, with perhaps the possible partial exception of Christianity, its largest development in Asia. And religion we Americans take rather seriously, at least as a nation if not as individuals, and we even seek sporadically to enforce a semination religion by vague, unreasoned, over-zealous attempts at state legislation and public education.

Religion is unquestionably an integral part of culture. Some may not approve this claim, and may hold quite devoutly that religion is entirely the product of revelation. Do not all the great religions teach this, and have not all of them their inspired writings? I have no quarrel whatsoever with this doctrine of immediate and momentary divine revelation, although I cannot subscribe to it, and hold instead an altogether different, though quite as positive, concept of divine revelation. None the less I maintain that, despite origins, or rather supposed origins, religion is largely, if not primarily, a matter of culture, the creation of the age and the environment working upon the heritage of tradition. Consider, for example, the peculiar forms which various creeds have assumed in this country. Certainly Judaism has undergone a development in America during the last century in many vital respects quite unlike the development which it experienced in the countries of Europe during the same period, and which has differentiated it to no mean degree from European Judaism of even the most progressive type. I venture to believe, upon the basis of personal observation as well as upon the testimony of others, adherents of various faiths, that the same condition obtains to a greater or less degree in Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, Lutheranism and other Protestant denominations, and even in Catholicism. There is unquestionably such a thing as Americanism

in religion, or even American religion, American Judaism, American Protestantism and American Catholicism.

Of course I do not mean that this American religion is something separate and distinct from world religion, that these various sects and denominations have cut themselves off from kindred faiths in Europe and other parts of the world or have little in common with them. But I do mean that in practical adaptation to the conditions and tendencies of our daily existence they have outwardly shaped, formulated and expressed themselves, unconsciously but of necessity, in such a way as to reflect the dominant thoughts and aspirations of American life and to minister directly to its spiritual needs, or its supposed needs. In proof I need but cite the very significant rôle which religion has played and is playing in our characteristic prohibition legislation and its enforcement, or rather that sham enforcement, by which we delude ourselves into a state of pious satisfaction. With this illustration ominously before us, can any one doubt that there is such a thing as American religion? Manifestly, creeds and dogmas to the contrary notwithstanding, religion, as it actually expresses itself here in America, is more a matter of culture than of revelation, of life than of theology, of the present than of the past, of this world than of the world to come. And, if I mistake not, even despite theories of divine revelation and inspired writings, this was the basic philosophy of the majority of the dominant Oriental religions. Perhaps American religion still has something to learn from Oriental religions, from their philosophies and ethics as well as from their histories.

And certainly at just this particular moment American religion needs to learn from every possible source. For the conflict between modernism and fundamentalism is upon us in all its force. It is not a peculiarly American phenomenon; it is a condition which the entire world must face either now or in the near future. But, again in truly characteristic manner, we face it differently than almost any other people. A comparatively young nation, we still experience growing pains; and with us the conflict between modernism and fundamentalism is indeed a growing pain in a twofold sense. As might have been expected, it expresses itself in extremes, with bigotry, vituperation, hysteria, pitiful ignorance and attempted regulation through legislation on the one hand, and on the other hand either cold indifference or excessive zeal, each



animated all too frequently by an equally gross ignorance and irresponsibility, and a hasty, superficial, mischievous misinterpretation and application of Biblical quotations and scientific facts. And all this because during the last generation science has made new and wonderful discoveries, which have tremendously enlarged the realm of human knowledge, have changed the whole texture of life, have modified many of its established and long unchallenged standards, have altered the entire aspect of the world, have given unto man a new and larger vision of God, a truer understanding of divine wisdom, purpose and law. Consciously or unconsciously, in obedience to a fundamental law of existence, the irresistible law of growth and progress, man is seeking to incorporate this new knowledge and this new vision into the content of modern religion. He is striving to do again today, and perhaps upon a vaster and more rapid scale, what he did, of necessity, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the invention of printing and the resultant diffusion of knowledge, the discovery of the rotundity of the earth and of this western continent, the first halting but significant steps in the sciences of astronomy, physics and chemistry, the beginnings of modern philosophy, necessitated a revaluation and reinterpretation and a new formulation of religion. But we still have those in America who would excommunicate Spinoza, imprison Galileo and burn John Huss at the stake, if only these things were done today. Instead they must content themselves with enacting repressive legislation, banning certain studies from public school curricula, and persecuting those zealous teachers who persist in expounding the principles of unorthodox science. And certainly they could not do all this, did they not actually voice the sentiments and convictions of a large and aggressive portion, perhaps even the actual majority, of our American people. This too is a part of our present-day American culture. How long it will continue so, and what it will cost the American people in struggle, in suffering, perhaps even in stunted or deformed spiritual growth, time alone can tell. If only we were not quite so extremely American, and instead of expanding so over-rapidly and with such hysterical zeal, we could grow and progress slowly, normally, calmly and dispassionately!

For the upbuilding of sound American religion, or, if you prefer, of sound, vigorous religion in America, what are essential and indispensable are larger tolerance and world-mindedness and a true and



wide-spread knowledge of the history and philosophy of religion, of religion in the abstract, and of religions, and especially the great modern religions, in the concrete. And this knowledge must be so interpreted to the American people and so applied by them that, understanding what true religion is and how it has always progressed, they too may build consciously and wisely and thus make American religion a positive force in their own lives and in the life of the nation today, and establish it as a precious heritage for the generations of the future, a worthy element of our American culture.

In this process Oriental studies should play a significant rôle just because the great modern religions had their births in Oriental lands and Oriental life, and because their histories, their philosophies, their *evangelia*, are recorded in Oriental literatures, and can be read and interpreted aright only by Oriental scholars. It is, of course, not a new field of Oriental scholarship, nor one which has been neglected in any way. But it behooves us to realize that at just the present juncture the world in general and America in particular need more, and perhaps are more ready and eager than ever before for these studies and the right interpretation of the knowledge which comes from them and its constructive application to the problems of changing modern life.

But not alone the study of Oriental religions can bring a vital, modern message to the world, and especially to America. An equally vital, equally modern, equally invigorating message can be gathered from the study and interpretation of Oriental philosophy, with its peculiar theories of life and its deep sense of the mystic elements in existence. Its emphasis upon the unseen, the unknown and the unknowable may well furnish the counterbalance to our extreme cult of the known and the knowable, the real and the material. Its patience, its deliberateness, its quietness, its age, its tolerance, may well temper our newness, our passion, our hurry, our impatience, our intolerance, yes even our bigotry. If only these essential qualities of Oriental culture could be interpreted and adapted to our Occidental life and needs and impulses, what a fortunate blending there would be!

And the study of Oriental history, with its broad vista of the past, its sweeping survey of generations, centuries and millennia of human existence, its rare opportunity for historical perspective, its kaleidoscopic review of empires come and gone, nations risen

and vanished, cultures established and decayed, what lessons of deep significance for us may it not bring? Its vital secret of wise upbuilding of nations, of permanence of existence, of true cultural development, of the right intermingling of nations and races, of the lasting foundations of world-unity, world-justice and world-peace, all this lies just beneath the surface, waiting to be read aright and to be expounded and applied to the life of the world today, and particularly to the life and philosophy of this unique, powerful, self-conscious, self-righteous American nation.

And what possible contribution to Occidental civilization may not Oriental literature make, with its vastness and its variety, its quaint beauties, its unique forms, its distinctive literary qualities, its wealth of imagery, of mystic lore, of legendary treasure, of which the Occident has little understanding and less appreciation? One need only remember Matthew Arnold, or Sir Edwin Arnold, or bethink himself of the influence of Fitzgerald's rendering of Omar Khayyam into English or of Rückert's translation of Arabic poetry into German, or appreciate Tagore and his vogue in the present day, to realize what the Occident might receive from the Orient in this field, if only it could but know. For obvious reasons America has not advanced in this direction as far as England or Germany. An American Oriental Translation Fund, to render into literary English, with retention of their quaint form, content and charm, some of the classics of Arabic literature, for example, what might not that contribute to the development of American literature?

And correspondingly, so I am reliably informed, what might not Oriental music, with its distinctive modes and motifs, bring to our still infant American music? Why assume, again with characteristic American impetuosity in leaping at conclusions, that American Indian and negro themes alone can impart a distinctively American flavor to our music? After all the negro is only to a degree less exotic in America than the Chinese or the Hindu, and is today, theoretically at least, quite as subject to anti-immigration frenzy. Why not also Chinese and Hindu and Arab themes in our American music of the future? And why not Oriental influence upon developing American culture in other, perhaps less specific and tangible, but equally vital directions?

But you may misinterpret my presentation as an accusation of neglect and remissness and reply that, with the possible exception



of the field of Oriental music, American scholars have not neglected any of these provinces of Oriental study. In all these and in many kindred fields they have labored faithfully and fruitfully. The record of our own Society, now in its eighty-seventh year, is especially gratifying. American Oriental scholarship suffers not at all by comparison with Oriental scholarship of other lands. But that is not my charge. In fact I make no charge at all; rather I offer a plea. My plea is that, for many and obvious reasons, American culture, still young and in process of upbuilding, needs the help, the contributions of Oriental culture far more than do the various, developed, mature national cultures of Europe. Because of its youth and consequently greater receptiveness, its geographical isolation, its racial compositeness, its dangers of vastness, wealth and power, its tendency toward impetuous, unreasoned thinking, self-sufficiency, arrogance and intolerance, the American people needs to accept and appreciate the cultural contributions of all nations and peoples, both past and present, even while it in turn makes its own distinctive and precious contribution to world culture. The cultural contributions of European nations flow to us spontaneously, through intimate contacts and direct interchange. But because of our geographical remoteness and our unfortunate attitude of superiority and exclusion toward the Orient and everything Oriental, Oriental culture can make little or no contribution to our upbuilding American culture, unless it be consciously and purposefully mediated, and the American spirit be made tolerant and receptive to it. That I conceive to be the task of American Oriental scholarship, and particularly of this American Oriental Society.

But you may still argue, and correctly, that all this you have done and are doing and will continue to do. My answer is that what has been done is not enough. One thing is lacking. In one respect we have not achieved sufficiently. In all these years we have not succeeded in popularizing Oriental studies in America. And until Oriental studies become the object of interest, and the knowledge to be gained from them the common property of a considerable group of cultured American men and women our task is not done; our service is not complete. So long as they remain a closed field, to be investigated only by the expert, that long Oriental studies can scarcely exert any marked influence upon our developing American culture. Perhaps a beginning has been made in the somewhat



greater emphasis now being laid upon the records of Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt in the teaching of ancient history in our high schools; but it is only a beginning. We are still too largely under the sway of the mediæval idea that ancient history consisted only of Greece and Rome. When our text-books shall offer an adequate presentation of, and our schools efficient instruction in the histories of Egypt, Assyria-Babylonia, the Hittite Empire, Persia, Israel, and the Arabs in the near East, of India in the South, and China and Japan in the far East, and with at least equal emphasis upon the record of their cultural growth and contribution to civilization as upon their military and political achievement and decay, we may feel that a worthy foundation has been laid. And when, in turn, this presentation shall be supplemented by popular works, in proper number and variety, presenting in attractive manner the mythology, the folklore, the religions, the arts, the philosophies of the various Oriental peoples, we shall find in all likelihood, nay in reasonable certainty, that Oriental research and scholarship in America have been established firmly and purposefully, and have begun to exert the creative cultural influence which, in the final analysis, alone can justify them.

Manifestly our great science is in urgent need of popularizers, capable men and women who can supplement the work of our scholars by interpreting their discoveries and creations to the larger public in healthy, stimulative manner. And to develop these popular mediators of Oriental science we must enlarge our ranks; we must open our doors more widely, and attract to our lecture halls and class rooms not merely future scholars and professors, but also that other, larger group of capable students, with broad interests and inquisitive minds, eager to delve into a wide variety of subjects and to secure general knowledge upon many themes. Perhaps we have erred in our classroom methods, in our eagerness to develop scholars, to make our courses almost entirely technical and conduct our instruction largely upon seminar, specialized lines, and have in consequence neglected the equally important, supplementary task of popularizing our subjects, opening wide the doors of our lecture and class-rooms, and interpreting our researches and discoveries to the people at large. Perhaps ours is the chief fault that Oriental studies have been so little appreciated in America and have thus far played such a negligible rôle in the upbuilding of American culture.

But, you may say, the American people will not listen to us and will not attend popular lectures nor read books on Oriental themes. And the present-day American college student thinks only of a maximum of athletics and a minimum of study; how then may we hope to interest him in something as remote as Oriental studies? But somehow I have faith in the American college student and in the American people. I base this faith upon certain auspicious signs of the times. Our standard of living is rising rapidly; this expresses itself not only in material things, in better homes and more automobiles and radios, but in more subtle considerations as well. Our educational standards are advancing apace. Our children and young people attend high school and college to a far greater degree and get a far larger measure of education than they did a generation, or even a decade, ago. I, for one, regard the thronging of our colleges and universities by young men and women, even though only half athirst for knowledge and with many intellectual misfits among them, as a healthy tendency that should be wisely controlled and encouraged. More people today attend lectures and concerts and there are more circles for adult study than ever before. Library statistics show that the American people are reading today an ever larger number of serious books, presenting modern knowledge in sober, responsible, but also in popular, attractive manner. In fact such books now appear not infrequently in the weekly and monthly lists of best-sellers. I cannot but feel that the opportunity to popularize worth-while knowledge in America is growing apace. It is for us to see that this opportunity is not wasted for Oriental studies.

I have another, perhaps rather fanciful idea. It has frequently been remarked that a large proportion of our American business men, despite old age and growing weakness, remain more or less active in business until death. To die in harness has in fact become a supposed American ideal. But perhaps instead of being a virtue this is a tacit confession of a characteristic and significant American fault. Perhaps the American business man remains in business until death because he has never learned to do anything else, and so has no way in which to fill up the leisure which advancing age should bring him. Nowadays things have adjusted themselves a bit, and our aging business men are learning to play golf and to spend their winters in Florida or California. Golf is truly a blessing in our American life, and, let it be noted in passing, a



cultural treasure of distinctively foreign origin. But our younger business men and their wives with them, with a steadily increasing proportion of college men and women among them, already play golf in conjunction with and as a healthy, necessary relaxation from their daily tasks. They will not need to fall back upon it when advancing age and the urging of the next generation suggest a gradual withdrawal from business activities. What then? And our modern women, emancipated and independent, with the relatively large amount of leisure which present-day domestic and social organization bring, what of them? I am sure that they will not long be content to waste this precious time on bridge or mah jong, nor even in feverish and largely futile attendance at club meetings and participation in club activities. And when that happy day shall come, and it cannot be far distant, for them too what then?

Well, why not Oriental studies? It may seem laughable at first; but on second thought, again why not? If only we can reach these men and women in a general and popular way while in college, and if only, through popular lectures and writings, we can keep in touch with them and hold and develop their interest thereafter, why may we not expect that some among them, and a gratifying number at that, would manifest a healthy, worthwhile interest in Oriental studies, each in his own way? We need not expect them to become Gladstones or Lord Curzons and develop creative Oriental scholarship in their old age, although, as the membership list of our own Society could show, even this is by no means impossible. Nor need all of them build up museum collections after the manner of Mr. J. P. Morgan, Sr. and others, although that too is not impossible nor even improbable, and is, of course, extremely desirable. But they would be men and women with a live interest in and an understanding appreciation of Oriental studies; and would not just such men and women be the very best popularizers and supporters of Oriental science in America? And through them would not the influence of Oriental studies upon American culture be furthered most largely? Cultured American men and women, whose vocation is their daily business, whether in the market or in the home, whose relaxation and exercise perhaps is golf, and whose avocation is Oriental studies in more or less popular form—why not?

But even if this be a foolish dream, the fact remains that our task is but half done if, even with most efficient instruction on our



part, we succeed only in raising up in America another generation of Oriental scholars like ourselves, to carry on the work after us. Of what purpose all this? The work of scholarship must be supplemented by interpretation and popularization. Alongside of the scholar we must develop the popular interpreter; both are essential to our work and to the fulfillment of our larger and more basic purpose. And that purpose is to bring to our developing American culture all the invaluable, indispensable contribution which Oriental life, culture, history interpreted through our Oriental studies, may offer. Less than this may not content us nor justify the further propagation of Oriental studies in America. To America today, as to Europe of old, *ex oriente lux*; light, precious, illuminating, revealing light, may well come from the East. Ours the task, may the privilege, to radiate it. We are the American Oriental Society. In the combination of adjectives the name is indeed significant. It lays upon us a duty, a responsibility, a service, in which we may not fail.

## WRITING UPON PARCHMENT AND PAPYRUS AMONG THE BABYLONIANS AND THE ASSYRIANS

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RECORDS UPON clay and stone have been associated with the Babylonians and the Assyrians so generally that belief in the widespread use by them of either parchment or papyrus has gained meager headway. However, indications are not wanting that ancient scribes in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley wrote upon perishable substances as well as upon materials of lasting quality. Little direct proof of this has come from archaeological excavations in Mesopotamia. The conditions of that land with respect to moisture in the soil are such as to hinder the preservation of parchments and papyri buried in the debris of ruined cities. It is conceivable that a portion of a site sufficiently elevated and having unusual protection from dampness might yield manuscripts, especially if definite precautions had been taken to shield them, but the typical mounds of Babylonia and Assyria have thus far been noted mainly for the cuneiform inscriptions which they have furnished.<sup>1</sup> For this reason

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 1922-3, Chap. V., pp. 281-337, for examples of Greek and Aramaic parchments from the Middle Euphrates region.

In succeeding notes the following abbreviations will be used: *AJSL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*; *AV* = Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, etc.; *B* = Brünnow, *A Classified List of all Simple and Compound Ideographs*; *BE* = *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*; *BRM* = *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*; *CD* = Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*; *CT* = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*; *HWB* = Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*; *JADD* = Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*; *KB* = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*; *KlbrTat* = Klüber, *Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit*; *NLE* = Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*, *YBT* Vol. III; *OBW* = Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*; *OLZ* = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *PBS* = *Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum*; *R* = Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*; *RECC* = Tremayne, *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses*; *YBT* Vol. VII; *REN* = Dougherty, *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus*, *YBT* Vol. VI; *SBD* = Dougherty, *The Shirkutu of Babylonian Deities*, *YOR* Vol. V-2;

the extensive utilization of parchment and papyrus for writing purposes in Mesopotamia at a time when the inscribing of clay tablets was in vogue has been overlooked. The assembling of diversified data capable of throwing light upon this practice will now be attempted.

### *The Meaning of amē<sup>1</sup>KUS-SAR*

An important discovery was made a little over two decades ago. The occurrence of amē<sup>1</sup>KUS-SAR in several Seleucid texts from Warka was noted.<sup>2</sup> Schroeder was the first to point out the true meaning of this term. He advanced the view that amē<sup>1</sup>KUS-SAR was used as an ideogram to describe one who wrote upon leather or parchment, in the same way in which the ideogram amē<sup>1</sup>DUB-SAR was employed to represent one who wrote upon a clay tablet.<sup>3</sup> The soundness of this reasoning cannot be questioned, inasmuch as the basic significance of DUB is 'tablet' and a denotation of KUS is 'skin,'<sup>4</sup> whereas a common meaning of SAR is 'write.'<sup>5</sup> Schroeder went so far as to suggest that the Semitic word derived from KUS-SAR was *kuššaru*, on the analogy of DUB-SAR = *dupšarru* (*tupšarru*).<sup>7</sup> Bezold lists *kuššaru* as a Sumerian loan-word with the meaning 'Pergamentschreiber.'<sup>8</sup> In the absence of contrary proof it is perfectly natural to regard KUS-SAR = *kuššaru* with favor, but no substantiation of the Babylonian form *kuššaru* in the sense of 'writer upon parchment' is available.<sup>9</sup>

An exhaustive study of personal names occurring in the texts containing the ideogram amē<sup>1</sup>KUS-SAR furnishes a clue as to the

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*StrCamb* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses*; *StrCyr* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus*; *StrDar* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius*; *StrNbk* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor*; *StrNbn* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus*; *VS* = *Vorderasiatische Schrift Denkmäler*; *YBT* = *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*; *YOR* = *Yale Oriental Series, Researches*; *ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

<sup>2</sup> *BRM* Part II, 39:6; 46:28; *VS* XV, 6:6. No earlier occurrence of the ideogram KUS-SAR has been found.

<sup>3</sup> *ZA* XXX, p. 91 f.

<sup>4</sup> *OBW* No. 157; B 3935.

<sup>5</sup> *OBW* No. 7; B 167.

<sup>6</sup> *OBW* No. 170; B 4336.

<sup>7</sup> B 3941.

<sup>8</sup> Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 152.

<sup>9</sup> See *VS* VI, 192:7, for amē<sup>1</sup>ku-sa-rī-meš, with no evidence that the expression refers to 'scribes.'



real Babylonian term which was used as an equivalent of *amē<sup>10</sup>KUS-SAR*. Nidintum-Ishtar, the son of Anu-aḥē-iddin, is described in one passage as *amē<sup>10</sup>KUS-SAR makkūr<sup>10</sup> 'Anu*,<sup>10</sup> and in another passage as one of several *amē<sup>10</sup>si-pir<sup>10</sup> makkūr<sup>10</sup> 'Anu*.<sup>11</sup> Evidently Nidintum-Ishtar was a writer upon parchment who kept an account of the property (*makkūru*) of the god Anu. Thus the terms *amē<sup>10</sup>KUS-SAR* and *amē<sup>10</sup>si-pir* are equated. A corroborative instance may be cited. Illūt-Anu, the son of Anu-mukin-aplu, in one text bears the title of *amē<sup>10</sup>KUS-SAR makkūr<sup>10</sup> 'Anu*,<sup>12</sup> in another text Illūt-Anu, the son of Anu-mukin-aplu, son of Anu-apal-iddin, is specified as *amē<sup>10</sup>si-pir makkūr<sup>10</sup> 'Anu*.<sup>13</sup> That these two references to Illūt-Anu denote one and the same person is clear. Illūt-Anu, like Nidintum-Ishtar, was a writer upon parchment who kept an account of the property of the god Anu. The conclusion is inevitable that two expressions were employed in signifying that an individual wrote upon parchment. These two expressions were the ideogram *amē<sup>10</sup>KUS-SAR*, the meaning of which has already been explained, and the Semitic term *amē<sup>10</sup>si-pir*. A chronological comparison of the four texts from which this information has been drawn indicates that Nidintum-Ishtar performed his function as a writer upon parchment during a period of at least twenty years, from the 129th to the 149th year of the Seleucid era, i. e., from the time of Seleucus IV to the time of Antiochus V, and that Illūt-Anu served as a writer upon parchment during a period of at least twenty-four years, from the 131st to the 155th year of the Seleucid era, i. e., from the time of Seleucus IV to the time of Demetrius I. Both Nidintum-Ishtar and Illūt-Anu may have been official scribes much longer, for Nādin, the son of Bēl-aḥē-iqīsha, son of Egibi, served as *amē<sup>10</sup>dupšarru* for at least thirty years, i. e., from the 3rd year of Nabonidus to the 6th year of Cambyzes.<sup>14</sup>

Proof that the tablet-writer and the parchment-writer were carefully distinguished is furnished by a fifth cuneiform inscription which exhibits indications that it came from Sippar. It records a transaction with respect to temple lands and contains the following illuminating passage: *a-ki-i ša-ta-ri ša ina qī-bi-tum<sup>15</sup> 'Uš-ta-ni amē<sup>10</sup>pi-ḥat-tum Bābīlī<sup>16</sup> u<sup>17</sup> 'E-bir nāri ša 'Ina-E-sog-ila-li-bur*

<sup>10</sup> *BRM* Part II, 39:5, 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 36:1.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 35:36.

<sup>13</sup> *REN* 33:25; *RECO* 190:18, 19.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 46:27, 28.

*amēi*šangû Sippar<sup>21</sup> *amēi*šarru-lu-û-da-ri *amēi*qîpu<sup>12</sup> Ê-bar-ra *amēi*Bêl-iddin *amēi*Nabû-ahê<sup>22</sup>ušallim *amēi*U-bal-lî-su.<sup>23</sup>Gula *amēi*dupšarre<sup>24</sup> u *amēi*Ni-din-tum *amēi*si-pi-ri u *amēi*Ti-rik-šarru-ut-su *amēi*šagû šarri it-ti-ka iš-tû-ru'; 'in conformity with the writing which at the command of Ushtâni, the governor of Babylon and the city across the river, Ina-Êsagila-libur, the priest of Sippar, Šarru-lû-dâri, the administrator of Êbarra, Bêl-iddin, Nabû-ahê-ushallim, (and) Uballitsu-Gula, the scribes (*dupšarrê*), and Nidintum, the scribe (*si-pi-ri*), and Tirik-sharrûtsu, the chief officer of the king, wrote with thee.'<sup>25</sup> On account of the mutilated condition of the reverse of the tablet from which this passage is taken the date is illegible, but the names of the officials which are mentioned settle with remarkable exactness the fact that the record belongs to the Persian period. Ushtâni was governor of Babylon and the district beyond the river in the 3rd year of Darius.<sup>27</sup> Ina-Êsagila-libur was priest of Sippar from the 1st to the 4th year of Darius.<sup>28</sup> Šarru-lû-dâri was the administrator of Êbarra, the temple of Shamash in Sippar, from the 1st year of Cyrus to the 4th year of Cambyses.<sup>29</sup> Bêl-iddin is mentioned as a scribe (*dupšarru*) in the 2nd year of Cambyses and in the 11th and the 22nd years of Darius.<sup>30</sup> Uballitsu-Gula is also mentioned as a scribe (*dupšarru*) in the 22nd year of Darius.<sup>31</sup> Nidinit is mentioned as a scribe (*si-pi-ri*) in the 6th year of Darius.<sup>32</sup> Tirik-sharrûtsu appears as a chief officer of the king from the 1st to the 4th year of Cambyses.<sup>33</sup> It is probable that each official served longer than the limits furnished by the years which have been mentioned. In fact, this must be true if all of them were in office at the same time, as the above cuneiform passage indicates. While the document quoted cannot be dated with minuteness, its chronological setting is not difficult to fix. It belongs to the Persian rather than to the Greek period of Babylonian history.

<sup>21</sup> The *amēi*GID-DA of the text is evidently a scribal error for *amēi*TIL-LA-GID-DA or *amēi*TIL-GID-DA. See under *qîpu*, CD p. 921. Note B 1568.

<sup>22</sup> *BRM* Part I, 101:4-8.

<sup>23</sup> *StrDar* 82:2.

<sup>24</sup> *StrDar* 27:7, 128:4. In the latter instance the name is plainly written *amēi*Ina-Ê-sag-gil-lî-bur.

<sup>25</sup> *StrCyr* 310:9; *StrCamb* 9:11; 19:17; 169:4; 194:8; 240:12.

<sup>26</sup> *StrCamb* 131:6; *StrDar* 299:3; 558:4.

<sup>27</sup> *StrDar* 558:4.

<sup>28</sup> *StrDar* 209:3.

<sup>29</sup> *StrCamb* 93:7; 240:13.

So far as the subject under discussion is concerned, the main value of this cuneiform passage lies in the fact that a definite contrast between *amīdupšarru* and *amīsi-pi-ri* is indicated. In short, the evidence that there were two classes of scribes is decisive. Each class enjoyed sufficient prestige, in Sippar at any rate, to be associated in function with some of the highest officials of the temple and with the chief representative of the king. It should be noted that the text mentions only one writer upon parchment, whereas three writers upon clay have a part in the legal contract which is recorded. One might be tempted to infer that these four scribes comprised the total literary staff of the temple at Sippar and that, as a result, writers upon parchment and similar material were very much in the minority. However, such a deduction is not warranted, as it is conceivable that the document was drawn up in the presence of those temple functionaries who chanced to be present or who happened to have a special interest in the transaction. There are other texts in which more than one *amīsi-pir* is mentioned, but no opportunity for conclusive comparison is presented.

Starting with an ideogram of undoubted meaning, it has been demonstrated that *amīsi-pir* is the cuneiform Semitic equivalent of *amīKUS-SAR*. The intimation is that the scribe represented by these two terms wrote upon parchment rather than upon clay. The final implication of these facts may now be stated. The root of the Babylonian word for parchment-writer, written *si-pir* and *si-pi-ri* in the texts thus far considered, is *spr*. That this root is connected with Hebrew and Aramaic ספר is beyond doubt. The primary meaning of Hebrew ספר is *zählen*,<sup>24</sup> 'count,' 'reckon,' 'enumerate.' The secondary meaning is *erzählen*,<sup>25</sup> 'recount,' 'relate,' 'narrate.' The meaning 'count' for the simple stem of Hebrew ספר is distributed widely throughout the Old Testament, as the following partial summary indicates: numbering stars, Gen. 15:5; calculating time, Lev. 15:13; mustering people, II Sam. 24:10; counting houses and towers, Isa. 22:10, 33:18;<sup>26</sup> enumerating God's thoughts, Ps. 139:18; computing Job's steps, Job 14:16; apportioning workmen to specific tasks, II Chron. 2:1.

<sup>24</sup> See Gesenius-Buhl 17, p. 550.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 550.

<sup>26</sup> The association of ספר with ספר in this context throws interesting light upon the meaning of the latter.



These are the most significant evidences of the elemental meaning of Hebrew ספד. Further instances of the same meaning can be found in the root's derived forms, both verbal and nominal. The act of counting is primarily a mental process, but memory is fallible, and so there must be recourse to a written tally or record. Hence the secondary meanings of the verb developed, with the result that ספד came to mean 'scribe,' and ספד became a term for 'record,' 'letter,' 'book.'

There are indications that the Hebrews had some knowledge of writing upon more durable substances than parchment and papyrus. The use of the word לוח — Assyrian lē'u, 'tablet,' 'document,' is proof of this.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, the verb חקק, 'engrave,' 'inscribe,' points to an acquaintance with hard writing materials.<sup>28</sup> An inscription upon an object resistant enough to be engraved might be called ספד,<sup>29</sup> but it is likely that this Hebrew word was used more often to denote a parchment or papyrus document. Direct references in the Old Testament to the utilization of animal hides and Egyptian paper for writing purposes are conspicuous for their absence. Indirect allusions are sufficient, however, to establish the fact that records were made upon a pliable substance.<sup>30</sup> Papyrus could not have been unknown, for it was introduced into Syria as early as the end of the twelfth century B. C.<sup>31</sup> There is no information as to how early the Hebrews began to write upon parchment.<sup>32</sup> It need not be doubted, nevertheless, that the cursive style of both the Siloam inscription<sup>33</sup> and the memoranda upon the sherds found at Samaria<sup>34</sup> indicate extensive contemporaneous and probably considerable previous writing upon materials other than stone, metal, and clay.

The meaning and usage of ספד in Hebrew permit a more cer-

<sup>27</sup> Note especially לוחות אבנים, 'tablets of stone,' Ex. 34:1, etc.

<sup>28</sup> See Isa. 30:8; Job 19:23.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, p. 223, b. 14, 15.

<sup>30</sup> See Ps. 40:7; Jer. 30:2, 4; Ezek. 2:9.

<sup>31</sup> Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 484; *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, pp. 277, 284.

<sup>32</sup> For the Talmudic discussion of writing material see *Sôphêrim*, Chap. I. Müller's edition, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 1-31.

<sup>33</sup> Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Tafel XXI, 1.

<sup>34</sup> Harvard Excavations at Samaria, Vol. I, pp. 239-243.

tain interpretation of Babylonian *si-pir* (*si-pi-ri*). It has been shown, in the passages quoted above, that <sup>amē</sup>*si-pir* designated one who was a recorder of the property of the god Anu, i. e., one who kept an account of the various possessions associated with the cult of this particular deity at Erech. The extensive ceremonies and functions connected with the worship of each Babylonian divinity were supported by rich endowments and offerings. There was a constant income from vast land-holdings. Grain fields and pasture lands yielded a large revenue. At the same time there were numerous monetary receipts and disbursements. Temple records in cuneiform which have been recovered and deciphered indicate that the Babylonians demanded an exact accounting of all transactions, whether private or public, legal or religious. The material interests of the sanctuary of a city were safeguarded with the utmost precision. Hence that there should have been special recording accountants definitely in charge of the property dedicated to the maintenance of the rites of one deity or another is not surprising. The <sup>amē</sup>*si-pir*, known also as the <sup>amē</sup>*KUŠ-SAR*, 'parchment-writer,' was such an accountant for the god Anu at Erech in the Seleucid era.

The evident relationship between *שָׁפַר* and *si-pir* (*si-pi-ri*) raises a question with respect to another Babylonian root. Heretofore *šāpāru*, 'send,' 'commission,' has been connected with *שָׁפַר*.<sup>22</sup> There is no inherent difficulty in this equation so far as the sibilants are concerned. The fact that the nominal form *šipru* appears to range in meaning from 'mission,' 'business,' 'work,' to 'communication,' 'report,' 'document,' has caused scholars to believe that *šipru* and *שָׁפַר* correspond etymologically.<sup>23</sup> No real ground for this conclusion seems to exist. If it were tenable one would expect the basic translations of the verbs to exhibit some similarity in meaning. This is far from true, as the original connotation of *שָׁפַר* is 'count' whereas that of *šāpāru* is 'send,' and the derived meanings of the two verbs coincide very slightly. The term <sup>amē</sup>*šāpiru* has been translated 'scribe' due to a supposed relationship with *שָׁפַר*, but the expression has its strongest force when translated 'commissioner,' 'agent,' i. e., strictly in accordance with the idea

<sup>22</sup> See *CD* p. 1087; Gesenius-Buhl 17, p. 550.

<sup>23</sup> Cf *CD* p. 1098.

contained in the root.<sup>37</sup> If the Babylonians already had a term *amēšāpiru* which could be used for 'scribe' it is hardly likely that they would have borrowed another so nearly like it in sound. That they did use *amēšī-pir* for 'scribe' is absolutely certain, and this fact would indicate that *amēšāpiru* did not have that meaning.

Not many occurrences of *amēšī-pir* and its variant forms have been listed thus far.<sup>38</sup> This has made it difficult to discover the character of the official represented by the term. However, a careful study of numerous cuneiform texts has yielded many more passages in which references to *amēšī-pir*, *amēšī-pi-ri*, etc., are present. In all there are now easily fifty such contexts available. A few have already been discussed; the remaining will be presented in chronological order.

#### *Data from the Reign of Nebuchadnezzar*

*Year 30.* A mutilated text has the sign *KUŠ* remaining in the first line and *amēšī-pi-ri* at the end of the second line. This is suggestive but no scientific conclusion can be drawn because the whole passage is not intact.<sup>39</sup>

*Year 43.* A text, the beginning of which is defaced, contains the following: *ṁNabū-šum-iddin amēšī-pi-ri ša ṁNergal-šar-ušur*, 'Nabū-šum-iddin, the *si-pi-ri* of Neriglissar.'<sup>40</sup>

#### *Data from the Reign of Nabonidus*

*Year 1.* A document dealing with a monetary transaction refers to *ṁNabū . . . amēšī-pi-ri ša šarri*, 'Nabū . . . the *si-pi-ri* of the king.'<sup>41</sup>

*Year 2.* In a long text itemizing receipts for barley the following passage occurs: *4 gur ša ṁAddaru ṁNisannu ṁAyarū u ṁSimānu ṁIna-ešī-ēfir amēšī-pir*, 'Four kors (of barley) of the

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1089. It is to be noted that *amēšāpiru* is often associated with *amēšaklu*, 'agent.'

<sup>38</sup> See references in *HWB* p. 509; *CD* p. 779 f.

<sup>39</sup> *StrNbk* 217:2. Cf. *pu-ut si-ḫu-ū u amēšī-pi-ri-ru-nu u amēšī-mār-ba-nu-tu u si-pi-ru*, *StrNbk* 201:6-8.

<sup>40</sup> *StrNbk* 413:3. See *AV*, p. 815, under *si-pi-ri* (No. 6737) for *ṁNabū-lu-ū-na-lim amēšī-pir ša šarri*, 'Nabū-lu-salim, the *si-pir* of the king.' This passage is quoted from a text dated in the reign of Neriglissar.

<sup>41</sup> *StrNbn* 44:3.



month Adar, the month Nisan, the month Iyyar, and the month Sivan Ina-eslî-êtir, the *si-pir*, (received).<sup>42</sup>

*Year 5.* A record of the loan of money mentions <sup>md</sup>Nabû-mukîn-aplu <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri ša <sup>md</sup>Bêl-šar-ušur mâr šarri, 'Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the *si-pi-ri* of Belshazzar, the son of the king.'<sup>43</sup>

*Year 6.* In a tablet recording a monetary transaction part of the business was negotiated in the presence of <sup>md</sup>Kal-ba-a <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri, 'Kalbâ, the *si-pi-ri*.'<sup>44</sup>

*Year 7.* A text dealing with tithe money refers to <sup>md</sup>Nabû-mukîn-[aplu] <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri <sup>amē</sup>qal-la ša <sup>md</sup>Bêl-šar-ušur mâr šarri, 'Nabû-mukîn-[aplu], the *si-pi-ri*, the servant of Belshazzar, the son of the king.'<sup>45</sup>

*Year 8.* A record concerning a disbursement from the royal store-house reads as follows: 200 gur suluppi ištu bît makkûr ni-din-it šarri a-na <sup>md</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>md</sup>Nabû ù <sup>md</sup>Samaš-uballit(-it) <sup>amē</sup>si-pir<sup>md</sup> ša <sup>md</sup>Nabû-aḫē-<sup>md</sup>ēriba ša muḫ-ḫi Ar-ba-a-a nadin(-in), 'Two hundred kors of dates from the treasure-house of the king's gift to Mushēzib-Nabû and Shamash-uballit, the *si-pir* officials of Nabû-aḫē-ēriba, who is in charge of the Arabs,<sup>46</sup> were given.'<sup>47</sup>

*Year 10.* A receipt for asphalt is attested as follows: Ina manzazi <sup>md</sup>Iš-tar-aḫ-iddin <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri <sup>amē</sup>mâr šip-ri<sup>48</sup> ša <sup>md</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>md</sup>Nabû, 'In the presence of Išhtar-aḫ-iddin, the *si-pi-ri*, the messenger of Mushēzib-Nabû.'<sup>49</sup>

*Year 11.* A promissory note begins as follows: 20 ma-na kaspi šim šipâte<sup>md</sup> makkûr <sup>md</sup>Bêl-šar-ušur mâr šarri ša ina qât <sup>md</sup>Nabû-ša-[bît-qâtâ] <sup>amē</sup>rab bîti ša <sup>md</sup>Bêl-šar-ušur mâr šarri ù <sup>amē</sup>si-pir<sup>md</sup> ša mâr šarri, 'Twenty minas of silver, the price of wool, the property of Belshazzar, the son of the king, which (was received) through the agency of Nabû-[šābit-qâtâ], the major domo of Bel-

<sup>42</sup> REN 32:44. See StrNbn 55:4, for <sup>md</sup>Šin-ēriba <sup>amē</sup>si . . . , 'Sin-ēriba, the *si*[pir].'

<sup>43</sup> StrNbn 184:4, 5.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 245:9.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 270:5.

<sup>46</sup> Although the usual determinative *amēl* is omitted, there can be little doubt that the expression Ar-ba-a-a is gentile in character.

<sup>47</sup> StrNbn 297:1-6.

<sup>48</sup> Note contrast of <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri and <sup>amē</sup>mâr šip-ri.

<sup>49</sup> StrNbn 478:11-13.

shazzar, the son of the king, and the *si-pir* officials of the son of the king.<sup>20</sup>

*Year 11.* An itemized record concerning dates, etc., contains the following entry: 2 *šiqil* *ša a-na* <sup>amē</sup>*Ki-din* <sup>amē</sup>*si-pi-ru* *ša* <sup>amē</sup>*šarri* *ša a-na meš-ḥat* *ša eqlāti il-li-ku id-di-nu*, 'Two shekels (of silver) which they gave to Kidin, the *si-pi-ru* of the king, who went for the measuring of the fields.'<sup>21</sup>

#### *Data from the Reign of Cyrus*

*Year 3.* In a record of a controversial affair the following statement is made: *ši-pir-tum* *sa* <sup>amē</sup>*si-pi-ru* *ša a-na* *šu-mu* *ša* <sup>amē</sup>*Ap-la-a apil-šu* *ša* <sup>amē</sup>*Sin-aḥ-iddin* *šaṭ-ra-tum*, 'the dispatch of the *si-pi-ru* which was written for the name of Aplā, the son of Sin-aḥ-iddin.'<sup>22</sup>

*Year 4.* A tablet recording a loan begins thus: 1 1/3 *ma-na kaspi makkūru* *ša* <sup>amē</sup>*Kam-bu-zi-ia* [*mār* *šarri*] *ša qāt* <sup>amē</sup>*Gab-bi-ilāni* <sup>amē</sup>*šar-ušur* <sup>amē</sup>*si-[pi]-ri* *ša mār* [*šarri*] *apil-šu* *ša* <sup>amē</sup>*Il-te-ri-ḥa-na-na*, 'One and one-third minas of silver, the property of Cambyses, [the son of the king], in the possession of Gabbi-ilāni-šar-ušur, the *si-[pi]-ri* of the son [of the king], the son of Ilteri-hanana.'<sup>23</sup>

*Year 5.* A text which is not entirely intact contains the following: <sup>amē</sup>*Ba-zu-zu apil-šu* *ša* <sup>amē</sup>*Ardi-Nabū* <sup>amē</sup>*si-pi-ru* *ša bit* <sup>amē</sup>*mār* *šarri*, 'Bazuzu, the son of Ardi-Nabū, the *si-pi-ru* of the house of the son of the king.'<sup>24</sup>

*Year 10.* A record concerning barley ends as follows: *Napharu 40 gur 3 pi 18 qa ŠE-BAR a-na* <sup>amē</sup>*Sa-lam-ma-ri-e* <sup>amē</sup>*si-pi-ri* 16 *šābē* <sup>amē</sup>*ša* <sup>amē</sup>*qipi nadna(-na)* <sup>amē</sup>*Kislimu ūmu 17* <sup>amē</sup>*šattu 10* <sup>amē</sup>*šu . . .*, 'A total of forty kors, 3 *pi*, 18 *qa* of barley which were given to Shalammarē, the *si-pi-ri* of sixteen workmen of the administrator. The month Kislev, the seventeenth day, the tenth year of [Cyrus].'<sup>25</sup>

*Year ?.* A broken tablet contains a reference to <sup>amē</sup>*Pāni-šur*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 581:1-4.

<sup>21</sup> *REN* 242:22, 23.

<sup>22</sup> *RECC* 19:11, 12.

<sup>23</sup> *StrCyr* 177: 1-3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 199:10, 11.

<sup>25</sup> *StrNbn* 458:10-15. The *šu* in line 20 of this text could be regarded as a part of the name Cyrus.

lu-mur <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>si-pi-ri mār šarri, 'Pāni-Ashur-lāmūr, the si-pi-ri of the son of the king.'<sup>56</sup>

*Data from the Reign of Cambyses*

*Year of Accession.* A document concerning a fugitive širku contains the following statement: <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>si-pi-ri ša <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>Gimil-lu a-na eli <sup>m</sup>Ri-ḫi-e-tum<sup>k</sup> a-na <sup>m</sup>Nabū-na-din iš-pu-ru-ma ina puhri tan-nam-ru iš-ku-su<sup>57</sup> ik-nu-ku u ina E-an-na iš-ku-nu, 'The dispatch, which the si-pi-ri of Gimillu sent concerning Rihētum to Nabū-nādin and (which) was seen in the assembly, they bound, sealed and placed in Eanna.'<sup>58</sup>

*Year 1.* One of the witnesses in a bailment record is <sup>m</sup>Amurrū-šar-ušur <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>si-pir ša šarri, 'Amurrū-shar-ušur, the si-pir of the king.'<sup>59</sup>

*Year 1.* A document concerning the slaves of a širku mentions <sup>Sa-lam-ilī mārī-šu ša</sup> <sup>m</sup>A-bi-i-<sup>d</sup>Dayān <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>si-pi-[ri],<sup>60</sup> 'Shalam-ilī, the son of Abi-Dayān, the si-pi-[ri].'<sup>61</sup>

*Year 1.* A record concerning a fatally-injured širku contains a reference to <sup>m</sup>Sa-lam-ilī mārī-šu ša <sup>m</sup>Abi-<sup>d</sup>Dayān <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>si-pir ša šarri, 'Shalam-ilī, the son of Abi-Dayān, the si-pir of the king.'<sup>62</sup>

*Year 2.* In a tax record there is mention of <sup>m</sup>Amurrū-šar-ušur <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>si-pir mārī-šu ša <sup>m</sup>Aḫu-līšir,<sup>63</sup> 'Amurrū-shar-ušur, the si-pir, the son of Aḫu-līšir.'<sup>64</sup>

*Year 3.* In a text dealing with a controversy one of the witnesses is <sup>m</sup>Amurrū-šar-ušur, apil-šu ša <sup>m</sup>Ta-līm <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>si-pir, 'Amurrū-shar-ušur, the son of Talīm, the si-pir.'<sup>65</sup>

*Year 3.* A record concerning fish begins as follows: <sup>m</sup>Ri-mut <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>dayānu <sup>m</sup>Ilī-<sup>d</sup>Marduk <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>DUB-SAR apil <sup>m</sup>Epeš(-eš)-ilu u

<sup>56</sup> StrCyr 364:16.

<sup>57</sup> The word *ik-ku-su* stands for *ir-ku-su*. See SBD p. 63.

<sup>58</sup> RECC 102:24, 25. See SBD p. 62.

<sup>59</sup> RECC 118:22.

<sup>60</sup> It is possible that the restoration should be <sup>am<sup>1</sup></sup>si-[pir šarri].

<sup>61</sup> RECC 114:14.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 107:17.

<sup>63</sup> Dr. Tremayne's reading is *Aḫu-līšir*, but it seems possible that *SES-GAD* represents an ideogram for *talīm*, 'twin,' on the basis of Amurrū-šar-ušur, the son of Talīm, in accompanying texts from the third and sixth years of Cambyses. See RECC 159:26; 198:4.

<sup>64</sup> RECC 131:13.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 159:26.



<sup>md</sup>Ba-û-êreš <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri a-na <sup>md</sup>Bêl-iqîša(-ša) apil-šu ša <sup>md</sup>Ba-ni-ia <sup>amē</sup>bâ'îru iq-bu-û um-ma, 'Rimût, the judge, Ili'-Marduk, the scribe (<sup>dup</sup>sârû), the son of Êpesh-ilu, and Bau-êresh, the scribe (<sup>si</sup>-pi-ri), to Bêl-iqîša, the fisherman, spoke as follows.'<sup>66</sup>

*Year 4.* In a document concerning a debt there is mention of <sup>md</sup>Amurrû-šar-ušur <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri ša ina Ê-an-na paq-du, 'Amurrû-shar-ušur, the <sup>si</sup>-pi-ri, who is appointed in the temple Êanna.'<sup>67</sup>

*Year 6.* In a text dealing with sheep and cattle one of the witnesses is <sup>md</sup>Amurrû-šar-ušur mâri-šu ša <sup>md</sup>Ta-lim <sup>amē</sup>si-pir ša ina Ê-an-na, 'Amurrû-shar-ušur, the son of Talim, the <sup>si</sup>-pir in the temple Êanna.'<sup>68</sup>

*Year 6.* In a short partially-mutilated text there is a reference to <sup>md</sup>Abu-lu-mur <sup>amē</sup>si-pir-ri ša bēl pihât Mi-šir,<sup>69</sup> 'Abu-lûmur, the <sup>si</sup>-pir-ri of the governor of Egypt.'<sup>70</sup>

*Year 6.* A document concerning wool begins as follows: 16 bilat 15 ma-na šipâte<sup>71</sup> ina ebûri ša šatti <sup>amē</sup>šâbê<sup>72</sup> e-piš dul-lu ša <sup>amē</sup>qîpi a-na <sup>md</sup>Sa-lam-ma-ri-e <sup>amē</sup>si-pir-ri ša <sup>amē</sup>qîpi nadna(-na), 'Sixteen talents (and) fifteen minas of wool out of the yield of the sixth year, in the possession of the workmen who perform the work of the administrator, were given to Shalammarê, the <sup>si</sup>-pir-ri of the administrator.'<sup>73</sup>

#### *Data from the Reign of Darius I*

*Year 6.* A letter containing an order to deliver dates was sent by three (?) men, one of whom was <sup>md</sup>Ni-din-it <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri, 'Nidinit, the <sup>si</sup>-pir-ri.'<sup>74</sup>

*Year 6.* In a record dealing with a monetary transaction the witnesses are listed as follows: Ina ma-ḥar <sup>md</sup>Nabû-na-dîn-aḥu <sup>md</sup>Bêl-šu-nu <sup>md</sup>Ba-ga'-in <sup>md</sup>Na-dîn <sup>md</sup>Sin-mudammig(-iq) <sup>md</sup>Ap-la-a u <sup>md</sup>Nabû-napištim(-tim)-ušur <sup>amē</sup>dayânê<sup>75</sup> <sup>md</sup>Iddin-<sup>md</sup>Nabû <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ru ú-il-ti e-lit <sup>md</sup>Nabû-ka-šir DUB-SAR mâr <sup>md</sup>Na-bu-un-na-a-a <sup>md</sup>Ê-a-iddin DUB-SAR mâr <sup>md</sup>A-rab-tum, 'In the presence of Nabû-

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 151:1-4.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 164:21.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 198:4.

<sup>69</sup> The scribe omitted the usual determinative for land.

<sup>70</sup> *StrCamd* 344:2, 3.

<sup>71</sup> *CT* IV, 27, (Bu. 88-5-12, 336), lines 4, 5.

<sup>72</sup> *StrDar* 209:3.

nâdin-aḥu, Bêl-shunu, Baga'in, Nâdin, Sin-mudammiq, Aplâ, and Nabû-napištim-uṣur, judges, Iddin-Nabû, the scribe (*si-pi-ru*) of the contract entered into,<sup>72</sup> Nabû-kâsir, the scribe (*dupšarru*), the son of Nabunnâ, (and) Êa-iddin, the scribe (*dupšarru*), the son of Arabtum.<sup>73</sup>

*Year 8.* A receipt for dates begins as follows: *Gi-mir ša 316 gur suluppi* 'Ap-la-a <sup>amē</sup>šaqû šarri <sup>amē</sup>si-pir ša <sup>amē</sup>ašaredêmeš ša êkalli eš-šu, 'A total of three hundred and sixteen kors of dates Aplâ, the chief officer of the king, the *si-pir* of the princes of the new palace.'<sup>74</sup> The payment was made at the command of an official of the city of Babylon.

*Year 11.* A record concerning dates refers to *Ba-la-tu* <sup>amē</sup>si-pir *kurummatê*, 'Balâtu, the *si-pir* of the maintenance.'<sup>75</sup>

*Year 12.* A text dealing with money mentions the following as interested persons: *Iddin-Bêl* <sup>amē</sup>DUB-SAR à *Nergal-šum-iddin* <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ir, 'Iddin-Bêl, the scribe (*dupšarru*), and Nergal-šum-iddin, the scribe (*si-pir*).'<sup>76</sup>

*Year 17.* A defaced text concerning a decision of Darius refers to *Nabû-zêr-ibni* <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ir, 'Nabu-zer-ibni, the *si-pi-ir*,' and intimates that he reported to his superior in Sippar.<sup>77</sup>

#### Data from the Reign of Darius II

*Year of Accession.* A tax record contains the following passage: *a-ki-i šu-pi-iš-tum* <sup>78</sup> ša *Abu-ul-idi* <sup>amē</sup>si-pir-ri ša *Samaš-šar-uṣur* <sup>amē</sup>šakni ša <sup>amē</sup>ndâš paṭrimeš ša bît šihir šarri, 'according to the dispatch of Abu-ul-idi, the *si-pir-ri* of Shamash-shar-uṣur, the commander of the sword-bearers of the small house of the king.'<sup>79</sup>

*Year 1.* In a document concerning the harvest of certain fields

<sup>72</sup> It may be that *e-lit* is connected with the root *elâ* rather than with *a'dlu*. If the former is the case, *u-il-ti e-lit* may mean 'above contract.' Derivation from *a'dlu* may signify that the translation should be: 'the scribe (*si-pi-ru*) who drew up the contract.'

<sup>73</sup> *BE* VIII, 107:19-23.

<sup>74</sup> *BBM* Part I, 81:1-3.

<sup>75</sup> *StrDar* 314:3.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 336:2, 3.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 451:2. See *StrDar* 379:8 for *mdBêl-ušallim* <sup>amē</sup>si . . . 'Bêl-ušallim, the *si*[*pir*]?'

<sup>78</sup> The word *š-pi-iš-tum* stands for *š-pi-ir-tum*. See Ungnad, *Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik*, 1926, p. 13. Cf. *SBD* pp. 14, 63.

<sup>79</sup> *BE* X, 5:6-8.

there are two references to <sup>ms</sup>Nabû-mîtu-uballit(-it) <sup>amē</sup>šaknu ša <sup>amē</sup>si-pir-ri<sup>ms</sup> apil ša <sup>ms</sup>Ba-la-tu, 'Nabû-mîtu-uballit, the deputy of the si-pir-ri officials, the son of Balātu.'<sup>81</sup>

Year 2. A document concerning oil reads as follows: 6 gur 3 pi 12 qa šamni ina qī-bi ša <sup>ms</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>ms</sup>Ninib aplu ša <sup>ms</sup>Mu-ra-šu-ú <sup>ms</sup>Ba-rik-ki-ia-a-ma <sup>amē</sup>ardu ša <sup>ms</sup>Ar-ta-bar-ra' <sup>amē</sup>abarakku u <sup>ms</sup>Bêl-iddin <sup>amē</sup>si-pir-ri ša <sup>amē</sup>abarakki aplu ša <sup>ms</sup>Bêl-bullit-su ina qât <sup>ms</sup>Bêl-it-tan-nu aplu ša <sup>ms</sup>La-qip u <sup>ms</sup>Ni-din-tum-<sup>ms</sup>Bêl aplu ša <sup>ms</sup>Šul-lum ma-ḥi-ir' e-ḥir' ú-ša-az-za-az-ma' <sup>ms</sup>Ba-rik-ki-ia-a-ma <sup>amē</sup>ardu ša <sup>ms</sup>Ar-ta-bar-ra' u <sup>ms</sup>Bêl-iddin <sup>amē</sup>si-pir-ri ša <sup>amē</sup>abarakki aplu <sup>ms</sup>Bêl-hullit-su šamna 6 gur 3 pi 12 qa it-ti <sup>ms</sup>Ar-ta-bar-ra' <sup>amē</sup>abarakki a-na <sup>ms</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>ms</sup>Ninib aplu ša <sup>ms</sup>Mu-ra-šu-ú i-nam-din-nu', 'Six kors, 3 pi, 12 qa of oil at the command of Rimût-Ninib, the son of Murashû, Barikkiamma, the servant of Artabarra,' the *abarakku*<sup>82</sup> official, and Bêl-iddin, the si-pir-ri of the *abarakku* official, the son of Bêl-bullitsu, from Bêl-ittannu, the son of Laqîp, and Nidintum-Bêl, the son of Shullum, received, made secure, (and) gave bond. Barikkiamma, the servant of Artabarra', and Bêl-iddin, the si-pir-ri of the *abarakku* official, the son of Bêl-bullitsu, the oil, (amounting to) six kors, 3 pi, 12 qa, with<sup>83</sup> Artabarra', the *abarakku* official, to Rimût-Ninib, the son of Murashû, shall give.'<sup>84</sup> The main text of this contract is given in full because of its great value. The translation indicates the nature of the document. Of unusual interest is the fact that Bêl-iddin, the si-pir-ri, endorsed the contract with his name written in Aramaic.

Year 2. A record concerning dates mentions <sup>ms</sup>Bêl-iddin aplu ša <sup>ms</sup>Marduk-ú-šal-lim ša ḥa-aṭ-ri ša <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri<sup>ms</sup>, 'Bêl-iddin, the son of Marduk-ushallim, of the ḥaṭri<sup>85</sup> of the si-pi-ri officials.'<sup>86</sup>

Year 5. A business transaction concerning money contains the following passage: ša ḥa-aṭ-ri ša <sup>amē</sup>nâq mē<sup>ms</sup> ša ú-qu ša ina qât

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 7:4, 7.

<sup>82</sup> *Abarakku* designates an important official, but the full meaning of the term remains to be discovered.

<sup>83</sup> The force of *itti* in this connection seems to denote compliance or agreement on the part of Artabarra.

<sup>84</sup> *BE* X, 60:1-13.

<sup>85</sup> It may be that ḥa-aṭ-ri should be read. If so Hebrew חדר, 'room,' 'chamber,' suggests itself. It is altogether likely that there were special quarters in the temple for the <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri<sup>ms</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> *BE* X, 57:2.



<sup>m</sup>Za-bi-ni <sup>amē</sup>lak-nu <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri<sup>meš</sup> ša ū-qu aplu ša <sup>m</sup>Ba-la-tu, 'of the *ḥaṭri* of the water-pourers of the *uqu*<sup>87</sup> which is from Zabini, the deputy of the *si-pi-ri* officials of the *uqu*, the son of Balātu.'<sup>88</sup>

*Year 5.* A monetary record lists the following person as a witness: <sup>m</sup>Bēl-abu-ušur aplu ša <sup>m</sup>Bēl-abu-ušur <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri ša ina pāni <sup>m</sup>Gu-bar-ri <sup>amē</sup>piḥāt ša <sup>m</sup>Akkadi(-i), 'Bēl-abu-ušur, the son of Bēl-abu-ušur, the *si-pi-ri* who is at the disposal of Gobryas, the governor of the land of Akkad.'<sup>89</sup>

*Year 6.* A document concerning money contains the following passage: <sup>amē</sup>ḥa-at-ri ša <sup>amē</sup>Sū-mu-ut-ku-na-a-a ša <sup>ā</sup>Ḥa-at-ta-a-a ša qāt <sup>m</sup>Bēl-abu-ušur <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-[ri] ša <sup>amē</sup>Sū-mu-ut-ku-na-a-a aplu ša <sup>m</sup>Bēl-abu-ušur, 'the *ḥaṭri* official of the Shumutkunite of the city of the Hittites, in the possession of Bēl-abu-ušur, the *si-pi-[ri]* of the Shumutkunite, the son of Bēl-abu-ušur.'<sup>90</sup>

*Year 7.* A record concerning money refers to <sup>m</sup>Bēl-šu-nu <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri ša <sup>m</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>ā</sup>Ninib, 'Bēl-shunu, the *si-pi-ri* of Rimūt-Ninib.'<sup>91</sup>

#### *Data from the Reign of Antiochus III*

*Year 1.* In a temple record mention is made of the following witness: <sup>m</sup>Ardi-<sup>ā</sup>Ninib māru ša <sup>m</sup>Anu-apal-iddinu <sup>amē</sup>si-pir makkūr <sup>ā</sup>Anu, 'Ardi-Ninib, the son of Anu-apal-iddinu, the *si-pir* of the property of Anu.'<sup>92</sup>

#### *Miscellaneous Data*<sup>93</sup>

A seal impression on a tablet in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania is explained by the following inscription: *kunuk* <sup>m</sup>Samaš-aḥ-iddin <sup>amē</sup>si-pi-ri ša bit <sup>amē</sup>abarakki, 'The seal of Shamash-aḥ-iddin, the *si-pi-ri* of the house of the *abarakku* official.'<sup>94</sup>

<sup>87</sup> The word *uqu* is difficult to explain. The meanings given by Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 62, do not suit the above context.

<sup>88</sup> *BE* X, 102:6, 7.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 101:24, 25.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 115:7-9. See *BE* X, 127:9.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 128:10.

<sup>92</sup> *BRM* Part I, 98:28. The document is dated in the 122nd year of the Seleucid era, and this coincides with the 1st year of the reign of Antiochus III.

<sup>93</sup> A few other references, of a minor character, are given in *CD* p. 779 f.

<sup>94</sup> *PBS* XIV, No. 966.

The first part of a Neo-Babylonian letter is as follows: *Duppi* <sup>ms</sup>*Nabû-iqîša(-ša) a-na* <sup>ms</sup>*Nabû-aḫē* <sup>ms</sup>*-iddin abi-ia* <sup>ms</sup>*Bēl u* <sup>ms</sup>*Nabû* *šu-lum* *ša abi-ia liq-bu-ú* <sup>ms</sup>*dupšar ekalli ana eli meš-ḫa-ti* *ša* <sup>ms</sup>*zēri u imitti* *ša SE-BAR a-na-ku u* <sup>ms</sup>*Ku-na-a* <sup>ms</sup>*si-pi-ri il-tap-par-an-na-a-šu*, 'The letter of Nabû-iqîša to Nabû-aḫē-iddin, my father. May Bēl and Nabû decree the prosperity of my father! I am the scribe (*dupšarru*) of the palace with reference to the measurement of seed-ground and the impost of barley, and Kunâ the scribe (*si-pi-ri*), has dispatched us.'<sup>66</sup>

Another Neo-Babylonian letter begins thus: *Duppi* <sup>ms</sup>*Ba-la-tu a-na* <sup>ms</sup>*šatammî bēli-ia ū-mu-us-su* <sup>ms</sup>*Bēl u* <sup>ms</sup>*Nabû a-na balât napšāti* <sup>ms</sup>*ša bēli-ia (u-šal-la)* <sup>ms</sup>*si-pir* <sup>ms</sup>*mešša . . . a-ta-mar it-ti-šu-nu a-na-ku ū ki-is-sat a-na pa-ni-šu-nu ul-te-la'* *it-ti-šu-nu a-na muḫ-ḫi immeri ad-dib-bu-ub*, 'The letter of Balātu to the temple administrator, my lord. Daily I beseech Bēl and Nabû for the life of my lord! The *si-pir* officials of . . . I have seen. I am with them, and feed has been sent for their use. I shall discuss matters with them concerning the sheep.'<sup>67</sup>

A third Neo-Babylonian letter contains the following passage: <sup>ms</sup>*dupšarru u* <sup>ms</sup>*si-pir it-ti-ia ia-a-nu ki-i* <sup>ms</sup>*dupšarru u* <sup>ms</sup>*si-pir ma-tu-ú*, 'There is no tablet-writer (*dupšarru*) or parchment-writer (*si-pir*) with me, because the tablet-writer and the parchment-writer are lacking.'<sup>68</sup>

### Summary of Data

A summary of the data from the cuneiform passages which have been quoted, ranging from the Neo-Babylonian to the Seleucid period, may now be given. During this stretch of Mesopotamian history, covering more than four centuries, the scribe who wrote upon parchment and possibly papyrus was designated by a term which appears in the following forms: *si-pi-ru* *si-pi-ri*, *si-pir*, *si-pi-ir*, and *si-pir-ri*. Although the form *si-pi-i-ru* has not been discovered, there is indication in the form *si-pir-ri* that *si-pi-ru*, or *sepēru*,<sup>69</sup> was the real Babylonian word. In the remaining part of this article *si-pi-ru* will be used as the standard form.

<sup>66</sup> NLE 132:1-11.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 32:1-10.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 17:31, 32. <sup>69</sup> See Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 217.

The accumulated evidence concerning the distinction between the root *šāpāru*, 'send,' and the word *sipīru* may be presented. The following excerpts will be sufficient for the demonstration.

*maš-tar-aḥ-iddin amēl-si-pi-ri amēl-mār šipri*, 'Ishtar-aḥ-iddin, the scribe, the messenger.'<sup>99</sup> This statement indicates that Ishtar-aḥ-iddin acted as a messenger as well as a scribe.

*Si-pir-tum ša (amēl)si-pi-ru ša . . . šaṭ-ra-tum*, 'The dispatch which the scribe . . . wrote.'<sup>100</sup> There is no tendency to use the expression *amēlšāpīru* instead of *amēlsipīru* in such a passage as this.

*Si-pir-tum ša amēl-si-pi-ri ša mGi-mil-lu . . . iš-pu-ru-ma*, 'The dispatch of the scribe which Gimillu . . . sent.'<sup>101</sup> In this instance the dispatch was written by one person and sent by another.

*A-ki-i šī-pi-iš-tum ša amēl-si-pi-ri*, 'According to the dispatch of the scribe.'<sup>102</sup> The writer of a dispatch must have been thought of as its author, especially if the *sipīru* was entrusted with considerable responsibility.<sup>103</sup>

In a court record of the time of Cambyses the following cuneiform statement is to be found: *ši-pir-tum ša mNa-bu-gu u mašakbaṭ-lu-šu*, 'the dispatch of Nabûgu and his parchment of annulment.'<sup>104</sup> If *mašakbaṭ-lu-šu* is the correct reading, the phrase indicates that an annulment document could be written upon parchment. A brief inscription of the time of Nebuchadrezzar contains the following passage: *3 mašakšal-la a-na mašakbaṭ-lu ša šarri mInnina-mukin-aplu apil mZêru-tu mahîr(-ir)*. This may be translated 'Three parchment petitions, for a parchment annulment of the king, Innina-mukin-aplu, the son of Zêrûtu, received.'<sup>105</sup> The natural interpre-

<sup>99</sup> *StrNbn* 478:11-13 (10th year of Nabonidus).

<sup>100</sup> *RECC* 19:11, 12 (3rd year of Cyrus). The determinative *amēl* appears in the original text.

<sup>101</sup> *RECC* 102:24, 25 (Accession year of Cambyses).

<sup>102</sup> *BE* X, 5:6, 7 (Accession year of Darius II).

<sup>103</sup> See *ZA* III, pp. 135, 136, 148, 149, for an important text in which *mašakšī-piṣ-tum ša amēl-si-pi-ri* occurs in line 8. This evidently refers to a dispatch or document written upon parchment by a *sipīru*. For *šipistum* = *šipirtum* see note 79. Strassmaier's reading *ši-kir-tum* was made before this equivalence was known. Other occurrences of *mašakšī-piṣ-tum(tī)* occur in lines 11, 13, 18, and 20 of the text quoted. Unfortunate breaks in the text prevent full translation.

<sup>104</sup> *RECC* 192:11, 12. See also line 7 of the same text.

<sup>105</sup> *Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus*, Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions, Vol. I, 128:1-5.



tation of this statement is that Innina-mukin-aplu received three copies of a petition written upon parchment. The petition was to be submitted for the purpose of obtaining a royal annulment with respect to a matter in which Innina-mukin-aplu was interested. These two passages are presented as possible light upon the Babylonian practice of writing upon parchment.<sup>106</sup>

The contrast between the *dupšarru* and the *sipīru* is emphasized by the data submitted. There are two cases in which the *dupšarru* and the *sipīru* are mentioned in connection with judges.<sup>107</sup> In the third Neo-Babylonian letter quoted above the *dupšarru* and the *sipīru* are referred to in a very unusual passage.<sup>108</sup> In all these instances the intimation is very strong that two entirely different kinds of scribes played a part in the official life of the Babylonians.

The importance of the *sipīru* is indicated by the varied service which he performed in addition to being the accountant of the property of a deity. The following unified list summarizes the nature of this service:

*amīsipīru ša šarri*, 'the *sipīru* of the king.'<sup>109</sup> Compare ספר המלך, 2 Ki. 12:10, etc. Note ספר סר הצבא, Jer. 52:25.

*amīsipīru ša mār šarri*, 'the *sipīru* of the son of the king.'<sup>110</sup>

*amīsipīru ša amīabarakki*, 'the *sipīru* of the *abarakku* official.'<sup>111</sup>

*amīsipīru ša amīqipi*, 'the *sipīru* of the administrator.'<sup>112</sup>

*amīsipīru ša ina Eanna*, 'the *sipīru* who is in the temple Eanna.'<sup>113</sup>

<sup>106</sup> See NLE 4:6-8 for *mešukmi-ni-e-ti-bu-nu ša ga-la-la ša-aṭ-ri-e-ti*. Is it possible that this refers to parchment accounts in the form of written rolls (*ga-la-la ša-aṭ-ri-e-ti*)? The king in this letter is solicitous for these documents and asks that they be deposited in a safe place in the temple.

<sup>107</sup> RECC 151:1-4 (3rd year of Cambyses); BE VIII, 107:19-23 (6th year of Darius I).

<sup>108</sup> NLE 17:31, 32.

<sup>109</sup> StrNbn 44:3 (1st year of Nabonidus); StrNbn 478:11-13 (11th year of Nabonidus); RECC 118:22 (1st year of Cambyses; RECC 107:17 (1st year of Cambyses).

<sup>110</sup> StrNbk 413:3 (43rd year of Nebuchadnezzar); StrNbn 184:4, 5 (5th year of Nabonidus); StrNbn 270:5 (7th year of Nabonidus); StrNbn 581:1-4 (11th year of Nabonidus); StrCyr 177:1-3 (4th year of Cyrus); StrCyr 199:10, 11 (5th year of Cyrus); StrCyr 364:16 (? year of Cyrus).

<sup>111</sup> BE X, 60:1-13 (2nd year of Darius II); PBS XIV, No. 966.

<sup>112</sup> StrNbn 458:10-15 (10th year of Cyrus); OT IV, 27, (Bu. 88-5-12, 336), lines 4, 5.

<sup>113</sup> RECC 164:21 (4th year of Cambyses); RECC 198:4 (6th year of Cambyses).

*amēl* *sipīru* *ša* *amēl* *ašaredēmeš* *ša* *ēkalli ešši*, 'the *sipīru* of the princes of the new palace.'<sup>114</sup>

*amēl* *sipīru* *ša* *amēl* *šakni* *ša* *amēl* *nāš paṭrimēš*, 'the *sipīru* of the commander of the sword-bearers.'<sup>115</sup>

*amēl* *sipīru* *ša* *ina pāni* *mGubarri* *amēl* *piḥāt* *ša* *māt Akkadī*, 'the *sipīru* who is at the disposal of Gobryas, the governor of Akkad.'<sup>116</sup>

*amēl* *sipīru* *ša* *bēl piḥāt Mi-šir*, 'the *sipīru* of the governor of Egypt.'<sup>117</sup>

*amēl* *sipīru* *ša* *amēl* *Sumutkunā*, 'the *sipīru* of the Shumutkunite (a Hittite).'<sup>118</sup>

There is no direct specification as to the language in which the *sipīru* wrote. No reference to an Aramaean *sipīru* has been found. In spite of the lack of definite data one may be sure that the *sipīru* wrote extensively in Aramaic, and possibly in Greek in the Seleucid era. Very valuable indirect testimony is at hand concerning the use of Aramaic. Numerous endorsements in Aramaic are found upon clay tablets, and there is one instance in which a *sipīru*, *Bēl-iddin* by name, wrote in Aramaic upon the edge of a tablet containing a reference to himself in cuneiform.<sup>119</sup> His notation is self-explanatory, as the following indicates:

שִׁמְר בִּלְאֲדָן = *amēl* *sipīru* *ša* *amēl* *Sumutkunā*<sup>120</sup>

There can be little doubt that this preserves the actual handwriting of a *sipīru*. It is likely that all Aramaic endorsements were placed upon clay tablets by a scribe who was a *sipīru* rather than by one who was a *dupšarru*. The strong differentiation made between the two kinds of scribes indicates that each wrote in a language in which he was an adept specialist. The possibility that a rare scribe might attain facility in writing in both cuneiform and Aramaic must be kept in mind, but that all scribes or a considerable portion of them could do so is difficult to believe. Both languages were

<sup>114</sup> *BRM* Part I, 81:1-3 (8th year of Darius I).

<sup>115</sup> *BE* X, 7:4 (Accession year of Darius II).

<sup>116</sup> *BE* X, 101:24, 25 (5th year of Darius II).

<sup>117</sup> *StrCamb* 344:2, 3 (6th year of Cambyses).

<sup>118</sup> *BE* X, 115:7-9 (6th year of Cambyses).

<sup>119</sup> *BE* X, 60, edge. See lines 4 and 10 of the cuneiform text.

<sup>120</sup> 'The writing of Bel-iddin.'



employed in the making of records and in the transmission of dispatches. Moreover, the information which has been brought together affords a clearer conception of the highly important rôle which the scribe upon perishable material played in all phases of Babylonian life from the time of Nebuchadrezzar II to that of Demetrius I.

### *Writing upon Parchment among the Assyrians*

The extensive activity of the parchment-writer in Babylonian official affairs from the sixth to the second century B. C. causes inquisitiveness as to what the situation was among the Assyrians. Are there any evidences that they kept records upon materials other than clay and stone? It must be admitted, in the first place, that Assyrian contract tablets, according to available information, contain no allusions to the *amēšipīru*.<sup>121</sup> The word *si-pir* occurs in a badly-preserved Assyrian text<sup>122</sup> and Johns indicates the possibility that it may be a term for an official, but no light is thrown upon the meaning of the word by the context. Equally noteworthy is the fact that the *amēšdupšarru* is rarely mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions.<sup>123</sup> In the records which centered in Nineveh the place of both the *amēšdupšarru* and the *amēšipīru* was taken by the *amēšA-BA*,<sup>124</sup> except in the late Assyrian period, when there seems

<sup>121</sup> See ZA XXXVI, p. 27, for the occurrence of *si-ip-ru ša a-limki* in a Cappadocian text. Lewy translates 'Boten oder Delegierten der Stadt.' There are other occurrences of *si-ip-ru*, or *si-ib-ru*, which is the apparent dialectic form, to be found in Cappadocian texts. Prof. F. J. Stephens has kindly supplied me with the following references: *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies*, Part IV, 58:11, 15; 35:32; *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part I, Plate 29, line 2; *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, p. 113, No. 4, line 21; *Musée du Louvre—Département des Antiquités Orientales, Textes Cuneiformes*, Tome IV, 32:1; 40:1; 45:16; *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Liverpool*, Vol. I, Nov. 1908, p. 56, No. 3, line 11. There is no real evidence that the *sibru* of Cappadocian texts is related to the *sipīru* of the Neo-Babylonian, Persian, and Seleucid periods, but it has been thought best to give the above references.

<sup>122</sup> JADD No. 936, Col. III, line 11.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 33 f. See *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 277, under *dupšarru* and compare with references under *aba*, *A-BA*, p. 241.

<sup>124</sup> The extensive and varied service of the *amēšA-BA* is indicated by the references in JADD, Vol. IV, p. 241. Kings, queens, crown princes, governors, temples, and high officials of the land were dependent upon the



to have been a transition to *amēdupšarru*.<sup>125</sup> The proof that the *amēA-BA* wrote upon parchment as well as upon clay is decisive. The *amēA-BA mātAšur-a-a*, 'the Assyrian scribe,' and the *amēA-BA mātAr-ma-a-a*, 'the Aramaean scribe,' are convincingly contrasted in a well-known cuneiform text.<sup>126</sup> Johns points out that the distinction between the two was 'functional' rather than 'racial.'<sup>127</sup> The conclusion to be drawn is that the scribe who wrote in Aramaic was classed in antiquity with the scribe who wrote in Assyrian. There are half a dozen references to the ordinary Aramaean scribe in Assyrian business documents.<sup>128</sup> An allusion to an Aramaean scribe of the son of the king<sup>129</sup> is very interesting, as it reminds one of the *amēsipīru ša mār šarri*.<sup>130</sup> Furthermore, a certain Assyrian list contains the following statement: *6 amēA-BA mēd Ar-ma-(a-te)*, 'six female Aramaean scribes.'<sup>131</sup> Of no little significance is the occurrence of *amēA-BA amēMu-su-ra-a-a*, 'the Egyptian scribe.'<sup>132</sup> This is strong intimation that there was a place in Assyrian life for the scribe who wrote in the Egyptian language upon papyrus. There is even stronger intimation that the *amēA-BA* wrote upon parchment. A text states that city and temple scribes were supplied with the skins of cattle and white lambs.<sup>133</sup> Thus the inscriptional evidence that there were scribes in Assyria who wrote upon parchment is complete. That such scribes wrote mainly in the Aramaic language is probable.

Assyrian bas-reliefs throw unmistakable light upon the question

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skill of the *amēA-BA*. The ideogram *A-BA* is not as easy to explain as *DUB-SAR*. See *CD* p. 3 f.; Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 4, under *ab*.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *JADD*, Vol. II, p. 33 f. The evidence of the transition is very slight.

<sup>126</sup> II R 31, 5, lines 64, 65. The text quoted is a general list of titles and offices.

<sup>127</sup> *JADD*, Vol. II, p. 109.

<sup>128</sup> *JADD* Nos. 179, R:2; 193, R:9; 207, R:5; 448, L. E:2; 607, R:3; 782:3.

<sup>129</sup> The expression is *amēA-BA mātAr-ma-a-a mār šarri*, *JADD* No. 385, R:13.

<sup>130</sup> See references in note 110.

<sup>131</sup> *JADD* No. 827:2.

<sup>132</sup> *JADD* No. 324, O:11, R:1. Compare with *sipīru* of the governor of Egypt. See Note 117.

<sup>133</sup> *OLZ* 20, Col. 204. The skins were given to the *amēA-BA āli* and to the *amēA-BA bit āli*.

which is being discussed. In many scenes carved upon stone the operation of recording plunder taken in battle is pictured.<sup>124</sup> In practically every known instance two scribes are represented in such a group. One is portrayed in the act of writing upon a clay tablet; the other is depicted with a pen in the right hand and flexible writing material in the left hand, the pliant substance hanging down and often ending in a partially-rolled scroll. The earliest recovered example of this type of scene is furnished by a relief of the reign of Tiglathpileser III of the eighth century B. C.<sup>125</sup> Varied reliefs of the same kind have come from the palace of Sennacherib, who occupied the throne of Assyria at the close of the eighth century B. C. and during almost two decades of the seventh century B. C.<sup>126</sup> This tendency of the Assyrian artist to associate the writer upon what may be regarded as parchment or papyrus with the writer upon clay cannot be ascribed to mere whim or fanciful imagination. Such a propensity in graphic portraiture must have gained its inspiration from an established phase of Assyrian life, viz., the extensive practice of making records in Aramaic script as well as in Assyrian cuneiform. It should not be overlooked that the reliefs indicate equality in scribal rank and function. The work of the Aramaean scribe is classed with that of his Assyrian associate. Rawlinson's cuneiform list which places <sup>am</sup>A-BA <sup>ma</sup>Ašur-a-a and <sup>am</sup>A-BA <sup>ma</sup>Ar-ma-a-a<sup>127</sup> in immediate juxtaposition is lexicographical confirmation of the conclusion which has just been drawn from Assyrian art. References to the Aramaean scribe in Assyrian contracts, some of which are dated in the reign of Ashurbanipal, form another link in the chain of evidence. It is unquestionable, therefore, that two sorts of scribes, one practised in the art of indenting cuneiform inscriptions and one skilled in the writing of Aramaic documents, enjoyed equal prestige during the last two centuries of Assyrian history.

The combined results of this investigation disclose the fact that

<sup>124</sup> A good summary of the references is given by Breasted in *AJSL*, Vol. 32, p. 246, note 1.

<sup>125</sup> See Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, I, 58. An excellent drawing of the scene is shown in *AJSL*, Vol. 32, p. 242.

<sup>126</sup> See references given by Breasted as quoted in note 134. Two reproductions of typical Sennacherib sculptures are shown in *AJSL*, Vol. 32, pp. 243, 244.

<sup>127</sup> See note 126.



writing upon parchment was practiced extensively in Mesopotamia contemporaneously with writing upon clay from the eighth century B. C. to the second century B. C.; i. e., during Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Persian, and Greek régimes. Parallel with the data from which this general conclusion is derived are numerous Aramaic endorsements upon clay tablets, ranging from the Assyrian period to the Persian era.<sup>138</sup> These Aramaic annotations were added to cuneiform inscriptions for the purpose of attesting as well as clarifying the salient features of contracts. They were placed upon the tablets soon after the Assyrian scribes had finished writing; i. e., before the clay had entirely hardened, as the pen of the Aramaean scribes often scratched the yielding material. In some cases vestiges of black ink are to be seen,<sup>139</sup> suggesting that the endorsements were written by means of an inked pen under considerable pressure of the hand. It should be remembered that these Aramaic endorsements synchronize with the cuneiform inscriptions to which they are appended. Hence we have at our disposal the jottings of many scribes who wrote in Aramaic during a period of several centuries before our era. The pronounced cursive character of the script which appears in these snatches of written Aramaic is definite proof that their authors possessed a facility with the pen which could have been acquired only by long and constant experience. Furthermore, this same feature of the endorsements indicates prolonged utilization of parchment and similar material, inasmuch as a decided departure from the angularity of Aramaic inscriptions upon hard substances is exhibited.

#### *Writing upon Papyrus*

It is thought that papyrus was known to the Assyrians on account of the occurrence of *ni 'āru* in a number of texts belonging to the time of Sargon.<sup>140</sup> A standard passage is the following: *amēlu ša*

<sup>138</sup> JADD, Vol. II, pp. 21-23; Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic Reference Notes*, pp. 115-148. See Lidzbarski, *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur*.

<sup>139</sup> Clay, *Aramaic Endorsements on the Documents of the Murashu Sons, Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 287-321; Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, pp. 394-397. Note fine example of clay tablet inscribed with Aramaic, *ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>140</sup> See *KlbrTst* references in *Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 164.



*šum-šu i-na ni-a-ra an-na-a saṭ-ru-ma*, 'the man whose name is written in this document.'<sup>141</sup> 'Urkunde' is Klauber's translation of *ni-a-ra*, but he indicates in a note that it may mean 'Papyrus-urkunde,' on the basis of connection with *נייר*.<sup>142</sup> Bezold translates *ni 'āru* 'Art Papyrus.'<sup>143</sup> So far as available texts indicate, there is only one occurrence of *ni 'āru* in Neo-Babylonian inscriptions; i. e., in the following context: *a-ki-i ni-'a-ri ša mKi-na-a*.<sup>144</sup> This may be translated thus: 'according to the papyrus document of Kinā.' The complete context of this passage has not been preserved, but the official position of Kinā is suggested in line 7 of the document by *amēsi . . .*, which can well stand for *amēsi-pir*, or *amēsi-pi-ru*. If such a restoration is correct and if *ni 'āru* means 'papyrus,' we are provided with an instance of a *sipiru* who wrote a document upon papyrus. This should not be surprising. If papyrus was available there is nothing more natural than that a *sipiru* should have written upon it as well as upon parchment.<sup>145</sup> One may question whether the term *amēsi KUS-SAR* was applied to one who wrote upon papyrus, even if *amēsi sipiru* was. However, the Babylonians and the Assyrians might have thought of papyrus as artificial parchment. The Ionians referred to papyrus, when it was introduced, as *διφθέρας*, 'skins,' because they were already accustomed to writing upon the prepared hides of animals.<sup>146</sup> How extensively the Babylonians and the Assyrians wrote upon papyrus

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 49:3, p. 74, Tafel 38. See Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Part VI, No. 568, R:19, for *Ki-ir-ki ni-a-ri amēsi A-BA māti*, 'rolls(?) of papyrus (for) the scribe of the land.'

<sup>142</sup> *KlbrTst*, note on p. 75.

<sup>143</sup> Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 188. However, on p. 149, *ibid.*, in connection with the word *kerku*, Bezold indicates that *ni'āru* may mean 'parchment.' Similarly, Meissner in *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. I, p. 259, translates *ni'āru* 'Pergament,' but in Vol. II, *ibid.*, p. 343, he translates 'Papyrus.' Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., Vol. II, p. 904, gives the meanings 'paper,' 'parchment,' 'papyrus,' for the word *מִיָּר*.

<sup>144</sup> Evetts, *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, and Labarsoarchod*, Text No. 55 of *Ner.*, line 12.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Breasted, *The Physical Processes of Writing in the Early Orient and their Relation to the Origin of the Alphabet*, *AJSL*, Vol. 32, pp. 230-249.

<sup>146</sup> See Herodotus V, 58, for the following: καὶ τὰς βίβλους διφθέρας καλεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιῶς οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πᾶν βίβλων ἐχρήσαντο διφθέρας αἰγῶν τε καὶ οἰσῶν, etc.

cannot be determined. There was no general skill in the art of writing. Trained scribes were comparatively few in number.<sup>147</sup> No doubt the standard writing material was clay, but parchment and papyrus were also employed. It is possible to think of parchment as taking precedence over papyrus, because the skins of animals were more imperishable and could be obtained more readily. However, no categorical statement can be made concerning the relative importance of parchment and papyrus one way or the other. A greater accumulation of deciphered cuneiform texts will probably throw considerable light upon the question.<sup>148</sup>

### Concluding Statement

Since it is evident that scribal activity in Mesopotamia during a large part of the first millennium B. C. included making records upon parchment and papyrus as well as upon clay, the question arises as to whether there was any tendency to write the language of the Babylonians and the Assyrians upon parchment and papyrus by means of Aramaic characters, and, vice versa, Aramaic upon clay by means of cuneiform characters. Either process must be recognized as inherently possible. Professional recorders connected with a particular temple comprised writers in both languages. Furthermore, indications point very definitely to the fact that there was some degree of coöperation between the two kinds of scribes. The skill of the *dupšarru* and that of the *sipīru* were often called upon in the negotiation of the same business transaction. This means that close association developed between those who wrote upon clay and those who wrote upon parchment and papyrus. Hence a basis of connection existed which could result in an interchange of functions. Actual corroboration is at hand that Aramaic was written upon clay by means of Babylonian signs, for a published cuneiform text of the Seleucid era has turned out to be a document in the Aramaic language.<sup>149</sup> As to the writing of cuneiform inscriptions

<sup>147</sup> The urgency of the statement in *NLE* 17:31, 32 indicates how helpless the ordinary Babylonians were without professional scribes.

<sup>148</sup> Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 64, lists *urbannu* (*urbānu*) as another term for 'Papyrus.' See *KlbrTst*, references on p. 161. Cf. *OLZ* 1914, p. 265; Holma, *Kleine Beiträge*, etc., pp. 88 ff.

<sup>149</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk à l'Usage des Prêtres du Temple d'Ann du Temps des Séleucides*, *Musée du Louvre—Département des*



upon parchment or papyrus, Meissner states that cuneiform was written with ink upon clay and stone, on account of which he concludes that parchment and papyrus could have been used for pen-made cuneiform records.<sup>150</sup> This inference need not be questioned, as Assyriologists today find it possible to make pen and ink copies of cuneiform texts with considerable facility. Ancient scribes must have been equally competent. There is no available proof that an inscription in the Babylonian or the Assyrian language was ever written upon parchment or papyrus by means of Aramaic characters, but there is no reason for believing this outside the range of possibility.

Two remarkable groups of Aramaic papyrus fragments throw valuable light upon the question under consideration. One group of eleven sheets tells the story of Ahīqar ( אֲחִיקָר ) and compiles his proverbs.<sup>151</sup> The part of the document which is of special interest indicates that Ahīqar was 'a wise and ready scribe' ( סֹפֵר חָכִים וְטוֹחֵר )<sup>152</sup> of Sennacherib,<sup>153</sup> king of Assyria. The influence attributed to Ahīqar is suggested by another descriptive phrase, 'the counsellor of all Assyria' ( יֵשֶׁת אֲחִיר כְּלָהּ ).<sup>154</sup> There is no need to go into all details concerning this record, the Aramaic version of which Cowley ascribes to the fifth century B. C., and the supposed cuneiform original of which he dates a century earlier. The main thing to note here is that its picture of Ahīqar as the scribe of the Assyrian king accords with the cuneiform data concerning Aramaean scribes in Assyria and Babylonia.<sup>155</sup> The other papyrus frag-

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*Antiquités Orientales, Textes Cunéiformes*, Tome VI, Pl. CV, No. 58. See Driver, *An Aramaic Inscription in the Cuneiform Script*, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Band III, Heft 2/3, pp. 47-53.

<sup>150</sup> Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. II, p. 344. See VS I, 64.

<sup>151</sup> Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century*, pp. 204-248.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212, col. i, line 1.

<sup>153</sup> Esarhaddon also figures in the story.

<sup>154</sup> Cowley, *ibid.*, p. 212, col. i, line 12.

<sup>155</sup> All the references which have been presented as to the existence of Aramaean scribes in Assyria in the time of Sennacherib throw considerable light upon the following Biblical passage dealing with an event in connection with Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem: 'Then said Eliakim, the son of Hilkiyah, and Shebna, and Joah, unto Rab-shakeh, Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Aramaic language; for we understand; and talk not with us in the Jews' language in the ears of the people that are on the wall.' II Ki 18:26. Similarly, the Aramaic used in the book of Daniel



ments contain parts of an Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription of Darius the Great.<sup>126</sup> This suggests that the Persian king's military record was not only carved in solid rock, but was also written in Aramaic upon papyrus and sent to distant parts of his kingdom. As contributory material these two groups of Aramaic papyri support the conclusions derived from cuneiform inscriptions.

A significant historical background exists for all that has been discussed in this article. During a period of three centuries prior to the eighth century B. C. Aramaeans exerted strong pressure upon the Assyrian empire from the west.<sup>127</sup> Impressive punitive expeditions had to be undertaken by Assyrian kings for a twofold purpose, to hold the Aramaeans in check and to keep trade connections open as far as the Mediterranean. An Aramaean strain grew up in the population of Assyria, due to successive deportations and possibly as the outcome of a certain amount of voluntary settlement. At the same time the Chaldaeans of Aramaean stock invaded Babylonia and sections of that land became dominated by them.<sup>128</sup> This infiltration and absorption of Aramaeans in both Assyria and Babylonia had evidently been going on for a long time before the eighth century B. C. Hence the presence of Aramaean culture in Mesopotamia during the next six centuries, as exhibited by the influential activity of Aramaean scribes who wrote upon parchment and papyrus in the routine of ordinary business as well as in the negotiation of political affairs, may be looked upon as the normal result of a well-defined historical movement.<sup>129</sup>

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gains a fresh perspective from what we know now concerning the activity of Aramaean scribes in the period with which the book deals.

<sup>126</sup> Cowley, *ibid.*, pp. 248-271.

<sup>127</sup> *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, pp. 1-26.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>129</sup> The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Ungnad who kindly furnished some of the references quoted in notes 148 and 150. For additional references to the *amēšipiru* see Clay, *Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Darius II*, PBS Vol. II, No. 1, 11:3; 51:15; 70:15; 72:12; 95:11; 133:15, 23; 135:1; 137:2; 224:11.

## THE CASE OF MUHAMMAD

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OF MUHAMMAD'S childhood and adolescence nothing is known that would in any way explain the peculiarities of behavior which developed when he was about forty years old. To be sure there are reports which have been taken to indicate epilepsy on two occasions in childhood; but these have been rejected by most competent recent scholarship.<sup>1</sup>

At about twenty-four or twenty-five<sup>2</sup> Muhammad married Khadija, a woman fifteen years his senior. In spite of the disparity of age he lived happily with her until her death, about twenty-five or twenty-six years later. During her lifetime he made no attempt to take another wife; and she appears to have occupied a unique place in his affections even long after her death and after many matrimonial experiences. She bore him at least six, and perhaps as many as seven or eight<sup>3</sup> children, although she had come to him when forty years old and already the mother of two children by two previous marriages. For the bearing of Muhammad's children quite obviously we cannot allow less than six years; on the other hand, even assuming that there were eight children, we cannot well allow more than ten years, for at the end of that time Khadija would have been fifty years old, and probably would have been incapable of further childbearing. During these six to ten years, then, Muhammad lived the life of an obscure and contented husband and parent. At the end of that time, however, Khadija probably became senescent; while Muhammad, being in the early thirties, or at most thirty-five, was scarcely middle-aged. The physical stress of this situation is evident. The natural disparity between the sexes in their resistance to old age is nowhere plainer than in the East; and here the disparity was aggravated by an unheard-of seniority in the woman. The strain was heightened by Muhammad's unusual austerity and loyalty. To make

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorān's*, I, 25, note 1 and references.

<sup>2</sup> Tabari, *Annals*, I, 1766: "twenty-odd."

<sup>3</sup> Tabari, *Annals*: "eight."

matters still worse, the two boys whom Khadija had borne him died, leaving him without male issue or any prospect of such. I am inclined to think that we should assign to this period that strange exorcistic prayer which is preserved in Surah exiii, and in which Muhammad seeks protection from something darkly indicated by the words *غاسق اذا وقب*. The expression merits a special examination, because it was enigmatic even to the earliest of Muhammad's followers.

According to a common tradition \* 'Ā'isha is made to say: "The Apostle of God took me by the hand when the moon had risen and looked toward it and said: 'This is (what is meant by the phrase) *غاسق اذا وقب*. So take refuge with God from the evil thereof'—meaning 'from the evil thereof when it is eclipsed'." The commentaries \* and translations \* prefer the still more common interpretation: "from the evil of the night when it cometh on." No doubt Muhammad had explained away the first meaning of his colorful phrase long before it became necessary to give this pretty answer to his child-wife. It was a pretty answer, because the words certainly bear well the interpretation. What the original meaning was we can infer if we consult the native lexicons.†

How did Muhammad come to use this literary expression? Not so much, I suppose, from any conscious wish to be obscure, as from sheer poetic inability to be ordinary. There are other passages in the Qur'ān which show a similar bold use of words by Muhammad. They are hard to find now because the dull theologians, through the exegetical literature, have influenced the lexicons.‡ In the present instance we might conclude that *غاسق* and *وقب* were merely ordinary words used of the clouding, or eclipsing, or setting, of the moon, or the sun; or of the darkness resulting from any of these things. For *غاسق* has been booked simply as "darkness," and *وقب* receives the ordinary meaning of

\* E. g., *Lisān al-'Arab*, xii, 162; *Kashshāf*, ad loc.

† E. g., *Kashshāf*, *Jalālain*.

‡ E. g., Palmer, Sale, Henning.

§ Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer in 1912 called my attention to the below quoted passage in the *Ihyā'*, and in 1927, to the cognates in the native lexicons. He is not accountable, however, for my conclusions regarding Muhammad's life with Khadija, nor for the thesis of this article, which grows out of them.

\* See below discussion of Surah lxxxi, 15-25 and liii, 1-12.



"comes." It is as though some solemn and unimaginative person were to read Blake's "Tiger, tiger, burning bright," and put down "burn" as meaning simply "to look" or "to gaze"; or, worse still, to miss the point entirely and think that it meant "to snarl" or "to crouch": since, of course, tigers do snarl and crouch, and rarely if ever are observed in a state of active combustion. But if we examine the lexicons<sup>9</sup> carefully we shall see that the root غسق originally meant "to be suffused" and the root وقب "to sink out of sight." "Suffused" contains the two ideas, "to be moist" and "to be clouded"; and both are included when speaking of the tearful eye, or the wound that is bloody or purulent, or the hides of people roasting in Jahannam.<sup>10</sup> It is the second idea only which is expressed when the verb is used with "moon" or "sun." Then again, "to sink out of sight" contains the two ideas, "to enter a recess" and "to disappear"; and both are included when speaking of the sunken eye, or the setting sun, or (perhaps) the moon when entering the earth's shadow. غاسق إذا وقب could mean then, "a thing suffused when it has sunk out of sight." Al-Isfahānī<sup>11</sup> says: غاسق إذا وقب عبارة عن النائية بالليل كالطارق "(The expression) غاسق إذا وقب is a figure of speech (used) of the accident in the night, such as the nocturnal visitor." In the *Qāmūs*, under غسق we read: عباس وجماعة من شر الذكر إذا قام "Abbās and a number (of others say that the phrase means) 'a malo penis cum surrectus est'"; and again, under وقب we read: "Its meaning is 'penis cum surrectus est,' (as) reported by al-Ghazālī and others, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbāa." The lexicons<sup>12</sup> have preserved a number of cognate words which belong to the same circle of ideas: ووقب الشرس يقب وقباً ووقبياً وهو صوت قنبه وقيل هو صوت ثقلة جردان الشرس في قنبه (Lisān) والميثاب . . . الصمء أو المصممة الواسعة الشرج . . . وبو الميثاب يريدون به السب

<sup>9</sup> *Lisān al-'Arab* and *Rāghib al-Isfahānī, al-Mufradāt fi Ghariḥ al-Qur'ān*. They are so easily accessible that I merely summarize.

<sup>10</sup> *Isfahānī*, on Surah xxxviii, 56, in *Mufradāt*.

<sup>11</sup> *Mufradāt*.

<sup>12</sup> *Lisān, Qāmūs, Mufradāt, Qaṭr al-Muḥīṭ*.

The passage of al-Ghazālī is probably the following:<sup>12</sup>

وفي نوادر التفسير عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما ومن شر غاسق اذا  
وقب قال قيام الذكر وهذه بلية غالبية اذا هاجمت لا يتاومها عقل ولا دين  
وهي مع انها صالحة لان تكون باعثة على الحيائين كما سبق فهي اقوى  
آلة الشيطان على بني آدم واليه اشار عليه السلام بقوله ما رأيت من  
نافع عاقل وعديم اغلب لذوى الالباب منكن وانما ذلك لهيجان  
المهوى

"Among the oddities of Qur'ān exegesis (is that contained in a tradition) from Ibn 'Abbās: 'And from the evil of غاسق اذا وقب —He says 'surrectio penis.' And this is an overwhelming affliction which neither intelligence nor reason may withstand when it is aroused. This is true despite the fact that it is a good thing, seeing that it becomes a motive for the two lives, as we have said. But it is Satan's most potent weapon against mankind. And (the Prophet) referred to it when he said: 'I have never seen, among creatures lacking intelligence and religion, anything more overwhelming to men of intellect than you women!' And (by) this is (meant) only the stirring of desire."

The tradition twice mentioned in the *Qāmūs*, as from "'Abbās and a number of others" and as "reported by al-Ghazālī and others, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās," I have not been able to trace further than the passage in al-Ghazālī. The latter calls the interpretation "unusual" or "curious," but evidently would like to accept it. Professor Wensinck assures me in a letter (Dec. 27th, 1927) that it does not occur in the canonical collections of ḥadīth, and believes that it is of a later date. In that case it would merely show the growth of a common belief in regard to the meaning of the curious phrase in Surah cxiii, something more difficult than to suppose it to be old and genuine. At the least, the tradition shows what al-Ghazālī thought might well have been the thought of Muhammad.

It is not unlikely then that Surah cxiii refers to severe priapisms and pollutions suffered by Muhammad at some time or other, and

<sup>12</sup> *Iḥyā'*, Bk. xii, ch. 1 (=Pt. ii, p. 19 Cairo ed. A. H. 1326).

most probably during the years preceding his revelations, more precisely: the later years with Khadija. If so, it indicates the strain Muhammad endured at that time. Such a state of stress might have been of no consequence to the world if Muhammad had been normally constituted. He was high-strung and sensitive, and in addition seems to have suffered from some very definite peculiarity which we would like to see identified, if possible, by competent medical authority. He experienced under great stress, if not in childhood<sup>14</sup> then certainly in later life, even after the Flight,<sup>15</sup> certain moments which would appear to have been seizures of some sort. The old view, that he was an epileptic,<sup>16</sup> has been generally abandoned on the ground that consciousness is lost and apparent revelations could not have been experienced during an epileptic attack.<sup>17</sup> But I am told<sup>18</sup> that ideas present to the mind just before such an attack might appear in the dreamy recovery stage, and later be set in order, when complete consciousness and rationality had returned. It is of course beyond the ability of an orientalist or historian to settle such a question. But, whatever Muhammad's ailment, we may suppose that the stress under which he lived was of great historical importance, for it precipitated the abnormal states or attacks and set in motion the peculiar mechanism of his revelations. On the other hand, relief from that stress was enough to abate the attacks and the revelations.<sup>19</sup> At any rate, it is strange that Muhammad developed poetry and prophecy in the later years of his marriage with Khadija, and lost both these gifts in the ensuing twelve or thirteen years when he made his many marriages.<sup>20</sup>

As Muhammad's restlessness increased he took to making lonely excursions into the wilderness about Mecca, particularly to a certain cavern on Mt. Hira: a bad place for one in his condition,

<sup>14</sup> See note 1.

<sup>15</sup> Nöldeke-Schwally, I, 25, note 3 and references.

<sup>16</sup> Nöldeke-Schwally, I, 24, note 5 and references.

<sup>17</sup> Nöldeke-Schwally, I, 25 (top).

<sup>18</sup> For psychiatric data I am indebted to my former colleague, Dr Theophile Rafael.

<sup>19</sup> I know of an epileptic who believes that he avoids attacks by avoiding sexual stress.

<sup>20</sup> He still occasionally suffered seizures, while at the same time his appetite became insatiable.



and yet just the sort of place which men are wont to frequent in the incubation stage of prophetship. When about forty years old, one day while alone in his cave, he was overtaken by his first experience; and his consternation thereat is sufficient proof of its novelty.<sup>21</sup> The experience was heralded probably by an auditory hallucination, best described as the ringing of bells, and characterized as very painful. It lasted but briefly, with no witnesses. As he recovered he emerged among the thoughts which had occupied him just before. At first they were present to his consciousness without arrangement or sequence. He felt certain of the content of his experience and of its meaning, but not of the history of that experience. When he became normal he thought he knew and could tell what had happened. This can fairly be derived from the tradition:<sup>22</sup>

أحيانًا يأتيني مثل صلصلة الجرس وهو أشد عليَّ فيَقْصم عني وقد وعيت عنه ما قال

"At times it came to me like the ringing of a bell; and that was a very hard thing for me. Then it died away. But I had already learned from it what it said." How different is the mechanism of revelation in the second part of this same tradition:

وأحيانًا يتمثل لي الملك رجلاً فيكلمني فأعي ما يقول

"But at times the angel appeared to me as a man; and he spoke to me, and I understood what he said." Here Muhammad experiences no shock and no subsequent incoherent dreaming. He remembers only a rather calm and familiar encounter with the archangel in which he apprehends the divine words as they fall from the lips of the messenger. We are not told in the tradition that Muhammad's first revelation was of the "ringing bell" type; but apparently it was of this type rather than the other. The continuation of this well known tradition<sup>23</sup> is remarkably descriptive of a brain-storm, fear, pain, hallucinations, and prostration, in spite of the rationalization which it has gone through at

<sup>21</sup> As a child he had never had, or did not remember, such experiences; or, being a child, they were different.

<sup>22</sup> Bukhārī, I, 1, 2. Of course, 'A'isha is speaking twenty years later. The events occurred some four years before her birth.

<sup>23</sup> Bukhārī, loc. cit.

the hands of Muhammad himself, and at the hands of the seven or more persons who have transmitted the story by word of mouth:

"Then the angel came to him, and he said: 'Read.' (Muhammad) said: 'I am no reader.' 'Then,' said (Muhammad), 'he took hold of me, and he squeezed me till the force overcame me.'<sup>24</sup> Then he let me go. Then he said: "Read." And I said: "I am no reader." Then he took hold of me, and he squeezed me the second time till the force overcame me. Then he let me go. Then he said: "Read." And I said: "I am no reader." Then he took hold of me, and he squeezed me the third time. Then he let me go. Then he said: "Read—in the name of thy Lord who hath created—bath created man from a drop—Read, for thy Lord is most generous"'"

It is possible, I think, to see here a paroxysm, violent, painful and exhausting, and a gradual recovery during which Muhammad imagines he has been coerced by an angel who wishes him to become a prophet. A prophet is a person able to read the sacred books, or a person able to proclaim the divine message. Muhammad must have been thinking of such matters just before the seizure. God creates man from a drop of procreative fluid. That also was in Muhammad's mind.

But Muhammad did not yet think that he was a prophet. He thought he was possessed. Returning home, he had Khadija wrap him up, in which condition he lay until he grew more calm. Then the two went together to consult with Waraqa, the aged cousin of Khadija, who possibly was some kind of Christian sectary, and who, upon hearing Muhammad's story, assured him that "This is the Nāmūs which God sent down upon Moses."<sup>25</sup> And, whether "the Nāmūs" referred to message or messenger, Muhammad understood that he was indeed a prophet. Thus encouraged, he reflected upon his experience on Mt. Hira, and at last produced the version which stands in the Qur'ān. It contains the additional words: "Who taught the pen—taught man what he knew": another reference to the scribal art, to which Muhammad was a stranger. Of course he now desired another such experience, and so invited one. He desired a corroboration of his call.

The second revelation is described with startling vividness and

<sup>24</sup> *بلغ مني الجهد* .

<sup>25</sup> Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*

some literary skill in Sura lxxxi, 15 ff. and Sura liii; and these of course are far more valuable than any tradition. They need to be rendered with care, for the lexicons put into the foreground the platitudes of the exegetes:

Nay, I swear by the orbs that tarry  
That hurry, that hide  
And night when it prowleth  
And morn when it draweth breath  
'Tis the word of an exalted herald  
Mighty, standing sure with the Lord of the Throne  
Obeyed, and trustworthy too  
Your companion is not mad  
For he did see it on the clear horizon  
Nor is he questionable touching the mystery  
Nor is it the word of a pelted demon  
  
By the star when it falleth  
Your companion erred not nor went astray  
Neither speaketh he out of passion  
Lo, 'tis nought but an inspiration imparted  
One of mighty power taught him  
One of high spirit. So he stood balanced  
While on the highest horizon  
Then drew near, and let himself down  
'Twas the length of the two bows, or nearer  
And he imparted to his servant what he imparted  
The heart belieth not what it saw  
Will ye then question what he saw?

Here is the poet: pure, sincere, certain, bold. He calls himself simply "your companion." He marvels at disbelief in verities so sure. He struggles with language to describe the indescribable. His detractors have said: "Enthusiast," "Liar," "Lunatic," "Who is this Messenger?" "Only clouds on the horizon." The verbal content of the revelation, as reconstructed in Sura lxxiv, 1-7, is:

O Enwrapped One  
Arise and warn  
Thy Lord magnify  
Thy raiment purify  
The abomination fly  
And give not while expecting much  
And toward thy Lord be patient

We may compare the foregoing descriptions of Muhammad's abnormal states with a third, also from Sura liii. It is an attempt



to describe what he saw in the neighborhood of a well-known tree at the end of a road, "down there where the Garden of Refuge is":

And once he saw him at another descent  
By the lotus tree where one can go no farther  
At that point is the Garden of Refuge  
Lo, the lotus tree was enveloped by what enveloped it  
The eye swerved not nor wavered  
Indeed he saw the greatest of his Lord's tokens

Edgar Lee Masters gives you the same feeling when he makes Jennie McGrew say: <sup>26</sup>

But on a sunny afternoon  
By a country road  
Where purple rag-weeds bloom along a straggling fence  
And the field is gleaned, and the air is still  
To see against the sunlight something black  
Like a blot with an iris rim  
That is the sign to eyes of second sight  
And that I saw

After these interesting glimpses there is no evidence of the mechanism of Muhammad's further experiences. It is likely that he formed mental habits favorable to such abnormal states when he settled down to belief in himself as the regular channel of divine communication with men. It is also likely that he standardized the form and furniture of his experiences. Thus, in the passage quoted above <sup>27</sup> 'A'isha makes Muhammed say: "But at times the angel appeared to me as a man; and he spoke to me, and I understood what he said." Perhaps we are here still dealing with some sort of genuine abnormal experience. Later, of course, Muhammad puts his daily counsel, apologetic, polemic, and what not, however prosaic, into the form of revelations, without convincing us of his having had any abnormal experience. On the other hand he did have queer seizures while in Medina. 'A'isha says: <sup>28</sup> "I have seen him when the revelation was descending upon him on a day of great cold; and it passed away from him, and behold his forehead ran with sweat."

I repeat: It is strange that Muhammad became a poet and prophet in the later years of his marriage with Khadija, and lost

<sup>26</sup> *Spoon River Anthology*, 232.

<sup>27</sup> P. 141.

<sup>28</sup> Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*

both these gifts in the next twelve or thirteen years when he made his many marriages. With the loss of poetic prophecy came also deterioration of character. His domestic life in Medina released him from the strain which had produced his poetic passion and his prophetic fury; but it did great violence to his morality and humanity, and afforded no normal peace and satisfaction. A single example will suffice to illustrate them all. Muhammad, seeing Zainab, the wife of his adopted son, Zaid, conceived a passion for her which he could not conceal. Muhammad refused to allow Zaid to divorce her until God revealed his will in vv. 36-39 of Sura xxxiii:

It is not for a believing man or woman, when God and his Apostle have decided a matter, to have the choice in that matter; and whosoever rebels against God and his Apostle errs with an obvious error. Now when you (Muhammad) were saying to (Zaid) the one favored by God and you, "Keep your wife for yourself and fear God," and (when you, Muhammad) were concealing within yourself what God was revealing, and were fearing people—whereas you ought rather to fear God—after Zaid had fulfilled his desire of her we married you to her, in order that believers might suffer no hindrance concerning the wives of their adopted sons when they have fulfilled their desire of them. And so God's command was carried out. The Prophet is not to be hindered in what God has ordained for him—and God's command is a sure decree—according to God's custom with (prophets) of the past—those who deliver God's messages and fear him, and fear none but God. God is good enough at reckoning up.

When compared with earlier utterances, such as those already quoted, this one shows a sore decline in poetic quality, sincerity, humility, idealism, and spirituality. This Muhammad is vastly inferior to the Prophet of Mecca, to say nothing of the prophets "of the past," of whom he now has such an inadequate conception. The whole unpleasant story of Muhammad in Medina should be called to mind.

Muhammad's marriage with Khadija, though materially advantageous to him at the beginning, remained wholly admirable. At her death he almost immediately and simultaneously espoused the six-year old 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abu Bakr, and married Sauda,<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The name سودة is unique, and hard to explain unless as a distortion of سوداء "Black." Her first husband bore the strange name Sakrān, "Drunk." Sauda was a Meccan, albeit with a short pedigree, and not an Abyssinian.

the widow of a faithful follower; the motive being in the one case partly political, and in the other, partly benevolent. We continue to trace the same two purposes in his marriages with Ḥafṣa, Hind, Umm Ḥabība, and Maimūna. Revenge, and humiliation of the vanquished, seem to have been the purpose of his marriages with Juwairiya, Safiya, and Raiḥāna, and possibly also Nashā (or Sanā or Sabā) and Shanbā'. It may be safely stated that the element of inclination was not absent from the choice of 'Ā'isha, and it was notoriously evident with Juwairiya, Safiya, and Raiḥāna. The extreme case of infatuation with Zainab the wife of Zaid, has been mentioned. Inclination seems to have been the only reason for attempting to marry Ghazīya. Māria the Copt was, of course a present, but nevertheless very acceptable. Ṭabari says little of Zainab "Mother of the Poor," Sharūf, 'Āliya, Qutaila, Fāṭima, Khaula, and 'Amra. Marriage was not consummated with Nashā (Sanā, Sabā), Shanbā', 'Āliya (?), or Qutaila. A certain Lailā, proposed to and married the Prophet, but later had herself released on grounds of jealousy. The case of Asmā looks suspiciously like that of Ghazīya, and may be a doublet. Umm Ḥānī' mentioned that she already had a child; Dubā'a was reported to be passé; Safiya, daughter of Bashāma, refused to abandon her husband; Umm Ḥabīb, daughter of 'Abbās, turned out to be a milk-relative: so these four did not marry the Prophet.

The above has been taken from Ṭabari,<sup>20</sup> whose account is very full and frank. When due allowance has been made for repetition in the list, it still remains a long one. There can be no doubt of the essential truthfulness of this picture. Aside from the claims of charity and of politics, aside from the ancient harim-tradition of the East, Muhammad's domestic life in Medina is extraordinary. The violence of the explosion, and the devastation wrought by it, are a measure of the pressure under which Muhammad lived when he first had his revelations in Mecca.

<sup>20</sup> *Annals*, I, 1766 ff.



## COPTIC OSTRACA OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A. ARTHUR SCHILLER  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

IN THE PROCEEDINGS of this society published in 1890 one of the leading Egyptologists of the time, W. Max Müller, spoke of the Abbott collection of Egyptian antiquities of the New York Historical Society in the following manner:

"This collection is exhibited—or rather, stored—in cases, the objects being crowded together in the dark galleries of the rooms of the New York Historical Society. One of these cases contains our Coptic fragment; owing to its unfavorable position and the darkness of the room, we are not able to decipher the inscription with certainty. The reverse must as yet remain unpublished, as none of the attendants possessed the authority to open the case and turn the ostrakon around. We have deemed it advisable to publish this fragment of the text, in the hope of suggesting the publication of the entire text to some one who shall be more fortunate in his dealings with the authorities of the Historical Society."

After more than three decades Dr. Müller's hope is fulfilled. The Society has not only permitted the publication of the verso of the Coptic ostrakon in question, but has kindly placed its entire collection of Coptic ostraca at the author's disposal. None of the eight texts which follow are of major importance (in fact, three are exceedingly fragmentary) but they are interesting as presenting phases of the life of the native Egyptian shortly after the Arabic conquest.

### I

Red ribbed potsherd inscribed recto and verso. The ends of the first five lines recto, and the beginnings of the first five verso have been broken off; the letter is otherwise complete. Size:  $8 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

... [

... [

ΤΟCΤ Ν [

ΜΝΜΑ ... ΛΑ[

5 ΖΕΕ ... ΤΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ[

ΜΟΦ Ε ... Ζ[Α] ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΖΑ

ΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΠΡΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΕΧΝΡΩ

ΜΕ ΕΦΑΡΒ<sup>1</sup> ΟΥΔΕ ΕΦΖΗΩ ΟΥΔΕ

ΕΛΦΖΕ ΖΑΤΟΟΤΚ ΖΙΠΜΑΜΝΙΩΕ<sup>2</sup>

10 ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΕΚΦΑΝΕΙ ΕΚΜΟΟΦΕ ΜΝ

ΝΕΚΩΒΡ ΝCΕΦΙ ΟΥΛΑΛΥ ΝΤΑ

ΛΦ<sup>3</sup> ΝΟΥΖΕΚΕ<sup>4</sup> ΕΚCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕΦΡ

ΚΡΩΖ<sup>5</sup> ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ

ΝΓCΕΠCΟΠΟΥ ΝCΕΚΑΛΦ Ε

15 ΒΟΛ ΝΑΦ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ †ΩΠ

ΤΩΡΕ<sup>6</sup> ΕΤΟΟΤΚ ΧΕ ΕΚΦΑΝΖΑ

ΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΧΙΝ ΜΠΕ

ΜΑ<sup>7</sup> ΕΘΕ ΚΑΖΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ<sup>8</sup> ΝΑΙ

ΖΑΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΛΦΩΠΕ

20 ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ ΖΙΠΑΖΟΥ ΦΑΤΕ

ΝΟΥ:<sup>9</sup> ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΝΑ†

ΛΟΓΟC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ<sup>10</sup> ΖΑΡΟΚ

ΕΤΡΕΦΚΑΛΥ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ

ΑΥΩ ΝΦΡΠΙΝΑ ΝΙΜΑΚ ΝΘΕ

25 ΝΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ

Verso.

]ΠΕ:

]ΑΡΟΚ Η . .

]CΠΗΥ ΝΚ . . . .

]Εἰ φάροϛ εὔμα

5 ]ΝΖΗΤ ΖΑΖΕΝΤΒΝΟΟΥ<sup>Ε</sup>

ΕΑΥΠΑΝΟΥ<sup>11</sup> ΝΤΑΑΥ<sup>12</sup> ΑΡΙ ΤΑ

ΓΑΠΗ ΝΓΑΑΣ ΕΤΒΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ

ΝΓΩΠΗΕ ΝΤ-ΑΡΗΥ<sup>13</sup> ΑΥΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥ<sup>Ν</sup>

ΖΑΖΤΕΤ<sup>Ν</sup> ΝΓΧΙΤΟΥ ΝΑϛ Η

10 ΜΟΝ ΕΦΟΥΖΗ<sup>14</sup> ΝΗΜΑἰ ΚΑΙ

ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΚΝΑΑϛ<sup>15</sup> ΝΤΑΚ

Αϛ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΑΝΑΔ[ΑΔ Ν]

ΤΑΚΑΑϛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ

Ω<sup>16</sup> ΝΤΕΚΨΥΧΗ ΝΗΜΑἰ

15 ΟΥΧΑἰ ΖΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΑ

ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝCΟΝ: ΡΤΑΑΣ

ΜΠΑΛΩΑΝΕ<sup>17</sup> ΑCΑΡΙΑC<sup>18</sup>

ΖΙΤΝΖΑΛΟ ΠΕΛΑ

Χ



(7) Do not trouble yourself about a man who is confined<sup>1</sup> or endangered or looking for you in controversial places.<sup>2</sup> (10) Therefore when you come, will you go with your friends, and they will take something of his (?)<sup>3</sup> for a poor man.<sup>4</sup> You know that he is often mistaken.<sup>5</sup> Be so good (ἀγάπη) as to ask them and they will pardon him (15) for it.

I, myself, promise<sup>6</sup> to you that if you watch yourself in this fashion from this place (?)<sup>7</sup> in going north,<sup>8</sup> everything shall be (20) unto you as it formerly<sup>9</sup> was. I am he who gives the word (λόγος) of God<sup>10</sup> to you that he will pardon them for you and that he will be gracious (πνεῦμα) with you like (25) all holy ones.

(verso) . . . (5) regarding the animals, they shall . . . ? . . .<sup>11</sup> of them.<sup>12</sup> Be so good (ἀγάπη) as to do it for God's sake.

You ask whether, perhaps,<sup>13</sup> they are being brought to you and (whether) you shall take them to him. No! (10) he remains<sup>14</sup> with me; therefore (καὶ γάρ) you are the one who shall do it<sup>15</sup> for God and<sup>16</sup> for your soul and mine.

(15) Farewell in the Lord, my beloved brother. Give this to the lashane<sup>17</sup> Asarias,<sup>18</sup> from Helleo, the humblest (ἐλάχισ).

<sup>1</sup> ΕΦΑΡΒ, for ΕΦΟΡΒ ΕΖΟΥΝ, not reflexive. See *Epi.*, App. i, 55; *Ryl.* 177, 8 has *ωρϣ*. The word is somewhat scarce; and our reading is quite unusual.

<sup>2</sup> ΠΜΑΜΜΙΩΕ is literally "the place of fighting." I have not found it elsewhere and it may be a variant of the known ΜΑΜΜΟΩΕ, "road."

<sup>3</sup> ΝΤΑΛϣ, probably ΝΤΑΑ- for ΝΤΑ-, though Crum suggests ΝΤΑΑ<Τ>ϣ; a similar construction in ΝΤΑΛΥ verso, line 6.

<sup>4</sup> ΖΕΚΕ for ΖΗΚΕ.

<sup>5</sup> ΚΡΩΖ for ΔΡΩΖ, upon Crum's suggestion; cf. however, *CO Ad* 54, p. 70 note 2; *CO* 358.

<sup>6</sup> †ΩΠΤΩΡΕ, a technical expression implying a guarantee. See *Sethe-Partsch, Demot. Bürgerschaft.*, pp. 496-513, 764-5. The writer of our document would probably not be legally liable for breach of his promise.

<sup>7</sup> ΧΙΝ ΜΠΕ[Ι]ΜΑ at Crum's suggestion.

<sup>8</sup> Crum suggests ΚΑΖΗΥ but ΚΑΖΗΤ is clear; cf. *CMBM* 1153, 3; 1161, 2. See also ΕΦΚΑ ΠΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ, *CO* 122, 6, "he is leaving the place."

<sup>9</sup> ΖΗΠΑΖΟΥ ΦΑΤΕΝΟΥ, the first word has apparently the same meaning as the second; its general usage of "back, the verso of a document" means nothing here.

<sup>10</sup> †ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ, a technical expression, a formula of surety, see *Epi.* 96 note 1; *CO* 107; here used in a private sense.

<sup>11</sup> ΕΛΥΠΑΝΟΥ, the Λ may possibly be an Α but the meaning is still obscure.

<sup>12</sup> ΝΤΑΛΥ, see note 3.

<sup>13</sup> ΝΤΑΡΗΥ obscure; reading ΔΡΗΥ as "perhaps" ΝΤ would seem to introduce an indirect question, after ΦΙΝΕ.

<sup>14</sup> ΕΦΟΥΖΗ is perhaps written for ΕΦΟΥΗΖ.

<sup>15</sup> ΠΕΤΚΝΑΛϣ for ΠΕΤΚΝΑΛΛΑϣ; similarly ΝΤΑΚΑϣ for ΝΤΑΚΑΛϣ.

<sup>16</sup> Ω for ΛΥΩ.

<sup>17</sup> ΑΛΦΑΝΕ, a village official with justice of the peace functions; see *Steinwenter, Studien zu d. koptisch. Rechtsurkunden* (19 *Stud. Palae.*), pp. 38-60.

<sup>18</sup> ΑΣΑΡΙΑΣ for ΑΖΑΡΙΑΣ, though this spelling is not known elsewhere. Cf., however *ΣΑΡΙΑΣ*, *CO* 445, 5.

## II

Red ribbed potsherd, inscribed recto; verso, black. A complete document. Size:  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

- ΡΝΘΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΜΠ  
 ΦΑΧΕ †ΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΚ[  
 ΝΤΕΚΜΗΝΤΣΟΝ ΟΥΦΩ Α[  
 ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΤΒΕΠΖΩΒ ΝΝΧ  
 5 ΩΜΕ<sup>1</sup> ΝΤΑΙΧΟΟQ ΝΑΚ ΕΤΒΕΤΟΥ  
 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΣ ΠΑΡΗΒ<sup>2</sup> ΑΙΤΝΝΟΟΥQ Ν  
 ΑΚ ΝΤΟΟΤQ ΝΝΕΣΑΚ<sup>3</sup> ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑ  
 ΠΗ ΝΓCΖΑΙ ΝΒΙΟΣ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ  
 ΕΤΕ ΑΠΑ Α-ΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ-ΠΕ ΜΝΑΠΑ  
 10 ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΣ ΜΝΑΠΑ CΕΥΗΡΟΣ<sup>4</sup> [ΑΥ]  
 Φ ΟΝ ΝΓCΖΑΙCΟΥ ΝCΝΑΥ ΝΤΡΕΜΗ  
 CIONE<sup>5</sup> ΕΠΟΥΑ ΕΡΦΑΝΤΧΡΙΑ ΝΝΧ  
 ΑΡ ΦΩΠΕ ΤΗΝΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΝ  
 ΤΟΥ ΝΤΑΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΛCΝΤΕ  
 15 ΦΤΩΡΟΣ<sup>6</sup> ΖΙΤΝ ΒΑΠCΙC  
 ΤΙΑ<sup>7</sup> ΟΥΧΑΙ  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ  
 ΝΧΩΚΡΕ<sup>8</sup> †ΦΙΝΕ  
 ΝΕ ΕΠΑΣΟ  
 20 Ν ΘΕΩΠ[ΟΜΠΟΣ]<sup>9</sup>



Before coming (*μὲν*) to the words I salute (*ἀσπάζομαι*) your . . .  
? . . . of your brotherhood, wishing . . . ? . . .

Please attend (*ἀγάπη*) to the matter of the books<sup>1</sup> (5) which I spoke of to you. Now as regards the pledge,<sup>2</sup> I sent it to you by (the son) of Isaac.<sup>3</sup>

Be so good (*ἀγάπη*) as to write the lives (*βίος*) of the holy ones, namely, Apa Athanasios and Apa (10) Dioscoros and Apa Severos.<sup>4</sup> They were written for two trimesia<sup>5</sup> each. If you have need (*χρεία*) of papyri (*χάρτης*), send to me and I will bring them when I come.

Give this to (15) Theodoros<sup>6</sup> from Bapsistia.<sup>7</sup> Farewell.

I, Macarios, (the son) of Jokre,<sup>8</sup> I salute my brother, (20) Theopompos.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **ΧΩΜΕ** for **ΧΩΜΕ**.

<sup>2</sup> **ΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΗΒ**, the latter a Semitic loan-word, **ܥܪܒ**; cf. *Epi.* 274; *CMBM*, index.

<sup>3</sup> **ΕΣΑΚ** probably for **ΙΣΑΚ**=**ΙΣΑΑΚ**.

<sup>4</sup> Three saints of the Coptic church.

<sup>5</sup> **ΤΡΕΜΗΣΙΟΝΕ**, a peculiar form of *τριμῆσιον*.

<sup>6</sup> **ΤΕΩΤΩΡΟΣ**, spelled so only here.

<sup>7</sup> **ΒΑΠΣΙΣΤΙΑ**, an unknown name heretofore, perhaps connected with *Παφίς*, 5 *Arch. f. Papyrus.*, 246, 2.

<sup>8</sup> **ΧΩΚΡΕ**, also an unknown name; cf. **ΧΟΥΧΙΡ**, *Ryl.* 244 recto. **ΧΩΚΡΕ** may go back to *Σωκράτης*, on the analogy of **ΧΙΧΟΙ** from *Σισοίς*, *Lond. IV* 1494, 31, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, coll. 87 and 386.

<sup>9</sup> **ΘΕΩΠΟΜΠΟΣ** cf. *P. Oxy.* I 163; *P. Oxy.* VI 932, 1, 16; *SB* 4148,

## III

Limestone, inscribed recto and verso. Recto published by Müller, 1890 Proc. Amer. Orien. Soc., p. xxxii; document noted in Crum, Monas. of Epiphan., i, p. 111, note 12; p. 162, note 14. Complete, 3 x 5½ inches.

Ϝ Ϙορπ μεν †ωιν[ε]  
 ετεκμν̄τςον ετ̄νανοϑς  
 πχοεις εφ̄εςμοϑ εροκ ν̄αζα  
 ρεζ εροκ μ̄νπεκειωτ̄ μ̄ννε[κ]  
 5 σν̄ηϑ μ̄νπετϘοοπ̄ νακ τ̄[ι]<sup>1</sup>  
 οϑωϑ οϑν̄ ν̄γκα προοϑ ν[ακ]  
 μ̄ν̄νσαπ̄ωα ν̄απα πατερ̄μοϑτε  
 ν̄γειερ̄. ε<sup>2</sup>  
 μ̄νμακαρε ν̄[. . .]βωκ τριρ

Verso.

εζοϑν̄<sup>4</sup> χε̄ απ̄καιρος<sup>5</sup>  
 Ϙωπε̄ μ̄π̄ρ̄ω οϑν̄ ν̄Ϙοϑ  
 ει<sup>6</sup> χε̄τ̄ν̄δωωτ̄ ζειτ̄ν<sup>7</sup> ζ̄ν̄  
 πϘομ̄ν̄τ̄ μ̄π̄ωα ν̄ταρεπ̄χο  
 5 εις σμοϑ εροκ οϑχαῑ ζ̄μπ̄χοεις  
 ταας ν̄γεωργ̄ιος παμ̄ρε  
 ζιτ̄ν̄ ῑωβ̄ μελαχιστος

First (μν) I salute your noble brotherhood. The Lord bless you and guard you and your father and your (5) brethren and that which is yours. I<sup>1</sup> want you to take care of yourself (?).

After the feast of Apa Patermuthios and Macarios<sup>2</sup> . . . ?  
 . . .<sup>3</sup> install an oven.<sup>4</sup> (Verso) When the time (καιρος)<sup>5</sup> comes, do not remain behind. Do not fail to come<sup>6</sup> so that we may tend to<sup>7</sup> the three feasts, wherefore the Lord (5) will bless you.

Farewell in the Lord. Give this to Georgios, the baker; from Job, the humblest.

<sup>1</sup> TI Crum suggests T[HPQ] but there does not seem to be room for this. Müller reads T[N].

<sup>2</sup> ΝΓΕΙΕΡ.Ε in smaller characters and in the margin, a marginal note.

<sup>3</sup> ΜΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ, perhaps also the feast day of a (St.) Macarios.

<sup>4</sup> ΒΘΚ ΤΡΙΡ ΕΖΟΥΝ, see Crum, Epi., i, p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> ΑΠΚΑΙΡΟΣ, this usage unusual; cf., however, BKU 32<sup>11</sup>, 4.

<sup>6</sup> ΝΦΟΥΕΙ, see CO 290, 7 note p. 52. Also CO 247, 3.

<sup>7</sup> ΖΕΙΤΝ=ΖΙΤΝ.

#### IV

Limestone, inscribed on upper half of one side. Complete, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

ΚΑΡΑΚΟΣ<sup>1</sup> ΖΑΤΤΑΜ<sup>2</sup>(ΙΕΙΟΝ)

ΝΗQ<sup>3</sup> ΝCΟΥO ΖΑΝΛΑΚΙ

ΝΕ<sup>4</sup> ΝΗQ ΝCΟΥO ΠΟΝΚΟΥ

Caracos.<sup>1</sup> For the barn (?),<sup>2</sup> a sack (?)<sup>3</sup> of wheat. For the jars,<sup>4</sup> a sack of wheat. (Total), the pound.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΚΑΡΑΚΟΣ for ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ, common in Jeme texts. See CO and KRU, indices.

<sup>2</sup> ΤΑΜ; this seems to be an abbreviation of ταμείον, and in this period would probably be a private storehouse. It may, however, refer to the public treasury, and denote a tax.

<sup>3</sup> ΝΗQ, an unknown word, undoubtedly a measure.

<sup>4</sup> ΛΑΚΙΝΕ, connected with λάγυρος, λάγηνος, λαγύριον, λακ. See Preisker, Wörterbuch, ii, col. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> ΠΟΝΚΟΥ = Π-δγκία, the money-weight equivalent of the grain.



## V

Limestone, inscribed recto, a few rubbed letters verso. Complete,  $1\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

†ΟΥΕΟΟΥ<sup>1</sup> ΜΝΟΥΤΑΥ  
ΡΝΕ<sup>2</sup> ΝΤΑΚΑΛΥ ΝΚΛΟ  
Μ ΑΧΩQ ΑΥΩ ΑΚΚΑ  
ΘΙCΤΑΜΟΥ ΑΧΝΝΕ2Β  
5 ΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕΚΔΙ  
X: Ζ  
χ

Peace<sup>1</sup> and quiet<sup>2</sup> (to you). For you made them wreaths of it and you attended to (καθίστημι) all the things (5) with your (own) hands. Zacharias.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>†ΟΥΕΟΟΥ, a peculiar construction; cf. ΕΝ† ΕΟΟΥ of KRUG 96, 55.

<sup>2</sup>ΟΥΤΑΥΡΝΕ for ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ, *elphēnē*, (?).

<sup>3</sup>Ζχ a monogram for Ζ(Α)Χ(Α)ΡΙ(Α)C.

## VI

Limestone fragment, inscribed recto and verso. Size,  $2 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

Ρ ΦΟ[ΡΠ]  
ΕΤΕΚΜ[ΝΤΧΟ]  
ΕΙC ΕΦΕCΜ[ΟΥ]  
ΠΝΑ ΝΓΒΙ [  
ΝΓΕΙ Ε2ΟΥ[Ν  
2ΟΥ Ν[  
Ν

Verso

]ΤΕΦΛΙ  
]ΕΟΥΝΠΩ[  
Μ]ΠΡΤCΤΟΤΕΝ[  
]ΟΛ ΧΕΚΑC[  
]ΑΡΙCΤΕΙΝΤ.  
]C ΜΠΕΝΦΗΡΕ  
Π]ΝΟΥΤΕ  
Edge [2]ΙΤΝ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΕΙΛΑΧ

VII

Limestone fragment, inscribed recto and verso.  $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

ⲡ ⲑⲥⲓ	Verso. ⲓⲣⲟⲓⲛ
ⲛⲉⲙⲓ	ⲓⲁⲧ ⲛⲓ
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲓ	ⲓⲟⲩ ⲓⲱ
ⲕⲉⲣⲧ ⲛⲓ	ⲓⲙⲙⲁ
ⲕⲱⲗⲛ	ⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩ
ⲗⲗ ⲛⲓ	ⲓⲟⲗ

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VIII

Limestone fragment, inscribed recto, a few letters verso. Size,  $3 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

ⲣⲓⲱ	Verso.	
ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲛⲗⲓ	ⲕ	ⲧⲱ . . .
ⲓⲉⲗⲩⲛⲓ ⲛⲭⲉⲧ		ⲡⲡⲣ—
ⲱⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲩ		
ⲗⲥⲛ	ⲓⲙⲙⲁ	

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In conclusion we briefly call attention to interesting points in the various ostraca. No. I is a lengthy letter, the translation of which is fairly clear, but the actual subject matter obscure. Recto and verso are part of one letter but seem to discuss different things. The use of legal terminology is strange. No. II is an interesting letter dealing in the main with a request to the addressee to pen the lives of Coptic saints; the name of the writer, Bapsistia, is unusual. No. III is a letter addressed to a baker who is urged to take charge of the preparation of food, probably for monks, on future feast days. St. Paternuthios is an establishment in the neighborhood of Jeme (Thebes). No. IV is, perhaps, the most interesting document. It is either a receipt or a direction to Caracos concerning certain amounts of wheat. No. V is a short letter, with Achmimic forms. The recto of No. VI is in epistolary form, with the addressor's name on the edge. No. VII contains the names Paulos and Coptos while No. VIII also shows traces of usual epistolary formulae.

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Abbreviations: BKU = Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin, Koptische Urkunden. CMBM = W. E. Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum. CO = W. E. Crum, Coptic Ostraca from the collection of the Egypt Exploration Fund, etc. Epi = W. E. Crum, The Monastery of Epiphanius, vol. ii. KRU = W. E. Crum-G. Steindorff, Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djeme. Lond. IV = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Coptic texts by W. E. Crum in vol. iv. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, edited by Grenfell-Hunt-Bell. Ryl. = W. E. Crum, Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the collection of the John Rylands Library. SB = Preisigke, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten. Stud. Palae. = Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, ed. by C. Wessely.



# STUDIES IN THE DIVYĀVADĀNA \*

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## I. *Sūkarikāvadāna*.<sup>1</sup>

IT IS, of course, a law that, when a god<sup>2</sup> is destined to "fall",<sup>3</sup> five premonitory signs appear: his clothes which were formerly not dirty become dirty, his wreaths which formerly were unfaded fade, an evil smell issues from his body, sweat appears in his two arm-pits, and a god who is about to fall takes no pleasure in his throne.<sup>4</sup>

\* I am deeply indebted to M. J. Przyłuski, who carefully examined and corrected my translations of the Tibetan and Chinese texts of the *sūkarikāvadāna* and furnished me with valuable notes and suggestions. Acknowledgement should also be made to the trustees of the American Field Service Fellowships, for it was as a fellow on that foundation that I was able to obtain the material for this study.

The Sanskrit text which I here translate is to be found in Cowell and Neil's edition of the *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 193-196. The Tibetan text is in mdo 29, ff. 427a-430a. The Chinese text is to be found in *Tripiṭaka*, Tokyo XIV, 7.2, and in Taisho Issai-kyo, XV, 129.

<sup>1</sup> Our Skt. text hesitates between the true word for "sow", *sūkari*, and the barbarism *sūkarikā*, e. g., p. 194, 1.14 *sūkaryāḥ* but elsewhere it reads *sūkarikāyāḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> We know from at least p. 57 of the *Divyā*, that *devaputra* = *deva* where *śakra* says to the nonless king: *yadī kaścio cyavanadharmā devaputro bhaviṣyati tat te putratee samādāpayiṣyāmi*.

<sup>3</sup> The Chinese has made a proper name of the adjective *cyavanadharmīno*: 名嗟癢囊法. Of course, the sense demands that we understand an adjective; cf. the quotation in fn. 2, where it can only be an adjective. Altho the Chinese has thus lost the point of the original story, its rendering has far more literary merit than the Skt. or Tib.

<sup>4</sup> In enumerating the five signs the Tib. interchanges the position of Nos. 3 and 4 of the Skt. The Chinese gives as the five signs: "his body did not have the virtue of majesty, filth arose everywhere (this is lacking in both Tib. and Skt.), the garlands of flowers on his head all entirely withered, from parts of his body a bad smell proceeded, and from under his arm-pits nothing but sweat flowed." 身無威德垢穢旋生, 頭上花鬘咸悉萎萃, 諸身分中, 臭氣而出, 兩腋之下, 悉皆汗流. It is interesting to note that almost this same list is found in another *avadāna* of the *Divyā*, p. 57. M. Przyłuski suggested

Well, a certain god who was destined to fall rolled himself on the ground, and after he had rolled he said: Ah Mandākini, ah pool, ah pond, ah Caitraratha, ah Pāruṣyaka, ah Nandana-grove, ah Mīśraka-grove, ah Pāriyātraka, ah Pāṇḍukambala-rock, ah assembly-hall of the gods, ah Sudarśana. So saying, he lamented in distress.<sup>3</sup>

that I make a study of the signs of the fall of a god, but as our library has no facilities whatsoever for research in Hindu studies I cannot follow up his suggestion.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the names in this list are to be found in Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Indes*: p. 59, "Am Fusse des Berges (Kailāsa—a fabulous mountain in the Himālaya range) liegt der Lotusteich Manda (= puṣkiriṇi and vāpi of our list) mit kaltem Wasser, einer herbstlichen Wolke ähnlich. Aus dem Teiche entspringt der Fluss Mandākini, an dessen Ufer der Wald Nandana liegt . . . An dem Ufer des Flusses (Acchodā) liegt der grosse Hain Caitraratha; " p. 94, "In Havṛta liegen in der Richtung von Osten nach Süden die vier Haine Caitraratha . . ."; p. 95, "Nach dem Vyāsabhāṣya zum Yogasūtra liegen auf der Gipfelfläche des Meru die Haine Mīśravana, Nandana, Caitraratha und Sumānasa, die Götterhalle heisst Sudharmā, die Götterstadt Sudarśana und der Palast Vaijayaṇṭa"; p. 232, "Nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen liegen vier Felsen: . . . im Süden Pāṇḍukambalā, im Westen Raktā. . . ."

I cannot find out to what Pāruṣyaka refers. The Tib. takes it as the name of a grove: *rtsub ggyur gyi tshal* (I follow the transcription of Das's dictionary). The Chinese lists it along with the other groves:

寶車與鹿惡歡喜雜林等. Regarding Pāriyātraka, I can do no more than reproduce the note which M. Przyluski gave me on the word: "Pāriyātraka est énigmatique. Comparez Divyā. p. 219, l. 18. Vous voyez que du sommet du Meru on aperçoit l'arbre Pārijātaka qui est l'arbre paradisiaque bien connu. Mais ici Pārijātaka est donné par les éditeurs, non par les mss. qui ont tous Pāriyātraka comme dans le Sūkari-kāv. (Noter que p. 219, 3<sup>e</sup> ligne avant la fin, Cowell et Neil écrivent Pārijātaka sans indiquer ce que donnent les mss.) Il n'est pas certain que Pāriyātraka soit une faute de scribe comme l'ont cru Cowell et Neil, car la même forme revient en deux endroits; elle est confirmée par la version chinoise *po-li-ye-to-lo-chia* et probablement aussi par le tibet.: complètement = pari + assemblée = yātra, car yātra "pèlerinage, fête" est voisin de "réunion, assemblée." Je suis tout près d'admettre que Pāriyātraka est une autre forme du nom de l'arbre paradisiaque."

As is usual, the Tib. has here followed its Skt. original very closely. It varies from our present Skt. text only in inserting a word *śṛṅga* (= *iṣṭa*, *śṛṅga*) between the Pāriyātraka and Pāṇḍu\*. Since the Chinese after the Pāriyātraka is wholly unintelligible one wonders whether the Tib. has not preserved something that the Skt. has lost and that the Chinese has

Śakra, the chief of the gods, saw that god turning\* and rolling excessively on the ground. After looking again, he went up to where the god was. After going up he said this to the god: Why, my friend, do you turn and roll excessively on the ground and lament in distress: Ah Mandākinī, . . . in distress.

Thus addressed the god said this to Śakra, the chief of the gods: I here, O Kāuśika, after enjoying the bliss of the gods, shall on the seventh day from today be born in the womb of a sow in the city of Rājagṛha. There for many years I shall have to feed upon excrements.

Then Śakra with pity† said this to the god: Go thou, my friend, for refuge to the Buddha, the best of men; go for refuge to the Law, the best of the destroyers of desire; go for refuge to the Order, the best of groups.

Then the god, trembling because of the fear of birth in an animal's womb and because of the fear of death,‡ said this to Śakra,

hopelessly confused. Between the Pāriyātraka (which the Chinese has transcribed and probably attempted to interpret as: flower long unplucked

永不採摘) and *devasabhā* the Chinese has "mixed, precious, soft earth, long unwalked," 雜寶柔輭之地永不履踐, which might (but I don't know how) be an attempt to interpret an original *śā Raktā hā Pāṇḍukambalāśīlā*.

*Devasabhā* very likely has the same meaning here as in Divyā. p. 220 (eṣa deva devānāṃ trayastrimśānāṃ Sudharmā nāma devasabhā yatra deva trayastrimśā . . .). Cf. the above quotation from p. 95 of Kirfel.

Some of the names discussed in this note are to be found also in the Mahāvastu: Mahā. I, p. 32, l. 4 (which should certainly read as I shall quote it), *aśṣaṣu ca mahāudyaṇeṣu vaijayante mandāpuṣkarinyām pāriyātre kovidāre mahācane pāruṣyake citrarathe nandane mīrakācane apareṣu ca ratanāmayeṣu ca vīmāneṣu . . .*; Mahā. II, p. 451, l. 20, *yādyaṃ citrarathe mīrakācane devānāṃ trayastrimśānāṃ yātrakā kovidārā devaparivertā śobhanti tādyaṃ . . .*

Regarding the form *puṣkiriṇi* of our text (where one would expect *puṣkarīṇi*), Senart has a note on the same form which is found in the Mahāvastu III, p. 508 at top, "La forme *puṣkiriṇi* est trop fréquente dans nos mss. pour que je me sois cru autorisé à la corriger. Elle fait pendant, en sens inverse, au *pokkharāṇi* du pāli."

*Mandākinī* is found in Mahāvagga VI, 20, 2, as the name of a lake.

\* In spite of the mss. we must read *āvartamānam*.

† Preserved in the Chinese, but not in Tib.

‡ *Tiryagyony . . . maraṣabhayabhīṭai*, lost in Tib. The Chinese has translated *tiryag* "approaching."



the chief of the gods: I here, O Kāuśika, go for refuge to the Buddha, the best of men, etc. Then the god, protected by the three refuges, fell, died, and was born in the Tuṣita heaven in the company of the gods.<sup>9</sup>

It is, of course, a law that sight by the intelligence exists for the gods downward but not upward.<sup>10</sup> Then Śakra, the chief of the gods, looked for that god. As he looked he thought: Has that god been born in the womb of a sow or not? He had not been born there. As he looked he thought: Has he been born among the beasts or pretas, or among the creatures of hell?<sup>11</sup> He had not been born there. As he looked he thought: Has he been born in the company of men?<sup>12</sup> He was not born there. He began to look at the gods who belong to the class of the four great kings and at the thirty-three gods, but he did not see him there either.<sup>13</sup> Then Śakra, the chief of the gods, his curiosity aroused, went up to where the Blessed One was. Having gone up and having honored the Blessed One's feet with his head, he sat down to one side. Seated to one side Śakra, the chief of the gods, said this to the Blessed One: I here, Sir, saw a certain god who was destined to fall rolling on the earth and lamenting: Ah Mandākinī, etc. . . . I spoke thus to him: Why, my friend, do you excessively weep, mourn, cry out, beat your breast,

<sup>9</sup> The concluding sentence of this paragraph is the translation of the Sanskrit text, but it should not be given without the Tibetan and Chinese. According to the Skt. we are here confronted with a god who has fallen upward. Such, however, is not the case in the other two texts. The Tib. has *hchi-kpho hdu-byas-nas dgaḥ-lan phyi lhaḥi ris-su skyes*, "death having been completed, later in the Tuṣita heaven among the gods he was born." The Chinese says 而後命終, "and afterwards he died."

<sup>10</sup> This sentence is parenthetical, and if foot-notes had existed for the author of the story, he would certainly have made it a note to what follows. It is interesting to note that the Tib. puts this statement at the end of the account of Indra's vain search.

<sup>11</sup> The Tib. here reads: Has he been born in the station of hell-beings and animals, or not? *sams-can dmyal-ba dañ dud-kyroḥi skye-gnas-su akeys sam-ma skyes-ces ḍilas-na yañ ma skyes-te*. The Chinese, again interpreting *tirpak* as "approaching," "nearby," has merely: He also gazed in the world of nearby-born ghosts, but again he did not see him 又觀傍生思界亦復不見. The Tib. has omitted *preta*.

<sup>12</sup> Tib. omits this, while the Chinese misread its original as *Saḥalo-kadhātu* 又觀娑訶世界人間.

<sup>13</sup> Omitted in Tib.

and why are you in this state of confusion? He spoke thus: I here, O Kāuśika, after abandoning the bliss of the gods, on the seventh day etc. . . . I spoke thus to him: My friend, go thou for refuge etc. . . . He spoke thus: I here, O Kāuśika, go for refuge etc. . . . After speaking thus the god died. Where, Sir, has the god been born? The Blessed One said: Kāuśika, the gods known as the Tuṣitas see the accomplishment of all their desires. There that god is enjoying himself, because he here went to the three refuges. Then Śakra, the chief of the gods, transported with joy, spoke at this time the following gāthā:

Who refuge in the Buddha take, they go not to hell; on forsaking their bodies of men, they obtain bodies of gods.

Who refuge in the Dharma etc.

Who refuge in the Saṃgha etc.<sup>14</sup>

Then the Blessed One, agreeing with the words of Indra, spoke

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<sup>14</sup> The Tibetan and Chinese then insert three verses which correspond rather well to one another:

*gañ-dag ñin-mtshan rtag-par yañ  
sañs-rgyas rje-su dran-pa dañ  
gañ-dag sañs-rgyas skyabs mchis-pa  
mi de-dag-ni rñed-pa che*

*gañ-dag ñin-mtshan rtag-par yañ  
chos-ni rje-su dran-pa dañ  
gañ-dag chos-la skyabs mchis-pa  
mi de-dag-ni rñed-pa che*

*gañ-dag ñin-mtshan rtag-par yañ  
dgo-hdun rje su dran-pa dañ  
gañ-dag dgo-hdun skyabs mchis-pa  
mi de-dag-ni rñed-pa che*

Who also day and night always  
Upon the noble Buddha meditate  
Who have come to the Buddha for refuge  
For those men the profit is great.

Who also day and night always  
Upon the noble Dharma meditate  
Who have come to the Dharma for refuge, etc.

Who also day and night always  
Upon the noble Saṃgha meditate  
Who have come to the Saṃgha for refuge, etc.

thus: Quite so, Kāṇśika, quite so. Who refuge in the Buddha take, etc.<sup>12</sup>

1.	誠	心	歸	命	佛
	彼	人	當	所	得
	若	晝	若	夜	中
	佛	心	常	憶	念
2.	—	—	—	—	法
	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—
	法	力	常	加	持
3.	—	—	—	—	僧
	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—
	僧	威	常	覆	護

Who sincerely takes refuge in the Buddha,  
That man will certainly obtain (merit),  
Him during the day, him in the midst of night,  
The Buddha's mind ever heeds.

Who sincerely takes refuge in the Dharma, etc.  
The Dharma's might ever supports.

Who sincerely takes refuge in the Saṃgha, etc.  
The Saṃgha's majesty ever protects.

<sup>12</sup> The Skt. text merely repeats the former gāthā. The Tib. does the same thing except that it uses synonyms for *nichī*: *gañ-dag sañs-rgyas skyabs don-pa / de-dag ñan-hgror mi hgro-ste*, etc.

The Chin. combines the whole three verses into one:

歸 命 佛 法 僧， 定 不 墮 惡 道。  
棄 捨 人 身 已 當 獲 得 天 身。

Who takes refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṃgha,  
He surely falls not into the evil way (the Chin. gives an analytic translation of *durgati*), etc.

The Chin. then inserts three verses which do not appear in the Skt. or Tib.:

1.	若	佛	陀	二	字
2.	得	到	於	舌	上
3.	同	彼	歸	命	等
4.	不	於	過	一	生
1.		達	麼		
1.		僧	伽		
				+	2, 3, 4
				+	2, 3, 4



Then Sakra, the chief of the gods, having praised and rejoiced over the words of the Blessed One, and having worshipped the Blessed One's feet with his head, and having circumambulated the Buddha three times to the right, making an anjali, honoring the Buddha, vanished right then and there.<sup>18</sup>

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Who succeeds in having the two syllables,  
Buddha, upon his tongue,  
And with them (the word) "refuge" etc.  
He has not idly passed one birth.

Who succeeds in having the two syllables,  
Dharma, etc.

Who succeeds in having the two syllables,  
Saṃgha, etc.

<sup>18</sup> After this closing the Tib. adds: *bcom-ldan-ḥdas-kyis de-akad-ces bkaḥ-etsal-nas dge-sloṅ-dag-yi ruṅs-te bcom-ldan-ḥdas-kyis gsungs-pa-la mñon-par bstod-to*: When the Blessed One had spoken thus, the Monks, rejoicing, greatly praised what the Blessed One had said.

Instead of this closing the Chin. has: 佛說是經已。諸苾芻衆。天帝釋等。一切大眾歡喜。信受作禮而退。 When the Buddha had spoken this sūtra, the crowd of Bhikṣus, the god Sakra, and others, altogether a large company, rejoiced. Having received it in faith, they departed paying him homage.

## ON COMPOUNDS OF THE TYPE GOGHNÁ AND GÁVIṢṬI

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THE HINDU grammarians call those compounds *tatpuruṣa*, in which the first member is a substantive word—noun or pronoun or substantively used adjective—standing to the other member in the relation of a case dependent on it (Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1263). The Indian name, itself an example of genitive-dependence, is generally applied to all case-relations with the exception of the vocative: nom. *mayobhū*, "being a blessing"; acc. *goghnā*, "slaying cows"; instr. *indragupta*, "protected by Indra"; dat. *gohita*, "good for cattle"; abl. *tarāṅgacañcalatara*, "more restless than the waves"; gen. *dvijottama*, "foremost of Brahmans"; loc. *Yudhiṣṭhira*, "steadfast in battle."

The following treatise deals exclusively with those *tatpuruṣa* compounds, one part of which is a verb or a verbal noun. French grammarians denominate them very appropriately "*composés à rection verbale*."

The following compounds belonging to this class may be selected from R̥gveda I. 1-60. As a rule, they will be quoted in declined forms as they occur in the hymns.

1. 1. *ṛtvijam*, "offering in due time"; *ratnadhātama*, "most wealth-bestowing." 7. *dōṣāvastar*, "shining in the darkness." 8. *gopām*, "protector of cows."

2. 2. *aharevidah*, "knowing the (right) time." 3. *sōmapitaye*, "the drinking of soma." 8. *ṛtāvṛdhāv*, "rejoicing in justice"; *ṛtasprśā*, "maintaining the law."

3. 1. *pūrubhujā*, "much enjoying." 5. *vīprajūtaḥ*, "incited by priests." 7. *carṣanīdhyto*, "supporter of mankind." 8. *aptūrah* (*āpas + tur*), "forwarding the work."

4. 1. *surūpakṛtīm*, "creating beautiful forms"; *godūhe*, "milking cows." 2. *somapāh*, "drinking soma." *godā*, "giving kine." 4. *vipaścitam* (of doubtful meaning). 7. *mandayātsakham*, "rejoicing his friends"; *yajñāśriyam*, "adorning the sacrifice"; *nṛmādanam*, "man-rejoicing."

5. 1. *ślōmavāhasaḥ*, "offering songs of praise." 5. *śutapāṇe*, "drinking soma." 7. *girvanāḥ*, "enjoying hymns."
6. 2. *nṛvāhasā*, "bringing heroes." 6. *vidādvāsum*, "finding wealth (for others)."
7. 2. *vacoyūjā*, "obeying orders."
8. 2. *muṣṭihatyāyā*, "hand to hand fight." 7. *sōmapītamah*, "most soma-drinking." 10. *sōmapītaye*, "drinking of soma."
9. 8. *sahasrasātamam*, "bestowing a thousand gifts."
10. 3. *kakṣyapṛdā*, "filling the belt (= well fed)"; *sōmapā*, "soma-drinking." 5. *puruniṣṣidhe*, "much performing." 7. *tvāddātam*, "given by you." 10. *havanaśrūtam*, "hearing the invocation"; *sahasrasātamām*, "bestowing a thousand gifts." 11. *sahasrasām*, "receiving a thousand gifts."
11. 2. *āparājitam*, "not defeated by others."
12. 2. *havyavāḥam*, "forwarding the oblation (to the gods)." 6. *havyavāḍ*, "forwarding the oblation (to the gods)." 7. *amīvacātanam*, "warding off disease." 9. *devāvitaye*, "entertainment of the gods." 12. *devāhūtibhir*, "invocation to the gods."
13. 3. *haviṣkṛtam*, "preparing the oblation." 4. *mānurhītaḥ*, "consecrated by men or Manus." 5. *ṛtāvīdho*, "rejoicing in justice." 9. *mayobhūvaḥ*, "being a blessing."
14. 1. *sōmapītaye*, "the drinking of soma." 4. *camūśādah*, "being in the bowl." 6. *manoyūjo*, "obeying willingly"; *sōmapītaye*, "the drinking of soma." 7. *ṛtāvīdho*, "rejoicing in justice." 8. *vāsaṣkṛti*, "the *vāsaṣkṛti*." 9. *uṣarbūdhaḥ*, "rising at daybreak." 11. *mānurhito*, "consecrated by men or Manus."
15. 3. *ratnadhā*, "bestowing wealth." 7. *draviṇodā*, "bestowing wealth." 8. *draviṇodā*, "bestowing wealth." 9. *draviṇodā*, "bestowing wealth." 10. *draviṇodo*, "bestowing wealth." 11. *yajñavāhasā*, "conducting the oblation (to the gods)." 12. *yajñanīr*, "conducting the sacrifice."
16. 1. *sōmapītaye*, "the drinking of soma." 2. *ghṛtasnāvo*, "dripping with ghee." 7. *hṛdisprīḥ*, "heart-moving." 8. *vṛtrahā*, "killer of Vṛtra"; *sōmapītaye*, "the drinking of soma."
17. 4. *vājadāvnām*, "strength-giving." 5. *sahasradāvnām*, "bestower of a thousand gifts."
18. 2. *amīvahā*, "warding off disease"; *vasuvit*, "finding



wealth (for others)"; *puṣṭivārdhanaḥ*, "growth-promoting." 7. *vipaścitaḥ* (meaning doubtful). 8. *haviṣkṛtim*, "preparing of oblation." 9. *sādmamakhasam*, "fighting for his seat (in Heaven)."

19. 1. *gopithāya*, "protection (*go* + *pā*)."

20. 1. *ratnadhātamaḥ*, "most wealth-bestowing." 2. *vacoyūjā*, "obeying orders."

21. 1. (*sóman*) *somapátamā*, "most soma-drinking." 3. *somapā*, "soma-drinker"; *sómapítaye*, "the drinking of soma."

22. 2. *divispṛśā*, "touching the sky." 7. *nṛcākṣasam*, "man-observing." 9. *sómapítaye*, "drinking of soma." 18. *gopā*, "protector."

23. 2. *divispṛśā*, "touching the sky." 3. *manojúvā*, "quick as thought." 4. *sómapítaye*, "the drinking of soma." 5. *ṛtāvādhāv*, "rejoicing in justice." 7. *sómapítaye*, "the drinking of soma." 10. *sómapítaye*, "the drinking of soma."

24. 5. *bhāgabhaktasya*, "bestowed by Bhaga." 8. *hṛdayāvi-  
dhas*, "pierced in the heart."

25. 4. *vāsyaiṣṭaye*, "the promoting of virtue."

28. 7. *vājasātamā*, "most booty-giving."

29. 1. *somapā*, "soma-drinker."

30. 5. *gīrvāho*, "enjoying hymns." 11. *sómapāḥ*, "soma-drinker"; *somapāvnām*, "soma-drinker." 12. *somapāḥ*, "soma-drinker."

31. 3. *hotreūrye*, "the choice of a sacrificer." 5. *puṣṭivārdhana*, "growth-promoting." *vāsaṭkṛtim*, "the *vāsaṭkṛti*." 9. *tanūkṛd*, "supporting body and life." 10. *vayaskṛt*, "strength-giving"; *vratapām*, "protecting the law." 15. *svāduḥśādmā*, "sharing out sweets"; *syonakṛd*, "preparing a homely place." 16. *ṛsikṛt*, "inspiring the Rsis."

32. 8. *patsutahśtr*, "lying before one's feet"; *āhigopā*, "guardian of the dragon."

33. 2. *dhanadām*, "bestowing wealth." 3. *iśudhñr*, "quiver." 6. *vṛṣāyūdho*, "fighting against heroes." 10. *dhanadām*, "bestowing wealth." 14. *nṛśāhyāya*, "the defeating of heroes." 15. *kṣetrajēś*, "the conquering of territory."

34. 3. *avadyagohanā*, "concealing evil deeds." 10. *madhupé-*

*bhir*, "soma-drinking." 11. *madhupēyam*, "the drinking of soma."  
12. *vājasātau*, "the conquering of booty."

35. 6. *vīrāṣāt*, "defeating heroes."

36. 2. *sahovādhā*, "strength-promoting." 8. *gāviṣṭiṣu*,  
"battle." 9. *devavītamah*, "pleasing the gods." 10. *havyavāhana*,  
"conducting the oblation (to the gods)"; *ghanaspitam*, "carrying  
off booty." 16. *asmadrūk*, "our enemy." 19. *ṛtājāta*, "son of  
cosmic order."

37. 1. *rathesūbham*, "speeding onward in his car" or "bril-  
liant in his car."

38. 9. *udavāhēna*, "water-bringing."

39. 10. *ṛṣidviṣe*, "hating the Rṣis."

43. 8. *somaparibādho*, "scorner of the soma-oblation."

44. 1. *uṣarvādhah*, "dawn-rising." 2. *havyavādhano*, "con-  
ducting the oblation (to the gods)." 3. *bhārjikam*, "ray-tinged";  
*adhvarasṛiyam*, "adorning the sacrifice." 5. *havyavāhana*, "for-  
warding the oblation (to the gods)." 8. *havyavādhā*, "carrying  
the oblation (to the gods)." 9. *uṣarvādhah*, "rising at day-  
break"; *sōmapitaye*, "the drinking of soma"; *svardṛśas*, "sky-  
beholding." 10. *viśvadarśatah*, "seen by everybody." 11. *ṛtvijam*,  
"offering in due time." (13. *śrutkārṇa*, a remarkable compound,  
is a *bahuvrīhi*.) 14. *ṛtāvādhah*, "rejoicing in justice."

45. 1. *ghṛtaprāṣam*, "sprinkling ghee." 7. *ṛtvijam*, "offering  
in due time"; *vasuvittamam*, "finding wealth (for others)";  
*diviṣṭiṣu*, "sacrifice at daybreak." 9. *sahasṛta*, "made by force";  
*somapeyāya*, "the drinking of soma."

46. 2. *vasuvīdā*, "finding wealth."

47. 1. *ṛtāvādhā*, "rejoicing in justice." 3. *ṛtāvādhā*, "rejoicing  
in justice." 4. *viśvavedasā*, "omniscient." 5. *ṛtāvādhā*, "rejoicing  
in justice." 6. *puruspṛham*, "desired by many." 8. *adhvarasṛiyo*,  
"adorning the sacrifice."

48. 2. *viśvasuvīdo*, "easily all-conquering." 12. *sōmapitaye*,  
"the drinking of soma." 16. *viśvatūrā*, "all-subduing."

50. 2. *viśvacakṣase*, "all-beholding." 4. *jyotiṣkṛd*, "light-  
giving."

51. 2. *antarikṣapṛām*, "filling the atmosphere." *madacyūtam*,  
"impelled by intoxicating drinks." 3. *gātuvit*, "finding a way."

5. *dasyuhātyeṣu*, "the killing of the Dasyus." 6. *śuṣṇahātyeṣu*, "the killing of Śuṣṇa"; *dasyuhatyāya*, "the killing of the Dasyus." 7. *somapīthāya*, "the drinking of soma." 10. *manoyūja*, "obeying willingly." (14. *aśvayūr*, etc. cf. Whitney, § 1178. g.)

52. 1. *svarīdam*, "finding (the way to) Heaven." *havana-syādam*, "speeding towards the sacrifice." 2. *nadivṛtam*, "holding back the streams." 9. *nṛṣāco*, "assisting heroes."

53. 1. *draviṇodēṣu*, "bestowing wealth." 2. *śīksānarāḥ*, "enriching mankind"; <ā>(not)<kāmakarśanaḥ, "neglecting the wishes." 3. *purukṛd*, "doing much." 6. *vṛtrahātyeṣu*, "the killing of Vṛtra." 11. *devāgopāḥ*, "guardian of the Gods."

54. 9. *ūdrīdugdhās*, "milked with the adri." *camūṣādah*, "being in the bowl"; *īndrapānāḥ*, "drunk by Indra," *vasudēyāya*, "the bestowing of wealth." 10. (*apdṇ*) *dhārīnahvaram*, "the vault containing (the waters)" (Ludwig). 11. *śevrddham* (haplology for *śeva-vṛddham*), "augmenting friendship"; *janāṣāl*, "defeating the enemies."

55. 7. *somapāvan*, "soma-drinking"; *vandanaśrūd*, "hearing the praise."

56. 1. *hāriyogam*, "yoked with steeds." 2. *nemannīṣaḥ*, "following the guidance" (Grassmann). 4. *tvāvrddhā*, "helping you."

58. 1. *sahojā*, "born by force." 3. *rayīṣāl*, "conquering wealth."

59. 6. *vṛtrahānam*, "killer of Vṛtra."

60. 3. *ṛtviḥ*, "offering in due time." 5. *vājambharām*, "bringing booty."

The above quoted examples, being selected by careful reading from the hymns at issue, are an almost complete enumeration of the compounds of this formation in R̥gveda I. 1-60. We will now consider the examples thus collected from several points of view. Sometimes, comparison with analogous forms in classical Sanskrit will be desirable. In order to have at hand sufficient material for comparison, I will first quote the principal compounds of this class to be found in two episodes of the Mahābhārata, Sāvitrī and Nala. They will be given in alphabetic order without translation.

*anḍaja*, *arindama*, *aśvattha*, *ātmaja*, *ātmajaya*, *ātmaprabha*, *āpagā*, *āryajūṣṭa*, *āśīrvāda*, *uraga*, *ṛtvij*, *kāmavāsin*, *kāṣṭhabhūta*, *kīmkara*, *kulodvaha*, *kṛtakṛtya*, *khaga*, *khagama*, *guruḍhakta*,



*jaladāgama*, *tanūruha*, *tapovṛddha*, *daṇḍadhāraṇa*, *divākara*, *divi-sprś*, *dharmavṛtti*, *dhyānayoga*, *namaskāra*, *naravāhin*, *nāmadheya*, *niśākara*, *pan<na>ga*, *payodhara*, *paramtapa*, *pārāga*, *pūnyakṛt*, *pūnyāharācana*, *prasādaja*, *prāṇayātrā*, *priyavāda*, *prītikāra*, *brahmacārya*, *brahmacārin*, *brahmavid*, *bhayaṅkara*, *bhayaṇaha*, *bhujāṅga*, *manuja*, *mahidhara*, *mahibhṛt*, *mānada*, *yatkṛte*, *yauvanastha*, *lokapāla*, *vasudhā*, *vasundharā*, *vidhidrṣṭa*, *vihaga*, *vihaṅga*, *śīroruha*, *śīlavṛddha*, *satyavāc*, *satyavādin*, *saṃtānakara*, *svayambhū*, *svastha*, *svairavṛtta*, *havyavāhana*, *hāhākāra*, *hāhābhūta*, *hitāśraya*.

*Case-dependence.* In most of these compounds, the substantive word is in an accusative relation to the verb element, as is the case in the words *goghnā* and *gāviṣṭi*, which have been chosen as standard-types for the present treatise. It will therefore not be necessary to examine the numerous examples of this type again. But as instances of the other cases are not so abundant, we will consider them here separately.

*Nominative.* The only Vedic examples are *mayobhū*, in which *mayas* is predicate, and *manojū*, elliptic for "quick as thought," German, "gedankenschnell." Besides, in the difficult form *dharūṇahvaram* (54. 10), *dharuṇa* is perhaps in apposition to *hvaram*, but the meaning of the whole word is too obscure to allow any certain analysis. Among our classical forms, examples of nominative-relation are: *āsvattha*, *āpagā*, *kāṣṭhabhūta*, *jaladāgama*, *prāṇayātrā*, *svayambhū*, *svastha*. This nominative-dependence has been overlooked by Whitney, who leaves it unmentioned in § 1265.

*Instrumental.* Examples of instrumental dependence in the Veda are: *viprajātaḥ*, *vacoyūja*—this adjective is used in a literal sense, "yoking themselves by order (not by force)"; *vacas* therefore should be understood as instrumental rather than dative—*tvāddātam*, *<ā>parājitam*, *mānurhitam*, *manoyūjo*, *bhāgabhaktasya*, *bhāṛjikam*, *viśvādarśataḥ*, *sahaskṛta*, *puruṣpṛham*, *madacyūtam*, *ādrīdugdhās*, *indrāpānāḥ*, *hāriyogam*, *sahojā*. And in the Mahābhārata: *aṇḍaja*, *ātmaja*, *ātmāprabha*, *āpagā*, *āryajūṣṭa*, *uraga*, *kāmavāsin*, *gurubhakta*, *tapovṛddha*, *prasādaja*, *pan<na>ga*, *bhujāṅga*, *manuja*, *vidhidrṣṭa* (or locative?), *śīlavṛddha*, *svairavṛtta* (or locative?). The instrumental relation is frequent in com-

binations with passive participles. In compounds with the verb *jan*, *aṇḍaja*, etc., the first part may be taken also as an ablative.

*Dative.* No case of dative relation is to be found among our examples either in the Vedic or in the Epic language. This proves that dative dependence is rare as compared with the other case relations.

*Ablative.* As we have observed above, compounds with the verb *jan* may be considered to have their nominal element either as ablative or instrumental forms. In *patsutaḥśīr*, *patsutaḥ* is an ablative form with locative meaning (Whitney, § 1098 b). The compound belongs rather to the class of *karmadhāraya* compounds, the first part being, properly speaking, an adverb. *Patsusīr* would be a *tatpuruṣa*. In *yatkṛte*, quoted from the Mahābhārata, *yat* is explained as a genitive by the Indian grammarians, but I am rather inclined to feel it as an ablative.

*Genitive.* Here we must make the same remark as for the dative (see above).

*Locative.* The locative relation can be felt in: *ṛtvijam*, *dōṣā-vastar*, *camūṣādaḥ*, *uṣarbūdhaḥ*, *hr̥dispr̥g*, *patsutaḥśīr* (see under ablative), *ratheśūbham*, *diviṣṭisu*, and *hr̥dayāvidhas* (or accusative?) In the Mahābhārata we have: *ṛtvij*, *khaga*, *khagama*, *tanū-ruha*, *divispr̥ś*, *dharmavṛtti*, *yauvanastha*, *vidhidṛṣṭa* (or instrumental?), *vihaga*, *śiroruha*, *svairavṛtta* (or instrumental?), *hitāśraya*.

From several examples it appears that the case-relation cannot always be strictly determined.

*Number.* With the exception of *patsutaḥśīr*, the noun part is always in the singular, even when it expresses an idea of plurality.

*Gender.* The nominal parts can be masculine (*somapāḥ*), feminine (*nadivṛt*), or neuter (*vagaskṛt*).

*Structure and accent.* According to Whitney, § 1269, the adjective compounds, having as final member an uninflected root—or if ending with a short vowel, mostly with an additional *t*—are very numerous. They are accented on the root: *ṛtvijam*, *ratnadhātāmam*, *gopām*, *aharvidah*, *ṛtāvṛdhāv* (voc.), *ṛtaspr̥śā* (voc.), *pūru-bhujā* (initial voc.), *carṣanidhṛto* (voc.), *aptūras*, *godūhe*, *somapāḥ*



(voc.), *godā*, *yajñasriyam*, *vacoyūjā*, *somapātamaḥ*, *sahasrasātamam*, *kakṣyaprā*, *somapā* (voc.), *puruniṣṣidhe*, *havanakrūtam*, *sahasrasātamām*, *sahasrasām*, *havyavāham*, *havyavād*, *haviṣkṣtam*, *rtāvrdho*, *mayobhūvaḥ*, *camūśadaḥ*, *manoyūjo*, *rtāvrdho*, *uṣarbūdhaḥ*, *ratnadhā*, *draviṇodā* (etc.), *yajñanīr*, *ghṛtasnūvo*, *hr̥dispṛg*, *vṛtrahā*, *Auśijāḥ*, *amīrahā*, *vasuvit*, *vipaścitas* (?), *ratnadhātamaḥ*, *vacoyūjā*, *somapātamaḥ*, *somapā*, *divispr̥śā*, *gopā*, *divispr̥śā*, *manoyūvā*, *rtāvrdhāv*, *hr̥dayāvidhas*, *vājasātamā*, *somapā* (voc.), *sōmapāḥ* (initial voc.), *somapāḥ* (voc.), *tanūkṣd*, *vayas-kṣt*, *vratapām*, *syonakṣd*, *ṛṣikṣt*, *patsutahśīr*, *dhanadām*, *iśudhīr*, *dhanadām*, *vṛṣyūdhō*, *madhupēbhīr*, *vīrāṣṭ*, *sahovrdham*, *devatitamah*, *dhanaspr̥tam*, *asmadhruk*, *ratheśūbham*, *ṛsidviṣe*, *somaparibādho*, *uṣarbūdhaḥ*, *adhvaraśriyam*, *havyavāham*, *uṣarbūdhaḥ*, *svardṣas*, *rtvijam*, *rtāvrdhah*, *ghṛtaprūṣam*, *rtvijam*, *vasuvittamam*, *vasuvīdā*, *rtāvrdhā* (voc.), *rtāvrdhā* (voc.), *rtāvrdhā* (voc.), *puruspṛham*, *adhvaraśriyo*, *viśvatūrā*, *viśvasuvīdo*, *jyotiṣkṣd*, *antarikṣapram*, *madacyūtam*, *gātuvit*, *manoyūja*, *svarvidam*, *havanasyādā*, *nadivṛtam*, *nṛṣāco*, *draviṇodēsu*, *purukṣd* (voc.), *camūśādas*, *śēvrdham*, *janāṣāl*, *vandanaśrūd*, *nemānniṣah*, *tvāvrdhā*, *sahojā*, *rayiṣṭ*, *vṛtrahānam*, *rtvijō*.—Two compounds from this series are not accented on the verbal root, *śēvrdh* and *tvāvrdh*. From *gopā*, we have *devāgopā* and *āhigopā*, both showing that the original sense of *gopā* being obliterated, it was no longer felt as a compound. These words, therefore, are single compounds as to meaning, double compounds as to formation. In later Sanskrit, *gopā* being simply taken as "guardian," a verbal root *gup* "to guard" was made from it by retrograde derivation. For *patsutahśīr* see above. Superlatives of adjective compounds formed with the roots *dā*, *pā*, *vid*, *vi* and *sā* (*san*) are frequent. *Somapātamaḥ* in one instance is accompanied by *sōmam* as internal object (*sōmam somapātamaḥ*). In *puruniṣṣidh* and *somaparibād*, the verb itself is combined with a prefix; the accent remains on the verb, a detail omitted by Whitney. In *viśvasuvīd*, the verb is accompanied by an adverb. Case forms of the nouns are distinct in *divispr̥g*, *hr̥dispṛg*, and *ratheśūbh*. The root-stems have a middle or passive value in: *madacyūt*, *vacoyūj*, *manoyūj*, and *hr̥dayāvidh*.

Among our classical examples, root-compounds are: *andaja*, *asrattha*, *ātmaja*, *ātmāprabha*, *āpagā*, *uraga*, *rtvij*, *khaga*, *divispr̥ś*,



*pannaga, pārāga, puṇyākr̥t, prasādaja, brahmavid, bhujamga, manuja, mahibh̥rt, mānada, yauvanastha, vasudhā, vihaga, satyavāc, satyasandha, svayambhū, svastha.*

Having thus examined the root compounds, we pass to those formed with verbal derivatives in *-a*, both of action and of agency. They are accented on the final syllable (Whitney, § 1270), and cf. *ψυχωπομπός*. Vedic examples are: *gopithāya, udavāhēna*, and *vājambharām*; *kṣetrajēś* ends in *-śā*, and *hāriyogam* is accented as if it were a compound with ordinary adjectives; the verb root has a passive meaning. *Vājambharā* shows a case-form of the noun. In the Mahābhārata we have: *arindama, ātmajaya, āśīrvada, kiṃkara, kulodvaha, khagama, jaladāgama, tanūruha, dhyānayoga, namaskāra (vr̥ddhi!)*, *niśākara, payodhara, paramtapa, priyavāda, prītikara, bālābhāva, bhayamkara, bhayāvaha, mahidhara, lokapāla, vasundharā, śīroruha, samtānakara, svabhāva, hāhākāra (vr̥ddhi!)*, and *hitāśraya*. Many roots show *guṇa* strengthening. The *vr̥ddhi* strengthening of *kṛ* has escaped Whitney. Case forms of the nouns are frequent.

We now pass to compounds in *-ana*, with the accent on the radical syllable, according to Whitney, § 1271. Our Vedic examples *nṛmādanam, amīvacātanam, puṣṭivārdhana*, and *havyavāhana* are in perfect harmony with this rule. *Avadyagohana* is vocative and *ākāmakarśāna* is accented on the negation. In the Mahābhārata we have: *daṇḍadhārāṇa, puṇyāvahācāna*, and *havyavāhana*.

The action nouns in *-ya* (Whitney, § 1213) are represented among our Vedic compounds by *hotṛvārye, nṛṣāhyāya, madhupēyam, vasudēyāya, somapēyāya, dasyuhātyeṣu, śuśnahātyeṣu, vṛtrahātyeṣu*, all with a regular accent on the roots, and *dasyuhatyāya* with an irregular accent. Epic examples are *kṛtakṛtya, nāmadhēya*, and *brahmacarya*. In the Veda we have found one example of the corresponding feminine construction in *-yā*, viz., *muṣṭihatyā*, which gives rise to no particular remark.

Compounds made with the passive participles in *-ta* or *-na* have the accent of their first member (Whitney, § 1273). Vedic: *vīprajātaḥ, tvāddātam, āparājitam, mānurhitāḥ, bhāgabhaktasya, vīśvadarśataḥ* (but: *vīśva*), *sahasṛta* (voc.), and *ādrīdugdhās*. Classic: *āryajūṣṭa, kāṣṭhabhūta, gurubhaktā, tapovṛddha, yatkr̥te, vidhidṛṣṭa, śīlavṛddha, svairavṛtta*, and *hāhābhūta*.

Compounds with derivatives in *-ti* have the accent of the first

member (Whitney, § 1274). Vedic: *sōmapīṭaye*, *devāvitaye*, *devā-hūtibhir*, *vāsaṭkṛti*, *haviṣkṛti*, *vāsyaiṣṭaye*, *vājasātau*, *gāviṣṭiṣu*, *diviṣṭiṣu*. Classic: *dharmavṛtti*.

Compounds with a derivative with *-in* as final member have—as in all other cases—the accent on the *-in* (Whitney, § 1275). There is no example of this type in our Vedic collection. In the *Mahābhārata* we have: *kāmarāsin*, *naravāhin*, *brahmacārīn* and *satyavādīn*.

Compounds in *-van* have the accent on the radical syllable of the final member (Whitney, § 1277). Vedic: *somapāvnām*, *sutapāvne*, *vājadāvnām*, *somapāvan* (voc.).

In Vedic Sanskrit we have the following formations in *-as*: *viśvavedasā* (voc.), *viśvācaksase*, *stōmarāhasaḥ* (initial voc.), *gīrvanaḥ* (voc.), *nṛvhasā*, *yajñavāhasā* (voc.), *sādmamakhasam*, and *nṛcākhasam*. In these instances we can come to no definite conclusion concerning the place of the accent.

Finally, we have the isolated cases *dōṣāvasar*, a nomen agentis in the vocative; *indrapānāḥ* with derivative in *-na*; *bhārjikam*, which may be taken as a *karmadhāraya* compound; *svādhukṣādma*, for which see Whitney, and *surūpakṛtīm* with derivative in *-tūā*. The adverb *su* is added at the beginning, otherwise than in *viśvasuvid*.

In all the examples we have hitherto examined, the nominal part precedes the verb, as in the Greek *πρόλογος*. In many instances, the first part shows a case-form. Sometimes, when the nominal part ends in *a*, *i*, or *u*, these vowels appear as *ā*, *ī*, or *ū*, for instance, in *hṛdayāvidhas*. This vowel strengthening in Vedic compounds corresponds to similar vowel lengthening in the Homeric dialect, e. g., *ἡφρηπέος* (but *ἡφρεπέος*), *ἡπορόφιος* (but *ἡπόροφος*); this has been brought about by metrical requirements.

Among our Vedic examples three compounds have still to be mentioned which differ from the others in as much as they begin with the verbal part (Greek *ἀρχικός*); viz., *mandayātsakham*, *vidādvasuḥ*, and *śikṣānarāḥ*. The two first are participial compounds, treated by Whitney, § 1309. *Mānurhitaḥ* stands alone in this respect that the noun part is a stem in *-us* with a sandhi-ending in *-ur*. The words: *āparājitam*, *ākāmakarśanaḥ* and *pannaga* are *karmadhāraya*-compounds, containing a *tatpuruṣa*.

Whitney's grammar has been referred to several times in this

article. It is an excellent work of great practical value, as many others have felt before me. While engaged on this treatise, I often have admired the great accuracy of this best of all Sanskrit grammars. A slight objection only might be made to his treatment of the Vedic part. For the analysis of the Rgveda he has used Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* rather than the Vedic text itself (see Preface), in consequence of which he has sometimes not sufficiently considered the linguistic matter in its syntactic coherence. Thus, for instance, he has not mentioned the fact that compounds, sometimes being no longer felt as such, have taken the meanings and functions of non-compound words. The true value of *gopām ślāśya* appears better from the text than from a dictionary. Professor Lanman has said that the dictionary of Grassmann stands next in importance for Vedic studies to the Vedic text itself. Grassmann's work, therefore, is of great value, but it cannot exempt the author of a grammar from consulting the text itself.

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[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The present editor saw this article for the first time in final page proof. Of many matters on which he would differ from the author, he can mention only one or two. Page 173: *devāgopā* and *śhīgopā* are of course *bahuvrīhis*. Surely no one who knows the Indra-Vjtra myth can doubt that the waters of 1.32.11 (so; correct reference on p. 168) "have the dragon as guardian," that is are "guarded by the dragon"; "guardians of the dragon" makes simple nonsense. The author's mistranslation creates an imaginary difficulty.—P. 174: *namaskāra* and *hāhākāra* are not noun compounds at all (not from *namas* and *hāhā* + a noun *kāra*), but primary derivatives of the compound verbs *namas-kr* and *hāhā-kr*. The "*vyddhi*" did not "escape Whitney"; it is covered by Whitney § 1148 e, f; for the verbal composition see Whitney, §§ 1091-1094. One might as well exclaim over the "*vyddhi*" in *upakāra* or *anukāra*, which is of precisely the same origin.—P. 176: I think the author misunderstands Whitney's Preface (p. vi). Whitney naturally used Grassmann in collecting materials, as everyone else does; but a careful student of his Grammar would hardly suppose that he blindly followed Grassmann's (or anyone else's) interpretations without referring to the original texts.—F. E.]



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Babylonisches-assyrisches Glossar.* VON CARL BEZOLD. Nach dem Tode des Verfassers unter Mitwirkung von ADELE BEZOLD zum Druck gebracht von ALBRECHT GÖTZE. Heidelberg: CARL WINTER, 1926. vii + 343 pp., large 8vo. Price 30 marks, bound.

Several years before the war, Professor Bezold of Heidelberg began work, with the aid of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences, on a new Assyrian Dictionary, planned on a monumental scale. The coming of the world war showed that there was little hope of completing the original undertaking, certainly not in the lifetime of the editor.

When it became evident that the great plan of the Assyrian Dictionary could not be executed, Bezold determined to prepare a glossary, containing the gist of his material, and had succeeded in practically completing it at the time of his death, Nov. 21st, 1922. He had intended, as Dr. Götze tells us, to begin the printing of the book in the same year, subjecting it to a renewed examination and revision, unhappily prevented by his death. His brilliant pupil, Dr. Albrecht Götze, shouldered the very heavy responsibility of editing the orphaned manuscript. Under the circumstances, he had to be content with a careful revision of the orthography, and the addition of words and meanings found in the publications of Ebeling, Gadd (*The Fall of Nineveh*), Langdon, Lautner, Lewy, Meissner, San Nicolo, Smith (*Babylonian Historical Texts*), Thompson (*The Assyrian Herbal*), Thureau-Dangin (*Rituels accadiens*), and Weidner. With two exceptions Bezold was not able to incorporate anything published after 1917. This will explain the nature of the work. Basing it upon the older lexicographers and his own incomplete collections, Bezold proceeded to collect all the material then available in translated texts, but made no effort to penetrate into the obscurities of untranslated documents, owing to the impossibility of completing such a task. Bezold has also used the material found in the philological journals, at least up to about 1917, as is illustrated by the fact that he has even included the reviewer's explanation of *dallalu* as "bat," published in *OLZ*.

16 (1913), 213. This idea is probably wrong (cf. the reviewer in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1919, p. 180 f.), but its inclusion shows the spirit of the scholar, who was not like his great contemporary, Delitzsch, who seldom troubled himself about the ideas of other men.

On the other hand, while Delitzsch penetrated deep into the understanding of the Assyrian texts, and analyzed the meanings of words with an unequalled sureness of method, Bezold was always rather helpless in this direction, and his *Glossar* shows his deficiencies in magnified form. A few illustrations will make our meaning clearer. P. 32b we find "*eldahhu, eldaqqu* Weide(?); Peitsche(?)," while a little below we have "*il'aggu* Citrone(?)," and on p. 73a we have "*istahhu, il'ahhu* Peitsche." There are no cross-references. One can easily imagine Delitzsch's reaction to this sort of thing, as well as the effect upon the mind of the philologically innocent student. The treatment of verbs is sometimes extremely inconsistent, not to say confused. The most amazing collections of significations are often piled up under a single stem; drastic illustrations are found under "*wasāru, ašāru, mašāru*" (p. 75b), where the stems *wār* (وَر) and *wār* (وَشَر) are hopelessly confused, and under *manū* (p. 176b), where *manū*, "to count," and *minū*, "to love" (for etymology cf. *AJSL* 34, 231) are combined. There is no reason for identifying *abātu* (אָבָט, by partial assimilation, as well-known) with *abātu* (عَبَط), as is done on pp. 9b-10a. Worse, however, is the extraordinary confusion between the stems "*tabāqu, tabāqu*" (p. 130b) and *tabāku* (p. 291b);<sup>1</sup> where we should have only *tabāqu* (طَبَق) and *tabāku*, "pour out, heap up (by complementary antiphrasis<sup>2</sup>)." As a result *nabaku*, "mountain stream," appears under both stems and the derivatives are hopelessly confused. Such words as *tibku, tikbu*, "layer," and *nabaku*, "cataract," belong exclusively with *tabāku*. In the list of books used, by the way, the *Huitième campagne de Sargon*, where the word *nabaku* first occurs, is not mentioned at all.

<sup>1</sup> The verb *tabāku* is properly a secondary formation from the I<sup>2</sup> form of *abāku*, like *tašābu, takālu, tabālu*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of this expression, which the reviewer coined some years ago, cf. *JAOS* 36, 228, and especially *AJSL* 34, 221, 239, 253, and 254, on *ṭān*.

though a number of words from it (so *kiuru*,<sup>2</sup> p. 136b) are included. An illustration of the opposite tendency, the separation of words which belong together, is found on p. 228a, where *paršu*, "Heiligtum," is distinguished from *paršu*, "rite, custom, ordinance," though the former is simply Witzel's interpretation of the very same material on which the second set of meanings is based by practically all other scholars.

This brings us to the principal feature of the book: the use of matter from all sources without any references. It will be a good thing to compel students to go through the literature in search of obscure words and meanings, but it is to be feared that Bezold's dictionary will continue to perpetuate all sorts of false interpretations and words which do not exist, just as Muss-Arnolt's *Assyrian Dictionary* has during the past two decades. The latter, however, carried its own antidote, since it gave full references, and made it possible for every serious student to check its statements.

Without attempting to be exhaustive, the reviewer will give a few more of the important omissions and corrections which he has noticed in a rather rapid perusal of the *Glossar*.

Page 7a: The stem "(*wa'āšu*), *a'āšu*, *ma'āšu*," "be little, wanting, needy," is identical with *emēšu*, "be in need" (p. 41a), as the reviewer has pointed out, with the etymology (Heb. עָמַל) in a note on the Old Babylonian recension of the Atrahasis Myth, *AJSL* 40. 135. The correct infinitive form is *emēšu*, and not *wa'āšu*. On the same page we have the correct form of *urru*, "light, day," given as *ūru*, which is connected with 'ōr, "light," instead of with Arab. *hurr*, "bright, free." In general, the etymological part of the book is exceedingly weak.

7b: For *ūru*, "watery gulf, ocean," cf. *RA* 16. 178, where the stem *ēru* = Arab. *ġāra*, *yaġūru*, "to inundate," has been demonstrated in the inscriptions of Hammurabi. The verb *hamāru* has nothing to do with an imaginary *ēru* = Heb. עָמַל, "to be blind," but means "to cover, veil" = *حَمَى*, as shown *RA* 16. 182 f., and is not a loanword at all.

13a: For *abunnatu* see the full discussion of the word *RA* 16. 173 ff., where the meaning is shown to have been primarily "knot" = Arab. *ūbnatu* and secondarily "backbone, back."

<sup>2</sup> *Kiuru*, "laver," is the same word as Heb. *kippōr*; see *JAOS* 36. 232, and 40. 317.



37a: The meaning "diamond," for *elmēšu* is absurd, since diamonds were not then known. It is based upon Arab. *almās*; a loan from Greek! Haupt has happily combined *elmēšu* with Heb. *ḥašmāl* = Eg. *ḥsmn*, "brass"; *elmēšu* = \**ešmēšu*.

38b: The much-abused word *mummu* is explained as meaning primarily "grandmother" (*um-ummu*), whence "ancestor"! On p. 176a it is explained as "water, call, cry," and compared, as now popular, to Gr. *λόγος*. The reviewer has explained the two words *mummu*, "lady" (*bēltu*<sup>m</sup>) and "millstone," as both derived from Sum. *umu(n)*, *mumu*, with the same meanings; see *JBL* 39. 143-147. There is also a Sumerian word *umma*, *ummea*, "savant," from which *ummiānu*, *ummānu*, "craftsman, scholar," is derived.

49b: The words *anūnu*, *annu*, *arnu*, *enūnu*, *ennittu* are all treated as one word(!), derived from *enēnu* (𒂗𒅗), "implore (forgiveness)." The unfortunate student is likely to come to the conviction that neither consonants nor vowels have any special significance in Assyrian.

66a: *Amurdinnu* is still rendered "rose," following the Indo-European *ward*. The reviewer has tried to establish the meaning "lotus tree," Arab. *سدره*; see *ZA* (new series) 3. 141. At all events, there never were roses in the *wādīs* of Arabia.

78a. Bezold has a penchant for the *e* vowel, which he uses even more frequently than Jensen in *KB* 6. 2. The best corrective for the over-use of *e* is still a perusal of Haupt's classical monograph on *The Assyrian E Vowel*. This penchant leads him to insist on the spelling *eštu* for *istu*, "from." *RA* 16. 178f. the reviewer has derived *istu*, *ultu* from the Old Babylonian *wištu*<sup>m</sup>, "difference, discrepancy"; the stem is *wsy*, "to cut," traceable in Hebrew, Arabic and Egyptian.

79b: There is a decided confusion here between the words *ittu*, pl. *idāti*, "side" (fem. of *idu*, "hand"); *itū*, pl. *itē* and *it(i)āti*, "boundary." *RA* 16. 189, note, the reviewer has tried to distinguish them carefully. There is one mistake in this treatment, however; *ittu*, pl. *ittāti*, "signs, marks of identity, omens," is probably not a secondary plural of *idu*, *idāti*, but should correctly be *ettu*, *ettāti*, identical with Heb. \**anāt*, "intent, purpose" (*AJSL* 41. 95 f.; 283 f.) with feminine *t* treated as stem consonant. The relation of meanings is illustrated by Arab. *ma'nā*,

"meaning, intent," and Heb. *ma'neh*, "purpose." The word *ettu* has been entirely overlooked by Bezold.

88b: Here should be inserted the verb *buftu*, "to put (somebody) off" (Arab. *bafta'a*); see *AJSL* 34. 232, n. 3.

102a: *Gissu* is "hip, side" (*RA* 16. 180).

102b: The word *da'tu*, "Geldbedarf, Auslagen," should be suppressed and combined with *fa'tu*, "bribe, etc." (129a).

116a: There is some confusion in treating the stem *zarāmu*, *šarāmu*. *Zarāmu*, "to pay attention to, direct," is naturally identical with *šarāmu*, "to plan" (p. 239b), which is itself simply a transposition of the common *šamāru* (*šummuru*), *išmir* (like *šerim*), "to plan, pay attention to" (p. 238b). For the transposition cf. *kašāru*, *sakāru*, "to dam, block," where the interchange of the order of the consonants has come through the perfect *iksir* = *iskir*; cf. *tikbu*, *tibku* and *karmu*, *kamru*, etc. The Arabic equivalent of *šamāru*, with the same meaning, is *dāmara* (دَامَرَ).

122ab: The primary force of *hamū* is "hold, seize"; there is only one stem, as shown *RA* 16. 181 f., where the word is further compared to Eth. *hamāya*, "to bind," and Eg. *hm'*, "to seize."

123a: The original meaning of *hamāmu*, is "cut, split," whence "decide" (*RA* 16. 182). *Hutammumu* actually means "to be split by fissures," as pointed out there.

125b: There is no *hupipi*, which must be read *huvwawa*, as pointed out by Clay and confirmed by the discovery of the Hurrian form *Huwawa* for *Humbaba*. The *huvwawa-humbabitu* is not an animal, but a labyrinth, or maze-pattern, as shown by Sidney Smith and Thureau-Dangin.

126b: For the stem *harādu*, its meaning and its etymology cf. *RA* 16. 183 f.

149b: *Karmu*, "ruin," is simply a transposition of *kamru*, "heap," *JAOS* 36. 228, from *kašāru*, "pour out, heap up."

162b: The stem \**latāku*, with its derivatives *litku*, *litiktu*, *malaktu* (*JAOS* 36. 230 f.), should be inserted.

163a. The forms *ma'ū*, *me'ū* are hypothetical, and the word *amātu* (called a plural of *ma'ū*.) is probably not connected with Heb. *mē'im*, "intestines, bowels," at all; cf. *RA* 16. 176.

180b: Insert *marāhu*, "to spoil (of grain)"; see *AJSL* 34. 232.

185a: For the reviewer's view that *maštakal* means "hemp, hashish," see *ZA* (new series) 3. 139.

200a: Under "*ninṣanaqu* Messrohr" there should be some reference to *ginindanaqu* on p. 100a. And why the curious divergence in orthography?

205b: *RA* 16. 186 ff., the reviewer has made the meaning "to swell" probable for *narābu*.

210a: Just what the student will make out of *saddinu*, *sātinu*, *suddinnu*, etc., with the meanings "Eule(?); Deichselende(?); (unteres?) Kleidungsstück," is doubtful. Certainly he is not informed specifically that the three meanings belong to three different words.

217a: The word *šapru* does not mean "skin," nor is it connected with *šapparu*, "ibex," but it is "arse, rump" = Arab. *ṣafr*, with the same meaning, as proved *RA* 16. 192. On p. 283, *šapru* is mentioned twice with reference each time to *sapru*.

217b: Insert *sarāhu*, "to sag, collapse" (*RA* 16. 182, n. 3; *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, Vol. I, p. 53, n. 12).

224a: *Pisnuqu* means properly "fool"; see *RA* 16. 188.

240b: Why is *qa'u* rendered "to dung," instead of "to vomit"?

244a: For *quliptu*, *quluptu*, "slough of a serpent," which is omitted, see *RA* 16. 189 f., and *AJSL* 36. 278. The reviewer's discovery has been accepted by Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. II, pp. 150, 196, 284.

245a: It is very questionable whether the new orthography, *gepru*, *qepertu*, for *kibru*, *kibratu* will commend itself generally. The reviewer does not believe it.

254a: The common word *rittu*, "leg, foot" (cf. *AJSL* 34. 236, n. 1), seems to be entirely missing, and is not even found under *laktu*, the old reading.

293a: *Talimu* is "uterine brother," i. e., brother from the same mother; cf. *RA* 16. 193.

The preceding illustrations will show that the *Glossar* remains very much of a torso, and an unfinished torso as well. We owe a great deal to the editor, Dr. Götze, who has shouldered the thankless task of bringing it out, knowing well that the result would in any case be severely criticized. It is to be hoped that his explanation of the manner in which he proceeded with his part of the work, as given in the preface, will prevent any unjust comments from being made at his expense.



*Die Wanderungen der Hebräer im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*  
 Von ANTON JIRKU. [Der Alte Orient, Band 24, Heft 2.]  
 Leipzig: HINRICHS, 1924. 32 pp.

The author of this brochure is a professor in the University of Breslau, who is well known to all students of the Old Testament for his books dealing with the relation between Israel and the Ancient Orient. His *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament* (1923) is a very useful collection of materials from the inscriptions, arranged as a corpus of glosses and illustrations. The enthusiasm which Jirku feels for the Old Testament because of its literary and spiritual preëminence is effectively demonstrated by his excellent little book, *Das Alte Testament im Rahmen der Altorientalischen Kulturen* (1926). His critical position may be defined as moderate, between that of Sellin and Kittel. In his attitude toward the relation between Israel and the surrounding peoples, Jirku resembles Böhl very closely.

In the study before us Jirku studies the problem of the early migrations of the Hebrews in the light of the new Hittite and Old Babylonian references to the *Ḫabiru*. Since his book was written new material of first-class importance has come to light in the Kirkūk tablets being edited by Chiera and Speiser. Jirku ranges himself with the majority, which accepts the equation *Ḫabiru* = *ʾIbri*. It is true that such competent philologists as Dhorme and Landsberger have recently declared themselves against the identification, but it is interesting to note that their reasons are historical, not philological. The reviewer has expressed himself on the subject, with a full philological defense of the equation, *JBL* 43. 389-392, a discussion which supersedes his earlier and briefer treatments. His results are in some respects strikingly similar to those of Jirku, though the latter emphasizes the fact that the *Ḫabiru* were nearly always mercenaries, while the reviewer stressed their nomadic character. Jirku is probably correct in laying emphasis upon the curious fact that the *Ḫabiru* so commonly appear as mercenary bands, but I think one can go even farther than he does. *SA-GAZ* is the equivalent, as well known, of Accadian *ḫabbatu*, bandit, from *ḫabātu*, to rob, plunder. The derivatives *ḫubutāti* (plural of \**ḫubuttu*) and *ḫubutātu* mean, respectively, "tax-free property" and "condition of being tax free (of property)." The natural deduction from this is that the

*ḥabbatu* received *ḥubutāti* in return for his services, so that the *ḥabbatu* must have been in point of fact a mercenary, who was rewarded by a grant of rent-free land for himself and his retainers. The word *SA-GAZ* is, accordingly, the regular equivalent of Italian *condottiere*, in the second millennium B. C. Like the *condottieri* of the late Middle Ages, the *SA-GAZ* formed bands of men with their wives and families, who hired themselves out to the best paying military chieftains, and devoted themselves to banditry when regular employment was not forthcoming. The *SA-GAZ* were naturally of every race, but predominantly *Ḥabiru*, a fact which accounts for the secondary equivalence *SA-GAZ* = *Ḥabiru*. The *Ḥabiru* of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B. C. bear Cossaeian names like *Ḥarbi-šipak*, *Ḥurrian* (?) names like *Tette*, and Assyrian names, as in the case of the *Ḥabiru* mentioned in the *Kirkūk* tablets. There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that the *SA-GAZ* of the time of *Narām-Šin*, about 2600 B. C., were Hebrews.

The relation between the earlier adjectival form *Ḥabiru* and the later Assyrian gentile *Ḥabirā'a* is precisely the same as that between the older *'Eber* and the later *'Ibri*. In very much the same way we have in the *Amarna* Tablets *awilūt Ḥabiri* and *awilūt ḥub(p)ši*, peasants (bound to the soil), while in later Hebrew we have the singulars *'Ibri* and *ḥopši*, peasant freeholder; see *JPOS* 6. 106-108. The Hebrew tradition makes it clear that *'Eber* represents the Aramaean nomads of the early second millennium, so the reviewer can see no reason to surrender his view that *\*Abir* = *Ḥabiru* is an intransitive participle meaning "nomad." But after the Aramaean tribesmen (cf. *JBL* 43. 385 ff.) had become known throughout Mesopotamia as mercenaries, their name, *Ḥabiru*, supplanted the original word *ḥabbatu*, as the term for "mercenary." It will be an interesting study to follow the indications of Hebrew tradition which connect the Patriarchs with the profession of the *ḥabbatu*. The rôle of Abraham in Gen. xiv becomes much clearer in this light. Most important, however, is the new understanding of the Hebrew settlement in Goshen, which must have been a military foundation, designed to protect the Asiatic frontier of Egypt, just as the Jewish colony of Yeb was established by the Egyptian kings of the Saite Dynasty in order to protect their southern borders against the Nubians.

Professor Jirku's treatment of the 'pr in the Egyptian inscriptions of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties is based on Heyes. Phonetically, the equation 'pr = 'Eher is difficult, since the Egyptians of the New Empire regularly transcribe Semitic *b* by their own *b*. When Canaanite *ḥarb* (Heb. *ḥēreb*), sword, is transcribed *ḥarp*, later *ḥōrp*, it only shows that there was the same tendency for a final vowelless sonant stop following a consonant to become voiceless that there is in the modern Arabic dialect of Egypt. When the Greeks transcribed the same word *harpē* (with the Ionic vowel ending), they also heard the final *b* as a *p*. But the *b* in 'Eher is medial, and cannot have been pronounced as a voiceless *p*. That 'pr is not a loan in the sense of "mercenary," with assimilation to the Egyptian verb 'pr, to equip, is indicated clearly enough by the fact that all the Egyptian troops of the New Empire were mercenaries of one race or another, so there was no place for such a loan. The reviewer is, therefore, inclined to prefer his own identification of the 'pr with the Midianite *ḥry* (see his discussion in the paper on the "Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," in Vol. 6 of the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*).

We congratulate Professor Jirku on a most valuable and stimulating contribution to early Hebrew history, one which cannot be overlooked by any serious student of this fascinating subject. The Patriarchal Age is beginning to be illuminated by the light from the monuments, and the reviewer, for one, hopes that the author is able to continue his researches.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

Jerusalem.

*The Mysterious Kundalini.* By VASANT G. RELE. Bombay: D. B. TARAPOREVALA AND SONS AND COMPANY, 1927. Pp. iv + 112. Price Rs. 3/8.

The thesis of the book is that the Coiled Serpent, Kundalini, is the right vagus nerve. Haṭha Yoga texts, however, place her in the *mūlādhāra cakra*, in the pelvis. The pictures opposite pages sixteen and twenty-five, showing *padmāsana* and *siddhāsana*, do not agree with descriptions in *Haṭha Yoga Pradīpikā* 1. 46 and 1. 37, respectively.

GEORGE W. BRIGGS.

Drew Theological Seminary.



*The Mahābhārata, for the first time critically edited by* VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Ph. D. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927. [Text of 1.1.1 to 1.2.233 incl.] ix + 60 pp.

When so many Sanskrit works of vastly less importance have been satisfactorily edited, it might seem strange that we should have had to wait until now to see the beginnings of a critical edition of the most famous work of all Indian literature, and the greatest epic of the world (in point of size at least). The reason is fairly familiar to all Sanskritists. The enormity and staggering difficulty of the task seem to place it beyond the powers of any one man in an average life-time. For this reason a group of European scholars planned at one time to make an international undertaking of the task. The war put a quietus on this plan. After the war the then newly founded Bhandarkar Institute undertook the work, from a fresh start, hoping to make it more of a national endeavor, and appealing for the very large financial support needed to Indian governments, princes, and men of wealth. Not as many favorable responses have been received as might be desired; but very generous aid has been and is being given by some, the chief of whom are mentioned on the cover of this brochure. The most generous of all, I believe, has been the Chief of Aundh, the cultivated ruler of a Southern Maratha state which, though very small and not very rich, has acquired under his enlightened government a cultural distinction out of all proportion to its size and wealth.

In 1923 a "tentative" edition of the *Virāṭa Parvan*, the fourth of the eighteen books of the epic, was issued by the Institute, under the editorship of N. B. Utgikar. Since then the management has changed, and for the past two years the editor-in-chief has been Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. We now have before us the first fruits of his labors, containing the text of (almost) the first two chapters (*adhyāyas*) of the first book (*Ādi Parvan*), with critical apparatus and a short provisional foreword. It is an infinitesimal part of the vast text, but enough to permit a judgment of the character of the work that is being done.

I have not only carefully studied most of the text here printed, with the manuscript readings recorded; but I have also had the privilege of many long personal discussions with the editor on some

of the problems, great and small, which confronted him. No *advocatus diaboli* could have tried harder than I to discover flaws. And I can say without hesitation or reservation that in my opinion it would be impossible to make any serious improvements in method, or successfully to attack the general results, on the basis of materials available at the time. Opinions will, no doubt, differ about details here and there. That is inevitable; although I have found extremely few places where I can see any strong reasons for changing the text as printed. It is possible that some now unknown recensions may come to light, which might compel a more radical revision. This seems, however, unlikely, since the editor and his agents have made an intensive search for manuscripts in most parts of India, and the chances are that they have included within their purview examples of all important streams of tradition. Yet the search should of course be continued, especially in out-of-the-way regions, such as Nepal, from which Sukthankar has been able to get hold of only one manuscript (of an apparently peculiar and important recension called "Maithili") for this book. Kashmir, too, may yield important finds. One of the most valuable of Sukthankar's results is his establishment for the first time of a "Kāśmīrī" recension of the epic, represented, to be sure, among the manuscripts here collated, only by *devanāgarī* transcripts; no manuscripts in the native Kashmirian *śāradā* alphabet are included. Genuine old *śāradā* writings are now not so easy to find; what are offered as such often turn out to be worthless modern copies of works imported into Kashmir from the south. It is to be hoped that in some way the materials for the Kāśmīrī recension may be augmented by some original *śāradā* texts. For it seems that Sukthankar is quite right in regarding this as on the whole the oldest and best recension now known.

In the Foreword, the editor speaks of his results very modestly; perhaps too modestly, though this is a good fault. It is no doubt true that the peculiar nature of Mahābhārata tradition makes it exceptionally hard, even as compared with other Indian texts, to get at a really "original" text. To do this in all details is, we may grant, probably forever impossible. Yet when we consider the amount of oral tradition, and of contamination and blending of different streams, which has been the rule rather than the exception in this case, it is perhaps rather surprising to find such



extensive and substantial agreements as seem to exist among the important and significant manuscripts. To put it otherwise, while variations and additions are indeed countless in number, it is almost a pleasant surprise to find that, after the skillful sifting of the editor, relatively few *important* matters of doubt remain. We seem justified in hoping that Sukthankar's methods will give us in time a text which can without much inaccuracy be considered an ancestor of all extant manuscripts. That is, where a Mahābhārata text differs strikingly from it, there will be a presumption that that difference is secondary and late, in comparison with Sukthankar's text. There is, of course, a more ultimate sense in which even this text can not be called the "Ur-Mahābhārata"; but we shall probably never get much nearer to that desideratum.

The present Foreword is to be superseded by a full Introduction at the end of the First Parvan. It is therefore very brief; and at times, unfortunately, it is lacking in clarity and power of conviction. No hint is given of the evidence for the statement (p. iv) that "K" represents "transcripts of the Kāśmīrī . . . version"; nor do the seven small points of agreement between (some of) the "K" mss., which are listed *loc. cit.*, really "document" (that is, prove) the "affinity of K." Ample evidence exists, I believe, on both these points; it is only the phraseology, or lack of any statement, which I find unfortunate. Not all the passages referred to as proof for statements about the interrelationship of versions seem cogent; and those statements as a whole will, I hope, gain in clarity and effectiveness in the final "Introduction." But the most important principle for constituting the text, namely reliance on agreements between the Kashmirian and Southern versions (the Kashmirian being on the whole the best representative of the "Northern" branch), is clearly stated, and is undoubtedly sound. Secondary or accidental agreements between these two versions are, it is certain, relatively rare and unimportant.

In the Text, an attempt has been made to indicate portions which the editor regards as "less than certain" by a wavy line printed underneath. This is a good device, although by its very nature hard to apply strictly and consistently, as I found in using a similar device for the Panchatantra. I should have used the wavy line under *-ādan* 1. 28a, *caiva* 1. 122c, *rājño* 1. 163a, *dhruvaṃ* 1. 194b, *yac ca* 1. 196a, *āhuḥ* 2. 16b (or read *viduḥ*), *iha* 2. 22d,



*dvijottamāḥ* 2.23d, *niryānam* 2.52c (or read *niryātrā*), *vai* 2.110d, *tv atra* 2.152a (reading very dubious). Contrariwise I should not have used it, where the editor does, under *-rṣayo* 1.33d, nor in 1.144c, 1.195a, and 2.54c. In only a few cases does there seem to me to be decided reason for adopting other readings than those printed. In 2.195a *cāpi* is surely much better supported than *cātra*, and in 2.138d *kim vā* rather than *vā kim*. I might have made different choices in some other instances, but will mention only one. In 1.201b *cāṇṛtam* seems much more likely than *cāmṛtam*. While the manuscript readings are indecisive, I should read the text:

*bhāratasya vapur hy etat satyam cāṇṛtam eva ca  
navanitam yathā dadhno dvipadām brūhmaṇo yathā, (etc.).*

"For this form of the (Mahā-)Bhārata is Truth,—yes, and Falsehood too! (It is) like butter (the top) of sour milk, like the brahman (the best) of men," etc. The crucial word is *eva*. It emphasizes a paradox. This panegyrist of the epic starts out to claim that it contains everything. Having said that it is all "truth," he feels that that is not enough; even what is *not* truth must be claimed for it, namely, "falsehood." Similar things occur in the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gītā; cf. Gītā 10.4 and 5, where God is the source of all states, including "fear and fearlessness . . . fame and disrepute." Later copyists naturally gagged at attributing "falsehood" to the epic, and substituted the harmless *amṛtam*, "immortality," for *aṇṛtam*. So, at least, it seems to me that the variant must be interpreted. It seems unlikely that "falsehood" (surely a *lectio difficilior*) would have been introduced secondarily by a number of later copyists. And, above all, what does *eva* mean, if it follows *amṛtam*? That word would call for no such emphatic particle!

Mention should be made of the fact that for the first time this edition reduces to exactly one hundred the list of (sub-)parvans or chapter-groups of the Mahābhārata listed in the "Table of Contents," the Parva-saṁgraha, 1.2.34-69 as here numbered. The next verse, 1.2.70, speaks of them as one hundred in number, but all previous editions, and most manuscripts (if not all), exceed that number in the actual list. It is impossible to say confidently, at present, whether Sukthankar's list will finally prove correct or

not. There are some unusually serious textual difficulties in it; and much will depend on how it fits the actual text of the whole epic when this has been critically edited. Sukthankar evidently feels that the number "one hundred" in 1.2.70 should be taken literally, and the preceding list made to agree with it. It would be surprising if there were not further difficulties in fitting the divisions of the epic itself to the list. Is it not, however, at least possible that the author of the verse only meant it as an approximate or "round" number?

Dr. Sukthankar deserves to be heartily congratulated on the brilliant success of his work. More than that, he deserves the active support of all Sanskritists, and of all who are interested in the furtherance of this supremely important work, which none could do better than he. It is earnestly to be hoped that the way will be made easy for him to press forward towards the still distant goal as rapidly as may be.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

Yale University.

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*Mose ben Maimon. Führer der Unschlüssigen.* Ins deutsche übertragen und mit erklärenden Anmerkungen versehen von Dr. ADOLF WEISS. Verlag von FELIX MEINER. Leipzig, 1924. (Vols. II and III.)

Dr. Weiss would have done well had he, like his predecessor Fürstenthal, frankly stated on the title page that the present work was a translation of Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew rendition. For one thing, he would have saved the reviewer the trouble of checking him up on that score. And for another, he then might gracefully have refrained from crossing swords with Munk—as for instance he does in part II, p. 24, note 15—when the latter makes any strictures upon Ibn Tibbon's accuracy. As it is, Dr. Weiss exposes himself unnecessarily to enflaming fire from any reviewer who chooses to compare his translation with the Arabic Text.

Nevertheless, the translation is highly commendable for its happy combination of style with more than fair faithfulness to the text. Only here and there does a paraphrase creep in in place of a translation. And only at times is the translation not quite as accurate as may have been desired. But Dr. Weiss is never guilty

of the paraphrastic circumlocutions characteristic of the standard English translations of the *Moreh*. Nor can one find actual misunderstandings of the text such as are to be met with in the English. Also the ample "erklärende Anmerkungen" which appear in the form of foot-notes the reader will find very helpful and clarifying. In short, we may say without reserve that the present version while falling short of the incomparable Munk, is a distinct improvement upon the previous German translation, and is in a class by itself as compared to the English.

Considering the comparatively eminent merit of Dr. Weiss' work, we regret all the more keenly to note the numerous orthographic errors that were allowed to remain in the Hebrew passages of this edition, due entirely to faulty proof correction.

Atlantic City.

H. S. DAVIDOWITZ.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Society held in New York on Dec. 9, 1927, the following resolution was passed: "The Executive Committee of the American Oriental Society hereby submits for the consideration of the American Council of Learned Societies the project of an American School of Indo-Iranian Research, which was approved by the Society at its annual meeting in Cincinnati, April 20, 1927, and requests the endorsement of this undertaking by the American Council of Learned Societies."

It was voted: that a reserve fund of \$2000, represented by the Society's shares of the preferred stock of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Ry. Co. having a par value of \$2000, be established as of January 1, 1927, and that the income therefrom shall be used for general publication purposes.

List of new members elected by the Executive Committee, Oct.-Dec., 1927.

Prof. A. E. Bigelow  
Mr. Francis J. Fendley  
Prof. Benigno Ferrario  
Mr. Quentin K. Y. Huang  
Prof. Enno Littmann

Mr. Frank G. Moore  
Mrs. Gilbert M. Nichols  
Dr. William F. Nutt  
Mr. P. Appaji Rao  
Rev. Dr. Marcus Salzman



List of new members elected by the Executive Committee, February, 1928.

Mr. Theodore Andrews	Dr. William M. McGovern
Mrs. Simon Bacharach	Prof. Charles D. Matthews
Mr. Louis Bamberger	Rev. Dr. Ralph Mortensen
Pres. Floyd H. Black	Prof. Abraham A. Newman
Pres. James A. Blaisdell	Rabbi Louis I. Newman
Prof. Clarence Bouma	Rabbi Sidney L. Regner
Prof. Charles Gordon Cumming	Rev. Dr. Samuel Schulman
Prof. Ernst Diez	Prof. W. T. Semple
Dr. Israel Eitan	Rabbi Harry J. Stern
Mr. Felix Fuld	Dr. Chaim Tchernowitz
Prof. J. E. Jaderquist	Prof. W. H. Worrell
Mr. Samuel C. Lamport	Mr. Herrick B. Young
Rev. William McGarry	

List of persons dropped by the Executive Committee from the list of members of the Society under the provision of By-Law VIII.

Prof. C. A. Brodie Brockwell	Rev. John Moncre
Mr. Alfred M. Campbell	Mr. Walter A. Roselle
Dr. F. D. Chester	Prof. William A. Shelton
Mr. Benjamin Fain	Rev. Hiram Hill Sipes
Rabbi Sigmund Frey	Miss Marion W. Sleezer
Prof. Luise Haessler	Mr. J. W. Stanley
Mr. Frank Edward Johnson	Mr. Max Steinberg
Rabbi Samuel Koch	Mr. Vladimir A. Tsanoff
Rabbi Leon J. Liebreich	Rev. Dudley Tyng
Mr. R. D. Messayeh	

The Executive Committee has elected to represent the Society at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, in August 1928, seven delegates: Professors Albright, Bender, Breasted, W. N. Brown, Gottheil, Jackson, and President Morgenstern; and two alternates, Professors Chieta and Speiser.

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## PERSONALIA

At the funeral of Professor TALCOTT WILLIAMS, an ex-President of the Society, on January 26, 1928, the Society was represented by a committee composed of Professors Gottheil and Jackson, Dr. Bull, Dr. Ogden, and Mr. Newell.

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, an ex-President of the Society and one of the leading Indologists of the world, died in San Francisco on June 13, 1928. A memorial notice will be printed in a later number of the JOURNAL.

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MAURICE BLOOMFIELD  
1855-1928



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It is hard for one who studied under Maurice Bloomfield to express in print the feelings aroused by his death. To his pupils he was more than a great scholar and a great teacher; tho he was, most assuredly, both of these.

A great scholar. A brilliant, searching, profound, and effective interpreter of the Veda. A many-sided knower of Hindu culture; a keen and appreciative student of all the higher aspects of Hindu thought. A master of comparative and historical grammar, and of the science of linguistics, who illumined by his touch all the many facets of those subjects to which he turned his attention.

A great teacher. Under his guidance the turgid obscurities of the Rigveda acquired human warmth and romantic interest. The glamor of scientific and historical language-study was embodied in him. It is doubtful whether any human being, who once heard him talk on a grammatical subject, was ever after guilty of the stupid banality of calling grammar "dry." But, to be sure, he humanized in the same way everything he touched. Thru the luminous crystal of his mind, everything on which he turned it glowed with light. The dullest intellect could hardly fail to be stirred into action by him; and the keenest could always get fresh stimulus.

In either of these two ways one would search far to find his equal. But it is probably the unanimous feeling of those who matured in his seminar—of what may be called his school—that he was more than that. There was an intangible, indefinable quality in him which can hardly be called by any other name than genius. By this is meant an element which seemed to differ in kind, rather than in degree, from average human mentality; which could hardly be understood or analyzed, still less rationally described; which could only be felt, directly, and as it were mystically. He was, in short, not only a great scholar and a great teacher, but a great man.

This quality may have carried with it a certain temporary danger for the student. The critical faculties tended to be overpowered. Not thru anything overbearing in Bloomfield's own attitude. In his class-room, no one was ever more ready to give to his humblest

pupil's stray suggestions the same respectful consideration which went to the reasoned arguments of an academician. In other surroundings he sometimes laid down the law vigorously and even dogmatically, on subjects which roused his keen interest (and there were many such). But in his seminar, all were to him seekers after truth, like himself; and it seemed never to occur to him that any privileged position ought to be accorded him. Yet the sheer greatness of the man made it hard to stand off and examine him, or his statements, at arm's length. One needed to get away from him for a time in order to realize that even he might, now and then, be wrong. And even after the dawning of this consciousness, if one came again under his personal spell, be it only for an hour or two, the query would inevitably be raised, whether what had been taken for sun-spots in the "day-maker" might not be due to imperfections in one's own intellectual retina.

Such a danger could not, however, be serious or permanent, because Bloomfield by his own example taught his pupils nothing if not independence and a critical attitude; and first of all towards himself and his own ideas. It was not his habit to prepare in advance schematic dissertations for presentation to a class. On the contrary, he admitted his students to the workshop of his mind. The great educational value of his courses lay not in the facts he expounded (let devotees of "facts" take notice), but in the insight gained by watching the operations of his thought. And this profit would not have ensued if he had not always been ready to make and abandon many a tentative start before the eyes and ears of his pupils. No man was ever freer from any tendency to stick to what he had said because he had said it.

With this power of self-criticism he combined an imaginative faculty which could often carry him swiftly and surely to the heart of a problem, around which an equally careful but less inspired explorer might grope for long in vain.

And once he had seized his quarry, hardly less remarkable was his way of bringing it into the light. Here he was served by his extraordinary mastery of language. His style of speech and writing was suited to his style of thought: simple and direct, always lucid, never forced, and yet strikingly original, bearing its author's imprint in every phrase. Often one had the feeling that no other words could have expressed his idea so well; and yet that no one but Bloomfield would have thought of expressing it so.



The main facts of his life, down to the year 1920, may be found in the biographical sketch printed in the volume of *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* (New Haven, 1920), by a group of his pupils. It seems unnecessary to repeat, except in briefest summary, what was there recorded.

He was born in Bielitz, in what was then Austria, on February 23, 1855, but came with his family to this country at the age of four. His college studies were pursued at the old University of Chicago and at Furman University, Greenville, S. C. He worked as a graduate student first at Yale and then at Johns Hopkins, where he received the doctorate in 1879. The next two years he spent in study at Berlin and Leipzig. In 1881 he was recalled to take charge of the department of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Johns Hopkins. This position he held for forty-five years, during which time he came to be universally recognized as one of the foremost of the many brilliant scholars who have won and held for Johns Hopkins its proud eminence among American universities. A serious illness in the winter of 1925-6 compelled him to seek retirement, and in 1926 he was made Professor Emeritus. He recovered, however, enough to continue his scholarly activity with little abatement for two years more. In 1927 he moved to San Francisco, California, chiefly in order to be near his son. He continued in reasonably good health until May 1928, when he was stricken with an illness from which he did not recover. He died on June 13, 1928. He is survived by his second wife, the former Miss Helen Scott of Baltimore (to whom he was married on July 9, 1921); by his daughter, Mrs. A. Sanders DeWitt, of Detroit, Michigan; and by his son, Dr. Arthur L. Bloomfield, Professor of Medicine in the University of California.

Of external honors may be mentioned the degrees of LL. D. conferred by Princeton University in 1906 and by Furman University in 1908, and L. H. D. conferred by the University of Chicago in 1916. The University of Padua made him a doctor *honoris causa* in 1922. He was an Honorary Member of the Finno-Ugrian Society of Helsingfors, Foreign Member of the Czech Academy of Prague, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a councillor of the American Philosophical Society. For his *Vedic Concordance*, presented to the Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in 1908, he was awarded the Hardy Prize by the Bavarian Academy of Munich.



No attempt will here be made to do justice to all phases of his scholarly publications. We shall not dwell on such technical, painstaking drudgery as the edition of the *Kaṣika Sūtra*; nor yet on examples of sound and effective popularization like the *Religion of the Veda*. Important as these are, we can find Bloomfield's peculiar genius better displayed in other places.

He made contributions to the science of linguistics and comparative grammar which in large part passed into the realm of the commonplace in his own life-time. Many are not even aware that the word "hapology" was his invention. Linguistic contamination and blending are concepts familiar enough in modern language-study; much of what they mean to us is due to his development of them.

His originality, his imaginative perception, are equally evidenced by his work in Indology. His *Vedic Concordance* is, in the first place, an indispensable tool for Vedic investigation, and a work of monumental industry and care; but credit should also be given to him for conceiving the idea of such a work, which showed more than mere industry. He saw what was needed, and did it. The same applies with even greater force, perhaps, to his *Rigveda Repetitions*, and to the yet unpublished *Corpus of Vedic Variants*, the conception of which was, of course, exclusively his. In both these works are imbedded many shining nuggets of Vedic exegesis; but above all the idea, the plan, of each of them is as strikingly original as it is clever and fruitful.

His name is especially associated with the Atharva Veda, the interpretation of which he made peculiarly his own, with two books, the *Hymns of the Atharva Veda* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, and *The Atharva Veda* in the *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie*, which will remain standard authorities for many decades. But readers of his last article, published in this number of the *JOURNAL*, will probably agree (without regard to their opinions on controversial matters) that he there shows himself also an exceptionally able and penetrating student of the more difficult field of the Rigveda. He has, of course, furnished much evidence of the same sort before, in the *Rigveda Repetitions*, in his *Religion of the Veda*, and in many an article in our *JOURNAL* and elsewhere. It is regrettable that he never found time to carry out a plan which more than once occurred to his mind, of preparing a complete translation of the Rigveda, with exegetical commentary. But even

without such a monument within the covers of a single volume, it is safe to say that his services to Rigvedic exegesis will find a permanent and a very important place in the literature of the subject. His view of the Rigveda was that it was a thoroly ritualistic book. He constantly emphasized the fact that its hymns were composed by professional and highly specialized priests, who were intensely preoccupied with the round of sacrifices. Even their most poetic fancies, the occasional real beauty of which he fully appreciated, never soared very far above the details of ritual performance. This may fairly be called his great general contribution to Rigvedic exegesis. It is illustrated, perhaps as strikingly and convincingly as anywhere, in his treatment of the goddess Ushas in the *Religion of the Veda*. No one before him had so clearly or so justly appraised this prevalent aspect of the hieratic poetry of the Rigveda.

His project for an "Encyclopedia of Hindu Fiction-Motifs" is another example of his mind's fertility in ideas. He was the first to point out, what now seems self-evident, that all Hindu stories are full of such standardized themes and incidents, which constitute a sort of stock-in-trade for the story-teller, to be drawn out of pigeon-holes and used to embroider tale after tale. The human interest of such motifs is self-evident, and has been abundantly illustrated by him in a dozen or more studies of individual themes, and by several of his pupils in other monographs. Many of these motifs had of course been noticed before, in a desultory way. Bloomfield's originality showed itself in his keen perception of the rôle they play in Hindu literature as a whole, and in his sure realization of the proper and fruitful way to deal with them. It all seems so obvious, now, that one wonders why no one else ever saw it. But to see it first required a flash of that genial vision which he loved to compare to the "egg of Columbus."

Of the many organizations with which he was associated, it is safe to say that no other lay so close to his heart as the American Oriental Society. He was elected a member in May, 1881, the same year in which he was called to Johns Hopkins. In October of that year he presented his first paper to the Society, "On non-diphthongal *e* and *o* in Sanskrit"—a brilliant and historically very important study. From that day until ill health made it necessary for him to restrict his journeys, he missed very few of the Society's meetings. In 1884 he was first elected a Director; and he remained



a member of the Board, it is believed without interruption, until 1928. The Society elected him its President for the year 1910-11.

By his clear-headed, sane, and wise counsel, and even more by his invariably stimulating papers and his frequent and luminous comments on the papers of others, he made for himself a place which few indeed have ever rivalled. He was one of the foremost of that group of great scholars, now somewhat diminished by death, whose presence during several decades within the memory of this generation made it a rare privilege, an experience which no member willingly denied himself, to attend a meeting of our Society. The name of Morris Jastrow comes to mind among those who, like Bloomfield, are no more; neither man would have been displeased by this association of their names. If it is true—and we believe it is no more than the bare truth—that the American Oriental Society holds an enviable position among learned societies in this country, not only by reason of its age, but by its prestige and influence, which are far out of proportion to its modest membership list; it owes this eminence to an astonishingly small group of men, who by their rare personal and intellectual qualities have commanded a recognition which no commercialism in the country at large could obscure. In Bloomfield's death the Indological wing of the Society has unquestionably suffered the severest loss that has ever befallen it, in all its history, with the single exception of William Dwight Whitney's death. To some of us the Society will never seem quite the same without him. His influence, however, will not die, at least while the generation that knew him shall live. Indeed, it is not too much to say of him, as could be said of Whitney, that for generations to come the life of our Society will be enriched and exalted by what he did and what he was. Let us hope so, at least; for in the contrary case, not these masters, but their unworthy followers, would be disgraced.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

We shall not reprint here the preliminary bibliography of Bloomfield's writings, down to the year 1920, which was published in the above-mentioned *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*. We shall merely add a few items which were omitted there, and complete the list by a statement of his later publications. The abbreviations used are the same which were used in the place quoted.



1911. Article 'Cerberus,' in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Volume 3.
- 1914-6. Articles (not specified in the preface, but certainly including that on the Veda) in the *New International Encyclopaedia*, 2d edition.
1916. Article 'Literature, Vedic and Sanskrit,' in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Volume 8.
1920. On overhearing as a motif of Hindu fiction. *AJP*. 41. 309-35.
1921. The Hittite language. *JAOS*. 41. 195-209.  
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1925. Philology. *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, 14. 4-10.  
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1926. On organized brigandage in Hindu fiction. *AJP*. 47. 205-33.  
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1927. Indo-European *ostos*, Greek *ἵος*, Germanic *asts*, etc. *Language* 3. 213-4.  
Foreword [on the projected 'Encyclopaedia of Hindu Fiction Motifs'] to Volume VII of N. M. Penzer's *Ocean of Story* (re-edition with notes, etc. of Tawney's translation of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara).
1928. The home of the Vedic sacrifice. *JAOS*. 48. 200-224.  
Not yet published: *Vedic Variants*. (In collaboration with Franklin Edgerton.) It is hoped that this work will appear as a collection of monographs on variants in the repeated materials of the Vedic literature, under such headings as Phonetics (including Sandhi), Noun Formation, Noun Inflection, The Verb, Pronouns, Particles, Order of Words, etc.

## THE HOME OF THE VEDIC SACRIFICE \*

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### 1. *Prefatory note.*

Many writers on Vedic subjects<sup>1</sup> have noted the absence in Vedic times of anything that resembles public worship. There is no mention of either minor communal, or national, worship, unless something of the sort be hidden away in the folds of the horse sacrifice. But, according to existing treatment of Rig-Veda matters, worship and sacrifice would seem to have no *locus standi* at all, to hang in midair, as it were. There are, of course, statements of intimate relations between the gods and the pious. The gods enter the houses of the pious and drink there, but the precise place in which they regale themselves is left indeterminate.

In my article on the word *vidátha* (*JAOS* 19. 12 ff.) I showed that this word marks more precisely, and mentions frequently, the place of Vedic worship and sacrifice. It is the patriarchal household,<sup>2</sup> usually conceived in the Rig-Veda as the home of pious folk. By the very terms of Vedic life as seen by the Vedic poets the *vidátha* is, as it were, the church, or, more broadly, the place in which all religious activities, notably the soma sacrifice, take place. The particular spot, or plot, or enclosure within the *vidátha* which is selected for the sacrificial performance is called *vrjána*. Both words have run an unhappy career. They contribute much to the feeling that Vedic scholars are subject to a distemper which might be called Heterovedicitis, or inability to accept conclusions which are not products of their own minds. How it was possible for Oldenberg and Geldner to write articles on *vidátha* which ignore the obvious primary meaning of 'household,' their respective treatments of the word differing one from the other wholly in inter-

\* This paper was submitted to the editors about six weeks before the death of the author, who did not live to see it in proof.—Editorial note.

<sup>1</sup> Last, Keith, *Religion of the Veda*, I. 254, 258; Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, pp. 133 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From root *vid*, possess; cf. *vittá*, and *cédas*, possession.

pretation and etymology, is best understood in the light of such weakness. To illustrate further: Oldenberg in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1917, p. 134, contends almost passionately against my explanation of *rcīṣama* as 'he for whom the Sāman is sung upon the Rk,' and Geldner in his Translation of the Rig-Veda leaves a blank when he comes across the word. I refuse to argue the point: it is self-evident to any one who will see.

In the same article Oldenberg refuses to accept the explanation in RV. 8. 18. 13 of *rīṣiṣṭayūr* as due to shortening from *rīṣiṣṭādyur*, 'will injure his life,' with metrical shortening after crasis of *rīṣiṣṭa* and *ādyur*. The thing is evident, on the face of it. The passage certainly contains a word for 'life.' So Geldner simply discovers a new word for 'life,' namely *yūr*, without making the least mention of my treatment which spares us the absurd stem *yūr*.

Geldner's Translation teems with instances of failure to adopt sound translations of others and of substituting forced or fanciful ones of his own. He finds it still possible, after *Rig-Veda Repetitions*, p. 233, to translate in RV. 4. 42. 3 the words *ahām indro vāruṇas* by 'I am king Varuṇa,' whereas they mean 'I am Indra-Varuṇa.' The word *indra* taken by itself never in Vedic or even Sanskrit literature means 'king,' and what difficulty is there in a dual divinity speaking of itself analytically? Geldner's Translation is bright, spicy, modernist, at times even 'burschikos,' but when it comes to anything really difficult, it is rather a Geldnerization than a translation. This will appear to be the case in every successive attempt to deal with the Rig-Veda; the present paper will, I hope, show how subjective and erroneous vision may totally efface important ideas from a difficult text. The fact that the Vedic genteel home is a patriarchal religious home, all of whose members coöperate to the glory of the gods, is necessarily minimized to the vanishing point by the misconception of the words *vidātha* and *vṛjāna*, with an attendant train of errors. In a sense this article contains a critique of a considerable part of Geldner's work. It may draw attention to the fact that, in my candid opinion, Geldner's work is by no means final; that it must be used with great caution; and that it marks at points not advance but decline. I suspect that it will be no easy task to bring this to the attention of the average reader on account of the distinguished author's just reputation and his dialectic skill in presenting his case.



2. The expression *vidātham ā-vad*.

The expression *vidātham ā-vad* furnishes the best basis for the interpretation of *vidātha*, because it occurs in popular texts (as distinguished from hieratic) in such passages as RV. 10. 85. 26, 27, addressed to a newly-wed couple;

*grhān gacha grhāpatnī yāthāso  
vaśini tvām vidātham ā vadāsi,*

'Go to (thy) house in order that thou mayest be mistress of the house; mayest thou with authority address the household!'

*enā pātyā tanvām sām srjasva  
ādā jīvrī vidātham ā vadāthah,*

'Unite thy body with thy husband; then, in eldery years, you two shall (authoritatively) address the household.'

Such passages absolutely determine the meaning of 1. 117. 25; 8. 48. 14: *suvirāso vidātham ā vadema*, which Geldner in his translation of 1. 117. 25 renders, quite unbelievably, 'wollen wir als meister weisheit verkünden.' This misses the obvious government of *vidātham* by the preposition *ā*; in point of fact it fails to translate *ā* altogether. Moreover this refrain-like passage is in close touch with the well-known refrain of book 2 (2. 1. 16 ff.), *bṛhād vadema vidāthe suvirāh*, which Geldner renders, 'wir wollen das grosse wort führen als meister in der weisen rede.' *Suvirāh* is *bahuvrīhi*, and can not mean 'als meister,' but 'having fine heroes (sons).'<sup>2</sup> Compare the closely related word *vṛjāna* which occurs in the place of *vidātha* (see further on in this paper) in 1. 51. 15, *asminn indra vṛjāne sāravirāh smāt sūribhis tāva sārman syāma*, 'In this sacrificial spot, O Indra, may we endowed with sound sons, together with (our) patrons, be under thy protection.' It is a trifle unfortunate that Geldner in his translation takes the word *suvirā* out of its use as a patriarchal word into a vague and ungrammatical interpretation. Stanza 3. 4. 9 tells us just what the word is: a patriarch, blessed with a *vīrāh karmanyāh sudākṣo yuktāgrāvā* . . . *devākāmah*, 'an active reliable, god-loving son who prepares the press-stones for the soma.'<sup>3</sup> Such a one brings *vīravat*

<sup>2</sup> Such a son is called *vidāthya*, 'fit for the *vidātha*' in 1. 91. 20; Soma himself presents him to the pious: *somo vīrām karmanyām dadāti*,

or *suviryaṃ śrāvāḥ*, 'honor due to proper sons,' 1. 44. 2; 4. 36. 9. He is prized along with other blessings: *suvirāṃ* or *suvirāṃ rayīm* 1. 85. 12; 4. 34. 2; *suviryaṃ svāsvyam*, 1. 40. 2, where Geldner, almost stubbornly, obscures the meaning and connection of *suviryaṃ* by 'meisterschaft.'<sup>4</sup> Most clearly, 4. 50. 6 *suprajā virāvanto vayām syāma* (followed in st. 8 by *ōkasi svē*) shows what *vīrā* means in all these combinations.

Every article and lexical rubric on *vidātha* since the appearance of my paper in *JAOS* suffers from the failure to recognize the fundamental point that *vidātham ā-vad* means 'to address the *vidātha*.' So, e. g., Monier Williams's Dictionary begins, after putting *vidātha* under root 1. *vid*, 'know,' with the words: "knowledge, instruction, (esp.) knowledge given to others . . . ; *vidātham ā-vad*, to give knowledge to others etc." This, of course, is incompatible with the clause *brhād vadema vidāthe suvirāḥ*, where *vidāthe* can mean only 'in the *vidātha*.'

Down to late Jaina-times this type of patriarchal household is still familiar in India. Thus in the parable of the talents (e. g. Bhāvadēvasūri's *Pārśvanāthacaritra* 6. 389 ff.; Ajitaprabha's *Śāntināthacaritra* 4. 367 ff.): a merchant (*śreṣṭhīn*) who wants his household well cared-for decides to test his four daughters-in-law to find out which is the fittest for the high station of mistress of the home. He gives each five grains of rice, and judges them according to their disposition of these grains. The youngest, who sows the grains and multiplies them manifold, becomes the head. Such a one performs the act of *vaśīni vidātham ā-vadati*. Or, the patriarchal head, supported by the pious, efficient sons controls his household, *suvirāso vidātham ā vadema*, and *brhād vadema vidāthe suvirāḥ*. Every other suggestion that has ever been made with regard to *vidātha* deviates from this fundamental point of view, and therefore falls to the ground.

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*śādanāṃ vidāthyāṃ sabhēyāṃ pitrāvāṇāṃ yō dādāśāś asmi.* 'Soma presents to his worshipper a piously active son, useful in the house, active in the *vidātha*, fit for the drawing-room, a credit to his father.'

\* 'Die meisterschaft, guten rathbesitz soll erwerben, wer ouer begehrt, ihr Maruta.' Similarly, 1. 48. 12, *vśjāṃ suviryaṃ*, 'den ehrenpreis und die meisterschaft:' the clause simply means 'substantial wealth and excellent sons.' The article *vīrāvat* in Grassmann's Concordance furnishes superabundant testimony to the same effect. Geldner himself translates *vīrāvattama* at 1. 1. 3 by 'in vielen Söhnen bestehend.'

3. *Relation of yajñā, 'sacrifice,' and the root yaj, 'to sacrifice' to the word vidātha.*

In the midst of the human clans (*mānuṣiṣu vikṣú*)\* visited by the gods, especially the god Agni, lies the *vidātha*, the patriarchal establishment, owned and presided over by a Maghavan or *Sūri*, pious worshipper of the gods, and patron of the priests. There takes place, three times daily, the Vedic three-fire sacrifice. Thither, to the house of the pious, come the gods: *gāntārā dāsūṣo grhām*, 8. 5. 5; 13. 10; 22. 3. There they drink the soma: *pibataṁ dāsūṣo grhē*, 4. 46. 6; 49. 6; 8. 22. 8; *indra . . . dāsūṣo grhē . . . matsvā* 3. 60. 5. The act of sacrificing (verb *yaj*) or the sacrifice (*yajñā*) takes place in the *vidātha*. The texts state this so clearly, that it will, in due time, count as a marvel of philological frailty that this could have been overlooked, or misunderstood:

*kṛtām no yajñām vidātheṣu cārum,*  
*kṛtām brāhmāṇi sūriṣu praśastā*, 7. 84. 3,

'Prepare ye two (Indra and Varuṇa) the agreeable sacrifice in the (pious) establishments; prepare the holy songs, ye who are praised among the patrons of the sacrifice.'

*yajñās ca bhūd vidāthe cārur āntamaḥ*, 10. 100. 6,

'and the sacrifice in the (pious) establishments shall be agreeable and dear.'

*prā dyāvā yajñāṁ prthivī ṛtāvṛdhā,*  
*mahī stuse vidātheṣu prācetasā*, 1. 159. 1,

'Heaven and Earth who promote the law, the great, the wise, do I praise with sacrifices in the pious homes.'\* With *stuse vidātheṣu* cf. the close parallel with the words *stōme vidātheṣu* in 3. 54. 2, or, *stavāma vidātheṣu* in 4. 21. 4. Geldner renders quite originally, but not believably: 'Ein loblied stimme ich unter opfern an auf Himmel und Erde . . . die in der weisheit erfahrenen.'

*ketūm yajñānām vidāthasya sādhanam*, 3. 3. 3,

'(Agni), the banner of the sacrifices, the promoter of the (pious) household.' Here Geldner, 'das banner der opfer, der erwecker

\* E. g. RV. 4. 6. 7, 8.

\* In the second half of the stanza *itthā* 'here' also refers to *vidātheṣu*.



der weisheit,' sacrificing to his notion of *vidātha* the established parallelism between 'sacrifice' and 'place of sacrifice.' Observe that he renders *vidāthāni sādhan* in 3. 1. 18 by 'die opfer zu stande bringend,' but in 4. 16. 3, the same clause figures as 'der die weisen reden zu stande bringt,' and in 3. 27. 7, *vidāthāni pracodāyan* by 'die (worte der) weisheit anregend.'

*pr̥ṣadaśvāso anavabhrārādhaso*  
*gāntāro yajñām vidātheṣu dhīrāḥ*, 3. 26. 6,

Geldner, 'Ihre (der Maruts) rosse sind scheckig, ihre gaben unentreissbar; sie kommen zum opfer, kundig in der weisheit.' The two words *yajñām vidātheṣu*, 'the sacrifice in the *vidātha*,' clearly go together, as may be seen above in 7. 84. 3. On the other hand there is no chance that *vidātheṣu dhīrāḥ* means 'kundig in der weisheit.'

*nṛpésaso vidātheṣu pr̥ṣ jātā*  
*abhīmām yajñām vi caranta pūrvāḥ*, 3. 4. 5;

Geldner, 'Die vielen (tore) die männerfigur haben und bei den opfern (so here for *vidātheṣu*) den vorrang bekommen, durch sie ziehen (die götter) zu diesem opfer ein.' Here *yajñā* and *vidātha* figure both as 'opfer.' The phrase *vidātheṣu pr̥ṣ jātāḥ* means 'extolled in the (pious) households.'

*antār devō vidāthā mārtyeṣu . . .*  
*agne yājasva tanvām tūva svām*, 6. 11. 2.

'within the (sacrificial) establishments, among mortals, do thou, God Agni, sacrifice thy own body.'

*mā . . . agne vāhniṃ cakārtha vidāthe yājadyāi*, 3. 1. 1,  
'Thou, Agni, didst make me leader to sacrifice in the (pious) establishment.' Here Geldner, 'um beim opfer weisprüche zu sprechen.' In this way he gets in his alternate rendering of *vidātha* by 'opfer,' which is, of course, present in the other word of the phrase *vidāthe yājadyāi*. Scarcely less compelling are such passages as 7. 21. 2, *pr̥ṣ yanti yajñām . . . somamādo vidāthe dūdhīrīdcaḥ*, depicting those who have become drunk with the soma at the sacrifice in the *vidātha*; or, quite similarly, 6. 52. 17, *asmin no adyā vidāthe yajatrā vísve devā havīsi mādayadhvam*, where, to be sure, *vidāthe* might be rendered by 'at the sacrifice'; see below. Similarly, 10. 12. 7, *yāsmīn devā vidāthe mādayante*,

or 7. 57. 2, *asmākam adyā vidāthesu barhīr ā . . . sadata* (cf. 5. 59. 2).

Agni, the sage, carries on his messengership between the two homes or establishments of men and gods in 8. 39. 1, *abhē hī vidātthe* (dual) *kavīr* (agnīr) *antās cārati dātyām*\*; in st. 9 of the same hymn he dwells in the three triple-founded world-establishments, that is to say, his service is everywhere: *agnīs trīṇi tridhātūni ā kṣeti vidāthā kavīh*. In 6. 8. 1 the poet praises these establishments or seats of Agni, *prā nū vocam vidāthā jātavedasaḥ*. In such passages also Agni is implicitly the sacrifice (*yajñā*), whereas *vidātha* is clearly the locality. And so expressions which contain interchangeably *vidātha* and *yajñā* are of the utmost naturalness: 3. 3. 3, *ketūm yajñānām* 'the banner of the sacrifices': 1. 60. 1, *vidāthasya ketūm*, 'the banner of the sacrificial home' (where G. 'das banner der weisheit'). Again, *vidāthasya prasāddhanam agnim*, 10. 91. 8, *vidāthasya sādhanam . . . agnīm* 3. 3. 3, cf. 10. 92. 2; (agnīr) *vidāthāni pracodāyan* 3. 27. 7; cf. 10. 110. 7, *dāivya hōtārā . . . pracodāyantā vidāthesu . . . pracīnam jyōtiḥ*; (agnīm) *yajñāsya prasāddhanam* 10. 57. 2; (agnīr) *yajñāsya sādhanah* 1. 44. 11; 3. 27. 2, 8; 8. 23. 9; (agnīr) *yajñasādāh* 1. 96. 3; *agnīr yajñasādhanah* 1. 145. 3.

#### 4. Other words for worship with *vidātha* in the locative case.

In some passages the companionship of *vidātha* and *yajñā* (*yaj*) is replaced by contact of *vidātha* with words for parts or particular acts of the sacrifice, most frequently 'prayer.' Thus in 1. 64. 1, *gīrah sām ānje vidāthesv ābhūvaḥ*, 'I anoint my songs that are effective in the pious households,' where Geldner has it quite barocquely, 'besalbe ich die lobrede, die in der gelehrsamkeit fest ist.'

*rarē vām stōmam*\* *vidāthesu viṣṇo*  
*pīvatam iṣo vrjāneṣṭ indra*, 7. 99. 6.

'I have given you praise in the (sacrificial) home, O Viṣṇu and Indra: do ye two swell our sustenance in our (sacrificial) areas.'

\* *antār devā vidāthā mārtyeṣu . . . yājatra tanvām tāva svām* 8. 11. 2, above.

\* Cf. *trīṇi vidāthe mānma* in 2. 4. 8, of which below.

The parallel between *vidātheṣu* and *vṛjāneṣu*, of which more will be said later, strikes the eye.

*yāyor ha stōme vidātheṣu devāḥ*  
*saparyāvo mādāyante śacdyōh*, 3. 54. 2,

'In the praise of whom (Heaven and Earth) in the sacrificial homes the gods full of reverence take delight, together with *Āyu* (sacrificing man)'. Geldner translates here *vidātheṣu* 'bei den opfern,' which is not consistent with 1. 159. 1. See also 4. 21. 4.

*nī tvā vasiṣṭhā ahvanta vājīnam*,  
*grṇānto agne vidātheṣu vedhāsah*, 10. 122. 8,

'The Vasiṣṭhas have called to themselves you, Agni, that confer substance, praising you in their (sacrificial) homes, the wise seers.' That the alliteration, *vidātheṣu vedhāsah* can have no interpretative import is seen, rather late in the day, by Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* 2. 292; cf. his article on *vidātha* *ZDMG* 54. 608 ff.

In 2. 39. 1, *brahmāṇeva vidātha ukthāśāsā*, 'the press-stones, reciting in the (pious) household *ukthā*-songs like two *brahmāns*,' the critical words are rendered by Geldner impossibly, 'an weisheit wie zwei Hotrpriester, die das loblied vortragen.' Other illustrations may be found in rubric 7. In a sense the two rubrics belong together.

5. Words for space, size, or locality with *vidātha*, mostly in the locative.

There are a number of passages in which other circumstances than the presence of *yaj*, or some word for 'song,' 'prayer,' with the locative of *vidātha*, help to determine the meaning of *vidātha*. Thus some word of locality, such as *antār*, 'within,' or of size, as *mahā* 'great';

*antār mahé vidāthe yetire náruḥ*, 5. 59. 2,

'Within the great (sacrificial) establishment the heroes (Maruts) have grouped themselves' (cf. 7. 57. 2).

*prā te mahé vidāthe śaṁsiṣam hārti*, 10. 96. 1,

'In the great (sacrificial) establishment have I praised thy bay horses.'



*antár devó vidáthā mártyeṣu . . .*  
*ágne yájasva tanvām táva svām, 6. 11. 2,*

'Within the (sacrificial) establishments among mortals do thou, god Agni, sacrifice thy own body.'<sup>9</sup>

*tisró bhāmīr dhārayan trīṇr utā dyūn*  
*trīṇi vratā vidáthe antár eṣām, 2. 27. 8,*

'They (the Ādityas) uphold the three earths and the three heavens; they uphold their three laws in the (pious) household (or, the three laws in their establishments).' Geldner's 'die drei gebote sind in ihrem wissenabereich,' contains nothing but a fanciful application of his *vidátha* from *vid* 'know.' But he holds to this idea in 1. 151. 1, *svādhyò vidáthe apsú jñanan*, 'die andächtigen in weiser rede im wasser erzeugten (Agni).'<sup>10</sup> The passage says: 'The pious men begot (Agni) in their establishments,' paradoxical as it may seem that they did this rather than use the rubsticks. In all these connections the almost constant use of the locative converges upon the locus of the sacrifice and nothing else.

Of much the same critical import is the parallelism between *vidátha* and *ástam* in 1. 130. 1. Both words mean home; both are in closely parallel comparisons; Geldner's translation of *vidáthānīva* by 'rat der weisen' is sheer fancy: *éndra yāhy úpa naḥ parāvato . . . áchā vidáthānīva sátpatir ástam rájeva sátpatīḥ*, 'Indra, come to us from a distance like a real lord to his establishments, like a king and real lord to his home.' No other rendering of *vidáthānī* can preserve the obvious parallelism between *vidáthānī* and *ástam*, not even 'opfer,' to which Geldner points as an alternate possibility.

6. *The gods are pleased with and helpful in the vidátha, prevailingly used in the locative*

Geldner is carried away by his etymology of *vidátha*, as from root *vid* 'know,' to a rendering such as 'wisdom,' 'wise speech,'

<sup>9</sup> This passage (see above), with both *antár* and *yájasva*, makes it really impossible to doubt that the *vidátha* is a locality.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. 1. 60. 3; and 10. 11. 3, *agnis hótāraṁ vidáthāya jñanan* (sc. *upāsah*). This forbids any such interpretation of 1. 151. 1. The waters are simply borrowed from the myth [ . . . sentence not completed by author; add, perhaps, "of Agni's birth in the waters" or the like].

'words of wisdom,' '(opfer)kunde' etc. The prevailing occurrences of *vidātha* are, as we have seen, in the locative singular or plural. This does not of itself impose a topical meaning on the word but certainly carries a suspicion to that effect. As case adds itself to ease the feeling that the *vidātha* is a locality grows upon one. Here, first of all, a group in which the gods are described as being or doing something very praiseworthy; the act is stated as taking place *vidāthe* or *vidāthesu*. I shall report, wherever available, Geldner's (G.) rendering, leaving the reader to substitute what we regard as the correct meaning:

*agnir mandrō vidāthesu prācetāḥ*, 4. 6. 2,

G. 'Agni, der beliebte, in weisheit erfahrene.'

*dyāvā . . . prthivī . . . vidāthesu prācetāsā*, 1. 159. 1;

G. 'Himmel und Erde, die in der Weisheit erfahrenden.' See the full passage above under 3.

*agne . . . vidāthe vicarṣaṇē*, 1. 31. 6;

G. 'O Agni . . . distinguished in wisdom.'

*grṇānto agne vidāthesu vedhāsah*, 10. 122. 8.

*nrpésaso vidāthesu prā jātāḥ*, 3. 4. 5; see above, under 3, end.

*yuvatīm . . . vidāthesu pajrām (āsthāpayanta yūvānah)*, 1. 167. 6;

G. 'Die Jünglinge liessen die junge frau auf (den) wagen steigen, die in weisen reden feste.' Of this 'bibelfeste' virgin (apparently Rodasi of the preceding stanza) we naturally hear no more.

*gīraḥ sām añje vidāthesv ābhūvaḥ*, 1. 64. 1;

G. 'besalbe ich die lobrede, die in der gelehrsamkeit fest ist.' In this and the following *ābhūvaḥ* may mean 'be present' in the *vidāthas*. 'Lobrede, die in der gelehrsamkeit fest ist' is, to say the least, bizarre.

*marūtaḥ . . . vidāthesv ābhūvaḥ*, 1. 64. 6;

G. 'die Maruts, die in der gelehrsamkeit bewanderten.' Here Hillebrandt, 'bei den opfern.'

*mādanti vīrā vidāthesu ghṛīṣvayah*, 1. 85. 1;

G. 'Die männer (Maruts) beranschen sich an den weisen reden, darauf begierig.' Here Hillebrandt, 'an den opfern.'

*krīdanti krīdā vidātheṣu ghṛṣvayah*, 1. 166. 2;

G. 'Es tändeln die tändler auf die (worte der) weisheit ungeduldig wartend.'

*marūtaḥ . . . vidātheṣu jāgmayah*, 1. 89. 7;

G. 'Die Maruts, die gern zu den weisen reden kommen.'

*gāntāro yajñām vidātheṣu dhīrāḥ*, 3. 26. 6;

G. 'Sie kommen zum opfer kundig in der weisheit.' Here Geldner separates the words *yajñām vidātheṣu* which belong together, and mean 'the sacrifice in the *vidātha*,' as is attested by 7. 84. 3:

*kṛtām no yajñām vidātheṣu cārum*.

In another passage *vidātheṣu* obviously does not depend upon *dhīrāḥ*:

*āgne yāhvāsya tāva bhāgadheyam*,

*nā prā minanti vidātheṣu dhīrāḥ*, 3. 28. 4;

G. 'Deinen anteil, Agni, schmälern nicht die in der opferkunde erfahrenen.' Plainly the passage says: 'wise men do not skimp your share in the *vidātha*.'

The position of *vidāthe* and *vidātheṣu* in the verse-line has no critical value whatsoever; the anapaestic beginning of the word fits it for the opening of the passage after the cesura, but does not prove that the word is governed by any other particular word in the *pāda* or even verse. Notably it does not prove that the word next to *vidātha* governs it. So. e.g. 1. 85. 1, *mādanti vīrā vidātheṣu ghṛṣvayah*, need not be rendered with Geldner 'die männer berauschen sich an den weisen reden, darauf begierig.' It simply means, 'the eager men revel in the (pious) establishments'; there is no government as between *ghṛṣvayah* and *vidātheṣu*. Much more (and unnecessarily) strained 1. 166. 2, *krīdanti krīdā vidātheṣu ghṛṣvayah*, 'es tändeln die tändler (Maruts), auf die worte der weisheit ungeduldig wartend.' More simply, 'the playful players eagerly play in the sacrificial establishments.' This freedom of the syntax of *vidātha* and *vidātheṣu* establishes their meaning, as in 7. 84. 3: *kṛtām no yajñām vidātheṣu cārum*, 'pre-



pare ye for us a lovely sacrifice in the (sacrificial) establishments.' In every passage of this rubric the rendering ' (pious) establishment ' fits without strain.

7. *The gods are praised in the vidátha, used entirely in the locative*

In the preceding cases the gods are in a sort of subjective relation to the *vidátha*: what the passages mean is, that the gods participate in the *vidátha*, and that their mood in doing so is that of acceptance and pleasure. In a scarcely less large number of cases the gods are (passively) announced, praised, worshipped in the *vidátha*. Between the two it becomes finally clear that it is a question of place in which the gods are present on every religious occasion; are, in point of fact, the *causa movens*, as seen by the hieratic eye; the *vidátha* can prosper only by the favor of the gods who rejoice in it because they are there feasted and praised. Hence the constant use of the locative in both rubrics. The present rubric is in close touch with rubric 4.

*sthūrāsya rāyó bṛható yā īśo*  
*tām u śtavāma vidátheṣu índram*, 4. 21. 4;

G. 'Der über gediegenen grossen reichthum gebeut, den Indra wollen wir in weisen reden preisen.' It is scarcely possible to imagine for the second of these *pādas* any other rendering than, 'that Indra do we now praise in the *vidáthas*.'

*anākti yád vām vidátheṣu hótā*  
*sumnām vām sūrīr vṛṣanāv īyakṣan*, 1. 153. 2;  
*hinóti yád vām vidáthe saparyān*  
*sá rātāhavyo mānuṣo ná hótā*, 1. 153. 3;

G. 'wenn der Hotṛ euch (O Mitra und Varuṇa) unter weisen reden salbt, der opferherr, der eure gunst, ihr bullen, erreicht . . .' 'Wenn der euch unter weiser rede huldigend opfer spendend aneifert, wie es der menschliche Hotṛ tut.' Note in stanza 1. 153. 2 the occurrence of *sūrī*, i. e. the owner of the *vidátha*. In 1. 153. 1 *dhātībhiḥ* (instrumental, not locative) holds the place which Geldner almost always assigns to *vidátheṣu*. Both *vidáthe* and *vidátheṣu* are clearly designations of locality.

*alātṛṇāso vidátheṣu súṣṭutāh*, 1. 166. 7;

G. '(Die Maruts) die nicht zuruckfordern (?), die in den weisen reden gefeierten.'

*sá revān yāti prathamó rāthēna  
vasudāvā vidātheṣu praśastāḥ*, 2. 27. 12;

G. '(Der fromme) fährt als reicher voran zu wagen, als schätzespender in weisen reden gefeiert.' Similar expression in 8. 11. 2, *tvām (agne) asi praśāsyo vidātheṣu*.

*vibhvataṣṭó vidātheṣu pravācyāḥ*, 4. 36. 5;

G. 'Der (sc. reichthum) von Vibhvan geschmiedete in weisen reden zu rühmende.'

*ní tvā vāsisthā ahvanta vājinam  
grṇānto agne vidātheṣu vedhāsah*; see above, under 4.

Scarcely less simple is 3. 14. 1, of Agni:

*ā hótā mandró vidāthāny asthāt  
satyó yājvā kavītamah sá vedhāḥ*,

G. 'Der wohlredende Hotr hat die weisen reden bestiegen; er ist der wahre opferer, er der weiseste meister.' This merely states that Agni has entered the *vidāthus*; the next stanza (*ní satsi . . . barhīr ūtāye yajatra*) states the reason.

G. seems fairly to go out of his way to mistranslate 1. 162. 1,

*yād vājīno devājātasya sāpteh  
pravakṣyāmo vidāthe vīryāni*;

'Wenn wir des gottgeschaffenen, siegesgewohnten rennpferdes heldentaten in weiser rede verkünden werden.' Palpably *vidāthe* means, 'in the sacrificial home.' And it means the same thing in every passage of this rubric.

### 8. *The vidātha in relation to yajñā.*

In a large number of passages Geldner feels compelled to retreat from his favorite rendering of *vidātha* by 'wisdom,' or 'wise speech.' He then resorts to the traditional 'opfer.' In a case or two, very instructively, because there is in the passage another word for 'wise speech,' and 'wise speech' is not likely to be praised by wise speech. Thus, 3. 39. 1, *indram matir . . . jigāti, yā . . . vidāthe*

*śasyāmānā*, 'zu Indra kommt die dichtung, beim opfer vorgetragen.' The next stanza almost repeats, substituting *dhī* for *matī*. One witnesses here, as it were, the explosion of *vidātha* as 'wisdom,' or 'weise rede,' and the persistent locatives *vidātha* and *vidātheṣu* show that *matī* or *dhī*, 'prayer,' take place in the *vidātha*, its natural locality. Another passage, I. 143. 7, has *dhī* beside *vidātha*:

*indhāno akrō vidātheṣu dīdyac*  
*chukrāvarṇām ūd u no yaṁsate dhiyam,*

G. 'Entflammt, bei den opfern leuchtend möge er (wie) ein elefant (?) unser lichtfarbenes gedicht emporheben.' Aside from the unsettled meaning of *akrō*,<sup>11</sup> does not *indhāno vidātheṣu* plainly mean, 'kindled in the *vidātha*?' In I. 40. 6 *māntram* by the side of *vidātheṣu* has much the same critical import: *tām id vocemā vidātheṣu śambhūvaṁ māntram*, where G. translates, 'diesen spruch wollen wir vortragen bei dem opfer' (*vidātheṣu*), but as the sacrifice takes place *vidātheṣu* (I. 84. 3), *vidātha* cannot itself directly have that meaning.

Once more, 2. 4. 8, *nū te . . . trītye vidāthe mánma śānsi*, according to Geldner, 'nun ward dir bei dem dritten opfer ein gedicht vorgetragen,' shows us 'prayer in the *vidātha*' and joins the frequent passages above in which sacrifice or its attendant activities are said to take place in the *vidātha* (rubric 4).

It is easy to translate occasionally *vidātha* by sacrifice. I have pointed out in my previous article that this is much the same as slipping from the meaning 'church' into the meaning 'service in the church': 'we have church twice on Sunday,'—'we have service in the church' etc. In 3. 56. 8, *trīr ā divó vidāthe santu devāḥ*, G. translates, 'die götter sollen dreimal des tages beim opfer gegenwärtig sein.' If we substitute 'be present in the *vidātha*' for 'beim opfer gegenwärtig sein,' we see how slim at this point is the difference. In stanza 5 of the same hymn, '(Agni) who has three mothers rules in the *vidāthas*,' *utā trimātā vidātheṣu samrāt*, and 'three water-divinities rule three times a day over the *vidātha*': *tisró ōpyās trīr ā divó vidāthe pātyamānāḥ*, a passage which is almost repeated, 3. 54. 11, of Savitar, *trīr ā divó vidāthe pātyamānāḥ*. This, of course, refers to the three daily *sīvanas*,

<sup>11</sup> The meaning 'elephant' is guesswork, just as Geldner's former 'steed.' See Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda*, s. v.



which figure also in expressions like *trītye vidāthe mánma*, 2. 4. 8, 'poem recited at the third *vidātha*.' Three times *vidātha* (church) a day is the meaning of *vidātheṣv āhnām* in 5. 3. 6, *vayām agne vanuyāma . . . samaryé . . . vidātheṣv āhnām*, 'may we prevail at the conflicting sacrifices in the (three) daily *vidāthas*.' The gen. plur. *āhnām* indicates day-time points, or day-time series; cf. such expressions as *prapitvé āhnām*, *mādhye āhnām*, *abhipitvé āhnām*.

There are a number of passages in which *vidātha* can easily enough be translated by 'sacrifice,' but their flavor (with *vidātha* in the locative) points more naturally to 'place of sacrifice': 1. 92. 5, *svārum ná péso vidātheṣv añján citrām divó duhitā bhānūm aśret*, 'the daughter of Dyaus has put on her bright sheen, as (the priest) puts on color on the sacrificial post in the sacrificial plot.'

- ā na . . . vidāthe . . . savitā devā etu*, 1. 186. 1.  
*prā sómāso . . . sutā vidāthe akramuḥ*, 9. 32. 1.  
*ā vām voce vidātheṣu prāyasvān*, 7. 73. 2.  
*mītravaruṇā vidāthe swardṣā*, 5. 63. 2.  
*préd u tā te (indrasya vīryā) vidātheṣu bravāma*, 5. 29. 13.  
*jėsma pūrūm vidāthe mṛdhrāvācam*, 7. 18. 13.  
*ādevayūm vidāthe devayūbhiḥ satrá hatam*, 7. 93. 5.  
*drapsdā trāyan vidātheṣv īnduḥ*, 9. 97. 56.  
*tvām . . . vṛñate . . . hótāram agne vidātheṣu*, 10. 91. 9.  
*grñānto agne vidātheṣu vedhāsah*, 10. 122. 8.  
*tvām āñšo vidāthe deva bhājayūḥ*, 2. 1. 4.

These passages, except perhaps the last, need not be translated. One needs but observe the unfailing locative to realize that *vidātha* is a place. The last, 'thou (Agni) art *Āñša* (God 'Share'), dividing out shares in the sacrificial home.' If this passage meant with Geldner, 'du bist *Āñša*, der an dem opfer anteil gewähren kann,' we should rather expect the genitive *vidāthānām*, according to the evidence of 10. 9. 2, where *bhājayata* governs that case: *yó vaḥ śivātamo rāsas tāsyā bhājayatehā naḥ*.

#### 9. *vidātha*, unlike *yajñā*, never occurs in the instrumental

It is hard to extract nuggets from the deep mire of Vedic obscurities. To make sure that the *vidātha* is after all not directly 'sacrifice' the negative test may be profitably applied: *vidātha* is not *yajñā*, or any other word for 'sacrifice' or 'oblation.' A glance

at the articles *vidātha* and *yajñā* in Grassmann's Concordance shows that *vidātha* does not occur a single time in the instrumental (*vidāthena*, *vidāthāis*, or *vidāthebhis*), whereas *yajñebhis* occurs twelve times, and *yajñāis* twenty times. In 6. 2. 2, *tvām . . . yajñēbhīr girbhīr īdate*, cannot be replaced by *tvām . . . vidāthebhīr girbhīr īdate*: it would have to be *tvām . . . vidātheṣu girbhīr īdate* (cf. 10. 91. 9). Or, 1. 24. 14, *āva te kēdo varuna . . . yajñēbhīr īmahe havirbhīh*; or, 1. 159. 1, *prā dyāvā yajñāth prthivī . . . stuḥ* [*vidātheṣu prācetasā*], equally forbid the use of instrumentals of *vidātha* in the place of instrumentals of *yajñā* [note the locative *vidātheṣu* in the last passage!—Editor]. If we follow this point to the end it becomes crystal clear that the Vedic poets felt the local tint of *vidātha* just as much as we do when we use the word 'church' in the sense of 'service.'

10. *vidātha unlike words for wisdom never occurs in the instrumental*

Perhaps this feeling causes Geldner to take refuge in his frequent rendering of *vidātha* by 'wisdom' or 'wise speech.' But the same negative test bids us pause. Numerous words for 'wisdom,' 'wise speech,' 'pious thought,' or 'pious composition,' conspire to show that *vidātha* is something different. The words *dhī* and *dhītī* cover this ground; they occur innumerable times either in the singular *dhīd*, or in the plural *dhībhis* and *dhītībhis*. In 3. 38. 5 G. translates *vidāthasya dhībhiḥ* by 'im geiste der weisheit': it means 'through the prayers of the *vidātha*.' In the next stanza (6) G. resorts to extraordinary measures to keep *vidātha* in the same meaning:

*trīṇi rājānā vidāthe purāṇi  
pāri vīśvāni bhūṣathah sādānsi;*

'Die drei, die vielen, alle sitze schliesset ihr beide könige in eurer weisheit ein,' whereas it can only mean, 'the three seats . . . in the *vidātha* do ye two kings adorn (or, frequent)'; cf. 5. 63. 2; 6. 51. 2. Simple clauses like (*agnim*) *d vivāśanti dhībhiḥ*, 4. 11. 5; *sā dhībhiḥ astu sánitā*, 4. 37. 6; *agnim dhībhiḥ saparyata*, 5. 25. 4,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. with the instrumental *dhībhiḥ* the locative *vidātheṣu* in 10. 91. 9, *tvām . . . vṛṣate . . . kátāram agne vidāthesu*.

show how far removed from the uses of the locatives of *vidátha* are the instrumentals of *dhī*. The same condition obtains in the instrumentals of *dhīti*. In the opening stanzas of 1. 153 we have in stanza 1 *dhītībhiḥ* by the side of *havyābhiḥ*, *nāmobhiḥ*, and *ghṛtāḥ*, but in stanza 2 *anākti vidāthesu*, and in stanza 3 *vidāthe saparyān* (not *vidāthāḥ* or *vidāthebhiḥ* and *vidāthena*). Geldner translates *anākti vidāthesu* by 'unter weisen reden salbt'; and *vidāthe saparyān* by 'unter weiser rede huldigend.' I wonder if it is possible to bring more stringent proof that *vidátha* does not belong to the sphere of holy or wise thought or its expression, but to the locality in which these activities take place. With the preceding rubric in mind every rendering of this word in the past, and now in Geldner's Translation, is more or less wrong.

#### 11. The *vidáthas* of the gods

We have seen above, at the end of rubric 3, that Agni in his function of sacrificer occupies not only the *vidáthas* of men but also the cosmic *vidáthas* where the gods are established. In 6. 51. 2 a seer (*Sāra*) is supposed to know the three *vidáthas* of the *Ādityas*: *vēda yās trīṇi vidāthāny eṣām, devānām . . . viprah . . . sūrah*. This, in any case, refers to three seats of these gods. In 7. 66. 10 the same gods, significantly described as 'having Agni for their tongue and promoting the sacrifice,' hold or occupy by their holy thoughts or prayer the three *vidáthas* or cosmic places which belong to them: *agnijihvā ṛtāvādhah, trīṇi yē yemūr vidāthāni dhītībhiḥ*. Clearly, as might be expected, the stations of the gods who are themselves pious sacrificers may be described occasionally as their sacral establishments.

#### 12. A few mystic uses of *vidátha*

In a very few locutions there is, as must be expected, no criterion for the establishment of any meaning for *vidátha*. In 4. 38. 4 *vidāthā nicikyat* seems to mean 'having regard for the *vidátha*'; certainly it does not mean (with Geldner) 'die weisen worte verstehend.' In 1. 56. 2 *vidāthasya sāhaḥ* is rendered by G. 'mit der kraft (*sāhas* for *sāhasā*) der weisheit': the form and meaning of the clause is obscure, but there is no reason why the power of the *vidátha* should not be alluded to. In 1. 164. 21, *yātrā suparṇā amṛtasya bhāgām ānimeṣam vidāthābhisvāranti*, 'where certain



birds, their eyes open, shout a share of immortality<sup>13</sup> at the *vidāthas*, the mysterious *brahmodya* does not betray the nature of the birds.<sup>14</sup> They certainly do not (with Geldner) 'scream for a share of immortality, with ever-open eyes, and scream after wisdom.' *abhi* pretty certainly governs *vidāthā*, 'shout to the *vidāthas*.' The construction of *vidāthā abhisvaranti* is closely parallel to that of *vidātham d-vaḍ* (above, 2). Hillebrandt, 'dem opfer entgegenschreiend.'

### 13. The derivative adjective *vidathyā*

The derivative adjective *vidathyā* means 'having, or pertaining to, or fit for the *vidātha*.' Almost lurid light is shed upon the word, as well as upon the persistent locatives *vidāthe* and *vidātheṣu*, when it appears connected with other topical words. Thus 1. 91. 20;

*sōmo vīrām karmanyām dadāti,  
sādanyām vidathyām sabhēyam  
pitṛśrāvaṇam yó dādāśad asmāi,*

'Soma presents to his worshipping a piously active son, useful in the house, active in the *vidātha*, fit for the drawing-room,<sup>15</sup> a credit to his father.' G. translates *vidathyām*, so as to efface the parallelism between *vidathyā* and the words on either side, by 'der im rat der weisen tüchtig ist,' but this is impossible in 1. 167. 3:

*gūhā cārantī mōnuṣo nā yōṣā  
sabhāvati vidathyēva sām vāk.*

'Vāc (Sarasvatī), modestly covered like a human woman (goes) with (the Maruts) as a lady of elegant house and home.' G. loosely as to syntax, unbelievably as to sense, 'Ihre rede, die einen zuhörer-kreis hat wie eine gelehrte (rede), begleitet (die Marut).' The locution *vidathyām vīrām*, 'son fit for the patriarchal home,' occurs again in a comparison in 7. 36. 8; it reflects the well-known *pāṇas*,

<sup>13</sup> Probably, 'higher knowledge.'

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 10. 114. 3 ff.

<sup>15</sup> In the RV. *sabhā* is mostly a public hall as in AV. and later, but sometimes it is the main social spot in the *vidātha*, its parlor, or living-room for the entire patriarchal family.

*suvrāso vidātham ā vadema, and  
brhād vadema vidāthe suvrāh,*

discussed above in rubric 2. All these passages show quite clearly that the patriarchal household stood in need of young men, pious and living so as to conform with the habits and interests of the *vidātha*, where the gods are at home and where the gods are praised. That is stated forthright in 7. 40. 1: *ō śruṣṭīr vidathyā sām etu*, 'may the obedience that promotes (or, suits) the pious households come along.'

#### 14. *Parallelism between vidātha and sabhā.*

Parallelism between *vidathyā* and *sabhāvān* continues: 6. 8. 5, *vidathyām grṇādbhyō 'gne rayīm . . . dhehi*, 'to them that praise thee, O Agni, furnish wealth in the household'; 4. 2. 5, *dirghō rayiḥ prthubudhnāh sabhāvān*, 'wealth, extensive and of broad foundation, including (palatial) houses.' Geldner translates here *sabhāvān* by 'der gute gesellschaft hat.' The word may mean 'securing status in the assembly,' in accordance with its well-known more universal use; see 6. 28. 6, *brhād vo vāya ucyate sabhāsu*, 'loudly your power is discussed in the *sabhās*,' whether *sabhāsu* refers to private houses (parlors), or the village and town halls.

#### 15. *Vidathyā by itself in the sense of pertaining to the pious home*

Otherwise *vidathyā* means 'belonging or fit for the sacrificial home.' RV. 10. 41. 1:

*rātham tricalkrām sāvanā gānigmatam,  
pārijmānam vidathyām suvrktibhiḥ  
vayām vyūṣṭā uṣāso havāmahe;*

'As the dawn gleams we call, while we carefully spread the *barhis* (*suvrktibhiḥ*) upon the three-wheeled car (of the *Āsvin*) which is hurrying to the (three daily soma-) pressures, the car that rolls over the earth and runs to the pious households.' Here *sāvanā gānigmatam* and *vidathyām* interpret one another. Cf. 7. 74. 4, *āsvāso yē vām ūpa dāśūso grhām yuvām dīyanti*, where the words *dāśūso grhām* are, as it were, a gloss upon *vidathyām*. Cf. 4. 46. 5.

That God Agni is peculiarly *vidathyà* will not cause surprise after what has been pointed out. 3. 54. 1:

*imām mahē vidathyāya śūśām . . . prā jabhruḥ,*

'They have brought this inspiration to (Agni) the great god of the sacrificial home.' Significantly the verse goes on to say, *śṛṇótu no dāmyebhīr ānikāh*, where *dāmyebhīr* is a kind of a gloss to *vidathyà*. And again, in the next verse, the words *stóme vidātheṣu* are equally determinative.<sup>16</sup> In 4. 21. 2 Indra's might like a potentate rich in possessions (*vidathyò ná samrāt*), overcomes the tribes of men. G. translates here *vidathyò ná samrāt* by 'wie ein weiser könig,' but in 3. 55. 7 *vidātheṣu samrāt* by 'der all-herr über das opfer.' Cf. the expression *āchā vidāthāniva sātpatiḥ* in 1. 130. 1, which Geldner turns yet differently: 'wie ein rechtmässiger gebieter zum rate der weisen'; see above, 5, end. Perplexingly Geldner side-tracks the most natural interpretation of *vidathyà* in every instance.

#### 16. *Vrjāna*, the plot of the sacrifice

Somewhere within the *vidātha*, the patriarchal holding of the family, lies the *vrjāna*, the spot or plot, or enclosure, where actually takes place the sacrificial performance. Localities rendered famous by particularly holy sacrificial plots, *svvrjānāsu vikṣū*, 10. 15. 2, are much the same as pious dwellings in general, *yajñtyāsu vikṣū*, 8. 39. 7, where Agni is at home. Soma is king of the *vrjāna*, 9. 97. 10; Dharman is king of all that pertains to the *vrjāna*, *dharma bhuvad vrjanyāsyā rājā*, 9. 97. 23, meaning religion in general. We may suspect the word *vrjāna* to be the abstract noun from the verb *varj* which plays an important role in connection with the *barhīs*: *vrktā-barhīs*,<sup>17</sup> etc. Anyhow the word stands in close

<sup>16</sup> Here Geldner's 'loblied bei den opfern' approaches our view pretty closely.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. perhaps the very obscure expression *praticināṁ vrjānām dāhase girā*, preceded by the word *barhiṣādam*, in 5. 44. 1. In 6. 35. 5 the locution *vī dāro gr̥hīṣe*, coördinated with *vrjānam*, may perhaps refer to 'the doors' of the *āprī*-hymns, 'sing open the doors.' The obscure situation again makes this a guess. Note the parallelism between *girā* and *gr̥hīṣe* in the two passages. On the relation of *barhīs* with the root *varj* see JAOS 35. 273 ff.



contact or vicinity to *vidātha*; the two words harbor activities and conditions which approach each other to the point of identity. RV. 7. 99. 6:

*rare vām stōmam vidātheṣu viṣṇo  
pinvatam iṣo vrjāneṣu indra,*

'I have bestowed upon you praise, O Viṣṇu and Indra, in the sacrificial homes, do ye furnish abundant food in the sacrificial enclosures!' Closely allied with the preceding is 2. 34. 7:

*dāta maruto . . . iṣam stotṛbhyo vrjāneṣu kārāve,*

'O ye Maruts, give food to the singers, to the poet in the sacrificial enclosures!' Geldner in his Translation again treats this word with detached subjectivity, as the analogy of the Roman *fratres* (e. g. *arvales*) meaning 'opferbund,' 'priesterverband'; he renders 2. 34. 7, '(Gebet) . . . den sängern, dem dichter in dem (opfer) bund lohn.' Very similarly 2. 2. 9, *dhīh . . . dūhānā dheruṛ vrjāneṣu kārāve*, 'prayer, which has become a milch cow for the poet in the sacrificial plot.' G. translates here *vrjāneṣu* by 'in den priester-verbänden.' But, as indicated above, rubric 2, there is a passage with *vrjāna*, so closely analogous to those with *vidātha* there treated, as to leave no doubt that *vrjāna* is some spot where the sacrifice was performed: RV. 1. 165. 15, *asminn indra vrjāne sārcavitrāh smāt sūribhis tāva śārman syāma*, 'in this sacrificial plot, O Indra, may we, endowed with sound sons, together with (our) patrons, be under thy protection.' G. translates *vrjāne* by 'in diesem kampfe,' at an infinite distance from his own and others' general conception of the word.<sup>12</sup>

The word *vrjāna* occurs both in the neuter and, less frequently, in the masculine (1. 165. 15, repeated many times, see *RV. Repetitions*, p. 152; 5. 44. 1; 6. 35. 5; 7. 32. 27).<sup>13</sup> In 1. 165. 15, *vidyāmeṣām vrjānam jirādānum*, we have so close a parallel to 7. 99. 6 (*pinvatam iṣo vrjāneṣu*) as to leave no doubt about its meaning, 'may we obtain food and may our sacrificial plot yield rich gifts.' G. renders with the utmost fancy, 'wir möchten einen gastlichen opferbündler kennen lernen, der rasch schenkt.' Comparison between 1. 165. 15 and 7. 99. 6 shows that there is not a chance for such a rendering.

<sup>12</sup> See, however, his rendering of 1. 63. 3.

<sup>13</sup> For a suggestion as to how the masculine came about, see below.

17. The *vrjāna* like the *vidātha* is seat of the gods

Moreover the local coloring of *vrjāna* appears in every straightforward passage in the RV. Thus in quite a number in which Soma or some other god figures in the *vrjāna*:

*svāyudhāh pavate devā indur*  
*āstatihā vrjānam rāksamāyah,* 9. 87. 2.  
*hānti rākso bddhate pāry ārātīr*  
*vārivah kṛavān vrjānasya rāja,*<sup>20</sup> 9. 97. 10.  
*anindyō vrjāne soma jāgrhi,* 9. 82. 4.  
*marūdgaṇe vrjāne mānma dhīmahi,* 10. 66. 2.  
*viśveṣv enām vrjāneṣu pīmi*  
*yō me kukṣī sutāsomah prṇāti,*<sup>21</sup> 10. 28. 2.  
*vājreṇānyāh śāvasā hānti vṛtrām*  
*śiṣakty anyō vrjāneṣu viprah,*<sup>22</sup> 6. 68. 3.  
*āsāvī mitrō vrjāneṣu yajñīyah,* 9. 77. 5.  
*dyukṣām hōlāram vrjāneṣu dhūrśādam,*<sup>23</sup> 2. 2. 1.  
*yō 'vare vrjāne viśvāthā vībhūh,*<sup>24</sup> 2. 24. 11.

In the light of these passages, which are so obvious as not to require translation, some of Geldner's renderings can be easily judged: RV. 1. 60. 3: *yām* (sc. *agnīm*) *ṛtvījo vrjāne mānuṣāsaḥ* . . . *jījananta*, 'den die menschlichen priester in ihrem opferbunde erzeugt haben.' Substitute for 'in ihrem opferbund,' 'in the sacrificial enclosure,' and note in st. 1 of the same hymn *vidāthasya kotūm*, as epithet of Agni. This shows, once more, *vidātha* as close synonym of *vrjāna*; Agni is produced in the *vidātha* also in I. 151. 1 (above, rubric 5). In I. 91. 21, *āsādham yutsū* . . . *vrjānasya gopām* . . . *tvām ānu madema soma*, Geldner translates *vrjānasya gopām* by 'dem hirten der (opfer) partei.' But this, along with the three passages above (9. 82. 4; 87. 2; 97. 10), means very simply that Soma is the guardian of the sacrificial enclosure. Much the same is meant in 3. 36. 4, *mahān āmatro vrjāne virapṣī*, 'a big measure (of Soma) in the sacrificial plot, bringing men and cattle,'<sup>25</sup> where G. pretty well senses the meaning of *vrjāne*, in translating 'bei dem opfer': the identical com-

<sup>20</sup> Of Soma.<sup>21</sup> Of Indra.<sup>22</sup> Of Indrāvaruṇā.<sup>23</sup> Of Agni.<sup>24</sup> Of Brahmanaspati.<sup>25</sup> See IF 25. 185 ff.

promise which he has to make in the case of *vidātha*. Similarly, of Agni 1. 73. 2, *devó ná yáḥ savitā . . . krātvā nipāti vrjānāni vīśvā*; G., 'der wie der gott Savitar mit umsicht alle opferparteien überwacht,' fairly goes out of his way to ignore the commonplace that Agni is the guardian of every sacrificial plot. So also 2. 2. 1, (*agnim*) *dyukṣām hótāraṁ vrjāneṣu dhūrṣādam*, which G. renders, '(Agni) den himmlischen Hotar der in den priesterverbänden an der (deichsel-) spitze sitzt.' Why not 'Agni, leader in the sacrificial plot,' a constant conception of Agni? So also in 1. 128. 7, *sá mānuṣe vrjāne . . . hitò 'gnir yajñēṣu*, 'He, Agni, established in the human sacrificial plot over the sacrifices': G. 'in den menschlichen opferbund eingesetzt,' a rather swagger idea, totally unwarranted by anything Vedic. In 1. 101. 11 the priests are called *vrjānasya gopāḥ*, 'the guardians of the sacrificial plot'; they sing the praise of the Maruts (Indra's cohorts) and are therefore sure to gain substance by Indra's help:

*marútsotrasya vrjānasya gopā  
vayām indreṇa sanuyāma vājam.*

G. translates *vrjānasya gopāḥ* by 'die hirten des opferbundes.' This is made clear by stanza 8 of the same hymn,

*yād vā marutvāḥ paramē sadhāsthe  
yād vāvamē vrjāne mādōyāse,  
āta d yāhy adhvarām no āchā.*

G.'s translation of *avamē vrjāne*, 'bei dem nächsten opferbund,' is, of course, fanciful as is shown by the synonyms *sadhāsthe*<sup>26</sup> and *vrjāne*, both of which refer to localities. The passage does not need to be translated, only it seems to me to refer to both divine (*paramē*) and human (*avamē*)<sup>27</sup> sacrificial plots. The same conception appears to be alluded to in 5. 54. 12; 9. 96. 7; 10. 63. 15.

#### 18. *Vrjāna with hostile implication*

Quite frequently *vrjāna* turns forth a hostile aspect: hostile towards demoniac powers, and, even more characteristically, towards other worshippers, engrossed with sacrifices that engage the service

<sup>26</sup> Cf. 5. 52. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *mānuṣe vrjāne* in 1. 128. 7, above.



of the gods and conflict with one's own (the *viḥavā*).<sup>28</sup> Failure to understand this has given rise to unnecessary special translations of the word. So particularly 3. 34. 6, *vrjānena vrjindān sām pipeṣa*, where Geldner *ad hoc* introduces a new meaning of the word, 'mit seiner umschlingung zerschmettert er die rankevollen.' Grassmann, 'mit kraft' etc. The passage simply states that Indra smashes his enemies by virtue of the sacrifice which is offered him in the sacrificial plots: it is the Vedic pun obligatory which brings the two words together. Both the preceding and following stanzas (5 and 7) suggest the poets whose songs really are the source of Indra's inspiration. In 1. 63. 3 Indra actually slays demons in the *vrjāna*, to wit: *tvām śuṣṇāṃ vrjāne . . . ahaṇ*, 'thou (O Indra) didst slay Śuṣṇa (and others) in the *vrjāna*.' G., quite newly, 'du hast den Śuṣṇa im ringkampf erschlagen.' Grassmann, equally fancifully, 'in der Kluft.' In a rather larger number of cases the *vrjāna* owes its hostile character to the conflicting aims and calls upon the gods on the part of those operating within. Thus 10. 42. 10,

*vayāṃ rājābhiḥ prathamā dhānāny  
asmākena vrjānenā jayema,*

'May we and our kings by virtue of our sacrifice-plots conquer first-class riches.' The contrast between one's own and others' *vrjānas* appears particularly in 1. 101. 8 (above, 17). In 2. 24. 11; 4. 96. 7 the expressions *āvare vrjāne* and *vrjānā āvarāṇi* also seem to refer to the *vrjāna* of the suppliant, but seem to be contrasted rather with divine *vrjānas*, the stanzas being intended to coax the gods to the earthly sacrifice. Further, 7. 32. 27,

*mā no ājñātā vrjānā durādhyaḥ  
māśivāso āva kramuḥ,*

'May not some unknown, evil-minded sacrificers, of hostile disposition, tread us down!' The Padapāṭha here reads *vrjānāḥ*, and it seems indeed from the context that the *vrjāna* is here conceived as consisting of the individual practitioners that take part in the sacrifice. The word, however, is regularly neuter, and this development is familiar in all words for groups, such as assembly, parlia-

<sup>28</sup> See the author in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. 25, whole no. 192, 1 ff. (December 1906).

ment, congress, college, etc. It is doubtless responsible for the occasional use of the word in the masculine in general; see above. The same expression, *ājñāteṣu vrjāneṣu*, occurs in the obscure monologue of Indra, 10. 27, where he smugly says, that 'when he was in certain unknown sacrificial grounds all the patrons (*maghāvānaḥ*) there behaved decently to him' (10. 27. 4 ab.). If they had not done so, he continues in stanzas 4cd, and 5ab, not even the mountains could have thwarted his will:

*yād ājñāteṣu vrjāneṣu āsam*  
*viśve satō maghāvāno ma āsan* 10. 27. 4ab;  
*nā vā u mām vrjāne vārayante*  
*nā pārvatāso yād ahām manasyē* 10. 27. 5ab.

Indra's control of the *vrjāna* is expressed forcibly in a comparison 1. 173. 6,

*sām vīcya īndro vrjānaṁ nā bhūma*  
*bhārti svadhāvān opāśām iva dyām,*

'Indra has clothed himself in the earth as tho it were a (mere) sacrificial plot,<sup>22</sup> he wears the heavens as a head-dress.' Geldner's 'Indra hat sich die erde wie einen gurt angelegt' has nothing but its picturesqueness to recommend it. The notion that the *vrjāna* is something small reappears in the statement, 6. 11. 6, *āti srasema vrjānaṁ nānhaḥ*, 'may we leap across misfortune as a sacrifice-plot,' and is supported negatively by the well-known mystic paradox 1. 164. 35, *iyām vēdīḥ pāro āntaḥ prthivyāḥ*, 'this *vēdī* is uttermost end of the earth,' where *vēdī* is at most a part of the *vrjāna*. Finally the *vrjāna* itself depends for its success or effectiveness upon the piety of its sacrificers, whereas the impious derive no benefit from it, 7. 61. 4:

*āyan māsū āyajvanām avirāḥ*  
*prā yajñāmanmā vrjānaḥ tirāte,*

'The months of the impious have come without bringing sons, he whose mind is bent upon the sacrifice prospers the *vrjāna*' (and thus himself).

<sup>22</sup> This he can do easily because the *vrjāna* is his own.

## FOLKLORE AND SONGS FROM QUBEBE

H. HENRY SPOER and ELIAS N. HADDAD

"Every tree has its shadow and every land its customs."

(Palest. Proverb)

The Mother-in-Law and the Daughter-in-Law.

Rise and listen to this jape<sup>1</sup>

Between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law<sup>2</sup>

She who hates her daughter-in-law

May she never enter into Paradise.

Fatma said:

O thou, where shall I sleep?<sup>3</sup>

Sleep in my little lap,

O blood of my little heart!

Turn thy hand around in my pocket

And take quickly thy rights.

Sleep in the upper stories,

O face of the choice ones!<sup>4</sup>

If thou wishest maids,

I shall send (them) to thee at once.

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<sup>1</sup> The first two lines are found also in Dalman: *Palästinaischer Dialect*, p. 206, song No. 9—they are a call for the attention of the hearers, followed by a lampoon.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Z. f. S.*, vol. V, p. 126 sq. (Arabic text in vol. IV, p. 223) the songs sung by the women in honor of the bride; and that which the mother sings in warning to her son, vol. V, p. 128 (Ar. text vol. IV, p. 223). Proverbs illustrating the relation between mother- and daughter-in-law: in *kān el-kelb beftā eḡ-jinne el-ḥamā biḥubb el-kinne* "If the dog enter Paradise, then the mother-in-law will love the daughter-in-law." *el-ḥamā ḥimmi u bint el-ḥamā 'aqrabe emsamme u bint bint el-ḥamā mā btetsamme* "A mother-in-law is poison, and the daughter of the mother-in-law is a poisonous scorpion, and the granddaughter of the mother-in-law cannot be named." Cf. *ZDPV.*, vol. XIX, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> The bride asks the question.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. most beautiful of women.



This one said:

Where shall I sleep?<sup>a</sup>  
 Sleep in the harbour,  
 O thou face of a jade!  
 If thou wishest groats,  
 I shall send them to you at once.  
 Sleep in an oven,  
 O face of a pipe-head!  
 If thou wishest the plague,  
 I shall send (it) to thee at once.

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His mother, only not his mother!  
 I do not desire his mother!  
 The house has become straitened,<sup>a</sup>  
 Because of the sojourn of his mother!

His mother, only not his mother!  
 O dish of *mṭabbag*,<sup>a</sup>  
 Overflowing with melted butter!  
 Even if I should be divorced,  
 I shall not receive his mother.

His mother, only not his mother!  
 O dish of broad beans,  
 Between the graves!  
 O long snake,  
 Sting thou me his mother!

His mother, only not his mother!  
 My mother is in a quarter of the town;  
 His mother is in a quarter of the town.  
 A troop of irregular soldiers<sup>a</sup>  
 May nap upon his mother!

His mother, only not his mother!  
 My mother is inside of the house,

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<sup>a</sup> The mother-in-law asks the question.

<sup>a</sup> A Pal. Prov. says: *et-bēt ad-dīyiq yisa' al' qudīyiq* "The little house holds a thousand good friends."

<sup>a</sup> A sweet-meat.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. note 5 in notes to Arabic Text.

His mother is outside of the house,  
A troop of Ali Bek's<sup>9</sup>  
May nap upon his mother!

His mother, only not his mother!  
If he should bring me *kohl*,  
O, I should adorn myself (with it).  
Surely I should pluck the bunch to pieces  
And say, (it is) from his mother.

His mother, only not his mother!  
If he should bring me *kohl*,  
O, I should surely anoint my eyes.  
I shall surely scratch my eyes  
And say, (it is) from his mother.

---

What has happened to his mother that she goes away vexed?  
Put me his mother in the overflowing sea!  
Shoot her with a shot, perhaps she is swooning.  
What has happened to his mother that she goes away vexed?

Bring my mother upon the high castles.  
Prepare her a lemonade, perhaps she is hot.  
Fill her a waterpipe, perhaps she is out of humor.  
Bring her a pillow, she is perhaps sleepy.

O bridegroom, I love thee, but not thy mother.  
May a stone and a column lie upon the heart of thy mother  
Thy mother the harlot, the devil,  
Makes little thy joy and causes thee care.

Thy mother, o boy, thy mother!  
Thy mother shall not come near me.<sup>10</sup>  
Thy mother has stolen the meat,  
She has put it into her pocket.  
May God bring shame upon her grey hair!

---

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the notorious leader of the Qais of the Nablus District who lived in the early part of the last century; cf. *Pal. Expl. Fund. Quart. Statement*, 1906, p. 35 sq.

<sup>10</sup> The first two verses of this stanza are found also in a Beduin song in Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

The seller of halawa in Jerusalem says when he goes about selling his ware:

The halawa is sweet,  
And the old woman in the house is a plague.  
And she, who does not love her daughter-in-law,  
May she never enter Paradise!  
It is written upon the door of Paradise:  
Never will the mother-in-law love the daughter-in-law.

#### Children's Games and Invocations for Rain.<sup>11</sup>

The boys and girls go in summer at evening into the open village place, each party by itself. The girls, standing in rows, say:

Leap hither and thither, trill, trill!<sup>12</sup>

I possess two green garments,<sup>13</sup>

And I possess the silver pincers;

They surely pinch the money.

I went up, going up, going up!

I found the grey-head sleeping.

I beat him, made him swoon,

And drank of his oil.

His oil had the taste of henna.

Neither henna nor anything else (is)

At the roots of the locks,

The locks of the son of my paternal uncle.

He swore to take my mother,

My mother, the Moroccan.

Tattoo the Aleppan woman!

The son of my paternal uncle came and tattooed her.

He let me put on of her earrings.

<sup>11</sup> The statement of the Rev. F. A. Klein in the *ZDPV.*, vol. IV, p. 66, that there are no Arabic children-songs or games, may at first astonish us as coming from so good an authority on matters relating to the life and customs of the people of Palestine. On close inspection, however, many of the songs can hardly be described as *Children-songs* and some which were dictated to us were unfit for publication. For children's games cf. L. Schneller, *Kennst Du das Land*, 20th Ed., p. 168.

<sup>12</sup> i. e. lulululu. . . .

<sup>13</sup> lit. blue.



Her earrings are heaps and heaps.  
My mind has flown away by reason of his beauty.

Leap hither and thither in the open, in the open!  
The horses have assembled.  
They said to her, these are the Hejazi,<sup>14</sup>  
O possessor of the hanging-down horns!<sup>15</sup>

Hamda has let me down into a well.  
I brought up to her a piece of silk.  
I said to her, by the life of the Emir,  
Cover the cheek!<sup>16</sup>

The boys play: "Wash thy Face, O Moon." That is, the boys, by twos, take hands and a third lays himself upon their hands on his stomach and they, lifting him up from the ground, say:

Wash thy face, O Moon,  
Upon the slab and the stone.

They then put him upon the ground, and the two boys, putting their hands upon one another's shoulders, carry the boy again upon their shoulders, saying:

zrêriffe zrêriffe<sup>17</sup>  
Close thy lips,  
Flag, flag!

And again they carry him about as the first time saying:

Wash thy face, O moon,  
Upon the slab and the stone.  
Thy father's wife, this love-smitten one,  
Loves me passionately with her needle<sup>18</sup>  
May God lengthen her hair.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup>The horses of the Hejaz are celebrated.

<sup>15</sup>These are gold coins, fastened to ribbons and attached to the head-dress of the women; cf. *Z. f. S.*, vol. V, p. 101, note 2.

<sup>16</sup>Lit. "a piece of apple." One says *kéz tie* a fig.

<sup>17</sup>For a description of the *zarîfa* cf. *Z. f. S.*, vol. V, pp. 120 sq; for the Ar. text vol. IV, pp. 218 sq.

<sup>18</sup>i. e. the woman, skilful with the embroidery needle, seeks to draw the singer to herself by her skill.

<sup>19</sup>cf. note 12 to Arabic text.

## The Game of Limping

Two clasp their hands together and a third boy raises his foot above their hands and the three say together:

My foot is limping, limping.  
We are going to have it set  
By Hsên il-Bi'balli.

When the children go home after playing they say:

The moon has risen, but the libra appears as if not visible  
Open, O pomegranate-blossom, upon the breast of the beautiful one.  
Greet her, greet, O news go (to him).  
Greet my intimate friends, O thou who lovest me tenderly.  
He is like a summer-gazelle and flashing lightning.

Invocations for Rain.<sup>20</sup>

"Cold water is more tender than a mother." (Palest. Proverb).

If the weather continue without rain the boys and girls go about together and invoke God saying:

O my Lord, a pouring,  
That we may marry 'îse,<sup>21</sup>  
That we may heap up the harvest burden,<sup>22</sup>  
That we may become decent human beings.  
Ihhe; water, O he, water!

O my Lord, what is our food?  
Our food is the stems of the kirsenne<sup>23</sup>  
O my Lord and what else is there?

<sup>20</sup> For other invocations for rain cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 56 sqq.; H. Schäfer, *Lieder eines ägyptischen Bauern*, pp. 17-20. Others, which were also dictated to us, are to be found in ZDPV., 1913, pp. 290 sqq. For invocations from Tripoli cf. H. Stumme, *Gedichte aus Tripolis*, pp. 62-65. K. Nabeshuber, *Aus dem Leben der arabischen Bevölkerung in Sfax*, pp. 27 sqq. mentions two invocations and explains the customs prevailing there. Cf. also *Palästina Jahrbuch*, 1913, pp. 164 sq.

<sup>21</sup> Inst. of 'Aîse.

<sup>22</sup> The failure of the latter rain is detrimental to the ripening harvest, cf. note 29.

<sup>23</sup> Camel's food, here the people have to eat it because of scarcity of food.

Our food is the milk-thistle.<sup>24</sup>

O my Lord, why this staying away (of the rain)?

Our food is the stems of the milkwort.<sup>24</sup>

O our Lord, O our Lord!

We are the little ones, what is our guilt?

It is they, the big ones, by their guilt.

We are the little ones, what is our guilt?

O my Lord moisten the libra!

All the misfortune is due to Hamdan.

O my Lord moisten the girdles!

All the misfortune is due to Zayid.

O my Lord moisten the water-jar!

I am not able to go out.

O my Lord moisten the necklace!

All the misfortune is due to Milade.

O my Lord moisten the muqhar!<sup>25</sup>

All the misfortune is due to the muhtar.<sup>26</sup>

O my Lord moisten the penknife!<sup>27</sup>

All the misfortune is due to Musa.

O my Lord moisten the pipehead!

All the misfortune is due to Pharaoh.

O my Lord moisten the money-belt!

All the misfortune is due to Omar.

O my Lord moisten the pillow!

All the misfortune is due to Ahmed.

O my Lord moisten the limekiln!

All the misfortune is due to Sa'dun.

O rain moisten us!

And moisten the *bšēt* <sup>28</sup> of our shepherd.

Our shepherd Hasan, the baldheaded,<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. notes 22 and 23 to Arabic text. These plants are also camel's food.

<sup>25</sup> Name of a piece of wood used for the cleaning of the oven, *šabān*.

<sup>26</sup> Representative of the people of a village, or a quarter in a town, or of a religious community.

<sup>27</sup> In this sense the word is used by the people; it really means "palm-leaf."

<sup>28</sup> Cf. note 26 to Arabic text.

<sup>29</sup> A similar poem is found in Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 58 where *h. ālagra* is translated by *h. son of Agra*.



Neither does he sow nor hoe the ground.  
*Ihhe*, water! O *he*, water!

O Umm el-*reṭ*,<sup>20</sup> O eternal one,  
 Water our prostrate grain.<sup>21</sup>  
 O Umm el-*reṭ*, O good-for-nothing,  
 This intense cold has roused us.  
 O Umm el-*reṭ*, O heat,  
 This warmth has burnt us.

O *Ḥadr*, O Abul-*Abbas*,<sup>22</sup>  
 Water our drying-up grain.<sup>23</sup>

Moisten the door of your house,  
 So that your pair of oxen may plough.  
 Moisten the door of your summerhouse,  
 So that your heifer may plough.

Moisten us, O *Aishe*!  
 That thy house be overflowed in the morning.  
 Moisten us, O *Muhammediye*!  
 That thy house be full in the morning.  
 Moisten us, O *Fatma*!  
 That thy house be flooded in the morning.  
 Moisten us, O *Aishe*,  
 And sprinkle us with the water of *Reshishe*.<sup>24</sup>

Rain and increase!  
 Our house is of iron.  
 Our paternal uncle *Atallah*  
 Has broken the waterjar.

<sup>20</sup> The *umm el-reṭ* "mother of rain" is formed of two sticks tied together cross-wise; over this a woman's dress is placed. The women carry this figure about, singing rain-songs. Cf. A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea Ethnographische Studien*, p. 8 sq., illustration. Janssen, *Revue Biblique*, 1906, p. 574 sqq. where there is also a rain-song. This article is reproduced in *Costumes Arabes*, p. 323 sqq. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>21</sup> Reference is to the latter rain. A Pal. Prov. says: *šatwet nišan bišawa s-sikke wa l-feddān* "April rain is worth the plough and the yoke of oxen." Cf. ZDPV., vol. XXXVI, p. 283; and the Algerian proverbs No. 1774 and 1776 in *Proverbes Arabes de l'Algérie* by Mohammed ben Cheneb.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. note 30 on Ar. text.

We have thrown it outside.  
Our nourishment comes from God.<sup>21</sup>

Umm el-reṭ went to bring the thunder.  
She only waved the wheat, which is long like a young camel.  
Umm el-reṭ went to bring the rain,  
She only waved the wheat, which is long as the trees.

In Betjala the children sing the following song:

Saint Nicolas <sup>22</sup> we came to thee,  
The gushing rain is coming to thee.  
To-day we are thy servants;  
The key of heaven is in thy hand.  
*Ihhe*, water? O *he*, water!

When the children go about together <sup>23</sup> they sing thus to encourage one another. One of them says (a verse) in front of them and all say after him: "O sweet is to me my possession."

On Monday I paid my debts  
And I began to rebuke myself.  
Tuesday is permitted and pure,  
And my prayer went up to the Highest.  
On Wednesday <sup>24</sup> I built a wall,

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the Pal. Prov. *illi birzig id-dib il-a'ma birziqna* "He who provides for the blind wolf, will provide for us." This poem appears in a less complete form in ZDPV, XXXVI, p. 263.

<sup>22</sup> i. e. S. George, the *el-ḥudr* of the Muhammedans.

<sup>23</sup> "When the children go about singing the women sprinkle them with water, this is a presage that God may send rain, and they say: 'Rely upon the good omen; the deeds are God's.'" Cf. note 31 to Ar. text.

One may perhaps regard this as having been originally a libation. According to a later tradition the libation at the Feast of Tabernacles was believed to bring a great blessing upon the country. Even to-day the Feast of Tabernacles plays an important part in the belief of the inhabitants of Palestine, Jewish and non-Jewish, in regard to the coming of the rain, expected to begin at this time. While ordinarily sprinkling with water is regarded as producing evil, such as separation and enmity, on this occasion it is considered to bring a blessing upon those sprinkled. Cf. also A. Goodrich-Freer, *Arabs in Tent and Town*, pp. 181 sq.

<sup>24</sup> Wednesday is regarded as a day of ill omen. A proverb says: *yōm el-arba'a fīha sora min en-naḥs* "Wednesday has an hour of misfortune," cf. ZDPV., vol. XXXVI, p. 277. The spirits of the departed are believed

It fell down upon me alone,  
 On Thursday I cut out a shirt,  
 Of mixed silk and cotton,  
 On Friday I lighted a candle,  
 It flamed up before me.  
 On Saturday I uttered a curse,  
 My Lord chastised me, me only.

During Ramadan the children go to the house-doors by night, praising and saying:

Inspire, inspire, O inspire!  
 Who is ours, inspire! Ali is ours, inspire!  
 May my Lord give you, inspire! a little bridegroom, inspire!  
 Under a tray of straw, inspire! he writes upon paper, inspire!  
 In a clay-pipe, inspire! he counts money, inspire!  
 As bride-money,<sup>27</sup> inspire! I found a cat, well is me!  
 She runs and digs up, well is me!  
 I dug up together with her, well is me!  
 I found a plait of hair, well is me!<sup>28</sup>  
 What will you buy with it? Well is me!  
 A grain of roasted chick peas,<sup>29</sup> well is me!  
 O who would crunch?<sup>30</sup> Well is me!  
 Ali would crunch. Well is me!  
 His mother would crunch. Well is me!  
 His father would crunch. Well is me!  
 His brother would crunch. Well is me!  
 His sister would crunch. Well is me!  
 Bring ye, bring ye, the Bedu are dead!  
 And the fleas have eaten our feet!

---

to come on Wednesday evening to the springs and wells to take their provision of water for the week. It is therefore considered dangerous for a traveller to camp at a spring on Wednesday evening; cf. Canaan, *Aberglaupe und Volkamedisin etc.*, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Z. f. S.*, vol. V, p. 99 (Ar. Text, vol. IV, p. 204).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Z. f. S.*, vol. V, p. 106. Women lengthen their tresses by additions of hair, or even of list, braided in with the rest.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Z. f. S.*, vol. V, p. 111, note 1.

<sup>30</sup> The Arabic expression means to chew roasted seeds, such as cucumber, peas, etc.



If a present is given to them they say:

"God requite you and increase your possessions."

If nothing is given to them they sing a verse of abuse:

A stone slab upon a stone slab!  
The mistress of the house is a \* \* \* 41  
A mill above a mill!  
The mistress of the house is a nymphomaniac!

Scoffing at the Sluggard at School and at Work.

O thou straggler,<sup>42</sup> go home!

Thou wilt find the food upon the fire;

Thou wilt find the groats.

Cursed be the father of this life!

To one who does not fast in Ramadan is said:

O thou who breakest fast in Ramadan, O despiser of thy  
religion,

May our black cat tear out thy entrails!

O thou who breakest fast in Allah's month, I incite against  
thee men of Allah!

I incite against thee es-Sarrise, he will have thy bones  
crushed.

### Songs for the Little Ones

#### Lullabies

O be gracious, gracious, gracious!

O bird of Paradise;

O white one, unpainted;

O red one, unhennaed!

Thine eye, O my darling, slept;

But the eye of justice<sup>43</sup> does not sleep.

<sup>42</sup> *qarrāt*; qui saepius crepitum ventris emittit. Freitag, *Lex. Arab.*

<sup>43</sup> A proverb from Damascus says of such a one: *qālu li 'abd il-qādir qum iṣṭiril qāḍi manni qādir qālu qum kul qāḍi haini ḥādir* "It was said to Abdel Qadir, rise and work! he said, I am not able. They said, rise, eat! he said, here I am ready."

<sup>44</sup> i. e. God.

May distress never remain upon any creature.  
O how sweet are the nights of well-being, O that they would remain!

By God, the nights of well-being quickly come and go.  
But the nights of distress are long to the stricken one.<sup>44</sup>

O be gracious, gracious, gracious!  
O that thou, O my darling, wilt not leave me!  
And if thou art away from me, thou makest me feel lonely.  
O that my Lord keep thee me, that thou mayest rejoice me!

Sleep my darling, sleep.  
I will surely kill for thee a pigeon.  
O pigeon, do not believe it,  
I laugh at my darling, only that he may sleep.

One like thee was not born,  
Though they may become bent and grey;  
Even though they bribe the midwife  
Whatever they may bring.<sup>45</sup>

One like thee women have not born! <sup>46</sup> } Refrain.  
O roses, blowing in the garden!

I see none like thee,  
O tail of the sheep!  
O meat of mutton,  
Rolled in leaves (of the vine).<sup>46</sup> Refrain.

I see none like thee,  
O son of princes!  
Riding upon horses,  
That move prancingly. Refrain.

This little hand  
Has in it pen and inkstand.

<sup>44</sup> Lit. "wounded one."

<sup>45</sup> A Roman Catholic woman, known to us in Palestine, who was expecting a child, said, "I have been to a midwife and have insured a boy."

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Spoer and Haddad, *Manual of Pal. Arabic*, p. 176 the song *lal-arôos: mīlak mā jāb nās* "mankind has not born the like of thee."

<sup>47</sup> This is a national dish called *maḥḥī*.

And this little hand, that is the other,  
Holds the rein of the filly.                      Refrain.

The darling of his grandmother is a hairless baldhead.  
He roved about the market and lost his *būst*.<sup>47</sup>  
He went to the market to make purchases.  
He brought *mṭabbag* <sup>†</sup> that he might give food to his grand-  
mother.

I have loved my darling,  
In the midst of my lap have I put him.

Thy little teeth and thy little mouth wish to eat bread.<sup>48</sup>  
And the Arabic band and the music and the beloved of  
thy mother assemble.

Thy little teeth and thy little mouth wish to eat cooked  
food.<sup>49</sup>

And the Arab band and the music! And thy mother beats  
the tambourine.

Thy little teeth and thy little mouth wish to eat egg-plant,  
And the Arab band and the music play before thee in the  
bath.

When my darling comes crawling to me,  
I shall slaughter for him a chicken <sup>50</sup>  
And invite the children of the quarter  
And will say, This is the custom.

When my darling comes walking to me,  
I shall prepare for him a stuffed sheep,  
And invite the children of the quarter  
And swear that I will not eat of it.

Shake thyself, shake thyself, O palm-tree! <sup>51</sup>  
I will slaughter for thee a hen and a goose.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. note 26 to Arab. Text.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. notes 42 and 43 to Arab. Text.

<sup>49</sup> *Lū*. "the one that lies down to sleep."

<sup>50</sup> The bride is often addressed in the wedding songs as "palm-tree";  
cf. e. g. Z. f. S., vol. V, p. 112.



Crawl, O podlet of broad beans!  
 Crawl, may be well to me this distance!  
 Shake thyself, shake thyself, O palm-tree!  
 A handful of rice, O palm-tree!  
 Shake dates, O palm-tree!  
 Under me are (dates) spread out (for drying), O palm-tree.  
 Shake thyself, shake thyself, O palm-tree!  
 Fill the *qadaḥ*,<sup>21</sup> O palm-tree!  
 Who has raised you, O palm-tree?  
 God has given thee (thy food), O palm-tree.

## IL-ḤAMA WIL-ĠINNE

Kull saḡara laha fāi kull balad laha zāi.

qūmu sma'u hal-fanne  
 bēn il-ḥamā wil-ḡinne  
 willi btubruḡ ḡinnitha  
 rētha<sup>1</sup> mā thiṣṣ iḡ-ḡinne<sup>2</sup>

qālat fātme:

yā hāḡa wēn anām?  
 nāmi fi ḡēni  
 yā mihḡet qlēbi  
 ḡiri ldič 'a ḡēbi  
 ḡuḡi ḡaqqič qawām  
 nāmi fil-'alāli  
 yā wiḡh is-sarāri  
 lan ridti ḡawāri  
 lab'at lič qawām  
 hāḡi qālat: wēn anām?  
 nāmi fil-'arīše  
 yā wiḡh il-kdīše

<sup>21</sup> Is the name of a round, shallow basket, cf. *Z. f. S.*, vol. V, p. 102, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *rētha* i. e. *lētha*, cf. Spoer and Haddad: *Manual of Palestinian Arabic*, § 89.2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note 2 to translation.

lan ridti ġeriše  
 lab'at lič quwām  
 nāmi fit-ṭābūn  
 yā wiġh il-ṛalyūn  
 lan ridti ṭā'ūn  
 lab'at lič qawām

immeh walla immeh  
 mā barid immeh  
 wil-bēt šār diyiq  
 min qa'dit immeh

immeh walla immeh  
 yā šahn mtabbaq  
 bis-samm mṛarraḡ  
 lanni baṭṭallaḡ  
 mā qibilt immeh

immeh walla immeh  
 yā šahn fūl  
 mā bēn il-iqbūr  
 yā haiye ṭāl \*  
 tilda' li immeh

immeh walla immeh  
 immi fi ḥāra  
 wimmeh fi ḥāra  
 širbit \* howwāra \*  
 tqīyil 'a immeh

immeh walla immeh  
 immi ġuwa l-bēt  
 immeh bara l-bēt  
 širbit \* 'ali bēk  
 tqīyil 'a immeh  
 immeh walla immeh  
 in ġab li iṣ-šačle

\* haiye ṭāl instead haiye fauile for sake of rhyme.

\* širbit for sirbit, cf. *Zeitsch. für Semitistik*, IV, p. 214. Cf. the phrase *širbe wara širbe* "one after another." It has here the meaning of *ḡamā'a*.

\* howwāra explained as "fornicators," perhaps in view of the evil character credited to the irregular soldiers.

ai laaṣṣaččal  
laam 'aṭ iṣ-ṣačle  
waqūl min immeh

immeh walla immeh  
in ḡab li čihle  
ai laaṣṣaḥḥal  
laaqla' 'aini  
waqūl min immeh

māl immeh wimmeh ṭāl 'a ḥardāna?  
ḥuṭṭūli immeh ib-baḥr il-'owwāma  
iḍirbūha bṭalaq la \* tčūn ramyāna  
māl immeh wimmeh ḥardāna

yiṭil'ūli immi 'al-qṣūr il-'ālya  
ḍowbūlha šarābāt latčūn šowbāna  
'abbūlha nafas latčūn za'lāna  
ḥuṭṭūlha l-misnad latčūn na'sāna

yā 'arīs ana baḥibbak bass immak  
ḥaḡar u 'amūd 'a qalb immak  
immak il-qahbe iḡ-ḡančāla<sup>†</sup>  
bitqill farahak u biḥimma

immak yā walad immak  
immak lā tiqrab liya<sup>‡</sup>  
immak sarqat il-laḥma  
ḥaṭṭitha fi ḡēbitha  
allah yiḥzi šēbitha

bīyā' il-ḥalāwe fil-quḍs biqūl

u hu ḍāyer ibī':

il-ḥalāwe ḥilwe  
wil-'aḡūz fil-bēt balwe  
willi mā biḥibb il-činne  
rēt 'umrha mā thišš iḡ-ḡanne  
mačtūb 'a bāb iḡ-ḡanne  
'umr il-ḥamā mā thiḥb il-činne

\* *la* with the imperf. of *kān* has the meaning of a questioning "perhaps."

† *ḡančāla* i. e. *šaitāne*.

‡ *liya* i. e. *li*, for sake of rhyme.



## LU'AB IL-ULĀD U DU'A Š-ŠITA

Fis-şef biṭla'u il-banāt wil-ulād yil'abu il-hāra l-marrib šill min  
la ḥaleh u biqulin il-banāt u hinne şāffāt:

ziqdih lāli lāli  
wili tōbēn ihdāri  
wili milqaṭ il-faḍḍa  
yilqaṭ laḡṭ il-maṣāri  
ṭli't ṭāli' ṭāli'  
laḡṭ eš-šāyib nāyim  
ḡarabteh ṣammēteh  
wišribt min zēteh  
zēteh ṭa'm ḡinna  
la ḡinna wala šī  
'a 'rūḡ iš-šawāšī  
šawāšī bn 'ammi  
ḡalaf yōḡiḡ immi  
immi l-muṣrabiye  
duḡḡ il-ḡelabiye  
aḡa bn 'ammi daḡḡa  
labbasni min ḡalaḡa  
ḡalaḡa šuḡ'i buḡ'i<sup>20</sup>  
min ḡusneh ṭiyar 'aqli  
ziqdih bṭēn \* bṭēn \*  
wiltammat rūš il-ḡel  
ḡālūlha l-ḡiḡēziye  
imm ḡrūn mdalliye  
ḡallatni ḡamda fi bīr  
ṭilt ilha šaḡḡit ḡarīr  
ḡilt ilha biḡyūt il-amīr  
ṣaṭṭi šūz it-tuffāḡa<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *šūḡ'i* is derived from the root *šaqā* "to heap up"; *buḡ'i* is mere reduplication. Colloquially the combination means "a mass of something." Cf. *hurly-burly*; *helter-skelter*, etc.

\* *bṭēn*, explained as *ḡala* with the meaning of "slow"; perhaps *fi-ḡulā* "in the open."

<sup>21</sup> Cf. note 16 to translation.

iṣ-ṣubyan bil'abu "ṣassil wiḡhak yā qamar," ya'ni waladēn waladēn bimsku bi idēn ba'dhim u wāḥad binām 'ala buṭneh 'ala dēhim u birfa'ūh 'an il-arḍ u biqūlu:

ṣassil wiḡhak yā qamar  
'al-balāṭa wil-ḥaḡar

u ba'dha biḡuttuh 'al-arḍ u biḡuttu l-waladēn idēhim 'a ṣtūf ba'dhim u biriddu biḡmlu l-walad 'a ṣtūfhim u biqūlu:

zrēriffe <sup>11</sup> zrēriffe <sup>11</sup>  
ṭabbīq iṣ-ṣiffe  
rāye rāye

u biriddu biḡmluh miṭl il-owwal u biqūlu:

ṣassil wiḡhak yā qamar  
'al-balāṭa wil-ḥaḡar  
mart abūk hal-'aṣṣāqa  
'aṣṣatni bibriṭha  
allāh yiṭowwil ṣi'ritha <sup>12</sup>

### LU'BET IL HAGLE

iṭnēn bimsku biidēn ba'dhim u walad ṭaliṭ biḡutt iḡreh fōq idēhim u biqūlu ṭ-ṭālāt sawa:

iḡriti 'arḡa 'arḡa  
rāiḡin inḡabbirha <sup>13</sup>  
'ind ḡsēn il-bi'balli

u himme <sup>14</sup> l-ulād mrowwḡin 'a dūrhim min it-ta'lile biqūlu:

ṭil' il-qamar wil-mizān 'iddeh ma bān  
fattih yā zahr ir-rummām 'a ṣadr ir-rūḡ <sup>15</sup>  
sallim 'alēhim sallim yā ṭariṣ <sup>16</sup> rūḡ  
sallim 'ala ḡullāni yāl-hawāni  
ṣibh il-razāl iṣ-ṣēfi u barḡin ilūḡ

<sup>11</sup> zrēriffe diminutive of *ṣarṣe*.

<sup>12</sup> *ṣi'ri* i. e. 'dne; cf. H. Stumme; *Gramm. d. Tunis. Arabisch*, p. 162 under *ṣildā*: Tunis: *ṣar'a* "hair of the body," *ṣar* "hair in general."

<sup>13</sup> *inḡabbirha* the "i" is a helping vowel frequently used before the prefixes "n" and "m." *ḡabbār* or *mḡabbir* "bonesetter."

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Z. f. S., IV, p. 205, l. 17, *himme* inst. of *himme*.

<sup>15</sup> i. e. *il-mitḡa*.

<sup>16</sup> i. e. *ḡabar*.

## DU'A Š-ŠITA

iḡa šān id-dinya btimsiḡ min řer mařar bidūru l-banāt wil-ulād  
sawa sawa u biřilbu min allāh u biḡūlu:

yā rabbi rešēše  
ta <sup>17</sup> nḡowwiz 'ēše  
ta nduqq il-qādim <sup>18</sup>  
ta nḡir awādim <sup>19</sup>  
ihḡe <sup>20</sup> imbū <sup>21</sup> yā ḡe <sup>20</sup> imbū <sup>21</sup>

yā rabbi wēš ačilna  
wačilna 'rūq il-čirsanne  
yā rabbi wēš u wēš  
wačilna 'ruq il-ḡurfēš <sup>22</sup>  
yā rabbi wēš ḡal-řebe  
wačilna 'rūq il-ḡullēbe <sup>23</sup>

yā rabbna yā rabbna  
wiḡna řiřār wēš řanbina  
himme il-čibār bi řanbihim  
wiḡna ř-řiřār wēš řanbina

yā rabbi bill il-mizān  
čill in-naḡse min ḡamdān  
yā rabbi bill iř-řadāyid <sup>24</sup>  
čill in-naḡse min zāyid  
yā rabbi bill iḡ-ḡarra  
māni qādir itla' barra  
yā rabbi bill il-qlāde <sup>25</sup>  
čill in-naḡse min mlāde  
yā rabbi bill il-muḡḡār <sup>26</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *ta* cf. Sp. and H., *op. cit.*, § 70.

<sup>18</sup> *qādim* is half of a load which hangs on both sides of the animal.

<sup>19</sup> Sgl.: *adami*.

<sup>20</sup> Exclamation of dissatisfaction when feeling cold.

<sup>21</sup> i. e. *māi*. Baby language.

<sup>22</sup> i. e. *ḡurfēš* cf. *ḡamāl*, *silybum marianum*.

<sup>23</sup> i. e. *ḡullāb* cf. *ḡām*, *euphorbia*.

<sup>24</sup> i. e. *zanānir*. Sgl.: *iřdād*.

<sup>25</sup> *qlāde* is a necklace to which coins are fastened.

<sup>26</sup> *muḡḡār* explained as *ḡaḡabe la qabřit-řābūn*. Cf. Socin-Stumme, *Discon aus Centralarabien*, poem 88, note 3h.



ʕill in-naḥse min il muḥtār  
 yā rabbi bill il-ḥūṣa  
 ʕill in-naḥse min mūsa  
 yā rabbi bill il-ṛalyūn  
 ʕill in-naḥse min far'ūn  
 yā rabbi bill il-qamar  
 ʕill in-naḥse min 'amar  
 yā rabbi bill il-misnad  
 ʕill in-naḥse min iḥmad  
 yā rabbi bill il-lattūn  
 ʕill in-naḥse min sa'dūn

yā maṭara billina  
 u billi iḥṣēt <sup>20</sup> rā'ina  
 rā'ina ḥasan il-iqra'  
 la bizra' wala biqla'  
 iḥḩe <sup>20</sup> imbū <sup>21</sup> yā ḩe imbū

yamm <sup>22</sup> il-rēt yā dāyīm  
 tisqi zar'na n-nāyīm  
 yamm il-rēt yā ṭaq'a <sup>27</sup>  
 harrakatna ḩaṣ-ṣaq'a  
 yamm il-rēt yā ḩōbe <sup>28</sup>  
 ḩarraḩatna ḩaṣ-ṣōbe

yā ḩaḩr yābu-l-'bbās  
 tisqi zar'na l-yabbās

billu bāb dārēu  
 ta yuḩrut fiddānēu  
 billu bāb sqīfītēu  
 ta tuḩrut biḩḩīritēu

<sup>20</sup> *iḩṣēt*, diminutive of *biṣt*, is according to muḩiṣ *ci-muḩiṣ* a wide 'aḩḩ. It is a short striped coat, reaching to the knees, with short sleeves, only worn by women in the Jerusalem district, where until about forty or fifty years ago it was also worn by men as is still done in the Hebron district. The Druses on Mount Carmel wear also the *biṣt*, cf. ZDPV., vol. 30, p. 167.

<sup>22</sup> *yamm* cf. Sp. and H. op. cit. § 88.

<sup>27</sup> *ṭaq'a* explained as *muṣ nāṣ*.

<sup>28</sup> *ḩōbe* explained as *miḩwiye* "the windy one"; should perhaps be *ḩōḩ* "heat of fire." Designation for wind and dust during hot weather.

billina yā 'āise  
 ṭṣabbih dārič ṭāise  
 billina yā mḥammadiye  
 ṭṣabbih dārič matliye  
 billina yā fātma  
 ṭṣabbih dārič zāṭma<sup>22</sup>  
 billina yā 'āise  
 riššina bil-mīye ršēse<sup>23</sup>

išti u zīdi  
 u bētna ḥadidi  
 'ammna 'aṭallah  
 ḥasar iğ-ğarra  
 ramēnāh barra  
 rizqna 'al allah

rāḥat umm il-rēt ta tğib ir-r'ūd  
 māḡat illa l-qamḥ ṭul il-qa'ūd  
 rāḥat umm il-rēt ta tğib il-maṭar  
 māḡat illa l-qamḥ ṭul iṣ-ṣaḡar

fi bēt ḡala biqūlu l-ulād il-ḥiddāwiye t-tālye:

mār inqūla ḡina laik  
 šuḡb il-maṭar dāḡil laik  
 iḡna l-yōm 'abīdak  
 miftāḡ is-sama bi idak  
 iḡhe<sup>24</sup> imbū<sup>25</sup> yā ḡe imbū

iḡa šān il-ulād dāirin<sup>26</sup> sawa biṣannu bēdḡa min šān yithammasu

uḡruḡ bil-fai  
 u 'ala l-lāḥ il-afal.

u wāḡad biqūl quddāmhim wil-čill biqūlu wārah: yā ḡalāli,<sup>27</sup> yā māli.

yōm iṭ-ṭinēn  
 wafēt id-dēn

<sup>22</sup>zāṭma i. e. 'āime Partic. of 'am i. e. melān.

<sup>23</sup>Pun upon the words riššina and rēšēse.

<sup>24</sup>Iamna biḡāru l-ulād u biḡāru iṣannu in-niswān yiršiqūhūn bil-mois u ḡaḡa fai min šān allāḥ yirail maṭar u biqūlu:

<sup>25</sup>For ḡililī.

u ʕurt aʕassir 'a ḥālī

Ref: yā ḥālālī yā māli

yōm it-ṭalāʕa

ḥalāta zalāta <sup>22</sup>

wiṣlat ṣalāti lil-'alī.

Ref:

yōm il-arba'a

banēt rab'a <sup>24</sup>

inhaddat 'alīya la ḥālī.

Ref:

yōm il-ḥamīs

faṣṣalt qamīs

ḥarīr mḥallat ʕittānī

Ref:

yōm iḡ-ḡim'a

ḍawēt šam'a

lam'at lam'a min quddāmi.

Ref:

yōm is-sabt

sabbāt msabbi

ḍarabni rabbi la ḥālī.

Ref:

fi ramaḍān biḍūru l-ulād 'al-bawāb fil-lēl u bimdaḥu u biqūlu:

uḥē uḥē i uḥē <sup>25</sup>

man hu lana uḥē 'alī lana uḥē

rabbi irziqhum uḥē bi'rīyisin uḥē

taḥt eṭ-ṭabaqa uḥē biṭṭib waraqa uḥē

fil-qādūs uḥē bi'idd flūs uḥē

ḥaqq il-'arūs uḥē laqēt quṭṭa ḥalālī <sup>26</sup>

timši u tunbuš ḥalālī

nabašt ma'ha ḥalālī

laqēt ḡdiyil ḥalālī.

ʕš tištari bu ḥalālī

ḥabbīt iqqāmi ḥalālī

yā mīn inaqrīš ḥalālī

'alī inaqrīš ḥalālī

immez ituaqrīš ḥalālī

sbūh inaqrīš ḥalālī

<sup>22</sup> For *ḥalālī*; *salāl*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Sp. and H., *op. cit.*, Vocabularium sub *rab'a*.

<sup>25</sup> uḥē imperat. of *waḥa*.



aḥuḥ inaqrīš ḥalālī  
 uḥteh itnaqrīš ḥalālī  
 ḥātu ḥātu wil-'arab mātu  
 wil-barārīt aḥlat iḡrēna.

in ṣaḥḥlim hadiye biqūlu:  
 ḥalaf allāh 'alēu u čattir ḥērēu.

win mā ṣaḥḥlimē šī biḥdu ḥiddāwiyet hazl:  
 balāṭa 'a balāṭa  
 ṣāḥibt il-bēt ḍarrāṭa  
 ṭāḥūne fōq ṭāḥūne  
 ṣāḥibt il-bēt mamḥūne.<sup>88</sup>

mīṣhara 'al-časlān šīč-čittāb ow šīš-šurl:  
 yā mfallis rowwiḥ 'ad-dār  
 bitlāqi ṭ-ṭabḥa 'an-nār  
 bitlāqi ḡ-ḡriše  
 yin'al abu hal-ṭše.

illi biṭṭir ramaḍān biqūlūleh:  
 yā miṭṭir ramaḍān jā 'ayif dīnak  
 quṭṭitna s-samra tintšil maṣārīnak  
 yā muṭṭir šahr allāh siqt 'alēk rḡāl allāh  
 siqt 'alēk es-sarrise<sup>89</sup> ṭḥalli 'zāmak harise.

#### RANĀNI LAL-ULĀD IŠ-SRĀR

min šān in-nōm wil-mlā'abe.

ōḥ minni minni minnī  
 yā 'asfūt il-ḡanī  
 yā bēda bala bayāḍ  
 yā ḥamra bala ḥinnī.  
 'ēnak yā ḥabībi nāmat  
 w'ēn il-ḥaqq lam nāmat  
 u la 'umr šidde 'a maḥlūq dāmat

<sup>88</sup> Cf. note 40 to translation.

<sup>89</sup> Explained as *mādyiḥ*.

mā aḥla layālī l-hana rēḥa dāmat  
 wallah layālī l-hana qawām tiḡi qawām trūḥ  
 ama layālī iṣ-ṣidde biṭṭūl <sup>27</sup> 'al-maḡrūḥ.

ōh minni minni minni  
 rēṭak yā ḥabībi ma ṭribē 'anni  
 win ribt 'anni btowḥišni <sup>28</sup>  
 yā rabbi iḥallī li iyāk twannisni <sup>29</sup>

nām yā ḥabībi nām  
 laḡbaḥlak ṭēr il-ḥamām  
 yā ḥamām la ṭṣaddiq šī  
 baḡḥak 'a ḥabībi bass ta inām.

miṭlak mā ḡābu <sup>40</sup>  
 lan inḥanu u šābu  
 low baṭṭalu id-dāya  
 bēš mā ḡābu  
 miṭlak mā ḡābu in-niswān } Refrain:  
 yā ward mfattiḥ fi bustān

miṭlak mā bēšuf  
 yā liyit il-ḥarūf  
 yā laḥm id-dāni  
 fil-waraq malfūf. Refrain:

miṭlak mā bara  
 yābn il-umara  
 rāḡbīn il-ḥēl  
 u māšyīn řandara. Refrain:

ḥad-diye  
 fiḥa qalam widwiye  
 wid-diye f il-luḥra  
 timsik ilḡām il-muḥra. Refrain:

aqra' wantaf ḥabīb sitto  
 rāḡ yitdandaf ḡowwa' biṣto <sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> biṭṭūl instead of biṭṭāl.

<sup>28</sup> IV F. of *scuḥat*.

<sup>29</sup> From 'anas.

<sup>40</sup> ḡāb bi *scalded* "bring forth a child."

nizil 'as-sūq yitsowwaq  
 ḡāb mṭabbaq <sup>41</sup> yi'ām sitto. Refrain:

ḡabībi ḡabbēto  
 ḡuwa l-ḡuḡn ḡattēto.

sannūnak u tammūmak 'āyiz yōcīl mam <sup>42</sup>  
 wil-āle wil-mazzika wiḡbāb immak tiltām  
 sannūnak u tammūmak u 'āyiz yōcīl buff <sup>43</sup>  
 will āle wil-mazzika wimmak tiḡla' 'ad-daff  
 sannūnak u tammūmak u 'āyiz yōcīl bēd il-ḡān  
 wil-āle wil-mazzika tiḡriblak bil-ḡammām.

win ḡāni ḡabībi idāda <sup>44</sup>  
 laaḡbahlo r-raqqāda  
 wa'zim ulād il-ḡāra  
 waqūl ai ḡādī l-'āda

win ḡāni ḡabībi yimṣi  
 laa'mallo ḡarūf maḡṣi  
 wa'zim ulād il-ḡāra  
 wiḡlif ana moḡlīṣi. <sup>45</sup>  
 hizzi hizzi yā naḡle  
 laaḡbahliḡ ḡāḡe u wazze  
 dādi yā qrēn il-fūl  
 dādi yislam li ḡaṭ-ṭūl

hizzi hizzi yā naḡle  
 ḡabṣet ruzz yā naḡle  
 hizzi balah yā naḡle  
 taḡti saṭah yā naḡle

hizzi hizzi yā naḡle  
 malli qadaḡ yā naḡle  
 mīn rabbāci yā naḡle  
 allah a'ṭāci yā naḡle

<sup>41</sup> Cf. note 7 to translation.

<sup>42</sup> Children use *mam* i. e. 'am instead of *ḡuḡ*; it is used to designate food in general.

<sup>43</sup> Children language for *ḡuḡ*.

<sup>44</sup> From *da-da*.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. note 47 to translation.

<sup>46</sup> *moḡlīṣi* i. e. *mā ḡcīl iṣi*.



## INDIAN ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

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ACHARYA, P. K., *Indian Architecture According to the Mānasāra-silpaśāstra*, pp. iv, 268, index: *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. xx, 861, index. Both printed in Allahābād, published by the OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, and without date (1927 or 1928).

These two volumes, the latter especially, are monumental works, and will be indispensable to every student of Indian architecture and *realia*. Only those who work along these lines will realise the great labour involved in the preparation of such books, especially when they are almost the first of their kind; the serious study of the Indian *śilpa-śāstras* has been too long delayed, and a warm welcome may be extended to the Professor's undertaking. The author, nevertheless, has neglected a good deal of work that has been done in this field; surprising omissions in the references, for example, are Rao, *Tālamāna*, Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, and texts such as the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Śilparatna*. Moreover the author is too little, if at all, acquainted with the actual buildings; otherwise, indeed, he could not have remarked that the buildings and sculptures of the time when the text of the *Mānasāra* was composed "have all been destroyed," overlooking the fact that sculptures and buildings of this and earlier periods survive in thousands, and that a very great deal of exact information about the early architecture can be gathered from the Śuṅga, Kuṣāna, and Āndhra reliefs. I have myself in preparation a work based on this early material, which can and necessarily will be very fully illustrated. Jouveau-Dubreuil had the immense advantage of a thorough knowledge of the actual architecture, and of personal contact with living *sthapati*s able to explain the meaning of technical terms; without these qualifications Professor Acharya has attempted an almost impossible task, for here book-learning, however profound, is insufficient.

The following notes, however, are meant to be a further contribution to the subject and an acknowledgment of the value of what the Professor has already accomplished, rather than further criticism.

As of most general interest I would call attention to the items *Abhāsa*, *Candra-sālā*, *Hasti-nakha*, *Kuṭāgāra*, *Likh*, *Liṅga*, *Nāraca*, *Tulā*. I should also like to emphasize the fact that a study of the early use of the words which later appear as established technical terms in the *Śilpa-sāstras* is of great value for the study of architectural history. There is still very much to be accomplished in this direction.

*Abhāsa*: together with *ardha-citra* and *citrābhāsa* are completely misunderstood. Neither of these is a material, but as explained by Śrīkumāra, *Śilparatna*, Ch. 64, vv. 2-6 (see my translation in the *Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Memorial Volume*), and by Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, p. 52, citing the *Suprabhedāgama*, a method. Both the *Mānasāra* and *Suprabhedāgama* as cited by the Professor himself are perfectly clear on the point; as the matter is important, I quote the latter:

*Sarvadevayaga-sampūrnaṁ drśyaṁ tac citram ucyate*  
*Ardhāraṇyaga-samdrśyam ardha-citraṁ caiva ca (sic).*

*Paṭe bhittau ca yo(al) likhyaṁ<sup>1</sup> citrābhāsam itocyate (sic).*

The mistake about *abhāsa* has led to the extraordinary view (*Diet.* p. 65, l. 3) that *alekhya* is also a material. *Citra*, in fact is divided into *citra*, *ardha-citra*, and *citrābhāsa*, respectively sculpture in the round, reliefs, and painting. In *Indian Architecture*, p. 70, in the same connection *sarvāṅga-drśyamāna*, rendered "quite transparent," really means "in which all the parts of the body are visible." Of course, there are many cases where *citra* by itself is used to mean painting, but some of these need critical examination; for example *citrāṅgi maṇḍalāni* of *Cullavagga*, V, 9, 2 does not mean "painted circular linings," as rendered in *S. B. E.*, XX, but simply "carved bowl-rests."

*Adhāra*: add the meaning, "reservoir," *Arthasāstra*, III. 8 (Meyer).

*Adhiṣṭhāna*, plinth: Mukherji, *Report on the Antiquities of the District of Lalitpur*, 1899, describes and illustrates the various parts and mouldings. A few diagrams of this kind would have greatly enhanced the value of the Dictionary.

*Ajira*: a courtyard, see Geiger, *Mahāvastu*, Ch. XXXV, 3 and transl., p. 246.

*Alambana-sāha*: the balustrade, *vedikā*, of a stairway, *sopāna*, *Cullavagga*, V, 11. Cf. *hasti-hasta*. *Alambana*, per se, is the plinth of a railing or balustrade.

*Alekhyā*: not in the Dictionary. See above under *abhāsa*. The working drawing, on cloth, for the Lohapāsāda is thus designated in the *Mahāvastu*, Ch. XXVII, 10. *Alekhyā-sihāna* is a space left in a manuscript for the subsequent insertion of an illustration.

<sup>1</sup> I yaḥ lekhyam.

*Alinda*: balcony, gallery. *Cullavagga*, VI, 3, 5, glossed *pamukha* = *pramukha*: (ib. VI, 14, 1, described as *hatthi-nakhakam*, see *hastinakha*. In *Mahāvamsa*, XXV, 3, the rendering of *alinda* as "terrace in front of a house door" (Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, p. 246, note 2) seems very questionable.

*Āmalaka*: not in the *Dictionary*, though discussed in the other volume, p. 179, where *kalasa*, "vase" (finial) is misrendered "dome."

Not in the *Mānasāra*, and the suggested equivalent *mārdhani-istaka* seems a little questionable. I doubt if an example as finial could be cited before the Gupta period, when it can be seen on the reduced edifices of the Sarnāth lintel (Sahni, *Catalogue*, pls. XV-XXVI); but these imply an already well-established tradition. The form is already employed architecturally in connection with pilasters represented at Amarāvati. In *Cullavagga*, VI, 2, 4 a kind of chair is termed *āmalaka-vanṭika-piṭṭham*, and this is glossed by Buddhaghosa as "having large *āmalaka*-formed feet attached to the back." The translation "many feet" of *S. B. E.* XX, 165, cited by Acharya without comment, can hardly be justified, though Buddhaghosa's *bahupāda* suggests it at first sight. Amongst the countless representations of chairs and couches in Indian art of all periods I cannot think of a single example with more than four legs.

*Āṅgana*: applied to the enclosure surrounding a stūpa, i. e. the circumambulation-platform between the stūpa and its railing, *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, 290 (Bk. 21, Story 1, Burlingame, *H. O. S.*, vol. 30, p. 175).

*Āśideśa*: *Arthasāstra*, II, 3, and III, 8. Meyer renders "sidedoor," Shamasastri "front door." In III, 8, the latter meaning would seem to be indicated, as only one door is mentioned, and the window above it is referred to. In the early reliefs we see no side doors to ordinary houses, while there is generally a window above the single (front) door.

*Aratni*: add references to *Kauṣīliya Arthasāstra*, II, 20, with a table of measurements practically identical with that of the *Mānasāra*. In *Arthasāstra* II, 5, the rain gauge (s. v. *kuṇḍa* below) is to be an *aratni* in width, i. e. 2 spans (*vitasti*) or 24 *āṅgulas*.

*Argala*: Pali *aggala*, Sinhalese *agula*, a bolt. See under *dvāra*, below.

*Arghya*: not in the *Dictionary*. In *Mahāvamsa*, XXX, 92, Geiger's rendering of *agghiya* as "arches" is impossible. *Agghiya-paṇṭi* may be rows of garlands or swags, a common enough ornament, or more likely rows of vessels of some kind; *phajikagghiya* must be a crystal dish or platter, as it has four corners in which are placed heaps (*vāsiyo*) of gold, gems, or pearls—but more likely we should understand *phalak-agghiya* and translate as "wooden offering table" or "altar." In any case "four corners" has no meaning in connection with any sort of known *torāṇa*. *Agghika* of *Mhv.* XXXIV, 73 is more doubtful,



perhaps here equivalent to altars or rerodos (Sinh. *wakal-kaḍ*). See also *agghiya*, *agghika* in P. T. S. Pali Dictionary.

*Aryaka-stambha*: not in the Dictionary: but see under *āveṣaṇin*, below, and Dictionary, p. 669.

*Asandi*, a throne, seat: *Atharva Veda*, XV, 3 (see Whitney, in *H. O. S.*, Vol. VIII), where the various parts are named; the description suggests the types still seen at Amarāvati.

A detailed nomenclature of seats will be found in *Cullavagga*, VI, 2. Cf. *ib.*, VI, 14, also *Brahmajāla Sutta*, (*Dialogues*, I, p. 11, note 4).

Pace S. B. E. XVII, p. 27, it is by no means demonstrable from *Jātaka* I, 108, that *āsandi* means "cushion"; Cowell's "couch" is undoubtedly correct, and this is the sense everywhere else. To suppose a chair or couch placed in a cart presents no difficulty.

*Aṭṭala*: watch-towers or gate-towers, *Milindapañha*, V, 4. *Gopuraṭṭhā*, *Mahāvamsa*, XXV, 30. *Gopuraṭṭāḷa*, *Uttarādhyaṇasūtram*, IX, 18, Charpentier, pp. 97, 314.

*Avasaraḥka*: *osaraḥka* (Pāli) (?that which sheds water) overhanging eaves (of a building without verandahs, *anālinda*), *Cullavagga*, VI, 3, 5; glossed as *chādana-pamukkhāṇ*, "projecting from the roof." *Osāraḥka*, "under the eaves," i. e. outside the house, *Jātaka*, III, 446. Cf. modern *chajja*.

*Āveṣaṇin*: not in the Dictionary; architect, foreman. Inscription on Sāñci south toraṇa, "Gift of Ananda, son of Vāsiṣṭhi, *āveṣaṇin* (rendered "foreman of the artisans") of Rāja Śrī Śātakarṇi" (Marshall, *Guide to Sānci*, p. 48). *Ayaka* (*āryaka*)-*stambha*s dedicated by Siddhārtha son of Nāgacanda, both *āveṣaṇins* (Burgess, *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, p. 56); *āveṣa* is stated to mean a workshop, atelier.

*Ayasa*: not in the Dictionary. This word is always used for iron (see *loha*, below). *Mahāvamsa*, XXV, 28, *ayo-kammata-dvāra*, "iron studded gate" (of a city); *ib.*, 30, *ayo-gulāṇ*, "iron balls"; *ib.*, XXIX, 8, *ayo-jāla*, an iron trellis used in the foundations of a stūpa. Reference might have been made to the iron pillars at Delhi and Dhar, and the use of iron in building at Konārak.

*Bodhi-ghara*, *mahābodhi-ghara*: temples of the Bodhi-tree, presumably like the many examples illustrated in the early reliefs. No doubt a pre-Buddhist form, preserved in connection with the cult of the Bodhi tree. See *Mahāvamsa*, XXXVI, 55, XXXVII, 31, etc.; in the former place provided with a sand court, *vaḷikātala*; *ib.*, XXXV, 89 *aṅgaṇa*. Also called a *maṇḍapa*, *ib.*, XVIII, 63.

*Bodhi-maṇḍa* (*la*): is treated as synonymous with *vajrāṇa*, but is really the special area within which the *vajrāṇa* is established; see Hsüan Tsang as cited by Watters, II, 114, 115.

*Candra* (*-jāla*), etc.: some useful material is contributed towards a solution of the problem of the proper designation of the so-called "cāitya-window" (dormer or attic window, gable, etc.), one of the

commonest and most distinctive motifs recognizable in Indian architecture from first to last. "Caitya-window" is unsatisfactory, as the form is by no means peculiar to, nor can it have been originally devised expressly for caitya-halls; the gable form is derived from that of an ordinary barrel-vaulted house end. Torana is perhaps correct in so far as the window is actually an arch, *vāṭāyana* in so far as it is a window, but neither is sufficiently specific. The problem is a little complicated by the fact that we have to do both with arched windows actually admitting air to upper chambers, dormers, or attics, with real internal space, and also with similar forms used decoratively and placed in series on cornices or similarly used in friezes; but the various architectural forms, complete figures, or heads (see also *gandharva-mukha* and *grha*) which appear framed in the niche formed by the window-arch prove that the idea of an opening to internal space is always present. The best established word is Tamil *kāḍu* (Jouveau-Dubreuil, *passim*), but there seems to be no similar word in Sanskrit; *kāḍu* means nest, and it applies both to the window as an ornament, and to actual pavilions (*karna-kāḍu*, Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, fig. 4). The proper term in Sanskrit seems to be *candra-śālā* (see s.v. in the *Dictionary*), meaning either a gabled chamber on or above the *kapota* (for which *candra* is given as a synonym), or the gable window itself. In the last case *candra-śālā* should really be an abbreviation of *candra-śālā-vāṭāyana*, and this seems to be the most explicit designation: "gable-window" is probably the best English phrase, German *dachfenster*.

A number of passages seem to show also that *garvākṣa* may be synonymous with *candra-śālā-vāṭāyana*. Thus in *Raghuvamśa*, VII, 11, the *garvākṣas* are crowded with the faces of beautiful young women looking out, and *ib.* XIX, 7, Agnivarman is visible to his subjects only to the extent of his feet hanging down from the *garvākṣa*. The modern vernacular equivalent is of course *gharokhā*.

The many-cusped arch, known to modern Musalman masons as *piyālidār mīhrāb*, and familiar in Rajput, Mughal, and modern Indian architecture, is a development of the "horse-shoe" arch (gable window) which has rightly been regarded as of Indian, pre-Muhammadian invention (Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture*, p. 110 f); every stage in the evolution can be followed. Cusped arches are found already in Java by the eighth century (Borobudur); there is an excellent example at the Gal Vihārē, Polonnaruwa, Ceylon. It would take too much space to treat this interesting subject at length here, but it is worth while to note that Mukherji, *Antiquities of the Lalitpur District*, I, p. 9, gives the Indian terminology; the "parts of the so-called Saracenic (five-foiled) arch, are all Hindu." These names are, for the spring of the arch, *nāga* (cf. *nāga-bandha* in the sense of chamfer-stop); for the foils or cups, *kaṭora*; and for the top, *cākkā* († = *cālikā*, q. v. in *Dictionary*).



**Caṅkrama:** cloister, monk's walk, at first perhaps only paved, later roofed and railed (*Cullavagga*, V, 14, 2, 3). *Caṅkamana-sāla*, "hall in a cloister," *Cullavagga*, V, 14, 2 and *Mahāvagga*, III, 5.

**Cetiya-ghara:** in *Mahāvamsa*, XXXI, 29, and 60, 61, *cetiya-ghara* is a structure built over a stūpa, *thūpaṃ tassopari gharas*. Some have seen evidence of such a structure in the still standing tall pillars surrounding the Thūpārāma Dāgaba at Anurādhapura, and this interpretation seems to be plausible, especially as the pillars are provided with tenons above. An actual example of a stūpa with a roof over it, supported by four pillars, can be seen at Gaḍalādeniya, near Kandy, Ceylon. The old caitya-halls are also, of course, *cetiya-gharas*, and of these there existed also many structural examples.

"Thūpaghara . . . is simply a house over a tope" (Hocart, A. M., *Ceylon Jour. Science*, G., Vol. I, p. 145).

**Channavīra:** some description might have been given of this very common ornament, found from pre-Mauryan times to the present day. See Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, p. xxxi, and *M. F. A. Bulletin*, No. 152, p. 90. The *channavīra* passes over both shoulders and both hips, crossing and fastening in the middle of the breast and middle of the back; it is worn by deities and men, male and female, and occurs also in Java.

**Citra:** art, ornament, sculpture, painting, see above under *ābhāsa*. *Citra*, *citra-karma* do not always mean painting. Some places where the word occurs and has been so translated need re-examination; for example, *Cullavagga*, V, 9, 2, *citrāṇi maṇḍalāṇi* does not mean "painted circular linings," but rather "carved bowl-rests." Some references should be given to *citra-saḍḍā*, *citra-sāla* which are of very common occurrence in the sense "painted hall or chamber." The *citta-saḍḍā* of Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 39, has a high tower (*uttunga siharā*). Description of a *citta-saḍḍā* cited from the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 174. *Cittā-gāra*, in *Sutta Vibhāṅga*, II, 295.

**Cūlikā:** as something at the top must be connected with *cūḍā*. But in *Mānasāna*, L. 301, (*Dict.*, p. 197), *lamba-kāram api cūlikādibhīḥ*, *cūlikā* must be "bodice," and synonymous with *coṣaka*.

**Daraninacami-sīlā:** not in the *Dictionary*. A square stone (or rarely bronze) slab or box divided into nine compartments in which are placed symbols connected with water, the whole being laid below the foundations of a temple or below an image (*A. S. I., A. E.*, 1903-04, p. 98, note). This object is known in Ceylon as a *yantra-gaḷa*, where several examples have been found (Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 298, 658; *Mem. Colombo Museum*, Series A, I, p. 25).

**Devakula:** in the *Acāṣṭa-sāhita* (Feer, p. 98), used of a temple of Nārāyaṇa. See also *A. S. I., A. E.*, 1911-12, p. 124. *Devakula* of



the Nāga Dadhikarṇa, Mathurā inscription, Lüders' List, No. 63. Inscription of Lopāśobhikā on Mathurā *āyāgapāṭa*, see *VI Int. Congr. Orientalists*, III, p. 143.

*Dhavaḷa*, whitening: applied to a plastered or other surface, *Śilparatna*, Ch. 64. *Dhavaḷa-hara*, a "White House," palace, Haribhadra, *Sanat-kumāracarita*, 548, 599, 608.

*Drupada*: a post, *Rg. Veda*, 3, 32, 33. The whole passage is very doubtful, but apparently two horses are compared to carved figures of some kind (brackets?) upon a wooden post.

*Dvāra*: the parts of a door are listed in *Cullacagga*, V, 14, 3, also *ib.* VI, 2 (not quite correctly translated in *S. B. E.*, XX, p. 106), as follows: *kaśāṭa*, the leaves; *piṭṭhasamghāṭa*<sup>2</sup> (= Sanskrit *prasthā-samghāṭikā*, "upstanding pair"), the door-posts; *udukhallika*, threshold; *uttarapāsaka*, lintel; *aggalavajji*, bolt-post; *kapi-sisaka*, bolt (-handle); *sūcika*, the pin or part of the *kapi-sisaka* which fits into the socket in the bolt-post (cf. *sūci* = cross-bar of a *vedikā*); *ghaṭikā*, apparently the slot in the bolt-post just referred to; *tālacchidda*, key-hole; *āviāchanacchidda*, string-hole; *āviāchana-rajjū*, string for pulling the leaves to from outside preparatory to locking. Some of these terms occur elsewhere; with reference to a passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* where Ananda leans against the *kapi-sisaka* Buddhaghosa is certainly right in glossing *kapi-sisaka* as *aggala*, for the Sinhalese *agula* is big enough to lean against (see my *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, figs. 80-82, for illustrations, *ib.* p. 133, for the Sinhalese terminology). As in so many other cases the terms are perfectly comprehensible when the objects have been seen as represented in relief, or in use, and when the modern technical terms are known.

As correctly observed in *S. B. E.*, XX, p. 160, *dvāra* is "doorway," "aperture," always with reference to outer doors or gates of any building, or of a city, while *kaśāṭa* means the leaves of a door, the door itself.

See also under *grha*, and cf. Robert Knox's description of the palace of Rāja Sinha II, "stately Gates, two-leaved . . . with their posts, excellently carved."

*Bahī-duḷla-sālā* = *bahīr-dvāra-sālā*, "outer room," "gate chamber," *Mychakapika*, III, 3.

From RV. I, 51, 14 we get *duryo yūpaḥ* for the door posts, from RV. I, 113, 14 *ātā* for the door leaves, and from RV. III. 61. 4 a thong (*syāman*) fastening.

*Dvāra-bāhā*: door posts, *Mahārāṣṭra*, XXV, 38: *ayo-dvāra*, *ayo-kammata-dvāra*, *ib.* XXV, 28, 29, 32.

*Dvāra-koffhaka*, gate house: *cittakōṭṭa dvāra-koffhaka*, etc., "a gate-house

<sup>2</sup> See *S. B. E.* XX, p. 105, note 2.

with a decorated peak, and surrounded by statues of Indra, as though guarded by tigers," *Jātaka*, VI, 125: cf. *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, Bk. 2, story 7.

For *koffhaka* see also *Cullavagga*, V, 14, 4 and VI, 3, 10; *Jātaka*, I, 351 and II, 431; and Meyer, *Artkāsāstra*, p. 75, note 5 (in the sense of "shrine"). *Koffhaka* is usually "gatehouse," but *piṭṭhi-koffhaka* is "back-room" in *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, II, 19.

In *Jātaka* I, 227, *dvāra-koffhaka* is, as usual, gate-house, not as interpreted in S. B. E. XVII, 219, 'mansion' (the 'mansion' is *phara* and it has seven *dvāra-koffhakas*).

*Gārikā*: red chalk. *Cullavagga*, V, 11, 6, *geruka*, red coloring for walls. Medium red color, *Silparatna*, Ch. 64, 117. Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, p. 124 (used in preparing the *lekhanī* or pencil). Used as rouge, *Karpūramāñjarī*, III, 18, see H. O. S., Vol. 4, note on p. 268. As a pigment, *dhātu-rāga*, *Meghadūta*, 102. *Geruka*, *Cullavagga*, V, 11, 6, VI, 3, 1, and VI, 17, 1. *Mahāvagga*, VII, 11, 2.

*Gaṇḍa-bheraṇḍa*: insufficiently explained by the cross-reference to *stambha*. The two-headed eagle, a gigantic bird of prey, is first found in India on a Jaina stūpa base at Sirkap (Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, p. 74). In mediaeval art two forms appear, analogous to those of *garuḍas*, one with a human body and two bird heads, the other entirely bird. Connected especially with the kings of Vijayanagar, and appearing on their coins, carrying elephants in its claws. Other examples at Śrīśaīlam (A. S. I., A. R., *Southern Circle*, 1917-18); remarkable panels at Koramāṅgala and Belūr, *Chalukyan (Mysore A. S. Rep.*, 1920, and Narasimachar, *Keśava temple at Belūr*, p. 8). A common motif in south Indian jewellery. In Ceylon, see my *Mediaeval Sinhalese art*, p. 85. Cf. also *hatthilinga-sakuna*, *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, I, 164. Further references will appear in the *Boston Catalogue of Mughal Paintings*.

*Gandha-kuṭi*, see s. v. *Kuṭi*.

*Gandharva-mukha*: designation of the busts or faces framed in the openings of *kūḍa*, *candra-śālā-cātūyana*, or *gavākṣa*, gable windows (Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, p. 12). Cf. *cānda-mukha*, s. v. *candra-śālā*.

*Gavākṣa*: see *Candra*, *Gandharva-mukha*, *Grha*, and *Harmya*.

*Grha*, *phara*, *āgāra*, *geha*, etc.: there is an excellent description of Vāsantaseṇā's house (*geha*, *bhavana*) in the *Mrechakatika*, IV, 30, seq. There are eight courts (*paṭṭhā* = *prakṛṣṭha*);\* above the outer door (*geha-dvāra*) is an ivory toraṇa, supported by toraṇa-dharaṇa-thambha, and stretching up its head (*śiśa*) towards the sky; at each side are festival jars (*maṅgala-kalasa*)—"Yes, Vāsantaseṇā's house is a beautiful thing." In the first court are *paśāḍa-panti*, rows of pavilions, having stairways (*sobhāsa*), and crystal windows (*phāṭi*.

\* Pāli *pakuṭṭa*, *Cullavagga* VI, 3, 5 is rendered "inner verandahs" in S. B. E., XX, p. 175.

*vāḍa* = *sphaṭika-cātāyana*) with moon-faces (*muhe-cande*), or probably "faces on the candra," i. e. *gandharva-mukhas* framed in the *candra-śāḍa-cātāyanas* ornamenting the roll-cornices, for which the description "seeming to look down upon Ujjayini" would be very appropriate. In the third court are courtezans carrying pictures painted in many colors, *vividhacappi-āvaliṭṭa citraphala* = *vividhacaryikāvaliṭṭa citraphalaka*. In the fourth court, where music and dancing take place, there are water-coolers (*salila-gaḡario* = *salilagaḡarayaḡa*) hanging from the ox-eye windows (*gavekkha* = *garākṣa*).

Tisala's palace in the *Kaṭṭha Sūtra*, 32, is a *vāsa-ghara*, dwelling place; it is *sacitta-kamme*, decorated with pictures, and *ulloya-cittiya*, has a canopy of painted cloth (cf. Pāli *ulloka*).

*Milindapañha*, II, I, 13 has "As all the rafters of the roof of a house go up to the apex, slope towards it, are joined together at it."

The famous triumph song of the Buddha (*Nidānakathā*, *Jātaka*, I, 76 = *Dhammapada*, 154) has "Broken are all thy beams (*phāsuka*), the housetop (*gaha-kūṭa*) shattered": the housebuilder is *gaha-kāraka*.

See also *Bodhiḡhara*, *Cetiyaḡhara*, *Cittāḡāra*, *Dhacala*, *Kūṭāḡāra*, *Samudrāḡāra*, *Santhāḡāra*.

*Harmya*: *raṃyam harmyam*, a beautiful palace, *Vikrama Carita* (Edgerton, text and transl. in *H. O. S.* 26, p. 258, and 27, p. 239) has the following parts: *mālapratiṣṭhāna*, basement; *bhitti-stambha-dvāra-toraṇa*, walls, pillars, doorways and arches; *śālabhañjikā*, statues; *prāṇaṇa*, courts; *kapāṭa*, folding doors; *pariḡha*, door-bars; *calabhi*, roofs; *viṣaṅka*, cornices; *nāga-danta*, pegs; *matṭacāraṇa*, turrets; *gavekkha*, ox-eye windows; *sopāna*, stairs; *nandyaścariṭṭi-grha*, pavilions (!) (see *Dictionary*, s.v.). *Harmikā*, the little square structure on the top of a stūpa (*Dīpyāvadāna*). A cross reference to *rāja-harmya* should be given in the *Dictionary*.

*Harmya*, dwelling, *Atharva Veda*, XVIII, 4, 55; RV. I, 121, 1, I, 166, 4, VII, 56, 16, etc.

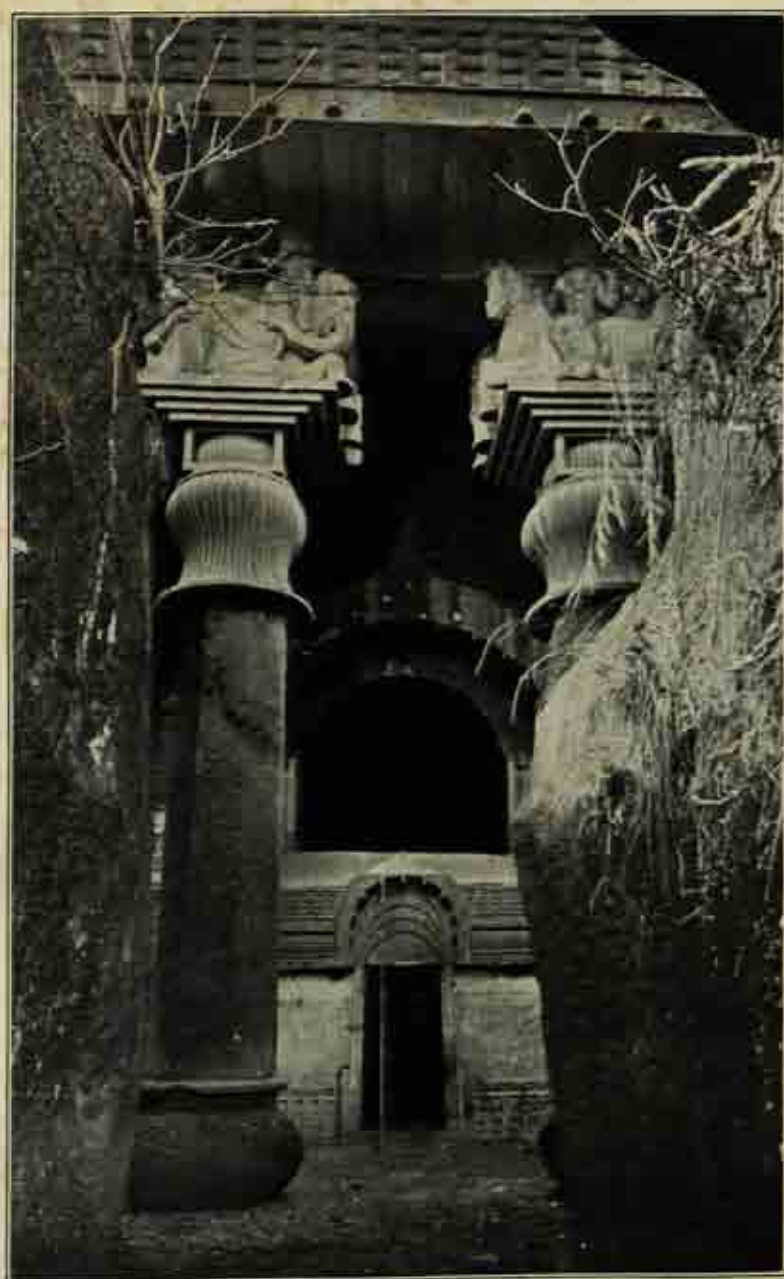
*Savitāna-harmya*, *Raghuvamśa*, XIX, 59, "palace with an awning"; or perhaps *vitāna* = modern *chajja*.

*Hasti-hasta*, *gaja-hasta*: amongst innumerable examples might be cited one at Nārāyaṇpur, Burgess, A. S. W. I., III, pl. XXXI, 3. Elephant-trunk balustrades in Ceylon are *et-houḡa-veḡ*, with the same sense as *hasti-hasta*.

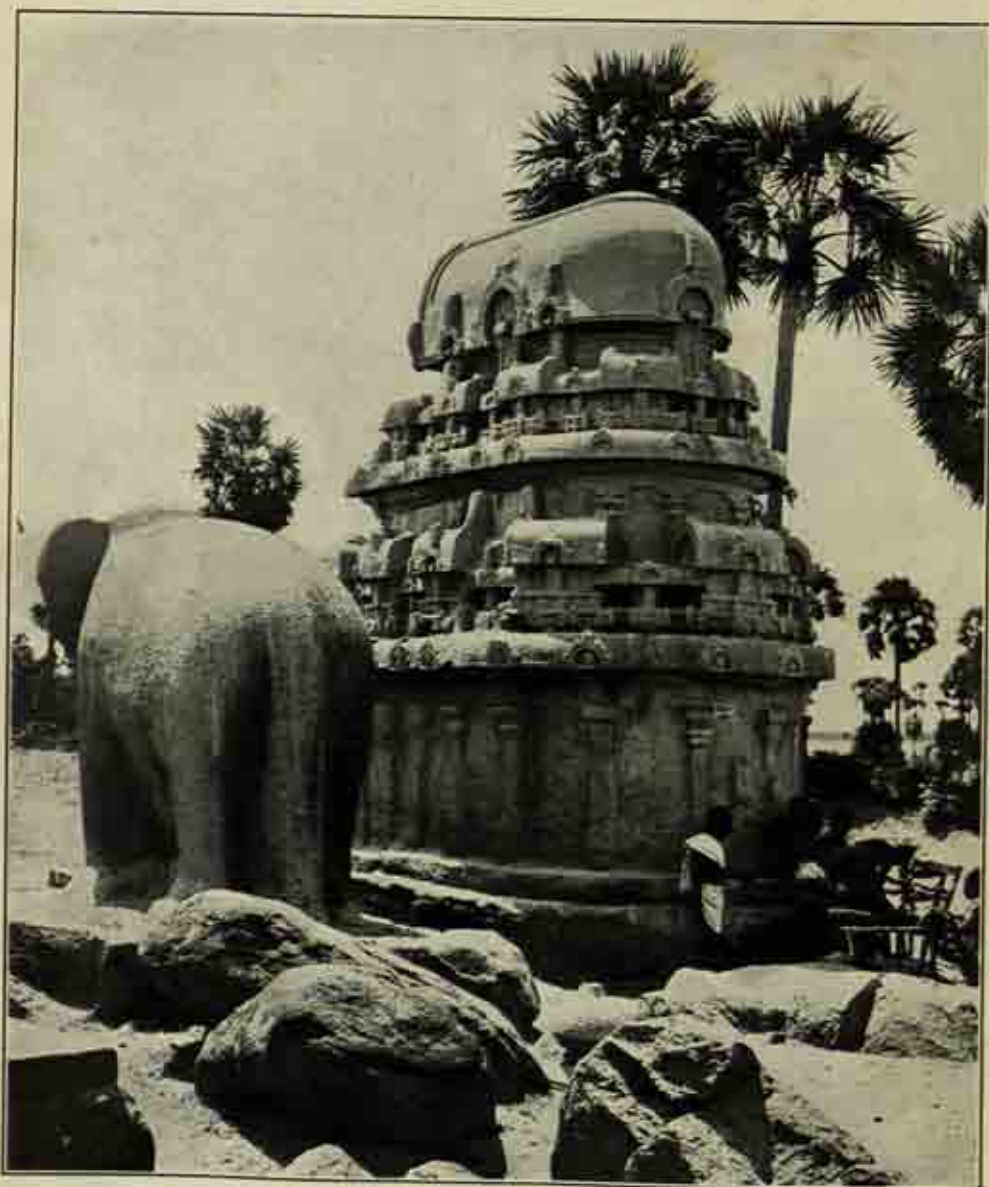
*Hasti-nakha*: literally "elephant's nail." In *Cullavagga*, VI, 14, 1 a *pāsāda* having an *ālinda* (balcony, gallery), qualified as *hatthi-nakkhakam*, is a permitted monastic residence. According to Buddhaghosa's gloss this means *hatthi-kumbha patisṭhitaṃ*, literally "supported on elephants' frontal globes," and so to be rendered "supported by pillars having elephant capitals"; and this is plausible enough,

\* But see *Parikkhā*, usually, and perhaps here also, a moat.





Entrance of *śaṅkha-ghara* at Bhubaneswar:  
*śaṅkha-ghara* column on left supporting *śaṅkha*.



RATHA OF NAKULA AND SAHADEVA, MĀMALLAPURAM.

*Hasti-prstha* construction (cf. back of elephant on left); shows also *pañjaras*,  
and *kapotas* with *kāṇḍas*.

as pillars with elephant capitals, supporting galleries and upper storeys, are highly characteristic of early Indian architecture. It is true that one hesitates to accept *nakha* in any other sense than that of "nail" or "claw." But it is possible to retain the interpretation "elephant capital" without supposing that *nakha* = *kumbha*, for in fact the observer, standing at the foot of such columns, e.g. at Bejañ (see accompanying Plate), and looking upwards, sees nothing of the actual capital, except the under sides and nails of the fore feet of the elephants, which project beyond the edge of the abacus, and this may well have given rise to the term "elephant's nail" as applied to elephant capitals.

On the other hand, *hasti-nakha* occurring in the *Śiśupālavadha*, III. 68, *Sanairaniyanta rayāpatanto rathāḥ kṛitīm hastinakhāt . . . turangaiḥ*, "the swift chariots are slowly brought down from the *hastinakhā* to earth by the horses," seems to refer to a place or structure on the rampart. Amara's gloss is *pārdeśī mṛkāṭaḥ* "a *kūṭa* made of earth at the city gate."

The word also occurs in *Kautilya Arthaśāstra*, p. 53 of Shamaśāstry, the Dictionary citing only Shamaśāstry's translation s.v. *gyha-ein-gāsa*. Here too, *hasti-nakhas* are connected with the gate and rampart of a fort. Meyer's version, p. 71, given here with slight modification, is much to be preferred: "For access, an 'Elephant's nail,' level with the opening of the gateway, and a drawbridge (*asakramāḥ samhārya*); or in case there is no water (for a moat), a causeway made of earth." The *hasti-nakha* is here then presumably a pillar with an elephant capital, standing in the moat, to receive the drawbridge when the latter is let down upon it, or pushed out onto it.\* It is not impossible that the term *hasti-nakha*, by an extension of the original and strict meaning, had come to be applied also to the drawbridge itself, and even to the causeway.

The *Śiśupālavadha* passage would then imply simply the bringing of the chariots across the drawbridge, or, as understood by Amara, across the causeway of earth which takes its place when there is no water; and thence onto the solid ground.

Cf. *Keśanakha-stūpa*, s. v. *Stūpa*, not explained (Feer, *Acaddna Sataka*, p. 487), but possibly with some reference to a lion capital.

*Hasti-prākāra*, see *Prākāra*.

*Hasti-prṣṭha*, *gaja-prṣṭha*: this appropriate name is applied to the buildings with apsidal structures, common in Pallava, Coja, and later Dravidian work (see accompanying Plate). The reference on p. 159 to *Indian Antiquary* XII should be corrected to XL. On p. 398 *hasti-prṣṭha* single-storeyed buildings are said to have an "oval steeple"; read instead "apsidal roof." The Professor elsewhere often refers to oval buildings, perhaps meaning apsidal; an oval plan is unknown to Indian architecture.

\* Or, if we read *asamhārya*, then supporting a fixed bridge.



*Kūḍu*, see s. v. *candra-sālā*.

*Kumbha* (and *kalāṣa*): I cannot see any evidence in the texts cited to justify the translation "cupola." The jar in question has actually always the form of a jar, and is placed above the dome, cupola, spire, *amalaka*, roof-ridge, or whatever otherwise forms the top of a building. *Kumbha* also = temples of an elephant, see s. v. *hasti-nakha*.

*Kuṇḍa*: a bowl used as a rain-gauge (*varṣamāna*) and placed in front of a granary (*koṣṭhāgāra*) (*Kaṭṭiya, Arthasāstra*, II, 5).

✓ *Kuṇḍikā*: should be equated with *kamaṇḍala* (not in the Dictionary) and explained as the water-pot carried by Brahmanical hermits and Buddhist monks, and provided with two openings, one a funnel at the side for filling, the other at the top of the neck, which is also the handle. Many examples have been found on Indian Buddhist monastic sites. The *kuṇḍikā* is carried only by deities of ascetic type especially Brahmā and Śiva, and by *ṛṣis*, and should not be confused with the *amṛta-kalāṣa*, which has only one opening, and is carried by other deities, especially Indra and Maitreya. A full discussion of the Indian and Chinese forms by the present writer and F. S. Kershaw will appear in *Artibus Asiae*.

*Kūṭāgāra*: regarding the *kūṭāgāra-sālā* in the *Mahāli Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, Buddhaghosa, *Sumaṅgala-Vīlāsini*, p. 309, has the following, which I quote here from a letter received from Mrs. Rhys Davids: "In that wood they established a Saṅgha-park. There, having joined the *kaṇṇikā* (ear-thing, corner of the upper storey) of the pillars (*thambha*, lit. supports) above by the *samkhhepa* (holding together, fastening together) of the *kūṭāgāra-sālā*, they made the *pāsāda* (terraced or balconied mansion) like to a mansion of devas. With reference to this the Saṅgha-park was known as the *Kūṭāgāra-sālā*." Here, cf. *samkhhepa* with *kṣepaṇa* in the sense of cornice; but I suspect a reference to brackets connecting pillars and *kaṇṇikā* (the Dictionary has *kaṇṇikā* = upper part of the entablature); such brackets are very frequently represented in the early reliefs (Bharhut and Sarnath). Acharya's Index has no entry under "bracket," but there must have been a word or words in use for so common a structural feature.

Geiger's "balconied windows" for *kūṭāgāra* in *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXVII, is scarcely satisfactory; the *pāsāda* of nine storeys has 100 *kūṭāgāras* on each storey, and little pavilions, *pañjara* or (*candra*) *-sālā* seem to be meant, such as are very common in Pallava architecture; e. g. at Māmallapuram, and cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, fig. 4. The pavilion occupied by the Bodhisattva while in his mother's womb is called a *kūṭāgāra* (*Lalitā Vistara*, Ch. VII).

As Pāli *pañña-kūṭi* and *pañña-sālā* are synonymous designations of hermit huts, and as these are always single-storeyed cells, it follows that *kūṭa-sālā* need not be a room on the top of a building.

I am inclined to suppose that *kūṭāgāra* generally means simply "a

house with a finial (or finials)." Cf. *kāṣṭha*, "finial" (vase) in inscriptions cited in *Dict.*, p. 708. *Gaṇa-kāṣṭha*, *Jātaka*, I, 76. In Ceylon in the eighteenth century the use of such finials was permitted only in the case of devāles, viḥāres, resthouses, and the houses of chiefs of Disāwa or higher rank. On this analogy the ultimate meaning of *kāṣṭhagāra* would be "honorable building." In all the early reliefs, palaces, city gates, temples, etc., are duly provided with finials, while village houses lack them.

✓ *Kuṭi*: not in the Dictionary as a separate word, but cf. *gandha-kuṭi*.

In the *Sālagaya* (= *Isānabali*) ritual of the *Gṛhya Sūtras* (citations in Arthmann, *Eudra*, pp. 104 ff.) *kuṭi* = *āyatana* in the sense of shrines erected for *Isāna*, *Miḥhuṣi* and *Jayanta*.

Under *gandhakuṭi* add: see full discussion in *A. S. I., A. E.*, 1906-07, pp. 97-99, with *mālagandhakuṭi* and *śailagandhakuṭi* cited from *Sārnāth* inscriptions. Reference should also be made to the Sāñcet relief, north *torāṇa*, left pillar, front, second panel, showing the Jeta-vana garden with the *Gandhakuṭi*, *Kosambakuṭi*, and *Karorikuṭi* (Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 58), "the three favourite residences of the Buddha." Further references: Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 28; Cunningham, *A. S. I., Reports*, XI, pp. 80 ff.; Sahni and Vogel, *Sarnath Catalogue*, p. 19, 211; Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 16.

In the *Manimekhalai* the small temple of Campāpati, patron deity of Puhār, is called a *guṭika*.

*Koppiya-kuṭi*, *vacca-kuṭi*, *Cullavagga*, VI, 4, 10.

*Lepa*: medium, glue, should be distinguished from *sudhā*, plaster. *Vajralepa*, "adamantine medium," actually glue, see recipe in the *Silparatna*, Ch. 64 (my translation in *Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Memorial Volume*); *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 118, 119. Cf. *Uttara Rāmācarita*, III, 49.

*Sudhā-lepya*, plaster and paint, Bodhgaya, 6th-7th century inscription, *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1908-09, p. 154.

*Likh*: additional to the common meanings is that of "turning" (wood, etc.). *S. B. E.*, XX, 78, note 3, is wrong in supposing that turning was unknown to ancient India. Metal, wood, and ivory are all turned at the present-day by means of hand-power devices quite unlike the European lathe (see *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, Pl. VI, fig. 4, for ivory, and remarks ib. p. 141); turned stone pillars are highly characteristic of Cālukyan architecture (cf. Rea, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 5); and turning is certainly involved in the manufacture of many objects represented in early reliefs. It is significant that the Sinhalese name of the grooved spindle used in turning is *tiyana kanda*, and the word *tiyana* corresponds to *likhitum* used in *Cullavagga*, V, 8, 1 and V, 9, 2 with reference to turned wooden bowls and bowl-rests. A meaning, "to turn wood, etc." should therefore be given in Pali and Sanskrit dictionaries under *likh*. *S. B. E.*, loc. cit., trying

to escape the meaning "turning" goes so far as to speak of using an adze on metal; a comical idea, if regarded from the standpoint of practical craft.

Another reference to turning will be found in the *Mahāsatipattiśāstra Sūtrānta* (D. N. II, 291 = *Dialogues*, 2, p. 328), "even as a skilful turner (*dharmakārū*)"; the simile, ("drawing his string out at length," etc.), implies the actually surviving Sinhalese technique.

Steatite boxes "turned on the lathe," found at Bhitā and assigned to the eighth century B. C., are described in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1911-12, pp. 43, 93. For some other references to early turned objects see *Rāyam*, 32, pp. 122-123.

**Linga**: the following references are of interest in connection with the Deva-Rāja cult in Java and Cambodia: Simpson, in *JRAS*, 1888 cites numerous instances and regular practice of erecting lingams over the burial places of dead sannyāsins. In *A. S. I., Southern Circle*, 1911-12, p. 5 "sannyāsins are not cremated, but buried, linga shrines or brindāvana being raised to mark the spot." *Ib.* 1915-16, p. 34, quoting *S. I. Ep.*, 1914, "In the case of Sannyāsins . . . a raised masonry platform is sometimes set up over the place of burial, on which a tulsi plant is grown, or a stone lingam is set up as though to proclaim to the world that the body buried below has attained to the sacred form of Śiva-linga." E. Carpenter, *Light from the East, being Letters . . . by the Hon. P. Arunachalam*, 1927, p. 63, quoting a letter from the latter regarding the tomb of his guru. "On the site where his body is interred is a lingam to which the worship is offered as to the Master." For the Deva-Rāja cult and its supposed South Indian origin see F. D. K. Bosch, "Het Lingahelligdom van Dinaja," *Tijdschr. T. L. en Volkenkunde*, LIV, 1924.

**Loha**: is not iron, but brass or copper, bronze, etc. I do not think that any example of an Indian image made of iron could be cited. The roofing of the Lohapāsāda (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXVII) was of copper or bronze. In *Mahāvamsa*, XXIX, 11, *loha-paṭṭa* is a sheet of copper used in the foundations of a stūpa, but we find *ib.* 12, *ayo-jāla* when an iron trellis is designated. One of the most important architectural references to *loha* is Mahendravarman I's inscription at Maṇḍagapattu (Jouveau-Dubrouil, *Conjeveram Inscription of Mahendravarman I*, Pondicherry, 1919); here brick, timber, *loha*, and mortar are mentioned as customary building materials. Copper nails are common finds on ancient sites. Other examples of *loha* will be found in the *Dictionary* under *śāhāsa* (!). Cf. also Sinhalese *paś-lo*, an alloy of five metals.

**Loṣṭa**: the use of *loṣṭa*, probably slag, in preparing a *kīṭṭa-lekhani*, should be noted (*Śilparatna*, Ch. 64).

**Makara-toraṇa**: hardly an arch "marked" with a *makara*, but one springing from two *makaras*, and usually crowned by a full-faced *makara* or *makarī*.



**Mañca:** cf. *tañkita mañca*, stone couch, the altar of a *yakkhacetiya*, viz. the *bhavana* of the Yakkha Suelloma (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, X, 3, P. T. S., ed. p. 207), glossed *pāsāna-mañca*, thus synonymous with *śilā-paṭṭa*, see my *Yakgas*, p. 20, note 3 (*ceyaḍḍi*).

See also *S. B. E.*, XX, 87, note 2, *ib.*, 168, note 3; and 278, note 3; *Mahāvamsa*, XXVII, 39. Also Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, translation, p. 204, note 3; the text has *bodhiṃ ussākaṃ . . . sayanaṃ* but this means the *vajrasana* at the foot of the Bodhi tree (the description is of the *Māradharasāna*), certainly not the *Parinibbāna mañca*. *Heṭṭhamañca*, *Jātaka*, I, 197, probably the earthen bench outside a hut. *Mañcaṭṭhāna*, space for a couch, *Cullavagga*, VI, 11, 3 (Commentary). Cf. *s. v.* *Paṭṭa*, *Sthāna* and *Vedikā*. *Re S. B. E.*, XX, 278, note 3, I see no reason why the *paṭipāḍaka* of a *mañca* should not be fixed legs; no ancient representations or modern examples have trestles. The only trestles occur in connection with tables (*kaṭṭha-piṭṭha* of *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, II, 20, text 1, 163, and as seen on early reliefs) and modern *daṇḍāsana* (*Medieval Sinhalese Art*, Pl. X, 1). *Piṭṭha* of the *Cullavagga* may include both *kaṭṭha piṭṭha* and *pāda*, tables and footstools, hardly "chairs."

The fact that *mañca* and *piṭṭha* were cleaned by beating does not prove that they were stuffed or upholstered: the actual support may have been made then as now of plaited cane or plaited webbing and anyone who has had experience of such beds will realise that they frequently need airing and beating.

**Meru:** reference should be given to E. B. Havell, *The Himalayas in Indian Art*, and W. Foy, "Indische Kultbauten als Symbole des Götterbergs," *Festschrift Ernst Windisch*, 1914.

**Nāga-bandha:** is said to be a kind of window, and this would evidently be a perforated window with a design of entwined serpents; there are some in the early Chālukyan temples, and one more modern is illustrated in the Victoria and Albert Museum, *List of Acquisitions*, 1926, fig. 74. Cf. Sinhalese *nāga-dangaya*. But *nāga-bandha* also means both in Ceylon and in southern India, the stop of a chamber (*Medieval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 88, 129, and *Jouveau-Dubreuil, Dravidian Architecture*, pp. 10, 25, 42 and fig. 17); this stop often approximates in shape to a cobra's hood. Cf. *nāga*, *s. v.* *candra-śālā*.

**Nagara:** add reference to the detailed description of a city in *Milinda-pañha*, V, 4 (also *ib.* I, 2 and II, 1, 9); the terms *nagara-vaḍḍhaki*, *daḷha-gopura*, *gopur-aṭṭāla*, *koṭṭhaka*, *devaṭṭhāna* occur. Another good description of a city is cited in Barnett, *Antagaḍa Daṣṣo*, p. 1, from the *Aupapātika Sātra*.

**Nāgara:** the meaning "secular" as contrasted with *satya*, "sacred," *vaiśiṣṭika*, "lyrical," and *miśra*, "mixed," should be cited from the *Vignudharmottara*, in relation to painting.

**Nārāca**, etc.: the *Dictionary* has only "a road running east." In the

*Sthānāṅga Sūtra*\* we have *vajja-risaha-naraya-saṅghayaṇe* = *vajja-r̥ṣabha-nārāca-saṅghayaṇe*, meaning "with joints firmly knit as if by mortise, collar, and pin." Hoernle, *Uḍasagadasāo* cites Abhayadeva's Sanskrit commentary, according to which *vajja* = *klīka*, *risaha* = *pariveṣṭana paṭṭa* or encircling collar, *nārāya* = *ubhaya-to-markaṭa-bandha* or double tenon and mortise joint, and *saṅghayaṇa* = scarf-joint, five kinds being enumerated (for illustration of one see *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, fig. 75). One would have thought that *vajja* simply meant "firmly." As regards *pariveṣṭana paṭṭa* cf. *Mahāvagga*, V, 11, "Now at that time the Vihāras were bound together by thongs of skin," explained by Buddhaghosa (cited *S. B. E.*, XVII, p. 31) as referring to the tying together of *bhitti-dandakādī* "wall posts, etc." This would seem to have been natural in the case of the wattle and daub walls of the simple *paṇṇa-sālās*; but we do also find early pillars decorated with designs of interlacing ropes or thongs which may be vestigial ornament, and the roof of the shrine of the Turban-relie at Sāñci (south gate, left pillar, inner face) is bound by crossing ligatures which could only be described as *pariveṣṭana paṭṭa*. *Atharva Veda*, IX, 3 refers to the parts of a house that are knotted and tied (*naddha*). A house (*śālā*) with grass sides has beams (*vaśā*), ties (*nohana*) and binding (*prapaṭa*), clamps (*saṁdama*) and "paladas" and "parivaṇṇalaya." See also *Upamit*.

Cf. *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, p. 114, "Nails were not used in ordinary building, but everything was fastened with rattans and other jungle ropes." This refers to modern village practise.

*Nayanonmīlana*: p. 88 in *Indian Architecture*: my detailed account of the *netra-maṅgalya* ceremony should be cited, *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, p. 70 f.

*Pāduka*: should be cited also in the sense of sacred footprints, used as a symbol (*śrīpāda*, *Viṣṇupāda*, etc.). The *vacca-pāduka* of a latrine are also of interest, see *S. B. E.*, XVII, p. 24; good examples have been found on monastery sites in Anurādhapura. Cf. *vacca-kūṭi*. Numerous lavatory sites are illustrated in *Mem. A. S. C.*, Vol. 1.

*Pālikā*: should be translated "abacus," with references to Tamil *palagai* Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, pp. 10, 25, 42, and fig. 17. See also *Epota* (-*pālikā*).

*Pāṣu*: not in the *Dictionary*. Not translated where it occurs as a permissible building material, Buddhaghosa, *Comm. on Cullavagga*, VI, 1, 2, cited *S. B. E.* XIII, 174; the other permitted materials being brick, stone, and wood. *Pāṣu*, taking all its uses into consideration, should here be rendered "laterite," a common building material especially in Ceylon. In *Mahāvamsa* XXX, 7-9, where *pāṣu* is used in making bricks, the word is rendered "sand" by Geiger; but "de-

\* Benares edition, p. 413a, cited by Hoernle, *Uḍasagadasāo*, II, Appendix, p. 45.

composed rock," "grit," would be preferable. True sand (*edlikā*) would need only sifting, not crushing and grinding as well. In rendering such words some regard must be had both to practical considerations and to the materials actually available in a given locality. In the tropics the country rock decomposes either into true laterite (Sinhalese "cabook") which is soft when cut, but hardens on exposure; or into a friable sandy grit; both of these have their use in building. Of course, there are many places where *paṃsu* means simply earth, dust, refuse, etc., cf. *paṃsu-kūla*, rags from a dust-heap. See also *śarkara*, s. v. in *Dict.* and under *ābhāsa*.

**Pañcāṅgula:** *hattha-bhitti* of *Oullavagga*, VI, 2, 7 explained by Buddhaghosa as *pañcāṅgula bhitti: pañcāṅgulika-pantikā*, *Mahāvamsa*, XXXII, 4; *pañcāṅgulitale*, *Aupapātika Sūtra*, § 2. Possibly colored impressions of the human hand such as one not uncommonly sees on house walls, more likely a five-lobed design such as the palmettes which are so characteristic of early Indian decoration. In all the above passage we have to do with ornament applied to walls or to cloth. Cf. the "three-finger ornament" of *Annandale*, N., *Plant and animal designs . . . of an Uriya village*, Mem. A. S. B., VIII, 4, fig. 2.

**Pañjara**, which has, like *candra-sāla-vāṭayana*, the double significance of "attic" and "dormer window" (see *Jouveau-Dubreuil*, *passim*), occurs in the latter sense in *Jātaka*, III, 379, "looking down from an open window (*vaṭṭasāhapañjarena*)."  
Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, XXVII, 16.

**Ratha-pañjara**, the body of a carriage, *Jātaka* II, 172, IV, 60.

**Parikkhā:** *Mahāvamsa*, XXV, 48 *timahāparikkhā*, "having a great triple moat." See also under *Harmya*.

**Paṭṭa:** no reference to the meaning "frontlet," except that under *vira-paṭṭa* we find "front-plate." In the story of Udayana, *Jacobi*, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 32, a *sovaṇṇa paṭṭa* is used to cover the brand on a man's forehead and is contrasted with *mauḍa*, a turban or crown. In Ceylon the gold forehead plate used in investitures is called a *vaṭṭa-paṭṭa*, those thus honored being known as *paṭṭa-bendī*. In *Prabandhaśāntāmaṇi* we get *paṭṭa-hastin*, state elephant; now elephants do not wear turbans, but do wear jewelled *banda* round the temples. In *Bṛhatsamhitā* the section on *paṭṭas*, which are not worn by those of the highest rank, seems to imply the meaning frontlet. Even *Mahāvamsa*, XXIII, 38, *dukkālapaṭṭena vethayitvā* may refer only to the tying on of a fillet, though "turban" seems plausible. No reference to *paṭṭa* in the sense of stone slab, etc. See *Mālavikāgnimitra*, III, 79 (*silāpaṭṭaṃ*), and *Hoernle*, *Uvāsagadaśo*, II, p. 107; *sthala* (*sthāla*) as synonym, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, IV, 132. *Loha-* and *śajjhu-* *paṭṭa*, sheets of copper and silver, *Mahāvamsa*, XXIX, 11-12. *Pāṭika*, stone slab at the foot of the steps, *Mahāvamsa*, XXXI, 61; other terms current in Ceylon for "moonstones" are *handa-koḍa paḥana* (= *candra-khaṇḍa pāṭāna*), and *iri-handa gala* (= *sūrya-*



*candra kala*). *Ūrdhva-paṭṭa*, "stela," should also be noted. *Yoga-paṭṭa* is the braid used by hermits to support the knee when seated on the ground. *Cullavagga*, V, 11, *pañca-paṭṭika*, perhaps a "cupboard with five shelves." See also under *nārdā*.

*Phalaka*: commonly a panel for painting on. Add: *appasena*\*, a board to lean against, when seated on a couch to protect the walls, *Cullavagga*, VI, 20, 2, and VIII, 1, 4. *Phalakattiharasayana*, a wooden bed, *Jātaka*, I, 304. A kind of cloth, *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 28, 2 (see note in *S. B. E.*, XVII, 246), and *Cullavagga*, V, 29, 3. See also s. v. *Arghya* and *Pralamba*.

*Prākāra*: an important reference is misplaced under *prāsāda*, *Dictionary*, p. 419. The Besnagar inscription (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 4, pp. 128, 129) should be cited (*pāṣ-silā-pākāra*); also Khāravela's inscription at the Hāthigumphā, Udayagiri. The *Mahāvamsa*, XXV, 30, has *ucca-pākāra*, rampart; ib. XXXIII, 5, *hatthi-pākāra* in the sense of the basement retaining wall of the platform of a stūpa, with the foreparts of elephants projecting in relief (see also Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 284). *Cullavagga*, V, 14, 3 and elsewhere has *ittāra*, *silā*, and *dāru-pākāras*. Other references, *Mysore A. S. Reports*, 1913-14, pp. 8, 14 and 1919-20, pp. 2, 3, 5. In *Kaṭṭhiliya Arthasāstra*, 53, "rampart" rather than "parapet." *Pākāra* = wall round a park, *Buddhaghosa*, *Sumaṅgala Vīḍaṇi*, I, p. 41.

*Pralamba* (-*phalaka*): reference should be made to the illustration of a *pralamba-phalaka*, fig. 94 in my *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, and the full explanation of its use there given according to the *Sāriputra*, as the *Bimbamāna* (see *Dictionary*, p. 768) is called in Ceylon.

*Pramāṇa*: the single meaning given, "measurement of breadth" is insufficient. *Pramāṇa* in the sense of "ideal proportion" appropriate to various types is one of the *śāstra* of painting, given in Yaśodhara's *Commentary on the Kāmasūtra*. See also Masson-Oursel, "Une connexion dans l'esthétique et la philosophie de l'Inde, La notion de *Pramāṇa*," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, II, 1925 (translated in *Rāpan*, No. 27/28). *Pramāṇa* = land area specified in grants, see Thakur in *Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Memorial Volume*, 1928, p. 80.

*Prāsāda*: No reference to the Bharhut relief with inscription *Vijayanta prāsāda*, the only early *prāsāda* identified as such by a contemporary inscription; it is a three-storeyed palace (see *HIIA*, fig. 43); we possess so few positive identifications of this kind that none should be omitted. The *Lohapāsāda* described in *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXVII, was an *uposatha* house of nine storeys each with 100 *kāṭṭagāra* "provided with *vedikās*, and it contained 1000 chambers (*gabbhā*). It was covered with plates of copper, and thence came its name" (ib. XXVII, 42); it was of wood, as it was later burnt down (ib. XXXIII), and rebuilt with only five storeys; the stone pillars on which the superstructure was erected are still standing at Anurādhapura. The *Sat-*

mahal-pāsāda at Pojonnāruva should also be mentioned (*IIIA*, fig. 287). See also under *gṛha*.

*Punya-sālā, -gṛha*: not in the *Dictionary*. Both have been thought to refer to temples, but the meaning *dharma-sālā* is far more probable, as pointed out by Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 71 (*ib.*, 70-73 contains a very valuable discussion of images and temples as referred to in the *Epics*).

*Raṅga, raṅga-bhūmi, nāṭya sālā, prekṣa-gṛha*, etc.: not in the *Dictionary*. No citation in the *Dictionary* of the *Nāṭya-sāstra*, where the construction of theatres is described at some length, with much use of technical architectural terms. A *raṅga-bhūmi*, stage, set up, *Mahāvamsa*, XXXI, 82. *Raṅga, Jātaka* II, 152.

*Rathakāra*: "car-maker," carpenter, not in the *Dictionary*. A *Sūdra*, but connected with Vedic sacrifices; a *sṇātaka* may accept food from one (*Bauddhāyana DhS.*, I, 3, 5 = *S. B. E.*, XIV, 159). Much information on the social position of craftsmen and related subjects is given in my *Indian Craftsman*, apparently unknown to the author: see also *karmāra* and *ācēṣaṇin*, above, and *rūpakāra*, below. *Rathakāra* in inscription of Virūpākṣa I, *A. S. I., A. R., Southern Circle, Epigraphy*, 1915, p. 106.

*Rūpakāra*: sculptor, not in the *Dictionary*. But the *Śilpin Rāmadeva*, son of the *rūpakāra* Suhaka, inscription at Dhar, *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1903-04, p. 240, is cited under *Rāmadeva*. Reference should be given to Sivamitra, a *śīla-rūpakāra* of Mathurā, mediaeval inscription at Śrāvastī, *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1908-09, p. 133. For *Buddha-rakkhita*, a *rūpakāraka*, see Cunningham, *Bharhut*, inscription No. 42.

*Sabhā*: the *Bharhut* relief with inscription *Sudhammā Deva-sabhā*, a pillared circular shrine with cornice and dome is not cited (*IIIA*, fig. 43). See also *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, XI, 3, 5 = *Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 307, and *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 207-209.

In *Jātaka* VI, 127, the *Sudhammā-sabhā* of Indra has octagonal columns (*aṭṭhamā sukātā thambhā*). The description of the heavenly *sabhā* in *Mbh.* II, 6-11, is altogether vague.

*Sahasra-līṅga*: not a "group" of a thousand phalli, but one *lingam* with a thousand facets, representing a thousand *līṅgas*. A good example at Śrīsaillam, *A. S. I., Southern Circle*, 1917-18, Pl. V.

*Samudrāgāra*: a summer house by a lake, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act IV. *Samuddavahāra*, a monastery on a river-bank, *Mahāvamsa*, XXXIV, 90. *Samuddapapaṇṇa-sālāya*, *ib.* XIX, 26, a hall built on the sea-shore. Cf. the pavilions on the bund at Ajmer, and the island palaces at Udaipur.

*Santhāgāra*: "mote-hall," with a central pillar (*majjhima-tthambam*), *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 209 = *S. B. E.*, IV, 202.

*Śilpa*: in the *Atharva Veda*, a "work of art" (*Bloomfield, Atharva Veda*, p. 70).

*Śilpa-sāstra*: Hsüan Tsang's reference to five *vidyās*, of which the *Śilpa-sthāna-vidyā* is one, is important as proving the existence of technical works on *śilpa* in his day (Beal, Records, I, p. 78). The much earlier *Sūtra Sūtras* are effectively *Śilpa-sāstras*, though not actually so designated.

*Śivikā-garbha*, *śivikā-gabbha*: an inner room shaped like a palanquin, *Cullavagga*, VI, 3, 3. Glossed by Buddhaghosa as *caturassa*, four-sided. What may be meant may be gathered from the elaborate *śivikā* represented in Amarāvati reliefs, where their design is quite architectural (Burgess, *Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Pl. XI, 2 and p. 55, and Pl. XI, 1).

*Sopāna*: see s. v. *ālamba-bāha*, *harmya*, *hasti-hasta*, *kaṭaṅkara*, *paṭṭa*.

*Śreṇi*: that painters were organised in guilds is apparent from Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri*, p. 49, where the painter Cittaṅgaya, "working in the king's *citta-sabha*" belongs to a *śreṇi* of *cittagayas*. It is of interest that his daughter Kanyamañjarī also paints. See also list of 18 guilds in *Jātaka*, VI, 22: other references s. v. *śreṇi* in P. T. S. Pali Dictionary.

*Śrīvatsa* (*śrīvacccha*): also characteristic for Mahāvīra. The cruciform flower is the later form only; in the Kuṣāna period it is what numismatists have called a *nāga* or shield symbol (good illustration on a coin, Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pl. VIII, 207, reverse, and on Mahāvīra's breast, Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathurā*, pl. XCI, right); the development of the early form into the later can be traced. Also cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 205.

*Sthāna*: the sense of pose, stance, is not given. Five *sthānas* (frontal, three-quarter, profile, etc.) are defined in the *Śilparatna*, Ch. 64, and thirteen in the *Vignudharmottara* (see translation by S. Kramrisch, 2d edition, 1928). *Mahāsthāna*, sacred area, inscription of Mahāpāla, Samvat 1083, A. S. I., A. R., 1906-07, p. 99: *Nāgendrasya . . . Dadhikarnasya sthāne śilōpaṭṭo*, Mathura inscription Lüders' List 85, Ep. Ind. I, 390, no. 18, cited Mem. A. S. I., Vol. 5.

*Stūpa*: no description of the component parts is given: they are *sopāna*, *oṇḍa*, *medhi* or *garbha*, *harmikā*, *yaṣṭi*, *chattravālī*, *varṇa-athāla* or *amṛta-kalāśa*. There should be mention of the synonym *dāgaba* (*dhātu-garbha*), and of *edāka* and *jāluka* by which names Buddhist relic shrines are referred to in the *Mahābhārata* (3, 190, 65 and 67). The detailed description of a stūpa in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 244, summarised by Foucher' *L'Art gréco-bouddhique* . . . I, p. 96, and the detailed account of the building of a stūpa in *Mahāvamsa*, Chs. XXVIII, *seq.* should be referred to; also the full account in Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*. The latter quotes a Sanskrit-Pali text defining the shapes and proportions of *dāgabas*, from the *Waiḍḍyānta-pota* (or *Vaiḍḍyāntaya*) a *śilpa-sūtra* well known in Ceylon, but not mentioned in the Dictionary. The *Avadāna Śataka* mentions three kinds of stūpas—*gandhastūpa*, *keśanakhastūpa*, and stūpas—the latter being



the regular *dhātu-stūpa* for funerary relics. The *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, XXI, 1-290, H. O. S., Vol. 30, p. 175, has a *stūpa* built over the body of a Brahman's son who had become a Buddhist monk. Were *stūpas* ever erected by others than Buddhists or Jains? In Kāśyapa's Conversion at Sāñci (east gate, left pillar, inner face, third panel) a railed *stūpa* forms part of the *Jaṭila arāma*: so also at Amarāvati, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. LXXXVI.

*Stūpikā*: *cetiyaśīṣe kirīṭaṃ viya kṇakamayāṃ stūpikāṃ ca yojetā* (*Attanagulucamaṇa*, Alwis, IX, 7). Dome of a palace, *Mahāvamsa*, XXXI, 13, with above reference (Geiger).

Cf. *śīlāstūpaka*, *Mahāvamsa*, XXXIII, 24, "a little stone *stūpa*," probably actually the *stūpa* of H. I. I. A., fig. 292. But the usual meaning of *stūpikā* (as given in *Dict.*), is "dome." I do not think this terminology implies a derivation of the dome from the *stūpa*, but only a resemblance of form. Granting the recognized resemblance, however, the point is of interest in connection with the origin of the bulbous dome, for many early *stūpas* are markedly bulbous. Some Pallava temples have bulbous domes, and even the dome of H. I. I. A. fig., ca. 200 A. D. almost exactly follows the shape of the slightly swelling *aṇḍa* of the *stūpa* of ib. fig. 146.

*Sulka-śālā*: a toll-house, *Divyāvadāna*, 275, seq. *Sulka-sthāna*, *Arthaśāstra*, II, 3.

*Tāla-māna*: here reference should be made to many published accounts, e. g. Rao, *Tālamāna*, my *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, Ganguly, *Orissa and her Remains*. On pp. 230, 233, what part of the body is the "hiccough?"

*Tṛṇacchādana*, Pali *tiṇa-cchādana*: "thatch," *Collavagga*, passim. In *Atharva Veda*, IX, 10, 11, the thatch is called a thousand-eyed net stretched out like an *opāṣa* on the parting (*vispanta*, here = ridge-pole). See also *Upamit*.

*Tulā*: the meaning "well-sweep" should be added (*Collavagga*, V, 16, 2); two other means of raising water are mentioned, *loc. cit.*, viz. *karaka-jaṅka* literally "pot-edge" or "pot-ridge," probably the "Persian" water-wheel, and *cakkavattaka*, wheel and axle. All three are still in common use.

But is *karaka-jaṅka* really distinct from *kara-koṭaka*, a hand wheel for drawing water?

*Upamit*, etc.: RV. I, 59, 4 and IV, 5, 1; AV. IX, 3, 1. See Bloomfield, *Atharva Veda*, II, 185, 195; Whitney, *Atharva Veda*, 525; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Ch. V; etc.

The whole terminology of the *śālā* is difficult, but the rendering of *upamit* as (sloping) buttress (by Bloomfield and by Zimmer) is extremely implausible and almost certainly an error. I suggest *upamit* = plinth or pillar base; such bases were probably, as at the present day, of stone, as a protection against white ants.\* Then *pratimā*

\* Cf. *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 129, fig. 72, and pl. VII, fig. 7, "Wooden pillars often rest on a stone base as a protection against white ants."

(= *sthāpa*) are the main upright wooden pillars (corner pillars) set up on the *upamit*; *parimit*, the horizontal beams of the framework, connecting with the *pratimit* by means of mortices or dovetails (*samdanśa*); \* *pakṣa*, perhaps the wall plates; *vanśa*, the bamboo rafters. The roof (*chanda*) is thatched with straw or reeds (*trṇa*): the cut ends of the reeds may have given rise to the designation "thousand eyed" of AV. IX, 3, 8. *Palāda* (bundles of grass or reeds, according to Zimmer) and *pariṣvaṇjālaya* I cannot explain.

The *śikhyāni*, ropes "tied within for enjoyment," may have served as partitions, to be hung with cloths so as to divide the interior into separate rooms; the Sinhalese *piliṇḍa* is used in this way, and I remember to have seen an ornamental example carried by a party of travellers for use in a public resthouse to secure privacy.

*Vajrāsana*: "diamond throne," though well-established, not a good rendering; "adamantine throne" would be better. See E. Senart, "Vajrapāni dans les sculptures du Gandhara," *Congr. Int. Orientalistes, Alger*, 1905, Vol. I, p. 129. *Bodhi-pālāṃka* in the *Nidānakathā*, *Jātaka*, I, 75, is an interesting synonym. The Buddha's āsana at the Gal Vihāra, Pojonnāruva, Ceylon, is decorated with actual *vajras*, but this probably represents a late interpretation of the term; I know no other instance. See also *Bodhi-maṇḍa* and *Mañca*.

*Vāna-lathī*, rafters or reapers? As a protection against the rain, the *vānalathī* (of a house, *gṛha*) are to be covered over with straw (*kata*, here thatch rather than straw mats), *Arthasāstra*, III, 8. Cf. *Yatthi-rasa*.

*Vapra*: in *Kauṭiliya Arthasāstra*, 51, 52, *vaprasyopari prākāraḥ*; "glacis" rather than "rampart," which latter rises above the *vapra*.

*Vardhaki*: I cannot think of any case where the *vardhaki*, Pali *vaḍḍhaki*, is specifically a painter. The usual meaning is architect, artisan. Cf. *śagara-vaḍḍhaki*, the architect of a city, *Milindapañha*, II, 1, 0. In *Mahāvamsa*, XXX, 5, the 500 *iṭṭhakā-vaḍḍhaki* are certainly not all "master-builders" as rendered by Geiger, but rather brickmakers or bricklayers; even the *vaḍḍhaki* who is their spokesman, *ib.*, 12 is hardly more than *primus inter pares*. *Vaḍḍhaki*, architect, one of the 14 'jewels' of a Cakravartin, *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra* commentary, cited Charpentier, p. 321. Numerous designations of craftsmen will be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* list of symbolic victims of the *Puruṣamedha* (S. B. E., XLIV, 413-417).

\* *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, loc. cit. (p. 129), "where the whole building rests on low stone pillars, the wood pillars are mortised into huge beams forming the framework of the floor."

Vedic *parimit* and Sanskrit *karka-kila* seem to designate such foundation beams; Vedic *pakṣa* and Sanskrit *kareikā* the wall plates forming the framework of the roof. Where we have to do with a colonnade rather than a wall, *kareikā* is of course 'entablature.'

**Vardhamāna:** add "powder-box," one of the *astamāṅga* of the Jains. Early illustrations, Smith, *Jain Stupa of Mathura*, pl. VII; later, Hüttemann, "Miniaturen zum Jinacarita," *Boessler Archiv.*, 1913, fig. 1. *Vardhamāna-grha*, *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, IX, 24.

**Vāstra-nip(y)a:** is not "a jar-shaped ornament of a column," but the knotted band or ribbon which so often encircles the *pārśva-kumbha* which forms the base or capital of a column, and the *Mānasāra* text cited (*kumbha-madhye*, etc.) is perfectly explicit on this point, "and in the middle of the pot (i. e. round the belly) let there be added a colored band of cloth as a protection." This use of a string or band as protecting charm or "fence" is of course well known in many other connections.

**Vāstu**, add the meaning "real estate" (Meyer, "Liegenschaft"): "Vāstu includes houses, fields, groves, bridges (or *ghāṭa*, *setu-bandha*), ponds, and reservoirs," *Arthasāstra*, III, 8.

**Vātāyana:** the Dictionary citations show that in the *śilpa-sāstras* types of *vātāyana* are differentiated by preceding qualifying adjectives denoting the pattern of the grille or openwork screen. In the light of this fact, and of the varieties of windows represented in reliefs and the types still in common use, the three designations in *Cullavagga*, VI, 2, 2 are perfectly intelligible: *vedikā vātapāna* is a window with a rail-pattern grille; *jāla-vātapāna* is one with a trellis grille, lattice; *salāka vātapāna*, one provided with upright turned pillars or bars (not "slips of wood"). Buddhaghosa glosses *salāka* as *thambaka*. For turning, s. v. *likh*.

**Vedī, vedikā**, etc.: *veiyā* of Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 49, must be marriage pavilion rather than balcony, as marriages always take place in special temporary pavilions erected *ad hoc*.

In the common sense of railing, the *Mahāsudassana Sutta*, I, 60, gives the component parts, viz. *stambha* (uprights), *vāci* (cross-bar), *unhiṇa* (coping), and these words often occur in Prakrit forms in the early inscriptions: also plinth, *ālambana*. In *Mahāvamsa*, XXXV, 2, *muddharedī* is the railing of the *harmikā*, *pāḍaredī* the railing on the basement level of a *stūpa*; ib. XXXVI, 52 and 103 has *pāsāṇa*- and *śilā-vedī*, "stone railing" (round the Bodhi-tree) rather than "stone terrace" as interpreted by Geiger, p. 296.

*Mahāvamsa*, XXXII, 4, *vedikā* represented in a painting. *Ālambabāha*, the *vedikā* of a *sopāna*, *Cullavagga*, V, 11, 6 etc. See also *kiṅkīni-jālaya*. Cross references to *p(r)ākāra* and *dhitti*, should be given; cf. *dhitti-vedikā* of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, V, 1, where it is built round an *atoka* tree.

The very curious use of *vedikā* to mean a mode of sitting (*āsana*) is noted by Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayanāsūtram*, p. 371.



*Vidyut-latā*: Pali, *vijjū-latā*, *Maḥāvamsa*, XXX, 96, the Commentary having *megha-latā nāma vijjū-kumārīyo*, "the cloud-vines called lightning maidens." Real lightnings are evidently intended, not mere zigzag lines as rendered by Geiger. Representations of clouds and lightning are very characteristic of Indian painting; certain rooms in the old palace at Bikanir, entirely decorated with a frieze of clouds, lightning, and falling rain may be cited (see my *Rajput Painting*, Pl. VII). The form *vijjū-kumārīyo* is interesting, as the lightning is similarly always feminine in relation to clouds in rhetoric, and cf. *Yajur Veda*, IV, 1, 11, *Jātaka*, V, 407 and *Mṛcchakaṭika*, V, 46.

*Vimāna*: reference should be made to the long and excellent discussion of this word in the P. T. S. *Pali Dictionary*.

*Vīṇā*: as this word and also *karuṇa-vīṇā* are separately rendered "flute," there can hardly be a misprint; the proper word is, of course, lute. Two forms are found in the early reliefs, one like a harp, the other like a Japanese *bica*. So far as I know the southern *vīṇā* with two large gourds as sounding boxes can be seen first in the paintings at Ellūra. The parts of a *vīṇā* are named in *Milindapañña*, II, 3, 5; see also P. T. S. *Pali Dictionary* s. v.

#### Historical Architects, add:

Ananda, son of Vāsiṣṭhi, as above, s. v. *āveśaṇin*.

Balaka, pupil of Kāpha, maker of a *śālikā* at Kondāñe, and one of the earliest craftsmen known to us by name (Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples*, 1883, p. 9).

Bammoja, western Cālukya inscription. Bammoja was "a clever architect of the Kali age; the master of the 64 arts and sciences; clever builder of the 64 varieties of mansions, and the inventor (?) of the four types of buildings called Nāgara, Kāliṅga, Drāviḍa, and Vesara" (*A. S. I., A. R.*, 1914-15, Pt. I, p. 29). The description of Kāliṅga as a style is cited in the *Dictionary* from the *Mānasāra*.

Dipā, builder of the Caumukh temple at Rānpur; belonged to the Sompura class of Brahman architects, whose ancestor is said to have built the temple of Somnāth-Mahādeva at Prabhās-Pattṇ. The Sompuras, not mentioned in the *Dictionary*, are said to have built many temples in Gujarat, to have been at Ābu, and to possess MSS. on architecture. One, Nannā-khumṇā, was in charge of repairs at Rānpur; another, Koval-Rām constructed temples at Ahor (D. R. Bhandarkar, "Chaumukh Temple at Rānpur," *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1907-08).

Jaita, etc.: an inscription on the window of the second storey of Rāṇa Kumbha's *Kirtiatambha* at Chitor (A. D. 1440-49) mentions the architect of the building, and his two sons Napa and Puñja. On the fifth storey are effigies of the two last, and a third son, Pama.

Another inscription at Chitor mentions the fourth son, Bairāja. See *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1920-21, p. 34.

Sidatha (Siddhārtha), son of Nāgacana, as above, *s. v. ācēṣaṇin*.

Śivamitra, as above, *s. v. rūpakāra*.

Mallikārjuna Chinnappa, builder of the Virabhadra temple at Chikkabaj-  
lāpur, Mysore, died 1860; there is a tomb (*gaddige*) in a building  
to right of the temple.

Treatises on architecture:

*Bimbamāna*: known in Ceylon as *Sāriputra*. Add reference to trans-  
lated passages in my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*.

## BRIEF NOTES

### *The marriages of Hosea*

The old controversy whether the two marriages of Hosea narrated in Chapters 2 and 3 were real or symbolical is still far from being settled. The question is of long standing, and goes back to a time not much later than the fixing of the canon of the Old Testament. Even the mediæval Jewish interpreters are divided on the question. Thus Rashi referring to a passage in the Talmud (*Pesāhim*, fol. 89) takes the first marriage as a fact, yet mentions the opposite view of the Targum. Ibn Ezra is most emphatic in denying real marriage, and is upheld by Kimhi. Maimonides (*Guide*, II, Ch. 46) classes it with the prophetic visions discussed in the same chapter. Among modern critics Eichhorn, de Wette, Bleek, Keil, Reuss, and König hold the symbolical opinion, while most followers of the younger school support literal interpretation. Marti and Cornill, too, accept this view in spite of the symbolical names of the children. Orelli and Harper follow suit, their main argument being derived from the circumstance that the name *Gomer*, daughter of *Diblaim*, admits of no allegorical explanation.

In connection with this it should be remembered in the first instance that idolatry is generally alluded to in the Old Testament in expressions of unchastity. The identity of Ba'al with *bōsheth* is striking enough, and the erratic character of *Ba'al Pe'ôr* (Numb. 25, 3; cp. Hosea 9, 10) speaks for itself. In biblical law fornication, as in Numb. 25, goes, as a rule, hand in hand with idolatry, and incurs death penalty. Such passages are Levit. 20, 5, "to go a whoring after Moloch," or *ōbhōth*, and many others. Every unchaste woman, whether spinster or married woman, was a *qedeshāh*, and was not suffered to exist.

These negative arguments can be strengthened by others of a positive character, viz. the names as well as the gifts to the two women. As to Gomer the Hebrew dictionaries give no clue beyond stating that she was the wife of the prophet. The usual derivation of the word from גמר to *finish* does not lead far, but if we turn to the dialects we find that *gūt* forms of the root in Mishnic Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Targum and Talmud offer the meaning



of burning coal, and I do not see that we may not apply this to biblical Hebrew. If this be so the name of the woman would fairly stand for *burning passion*—a fitting symbolical name for Hosea's alleged wife. As to רבליים and אשישי ענבים (*pressed figs and pressed grapes*) the shapes of both recall the testicles, and were therefore befitting gifts to a *qedēshāh*. In connexion with this we should consider אשכל (*cluster of grapes*) not derived from שכל, as in most dictionaries, but from אשך<sup>1</sup> with a liquid ל added as in ברטל. The affinity of the vine and its fruit with obscenity in biblical phraseology is further illustrated in Ezekiel 8. 17 where זמורה is but another term for the *membrum virile*.

I do not think it assuming too much if I offer these remarks as strengthening the symbolical conception of the marriages as suggested by the authorities mentioned above. At the outset one does not see why the prophet in castigating the carnal idolatry of the aristocracy should have been condemned to lead a life of misery at the side of one wife after another who was the embodiment of sin and shame.

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### *A Syntactical Shift in an Avestan Passage*

In the third line of *Yasna* 49. 4, there is a curious variation in words which denote contrasted ideas, and apparently should be in the same case:

*yaśšām nōit hvarštāiš vq̄s dušvarštā.*

The obvious meaning is "(those not tending cattle,) of whom not the good deeds, but the evil deeds prevail." But *hvarštāiš* is manifestly an instrumental form, while *dušvarštā* is nominative (or accusative).<sup>1</sup> The usual interpretation<sup>2</sup> accepts the instru-

<sup>1</sup> See my *Sketch of Hebrew Grammar*, p. 149; and the *Dictionary of Driver, Skinner, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> Note that in the *Avesta* a neuter plural subject takes a singular verb, as in *Vedic Sanskrit* and in *Greek*: Reichelt, *Avestisches Elementarbuch*, § 619.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, *JAOS*, 15, lvii; Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's des Avesta*, 1905, 95.

mental here as used for the nominative,<sup>3</sup> but such a use in the Gathas, the earliest texts of the Avesta, has been called into question by Meillet.<sup>4</sup> Moulton<sup>5</sup> follows the usual version, but with reserves, suggesting as a possible better alternative "whose good deeds do not outweigh their ill deeds." Some of the best manuscripts<sup>6</sup> do indeed have *duivarštāiš* for the final word of the line, which makes the parallelism perfect; but with this reading there is still the dubious use of the instrumental as nominative in such an archaic text, and it is easy to see how *duivarštā*, which also is given by excellent manuscripts, could have been assimilated in ending to *hvarštāiš*, while the loss of the two final letters from an original *duivarštāiš* contravenes the principle of the *lectio difficilior*. It is desirable, then, to interpret the verse according to the reading given at the beginning of this note.

Perhaps assistance can be got from a somewhat similar passage in the introduction to the Hitopadeśa:<sup>7</sup>

*varam ekō guṇī putrō na ca mūrkhāśatūr api  
ekāś candras tamo hanti na ca tārāṅgāḍīr api*

"One virtuous son is the best thing, and not by hundreds  
of fools even;

One moon drives off the darkness, and not by swarms  
of stars even."

The change from the nominative to the instrumental in these lines is striking, and we must suppose an ellipsis of some sort, unless the text be corrupt; but the text as here given has the best

<sup>3</sup> Reichelt, § 427.

<sup>4</sup> *Trois Conférences sur les Gathas de l'Avesta*, 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Early Zoroastrianism*, 380 and fn.

<sup>6</sup> Geldner, *Avesta* (known as the *Neue Ausgabe*), ad loc.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Lanman's *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 18, lines 2-3. Variant textual readings are given in Böhrtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 3, 272-3, No. 5971, with fn. Lanman supplies *tamo hanyate* in the second line, and explains the first line as follows: "The best thing is one good son; but not with hundreds of fools (is there any profit)." In this he agrees with the critical edition of Schlegel and Lassen, part 2, p. 9, note to śloka 16 (Bonn, 1831), but he adds some corroborative material. The interpretation given by J. S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, 190, n. 1 (Leyden, 1886), identical with the translation of Wilkins (Bath, 1787), is unconvincing, since no parallels are adduced.

manuscript warrant. The second line can easily be justified by supplying *tamo hanyate* or *tamo hutam*: "One moon drives off the darkness, and not by swarms of stars even (is the darkness driven off)." In the first line, the supplying is more difficult, and there is a likelihood that corruption has crept in. Perhaps the nominative *mārkhāsatāny api*, for which there is some manuscript authority, was altered to agree formally with the second line.

On the basis of the change of voice in the second line of this stanza, however, I wish to suggest that the Avestan passage also contains a change of voice, although in it the implied verb comes first, which the nominative with the expressed verb follows. The difficulties then disappear, and we have the following English phrasing, which, though awkward, is entirely intelligible: "(those not tending cattle,) of whom not by the good deeds (is it prevailed), but the evil deeds prevail."

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### *Mudrā, muddā*

Dr. Otto Francke, in *ZDMG*, 46, 1892, has an elaborate article entitled *Mudrā — Schrift (oder Lesekunst)?*, in which he tries to prove that *muddā* in the *Milindapañha* (where it must be confessed the word has been unsuccessfully translated by Rhys Davids, *SBE* 35, pp. 6, 91, 247) means script, or when cited with *lekḥā*, in lists of the *sippās*, as reading in distinction from writing; and he draws some far-reaching conclusions.

This view seems to me very far-fetched and quite implausible; it would never have occurred to anyone familiar either with Indian dramatic technique or with Indian iconography. As a matter of fact, the interpretation of the Sinhalese commentator quoted in *SBE* 35, p. 91, note (*hastamudra kāstraya*) is at once correct and intelligible; a rendering *mudrā* = "sign language" or "hand gesture" is appropriate to all the passages of the *Milindapañho* in question, and we know from other sources that in early India a sign language of the hands was considered an art or accomplishment with which an educated person should be familiar.

To make assurance doubly sure we have a *Jātaka* passage in



which the term is illustrated by examples. In Jātaka 546 (Cowell's translation, VI, p. 364) we find the following (I quote the quite satisfactory rendering of Cowell and Rouse): The Bodhisattva, seeing a woman suitable to be his wife, reflected, "Whether she be unwed or not I do not know; I will ask her by hand gesture (*hatthamuddāya*) and if she be wise she will understand." So standing afar off he clenched his fist (*muṭṭhim*). She understood that he was asking whether she had a husband, and spread out her hand "to signify that she had not a husband.

It need only be remarked that in *abhinaya* books (see, e. g., in my *Mirror of Gesture*, p. 30) one of the meanings of the *śikhara* hand, which is the same as the *muṣṭi* hand, but with the thumb raised, is precisely "husband." The outspread hand (*patāka* hand of the *abhinaya* books) can well be understood to mean "empty"; the nearest meaning given in the *Abhinaya Darpaṇa* is "having no refuge," which would not be inapplicable to the case of a woman without a husband. So it is evident that the Bodhisattva was already using an established and conventional sign language of the hands, and this is what *muddā*, as an art or accomplishment, always means. Nāṭa-sūtras, which must have dealt with the expression of ideas, etc., by means of formal gesture, are mentioned as early as in Pāṇini. Needless to say, this conventional sign language of the hands, whether in actual use by living persons, or in the more limited range of iconographic usage, must have been based on a natural and spontaneous language of gesture; even today the common *mudrās* of the hieratic art, e. g., *vyākhyāna mudrā* (often called *vitarka*) can be observed in the course of a conversation, whenever a point is made.

I append a list of some other references to the language of gesture: Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, pp. 47, 50; *Folk-lore*, 30. 312 (a note on the language of gesture); Hodson, T. C., *Primitive Culture of India*, p. 61; *Indian Antiquary*, 22. 21; *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Tawney's translation, I, p. 44; II, p. 235; Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 215, 220; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, II, p. 24, III, p. 343; Penzer, N. M., *The Ocean of Story (Kathāsaritsāgara)*, I, pp. 46, 80-82; Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 207, 208; Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjab with Indian Nights' Entertainment*, pp. 329, 392; *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, story 1; *Vimānavatthu-atthakathā*, p. 209, cited by K. Mitra in

JBORS, 12, 1926, p. 161; Venkatasubbiah, A., *The Kālds*, Madras, 1911, p. 18; Woodward, F. L., *Kindred Sayings*, IV, p. 267, note 1, *muddika*, explained tentatively as "reader of symbolic gestures" though it must be admitted the sense here seems to require some kind of enumerator.

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*Dandārāsa, vamsanartin, and caturaśratva*

The Karpūramañjarī, IV, 11, speaks of a "staff dance" (*dandārāsa*); this is not explained by Konow and Lanman, in the edition and translation, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 4, p. 280, but a possible connection with the *vamsanartin* of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is suggested.

First as regards the staff dance. This is a well-known popular (*deśī*) dance, found all over India, and in Tamil designated *kōlattam*. I have seen it also in Ceylon. Pandit Hira Lal, quoted in Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Peoples*, p. 205, says that in the Nagpur District the Danddhar (*sic*) dance is sometimes performed as part of the Kr̥ṣṇa Līlā "taking its name from Danda, or sticks, which are used to keep time when dancing." Actually, each dancer has two such short sticks, or rods, and turns alternately to right and left, to strike them against those of her neighbour. Another instance is afforded by the Sola dance of the Gonds and Baigas, cited by Hodson, *Primitive Culture of India*, p. 67. That this dance also found favor as a spectacle in more sophisticated circles is shown by the Karpūramañjarī reference, and by the fact that it is frequently represented in decorative temple sculpture. There are good examples, both of fifteenth century date, on the walls of the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīsaīlam (reproduced in A. S. I., A. R., *Southern Circle*, 1917-18), and on the walls of the Mallesvara temple near Bezvādā. In the latter example, one of the musicians of the chorus is playing a *sāraṅgī*; I do not know of any older representation of this instrument, though it is almost invariably used in playing dance music at the present day.

The *vamsanartin* of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII, 6, 2, 20 (xii),

is correctly explained by the commentators cited in *Sacred Books of the East*, XLIV, p. 427, as "pole-dancer." A dance of this kind is referred to in the *Dhammapada Atthakathā* as follows: "A certain female tumbler climbed a pole, turned somersaults thereon, and balancing herself on the tip of the pole, danced and sang as she trod the air" (Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XXX, p. 226). In *Jātaka* 498 (text, IV, 390), *caṇḍālavaṃsa-dhōpana* is correctly understood in the P. T. S. Pali Dictionary as an acrobatic performance, but mistranslated in Cowell, IV, 246; the same phrase occurs in the same sense in the *Brahma-jāla Sutta*, 13 (SBB. II = *Dialogues*, I, 9). Performances of this kind are represented in Rājput paintings in illustration of Deśākhyā Rāgiṇī. In British Museum MS. Or. Add. 2821, f. 16, the female performer is seen at the top of an upright pole (*khaṃbha* in the text); in a Boston example (*Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Part V, item XI, p. 75, and Plate VI, right), and another in my possession, the female performer is turning on a horizontal bar, which is attached to two uprights. On *vaṃśanartīn*, see also Zimmer, H., *Altindisches Leben*, p. 290.

Thus there is a perfectly clear distinction between a "staff-dancer" and a "pole-dancer." Monier Williams is quite at sea in rendering *vaṃśanartīn* as "family dancer," whatever that may mean. In the *Taittiriya Samhitā* of the Black Yajur Veda, VI 1, 1, *vaṃśas* are horizontal beams, as noted by Keith, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 19, p. 483, note. Hauer, J. W., (*Der Vṛātya*, I, 1927, pp. 237-9), has a valuable commentary on the *Karpā-ramanjart* passage above referred to, and emphasizes the dark, orgiastic character of the dances, which take place upon the occasion of the *Vaṭasāvitri-vrata*, for an account of which see Allen, H. A., in *J. A. O. S.* XXI, 1901, pp. 53-66. Hauer again cites *S. B. E.* XLIV, 417, as proving the antiquity of the staff-dance; but while this is not valid, its ancient folk-origin is inferable on other grounds.

*Caturaśratva* is found in the *Vikramacarita* in a passage translated as follows by Edgerton (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XXVI, p. 18): "Squareness in regard to the limbs,—even feet, and hands (hanging straight down) like tendrils,—this is the universal rule laid down for the beginning of all dances." In my experience, dances always begin from an initial position of sym-



metry, in which the arms are extended, and I have no doubt that "squareness" refers to this position of the arms at right angles to the body. Professor Edgerton accepts this interpretation. In this case, the words in brackets should be omitted.

In addition to the references given above, *mokkhaśikā* of *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 20 seems to refer to a kind of pole dance: see note in *S. B. E.*, XVII, p. 184. In the *Aupapātika Sūtra*, § 2 (Leumann, p. 22), *lanhka* glossed *mahāvamsāgra-khelaka*, undoubtedly refers to pole-dancers.

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### *Origin of the Ethiopic gerund*

The Ethiopic possesses a unique 'gerund' in Stem I, *ḵatīl*, always inflected with affixed pronominal element, *ḵatīlō*, 'he killing,' *ḵatīlōmū*, 'they killing.' And in the derived stems it continues as the characteristic of the gerund. The same stem *ḵatīl* is also used for the inf. of Stem I, but in the other stems the gerund is not followed. The students of Semitic noun-formation associate with it a number of similar infinitive forms in Arabic and verbal nouns in Biblical and later Hebrew (for the spread of *ḵatīlat* in the latter dialect see Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar*, p. 103), with rare cases in other languages. (See, e. g., Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 85, cf. § 54). No pointed explanation of the Eth. gerund is given, the infinitives and verbal nouns of this form being simply described as abstracts.

But in respect to the Eth. gerund by itself, it may be regarded as a development of that simplest element in Semitic inflection, the nominal-verbal *ḵatīl*, which survives in the Akkadian periphrastic, expressing absolute existence, so that it is not fundamentally verbal. Its analogue in Hebrew is such a word as *kābēd*, 'heavy' (or a heavy thing), only secondarily verbal, 'he is heavy.' Out of *ḵatīl*, as is largely recognized, developed the almost universal Semitic participle of Stem I, *ḵātil* (by stressing and so lengthening the first syllable). Similarly the Ethiopic gerund may be regarded as developed by the like production of the second syllable, *ḵatīl* > *ḵatīl*. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that it is in the Ethiopic, in which the gerund alone appears, that the par-

ticiples *kātūl* has disappeared (Dillmann, *Eth. Grammar*, § 108, a). And further the gerund functions quite as does the participle in the other languages. It corresponds in general to the common circumstantial clause composed of subject and participle, most exactly to Syriac syntax of participle with *kad*; and its syntax is most similar to that of the gerund and the ablative absolute of the Latin. If this theory be correct, then we possess in the Ethiopic another survival of antique Semitism, along with its imperfect *yēkātēl* = Akk. *ikātāl*.

This view of the gerund would not regard it as secondary to the similar infinitive of Stem I. At most the two may have developed *pari passu*. (N. b. in our own stocks of language the tendency of the gerund to replace the infinitive.) To illustrate this intimate relation of forms developed from *kātūl*, I may call attention to two examples from the Arabic. In a *ḥadīth* of Bukhari's appears the phrase *kāla Zaidun ḥaṭīban*, 'Z. spoke preaching.' The last word may be construed as an infinitive, limiting accusatively the main verb (although such an infinitive for *ḥaṭaba* is not listed). It could possibly be taken as a noun of person, 'preacher-wise' (the usual use of the word), or we could get the same result by vocalizing it as a participle, *ḥaṭīban*. The Ethiopic would have *ḥaṭībō*, 'he preaching.' Again, a passage in the Bilkis Story, *ra'ā rahanjan ḥariban*, 'he saw a cloud approaching.' *Ḥarīb* is here a verbal adjective. But it might possibly be construed as an infinitive. And the same result could be had by vocalizing it as participle, *ḥarīb*. The Ethiopic would use the gerund *ḥarībō*.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life from Death to the Individual Judgment.* By JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY. Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, XI, New York: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1926. Pp. xxviii + 119. \$2.50 (now out of print).

In this volume Dr. Pavry gives a careful presentation of the Zoroastrian teachings on the fate of the soul from death to the individual judgment; after a general introduction, first that which happens to the soul of the righteous during the first three nights after death, then that which happens to the soul of the wicked during the same period; the manifestation of the *daēnā* to the soul; finally, the individual judgment passed upon the soul. In each of these four parts the evidence is arranged chronologically: that of the *Gāthās*, that of the Later Avesta, that of the Pahlavi writings, that of the Parsi-Persian literature. A summary and an index conclude the volume.

The arrangement of the material gives great clarity, the English is excellent, and the typography, as is regular in this series, is unexceptionable. Dr. Pavry gives a detailed bibliography, pp. xviii-xxviii, and the careful documentation in the notes shows that he has used both primary and secondary sources with fullness and thoroughness.

Dr. Pavry naturally follows the method and interpretation of his eminent teacher Professor A. V. W. Jackson; in the translation of passages from the *Gāthās*, which the reviewer has examined in detail, there are but few variations from the views of Bartholomae (in the *Altiran. Wrtb.* and *Die Gathas des Avesta übersetzt*, 1905). There is, however, a marked difference from Bartholomae in Pavry's translation of *Yasna* 49. 4, and 49. 5, given on page 30 and pages 50-51, respectively; the parallelism of the wording of the original, at the ends of the two stanzas, seems rather against Pavry and in favor of Bartholomae. In 49. 5, also, Pavry accepts (p. 51, n. 10) the instrumental *hvarštāiš* as subject of the verb, here agreeing with Bartholomae; but Meillet, *Trois Confé-*



rences sur les Gathas de l'Avesta, p. 46, refuses to admit that in the Gathas this use of the instrumental had already come into being, and on this particular passage the reviewer has offered a note to this JOURNAL, with a different syntactical interpretation. At page 45, line 6, the word "stench" is clearly a slip for "stenches."

The technical terms of the religion are always troublesome. Dr. Pavry rejects Bartholomae's interpretation of *daēnā* (<sup>2</sup>*daēnā*) as "inneres Wesen, geistiges Ich, Individualität," and prefers Jackson's "Conscience, or Religion personified," now in its essentials held by Geldner also; he translates the word therefore regularly by "Conscience."

All the source passages are quoted in English translation. This makes it easy to verify the conclusions which are drawn; for the original passages are scattered in the various writings of Zoroastrianism, of which an orientation for the purpose in hand is given on pages 2-8. The collection is most valuable to the student; but any independent judgment must rest on the original texts, and the reviewer regrets that they could not have been printed as an appendix, for the benefit of the select few who can read them untranslated.

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*Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke.* Von FRANZ BABINGER. Mit einem Anhang: *Osmanische Zeitrechnungen*, von JOACHIM MAYR. Leipzig: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, 1927. Pp. ix + 477.

Until recently the Turcologists were unhappy sons in the Orientalist family: they were unsuccessful. The Arabists had a wonderful book on Arabic literature, O. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, in two volumes (1898 and 1902). It may now be somewhat obsolete and contain some errors, but it is a valuable and useful work. The Iranists also were quite happy; they had on Persian literature the four-volume work of E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature* (1902-1924), and, moreover, the famous article of H. Ethé in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*. But in the field of Turcology Ottoman poetry alone had been studied by the late E. J. W. Gibb in his work, *A*

*History of Ottoman Poetry* (1900-1909). Hammer's *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst* (1836) is so old and poor that it is not worth mentioning. The enormous field of Turkish prose literature, especially history, yet waited for a student and the scholars had no single handbook, only the scattered data which are contained in the *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* by Charles Rien and similar catalogues.

Now this lacuna is filled, and we can congratulate the Turcologists on their great scientific event: at the end of the last year the work of Dr. Franz Babinger was published. The Ottoman historical literature from the earliest period until our time is studied in great detail. We have in this book about 400 of the verified biographies of Ottoman historians. Not only their historical works, but also many others are given. Their printed editions as well as their manuscripts are indicated. Moreover, the European literature concerning each work is mentioned and even separate articles in the special journals are quoted.

Of course, in such a bibliographical work omissions and oversights are possible and they will be found, perhaps, quite numerous in the further use of the book. For instance, we can indicate that the second edition of Smirnov's *Chrestomathy* is quoted; but the first, which contains very different material, is omitted. The catalogues of the Oriental manuscripts in the American collections also are not mentioned. Besides, very often we can not adopt the author's system of transliteration of the personal names: sometimes we have Muhammed, sometimes Mehmed. Is it convenient to try to follow modern pronunciation? Moreover, unfortunately, we must say also that there are numerous errors and omissions in the indices, especially in the third.

For separate mention we must speak of the article by Joachim Mayr which contains the comparative chronological tables and is an appendix to the book. It seems to me that this additional article was absolutely unnecessary for two reasons: first, the Mohammedan dates in the book of Dr. Babinger are given usually with the Christian ones; and, second, we already have such material in the splendid revised edition by Mr. Mahler of the work of Wüstenfeld, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen, etc.*, published only one year before this work.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society by vote of the Executive Committee:

Dr. Simon Bernstein  
Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge  
Rabbi Adolph Coblenz  
Prof. Rama Deva  
Prof. Berend Gemser  
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana  
Rev. Dr. Raymond C. Knox  
Mr. A. Mingana

Mr. G. Ramadas  
Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman  
Miss Maria Wilkins Smith  
Mr. William C. Smith  
Dr. Francis Snow  
Mr. Henry S. Wellcome  
Mr. Moss Wilbushewich  
Pres. Ernest Hatch Wilkins

The Executive Committee has adopted the following resolution by correspondence vote:

"Voted, that the Executive Committee of the American Oriental Society notes with hearty satisfaction the publication of the first fascicle of the Bhandarkar Institute's critical edition of the Mahabharata, edited by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar; expresses the hope that this monumental and supremely important work of scholarship may be continued in the same admirable way; and commends to the consideration of the approaching International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford the desirability of giving to this undertaking its approval and moral support."

Professor Charles R. Lanman has been appointed a delegate to represent the Society at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists.

## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, Etc.

The ninth annual assembly of the International Union of Academies was held at Brussels on May 21-23, 1928. Concerning two enterprises relating to Oriental studies it was reported that a dictionary of the most important terms of Indonesian Customary Law was ready for publication by Dr. C. Van Vollenhoven, of the Academy of Amsterdam, and that the search for documents in European libraries and archives relating to Japanese history was progressing rapidly.

The Institute of International Education announces that application blanks for the next award of the American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities will be ready for distribution in October, 1928. The blanks, with information about the fellowships, may be obtained from Archie M. Palmer, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

The Roerich Museum in New York has received word that the Roerich American Expedition to Central Asia, after enduring many hardships and being detained five months by the Tibetan authorities, has reached the Himalayas and has achieved many scientific results after its four years' travels.



## THE LATEST WORK ON THE KAUTILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA

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THE Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, or Kauṭalya,<sup>1</sup> has been called by so distinguished and sober an authority as Professor F. W. Thomas <sup>2</sup> "perhaps the most precious work in the whole of Sanskrit literature." Meyer's recent translation,<sup>3</sup> tho not quite the first in an occidental language, is by far the most competent and reliable. The only previous one, the English version by Shamasastry, is completely superseded by it. The translator's great learning and diligence have been fruitfully applied to the innumerable difficulties of the text, with the result that he has unquestionably come nearer to understanding it than any westerner before him. His work is, therefore, of transcendent importance. It must be consulted at every turn by any one who has occasion to refer to the Arthaśāstra; and what Indianist has not?

But it is not only Indianists who will use it. For the Arthaśāstra is a work of almost universal interest and appeal. Practically every phase of ancient Indian "Welt- und Staatsleben," as Meyer's title puts it, is grist to its mill. In principle, to be sure, it is not supposed to deal with *dharma* and *kāma*, religion and love, the other branches of the familiar triad of human interests (*trivarga*); as its name indicates, it is a treatise on worldly life, *artha*, especially political, social, and economic life. But even religion and love have political and social aspects, which are duly treated here. It is, moreover, indubitably the oldest systematic work of its sort; the various later ones are all largely based on it.

It is not strange, therefore, that when this text was first published, only two decades ago, it created a sensation in the learned world;

<sup>1</sup> There is traditional authority for both spellings. See most recently Jolly, *ZII* 5. 216-221, who inclines to accept Kauṭilya, whereas many recent writers have favored Kauṭalya. It is still an open question.

<sup>2</sup> *CHI* 1. 467.

<sup>3</sup> *Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben. Das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt und mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von JOHANN JAKOB MEYER. Hannover and Leipzig: Lafaire and Harrassowitz, 1925-1926. (Now handled by Harrassowitz.) 983 + lxxxviii pp.*

nor that a veritably encyclopedic literature has grown up around it in less than twenty years. Merely to list the titles of these writings would require considerable space. Most of them deal chiefly with the *realia* involved, and with broader cultural inferences drawn from the work. Mention will be made here only of the most important previous publications which bear largely and directly on the constitution and interpretation of the text. For it goes without saying that the first and most important task is to determine just what Kautilya says and means. And unfortunately this is not an easy problem. Meyer's work is a valuable contribution towards its solution; the extent of its value can be estimated only in relation to previous labors.

The chief of these are six. (1) The *editio princeps* by Shama Sastri (so spelled here), Mysore, 1909; on which see below. (2) The same author's translation, Bangalore, 1915; mentioned above. (3) His second edition (1919), containing many corrections and improvements over the first, largely owing to the use of additional ms. material. (4) The edition of Jolly and Schmidt, 2 vols., Lahore, 1923-4. The first volume contains the text, with English introduction. The second contains Jolly's English notes, in which he records some ms. variants and gives his idea of the meaning of many difficult passages. To these is appended the fragmentary text (extending from Book 7, Chapter 7, to Book 12, Chapter 4) of the ancient Sanskrit commentary of Mādhava-yajva-misra, called *Nayacandrikā*, edited by Udayavira Sāstri.\* It appears that this commentary was not known to Jolly at the time, tho it is printed in the book which goes under his name. It is of considerable importance; but it has been extensively exploited by Ganapati Sastri, who knew it in ms., and whose comment tends to follow it as far as it goes. As to Jolly's text, while better than Shama Sastri's, it is disappointing on the whole, especially when compared with Ganapati's. This is not Jolly's fault; it is due merely to the fact that he had insufficient material,—little more than Shama Sastri had, in fact. (5) What may be called the standard edition, for the present, is that of Ganapati Sastri, 3 vols., Trivandrum,

\* Another fragment of a commentary, covering Books 1-2 and Book 3, Chapter 1, exists in a ms. described by Winternitz, *ZII* 6. 14ff., who thinks it likely that it is the beginning of the *Nayacandrikā*. See also (5) and (6) below.



1924-5 (*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, Nos. 79, 80, and 82). Ganapati obviously had at his disposal more extensive ms. materials than either previous editor. He also used mss. of three commentaries, the two mentioned above and below, and one not otherwise known (query: possibly the one since noticed by Winternitz, cf. my note 4?). And with their aid he prepared and printed a complete Sanskrit commentary of his own on the entire text. This modern commentary remains, even after Meyer's work, an indispensable aid to the interpretation. (6) The ancient commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmin, entitled *Pratipadapañcikā*, is known only in a fragment covering Book 2, Chapters 8-36. It was already known to Shama Sastri in manuscript, and was extensively quoted by Sorabji in his "Notes" on Book 2 (Allahabad, 1914). Ganapati Sastri also relies on it very largely. But now the entire fragment has been printed by Jayaswal and Banerji-Sastri in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vols. 11 and 12 (1925-6).

All these six works, except part of the last, were published before the actual appearance of Meyer's book. But when he prepared his original draft of the translation, which is printed practically without change, only the first three were available; and he tells us that he was able to use virtually only the first, namely the *editio princeps* of Shama Sastri. In the extensive footnotes (added later) which accompany and often correct the translation, he makes some use of Nos. 2, 3, and 5. And in the even more extensive "Nachtrag," which covers no less than 223 large pages (the translation and footnotes occupy 668 pages), and makes many further corrections of the translation, he uses all of No. 5, Ganapati's edition and commentary,—but, as will be shown, not with sufficient care. Jolly's text was evidently hardly referred to, and his Notes were not used at all. Neither of the two ancient commentaries was used directly. In his "Vorwort" Meyer explains this seemingly strange neglect. Recurrent spells of serious illness made him fear that the serious delay involved would endanger the publication of his work altogether. Rather than run this risk, he felt obliged to publish what he had done, tho' conscious of many imperfections which might have been removed. The explanation disarms criticism, and commands our sympathy. Yet it is our unpleasant duty to point out that the imperfections involved in this procedure are



indeed numerous, and that the final result is (as the learned author is himself quite conscious) by no means what might have been hoped for. It is, indeed, the best translation of Kautilya now available, and a very important aid to understanding him; but it falls far short of being the best translation possible in the light of our present knowledge. With all sympathy for the author's personal troubles, and with the warmest appreciation of the vast learning and industry which show such fruitful results in almost every page of the book; we must still regret that Meyer did not find it possible to utilize more extensively the work of others. By doing so he could have made his book much more nearly perfect and final than it is.

Shama Sastri's first edition was based on a single ms., and a very imperfect one. As Meyer says (p. x), "in countless cases one must first of all extract a text from it by emendation," before proceeding to translate it. This is what Meyer did; and it must be said, with warm admiration, that he succeeded remarkably well. In many hundreds of cases his emendations are proved correct by the later and better editions. He has a right to be proud of this evidence of his acumen. The number of such instances to which his footnotes and "*Nachtrag*" call attention could easily be multiplied. But it need hardly be said that this method is of necessity very imperfect. On the one hand, many of his emendations are proved unnecessary or wrong by the later editions. And on the other, the consensus of Jolly's and Ganapati's texts, which may generally be assumed to give us the true text of Kautilya, shows in many instances that Shama Sastri's text is often incorrect, even where it is capable of a reasonable interpretation, and where Meyer follows it. The commentaries also often indicate a better text; an acquaintance with them would surely have caused Meyer to make a different textual choice in not a few instances.

Not only in his constitution of the text, but in his interpretation of it, Meyer's lone-hand procedure has its drawbacks. Jolly's Notes, which he ignored, would have helped him frequently. Even more regrettable is it that he did not make better use of the Sanskrit commentaries, the two ancient ones which have now been printed, and the complete modern one by Ganapati Sastri, which uses the others so extensively that a careful study of it would make direct knowledge of them somewhat less imperative. Meyer's attitude

towards Ganapati's commentary seems to me the least creditable aspect of his book. I am obliged to feel that his reading of it was too hasty and careless. At times his references to it show that he failed to understand it; and at other times he passes over in silence an obviously correct interpretation of Ganapati's, which I cannot but feel he would have accepted if he had noticed it. I am not prepared to say that such instances are very numerous; but that there should be any is regrettable, and the less excusable since Meyer professes to have read all of Ganapati and to have noted in his "Nachtrag" such corrections of the Translation as seemed to be required.

The text is at best so difficult that an interpreter cannot afford to neglect any possible source of aid. Problems galore will remain in spite of everything. The vocabulary is peculiar; it contains many words which do not occur, or are not used in the same senses, in the more familiar Sanskrit literature. The style is crabbed and difficult. It is not exactly *sūtra* style, but approaches that in brevity and compression. In general it is anything but lucid, and frequently abrupt and harsh. The subject-matter, too, is exceptionally remote from our point of view, which adds to the difficulty of understanding what is meant. We can, to be sure, get not a little help from the most nearly related literary circles, especially certain sections of the epics, the *dharmaśāstras*, and the later *nīti* literature. Meyer has delved deeply into these spheres, and in this respect is well qualified for his task. He also has, as his previous work has shown, a very thoro and competent knowledge of the classical Sanskrit language. He is, in short, the very man who might well have given us the nearest approach to a definitive interpretation of Kauṭilya which is at present possible; a translation and commentary which would have remained standard for decades. In view of the disarming facts set forth in his "Vorwort," we can not find it in our hearts to blame him for doing less. We must, indeed, congratulate him on accomplishing so much against heavy odds. Every student of Kauṭilya will find many occasions to thank him. But non-Sanskritists, in particular, must be warned that we still have to look for a translation which will fully represent the best that can be done with the book, even at the present moment.

In a lengthy and interesting "Einleitung" Meyer gives us a



valuable essay on the Kauṭīliya and its place in the literature and thought of India and of the world. On the moot question of its date, he is rather inclined to the traditional view that it was composed by Cāṇakya, the minister of Candragupta Maurya, about the end of the third century A.D. He argues, on the whole effectively, that the attempts at refutation of this view put forth by Jolly, Winternitz, and others, do not convince. He is, of course, aware that this does not constitute a positive proof that the tradition is correct. The question remains an open one. For the rest, every one will read with interest, and with an amount of sympathy depending in part on his opinions on international politics, Meyer's discussion of Kauṭīliya's psychology and its relation to "Machiavellianism" in modern western statecraft. German and Sanskrit indices are also included; as Meyer says himself, they might have been made more complete.

Since this publication, Meyer has issued another stout volume,\* which he regards as essentially a part, and an important part, of the Introduction to his Kauṭīliya. Its chief importance seems to me to lie in its contributions to our knowledge of the older *dharmaśāstras*. He revolutionizes the usual views of the comparative age of these texts. According to him, Baudhāyana is the oldest we have. Then come in order Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Nārada, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, and finally Gautama, which previous scholars have regarded as one of the oldest. Of these, he thinks Kauṭīliya may have used Baudhāyana, but no other. Yājñavalkya is extensively based on Kauṭīliya, instead of *vice versa*, as has been held. Even Manu he thinks is decidedly later than Kauṭīliya, as are the related sections of the epics. It will be seen that his views are rather startling; they are, however, ably defended, and certainly deserve careful consideration.

Meyer also argues that the brahmanical *dharmaśāstras* had originally no concern with worldly law. They dealt only with the brahmanical code, which was concerned with personal conduct from the point of view of magical purity and taboo. This does not mean that worldly law in India was later in developing; it existed in early times, but was ignored by the brahmana. The nearest

\* *Ueber das Wesen der altindischen Rechtschriften und ihr Verhältnis zu einander und zu Kauṭīliya*. Von JOHANN JAKOB MEYER. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1927. ix + 440 pp.



approach we have to an early code of worldly law is contained in the Kauṭilya.

Meyer goes further and speculates on the origin of the brahmins as a class. According to him they were originally a rather disreputable group of homeless vagrants, having no real part in cultivated society. Their original social milieu is best portrayed in the Atharva Veda, which is precisely their Veda; thus, quite differently from the generally accepted view of Bloomfield, he explains the term Brahma-Veda, used of the Atharva (he thinks it means "Veda of the brahmins"). His views are interesting and stimulating; they do not convince the writer, but to criticize them at length would require too much space.

We are obliged to protest at the form, or rather formlessness, of this book. Except the division into paragraphs (many of which are excessively long; four or five pages are not uncommon; one paragraph contains actually more than eighteen pages!), there is not a single break in the 356 pages of the main part of the book, nor in the 58 pages of "Nachwort." There is not a single "running head" at the top of any page, nor any heading, marginal or other, to any paragraph; nothing whatever to help the floundering reader find his bearings at any point. The text contains not a few assurances that particular matters have been treated elsewhere in it; but never, I believe, is a cross-reference vouchsafed. One need not be a worshipper of formality to be annoyed by such barbarous waste of the reader's time and flouting of his convenience. There are, to be sure, useful indices, German and Sanskrit.

There will now be presented a selection from notes made in the course of a comparison of Meyer's Translation of Kauṭilya with the texts of Shama Sastri, Jolly, and Ganapati, and the two printed fragments of ancient commentaries. It may be regarded as a kind of "Nachtrag" to Meyer's "Nachtrag." Since the text is so very important, and since Meyer's work will undoubtedly remain for some time the most-used reference-book on it, it is hoped that this somewhat lengthy series of notes will not be without value. Long as the list is, it contains only a small part of the notes originally recorded. If, for instance, one were to include all the cases in which Jolly and Ganapati agree in text-readings against Shama Sastri and Meyer, it would swell the bulk to impossible proportions. In nearly all such cases I have little doubt that J. and G. give us

the correct text; but I mention only some instances, relatively few, which seem to me especially compelling, and which are not accepted by Meyer's notes and Nachtrag. The list of textual corrections can be completed with comparative ease from the Concordance of variant readings of the three editions, found at the end of Ganapati's third volume.—Considerations of space also oblige me to be very brief; my suggestions are stated almost or quite without supporting arguments. I have moreover discarded many notes concerning questionable interpretations of the text, where I do not feel sufficiently certain of what the true interpretation is.

The following abbreviations are used: Bh = Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary. G = Ganapati Sastri, edition and commentary. J = Jolly and Schmidt, edition and notes. K = Kauṭilya, or the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra. M = Meyer. N = the *Nayacandrikā*. PR = the writer's *Panchatantra Reconstructed* (2 vols., New Haven, 1924). Sh = Shama Sastri.

References, when otherwise unidentified, are to page and line of M's work; references are also given to page and line of Sh (first edition).

- 7.15: *cōturanto 'pi*, Sh 11.10, more exactly "und sei er auch Herrscher über die (ganze) von den vier (Seen) begrenzte (Erde)."
- 11.15: *karmasu*, Sh 14.11, omitted; "wird in Geschäften verunglückt werden" for "wird sich nicht zu helfen wissen."
- 17.1 and n. 1: *a-gartēṣ*, Sh 17.18, as ger. from *gr* (Sh, M), is an impossible form. Read probably with J *nāgatvāntar*, "without penetrating inside (the king's defenses)"; or (less likely) with G *nāgatvāntam*, "without attaining his end."
- 18.11: *prajāśaucayukto*, Sh 18.18, omitted.
- 19.11ff.: better with G, as in note 4 below. The whole paragraph, Sh 19.12ff., including 20.1-3, refers to the inquirers.
- 20.6: *paśca*, Sh 19.18, omitted.
- 20.11 and n. 4: *jamḍhaka-* (not *jamḍha-*) *vidyā*, Sh 20.21; cf. Mbh. 5.2470 and 2474.
- 21.9: *brāhmaṇi*, Sh 20.8, omitted.
- 22.11: *andha*, Sh 21.2, omitted.
- 23.8 and n. 4: keep text of J, G, *sampātanicārīham* (Sh 21.14), and construe with preceding; but render "to make known what happens" (*sampāts*, occurrence), rather than with J "to make collusion manifest."
- 27.7: entire line, Sh 24.3, omitted.
- 28.4: *kārābhīngastāḥ*, Sh 24.14, is correct, but means what M suggests in l. 28f., "durch Besteuerung gequält"; see PR I § 94. Read



*parokṣadanditaḥ* and render "punisht for false witness in court," cf. J's note.

29. 17ff. (Sh 25. 10ff.): *purā* here means "presently." "As a lurking snake discharges venom at the object from which he fears danger, so this king . . . will presently discharge the venom of his anger (at you). Go elsewhere." So correctly Sh and G's second alternative.
31. 4: "Hence no unauthorized person shall approach the place of counsel." (Sh 26. 13.)
31. 15f.: "Betrayal of counsel destroys welfare of the king and of his officials," with J. (Sh 27. 3.)
32. 26: *anavasthā*, Sh 28. 5, "an infinite series," not "eine unsichere Sache"; the infinite number of subjects for consultation excludes the possibility of consulting a specialist in each.
33. 3: two short sentences, Sh 28. 12f., omitted.
35. 12: *chidrāṇi*, Sh 30. 10, omitted.
37. 11 and n. 3 (Sh 31. 12): M misquotes G's reading, which is *mitram ākrandam*. This must be correct. Sh, *J mitram ākrandābhyaṁ*, of which the sense could only be: "or does he want to destroy (my master's) ally by two (of his own) helpers-from-behind?" Sh, M translate as if *mitrākrandābhyaṁ*, for which I find no ms. authority recorded.
38. 6f. (Sh 32. 2): "Hinüberschmugglung von Gewaltmitteln"; rather "bringing in of armed forces and secret agents (spies)," cf. M's n. 3 and G's reading *dandagūḍhātisāraṇam*.
39. 8 (Sh 32. 14): "Erwacht in ihnen keine Liebe zum Vater"; rather with G, "while no love for them has yet arisen in their father."
39. 12 (Sh 32. 16): read with J, G *ekasthānāvarodhaḥ*, which M n. 4 misunderstands; it means "kept in the same place with his father." This gives point to the next line; such a prince is a "snake in the house." Cf. next.
39. 13 (Sh 32. 17): "That is a danger like a snake (in the house)", says the *school* of Parāśara." So G; cf. preceding.
39. 15 (Sh 33. 1): "mit ihm zum Ringkampf antreten" is wholly wrong. There is no reference to wrestling. M's notes here and at 429. 14 are to be deleted; in his note on 490. 28 he suggests the correct interpretation. One who is, or has his head, in another's lap (*sāke*) means an unsuspecting person, who puts himself at another's mercy. Cf. my PR II § 63. Translate here: "he will get *him* (the king his father) instead (*eva*) into his power."
41. 22 (Sh 34. 13): *ekaloṣṭa*, "with individual cloths (one each)"; cf. *ekaikaloṣṭa* quoted 42. 23, in which *ekaika-* is evidently distributive, not intensive.
44. 21: read *aupāyanikaḥ*; Sh 35. 16 is correct; in Sh III. 2 also read thus, with G.
44. 16 and n. 4: *pravīra*, Sh 36. 1, is certainly "hervorragende Helden" (so Sh, G) and *kośadaṇḍa*\* must be read with G, J.



45. 10ff.: for "bei guter Gelegenheit" etc. read (Sh 36. 10): "(he shall go in) to the king at a vulnerable point (when he is off his guard, or easily attackable), do away with him by means of weapons or poison, and then say (to the courtiers or ministers): 'I am Prince N. N. This kingdom should be enjoyed in common; a single person ought not to have exclusive enjoyment of it (as my father did). Those who want to hold office in it, them (read *tēn aham* with G) I will provide with double salaries and allowances (compared with what my father gave).'" So G, quite correctly. The prince promises to be less autocratic than his father and to share the power with his nobles; thus he wins their support. All texts read *bhartum*; M misquotes Sh as *martum*, and bases his rendering on this error.
51. 9 (Sh 41. 3): *garbhacyādhivaidyapratyākhyātasaṁsthāyikṣodukasthānam* (so read with G, but as one cpd.), "place with trees and water for women in conditions of pregnancy, sickness, or medical prohibition (against sexual intercourse)." Cf. next.
52. 11f.: *garbhavyādhisaṁsthābhyaḥ* (J *\*bhyām*, also possible), Sh 41. 17, "those in conditions of pregnancy and sickness." Cf. preceding.
56. 18ff. (Sh 44. 17ff.): *matsyagrāhaviśuddham*, "cleared by fish-catchers"; so *vyālagrāha*, "snake-catchers"; cf. *śastrapgrāha* below, rendered "Bewaffnete," l. 22. G is perfectly clear and correct. In l. 21 (Sh l. 19) *vyāla* probably "snakes" rather than "reissende Tiere," since *vyālagrāha* precedes.
58. 1: *bhātāpūrvam abhā*?, Sh 45. 14, prob. "previously inhabited or not."
59. 18 (Sh 47. 4): with J, "those who fail to cultivate shall pay the loss (caused by such negligence)." So also G; M n. 6 misunderstands him.
60. 10 and n. 3: all texts *pattana* (none *pattana*), Sh 47. 11.
60. 26 and n. 7 (cf. Nachtrag 688): J reads *vardhayeyur* (Sh 48. 1) without report of variant. But *varj* is possible: "set aside" (so G).
61. 13 and n. 5 (Sh 48. 11): "fulfilment of agreement," with G.
63. 15: read "Elefantenwaldaufseher." (Sh 49. 16.)
64. 6: *yāthapatish*, Sh 50. 9, omitted.
64. 24 (Sh 51. 4): "wo das Grasgebüschel" etc.; rather, with G, "where there are no water-grass-clumps." J reads *khaḥjana*?, but in the parallel (Bk. 12, ch. 4, sū. 30) he has *khaḥjana*, and *khaḥj* would there be impossible.
74. 16 and 21; 75. 4 and 9 (Sh 55. 6, 10, 13, 16): "darauf folgend" four times for *tataḥ param*, which clearly means "beyond (on the outside of) that (viz. the two preceding groups in each case)." I do not understand what M means by his rendering; it seems to make no sense. The four spots thus described cannot be located between the others, in regular succession; all the directions are fully occupied. They must lie beyond or outside of the circle of the others.
76. 15: for *sarva*- (so G, tacitly followed by M, "von allen Arten"; Sh 56. 10 *sarps*.) read with J *sarpi*(ḥ), "butter."

78. n. 4 (Sh 58. 14): Jolly's note in his ed. renders this long note valueless.
85. 5ff.: *nityo nityotpādiko lābho lābhotpādika iti vyayah*, Sh 61. 16. M: "Ausgaben sind ständig, ständige herbeiführend, gewinnbringend, gewinnbringende herbeiführend." But the following sentences show clearly that *-utpādika* means just the opposite. The cpds are *bahuvrīhis*, "having . . . as producer (*utpādin*) or cause," i. e. "durch ständige (gewinnbringende) herbeigeführt." Meyer even manages, with curious blindness, to make K say in l. 10f. (Sh 62. 3): "Was durch diese beiden (ständige und gewinnbringende) veranlasst wird, das heisset ständige Ausgaben herbeiführend und Gewinn herbeiführend." (!) G quite correctly.
86. 8: for "Westen" read "Osten," changing text (Sh 62. 10) to *prāḍ* with J, G, and Sh transl.
92. 10: read with J, G *samyddhiḥ* for *samariddhiḥ*, Sh 65. 15.
96. 12: for "eins" better "a little, a small part" (*alpena*, Sh 67. 15).
102. 21 and 103. 4f.: *codanā* (not "na"), Sh 72. 9, 20, means certainly "command," "Befehl," not "Aufforderung." It is the opposite of the immediately preceding "prohibition," *pratīṣedha* (negative command). These two terms are constantly used thus technically in the Mīmāṃsā texts.
103. 12: *prajāpānā* (or "na"), Sh 73. 4, "notification, announcement," better than "Aufforderung."
103. 24: *ādhi*, "affliction," Sh 73. 13. A letter "on the occasion of an affliction" (as e. g. the death of a relative) is what we call a "letter of condolence." So, quite correctly, Bh, Sh, and G, all ignored by M. With this meaning the verse seems to me clear, despite M and Stein. *ZII* 6. 59f.
114. 18 (Sh 80. 6): the reading of the ed. of Bh is *kaucapḍakāḥ*, with vv. 11. \**pakāḥ*, *kecalakāḥ*. G reads *kecalakāḥ* (corrected M 980).
119. 4: *sveta-* before *vāṣi-*, Sh 83. 6, omitted.
124. 12: "Der Stein vom Kalingaland oder vom Flusse Tapti." Where does M get "Tapti"? Sh 86. 17 reads *kālingakasthālī*; J, G *kālingakas tāpī* (J "glowing" for *tāpī*; G takes it as n. of a river).
146. 43f. (Sh 97. 15): Bh, whose opinion should be respected in such a matter as this (suitable place for storing salt), takes it unhesitatingly as suggested in this note (*pythiṣi* = *bhāmi*).
154. 4 (Sh 101. 15): *pañcōdika* (neut., not fem.) Sh, G, J (but Bh \**kā*).
156. 19: J ca *cārāyudhāntī* (Sh 102. 8). It is hard to resist the feeling that this must be the true reading; the context makes it well-nigh imperative, altho Bh, G agree with Sh, whom M follows.
157. 40 (Sh 102. 16): M misquotes G, who reads *uddayam* (rendered *lābham*), but suggests *unnayam* as a better reading, quoting it from some *bhāṣā* (did his copy of Bh read so? Our ed. of Bh *uddeyam*).
158. 11: line, Sh 103. 12, omitted.
163. 4: for *likhā* read *likṣā* (Sh 106. 4).
169. 29: M's emendation is the reading of Bh; J agrees with Sh 110. 2, G.

- 175.35: this argument has no force. The *ca* (Sh 114.5) of the text (on which all editions agree) may introduce the sentence, even though preceded by two words. So in the next sentence but one, after *kāruḥhi* (Sh 114.7).
- 177.18 (Sh 115.4): Bh has *varma*, not \**mā*. I think *carma* should be read, altho M's *mārvā* is a clever guess.
- 177.37: read *kuffāka* (Sh 115.17).
- 179.18: Sh 116.17, J, G all *kulutttha*, tho *kulottha* alone seems to be recorded in the lexica.
- 183.30ff. (Sh 118.2f.): G, J read as in l. 32, which is no doubt to be accepted.
- 194.39 (Sh 124.15): Bh's gloss is *nakhaśaśanāddikṣatena*; this (erotic scratching and biting) must be the essential meaning, whatever be the exact reading.
- 197.37 (Sh 126.2): G's gloss accords with Bh.
- 199.13f. (Sh 127.7): "People from foreign lands who have made entry (before, and hence establish a right to enter), or who are vouched for by their caravans, may enter." M's n. 3 is quite erroneous, notably as to Bh, whose reading and interpretation support mine (he reads *kyatpraeśāḥ*, gloss *praviṣṭapūreśā anumatapraeśāḥ*, and then acc. to the Patna ed. *sārtha*, not *sārdha*—as Sorabji has it). This is one of many cases where acquaintance with the Patna ed. of Bh would have helped M. But on p. 980 (correct reference there given as p. 190) he finally realized the essential truth of the passage.
- 206.7 and n. 1 (Sh 130.8): M's *em.* is unsupported and unnecessary. An animal "that has died of a cause" = one "that has died a natural death."
- 207.13: *ghṛta* after *ksīra*, Sh 131.3, omitted; read "an Butter (in) der Milch."
- 210.6: "für jedes einzelne Ross" (*ekaikaśāḥ*, Sh 132.11) goes rather with the whole sentence: "a stall for each horse" etc.
- 213.2f., 215.1f., and 221.4f. (Sh 134.2, 13, and 138.6): *nāroṣṭra* is the unanimous reading of all texts in all three places, and it is rash to emend it to *nārāṣṭra*. The guess is clever enough; but we know too little about such technical terms to depart from so well-authenticated a reading. And after all, "menschlichem Stachel Gehorchen," as if *nāra* + *oṣṭra*, sounds too much like a popular etymology.
- 229.7: delete "Bäumen," which is not in the text (Sh 143.8).
- 233.3: read 50 for 15 (Sh 145.18).
- 239.8f. (Sh 149.1): "document" and "court of justice" with J for "Abmachung" and "hinzukommende Abmachung," in spite of M's Nachtrag 744.
- 250.39 (Sh 157.14): J, G *patiṭiprakāśāt*; so read.
- 251.6 (Sh 157.17): no emend. is needed. "For how could deceit pertain to a good woman (how could she, if a good woman, intend to do wrong)? That (whether there is real justification for her flight)



- is easy to determine (i. e. whether she is really acting like a 'good woman'; if she is, no suspicion should attach to her)."
254. 32 and 39 (Sh 159. 4, 14): G as M both times; *kulpaṣ* also J.
254. 44 (Sh 159. 16): G *jāra-karmaṣi*, which seems likely to be right.
- 257 n. 2 (Sh 162. 7): acc. to G, goats pertain to brahmanas because offered in sacrifice, and cattle to *vaśīyas* because used in commerce (and husbandry!).
257. 24 and n. 3 (Sh 162. 15): G as well as J *ekadrayasya*, which is surely right.
259. 15 and n. 2 (Sh 163. 14): *pūraśaca* with G, "son of a brahman by a *sūdrā*." G understands this sentence as an exception to the rule stated in the preceding sentence, and the *tu* indicates that he is right. This is the reply to M l. 34ff. "When two wives are of different caste, an only son shall take all (the property) . . . But (despite this general rule) in the case of brahman fathers, a son by a *sūdrā* wife shall take (only) a third."
261. 18 and n. 5 (Sh 165. 9): J with his mss. *kukkuṣaḥ*, G *kukkuṣakaḥ*.
262. 11: *setubandha*, Sh 166. 2, must surely mean "boundary marks" here; cf. the next sentence.
266. 20f. and n. 3 (Sh 168. 15): read with G (a) *bāhyāḥ* and *abhiṣā*.
268. 10: no reading *upādhean* is recorded. Sh 169. 14 reads *kedāropadheanbhogaḥ*; the correct reading, despite M Nachtrag 773, is *kedāropabhogaiḥ*.
271. 2 (Sh 171. 15): *prākāmya*, see on 293. 18.
272. 15-17 (Sh 173. 2): the correct translation is given by G, and also by M Nachtrag 777 without credit to G.
274. 16 (Sh 173. 15): G also *samkramān*.
276. 21: for "Schuldner" read "Gläubiger" (Sh 175. 4).
278. 15-17: the quotation ends with "Aussage" in 15 (Sh 176. 12).
278. 44 (Sh 176. 14): the true reading is that of J, G, *accharatety anava-harātām*. The meaning (G *uponayata*) is substantially that assumed by M.
- 281 notes 1-3 (Sh 178. 2-4): G confirms *vinasṣam*. Why not keep *nippatane* (n. 2) with all texts? ("Or if it otherwise disappears.") J, G confirm *pretam* (n. 3).
287. 1f. and 20: Sh's reading (182. 1) in his Corrigenda is *kulabandhana-tāryāṇām*. So also J, evidently on ms. authority. G with Sh (in text) *kulabandhana āryāṇām*. This is translatable: "If an Aryan is pledged in a case of imprisonment in the family or disaster to Aryans, and (then) they get the ransom-price," etc.
287. 49: *nagnanāpanam* is G's reading and doubtless right. J with Sh 182. 7 *nagnas tāpanam*.
289. 23: keep *samrodhaḥ*, Sh 183. 8 with all texts; the same word in 291. 35f., Sh 184. 16 (translate as there indicated, l. 36, with Sh, G).
292. 19f.: remove parentheses; the words are in the text, Sh 185. 12.
292. 40: J, G confirm *nāsakāmāḥ* (Sh 185. 8).
293. 18f. (Sh 186. 2): *na ca prākāmyam apokramaṇe*, "and there is no

free right to quit" (even on payment of the 12 *panas* just mentioned); so Sh, G. That is, one who quits is to be fined 12 *panas*, but this is not to be interpreted as giving any one a right to quit on payment of this sum. So also 356.1 (Sh 229.3): "and he shall have no free right (to lie with a woman, even if willing to pay the penalty which has just been prescribed), if she is unwilling." Cf. 356.6 (Sh 229.6), which should be rendered with G: "One who lies with a woman that has had seven menses, after suing for her and not getting her, shall have free right (to do so; *prākṣant* = *prākṣmyavān*, *yathacchabhoktā*, G), and shall pay no damages to her father." Similarly 357.3 and 15 (Sh 229.12, 230.1), where correct M. In 271.2 (Sh 171.15) the word occurs in another connexion. It has just been said that "taxpayers must mortgage or sell only to taxpayers" etc.; "the same penalty if a tax-payer moves into a non-tax-paying village." Then: "But if he moves into a tax-paying village, he shall have a free right in respect to all property except house. And even that he may give him." Sh and G understand this to mean that the immigrant may buy from an owner in a tax-paying village all his property except his house, or indeed even that. M is not clear but seems to have a similar idea. I think it more likely that this is the meaning: "the immigrant into a tax-paying village has a free right to (take with him) all (his own) property (from his previous home), except his house. And even that (the king, or his representative) may give him (i. e. allow him to move to his new village)."

- 297, heading in middle: Read "68-70 Gegenstand," and on p. 302 "71 Gegenstand." J, G begin title with *dattasyānapādkarma*, "non-delivery of (promised) gifts," which Sh (189.1), M omit.
- 298.10 (Sh 189.10): for "gegen Könige" read "surpassing (*uparī*) kings"; the sense is correctly indicated in the parentheses.
- 298.38 (Sh 189.9): *doṣadānam* is a misprint, corrected in Sh Corrigenda.
- 301.3: *anuvāsitam* Sh 190.19 is a false form; G explains it as Vedic. But the true reading is clearly *anuvāsitam*, "uninterrupted"; so J with his ms.
- 301.39f. (Sh 191.9): G reads *mahākṛcchra*?
- 302.1 and n. 1 (Sh 191.13): G, J read *pravrajyāu orṭhacārān*, which is clearly right. M's *pravrajāu* (twice) is a *lapsus calami*.
- 302.5f. (Sh 191.18-19), cf. 303.32ff.: acc. to G *anuvāsat* = "property common to several," and *niravācya* "in case it is not common to several, i. e. belongs to one person."
- 302.13 (Sh 191.19): *apavayana* is adopted by Sh in his translation, as well as by J, G, and is certainly right. *ya* and *tha* are practically interchangeable in many hands.
- 305.23 (Sh 194.5): G reads *pragghṇaka*, "Eastern Huns," which he says is a slang expression for *Caṇḍāla*.
- 312.1ff. (Sh 199.3-4): omit the words "dann Strafen von 100 *panas*";



- read with J and Sh transl. *śakyaśivakādīn* (G *śakya*\*) for *śatyāś*, *ṣ*\* (making this one sentence with the following).
313. 7f. (Sh 199. 12): read "When there are other people who have set out in the same company (so that the deserted one is not left alone), half the penalty."
313. 14: *dayāciśeṣaś*, Sh 199. 15, "die Besonderheit der Strafe"; rather, "special, extraordinary (or: unclassified) punishments."
320. 3 (Sh 202. 3f.): for "Den zwölften Teil, wenn es ein Diener ist" read "The servant (who brings the report to the king shall receive) 1-12 (of the value)." So G.
327. 4 (Sh 206. 14): for "sich steigernde Bussübungen" read "worship of Mahākaccha (= Varuṇa, Ocean)." So G; cf. M 326. 15 and n. 4.
328. 39 (Sh 207. 12): this is the true reading and interpretation. So J, G.
335. 15 and n. 3: *sāmiṣe*, Sh 212. 15, is quite right; it means a place that would be profitable to rob (G *sadravye*).
336. 9f. (Sh 213. 4): better with J *śastrakastam manuṣyasahpātatrāsinam*: "one who carries weapons in his hand, (and) one who is afraid to mingle with people" (are suspicious characters). So also G, except that he reads it as one word, \**haste-manu*\*.
338. 23: *praveśanīśasanayor* (Sh \**kās*\*) *vā*, Sh 215. 4, is omitted ("or at the entrance or exit").
342. 7f. and n. 2 (Sh 218. 2): *sākṣiṇām* of J is right, and M's em. *sākṣiṇo* (so he intends, for \**ṇa*) impossible. The *tōn* of the next sentence refers not to the witnesses but to the facts discovered, i. e. to the cpd. ending \**nīdāśw*, as M's own translation of *tōn* in the text indicates (his translation in the note is different and wrong). Translate: "In der Gegenwart des Bestohlenen und der Zeugen, sowohl der auswärtigen (Z.) als auch der Hausgenossen, soll (der Richter) nach" etc.
343. 17: *prāpāpika* seems to be M's emend.; Sh 219. 3, J *prāpāeika*; G *prāpādika*, which at least gives good sense ("conversationalists").
345. 30 (Sh 219. 18): J, G also *āgamayet*; read so.
346. 8 and n. 1 (misprinted 3): *kulyā*, Sh 221. 7, is only a misprint; Sh corrects to *kupyā* in Corrigenda.
347. n. 1: G's text (cf. M Nachtrag 821) is the only correct one in this passage. Sh 221. 15ff. and J are wholly wrong, and M not quite right.
348. 5: for "ihm einhilft," *pūreṣm dadāti*, Sh 222. 15, more exactly "suggests the beginning (of what he is to say)."
348. 35 (Sh 222. 18): J, G have the correct *mārgāpannam*. M's *utsārayati* is a lapsus for *utkramayati* (all texts).
350. 11: "Kassenerbrecher" for *tīrthaghāta*, Sh 224. 9, is fantastic, and M's note 3 fails to make it at all plausible. G is undoubtedly right in taking it as "stealing at (lit. violation of) holy pilgrimage-places" (or: persons who perform this act).
353. 7 and n. 1 (Sh 226. 9): the reading *antarāśthītaś* is found in J, G and is alone possible.
353. 24f. (Sh 227. 3-4): read with G \**kāśhisaraka*\* (so Sh transl.), and



- pathivēśmapratirodhakān* ("plunderers of way-houses"); also *nigrāhaka* surely does not mean "die . . . zu Boden werfen" but something like Sh's "those who inflict unjust punishment" or G's *balāj jānapadakarṇanāsādhichedakartā*.
355. 20 (Sh 228. 10): *samdaṇṣa*, "tongs," acc. to G "little finger and thumb," which may be right rather than M's "index finger and thumb."
356. 1 and 6, 357. 3 and 15, Sh 229. 3, 6, 12, and 230. 1, *prākāmya*; see on 293. 18.
357. 5f. (Sh 229. 13f.): for "gleich" and "weniger wert" read "of like caste" and "of lower caste."
368. 12 and n. 2 (Sh 236. 19): instead of emending, M should have adopted either G's reading *āpyaprayogaḥ*, or that of Sh 2d ed., which J also has.
368. 29 (Sh 236. 18): delete *abhi*; all texts simply *saṁhedyā*.
369. 20: "einen Hahn"; why emend from the text of J, G *kūjānām*? (Sh 237. 18 *ku\**). Cf. M's note, l. 43f. M Nachtrag 826 (on 370. 18) is erroneous as to G, who reads *\*kūjānām*.
369. 37: Sh's text (237. 15) is *ordhagataḥ*, not *artha\**. The true reading is undoubtedly *adhvagataḥ* (J, G, M).
372. 6ff. and n. 2 (Sh 239. 14f.): *apakṛtya* and *rājā* are right; G has both and J the second. But we must also read *apakṛānto* with J, G and render: ". . . shall harry them by first inflicting some injury and then retreating (to avoid pursuit)," i. e. by sudden brief raids.
373. 23 (Sh 240. 9): where is *vyatyastam* recorded? J *pratyastam*, G with Sh *pratyantam*.
374. 21f. (Sh 241. 11f.): read with G *hiraṇyakaram akarmānyān*, and render: "Those who are not active in business they shall (nevertheless) oblige to pay the gold-tax." The next clause: "and shall not overlook any offense of theirs (i. e. presumably, any failure to pay the tax)." All texts *aparādham*, which should not be changed.
375. 25 (Sh 242. 5): no emend. is called for; *ca* (apparently the cause of M's change) introduces the whole sentence.
381. 13 and n. 3: no text reads *anāśvadyatva*. Sh 245. 6, J *anāśvadyatva*; G *dharaṇe nānāśvadyatva*, which seems best, despite M 529.
384. 17f. (Sh 247. 4f.): the meaning can only be that given in 41f. So G.
385. 14: "(der Soldaten und Offiziere)" in parens.; but the text has *dyudhiyānām*, Sh 247. 17.
386. 29 (Sh 248. 19): for "einem anderen" probably read "(dem König)" with Sh, G.—32 (Sh 20f.): acc. to G *apakṣa* = *asakṣya*, *udāsina*. But J reads *pakṣa* with M's emend. (387. 33).
387. 34 (Sh 249. 2): G also *parārthan*.
388. 22 (Sh 250. 9): the meaning is that suggested in 389. 22f., and the true reading probably *ācavanti* (so G) *prājñāḥ* (or with G *pra\**).
390. 37 (Sh 251. 4f.): J quotes the reading of ma. B as *prajñāśādhānam*, which is certainly correct (J, G).

- 393.11 and 40 (Sh 252.13): M should have kept his conjecture *bahedā-dāśa*, which is the reading of J, G.
- 395.27f.: read *ṛtau* with J, G for *ṛtena*, Sh 254.13: "He shall watch her closely at her monthly periods."
- 398.10: *tyāga-sahyama*, Sh 256.1, "generosity and stinginess" (cf. the American slang "tight" = stingy).
- 398.14f. and n. 5 (Sh 256.2): "Quälen (der Untertanen)" is probably right for *upatāpa*; and for *śakya* (ś) read with G *śaklaś*, "affable" (J with ms. B *śukla*).
- 399.3 (Sh 256.5): transfer "in der Not" to 4 after "leicht."
- 400.1 and n. 1 (Sh 256.14): better "die Frauen und die Kinder sind so (gut) genährt, dass sie zufrieden sind." So G.
- 401.5-8 (Sh 257.7f.): for *caturanto* see on 7.15. The true meaning of the first clause is given in Nachtrag, 835. In 7 for "seins Untertanen" read "die Reichsfaktoren."
- 403 n. 3 (Sh 259.6): the *vājaprakṛtis* are not mentioned as 12 until a few sentences later (M 404.3, Sh 259.11), where the context seems to suggest a different list, viz. (1) *vijigṛṣu*, (2) *arī*, (3) *madhyama*, (4) *udāsina*, and (5-12) the *mitra* and *mitra-mitra* of each of these. Cf. M 404.1f. with 403.17. M Nachtrag 836 refers to *śiṣupālavadha* 2.81 and Manu 7.176ff. (for this read 7.156ff.). Both texts refer to 12 *vājaprakṛtis* but do not list them; Manu's general context supports my suggestion at least as well as the other, since the first four are clearly the four mentioned in Manu 7.155, which are the first four mentioned in my list; is it not simpler to suppose that the eight unnamed others which complete the list are the *mitra* and *mitra-mitra* of each of these? However, later Hindu tradition, as exemplified by Mallinātha on the *śiṣup.* passage and Kullūka on that of Manu, agrees with Meyer's interpretation.
- 408.12 (Sh 262.5): the punctuation in Sh, J, followed by M, is impossible, since it makes a sentence begin with the enclitic *me*. Place the period before *dātara* with G and render: "Das heisst Erfolg. Ein baldigeres Wachstum wird mir zuteil werden, ein grösseres, oder" etc. *sā vṛddhiḥ* is paralleled by *epa kṣayaḥ*, 408.21, Sh 262.10.—Read *vṛddhyudayatara* with J, G.
- 410.9: remove parentheses from "(Burg)"; *durgam* is in the text, Sh 263.19.
- 413 n. 4 (Sh 267.2): see 594 n. 1 and my note.
- 414.2-3 (Sh 267.10): there is no basis for "obwohl," and *pratyāddāna* means "revenge" or "requital" (from their own king). "The *prakṛtis* of the enemy are greedy, weak, and treacherous (or, ill-treated!), and only for fear of requital do not come over to me."
- 414.24 (Sh 268.4): *samasya*, "zusammenfassend"; rather, "for an ordinary person," "as a general rule." Followed by *prati-viśeṣaḥ*.
- 419.3 and n. 1: instead of adding a second *sthānam*, Sh 270.5, we must drop the second *śānam* in the next sentence with J, G.

- 419 n. 2 (Sh 270.6): read *upāyānam* with J, G; but it means the four technical *upāyas* (*sāman, bheda, etc.*).
421. 1-3 (Sh 271.8f.): M is wholly wrong. Read *paraveṛddhyā* with J, G and render: "He (the enemy) could do no more than annoy him (the vijigīṣu), since the latter is not in bad plight. But when he (the enemy) has been swollen with the estates of his enemy (against whom he is fighting), he will completely destroy (the vij.)."
427. 2ff. (Sh 275.12f.): the rendering given in 32ff. is G's and seems better.
429. 14 (Sh 276.11): for "auf die Hüfte nehmen" read "get him into his power, make him trustful," cf. my note on 39.15.
431. 19f. (Sh 278.6): nos. 4-6 are not expressly stated in the text.—23: "attack the interests of the enemy" for "an die Angelegenheiten des anderen gehen."
432. 8 and n. 1 (Sh 278.14): the interpretation in 27 is certainly right; so J, G.
432. 20 (Sh 278.20): "by friendly and helpful actions" (not "Personen"), G.
433. 27 (Sh 279.14f.): rather with G as in 44, keeping the text.
439. 4 and n. 1 (Sh 282.3): I see no reason for the emendation, which seems to be against all mss. and texts. Transfer "von der beschriebenen Art" to line 1 after "Schwächerer."
440. 3 (Sh 282.17): *ecce*, "in the same way (as the preceding)", with N, G, instead of "folgendermassen."
441. 1 and n. 1: all texts *evābhāto*, Sh 283.4, but M's emend. \**tam* may be right; it gets some support from the fact that N seems to gloss it with an accus. form, altho N quotes "to like the others."
441. 24 (Sh 283.14): read *jyāyān* and omit 2d *vā* with G, N: "Oder es mag ein Stärkerer einen, der schwächer ist" etc.
443. 6 (Sh 284.3): for *ādau*, which is unconvincing, N reads *ato*, and G *āto* which he interprets as *ato*.
443. 23: "täusche so seine Erwartung"; rather, "cause disunion (among the allies)", *visameddayet*, Sh 284.13.
444. 20f. (Sh 285.4): "wenn er die Verwandtschaft . . . in Betracht zieht;" rather, "wenn er eine Verbindung (a marriage, G) . . . erwartet," N, G.
444. 25 (Sh 285.6): better, "der ein Bündnis eines Freundes mit einem Feinde aufzulösen wünscht," i. e. to detach a friend from intimacy with an enemy.
444. 34: *prahartum* is a slip for *prahartukāmo*, which is N's reading. Sh 284.15, G *pratihartu\**, J *pratihantu\**.
446. 9 (Sh 286.7): "Freunden (Alliierten)", *mītra*, instead of "herübergenommenen Feinden." In 12 the true reading is that given in Nachtrag 841.
449. 20 (Sh 288.11): read as in n. 3, line 36 (with G).
451. 17 (Sh 290.3): read with G (and apparently N) *pājya-sambandham*,



"having relations with his (the enemy's) 'persons-worthy-of-reverence'" (*pāya* = *guru*).

451. 29f.: "vorhergehenden" is a slip for "folgenden." M's *ekārthāna* is found in G. N is printed with *pratika* as in Sh 289. 16, J, *ekārthend*, but its gloss (*arthānarthābhyaṁ sambandhaḥ*) points to the reading of G, M.—All texts *copakārṣya*.
452. 26 (Sh 291. 6): N, G, J read as in 453. 32, which is certainly right (instead of "eine unschöne Sache"). The lack of a following *tu* is insignificant compared with stylistic harshnesses found frequently in K.
453. 2 and 4 and n. 1 (Sh 291. 8, 9): read *sthīram* for *sthita* (m) with N, G, and *amitra* with G (N gloss *śatras*); in 2, "who destroys a well-intrrenched enemy", and in 4 "Feinde" for "Freunde."
455. 18 (Sh 293. 14): for "Unfertiges" (*anapāsita*) better "uncertain, indefinite" (as to outcome or profit).
455. 28 (Sh 294. 1): M's "Pflügen" (*karsa*) is a gratuitous emend. for *varṣa*, "Regen", which must be kept with all texts incl. N. M Nachtrag 843 misrepresents G; the gloss to which M there refers is G's interpretation of *śaktārambhāṁ*, not of *alpavarṣapākam*, for which G says quite simply and correctly *alpavarṣiniṣpādyaṣphalam*.
456. 14f. and n. 1 (Sh 294. 8): "when (it allows) sale of great objects." N reads *mahāvīkṛayaviṣayo*, which is easier. In the preceding sentence J has *dhānyamālo* as M suggests; but N, G *mūlyā* . . . *ārambhāḥ*, which is probably right.
456. 29ff. (Sh 294. 17): read with N, G period after *tu*, and *mahādoṣā*, and translate as in M 39ff.
457. 1-9 and n. 1 (Sh 294. 18ff.): M is nearly right, but there should be no period after *kṛṣyāḥ*; also "Ackerbau(en)", "agriculture", is better than "Ackerland" (4), and "mit vielen Hirten" rather than "Viehucht" (6); G reads *gorakṣakanati*, which suggests the true meaning tho it is probably not the true text, for N, which otherwise agrees with G and M, has *gorakṣacati* like the rest. M 843 fails to note this variant of G.
463. 16f. (Sh 300. 6): read with all as in Sh, and render: "und von dem standfesten Widersacher, der sich zurückwendet beim (Erscheinen des) Angreifer(s) im Rücken, zu Boden gedrückt." When the *pārṣṇigrāha* attacks the "gegen einen standfesten Widersacher Ausgezogener", who has already been checked by the "Burg" of his "Widersacher", then the latter also counterattacks from his "Burg" and the "Ausgezogener" is crushed.—I doubt whether M is right in repeatedly emending *atimādhātte* to *atimādhāyate* here and in the preceding; but the question is difficult. Cf. M's Nachtrag 844f.; G is not wholly right, but neither is M.
464. 22 (Sh 301. 5): see M p. 981.
464. 30 and n. 4: *śmantāḥ* with Sh 301. 9, J seems interpretable: "the crowd (*varga*) on the rear of one's neighbor (and enemy, *śmantā*)." G *śmantāḥ*.

466. 21f. (Sh 303. 3): read certainly as in 35, with G.
470. 3 (Sh 305. 13): read *utadāhāṇaḥ* with G; delete "Macht der." No text has *śakti*.
470. 8 and n. 5 (Sh 305. 16): see 594 and my note.
471. 5 (Sh 306. 6): clearly not "ihm selber" but "dem Starken."
471. 29: "drankriegen" or (n. 5) "überreden"; rather with G "induce to a counter-attack (on the enemy)," *pratipādayisyāmi*, Sh 307. 1.
472. 18 (Sh 307. 10): *pratibaddhasya* is apparently M's emend.; all texts *pratibandhasya*. "Or: in case he blockades me (lit. of, or for, a blockade upon me) troubles will arise (for him) from all sides." The blockader could not be called *pratibaddha*; M tortures the word to give it that application.
- 473 n. 1 (Sh 307. 18): *āpadgataḥ* is the reading of N, G, and is correct.
474. 4 (Sh 308. 13): delete "seines Oberherrn." It is his own officials who are meant; so not only G (cf. M 848) but N. In the same line of Sh keep *adṛśyamāṇe* with all texts. The injunction is no more naïve than others which cause M to comment on K's *sancta simplicitas*.
474. 16ff., cf. 475 n. 1 and Nachtrag 848f. (Sh 309. 2-4). N reads *ananta-jñātaḥ*, and *sandhipanyodvegakaram*, noting *taddhiraṇyodvega*\* (of all our edd.) as a "false reading." N also reads with G *avabhūmiḥ* and *andāraś*; the last is certainly right.
476. 5 and n. 1 (Sh 309. 12): hardly "von seinem Oberherrn" but from the "strong ones" he is opposing, as stated above. So G.
476. 18 and n. 5 (Sh 309. 20): no reason for emending \**bhūmiḥ* (all edd.) to *bhūmiḥ*: "who helps out (benefits) his army, treasury, and country."
476. 25: G has M's emend. *śatrumukhyaḥ*, for Sh 310. 4, J *śatruḥ mu*\*; he glosses it by *amātyaprabhṛtiḥ*.
477. 5ff. and n. 3 (Sh 310. 8f.): read and interpret with G; see M 849. *taṭkalma* is a common technical term and needs no qualifying genitive.—n. 4: the interpretation in 32f. is certainly right.
- 480 n. 1 (Sh 312. 12): the true reading is surely *adāyāda* with G (gloss, *adāyāharā*) and J by emend. (his mss. *ādā*\*); N's gloss also points to this tho its text reads *ādā*\*.
481. 20f. (Sh 313. 6): G reads *asammoṣaḥ* and, like M, interprets by *asaminoḥaḥ*, which is the reading of N and J.
482. 24f. (Sh 314. 4): read with N, G, J *paricarakachadmanā* (same meaning).
- 482 n. 1 (Sh 314. 1-2): the transposition is found in no text and is unnecessary.
483. 8 (Sh 314. 10): instead of the parenthetized words understand "(by bribery and promises)" with N, G.
483. 15 and n. 3 (Sh 314. 14): *khāta*, J, G, "trench", is certainly right instead of *cāta*, translated "Fenster."
484. 5 and n. 2: *vyādāhikarṇa*, Sh 314. 17, "making himself (appear) ill," N, G.



- 484.8 (Sh 314.19): rather "(as a mourning woman, a hired mourner)".
- 484.12f. (Sh 315.2): *sattram* etc., "... let him take to the forest. And if there is no forest at hand—" (G).
- 485.6 (Sh 315.8): for *śighrapātair* N's gloss is *vegavadbhir āśvāḥ*. G more broadly but to the same effect.
- 486 n. 3 and Nachtrag 852 (Sh 316.8): N reads as G but understands it as meaning that the *vijigṛṣu* is to make peace with the *madhyama* and then secretly help his friend, whom the *madhyama* is fighting.
- 487.38 (Sh 316.15): the true reading is certainly *vijigṛṣor* *vā* (N, G).
- 488.10ff. and n. 1; Sh 317.8ff.: Tho M (Nachtrag 852) summarily rejects G's interpretation, which is also N's, I find it much superior to his own. *saty apy amitrabhāve* goes with the following: "Altho the nature of 'enemy' pertains to them (all)—" There are eight kinds of 'enemy' listed here. *pārṣṇigrāho* is to be distinguished from *śatruśahitāḥ* in spite of the loose *vā* (K's style is full of such harshnesses), and *vyasani* from *yātavyo*.
- 489.16 and n. 4 (Sh 317.18): read certainly *yayā param* with G.
- 490.28 (Sh 318.16): see my note on 39.15.
- 490.29ff. (Sh 318.17-20): read with Sh\*, J, G *mitrayasanasato*, and in Sh 318.19 *yad* with J, G for *śaḍ*, and render: "Or, an enemy who rises to unconquerable position thru the mishaps of a friend (of the *vijigṛṣu*), may be overcome thru (using) that same friend, when his mishaps have been righted. (Contrariwise,) a friend who rises (to power) and (so) becomes disaffected (towards the *vij.*) thru the mishaps of an enemy, may be brought into control thru (using) that same enemy, by means of righting (removing) the mishaps of the enemy (*arivyasanāsiddhyā* = *arivyasanasyāpohena*, G)."
- 492.1: title of Book 8, *vyasanādāhikārikam*, Sh 319.10, omitted.
- 492.4-6 (Sh 319.12f.): M misunderstands this, and therefore also several later passages in the chapter (see 496.29 and 497.1-5). G, following N, interprets correctly. "When evils occur simultaneously (to the enemy and the *vijigṛṣu*), according to which is easier he (the *vij.*) should attack (the enemy in trouble) or (read *vā* with G, tho the meaning is the same with *ca*) protect (himself from trouble). This is 'consideration about evils'."
- 492.10f. (Sh 319.15): this passage is entirely clarified by the Panchatantra parallel; see PR I § 170ff. *guṇapratīlomyam* (which J emends to "my, entirely destroying the sense, and which M misunderstands) means "applying the (six) *guṇas* (*sandhi* etc.) inversely or perversely", or, roughly, "bad policy". The others are "lack, deficiency" (*ābhāva*), "tumult or disaffection" (*pradoṣa*), "vice" (*prasaṅga*; of course read so with J, G), and "affliction" (*piṭṭā*).
- 493.6f. (Sh 320.4f.): read with N, G *daṇḍaprasaṅgam* and render: "mobilization of the army" (for "Vollziehung der Strafen").
- 493.28 and n. 3 (Sh 320.17): *vāhana* = *gaḍāśvādī* G, *āśvakharogṣṭrādī* N.
- 494.5 (Sh 321.2): rather, "clemency (when occasion demands) in (the



- application of) punishments and taxes." So N. Keep text; delete n. 2.
494. 6 (Sh 321. 3): *durga* means not only "Stadtburg" but any fortress, as the following clearly shows.
494. 8 and n. 3 (Sh 321. 4): translation and text (except as just indicated) are quite correct and supported by N and G, so that it can hardly be "ganz unindisch", whether "toll" or not.
494. 14-19 (Sh 321. 8ff.): take *jānapadeṣu* with preceding (cf. Nachtrag 853) and render, essentially with N, G: "The forts, consisting of mountains and internal islands, are not inhabited if there is a lack of country (around them, on which they may live; whereas a country can live without forts). In a country-district inhabited chiefly by farmers there is indeed a deficiency of forts; (but this is less serious;) while in one that is filled chiefly with soldiers (as is the case if *durgāṇi* predominate over *janapada*) it is the country-district that is imperfect (a more serious defect)." M spoils the parallelism of *janapadābhāve* with the surrounding paragraphs. *tu—tu = ut—ut*. To understand *durge* with *karṣakaprāye* (M 495. 26) spoils the sense; it is *janapada* that is understood, or rather *expres* (after the second *tu*, but clearly going with both).
- 495 n. 1 (Sh 321. 12f.): the text is no harsher than it often is, and I should not change.
496. 24 and n. 2: *śrīrāṣaḥ*, Sh 322. 13, better with preceding: "in case of a matter which, as determined by their respective powers (i. e. as far as their powers are concerned), can equally well be accomplished by army or ally."
496. 29: *yaugapadye*, Sh 322. 15, as in the first sentence of this chapter, is misunderstood by M, tho G gives the true meaning (with N). "When difficulties occur simultaneously (to the *vijigīṣu* and his enemy)." Instances: Italy and Rumania in the late war.
497. 1-5 (Sh 322. 19f.): "But when the like evil falls on both (*vijigīṣu* and enemy), the decision (whether to attack the troubled enemy or repair one's own fences) depends on the excellence of the good qualities (mentioned in the preceding *vs*) and the loss (to be sustained in either alternative); unless the above-mentioned (*adbhādhēyaka*) excellences of the other (uninjured) factors are found (sc. in the enemy)." So N, G, undoubtedly correctly. Cf. M Nachtrag 853; that G's idea seems to M "too remote" is due to his failure to understand the first sentence of this chapter.
497. 11 (Sh 323. 7): read certainly as in 35. The *rājya* includes all other *prakṛtis* than the *rājan* (N), or all except the *mitra* who is also a *rājan* (G).
497. 19 (Sh 323. 11): *vairājya* means "state where the king is absent" (so G), rather than "Fremdherreschaft." Cf. next.
498. 16: read with N, G *vairājya* (obviously, since *manyamānaḥ* cannot agree with *vairājyam*): "But when the king is absent, one (i. e. the temporary regent) thinks 'this is not mine', because he is

taking on what belongs to another who is alive; and so he oppresses" etc. (Sh lacuna, in 323.12.)

500.16 (Sh 325.11): read "von dem Zorn ihrer Untertanen" (*prakṛtī-kopaiṣ*).

501.11, also 502.5, and n. 4 (Sh 325.18ff.): M's interpretation is, I fear, more romantically interesting than sound. There is little doubt that the meaning is simply "acquisition of enemies" (N, G *śatruśābha*).

502.20 and n. 3 (Sh 326.12): M is right in *adānam*, with N, G, J. But *parityāgo arthasya* means (with N, G) "abandonment of property (that has been deposited for safe-keeping)", i. e. faithlessness to a trust.

504.5f. (Sh 327.10f.): *kopadhayaśtānchiteṣu* as one word; analyze *-sthāna + śhita*, "in their activities when in the states of rage and fear" (G);—*anītyayānam ca*, "and one cannot always go (hunting, e. g. during the rainy season; whereas one can always gamble)."

505.17: "Eheweibern" is not in the text, which says simply *dhāyeṣu*, Sh 328.6; G understands courtesans, which is more likely.

506.3: "von Dingen, deren man sich zu schämen hat;" perhaps more literally, "of the privities" (*kāupina*, Sh 328.8).

506.7ff. (Sh 328.11ff.): N, G correctly as in M Nachtrag 856. "Of gambling and drinking, some say gambling (is worse). What one wins or loses is based on the stake, and whether it is concerned with living things (cocks etc.), or lifeless (dice etc.), it produces" etc. (l. 11). In 15 (Sh 14): "(Others reply:) Favoring (or, associating with, *\*parigrahaḥ* with J) evil persons (which always accompanies drinking) is the worst of all vices."

508.7f. (Sh 329.4f.): read with G *svavadāhi ca; śakyopagamanam taryābādham udaka* (essentially supported by N): "and it burns everything. Water-trouble can be got at, and one can escape from its affliction."

508.12f. (Sh 329.8): with N, G read *\*vyādhitopas* and render "der Toten und Kranken, und der Pfleger der Leidenden" (instead of "der Diener" etc.).

508.14 (Sh 329.10): "Geld, Vieh, und Steuern"; rather "Steuer von Geld und Vieh" (the point is that the taxes in grain cannot be collected in time of famine, taxes in non-edibles can be, and these, in India, include cattle). So N, G. Delete M n. 2.

509.6 and 16 (Sh 330.1 and 7): "propitiation" (*upagraha*) rather than "Ergreifung."

510.2f. (Sh 330.10): read with G as in n. 1, l. 25f. M's idea is over-clever.

511.7 (Sh 331.6): "Gewinnung", not "Ergreifung."

512.1 (Sh 331.15): "by causing profit in wares and counter-wares" (N, G).

512.3 (Sh 331.17): "makes it (sc. *vaṣṭupatham*) thrive by causing



profit" etc. (N, G). On the next sentence see Nachtrag, 857; also read 100 instead of "eine" (twice in line 6).

512. 8-14 (Sh 332. 1ff.): "Land reserved for a noble (*abhiyata*, a person born to rank; N, G in the king's family), or by cowherds? The former should not be freed (for use in agriculture), even tho it might be very fruitful, because it profits by furnishing soldiers; out of fear of oppression by a possible disaster (which soldiers could help against). But land reserved for cowherds may be freed (from this reservation). For grazing-land is exceeded in value by agricultural land. So the authorities."

513. 1ff. (Sh 332. 5ff.): "Land reserved for a person of rank, even tho it causes very great benefits, may be freed thru fear of injury (which the too-powerful beneficiary might cause) in time of disaster."

513. 9 (Sh 332. 9): "sitzen mitten unter uns"; rather, "are always on hand" (G).

513. 25f. (Sh 332. 8): read with G *vātrisattrocārāḥ*.

514. 6f. (Sh 332. 19f.): *jānapaddnām* goes with the preceding; read *apady* with G, supported by N's gloss *vipadi*: "so ist der Nutzen des Einheimischen ein Nutzen des Landvolks durch Getreide . . . und ist (deshalb) selbst-erhaltend im Unglück" (i. e. indirectly saves the king himself; M 31 is wrong).

515. 5 (Sh 333. 14): read with J, G *apasṛtaḥ*, as all in 517. 6 (Sh 334. 15); so correct M 517. 6 and n. 2 (where *ati* is suggested in both places).

515. 8f. (Sh 333. 15): more exactly as in 44f.

517. 6ff. (Sh 334. 15f.): read with G *mantravyāyāmābhyām* and *sattva-mitrā*; omit "Mangel an"; *sattva* = "forest."

518. 6f. (Sh 335. 5): as in n. 1 below.

518. 8f. (Sh 335. 6): for *apaśrāvayitum* (G *aca*), "weg . . . gezogen werden," N has the more intelligible *avāhayaṭum*, "be collected."

518. 13 and n. 3 (Sh 335. 7): for *asamhatam* G says "not combined (with other traitors)", *dāpyāntarāsamhatam*; so also N.

518. 25 and n. 6 (Sh 335. 13): N, G *sattva* as *dvandva*, "forest-ambushes and strategy." G *samhitam*, metrically better, cf. M 519. 25; M's *\*dhitam* is of course a slip.

519. 1 and n. 1 (Sh 335. 14): as in 27 (N, G).

519. 13 (Sh 335. 21): "als er jemanden angriff" (G).

519. 19 (Sh 336. 3): with G (see Nachtrag 859) and N.

520. 5 and n. 2 (Sh 336. 7): the true text is *niyuktoḥ cā bhāṣktoḥ*, with N, J, G; but Sh, J are wrong in their interpretation. "... when he presents himself (*avasthitam*) after having (just) crushed an enemy (and the *vijigīṣu* demands another serious service at once)."

520. 13 (Sh 336. 11): read with N, G (Nachtrag 859).

520 n. 5: delete this note; text is correct (Sh 336. 12f.).

520. 19-21: Nachtrag 859 states erroneously that this verse (Sh 336. 13f.) is lacking in G; M is misled by the fact that it is followed in G by another verse which comes earlier in Sh (Sh 335. 17f., M 519. 7-9). N agrees in order with G.



522. 17 (Sh 337. 20): text and translation as in 28ff., with J, G.
523. 13f.: *bhauma*, Sh 338. 7, "dry land."
524. 22 and n. 1 (Sh 339. 5f.): read with G as in 38ff., *keśaś*.
525. 13, cf. Nachtrag 859 (Sh 339. 17): N, unlike G, takes *upoṣṭhāya* with *vyasane*, but apparently derives it from *upa-cas*, "desiring to dwell near (the enemy, to keep watch on him, when he is) in trouble." N reads *caturthī* like J, Sh, and interprets it as meaning "a fourth (case of march)," i. e. something different from the three preceding cases, a special case; cf. the next sentence. When the enemy is in trouble, the general rules do not hold. So G also, tho his text has *caturthīm*.
526. 7 and n. 2 (Sh 340. 7): read with J, G *cāndhā*, "blind."
526. 24 (Sh 340. 18): "angestammten"; *mūla* acc. to N, G means "originating in the *mūla* = *sthāniya*" (cf. M 59. 1 and 21).
527. 5 (Sh 340. 20): read "meinem" (N *mayi*) for "ihrem."
528. 6, cf. n. 2 (Sh 341. 13): read, "and he operates with forced troops." *daṇḍabala* means "troops furnished by another king under compulsion," and hence unreliable. So N, G. Change M's translation wherever this word occurs (see his Index).
528. 17f. and n. 5 (Sh 341. 18): "ich werde seinen aus Verrätern bestehenden Einschub (durch die Schlacht) aus dem Weg räumen." So N, G.
528. 24 and 529. 1 with n. 1 (Sh 342. 2): G agrees with M, but since *śāstra* regularly means "helpers of the enemy", perhaps better: "I shall make this thorn-crushing of the rescuers (of my enemy) and of the forest tribes," i. e. use them for that purpose. So Sh.
529. 5-7 (Sh 342. 4): the text is right, and G's gloss follows it, *pace* M Nachtrag 860. But the translation should be: "And also the time of a war later than (after) a war against his enemy." That is, *śatrubala* should not be employed in a war against his *śatru* (but presumably only against wild tribes or minor powers).
529. 10f.: *ariyuddhapratilomam*, Sh 342. 6, is correct, but wrongly translated. M Nachtrag 860f. misunderstands G, whose gloss says (with N): "in (previous) conflict with the enemy they have shown hostility (to him, the enemy)."
530. 6ff. (Sh 342. 10), cf. Nachtrag 861: G's reading was apparently intended by N, judging from its gloss, tho its text is very corrupt. N seems to have interpreted *bhaktavetana*° as M does, not as G. But M fails to understand the point of the sentence, which is to distinguish two kinds of *utsāhikam balaṁ*, viz. *bhedya* and *abhedya*. Read: "Wenn es Nahrung, Sold . . . zuwege bringt, dann ist es den Feinden verhetzbar. Es ist unverhetzbar, wenn es hauptsächlich . . . zusammengesetzt, fest zusammengeschlossen und mächtig ist."
530. 17 (Sh 342. 13): "zu Boden drücken" for *ava-grāh*; rather, "hold back, not send forth" (N, G).
530. 18: "unbrauchbar machen" for *aphalaṁ kuryāt*, Sh 342. 14; rather,

- "rob them of their (promised) rewards (for their services)," i. e. dismiss them unpaid. So N, G.
531. 2 (Sh 342. 15): "And this (just mentioned) mobilization of forces on the part of the enemy he shall hinder."
531. 8 and n. 2 (Sh 342. 18): read with N, G *satkārād*.
532. 14 and n. 3 (Sh 343. 10): N, G also *kāṣaka*, glossed *trikaṣṭakam kuntapramāṇam* (G *kuntatulya-pra*).
533. 8ff. (Sh 344. 5ff.): M's rendering in Nachtrag 861 is correct as far as it goes, except that "grosseen" is omitted before "Gewinn." But further, in 533. 13f. we must render with G, instead of "oder auch" etc., "and (literally, or) the (loss from) disturbance in the rear is 1 in 100." This clearly answers M's question (in Nachtrag) as to why "the loss is ten times as great." Obviously loss of 1 in 100 is ten times as great as gain of 1 in 1000.
534. 21 and n. 4 (Sh 344. 16): G *avasādvāṣa*, interpreted as "banishment." Cf. M 539 n. 1, where all texts read *ava-* (despite M).
535. 4 (Sh 345. 11): *yogapurusa* = *gāḍhapurusa*, "spy" rather than "Werkzeug"; so N, G. "To test you out" is implied. So also in line 17.
536. 24 and n. 4 (Sh 345. 19): the idea is rather that if they cannot be won over, the spy is to tell the foreign king that they are spies sent by the *vijigīṣu* to kill him. Instead of "(dann)" read "(wenn das nicht gelingt)". So N, G.
537. 24 (Sh 346. 14): "Let his army be occupied (or, be 'stuck', *śajyatām*); let hostilities ensue for him."
538. 16 and n. 3 (Sh 347. 8): *yugya* = *vāhana* also acc. to N, G; surely right.
539. 16f. (Sh 347. 19): as in Nachtrag 863, with N, G.
539. 34 (Sh 347. 17): all texts *avasādvāṣa*; cf. 534. 21 and n. 4.
540. 16 (Sh 348. 19): "in rühmenswerter Weise", i. e. "by open, honorable conflict."
540. 17f. (Sh 349. 1): cf. 559. 4 and note. The passages are both very obscure; M has certainly not penetrated them, but I cannot claim much greater success. N has *nibandha* here for *nirb*; at 559. 4 all have *nirb* (except J 'nub'), and I should read so in both places, contrary to M. Here N, G seem to understand "surpassing" profit as that which is greater than that agreed upon among allies.
542. 5f. (Sh 349. 12): G *nāḍhanāḥ* for *sāḍhanāḥ*; this is much better, pace M Nachtrag 864, top. "Not without money is money (*artha*, also more broadly, 'success') gained by a man even (*api*) by hundreds of strenuous efforts. Money (success) is caught by money (success), as elephants by counter- (decoy-) elephants." M translates *api* by "nur", a meaning which of course it cannot have; that requires *eva*.
543. 13 (Sh 350. 8): *ubhayaṃyoge* (J, G), "nach beiden Richtungen"; better, "in (case of, and so because of) the mutual (two-sided) relation." Cf. next.



544. 27 (Sh 351. 1): *ekāntayoga* (= "ge, G), "in the (case of the) one-sided relation." Cf. preceding.
545. 2f.: M omits the words *pratijapitur* . . . *tato* (Sh 351. 5); his parenthetized clause is quite wrong. It is the *upajapitārah* who are to be attacked; the "Botentruppen" are definitely stated to come "from that *pratijapitur*, von diesem auf die Einflüsterungen Erwidern." (G understands *tato*, "going", for *tato*, but this is not supported by N and is inferior.)
545. 16ff. (Sh 351. 12): "Dies (euer Herz, G *svacittam*) müsst ihr ihm offenbaren." (Then they will be afraid to enter into the conspiracy, because they will believe the traitorous proposals to be inspired by the king himself to test them. So N, G, evidently correctly.)
545. 30f. (Sh 351. 8f.): the words in question are adjectives agreeing with *ādma*, not adverbs.
546. 8ff. and n. 3 (Sh 351. 17f.): read with N, G *pāreśm-pāreśm*, and with N, G, J, Sh<sup>2</sup> *gureśm*, and render as in line 36ff. This is simple and clear; without regard to the order, a conspiracy is more important if started by powerful people.
546. 13f. (Sh 352. 1): title, "Die mit Verrätern und Feinden (*śatru*) zusammenhängenden (widrigen) Ereignisse; supply *āpada*, as M himself does in the title of the next chapter)."
546. 15-17 (Sh 352. 2f.): a serious misunderstanding in M, which would have been avoided by reading G's comm. An abstract noun *siddhā* (n. 4) is utterly impossible in Sanskrit. So with *śmīrā* etc., 547. 13ff.; in all such cases in this chapter supply *āpad*. "Die reinen (unvermischten, sc. Verschwörungen) sind zwiefach: die von (nur) Verrätern (herrührenden), und die von (nur) Feinden. Bei der aus lauter Verrätern bestehenden (Verschwörung) soll er" etc.
547. 4f. (Sh 352. 7): "Bei der aus lauter Feinden bestehenden (Verschwörung) suche er" etc.
547. 6f. (Sh 352. 7): (reading *śatru* *pradhāna* with J, G) "where the enemy that is the chief man (N, G *mantrin*) is, or one that is an agent." N's corrupt text should be read *kāryate niyujyate iti kārya*, "a person to be used, set to work," sc. by the enemy, = *amātya*, or the *dyatya* mentioned in the next sentence, where read with G (see M Nachtrag 864).
547. 13f. (Sh 352. 11): "so ist das eine gemischte (Verschwörung). Bei der gemischten" etc. Cf. above.
547. 19f. (Sh 352. 13): "so gibt das die feindgemischte (Verschwörung). Bei der feindgemischten" . . .
547. 21f. (Sh 352. 13f.): "Denn leicht ist es, sich mit einem Freund zu verbinden (*sandhir* with G for *siddhir*, proved right by the next sentence), nicht aber mit einem Feind."
547. 25 (Sh 352. 15): "einflüster" better than "aufhetzen"; "dadurch" for "darauf."
547. 40 (Sh 352. 12): "keine gestützte (Verschwörung)."
548. 11 (Sh 353. 1): understood, as in the preceding line, "Darstellung



- der" before "in allen drei Zeiten." That is, by saying: "We always have been, are, and always shall be helpers and not injurers." Not as in M line 32, but essentially as in 34ff.
548. 23 (Sh 353. 8): for "Nachgeben" etc., "allowing the continued use of what has been received (from oneself)." So N, G.
548. 25f. (Sh 353. 9): "Schenken des eigenen Gutes von neuem, Ueberlassung der Beute an Gute des Feindes," N, G.
548. 30 (Sh 353. 11): "vor einem Zurückschlag", a defeat (*pratighāta*).
549. 14 and 20 (Sh 353. 17; 354. 2, 9, 11, 17): for "die Kunde verbreiten" read "cause (the letter) to be captured (saying):"—So also 550. 11: "shall cause to be captured a letter (supposed to be) from the enemy" etc.; and similarly 550. 16f., 551. 10.
- 549 n. 2: cf. Nachtrag 864. I think *cārayati*, Sh 353. 14, may be a denominative from *cāra* = "spy's report" (see M's Index). G says it means "spread abroad a false rumor."
550. 15f. (Sh 354. 11): read *na sandhīḥ* with N, G; *naḥ* is impossible since K uses the dual of two persons. "The alliance (formed against the *vijigīṣu*) is not in order."
551. 1ff. (Sh 354. 13): read with G (Nachtrag 865).
551. 16 and n. 3 (Sh 354. 20): delete "nicht"; no reason to emend.
552. 22 (Sh 355. 14): read with G *sārthavrajāḥvāḥ vā*: "und Wälder" for "durch Waldstämme."
552. 24 (Sh 355. 15): read with G *jātisamghāḥ* (*samghavyṛte* [= Book 11] *vakṣyamāṇā vichikīḥḍāyāḥ*, G): "... sollen die Klassenverbände auf ihre Blossen los schlagen."
553. 1-4 (Sh 355. 17f.): G's reading and interpretation (M Nachtrag 865) follow N, and are certainly approximately right, tho the meaning of *vitāṇsa* is uncertain; perhaps rather "net, snare." Translate: "And a sly prince shall bring destruction to his enemies in case of an enemy-mixed (coalition) by applying means consisting of winning their confidence and bribery as (a fowler catches birds) with a snare (?) and bait." Note the perfect and (for such Hindu proverbs) characteristically neat parallelism between *vitāṇsa* and *vīśedāsa*, and between *gila* and *amīṣa*. This is wholly lost in M's version, which is much more "gedankenarm" than the rival one to which he applies this term. And perhaps, after all, *vitāṇsa* means just what G says; the parallelism would then be even neater.
553. 9f. and 554. 1ff. (Sh 356. 3ff.): for "Abfall" etc. read: "The disturbance that consists in disaffection of one's own people, when it occurs in circumstances which cause the enemy's increase (profit), is disaster (*āpad*), and may consist of gain, loss, or matters of doubt (as to gain or loss). A gain which, if not obtained (*apṛāptaḥ* with Sh, J, G)," etc.—In 554. 5 the text (Sh 356. 7) says simply *kṣaya*, "Verlust", where M has "Kriegstier- und Menschenverlust."
554. 21 (Sh 356. 15): read with G as in M 40: "den Freund eines Feindes (gegen diesen Feind) aufzustacheln."
555. 21 (Sh 357. 9): read (nearly as in n. 2): "becomes one that is in

doubt as to its general advantage," i. e. as to whether it is on the whole advantageous or not.

556. 2f. (Sh 357. 12): as preceding.

556. 6 (Sh 357. 14): "Unheil" for "Zustand."

556. 9 (Sh 357. 16): certainly "den Vortell" as suggested n. 2.

556. 11ff. (Sh 357. 17f.): read exactly as G (M Nachtrag 867); but M misunderstands the reading. "He should set out to get the most important, (or) the one that is near at hand, (or) that permits no delay, or whereby (i. e. on account of which, if he does not get it; *yena*) he would be at a disadvantage (*śno*)."  
G's gloss seems to me perfectly clear and intelligent, and is certainly right.

556. 21 (Sh 358. 1): "Stammlandes"; *māla* = *sthānīya*, N, G. So frequently.

556. 25 (Sh 358. 4): "Königsherrschaft"; better, "kingdom" (*janapada*, G).

557. 1-3 (Sh 358. 5f.): for "die Sache" read "einen (anderen) Vorteil." For "Denn sonst" etc.: "Otherwise (if this cannot be done) let him ward off" etc.; keep *vārayet* with all texts.

557 n. 3 (Sh 358. 8, 10, 12): the readings here proposed (with \**samsāyā* as line 29) are correct and are all found in G.

558. 1 (Sh 358. 16): "oder" for "und"; 2, "violent" for "herabgekommen" (keep *ṛkṣas* with all incl. N).

558 n. 3 (Sh 359. 2): so G, correctly.—n. 4 (Sh 359. 4-5): read with G, as in M Nachtrag 867.

559. 4ff. (Sh 359. 10): see on 540. 17.

561. 4ff. (Sh 380. 16): G's interpretation is the only possible one, *pace* M Nachtrag 867f.

563. 9 (Sh 361. 13): J has the easier reading \**sampannādḥaye*, "in a place made safe by ditches etc."

564. 8: omit "seiner eigenen Person", reading *āruḥṣa*\* with J, G for *āmarakṣa*, Sh 362. 2.

564. 11ff. (Sh 362. 4f.): as in Nachtrag, 869. The statement about G in 869 l. 1 is erroneous; G interprets as in the following note.

564. 16: read *rakṣaṇāni*, "protections, safeguards", with N, G, for *grahāṇāni*, Sh 362. 6.

565. 10ff. (Sh 362. 17) and Nachtrag 869: M misrepresents G as to *prasāra*, which G says is defined by *caṇḍīna*; this accords better with the language than M's interpretation. N's gloss on *prasāra* *vṛddhīr* ed says: "or (if there is no danger from the enemy) let there be an increase in (the use of) forest provisions." It is doubtful if this is correct.—In the following, both text and interpretation are too uncertain to make discussion profitable here. Tho M approves G's text, it seems that N is closer to Sh and J.

567. 6 and n. 1 (Sh 363. 14): *anudakam* is found in all texts and we hardly have the right to reject it. N says that lack of water is mentioned twice because of its seriousness; similarly G.

567. 11 (Sh 363. 16): all texts *apayāne*, which keep; it means the same as *ava*°.
568. 17 (Sh 364. 13): better with G (Nachtrag 870); *pragraha* generally of hostile powers.
- 568 n. 4 (Sh 364. 10): G reads *kaja* for *śakaja*!
569. 24 (Sh 365. 5): read with G *\*klāntān avasuptān vā* (cf. Nachtrag 870); *J avasuptān*.
570. 8f. and n. 4 (Sh 365. 7): G also has *\*vātam*; but *sarcam* (so all) must be kept instead of *kharcam*. On the preceding sentence see M's last word, p. 983 (correction of Nachtrag 870).
572. 13 (Sh 368. 19f.): rather as in 35, with G.
573. 1f. (Sh 367. 4): "and into land suitable for the enemy to form in (lit. 'enemy-land-battle-formation') he shall send cavalry" (to prevent him from forming there), G.
573. 21 (Sh 367. 17): add "der Karren" after "Pferde."
574. 2 (Sh 368. 4): read as in G, cf. n. 1 and Nachtrag 871; but it means "not interrupted by mud", as in line 14 below, q. v.
574. 7 (Sh 368. 7): read with J, G *krasva*, as Nachtrag 871; but it means "kurze und überspringbare", rather than M's rendering.
574. 14 and n. 2 (Sh 368. 9f.): read with G (cf. line 2 above): *pañka-bhaṅgura-doravahinā* (dvandva of two adjectives).
575. 15 (Sh 369. 1) and Nachtrag 872: that G's text is right is proved by the *ca*, which can only connect *athāpanā* with *visuddhiḥ*.
575. 26 (Sh 369. 2): this is the correct alternative.
577. 10 (Sh 370. 5): certainly "Offiziere" as n. 4; so G.
577. 21 and n. 6 (Sh 370. 12): perhaps rather "counter-fighters", i. e. defensive fighters, against the enemy who might attack the valuable horses, wagons, and elephants.
588. 12 (Sh 376. 6): N as in n. 3.
589. 10 (Sh 376. 14): read "(auf) die ausgezeichnetere (von anderen genossene) Gunst." In the next sentence read as in line 32 with J, G (J *\*pātra*-), and in line 17 (Sh 18) as in n. 3.
590. 22-591. 2 (Sh 377. 14f.): see p. 981. Read as there, except "öfentlich" with G's text instead of the emend. "heimlich"; this change of M's spoils the sense, which requires that it should be known that the *mukhya* has the goods.
592. 6: M omits *apasytam*, Sh 378. 18, after "Familie."
594. 2 and n. 1 (Sh 380. 1): G is probably right in deriving from *a-baḥyas*; "Verhalten des Schwächeren", as M 28f. Cf. 413 n. 4 and 470 n. 4, where J renders "policy of a weak towards a powerful king."
600. 5f.: *śamutpanne doṣe*, Sh 384. 8f., better "(this) trouble having been caused."
600. 9f. (Sh 384. 10): "an die Stelle setzen" (25) is better; it means, make them king (G).
600. 14 (Sh 384. 12): for "es sei seine Tat", *asya*, rather "(make known, complaining,) to it (viz. the people);" G *paurasya jānapadasya ca*; N *paurasyaiva*.



- 600.22 (Sh 384.18): add "of the cavalry" after "Fussoldaten."
- 601.4 (Sh 385.3): better *cācannā* with N, G: "sollen sie zu den Anwesenden sprechen."
- 601.6: keep text, ca *pravāsita*, Sh 385.3, with all. "And to those who have been banished (from court)."
- 602.12 and n. 3: see Nachtrag 877 for G's text, which agrees with N and is clearly right (a lacuna has occurred in Sh 386.9).
- 602.20f. (Sh 386.15): *yathāsannasya*, "according as (either happens to be) at hand," for M's "vor dem Herangenahen."
- 603.13 (Sh 387.9): *māndya* seems to be M's emend. for Sh, J *mādyā*; G *pādyā*, "25 percent solution."
- 603.22 (Sh 387.14): *kālikam* (so J, G), "it can be taken on credit" (to be paid for at a later time), N, G.
- 603.26-604.2 (Sh 387.17-20): all wrong in M; in part made clear by N, G. After "sagen" line 26 read: "Sell it for such and such a price (lower than that demanded by the sellers), or give us a larger amount (of the wares); and then (when the sellers refuse to grant these demands) they shall put it back (now poisoned from contact with their own poisoned containers) into the same original vessels (thus poisoning the whole stock). These same things (shall be poisoned by) spies disguised as traders, in selling their wares. Or those who bring (fodder) for the elephants and horses shall put poison in the various sorts of fodder when they draw near."
- 605.5 (Sh 388.18): better with G (*kapāṣa*), "trick fire and smoke."
- 605.8 and n. 3: keep *hikṣāṣ* with all, Sh 388.20.
- 605.18f. (Sh 389.7): read with J, G *pāyāgama* and interpret as in line 35f.
- 614.9 (Sh 393.14): read with G *mītraveṇḍapadīśanto*, "pretending friendship." Thus the absurd "belehrend" is removed.
- 614.18-615.4 (Sh 393.19ff): where G's interpretations differ from M in this passage they are generally better. But they must not be judged from M's Nachtrag 879, which falls far short of doing them justice. One example: M says, "Aus seiner (G's) Glosse zur Eselsmilch kann ich nur entnehmen, dass sie töricht ist." All that poor G says on *gardabhikṣirūḍhimanthanena* (Sh 394.2) is that "approaching, i. e. waiting on, an enemy is like that," i. e. like churning asses' milk; it seems clear that he understands it exactly as M does! Why the harsh language? The point is, by the way, much nearer with the mss. reading *dhrusṭapakāriṇaṣ* than with M's emendation, a veritable "Schlimmbesserung."
- 614.23 and n. 5 (Sh 394.1): "who have received no reward for excessive reverence rendered." But the text is uncertain; see G.
- 615.1 and n. 1 (Sh 394.1-2): "getäuscht" with G, certainly. In next line "Feindschaft" for "Dissens" (keep the text, Sh 394.3).
- 616.13 (Sh 394.19): for "zuziehen" better with G's text *mānagitaṇḍaṣ*, "ehren."
- 616.21f. (Sh 395.6): "eine goldene Röhre" (sing.); and it is not at all

- clear to me that *upajihvika* must be a snake (cf. n. 5). G says "ant."
617. 8-9 (Sh 395. 10): the text abbreviates, as in M line 15.
619. 8, n. 2, and Nachtrag 880: *śrādhavahkṣita* is the only reading recorded in J or G (Sh 396. 19 has lacuna). It means, however, as G says, men "the upper parts of whose bodies have been eaten."
619. 18f. (Sh 397. 4): "die mit jedem" etc.; G interprets as in n. 3; but the correct interpretation seems to be "perform lonely charms, offerings, and oblations." "Lonely", i. e. performed all alone, without companions; *ekaika* is an intensive, not a distributive, *āmreḍita*.
619. 22f. (Sh 397. 6): "um gegen die anderen" etc.; rather, "to instruct the others (his own men)", G.
620. 11 and n. 1 (Sh 397. 13): all *sattrichannāḥ*, which need not be emended. G *sattrisambandhino gūḍhapuruṣāḥ*.
621. 7f. and n. 2: keep the text, with all edd.; *tūryair cābhīkātaiḥ*, Sh 398. 4, "or with musical instruments that are played," i. e. playing on them.
621. 20 (Sh 398. 12): read with J, G *apasarpa*, "spy."
621. 24 (Sh 398. 14): better with G as in n. 5; and so next page, line 3.
625. 1f. (Sh 400. 8): see Nachtrag 882. G reads *abhityakta*-, interpreted in much the same way.
626. 2 (Sh 401. 2): for *pātaṁ*, "Niederwerfung," G *ghātaṁ*, which is better.
627. 17ff. (Sh 402. 2-3): read with J, G *sthāpayet* for *svā*°. For *utthitam*, M "was sich (unruhig) erhebt", G better *kṛṣṇādiprayāsadyatam*. Read *samagram* with G for *saṁgrāmam*. The king is instructed to see to it that the peaceful inhabitants of the conquered land have opportunity to carry on their normal occupations. To that end "he shall settle them all in another region (than that near the fortress which he is to besiege); in one single place (of safety) he shall have them dwell (*vā* = *eva*, as often; or, perhaps, 'or he shall cause them to dwell in one place,' for safety, i. e. in one part of the region they occupy, but not *anyasyām*, 'in a wholly different region')."
628. 3 (Sh 402. 6): "while he is hard pressed", with G, instead of "in der Burg." I fail to see why M says this "passt hier nicht." For "Transport" read as in n. 3, with G.
629. 1 (Sh 402. 8): *vamanād*, with all texts; = *anyatra-nayana*, G.
629. 21 and n. 5 (Sh 402. 18): all texts *naptr*; acc. to G, = "the bird called *vīṣkīra*." Cf. 650. 11.
629. 24f. (Sh 403. 1), cf. 630 n. 1: keep the text (M's emend. is very remote from the unanimous reading of the edd.) and render: "a man with uplifted standard and bow, or a guard." *mānuṣeḍgninā* is thus explained by G: *śatrunīkatasya vā śālāropapamāritasya vā manuṣyasyā 'sthni kalmāṣaveṣṇā mathandā utthitena 'gninā*.
630. 7 (Sh 403. 5): as G (Nachtrag 883).



- 630.20: "Oder ein Verräter"; but *eiśāsaghātā*, Sh 403.12, goes with the preceding: "or a destroyer (of the enemy) while he feels secure."
- 630.22 (Sh 403.13): for *trapuśīsa*, G *trapusa* (*tanūmaprasādhā oṣadhihedaḥ*), which is probably right; *trapuśīsa* looks like a lect. fac.
- 631.7 and n. 1 (Sh 403.19): M's insertion has no authority and is quite unnecessary.
- 631.15 (Sh 404.3-4): G *prahavane* for *pravahane*.—*anikadarśanasaṅga*, better "at a time when (the hostile king) is occupied with inspecting the army," with G, who also takes *saurikakalaka* as a *dvandva*.
- 632 n. 1 (Sh 404.8): cf. Nachtrag 883 (632, 49 there is a misprint for 632, 39): G reads not "wie Sham," as M states, but rather, "*vyāñjana vā samruddhena . . . abhityaktaṁ*," as suggested by M (cf. his n. 2). These readings are undoubtedly right. But neither G nor any ed. supports M's wholly improbable change to *mītramukha śāstra*. It is strange that M thinks this required by *vā*, which merely introduces the sentence or paragraph, as in countless similar passages.
- 633.2f. and n. 1 (Sh 405.2): read with G (M Nachtrag 883): "come out to attack the foreigner (enemy) now that I have attacked him."
- 633.22 (Sh 405.13): *acāptārtho*, "da er jetzt" etc.; rather, "having (thus) achieved his purpose."
- 634.9 (Sh 405.19f.): M understands *muktakeśaśāstra* as "those who have loosened hair, and those (others) who have thrown away their weapons." I doubt whether this harsh zeugma is possible for *mukta*. Better with G take *śāstra* with the following: "den Waffenfurchtentstellten."
- 634.21 and n. 3 (Sh 406.4): better with G, "die weiteren Reichsfaktoren (des Feindes)," i. e. his treasury, army, etc.
- 635.14f. (Sh 406.15): the interpretation mentioned in n. 2 is right. G explains the *śādi*, which troubles M, by (1) mines etc., (2) cities etc.—In line 16 understand with G (M Nachtrag 884).
- 638.12 (Sh 408.14): better with G, "into things used in connexion with the person (*śarīra*) of the enemy."
- 638.17 (Sh 408.16): *sattrajīvin*, simply "professional spies, people who practise the spy's trade" (= *sattrin*, G).
- 638.20 (Sh 408.17): Sh, G *kaunḍīnyaka*, J *\*nyaka*; in 642.24 (Sh 411.1) all *kaunḍīnyaka*.
- 639.12-14 and n. 6 (Sh 409.6): keep *līḥayogo* with all texts: "a worm-spell which is effective in a month is" etc.
- 649.7 (Sh 415.17): all texts *khārakīṣā*; ?
- 649.22f. (Sh 416.3-4): certainly read as in 650.15 and 23, with J, G: "miscarriages of all castes."
- 650.3-6 (Sh 416.6-7): M's translation and n. 2 are wholly to be rejected. In Nachtrag 888 he summarily dismisses G, who seems to me substantially right; and he specifically misrepresents G by saying that he "*macht keinen Versuch, sich mit *iti* abzufinden*," whereas G clearly says *iti uktaṁ prakāśaḥ*. I render: "With (such) por-



- tents . . . let him cause fright in the enemy, that he (the enemy) may lose his kingdom. The obloquy involved in such instructions (44), being equal in the case of a quarrel (between two kings), is (for that reason properly) prescribed." We all remember the excuse used for "frightfulness" in war, by both sides; the other side either (1) actually began it, or (2) intended to, or would have if our side had not!
650. 11 (Sh 416. 11): read with J, G *napīr-kākolāḥkāndm*, and insert "Krāhe" in transl.; cf. 629. 21, where all texts have *napīr*.
651. 7 (Sh 416. 15): read *śāricā* (or *śā*; a plant-name) with all texts.
651. 19 (Sh 417. 2): understand doubtless as in line 40, with G.
652. 16 (Sh 417. 15): read as in parentheses, with G.
653. 13: G has the certainly correct reading *ca mayy* for *camary*, Sh 418. 10. "As I depart, let all the people together depart."
- 654 notes 1-3 (Sh 418. 13-15): with G, see Nachtrag 889.
655. 23 (Sh 420. 1): G *jayatu*; so read. "May it win; and it wins!"
657. 18 (Sh 421. 11): *mṛjyāt* is apparently M's emend. for *majjyāt*. The true reading is doubtless *añjyāt* with G. In line 12 also read with G (Nachtrag 890).
658. 8ff. (Sh 421. 17): G has *kākamadhū* *ca yāh*, which may be right. Probably right is his *prapāyayet* (of course with *piṣṭe*), which despite M Nachtrag 890 is very good: "whomsoever he may cause to drink (these things) after having pulverized them." Or, possibly, *padam nayet* with J and v. 1. of G.
658. 16f. and n. 4 (Sh 422. 2): *avayamguptā* is correct; M p. 282.
661. 3 (Sh 423. 14): cf. Nachtrag 891: G reads both, *varāṇa-vāraṇa*, Sh (Corrigenda) reads *vāraṇa* (only).
- 663, title, and line 10, cf. n. 1 (Sh 424. 14, 18): G *tantram* = *arthasāstram*; *tadāśritā yuktayāh*, *prakṛtasāstre 'rthanirṇayopayogitayāśritāh*.
664. 28 (Sh 425. 10): *evamādīkam iti* is to be taken with the preceding (G).—*vākya-prajogana yogah*: "The application of a statement is its connexion."
664. 33 (Sh 425. 12): "The thing of which the word is the expression is the word ('s)-concept (meaning)."
665. 11, 14, 19 (Sh 426. 1, 3, 6): *upadeśaḥ*, "injunction"; *opadeśaḥ*, "reference"; *atideśaḥ*, "transfer."

## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society by vote of the Executive Committee:

Mrs. Maurice Bloomfield  
Mr. H. W. Cartwright  
Mr. Harry Comins  
Prof. J. C. Coyajee  
Mrs. A. S. DeWitt  
Rev. Dwight M. Donaldson  
Dr. Nelson Glueck  
Rev. James M. Hess  
Capt. Samuel Johnson

Pandit Viahwanath Kaul  
Mr. K. Kirchberger  
Swami Madhavananda  
Mr. Shahanshah H. Rizwi  
Prof. Nicholas Roerich  
Mr. S. A. H. Seemab  
Mr. J. Frank Stimson  
Dr. Paul Vonwiller  
Dr. David Yellin

The Executive Committee took the following actions at a meeting held in New Haven on December 8, 1928:

President Edgerton reported concerning the Conference on Chinese Studies held in New York City on December 1st under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, and presented a request from Dr. Leland, Permanent Secretary of the ACLS, for the coöperation of the AOS in arranging a second conference in connection with the annual meeting in Cambridge. It was voted (in pursuance of the resolution passed by the Society at the last annual meeting) that the Executive Committee authorize the holding of some sectional sessions for Semitic, Indo-Iranian, and Far-Eastern studies respectively at the annual meeting in Cambridge. It was also voted: to ask the ACLS thru its Committee on Chinese Studies to hold a conference on Chinese Studies during the annual meeting of the Society in Cambridge and to coöperate in arranging the program of the meeting.

It was voted, that the next annual meeting be held on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, April 2, 3, and 4, 1929, if these dates are satisfactory to the Committee on Arrangements.

It was voted, that the Treasurer pay to the ACLS \$25.00 as a contribution to its expenditures for publicity in 1928, and that the ACLS be requested to continue this service, and that the Society avail itself thereof again during the coming year.

It was voted, in accordance with By-Law VIII, to drop from the list of members of the Society the following persons who for more than two years had failed to pay their annual dues: Rabbi Israel Elfenbein, Prof. Clarence S. Fisher, Mr. Hari G. Govil, Dr. Isadore Lhevinne, Mr. Mitford C. Massie, Dr. George P. Quackenbos, Prof. E. A. Speiser, Prof. Yung-Tung Tang, Baron Dr. Gyoyu Tokiwal, Rev. Archibald Tremayne; with the proviso that anyone who should pay his arrears should be reinstated.

Prof. Torrey presented the page proof of Prof. Barton's book, Vol. I of the Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions. It was voted, that the Executive Committee request the ACLS thru its authorities to endorse the plan of the Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions and to act towards securing financial support for it.

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The Kern Institute, Leyden (Holland), has issued the first number of an *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, covering the year 1926 (Leyden, Brill, 1928). It is in excellent format, well printed, in x + 103 large pages, with 12 full-page plates and 3 illustrations in the text. There are 540 individually numbered bibliographical notices; the more important items are provided with summaries of the authors' conclusions or quotations from reviews. There is also a valuable introduction of 28 pages, summarizing the most important scientific work of the year 1926, as well as an index. The editorial work was supervised by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. His name is a sufficient guarantee for the high scientific quality of the work, which we hope will become a permanently recurring addition to the literature of the subject. Judging by this first number, it will be of very great value.

## FONDATION DE GOEJE

## Communication

1. Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis le mois de novembre 1927, et est ainsi composé: C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtama, Tj. De Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le bureau est heureux d'avoir pu faire paraître dans l'année écoulée, comme huitième publication de la fondation, *Les "Livres des Chevaux"* par G. Levi della Vida.

3. Des huit publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués: 1. Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la *Hamâsah de al-Buhturî* (1909), fl. 96. —; 2. *Kitâb al-Fakhr de al-Mufaḍḍal*, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6. —; 3. *Streitschrift des Gazâl gegen die Bâtinijja-Sekte*, par. I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4, 50; 4. *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove*, éd. A. J. Wensinek (1919), fl. 4, 50; 5. *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, par C. Van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6. —; 6. *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, par. I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10. —; 7. *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen, par S. Van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7, 50; 8. *Les "Livres des Chevaux"* par G. Levi della Vida (1928) fl. 5. —

Novembre, 1928.

## AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Member of the International Union of Academies  
Executive Offices, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

8th November 1928.

The American Council of Learned Societies announces that it is able to offer, in each of the three years 1929-1931, a limited number of small



grants to individual scholars to assist them in carrying on definite projects of research in the humanistic sciences (philosophy, philology and literature, linguistics, art and archaeology, and history).

The grants are designed to facilitate and encourage research by mature scholars who are engaged in constructive projects of research, and who are in actual need of such aid and unable to obtain it from other sources. The grants are available for specific purposes, such as travel, personal and secretarial assistance, the preparation or purchase of equipment, material, etc.

The grants are restricted to scholars who are citizens of the United States or who are permanently domiciled or employed therein. They will not be awarded for the purpose of aiding in the fulfillment of the requirements for any academic degree, and as a rule, preference in their award will be given to scholars who lack access to other funds maintained for similar purposes.

The maximum amount of these grants is \$300. Applications for grants to be awarded in 1929 must be made not later than January 31. Information respecting mode of application, etc., will be furnished upon request to Waldo G. Leland, Permanent Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

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## PERSONALIA.

Mr. GEORGE V. BOBRINSKOY, until recently a graduate student in Sanskrit at Yale University, is now Instructor in Sanskrit at the University of Chicago.

Mr. JAMES R. WARE, now Instructor in Classics in the University of Washington (Seattle, Wash.), and formerly a student of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania and of Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese in Paris, has been appointed American representative of the *Bibliographie Internationale d'Etudes Bouddhiques*, to be published in the *Collection Buddhica* under the editorship of Professor Jean Przyluski. The first of these bibliographical brochures is expected to appear in October 1929. Mr. WARE would welcome the coöperation of his American colleagues in collecting notices of American publications dealing with any phase of Buddhism.

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## PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

### American Oriental Society

AT THE MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D. C., 1928

The sessions of the one hundred and fortieth meeting of the Society were held in Washington, at George Washington University and the Catholic University of America, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, April 10, 11, and 12, 1928.

The following members were present at one or more sessions:

Abbott	Diez	Margolis, M. L.
Archer	Dougherty	Martinovitch
Barret	Douglas	Matthews, I. G.
Barton	Duncan, G. S.	Mercer
Bates, Mrs.	Edgerton, F.	Michelson
Bender	Eitan	Mills
Berry	Enslin	Montgomery
Bishop	Fernald, Miss	Morgenstern
Blank	Guthe	Ogden, C. J.
Bobrinakoy	Hardy	Price
Briggs, G. W.	Hussey, Miss	Reich
Brown, G. W.	Irwin	Rudolph, Miss
Brown, W. N.	Jackson, A. V. W.	Saunders, Mrs.
Buckler	Jackson, Mrs.	Schapiro
Bull	Joshi	Schmidt, E.
Butin	Kayser	Steele
Cadbury	Keogh	Taylor, W. R.
Camacho, Miss	King	Temple, P. J.
Chatterji	Lambdin	Torrey
Clark	Lea	Uhl
Collitz	March	Weitzel
Danton	Marcus	

Total 55

### THE FIRST SESSION

At 11.10 A. M. on Tuesday, in Corcoran Hall of George Washington University, the first session of the meeting was called to order by President Julian Morgenstern. The reading of the minutes of

the meeting in Cincinnati in 1927 was dispensed with as they were already in print (JOURNAL 47. 341-368). There were no corrections and the minutes were approved.

Professor Butin of the Catholic University, chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented his committee's report in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were announced to be on Tuesday afternoon at 2.30 P. M., Wednesday morning at 9.30 A. M., Wednesday afternoon at 2.30 P. M. and Thursday morning at 9.30 A. M. It was announced that the Catholic University invited the members to luncheon on Wednesday and that the annual subscription dinner of the Society would be at the Hotel Powhatan on Wednesday evening. Professor Kayser of George Washington University, speaking on behalf of the University Club of Washington, offered the privileges of the Club to the men of the Society.

#### REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, presented the following report:

The total of our membership remained almost constant throughout the year 1927, fifty-one members having been elected and fifty-three lost through death, resignation or disqualification. Since January 1st twenty-five new members have been added, mostly as the first fruits of the work of the Committee on Enlargement of Membership and Resources, but thirteen have died or resigned and nineteen have been removed from the list for non-payment of dues. At the annual conference of the Secretaries of Learned Societies held in Washington in January, the subject of "turn-over" in membership was discussed, and it would seem that the percentage is greater with us than with most of our sister Societies. Probably the chief reason is that we have an unusually large proportion of non-professional members, some of whom have but a passing interest in the work of the Society. The amount of what might be called diffused interest in Oriental studies in this country is rather large, if one may judge from the inquiries that the Corresponding Secretary receives from various quarters, and to focus it into something practical and helpful would be a substantial achievement.

The recent publication of the comprehensive and valuable survey made by Professor F. A. Ogg under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and entitled *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences* should cause us to have searchings of heart when we observe how little we are organized in that regard, and it is to be hoped that this Society will some time have a committee on research which will make us



better acquainted with the scholarly resources latent in our membership. The Corresponding Secretary has now in his possession about one hundred reports on research submitted by our members in response to Professor Ogg's questionnaire, and would ask the Society to consider what disposition should be made of them.

There have been no gatherings during the past year at which the Society was officially represented, but we look forward to participating in the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford in August, and possibly also in the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences to be held at Oslo earlier in that month.

In conclusion the Corresponding Secretary would record here the names of those whom death has taken from us during the past year. We have lost no less than three honorary members, all of them Indianists: Professor RICHARD VON GARBE, of the University of Tübingen, known especially for his researches in the Sāṅkhya system and in other aspects of Hindu philosophy and religion; M. EMILE SENART, president of the Société Asiatique, a keen student of Buddhism in its literary development in Northern India and a noted epigraphist as well; Professor ALFRED HILLEBRANDT, formerly of the University of Breslau, an authority on the subject of Vedic mythology and ritual but also active in the field of classical Sanskrit literature and culture. One of our honorary associates has died, Major-General LEONARD WOOD, among whose distinguished military and political achievements we shall remember especially his service as Governor-General of the Philippines.

Nine of our corporate members have gone from us: Dr. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, former editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, first director of the Columbia University School of Journalism, President of our Society in 1920-21, an Orientalist by his birth in Turkey and by his interest throughout his life; his cousin, likewise born in the Orient, the Sinologist F. WELLS WILLIAMS, long professor of modern Oriental history in Yale University, Treasurer of our Society from 1899 to 1915; President Emeritus BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, of the University of California, classicist and comparative philologist; Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT of New York, formerly associated with the Boston Public Library, known among Semitists especially for his Assyrian dictionary; Dr. IMMANUEL M. CASANOWICZ, a scholar with wide interests, for many years assistant curator of the division of old world archaeology in the U. S. National Museum; Mr. CHARLES C. SHERMAN of New Rochelle, N. Y., encyclopedist and student of religion; Professor EDWARD I. BOSWORTH of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, a New Testament scholar; and two Assyriologists snatched away before their time, Professor DANIEL D. LUCKENHILL of the University of Chicago, already distinguished for his work in Assyrian history, who at the time of his death was President of our Middle West Branch, and Professor ETTA ENE M. GRICE of Yale University, who was active in Sumerian research and had rendered much service to the Society as assistant to the Treasurer when the late Professor Clay held that office.

Upon motion the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted.

Tribute was paid to deceased members: to Professors Talcott Williams, Luckenbill and Grice, and to Dr. Muss-Arnolt by Professor Barton; to Professor Grice by Dr. Uhl; to Professor von Garbe by Professor Barret and to M. Emile Senart by Professor Jackson.

Dr. Waldo Leland, Permanent Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, welcomed the Society to Washington on behalf of the Council, invited the members of the Society to visit the headquarters of the Council and outlined the aims of the Council.

Professor F. Edgerton reminded the members of the Linguistic Institute to be held in New Haven at Yale University during the summer.

#### REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Professor Max L. Margolis, the senior Editor of the JOURNAL, presented the following report for the Editors which upon motion was accepted:

Since the last annual report of the Editors, Volumes 47, nos. 2, 3, and 4, and Volume 48, No. 1 have been issued.

MAX L. MARGOLIS,  
W. NORMAN BROWN,  
*Editors.*

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer, Professor John C. Archer, made the following report:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1927.

##### *Receipts*

Cash Balance Jan. 1, 1927, on deposit Yale Univ.	\$3,021.78
Annual Dues 1927.....	2,740.76
Sales: JOURNAL.....	714.70
Panchatantra and Tagalog Grammar.....	79.12
"    "    "    "    (Oxford Press)	86.75
Nies Fund Income.....	624.18
Life Memberships.....	175.00
Reprints of JOURNAL Articles.....	26.30
Corrections in JOURNAL.....	43.75

## Interest:

On deposits with Yale Univ. (which include income from Nies Fund).....	\$ 144.92
U. S. Liberty Bond.....	42.50
Connecticut Mortgage and Guaranty Co.....	360.00
Virginia Railway.....	50.00
Minneapolis Gen'l Electric Co.....	50.00

## Dividend:

Chicago, Rock Is. and Pacific Ry.....	120.00
	<hr/> \$ 8,179.76

*Expenditures*

Publication of JOURNAL: Printing.....	2,080.80
Transportation.....	143.63
Mailing.....	122.00
Corrections, Reprints.....	136.20
Commissions on Sales: JOURNAL.....	178.67
Panchatantra	} .... 19.78
Tagalog Grammar	
Transportation: Panchatantra	} .... 12.56
Tagalog Grammar	
Book Reviews.....	212.00
Subvention to Encyclopaedia of Islam.....	200.00
Expenses of Committee on School for Indo-Iranian Research.....	3.00
Dues to American Council of Learned Societies.....	31.85
Yale Clerical Bureau.....	139.69
New Book for Recording Secretary.....	10.00
Expenses of Corresponding Secretary.....	170.89
Expenses of Editors.....	35.00
Treasurer's Assistant.....	100.00
Editors' Honoraria.....	400.00
Balance, Jan. 1, 1925.....	4,174.69
	<hr/> \$ 8,179.76

The following special funds are held by the Society:

Charles W. Bradley Fund.....	\$ 3,000.00
Alexander L. Cotheal Fund.....	1,500.00
William Dwight Whitney Fund.....	1,000.00
Life Membership.....	3,675.00
Unexpended income from fund established by the late Jas. B. Nies (and interest thereon).....	2,847.76
Reserve Fund, approximately.....	2,000.00
Publication fund.....	78.50
Fund from sales of Edgerton's Panchatantra and Blake's Tagalog Grammar.....	359.77
	<hr/> \$14,461.03



The assets of the Society on January 1, 1928, were as follows:

20 shares of stock of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Ry. (par value).....	\$ 2,000.00
Bonds at Par:	
Virginia Railway.....	1,000.00
Minneapolis Gen'l Electric Co.....	1,000.00
U. S. Liberty Loan.....	1,000.00
Mortgage at 6%—Connecticut Mortgage and Guaranty Co.....	6,000.00
Cash on deposit at 4% with Yale University....	4,174.69
	<hr/>
	\$15,174.69
(including amounts from special funds as follows:	
Life Memberships.....	\$ 175.00
Income from Nies Fund with interest .....	2,847.76
Publication Funds.....	438.27
	<hr/>
	3,461.03
Leaving a net cash balance in general funds of.....	\$ 713.66

#### REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

We hereby certify that we have examined the accounts of the Treasurer of the Society and have found them correct, and that the foregoing statements are in conformity therewith. We have found the special funds and assets of the Society to be as represented herein.

K. S. LATOURETTE,  
R. P. DOUGHERTY,  
*Auditors.*

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were accepted.

#### REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian, Professor Andrew Keogh, read a letter from Professor James R. Jewett of Harvard University, sending a check for one thousand dollars towards the cost of publishing the Catalogue of the Society's library, and stating that when the entire cost of the publication had been ascertained he might be able to raise a little more money if more were needed.

The Librarian reported that there were about 300 serials in the

Library, and that more than half of them were incomplete. He asked for \$200 to complete them, and said that he would have a list of lacking numbers sent to members of the Society in the hope that they could fill gaps without drawing on the Society's funds. He suggested that this circular might also invite gifts of other magazines or books from the libraries of members, or through them from the libraries of their friends. He spoke of the progress of the Sterling Memorial Library, and of the provision for the Society's collections in the new building. He recommended that an endowment be secured for the Society's library, the income to be used for the binding of magazines and books that needed repair, and for the purchase of new books, and of old books of importance not already in the collection.

#### ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY FOR THE YEAR 1927-28

The number of volumes added to the Library during the year 1927-28 was 121, 32 of which were Siamese texts presented by the National Library of Bangkok in continuation of its gifts of previous years. In addition to the above, there were received 233 numbers of periodicals continuing sets already in the Library and 9 numbers representing periodicals new to the Library. The cataloguing is now up to date.

The Library has also received from Dr. Justin Abbott of Summit, N. J., a gift of back numbers of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* covering the years 1922-1927.

Following is a list of accessions for the year:

- Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Minda. Aus dem Kitāb fath al-bāb ft-l-kunā wa-l-alkāb, von S. Dederling. 1927.
- K. Akademie van wetenschappen, Amsterdam. *Certamina poeseos latinae*. 1923-26. 4v.
- Aldrich, J. M. New species of two-winged flies of the family *Cyrtidae*, with a new genus from the Philippines. 1927.
- Amsterdam. Koloniaal instituut. Afdeling volkenkunde. *Gids in het Volkenkundig museum*. I-III. [1927?] 3v.
- Andhra historical research society. *The quarterly journal*, v. I, pt. III. Jan., 1927.
- Ascher, M. The adolescent in sex and education. [c1927.] (The Jewish library, v. VIII.)
- Asiatica, a monthly record of literature dealing with the East and with Africa, v. 1, no. 1, Jan., 1928.

- Anerbach, M. A survey of Jewish history. 4th ed. [c1927.] (The Jewish library, v. IX.)
- Avesta. Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk, ed. by Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar. 1927. (Pahlavi text series, pub. by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet funds and properties, no. 3.)
- Bankipore, Bengal. Oriental public library. Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS. v. XII. (Arabic MSS.) Biography, prepared by Maulavi Muinuddin Nadwi. 1927.
- Bartsch, P. The shipworms of the Philippine Islands. 1927. (Smithsonian Institution, U. S. National Museum. Bulletin 100, v. 2, pt. 5. Contributions to the biology of the Philippine Archipelago and adjacent regions.)
- Berg, C. C. De Middelljavaansche historische traditie. 1927.
- Bopp, F. Grammatica critica linguae sanscritae. 2d. ed. 1832.
- Buchanan, F. H. Journal, kept during the survey of Shahabad. 1926.
- Burckhardt, J. L. Arabische und persische Handschriften. [1928?]
- Bushnell, D. I., Jr. Burials of the Algonquian, Siouan and Caddoan tribes. 1927. (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 83.)
- Carlebach, J. The Bible. [c1927.] (The Jewish library, v. XI.)
- Catelan, H. Tunisia. Southern Tunisia by motor-cars. [1928?]
- Caudell, A. N. Orthopteroid insects from the maritime province of Siberia. 1927.
- Columbia University. The directory of Chinese students of Columbia University, 1927-1928. [1927?]
- Eerde, J. C. van. Ethnologie coloniale. 1927.
- Epstein, I. The ceremonies. [c1927.] (The Jewish library, v. XII.)
- Fowler, H. W., and Bean, B. A. Notes on fishes obtained in Sumatra, Java and Tahiti. 1927.
- Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde, hrag. von D. Nielsen [et al.] 1. Bd. 1927.
- Hemchandra Raychaudhuri. Political history of ancient India. 2d ed. 1927.
- Hough, W. Collection of heating and lighting utensils in the United States National Museum. 1928. (Smithsonian Institution. U. S. National Museum. Bulletin 141.)
- Houghton, H. P. On presenting Sanskrit in a small college. 1927.
- Hrdlička, A. Catalogue of human crania in the United States National Museum collections: the Algonkin and related Iroquois; Siouan, Caddoan, Salish and Sahaptin, Shoshonean, and Californian Indians. 1927.
- Indian museum, Calcutta. Catalogue of the coins. . . v. III. 1908.
- Indian museum, Calcutta. Supplementary catalogue of the coins. Non-Muhammadan series, v. 1. By B. B. Bidyabinod. 1923.
- Inoue Tetsuzhirō. Buddhist monuments in China. By Daijo Tokiwa [and Tadashi Sekino. A review.] [1926.]



- Isis; international review devoted to the history of science and civilization, ed. by George Sarton, no. 23, v. VII (3), 1925.
- Ivens, W. G. Grammar and vocabulary of the Lau language, Solomon Islands. 1921. (Carnegie institution of Washington. Publication no. 300.)
- Jerusalem University. Dept. of Jewish studies. Madda's ha-yahadûth, 2. 1927.
- Jewish institute of religion, New York. Jewish studies in memory of Israel Abrahams. 1927.
- Jivanji Jamahedji Modi. Asiatic papers, pt. III. 1927.
- King Akabar[?] and the Persian translation of Sanskrit books. 1925.
- Johanson, K. F. Etymologisches und Wortgeschichtliches. [1927.] (Uppsala universitets Årsskrift, 1927.)
- Joint expedition of the British museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur excavations, v. I. al-Uhaid. A report by H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley, with chapters by C. J. Gadd and Prof. Sir Arthur Keith. 1927.
- The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. v. I. pts. II-III. 1927.
- Judd, N. M. Archeological observations north of the Rio Colorado. 1926. (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 82.)
- Kidung Sunda; inleiding, tekst, vertaling, en aantekeningen door C. C. Berg. [1927.]
- Koldewey, R. Das wieder erstehende Babylon. 4. Aufl. 1925. [6. Sendschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.]
- Krishnarâj Arjuna Kefûskar. The life of Shivaji Maharaj, founder of the Maratha empire. [The memorial ed.] 1921.
- Kroeber, A. L. Archaeological explorations in Peru, pt. I. 1926. (Field museum of natural history. Anthropology, Memoirs, v. II, no. 1).
- Ku Chou Pien. Index.
- Kunst, J. & Goris, R. Hindoe-Javaansche muziek-instrumenten. [1927.] (Studien over Javaansche en andere Indonesische muziek, deel II.)
- Lagercrantz, E. Strukturtypen und Gestaltwechsel im Lappischen. 1927. (Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran Toimituksia LVIII.)
- Lefèvre-Pontalis, P. Notes sur des amulettes siamoises. 1926. (Paris. Musée Guimet. Annales. Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, t. 45.)
- Lehtisalo, T. Ueber den Vokalismus der ersten Silbe im Juraksamojischen. 1927. (Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran Toimituksia LVI.)
- Leningradskii Institut zhivikh vostochnykh iazykov. A catalogue of the publications of the Leningrad oriental institute. 1927.
- Levitskii, V. F. Ocharki istorii khoziaistvennogo byta narodov drevnego Vostoka. 1926.
- Linebarger, P. Our common cause with China against imperialism and communism. [1927?] (Chinese nationalist (Kuo Min Tang) publication. "Chinese politics made easy" series.)
- Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland, 78. Jahrg., Nr. 3. 15. Februar 1927.

- Lutz, H. F. Egyptian tomb steles and offering stones of the Museum of anthropology and ethnology of the University of California. 1927. (University of California publications. Egyptian archaeology, v. IV.)
- Macler, F. Trois conférences sur l'Arménie faites à l'Université de Strasbourg. 1927. (Paris. Musée Guimet. Annales. Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, t. 46.)
- Manchuria research society. Review. Oct., 1926.
- Michelson, T. Contributions to Fox ethnology. 1927. (Smithsonian institution. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 85.)
- Morgenstierne, G. Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan. [1926.] (Institutet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Oslo. [Publications] Serie C. 1-2.)
- Mortensen, T. Report on the *Echinoides* collected . . . during the Philippine expedition . . . pt. I. 1927. (Smithsonian institution. U. S. National museum. Bulletin 100, v. 6, pt. 4.)
- New York (City) Metropolitan museum of art. [Announcements of lectures.] 1926-1927.
- Bulletin, v. XXI, no. 9, Sept., 1926.
- Nutting, C. C. Report on the *Hydroids* collected by the United States fisheries steamer "Albatross" in the Philippine region, 1907-1910. 1927. (Smithsonian institution. U. S. National museum. Bulletin 100, v. 6, pt. 3. Contributions to the biology of the Philippine Archipelago and adjacent regions.)
- Oriental conference. 4th, Allahabad, 1926. Presidential address by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. [1926?]
- Page, J. A. Guide to the Qutb, Delhi. 1927.
- Paret, R. Der Ritter-Roman von 'Umar an-Nu'mān. 1927.
- Perles, F. Mahā lānā maddā' ha-miqrā? [1927.] (Jerusalem. University. Society of the University of Jerusalem. [Publications] 1.)
- Probsthain, A. Encyclopaedia of books on China. 1927.
- Ranade, R. D. A constructive survey of Upanishadic philosophy. 1926. (An Encyclopaedic history of Indian philosophy, v. 2.)
- Rönnow, K. Trita Aptya, eine vedische Gottheit, I. [1927.] (Uppsala universitets Årsskrift 1927.)
- Sandberger, A. Orlando di Lasso und die geistigen Strömungen seiner Zeit. 1926.
- Shcherbatskoi, F. I. La théorie de la connaissance et la logique chez les bouddhistes tardifs. 1926. (Paris. Musée Guimet. Annales. Bibliothèque d'études, t. 36.)
- Siamese texta. 32 v.
- Skhidniĭ svit, no. 1, 1927.
- Stejneger, L. The green pit viper, *Trimeresurus gramineus*, in China. 1927.
- Stern, P. Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l'art khmer. 1927. (Paris. Musée Guimet. Annales. Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, t. 47.)
- Taraporewala, I. J. S. The religion of Zarathushtra. 1926.
- Tashkent. Sredne-asiatskii universitet. Bulletin, lib. 11-13. 1925-26.

- Thilo, M. *Die Chronologie des Danielbuches*. 1926.  
 Tokyo. Maison franco-japonaise. Bulletin. Série française, I. 1927.  
 U. S. Library of Congress. Division of maps. Noteworthy maps with charts, views and atlases. Accessions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926. Comp. by L. Martin. 1927.  
 Unna, I. *Marriage in Judaism*. [c1927.] (The Jewish library, v. X.)  
 Vincent, H. *Hébron . . . Album des planches*. 1923.  
 Vossler, K. *Realismus in der spanischen Dichtung der Blütezeit*. 1926.  
 Vries, M. G. *Reize . . . in 1634 naar het noorden en oosten van Japan*. 1858.  
 Wolfsberg, O. *The theory of evolution and the faith of the Jew*. [c1927.] (The Jewish library, v. VII.)

On motion the report of the Librarian was accepted.

On motion it was voted to send to Professor Jewett the thanks of the Society for his generous gift of a thousand dollars for the publication of the catalogue of the Society's library.

#### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee as printed in the JOURNAL (48. 191), and upon motion the actions of the Committee were ratified.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons, recommended by the directors, were duly elected corporate members of the Society (the list includes eight who were elected at a later session):

Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali	Prof. David E. Culley
Mr. A. J. Anbian	Prof. M. Eliz. J. Czarnomska
Mr. Otto J. Baab	Dr. Charles Harold Douglas
Mr. Irving W. Baillin	Hon. Dr. V. D. Dumbadze
Rev. David D. Baker	Rev. J. Garrow Duncan
Prof. Ganga Bishen	Prof. Daniel J. Fleming
Prof. F. Lovell Bixby	Prof. Alexander Freiman
Rabbi Eugene Blachschleger	Mr. Erwin H. Furman
Rev. Paul Olaf Bodding	Dr. F. W. Geers
Prof. Dr. Franz M. T. Böhl	Miss Mary S. M. Gibson
Rev. A. M. Boyer	Dr. George W. Gilmore
Mr. Watson Boyes	Prof. Allen Howard Godbey
Mr. Paul R. Carr	Mr. Cyrus H. Gordon
Prof. Basil Hall Chamberlain	Rabbi Simon Greenberg
Prof. Jari H. R. T. Charpentier	Rev. Dr. A. W. Greenup
Dr. William Chomsky	Mr. Sarasram Gupta



Dr. Carl E. Guthe	Mr. Edward I. Nathan
Prof. William J. Hall	Prof. Harold H. Nelson
Mr. Louis F. Heinrichmeyer	Prof. Herbert Lee Newman
Miss Jeannette Henkel	Prof. Dr. H. Th. Obbink
Rai Bahadur Hiralal	Mr. H. H. von der Osten
Prof. Hartwig Hirschfeld	Miss Clara Parris
Mr. Louis L. Horch	Pres. Mary Mills Patrick
Prof. William Woodward Hornell	Rabbi Walter Gilbert Peiser
Prof. Dr. M. Th. Houtsma	Rev. William Turnbull Pilter
Mr. Arthur W. Hummel	Prof. Waldo S. Pratt
Dean Rockwell D. Hunt	Mr. Arthur Probsthain
Mrs. Harriet B. Hutchison	Pres. V. Purnachandrarao
Don Baron Jayatilaka	Prof. Harold Scott Quigley
Muni Jinavijayaji	Mr. Amin Roustem
Prof. Genchi Kato	Miss Ruth Schimmel
Mr. Carl T. Keller	Mr. Malcolm B. Schloss
Mr. S. N. Kramer	Dr. Erich Schmidt
Rev. Dr. Milton B. Lambdin	Mr. Samuel M. Segal
Prof. Shao Chang Lee	Mr. William B. Stimson
Dr. N. D. van Leeuwen	Rev. M. J. Stoles
Prof. Kurt F. Leidecker	Rev. Dr. Patrick J. Temple
Prof. Harry J. Leon	Sir Richard Carnac Temple
Dr. Joseph Levitsky	Rev. Montgomery H. Throop
Miss Ethel J. Lindgren	Mr. M. Ussishkin
Mrs. Mary B. Longyear	Rev. Dr. C. Cameron Waller
Prof. O. W. McMillen	Mrs. Edith Williams Ware
Miss G. Merlange	Prof. O. W. Warmingham
Mr. E. N. Mohl	Prof. Gordon Boit Wellman
Khan Bahadur Mirza Muhammad	Miss Viola White
Prof. James Mullenburg	Prof. Leo Wiener
Mr. George Hewitt Myers	Mr. Hiram Parkes Wilkinson

[Total: 94]

#### ELECTION OF HONORARY MEMBERS

The following persons, recommended by the directors, were unanimously elected honorary members of the Society:

Sir JOHN HUBERT MARSHALL, Director-General of Archaeology in India.  
 Professor Sir W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, of University College, London.  
 Sir AUREL STEIN, of the Indian Archaeological Survey.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Professor Clark for the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1928 presented the committee's report of nominations for the several offices as follows:

- President: Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of New Haven.  
 Vice-Presidents: Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of New York City;  
 Professor ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD, of Urbana; and Professor  
 RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, of New Haven.  
 Corresponding Secretary: Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, of New York City.  
 Recording Secretary: Dr. LUDLOW S. BULL, of New York City.  
 Treasurer: Professor JOHN C. ARCHER, of New Haven.  
 Librarian: Professor ANDREW KEOGH, of New Haven.  
 Editors of the Journal: Professor MAX L. MARGOLIS, of Philadelphia, and  
 Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of New Haven.  
 Directors, term expiring 1931: Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of Philadelphia; Professor PHILIP K. HITT, of Princeton; Professor JAMES  
 BISSETT PRATT, of Williamstown.  
 Director to replace the late Professor Luckenbill, term expiring 1930:  
 Professor EDWARD CHIERA, of Chicago.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

President MORGENSTERN then delivered an address on "American Culture and Oriental Studies" [printed in the JOURNAL 48. 97-108].

The session adjourned at 12.55 P. M.

## THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order at 2.35 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon and the reading of papers was immediately begun.

Professor NATHANIEL J. REICH, of the Dropsie College: The Institution of Asylum in Ancient Egypt. Remarks by Professor Montgomery, Dr. Uhl, and Mr. Lea.

Asylums in different countries; Asylum in Egypt. Its possible origin, and how it worked in practice.

Professor RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, of Yale University: Writing upon Parchment among the Babylonians and the Assyrians. [Printed in the JOURNAL 48. 109-135].

Professor IRA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: The Oath in Court Procedure in Early Babylonia and the Old Testament. Remarks by President Morgenstern and Dr. Uhl.

Professor TRUMAN MICHELSON, of the Smithsonian Institution and George Washington University: Geiger on Pālī. Remarks by Professor Edgerton and Dr. Chatterji.

Geiger's theory, that Pālī is a kind of Ardhamāgadhī and spoken by Buddha himself, is linguistically impossible.

Professor GEORGE H. DANTON, of Oberlin College: Early Sino-American Culture-Contacts.

This paper presents an outline of Book One of the author's new work on the American Cultural Influence on China. This is a part of the extensive China-bücherel scheme, planned by the late Professor Conrady, and now edited by his son-in-law, Dr. Eduard Erkes. The first three volumes of a total of perhaps 159 are just going to press. They are one German volume, one French volume, and the author's. (Gunter Koch, Munich.)

Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of New York City: Reminiscences of a Visit to Afghanistan. Remarks by President Morgenstern.

Professor ERNST DIEZ, of Bryn Mawr College: Naysābūr in Persia, a town due for excavation. Remarks by Dr. Martinovitch.

When I travelled in Persia for a year and a half in 1913/4, I stopped at Naysābūr for several weeks and studied the site of the old town, the former residence of the Saffarids (867-903 A.D.) and of the Saljūks of Persia (11th-12th cent.). The place shows several hills—ruins of former buildings—and profusely spread about are to be found pieces of glazed ware and of ornamented baked clay. The paper gives an account of the old town after the descriptions of the old Persian and Arabian authors and a discussion of the results which can be expected from excavation. American scholars have not yet excavated on the site of any old Muhammedan town, and Naysābūr would be one of the most promising places for such work. Stucco-ornament, tilework, pottery, bronze vessels and inscriptions would be brought to light, and the uncovering of the site would certainly be of great interest from different points of view.

Mr. EDWARD R. HARDY, JR., of Columbia University: New Light on the Persian Occupation of Egypt, 618-629 A. D.

The Egyptian papyri have provided much useful illustrative material for the history of that country in the seventh century. A consideration of the evidence as far as it bears on the Persian occupation of Egypt in 618-629 confirms the view that the Egyptians did not welcome, but rather suffered from, the invaders, and shows that the Roman Empire in Egypt had no military force adequate to oppose the Persians, or, later, the Arabs; the documents indicate that the Egyptian landed nobility easily accepted the Persian rule, and suggest a theory that their disappearance is not to be attributed to the Mohammedan conquest, but to the repressive measures which marked the period between the Roman reoccupation and that event.

Dr. ISRAEL EITAN, of Pittsburgh: Two Onomatological Studies: (a) the name Eve; (b) the name Abraham.

The session adjourned at 5.30 P. M.



In the evening an illustrated lecture was given at the Hotel Powhatan by Professor Romain Butin of the Catholic University on "Recent Excavations in Palestine."

### THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order at 9.45 o'clock on Wednesday morning in the auditorium of the Maloney Laboratory of the Catholic University and shortly thereafter the members of the Society were welcomed by Bishop Shahan, Rector of the University.

The following papers were read:

Mr. JOHN W. LEA, of Philadelphia: A Time Note on Daniel xii: 11, 12.

Reference is made to the various methods that have been suggested for measuring the periods of prophecy, with special reference to the lunar, and the remarkable correspondence between the endings of Daniel's periods and recent events in Judaism and Mohammedanism.

Dr. JAGADISH C. CHATTERJI, of the International School of Vedic and Allied Research: Some Aspects of Hindu Philosophy and Latest Scientific Thinking. Remarks by Dr. Ogden, Dr. Uhl, and Professor Barret.

This paper considers and compares the theory of Paramāṇus, Ākāśa, Dik, and Kāla with the latest western conceptions of the ultimate nature of matter, ether, and certain ideas of Einstein.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of Yale University: The *Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa* of Āpadeva. Remarks by Professor W. N. Brown, Dr. Uhl, and Dr. Chatterji.

Announcement of a forthcoming translation, with reprint of the text based on Indian editions, glossarial index, and introduction. The work is the best-known elementary textbook on the *Mīmāṃsā* system in India, and is commonly used by pandits in initiating their pupils into that system. It deals with the *Mīmāṃsā* chiefly as a system of legal logic, rather than with its metaphysical side, which is really a very minor part of the *Mīmāṃsā*, tho it bulks large in western accounts. What the *Mīmāṃsā* really means to Hindus will be made clearer in this work than it has ever been made outside of India.

Professor LE ROY C. BARRET, of Trinity College: A MS. of the *Atharva Veda Paippalādā* at Poona.

The manuscript is labelled "No. 1 of 1875-76"; it is described on pp. 276-7 of "Government Collections of Manuscripts, Deccan College, Poona." It is in Devanāgarī, Kashmirian type. It is a copy of the birch-bark, though perhaps not an immediate copy: it seems to give no real variants, has the strange dislocation of the bulk of Book 12.1 (as edited), and its lacunae correspond very closely to those of the

birch-bark. I do not believe that it is worth using. There are certain features of this ms. which indicate a close relation between it and the first ms. of the *Paippalāda* which was received by Roth in November 1874: I have a suspicion that that ms. was copied from this ms. now at Poona, and not from the birch-bark.

Dr. N. MARTINOVITCH, of Columbia University: Some Mohammedan Inscriptions from Asia Minor.

This paper deals with fourteen previously unknown Arabic, Persian, and Turkish inscriptions on mosques, tombs, etc. in Boz-Uyuq, Kutahia, and Nigde and dated from the Seljuq and early Ottoman period. Photographs of these will be shown.

Professor CHARLES C. TORREY, of Yale University: Sanballat the Horonite. Remarks by Professor Montgomery.

Rev. Dr. JUSTIN E. ANSOTT, of Summit, N. J.: The Story of Pundalik as told by Bahinabai.

The story of Pundalik is well known by all familiar with the sacred city of Pandharpur in Western India. In Marathi literature the story first appears in its details in the verses of Bahinabai, a Maratha saint and poetess of the 17th century. Pundalik was a son very cruel to his parents. When on a pilgrimage to Benares he was converted, and became so extremely devoted to his parents that the God Krishna came to see so unusual a sight. Pundalik was just then busy serving his parents. He threw a brick to the God motioning Him to stand on it and wait until his task was finished. This devotion so pleased the God that He promised to remain forever there at Pandharpur, where His black stone idol stands in the famous temple.

Professor HERMANN COLLITZ, of the Johns Hopkins University: Antediluvian Kings and Patriarchs in the Light of Comparative Mythology. Remarks by Professor Duncan.

The problems surrounding the lists of antediluvian Patriarchs in Genesis chap. 4 & 5 and their relation to the Berossus list of primeval Babylonian kings have entered upon a new stage after the publication—by Stephen Langdon—of two cuneiform tablets from the Ashmolean collection. See in addition to Langdon's comment the articles by Albright, *JAOS.* 43 (1923), p. 323 seq. (written before the publication of the second tablet), and Zimmern, *ZDMG.* 78 (1924), p. 19 seq.—The paper will dwell especially on similar traditions found outside of Palestine and Babylonia.

The session adjourned at 12.45 P. M., the members of the Society being entertained at luncheon in Graduate Hall as guests of the Catholic University.

### THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order at 2.30 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon at the Catholic University.

By unanimous vote a motion was passed expressing the regret of the Society at the absence of Professor Hyvernatt from the sessions because of illness.

The reading of papers was then begun.

Professor GEORGE S. DUNCAN, of the American University and Y. M. C. A. School of Religion, Washington: *The Eden of Genesis and Archaeology.* Remarks by President Morgenstern, Professor Michelson, Professor Berry, Professor Barton, Dr. Mills, and Dr. Martinovitch.

Genesis 2: 8-14 locates a garden in Eden at the source of four rivers. Probably the writer believed Pishon was Kerkha, encircling Havilah, Arabia, and ending in Red sea, while Gihon was Karun, compassing Cush, Ethiopia, and ending in Nile. Tigris and Euphrates are well known. His ideas of geography were very vague and cannot be harmonized with modern accurate knowledge. No river is the source of Pishon, Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates. Over eighty Eden sites have been proposed by scholars. Archaeology has now placed the original home of mankind in Central Asia. The reasons seem convincing. Leading anthropologists are quite agreed.

Rev. Dr. PHILLO LAOS MILLS, of the Catholic University of America: *The Journey of Gilgamesh to the Isles of the Blest.*

This journey was laid to the East for the following reasons: (1) The hero follows the course of the midnight-sun,—West to East. (2) The only 'Isles of the Blest' were in the Persian Gulf, (Dilmun). (3) The Indo-Sumerian Seals point to a 'Land of Edin' on the upper Indus. (4) Mount Mash was in eastern Arabia or in India,—later on in the Taurus. (5) The sacred cedar was planted on the cedar-mount, hence in the highlands. (6) The Land of the Blest was at the source of the rivers,—a fountain-land. (7) All this points to a Mountain-Paradise in the Orient (Akkadia?).

Professor GEORGE A. BARTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: *The So-called Indo-Sumerian Seals.* Remarks by Professor Edgerton, Professor Michelson, Professor Duncan, and Dr. Mills.

The paper compares the characters on thirty-two seals from Harrappa and Mohenjo-daro with Sumerian, Hittite, Egyptian, Elamite, Chinese, Cretan and Cypriote characters and the conclusion is reached that while a few characters and possibly one inscription might be Sumerian, the writing as a whole is, so far as evidence goes, of independent origin.



Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: *Māni and the Organization of the Manichaean Church.*

Dr. ERICH SCHMIDT, of the University of Chicago: *The Interior of a "Hittite" Mound.* Remarks by Dr. Ogden.

During the year 1927 the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago carried on excavations at a mound, called Ališar Hüyük, in the center of Anatolia. The mound had been discovered by Mr. von der Osten in 1926.

Mounds of this kind and tumuli frequent in this region have hitherto been called "Hittite" mounds, "Hittite" cities, or sites.

The paper describes a cross-section of the mound and the method of sectioning it and defining its contents.

Professor W. NORMAN BROWN, of the University of Pennsylvania: *The Kālakāśāryakathā.* Remarks by Professor Edgerton.

An announcement of a proposed study of the legends and history centering around the Jaina sage or sages "Kālakā" as reported in Sanskrit and Prakrit texts, of these texts themselves, and of the art of the miniatures illustrating some of the manuscripts of these texts.

Miss HELEN E. FERNALD, of the University of Pennsylvania Museum: *The Colossal Chinese Frescoes in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.* Remarks by Professor Edgerton.

The Museum has in the last two years acquired two great wall paintings taken from a Chinese temple near Ch'ing Hua Chên, Honan. These paintings adorned opposite walls in the great hall of Moon Hill Monastery and are colossal in size, measuring eighteen feet in height and about thirty feet in length. The composition indicates that the originals must have been about twenty-five by forty feet. Each wall shows a great central seated Buddha with a huge Bodhisattva sitting on each side, and minor Bodhisattvas, planetary deities, guardian kings, devas and child devotees grouped around. The composition and types are recognized as characteristic of the Tang period.

Professor WALTER E. CLARK, of Harvard University: *Recent Trends in the Study of Buddhism.* Remarks by Dr. Abbott and Professor Michelson.

A discussion of the way in which interest has recently been shifting from the Pali texts towards the Sanskrit Buddhist texts, the fragments from Central Asia, and the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The great importance of a comparative study of the Vinaya texts based on the Chinese Vinayas of five different schools. The importance of comparing the stories found in the Pali commentaries with corresponding stories in the canonical Pali texts and the northern texts. Discussion of the recent theories about Nirvāṇa and Early Buddhism propounded by de la Vallée Poussin and Stecherbatsky.

Professor W. A. IWIN, of the University of Toronto: *Truth in Ancient*

Israel. Remarks by Dr. Blank, Professor G. W. Brown, President Morgestern, Professor Edgerton, Professor Duncan, and Dr. Uhl.

All classes of people in ancient Israel lied and dissembled without compunction. There was very slight realization of the worth of truthfulness. This condition inevitably found, at once, its apologia and its culmination in a lying god. Yahweh was the divine warrior with all the qualities of the human fighter. He deceived his enemies; but too he served his interest by deceiving his friends and servants likewise. Only gradually better ideals prevailed. There can be traced small beginnings in early times; the advance of the great prophets is revolutionary; but only in post-exilic Judaism do we reach a conception of a god of absolute truth.

Professor HENRY J. CADSBURY, of Bryn Mawr College: *Dust and Garments: Some Gestures in Acts*. Remarks by Dr. Bull and President Morgestern.

In Acts xiii. 51; xiv. 14; (xvi. 22?); xviii. 6; xxii. 23 occur a series of gestures made with dust or with garments. Their origin and interpretation are discussed in order to show the uncertainty of their meaning and in the hope that members of the SOCIETY can contribute illustrations from other writings and peoples of shaking, tearing, waving or throwing off of garments or of shaking off dust or throwing dust into the air. Written suggestions from members not in attendance will be welcomed by the author of the paper.

The session adjourned at 5.45 P. M.

## THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order at 9.55 o'clock on Thursday morning at George Washington University.

It was reported that the Directors had decided to hold the next meeting at Cambridge, Mass., in Easter week, 1929.

Dr. Sheldon H. Blank of the Hebrew Union College made a report as Chairman of the Committee on Enlargement of Membership and Resources regarding the steps taken by his committee as a result of which 87 new members had been added to the Society within the preceding three months. On motion the report was received with appreciation of the successful efforts of the committee and especially of its chairman.

Professor Mercer of Trinity College, Toronto, reported for the Committee on the Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions that Professor Barton's "Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions"

was in press and that the proceeds of the Nies Fund would provide for its publication. He also stated that Professor Mercer's "Amarna Letters" was ready for the press but that there were at present no funds available for further publication.

On motion the report was accepted.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON AN AMERICAN SCHOOL OF INDO-IRANIAN RESEARCH

Professor W. N. Brown, chairman of the Committee on an American School of Indo-Iranian Research, made the following report:

During the year your committee has solicited the support of the eight universities in this country maintaining chairs of Sanskrit, asking them to pledge yearly subventions. The committee realized that the amount that could be obtained thus would be only a small portion of that necessary to support the school, but it felt that this concrete endorsement would be of great help in securing the larger sums needed. All eight universities have made pledges—Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, and California, with a total yearly sum of \$1,700.

The Committee has also solicited the endorsement of the American Council of Learned Societies. This seems now practically assured.

The committee has also been making inquiries in India concerning the attitude of interested organizations there, and has in every case found them most cordial.

Two general lines of work now lie immediately before us. The first, and more important, is to secure the funds with which to get the school started. Our tentative budget calls for a yearly expenditure of about \$20,000. We need, therefore, about \$18,000 yearly more than is so far pledged. The second line is further to pave the way in India for the founding of the school, and some of this will be undertaken by the chairman, who expects to spend the coming academic year there.

Your committee is in most cordial relationship with the Archaeological Institute of America in working for the School.

On motion the report was accepted.

In the absence of Mr. W. H. Schoff, representative of the Society on the Board of Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research, a report on the Schools was made by Professor Montgomery, Chairman of their Board of Trustees.

#### REPORT ON THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Professor Montgomery for the Delegates of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies presented the following report:



Your delegates attended the Annual Meeting of the ACLS held in Washington, on January 28—an all-day session, with a large attendance of delegates of the fifteen Constituent Societies. For our Society Professor W. N. Brown took the place of Professor Gottheil, who unfortunately was prevented from attending. This meeting was preceded, the day before, by a meeting of the Secretaries of the Constituent Societies, a most useful adjunct of the Council, and these gentlemen largely attended the Council's session, our Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Ogden, being present throughout both meetings.

The most important business before the Council was the plan of establishing an Advisory Board of experts in various lines of research, whose technical judgment should be secured on all projects submitted to the Council for its approval and coöperation. After considerable discussion it was voted to establish such a Board of nine members, the selection of whom was referred to the Executive Committee. A number of various projects were then presented, including our Society's programme for an Indo-Iranian School. These were referred to the Executive Committee, which again should seek the advice of the Advisory Board.

Action was taken looking towards a harmonious division of interests and labors with the Social Science Research Council. The Permanent Secretary, Dr. Waldo G. Leland, reported on the eighth Annual Meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, held in Brussels May 9-11, which he and Professor Beeson attended as Delegates of the Council. He spoke on the negotiations pending for the admission of the German and Austrian Academies, on which the Council had already registered its favorable judgment.

The three officers were reelected for the ensuing year: Chairman, Prof. J. P. Chamberlain; Vice-Chairman, Prof. W. F. Willeox; Secretary-Treasurer, Prof. E. C. Armstrong; also the following were elected additional members of the Executive Committee: Prof. F. N. Robinson, Prof. J. A. Montgomery.

Among matters of interest was the presentation of Prof. Frederic A. Ogg's 450-page octavo volume entitled *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences* (published by the Century Co.), and sample pages of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, both of them results of the Council's initiative and support. The first volume of the Dictionary will appear soon.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held in New York March 10, 1928, the following were elected members of the Advisory Board:

- Prof. DANA C. MUNRO, chairman, Mediaeval History, Princeton.
- Prof. CARL D. BUCK, Indo-European Philology, Chicago.
- Prof. CLIFFORD H. MOORE, Latin, Harvard.
- Prof. WILLIAM A. NITZE, Romance Languages, Chicago.
- Prof. FREDERIC A. OGG, Political Science, Wisconsin.
- Prof. MICHAEL I. ROSTOVTZEFF, Ancient History, Yale.
- Prof. JOHN S. P. TAYLOR, English, Harvard.
- Prof. FRANK THILLY, Philosophy, Cornell.
- Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Semitics, Yale.

It was announced that all these gentlemen had signified their acceptance, except Dr. Rostovtzeff, whose absence from the country made it impossible to hear from him in time. The several causes already presented to the Council were then duly referred by the Committee to the Advisory Board, which, it is understood, will hold a meeting in April.

There has been subsequently announced the award of twenty grants for assistance of scholars, appropriated by the Council from a fund contributed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation, the amounts ranging from \$50 to \$300. The one award of Orientalistic interest is that to Prof. R. J. Kellogg, Ottawa (Kansas) University, for aid in his Hittite studies.

The Advisory Board met in New York April 7, and among its actions on projects submitted to its judgment by the Executive Committee gave its endorsement to the plan of the Indo-Iranian School.

It may be added that the Council has now its permanent office in Washington, at 907 Fifteenth Street, where the members of the Constituent Societies will be made most welcome.

Additional remarks were made on the invitation of the President by Mr. Mortimer Graves, Assistant to the Permanent Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies.

On motion Professor Montgomery's report was accepted.

The following minute was adopted:

The American Oriental Society considers it greatly to be desired that scientific Sinological research should be vigorously fostered in America and the Society reaffirms its desire to publish Sinological material in its Journal and to discuss Sinological matters at its meetings.

The following minute was adopted:

The Society regards with favor the institution of some sectional sessions at its Annual Meetings and refers the matter to the Executive Committee with power to act.

The following minute was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its deep thanks to George Washington University and to the Catholic University of America for their hospitality to the Society during this meeting, and to the University Club of Washington for the privileges extended to the visiting members. It is deeply indebted to the local members, to the Committee on Arrangements, and in particular to its chairman Professor Butin. All the members present feel that this has been one of the pleasantest and most successful meetings the Society has ever held.

The President appointed as a Committee on the Nomination of Officers for the year 1928: Professor Torrey, Dr. Laufer and Professor Mercer.

As Auditors he appointed Professors Dougherty and Latourette. As a Committee on Arrangements for the meeting in Cambridge in 1929 he appointed Professors Clark, Jewett and Lanman. The reading of papers was then begun.

Rev. Dr. LEMON L. UHL, of Cambridge, Mass.: *Personality Materials of the Telugus, or Andhras, for the ages preceding 1000 B. C.*

Language records: Two sets of mental equipment, for that era—those regarding Deity and those regarding Time. After a general survey of the Telugu, the words now current are investigated, their number ascertained, and the mass of additions for three thousand years eliminated from this current number. Thus our study comes to deal with the words in vogue among the Andhras for the centuries and the millenniums previous to 1000 B. C. The terms given for the objects, and the ideas, indicating Deity and Deities, and relating to Time and divisions of Time, are examined and classified. The results show the richness or the poverty, the local or the universal nature, of the conceptions of the Telugu people as regards God and as regards days, months and years, before the advent either of Europeans, or Mussulmans or Aryans.

Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: *The Origin of the Gerundive in Ethiopic*. Remarks by Dr. Ogden, Professor Mercer and Dr. Bull.

Professor WILLIAM R. TAYLOR, of the University of Toronto: *Daniel c. 7—a fresh statement as to its literary relations to cc. 1-6*. Remarks by Professor Montgomery.

Professor FRANCIS W. BUCKLER, of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology: *A Political Theory of the Rise of the British Power in India*. Remarks by Dr. Uhl.

(I.) The orthodox "Company" view of the relations existing between the European Trading Companies arose from two main sources, merchants and missionaries, which Anquetil Duperron, as far back as 1778, showed to be thoroughly unreliable. It has, however, persisted and still forms the basis of most historical work both on the Mughal Empire and its British successor in India. The main defects of the theory appear in (1) the misconception of the nature of Mughal sovereignty and (2) the consequent misconception of the status of the Companies and their representatives in India. (II.) The nature of Mughal monarchy, its antecedents, theory and practice; the value of Mawardi's *al-Ahkām al-sultāniyyah*. (III.) The consequent revision of Indian historiography for the years 1526 to 1858 with special reference to (a) the Mughals and other Muslim powers and (b) the Mughals and the East India Company.



Rev. Dr. LEMON L. UHL, of Cambridge, Mass.: The Shrine Tirupati; its Deity, Lord Venkata; domestic Images of Venkata.

Descriptions of Tirupati town and hills,—of the Shrine, its contents and surroundings,—and of the domestic Images of Venkata; a brief historical survey.

The following papers were read by title:

Professor JULIAN J. OBERMANN, of the Jewish Institute of Religion: Talmudic Philology.

Some critical notes on (a) M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford 1927); and (b) Michael Schlessinger, *Satzlehre der Aramäischen Sprache des Babylonischen Talmuds* (Veröffentlichungen der Alexander Kohut-Stiftung, Band I, Leipzig 1928).

Dr. DAVID I. MACHT, of the Johns Hopkins University: Experimental Scientific Appreciation of Psalm VIII.

This nature psalm is more comprehensive than is usually supposed. The word *yonqim*, usually rendered "sucklings," can be interpreted as referring to the plant world and it denotes young seedlings. There is abundant evidence in biblical Hebrew for such a translation. The psalmist begins with a contemplation of the Heavens and extra-terrestrial world and then passes on to sing the praises of the creatures of the earth; the animal kingdom and the plant kingdom, the creatures of the sea and birds, and finally man. The expression *bahamoth andai* may be rendered as "mute creatures of the fields," referring to the living organisms of the plant world as distinguished from the animals which serve the purposes of mankind.

Dr. BARUCH WEITZEL, of Philadelphia: Egyptian Bakers and Druggists in comparison to Palestinian Bakers and Druggists according to Talmudic Tradition.

Dr. KURT F. LEIDECHEK, of the International School of Vedic and Allied Research: The Significance of the Noetical Terminology in Upaniṣads and Bhagavad Gītā.

It is upon a correct interpretation of the philosophical terminology in the Upaniṣads that our understanding of Hindu thought depends. In order to determine the meaning of philosophical terms all relevant occurrences had to be studied in their contextual setting. As a result we find that the philosophical terminology is not only metaphysical and religious in character, but that it is preëminently logical, epistemological and psychological. Moreover, we are able to establish a continuity of thought in this type of Sanskrit literature. At the same time, this method demonstrates the value of the study of Sanskrit to students of philosophy.

Professor RICHARD GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: A Further Fragment on Astrology from the Genizah.

Professor W. E. SOOTHILL, of the University of Oxford: Kingship in China: Early Ideas.

Professor MAX L. MARGOLIS, of the Dropsie College: *kaspékem* or *kuspkem*?

Mr. ARTHUR A. DEMBITZ, of Gratz College: Of the Institution of Archives for Legal Documents in Ancient Egypt.

The origin of such archives will be discussed. Comments will be made on the method of their arrangement and as to how they fulfilled their function.

Professor SOLOMON ZEITLIN, of the Dropsie College: The English Joseph and its relation to Josephus.

Professor WILLIAM ROSENAU, of the Johns Hopkins University: Epistolary Literature in the Old Testament.

Although the Old Testament canon contains no books as wholes or parts of books designated epistles, marked specimens of epistolary form nevertheless exist or have references made to them within the canon. Their various characters should be noted. Interesting also is their embodiment into the text. Moreover the influences under which they originated should not be ignored.

Rev. JOHN K. SHRYOCK, of Philadelphia: Some Medieval Chinese Thinkers of the Six Dynasties and T'ang Periods.

Professor GEORGE A. BARTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: An Aramaic Loan-Word in the Teachings of Amen-em-ope.

The word in question is *mkmt* (Amen-em-ope, Line 120), which Erman and Grapow (*Wörterbuch*, II, 162) register as a loan-word without defining. In Psalm 141, 10, *makmorim* means "snares." LXX translated by *amphiblastron*. In the forms *Mikmoreth* and *mikmoreth* it appears several times in the Jerusalem Talmud; cf. Jastrow's *Dictionary*, 783a.

Professor NATHANIEL J. REICH, of the Dropsie College: An abbreviated Book of the Dead in Demotic Characters in the British Museum.

Dr. BARUCH WEITZEL, of Philadelphia: Egyptian Ladders and Windows in comparison to Syrian Ladders and Windows according to Talmudic Tradition.

Professor FRANK R. BLAKE, of the Johns Hopkins University:

(a) *The importance of recording linguistic material.* There are many members of the American Oriental Society who have a perfect native command of one or more Oriental languages, but this command

of the idiom in question, while serving the member in good stead in his chosen linguistic field, usually dies with him, and is lost to linguistic science. Every Orientalist with such a command of any idiom should whenever possible leave a record of his knowledge in the form of a complete grammar, giving, so far as he can, all the essentials of phonology, morphology and syntax, as well as a collection of essential words and idioms. If it is impossible to get such a work printed, the manuscript might be bequeathed to the Society.

(b) *Addenda to Tagalog Grammar, Parts I and II, based on comment of Mr. Cecilio Lopez of the University of Manila.* This comment of Mr. Lopez takes up each paragraph of the grammar the statements of which differ from present usage. The difference in some cases probably represents mistakes or misconceptions of the old Spanish grammarians, in some cases perhaps a difference between the older and the modern speech.

(c) *The meaning of the Sumerian verbalizing particles.* This is one of the chief problems of Sumerian grammar, and has exercised the ingenuity of Sumerologists for many years. Poebel suggests a special meaning for each particle, Deimel questions the possibility of this. It is not unlikely, however, that scholars are seeking for something which in many cases does not exist. The existence of numerous forms to express the same thing is by no means unheard of in language: cf. the various verbal stems in Indo-European, the Arabic broken plurals, and most striking of all the use of the so-called class particles with nouns and words associated with them in such South African languages as Suahili, Zulu, etc.

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of the Johns Hopkins University: *The Home of the Vedic Sacrifice.* [Printed in the JOURNAL 48. 200-224.]

Dr. ISRAEL EITAN, of Pittsburgh: *Folklore in Genesis 16.*

Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, of the International School of Vedic and Allied Research: *Notes on the interpretation of some passages in the Upanishads.*

Professor ROBERT J. KELLOGG, of Ottawa University: *Hittite ḫ.*

The available evidence for phonetic values of Hittite *ḫ* includes: (1) Hittite names; (2) transliterations from or to Sumerian, Accadian, Luvian, Egyptian, Greek, etc.; (3) etymological evidence; (4) materials already gathered by Weidner, Kretschmer, Friedrich, Sturtevant, and others. Phonetic values of *ḫ* were: (1) guttural aspirate, both velar and palatal, and perhaps both voiced and unvoiced; (2) the glottal catch or smooth breathing; (3) a weaker sound perhaps like German *h* or *ch* in *ich*. A critical consideration of Hittite etymologies involving *ḫ*.

Dr. DAVID I. MACHT, of the Johns Hopkins University: *Experimental Scientific Appreciation of Genesis ii, 24.*



Professor THEOPHILE J. MEER, of the University of Toronto: (a) Aaronites and Zadokites; (b) Some Difficult Passages in the Assyrian Code.

Professor WILLIAM H. WORRELL, of the University of Michigan: The Physical Background of Muhammad's Revelations. [Printed in the JOURNAL 48, 136-146.]

Dr. J. D. L. DE VRIES, of the Oriental Seminar, Bonn, Germany: On new methods of Purāṇic Research.

Wilson has observed that the identity of the legends in many of the Purāṇas and, still more, the identity of the words,—long passages in several of them being literally the same,—must be a sufficient proof that they derive from a common and prior original. This statement of Wilson has in recent times been adopted as a principle of textual criticism, first by Pargiter in "The Dynasties of the Kali-Age," then, on a larger scale, by Kirtel in his "Purāṇa-Pañcalakṣaṇa," by Leech in the "Yājñavalkya-smṛti" and by the author for his work on the "Śrāddhakalpa."

The Society adjourned at 12.30 o'clock to meet in Cambridge during Easter Week, 1929.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH  
OF THE

**American Oriental Society**

AT THE MEETING IN URBANA, ILLINOIS, 1928

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The sessions of the twelfth annual meeting of the Middle West Branch were held in Urbana, Illinois, at the Hillel Foundation, the University of Illinois, and the Wesley Foundation, on Friday and Saturday, March 16 and 17, 1928.

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

Bamberger	Kelly	Price
Braden	Laufer	Sellers
Buckler	Leavitt	Stephens
Debevoise	Lybyer	Williams, C. A.
Fuller	McGovern	Williams, Mrs. C. R.
Jung, M.	Nykl	Worrell
Kellogg, R. J.	Olmstead	Wyngaarden

There were present also the following guests or candidates for membership:

Geers, F. W.	Malone, C. B.	Sprengling, M.
Harden, D. B.	Martin, R. A.	Stearns, W. N.
Janasens, H.	Osten, H. H. von der	

**FIRST SESSION**

At 2.00 P. M., Friday, the meeting was called to order in the Hillel Foundation by Acting President Robert J. Kellogg.

The Branch unanimously adopted the following resolution, proposed by a committee consisting of Professors Graham, Olmstead, and Sellers:

Resolved:

That we, the members of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society, do hereby place on record our very sincere sorrow at

the untimely demise of our late friend and colleague, Daniel David Luckenbill, whose fine qualities as a scholar, a gentleman, and a friend forever endear his memory to us all.

Further, be it resolved:

That the Secretary be requested to forward a copy of this minute to Mrs. Luckenbill.

The members stood as a token of respect for Professor Luckenbill, who had been elected President of the Branch at the 1927 meeting, but had died before receiving the notice of his election.

Professor Robert J. Kellogg was formally elected President.

As a committee on nominations the chair appointed Professors Olmstead, Price, and Fuller; and as a committee on resolutions Professors Kelly, Braden, and Stephens.

Professor Moses Jung welcomed the Branch to the Hillel Foundation. There followed the reading of papers.

Prof. MOSES JUNG, of the Hillel Foundation, University of Illinois: *The Jewish Law and the Law of the Land.*

A detailed comparison of Jewish legislation with the customs and laws of the contiguous territory.

Prof. LESLIE E. FULLER, of Garrett Biblical Institute: *Isaiah: A study in Prophetic Biography.* Remarks by Professor Kellogg.

An attempt to face anew some of the facts in the life of Isaiah. Modern scholarship has done much to recover the prophets, but in some cases its recovery has not been thorough enough. The old Jewish tradition that Isaiah was connected with the royal house by blood ties was set aside, but in its train a series of closely related traditions have taken the field. Most modern scholars assert that Isaiah was a man of high social rank, a member of court circles. There is nothing to prove or to disprove these assertions, especially when examined in the light of the normal functions of the prophet.

Prof. IRA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: *Penalties for Defaulters in Early Babylonia and the Old Testament.* Remarks by Professors Fuller, Sellers, and Jung.

"Defaulters" is limited to those who fail to account for moneys or other objects committed to their trust. Contracts made in those days were illegal and not binding unless signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of witnesses. Defaulters were those who tried to evade that requirement, to purloin goods left in their charge, to fail to deliver transported goods, and to make false claims. Penalties for these offenses carried fines, after trial before the god, of anywhere from two-fold to six-fold of the original amount of money or stuff. But all in all these were the least painful, confining, and disgraceful of the penalties of the criminal code.



Prof. CHARLES S. BRADEN, of Northwestern University: Some Modern Tendencies in Chinese Religions. Remarks by Drs. Laufer and McGovern.

Religion like everything else in China is undergoing many changes. Three distinct major tendencies: 1. A radical, hostile, or critical attitude toward religion which manifests itself in a tendency away from all religion or at least away from religion as at present known in China. The so-called "anti-religious movement" is an extreme example, the "anti-Christian movement" being but one of its phases. 2. A reaction against the extremes of no-religion toward some sort of re-emphasis upon or revival of traditional forms of religion, varying all the way from rigid fundamentalist reaffirmation of the old to modernistic reformation within the various faiths; e. g., the organization of the "Confucian Church," and the modern revival in Buddhism. 3. A tendency toward a syncretism which brings together the best elements of the various religions of China; e. g., "Tao Yuan," the "United Goodness Society," the "Study of Morality Society."

Prof. FRANCIS W. BUCKLER, of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology: The Human *Khi'at*. Remarks by Dr. McGovern.

Among the "garments" used as *khi'ate* is the wife (divorced), concubine, or widow of a monarch (cf. Mal. ii. 15-16; Qur. ii. 183; I K. i-ii). As a mark of continuity of the royal succession, the marriage of the stepmother by the successor is a custom characteristic of both the Persians (cf. Tatian, *Orat. ad Græcos*, c. 8) and the Indo-Germans. Frazer's discussion (*Kingship*, pp. 143 ff.) is inadequate and starts from the wrong point of view. The woman is a *khi'at* and symbolizes both the continuity and the organic unity of the kingship. Burton gives two cases in the Arabian Nights which leave the matter beyond doubt. The significance has been obscured by both the Levitical and Qur'anic laws against incest, but it solves the problem of several cases of succession and explains the origin of the Hindu *jauhar*.

Prof. C. A. WILLIAMS, of the University of Illinois: Oriental Traditions of the Hairy Solitary. Remarks by Professors Price and Olmstead.

Medieval legends of the hairy hermit have their earliest affinities in Hither Asia: (1a) in fertility-rites in which the god (or hero), partly beastlike in appearance, is enticed to man's world by a mortal woman; (1b) in stories of first pair of man's ancestors; (2) in Journey to the glorified Deluge-hero.—Enkidu, Gilgamesh, Ut-napishtim; *Rāyaśrīga*. Gen. 2 & 3 (Enkidu and the woman the nearest Semitic parallel to Adam and Eve); apocalyptic traditions (Enoch, Noah, Elijah); Gnostic influences; the legend in *Vita Antonii* and Jerome's *Paulus primus eremita*; numerous Eastern legends.—See Univ. of Ill. Studies, X, 2; XI, 4.

Between 4.30 and 6.00 the members in groups visited the mu-

seums of the University of Illinois. At 6.00 they had dinner at the University Club.

## SECOND SESSION

At 7.30 P. M. the Branch met in Morrow Hall of the University of Illinois.

President David Kinley of the University of Illinois gave the Address of Welcome on behalf of the University.

President Kellogg of the Branch responded and gave the Presidential Address on "Linguistic Corroborations of Hittite Prehistory."

Mr. H. H. von der Osten gave an illustrated lecture on "The Exploration of Asia Minor in 1926."

There followed a smoker at the residence of Professor A. T. Olmstead, at which the members of the Society and a number of faculty members of the University of Illinois were guests.

## THIRD SESSION

Saturday morning at 9.00 o'clock the Branch was called to order in the Wesley Foundation. The reading of papers was resumed.

Prof. CARROLL B. MALONE, late of Tsing Hua College, Peking: The Old Summer Palace near Peking.

A group of five important garden-palaces of the late Ch'ing Dynasty lie on the plain and foothills in a well-watered region northwest of Peking, where there have been imperial lodges and palaces ever since the reign of Chang Tsung in the Kin Dynasty, 1190-1209. The most famous of the palaces was the Yuan Ming Yuan, which was begun by the Emperor K'ang Hsi in 1709, enlarged and adorned by Ch'ien Lung, 1736-96, who had the Jesuits at his court design and supervise the construction of a group of European palaces here, and looted and destroyed by the French and English in 1860.

Dr. WILLIAM M. MCGOVERN, of the Field Museum of Natural History: The Historic Relations between Indian, Chinese, and Japanese Buddhism.

Prof. A. R. NYEL, of Marquette University: A Coincidence between a Passage in the Manava Dharma Shastra and a Mural Decoration in the Maya Ruin at Chichen Itzá.

Contrary to the belief of the partisans of the theory that Maya art and science are 100 per cent. American, there are cases where similarities between ideas found in Maya symbols and those found in Babylonia, Egypt, India, and China, cannot be ascribed to pure chance or to psychic unity. The eastern façade at Chichen Itzá shows that

its symbol of creation has too great analogies with the Old World ideas to be independent invention. Le Plongeon overlooked the real similarities and became entangled in fanciful visions. But there can be little doubt that the façade is merely a calendar representing in squares what the Aztec calendar represents in circles. They both go to a prototype brought to America from the Eurasian continent.

Mr. NEILSON C. DENNISON, of the University of Illinois: Some Problems in Parthian Architecture.

Dura-Europus, during the Seleucid period, was merely a garrison-post on the Antioch-Seleucia road. The present ruins are those of a fortress such as the Seleucidas would have had no reason to construct. The architecture contains no feature which is solely classical, while oriental influence is predominant. The crenelated battlements, arch and vault system, and general proportions show strong Assyrian influence. The gridiron street system, block corners to the cardinal points, is oriental, not Hellenistic. The defenses were probably constructed by the Parthians some time after the invasion of Mithradates I in 140 B. C.

Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, of the Field Museum of Natural History: The Game of Polo (with illustrations). Remarks by Professors Price and Buckler.

Brief abstract of the history of the game in Central Asia, Persia, Byzance, the empire of the Caliphs, China, Japan, and India, accompanied by demonstrations of Chinese, Persian, and Indian polo pictures. A comprehensive monograph on the subject is in preparation.

Prof. FREDERIS J. STEPHENS, of Culver-Stockton College: Grammatical Evidence for the Date and Origin of the Cappadocian Semitic Dialect. Remarks by Professors Worrell and Kellogg.

The following points harmonize with a date about the beginning of the 2d millenium B. C. Case endings are regularly and clearly distinguished. The dative is distinguished from the accusative in pronominal suffixes. Emphatic sounds in the language are represented by weaker ones. Uncontracted vowel combinations often occur. Cappadocian resembles Old Assyrian more than Old Babylonian at points where Old Assyrian leans toward West Semitic. Cappadocian and Old Assyrian are related to each other because both are related to an early West Semitic language, now known to us only through its descendants, the Phoenician, Hebrew, Arabic, etc.

Prof. MARTIN J. WYNGAARDEN, of Calvin College and Theological Seminary: Topic Notes on Is. 53: 12. Remarks by Professor Stephens and Dr. Janssens.

Enoch 48: 4 equates Servant with Son of Man. Question: Does OT tend to equate Serv. with Messiah? NT identification is admitted, but Jewish literature does not tend that way. However, Is. 53: 12



involves this equation, as suggested by Cheyne. Additional evidence: (1) Is. 52: 11-13. (2) Servant is a royal figure; work as liberator (52:13-53:12) is fitted against background of liberating work of Cyrus (cf. 52: 9-11; 42: 28 f.; Ezr. 1: 1 f.). (3) Servant in 42: 1-6 exercises royal power. (4) Apparently clear equation of Servant with Davidic Messiah in Is. 55: 3-4. (5) Other passages indicating like equation; e. g., Zech. 3: 8 (cf. Is. 53: 6); Dan. 9: 26. OT presents cumulative argument which should methodologically precede any reference to a NT identification in commentaries.

Prof. W. H. WORSBELL, of the University of Michigan: The Coptic Magical Papyri. Remarks by Dr. Janssens, Professors Sellers, Price, and Nykl.

Michigan papyri 593-603 constitute a Coptic magician's library. No. 593 is a codex, the text of which is duplicated by 594-599, 603, rough leaves of odd sizes written upon in an incredibly crude hand such as is found in similar magical texts of different ages and provenance. A special pen and ink may have been used. Like the Roman *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln* the rough copies appear to have been made by the unprofessional user, but were not made from the codex. Also, the contents show Sethianic origin, and a walter of decadent gnosia.

Prof. A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Illinois: The "Original Home of the Aryans." Remarks by Professor Kellogg.

The home of the Aryans must be determined by the data of archaeology as well as of philology. Only words common to the Indo-Iranian and European branches may be used in the investigation. Philology permits the localization of the home in South Russia, and witnesses to a Nordic culture similar to that found in South Russia about 2500 B. C. Philological and archaeological connections with the Shumerians are of the first importance. Only a South Russia home will explain the concentric expansions of the Aryans, witnessed by historical documents from the Near East and by archaeological data from Europe.

The local members of the Society—Professors Lybyer, Jung, Malone, Olmstead, Williams, and Mr. Debevoise—entertained the visitors at lunch in the University Club.

#### FOURTH SESSION

President Kellogg called the meeting to order in the Wesley Foundation at 2.00 o'clock. The reading of papers was resumed.

Prof. IRA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: "Noah in the Ark," or a Temple Entrance (illustrated).

Since the days of George Smith scholars have interpreted the so-

called "Noah in the Ark" seal as representing the hero of the Biblical deluge. But the accompanying heroes on either side of the door, holding standards with rings, are paralleled in part by heroes and standards on other seals. On two other cylinders are evident doors of temples accompanied by the same standards and rings. On the other hand, there is no other known boat of this shape on any mythological seal. Furthermore, this entrance is furnished with steps up into it. May not these guards be the forerunners of the colossal set at the entrance of temples and palaces of later times?

Mr. D. B. HARDEN, of the University of Michigan: The Origin of Certain Western Phoenician Settlements in the Mediterranean in the Light of the Earliest Pottery Finds (illustrated). Remarks by Professor Olmstead and Dr. Laufer.

Earliest pottery finds at Carthage are dated c. 800 B. C. and consist of pot-bellied amphorae, ovoid high-necked amphorae, jugs, and other smaller types with characteristic elementary geometric decorations in red and black paint. Similar shapes found at Malta and Motya in Sicily can be dated on independent evidence c. 800-700 B. C., but shapes and decoration are sufficiently distinct to disprove any idea that Malta or Motya were founded by Carthage. Both were probably founded independently by colonists from the East. Furthermore, differences make it appear that Carthage and Malta were from different eastern Phoenician cities, while similarities indicate that Carthage and Motya had the same Phoenician mother city.

Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, of the University of Chicago: (a) A New Seljuk Inscription from Kara Mara; (b) The Chicago Manuscripts of the "Hundred and One Nights" and the "Fifty and One Nights"; (c) Bar Hebraeus and a New Era of Syrian Publication in Chicago. Remarks by Dr. Laufer, Professors Worrell and Buckler, and Rabbi Bamberger.

Prof. ALBERT H. LYBYER, of the University of Illinois: The Religious and Moral Ideals of the New Turkey.

Turkey is confronted with a choice of one among several systems of thought and life. Many Turks effect a synthesis, according to which they combine elements from the Mohammedan, Turkish, and Western systems. Briefly they claim to take religion from Islam, morals from Old Turkey, and practical ideas from the West. They profess to draw a line between Arabian and Mohammedan ideas, rejecting for example the use of the Arabic language and the seclusion of women, but retaining the belief in God and Mohammed as the prophet of God, together with the central religious ideas taught by Mohammed. Patriotism and social relations, as well as ordinary virtues are to be taken from Old Turkey, while the theoretical and practical achievements or modern science, democratic political devices, and effective industrial and commercial organizations are to be had from the West.

Rabbi BERNARD S. BAMBERGER, of Lafayette, Indiana: Fear and Love of God in the Old Testament.

Context of passage where fear and love of Jhwh are mentioned shows that these terms are not to be taken in a subjective sense, nor are they *motives* for piety. Fear of Jhwh is a more or less technical expression for worship of Jhwh and obedience to His will, often as colorless as English "god-fearing." Love of Jhwh is another name for the same thing.

Prof. O. R. SELLERS, of McCormick Theological Seminary: Names of Ancient Oriental Woodwinds. Remarks by Professor Braden.

There are three types of ancient oriental woodwind—all commonly designated by the term "flute." Recent writers, following Sachs, have differentiated them as "flute," "double clarinet," and "oboe." These terms, however, are not exact, for we can be certain only that the "oboe" was a reed instrument and that is basically different from our modern oboe. The "flutes" and "clarinets" may have been reed instruments or whistles. It is misleading to give the old woodwinds names of modern instruments. We might distinguish them by calling them "long pipe," "short thick pipe," and "short thin pipe."

Prof. ROBERT J. KELLOGG, of Ottawa University: Hittite Vowel Quantity.

It has been assumed that Hittite double writing of a vowel shows length as it sometimes did in Accadian. But: (1) this rule was not completely carried out in Accadian; (2) its application to Hittite has been only assumed, not demonstrated; (3) unrelated languages having the same alphabet generally differ in rules of quantity; (4) Hittite of the Boghazköi documents is nearly 1000 years later than the taking over of the Assyro-Accadian syllabary; (5) the rule was not carried thru in actual Hittite documents; (6) it could not be consistently carried thru, because vowel repetition has another meaning not compatible with this rule; (7) the supposed rule is sweepingly contradicted by etymological evidence.

The following papers were read by title:

Prof. EDWIN E. VOIGHT, of Garrett Biblical Institute: "The Book of the Ark of the Covenant" in Samuel.

Prof. T. GEORGE ALLEN, of the University of Chicago: "Independent" uses of the Egyptian Qualitative.

Mrs. EDITH WILLIAMS WARE, of the University of Chicago: Royal Messengers in Egypt.

The discussion concerns itself with those officials who bore the title of royal messenger and served as diplomatic agents of imperial Egypt. An endeavor has been made to ascertain the difference in functions and position of the *wpwty ny swt* and the *wpwty ny swt r h's.t nb.t*.



For this purpose a comparative study was made of certain inscriptions, graffiti, and the like wherein were found statements of duties, titles previously held, and subsequent careers of a selected number of messengers. The evidence so collected seemed to show that the title *wptw ny swt* might be held by an envoy extraordinary, as well as by the regular messenger of the king. On the other hand the *wptw ny swt r h's.t* *ub.t* were carefully trained men equally competent to act as escort for the viceroy of Ethiopia on his first trip or to trade with cunning Asiatics for horses for the royal stables.

Prof. GEORGE L. ROBINSON, of McCormick Theological Seminary: Needless Anachronisms in Our English Bible.

(1) Who would suppose that the Heb. word for "soul" occurs in Gen. 1: 20, 21, 24, 30 as well as in Chap. 2: 7? (2) How could Cain, the fugitive, ever build a "city" alone, as stated in Gen 4: 17? But he could have built an enclosure or "sheepfold," cf. Num. 32: 16. (3) Job was a "perfect" man (Job 1: 1), but Jacob was a "quiet" man (Gen. 25: 27); yet the same Hebrew word is employed in both cases. (4) The Psalmist commends the man who takes no "interest" (Ps. 15: 5); but Jesus rebuked the man who did not put his talent out to "interest" (Lk. 19: 23). (5) The expression "everlasting father" in Is. 9: 7 is an utterly inexcusable anachronism, in the light of Gen. 49: 27 exegetically, and of Job 38: 28 and Is. 53: 12 psychologically.

Dr. ABRAHAM J. LEVY, of the College of Jewish Studies, Chicago: Some Vocalic Similarities between Hebrew and the Present Spoken Arabic in Palestine: (a) Final Vowels; (b) Development of the *e* and *o* vowels from *i* and *u*; (c) Contraction of Diphthongs *ay* and *aj* to *ē* and *ē*; (d) Contraction of pronominal suffix *hu* to *ō*.

(a) The Arabs at present tend to do away with the final vowels, e. g., *it-talmīd katāb maktūb ila-l-mu'allim*, the pupil wrote a letter to the teacher, for the classical *kataba-t-talmīdu maktūban ila-l-mu'allimi*.

(b) When the *i* and *u* come in a penult position, the *i* is pronounced like *e*, and the *u* like *o* (cf. Heb. *e* and *o*); e. g., *il-malek asfar min balado ya'-ahad-il-kateb ma'ō*, the king sailed from his country and took the scribe with him, for *asfara-l-māliku min balādihī ya'-ahada-l-katiba ma'ahu*; *hōd hādī-l-kutub ya'-iktōb darsak*, take these books and copy thy lesson, for *hūd hādīhī-l-kutuba ya'ktub darsaka*.

(c) *Iōm-il-'arba'a 'aḡa qēf labētna*, on Wednesday a visitor came to our home, for *jaymu-l-'arba'atī pā'a dafun ila baḡtina*. Cf. Heb. *ō* and *ē*.

(d) *Bētō* for *baḡtuhu*, his house; *qālamō* for *qalamuhu*, his pen; *balādo* for *balāduhu*, his country. Cf. Heb. *ō*.

The Treasurer made the following report:

Cash on hand reported at 1927 meeting.....	\$19.47
Expenditures .....	25.85
Deficit .....	6.38

Professor Olmstead, chairman of the committee on nominations, placed the following in nomination as officers for the ensuing year:

For President, Prof. LESLIE E. FULLER.

For Vice-President, Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS.

For Secretary-Treasurer, Prof. O. R. SELLERS.

For members of the Executive Committee, Professors KELLOGG and MOSES JUNG.

These officers were unanimously elected.

Professor Kelly, chairman of the committee on resolutions, presented the following:

RESOLVED that the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society express its very deep appreciation to the local committee for the fine way in which they planned for and carried out the arrangements for the comfort and convenience of the Branch at its annual meeting, and also for the luncheon tendered the members on Saturday noon.

To the University of Illinois, through its President, Dr. David S. Kinley, for the cordial welcome and hospitality extended the Branch.

To the Curators of the various museums who so cordially welcomed the visiting members to their respective exhibits.

To the Hillel and Wesley Foundations for the use of their rooms for the sessions.

To the University Club for the numerous courtesies extended members during their stay.

To Professor and Mrs. Olmstead for the delightful evening spent as guests in their home.

To the President of the Branch, Professor Kellogg, for the prompt and efficient performance of his duty in carrying forward the program.

These resolutions were adopted.

There was presented an invitation from President Wilkins to hold the 1930 meeting of the Branch at Oberlin College.

The matter of the next meeting was placed in the hands of the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 4.15 P. M.

# CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

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### 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 membership of the Society shall consist of corporate members, honorary members, and honorary associates.

ARTICLE IV. SECTION 1. Honorary members and honorary associates shall be proposed for membership 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.

SECTION 2. Candidates for corporate membership may be proposed and elected in the same manner as honorary members and honorary associates. They may also be proposed at any time by any member in regular standing. Such proposals shall be in writing and shall be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, who shall thereupon submit them to the Executive Committee for its action. A unanimous vote of the Executive Committee shall be necessary in order to elect.

ARTICLE V. SECTION 1. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, two Editors of the JOURNAL, the President and the Secretary of any duly authorized branch of the Society, and nine Directors. The officers of the Society shall be elected at the annual meeting, by ballot, for a term of one year. The Directors shall consist of three groups of three members each, one group to be elected each year at



the annual meeting for a term of three years. No Director shall be eligible for immediate re-election as Director, tho he may be chosen as an officer of the Society.

SECTION 2. An Executive Committee, consisting of the President, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, and two other Directors each elected for a term of two years, shall be constituted by the Board of Directors. The Executive Committee shall have power to take action provisionally in the name of the Society on matters of importance which may arise between meetings of the Society or of the Board of Directors, and on which, in the Committee's opinion, action cannot be postponed without injury to the interests of the Society. Notice of all actions taken by the Executive Committee shall be printed as soon as possible in the JOURNAL, and shall be reported to the Directors and the Society at the succeeding annual meeting. Unless such actions, after being thus duly advertised and reported, are disapproved by a majority vote of the members present at any session of the succeeding annual meeting, they shall be construed to have been ratified and shall stand as actions of the Society.

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, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the two Editors of the JOURNAL 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. 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. To provide for scientific meetings of groups of members living at too great a distance to attend the annual sessions of the Society, branches may be organized with the approval of the Directors. The details of organization are to be left to those forming a branch thus authorized, subject to formal ratification by the Directors.

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 he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

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

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

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

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

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

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

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but shall be exempted from obligation to make this payment (a) in case he or she shall have made at any one time a donation of one hundred dollars during the first decade of membership, or (b) of seventy-five dollars during the second decade, or (c) of fifty dollars during the third decade, or (d) of twenty-five dollars during the fourth decade, or (e) when he or she shall have completed forty years of membership, or (f) on application, if he or she, having been a member for twenty years and having attained the age of seventy, shall have retired from the active exercise of the teaching profession or of the ministry.

VII. All members shall be entitled to one copy of all current numbers of the JOURNAL issued during their membership. Back volumes of the JOURNAL shall be furnished to members at twenty per cent reduction from the list price. All other publications of the Society may be furnished to members at such reductions in price as the Directors may determine.

VIII. Candidates for corporate membership who have been elected 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, or, in the case of persons not residing in the United States, within a reasonable time. A failure so to qualify, unless explained to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee, 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 Executive Committee, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. 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.

### II. ON THE ORGANIZATION OF BRANCHES

1. Upon the formation of a branch, as provided in the Constitution, the officers chosen shall have the right to propose for corporate member-



ship in the Society such persons as may seem eligible to them, and, pending ratification according to Article IV of the Constitution, these candidates shall receive the JOURNAL and all notices issued by the Society.

2. The annual fee of the members of a branch shall be collected by the Treasurer of the Society, in the usual manner, and in order to defray the current expenses of a branch the Directors shall authorize the Treasurer of the Society to forward from time to time to the duly authorized officer of the branch such sums as may seem proper to the Treasurer. The accounts of the Treasurer of the branch shall be audited annually and a statement of the audit shall be sent to the Treasurer of the Society to be included in his annual report.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.  
† Designates members deceased since the annual meeting.

### HONORARY MEMBERS

- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, Ettlingerstr. 53, Karlsruhe, Germany. 1878.  
Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.  
Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.  
Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.  
Prof. ADOLF ERMAN, University of Berlin, Germany. (Peter Lennéstr. 36, Berlin-Dahlem.) 1903.  
Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.  
Sir GEORGE A. GHERSON, K.C.I.E., Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1889; Honorary, 1905.  
Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Mommsenstr. 7, Berlin-Lichterfelde.) 1908.  
Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, Germany. (Niebuhrstrasse 59.) 1909.  
Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Rapenberg 61.) 1914.  
Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris, France. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, V<sup>e</sup>.) 1917.  
Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.  
FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Membre de l'Institut de France, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.  
Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.  
Prof. V. SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 40<sup>me</sup> Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.  
Prof. FREDERICK W. THOMAS, University of Oxford, England. 1920.  
RÉV. PÈRE M.-J. LAGRANGE, Ecole archéologique française de Palestine, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1921.  
DON LEONE CAETANI, DUCA DI SERMONETA, Villino Caetani, 13 Via Giacomo Medici, Rome 29, Italy. 1922.  
Prof. MORIZ WINTERITZ, German University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. (Prague II, Opatovická 8.) 1923.  
Prof. HEINRICH ZIMMERN, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Ritterstr. 16/22.) 1923.  
Prof. PAUL PELLIOU, Collège de France, Paris, France. (38 Rue de Varenne, Paris, VII<sup>e</sup>.) 1924.  
Prof. KURT SETHE, University of Berlin, Germany. (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Konstanzerstr. 36.) 1927.

Sir JOHN MARSHALL, Kt., C.I.E., Litt.D., Gorton Castle, Simla, India. 1928.

Prof. FLINDERS PETRIE, Kt., D.C.L., University College, London, England. 1928.

Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., Srinagar, Kashmir, India. 1928.

[Total: 25]

#### HONORARY ASSOCIATES

Field Marshal Viscount ALLENBY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Naval and Military Club, London, England. 1922.

Hon. CHARLES R. CRANE, 655 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.

Rev. Dr. OTIS A. GLAZERBROOK, American Consul, Nice, France. 1921.

Pres. FRANK J. GOODNOW, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.

Hon. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, 1020 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1922.

Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU, 417 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.

Hon. SAO-KE ALFRED SZU, Chinese Minister to the United States, Chinese Legation, Washington, D. C. 1922.

Hon. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, Chief Justice, The Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1921.

[Total: 8]

#### CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with \* are those of life members.

MARCUS AARON, 5564 Aylesboro Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.

MOSTAFA ABBASSI, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1927.

Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.

\*Pres. CYRUS ADLER (Dropsie College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.

Prof. A. WILLIAM AHL, Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pa. 1926.

Prof. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR (Univ. of Madras), "Sri Jayavassam," 1 East Mada St., Mylapore, Madras, India. 1921.

Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Director, American School of Oriental Research, P. O. Box 333, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1915.

A. YUSUF ALI, M.A., 6 Pall Mall, London, S.W. 1, England. 1928.

Prof. HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. 1921.

Prof. T. GEORGE ALLEN (Univ. of Chicago), 5460 Ridgewood Court, Chicago, Ill. 1917.

Prof. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 28 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.

NAZMIE H. ANANTAWY, 3406 Second Boulevard, Detroit, Mich. 1925.

Prof. A. J. ANJLIAN, M.A., The Cambridge Institute, Nagore, S. India. 1928.

THEODORE ANDREWS, 46 East Blackwell St., Dover, N. J. 1928.

Prof. SHIGERU ARAKI, The Peeress' School, Aoyama, Tokyo, Japan. 1915.

Prof. J. C. ARCHER (Yale Univ.), Box 1848, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1916.



- Rev. ROBERT C. ARMSTRONG, Ph.D., 85 Asquith Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1926.
- Prof. K. ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
- L. A. AULT, 12 Elmhurst Place, West Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- OTTO J. BAAB, 5815 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Mrs. SIMON BACHARACH, 1040 Winding Way, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1928.
- Dean WILLIAM FREDERIC BADE (Pacific School of Religion), 2616 College Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
- Rev. FREDERICK A. BAEPLER, American School of Oriental Research, P. O. Box 333, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1926.
- Prof. MOSES BAILEY (Wellesley College), 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass. 1922.
- IRVING W. BAILIN, 426 Baldwin Dormitory, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, 1180 Patio Place, Los Angeles, Calif. 1916.
- Rev. DAVID D. BAKER, 25 Scotland St., Edinburgh, Scotland. 1928.
- Rabbi BERNARD S. BAMBERGER, Fowler Hotel, Lafayette, Ind. 1927.
- LOUIS BAMBERGER, c/o L. Bamberger & Co., Newark, N. J. 1928.
- \*Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Mrs. EARL H. BARBER, 42 Haven St., Reading, Mass. 1925.
- \*PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR, 191 Indian Road, Piedmont, Calif. 1917.
- Rabbi HENRY BAENSTON, Ph.D., 3515 Main St., Houston, Texas. 1921.
- \*Prof. LEROY CARE BARRETT, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
- \*Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), N. E. Cor. 43rd and Spruce Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- Mrs. FRANCES CROSBY BARTTER, Box 116, Baguio, P. I. 1921.
- Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
- Prof. MINER SEARLE BATES, University of Nanking, Nanking, China. 1926.
- Prof. LORING W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 6 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- \*Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Drew Theol. Seminary), 57 Madison Ave., Madison, N. J. 1898.
- Miss VIRGINIA BEADLE, 1 West 67th St., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- Rev. WILLIAM Y. BELL, Ph.D., 218 West 130th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- \*Prof. SHRI PAD K. BELVALKAR (Deccan College), Bilvakunja, Bhamburda, Poona, India. 1914.
- \*ALBERT FARWELL BEMIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1927.
- Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
- Rev. CHARLES D. BENJAMIN, Ph.D., Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
- Dr. C. C. BERG, Soerakarta, Java, Dutch East Indies. 1926.
- OSCAR BERMAN, Third and Plum Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- PIERRE A. BERNARD, Clarkstown Country Club, Nyack, N. Y. 1914.
- ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, 625 York St., Denver, Colo. 1920.
- Dr. SIMON BERNSTEIN, 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.

- Mrs. ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE, 94 Campden Hill Road, London W. 8, England. 1928.
- Prof. D. R. BHANDEKAR (Univ. of Calcutta), 35 Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta, India. 1921.
- Prof. A. E. BIGELOW (Central Philippine College), care of Fannie Doane Home, Granville, Ohio. 1927 (1922).
- Prof. GANGA BISHEK, M.A., Vedic Bhadrati College, Dera Ismail Khan, India. 1928.
- CARL W. BISHOP, Associate Curator, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Prof. F. LOVELL BIXBY, The Rice Institute, Houston, Texas. 1928.
- Rabbi EUGENE BLACHSCHLEGER, Box 353, Far Rockaway, N. Y. 1928.
- Pres. FLOYD H. BLACK, American College, Sofia, Bulgaria. 1928.
- Pres. JAMES A. BLAISDELL, Claremont Colleges, Claremont, Calif. 1928.
- Prof. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1600 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Rabbi SHELDON H. BLANK, Ph.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1926.
- Rev. Dr. JOSHUA BLOCH, New York Public Library, 476 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD (University of Chicago), 5454 Everett St., Chicago, Ill. 1927 (1917).
- †\*Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- Mrs. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, c/o Townsend Scott and Son, 209 East Fayette St., Baltimore, Md. 1928.
- Prof. PAUL F. BLOOMHART, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. 1916.
- EMANUEL BOASBERG, 1206 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1921.
- GEORGE BOBRINSKOY, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1925.
- Rev. PAUL OLAF BODDING, Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas, India. 1928.
- Prof. FRANZ M. T. BÖHL, D.D., Ph.D. (Univ. of Leiden), Rapenburg 53, Leiden, Holland. 1928.
- Rev. AUGUST M. BOLDUC, S.T.L., The Marist College, Brookland, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- \*Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Ohio State Univ.), 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
- Prof. CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.
- Prof. CLARENCE BOUMA, Th.D. (Calvin College), 925 Alexander St., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1928.
- Rev. JOHN WICK BOWMAN, M.A., The Theological Seminary, American Presbyterian Mission, Saharanpur, U. P., India. 1923.
- Rev. A. M. BOYER, 114 Rue du Bac, Paris VIIe, France. 1928.
- WATSON BOYES, 5552 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Prof. CHARLES S. BRADEN, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1926.
- AARON BHAY, M.D., 2027 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Rabbi BARNETT R. BRICKNER, 8206 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1926.

- Miss EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS, Hotel Holley, 36 Washington Square West, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. GEORGE WESTON BRIGGS, M.Sc. (Drew Theol. Seminary), Green Village Road, Madison, N. J. 1923.
- Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
- Mrs. BEATRICE ALLARD BROOKS, Ph.D. (Wellesley College), 9 State St., Wellesley, Mass. 1919.
- DAVID A. BROWN, 60 Boston Boulevard, Detroit, Mich. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Kennedy School of Missions, 55 Elizabeth St., Hartford, Conn. 1909.
- Dean OSWALD E. BROWN, Vanderbilt University School of Religion, Nashville, Tenn. 1926.
- Prof. W. NORMAN BROWN, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Prof. FRANCIS W. BUCKLER (Oberlin Graduate School of Theology), 89 South Professor St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1926.
- Dr. LUDLOW S. BULL, Assistant Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- Prof. MILLAR BURROWS (Brown Univ.), 262 Fifth St., Providence, R. I. 1925.
- Prof. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. MOSES BUTTENWIEKER (Hebrew Union College), 252 Loraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. EUGENE H. BYRNE (Univ. of Wisconsin), 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY J. CABBURY (Bryn Mawr College), 3 College Circle, Haverford, Pa. 1914.
- Miss SOPHIE CAMACHO, 1815 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Ph.D., 260 West 231st St., New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY (Univ. of Louvain), Sparrenhof, Corbeek-Loe, Belgium. 1916.
- PAUL R. CARR, 3923 Packard St., Long Island City, N. Y. 1928.
- Prof. JOHN F. B. CARRUTHERS (Occidental College), 1015 Prospect Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif. 1923.
- H. W. CARTWRIGHT, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Prof. BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN, c/o Lloyds Bank, Law Courts Branch, 222 Strand, London, England. 1928.
- HENRY HARMON CHAMBERLIN, 22 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, D. D., Woodstock, Kodalkanal, South India. 1899.
- Dr. WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN, New Boston, Mass. 1922.
- Prof. JARL H. R. T. CHARFENTIER, Ph.D. (Univ. of Upsala), 12 Goethgatan, Upsala, Sweden. 1928.
- Mrs. HAROLD S. CHARTIER, 37 North Boulevard, Gloversville, N. Y. 1924.



- JAGADISH CHANDRA CHATTERJI, Director, International School of Vedic and Allied Research, Room 1500, Times Bldg., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- KSHETRESHCHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA, M.A., Sanskrit Department, The University, Allahabad, U. P., India. 1925.
- Prof. EDWARD CHIERA, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1915.
- Dr. WILLIAM CHOMSKY, 6236 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK (Harvard University), 37 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
- Miss LUCY CLEVELAND, P. O. Box 117, Times Square Station, New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Rabbi ADOLPH COHEN, 2029 Ertaw Place, Baltimore, Md. 1928.
- \*ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 475 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- ALFRED M. COHEN, 9 West 4th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rabbi HENRY COHEN, D.D., 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas. 1920.
- Prof. SAMUEL S. COHEN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- \*Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1027 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.
- HARRY COMINS, 1605 Fulton Ave., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Dr. MAUDE GAECKLER (Mrs. H. M.) COOK, Box 175, Belton, Texas. 1915.
- Rev. GEORGE S. COOKE, Wissahickon Inn, Redlands, Calif. 1917.
- Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
- \*Prof. DOUGLAS HILARY CORLEY, 1224 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky. 1922.
- Rev. RALPH D. CORNUELLE, American Presbyterian Mission, Fatehgarh, U. P., India. 1922.
- Dr. WILLIAM COWEN, 35 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. J. C. COYAJEE, Kt., Presidency College, Calcutta, India. 1928.
- Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass. 1902.
- Rev. JOHN R. CROSBY, Ph.D., The Rectory, Grace Church, Hulmeville, Pa. 1927.
- Prof. EARLE B. CROSS, Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y. 1927.
- Prof. DAVID E. CULLEY, D.D. (Western Theol. Seminary), 57 Belvidere St., Crafton, Pa. 1928.
- Prof. CHARLES GORDON CUMMING (Bangor Theol. Seminary), 353 Hammond St., Bangor, Maine. 1928.
- Miss CECILIA CUTTS (Univ. of Washington), 6011 31st Ave., N.E., Seattle, Wash. 1926.
- Prof. M. ELIZ J. CZARNOMSKA, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1928.
- Prof. GEORGE H. DANTON (Oberlin College), 184 Woodland Ave., Oberlin, Ohio. 1921.
- Prof. ISRAEL DAVIDSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 92 Morningside Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- JOHN K. DAVIS, American Consulate General, London, England. 1927.
- Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.

- Prof. JOHN PITT DEANE, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1926.  
 NEILSON C. DERBOISE, 902 West California St., Urbana, Ill. 1927.  
 Dean IRWIN HOCH DeLONG (Theol. Seminary of the Reformed Church),  
 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa. 1916.  
 ARTHUR A. DEMBITZ, 1631 North 32d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.  
 Prof. ROBERT E. DENGLE (Pennsylvania State College), 210 South Gill  
 St., State College, Pa. 1920.  
 Prof. JOHN R. DENYES, D.D., Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. 1925.  
 RAMA DEVA, Principal, The Gurukula, Kangri P. O., Bijnor Dist., U. P.,  
 India. 1928.  
 Mrs. A. S. DEWITT, 4854 Third Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1928.  
 NARIMAN M. DHALLA, M.A., 15 Royal Artillery Lines, Karachi, India.  
 1922.  
 Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.  
 Prof. ERNST DIEZ, Yarrow West, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 1928.  
 Pres. BAYARD DODGE, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Syria. 1926.  
 LEON DOMINIAN, American Consulate General, Rome, Italy. 1916.  
 Rev. DWIGHT M. DONALDSON, Meshed, Persia. 1928.  
 Prof. AGNES C. L. DONOHUGH (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 23 Mid-  
 land Ave., White Plains, N. Y. 1926.  
 Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 North Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.  
 Dr. GEORGES DOSSIN (Univ. of Liège), 20 Rue des Ecoles, Wandre-les-  
 Liège, Belgium. 1926.  
 Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY (Yale Univ.), 319 Willow St., New Haven,  
 Conn. 1918.  
 Dr. CHARLES HAROLD DOUGLAS (Seminary and Collegiate Bible Inst.), 1316  
 Vermont Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1928.  
 Dr. V. D. DUMRAZSE, 211 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.  
 Prof. FREDERIC C. DUNCALF, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.  
 Prof. GEORGE S. DUNCAN (American Univ., Y. M. C. A. School of Religion),  
 2900 Seventh St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.  
 Rev. J. GARROW DUNCAN, M.A., The Manse, Kirkmichael, Ballindalloch,  
 N.B., Scotland. 1928.  
 Prof. CHARLES DUROISSELLE, M.A. (Rangoon Univ.), "C" Road, Mandalay,  
 Burma. 1922.  
 Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1910.  
 Dr. WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, care of Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall,  
 London, England. 1917.  
 Dean GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS (Missouri Bible College), 811 College Ave.,  
 Columbia, Mo. 1917.  
 Dean ISRAEL EFROS (Baltimore Hebrew College), 3D, Alhambra Apartment,  
 Lake Drive, Baltimore, Md. 1918.  
 Rabbi LOUIS I. EGELSON, 2 Avon Apts., Reading Road and Clifton Springs  
 Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1927.

- PRES. FREDERICK C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.
- DR. ISRAEL EITAN, 270 North Craig St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1928.
- ABRAHAM I. ELKUS, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- REV. DR. BARNETT A. ELZAS, 42 West 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- RABBI H. G. ENELOW, D.D., Temple Emanu-El, 4 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- †Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Prof. MORTON SCOTT ENSLIN (Crozer Theol. Seminary), 4 Seminary Ave., Chester, Pa. 1925.
- SIDNEY I. ESTERSON, 113 North Chester St., Baltimore, Md. 1925.
- PRES. MILTON G. EVANS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921.
- DR. SAMUEL FEIGIN, 135 South Aiken Ave., E. E., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1924.
- DR. SHAMMAI FELDMAN, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1926.
- FRANCIS JOSEPH FENDLEY, 2234 Q St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 1927.
- DR. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.
- MISS HELEN E. FERNALD, Assistant Curator, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1927.
- Prof. BENIGNO FERRARIO, Montevideo (Belvedere), Uruguay. 1927.
- RABBI MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT, 3034 Washington Boulevard, Indianapolis, Ind. 1922.
- RABBI WILLIAM H. FINESHRIEDER, 1916 Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- DR. SOLOMON B. FINESINGER, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1922.
- RABBI JOSEPH L. FINE, 599 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- DR. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. DANIEL J. FLEMING, D.D., Union Theological Seminary, 3041 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- REV. FRED FOERSTER, Ph.D., First Lutheran Church, Jeffersonville, N. Y. 1926.
- \*MAYNARD DAUCHY FOLLIN, Dunedin, Fla. 1922.
- MRS. FLORENCE CAMPBELL FORRESTER, 1700 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C. 1927.
- DEAN HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917 (1907).
- RABBI SOLOMON FOSTER, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N. J. 1921.
- Prof. HENRY T. FOWLER, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1926.
- RABBI GRESHAM GEORGE FOX, Ph.D., 7423 Kingston St., Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- RABBI LEON FRAM, 8801 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1926.
- Prof. JAMES EVERETT FRAME, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.



- W. B. FRANKENSTEIN, 9 West Kinzie St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.  
 Rabbi LEO M. FRANKLIN, M.A., 26 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1920.  
 Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, D.D., Hotel Aragon, 54th St. and Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1918.  
 MAURICE J. FREIBERG, 701 First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.  
 Prof. ALEXANDER FREIMAN, Ph.D. (Univ. of Leningrad), Zwerinskaya 40, Leningrad, Russia. 1928.  
 FELIX FULD, P. O. Box 198, Newark, N. J. 1928.  
 Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.  
 Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.  
 ERWIN H. FURMAN, 1750 Sycamore Ave., Hollywood, Calif. 1928.  
 \*Prof. A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India. 1921.  
 ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.  
 KANHAIYA LAL GARGIYA, The Mahalakshmi Mills Co., Ltd., Beawar, Rajputana, India. 1927.  
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 Dr. F. W. GEES (Oriental Inst., Univ. of Chicago), 810 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1928.  
 Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, 5720 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.  
 EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.  
 Prof. BENED GEMSER, Litt. Dr., Theol. Dr., Transvaal University College, Pretoria, South Africa. 1928.  
 Rev. PHARES B. GIBBLE, 4 North College St., Palmyra, Pa. 1921.  
 Miss MARY S. M. GIBSON, Curator, Cooper Union Museum of Art, Fourth Ave. and Eighth St., New York, N. Y. 1928.  
 Rev. Dr. GEORGE W. GILMORE, The Homiletic Review, 354 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1928.  
 Dr. NELSON GLUECK, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1928.  
 Prof. ALLEN H. GODFREY, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1928.  
 Rev. CRANSTON E. GODDARD, c/o First Presbyterian Church, Independence, Mo. 1927.  
 Rabbi S. H. GOLDENSON, Ph.D., 4905 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.  
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 Dr. JANE F. GOODLOE, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1926.  
 Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, United Theological College, Montreal, Que., Canada. 1912.  
 CYRUS H. GORDON, 6026 Carpenter St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.  
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 KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.  
 Prof. HERBERT HENRY GOWEN, D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Wash. 1920.

- Prof. WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM, Box 2, Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
- JACOB GRAPE, 1575 Abbottston St., Baltimore, Md. 1926.
- BENJ. F. GRAVELT, P. O. Box 209, Martinsville, Va. 1925.
- Rabbi SIMON GREENBERG, 5635 Wyndale Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- ROGER S. GREENE, China Medical Board, The Rockefeller Foundation, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1926.
- M. E. GREENEBAUM, 9 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Rev. A. W. GREENUP, D.D., Litt.D., Great Oakley Rectory, Harwich, Essex, England. 1928.
- \*Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, 211 Wardwell Ave., Westerleigh, Staten Island, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. Dr. HERVEY D. GRISWOLD (Columbia Univ.), 416 West 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. LÉON GRY (Université libre d'Angers), 10 Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M-et-L., France. 1921.
- W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, Rose Villa, Mount Lavinia, Ceylon. 1928.
- SARAS RAM GUPTA, Chitravis Park, Nagpur City, C. P., India. 1928.
- Babu SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA, Seva Upavana, Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
- Pres. WILLIAM W. GUTH, Ph.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1920.
- Dr. CARL E. GUTHIE (Univ. of Michigan), 1047 Martin Place, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1928.
- \*Prof. GEORGE C. O. HAAS (Internat. School of Vedic and Allied Research), 29 Claremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Prof. WILLIAM J. HAIL, D.D., College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio. 1928.
- Dr. GEORGE ELLERY HALE, Director, Mt. Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Calif. 1920.
- ABRAHAM S. HALKIN (Columbia Univ.), 1426 Clinton Ave., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- Prof. FRANK H. HALLOCK, D.D., Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minn. 1926.
- Prof. CLARENCE H. HAMILTON (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 55 Elizabeth St., Hartford, Conn. 1926.
- VALDEMAR T. HAMMER, Branford, Conn. 1925.
- Prof. MAX S. HANDMAN, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
- Dr. E. S. CHAMBERLAIN HANDY, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1924.
- \*EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR., A.M., 419 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Rev. MAX H. HARRISON, Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai, Ceylon. 1927.
- HENRY H. HART, J.D., 328 Post St., San Francisco, Calif. 1925.
- JOEL HAYHEWAY, 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1923.
- Prof. RAYMOND S. HAUFEST, Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa. 1926.
- Prof. A. EUSTACE HAYDON, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.

- WYNDHAM HAYWARD, 1200 E. Robinson Ave., Orlando, Fla. 1925.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN HEDLEY, Methodist Episcopal Mission, P. O. Box 2956, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1926.
- LOUIS F. HEINRICHSMEYER, 4 Concordia Place, Bronxville, N. Y. 1928.
- Rabbi JAMES G. HELLER, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Miss JEANNETTE HENKEL, 508 Park Ave., Mansfield, Ohio. 1928.
- Rev. JAMES M. HESS, American College, Madura, S. India. 1928.
- EDWIN B. HEWES, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. RALPH K. HICKOK, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. ELMER K. HIGDON (Union Theol. Seminary), 415 Pennsylvania Ave., Manila, P. I. 1926.
- Prof. WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. MASUMI HINO (Imperial Univ. of Kyoto), Kamigoryo, Kyoto, Japan. 1926.
- RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, Katni Murwara, C. P., India. 1928.
- Prof. HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D. (Univ. of London), 14 Randolph Gardens, London N. W. 6, England. 1928.
- Prof. PHILIP K. HITTI, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1915.
- Dean CHARLES T. HOCK, D.D. (Bloomfield Theol. Seminary), 222 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1921 (1903).
- Prof. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 92 Sherman St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
- G. F. HOFF, 403 Union Building, San Diego, Calif. 1920.
- Rev. WILLIS E. HOGG, 122 E. North St., Geneseo, Ill. 1926.
- \*Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
- LOUIS L. HORCH, 905 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- WILLIAM WOODWARD HOENELL, Vice-Chancellor, Hong-Kong University, Hong-Kong, China. 1928.
- Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 218 West 112th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. HERBERT PIERREPONT HOUGHTON, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1925.
- Prof. Dr. M. TH. HOUTSMA, Mallestraat 6, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1928.
- Rev. QUENTIN K. Y. HUANG, c/o Rev. John K. Shryock, 4509 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1927.
- Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Prof. ROBERT ENESEY HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, Chinese Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1928.
- Dean ROCKWELL D. HUNT (Univ. of Southern California), 5143 Brynhurst Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 1928.
- \*Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. ISAAC HUSIK, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.



- Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.  
 Mrs. HARRIET B. HUTCHISON, 607 Hudson St., New York, N. Y. 1928.  
 Rev. Dr. MOSES HYAMSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 65 East 96th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 \*JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 67 Boulevard Lannes, Paris, France. 1909.  
 Prof. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.  
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.  
 Prof. ABRAHAM Z. IDELSOHN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1926.  
 J. H. INGRAM, M.D., American Board Mission, Peking, China. 1924.  
 Prof. MOHAMMAD IQBAL, Ph.D., Oriental College, Punjab University, Lahore, India. 1926.  
 Prof. W. A. IRWIN, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1927.  
 Prof. K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, M.A., University of Lucknow, Lucknow, India. 1926.  
 SULEIMAN A. IZZEDDIN, P. O. Box 626, Beirut, Syria. 1927.  
 \*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. FREDERICK J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), Dana Place, Englewood, N. J. 1920.  
 Prof. J. E. JADERQUIST (Gordon College), 583 Weld St., West Roxbury, Mass. 1928.  
 Mrs. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.  
 DON BABON JAYATILAKA, M.A., Westerfield, Castle St., Colombo, Ceylon. 1928.  
 Rev. Prof. ARTHUR JEFFREY, American University, 113 Sharia Kasr el Aini, Cairo, Egypt. 1923.  
 Dr. GEORGE JESHURUN, 5511 15th Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1925.  
 \*Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.  
 MUNI JINAVIJAYAJI, Principal, Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ellisbridge, Ahmedabad, India. 1928.  
 Prof. FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1921.  
 Rev. FREDERICK WILLIAM JOHNSON, Westerhope Vicarage, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England. 1926.  
 \*Dr. HELEN M. JOHNSON, Osceola, Mo. 1921.  
 NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.  
 Capt. SAMUEL JOHNSON, P. O. Box 611, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1928.  
 CHARLES JOHNSTON, 28 Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, Government House, Weihaiwei, China. 1919.  
 Rev. FRANKLIN JOINER, 2013 Appletree St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.  
 FLOREN HOWARD JONES, 150 East 50th St., New York, N. Y. 1918.  
 Rev. CONRAD W. JORDAN, 101 Setton Ave., Hamilton, Md. 1925.

- Prof. S. L. JOSHI, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1927.  
 Rabbi LEO JUNG, Ph.D., 131 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.  
 Prof. MOSES JUNG, 625 East Green St., Champaign, Ill. 1926.  
 Dean MAXIMO M. KALAW, University of the Philippines, Manila, P. I. 1922.  
 Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, Ph.D., 137 N. E. 19th St., Miami, Fla. 1918.  
 Dr. LOUIS L. KAPLAN, 489 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1926.  
 Prof. GENCHI KATO (Imperial Univ. of Tokyo), 11 Maruyamacho, Koishikawa, Tokyo, Japan. 1928.  
 Pandit VISHWANATH KAUL, M.A. (Victoria College), Inderganj St., Gwalior, Central India. 1928.  
 Rabbi C. E. HILLEL KAUVAR, D.H.L., 1220 Elizabeth St., Denver, Colo. 1921.  
 Prof. ELMER LOUIS KAYSER (George Washington Univ.), 2100 G St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. CLARENCE E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.  
 CARL T. KELLER, 80 Federal St., Boston, Mass. 1928.  
 CHARLES FAHENS KELLEY, The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1926.  
 \*Prof. MAX L. KELLNER, D.D., 3 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1886.  
 JOHN P. KELLOGG, Illinois Merchants Trust Co., Chicago, Ill. 1926.  
 Prof. ROBERT J. KELLOGG, Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kans. 1926.  
 Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.  
 Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.  
 Prof. JAMES L. KELSO, Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. 1921.  
 Prof. JOHN M. KELSO, 496 North Bradford St., Dover, Del. 1923.  
 Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.  
 Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.  
 Prof. ANDREW KEOGH (Yale Univ.), 49 Huntington St., New Haven, Conn. 1925.  
 LEEDS C. KERR, Army and Navy Club, Washington, D. C. 1916.  
 Rev. ROBERT O. KEVIN, JR., Philadelphia Divinity School, 42d and Locust Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.  
 H. KEVORKIAN, 40 West 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1927.  
 Prof. ANIS E. KHURI, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Syria. 1921.  
 Dr. GEORGE B. KING, Islington, Ont., Canada. 1927.  
 K. KIRCHBERGER, 40 Hollycroft Ave., London, N. W. 3, England. 1928.  
 Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 8 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.  
 EUGENE KLEIN, 44 North 50th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.  
 Rev. Dr. RAYMOND C. KNOX, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1928.  
 TAW SEIN KO, C.I.E., Peking Lodge, West Moat Road, Mandalay, Burma. 1922.

- Dr. GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, 1 West 70th St., New York, N. Y. 1924 (1894).
- Rev. CARL H. KRAELING (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 8000 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
- Rev. EMIL G. H. KRAELING, Ph.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), 531 East 18th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- S. N. KRAMER, 1137 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- Rabbi NATHAN KRASS, D.D., Temple Emanu-El, 4 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Pres. MELVIN G. KYLE, Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. 1909.
- Miss M. ANTONIA LAMB, 212 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. MILTON B. LAMBDIN, 3534 Park Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. 1928.
- SAMUEL C. LANFORD, 509 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Rabbi ISAAC LANOMAN, Far Rockaway, N. Y. 1927.
- LEONARD D. LANGLEY, St. George Society, 19 Moore St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. FRANK G. LANKARD (Northwestern Univ.), 1909 Maple Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1926.
- \*Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- AMBROSE LANSING, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- Dr. BIMALA C. LAW, 24 Sukers St., Calcutta, India. 1926.
- SIMON LAZARUS, High and Town Sts., Columbus, Ohio. 1921.
- JOHN W. LEA, 1520 North Robinson St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- Prof. DARWIN A. LEAVITT, 641 Church St., Beloit, Wis. 1920.
- Prof. SHAO CHANG LEE, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1928.
- Dr. N. D. VAN LEEUWEN, Harkema-Opeinde, Holland. 1928.
- Rabbi DAVID LEFKOWITZ, 2415 South Boulevard, Dallas, Texas. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. LÉON LEGRAIN, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. KURT F. LEIDECCKER (Internat. School of Vedic and Allied Research), 1500 Times Building, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- ALBERT J. LEON, Hotel Ansonia, 73d St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1926.
- Prof. HARRY J. LEON (Univ. of Texas), 2832 Pearl St., Austin, Texas. 1928.
- Rabbi GERSON B. LEVI, Ph.D., 919 Hyde Park Boulevard, Hyde Park Station, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. JOSEPH LEVITSKY (Gratz College), 1737 North 32nd St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.



- Dr. ABRAHAM J. LEVY (College of Jewish Studies), 1516 S. Albany Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- Rev. Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- \*JOHN P. LEWIS, LL.D., 1914 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- Miss ETHEL J. LINDGREN, c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Peking, China. 1928.
- Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, American Jewish Committee, Room 1407, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMANN, Ph. D., D. D. (Univ. of Tübingen), 50 Waldhauserstr., Tübingen, Germany. 1927 (1912).
- JOHN ELLERTON LODGE, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1922.
- Mrs. MARY B. LONGYEAR, Leicester Terrace, Brookline, Mass. 1928.
- Prof. CLAUDE M. LOTSPEICH, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1927.
- Prof. HENRY F. LUTZ (University of California), 1147 Spruce St., Berkeley, Calif. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1006 West Nevada St., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).
- \*Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, 12 Scott St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTHER, Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Rev. WILLIAM H. McCLELLAN, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1922.
- Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, D. D. (Pacific School of Religion), 721 San Luis Road, Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
- Rev. WALTER T. MCCREE, Streetsville, Ont., Canada. 1926.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Rev. W. C. MACDOUGALL, Ph. D., 405 Victoria St., London, Ont., Canada. 1927.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM MCGARRY, S. J., Weston College, Weston, Mass. 1928.
- Dr. WILLIAM MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- DAVID ISRAEL MACHT, M.D., The Johns Hopkins University Medical School, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- J. ARTHUR MACLEAN, 582 Lincoln Ave., Toledo, Ohio. 1922.
- Dr. ROBERT CECIL MACMAHON, 78 West 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. O. W. McMILLEN, Canton Union Language School, Fati, Canton, China. 1928.
- SWAMI MADHAVANANDA, c/o The Vedanta Society, 2963 Webster St., San Francisco, Calif. 1928.
- \*Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 89 Hillcrest Road, Belmont, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. WALTER ARTHUR MAIER, 3709 Texas Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1917.
- Prof. JACOB MANN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.

- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, Ph.D., 4622 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.  
 Prof. CLARENCE A. MANNING (Columbia Univ.), 25 East View Ave., Pleasantville, N. Y. 1921.  
 \*Rev. JAMES CAMPBELL MANNY, Ewing College, Allahabad City, U. P., India. 1921.  
 BENJAMIN MARCH, Curator, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich. 1926.  
 Dr. RALPH MARCUS (Jewish Inst. of Religion), 276 Haven Ave., New York, N. Y. 1920.  
 Rabbi ELIAS MARGOLIS, Ph.D., 16 Glen Ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y. 1924.  
 Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.  
 JAMES P. MARSH, M.D., 12 Whitman Court, Troy, N. Y. 1919.  
 JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.  
 Dr. NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1924.  
 Prof. ALEXANDER MARX, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1926.  
 Prof. MANMOHAN LAL MATHUR, Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar, New Delhi, India. 1927.  
 Prof. CHARLES D. MATTHEWS, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Ala. 1928.  
 Prof. ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921 (1906).  
 Prof. JOSEPH BROWN MATTHEWS, 1800 Grand Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 1924.  
 Rabbi HARRY H. MAYER, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD, 7149 Juno St., Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y. 1917.  
 Prof. B. C. MAZUMBAR (University of Calcutta), 33/3 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta, India. 1926.  
 Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEER, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1917.  
 Dean SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Trinity College, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1912.  
 Miss G. MERLANGE, 2310 S St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 1928.  
 Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, 1727 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C. 1916.  
 Prof. TRUMAN MICHELSON (George Washington Univ.), Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.  
 MERTON L. MILLER, 4517 Lomita St., Los Angeles, Calif. 1921.  
 Rev. PHILIP LAOS MILLS, D.D., 2315 Lincoln Road, N. E., Washington, D. C. 1923.  
 Prof. WALLACE H. MINER, 28 Avenue E, Garden Villas, Houston, Texas. 1925.  
 A. MINGANA, 34 Mauldeth Rd., Withington, Manchester, England. 1928.  
 Rabbi LOUIS A. MISCHKIND, M.A., 911 Washington St., Wilmington, Del. 1920.

- E. N. MOHL, P. O. Box 76, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1928.
- Dr. ROBERT LUDWIG MOND, 9 Cavendish Square, London W. 1, England. 1921.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- LEWIS C. MOON, 3107 North Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 1925.
- Miss ELLEN W. MOORE, 19 East Pierce St., Coldwater, Mich. 1927.
- FRANK G. MOORE, 264 Tuxedo Ave., Elmhurst, Ill. 1927.
- Prof. GEORGE FOOT MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1925 (1887).
- Rev. HUGH A. MORAN, 221 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1926.
- Pres. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 8 Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- \*EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS, "Tyd-y-Coed," Ardmore, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. RALPH MORTENSEN, Ph.D., Battle Lake, Minn. 1928.
- Rev. OMER HILLMAN MOTT, O.S.B., 405 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- KHAN BAHADUR MIRZA MUHAMMAD, C.I.E., Shaikh's Market, Ashar, Basrah, Iraq. 1928.
- Prof. JAMES MULLENBURG (Mount Holyoke College), South Hadley, Mass. 1928.
- DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI, 325 East 72nd St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- GEORGE HEWITT MYERS, 2310 S St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1928.
- TOYOZO W. NAKABAI, College of Religion, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1926.
- Prof. ARJUNA NATHA, M. A., Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar, India. 1926.
- EDWARD I. NATHAN, American Consulate, Santiago de Cuba, Cuba. 1928.
- Prof. HAROLD H. NELSON (Univ. of Chicago), Chicago House, Luxor, Egypt. 1928.
- ALEX. A. NENNSBERG, 1909 Minor Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1925.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBITT, Watertown, Conn. 1916.
- Rev. RALPH B. NESBITT, American Presbyterian Mission, Saharanpur, U. P., India. 1924.
- Prof. ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN (Dropsie College), 2319 North Park Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. HERBERT LEE NEWMAN (Colby College), 2 West Court, Waterville, Maine. 1928.
- Rabbi LOUIS I. NEWMAN, 125 Jordan Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 1928.
- Mrs. GILBERT M. NICHOLS, Assonet, Mass. 1927.
- Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 5422 39th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1915.
- WILLIAM F. NUTT, M.D., Ph.D., Suite 1024, 17 North State St., Chicago, Ill. 1927.
- Prof. ALOIS RICHARD NYEL, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis. 1922.



- Prof. H. TH. OHHINK, D.D. (Univ. of Utrecht), Dillenburgstr. 29, Utrecht, Holland. 1928.
- Prof. JULIAN J. OBERMANN, Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- ADOLPH S. OCHS, The New York Times, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFFELE, 326 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- HERBERT C. OETTINGER, Eighth and Walnut Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- NAOYOSHI OGAWA, Bureau of Education, Government of Formosa, Taihoku, Formosa. 1921.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Dr. ELLEN S. OGDEN, "Resthaven," R. F. D., Milford, Mass. 1898.
- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD (Univ. of Illinois), 706 South Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
- H. H. VON DER OSTEN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Prof. CHARLES A. OWEN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1921.
- Miss CLARA PARRIS, 2229 South 11th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- ANTONIO M. PATERNO, 1111 M. H. del Pitas St., Manila, P. I. 1922.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- Pres. MARY MILLS PATRICK, Hotel Westminster, 420 West 116th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, 1703 Oliver Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Pres. CHARLES T. PAUL, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1921.
- Dr. JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY, 43 Clarges St., London W. 1, England. 1921.
- CHARLES K. PAYNE, 1120 Kanawa St., Charleston, W. Va. 1927.
- HAROLD PEIRCE, 222 Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi WALTER G. PEISER, 1736 Olive St., Baton Rouge, La. 1928.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. MARSHALL LIVINGSTON PERRIN, Boston University, 688 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1921.
- \*Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2414 East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. THEODORE C. PETERSEN, C.S.P., Ph.D., 2630 Ridge Road, Berkeley, Calif. 1924.
- Prof. WALTER PETERSEN (Univ. of Florida), 750 Franklin St., Gainesville Fla. 1909.
- Dr. ROBERT HENRY PFEIFFER, S.T.M. (Harvard Univ.), 82 Larch Road, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. DAVID PHILIPSON, 270 McGregor Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.
- Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, American Legation, Ottawa, Canada. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. Z. B. T. PHILLIPS, Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C. 1922.

- Rev. WILLIAM TURNBULL PILTER, Norfolk House, Rye, Sussex, England. 1928.
- Rev. MALCOLM S. PITT, 55 Rest Camp Road, Jubbulpore, C. P., India. 1925.
- PAUL POPENOE, Box 13, Coachella, Calif. 1914.
- Rev. Dr. JOSEPH POPLICKA, 2645 E. Allegheny Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1927.
- Prof. WILLIAM POPPER (University of California), 529 The Alameda, Berkeley, Calif. 1897.
- Prof. LUCIUS C. PORTER, Peking University, Peking, China. 1923.
- Prof. D. V. POTDAR (New Poona College), 180 Shanvar Peth, Poona, India. 1921.
- Prof. JAMES BISSETT PRATT, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1925.
- Prof. WALDO S. PRATT (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 86 Gillett St., Hartford, Conn. 1928.
- Rev. Dr. SATELL PRENTICE, 17 East 11th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- \*Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- \*Hon. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), American Legation, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. 1888.
- ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN, 41 Great Russell St., London W. C. 1, England. 1928.
- Rev. Dr. A. H. PRUENSNER, c/o Methodist Mission, Medan, Sumatra. 1921.
- Pres. V. PURNACHANDRAIAH, Union Board, Katevaram, Morrispetta P. O., Guntur Dist., S. India. 1928.
- Prof. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. 1921 (1917).
- Prof. HAROLD S. QUIGLEY, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1928.
- HEMENDRA K. RAKHIT, 500 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1926.
- G. RAMADAS, Sri Ramachandra Vilas, Jeypore, Vizagapatam, S. India. 1928.
- Dr. V. V. RAMANA-SASTRI, Vedaraniyam, Tanjore District, India. 1921.
- WILLIAM MADISON RANDALL, M. A., Kennedy School of Missions, 55 Elizabeth St., Hartford, Conn. 1926.
- MARCUS RAUH, 951 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), Bishop Place, New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
- Prof. HARRY B. REED (Northwestern Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1852 Polk St., N. E., Minneapolis, Minn. 1921.
- Rabbi SIDNEY L. REGNER, 40 North 11th St., Reading, Pa. 1928.
- Prof. NATHANIEL JULIUS REICH (Dropsie College), Box 337, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
- Rabbi VICTOR E. REICHERT, Litt. D., 2667 Highland Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1927.
- Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.

- JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.
- Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUER, Tokyo Joshi Daigaku, Iogimachi, Tokyo-fu, Japan. 1920.
- Rev. HILARY G. RICHARDSON, 147 North Broadway, Yonkers, N. Y. 1926.
- SHAHANSHAH H. RIZWI, M.A., 14 Victoria St., Lucknow, Oudh, India. 1928.
- Prof. EDWARD ROBERTSON, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Christ Church, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. DAVID M. ROBINSON, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Rev. Dr. THEODORE H. ROBINSON, University College, Cardiff, Wales. 1922.
- GEORGE N. ROERICH, Roerich Museum, 313 West 105th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. NICHOLAS ROERICH, Roerich Museum, 313 West 105th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPER (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- Prof. WILLIAM ROSENAU, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- \*JULIUS ROSENWALD, Ravinia, Ill. 1920.
- LESSING J. ROSENWALD, care of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- Prof. MICHAEL I. ROSTOVITZ (Yale Univ.), 1916 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1926.
- SAMUEL ROTHENBERG, M.D., 22 West 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- AMIN ROUSTEM, Egyptian Consulate, 103 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Prof. GEORGE ROWLEY, Graduate College, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1926.
- Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. ELBERT RUSSELL, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1916.
- Dr. NAJEEB M. SALEEM, P. O. Box 226, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- Rev. FRANK K. SANDERS, Ph.D., Marmion Way, Rockport, Mass. 1897.
- Prof. HENRY A. SANDERS (Univ. of Michigan), 2037 Geddes Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1924.
- Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. ALBERT J. SAUNDERS, American College, Madura, South India. 1926.
- Prof. KENNETH J. SAUNDERS (Pacific School of Religion), High Acres, Creston Road, Berkeley, Calif. 1924.



- Prof. HENRY SCHAEFER (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1606 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Dr. A. ARTHUR SCHILLER, 2101 Myra Court, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1927.
- Miss RUTH SCHIMMEL, 616 W. Westview Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- JOHN F. SCHLICHTING, 36 Grenfell Ave., Kew Gardens, N. Y. 1920.
- MALCOLM B. SCHLOSS, 114 East 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Dr. ERICH SCHMIDT, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
- ADOLPH SCHOENFELD, 69 East 108th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- WILFRED H. SCHOFF, The Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
- E. E. W. GS. SCHRÖDER, Tarcoetoeng, Sumatra, Dutch East Indies. 1927.
- Rev. Dr. SAMUEL SCHULMAN, 27 West 72nd St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Rabbi JOSEPH J. SCHWARTZ, 165 Whalley Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1925.
- WILLIAM BACON SCOTFIELD, Worcester Club, Worcester, Mass. 1919.
- Prof. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, The Gennadeion, Athens, Greece. 1906.
- C. RANDOLPH JEFFERSON SCOTT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
- \*Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (née Morris), St. Martin's Lane and Willow Grove Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Rev. KEITH C. SEELE, 648 Milwaukee Ave., Elkhart, Ind. 1926.
- S. ASHIQ HUSSAIN SEEMAN, The "Paimana" Office, Agra, U. P., India. 1928.
- SAMUEL M. SEGAL, 4750 North 7th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, 22 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi, Sendai, Miyagi Ken, Japan. 1902.
- Prof. O. R. SELLERS (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 846 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. W. T. SEMPLE (Univ. of Cincinnati), 315 Pike St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1928.
- Dr. VICTOR N. SHARENKOFF, 241 Princeton Ave., Jersey City, N. J. 1922.
- Prof. SRI RAM SHARMA, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore, India. 1926.
- Prof. BHAGABAT KUMAR GOSWAMI SHASTRI, Ph.D. (Gourgopinath Temple), 29 Bonomall Sircar St., Kumartuli, Calcutta, India. 1926.
- G. HOWLAND SHAW, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- \*Dr. T. LESLIE SHEAR, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1923.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SHELLABEAR, 20 Whitman Ave., West Hartford, Conn. 1919.
- Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
- ANDREW B. SHERRIFF, 527 Deming Place, N. S., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN KNIGHT SHRYOCK (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 4500 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.

- DON CAMERON SHUMAKER, Englewood Y. M. C. A., 6547 Union Ave., Englewood Sta., Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- Prof. S. MOHAMMAD SIRTAIN, Government College, Ludhiana, Punjab, India. 1926.
- Rev. ARTHUR R. SIEBENS, 102 Boulevard Arago, Paris, France. 1926.
- Rabbi JULIUS L. SIEGEL, 602 Washington St., Wilmington, Del. 1925.
- Prof. REINHARD P. SIEVING, Concordia College, Milwaukee, Wis. 1927.
- Rabbi ABRA HILLEL SILVER, D.D., The Temple, East 105th St. at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. JOSEPH SILVERMAN, 55 East 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Dr. SOLOMON L. SKOSS, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- Prof. S. B. SLACK, 17 Barton Crescent, Dawlish, Devon, England. 1921.
- \*JOHN R. SLATTERY, 47 Avenue de l'Opéra, Paris, France. 1903.
- Rev. H. FRAMER SMITH, 153 Institute Place, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- Prof. J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.
- Dr. MARIA WILKINS SMITH (Temple Univ.), 1527 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- WILLIAM C. SMITH, 1449-A Kewalo St., Honolulu, Hawaii. 1928.
- Dr. FRANCIS SNOW, c/o The New York Times, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Rev. Dr. ELIAS L. SOLOMON, 302 West 87th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rabbi LEON SPITZ, 830 Hudson St., Hoboken, N. J. 1925.
- Rev. H. HENRY SPOER, Ph.D., 25-40 Thirtieth Road, Astoria, Long Island, N. Y. 1926 (1899).
- JOHN FRANKLIN SPRINGER, 618 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. W. E. STAPLES, Riverdale Collegiate Institute, Toronto 6, Ont., Canada. 1927.
- (Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 232 Mountain Way, Rutherford, N. J. 1892.
- Rev. Dr. THOMAS STENHOUSE, Mickley Vicarage, Stocksfield-on-Tyne, England. 1921.
- Prof. FERRIS J. STEPHENS, Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1925.
- Rabbi HARRY J. STERN, 4128 Sherbrooke St. West, Westmount, Montreal, Canada. 1928.
- HORACE STERN, 1524 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- J. FRANK STIMSON (Bernice P. Bishop Museum), Papeete, Tahiti. 1928.
- WILLIAM B. STIMSON, 1920 Panama St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- Rev. Dr. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 2408 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1900.
- Rev. M. J. STOLEE, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1928.
- Rev. Dr. JOSEPH STOLZ, 5010 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. FREDERICK AMES STUFF (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A 1283, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.

- Prof. EDGAR HOWARD STURTEVANT (Yale Univ.), 1849 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1924.
- Dr. VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, P. O. Deccan Gymkhana, Poona City, India. 1921.
- A. J. SUNSTEIN, Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. LEO SUPPAN (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 3422 Pestalozzi St., St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
- Pres. GEORGE SVERDRUP, Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
- Rev. CHARLES LINCOLN TAYLOR, JR., 99 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1926.
- Prof. WILLIAM R. TAYLOR, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1925.
- Dr. CHAIM TCHERNOWITZ (Jewish Inst. of Religion), 435 Convent Ave., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Rabbi SIDNEY S. TEMESCHE, Ph.D., 200 Linden St., New Haven, Conn. 1925 (1916).
- Rev. PATRICK J. TEMPLE, S.T.D., 104 Mount Joy Place, New Rochelle, N. Y. 1928.
- SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Baronet, c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., 6 Pall Mall, London S. W. 1, England. 1928.
- NAINSINH L. THAKAR, 130 Claremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Rev. Dr. GRIFFITHS W. THATCHER, Camden College, Hereford St., Glebe, N. S. W., Australia. 1926.
- Prof. ELBERT DUNCAN THOMAS, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1926.
- EREN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
- Rev. WILLIAM GORDON THOMPSON, St. Alban's Church, Highbridge, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. WILLIAM THOMSON (Harvard Univ.), 32 Linnaean St., Cambridge, Mass. 1925.
- Rev. MONTGOMERY H. THROOP, 505 South 42nd St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- Rev. Dr. MURRAY T. TITUS, M. E. Mission, Hardol, U. P., India. 1926.
- \*Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
- I. NEWTON TRAGER, 944 Marion Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. HAROLD H. TRYON, Union Theological Seminary, 3041 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. RUDOLF TSCHUDI, Ph.D., Benkenstrasse 61, Basle, Switzerland. 1923.
- JOSEPH A. V. TURCK, 522 Linden Ave., Wilmette, Ill. 1926.
- Rabbi JACOB TURNER, 4167 Ogden Ave., Hawthorne Station, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- EDWIN H. TUTTLE, The Sunbury, apt. 405, 1212 M St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1925.



- \*Rev. Dr. LEMON LEANDER UHL, Riverbank Court, Cambridge, Mass. 1921.  
 Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, 44 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1909,  
 M. URSHINKIN, P. O. Box 150, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1928.  
 Rev. MAURICIO VANOVERBERGH, Kabugaw-Apayaw, Mountain Province, P. I.  
 1921.  
 Prof. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic University of America, Washington,  
 D. C. 1915.  
 LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.  
 Prof. EDWIN E. VOIGT, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1925.  
 Dr. PAUL VONWILLER (Univ. of Zurich), Frohburgstr. 69, Zurich, Switzer-  
 land. 1928.  
 Dr. J. D. L. DE VRIES, 11 Jac. Catsstraat, Utrecht, Holland. 1927.  
 Prof. JAKOB WACKERNAGEL (Univ. of Basle), Gartenstr. 93, Basle, Switzer-  
 land. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. C. CAMERON WALLER, Principal, Huron College, London, Ont.,  
 Canada. 1928.  
 \*FELIX M. WARBURG, 52 William St., New York, N. Y. 1921,  
 Mrs. EDITH WILLIAMS WARE, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago,  
 Chicago, Ill. 1928.  
 JAMES R. WARE, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1923.  
 Prof. O. W. WARMINGHAM (Boston Univ.), 107 University Road, Brook-  
 line, Mass. 1928.  
 \*Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline,  
 Mass. 1877.  
 Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.  
 DEAN THOMAS WEARING, The Theological Seminary, Colgate University,  
 Hamilton, N. Y. 1927.  
 \*Prof. HUTTON WEBSTER (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A, Lincoln, Neb.  
 1921.  
 Dr. BARUCH WEITZEL, 4233 Viola St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.  
 HENRY S. WELLCOME, Director, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 54A  
 Wigmore St., London W. 1, England. 1928.  
 Prof. GORDON B. WELLMAN (Wellesley College), 17 Midland Road, Welles-  
 ley, Mass. 1928.  
 ARCHIBALD GIBSON WENLEY, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.  
 1925.  
 Rev. O. V. WERNER, Ranchi, Chhota Nagpur, India. 1921.  
 ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYER, 14 John St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
 JOHN G. WHITE, 1565 Union Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.  
 Miss VIOLA WHITE (Internat. School of Vedic and Allied Research), 1500  
 Times Building, New York, N. Y. 1928.  
 Pres. WILBERT W. WHITE, D. D., The Biblical Seminary in New York, 235  
 East 49th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 \*Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn.  
 1908.  
 PERCIVAL W. WHITTLESEY, M.A., Highmount Ave., Nyack, N. Y. 1926.

- \*Miss CAROLYN M. WICKER, care of Rierson Library Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Prof. LEO WIENKE (Harvard Univ.), 50 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1928.
- PETER WIERNIK, 930 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- MOSE WILBUSHEWICH, Haifa, Palestine. 1928.
- HERMAN WILE, 566 Richmond Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- Rev. A. L. WILEY, Ph.D., Ratnagiri, India. 1926.
- Pres. ERNEST HATCH WILKINS, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. 1928.
- HIRAM PARKES WILKINSON, M.A., Drumballyhagan, Tobermore, Co. Derry, N. Ireland. 1928.
- Prof. HERBERT L. WILLETT (Univ. of Chicago), 319 Richmond Road, Kenilworth, Ill. 1917.
- Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS (Univ. of Michigan), The Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. CHARLES ALLYN WILLIAMS (Univ. of Illinois), 714 West Nevada St., Urbana, Ill. 1925.
- \*Hon. EDWARD T. WILLIAMS, 1412 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1891.
- Mrs. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- JOHN A. WILSON, care of American Express Co., Opera House, Cairo, Egypt. 1924.
- HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Calif. 1911.
- Rev. ADOLF LOUIS WISMAR, Ph.D., 419 West 145th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dr. UNRAI WOGIHARA, 595 Ta-ma-mura, Kita-ta-ma-gun, Tokyo-fu, Japan. 1921.
- Prof. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 160 Canterbury St., Dorchester, Mass. 1904.
- Prof. HARRY A. WOLFSON (Harvard Univ.), 35 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- Rabbi LOUIS WOLSEY, 1400 Jefferson St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- Dr. FREDERICK T. WOOD, 241 Merion Road, Merion, Pa. 1927.
- HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Prof. IRVING F. WOOD (Smith College), Northampton, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD (Dartmouth College), 3 Clement Road, Hanover, N. H. 1917.
- Dr. ANGUS S. WOODBURN, 38 Spruce Hill Road, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1926.
- Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 29 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
- Prof. ALFRED COOPER WOOLNER, M.A. (University of the Punjab), 53 Lawtence Road, Lahore, India. 1921.

- E. C. WORMAN, 5 Russell St., Calcutta, India. 1926.  
Prof. W. H. WORRELL, Angell Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1928 (1910).  
Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.  
Rev. HORACE K. WRIGHT, Ahmednagar, India. 1921.  
Prof. MARTIN J. WYNGAARDEN (Calvin College and Theol. Seminary), 1116 Bates St., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1924.  
Dr. DAVID YELLIN (Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem), P. O. Box 128, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1928.  
Prof. ROYDEN KEITH YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.  
Prof. MOHAMMED HAFIDULLAH KHAN YOSE, Government College, Ajmer, Rajputana, India. 1926.  
Prof. HERRICK B. YOUNG, American College, Teheran, Persia. 1928.  
Prof. SOLOMON ZEITLIN, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.  
Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911.  
c. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, care of American Mission, Cairo, Egypt.  
20.

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