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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

obló: cfr. pusó.
allágo: 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. bábuy.

dso: 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 scents 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.

burbur(um): a kind of poodle, spaniel or pekinese dog with long,
thick hair, generally wavy or curly. From the stem *burbar* "fur," and the locative suffix *an.*

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

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

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

*bâbuy*: 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.

*bûld*: boar.

*tahô*: sow.

*burî*: about.

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

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

(*bd*)*baou*: a kind of rat with diminutive ears and short tail. The term *bdâo* (a reduplicated form of *bao*) means, "resembling the *bao*, or rat."

*bûld*: cfr. *bâbu*.

*buruâ* (*am*): the male of the monkey, when old.

*burbar* (*am*): cfr. *deo*.

*burî*: cfr. *bâbu*.

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

*dâyôn*: dugong.

*îdog*: cfr. *deo*.

*kaldî*: 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.

*kîgu*... cfr. *ugat*.

*kûni*: guinea pig, cavy.

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

*ludâd* (*am*): cfr. *ugat*.

*môsa*: wild cat.

*mutit*: Philippine squirrel.

*nûdî*: 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 carabaoas may be met, but they are the offspring of domesticated ones that escaped from bondage in bygone times.

ôken: cfr. ñso.

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.

pailów: cfr. ñso.

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

pasakí: cfr. ñso.

pasa: 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.

abo: a cat running wild, a runabout.

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

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

takí: cfr. babuy.

ugár: 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.

bigow: fawn.

ludlúd (an): a young deer whose antlers are still simple spikes without tines.

II. Birds

abo(én): cfr. manók.

abo: 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.

(paní)abo: a large gallinaceous bird with striped plumage and large bill. It strongly resembles the common barnyard fowl, especially in its legs. From the stem abó “jungle fowl,” and the instrumental prefix paní, derived from the prefix masí, which forms transitive verbs and means “gathering.”

alinbabuyí(én): cfr. manók.

alinakí: a kind of wild dove with gray plumage.

allagdí(én): a kind of small bird with black plumage; its size is that of the loseí.

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

arán: the chick of the toklíí. Arán means also “flock.”

(asít)-asít: 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.
Aust means "carrying on the shoulder or on the back," but the name is probably onomatopoetic 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)."

Bai: cf. manók.

Bailián: a kind of small bird, otherwise unknown to us.

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

Bandág: cf. bindág.

Baratario: a kind of bird with dark-colored plumage; its size is that of the turtledove and it has a similar bill.

Baratiko-Pákó: a kind of small bird with speckled plumage, black and white; its size is that of the taldó and it lives on the hills. Baratiko-Pákó is also the name of a tree.

Bárog: cf. belóg.

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

Berrako: a kind of small bird living near the water.

Bó: a kind of kingfisher. Bó means also "black wart."

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

Billit (án): cf. manók.

Billít Tále: a kind of sparrow-devastating rice fields. Tále means "deaf."

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

Bia: bindág: a kind of small bird with grayish-brown plumage; it nests among pebbles on the banks of rivers.

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

Bokkarat: 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.

Bólate: cf. manók.

Bollida: cf. manók.

Bollitás: a kind of green parrakeet, very common and often kept in captivity.

D (um) álaga: cf. manók.

Dalampáh: a kind of bird living near the sea and feeding on ıpón, a kind of small fish.

Daladalao: a kind of small bird with blue plumage; its size is that of the laslawigan.

Dalokdok: a kind of very small bird; its size is that of the pitpití. Dalokdok means "needle thrust:" the reduplication implies resemblance.

Dalóspí: cf. manók.

Dariay (en): cf. manók.

Dilidalao: cf. daladalao.

Dión: a kind of bird, probably fabulous.
dúrog: 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) ganidkækæ: a kind of bird of the size of a turtledove. The Iloko threaten disobedient children with the coming of the gananidakækæ, 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.

(gi) giat: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; it resembles the tarakaták.

tiak: cfr. manók.

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

(mañoj) akab: a kind of small bird with speckled plumage; its size is that of the house sparrow. Kákoº means "coop;" it is hard to understand what the transitive prefix maño has to do with the name of this particular bird; the initial k of the stem is dropped after a prefix ending in ŋ.

kakók: a kind of cuckoo.

kañojor: a kind of parrot with plumage of different colors.

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

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

kiSCO: 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.

kaliow: 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.

kmanó (én): cfr. manók.

kamów: 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; sm is an infix for neutral verbs, and the reduplication of the stem implies easiness of action.

karonity (an): cfr. manók.

(mañoj) atuday: the saucan-іт or tailor bird, so called because it is very fond of katsaday (Sesbania grandiflora); the initial k of the stem is dropped after the prefix maño, which means "gathering."

kašitán: cfr. manók.

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

kepó: a kind of bird with speckled plumage; its size is that of a turtledove. Kepó means "embracing."
kídu: a kind of oriole with yellow and black plumage.
kíllawit: a kind of small bird with light-colored plumage; it resembles the bannatiran, and is smaller than the toklitay.
konesher: a kind of large, fabulous bird, supposed to fly away with men.
kosókógy: a kind of small bird; its cry is heard at dusk. Kóógy-kóógy means “hollowing out, beating something hollow.”
kutulába lay: a kind of large bird with gray plumage; it feeds on chickens.
kuládaw: a kind of owl, larger than the púek; its lugubrious cry is heard at night and considered a bad omen.
kuripattógy: a kind of insectivorous bird with dark-colored plumage; it resembles a martin. Kuripattógy is also the name of a vine.
kuñódágy: a kind of small bird with green and white plumage.
láñyaw (én): cfr. masók.
láñyogógy: a kind of bird whose cry is considered augural by the Igorot.
The Kankanay call it talá. Láñyogógy means “tool.”
láñyak: cfr. masók.
(law)lawiog (an): a kind of bird with very bright, showy plumage; it is smaller in size than the common chick and is given to hopping.
láyólay: a kind of small bird with striped plumage. Layólay is also the name of a fish.
láñyay (én): cfr. masók.
láñyay (én): a kind of bird, otherwise unknown to us.
masóbel: a kind of wading bird with long neck and legs and brown plumage; it feeds on fish. Masóbel is probably either a corruption of masóyabél, or masóyabél from the transitive prefix masóy and the stem abél “weaving,” or a contraction of the same prefix masóy and some unknown stem in d, s, or t.
masók: 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 Ilokano have more names for the different varieties of coocks than for the different breeds of chickens.
kaútiten: the cock.
úpá: the hen. Upa means also “rent, borrowing, lending.” Both these names are used also for the males and females of other birds.
púek: the chick.
d’üm alága: a pullet. Dálag, in Tagalog, means “girl, maiden”.
the infix um forms verbs meaning “to become, to grow.”
pamasóan: a laying hen. Pamasóan is derived either from the stem pasí “shelling (grain, etc.)” or from the stem basi “popped (corn, etc.)” combined with pasí ... an, which is the locative of the transitive prefix masóy; the initial p or b of the stem is combined with the final sá of the prefix into m.
(bínz)báí: a capon; a cock with the general appearance and the gait of a hen. Báí, from the stem báí, means "female;" the infix in implies resemblance. The same terms are applied to men.

ságursár: 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).

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

káordy(us): a breed of chickens with yellow legs.

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

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

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

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

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

bólóla: a cock with yellowish plumage.

dalosòpí: a cock with light-red plumage.

darisy(én): a cock with black and white plumage. Darisy means "purity, good quality."

ídaw: 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.

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

lásák: a cock with black and white plumage and white legs.

lísóqay(én): a cock with black and white plumage and legs. Lísóqay means "diversion." Lísóqayén is also the name of an important town in the province of P Angusinan.

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

sinduyóq(én): a cock with dark reddish plumage.

{man}manók: a general name for birds. Cfr. tumotayúb. Manók means "chicken;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.

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

orisóqóq: 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.

pómseidn: cfr. manók.

pandi: a bird with grayish plumage; it is a little larger than the bullússay or parrakeet.
mannago (ñn): cfr. manók.
pápa: wild duck, mallard.
pattiki: a kind of bird feeding on fishes.
pervók: a kind of small bird with brown plumage; it is a little larger than the lauławigan.
piék: cfr. manók.
(pit)pítit: a kind of very small bird similar to the sauseaw-it or tailor bird in size and plumage.
(pik)píkok: a kind of very small bird with white breast and black back; its size is that of the sauseaw-it or tailor bird.
(pir)pírik: 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)pítitóy: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; its size is that of the house sparrow. Pítitóy means "very slight movement;" the reduplication indicates repeated small movements.
(pit)pítlaágá: a kind of very small bird with white and black plumage.
pítópit: a kind of small bird with grayish-brown plumage. The name of this bird is onomatopoetic 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.
páck: a kind of owl, smaller than any other species known by the Ilóko, e.g. the kutiláuca. Páck 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.
pánay: 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.
(rov)roióáw: a kind of small bird with dark-colored plumage, except for the breast which is blue; it is a little larger than the lauławigan.
ságáñy: a kind of large bird with black and white plumage; its size is that of the pigeon.
sagursár: cfr. manók.
(sak)sákúlep: 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.
salakáñk: a kind of kingfisher with black and blue plumage; it resembles the bídíóy, but is larger.
salapítéágáw: a kind of swallow.
sécé: a kind of hawk; it resembles the crow in size and the turtledove in plumage.
samanisaw-it: a kind of tailor bird; it builds its nest under the eaves.
sepép: a kind of large bird with speckled plumage; its size is that of the pigeon. Sepép means also "plunging down (like a bird of prey)."
siákák: cfr. kakák.
sibéy: a kind of bird resembling the quail, but with red plumage, and very quick.
Animal Names in Iloko

(Man) t'orong: a kind of small bird, otherwise unknown to us. Manibróŋ 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 sibróŋ. It goes without saying that this is not practised any more. It should be remembered that the final ŋ of the transitive prefix māŋ is combined with the initial s of the stem into n.

windyong (en): cfr. manok.

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) taga: 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. Taga means "carving;" the reduplication indicates repetition of an action or resemblance.

tago (en): a kind of small bird with speckled plumage; it resembles the toldó. Cfr. manok—pnnagōen; the suffix en is a locative.

talauygotáng: a kind of bird, otherwise unknown to us.

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

táŋgab (en): a kind of bird with short tail and speckled plumage, black and yellow; it resembles the pago or quail in general appearance but is larger in size. Táŋgab means "cutting aalant;" the suffix en is a locative; the name of this particular bird probably alludes to its tailless appearance.

torokaták: a kind of small bird with gray plumage.

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

tólak: a kind of large bird with green and red plumage. Tólak is also the name of a province and of its capital.

tólás: Cfr. tóras.

tók (en): a kind of wading bird with speckled plumage, white and black; chiefly white; it is smaller than the kanawáy or heron.

(mans) saúl: a kind of small bird with black plumage; its cry is heard at night. Saúl means "barking," and the prefix mans (combined with ū into mans) indicates usual action, an allusion to the cry of this particular bird.

(tuma) tagá: a general name for birds. Cfr. manumanok. Tagá 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 ūg.

teggáak: 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.
stig: the katt, so called for its cry.
(tit)tit: a kind of very small bird with blue plumage.
(tit)trubo: a kind of small bird with brown plumage and long tail.
(tog)tog: the pagaw or turtledove, so called for its cooing.
tokita: a kind of bobolink; it lives in grassy places. Its chick is called ardban.
tron: efr. mañok.
(pnan)okto: a kind of speckled woodpecker. Toktōk means “knocking, pecking;” pnan is the contraction of the instrumental prefix pañ (derived from the transitive prefix mañ) and the initial t of the stem.
toldo: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; it appears at dusk and lives in damp, grassy places, on the banks of rivers, etc. Toldō means also “hole in the lobe of the ear, model, teaching, etc.”
tubbo: a kind of small bird with black and white plumage; its size is that of the bullilis or parrakeet. Tubbo means also “pulling out (sugar cane).”
taugare: a kind of small bird with blue plumage; it resembles a kingfisher in size and general appearance. Tuggare means also “stupid, dull.”
(tu)tit: a kind of very small bird with green and yellow plumage.
tuo: a kind of large bird with red plumage, except for the breast, which is blue; it is larger than the turtledove.
tuesso: a kind of small bird with gray plumage; its size is that of the common chick.
tuesso: a kind of small bird with black plumage; its cry is heard at dusk.
uok: a kind of crow.
(mañy)ub: a kind of large bird with black plumage; it resembles the barnyard fowl in size and in shape of the legs. Ub means “unspread leaf,” e.g. of bananas; the prefix mañ means “gathering.”
epa: efr. mañok.
(uram-)uram: a kind of small bird, otherwise unknown to us. Uram means “arson, burning;” the reduplication indicates repeated action or resemblance.

III. REPTILIA

alibút: a kind of lizard, larger and of darker hue than the common house lizard, and living outdoors, in forests, on grasslands, etc. The alibút is very common, especially in uncultivated areas.
(uleg) alindayag: a kind of large venomous snake resembling the batis. Uleg is the general name for snake; alindayag means “floating in the air, the wings not moving.”
alitt: lizard; any of the Lacertilia, e.g.: the alibút, the saltēk, etc.; more especially the saltēk.
bobao: a kind of small, venomous snake. The bobao should not be confounded with the bobao (from bob), which see under Mammalia.
basida: a kind of iguana, which is rather common in these parts. The
basiua 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.

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

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

*bekepa*: 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.

*kurasa (ésu)*: 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.

*karete*: a kind of venomous snake, otherwise unknown to us. Karete means "shrinking."

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

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

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

*parikan*: sea turtle.

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

*(man)* opa*: 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 opa, hence the name of this particular snake; the final *o* of the transitive prefix *man* is combined with the initial *a* of the stem into *a*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*üleg*: serpent, snake. Almost all snakes are known to the Iloko only by this generic name; the bekei, however, and occasionally the kurasa (ésu) and the palopa, form exceptions to this rule.
IV. AMPHIBIA

bagam (gün): a kind of newt or salamander found in brackish pools along the seashore; it is very alert and jumps around like a frog.
banauak: a kind of two-legged tadpole.
bayuk: tadpole. A few Iloko eat them, but most do not.
kokokon: cfr. pilat.
kiaga: cfr. 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.
tukak: frog. Tukak 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

abat: a kind of edible fresh-water fish, found mostly in brooks in the hilly part of the Iloko country.
abbit: a kind of small, edible marine fish of about the size and shape of a silver dollar coin. Abbit also means "glutton."
deer: a kind of marine fish of about the size and shape of a sardine; its meat is esteemed.
agbud: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed.
agoat: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed.
aguis: a kind of edible fresh-water fish; it is very similar to the purón, but its scales are smaller.
agurot: a kind of edible marine fish.
alaidede: a kind of very small marine fish, bluish on the back, white on the belly; its meat is much esteemed.
aluy: a kind of large, edible marine fish with elongated body.
alotén: a kind of edible fresh-water fish.
aloty: a kind of small, edible marine fish with broad, flattened body.
(al-)alut (a): 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. Alut means "firebrand;" the re-punctuation indicates similarity.
aspó: 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.
entató: 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.
agápay: a kind of fresh-water fish resembling the purón. The same name is applied to that part of any meat, vegetable, etc., which sticks to the vessel in which it is cooked.
Asyrd: a kind of large, edible, either marine or fresh-water fish, resembling the corvina; its gall is often added to basi, a native drink made from sugar cane.

Apady: 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."

Apdi: 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.

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

Buró (dn): 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.

Bagési: 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

Balapbg (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.

Badaki: a kind of middle-sized, white marine fish; it is provided with barbels and its meat is esteemed. Badaki 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.

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

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

ballangowe (da): a kind of marine fish; it is larger than the barambon and its meat is esteemed.

ballowit (an): cf. balbon y undo.

baamagwe: 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.

baniqot: cf. doo.

barambon: 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.

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

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

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

barawatb: a kind of large marine fish resembling the ballangowe; its meat is esteemed.

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

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

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

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

(laqat) berkdog (an): a kind of large, eel-like fish resembling the lamprey. Laqat means "eel," and berkdog "swelling in the throat;" the suffix is a locative.

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

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

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

bilis: a kind of sardine.

bintaq (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.

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

bérésog: the same fish when much larger.

(mam)esó: a synonym for birát; it alludes to the latter’s feeding on sosó, a kind of small. The final ó of the prefix mamó, which means "gathering," is combined with the initial e of the stem into é.

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

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

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

bónog: the same fish, when at its largest.

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

borakaw: cfr. dalág.

borikikkik: cfr. dalág.

(bó)bokétô: a kind of large marine fish whose meat is esteemed.

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

bottó(dn): 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 talabíto, but has a long tail; its meat is esteemed. Bottódn means also "callus." Bottó means "pivot," also the position of the child ready to be born. Bottódn should mean literally "full of pivots" or "with a large pivot," hence "with projecting parts."

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

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

(bułón)bólán: 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. Bólán means "moon;" the reduplication indicates resemblance. We do not know wherein the resemblance between the moon and this particular fish consists.

bullítisâ: a kind of marine fish whose meat is esteemed; it resembles the sardine in shape and size. Bullítisâ is also the name of the green parrakeet.

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

bulósg unda: a kind of edible marine fish with elongated, flattened body.

bollówit(dn): the name of this fish when it is still small.

salópósp: the same fish when much larger.
bulógy unda: the same fish when it is about half a meter long. This is the most common name and a very characteristic one. Bulógy means "leaf," and unda "(of) sugar cane."

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

bumá: cfr. monámon.

bánoj: cfr. baktó.

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.

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

(taleny) táleny: cfr. kulánámpit.

burárog: cfr. birút.

buri (dn): cfr. optó.

butít: 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.

butubót: a kind of blackfish fresh-water fish; it resembles the birút, but it is not so dark-colored. Butubót means with large buttocks.

daddá: 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.

dolá: 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.

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

boraikosó: the same fish when somewhat larger.

daló: the same fish when about eight inches long.

dalão: a kind of small, white marine fish; it resembles the ariowyse and its meat is esteemed. Dalão also means "sweet flag."

dalupítít: a kind of small marine fish, which much resembles the turinjbóringó. Cfr. gunabbék. Dalupítít means "flattening" also "refuse, sputs, etc."

dambo: a kind of white marine fish, a little longer than the bagando; its meat is esteemed.

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

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

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

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

(turiny) tónying: the name of this fish when its diameter is about half an inch; at this stage it is still living in the sea.
Animal Names in Iloko

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

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

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

*git*: cel.

*kisce*: young of the cel.

*git berahe* (an): eir. *berbákam.*

*skás*: fish.

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

*ték*: 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.

*ipón*: 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 *ipón*, whose meat is very much esteemed and which is the best kind of fish to be made into *bogóonóy* (fermented fish). *Bogóonóy* 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.

*ipón*: 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 *ipón* rarely exceeds an inch in length, and when it has grown larger, it is known by some other name.

*sosón*: a name applied to the *ipón* before it has ascended the river.

*Sosón* means "gathering."

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

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

*paliyığı*: 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.

*ipós* (an): a kind of small fresh-water fish, with a comparatively large head; its meat is not much esteemed. *Ipós* 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.

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

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

*kañtey*: a kind of striped marine fish resembling the *êtát*, but larger. The name may perhaps be derived from the prefix *ka*, which often enters
the composition of substantives, and the stem datēnū "arriving." "To be able to arrive, to get at," is expressed in Iloko by maka datēnū, from the prefix maka and the stem datēnū.

kakup: a kind of edible marine fish.

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

kapiged: 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.

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

katūg(an): cfr. berauān. Kātūg means "saliva," and the suffix is a locative.

(panu)kābō: a kind of rather small, much flattened, triangular marine fish, whose meat is not much esteemed. Kēbō means "curve," "turning over," from the prefix p, indicating causation, and the stem kēbō; the suffix um is used to form intransitive verbs.

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

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

kisei: cfr. īgat.

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

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

kosait: cfr. boktō.

kūgaas: a kind of fish resembling the purōn, but with smaller scales; its meat is esteemed.

kulaŋgit: cfr. bunotān.

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

kurukir: a kind of small, inedible, eel-like fish with a rough skin. Kurukir also means "earpick."

kurimaŋg: a kind of fish very similar to the berauān in shape and size.

kuritamānta: a kind of edible marine fish.

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

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

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

lakōp: 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. Lamo lamo means "naked."

lāndy: a kind of marine fish, whose body is almost cylindric and from two to three feet long; its meat is esteemed.
laŋgøg (an): a kind of brownish marine fish whose meat is esteemed; its body is elongated, but more or less flattened, and about eight inches long.

laŋkøs (an): 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.

laŋgøg (an): a kind of large, edible marine fish.

(ma)løpat: cfr. ipon.

laændøc: a kind of small marine fish. Løcødøc means “surrounding.”

luødøy: 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)løtø: a kind of black, edible, fresh-water mudfish; it resembles the deløg, but it is provided with barbels. Løtøtø means “not being in the water” (e.g. a fish, a boat, etc.); the prefix pa indicates causation.

 librøy: a kind of rather small marine fish whose meat is esteemed. Libøy means “extraordinary fruitfulness;” the reduplication indicates similarity or repetition.

(lumø)løto: a kind of marine fish, otherwise unknown to us. Løtø means “report (of a gun), cracking, etc.;” the infix forms intransitive verbs.

(lo)laŋgøloŋø (an): a kind of inedible marine fish without scales; wounds occasioned by its fins are at least very painful. Løngøloŋø means “shade;” the suffix is a locative, and the reduplication emphasizes the meaning.

luødøø: cfr. purøø.

(lumøb)lømbø: a kind of large, edible marine fish, a kind of tuna. Lømbø means “running in competition;” the reduplication indicates repetition or similarity.

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

luøtøy: a kind of marine fish, larger than the sardine. Luøtøy means “running at the nose.”

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

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

maŋpøk: a kind of white fresh-water fish, whose meat is esteemed; it resembles the sìsìnc. Cfr. purøø.

(mata)møta: a kind of marine fish, otherwise unknown to us. Møta 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.

møta (an): a kind of grayish marine fish from eight to twelve inches long; its eyes are very large and its meat is esteemed. Møta means “eye,” and the suffix is a locative.
(máya) máya: a kind of red marine fish; it is about sixteen inches long and its meat is not much esteemed.

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

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

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

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

bumó: the same fish when it is much larger.

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

oséor: 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 boggóon, but redder. Pádas means "trying."

(pa) pagét: 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.

patlén: cfr. Ipom.

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

(poa) poáo: a kind of marine fish resembling the barambáa; its meat is not much esteemed.

páo: a kind of large, edible marine fish.

pátú: cfr. yo.

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

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

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

(piañá) piñáa: Cfr. (puma) kbo. Piñáa means "plate;" the reduplication indicates resemblance. Piñápiñáa is also the name of a kind of mollusk.

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

(sta) sian: the name of this fish when it is small.

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

ludáo: the same fish when at its largest.

(ruma) ruma: a kind of edible marine fish, about four inches long. Ruma means "brim, border;" the infix forms intransitive verbs and the reduplication indicates easiness of action.
(rōngō)rōngō: a kind of small, edible marine fish with long barbels. Rōngō means "barbel, barb"; the reduplication indicates either multiplicity or extension.

rukōp: a kind of rather small fresh-water fish, whose meat is not much esteemed. Rukōp means "rottenness."

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

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

(sak)sakālap: 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.

salapsāp: cfr. bulōng ūnās.
sapsāp: cfr. g(um)ēbēk.
sawāk (am): a kind of large, marine fish with a large mouth; it is about as broad as the talakitok.

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

(say)say-ūt: a kind of very small fish whose meat is esteemed; it is smaller than the arīsego and resembles the bulōng ūnās in shape; it lives either in the sea or in fresh water.

(pa)sagō: 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. Sagō means "anxiety, solicitude;" the prefix indicates causation.

(sai)saw: cfr. purōng.

sāngō: a kind of edible marine fish.

sīvū: 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.

sawān: cfr. ipōn.

(mam)ssō: cfr. birōt.

ssay: 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.

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

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

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

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

talićkōnō: the same fish when it is a little larger.

talićkōtōk: the same fish when it is at its largest.

(taleŋ)talēŋ: cfr. būnōtān.

talićkōnō: cfr. talakitok.

tambokō (am): cfr. bulōng ūnās.

tāngyīgi: a kind of marine fish resembling a bonito; its meat is much esteemed.
taŋỹ: a kind of elongated marine fish whose meat is esteemed; it is about one meter long and some five inches broad.

(taŋy) taŋké:n: a kind of marine fish resembling the g(um)abbek. Taŋké:n means "hardness," and the reduplication indicates resemblance.

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

taripltip: cfr. tabakitok.

tikny: cfr. ipon.

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

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

tuláŋ (da): a kind of rather large marine fish whose meat is esteemed; its back is red and it resembles the matadó.

(turiŋy) turíŋy: cfr. g(um)abbek.

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

usó: a kind of short, fat edible eel.

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

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

yo: shark.

paticy: the young of the shark; its meat is edible.

VI. MOLLUSCA

afak (da): a kind of mollusk, otherwise unknown to us.

(ap)-apatut: a kind of edible, marine, gastropodous mollusk (shellfish).

Apatut is the name of a shrub (Morinda bracteata); the reduplication indicates similarity.

orasies: a kind of edible, gastropodous mollusk (shellfish). Arasies means "swarming (of worms)."

oriesýes: cfr. orasies.

orasies: cfr. orasies.

(baď) badoň: a kind of rather large, broad, lamellibranchiate mollusk. Badoň means "large knife"; the reduplication indicates resemblance.

(baďaň) badoň: a kind of elongated, edible, lamellibranchiate mollusk.

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

laki: the same mollusk when much larger.

baloŋpa: a kind of rather large, lamellibranchiate mollusk.

báda: a kind of gastropodous mollusk, identical with the posipóy,
except that the latter's shell is comparatively smooth, while that of the
desor is very rough to the touch.

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

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

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

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

bilágút: a kind of gastropodous mollusk with a striped shell.

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

bíoróko: the general name for land snails.

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

(bok)bokbí: cfr. benék.

bólo(dan): a kind of inedible, gastropodous mollusk; its shell is elon-
gated 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.

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

dalm(dan): a kind of rather large, fresh-water, lamellibranchiate mol-
lusk. Probably from dálm "liver," and the locative suffix an.

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

dassarí: a kind of marine, gastropodous mollusk, with a brown elon-
gated shell, sometimes attaining a length of four inches. Dassarí means
"overlapping, too long, etc."

(díla)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(an): a kind of edible, gastropodous mollusk, identical with the
gosipégy, except that the latter's shell is less even than that of the duríkan.

durík(en): cfr. duríkan.

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

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

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

(in-)immedó: a kind of very elongate, dark-brown, lamellibranchiate
mollusk, whose meat is much esteemed. Immedó means "small knife"; the
reduplication indicates resemblance.
(ma) isāppis: a kind of marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk; it very much resembles the kapkoppó, which are smaller, but more elongate than the kappó; its shell, however, is very thin, hence its name: isāppis means "thinness," and the prefix is adjectival.

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

kaluit: 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)katay: a kind of greenish-gray slug, generally about an inch long. Katay 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

lāk: cfr. b(um)ogō.

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

liḍānā (ā): a kind of rather large, edible, gastropodous mollusk, with an elongate, pointed shell; it is found mostly in brooks.
lokadit: a kind of small, marine, gastropodous mollusk with a round shell.

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

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

Ngaruapigap: a kind of edible mollusk, almost identical with the pote-poej, but smaller. NGaruapigap means "spreading (of skin diseases)." The same name is applied to a kind of plant.

Ngaruadigis: a kind of very small, speckled, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk. NGaruadigis is also the name of a plant.

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

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

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

(pits) pispygán: a kind of white, edible, marine, lamellibranchiate mollusk; in shape and size it resembles a silver quarter. Pispygán means "plate;" the reduplication indicates resemblance. Pitspiygán is also another name for the (puma) labó-fish.

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

(sosó a) pokrá(on): a kind of sosó, whose shell is round and whiter than the common sosó.

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

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

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

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

(sara)sara(on): a kind of edible, gastropodous mollusk; it is almost identical with the kuissiny, 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.

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

(sara) siko(on): a kind of edible, marine, gastropodous mollusk; it very much resembles the rardaj, but it is smaller. Siko means "elbow;" the combination sara ... on indicates resemblance.

sidjit(on): a kind of white, lamellibranchiate mollusk, a kind of seal-
lop. *Sólyit means “short pole;” the suffix is a locative. *Sólyitum is also the name of a plant.

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

(só)sokto(én): a kind of small, edible, marine, gastropodous mollusk; its shell is round and resembles that of the *bísokól. Soktó means “separating, disjointing;” 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 pokr(én): cfr. pokrán.

sosó pápa: cfr. pápa.

tarunátim: 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.

tokmá: a kind of brown, edible, lamellibranchiate mollusk, a kind of scallop.

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

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

VII. WORMS AND LARVAE

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

alimáték: 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.

alimbóbóda: cfr. (bódo)bódo.

alimpúpsa: cfr. (púsa)púsa.

alinsí: earthworm.

ámag: a kind of reddish, broad, intestinal worm, about two inches long; it is parasitic on men and animals. *Amaq also means “cambium tissue.”

antádég: a kind of white larva, very much resembling the abdíen.

antádég: cfr. antádég.

(apat-)ápat: tapeworm or tenia.

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

aráck or aráč: a kind of yellowish-red, intestinal worm, parasitic on man, a kind of ascarias or roundworm. *Arič means “nausea, ticklishness.”

bátar: a kind of blackish, edible worm, resembling a leech; it is found in brackish pools along the seaside. *Bátar means “falling down (posts, sticks, etc.).”

(bal)bátsík: wiggler, larva of the mosquito.

bátar or bátar(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.

bukbuk: larva of the grain beetle; also, woodworm or woodborer. Bukbuk means "pouring out."

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

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

karusakés: a kind of small, brown, rather hard worm, found in boggoon. Cfr. ipon, under Fish.

(kuyam)kuyam: cfr. opat-opat.

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

(pues)pues: 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. Pues means "cat;" the reduplication hints at similarity.

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

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

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

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

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

sor-it: maggot.

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

(tap)tapúyas: larva of the ant lion.

(tap)tapúyo: cfr. taptapúyas.

(tat)tatég: cfr. antatátég.

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

VIII. Insecta

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

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

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

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

alimbogon (as): a kind of horsely, which may cause the death of animals.
alimbubuŋgwe: cfr. buŋgwe.
alimbubuyog: humblebee.
(al-)alukūp: water strider. Alukūp is the name of a bird; the reduplication indicates resemblance. Cfr. kotokōto.
alumpipiniŋ: wasp.
ambubuŋgwe: cfr. buŋgwe.
amppipt: 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.
antotōŋgəl: a kind of large, black ant; it is found especially in forests, on trees, etc.
opōt: a kind of small, white, wingless insect, very destructive to plants, probably a kind of aphid or plant louse.
araro(a)ri: a kind of thin, gray, soft-winged insect, about an inch long; it lives in wet places and is heard at night. Arararo means "lamenting"; the suffix is a locative.
(arus-)arūs: 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.
aṇukān: cfr. oyanān.
baobābak: a kind of boring weevil, which eats away the interior of timber, leaving only a shell.
barrāroon: a kind of rhinoceros beetle, very destructive to coco palms; its larva is called pusapuṣuṣa or alumpupuṣuṣa.
baŋgir: a kind of large, green fly.
bākōw: a kind of small, greenish insect; its wings resemble those of a fly, and it is destructive to palay. Bākōw means "empty ear or rice."
buŋgwe or tuscito a buŋgwe: a kind of large, green dragon fly. Buŋgwe means "with swollen testicles."
baṅgou: a kind of stinkbug very destructive to young ears of palay.
dōda: locust. They travel in vast swarms, destroying the vegetation of the places they visit. Locusts are eaten extensively.
lotō: young locust.
(doras)dorās: pupa of the dragon fly.
īpes: cockroach.
(ka)kādag: an insect resembling the alumpipiniŋ or wasp in color and size. Kādag means "stupid;" it is also an obsolete term for young of the monkey. Kakādag is also the name of a plant.
kāmay: cfr. kōto.
kambōdō: a kind of large, green grasshopper, which is heard at night.
kantit: a kind of small, stinging, black ant.
(kar)kartiḥ: a kind of elater, which has the peculiarity of being able to cut threads, hair, etc., with its manibles, which are scissorlike. Kartiḥ means "scissors;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.
(parang)artiḥ: Cfr. karartiḥ. The initial k of the stem is dropped after the instrumental prefix par. 
kawe: a kind of brownish insect with a small slender body and long legs; it has wings like those of a grasshopper. Kawe means “upper part of a jarful of cooked rice (less good than the rest).”

kité: bedbug.

(kolés) kolés: cfr. dorundórán.

koridé: cricket.

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

kóto: head louse.

kónam: young head louse.

kós: egg of the head louse, or nit.

kóto ti donám: cfr. kotokóto. Kóto ti donám means literally “louse of the water” or “water louse.”


kótón: the general name for ant or pismire.

kulatáni: firefly or glowworm.

kulátáap: cfr. bákáw.

kulínáapšáap: the general name for butterfly and moth.

kulíntlab: cfr. kulánatá.

lamók: mosquito. Its larva is called balbaliták.

lapayag (an): a kind of small, soft, striped, wingless insect, found in forests. Lapayag means “ear;” the suffix is a locative.

legayag: a kind of small grnat or mosquito, moving in swarms.

lia: cfr. kóto.

lokton: cfr. dódon.

ndágé: a kind of large ddąyaw-stinkbug.

nólman: house fly. Its larva is called sórtót.

olúkan: honeybee.

patilig: a kind of insect resembling the silam.

patíláng: cfr. patilig.

(pit)pítók: a kind of small, hard insect, moving like a grasshopper.

Piték means “palpitating;” the reduplication indicates either resemblance or repetition of the action.


rekét: rice weevil.

(rí)ríed: a kind of small, brown grass hopper.

sakáh (un): a kind of small insect resembling the ñłumpípisí or wasp.

Sáká means “covering (a book, etc.);” the suffix is a locative.

(salén) salén: a kind of brown insect resembling a mantis. Sálé is “pitch pine, pine tree;” the reduplication indicates resemblance.

Sálén-sálén 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.

(sang) sangalay: a kind of small, thin, elongated dragon fly. Sangalay means “Chinan man;” the reduplication indicates resemblance.

(sar) sarubub: a kind of small, black beetle.
sepsép: a kind of very small gnat or mosquito. *Sepsép* means "sucking out."

sibbawély: cfr. abal-abal.

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

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

ṣīpet: cfr. īpes.

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

ṣōndob)ṣōndob: a kind of dark-brown dung fly. *Sōndob* means "digging with the snout;" the final __$n$ of the instrumental prefix ṣōnd is combined with the initial __$s$ of the stem into __$n$.

ṣukā: a kind of vinegar fly. *Sukā* means "vinegar;" the final __$n$ of the transitive prefix ṣukā is combined with the initial __$s$ of the stem into __$n$.

ṭoṣāy)ṭoṣāy-ād: snapping beetle or click beetle. *Ṭoṣāy-ād* means "nodding;" the reduplication indicates repetition of the action.

ṭāyug: a kind of black beetle resembling the sammisammi but a little larger and with more compressed and elongate body. *Ṭāyug* means "cooling (by stirring);" the final __$n$ of the transitive prefix ṭāyug is combined with the initial __$t$ of the stem into __$n$.

tegtāy: a kind of small bee making dry honeycombs. *Tegtāy* means "mincing."

tīncī: flea.

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

tōma: body louse.

theoeto: the general name for dragon fly.

(paniḥ)ubet: a kind of ant resembling the kantā, but smaller and with a longer narrow section between the thorax and the abdomen. *Ubet* means "breech;" ṭāyug is an instrumental prefix derived from the transitive prefix ṭāyug.

wōsāy)swāsāy: mantis. *Wōsāy* means "ax;" the reduplication indicates similarity.

yūkan: cfr. oryūkan.

IX. ARACHNIDA AND MYRIAPODA

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

andikēn: cfr. dikendikēn.

ātāyās: a kind of tick; it attaches itself to the legs of cows and caraboes.
Animal Names in Iloko

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


**Diken**/Dikén: millipede. Dikén is a circlelet which women place on their head when carrying loads; the reduplication indicates resemblance, as this particular animal rolls itself up when touched. Cfr. Lágikaśágka.

**Manýga**/Gamé: scorpion.

**Pasíga**/Gamón: cfr. Manýgagamé.

**Gagit**/Ginité: centipede.


**Kápaw**/Kité: itch mite.

**Kapité**: spider nest; it resembles a cocoon and is very tough. Kapét means “clinging;” the reduplication represents the progressive form of verbs.

**Late**/Late: the general name for spider.

**Lángka**/Lángka: cfr. Dikendié. Lángka is a folded band of rattan placed in native hats; the reduplication indicates resemblance.

**Pasí**/Pasíga: a kind of aquatic, cylindrical, stinging bug, about two inches long. Pasíga is the name of a crustacean; the reduplication indicates resemblance.

**Táśáw**: cfr. Aydm.

X. **CRUSTACEA**

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

**Agatól**: a kind of edible freshwater crab, living mostly in brooks; it has one claw much enlarged.

**Agó**: a kind of small, blackish kuro; its meat is not much esteemed.

**Amádak**: a kind of crab resembling the racé, but smaller. Amák means “child, young”; Manýgagamák “having many young.”

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

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

**Biágaló**: the same shrimp when much larger.

**Bábuy**/Bábuy: pill bug. Bábuy means “hog;” the reduplication indicates resemblance.

**Báken**/Báken: a kind of wood louse with a bluish tint. Báken means “monkey;” the reduplication indicates resemblance.

**Balás**/Baláse: a kind of very small, freshwater shrimp or prawn; it is not much larger than the head of a pin.

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

**Biágaló**: cfr. Armádáy.

**Bákó**/Bákot: a kind of kuro with a blackish back; its meat is somewhat bitter to the taste. Bákot means “back;” the suffix is a locative.
burrós: cfr. kappí.
dakómo: a kind of crab, otherwise unknown to us.
dariscay: cfr. banañúy.
gammaróð: a kind of edible mud crab resembling the kappí in shape and size.
(gay)ggómán (an): a kind of edible, marine shrimp or prawn, more or less resembling a centipede. Gayóman means "centipede;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.
kalamó: any crustacean deprived of its shell.
kappí: a kind of small, edible, fresh-water crab. Kappí means "sitting with crossed legs."
burrós: young kappí-crab.
karamúkom: a kind of small, edible marine crab resembling the kappí. komó: a kind of edible marine crab resembling the kappí; it feeds on dung, etc.
(kor)koróya: a kind of edible ocypodian crab, much smaller than the kappí.
kuré: a kind of small, poisonous crab, very often found in seaweed. Kuré means "shriveling."
kúros: a kind of small, edible, fresh-water shrimp or prawn, generally less than two inches long.
lágódú: a kind of edible fresh-water shrimp or prawn, about two inches long.
paddó: a kind of relatively small, edible marine lobster.
(pum)akdé: young paddó.
(pum)akdé: cfr. paddó.
pasóy (an): a kind of edible shrimp about two inches long; it lives in brackish pools along the seashore.
pagápoy: 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. Pagápoy means "beckoning;" the name of this particular crab alludes to its custom of waving its enlarged chela.
ramóy (an): a kind of prawn or shrimp, about three inches long; its limbs are at least twice as long. Rámay means "finger;" the suffix is a locative.
r(in)dáyat: a kind of kappí-crab full of warts. Ráayat means "brim;" in is an infix of past participles.
rad: a kind of large, edible crab; it generally lives in brackish pools along the seashore.
(sam)sam-it: a kind of small, fresh-water crab; its meat is not much esteemed. Sam-it means "sweetness;" the reduplication indicates resemblance.
soátátátat: the name applied to old fresh-water crayfishes; their limbs become very long and their shell very hard.
tak(tak)talá: a kind of small, edible, fresh-water crayfish; it is about an inch long and has a couple of small chelae. Taklá means "clicking;"
the reduplication either indicates resemblance or represents the progressive form of verbs.

(tar)taróy: cfr. tarókoy. Taróy means "running;" the reduplication represents the progressive form of verbs. Tartaróy 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)tepóy: a kind of tarókoy-crab, living in and around freshwater brooks. Teppóy means "precipice;" the final ŋ of the transitive prefix mán is combined with the initial t of the stem into n.

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

úmáy: hermit crab.

XI. Other Animals

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

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

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

karomínas: a kind of medusa or jellyfish.

(lima)limá: cfr. bituén bayóy. Limá means "five;" the reduplication emphasizes the term. Limálnimá is also the name of a kind of yam, Dioscorea pentaphylla.

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

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

sagóga: a kind of edible sea urchin. Sagóga means "protecting;" keeping from harm. It is also the name of a kind of fish.

taúý: cfr. karomínas.

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

torumatím: cfr. under Mollusca.
THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA VEDA, BOOK THIRTEEN
EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

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TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

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 atharvaniṭkapāippalādayāś sūkhāyāṁ trayodaśā kāṇḍas susamāptāḥ 22 22 prathamānunvākah
At the end of hymn eleven stands *iṣy atharvanikapāippalādayaś śākhāyāṁ trayodaśaś kāṇḍas samāptaḥ*  

zz.  

At the end of hymn thirteen stands *iṣy atharvani trayodaśa kāṇḍa prathamo nuvākaḥ*  

zz.  

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hymns</th>
<th>Stanzas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
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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), 38-30; 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 pādās.
ATHARVA-VEDA PÂIPALÂDA-SÂKHÂ
BOOK THIRTEEN

I

(§ 5. 22)

[f144b11] atha trayôdaśas kândo likhyate zz zz oṁ namo
nârâyânya z z [12] oṁ aṅgir takmânâm apa vâyatâm itas soma
grávâ marutaḥ pûtadaksïat, vedi- [13] bhûhis samidhas samiśśīna
pa rûkânsy amugnyâ yamantu z 1 z ayaṁ rûro abhi-[14] śocayï-
ñur visvâ rûpâni harîlo kruṇoṣi | tasmâi te arunâya babhra- [15] ve
tapurmâghânya namo stu takmane z 2 z takmâm sârthinam
iṣchasva vâsi [16] saṁ mhrâyäi naḥ | yathey atra te grhâyaṭ
pûrteṣu damyatu z 3 z yas pu- [17] rusaṁ pârśvayo badheânsa
hivârunâs takmânam visvadhrîryâdhanâma [18] parâ suva z 4 z
adharâνcâm pra hinoṣi namâkryâya takmane z âkamâbhrasasya
[f145a] muṣṭhâ püna gaṇcâ mahâvrrâm z 6 z mahâvrrâm
mûjavato rkhedhi [8] paryêyah praîjâni takmane vrûmo nyâkset-
trâni và yasâm z 6 z kâusya mûjavami- [3] ta okasya mahâvrrâm |
mayâ jâlas takmane tad asî bahlîkeânuhu nyotarâh takma [4]
vâla vakulavyâm atâr yâvâyâ dâsîm nas takurîm aprîccha tân
vajrêna sam arpa- [5] ya | girîm gaṇcâ girîjâsi riûtena mûyasu
grûḥ dâsîm riûcâya praphrayâm tâm- [6] s takmaî nîva
dhînûhi z yas tvaṁ šiṇa atâh rûrat sahâgât saha vityapa bhirâsa te
takma- [7] n hetayas tâbhîs sa pari vîyâhî nā z 1 z takma
bhûtrâ balâsena svasrâ kâsî- [8] kayâ saha | apâmânâ bhûtrîryëna
nâkyeto maracânuh abhi z 1 z gândhâribhîyo mâu- [9] jamadbhîyo
ekšâbhîyo mayebhyaḥ jâne priyam iva śavadhî tannuṇâm pari
dadhamâsi [10] nârkâvirdâm nârvîdâlâm nadiyânvratâkâvatiṁ z
praîjâni takmane vrûmo nyan- [11] ksetrâni và yunâm | z nyalât-
tre na ramate sahasrâkṣo mûtryah abhûd i prûtâs ta- [12] kmâlta
tamâyâtu bhalkam z 4 z ado gaṇcâ mûjavatâ tato và ga paras-
taram | [13] mà śmâto bhûrâga punâs pra trâ takmann upa vruve
paramâîvâ tvaṁ jora paramâyâm parâ- [14] vâtâ | yathâ nânâm
tvaṁ âyasi yathâ nânâhi śocayâ |

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

For the introductory phrase and invocation read; atha trayô-
daśas kândo likhyate zz zz oṁ nârâyânya zz
Read: agnis takmānam apa vāyatām itas-so mo grāvā marutas pūtadaksāh | vedir barhis samidhas samśisīna apa rakṣāsyu amuyā dhamanu z 1 z ayaṁ rūro abhisocayishur visvā rūpāni haritā kṛṇosi | tasmāi te arunāya babhrevate tapurmaghavāya namo 'stu takmane z 2 z takman sārthinam icchasva vaśi san mālayasi naḥ | athehi yatra te grhā anyat pūrteṣu dāmyatu z 3 z yas paruṣas pārśvayo 'vadhvaṁsa ivāruṇaḥ | takmānam viśvadāvīrāḥ viḥāreṣu prahinomi namaś kṛtvāya takmane | sakambhārasya muṣṭihā punar gaccha mahāvṛṣān 5 z mahāvṛṣān mājavato 'rkedhi paretya | prāitāni takmane vrūmo 'nyakṣetraṇi va imā z 6 z oko asya mūjavyata oko 'sya mahāvṛṣāḥ | mahāṇ jātas takman tad asi bahlīkṣu nyocaraḥ z 7 z takman vyāla vi gada vyaṅga bhūri yāvaya | dāsim niṣṭakvarunī phṛchā tām vajrēna sam arpayā z 8 z girīm gaccha girijē asī 'rautenā māyuṣo grhah | dāsim any iccha praptahvām tām takman niwa dhūnuhi z 9 z yas tvam śīto atho rūrah saha kāśāvīvipāḥ | bhīmās te takman hetayas tābhās sa pari vṛndhi naḥ z 10 z takman bhūrāḥ balāsa nivatā kāśākyā saha | pāmnā bhrātvyaṇa saha naśyeto marajān abhi z 11 z gandhāribhīyo mūjavādbyās kāśibhīyo magadhebyāh | dhāne priyam iva sevadhim takmānām pari dadhmasi z 12 z 'nārka vārdaṁ nārvidālāṁ nadīyam rvatukāvatiṁ | prāitāni takmane vrūmo 'nyakṣetraṇi va imā z 13 z anyakṣetre na ramate sahasrākṣo 'martyah | abhūd u prārthas takmā sa gamisyati bahlikān z 14 z ado gaccha mūjavatas tato vā gah parastārām | mā smāto bhy ynoś punas pra tvā takmann upa vṛvye z 15 z parasnm eva tvam cara paramaṁ parāvati | athā nūnāṁ tvam āśasy athā nūnām abhi śocaya z 16 z 1 z

St 1. If vāyatām in a is not acceptable we should read bādhatām with Ś.
St 2. For this cf Ś 3. 20. 3abc; 1d.
St 3. Pāda b—Ś 5. 22. 9b; 6. 26. 1b.
St 6. In b there may be only a corruption of what Ś 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 Ś has.
\[ f145a14 \] yatheyam urvi pr̐īthvi viddheva garbham ṣadade | yavādaḍhāmi te garbham tasmāi tvām avase hu- \[ f145b \] ve z parvatād diev yoner ity ekā z viṣṇur yonim kalpayatu tvā- \[ 17 \] śā rūpāṇi piṇāṣatu | aśiṅcatu prajāpati vātā garbham dadhātu te z \[ 18 \] garbham dehi śīvāvāi garbham dehi sarasvati | garbham yon aśvināyuṃ a- \[ 19 \] dhattaṃ puṣkarassṛja z garbham te rājā varuṇo garbham devo vṛhaspatiḥ garbham * i- \[ f145b \] nṛdṛś cāgniś ca garbham dhāta dadhātu te z 5 z garbhō sy oṣadhinaṃ garbho vanaspa- \[ 2 \] tinām | garbho viśvasya bhūtasya so gnaye garbham e dhā z 6 z yad oṣadhaya garbhi- \[ 3 \] niṣṭ paśavo yena garbhinaḥ yeṣam garbhasya yo garbhas tena tvām ga- \[ 4 \] garbhiṇiḥ bhava z 7 z vi te granthāṃ vṛtāvāsi dhāta garbāṃ dadhātu te | a [5] yonim putro rohutā janaṇām pratī jayatām z 8 z janiṣṭha āha maityātho [6] niyam samuhyācārat. adha somāśa bhakṣanam ā garbhas swedad rūpiṇi z [7] z 8 z savitūṣ śreṣṭhena z 1 śreṣṭhena z 2 z viṣṇoh śreṣṭhena [8] vaṣṭutū śreṣṭhena 3 | [8] bhagah śreṣṭhena rūpenāṣyā nābhā gavinyoh pumāmsaṃ putram ā dhehi da-[9] kame māmī rūtae | a*i * * * * * * * * * * * * | ā dh hi yonym * * [10] nam vṛṣṇyāvantam prajāyām tvā nayamai | yad veda rājā varuṇo veda de- \[ 11 \] vo vṛhaspatiḥ indro yad vṛtrāhā veda tad u garbhakar * * * vā z vi ṣaṣva [12] bāhrāsāme garbhōs te yonim ā sayām | dadat te putraṃ devā somapā ubhayā- \[ 13 \] vināṃ z somasyad rūpiṇo nāpāma garbhakrīvama | tatas te putro jayatām ka- \[ 14 \] rāvai vīrvebhayaḥ.

In the right margin of f145a opposite the beginning of this hymn is written garharaksagarbhāhuteḥ: in the lower margin below puṣkarassṛja is saṇja | pātṛheḥ.

Read: yatheyam urvi prīthvi viddheva garbham ā ṣadade | eva ᵇaṭhāmi te garbham tasmāi tvām avase huve z 1 z parvatād diev yoner gātrād-gātrāt samāśrāṃ | reto devasya devās sarāu parṇaṃ ivā dhān z 2 z viṣṇur yonim kalpayatu tvāṣṭā rūpāṇi piṇāṣatu | aśiṅcatu prajāpatir dhāta garbham dadhātu te z 3 z garbham dehi śīvāvāi garbham dehi sarasvati | garbham yon aśvināyuṃ aḥhattā puṣkarasraṇjā z 4 z garbham te rājā varuṇo garbham devo vṛhaspatiḥ | garbham ta indraś cāgniś ca garbham dhāta dadhātu te z 5 z garbhō sy oṣadhinaṃ garbho vanaspatināṃ.
| garbhō viśvasya bhūtasya so 'gne garbham eha dhāh z 6 z yad oṣadhayo garbhīṇiḥ paśavo yena garbhīṇaḥ | eṣaṁ garbhasya yo garbhas tena tvam garbhīṇiḥ bhava z 7 z vi te granthīṃ ēṛtāmasi dhātā garbham dadhātu te | ā yoniṁ putro rohatu jananam prati jāyatām z 8 z janisthā iha mājātho 'nyaṁ samuhyā carsa | adhā soma iva bhakṣaṇam ā garbhas sīdā rtviyam z 9 z savitaś śreṣṭhena rūpenāyā nāryā gavinyoh | pumāṁsaṁ putram ā dhehi dasame māsi sūtave z 10 z viśno śreṣṭhena o o o | pumāṁsaṁ o o o z 11 z tvāṣṭaś śreṣṭhena o o o | pumāṁsaṁ o o o z 12 z bhaga śreṣṭhena rūpenāyā nāryā gavinyoh | pumāṁsaṁ putram ā dhehi dasame māsi sūtave z 13 z adhi <kranda viṇayasva garbham> ā dhehi yonīm | ṛṣṭhāṁ ṛṣṭhāvantāṁ prajāyāi tvā nayāmasi z 14 z yad veda rājā varunpī veda devo ṛḥaspatiḥ | indro yad vrtrahā veda tad u garbhaka <raṇāṁ pi>bā z 15 z vi jihīṣva bāḥunasāme garbhas te yonīm ā śayām | dadan te putram devā somapā ubhayāvinam z 16 z | somasyad rtviyo nāpā† imām garbhakṛtvānām | tatas te putro jāyatām kartavāī viṇyebhyāḥ z 17 z 2 z

St 2. This is st 1 in S; I have given the stanzas as it appears in Pp 3. 39. 5, varying considerably from S.

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 S the corresponding stanzas are at the end of the hymn.

3

In pāda b read kṣatrāyāu†; in e ugra āpathikād seems satisfactory though āpathika does not seem to be in the lexicons.

vibādāṁ cit sahamānāṁ tvam a- [16] gne janayāmasi | jātam janiṣyamanāṁ sapatā prṇasva me z z
In pādas cd read jātān oṁ mānān sapatnāṁ mṛṇasva.

[17]aśvatthasyarohasya vrksasyāranayaṁ kṛtā | tato jātāya te jana [18] viṣuṭjambāṅgir agraye z
In pāda b read kṛtāḥ; in c ‘janad and for d viṣuṭjambho agnir agre.
\textit{te\'am jàtam jàtavedasam ádädámy amartyàin} \{19\} pávákam
agnim utaye \| śucimantaṁ viśásahi \ |

In pàda a read tvàm, in b amartyam; in c ùtaye, in d viśásahim; colon after pàda b.

\textit{uttarasva dhanu} \{[146a]\} prati muñcasva varma jahi satřn viryā
te kroṭu \| attri- \{2\} rikṣantayàte

This does not seem to be metrical: we may read uttarasva dhanuḥ
c ā śatṛn kroṭu, assuming that the colon is properly placed; perhaps we might then read atri rakṣatu, but for the end I have no suggestion: as the first pàda of the next stanza has been omitted perhaps the omission involved some of this stanza also. This is stanza 5.

\textit{sapatnànàm viśásahim \| hantarùn satṛnàm kṛṇvo virajñàn gopatim} \{3\} gavām 2

Read: ṛṣabham tvà samānànàm sapatnànàm viśásahim \| hantarùn satṛnànàm kṛṇmo virajñàn gopatim gavām 2 z 6 z

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

\textit{samudro sy apā jyeṣṭham indro deveṣu vṛtrahā \| evāghram}
siṁham tvā evag do- \{4\} mitāram prdanyakám |

In pàda a read 'sy apām jyeṣṭha, in b vṛtrahā; in c kṛṇmo, and
in d prdanyakām.

\textit{indrāva dhasyon adharùn kruṇavograi vāco visprām sapat-
trām} \{5\} te śuṣyam taptāpùn ivagne paryāvārathāyanām 2 z 2 z

For pàdas ab read indra iva dasyūn adharān kruṇavogra iva. a
vi śrjān sapatnān: in c taptā āpa ivā b; for d I see nothing satisfac-
tory.

\textit{om samuṣcāraṁ te śuṣkān viścāi-} \{6\} nām somajāṁ śikhas
sapatān svarās tridhāva tvam ekavṛṣo bhava |

In pàdas ab we may read sam viścāinān te śuṣkā viścāinān
somajān, followed perhaps by śikha: for c read sapatnān svarāṁs
tridhvā.

\textit{tvam ugrās tvām balīs tva-} \{7\} m edhy avivācaṇam tvām
prdanyataḥ pūrṇam sapatān avi dhūnuṣā z 2 z

In pàda a read ugras and balī, in b edhi avivācaṇah: in cd
prdanyataḥ pūrṇān sapatnān ava dhūnuṣvā. This is stanza 10.

\textit{sapatṛas na-} \{8\} patnahendra ivāvṛṣa lokataḥ adhās sapatnās te
padoḥ sarañ śatē abhiṣṭhataḥ
In pada a read asapatnas, in b ivāristo, in d santv abhiśhitāh. This is a variant of RV 10.166.2.


For pada a read māyantu te khatamulās sapatnā, in b agnīm and sarirāt: in c probably kāmo vidadhāt prāṇās: d I am unable to restore.


In pada b read sapatnakṣayamān: in ed tubhyām kṛṇmas sapatnēbhyas paraḥbhava. With this stanza cf Ś 1.29.4.

yo na svo yo arunō rātir atipāuru- [12] saḥ yugmasyeva prakṣāyatās tasya muś chesa kiṇ cana |

In pada a read nas and aruṇo, for b 'rātir atipūrṣah: in d moe chesi. For a see Ś 1.19.3a.

asapatram iti due z z

The two stanzas intended here are probably Pāipp 10.8.4 and 5. (Ś 19.27.14 and 15): they read as follows: asapatnam purustāt paścān no 'bhayāṁ kṛtāṁ | savītā mā daksinata uttarān mā 'acēpatiiḥ z 15 z dīvo mādityā rakṣāntu bhūmyā rakṣāntv agnayah | āndraṁkā rākṣātāṁ mā purustād aśvināv abhitaś śarma yacchatāṁ | tirāścānāṁyā rakṣātu jātavedā bhūtakṛto me sarvatas santu varma z 16 z 3 z

The numerals are adjusted to the sequence of this hymn.

(Ś 4.37)


In the middle of f.146a15 the ms corrects to (nadiṁ) ny(āpāo) and in f.146b8 it corrects bhāyām to dyā.

Read: tvayā pūrvam athavāno jaghānā raksāṇvy osadhe | tvayā jaghāna kaśyapas tvayā kanvag agastyaḥ z 1 z tvāyā vayam apsarasā gandharvānā cātāyamasi | ajaśrīgī aja raktas sarvān gandhena nāsāya z 2 z nadiṁ yantv apsarasā apāṁ tāram iva śvasan | gulguṇāḥ pālā nalaṇy āṅkṣaṅgadhī prabhādhiṁ z 3 z yatrāmartyā aps̐aṁ antāh samudre tūrānyariturvaṣi pūṇārīka | tat paretāpsarāsas pratibuddhā abhūtana z 4 z yatra preṅkho gandharvānām divi bandho hiranyayāḥ | tat o o o z 5 z gandharvānām apas̐aṁ anantam iti saṅganam | tat o o o z 6 z yatrāvatsāthā nyagrodhā mahāvyrkṣāḥ sikhandinaḥ | tat o o o z 7 z yatra tūvākaḥ haritaḥ arjunā śāhāthā karkaryāḥ śaṁvadantī | tat paretāps̐arāsas pratibuddhā abhūtana z 8 z iyām viruś chikāṇdino gandharvāyapsarasāpeśe | bhinātū mūskāv api yātu šepaḥ z 9 z iyam aganā osadhir virudhām virāyavati | ajaśrīgī arāṇakī tikṣeṣṣāṅgi vy ṛṣatu z 10 z apeteto pśarasā gandharvā yatvo grhā | ajaśrīgī arāṭakī ajaśrīgī vy ṛṣatu z 11 z jāyā id vo apsarasā gandharvās patayo yūyām | apa krāmata puruṣad amartyā martyām mā sacadhvāvam z 12 z bhīmā indrasya hetayaḥ sālapṛṣṭīr ayasāmyāḥ | tābhīr gandharvān abhedyāvākādān vy ṛṣatu z 13 z avakādān abhiṣocān ṭbīṣiḥi dyotayamānakān | gandharvān sarpān osadhe kṛṇa ṭtasvaparāyaṇāḥ z 14 z unnādayantī abhiṣocayantī muniṁ aṃtīn krūnātīr tāmokṣāśīnām | apsarasā yāś carantī gandharvāpatatīr ajaśrīgī aṣe z 15 z dvāidhikṛṇvānaḥ paruṣām viśvā rūpaṇi vo.
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 apsarases 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 sarvāṇ might be read for sarpan. At the end of d we might perhaps read tān svaparāyaṇān.

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

5

[f145b13] yo vāi vaśāṁ devayate pacaḍe vāhutāṁ a-[14] mā | mṛtyosya badhyate pāse devānāṁ ca yamasya ca z 7 z  

In pāda b read pacate and probably c hūtāṁ; cf. S 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.


Read sarasvatīṁ and place colon after kalpayantāḥ; we thus get two pādas which are possible but somewhat suspicious. In d read vaśā atiḥātās; in f read tāṁ nas svādīṁ.

svādīṁ nayatāṁ savitā kṛno- [18] tu | svādīṁ nayatāṁ savitā kṛnotu svādīṁ nayatāṁ jāntāḥ paśānāṁ [19] juhuny agravaunāṁ vīdvanāṁ tāṁ nas sādīṁ bhūtapatiḥ kṛnotu z 9 z  

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

[f147a] īdāṁ triyāṁ vaśīṁ vaśāsu mahimnena garbhō syā vīceśah uṣati tvam usato gachā [2] devān sadyās santu yajasānasya kāmaḥ z 10 z  

The ms interlines a correction "tīya" over sadyās.
In pāda b read mahimmena, or perhaps better "nvan; in c usatī and gaccha: for d satyās" yajamānasya kāmaḥ.


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.

vaśāṃsi svava sthaviraṁ vipāśyataṁ vaśāti suva vaskayāṁ diver-
spṛṣa | vaśāsi [5] suva taraṇāṁ vibhājane vaśāsi suca sañcītam
dhanānāṁ

Read: vaśāsi suva sthaviraṁ vipāscītaṁ vaśāsi suva baṣkayāṁ
divispṛṣam | vaśāsi suva taraṇāṁ vibhājane vaśāsi suva sañcītīṁ
dhanānāṁ z 6 z

yat prokṣanam ayutad barhi- [6] syas pari cakṣṣiṇato vedayāvatu
varā sañvṛṇtiyā atha gāur amīme tasyās pino [7] abhavaḍ varm-
vaśasam z 12 z

In pāda a ayutad needs correction; one could think of ayutat (impt. tense of yat) but it is not very appealing; in b I would read daṣṭiṇato vedāvā svāti, with colon following. For c we might read vaśā sañvṛktā yathā gāur amīmet, and in d varmavāsāḥ.

namo mahimnam uta cakṣuse vām vaśarurṣabho [8] manaśā tat
krānti | devān abhītaṁ pathibhiś śivebhīr mā no hiṃsiṣatāṁ karāṇa
[9] dāivyena |

In the right margin stands "namo mahimnāḥ pāthah."

In pāda a read mahimna, in b vaśa rśabha. For a cf. TS 3.3.8,
and with c cf. RV 1.162.21b.

vaśam askandhad rśabhas tiṣṭhantām aditiṁ triṣu garbhān tam
adya go veda [10] iti ya soma kalpataḥ z

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

rūpam ekās pari abhavaḍ rāja nāmayika ucyā- [11] te | prati-
rūpasyākam rūpam ekas su kartu nas (pra°)

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

prajāpatīṁ parameśthi mṛtyur vāśvā- [12] narasya saruvatya
nasā yañānasya vaśāyadhi 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 vāisvānaraḥ ca | sarasvatī tānasvā yajnas ca.

yasya gṛhājāyeta va- [13] śa devakṛtam haviḥ nidhānam asyā yeṣyām duhītra patyām icā 2

In pāda a read gṛha ājāyeta; in c asyā esyam would seem possible, and in d duhitavo; aicchan in e would give a smoother reading.

nāsyātmakṛ- [14] ta patiṣṭhan nasya sutā guhe syā | vaśā kamneva dundamkā parityā vijñātā 2

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

[15] nāinām orukṣe evrahmaṇeṇbhya nā mā vi glāpayati ca | atm na praty śavrtaya- [16] d yasya goṣu vaśā syā z

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

nāsyā vaśam ā rundhati devā manuṣyātītā vaśi ya- [17] d anvīye evrahmaṇam tasmād etā bhurad vaśah z

For pāda a read probably nāsya vaśām ā rundhanti, in b manusyaātītā: pādās cd can stand I believe. This is stanza 15.

vaśaṁ kṛpavānā vaśanīya- [18] m āgāṁ padaṁ kalyāṇy āpavasyamanāḥ avīśitām abhijayamānāḥ yaṁasya [19] mātṛām abhijalpamānāḥ z

In pāda a read probably vaśām 2 vaśiniyam āgan; in b āpavasyamanāḥ (vas ‘dwell!’) might be possible: the beginning of c seems to have been lost so that the only sure word in this pāda is abhijayamānā; in d read 2 jalpamānā.

indravantus te marutus tureya bhejire va- [20] sē | turiyam ādityā rudrās turiyam vaśām vo vaśāi z

In pāda b read turiyam, in d vaśavo vaše.

turiyabhājādi- [147b] tyāṁ vaśāyāś kavayo viduḥ yathāṣyāḥ satyikā tanuḥ catasya sāklapedaśa z

For pāda a read turiyabhāja ādityān; for c I would suggest athasyāḥ saty ekā tanuḥ, and for d possibly śatasa cāklipe 2 daśa.


Read: vaśām vandyām anv āpāṣyaṁ nākarpṛṣṭham svarvidah ādityāya namann āyann ṛṣayaḥ ca tapasvinah 19 z.
pade pade kalpantadityangiraso yajuḥ idanām nva [4] yaṁ daśām udīḍām saha mucye ā

In pādās ab read ‘kalpantadityā’; in c idānām and possibly vayo daśānām, and in d possibly tad ēyānām. in c at least the suggestions may look in the right direction. This is stanza 20.

vaśedā vaśānomatir vaśāṁ āhur saras- [5] svati virājaṁ manyante vrāṇi vaśvaśā prthivi śā z

In pāda a read ‘ānumatir, in b sarasvatīm; in c vaśām, for d vašāsā prthivi vaśā.


In pāda b read vaśoṣā; in c aviṣat, and in d tāṁ and aviṣat.

agnir vāga udakam cakṣur mano vāto vaśāt | tamnam ko svās tān va- [8] da yayodakrāmad ekaya z

In pāda c read tanvam ko ‘svās, and in d yathod.


In pāda b read paśyantī, in c prajādhī; for d a possible form would be vaśā rājṇām taviyusā svīṣṭā.


In pāda a read probably vaśāyā ūḍho, for b ka ulvam 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 § 12.4.18.; for d we might read ka ute veda yad vahe. Cf. the next two stanzas. This is stanza 25.

aham asyā udo veda [12] aham ulvam jarāyu jah udān asyāhaṁ veda adhotu veda ivaḥ vahe z

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


For pāda a read nānām rakṣe haṁ tvad, in b yāh yāmivāsyāṁ; in c stanān asyā aham, and in d jarāyu ca. Cf. st 14 above.

krutar yoni dadhi vāso jarāyu pāṇḍām utvam nābhīr usni- [15] śam asyām ajaramāṇaṁ dahe tu mātaram vaśī vrahmahāhī śktas sa
hy asya bandhuh z [16] zv ity atharvanipāpalādayā śūkhyāyān
trayodaśākṣaṇḍas sa- [17] samāplāḥ zv zv prathamānusvākhaḥ zv
atha caturdaśī hi- [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 o mātaram; d here is § 10.10.28d. 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] ni pra vocām yāni cakāra
prathamān vajrī ahān ahām anv apā- [f148a] has tūrādaś pra
vukṣamaṇā abhināt parvatānām z ahān ahām parvata śīruṇānām
[2] tvastāṃśāi vajrayam svaryam utakṣa avārā iva dhenaḥ svand-
amānāiḥ samudra- [3] m ava jagmuru āpah vṛṣayamāna vṛṣayi
ṛta vajrayam ahān ahānaḥ prathamaḥām ahānām z sad indrā-
[5] ṣam prathamājāḥ ahānām utmaṇīnām amināḥ prata māyāḥ ut
svaryam janayān tvā- [6] m uṣasam tāvetra śattrū na kīda
yaśvāca | ahām vṛttam vṛttarūraṁ sun indro vajrena [7]
mahātā vadheṇa | skandhaṃsva kuliṣenā viveśeṇiḥ śayatam upasya
pr- [8] thīvyāḥ z yodhyeṇa durmada ḍhi jhīve mahāvāraṁ tuhib-
dhaṃ rīsām [9] nātārā asya suṣatīṁ vasānāṁ sam rārāṇā pūpiṣa
indrasattṛuḥ apād aha- [10] stō apunantaḥ indram āhasya vajraya
putrā vṛttro asayad vyajal nakāṁ na bhinnam amunā śayānām
mān no ruherā [12] ati yanti āpah | yaś ci vṛttro maṇinā parya-
tiṣṭhan tāsām ahī pracyutahe- [13] śīn vabhūva | nīcāvaya
abhavā vṛttaputrendro asyā aravadaj jahāra | u- [14] uttārā
sūr adharaḥ putra ṛṣi dānus śreṣṭe mahavatāś na dhenuḥ ati-
thanti- [15] nam avruveṣanānāṁ kāṣṭhānāṁ madhye nihilam
karīrām. [15] om vṛttasya nīyasā vi carauty ṛṣa ṛgḥam tāna
ākaya indrasatuḥ z dāsa- [17] sapatnir ahigopā atiṣṭham nirud-
dha ṛṣah pariniva ṛcavā ṛpiṁ bhī [18] lom apīṭham yad ṛṣīd
vṛttam jaghaṇvān ṛpi ud vāvāra z avayā vā- [19] ro bhagaḥ tur
indraś śrūke ya tvā pratyahām deva ekāḥ ajayo gam ajayaś chu-
[20] ra somaghavāśrayat saptave saptā sindhiṇ. nāsmā vidyun na
tanyatuh miśe- [f148b] dhān na yāmāmik dhrājinaṁ ca | indraś
ced vidhāte ahiś cotāparivatibhyo [2] maghava vi jajneh | ahe yatārām
kram apasya indra indriyat te jaghnuśo [3] bhūr agaschat, nava
cām ca yan navatiṃ ca srawanti cyono na bhito ata- [4] ro rajāṇiśi |
indro yato vāśilasya rājā śrmasya ca śṛgino vajrabāhuh | [5]
śravati rājā kṣayati carṣaniṇāṁ atām na temiś puliṭa babhūva
[6] z

Read: indrasya nu viryāṇi pra vocaṁ yāni cakāra prathamāni
vajri | ahan ahim anv apas tatarda pra vakṣanā abhinat parva-
tānāṁ z 1 z ahan ahim parvate śiśriyāṇaṁ tvāstāśmāi vajraṁ
svaryam tatakṣa | vāśrā iva dhenuvaḥ syandamānā aṁjaḥ samudram
ava jagmur āpah z 2 z vṛṣayāmāṇo 'ṛṇita somaṁ trikadrūkeśv
apibat sutasya | aśāyakām maghavādatta vajram ahan enaṁ
prathamajām ahinām z 3 z yad indrāhan prathamajām ahinām āṁ
māyāṁ aṁmaṁsprota māyāḥ | aṁśuryam janayan dyāṁ usāsom
tādīṁna ṣatrum na kilā vivitse z 4 z ahan vṛtram vṛtratānam vyāśasa
indro vajreṇa mahāṭa vadhena | skandhaṇāvā kuliṇēva vīr-k
nāhiś śayata upapṛk pṛthivyāḥ z 5 z ayodhēva durmada ā hi juhe
mahāvīram tuvibādham rīṣam | nāṭāriś asya samṛtiṁ vadhānaṁ
sam ṭarānuṇa pīpiṣa indraśatraḥ z 6 z apād ahaṣto aprṇanyād āṁdram
āsya vajram adhi săṇāu jaghāna | vṛṣṇo vadhṛṣṇa pratimānaṁ
būhūnaṁ purutrā vṛṭro asayad vyastah z 7 z nādaṁ na bhinnam
āmunā śayāṇaṁ mano rūhanaṁ aṁ yānty āpah | yāś ciḥ vṛtro mohana
paryatisthaṁ tāsāṁ ahiś patsūtabhīṁ babhuva z 8 z niĉavaya abhavah
vṛtraputrendro asya ava vadhara jaghāra | uttarā sūr adharah putra
āśīd dānuś śaye sahavatsa na dhenuḥ z 9 z atiśṭhantināṁ anive-
sanāṇāṁ kāśṭhānāṁ madhye nihitaṁ sārīram | vṛtrasya nīyaṁ vi
caranta āpa dirghaṁ tama āśayad indraśatraḥ z 10 z dāsapatnīr
aṁgopa atiśṭham nīruddha āpah panineva gāvaḥ | āpāṁ bilam
apihītaṁ yaḥ āsīd vṛtraṁ jaghanvaṁ āpa tad vavāra z 11 z aśvyo
vāro 'bhavas tad indra srke yat tvā pratyahan deva ekāḥ | ajayo gā
ajayaś śura somaṁ avāṛjas sartave saptā sindhiṇ z 12 z nāsimāi
vidyun na tanayatuh sisedha na yāṁ miham aṁkād dhrājinaṁ ca |
indraś ca yad vividhāte ahiś cotāparihbyo maghava vi jigyey z 13 z
aheḥ yātāram akam apasya indra hrdi yat te jaghnuṣo bhīr agacchat
| nava ca yan navatim ca sraṃvanti śyeno na bhito ataroo rajāṇiśi
z 14 z indro yāto 'vasitasya rājā śamasya ca śṛgino vajrabāhuh |
sed u rājā keṣati carṣāṇāṃ arāṇ na nemīṣ pari tā bahhūva z 15 z.6 z.

St 6. In pāda d our ms has raraṇā for RV rujānāh. This may point towards a real variant, which could even be raraṇāh: 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 dhīrājīnām 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)hārānum of RV. In c the ms reading points clearly to vividhāte which seems possible and acceptable though not so good as yuyudhāte of RV.

(RV 2.12; 8 20. 34)


In f148b17 over the end of st 6c the ms interlines “mantrāṁ”; and in f149a2 it corrects (mahy eno) drah to ṭā.

Read: yo jāta eva prathamo manasvān devo devān kruṭān paryabhūṣat | yasya śuṣmād rodāśi abhyāsetām nr̥mṇasya mahān sa janassā indrah z 1 z yās prthivim vyathamānām adhr̥had yās parvatān prakupitān aramnāt | yo antariṣanām vimām varīyo yo dyām astabhnāt sa o o | z 2 z yō batvāhim arināt sapta sindhunā yā gā udājad apadhā valasya | yo Śmānorrar antar agnīṃ jajāna saṁvṛk samatsa sa o o | z 3 z yenaṃviśvā cyavanā kṛtānī yo dāsam varṇam adharam guhākaḥ | śvālimāva yo jigivān laksam ādaṃ aryāḥ puṣṭānī sa o o | z 4 z yām sma prechanti kuha seti ghoram utem āhur nāiṣo astīyī enam | so aryāḥ puṣṭīr dhraja ivā mināti śrūd asmaī dhatta sa o o | z 5 z yo radhrasya codita yās kṛṣasya yo vrahmano nādhāmanāsa kireḥ | yuktāgrāvno yo vītā suśipraḥ sutasomasya sa o o | z 6 z yasyāśvāsa pradiṣṭi yasya gaḍo yasya grāmā yasya viśe rathāsah | yas sūryam ya usasāṃ jajāna yo apāṃ neta sa o o | z 7 z yom krandsai saṁyati vihavīte pare vṛam udbhāyī amatraḥ | samānam cid ratham ātasthiyānā nāśa havete sa o o | z 8 z yasmān na rte vijayaṃte janāso yam yuddhayānavi svase havante | yo viśvasya pratimānānu bhūbhūsyo cyutacyut sa o o | z 9 z yās śāṅvato mahy eno dadhānan abudhyānānavi sarvāṇi jaghāna | yās sarīhate naundadāti śṛdhyaṃ yo dāsyaṃ hantā sa o o | z 10 z yās śambaram parvateṣu kaśyantarāṃ śatvārīṇiṣyaṃ śārady anvāndat | ojāyamāno yo ‘him jaghāna dānnām śayānāṃ sa o o | z 11 z yās śambaram paryaraksac chačibhir yo vākrkṣad yo vāpiḥt santām | antar girānī tajamānāman bahum jānaṁ† yasmīn amūrchat sa o o | z 12 z yas saptaraśmir viśabhas tuviṃmān
avāṣṛjat sartave sapta sindhun | yo rāhuṇam asphurad vajrabhūr
dyām arohantam sa  o  o  z 13 z dyāvā cid asmāi prthivi vasete
śuṣmāc cid asya parvata śhayante | yah somāpā nicito vajrabhūr
yo vajrāhastas sa  o  o  z 14 z yas sunvantam avati yah pacaṇtaṁ
yaḥ śaṁsantaṁ yaḥ śuṣmānāman utsi | yasya vṛṣma vṛdhanaṁ
yasya somo yasyedam rādhas sa  o  o  z 15 z yas sunvate pacate
dudhraḥ ā cid vājāṁ dardarśi sa kālāi satyaḥ | vayaṁ ta indra
vishantaṁ priyāsaṁ suvṛtāṁ vidhamā sa vadema z 16 jāto dhyaṇaṁ
pitro upaste bhuvu na veda janituḥ parasya | taviṣyamāno 'nu
yo kośad vratā devanāṁ sa  o  o  z 17 yaḥ somakāmo haryaśvāṁ
sūrīr yasmād rejante bhuvanāṁ viśvā | yo jaghāna śambaram yaḥ
ea śuṣṇām ya ekavīras sa janāsa indraḥ z 18 z 7 z

St 9. In pāda c bhubhūṣur is given as being rather closer to our
ms than babhūva as in RV and Ś.
St 10. In pāda b RV and Ś have amanayāmanāṁ charvā; our
sargvān may of course be a copyist's mistaken correction.
St 11. In pāda c I cannot see that ojaṁyāmanāṁ 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 'dhyaṇaṁ (17a) and 'kṣad (17c) are not
inevitable: the beginning of 17b seems to be correct, bhuvu na
veda, so I have accepted it here and it is supported by ms of Ś;
but RV Ś. 12. 3b bhuvu navedā ucathasya navyaḥ suggests that we
might read here bhuvu navedā o. In 18a haryaśvāṁ sūrīr is surely
correct; four ms of Ś point to this reading.

8
(S 19. 10. and 11; RV 7. 35)

[f149a18] sāṁ na indrāṇi bhavatāsavo bhūḥ sāṁ na indrāṇāṁ
rāṭhāvya śā.- [19] m indrāsomaya savitāya sāṁ yoh sāṁ indrā-
pūṣāṇā vājaya- [f149b] tāu z sāṁ no bhāgaṁ sāṁ u nās śaṁsom
asti śāṁ no aryaman puruṣātān āstui | kā no dhātā śā- [2] m u dhātā
no āstui sāṁ na urucī bhavatu svadhābhūḥ sāṁ rōdayi vṛhat śāṁ
no urucī [3] sāṁ no devānāṁ suhāvāni santu | sāṁ no aṃgir

Read: śaṁ na indrāgni bhavatāṁ avobhiḥ śaṁ na indrāvarunā rātaḥavāḥ | śaṁ indraścāma suvitiyā śaṁ yoh śaṁ na indrāpunāna vājasatān z 1 z śaṁ no bhagaś śaṁ u naś śaṁsa astu śaṁ naḥ purāṁdhī śaṁ no sāntu rāyaḥ | śaṁ na satyaśya suvamāsyā śaṁnaś śaṁ no aryamā puruṣāḥ astu z 2 z śaṁ no dhātā śaṁ u dhārāḥ no astu śaṁ na urūcē bhavatu svadhābhīḥ | śaṁ rodāś vṛhati śaṁ no adhiḥ śaṁ no devānām suhavāni santu z 3 z śaṁ no agnir jyotirānāk śaṁ no mitrāvarunā aśvinā śaṁ | śaṁ na sukṛtāṁ sukṛtāṁ sanitu śaṁ na āsiro abhi vātu vāṭaḥ z 4 z śaṁ no dyāprāprthiivī pūrvahūtā śaṁ antarikṣam drśaye no astu | śaṁ na oṣadhir vanino bhavantu śaṁ no rajasaḥ pātir astu jisvāḥ z 5 z
ṣāṃ na indro vasubhir devo astu śaṃ udityebhir varuṇaḥ suṣaṇaḥ | śaṃ no rudro rudrebbhir jalāsaḥ śaṃ nas tvāstā ghnābhīr iha śṛṇotu z 6 z śaṃ nas soma bhavatu vrahma śaṃ naḥ śaṃ no grāvānaḥ śaṃ u santu yajñāḥ | śaṃ nas svarūpāḥ mitayo bhavantu śaṃ naḥ prasvaś śaṃ v astu vediḥ z 7 z śaṃ nas sūrya urucaśkāḥ ud etu śaṃ no bhavantu prādīṣaḥ catasraḥ | śaṃ naḥ parvataḥ dhruvayo bhavantu śaṃ nas sindhavas śaṃ u santvā paḥ z 8 z śaṃ no aditir bhavatu vratebhiḥ śaṃ no bhavantu marutas svarkāḥ | śaṃ no viṣṇuḥ śaṃ u pūṣā no astu śaṃ no bhavitram śaṃ v astu vāyuḥ z 9 z śaṃ no devas savītā tāmamāṇaḥ śaṃ naḥ bhavantusasa vibhātīḥ śaṃ naḥ parjanyo bhavantu prajābhyaś śaṃ naḥ kṣetrasya patir astu śambhūḥ z 10 z śaṃ naḥ satyasya patayo bhavantu śaṃ no arvantāḥ śaṃ u santu gāvah | śaṃ naḥ rghavas sukrtaḥ suhastaḥ śaṃ naḥ bhavantu pitaro āveṣu z 11 z śaṃ no devā viśvadevā bhavantu śaṃ arasvati saha dhibhir astu | śaṃ abhiścaḥ śaṃ u rātiścaḥ śaṃ naḥ no divyāḥ pārthivaḥ śaṃ no aṣṭāḥ z 12 z śaṃ no aja ekapād devo astu śaṃ no hir budhnyaś śaṃ samudrāḥ | śaṃ naḥ apāṃ napāt perur astu śaṃ naḥ prāṇir bhavatu devagopāḥ z 13 z ādityā rudrā vasavo jūsantām īdāṃ vrahma kriyamanāṃ navīyāḥ | śṛṇvantu no divyāḥ pārthivāḥ gojāta uta ye yajñīyaḥ śaṃ naḥ ye devānām ṭtvijya yajñīyaḥ manor yajatah armtā rtajñāḥ | te no rāṇantām urugāyam adya yuyām pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ z 15 z tad astu mātravarunā tad agne śaṃ yor asmahyam īdāṃ astu sāstam | aśūmahi gātum uta pratiṣṭhām namo dive vṛhate sādhanayaḥ z 16 z 8 z

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

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

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

St 13. In pāda d S has śaṃ ahir; no should be restored.

St 14. In pāda a Ppp and S agree, RV has jūsanta.

St 15. In pāda a Ppp and S agree, RV has yajñīya yajñīyānām.

St 16. S and RV have gādhama in a, and sādhanāya in d.

(8 5. 29)

[i151a4] agraṇu agniḥ carati prāvijītaḥ śrīnām putro a- [5]
dhīrāja eṣaḥ | tasmāi juhomi haviṣā ghṛtena mā devānāṁ yāyāvad
bhāgadheyaṁ | [6] yuktāv vaha jātavedaś parastād agne viddhi
kriyamānaṁ yayedāṁ | tvāṁ bhīṣajad bhesa- [7] jasyaṁ gurtha
tvāya gnam āsvain puruṣaṁ sanemā z tathā tvam agne kṛṇu
jātavedo nena [8] vidvāṁ haviṣa yavīṣṭhaḥ | pīśaco sya tapo dīdeva
yathā so mya paridhiṁ patatiḥ [9] yo sya tādeva yatamo jaghāśi
yathā somasya paridhiṁ patatiḥ tathā tvam agne kṛ- [10] nu
jātavedo visvebhvir deviśa saṁvidānaḥ z mokṣau na viddhi
pīśaco sya tamo jaghāśa- [12] sāgne yavīṣṭhāḥ prathā tāṁ śṛṇhiḥ |
y a hnasā ṛtaṁ yad ātaṁ yat parābhyam ātmanā [13] jagadham
uta yat pīśacitaḥ tad agne vidvāṁ punarā bhara tvam śaṁte prānam
asi-[14] m erayā sam sṛjema z apāṁ tvā pāne yatamo dadambha
odane manthe diva ota [15] lehe | tad ātmanā prajaya pīśaco
vyavayataṁ agado yam astu z kṛṣe tvā [16] māṁse yatamo
dadambha akṣiptapāṣya satane dhānya yaḥ | tad ātmanā prajaya
[17] pīśacā vyavayataṁ agado yam astu z ya me sapakve śāvake
vipakve i- [18] maṁ pīśaco śane didambhaḥ tvam indro vaij
vajrena yantu bhanaṁ samāś śi- [19] ro stu jīpaṁ śivā tvā
naktam yatamo didambhas kravyād yā tuś śayane pīśa- [151b] caḥ
ud agne dvāṁ prthaṁ. śṛṇthā apy enamā dehi nirṛte upasthe |
somasṛndrasya va- [2] runasya rājñō viṣno viśnu balena savitvā savena |
agnṛ hotreṇa prāute pīśacau [3] manohanaṁ jahī jātavedas
saḥbhiḥ bhraddhemaṁ juṣatāṁ daksināya yathā ji- [4] vany
agado bhavāṣi z z punas tvā prāṇaṇaḥ punara ity āyuś punaś ca
caṛuṣaṇaḥ [5] śrotaviṣu | apa śthā no durītāṁ viśvā śatam hīmās
sarcavīrō madema z punar āśmā [6] mano dhēhi punar āyuś punar
balāṁ | apāṁnāṁ asyāḥ prāṇāṁ cāganyā vardhaya ji- [7] vāse |
caṛuṣa sūrya punar dehi vālaḥ prāṇaṁ sam irayaḥ śarīram asyā
māṁṣany agne [8] sambhāvaya tvāṁ z samābhara jātavedo yaj
jagdhaṁ yat parābhyam | gātrāṁ asya [9] kalpaṣṭāṁ āyam |
agnṛ virapsinaṁ maṁhyam ayakṣmaṁ kṛṇu jivase z sam mā [10]
sūcata maruṁ ity ekā z

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

Read: agnāv agnī cāraṇī praviṣṭa śṛṇāṁ putro adhirāja esāḥ |
tasmāi juhomī haviṣa ghṛteṇa mā devānāṁ yovyuv bhāgadheyaṁ
z 1 z yuktāv vaha jātavedaś purastād agne viddhi kriyamānaṁ
yathedam | tvāṁ bhīṣaj bheṣajasyāsi kartā tvāyaṁ gāma śaṁ
puruṣaṁ sanemā z 2 z tathā tvam agne kṛṇu jātavedo nena vidvāṁ
haviṣa yavīṣṭhaḥ | pīśaco sya yatamo dīdeva yathā so śya paridhiṁ
The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Thirteen

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 AS 8. 14. 4, which has momuhad in d. In Ś 4. 39. 9 and in other texts there are numerous variants.

St 4. In Ś st 3 has only three pādās, 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 śāhīre māṁsa asam erayāmah, which is better.

St 7. Pāda 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.


Read: vi muñcāmi vrahmanā jātavedasam agnim hotāram ajarām rayasprptam | sarvā devānām janimānī vidvān yathābhāgaṁ vahatu Vyām agnih z 1 z ye punāso yātudhānam yā striyo yātudhānyah | balavād ānrasya vajrenāvācāṁ ni budhyāntām z 2 z yaṁ śapāmo yo naś śapāti yaṁ dvismo yo dvesat piśacāḥ | kravy-
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 emendation seems needed and I have nothing to offer.
St. 6. In pāda c pīsunaḥ piṣṭaḥ would be a much better reading.
St. 8. At the end of pāda a probably tam mṛgitāram is intended.
St. 11. The first part of this does not seem very good: for d see Ppp 10. 12. 9d.

In the right margin of f153a is "darbhādhi rām": the form viddhi in f153a18 is corrected to vindi, and the two occurrences in
line 19 seem to be corrected to vindhi. In f152b3 the two forms bhaṅkti and bhakti are corrected to bhaṅkti.

Read: imāṁ badhānāṁ te maniṁ dirghāyuvāya varcase | darbhāṁ sapatnajambhānaṁ dviṣatas tapanāṁ hṛḍāḥ z 1 | dviṣatas tapanāṁ hṛḍāṁ satṛūnāṁ tāpayan manaḥ | durhārdas sarvāṁ tvāṁ darbha gharma ivākhit saṁtāpaya z 2 z gharma ivā-

bhuptan darbha dviṣato niśocan mane | hṛḍāḥ sapatnaṁāṁ bhin-
dhindra īva virujan balam z 3 z bhindī darbha sapatnāṁ ām hṛdayāṁ dviṣatāṁ mane | udyan tvacam īva bhūmyāṁ sira esāṁ vi pātaya z 4 z chindī darbha sapatnāṁ me chindhi me pṛtanāyataḥ | chindhi me sarvāṁ durhārdas chindhi me dviṣato mane z 5 z bhindī |

z 6 z kṛṣṇa z 7 z piṅga | z 8 z vidhyā z 9 z nikṣa |

z 10 z trṇdhi z 11 z bhāndhi z 12 z mṛda z 13 z mantha z 14 z piṅdhi |

z 15 z oṣa z 16 z dāha |

z 17 z jahi darbha sapatnāṁ me jahi me pṛtanāyataḥ | jahi me sarvāṁ durhārdo jahi me dviṣato mane z 18 z yat te darbha jārya-
mṛtyu sataṁ marmasu marma te | tenemāṁ manmanāṁ kṛtvā |

sapatnāṁ jahi viṁśāṁ z 19 z sataṁ te darbha varmaṁ sahasṛṇa viṁśāṁ te | tam asmāi viśve tvāṁ devā jaraṁ bhartaṁ adui | z 20 z tvāṁ indu devavarmāṁ tvāṁ darbha vrahmānaspātim | tvām |

indrasyāhur varma tvāṁ rāstraṁ sarvā raksasi z 21 z sapatnakṣa-
yānāṁ darbha dviṣatas tapanāṁ hṛḍāḥ | maniṁ kṣatrasya vrddhāsyānāṁ kṛṇomi te z 22 z yat samudrö bhya克拉ṣat 

parjanṭi viṁśāṁ saha | tato hiranyadya binduṁ tato darbho ajāyata z 23 z 11 z iti kusadarbhasūktam zz

There is no indication in the ms of three hymns as given in S, 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 S; as its seventh S has a stanza with vrṣcā, which I have not restored to our version. In S 19. 29. 3 rundhi appears for our bhaṅdhī.

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.
om antar Hirota me virhad antariksa antarhitas parvatad
agnayo me | ma- [7] hisham radyhy avacara esat prayak enam
pratisarena hanni | tapasva mahartaro ma- [8] d bhavitho divam
varma prithivim ca krnaha z antarhita manama prasthitam a-
[9] ntarhitas parameshtih prajapatih antarhitas sarparajño viran
me antarhi- [10] tah puruso medhya me antarhitaḥ me saḍ urvis
sadhracir antarhitas sadhyap a- [11] pata me z mahaṣyaḥ pratitasa
antarhitas suryo mātariśyā antarhitā na- [12] dyuḥ syandamanān
antarhitā osadhiṣ puṣpiṇār me | antarhitās paśava- [13] s kaksā
me antarhitam vayo yat patatri | antarhitā sa isavo vrahmaṇānām
a- [14] ntarhitā vanaspatayo myalā z antarhitā devatalpāḥ puro me
antarhitā jaga- [15] tiṣ chandasān me | antarhitā agnaya dhṛṇyā
me antarhitā tvāyratva me | a- [16] ntarhitā me samudrā devadasā
me ntarhitā uṣā tārakā me | antarhitā [17] me pradiśaḥ catasvā
antar bhūta havyam ca deyam mahisāṁ radyhy avacara erṣat prayak
e- [18] nāṁ pratisareṇa hannya

Read: antarhitam me virhad antarikṣam antarhītiḥ parvatā
agnayo me | mahiṣāṁ rādhye ‘vacara eṣaḥ prayag enāṁ pratisareṇa
hannya z 1 z tapasva māvantaro mad bhavathā divam varma prthi-
viṃ ca kṛṣṇaḥ | mahiṣāṁ o o o z 2 z antarhitam sāma
prasthitam antarhītiḥ paramesṭhi prajāpatiḥ | mahiṣāṁ o o o
z 3 z antarhītas sarparajño virān me antarhitāḥ puruṣo medhya me
| mahiṣāṁ o o o z 4 z antarhitā me saḍ urvis sadhracira
antarhītaḥ sadhyā apātā me | mahiṣāṁ o o o z 5 z antarhitā
ma ṛṣayaḥ pratitasa antarhitā sūryo mātariśvā | mahiṣāṁ o o o
z 6 z antarhitā nadyaḥ syandamanān antarhītā osadhiṣ puṣpiṇār me
| mahiṣāṁ o o o z 7 z antarhitas paśavaḥ kaksā me antarhitam
me vayo yat patatri | mahiṣāṁ o o o z 8 z antarhitā ma ājavo
vrahmaṇānām antarhītā vanaspatayo myalā | mahiṣāṁ o o o
z 9 z antarhitā devatalpāḥ puro me ‘ntarhitā jagatiḥ chandasā me
| mahiṣāṁ o o o z 10 z antarhitā agnaya dhṛṇyā me antarhitā
rtava ārtvā me | mahiṣāṁ o o o z 11 z antarhitā samudrā
dvādaśā me ‘ntarhitā uṣāī tārakā me | mahiṣāṁ o o o z 12 z
antarhitā me pradiśaḥ catasvā antarhitām bhūtaḥ havyam ca deyam
| mahiṣāṁ rādhya ‘vacara eṣaḥ prayag enāṁ pratisareṇa hannya
z 13 z 13 z

It seems reasonably sure that the arrangement with refrain is
13

[f153a18] हन्मि ते हां क्रतां हाविर ये मे घरम अच्यताः ।
[19] पांचयो तू उभार बाहु अपूर्यासयमि । अपि निस्याति ते बाहु
अपि निष्याय- [f153b] म्यूसयायाम् । अग्ने देवस्या मण्ययामि तेन
ते वदसम हाविर यौ ग्नहाम अदिक्ताः । [2] दिताः सतायो-
जनम इन्द्र वर्तयते रथायं स्याकां क्षुरयाभान्ति मानिम अहे
जाता- [3] नि जम्भयां नि द्राहा सेन्यायं हाता उदारा सर्पिनाह
प्राष्चासि द्वे स्त्राया- [4] नित्र स्वापिंदम अदान युवा द् पापका
पापूरुपका किम ने साक्षयम् अ तुर्क | [5] नामिम तपस्यांग रापह
यस्यासहदयाः प्रसरपत्थांगम अंगाम परुषां परु । तस्माद- [6]
भक्तां द्वारहस्यां उग्रो मधुयमासिः रवा ये अन्या वो
न्नां अधिनाम अत्यन्त यस्यायेः [7] अपावताः द्वि साहदयां तमिलोहिनां
इतिव तिरुत्तयावो वर्तया अन्नाम- [8] तन्त्रित अविदाम देवा असादयास
परिः यं जीवां अश्नामामि ना सा रिस्याति [9] पारुसाः ये यि
असादयां सोमाराजिः देव शता रक्षावह वर्हस्पिः- [10] तिर्स्याति-
ताः नु मुः चंतव आन्हासाः जीवलां नाग्हारिः आते बाह्नायम्
ो- [11] शाद्धि मृत्युं वि तव पापारद अपि रक्षानिः वतायाः भृत्
[12] आदि यथ२ ग्रहावती राधामां कांदा वृत्तां नुवाकाह व व

Read: हन्मि ते हां क्रतां हाविर ये मे घरम अच्यताः ।

पांचयो तू उभार बाहु अपी नहायमु असयम् उ बो अपी नहायमु असयम् ।
अग्ने देवस्या मण्ययामि तेन वे

तदधिषां हाविर ये मे घरम अच्यताः ज 2 उदितस सतायोजनम इन्द्र
वर्तयते रथायं स्याकां क्षुरयाभान्ति मानिम अहे

जाता- नि जम्भयां नि द्राहा सेन्यायं हाता उदारा सर्पिनाह

प्राष्चासि द्वे स्त्राया- नित्र स्वापिंदम अदान युवा द् पापका

पापूरुपका किम ने साक्षयम् अ तुर्क | नामिम तपस्यांग रापह

यस्यासहदयाः प्रसरपत्थांगम अंगाम परुषां परु ।

तस्माद यस्मां वि बाह्नावमु उग्रो मधुयमासिः रवा ये अन्या वो

न्नां अधिनाम अत्यन्त यस्यायेः अपावताः द्वि साहदयां तमिलोहिनां

इतिव तिरुत्तयावो वर्तया अन्नाम- तन्त्रित अविदाम देवा

असादयास परिः यं जीवां अश्नामामि ना सा रिस्याति

पारुसाः ये यि असादयां सोमाराजि देव शता रक्षावह

वर्हस्पिः ताः नु मुः चंतव आन्हासाः जीवलां नाग्हारिः आते

बाह्नायम् ओ- शाद्धि मृत्युं वि तव पापारद अपि

रक्षानिः वतायाः भृत्
where: st 1 and 2 in TB 2.4.2.2 and 3 (cf. S 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 PrānāgU I.

St 3. All of pāda c seems uncertain.
St 5. In pāda d there is surely an omission; RV 10.97.10d yat kīm ca tanvo rāpaḥ would fit tolerably well.
St 6. With variants this appears in S 4.9.4, Ppp 8.3.11 and 9.9.2.
St 7. In pāda d RV has prāvatā.
St 8. In pāda a RV has avadān.
St 10. In pāda c PrānāgU 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

In pāda d vasāṇā seems probable; read varṣantī.

dhāto rudrasya kīṁ vāyoḥ vājīṇā vṛjani- [8] nam mahat. kīm pūsā vrahmanaspātir viśve devaḥ ca bhūrati z
In pāda a read dhātū, in b vājīṇāṃ vṛjanaṁ (or possibly vṛjanaṁ).

In pāda a delete “devā” at end of line 9, in b read yasminn and probably samanāṁ; in c rātī and kvāḥa, in d vyeti.

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 tanūpaṁ; read prāchāmy.

prāchāmi tvā prṣatiyam rohinīm ca vatsam prṣchā- [13] mi tvā
prasatiyam rohiniṃ ca vatsam prECHami sahamātarantā indram tvā
ni [14] prECHami saksat sabhānām ca sabhāpatiṃ. z

In pāda a read prECHami and prECHain, in b prECHami and
mātaram te followed by colon: in c prECHami. This is stanza 5.

ko vayasaṁ adadhām nāmā- [15] ni kaś paśünām kaḥ sarpaṇāṁ
devajanā yāsaṁ ko sya jantor a- [16] yad ā vrūhi nas that. z

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

kati rohā svar ā rohayanty eti rohito devam ā ru- [17] roha
rāṣṭrabhṛtya ksattrabhṛtya vasubhṛtya vasudinavo vasuyavaḥ z

In pāda a we may read rohās, and rohayanti, in b probably yebhi
and divam; the rest seems hardly metrical; read ksatra2o anc
vasuyavaḥ; for vasudinavō I can suggest nothing.

kaś cat tāvā vi [18] kramate mahītvā ko raksantu ka vo pra-
sādam. purusam tvā ni prECHami [19] sāksan mṛtyor aṅgani kati
tāni vetthāh

In pāda a read cīt tāvān and krāmate; in b possibly raksati ko
vā, but it appears that two syllables have been lost from this pāds
and so we might better think of something like ko vadati prasādam.
In c read prECHami sāksān, in d aṅgāni and vettha.

ahanśe carukās cārṣa- [20] śināṁ indro vajra mahīnaś spar-
dhamānaḥ yena vṛtrāmaṇ maghavā [f155a] ***ve tāṁ na pra vrūhy
ad idāṁ praveśa.

In the first two words of pāda a perhaps are concealed a form
of han and a derivative of tar (e. g. tarsa) or varyāḥ kaś; in b
read vajraṁ; in c vṛtraṁ, saṁ pipiṣe; 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 tāṁ naḥ pra vrūhi yad idāṁ
pravetthā.

kaḥ parvatānāṁ aridhā nāmānī ko vanaspa- [2] *śināṁ adadhā
cosadhinām. z prECHāmi tvā bhuvanasya nādhiṁ śaṁ tvā prECHā-
[3] mś katamāni saksat. z

In pāda a read adadhān, for b ko vanaspatinām adadhāc cānṣa-
dhinānām: in c prECHāmi, in d śaṁ tvā, or possibly śaṁtvā prECHāmi.
This is stanza 10.
devatalpā devakosa' kveha tān na pra vrūhy ad - [4]*** pra-
vettha | prāchāmi tvā gargara kim to yebhyo agnir havyam vahatu
prajānan. z [5] *hatam martyr asmrto martyrābhyaḥ z

In pāda a read ṭkosāh, for b read as st 9d: in c prāchāmi and
kim tebhyo, in d vahati: in e probably āhutān martyrāir.

svapnenkas tapasa sahiy aṅgani gṛhuṇ pu- [6] **sasya
caksiḥ sa pṛatar ati tapasā punas sahājyotir iti kva srjete |

In pāda a read svapnenākas and sāsahity, in b aṅgani and puru-
sasya: in c read eti, in d sahājyotir eti: for the rest I would sug-
gest kva sarjayati, but the phrase seems somewhat out of place here.

[7]**tapti madhupatiṁ madhupṛṣa madhupatiṁ devaṁ
tavam prāchāmy ahūtāda- [8] **a ta kati |

In pada a we read vratapatiṁ, in b madhuprasaṁ or madhu-
pracām: for cd possibly devaṁ tavam sarvān prāchāmy ahūtādaś
cate kati.

ko antarikṣit pratiṣcataide yasmād agra āndriyam saṁbhāhūva |
[9] mahat sada kasmād abhayam vi bhāhī kasye kutasyāndyāsa
ekaḥ hitam [10] parāpatata kveha |

In pāda a we might read pratipāṣyata idam, in c sadaḥ; it looks
as if kasye kutasyāndyāsa represented a fourth pāda, but I can
make nothing out of it; the rest would be a good pāda although I
have doubts about kvaḥ hitam.

ittham eke pra vrajanti ittham eke daksināḥ pratyāuco, [11]
dānca prāṇo bhi vrūjaty eke teśām sarvēṣām iha saṅgatik sākam

In pādas ab I would read eke 'tvānenaḥ pra vrajantītham, in b
pratyāncaḥ (before colon): in c udāncaḥ and vrūjanty. 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] tiś carati prajānaṇ. | maricar āsīt saṁnaṇas
samabhavat. z z [13] sā pravritvā sā garbham ādhātā z sa garbho
varthatu sa vrddha vravij jāyā- [14] yati z lasyai prajāpatir juho
svadhiṣṭhānād eti svadhiścaranāc ceti z [15] prajāpati samrje
capale vijihātan nāsāṁ māttvā patiṁ māha- [16] nād lokam
abhipatyamāne | so ja rūṣya jātasya dyāvapṛthivī pārivaya- [17]
stām samudro kucā śuryācandramasāv akṣitvā virāḥ chivaḥ tasmāj
jātās sa- [18] sre pāṃmāno vijayante ya evam veda zż- zż ity
Perhaps the following is a possible edition of the preceding:

sa eko bhūtān ca, karati praajānaH | maricir āśīt sā manasas sam
abhavat z sā prārdhita sā garbhām ādhatta | sa garbho vardhatu
sa vyddho 'vravij jāyāiti z tasyāi praJāpatir juhoti svādhiṣṭhānād
eti svādhiṣṭhāνāc āśīt z praJāpati śāśvate kapāle | viśhātān māśaṁ
matvā. patim mahāntām lokam abhipatyamānaH z so jā ātāsa
jātasya dyāvāpṛthivī pārśve astaṁ samudrānukṣi śūryacandra-
masāv aksyānu virāt chiraH | tasmāj jātāsa sarve pāṃśvānvi jayante
ya evam veda z z

ity atharvanikapāippalaḍāyaś sākhāyāṁ trayodasaś kāṇḍas samā-
ptāḥ z z

Note. I have just recently had access to a ms of the AVPāipp which is
described on pages 270-7 of Government Collections of Manuscripts, Deccon
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 saṁ
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-Schwyzer¹ devote about nine pages to case uses in Attic inscriptions; but the variations from normal there treated are no more drastic than ἀνευ, χρηματων; τὸν ἐρωτόν, "year by year"; the genitive to denote the time within which; the genitive after ἔκαστο, "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

¹ Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften², pp. 203-211.
of readers who are unfamiliar with Old Persian I supply a literal Latin translation.

Art. II Sus. a 1-3:

Θάτιγ Ἀρταξασθά, . . . Δαραγανσάχα, χᾶγαθοῖανα, υπῶτα, Δαραγανσάχα, Δαρείος, ἀρχηγός, filius, Dairei

Δαραγανσάχα, χᾶγαθοῖανα, υπῶτα, Δαραγανσάχα, Δαρείος, ἀρχηγός, filius, Dairei

Δαραγανσάχα, χᾶγαθοῖανα, υπῶτα, Δαραγανσάχα, Δαρείος, ἀρχηγός, filius, Dairei

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 υπῶτα would be its predicate nominative (e.g. Δαραγανσάχα Ἀρταξασθά, υπῶτα = Δαρείος Ἀρταξερξεις filius); but Ware and Kent* point out that we have each name repeated in the form already used, and that the syntactic error is rather in the word υπῶτα, which ought to stand in the genitive case.

Artaxerxes II uses nominative for genitive again in Sus. b:

Δαραγανσάχα, χᾶγαθοῖανα, ἄρχων, ἀρχηγός, filius, Dairei

Δαραγανσάχα, χᾶγαθοῖανα, ἄρχων, ἀρχηγός, filius, Dairei

Δαραγανσάχα, χᾶγαθοῖανα, ἄρχων, ἀρχηγός, filius, Dairei

Ware and Kent* suggest that Δαραγανσάχα may be a mistaken writing for the old genitive Δαραγανσάχα, but Artaxerxes else-where makes the genitive of his father’s name Δαραγανσάχα, (Sus. a 1) or Δαραγανσάχα, (Ham. 2), and so we must conclude that the old genitive form had been supplanted by an ο-stem genitive.

An additional reason for thinking that Δαραγανσάχα 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

*Transactions of the American Philological Association 55. 57.

* TAPA 55. 53 f.
syntax calls for genitives. The passage (Art. III Pers. 11-20) runs as follows:

Adam Artaxəša'ā xāyaṣṭiya puṣṭa, Artaxəša'ā Dārayavaus xāyaṣṭiya puṣṭa, Ego: Artaxərxes rex filius, Artaxərxes DAREUS rex filius, I (am of) king Artaxerxes the son, Artaxerxes (was of) king Darius the son, Dārayavaus Artaxəša'ā xāyaṣṭiya puṣṭa, Artaxəša'ā Xšayərša xāyaṣṭiya Dareus: Artaxərxes rex filius, Artaxərxes Xerxes rex Darius (was of) king Artaxerxes the son, Artaxerxes (was of) king Xerxes puṣṭa, Xšayərša Dārayavaus xāyaṣṭiya puṣṭa, Dārayavaus Vištāspasya filius, Xerxes Dareus rex filius, Dareus Hystaspis the son, Xerxes (was of) king Darius the son, Darius (was) of Hystaspes nāma puṣṭa, Vištāspasya Aršāma nāma puṣṭa, nomine filius, Hystaspis Arsames nomine filius. by name the son, [of] Hystaspes (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 Vištāspasya, 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, Artaxəša'ā, xāyaṣṭiya akumauš qui me, Artaxerxes, rex feelt 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 = to lomu vəŋtəv (Darius Beh. 1. 27, 2. 91, 3. 10, Xerxes Pers. a 19, etc.), tyamatu kartam = to muν vəŋtəv (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: \( tyu \ mām \ kurtā \) (mām is accusative—\( \text{κουτά} \)). Kent 
suggests that kurtā 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 kurtā 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. 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 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. a 1-2 = d 1:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{na qa-ga-ru a-ga-a id-din-nu} \\
\text{qui terra hanc fecit}
\end{align*}\]

who created this earth

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1. TAPA 55. 60 f.
3. In applying the words "misuse, mistake, error," etc., to certain cases, as 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. Ettalane M. Grice for several important corrections and suggestions in regard to my Babylonian material.
Compare Xerxes Elv. 3-4:

ṣa qa-qa-ra a-ga-a id-din-nu
qui terram hano fecit

Darius Pers. g 2-3 = NR c 2 = Xerxes Pers. a 3-4 = d 3 = Elv. 7-8 = Van. 4:

ṣa dum-ki ... id-din-nu
qui salutis fecit
who created welfare

Xerxes Pers. c 2-3:

ṣa du-un-qu ... id-din-nu
qui salus fecit

Darius Elv. 17-18:

šarru ša qa-qa-ru ... ra-bi-tum ru-uq-tum
rex (de)*terra magna longinquae
king of the great earth to a distance

Xerxes Pers. a 7-8 = d 7:

šar qa-qa-ru ... rabi-ti ru-uq-ti
rex terra magnae longinquae

Xerxes Elv. 16-18:

šarru ša qa-qa-ra ... ra-bi-tum ra-pa-aš-tum
rex (de) terram magna lata

Xerxes Pers. c 8-7:

šar qa-qa-ri ... ra-bi-i-ti ra-pa-aš-tum
rex terrae magnae lata

Xerxes Van 12-13:

šar qa-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. 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. *Gaumātāhyā, acc. Gaumātām) appears in the Babylonian version (Darius Beh. 1, 15-23) 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

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* Cf. Delitzsch, Assyrian Grammar 182, 183, 194, 195; Carl Brockelmann, Grundriss der Vergleichende Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen 1, 406.

** 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 Šú-zu-bu and sometimes Šú-zu-bi, and the latter form functions as a nominative in the clause (5. 5) : Arki Šú-zu-bi is-si-ḫu, “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 iššu-ru-ma-az-da li-ig-šur
Me Oromades 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-aš-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.11 The Old Persian texts are obviously in a genuine colloquial idiom, unaffected by literary artistry;12 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

11 See, for example, Weissbach, Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden p. xxxii.
12 See Meillet, 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 \(^{13}\) from a study of the Old Persian version of the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II and Artaxerxes III. Ware and Kent \(^{14}\) 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.

\(^{13}\) Gramm. 19-22.
\(^{14}\) \textit{TAPA} 55, 62-81.
REIEWS OF BOOKS

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, Asiaties 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 Asastic 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.

A. J. Saunders.

American College, University of Madras.


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
Albright, La civilisation phénicienne

...towards the old problems. Thanks to the remarkable results of the excavations of Montet and Dunand at Djebeil (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contenau</th>
<th>Official Palestinian</th>
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<tr>
<td>Canaean Ancien 3000-1550</td>
<td>Early Bronze (Canaanite) 3000-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canaean Moyen 1550-1100</td>
<td>Middle Bronze 2000-1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canaean Recent 1100-332</td>
<td>Late Bronze 1600-1200</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Early Iron (Palestinian) 1200-300</td>
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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 “Canaanéen 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 ff.

The discussion of the Phoenician religion, pp. 99-147, is judicious. Contenau recognizes that Philo Byblius and his source Sanchuniathon have been unduly depreciated, and that they have preserved very ancient traditions, along with some late syncretistic and pseudosophical speculations; cf. the reviewer’s remarks, JPOS 2, 190 f., and JBL 43, 365 ff. With regard to the character of Raṣef (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 *Ešmun* as derived from Eg. *Hmaw*, 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 Lázbarski (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 pene Ba'āl* cf. *AJSL* 41. 81, n. 2, and 284 ff. With reference to p. 120, it may be noted that Gressmann has proved the identity of the *IM* of the Amarna Tablets with Ba'āl, in a paper which appeared in the *Baudissin Festschrift*.

The discussion of the alphabet (pp. 309 ff.) naturally revolves around the Ahiram 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 Abîba'al and Eliha'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. Ahiram and Ithôbâ'al are both very common Phoenician royal names from the tenth century on, when we have three Hiram of Tyre, two Ithôba'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, Zimridda (Zimrī-Adda), Ablīmilk, 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 Aḥrām 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 ethnico 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.

W. F. Albright.

Jerusalem.


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 Piller'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'Abys-
sinie*, 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, Ashtar (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 *elōhím* is not a plural (of majesty) but simply the common Semitic henotheistic deity *Elah* plus the
mination, 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 ‘elāḥīn in the Aramaic papyri of Assuan and of ilānī 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.

James A. Montgomery.

University of Pennsylvania.
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 polyphonous 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 Gutumug 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 zigurat 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 zigurat is, however, ub, not sá (or, as it might be read, silim). Moreover, the sentences which the author takes for the names of the stages of the zigurat are not
accompanied by the phrase mu-šu mu-na-sa, “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, pa-ri-in (an unknown word), instead of ḫu-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 ḫu-ri-in, taking the word as a corruption of the Akkadian qarnu (Hebrew qere’a), 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 alphabetical 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

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1 In some dialects of modern Arabic ṭ becomes aleph. In Sumerian the change had gone further; it had become Heth.
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.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

University of Pennsylvania.


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 thorogoing ritualism even in the time of the Rgveda; 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 Purva-Mimāṃsā philosophy. That this theory corresponds in large part to the priestly attitude of the Vedas, especially of the Brāhmanas, 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 Brāhmanas 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 a reliable as well as an interesting introduction to Hinduism. There is a detailed table of contents but unfortunately no index.

Yale University.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.
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 Madhyāmdina 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 Kāṇvīya 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 Satapatha 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 udātta 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 Udātta." Caland points out that in this Brāhmaṇa śunāśīrya and śunāśīrya (and others similarly) are interchangeable forms and that this points to the accentuation śunāśīrya not śunāśīrya: 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.

LeROY C. Barret.

Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.


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 Tiglath-pileser 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 Assur-uballit, while Ebeling has taken the texts of Assur-uballit, Ellil-narari, and Arik-dên-ihu, 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-
ceeding Samši-Adad I, the šar kūšati, 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 Ḥurrian population, since it re-appears in exactly the same way in the business documents of the fourteenth century B.C. found in the Kırkük region, and now being published by Contenau, Chiera, and Gadd. We already knew that the two early Assyrian rulers Kikia and Ušpiya bore characteristic Ḥurrian names; Kikkiya is found in the Kırkük tablets. Just when they lived is still doubtful, but the indications certainly point to the period just preceding the dynasty of Puzur-Asšur 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 Zariqū, the contemporary of AMAR-Šin, of the Third Dynasty of Ur, since the succession of rulers mentioned by Aššur-riš-miššu (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 Ḥurrian dynasty. Nor can it be accidental that the Ḥurrian names found in Babylonian documents commence in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon; so far as I know, no Ḥurrian names have yet been demonstrated in Ur Dynasty tablets, though there probably were Ḥurrians in Assur through the entire third millennium. About the middle of that millennium there was a Guti Empire in Mesopotamia, to which the aklu, Ititi son of Yakulaba, may perhaps be referred. The name Yakulaba resembles such known Guti 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 Sherqat 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 aklu Asšur 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
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First Dynasty of Ur, that is, before 3000 B.C., perhaps considerably before. So far, aside from the excavation of the Ištar 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 Cossacean 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 Akšur-uballī, which shows clearly that his inscriptions, at least, were actually written by a Babylonian scribe, with the name Marduk-nādin-abḫē, son of Marduk-uballī, 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 Awał-Awan from Abiak (i. e., Apiyak)-Apirak (p. 9, n. 9).—The name [K]usmar reminds one curiously of Hašmar, the name of a land in the mountains east of Assyria; for the ending cf. Namen.—Tukriš (p. 24, n. 3) is to be located in the region north of later Ellipi, called Ḥarhar 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 šamnu ṭabitu, where Šamš-Adad I set up his stele (narū), is the Lebanon or not, since there was also a Mount Labnunu 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 Mašgīn in Armenia, mentioned in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser I (cf. p. 113, n. 9), is almost certainly to be identified with the Mašgungunu of HR 51, 12a-d (cf. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien, Vol. I, p. 347). One suspects that the name should be read simply Mašgūnunu, or Bar-gunu. Where are the most important ancient lead mines of
Armenia to be found? The land of Harhā, 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.


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 $t$, $q\bar{h}$, $h$, etc., or the interchange of $s$ and $\bar{s}$, 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 Dinîtu, but Shulmânîtu, as proved conclusively by Böhl, Acta Orientalia, Vol. I, pp. 76 ff. Shulmânîtu is the feminine counterpart of the North Mesopotamian and Syrian god Shulmân, 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 Tarsîsi for Nusîsi is supported by the original, and has now been adopted by all German Assyriologists. Tarsîsi is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew Tarshish, since Assy. š was pronounced sh, as is well-known. The spelling Tandamanê for UR-da-ma-nî-e (Vol. II, p. 295) should be replaced by Tašdamanê for *Taltamanê = Tin-âmânê; 1 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.


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 re-
publication, and we wish for it a wide circulation.

George A. Barton.

University of Pennsylvania.

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NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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

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 Univer-
sity. 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 Arabic, by R. P.
Dougherty of Yale; in Hittite, by E. H. Sturtevant of Yale; in Turkish, by
K. Reuning, 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

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-

* 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 Asians. 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 seminal 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, Babylonian 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 mediaeval 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 religious, 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, nay 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 débris 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.1 For this reason

1 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 Verzeichnis, 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 = Musch-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 = Kellinschriftliche Bibliothek; KlbTex = Klauber, Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargontidenzeit; 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; RECO = 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 Shirkūtu 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 amēlKUS-SAR**

An important discovery was made a little over two decades ago. The occurrence of amēlKUS-SAR in several Seleucid texts from Warka was noted. Schroeder was the first to point out the true meaning of this term. He advanced the view that amēlKUS-SAR was used as an ideogram to describe one who wrote upon leather or parchment, in the same way in which the ideogram amēlDUB-SAR was employed to represent one who wrote upon a clay tablet. The soundness of this reasoning cannot be questioned, inasmuch as the basic significance of DUB is 'tablet,' and a denotation of KUS is 'skin,' whereas a common meaning of SAR is 'write.' 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). Bezold lists kuššaru as a Sumerian loan-word with the meaning 'Pergamentschreiber.' 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.

An exhaustive study of personal names occurring in the texts containing the ideogram amēlKUS-SAR furnishes a clue as to the

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*StrCunab = 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 Schriftdenkmäler; YBT = Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts; YOR = Yale Oriental Series, Researches; ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

*BRM Part II, 39:6; 46:28; VS XV, 6:6. No earlier occurrence of the ideogram KUS-SAR has been found.*

*ZA XXX, p. 91 f.

*OBW No. 157; B 3935.

*OBW No. 7; B 167.*

*OBW No. 170; B 4336.

*B 3941.*

*Bezold, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar, p. 152.*

*See VS VI, 192:7, for amēlku-ša-rimel, with no evidence that the expression refers to 'scribes.'*
real Babylonian term which was used as an equivalent of omiši KUS-SAR. Nidintum-Ishtar, the son of Anu-ahē-iddin, is described in one passage as omiši KUS-SAR makkûr iš Anu, and in another passage as one of several omiši-pišiak makkûr iš Anu. Evidently Nidintum-Ishtar was a writer upon parchment who kept an account of the property (makkûru) of the god Anu. Thus the terms omiši KUS-SAR and omiši-pišiak are equated. A corroborative instance may be cited. Illût-Anu, the son of Anu-mukin-aplu, in one text bears the title of omiši KUS-SAR makkûr iš Anu; in another text Illût-Anu, the son of Anu-mukin-aplu, son of Anu-apal-iddin, is specified as omiši-pišiak makkûr iš Anu. That these two references to Illût-Anu denote one and the same person is clear. Illût-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 omiši KUS-SAR, the meaning of which has already been explained, and the Semitic term omiši-pišiak. 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 139th to the 149th year of the Seleucid era, i.e., from the time of Seleucus IV to the time of Antiochus V, and that Illût-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 Illût-Anu may have been official scribes much longer, for Nâdin, the son of Bâl-ahē-iqṣaḥa, son of Egibi, served as omiši-dupšarru for at least thirty years, i.e., from the 3rd year of Nabonidus to the 6th year of Cambyses.

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-ša-ta-ri ša ina gi-bi-tum "Uš-ta-ni omiši-pi-ḫat-tum Bâbîlïk. u 4ši Bur nāri ša "Ina-E-sag-ila-li-bur

10 BRM Part II, 39:5, 6.
11 Ibid., 35:36.
12 Ibid., 46:27, 28.
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. Ina-Éšagila-libur was priest of Sippar from the 1st to the 4th year of Darius. Sharru-lû-dârî was the administrator of Ébarra, the temple of Shamash in Sippar, from the 1st year of Cyrus to the 4th year of Cambyses. Bêl-iddin is mentioned as a scribe (dupšarru) in the 2nd year of Cambyses and in the 11th and the 22nd years of Darius. Uballitsu-Gula is also mentioned as a scribe (dupšarru) in the 22nd year of Darius. Nidinit is mentioned as a scribe (si-pi-ri) in the 6th year of Darius. Tirik-sharrûtsu appears as a chief officer of the king from the 1st to the 4th year of Cambyses. 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.

15 The amēlītGID-DA of the text is evidently a scribal error for amēlīTIL-LA-GID-DA or amēlīTIL-GID-DA. See under qipu, CD p. 921. Note B 1568.
16 BRM Part I, 101:4-8.
17 StrDar 32:2.
18 StrDar 27:7, 128:4. In the latter instance the name is plainly written Ina-E-sag-gil-lik-ur.
19 StrCyr 310:9; StrCamb 9:11; 10:1; 169:4; 194:3; 240:12.
20 StrCamb 131:6; StrDar 299:3; 558:4.
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 $\textit{amsl} \text{dupšarru}$ and $\textit{amsl} \text{si-pi-ri}$ 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 $\textit{amsl} \text{si-pi-ri}$ is mentioned, but no opportunity for conclusive comparison is presented.

Starting with an ideogram of undoubted meaning, it has been demonstrated that $\textit{amsl} \text{si-pi-ri}$ is the cuneiform Semitic equivalent of $\textit{amsl} \text{KUS-SAR}$. 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 $\textit{si-pi-ri}$ and $\textit{si-pi-ri}$ in the texts thus far considered, is $\textit{spr}$. That this root is connected with Hebrew and Aramaic $\text{םָּהנָה}$ is beyond doubt. The primary meaning of Hebrew $\text{םָּהנָה}$ is $\text{זָהַלְן}$, "count," "reckon," "enumerate." The secondary meaning is $\text{זרָהַלְן}$, "recount," "relate," "narrate." The meaning "count" for the simple stem of Hebrew $\text{םָּהנָה}$ 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; enumerating God's thoughts, Ps. 139:18; computing Job's steps, Job 14:16; apportioning workmen to specific tasks, II Chron. 2:1.

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44 See Gesenius-Buhl 17, p. 550.
46 The association of $\text{יָדָּהִי}$ with $\text{םָּהנָה}$ in this context throws interesting light upon the meaning of the latter.
These are the most significant evidences of the elemental meaning of Hebrew אָסָס. 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 אָסָס came to mean 'scribe,' and אָסָס 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 אָס — Assyrian לֵדְע, 'tablet,' 'document,' is proof of this. Similarly, the verb אָסָס, 'engrave,' 'inscribe,' points to an acquaintance with hard writing materials. An inscription upon an object resistant enough to be engraved might be called אָס, 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. Papyrus could not have been unknown, for it was introduced into Syria as early as the end of the twelfth century B.C. There is no information as to how early the Hebrews began to write upon parchment. It need not be doubted, nevertheless, that the cursive style of both the Siloam inscription and the memoranda upon the sherds found at Samaria indicate extensive contemporaneous and probably considerable previous writing upon materials other than stone, metal, and clay.

The meaning and usage of אָס in Hebrew permit a more cer-
tain interpretation of Babylonian *si-pir* (*si-pi-ri*). It has been shown, in the passages quoted above, that *āmēl* *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 *āmēl* *si-pir*, known also as the *āmēl* *KUŠ-SAR*, ‘parchment-writer,’ was such an accountant for the god Anu at Erech in the Selenicid era.

The evident relationship between *šapāru* and *si-pir* (*si-pi-ri*) raises a question with respect to another Babylonian root. Herefore *šapāru*, ‘send,’ ‘commission,’ has been connected with *šapāru*. 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 *šapāru* correspond etymologically. 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 *šapāru* is ‘count’ whereas that of *šapāru* is ‘send,’ and the derived meanings of the two verbs coincide very slightly. The term *āmēl* *šapāru* has been translated ‘scribe’ due to a supposed relationship with *šapāru*, but the expression has its strongest force when translated ‘commissioner,’ ‘agent,’ i.e., strictly in accordance with the idea

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28 See *CD* p. 1087; Gesenius-Buhl 17, p. 550.
29 Cf *CD* p. 1098.
contained in the root. If the Babylonians already had a term 
\textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-piru} 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 \textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-pir} for 'scribe' is absolutely certain, and this fact would indicate that \textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-piru} did not have that meaning. Not many occurrences of \textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-pir} and its variant forms have been listed thus far. 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 \textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-pir}, \textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-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.

\textbf{Data from the Reign of Nebuchadnezzar}

\textit{Year 30.} A mutilated text has the sign \textit{KUS} remaining in the first line and \textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-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.

\textit{Year 43.} A text, the beginning of which is defaced, contains the following: \textit{m\textit{d}Nab\textit{u}-\textit{s}um-iddin \textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-pi-ri} ša \textit{m\textit{d}Nergal-šar-ušur}, 'Nabû-shum-iddin, the si-pi-ri of Neriglissar.'

\textbf{Data from the Reign of Nabonidus}

\textit{Year 1.} A document dealing with a monetary transaction refers to \textit{m\textit{d}Nab\textit{u}, ... \textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-pi-ri} ša šarri, 'Nabû ..., the si-pi-ri of the king.'

\textit{Year 2.} In a long text itemizing receipts for barley the following passage occurs: \textquoteleft 4 qur ša \textit{m\textit{a}Addaru \textit{m\textit{a}Nisannu \textit{m\textit{a}Ayaru} u \textit{m\textit{a}Simânu \texti{Ina-é\textit{i}-é\textit{f}ir \textit{um\textsuperscript{a}lis-pi}, 'Four kors (of barley) of the

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 1089. It is to be noted that \textit{am\textsuperscript{a}lis-piru} is often associated with \textit{am\textsuperscript{a}laklu}, 'agent.'

\textsuperscript{48} See references in IWB p. 509; CD p. 779 f.

\textsuperscript{49} StrNbk 217:2. Cf. \textit{pu-\textit{u} si-ba-\textit{u} u \textit{am\textsuperscript{a}lis-pi-ri} ša šarri, StrNbk 201:6-8.

\textsuperscript{50} StrNbk 413:3. See AV, p. 815, under si-pi-ri (No. 6737) for \textit{m\textit{d}Nabû-\textit{u}-\textit{u}-\textit{u} šarri, 'Nabû-in-sal'm, the si-pi-ri of the king.' This passage is quoted from a text dated in the reign of Neriglissar.

\textsuperscript{51} StrNbk 44:3.
month Adar, the month Nisan, the month Iyyar, and the month Sivan Ina-eshti-êtir, the si-pir, (received).  

Year 5. A record of the loan of money mentions mudNabû-mukin-aplu amelisi-pir-ri ša mudBêl-šar-usur mîr šarri, 'Nabû-mukin-aplu, the si-pir of Belshazzar, the son of the king.'  

Year 6. In a tablet recording a monetary transaction part of the business was negotiated in the presence of Kal-ba-a amelisi-pir-ri, 'Kalbû, the si-pir-ri.'  

Year 7. A text dealing with tithe money refers to mudNabû-mukin-[apl]u amelisi-pir-ri amelgal-la ša mudBêl-šar-usur mîr šarri, 'Nabû-mukin-[apl]u, the si-pir, the servant of Belshazzar, the son of the king.'  

Year 8. A record concerning a disbursement from the royal store-house reads as follows: 200 gur suluppi isitu bit makkûr ni-din-it šarri a-na 'Muše-zib+Nabû ū mudSamaš-uballîti(-ti) amelisi-pirmeš ša mudNabû-ahêmes-eriba ša muh-hi Ar-ba-a-a nadin(-in), 'Two hundred kors of dates from the treasure-house of the king's gift to Mushezib-Nabû and Shamash-uballit, the si-pir officials of Nabû-ahê-eriba, who is in charge of the Arabs,' were given.'  

Year 10. A receipt for asphalt is attested as follows: Ina manaxasi mudIš-tar-ah-iddin amelisi-pir-ri amel-mâr šip-ri 48 ša 'Muše-zib+Nabû, 'In the presence of Ishtar-ah-iddin, the si-pir, the messenger of Mushezib-Nabû.'  

Year 11. A promissory note begins as follows: 20 ma-na kâspi šim šipâtemeš makkûr mudBêl-šar-usur mîr šarri ša ina qât mudNabû-ša-[bit-qâta] amelreb biti ša mudBêl-šar-usur mîr šarri ū amelisi-pirmeš ša mîr šarri, 'Twenty minas of silver, the price of wool, the property of Balshazzar, the son of the king, which (was received) through the agency of Nabû-[qâbit-qâta], the major domo of Bel-

48 REN 32:44. See StrNbu 55:4, for mesin-eriba amelisi, 'Sin-eriba, the si[piril].'
46 StrNbu 184:4, 5.
44 Ibid., 245:9.
42 Ibid., 270:5.
40 Although the usual determinative amel is omitted, there can be little doubt that the expression Ar-ba-a-a is gentilic in character.
47 StrNbu 297:1-6.
49 Note contrast of amelisi-pir-ri and amel-mâr šip-ri.
50 StrNbu 478:11-13.
shazzar, the son of the king, and the si-pir officials of the son of the king."  

Year 11. An itemized record concerning dates, etc., contains the following entry: 2 šiqil ša a-na =Ki-din amē1si-pi-ru ša šarri ša a-na meš-šat ša eglāti 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.'

Data from the Reign of Cyrus

Year 3. In a record of a controversial affair the following statement is made: ši-pir-tum sa [amē1]si-pi-ru ša a-na šu-mu ša =Ap-la-a apil-šu ša =Sin-ah-iddin šat-ra-tum, 'the dispatch of the si-pi-ru which was written for the name of Apil, the son of Sin-ah-iddin.'

Year 4. A tablet recording a loan begins thus: 11/3 ma-na kæ спин makku-rū ša =Kam-hu-zi-ia [mär šarri] ša qat =Gab-bi-ilān-[sah-šar-šur amē1]-[pi]-ri ša mār [šarri] apil-šu ša =Il-te-ri-ša-na-na, 'One and one-third minas of silver, the property of Cambyses, [the son of the king], in the possession of Gabbi-ilān-šar-šur, the si-[pi]-ri of the son [of the king], the son of Ilteri-šana.'

Year 5. A text which is not entirely intact contains the following: "Ba-su-su apil-šu ša =Ardi-Nabû amē1si-pi-ru ša bit amē1mār šarri, 'Bazuzu, the son of Ardi-Nabû, the si-pi-ru of the house of the son of the king.'

Year 10. A record concerning barley ends as follows: Napharu 40 gur 3 pi 18 qa SE-BAR a-na =Sa-lam-ma-ri-e amē1si-pi-ri 16 šābęmē1 ša amē1qipi nadna(-na) urib Kislimu ùmu 17kamšattu 10kam ... 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].'

Year 7. A broken tablet contains a reference to "Pāni-[Asur-
Writing upon Parchment and Papyrus

lu-mur amātisipirimāršarrī, Pānī-Asur-lūmur, the si-pir of the son of the king.\textsuperscript{36}

**Data from the Reign of Cambyses**

**Year of Accession.** A document concerning a fugitive širkū contains the following statement: \textit{sī-pīr-tūm ša amātisipirimāršarrī ša nūmīmil-ū na-e li \textit{nī-abī-sītum a-na mānā+iš-pu-ru-ma ina puḫri tan-nam-rū iš-ku-su\textsuperscript{37}} iš-nu-ku u ina E-an-na iš-ku-nu,} ‘The dispatch, which the si-pir of Gimilu sent concerning Ribētum to Nabū-nadin and (which) was seen in the assembly, they bound, sealed and placed in Êanna.’\textsuperscript{38}

**Year 1.** One of the witnesses in a bailment record is \textit{mā+iš-amurruša-urāmātisipiršarrī,} ‘Amurru-shar-urāmātisipir of the king.’\textsuperscript{39}

**Year 1.** A document concerning the slaves of a širkū mentions \textit{Sa-lam-ilimārī-šu ša \textit{nī-abī-di} Dayān amātisipirimāršarrī,} ‘Shalam-ili, the son of Abī-Dayān, the si-pir of the king.’\textsuperscript{40}

**Year 1.** A record concerning a fatally-injured širkū contains a reference to \textit{Sa-lam-ilimārī-šu ša \textit{nī-abī-di} Dayān amātisipirimāršarrī,} ‘Shalam-ili, the son of Abī-Dayān, the si-pir of the king.’\textsuperscript{41}

**Year 2.** In a tax record there is mention of \textit{mā+iš-amurruša-urāmātisipirmārī-šu ša \textit{Ahu-lišir},} ‘Amurru-shar-urāmātisipir, the son of Ahu-lišir.’\textsuperscript{42}

**Year 3.** In a text dealing with a controversy one of the witnesses is \textit{mā+iš-amurruša-urāmātisipir, apīl-šu ša \textit{Ta-λim} amātisipir,} ‘Amurru-shar-urāmātisipir, the son of Talim, the si-pir.’\textsuperscript{43}

**Year 3.** A record concerning fish begins as follows: \textit{Rimut \textit{mā+iš} Dayānu \textit{Hilī} Marduk amā+iš DUB-ŠAR apīl \textit{Epeš(-es)-iū u}}

\textsuperscript{36} StrCyr 364:16.

\textsuperscript{37} The word \textit{iš-ku-su} stands for \textit{iš-ku-su}. See SBD p. 63.

\textsuperscript{38} RECC 102:24, 25. See SBD p. 62.

\textsuperscript{39} RECC 114:22.

\textsuperscript{40} RECC 114:14.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 107:17.

\textsuperscript{42} Dr. Tremayne’s reading is \textit{Ahu-lišir}, but it seems possible that \textit{SEAGAD} represents an ideogram for \textit{talēmu}, ‘twin,’ on the basis of Amurrušar-urāmātisipir, the son of Talim, in accompanying texts from the third and sixth years of Cambyses. See RECC 159:26; 198:4.

\textsuperscript{43} RECC 131:13.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 159:26.
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mBa-ú-érēs undi-si-pi-ri a-na mBēl-iqīša (-ša) apil-šu ša mBa-ni-ia undi-bā’iru iq-bu-ú um-ma, ‘Rimū, the judge, Ish-Marduk, the scribe (dušarru), the son of E pelu, and Bau-érēsh, the scribe (si-pi-ri), to Bēl-iqīsha, the fisherman, spoke as follows:’

Year 4. In a document concerning a debt there is mention of mAmurrā-šar-uṣur undi-si-pi-ri ša ina E-an-na puq-du, ‘Amurrā-šar-uṣur, the si-pi-ri, who is appointed in the temple Eanna.’

Year 6. In a text dealing with sheep and cattle one of the witnesses is mAmurrā-šar-uṣur māri-šu ša mTā-lim undi-si-pi-ri ša ina E-an-na, ‘Amurrā-šar-uṣur, the son of Talīm, the si-pi-ri in the temple Eanna.’

Year 6. In a short partially-mutilated text there is a reference to mAbu-lu-mur undi-si-pi-ri ša bēl pišat Mi-sir, ‘Abū-lumur, the si-pi-ri of the governor of Egypt.’

Year 6. A document concerning wool begins as follows: 16 bilat 15 ma-na šipātum ina ebūrī ša šatti ḫam ša undi-sabōmed e-piš dul-šu ša undi-qīpi a-na mSa-lam-ma-ri-e undi-si-pi-ri ša undi-qīpi 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 Šalammarē, the si-pi-ri of the administrator.’

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 mNi-din-it undi-si-pi-ri, ‘Nidinit, the si-pi-ri.’

Year 6. In a record dealing with a monetary transaction the witnesses are listed as follows: Ina ma-ḥar mNabū-na-din-ahu mBēl-šu-nu mBa-qa’-in mNa-din mSin-mudammiq (-iq) mAp-la-a u mNabū-ḫupštim (-lim)-uṣur undi-dayānēmed mIddin-mNabū undi-si-pi-ru ú-ūl-ti e-lit mNabū-ka-šir DUB-SAR măr mNa-šu-un-na-a mE-a-iddin DUB-SAR măr mA-rab-tum, ‘In the presence of Nabū-

**Ibid., 151:1-4.**
**Ibid., 164:21.**
**Ibid., 198:4.**
**The scribe omitted the usual determinative for land.**
**StrCamō 344:2, 3.**
**CT IV, 27, (Bu. 88.5-12, 336), lines 4, 5.**
**StrDar 209:3.**
nadin-ahu, Bel-shunu, Baga' in, Nadin, Sin-mudammiq, Apila, and Nabu-napištim-âsur, judges, Iddin-Nabû, the scribe (si-pi-ru) of the contract entered into,12 Nabû-kasîr, the scribe (dupšarru), the son of Nabunnâ, (and) Ea-iddin, the scribe (dupšarru), the son of Arabum.13

Year 8. A receipt for dates begins as follows: Gi-mi'ir ša 316 gur suluppi อำเภอ saqā šarri amēsi-pir ša amējašeredemē ša ēkallī es-išu,14 'A total of three hundred and sixteen kors of dates Apila, the chief officer of the king, the si-pir of the princes of the new palace.'15 The payment was made at the command of an official of the city of Babylon.

Year 11. A record concerning dates refers to อำเภอ Ban-tuamēsi-pir kurummatē, 'Balatu, the si-pir of the maintenance.'16

Year 12. A text dealing with money mentions the following as interested persons: อำเภอ Iddin-Bel amēlDUB-SAR ū อำเภอ Nagal-sum-iddin amēsi-pi-ir, 'Iddin-Bel, the scribe (dupšarru), and Nergal-shum-iddin, the scribe (si-pir).'17

Year 17. A defaced text concerning a decision of Darius refers to อำเภอ Nabu-zêr-ibni amēsi-pi-ir, 'Nabu-zer-ibni, the si-pi-ir,' and intimates that he reported to his superior in Sippar.18

Data from the Reign of Darius II

Year of Accession. A tax record contains the following passage: a-ki-temēsi-intum 19 'a อำเภอ Abû-UL-idi amēsi-pi-ir ša amēlSamaš-šar-uṣur amēlšakni ša amēlnuš patru-âmek ša bit šihir šarri, 'according to the dispatch of Abû-ul-idi, the si-pi-ir of Shamash-šar-uṣur, the commander of the sword-bearers of the small house of the king.'20

Year 1. In a document concerning the harvest of certain fields

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12 It may be that eliti is connected with the root qalâ rather than with qalu. If the former is the case, a-il-ti eliti may mean 'above contract.' Derivation from qalu may signify that the translation should be: 'the scribe (si-pi-ru) who drew up the contract.'
13 BE VIII, 107:19-23.
15 StrDar 314:3.
16 Ibid., 336:2, 3.
18 Bel-ushallim, the si-pi-ir.'
there are two references to "Nabû-mitu-uballit(iti) emesaknu ša emes-i-pi-rimel apil ša "Ba-la-šu, 'Nabû-mitu-uballit, the deputy of the si-pir-ri officials, the son of Balatu.'

Year 2. A document concerning oil reads as follows: 6 gur 3 pi 12 qa šamnu ina qi-bi ša "Ri-mut-šNinib aplan ša "Mu-ra-šu-ú "Ba-rík-ki-ia-a-ma emesardu ša "Ar-ta-bar-ra-' emesabaraku u "Bél-iddin emes-i-pi-rı ša emesabaraki aplan ša "Bél-bullit-su ina qat "Bél-ittan-nu aplan ša "La-qiśu u "Ni-dintum-šBél aplan ša "Sul-tum ma-hi-ir' e-tir' ú-ša-as-za-as-ma.' "Ba-rík-ki-ia-a-ma emesardu ša "Ar-ta-bar-ra' u "Bél-iddin emes-i-pi-rı ša emesabaraki aplan "Bél-bullit-su šamnu 6 gur 3 pi 12 qa it-ti "Ar-ta-bar-ra', emesabaraki a-na "Ri-mut-šNinib aplan ša "Mu-ra-šu-ú i-nam-dinu'. 'Six kors, 3 pi, 12 qa of oil at the command of Rimût-Ninib, the son of Murashû, Barikkiama, the servant of Artabarra, the abarakku official, and Bél-iddin, the si-pir-ri of the abarakku official, the son of Bél-bullitšu, from Bél-ittanmu, the son of Laqiq, and Nidintum-Bél, the son of Shullum, received, made secure, (and) gave bond. Barikkiama, the servant of Artabarra, and Bél-iddin, the si-pir-ri of the abarakku official, the son of Bél-bullitšu, the oil, (amounting to) six kors, 3 pi, 12 qa, with Artabarra, the abarakku official, to Rimût-Ninib, the son of Murashû, shall give.' 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 Bél-iddin, the si-pir-ri, endorsed the contract with his name written in Aramaic.

Year 2. A record concerning dates mentions "Bél-iddin aplan ša "Marduk-ú-sal-šim ša ha-at-ri ša emes-i-pi-rimel, 'Bél-iddin, the son of Marduk-ushallim, of the haṭrī of the si-pi-ri officials.'

Year 5. A business transaction concerning money contains the following passage: ša ha-at-ri ša emesinaq meneš ša ú-qu ša ina qat

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63 Ibid., X, 7:4, 7.
64 Abarakku designates an important official, but the full meaning of the term remains to be discovered.
65 The force of its in this connection seems to denote compliance or agreement on the part of Artabarra.
67 It may be that ha-ad-ri should be read. If so Hebrew 'room,' 'chamber,' suggests itself. It is altogether likely that there were special quarters in the temple for the emes-i-pi-rimel.
68 BE X, 57:2.
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"Za-bi-ri" ummâšak-nu ummâsi-piriŠa ū-qi aplu ša. "Ba-la-šu," of the šaṭri of the water-pourers of the uqu. 87 which is from Zabini, the deputy of the si-pi-ri officials of the uqu, the son of Balâlu. 88

Year 5. A monetary record lists the following person as a witness: "Bél-abu-ùsür aplu ša Bél-abu-ùsür ummâsi-piriŠa ina pâni "Gu-bi-ri Šum-pirât ša um Akkadi (-i). "Bél-abu-ùsür, the son of Bél-abu-ùsür, the si-pi-ri who is at the disposal of Gobryas, the governor of the land of Akkad. 89

Year 6. A document concerning money contains the following passage: ummâša-at-ri ša. ummâšu-mu-ut-ku-na-a-a ša at-Hu-at-ta-a-a ša qâš Bél-abu-ùsür ummâši-pi-[ri] ša ummâšu-mu-ut-ku-na-a-a aplu ša Bél-abu-ùsür, the šaṭri official of the Shumukunite of the city of the Hittites, in the possession of Bél-abu-ùsür, the si-pi-[ri] of the Shumukunite, the son of Bél-abu-ùsür. 90

Year 7. A record concerning money refers to "Bél-šu-nu ummâsi-pi-ri ša Šum-mut-Ninib, "Bél-shunu, the si-pi-ri of Rimût-Ninib. 91

Data from the Reign of Antiochus III

Year 1. In a tablet record mention is made of the following witness: "Ardi-Ninib mâru ša Anu-apal-iddinummâsi-pir makkur ÛAnu, "Ardi-Ninib, the son of Anu-apal-iddinu, the si-pi-ri of the property of Anu. 92

Miscellaneous Data 93

A seal impression on a tablet in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania is explained by the following inscription: kunnuk Šamâš-ah-iddin ummâši-piri ša bit ummâšabaraki, "The seal of Shamash-ah-iddin, the si-pi-ri of the house of the abarakku official. 94

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87 The word uqu is difficult to explain. The meanings given by Bezold, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar, p. 62, do not suit the above context.
88 BE X, 102:6, 7.
89 Ibid., 101:24, 25.
91 Ibid., 128:10.
92 HRM 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.
93 A few other references, of a minor character, are given in OD p. 779 f.
94 PBS XIV, No. 966.
The first part of a Neo-Babylonian letter is as follows: Duppi "Nabû-iqiša(-ša) a-na Nabû-ahê-amê-itiddin abî-ia Bêl u Nabû šu-lum ša abî-ia liq-bu-û amê1 dupšarr ékallî ana eli meš-ha-ti ša "ezêri u imittî ša SE-BAR a-na-ku u Ku-na-a amê1 si-pî-ri il-tapp-par-an-na-a-šu. 'The letter of Nabû-iqiša to Nabû-ahê-itiddin, my father. May Bêl 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-pî-ri), has dispatched us.'  

Another Neo-Babylonian letter begins thus: Duppi "Ba-la-šu a-na amêšatammi bêlî-ia a-nu-us-su Bêl u Nabû a-na balat napšâtimê ša bêlî-ia (u-šal-la) amêši-pi-rî mekê ... a-ù-mar it-tî-šu-nu a-na-ku u ki-is-sat a-na pa-ni-šu-nu ul-te-la'- it-tî-šu-nu a-na muḫ-šî immeri ad-dib-bu-ub, 'The letter of Balatu to the temple administrator, my lord. Daily I beseech Bêl and Nabû for the life of my lord! The si-pî 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.'  

A third Neo-Babylonian letter contains the following passage: amê1 dupšarru u amêši-pi-rî it-tî-ia ia-a-nu ki-i amê1 dupšarru u amêši-pi-rî ma-šu-û, 'There is no tablet-writer (dupšarru) or parchment-writer (si-pî-ri) with me, because the tablet-writer and the parchment-writer are lacking.'  

**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-pî-ru si-pî-ri, si-pîr, si-pî-ir, and si-pîr-ri. Although the form si-pî-ri has not been discovered, there is indication in the form si-pî-ri that sipîru, or sopêru, ²² was the real Babylonian word. In the remaining part of this article sipîru will be used as the standard form.

²² Ibid., 32:1-10.  
²² Ibid., 17:31, 32.  
²² See Bezdol, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar, p. 217.
The accumulated evidence concerning the distinction between the root šapārū, 'send,' and the word sipīru may be presented. The following excerpts will be sufficient for the demonstration.

mdIss-tar-aḫ-iddin anmēššī-pi-ri anmēššē-mār šipīrī, 'Ishtar-aḫ-iddin, the scribe, the messenger.' This statement indicates that Ishtar-aḫ-iddin acted as a messenger as well as a scribe.

Ši-pi-rū-tum ša anmēššū-pi-ri ša šaṭ-ra-tum, 'The dispatch which the scribe ... wrote.' There is no tendency to use the expression anmēššū-pi-rū instead of anmēššū-pi-ru in such a passage as this.

Ši-pi-rū-tum ša anmēššū-pi-ri ša mGimil-lu ... iš-pu-ru-ma, 'The dispatch of the scribe which Gimillum ... sent.' In this instance the dispatch was written by one person and sent by another.

A-ki-i ši-pi-iš-tum ša anmēššū-pi-ri, 'According to the dispatch of the scribe.' The writer of a dispatch must have been thought of as its author, especially if the sipīru was entrusted with considerable responsibility.

In a court record of the time of Cambyses the following cuneiform statement is to be found: ši-pi-rū-tum ša mNa-bu-šu u maškāḫ-bal-lu-šu, 'the dispatch of Nabûgu and his parchment of annulment.' If maškāḫ-bal-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 maškāḫ-bal-lu a-na maškāḫ-bal-lu ša šarrī anIInna-mukin-aplu apīl Șeru-bu maḫir(-ir). This may be translated 'Three parchment petitions, for a parchment annulment of the king, Innina-mukin-aplu, the son of Šerûtu, received.' The natural interpre-

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88 StrNba 478:11-13 (10th year of Nabonidus).
89 RECC 19:11, 12 (3rd year of Cyrus). The determinative anmēššē appears in the original text.
90 RECC 102:24, 25 (Accession year of Cambyses).
91 BE X, 5:6, 7 (Accession year of Darius II).
92 See ZA III, pp. 135, 136, 148, 149, for an important text in which maškāḫ-piš-tum ša anmēššē-pi-ri occurs in line 8. This evidently refers to a dispatch or document written upon parchment by a sipīru. For šipīrum = šipīrūm see note 79. Strassmaier's reading ši-kīr-tum was made before this equivalence was known. Other occurrences of maškāḫ-piš-tum (tt) occur in lines 11, 13, 18, and 20 of the text quoted. Unfortunate breaks in the text prevent full translation.
93 RECC 192:11, 12. See also line 7 of the same text.
tation of this statement is that Innina-mukín-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-mukín-aplu was interested. These two passages are presented as possible light upon the Babylonian practice of writing upon parchment.

The contrast between the dupšarru and the sipíru is emphasized by the data submitted. There are two cases in which the dupšarru and the sipíru are mentioned in connection with judges. In the third Neo-Babylonian letter quoted above the dupšarru and the sipíru are referred to in a very unusual passage. 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 sipíru 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:

\textit{amāt} sipíru ša šarri, 'the sipíru of the king.' \textit{Compare} ṣesu šarri, 2 Ki. 19:10, etc. Note ṣesu šarri, Jer. 52:25.

\textit{amāt} sipíru ša màr šarri, 'the sipíru of the son of the king.'

\textit{amāt} sipíru ša amāt abarakki, 'the sipíru of the abarakku official.'

\textit{amāt} sipíru ša amāt gipi, 'the sipíru of the administrator.'

\textit{amāt} sipíru ša ina Ėanna, 'the sipíru who is in the temple Ėanna.'

\footnote{See NLE 4:6-8 for m人身m-ni-e-ti-su-nu ša ga-la-la ša-at-ri-e-ti. Is it possible that this refers to parchment accounts in the form of written rolls (ga-la-la ša-at-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.}

\footnote{RECC 151:1-4 (3rd year of Cambyses); BE VIII, 107:19-23 (6th year of Darius I).}

\footnote{NLE 17:31, 32.}

\footnote{StrNbn 44:5 (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).}

\footnote{StrNbk 413:3 (43rd year of Nebuchadrezzar); StrNbn 184:4, 5 (5th year of Nabonidus); StrNbn 270:5 (7th year of Nabonidus); StrNbn 583:1-4 (11th year of Nabonidus); StrCyr 177:1-3 (4th year of Cyrus); StrCyr 199:10, 11 (5th year of Cyrus); StrCyr 364:16 (7 year of Cyrus).}

\footnote{RECC 164:21 (4th year of Cambyses); RECC 198:4 (6th year of Cambyses).}
Writing upon Parchment and Papyrus

"amēśāpišrū ša amēšāšārēnušē "ša ēkallı ešši, 'the šipiru of the princes of the new palace.'

"amēšāpišrū ša amēšāšāni ša amēšānuš šaprūmēnu, 'the šipiru of the commander of the sword-bearers.'

"amēšāpišrū ša ina pāni mGubarrē amēšāpišrū ša māt Akkadi, 'the šipiru who is at the disposal of Gobryas, the governor of Akkad.'

"amēšašpirū ša bēl pihāt Mišir, 'the šipiru of the governor of Egypt.'

"amēšašpirū ša amēšāš Sumutkunu, 'the šipiru of the Shumutkunaite (a Hittite).'

There is no direct specification as to the language in which the šipiru wrote. No reference to an Aramaean šipiru has been found. In spite of the lack of definite data one may be sure that the šipiru 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 šipiru, Bēl-iddin by name, wrote in Aramaic upon the edge of a tablet containing a reference to himself in cuneiform. His notation is self-explanatory, as the following indicates:

\[ \text{šipiru} \]

There can be little doubt that this preserves the actual handwriting of a šipiru. It is likely that all Aramaic endorsements were placed upon clay tablets by a scribe who was a šipiru 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

114 BRM Part I, S1:1-3 (8th year of Darius I).
115 BR X, 7:4 (Accession year of Darius II).
116 BR X, 101:24; 25 (5th year of Darius II).
117 StrCamb 344:2, 3 (6th year of Cambyses).
118 BR X, 115:7-9 (6th year of Cambyses).
119 BR X, 60, edge. See lines 4 and 10 of the cuneiform text.
120 '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 *umdišipiru.* The word *si-pir* occurs in a badly-preserved Assyrian text 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 *umdišuṣarru* is rarely mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions. In the records which centered in Nineveh the place of both the *umdišuṣarru* and the *umdišipiru* was taken by the *umdišA-BA,* except in the late Assyrian period, when there seems

121 See ZA XXXVI, p. 27, for the occurrence of *si-ip-ru in a-limki* in a Cappadocian text. Lewy translates 'Boten oder Delegierten der Stadt.' There are other occurrences of *si-ip-ru,* or *si-is-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. Nieś, Part IV, 55:11, 15; 35:32; Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum, Part 1, Plate 29, line 2; Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Vol. XI, p. 113, No. 4, line 21; Musée du Louvre—Department des Antiquités Orientales, Textes Cunéiformes, 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 *sišur* of Cappadocian texts is related to the *sipiru* of the Neo-Babylonian, Persian, and Seleucid periods, but it has been thought best to give the above references.

122 JADD No. 936, Col. III, line 11.


124 The extensive and varied service of the *umdišA-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 \textit{amēt}dupsarru.\textsuperscript{125} The proof that the \textit{amēt}A-BA wrote upon parchment as well as upon clay is decisive. The \textit{amēt}A-BA mātAšur-a-a, 'the Assyrian scribe,' and the \textit{amēt}A-BA mātAr-ma-a-a, 'the Aramaean scribe,' are convincingly contrasted in a well-known cuneiform text.\textsuperscript{126} Johns points out that the distinction between the two was "functional" rather than "racial."\textsuperscript{127} 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.\textsuperscript{128} An allusion to an Aramaean scribe of the son of the king\textsuperscript{129} is very interesting, as it reminds one of the \textit{amēt}siširu ša mār šarrī.\textsuperscript{130} Furthermore, a certain Assyrian list contains the following statement: 0. \textit{amēt}A-BA mēt Ar-ma-(a-a-te), 'six female Aramaean scribes.'\textsuperscript{131} Of no little significance is the occurrence of \textit{amēt}A-BA \textit{amēt}Mu-su-ra-a-a, 'the Egyptian scribe.'\textsuperscript{132} 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 \textit{amēt}A-BA wrote upon parchment. A text states that city and temple scribes were supplied with the skins of cattle and white lambs.\textsuperscript{133} Thus the inscriptive 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

\textsuperscript{125} Cf. \textit{JADD}, Vol. II, p. 33 f. The evidence of the transition is very slight.


\textsuperscript{127} \textit{JADD} Nos. 179, R:2; 193, R:9; 207, R:5; 448, L. E:2; 607, R:3; 782:3.

\textsuperscript{128} The expression is \textit{amēt}A-BA mētAr-ma-a-a mār šarrī, \textit{JADD} No. 385, R:13.

\textsuperscript{129} See references in note 110.

\textsuperscript{130} \textit{JADD} No. 827:2.

\textsuperscript{131} \textit{JADD} No. 324, O:11, R:1. Compare with \textit{siširu} of the governor of Egypt. See Note 117.

\textsuperscript{132} \textit{OLZ} 20, Col. 204. The skins were given to the \textit{amēt}A-BA ṣīli and to the \textit{amēt}A-BA ṣīli.\textsuperscript{133}
which is being discussed. In many scenes carved upon stone the operation of recording plunder taken in battle is pictured. 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. 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. 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 aššur-ša and Ar-ma-a 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

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124 A good summary of the references is given byBreasted in AJSL, Vol. 32, p. 246, note 1.
125 See Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, I, 58. An excellent drawing of the scene is shown in AJSL, Vol. 32, p. 242.
126 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.
127 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. 138 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, 139 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. 140 A standard passage is the following: amēlu ša


140 See KilbrText references in Wörterverzeichniss, p. 164.
\[\text{šum-šu i-na ni-a-ra an-na-u saṭ-ru-ma, }\text{ 'the man whose name is written in this document.'}^{141}\]

\text{Urundê} is Klauber's translation of \text{ni-a-ra}, but he indicates in a note that it may mean 'Papyrus-urkunde,' on the basis of connection with \text{m}^{142}. Bezold translates \text{ni 'ารु 'Art Papyrus.'}^{143} So far as available texts indicate, there is only one occurrence of \text{ni 'ار} in Neo-Babylonian inscriptions; i.e., in the following context: \text{a-ki-i ni-\textasciitilde{a}ri ša Ki-na-a}.^{144}

This may be translated thus: 'according to the papyrus document of Kiña.' The complete context of this passage has not been preserved, but the official position of Kiña is suggested in line 7 of the document by \text{amēši}, ..., which can well stand for \text{amēši-pir}, or \text{amēši-pi-ru}. If such a restoration is correct and if \text{ni 'ار} means 'papyrus,' we are provided with an instance of a \text{sipiru} who wrote a document upon papyrus. This should not be surprising. If papyrus was available there is nothing more natural than that a \text{sipiru} should have written upon it as well as upon parchment.\text{.}^{145}

One may question whether the term \text{amēši} \text{KUS-SAR} was applied to one who wrote upon papyrus, even if \text{amēši-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 \text{δυφθενα}, 'skins,' because they were already accustomed to writing upon the prepared hides of animals.\text{.}^{146} How extensively the Babylonians and the Assyrians wrote upon papyrus

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\text{141 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 amēši-BA mātī, 'rolls (1) of papyrus (for), the scribe of the land.'}

\text{142 KÅ/Text, note on p. 75.}

\text{143 Bezold, Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar, p. 188. However, on p. 149, ibid., in connection with the word kerku, Bezold indicates that ni-\textasciitilde{a}ru may mean 'parchment.' Similarly, Meissner in Babylonien and Assyrien, Vol. I, p. 259, translates ni-\textasciitilde{a}ru '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 \text{m}^{142}.}

\text{144 Evetts, Inscriptions of the Reigns of Esar-Merodach, Nergili, and Laborinedoch, Text No. 55 of NER., line 12.}


\text{146 See Herodotus V, 58, for the following: καὶ ῥα λίββοι δύφθερας καλους ἀνὴρ τοῦ παλαιοῦ αἰὼν, δει κατ' εἰκόνα λιββοί ἐχρῶνται δύφθερας αὐτεῖς τι καὶ οἴλους, etc.}
cannot be determined. There was no general skill in the art of writing. Trained scribes were comparatively few in number.\textsuperscript{147} 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.\textsuperscript{148}

**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 cooperation between the two kinds of scribes. The skill of the \textit{dupšarru} and that of the \textit{sipāru} 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.\textsuperscript{149} As to the writing of cuneiform inscriptions

\textsuperscript{147} The urgency of the statement in \textit{NLE} 17:31, 32 indicates how helpless the ordinary Babylonians were without professional scribes.


\textsuperscript{149} Thureau-Dangin, \textit{Tablettes d'Uruk à l'Usage des Prêtres du Temple d'Anu du Temps des Séleucides, Musée du Louvre—Department 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.\footnote{See Driver, An Aramaic Inscription in the Cuneiform Script, Archie für Orientforschung, Band III, Heft 2/3, pp. 47-53.} 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 Aḥiqar (אֱּחִיקָר) and compiles his proverbs.\footnote{Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien, Vol. II, p. 344. See VS I, 64.} The part of the document which is of special interest indicates that Aḥiqar was "a wise and ready scribe" (רָאָשׁ הַמַּכַּה)\footnote{Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, pp. 204-248.} of Sennacherib,\footnote{Ibid., p. 212, col. i, line 1.} king of Assyria. The influence attributed to Aḥiqar is suggested by another descriptive phrase, "the counsellor of all Assyria" (אִישׁ אֲחֵרוֹ לְכָל).\footnote{Esarhaddon also figures in the story.} 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 Aḥiqar as the scribe of the Assyrian king accords with the cuneiform data concerning Aramaean scribes in Assyria and Babylonia.\footnote{Cowley, ibid., p. 212, col. i, line 12.} The other papyrus frag-
ments contain parts of an Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription of Darius the Great. 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. 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. 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.

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130 Ibid., pp. 4, 5.
131 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 and the see Clay, Business Documents of Muššu 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.¹

At about twenty-four or twenty-five² 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 eight³ 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

¹ Nöldeke-Schwally, Geschichte des Qurān's, I, 25, note 1 and references.
² Tabari, Annals, I, 1766: "twenty-odd."
³ Tabari, Annals: "eight."

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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 cixiii, and
in which Muhammad seeks protection from something darkly indi-
cated by the words غاسق إذا وقب. The expression merits a spe-
cial examination, because it was enigmatic even to the earliest of
Muhammad's followers.

According to a common tradition * ‘A'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 إذا 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 pas-
sages in the Qur'ân which show a similar bold use of words by
Muhammad. They are hard to find now because the dull theolo-
gians, through the exegetical literature, have influenced the lexi-
cons.* In the present instance we might conclude that غاسق and
وقب were merely ordinary words used of the clouding, or eclips-
ing, 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., Lisân al-'Arab, xiii, 162; Kashehâf, ad loc.
* E. g., Kashehâf, Jadâlain.
* E. g., Palmer, Sale, Henning.
* Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer in 1912 called my attention to the below quoted
passage in the Ihyâ', 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, 16-25 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 carefully we shall see that the root غضب 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 Jannaham. 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. غضب إذا وقب could mean then, "a thing suffused when it has sunk out of sight." Al-Iṣṭahāni says: غضب إذا وقب عبارة عن الناية بالليل كالتالواق "(The expression غضب إذا وقب is a figure of speech (used) of the accident in the night, such as the nocturnal visitor.) In the Qāmūs, under غضب we read: عباس وجعابة من شر الذكو 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: ومعناه أبي إذا قام حكاة الغزالي وغيره عن ابن عباس "Its meaning is 'penis cum surrectus est,' (as) reported by al-Ghazālī and others, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās." The lexicons have preserved a number of cognate words which belong to the same circle of ideas: ورقب الفرس وقب وقب وقب وهو صوب قنينه وقيل (Līsān) هو صوب لقيلة جزءان الفرس في قنينه والبيتاق ....... الجهالة أو السماحة الواسعة الخوجة .... وبنو البيتاق بريدون به السب

* Līsān al-'Arab and Rāghib al-Iṣṭahāni, al-Mufradāt fi Gharīb al-Qur’ān. They are so easily accessible that I merely summarize.
10 Iṣṭahāni, on Surah xxxviii, 56, in Mufradāt.
11 Mufradāt.
12 Līsān, Qāmūs, Mufradāt, Qatr al-Muḥīt.
The passage of al-Ghazālī is probably the following: 13

"Among the oddities of Qurʾān exegesis (is that contained in a tradition) from Ibn ‘Abbās: ‘And from the evil of the priapism if it be well—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 hadith, 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

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, then certainly in later life, even after the Flight, certain moments which would appear to have been seizures of some sort. The old view, that he was an epileptic, has been generally abandoned on the ground that consciousness is lost and apparent revelations could not have been experienced during an epileptic attack. But I am told 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. 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.

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,

14 See note 1.
15 Nöldeke-Schwally, I, 25, note 3 and references.
16 Nöldeke-Schwally, I, 24, note 5 and references.
17 Nöldeke-Schwally, I, 25 (top).
18 For psychiatric data I am indebted to my former colleague, Dr Theophile Rafael.
19 I know of an epileptic who believes that he avoids attacks by avoiding sexual stress.
20 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. 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:

"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:

"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 is remarkably descriptive of a brain-storm, fear, pain, hallucinations, and prostration, in spite of the rationalization which it has gone through at

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21 As a child he had never had, or did not remember, such experiences; or, being a child, they were different.

22 Bukhāri, i. 1. 2. Of course, 'A'isha is speaking twenty years later. The events occurred some four years before her birth.

23 Bukhāri, 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.' 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—hath 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 Nāmus which God sent down upon Moses." And, whether "the Nāmus" 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

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*If that is the meaning of بلغ سبي الجهد.

*Bukhāri, loc. cit.*
some literary skill in Sura lxxxi, 15 ft. 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 platitude 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 believeth 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 M'Grew say: 28

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 27 '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: 28 "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

28 Spoon River Anthology, 232.
27 P. 141.
28 Bukhari, 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 'X'isha, daughter of Abu Bakr, and married Sauda.29

29 The name سودة is unique, and hard to explain unless as a distortion of "Black." Her first husband bore the strange name Sakrán, "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 Hafsa, Hind, Umm Habiba, and Maimuna. Revenge, and humiliation of the vanquished, seem to have been the purpose of his marriages with Juwairiya, Safiya, and Raiahana, and possibly also Nasha (or Sanah or Sabah) and Shanbah. It may be safely stated that the element of inclination was not absent from the choice of Aisha, and it was notoriously evident with Juwairiya, Safiya, and Raiahana. 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 Ghaziya. Maria the Coptic was, of course a present, but nevertheless very acceptable. Tabari says little of Zainab "Mother of the Poor," Sharaf, Aliya, Qutaila, Fatima, Khaulah, and Amr. Marriage was not consummated with Nasha (Sanah, Sabah), Shanbah, Aliya (?), or Qutaila. A certain Laila, proposed to and married the Prophet, but later had herself released on grounds of jealousy. The case of Asma looks suspiciously like that of Ghaziya, and may be a doublet. Umm Hanif mentioned that she already had a child; Duba'a was reported to be passe; Safiya, daughter of Bashama, refused to abandon her husband; Umm Habib, daughter of Abbas, turned out to be a milk-relative: so these four did not marry the Prophet.

The above has been taken from Tabari, 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.

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28 Annals, 1, 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 ostracon 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 ostracon 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 verse have been broken off; the letter is otherwise complete. Size: 8 x 4 1/2 inches.

See List of Abbreviations on p. 158.
τοτὲ. Ν
ΜΝΜΑ

ς ὥς ἔτε ὧς ὦν

μὸν ε... θ[α] ἡμὶ ἑβολὴν τζα

ρεigion ὧμηροτοῖ τοῖκ ἔχληρῳ

με εκβιρῳ οὐλε ἐκβιρῳ οἰκα λέχρε ρατοοτκ γιπηλίμιςε

ἀν ὁν ἐκφάγεῖ ἐκμοοσε ἀν

ἀκωβρε ἄπει οὐλάλαυ ντα

ἀρ ἄπει οὐλέηκε ἐκκοοφν ἔχερ-

κρήζ ἐμάτε ἀρι ταγαπη

νεκεποποῦν ἄπεικαλαν ἐ

βολ ναρ ἄνοκ /sweetalert Alert:

τῷ ἐτοοτκ ἔτε ἐκφάγεια

ρεigion ὧμηροτοῖ τοῖκ ἔχληρῳ

με εκβιρῳ οὐλε ἐκβιρ mktime

εἰ ἐκβιρῳ ντα Ἐπὶ 

μα ἐπὶ ἐκβιρῇ ἐβολὴν 

ζαρωφ νιμ ἐκβιρῳπρ

ζητοοτκ γιπαροὺ ὡμε

νοοὑ: ἄνοκ πετνατ ἀ

λογος ἦπιονυτε ζαρω 

ἐτρεπκαλλ νακ ἐβολ ἀ

ἢω ἐκφίνα ἐκμακ νῃ

ἐπε

ἐπε

ἐπε
Verso.

\[\text{πε:} \]
\[\text{αροκ ἡ...} \]
\[\text{ςνυ ἱκ...} \]
\[\text{εἰ ὑαροὶ εὐμα} \]
\[\text{νῃς ταγεντβνοοὐε} \]
\[\text{εὐπανοῦ "νταλγ ἅπη τα} \]
\[\text{γαῳ ἃλας ετβεπνούτε} \]
\[\text{νγοῖν τ-ἀρῳ ἅλτνον εεογν} \]
\[\text{ςαςτετιν ἅμιτον ἃπ ἡ} \]
\[\text{μον επογην ἅ" νμαι καὶ} \]
\[\text{γαρ πετκαλαπ "ντακ} \]
\[\text{αα ἃρῳς ἄναλα ἃ} \]
\[\text{τακαλα ἴπνούτε} \]
\[\text{ω "ντεκτύχη νμαι} \]
\[\text{οὐχαὶ ἵππεοεὶς πα} \]
\[\text{μερὶτ ἃκον: ἃλας} \]
\[\text{ἄπαλωμαι ἃς ἄκαπιας} \]
\[\text{ζιναλό πιελα} \]
\[\chi \]
(7) Do not trouble yourself about a man who is confined or endangered or looking for you in controversial places. Therefore when you come, will you go with your friends, and they will take something of his (?) for a poor man. You know that he is often mistaken. Be so good (διάλυτος) as to ask them and they will pardon him (15) for it.

I, myself, promise to you that if you watch yourself in this fashion from this place (?) in going north, everything shall be (20) unto you as it formerly was. I am he who gives the word (λέγως) of God to you that he will pardon them for you and that he will be gracious (πρεσβυτα) with you like (25) all holy ones.

(verso) ... (5) regarding the animals, they shall ... ? ... ι of them. Be so good (διάλυτος) as to do it for God's sake.

You ask whether, perhaps, they are being brought to you and (whether) you shall take them to him. No! (10) he remains with me; therefore (καὶ γάρ) you are the one who shall do it for God and for your soul and mine.

(15) Farewell in the Lord, my beloved brother. Give this to the lashane Asarias, from Helleo, the humblest (Δίκαιος).
\text{EQAPB, for EQOPB EQOYN, not reflexive. See Epi., App. i, 55; Ryl. 177, 8 has WPI. The word is somewhat scarce; and our reading is quite unusual.}

\text{PIMAMIME is literally "the place of fighting." I have not found it elsewhere and it may be a variant of the known MAMMOOWE, "road."}

\text{NTAAQ, probably NTAA- for NTA-, though Crum suggests NTAA<T>Q; a similar construction in NTAA\text{\text{\text{textile}}} verse, line 6.}

\text{OEKE for ZHEKE.}

\text{KPOQ for 6POQ, upon Crum's suggestion; cf. however, CO Ad 54, p. 70 note 2; CO 358.}

\text{\text{\text{\text{textile}}} a technical expression implying a guarantee. See Sethe-Partsch, Demot. Bürgschaft, pp. 496-513, 764-5. The writer of our document would probably not be legally liable for breach of his promise.}

\text{XIN MN\text{\text{\text{textile}}} at Crum's suggestion.}

\text{Crum suggests KASHY but KASHT is clear; cf. CMBM 1153, 3; 1161, 2. See also EQKAPA INIA EBOA, CO 122, 6, "he is leaving the place."}

\text{QINABQY MAFENOY, the first word has apparently the same meaning as the second; its general usage of "back, the verso of a document" means nothing here.}

\text{\text{\text{\text{textile}}} a technical expression, a formula of surety, see Epi. 96 note 1; CO 107; here used in a private sense.}

\text{EAYTIANOY, the Α may possibly be an Α but the meaning is still obscure.}

\text{NTAA\text{\text{\text{textile}}} see note 3.}

\text{NTAPHY obscure; reading APHY as "perhaps" NT would seem to introduce an indirect question, after WINE.}

\text{EPYQH is perhaps written for EPOYH.}

\text{PETKNALQ for PETKNALQ; similarly NTAKALQ for NTAKALQ.}

\text{\text{\text{\text{textile}}} for \text{\text{\text{textile}}.}

\text{\text{\text{\text{textile}}} a village official with justice of the peace functions; see Steinwenter, Studien zu d. koptisch. Rechtsurkunden (19 Stud. Palae.), pp. 38-60.}

\text{ACAPIA for AZAPIA, though this spelling is not known elsewhere. Cf., however CAPIA, CO 445, 5.}
II

Red ribbed potsherd, inscribed recto; verso, black. A complete document. Size: 5 1/4 x 4 1/2 inches.

Ῥωμόπτὺς Μέν Μπι

weekday ἤπειραι Ντεκ[...

ANTLRΜΝΤΧΟΝ ΟΥΦΨ Α[...

ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΤΒΕΠΨΒΒ ΝΝΧ

5 ομε ὧ ΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΡΝ ΝΑΚ ΕΤΒΕΤΟΥ

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΣ ΠΑΡΒ ΛΙΤΝΝΟΟΥΡ Ν

ΑΚ ΝΤΟΟΤΨ ΝΝΕΚΑΚ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑ

ΠΗ ΝΓΣΖΑΙ ΝΒΙΟΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ

ΕΤΕ ΑΠΑ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ-ΠΕ ΜΝΑΠΑ

10 ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΣ ΜΝΑΠΑ ΚΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΑΥ[...

Ψ ΟΝ ΝΓΣΖΑΙΟΥ ΝΝΑΥ ΝΤΡΕΜΗ

ΚΙΟΝΕ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΕΡΨΑΝΤΧΡΙΑ ΝΝΧ

ΑΡ ΦΨΝΕ ΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΝ

ΤΟΥ ΝΤΑΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΛΑΝΤΕ

15 ΨΤΨΡΟΣ ΣΙΤΝ ΒΑΠΙΝΙΟΣ

ΤΙΑ ΟΥΧΑΙ

ΑΝΟΚ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ

ΝΧΨΚΡΕ ΦΨΝΕ

ΝΕ ΕΠΙΑΚΟ

20 Ν ΦΕΨΠ[ΟΜΠΟΣ]
Before coming (μεν) to the words I salute (ἀναμωμε) your ... 
... of your brotherhood, wishing ... ? ... 

Please attend (ἀγάπη) to the matter of the books 1 (5) which I 
spoke of to you. Now as regards the pledge, 2 I sent it to you by 
(the son) of Isaac. 3

Be so good (ἀγάπη) as to write the lives (βίος) of the holy ones, 
namely, Apa Athanasios and Apa (10) Dioscoros and Apa Severos. 4
They were written for two trimesia 5 each. If you have need (χρεία) 
of papyri (χιλιαργυρί), send to me and I will bring them when I come.

Give this to (15) Theodoros 6 from Bapsistia. 7 Farewell.

I, Macarios, (the son) of Jokre, 8 I salute my brother, (20) 
Theopompos. 9

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1 **Xωμε** for **Xωωμε**.
2 **Είς Παρηβ**, the latter a Semitic loan-word, יְרוּם; cf. Epi. 274; 
CMBM, index.
3 **Εσάκ** probably for **Ισαάκ** = **Ισαάκ**.
4 Three saints of the Coptic church.
5 **Τριμιχίςιον**, a peculiar form of τριμιχίςιον.
6 **Τεωτίφρος**, spelled so only here.
7 **Βαππείσια**, an unknown name heretofore, perhaps connected 
with Παπίσι, 5 Arch. f. Papyrus., 246, 2.
8 **Χωρπε**, also an unknown name; cf. **Χούχιρ**, Ryl. 244 recto.
9 **Χωρπε** may go back to Σωρπάρης, on the analogy of **Χιλοι** from 
Σινθώ, Lond. IV 1494, 31, see Preissgke, Namenbuch, coll. 87 and 386.
10 **Θεοκομπός** cf. P. Oxy. I 163; P. Oxy. VI 932, 1, 16; SB 4146,

.files

Verso.

ἐξογν' ἔχε ἀπκαίρος. 5
ὡς με ἡπίραω οὖν ἰὼν ἐι' 
xDD้ว้เวท θείτιν' θι
πωμήν θαπα νταρεχκο
5 εἰς σμοὺ ἐροκ οὐχαὶ ἤπιχοεὶς
τὰλε ἰγεψρίος παμπή
dτὶ ἰδβ πελαχιστος
First (μᾶς) 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 want you to take care of yourself (?).

After the feast of Apa Patermuthios and Macarios ...? ... install an oven. (Verso) When the time (καιρὸς) comes, do not remain behind. Do not fail to come so that we may tend to the three feasts, wherefore the Lord (5) will bless you.

Farewell in the Lord. Give this to Georgios, the baker; from Job, the humblest.

1 Crum suggests T[HPQ] but there does not seem to be room for this. Müller reads T[N].
2 NEIEPG, in smaller characters and in the margin, a marginal note.
3 MN MAKAP, perhaps also the feast day of a (St.) Macarios.
4 BAK TIP EŻOYN, see Crum, Epi., 1, p. 102.
5 ΛΙΠΑΙΡΟΣ, this usage unusual; cf., however, BKU 3211, 4.
6 ΝΟΓΟΙ, see CO 266, 7 note p. 52. Also CO 247, 3.
7 ΖΕΙΝ = ΖΙΤΝ.

IV

Limestone, inscribed on upper half of one side. Complete, 1 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches.

ΚΑΡΑΚΟΣ1 ΖΑΤΤΑΜ2(ΙΕΙΟΝ) ΝΗQ3 ΝΕΟΥΟ ΓΑΝΑΚΚΙ ΝΕ4 ΝΗQ ΝΕΟΥΟ ΠΟΝΚΟΥ

Caracos. For the barn (?); a sack (?) of wheat. For the jars, a sack of wheat. (Total), the pound.

1 ΚΑΡΑΚΟΣ for ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ, common in Jeme texts. See CO and KRU, indices.
2 ΖΑΤΑΜ; this seems to be an abbreviation of ταμιῶν, and in this period would probably be a private storehouse. It may, however, refer to the public treasury, and denote a tax.
3 ΝΗQ, an unknown word, undoubtedly a measure.
4 ΛΑΚΚΙΝΣ, connected with λάκκος, λάγκος, λαγίνας, λάκα. See Praeligtke, Wörterbuch, ii, col. 1, 2.
5 ΠΟΝΚΟΥ = ΠΙ-ΤΥΧΙ, the money-weight equivalent of the grain.
V

Limestone, inscribed recto, a few rubbed letters verso. Complete, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 3\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches.

†TAPanatapun MnOYtay
Pne\(\hat{n}\) Ntakalay Nklo
M axwq lw w Akka
Tictamoy AxnnesB
5 hye Thpou mnkoi
X: Z

Peace^1 and quiet^2 (to you). For you made them wreaths of it and you attended to (kabio\(\theta\)mu) all the things (5) with your (own) hands. Zacharias.^3

^1†TAPanatapun, a peculiar construction; cf. en† EooY of KRU 96, 65.
^2OYtayPne for OyeipnH, elpHyn, (?).
^3Z a monogram for Z(\(\Lambda\))X(\(\alpha\)P\(\iota\)\(\alpha\)c).

VI

Limestone fragment, inscribed recto and verso. Size, 2 x 2\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches.

F wo\[p]p
Etel\(\mu\)n\(\tau\)xo
Eic epeim\[o\]y
\(\eta\)na \(\eta\)\(\nu\)bi
\(\eta\)fei e\(\varepsilon\)o\(\iota\)n
2o\(\varphi\)y n

Verso
Te\(\omega\)li
Eoo\(\nu\)p[\(\iota\)]
\(\mu\)\(\pi\)r\(\tau\)t\(\tau\)\(\omicron\)\(t\)\(o\)\(t\)en
\(\omega\) \(\alpha\)k\(\alpha\)c
\(\alpha\)p\(\iota\)c\(\iota\)\(e\)\(\iota\)nt.
\(\kappa\) \(\mu\)\(\pi\)\(e\)\(n\)\(\omega\)\(h\)\(r\)e
\(\eta\)\(\nu\)\(\omicron\)\(t\)e

Edge [2]T\(\iota\)N Bikt\(\varphi\) Pcil\(\alpha\)x
VII

Limestone fragment, inscribed recto and verso. 1¾ x 1½ inches.

\[ \text{VII} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Πο[∆]</td>
<td>ρω[ιν]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ξημ[ ]</td>
<td>ιατ ι[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>παγ[α]</td>
<td>ιού 2[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κε[ ]</td>
<td>ΜΜΑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κω[ ]</td>
<td>όντου</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α [ ]</td>
<td>οα [ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VIII

Limestone fragment, inscribed recto, a few letters verso. Size, 3 x 3½ inches.

\[ \text{VIII} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>Verso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>πιοι</td>
<td>κ [ ] τωι...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αρι πινα [ ]</td>
<td>ιππ—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ελνη ινε] [ ]</td>
<td>ωντου μπρω. [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>λγ[ ]</td>
<td>ΜΗϹΑ [ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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, Bapstistia, 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 Aehmimic 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.

STUDIES IN THE DIVYĀVADĀNA*

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I. Sūkarikāvadāna.²

It is, of course, a law that, when a god ² is destined to "fall",³
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 armpits,
and a god who is about to fall takes no pleasure in his throne.⁴

* I am deeply indebted to M. J. Przyluski, 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 Neill’s edition of the Divyāvadāna, pp. 193-195. 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.

² Our Skt. text hesitates between the true word for "sow", sūkara, and the barbarism sūkarikā, e.g., p. 194, 1.14 sūkāryāḥ; but elsewhere it reads sūkarikāyaḥ.

³ We know from at least p. 57 of the Divyā, that devaputra = deva where Śakra says to the sonless king: yadi kaśchīc eyavanadharmā devaputro bhaviṣyati tat te putrāv eva mādāpavyāyāṁ.

⁴ The Chinese has made a proper name of the adjective eyavannadharmino: 名嗟難義法 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.

³ 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." 身無威德垢熾熾生 頭上花萎落悉萎草 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. Przyluski 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 Caitrarratha, ah Pārasyaka, ah Nandana-grove, ah Miśraka-
grove, ah Pārīyāṭraka, ah Pāṇḍukambala-rock, ah assembly-hall of
the gods, ah Sudarśana. So saying, he lamented in distress. *

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.

* Most of the names in this list are to be found in Kirfel, Komografie
der Inde: p. 59, "Am Fusse des Berges (Kailāsa—a fabulous mountain
in the Himalaya range) liegt der Lotusteich Manda (= puṣkiriṇī and vápi
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 (Acehodā) liegt der grosse
Hain Caitrarratha;" p. 94, "In Havṛta liegen in der Richtung von Osten
nach Süden die vier Haine Caitrarratha . . ."; p. 95, "Nach dem
Vyāsabhāṣya zum Yogasūtra liegen auf der Gipfelfläche des Meru die Haine
Miśravana, Nandana, Caitrarratha und Sumānasa, die Götterhalle heisst
Sudharāmā, die Götterstadt Sudarśana und der Palast Vajrayanta;" p. 232,
"Nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen liegen vier Felsen: . . . im Süden
Pāṇḍukambalā, im Westen Raktā. . . ."

I cannot find out to what Pārasyaka refers. The Tib. takes it as the
name of a grove: rtsub bsnyur gyi tshal (I follow the transcription of
Das's dictionary). The Chinese lists it along with the other groves:

賽車與鹿惡歡喜雜林等. Regarding Pārīyāṭraka, I can do
no more than reproduce the note which M. Przybuski gave me on the
word: "Pārīyāṭraka est énigmatique. Comparez Divyā. p. 219, 1. 18.
Vous voyez que du sommet du Meru on aperçoit l'arbre Pārījataka qui est
l'arbre paradisiaque bien connu. Mais ici Pārījataka est donné par les
éditeurs, non par les ms. qui ont tous Pārīyāṭraka comme dans le Sākari-
kīv. (Noter que p. 219, 3e ligne avant la fin, Cowell et Neil écrivent
Pārījataka sans indiquer ce que donnent les ms.) Il n'est pas certain que
Pārīyāṭraka 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-yù-to-lo-chia et probablement aussi par le tibét.: complète-
ment pari + assemblée = yātra, car yātra "pèlerinage, fête" est voisin
de "réunion, assemblée." Je suis tout près d'admettre que Pārīyāṭraka
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 sūrya (= īśta,
rūkta) between the Pārīyāṭraka and Pāṇḍu*. Since the Chinese after
the Pārīyāṭraka is wholly unintelligible one wonders whether the Tib. has
not preserved something that the Skt. has lost and that the Chinese has
Sakra, 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 Mandakini, ... in distress.

Thus addressed the god said this to Sakra, the chief of the gods: I here, O Kausika, 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 Rajagaha. There for many years I shall have to feed upon excrements.

Then Sakra 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 Sakra, hopelessly confused. Between the Pārīyātraka (which the Chinese has transcribed and probably attempted to interpret as: flower long unplucked 永不採摘) and devasaabhā the Chinese has “mixed, precious, soft earth, long unwalked,” which might (but I don’t know how) be an attempt to interpret an original hā Raktā hā Pāṇḍukambalāśīla.

Devasaabhā very likely has the same meaning here as in Divya, p. 220 (yaśa devedeśanām trayastriṃśāṇām Sudharmā sāma devasaabhā yatra devedeśa trayastriṃśāḥ ...). Cf. the above quotation from p. 96 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), aṣṭasau ca mahādyānaye vajjayante mandapuṣkarināyān parīyātrā kocidāre māhācane pāraṣyake citrathe snehāye mūrakāvane apanē ca vimaṇāya ca vimāneṣu ... ; Mahā. II, p. 451, l. 20, yādṛṣam citrathe mūrakāvane devānām trayastriṃśāṇām yātra māhā kocidāre devapariśte sabhonti tādṛṣam ... ;

Regarding the form puṣkiriṣṭa of our text (where one would expect puṣkariṣṭa), Senart has a note on the same form which is found in the Mahāvastu III, p. 506 at top, “La forme puṣkiriṣṭa est trop fréquente dans nos ms. pour que je me sois cru autorisé à la corriger. Elle fait pendant, en sens inverse, au pokkharanī du pāli.”

Mandakini is found in Mahāvagga VI, 20, 2. as the name of a lake.

*In spite of the ms. we must read āvartamānaṃ.

*Preserved in the Chinese, but not in Tib.

*Tiragyonyo ... marasaabhakāritai, lost in Tib. The Chinese has translated tiragy “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.9

It is, of course, a law that sight by the intelligence exists for the gods downward but not upward.10 Then Sakra, 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?11 He had not been born there. As he looked he thought: Has he been born in the company of men?12 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.13 Then Sakra, 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 Sakra, 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 Mandākini, etc. . . . I spoke thus to him: Why, my friend, do you excessively weep, mourn, cry out, beat your breast,

*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 ḍkhi-ḥpo ḍdue-byas-nas ṅgoḥ-ldan phyi ḍbraḥi ri-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.”

10 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.

11 The Tib. here reads: Has he been born in the station of hell-beings and animals, or not? sems-sun dmyal-ba ḍaṅ ḍud-kholi skye-gnas-su skyes sem-na skyes-paḥ bītas-na yas ma skyes-te. The Chinese, again interpreting tīrṇak as “approaching,” “nearby,” has merely: He also gazed in the world of nearby-born ghosts, but again he did not see him.

思界亦復不見. The Tib. has omitted preta.

12 Tib. omits this, while the Chinese misread its original as Sahalokadhātu 又觀生於世界人間.
and why are you in this state of confusion? He spoke thus: I here, O Kāṇṣīka, 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 Kāṇṣīka, go for refuge etc. . . .

After speaking thus the god died. Where, Sir, has the god been born? The Blessed One said: Kāṇṣīka, the gods known as the Tuṣītas see the accomplishment of all their desires. There that god is enjoying himself, because he here went to the three refuges. Then Sakra, 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.14

Then the Blessed One, agreeing with the words of Indra, spoke

---

14 The Tibetan and Chinese then insert three verses which correspond rather well to one another:

\[ \text{gāñ-dag kīn-mtshan rtag-par yaṅ} \\
\text{saṅs-rgyas rje-su dran-pa daṅ} \\
\text{gāñ-dag saṅs-rgyas skyabs mchis-pa} \\
\text{mi de-dag-ni rned-pa che} \]

\[ \text{gāñ-dag kīn-mtshan rtag-par yaṅ} \\
\text{choe-ni rje-su dran-pa daṅ} \\
\text{gāñ-dag choe-la skyabs mchis-pa} \\
\text{mi de-dag-ni rned-pa che} \]

\[ \text{gāñ-dag kīn-mtshan rtag-par yaṅ} \\
\text{dge-hdun rje-su dran-pa daṅ} \\
\text{gāñ-dag dge-hdun skyabs mchis-pa} \\
\text{mi de-dag-ni rned-pa che} \]

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, Kāṇḍika, quite so. Who refuge in the Buddha take, etc.\textsuperscript{15}

1. 誠彼人若佛
2. - - -
3. - - -

歸命所夜常念法
常持僧
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 Saṅgha, etc.,
The Saṅgha’s majesty ever protects.

\textsuperscript{15} The Skt. text merely repeats the former gāthā. The Tib. does the same thing except that it uses synonyms for mohī: guñ-dag saña-rgyas skyabs don-pa / de-dag sān-hgro mi ḥgro-etc., etc.

The Chin. combines the whole three verses into one:

帰命佛法僧, 定不墮惡道.
棄舍人生已當獲得天身

Who takes refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha,
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.:
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.\textsuperscript{18}

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,
Samgha, etc.

\textsuperscript{18} After this closing the Tib. adds: \textit{boom-ldan-\textasciitilde{\text{d\l{a}}}s-\text{kyis de-skad-\textit{ces} bka\text{-}grel-nas} dge-sklo-dag-yi ru\textasciitilde{\text{n}}-te boom-ldan-\textasciitilde{\text{d\l{a}}}s-\text{kyis gny\text{-}ba-la mdon-par betod-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 菇衆 天帝釋等。一切大眾歡喜。信受 作禮 而退：When the Buddha had spoken this sutra, 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 GÁVIŠTI

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The Hindu grammarians call those compounds tatpurusa, 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, § 1368). The Indian name, itself an example of genitive-dependence, is generally applied to all case-relations with the exception of the vocative: nom. mayobha, “being a blessing”; acc. gogha, “slaying cows”; instr. indragupta, “protected by Indra”; dat. gohitā, “good for cattle”; abl. taranagacacalātara, “more restless than the waves”; gen. dvijottama, “foremost of Brahmans”; loc. Yudhiṣṭhira, “steadfast in battle.”

The following treatise deals exclusively with those tatpurusa compounds, one part of which is a verb or a verbal noun. French grammarians denominate them very appropriately “composés à rectioon verbale.”

The following compounds belonging to this class may be selected from Rgveda I. 1-60. As a rule, they will be quoted in declined forms as they occur in the hymns.


2. 2. ahareidāḥ, “knowing the (right) time.” 3. somapilaye, “the drinking of soma.” 8. tvāydhāv, “rejoicing in justice”; rtasprād, “maintaining the law.”


6. 2. nṛvāhasa, “bringing heroes.” 6. vidādvasum, “finding wealth (for others).”

7. 2. vacoyūjā, “obeying orders.”


9. 8. sahasrasātalam, “bestowing a thousand gifts.”


11. 2. <ā>parujitam, “not defeated by others.”

12. 2. havayāham, “forwarding the oblation (to the gods).”


11. mānuḥhitah, “consecrated by men or Manus.”


17. 4. vājadāvānām, “strength-giving.” 5. sahasradāvānām, “bestower of a thousand gifts.”

18. 2. amivahā, “warding off disease”; vasuvit, “finding
wealth (for others)"; puṣṭivārāhanā, "growth-promoting."
7. vipaścitaḥ (meaning doubtful). 8. havisikrtim, "preparing
of oblation." 9. sādmamakhasam, "fighting for his seat (in
Heaven)."

19. 1. gopithāya, "protection (go + pā)."
20. 1. ratnadhātāmah, "most wealth-bestowing." 2. vacoyūjā,
"obeying orders."

somapā, "soma-drinker"; somapitaye, "the drinking of soma."
22. 2. divisiprāśa, "touching the sky." 7. nṛcākhasam, "man-
observing." 9. somapitaye, "drinking of soma." 18. goṇā,
"protector."

23. 3. divisiprāśa, "touching the sky." 3. manojūvā, "quick as
thought." 4. somapitaye, "the drinking of soma." 5. rāvṛdhāv,
"rejoicing in justice." 7. somapitaye, "the drinking of soma."
10. somapitaye, "the drinking of soma."

24. 5. bhāgabhatkasya, "bestowed by Bhaga." 8. hṛdayāv-
īdha, "pierced in the heart."

25. 4. vāṣyaśtaṇaye, "the promoting of virtue."
26. 7. vāṣvasātāmā, "most booty-giving."
27. 1. somapā, "soma-drinker."

28. 5. girvāhā, "enjoying hymns." 11. somapāḥ, "soma-
drinker"; somapāvnavām, "soma-drinker." 12. somapāḥ, "soma-
drinker."
bhür, “soma-drinking.” 11. madhupéyam, “the drinking of soma.”
12. vásasātu, “the conquering of booty.”

35. 6. vīrāśāt, “defeating heroes.”

37. 1. ratbesúbham, “speeding onward in his car” or “brilliant in his car.”
38. 9. udavāhēna, “water-bringing.”
39. 10. ṛsídviṣe, “hating the Rśis.”
43. 8. somapariśākho, “scornor of the soma-ovation.”


48. 2. vasuvitā, “finding wealth.”


5. dassiyahayesu, “the killing of the Dasyus.”
6. susnahayesu, “the killing of Susna”; dassiyatdyay, “the killing of the Dasyus.”
7. somapithaya, “the drinking of soma.”
10. manoyaya, “obeying willingly.”
(14. aśvayūr, etc. cf. Whitney, § 1178. g.)

52. 1. svarvidam, “finding (the way to) Heaven.”
2. havanasyadam, “speeding towards the sacrifice.”
9. nṛṣo, “assisting heroes.”

53. 1. dravinodēsu, “bestowing wealth.”
2. śikṣānarāh, “enriching mankind.”<a>not</a>kāmakarśanah, “neglecting the wishes.”
3. purukṛd, “doing much.”
6. vrtrahayesu, “the killing of Vytra.”

54. 9. ādridūgūhās, “milked with the adri.”
10. (apōn) dhārāṇahkaran, “the vault containing (the waters)”
11. śekrodham (haplology for śeva-śrdham), “augmenting friendship”;
3. purukṛd, “doing much.”
6. vrtrahayesu, “the killing of Vytra.”

55. 7. somapāvan, “soma-drinking”;
7. vandanaśrūd, “hearing the praise.”

56. 1. hāriyogam, “yoked with steeds.”
2. nemannisah, “following the guidance” (Grassmann).
4. tvāvṛdha, “helping you.”

58. 1. sahoyā, “born by force.”
3. vajrīṣṭi, “conquering wealth.”

59. 6. vṛtrahānam, “killer of Vytra.”

60. 3. rtvij, “offering in due time.”
5. vajambharām, “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 Rigveda 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, Śāvatī and Nala. They will be given in alphabetic order without translation.

anadaja, arindama, aśvattha, ātmaja, ātmajaya, ātmajprabha,
āpaga, āryajāta, aśārāda, uraga, rtvij, kāmavasin, kāṣṭhaḥkūta,
kimkara, kulodvaha, kṛtakṛtya, khaga, khagama, gurubhakta,
On Compounds of the Type Goghna and Gāviṣṭi

jaladāgama, tanūruha, tapovṛdha, dandaḍhāraṇa, dvākara, divi- 
spaś, dharmavrīti, dhyāṇayoga, namaskāra, naravāhin, nāmadheya, 
nīśakara, paṇčāyoga, payodharu, paramtąpa, pārāga, punyakṛt, 
punyāhavacana, prasādaja, prāṇayātra, priyavāda, prātiśka, 
brahmaçarya, brahmaçarin, brahmaavid, bhayamkara, bhavavaha, 
bhujanga, manuṣa, mahīdhara, mahīḥkṛt, mānāda, yatkṛte, yau- 
vanaathā, lokapāla, vasudhā, vasundhara, vidhīṛṣṭa, vīhaga, vī- 
hanga, śiroruha, śīlavrddha, satyavāc, satyavādin, saṃtānakara, 
svayānīḥhū, svastha, svairavṛtta, havyavāhana, hāḥākāra, hāḥā- 
hūta, 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 goghna 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 manojā, elliptic for “quick as thought,” 
German, “gedankenschnell.” Besides, in the difficult form dhara- 
ṇahāvaram (54. 10), dharuna 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 nomina- 
tive-relation are: aśvattha, āpaga, kṣtābhūta, jaladāgama, 
prāṇayātra, svayānīḥhū, 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)”; vacos there- 
fore should be understood as instrumental rather than dative— 
tvādālam, (ā)parājīla, mānurhitaḥ, manoyūja, bhāgabhaktasya, 
bhājikam, viśvādarśataḥ, sahaskṛta, puruṣpṛham, madacyūlam, 
ādriāugdhās, indrapāṇaḥ, hāriyogam, sahojā. And in the Mahā- 
hārata: anḍaja, ātmaja, ātmāprabhā, āpaga, āryajuṣa, uraga, 
kāmavāsin, gurubhaktā, tapovṛdha, prasādaja, paṇ<no>ga, bhuv- 
janga, manuṣa, vidhīṛṣṭa (or locative?), śīlavṛddha, svairavṛtta 
(or locative?). The instrumental relation is frequent in com-
binations with passive participles. In compounds with the verb jan, anḍaja, 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 patsutahśīr, patsutah is an ablative form with locative meaning (Whitney, § 1098 b). The compound belongs rather to the class of karmadhārāya compounds, the first part being, properly speaking, an adverb. Patsusūr would be a tatpurusa. In yutkṛte, 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: rāvijam, dōsāvasī, camusādah, uṣarbūdhaḥ, hrīśprā, patsutahśīr (see under ablative), ratheśubham, diviṣṭisu, and hrīdayādīhas (or accusative?) In the Mahābhārata we have: rāvij, khaga, khagana, tanu-ruha, diviṣprā, dharmavṛtti, yauvanastha, vidhiṇḍa (or instrumental?), vīhaga, śiṇoruhā, svāvavṛti (or instrumental?), hilā-śrāya.

From several examples it appears that the case-relation cannot always be strictly determined.

Number. With the exception of patsutahśīr, 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 (nadiṅgī), or neuter (nayaṣkī).

Structure and accent. According to Whitney, § 1269, the adjectival 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: rāvijam, rainadhātāmam, gopām, aharvīdaḥ, rāvṛdham (voc.), ṛtasṛśa (voc.), pūru- bhujā (initial voc.), carṣaṇidhṛto (voc.), aprūras, godūhe, somapāḥ.
On Compounds of the Type Goghñā and Gāvīṣṭi

(voc.), godā, yajñāśriyam, vacoyūjā, somapātamaḥ, sahasrasātmanam, kaṣyaprā, somapā (voc.), puruniśṣidhe, havaṇakṛtām, sahasrasātmanām, sahasrasām, havaṇāham, havaṇād, haviśkeṭham, rāvṛdhāno, mayobhīvakā, camāśādāh, manoyuṣjo, rāvṛdho, uṣarbūḍhah, rataṇād, drāvinodā (etc.), yajñāṇir, ghrtaśāvā, hrīśmṛg, vṛtrahā, Aūśiṣaḥ, anīrvaḥ, vasuvit, vīpasītās (?), rataṇadhātamah, vacoyūjā, somapātamanā, somapā, diviśprāśa, gopa, diviśprāśa, manojūvā, rāvṛdhāv, hrdayāvidhas, vājasātmām, somapā (voc.), somapāḥ (initial voc.), somapāḥ (voc.), tanaṅkṝ, vayastikṝ, vrataṁ, syanakṝ, ṛṣikṝ, patsuṭāḥsir, dhanadām, iṣudhār, dhanadām, vrṣayūḍho, mahupēbhīr, vīrāśā, saḥovṛdham, devaṭtamaḥ, dhanaspṛtām, asmadhrūk, ratheśūbhham, rṣidviṣe, somaparibhādo, uṣarbūḍhah, adhvarāśriyam, havaṇāham, uṣarbūḍhah, svarīḍās, vrīḍjam, rāvṛdhām, ghrtraṇprāsam, ārīvjam, vasuvītānam, vasuvīḍā, rāvṛdhā (voc.), rāvṛdhā (voc.), puruśṛpam, adhvarāśriyo, vīṣavatūrā, viśvasuvīdo, jyotiskṝ, antarikṣapram, madacyūtām, gātuvi, manoyuṣa, svarīḍam, havanasādām, nadīvṛttaṁ, nṛṣācō, drāvīnodaśu, purukṝ (voc.), camūśadas, śrīvardham, janāsāl, vandanāśrūtā, nemannīṣā, tvāvṛdhā, sahojā, rayiṣāl, vṛtrahānam, rtviḥ.—Two compounds from this series are not accented on the verbal root, śrīvardh and tvāvṛdh. From gopa, we have devagopa and āhiṇgopa, both showing that the original sense of gopa 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, gopa being simply taken as “guardian,” a verbal root gūp “to guard” was made from it by retrograde derivation. For patsuṭāḥsir see above. Superlatives of adjectival compounds formed with the roots ēdhā, pā, viḍ, vi and sā (san) are frequent. Somapātaman in one instance is accompanied by sōmam as internal object (sōmam somapātaman). In puruniśṣidh and somaparibbādh, the verb itself is combined with a prefix; the accent remains on the verb, a detail omitted by Whitney. In viśvasuvīdo, the verb is accompanied by an adverb. Case forms of the nouns are distinct in diviśprāg, hrīśmṛg, and ratheśūbhā. The root-stems have a middle or passive value in: madacyūt, vacoyuṣa, manoyuṣa, and hrdayāvidh.

Among our classical examples, root-compounds are: anḍaja, aśvatthā, aṭmaja, aṭmaprabhā, āpagā, uraga, rtviḥ, khaga, diviśprāg,
pānaga, pāraga, punyakṛt, prasādaja, brāhmaṇa, bhujamgā, manuja, mahīḥṛt, mānada, yauvanasida, vasūdā, vihagā, 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. व्रज हारम; kṣetrajñā ends in -ā, and hāryogam 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, āśrveda, kiṁkara, kulodvaha, bhagama, jaladāgama, tanuruhā, dhyānayoga, nāmaskāra (vyādhi), niśkāra, payodhara, parāṃtapa, priyavāda, pritiṅkara, bālabhāva, bhayamkara, bhāyavaha, mahīdharu, lokapāla, vasundhāra, śīroruha, samānakara, svabhāva, hāhākāra (vyādhi), and hitāśraya. Many roots show guṇa strengthening. The vyādhi strengthening of kr 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 nṛmapadanam, amīvādahana, puṣṭivārtha, and hāvyavāhana are in perfect harmony with this rule. Avadyagohana is vocative and ākāmakarsana is accented on the negation. In the Mahābhārata we have: daṇḍadhārana, punyāhavacana, and hāvyavāhana.

The action nouns in -ya (Whitney, §1213) are represented among our Vedic compounds by hāturvāye, nyāhyāya, madhyapāya, vasūdayāya, samapēyāya, dasyuhātya, susahātya, urvarhātya, all with a regular accent on the roots, and dasyuhatidya with an irregular accent. Epic examples are kṛtakṛtya, nāmadheya, and brāhmaṇacarya. In the Veda we have found one example of the corresponding feminine construction in -ya, 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: viprajñātaḥ, τวาดतम, ṛaproṣitam, mānurkitaḥ, bhāgabhaktasya, visvādarśataḥ (but: viśva), sahaskrta (voc.), and ādīrīdāhā. Classic: ṛayajuṣta, kaśṭhabhūta, gurubhakta, tapoveda, yatkrte, vīkīrṣṭa, śilvärdđha, svairavṛṭta, and hāhābhūta.

Compounds with derivatives in -ṭi have the accent of the first

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: kāmavāsin, naravāhin, brahmācārin and satyaśādin.

Compounds in -van have the accent on the radical syllable of the final member (Whitney, § 1277). Vedic: somapāvnam, sutapāvne, vājadāvnam, somapāvan (voc.).

In Vedic Sanskrit we have the following formations in -as: viśvavedasā (voc.), viśvācāksase, stōmatavahāsah (initial voc.), girvānāh (voc.), nṝvahāsa, yajnavahāsa (voc.), sādamakhasam, and nṝcāksasam. In these instances we can come to no definite conclusion concerning the place of the accent.

Finally, we have the isolated cases dāsāwastur, a nomen agentis in the vocative; indrapānāh with derivative in -na; bhārjīkam, which may be taken as a karmadhāraya compound; svādhukṣādma, for which see Whitney, and surūpakṛtnum with derivative in -inā. The adverb su is added at the beginning, otherwise than in viṣvasuvid.

In all the examples we have hitherto examined, the nominal part precedes the verb, as in the Greek ἱερόνυς. 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 ἱρδαυαδιάς. This vowel strengthening in Vedic compounds corresponds to similar vowel lengthening in the Homeric dialect, e.g., ἵλπρεψος (but ἵπρεψες), ἵπτορφος (but ἵπτόρφος); 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 ἀπξικας); viz., mandayātsakham, vidādvasaḥ, and śikṣānarāḥ. The two first are participial compounds, treated by Whitney, § 1309. Māṇurhitah stands alone in this respect that the noun part is a stem in -us with a sandhi-ending in -ur. The words: ápārājitam, ākāmakaśanah and pannaga are karmadhārāya-compounds, containing a tatpurusa.

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 in gopām rtāṣya 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.

[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: devityā and dhāityā are of course bhūversēkia. Surely no one who knows the Indra-Vytra 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: namaskēra and hākākēra are not noun compounds at all (not from namas and hākā + a noun kēra), but primary derivatives of the compound verbs namas-kr and hākā-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 upākēra or saṃkēra, 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.I]
REVIEWS OF BOOKS


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 dallatu 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, Bezdol 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 “eldāḥ̄u, eldaqqu Weide(?); Peitsche(?),” while a little below we have “išaqqu Citrone(?),” and on p. 73a we have “išṭakhu, išṭakhu 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 “wašaru, ašaru, mašaru” (p. 75b), where the stems wər (׃ irresist), and wər (׃ irresistible) 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 (׃ look), by partial assimilation, as well-known) with abātu (׃), as is done on pp. 9b-10a. Worse, however, is the extraordinary confusion between the stems “tabāqu, tabāgu” (p. 130b) and tabaku (p. 291b), where we should have only tabāqu (׃) and tabakus, “pour out, heap up (by complementary antiphrasis ²).” As a result nathakus, “mountain stream,” appears under both stems and the derivatives are hopelessly confused. Such words as tibku, tikbu, “layer,” and nathaktu, “cataract,” belong exclusively with tabakus. In the list of books used, by the way, the Huitième campagne de Sargon, where the word nathaktu first occurs, is not mentioned at all.

¹ The verb tabaku is properly a secondary formation from the I° form of abātu, like ishābu, ishāunu, tabātu, etc.
² 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 fēnu.
though a number of words from it (so kiuru,\(^2\) p. 136b) are included. An illustration of the opposite tendency, the separation of words which belong together, is found on p. 228a, where parsu, "Heiligtum," is distinguished from parsu, "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 Mus-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'dasu), a'asu, ma'asu," "be little, wanting, needy," is identical with emasu, "be in need" (p. 41a), as the reviewer has pointed out, with the etymology (Heb. סער) in a note on the Old Babylonian recension of the Atra-hasis Myth, AJSL 40. 135. The correct infinitive form is ewasu, and not wa'dasu. On the same page we have the correct form of urru, "light, day," given as uru, which is connected with 'ôr, "light," instead of with Arab. hurr, "bright, free." In general, the etymological part of the book is exceedingly weak.

7b: For uru, "watery gulf, ocean," cf. RA 16. 178, where the stem eru = Arab. ḫara, ḫârû, "to inundate," has been demonstrated in the inscriptions of Hammurabi. The verb ḫamâru has nothing to do with an imaginary ēru = Heb. עַע, "to be blind," but means "to cover, veil" = מך, 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. ʿibnātu and secondarily "backbone, back."

\(^2\) Kiuru, "laver," is the same word as Heb. kiyyôr; see JAOS 36. 232, and 40. 317.
37a: The meaning "diamond," for ʾelmēšu is absurd, since diamonds were not then known. It is based upon Arab. ʾalmās; a loan from Greek! Haupt has happily combined ʾelmēšu with Heb. hašmāl = Eg. hšmn, "brass"; ʾelmēšu = ʾesmēšu.

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) and "millstone," as both derived from Sum. bunu(n), mumu, with the same meanings; see JBL 39. 143-147. There is also a Sumerian word umma, ummēa, "savant," from which ummiānu, ummānu, "craftsman, scholar," is derived.

49b: The words anānu, annu, arnu, enānu, ennītu are all treated as one word(!), derived from enēnu (ןנ), "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 word. The reviewer has tried to establish the meaning "lotus tree," Arab. سدراً; 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 ʾ vowel, which he uses even more frequently than Jensen in KB 6. 2. The best corrective for the over-use of ʾ is still a perusal of Haupt's classical monograph on The Assyrian E Vowel. This penchant leads him to insist on the spelling ṣitu for ʾitu, "from." RA 16. 178 f, the reviewer has derived ṣitu, ultu from the Old Babylonian wištu, "difference, discrepancy"; the stem is ṣay, "to cut," traceable in Hebrew, Arabic and Egyptian.

79b: There is a decided confusion here between the words ṣitu, pl. iḏāṭi, "side" (fem. of iḍu, "hand"); ṣitū, pl. ʾîtē and ṣit(i)āṭi, "boundary." RA 16. 189, note, the reviewer has tried to distinguish them carefully. There is one mistake in this treatment, however; ṣitu, pl. iḏāṭi, "signs, marks of identity, omens," is probably not a secondary plural of iḍu, iḏāṭi, but should correctly be ʾitū, ʾittāṭi, identical with Heb. ʾanāṭ, "intent, purpose" (AJSL 41. 95 f.; 283 f.) with feminine t treated as stem consonant. The relation of meanings is illustrated by Arab. maʾnā,
“meaning, intent,” and Heb. maʾnēh, “purpose.” The word ettu has been entirely overlooked by Bezold.

88b: Here should be inserted the verb bāṭṭu, “to put (somebody) off” (Arab. bāṭṭaʾa); see AJSL 34. 232, n. 3.

102a: Gūšu is “hip, side” (RA 16. 180).

102b: The word daʾtu, “Geldbedarf, Auslagen,” should be suppressed and combined with ṭaʾtu, “brībe, etc.” (129a).

116a: There is some confusion in treating the stem zarāmu, zarānu. Zarānu, “to pay attention to, direct,” is naturally identical with zarāmu, “to plan” (p. 239b), which is itself simply a transposition of the common šamāru (summuru), išmir (like išerim), “to plan, pay attention to” (p. 238b). For the transposition cf. kasāru, sakāru, “to dam, block,” where the interchange of the order of the consonants has come through the perfect iksir = iskir; cf. tikku, tikku and karmu, kamru, etc. The Arabic equivalent of šamāru, with the same meaning, is ḍāmara (.Factory).

122ab: The primary force of ūmā is “hold, seize”; there is only one stem, as shown RA 16. 181 f., where the word is further compared to Eth. hāmāyu, “to bind,” and Eg. ūm, “to seize.”

123a: The original meaning of ūmāmu, is “cut, split,” whence “decide” (RA 16. 182). Ḫūammūmu actually means “to be split by fissures,” as pointed out there.

125b: There is no ḫuṣṣā, which must be read ḫuwawa, as pointed out by Clay and confirmed by the discovery of the Hurrian form ḫuwawa for Ḫumbaba. The ḫuwawa-ḫumbabitu is not an animal, but a labyrinth, or maze-pattern, as shown by Sidney Smith and Thureau-Dangin.

126b: For the stem hāraḍu, its meaning and its etymology cf. RA 16. 183 f.

149b: Karmu, “ruin,” is simply a transposition of kamāru, “heap,” JAOS 36. 228, from kamāru, “pour out, heap up.”

162b: The stem ʾlātāku, with its derivatives litku, litktu, māltaktu (JAOS 36. 230 f.), should be inserted.

163a. The forms maʾā, meʾa are hypothetical, and the word amātu (called a plural of maʾā.) is probably not connected with Heb. meʾim, “intestines, bowels,” at all; cf. RA 16. 176.

180b: Insert marāku, “to spoil (of grain)”; see AJSL 34. 232.

185a: For the reviewer’s view that maštaluk means “hemp, hashish,” see ZA (new series) 3. 139.
200a: Under "nintanaqu Messrohr" there should be some reference to ginindanaqqu 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, satīnu, suddinu, 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. ṭafṛ, with the same meaning, as proved RA 16. 192. On p. 283, šapru is mentioned twice with reference each time to sapru.


224a: Pisinuqū 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, qepru, 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: Tašimu 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.
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 Habiru. Since his book was written new material of first-class importance has come to light in the Kûruk tablets being edited by Chiera and Speiser. Jirku ranges himself with the majority, which accepts the equation *Habiru=’Ibrî. 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 Habiru were nearly always mercenaries, while the reviewer stressed their nomadic character. Jirku is probably correct in laying emphasis upon the curious fact that the Habiru 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 *habbatu, bandit, from *habatu, to rob, plunder. The derivatives *hubutâti (plural of *hubuttu) and *hubutûtu mean, respectively, “tax-free property” and “condition of being tax free (of property).” The natural deduction from this is that the
ḥabbatu received ḫubulāti 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 Cossaean 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-Sin, about 2600 B.C., were Hebrews.

The relation between the earlier adjectival form Ḥabiru and the later Assyrian gentilic Ḥabiri'a is precisely the same as that between the older 'Eber and the later 'Irī. In very much the same way we have in the Amarna Tablets awilūt Ḥabiri and awilūt ḫub(p)ši, peasants (bound to the soil), while in later Hebrew we have the singulars 'Irī 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 Jeb 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 = ‘Eber is difficult, since the Egyptians of the New Empire regularly transcribe Semitic b by their own b. When Canaanite harb (Heb. hēreḇ), sword, is transcribed harp, later hārp, 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 ‘Eber 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 ñyy (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.

Jerusalem.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.


The thesis of the book is that the Coiled Serpent, Kuṇḍalini, is the right vagus nerve. Hatha Yoga texts, however, place her in the mulādārā cakra, in the pelvis. The pictures opposite pages sixteen and twenty-five, showing padmāsana and siddhāsana, do not agree with descriptions in Hatha Yoga Pradīpika 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 Instituté, 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 "Kāśmīri" 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 Kāśmīri 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 -dau 1.28a, caiva 1.122c, rājīna 1.163a, dhruvaṁ 1.194b, yac ca 1.196a, dhuk 2.16b (or read viduk), tha 2.22d,
dvijottamāḥ 2.23a, 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 -ṛṣayo 1.33d, nor in 1.144e, 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 čāpi is surely much better supported than cātra, and in 2.188d kīm vā rather than vā kīm. I might have made different choices in some other instances, but will mention only one. In 1.201b cāṃṛtam seems much more likely than cāṃṛtam. While the manuscript readings are indecisive, I should read the text:

bhāratasya vapur hy satyaṁ cāṃṛtam eva ca
navanītam yathā dadhano dvipadāṁ brāhmaṇo 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 amṛtam. 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-saṅgraha, 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. Sukthanking 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. Sukthanking 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.

Yale University.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

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 enfilading 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.

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 Salzmann
List of new members elected by the Executive Committee, February, 1928.

Mr. Theodore Andrews
Mrs. Simon Bacharach
Mr. Louis Bamberger
Pres. Floyd H. Black
Pres. James A. Blaisdell
Prof. Clarence Bouma
Prof. Charles Gordon Cumming
Prof. Ernst Diez
Dr. Israel Eltan
Mr. Felix Fuld
Prof. J. E. Jaderquist
Mr. Samuel C. Lamport
Rev. William McGarry

Dr. William M. McGovern
Prof. Charles D. Matthews
Rev. Dr. Ralph Mortensen
Prof. Abraham A. Neuman
Rabbi Louis I. Newman
Rabbi Sidney L. Regner
Rev. Dr. Samuel Schulman
Prof. W. T. Semple
Rabbi Harry J. Stern
Dr. Chaim Tchernowitz
Prof. W. H. Worrell
Mr. Herrick B. Young

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
Mr. Alfred M. Campbell
Dr. F. D. Chester
Mr. Benjamin Fain
Rabbi Sigmund Frey
Prof. Luise Haessler
Mr. Frank Edward Johnson
Rabbi Samuel Koch
Rabbi Leon J. Liebreich
Mr. R. D. Messayeh

Rev. John Moncrie
Mr. Walter A. Roselle
Prof. William A. Shelton
Rev. Hiram Hill Sipes
Miss Marion W. Sleezer
Mr. J. W. Stanley
Mr. Max Steinberg
Mr. Vladimir A. Tsanoff
Rev. Dudley Tyng

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.

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.
MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, 1855-1928

FRANKLIN EIGERTON

YALE UNIVERSITY

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 glazed 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 sur-
roundings 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.
Maurice Bloomfield, 1855-1928

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, 1931); 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 *Kauśika 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 "haplology" 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 convincing 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 nondiphthongal 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 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 Upanishad) in the New International Encyclopaedia, 2d edition.

1916. Article 'Literature, Vedic and Sanskrit,' in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Volume 8.


1921. The Hittite language. JAS. 41. 195-209.


1923. The Śālihadrā Carita, a story of conversion to Jaina monkhood. JAS. 43. 257-316.

1923. The art of stealing in Hindu fiction. AJP. 44. 97-133, 193-229.


1924. On false ascetics and nuns in Hindu fiction. JAS. 44. 292-42.


1926. Article 'Sanskrit' in The Encyclopaedia Americana.

1926. On organised brigandage in Hindu fiction. AJP. 47. 205-33.


1927. 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. 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 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 *vidātha* (*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, 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 *vidātha* 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 *vidātha* which is selected for the sacrificial performance is called *vṛjāna*. 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 *vidātha* 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.


2 From root *vid* possess; cf. *vittā*, and *vēdas*, possession.
pretation and etymology, is best understood in the light of such weakness. To illustrate further: Oldenberg in Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1917, p. 154, contends almost passionately against my explanation of reisama as 'he for whom the Śāman is sung upon the Rk,' and Geldner in his Translation of the Rigveda 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 riristisayūr as due to shortening from riristisāyur, 'will injure his life,' with metrical shortening after crisis of riristisā and āyur. 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 vārunas 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 cooperate to the glory of the gods, is necessarily minimized to the vanishing point by the misconception of the words vidātha and vrjāna, 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 vidátham á-vad.

The expression *vidátham á-vad* furnishes the best basis for the interpretation of *vidátha*, 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;

grhán gachá grhápati yátháso
vasiṇi tvám vidátham á vadási,

'Go to (thy) house in order that thou mayest be mistress of the house; mayest thou with authority address the household!'

endá pátyá tanván sámi srjasva
ádhá jivé vidátham á vadáthah,

'Unite thy body with thy husband; then, in eldering years, you two shall (authoritatively) address the household.'

Such passages absolutely determine the meaning of 1. 117. 25; 8. 48. 14: *suviráśo vidátham á vadéma*, which Geldner in his translation of 1. 117. 25 renders, quite unbelievably, 'wollen wir als meister weisheit verkünden.' This misses the obvious government of *vidátham* by the preposition *á*; in point of fact it fails to translate *á* altogether. Moreover this refrain-like passage is in close touch with the well-known refrain of book 2 (2. 1. 16 ff.), *bhád vadéma vidáthe suviárah*, which Geldner renders, 'wir wollen das grosse wort führen als meister in der weisen rede.' *Suviárah* is bahuvarihi, and can not mean 'als meister,' but 'having fine heroes (sons).'* Compare the closely related word *vrijána* which occurs in the place of *vidátha* (see further on in this paper) in 1. 51. 15, asminn indra vrijáne šrávivárah smát súribhis táva sárman syáma,

'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 *suvíra* 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 *vírah karmanyáh sudákṣo yuktágráva . . . devákāmah, 'an active reliable, god-loving son who prepares the press-stones for the soma.'* Such a one brings *svára*

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*Such a son is called *vidátháh, 'fit for the *vidátha*.' in 1. 91. 20; Soma himself presents him to the pious: *sóma víráh karmanyáh daddhi,*
or *suvṛyam śrāvah*, 'honor due to proper sons,' 1. 44. 2; 4. 36. 9.
He is prized along with other blessings: *suvṛyam or suvṛyam rayim*
1. 85. 12; 4. 34. 2; *suvṛyam svāśvam*, 1. 40. 2, where Geldner,
almost stubbornly, obscures the meaning and connection of *suvṛyam*
by *'meisterschaft.'* Most clearly, 4. 50. 6 *suprajād vīrāvanto vayām*
ṣyāna (followed in st. 8 by *ōkāsī 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 *byhād vadema vidāthe suvṛih,* where
*vidāth* 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. Bhāvadevasūri’s *Pārśvanāthacaritra* 6. 339 ff.; Ajitaprabha’s
*Sāntināthacaritra* 4. 367 ff.): a merchant (śreṣṭhit) 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 *vaśiṇī vidātham ā-vadati.* Or, the
patriarchal head, supported by the pious, efficient sons controls his
household, *suvṛṣa vidātham ā vadema,* and *byhād vadema vidāthe*
suvṛih. 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.

*sādavyah vidāthayah sabhāyam pitvāvopāmato yo ādāyad asmāt.* '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 rossbesitz soll erwerben, wer ever begehr, ihr Maruta.' Similarly, 1. 48. 12, *vedam suvṛyam,* 'den ehrenpreis und
die meisterschaft.' the clause simply means ‘substantial wealth and ex-
cellent sons.' The article *āvīrēat* in Grassmann's Concordance furnishes
superabundant testimony to the same effect. Geldner himself translates
*vīrēṣatam* at 1. 1. 3 by 'in vielen Söhnen bestehend.'
3. *Relation of yajña, 'sacrifice,' and the root yaj, 'to sacrifice' to the word vidātha.*

In the midst of the human clans (*mānuṣīṇi vikṣu*) visited by the gods, especially the god Agni, lies the *vidātha*, the patriarchal establishment, owned and presided over by a Maghavan or Śūri, 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 ṣṛhām, 8. 5. 5; 13. 10; 22. 3. There they drink the soma: pīdatām dāsūṣo ṣṛhā, 4. 46. 6; 49. 6; 8. 22. 8; indra ... dāsūṣo ṣṛhā ... matsvā 3. 60. 5. The act of sacrificial (verb yaj) or the sacrifice (yajña) 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:  

\[ kṛtām no yajñān vimāthē sādṛum, \]
\[ kṛtām brāhmaṇī śūriṣu praśastā, 7. 84. 3, \]

'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.'

\[ yajñās ca bhūd vidāthe cārur āntanaḥ, 10. 100. 6, \]

'and the sacrifice in the (pious) establishments shall be agreeable and dear:'

\[ prā dyāvā yajnāh prthiviḥ tāvāhā, \]
\[ mahi stūse vimātheṣu prāceṣu, 1. 159. 1, \]

'Heaven and Earth who promote the law, the great, the wise, do I praise with sacrifices in the pious homes.' * With *stūse vimātheṣu* cf. the close parallel with the words *stōme vidātheṣu* in 3. 54. 2, or, *stāvāma vimātheṣu* in 4. 31. 4. Geldner renders quite originally, but not believably: 'Ein lobselig stimme ich unter opfern an auf Himmel und Erde ... die in der weisheit erfahrenen.'

\[ ketām yajñānāṁ vimāthasya sādhanam, 3. 3. 3, \]

'(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 sādhana 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 praco-dāyan by ‘die (worte der) weisheit anregend.’

prüdāśvāso anavabhrārādhaso

gāntūro yajñāṃ vidāthesu dhirāḥ, 3. 26. 6;

Geldner, ‘Ihre (der Maruts) rosse sind scheckig, ihre gaben un-
entreissbar; sie kommen zum opfer, kundig in der weisheit.’ The
two words yajñāṃ vidāthesu, ‘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 vidāthesu dhirāḥ means ‘kundig in der
weisheit.’

nyṛśasao vidāthesu prá jāla

abhūmām yajñāṃ vi caranta pūrvāḥ, 3. 4. 5;

Geldner, ‘Die vielen (tore) die männerfigur haben und bei den
opfern (so here for vidāthesu) den vorrang bekommen, durch sie
ziehen (die götter) zu diesem opfer ein.’ Here yajñā and vidātha
figure both as ‘opfer.’ The phrase vidāthesu prá jātāḥ means
‘extolled in the (pious) households.’

antār devā devā vidāthā mārtyeṣu...

ágne yājasva tanvām láva svām, 6. 11. 2.

‘within the (sacrificial) establishments, among mortals, do thou,
God Agni, sacrifice thy own body.’

mā...ágne váñnīm cakartha vidāthe yājadyāi, 3. 1. 1,

‘Thou, Agni, didst make me leader to sacrifice in the (pious)
establishment.’ Here Geldner, ‘um beim opfer weihsprüche 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 yājadhyāi. Scarcely less compelling are such
passages as 7. 21. 2, prá yanti yajñām...somamādo vidāthe
dudhravācāḥ, 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 yajatra viśe devote haviśi mādayukvaṁ,
where, to be sure, vidāthe might be rendered by ‘at the sacrifice’;
see below. Similarly, 10. 12. 7, yāśmin devā vidāthe mādayante,.
or 7. 57. 2, asmākam adyā vidāthesu barhir ā ... sadāta (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, uhā hi vidāthe(dual)kaur(agnir) antāś ca rati dātyām †; in st. 9 of the same hymn he dwells in the three triple-founded world-establis-

ments, that is to say, his service is everywhere: agnir ūrni tri-
dhātūnī ā kṣet śivāthā kauś. In 6. 8. 1 the poet praises these establishments or seats of Agni, prā nā vocām śivāthā jātāvedasah. In such passages also Agni is implicitly the sacrifice (yajnā), whereas śivātha is clearly the locality. And so expressions which contain interchangeably śivātha and yajñā are of the utmost naturalness: 3. 3. 3, ketum yajñānām 'the banner of the sacrifices': 1 60. 1, śivāthasya ketum, 'the banner of the sacrificial home' (where G. 'das banner der weisheit'). Again, śivāthasya prasādhanam agnima, 10. 91. 8, śivāthasya sādhanaṃ ... agnim 3. 3. 3, cf. 10. 92. 2; (agnir) śivātham pracodāyam 3. 27. 7; cf. 10. 110. 7, dāivyā hātārā ... pracodāyanā śivāthasya ... prācānām jyotiḥ; (agnima) yajñāsya prasādhanam 10. 57. 2; (agnir) yajñāsya sādhanāh 1. 44. 11; 3. 27. 2, 8; 8. 23. 9; (agnir) yajñāsādāh 1. 96. 3; agnir yajñāsādāh 1. 145. 3.

4. Other words for worship with śivātha in the locative case.

In some passages the companionship of śivātha and yajñā (yaj) is replaced by contact of śivātha with words for parts or particular

acts of the sacrifice, most frequently 'prayer.' Thus in 1. 64. 1, gītak sām aṇje śivāthesu abhūvah, 'I anoint my songs that are effective in the pious households,' where Geldner has it quite baroquely, 'beselhe ich die lobredie, die in der gehlrunskkeit fest ist.'

rarē vām stūmām * śivātheśu vibhaj
tīvatam tāso vrjāneśv indra, 7. 99. 6,

'I have given you praise in the (sacrificial) home, O Visnu and Indra: do ye two swell our sustenance in our (sacrificial) areas.'

* antāṛ devā śivāthe marīyēṇu ... yajasvā tancāḥ tāva svām 6. 11. 2, above.

* Cf. triyē śivāthe manma in 2. 4. 3, of which below.
The parallel between *vidātheṣu* and *vrjāṇeṣu*, of which more will be said later, strikes the eye.

\[ yāyor ha stōme vidātheṣu devāh \\
| suparyāvo mādāyaṁte sācāyōḥ, 3. 54. 2; \]

‘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.

\[ ni tvā vāsiṣṭhā ahvanta vājinam, \\
| grnanta aege vidātheṣu vedhāsah, 10. 122. 8; \]

‘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, *brahmāneva vidātha ukthaśaṣā*, ‘the press-stones, reciting in the (pious) household ukṭāsa-songs like two brahmāns,’ the critical words are rendered by Geldner impossibly, ‘an weisheit wie zwei Hotrpriester, die das lobted 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 *yat*, 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’:

\[ antār mahā vidāthe yetire nāraḥ, 5. 59. 2, \]

‘Within the great (sacrificial) establishment the heroes (Maruts) have grouped themselves’ (cf. 7. 57. 2).

\[ prá te mahā vidāthe śaṅśiṣam hārī, 10. 96. 1, \]

‘In the great (sacrificial) establishment have I praised thy bay horses.’
antār devō vidāthā mártyesu . . .
ágne yājasva tanvāṁ tāva svām, 6. 11. 2,

‘Within the (sacrificial) establishments among mortals do thou, god Agni, sacrifice thy own body.’*

tisrō bhāmīr dhārayan trīṁ utā dyūn
trīni vratā vidāthe antār esām, 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 wissensbereich,’ contains nothing but a fanciful application of his -vidātha from vid ‘know.’ But he holds to this idea in I. 151. 1, svādhyā ṣidā the aṣī ḫājan, ‘die andächtigen in weiser rede im wasser erzeugten (Agni).’† 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 vidātha and āstam in I. 130. 1. Both words mean home; both are in closely parallel comparisons; Geldner’s translation of vidāthānica by ‘rat der weisen’ is sheer fancy: ēndra yāhy āpa nāh parāvāto . . . ēchā vidāthānica sātpātir āstam ṣājeva sātpāth. ‘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 vidāthani can preserve the obvious parallelism between vidāthani and āstam, not even ‘opfer,’ to which Geldner points as an alternate possibility.

6. The gods are pleased with and helpful in the vidātha, prevailingly used in the locative

Geldner is carried away by his etymology of vidātha; as from root vid ‘know,’ to a rendering such as ‘wisdom,’ ‘wise speech,’

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*This passage (see above), with both antār and yājasva, makes it really impossible to doubt that the vidātha is a locality.

† Cf. I. 60. 3; and 10. 11. 3, agniḥ hātārān vidāthāya ḫījan (sc. apih). This forbids any such interpretation of I. 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 case 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 mandró vidāthesu prácetāh, 4. 6. 2,

G. 'Agni, der beliebte, in weisheit erfahrene.'

dyāva ... prthivi ... vidāthesu prácetasā, 1. 159. 1;

G. 'Himmel und Erde, die in der Weisheit erfahrenen.' See the full passage above under 3.

agne ... vidāthe vicarsane, 1. 31. 6;

G. 'O Agni ... distinguished in wisdom.'

gnánto agne vidāthesu vedhāsah, 10. 152. 8.

arpásao vidāthesu prā jātāh, 3. 4. 5; see above, under 3, end.

yuvatin ... vidāthesu pāfrām (āsthāpayanta yuvānah), 1. 167.

6;

G. 'Die Jünglinge liessen die junge frau auf (den) wagen steigen, die in weisen reden feste.' Of this 'bibelfeste' virgin (apparently Rodasī of the preceding stanza) we naturally hear no more.

girah sām anāje vidāthesv abhāvah, 1. 64. 1;

G. 'besalbe ich die lobrede, die in der gelehmsamkeit fest ist.' In this and the following abhāvah may mean 'be present' in the vidāhas. 'Lobrede, die in der gelehmsamkeit fest ist' is, to say the least, bizarre.

marūtah ... vidāthesu abhāvah, 1. 64. 6;

G. 'die Maruts, die in der gelehmsamkeit bewanderten.' Here Hillebrandt, 'bei den opfern.'

mādanti virā vidāthesu ghṛsvayaḥ, 1. 85. 1;
G. 'Die männer (Maruts) berauschen sich an den weisen reden, darauf begierig.' Here Hillebrandt, 'an den opfern.'

krīḍanti krīḍā vidāṭeṣu ghṛṣavyah, 1. 166. 2;

G. 'Es tändeln die tändler auf die (worte der) weisheit ungeduldig wartend.'

marūtaḥ . . . vidāṭeṣu jāgmayah, 1. 89. 7;

G. 'Die Maruts, die gern zu den weisen reden kommen.'

gāntāro yajñāṁ vidāṭeṣu dhīrāḥ, 3. 26. 6;

G. 'Sie kommen zum opfer kundig in der weisheit.' Here Geldner separates the words yajñāṁ vidāṭeṣu which belong together, and mean 'the sacrifice in the vidāṭa,' as is attested by 7. 84. 3:

krāṁ no yajñāṁ vidāṭeṣu cārum.

In another passage vidāṭeṣu obviously does not depend upon dhīrāḥ:

āgne yahvāṣya tāva bhāgādhēyam,
na prā minanti vidāṭeṣu 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 vidāṭa.'

The position of vidāṭhe and vidāṭeṣu 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 vidāṭa governs it. So, e.g. 1. 85. 1, mādanti virā vidāṭeṣu ghṛṣavyah, 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 ghṛṣavyah and vidāṭeṣu. Much more (and unnecessarily) strained 1. 166. 2, krīḍanti krīḍā vidāṭeṣu ghṛṣavyah, '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 vidāṭa and vidāṭeṣu establishes their meaning, as in 7. 84. 3: krāṁ no yajñāṁ vidāṭeṣu 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.

sthūrasya rāyō bṛhatō yā tē
tām u śravāṇa vidátheṣu īndram, 4. 21. 4;

G. 'Der über gediegenen grossen reichtum 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.'

anākli yād vām vidátheṣu hōtā
sumnām vām sūrīr vṛṣānāv iṣyaṃ, 1. 153. 2;
hinōti yād vām vidāthe saṃparvān
sā rātāhavyo mānuṣo nā hōtā, 1. 153. 3;

G. 'wenn der Hotṛ euch (O Mitra und Varuṇa) unter weisen reden salbt, der opferherr, der eure gunst, ihr bulien, erreicht . . .' 'Wenn der euch unter weiser rede huldigend opfer spendend an-eifert, 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 dhitībhīḥ (instrumental, not locative) holds the place which Geldner almost always assigns to vidátheṣu. Both vidāthe and vidátheṣu are clearly designations of locality.

alātṛṣeṣo vidátheṣu sūṣṭutāḥ, 1. 166. 7;
G. ‘(Die Maruts) die nicht zurückfordern (?), die in den weisen reden gefeiert.

sā revān yāti prathamō rāthena
vasudāvāvidāthane praśastāh, 2, 27, 12;

G. ‘(Der fromme) fährt als reicher voran zu wagen, als schätzesnder in weisen reden gefeiert.’ Similar expression in 8, 11, 2, tvām (agni) asi praśāsyo vidātheṣu.

vibhavāṣṭo vidātheṣu pravacyah, 4, 36, 5;

G. ‘Der (sc. reichtum) von Vibhvan geschmiedete in weisen reden zu rühmende;

ni tvā vāsiṣṭhā ahvanta vājinaṃ
gṛvānto agne vidātheṣu vedhāsaḥ; see above, under 4.

Scarcely less simple is 3, 14, 1, of Agni:

ā hōta mandrō vidāthāny asīhāt
satyō yājvā kavilamah sā vedhāh.

G. ‘Der wohlredende Hotṛ hat die weisen reden bestiegen; er ist der wahre opferer, er der weiseste meister.” This merely states that Agni has entered the vidāthas; the next stanza (ni satsi . . . barhir utaye yajatra) states the reason.

G. seems fairly to go out of his way to mistranslate 1, 163, 1,

yād vājina devājataṣya sāpate
pravakṣyāmo vidāthe vīryaṇi;

‘Wenn wir des gottgeschaffen, siegesgewohnten rennepferdes 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 yajña.

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, indrāma mataḥ . . . jīgāti, yā . . . vidāthe.
The next stanza almost repeats, substituting dhī for matī. One witnesses here, as it were, the explosion of vidātha as ‘wisdom,’ or ‘wise rede,’ and the persistent locatives vidātha and vidātheṣu show that matī or dhī, ‘prayer,’ take place in the vidātha, its natural locality. Another passage, 1. 143. 7, has dhī beside vidātha:

\[\textit{indhāno akrō vidātheṣu ddyayc} \]
\[\textit{chukrāvartām u d u no yanṣate dhiyam},\]

G. ‘Entflammt, bei den opfern leuchtend möge er (wie) ein elefant (?) unser lichtfarbenes gedicht emporenheben.’ Aside from the unsettled meaning of akrō,\(^{11}\) does not indhāno vidātheṣu plainly mean, ‘kindled in the vidātha?’ In 1. 40. 6 māṇtram by the side of vidātheṣu has much the same critical import: tām id vocemā vidātheṣu śambhūvam māṇtram, where G. translates, ‘diesen spruch wollen wir vortragen bei dem opfer’ (vidātheṣu), but as the sacrifice takes place vidātheṣu (7. 84. 3), vidātha cannot itself directly have that meaning.

Once more, 2. 4. 8, nū te . . . trīye vidāthe māṇma śaṣνi, 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 ṣ divō vidāthe satva 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’: tiṣrō āgyas trīr ṣ divō vidāthe pātymānāḥ, a passage which is almost repeated, 3. 54. 11, of Savitar, trīr ṣ divō vidāthe pātymānāḥ. This, of course, refers to the three daily sāvanas.

\(^{11}\) The meaning ‘elefant’ is guesswork, just as Geldner’s former ‘steed.’

See Neisser, Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda, a. v.
which figure also in expressions like trîtye vidāthe mánma, 2. 4. 8, ‘poem recited at the third vidātha.’ Three times vidātha (church) a day is the meaning of vidāthesv āhnám in 5. 3. 6, vayám agne vanuyâma . . . samaryē . . . vidāthesv āhnám, ‘may we prevail at the conflicting sacrifices in the (three) daily vidāthas.’ The gen. plur. āhnám indicates day-time points, or day-time series; cf. such expressions as prapitvē āhnám, mādhye āhnām, abhipitvē 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, svāruṁ nā pēso vidāthesu aṇjān citrāṁ divō duhitā bhānāṁ aśrēt, ‘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 ētu, 1. 186. 1.
pṛaḥ sūmāso . . . sutā vidāthe akramuk, 9. 32. 1.
ā vām voce vidāthesu prágyasvān, 7. 73. 2.
mitrāvarūṇaḥ vidāthe svardhā, 5. 63. 2.
pred u tā te (indrasya viryā) vidāthesu brāhma, 5. 29. 13.
jēsma pūrūṁ vidāthe mṛdhvācam, 7. 18. 13.
ādevayuṁ vidāthe devayūbhīḥ satrā hatam, 7. 93. 5.
drapalā śrīyan vidāthesu indūḥ, 9. 97. 56.
tvāṁ . . . vṛnate . . . hōtāram agne vidāthesu, 10. 91. 9.
grudantō agne vidāthesu vedhāsah, 10. 122. 8.
tvāṁ āṅśo 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 Āṇśa (God ‘Share’), dividing out shares in the sacrificial home.’ If this passage meant with Geldner, ‘du bist Āṇśa, 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: yō vak śivātamo rāsas tāsyā bhājayatehā nāh.

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, vidāthais, or vidāthebhis), whereas yajñēbhēs occurs twelve times, and yajñāis twenty times. In 6. 2. 2, tvām . . . yajñēbhēhir girbhēr idate, cannot be replaced by tvām . . . vidāthebhir girbhēr idate: it would have to be tvām . . . vidāthēṣu girbhēr idate (cf. 10. 91. 9). Or, 1. 24. 14, āna te hēdo varuna . . . yajñēbhēhir imaha havirbhēh; or, 1. 159. 1, prā dyāvā yajñāth prthivī . . . stūse [vidāthēṣu prācetasā], equally forbid the use of instrumentals of vidātha in the place of instrumentals of yajñā [note the locative vidāthēṣu 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 dhīti cover this ground; they occur innumerable times either in the singular dhīya, or in the plural dhībhīs and dhītēbhīs. In 3. 38. 5 G. translates vidāthasya dhībhī 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:

trīṇī rājānā vidāthe purūni
pāri visvāni bhūṣathah sādānāi;

‘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)ā viwāsanti dhībhīh, 4. 11. 5; sā dhībhīr āstu sānītā, 4. 37. 6; (agnim) dhībhīh saparyata, 5. 25. 4. 12

12 Cf. with the instrumental dhībhīh the locative vidāthēṣu in 10. 91. 2, tvām . . . vṛgate . . . hātāram agne vidāthēṣu.
show how far removed from the uses of the locatives of $\text{vidātha}$ are the instrumentals of $\text{dāhi}$. The same condition obtains in the instrumentals of $\text{dāhi}$. In the opening stanzas of 1. 153 we have in stanza 1 $\text{dāhi} \text{bhāhi}$ by the side of $\text{havyāhi}$, $\text{nāmabhāhi}$, and $\text{gṛtāhi}$, but in stanza 2 $\text{anākhi} \text{vidātheśu}$, and in stanza 3 $\text{vidāthe}$ $\text{saparyān}$ (not $\text{vidāthehi}$ or $\text{vidāthebhāhi}$ and $\text{vidāthehena}$). Geldner translates $\text{anākhi} \text{vidātheśu}$ by 'unter weisen reden salbt'; and $\text{vidāthe}$ $\text{saparyān}$ by 'unter weiser rede huldigend.' I wonder if it is possible to bring more stringent proof that $\text{vidātha}$ 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 $\text{vidāthas}$ of the gods

We have seen above, at the end of rubric 3, that Agni in his function of sacrificer occupies not only the $\text{vidāthas}$ of men but also the cosmic $\text{vidāthas}$ where the gods are established. In 6. 51. 2 a seer (Sūra) is supposed to know the three $\text{vidāthas}$ of the Ādityas: $\text{vēda yās trīṇi vidāthāny esām, devānām ... vipraḥ ... sūraḥ}$. 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 $\text{vidāthas}$ or cosmic places which belong to them: $\text{agnijhīvā rāvīñhah, trīṇi yē yemār vidāthāni dāhi}$ $\text{bhāhi}$. Clearly, as might be expected, the stations of the gods who are themselves pious sacrificers may be described occasionally as their sacred establishments.

12. A few mystic uses of $\text{vidātha}$

In a very few locations there is, as must be expected, no criterion for the establishment of any meaning for $\text{vidātha}$. In 4. 38. 4 $\text{vidāthā nicyat}$ seems to mean 'having regard for the $\text{vidātha}$'; certainly it does not mean (with Geldner) 'die weisen worte verstehend.' In 1. 56. 2 $\text{vidāthasya sāhah}$ is rendered by G. 'mit der kraft (sāhas for sāhas) der weisheit': the form and meaning of the clause is obscure, but there is no reason why the power of the $\text{vidātha}$ should not be alluded to. In 1. 164. 21, $\text{yātrā suparnā amṛtasya bhāgām ānimesam vidāthābhīhśvāranti}$, 'where certain
birds, their eyes open, shout a share of immortality.\textsuperscript{16} at the 
vidāthas, the mysterious brahmodya does not betray the nature of 
the birds.\textsuperscript{14} 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 abhisvāranti is closely 
parallel to that of vidātham d-vad (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 vidāthesu, 
when it appears connected with other topical words. Thus 1. 91. 
20:

\begin{quote}
śōmo virām karmayām dādāti,
sādanyām vidathyām sabhēyam
pitrśravānam yō dādadād asmāi,
\end{quote}

'Soma presents to his worshipper a piously active son, useful in 
the house, active in the vidātha, fit for the drawing-room,\textsuperscript{17} a credit 
to his father.' G. translates vidathyām, so as to efface the paral-
lelism between vidathyā and the words on either side, by 'der im 
rat der weisen tüchtig ist,' but this is impossible in 1. 167. 3:

\begin{quote}
gūhācāranti mūnusō nā yōsā
sabhāvati vidathyēva sām vāk.
\end{quote}

'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 zuhör-
erkreis hat wie eine gelehrte (rede), begleitet (die Marut).' The 
locution vidathyām virām, 'son fit for the patriarchal home,' 
occurs again in a comparison in 7. 36. 8; it reflects the well-known 
pūdas,

\textsuperscript{13} Probably, 'higher knowledge.'

\textsuperscript{14} Cf. 10. 114. 3 ff.

\textsuperscript{15} 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.
**Maurice Bloomfield**

suvarūso vidāthama ṣa vadema, and
brhād vadema vidāthe suvarū,
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: ṣe śrūṭir vidāthyāṁ sām etu, 'may the obedience that promotes (or, suits) the pious households come along.'

14. **Parallelism between vidātha and sabhā.**

Parallelism between vidāthyā and sabhāvān continues: 6. 8. 5, vidāthyāṁ āravāhā ṣu rayāṁ ... dhehi, 'to them that praise thee, O Agni, furnish wealth in the household'; 4. 2. 5, devgho rayīḥ prthubudhāhāḥ 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, bhṛhād 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. **Vidāthyā by itself in the sense of pertaining to the pious home**

Otherwise vidāthyā means 'belonging or fit for the sacrificial home.' RV. 10. 41. 1:

rāthām tricakrāṁ sāvanā gānigmatam,
pārijmānam vidāthyāṁ svavrktibhiḥ
vayām vyāṣṭa upāso havāmahe;

'As the dawn gleams we call, while we carefully spread the barhis (svavrktibhiḥ) upon the three-wheeled car (of the Aśvins) 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 vidāthyāṁ interpret one another. Cf. 7. 74. 4, āśvāso yē vām ūpo dāśūso gṛhāṁ yuvāṁ āganti, where the words dāśūso gṛhāṁ are, as it were, a gloss upon vidāthyāṁ. Cf. 4. 46. 5.
That God Agni is peculiarly vidathyā will not cause surprise after what has been pointed out. 3. 54. 1:

imāṁ mahē vidathyāya śaśān . . . prā jahruḥ,

They have brought this inspiration to (Agni) the great god of the sacrificial home.' Significantly the verse goes on to say, śrūtū no dāmyebhīr āṁkāīḥ, where dāmyebhīḥ is a kind of a gloss to vidathyā. And again, in the next verse, the words stōme vidātheṣu are equally determinative. In 4. 21. 2 Indra's might like a potentate rich in possessions (vidathyā nā samrāṭ), overcomes the tribes of men. G. translates here vidathyā nā samrāṭ by 'wie ein weiser könig,' but in 3. 55. 7 vidātheṣu samrāṭ by 'der all-herr über das opfer.' Cf. the expression āchā vidāthānīva sātpatiḥ in 1. 130. 1, which Geldner turns yet differently: 'wie ein recht-mässiger gebieter zum rate der weisen'; see above, 5, end. Perplexingly Geldner side-tracks the most natural interpretation of vidathyā in every instance.

16. Vṛjāṇa, the plot of the sacrifice

Somewhere within the vidātha, the patriarchal holding of the family, lies the vṛjāṇa, the spot or plot, or enclosure, where actually takes place the sacrificial performance. Localities rendered famous by particularly holy sacrificial plots, suvrjāṇīsu vikṣū, 10. 15. 2, are much the same as pious dwellings in general, yajñīyāsu vikṣū, 8. 39. 7, where Agni is at home. Soma is king of the vṛjāṇa, 9. 97. 10; Dharman is king of all that pertains to the vṛjāṇa, dharmā bhuved vṛjanyāsyā vājā, 9. 97. 23, meaning religion in general. We may suspect the word vṛjāṇa to be the abstract noun from the verb varj which plays an important role in connection with the bahrīs; vṛktā-bahrīs, etc. Anyhow the word stands in close

18 Here Geldner's 'lobhied bei den opfern' approaches our view pretty closely.

17 Cf. perhaps the very obscure expression pratiśīhām vṛjānam ākasa girā, preceded by the word bahrīsdīgam, in 3. 44. 1. In 6. 35. 5 the location vi dūro gṛpiś, coordinated with vṛjānam, may perhaps refer to the doors of the ápti -hymns, 'sing open the doors.' The obscure situation again makes this a guess. Note the parallelism between girā and gṛpiś in the two passages. On the relation of bahrīs with the root varj see JAOS 33. 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:

rārē vāṃ stōmaṃ vidātheṣu viṣṇo
pinvatam Īsō vrjānesu 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 . . . īsāṁ stotībhyo vrjānesu 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. areales) meaning 'opferbund,' 'priesterverband'; he renders 2. 34. 7, '(Gebet) . . . den sänger, dem dichter in dem (opfer)bund lohn.' Very similarly 2. 2. 9, dāhī . . . dūhānā dhereīr vrjānesu kārāvē, 'prayer, which has become a milk cow for the poet in the sacrificial plot.' G. translates here vrjānesu 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. 51. 15, asmīna indra vrjāne sārvavirāh smāt sūribhis táva sārman svāma, '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.18

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).19 In 1. 165. 15, vidyāmeṣāṁ vrjānaṁ jirādānum, we have so close a parallel to 7. 99. 6 (pinvatam Īsō vrjānesu) 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.

18 See, however, his rendering of 1. 63. 3.
19 For a suggestion as to how the masculine came about, see below.
17. The vrjána like the vidátha is seat of the gods

Moreover the local coloring of vrjána appears in every straightforward passage in the RV. Thus in quite a number in which Soma or some other god figures in the vrjána:

sváyudháh pavate devá indur
aśastih má vrjánám ráksamánah, 9, 87, 2.
hánti rákso bádhate páry árátir
váriváh kruván vrjánasya rájá,²⁰ 9, 97, 10.
aníndyó vrjáne soma jágrhi, 9, 82, 4.
marúdgane vrjáne mánya dhímahi, 10, 66, 2.
viśvesv enám vrjánešu pími
yé me kúkdá sútasómah prénáti,²¹ 10, 28, 2.
vájrenáñah sávasá hántí viyíram
síptáy aní vrjánešu vipraḥ,²² 6, 68, 3.
ásáti mitró vrjánešu yajñíyák, 9, 77, 5.
dyukṣáma kúldáma vrjánešu dhársádam,²³ 2, 2, 1.
yé 'váre vrjáne viśváthá viśhúh,'²⁴ 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: yám (sc. ágni) rúvájo vrjáne mánusáśah . . . jijánanta, '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 vidáthasya ketúm, as epithet of Agní. This shows, once more, vidátha as close synonym of vrjána; Agní is produced in the vidátha also in 1, 151, 1 (above, rubric 5). In 1, 91, 21, ásádham yutsá . . . vrjánasya gopám . . . tváḿ ánu madáma soma, Geldner translates vrjánasya gopám 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, maháí ámatro vrjáne viraśpá, 'a big measure (of Soma) in the sacrificial plot, bringing men and cattle,'²⁵ where G. pretty well senses the meaning of vrjána, in translating 'bei dem opfer': the identical com-

²⁰ Of Soma.
²¹ Of Indra.
²² Of Indrávaruṇá.
²³ Of Agní.
²⁴ Of Brahmaśeṣuṭi.
²⁵ See IP 25, 185 ff.
promise which he has to make in the case of vidāthu. Similarly, of Agni 1. 73. 2, devā nā yāḥ savitat ... krātva nipātī vrjānāṁ viśva; 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) dyuksām hōtāram vrjānesu dhūrśadām, 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, sā mānuṣe vrjāne ... hitō '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:

marutstotrasya vrjānasya gopā
vayām indreṣa sanuyāma vājām.

G. translates vrjānasya gopāḥ by 'die hirten des opferbundes.' This is made clear by stanza 8 of the same hymn,

yād vā marutvah paramē sadhāśte
yād vāvamē vrjāne mādyāse,
adā 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 sadhāśte\(^{26}\) 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)\(^{27}\) sacrificial plots. The same conception appears to be alluded to in 5. 54. 12; 9. 96. 7; 10. 63. 15.

18. Vṛjāṇa with hostile implication

Quite frequently vrjāṇa turns forth a hostile aspect; hostile towards demoniac powers, and, even more characteristically, towards other worshippers, engrossed with sacrifices that engage the service

\(^{26}\) Cf. 5. 52. 7.

\(^{27}\) Cf. mānuṣe vrjāne in 1. 128. 7, above.
of the gods and conflict with one's own (the vihavā). Failure to understand this has given rise to unnecessary special translations of the word. So particularly 3. 34. 6, vṛjānena vṛjāṇā sāṁ 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 vṛjāna, to wit: tvāṁ śuṣṇam vṛjāne... ahaṁ, 'thou (O Indra) didst slay Śuṣṇa (and others) in the vṛjāna.' G., quite newly, 'du hast den Śuṣṇa im ringkampf erschlagen.' Grassmann, equally fancifully, 'in der Kluft.' In a rather larger number of cases the vṛjāna owes its hostile character to the conflicting aims and calls upon the gods on the part of those operating within. Thus 10. 42. 10,

vayāṁ rājabhiḥ prathamā dhānāny asmākena vṛjānenā jayema,

'May we and our kings by virtue of our sacrifice-plots conquer first-class riches.' The contrast between one's own and others' vṛjānas appears particularly in 1. 101. 8 (above, 17). In 2. 24. 11; 4. 96. 7 the expressions āvare vṛjāne and vṛjānā āvarāṇī also seem to refer to the vṛjāna of the suppliant, but seem to be contrasted rather with divine vṛjānas, the stanzas being intended to coax the gods to the earthly sacrifice. Further, 7. 32. 27,

mā no ājñatā vṛjānā durādhyo
māśivāso āva kramuḥ,

'May not some unknown, evil-minded sacrificers, of hostile disposition, tread us down!' The Padapātha here reads vṛjānāḥ, and it seems indeed from the context that the vṛjāna 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-

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28 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, ájñātesu 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 (maṅgāvānah) there behaved decently to him' (10. 27. 4 ab.). If they had not done so, he continues in stanzas 4âd, and 5âb, not even the mountains could have thwarted his will:

yād ájñātesu vrjāneṣe āsam
viśve satō maṅgāvāno ma āsan 10. 27. 4ab;
nā vā u māṁ vrjāne vārayante
nā pārvatāso yād ahāṁ manasye 10. 27. 5ab.

Indra's control of the vrjāna is expressed forcibly in a comparison 1. 173. 6,

sāṁ vieya índro vrjānam nā bhāma
bhārti scadhāvāṁ opāśāṁ ṛva dyāṁ,

'Indra has clothed himself in the earth as tho it were a (mere) sacrificial plot;' 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, ātí srasema vrjānam nāṁhāḥ, 'may we leap across misfortune as a sacrifice-plot,' and is supported negatively by the well-known mystic paradox 1. 164. 35, iyāṁ vēdiḥ pārṇa ṇāṁh prthivyāḥ, 'this vēdi is uttermost end of the earth,' where vēdi 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:

āyaṁ māṣā āyajvānāṁ avitrāḥ
prā yajñāmanāṁ vrjānam tīrāte,

'The months of the impious have come without bringing sons, he whose mind is bent upon the sacrifice prospers the vrjāna' (and thus himself).

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)


Rise and listen to this jape.¹
Between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law.²
She who hates her daughter-in-law
May she never enter into Paradise.

Fatma said:

O thou, where shall I sleep?³
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!⁴
If thou wishest maids,
I shall send (them) to thee at once.

¹The first two lines are found also in Dalman: Palästinischer Diwan, p. 206, song No. 9—they are a call for the attention of the hearers, followed by a lampoon.

²Cf. 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 beṭthi cī-ʃīnne el-ḥamā bithubb el-kiyāne "If the dog enter Paradise, then the mother-in-law will love the daughter-in-law." el-ḥamā himmi u bint el-ḥamā açraba ensamme u bint bint el-ḥamā mā ṣetessamme "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.

³The bride asks the question.

⁴i.e. most beautiful of women.
This one said:

Where shall I sleep?\(^8\)
Sleep in the arbour,
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.

His mother, only not his mother!
I do not desire his mother!
The house has become straitened,\(^8\)
Because of the sojourn of his mother!

His mother, only not his mother!
O dish of \(m\)\(\text{t\text{b}b}\)\(\text{q}\),\(^7\)
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\(^8\)
May nap upon his mother!

His mother, only not his mother!
My mother is inside of the house,
His mother is outside of the house,
A troop of Ali Bek's 8
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. 10
Thy mother has stolen the meat,
She has put it into her pocket.
May God bring shame upon her grey hair!

8 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.

10 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.\(^{11}\)

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!\(^{12}\)
I possess two green garments.\(^{12}\)
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.

\(^{11}\) 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, *Kennet Da das Land*, 20th Ed., p. 168.

\(^{12}\) *i. e.* lulu lulu, . . .

\(^{12}\) *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, 
O possessor of the hanging-down horns!

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.

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:

xrérisf xrérisf
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.
May God lengthen her hair.

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14 The horses of the Hejāz are celebrated.
15 These are gold coins, fastened to ribbons and attached to the headdress of the women; cf. Z. f. S., vol. V, p. 101, note 2.
16 Lit. "a piece of apple." One says kūx tīt a fig.
18 i.e. the woman, skilful with the embroidery needle, seeks to draw the singer to herself by her skill.
19 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 Hsēn il-Bī'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 beau-
tiful 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.20

"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 'Īśē,21
That we may heap up the harvest burden,22
That we may become decent human beings.
Iḥhe'; water, O ḥe, water!

O my Lord, what is our food?
Our food is the stems of the kirsenne 23
O my Lord and what else is there?

20 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 ZDPY., 1913, pp. 290 sqq. For invocations from Tripoli cf. H. Stumme, Gedichte aus Tripolis, pp. 62-63. K. Nabeshuber, Aus dem Leben der arabischen Bevölkerung in Sfaw, pp. 27 sqq. mentions two invocations and explains the customs prevailing there. Cf. also Palästina Jahrbuch, 1913, pp. 164 sqq.
21 Inst. of 'Āišē.
22 The failure of the latter rain is detrimental to the ripening harvest, cf. note 29.
23 Camel's food, here the people have to eat it because of scarcity of food.
Our food is the milk-thistle.24
O my Lord, why this staying away (of the rain)?
Our food is the stems of the milkwort.24

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 mughar! 25
All the misfortune is due to the muhtar.26
O my Lord moisten the penknife! 27
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 bêêt 28 of our shepherd.
Our shepherd Hasan, the baldheaded, 29

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24 Cf. notes 22 and 23 to Arabic text. These plants are also camel’s food.
25 Name of a piece of wood used for the cleaning of the oven, šûbān.
26 Representative of the people of a village, or a quarter in a town, or of a religious community.
27 In this sense the word is used by the people; it really means “palm-leaf.”
28 Cf. note 26 to Arabic text.
29 A similar poem is found in Dalman, op. cit., p. 58 where ḫ. ḫagrā is translated by ḫ. son of Agra.”
Neither does he sow nor hoe the ground.
"O Hās, water! O Hās, water!"

O Umm el-ṣatūr, O eternal one,
Water our prostrate grain.
O Umm el-ṣatūr, O good-for-nothing,
This intense cold has roused us.
O Umm el-ṣatūr, O heat,
This warmth has burnt us.

O Hādr, O Abul-Abbas,
Water our drying-up grain.
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 overflooded 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.

Rain and increase!
Our house is of iron.
Our paternal uncle Atallah
Has broken the waterjar.

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20 The *umm el-ṣatūr*! "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 sqq., illustration. Janussen, Recue Biblique, 1906, p. 574 sqq. where there is also a rain-song. This article is reproduced in Coutumes Arabes, p. 323 sqq. Dalman, op. cit., p. 56.

21 Reference is to the latter rain. A Pal. Prov. says: *ḥawatni niṣnā btiṣwa 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'Algerie by Mohammed ben Cheneb.

22 Cf. note 30 on Ar. text.
We have thrown it outside.
Our nourishment comes from God.\textsuperscript{28}

Umm el-\textsuperscript{\textregistered}\textregistered went to bring the thunder.
She only waved the wheat, which is long like a young camel.
Umm el-\textsuperscript{\textregistered}\textregistered 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\textsuperscript{28} 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.
\textit{Ihhe}, water? \quad \textit{O he}, water!

When the children go about together\textsuperscript{28} 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\textsuperscript{28} I built a wall,

\textsuperscript{28} Cf. the Pal. Prov. \textit{illi biraq il-	extsuperscript{\textregistered}\textregistered il-a\textsuperscript{\textregistered}\textregistereda} bir\textsuperscript{\textregistered}\textregistered\textsuperscript{\textregistered}a "He who provides for the blind, will provide for us." This poem appears in a less complete form in \textit{ZDPV, XXXVI}, p. 263.

\textsuperscript{29} i. e. S. George, the \textit{el-hadr} of the Muhammedans.

\textsuperscript{30} 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, \textit{Arabs in Tent and Town}, pp. 181 sq.

\textsuperscript{31} Wednesday is regarded as a day of ill omen. A proverb says: \textit{y\textsuperscript{\textregistered}\textregistereda el-ar\textsuperscript{\textregistered}\textregistereda fiha sava min en-naks} "Wednesday has an hour of misfortune," cf. \textit{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,⁴⁷ 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!⁴⁸
What will you buy with it? Well is me!
A grain of roasted chick peas,⁴⁹ well is me!
O who would crunch? ⁵⁰ 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, Aberglaube und Volkmedizin etc., p. 12.

⁴⁸ 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.
⁵⁰ 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, 42 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, unhennaaed!

Thine eye, O my darling, slept;
But the eye of justice 43 does not sleep.

41 *orrat: qui saepius crepitum ventris emittit. Freitag, Lex. Arab.
42 A proverb from Damascus says of such a one: qâlu li 'abd il-qâdir qum 'iltiril qâl manai qâdir qâlu qum bul qâl haini hâdir "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."
43 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. 44

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. 45

One like thee women have not born! 46
O roses, blowing in the garden! 47  
Refrain.

I see none like thee,
O tail of the sheep!
O meat of mutton,
Rolled in leaves (of the vine). 48  
Refrain.

I see none like thee,
O son of princes!
Riding upon horses,
That move prancingly. 49  
Refrain.

This little hand
Has in it pen and inkstand.

44 Lit. "wounded one."
45 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."
46 Cf. Spoer and Haddad, Manual of Pal. Arabic, p. 176; the song lāl-arūūs: mittāk mā ḥāb mās "mankind has not born the like of thee."
47 This is a national dish called māhī.
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 bišt.  
He went to the market to make purchases.
He brought mṭabbāq  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.  
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.  
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  
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!  
I will slaughter for thee a hen and a goose.

47 Of. note 28 to Arab. Text.
48 Of. notes 42 and 43 to Arab. Text.
49 Lit. "the one that lies down to sleep."
50 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,1 O palm-tree!
Who has raised you, O palm-tree?
God has given thee (thy food), O palm-tree.

IL-ḤAMA WIL-ČINNE

Kull saḡara laha fāī kull balad laha zāī.
qūmu smaʿu hal-fanne
bēn il-ḥamā wil-činne
willi btubruḏ činnitha
rētha1 mā thišš iḡ-činne2

qālat fāṭme:
   yā hāḏa wēn anām?
nāmi fi ḫđēni
   yā miḥįt qlebi
dīri ḫdič ʿa ġēbi
ḫuḏi ḥaqqič qawām
nāmi fil-ḍalāli
   yā wīḡh is-sarāri
lan ridti ḡawāri
labʿat lič qawām
   hāḏi qālat: wēn anām?
nāmi fil-ʿariše
   yā wīḡh il-kdīše

2 rētha l. e. leṭha, cf. Spoer and Haddad: Manual of Palæstinae Arabice, § 89.2.
3 Cf. note 2 to translation.
lan ridtì ġeriše
lab'at lič quwām
nāmi fiṭ-ṭabūn
yā wiğiḥ il-ralyūn
lan ridtì tāʿūn
lab'at lič qawām
immeh walla immeh
mā baḍid immeh
wil-bēt sār diyiq
mīn qa'dit immeh
immeh walla immeh
yā šaḥn mṭabbaq
bis-samm mṛarrāq
lammī baṭṭallaq
mā qibīlt immeh
immeh walla immeh
yā šaḥn fūl
mā bēn il-iqbūr
yā haiye tūl
 fiflā ʿli immeh
immeh walla immeh
immi fī ḥārā
wimmēh fī ḥārā
ṣirbit ʿhowwāra
tqīyl ʿā immeh
immeh walla immeh
immi ǧuwa l-bēt
immeh bara l-bēt
ṣirbit ʿalī bēk
tqīyl ʿā immeh
immeh walla immeh
immeh walla immeh
in ǧab li iš-šācle

* haiye tūl instead haiye sawdā for sake of rhyme.
* ʿsirbit for ʿsirbit, cf. Zeitsch. für Semitistik, IV, p. 214. Cf. the phrase ʿṣirbe waṛa ʿṣirbe “one after another.” It has here the meaning of ʿjamāʾa.
* ʿhowwāra explained as “fornicators,” perhaps in view of the evil character credited to the irregular soldiers.
ai laatšaččal
laam 'at iš-šačle
waqūl min immeh

immeh walla immeh
in ǧab li čiḥle
ai laatčahšal
laaqšal 'aini
waqūl min immeh

māl immeh wimmeh tāl 'a ḥardāna?
ḫuṭṭāli immeh ib-bahr il-owlwāma
iqdirbūha bṭalaq la * tčūn ṭamyāna
māl immeh wimmeh ḥardāna

yišil'ūli immi 'al-qašūr il-‘ālya
gowlbūha šarāḥāt latčūn šowbāna
'abbūlha nafas latčūn za'lāna
ḫuṭṭūlha l-misnad latčūn na'sāna

yā 'arīs ana bahibbak bass immak
ḫağar u 'amūd 'a qalb immak
immak il-qaḥbe ǧī-ġančāla *
bīqīl farahak u bithimma

immak yā walad immak
immak lā tiqrab līya *
immak sarqat il-lahma
ḥaṭṭitha fi ġebitha
allah yiḥīzi šebitha

biyā il-ḥalāwe fil-quds biqūl

u hu dāyer ībi *

il-ḥalāwe hilwe
wil-‘ağūz fil-bēt halwe
willi mā bithibb il-činne
rēt 'umrha mā thīsš ġī-ġanne
mačtūb 'a bāb ġī-ġanne
'umr il-ḥamā mā thibb il-činne

*In with the imperf. of kān has the meaning of a questioning “perhaps.”
*ġančāla i.e. ǧaitāne.
*liya i.e. li, for sake of rhyme.
LU’AB IL-ULÁD U DU’A Ś-SÍTA

Fiṣ-ṣēf biṭla’u il-banāt wil-ulād yil’abu il-ḥāra l-maṣrīb ŋill min la ḥāleḥ u biqul min il-banāt u hinna śāfīt:

ziqdīḥ lāli lāli
wili ṭōbēn iḥdāri
wili milqāt il-faḍḍa
yiḥqāt laqṭ il-maṣārī
tīl tāli tāli
laqēt es-šāyib nāyim
darabteḥ ṭammēteḥ
wiṣrip tīn zēteḥ
zēteḥ ta’m hinna
la hinna wala šī
’a rūq iš-ṣawāši
ṣawāši bn ‘ammi
ḥalaf yūḥiq immi
immi l-muṣrabiye
duqq il-ḥēlabiye
aḍa bn ‘ammi daqqa
labbasni min ḥalaqha
ḥalaqha šuq’i buq’i 7
min ḥusneḥ tīyar ‘aqli
ziqdīḥ bṭēn 8 bṭēn 8
wilammat rūs il-ḥēl
qālūla l-biḡziye
imm qrūn mdalīye
dallātīn ḥamda fl bīr
ṭilt ilha šaqqit ḥarīr
qilt ilha biḥyūt il-amiṣr
raṭṭi čūz it-tuffāḥa 9

7 Šuq’i is derived from the root šaqā “to heap up”; buq’i is mere reduplication. Colloquially the combination means “a mass of something.” Cf. kurly-kurly, helter-skelter, etc.
8 Ṣēna, explained as ḥala with the meaning of “slow”; perhaps fil-ḥulā “in the open.”
9 Cf. note 16 to translation.
iṣ-ṣubayān bil‘abu “rassil wiḡhak yā qamar,” ya‘ni waladēn waladēn bimsku bi idēn ba‘ḏhim u wāḥad binām ‘ala buṭneḥ ‘ala dēhīm u birfa‘ūh ‘an il-arḍ u biqūlu:

rassil wiḡhak yā qamar
‘al-balāta wil-ḥaḡar

u ba‘dha biḥūṭṭu ‘al-arḍ u biḥūṭṭu l-waladēn idēhīm ‘a čṭūf ba‘ḏhim u biriddu biḥmlu l-walad ‘a čṭūfhim u biqūlu:

zrērīffe 11 zrērīffe 12
ṭābbiq iš-miumīf
rāye rāye

u biriddu biḥmluḥ miṯl il-ownal u biqūlu:

rassil wiḡhak yā qamar
‘al-balāta wil-ḥaḡar
mart abūk hal-‘aṣṣaqa
‘aṣqatni bibritha
allāh yiṭowwil ši‘ritha 13

LUBET IL HAGLE

iṭnēn bimsku biidēn ba‘ḏhim u walad tāliṯ biḥūṭt ighreḥ fōq idēhīm u biqūlu t-tāliṭ sawa:

ighriṭi ‘arğa ‘arğa
rāḥīn ingabbirīha 13
‘ind ḫsēn il-bi‘ballī

u himme 14 l-ulād mrowwḥīn ‘a dūrehim min it-ta‘līlī biqūlu:

ṭīl il-qamar wil-mūzān ‘iddeh ma bān
fatīḥ yā zahr ir-rummām ‘a šadr ir-rūḥ 15
sallīm ‘alēhīm sallīm yā tāriṯ 16 rūḥ
sallīm ‘ala ḫullānī yāl-hawānī
šībā il-rāzāl iṣ-ṣēn u barqīn ilūḥ

11 zrērīffe diminutive of zarāfī.
13 injabbirīha the “i” is a helping vowel frequently used before the prefixes “a” and “m.” ḡabbār or ḡabbīr “bonesetter.”
15 i. e. il-mīthā.
16 i. e. ḫābar.
**DU'A ﮥ-ﮥI TA**

ğda 䈐an id-dinya btimsič min Ժer maţar bidûrû l-banâţ wil-ulâd
sawa sawa u biţîlbu min allâh u biqûlu:

yâ rabbi reşêse
ta 27 ngowwiz 'esê
ta nduqq il-qâdim 28
ta nêsîr awâdim 29
ihhe 30 imbû 31 yâ  ámb 30 imbû 31

yâ rabbi weʃ açîlna
waçîlna 'rûq il-čîrsanne
yâ rabbi weʃ u weʃ
daçîlna 'ruq il-hurfeš 32
yâ rabbi weʃ hal-ʃebe
waçîlna 'rûq il-hullèbe 33

yâ rabbna yâ rabbna
wi'nna šîrî wêt õanbina
himme il-čîbâr bi õanbihim
wi'nna ş-šîrî wêt õanbina

yâ rabbi bill il-mîzân
çill in-nahâse min hamdân
yâ rabbi bill iš-şadâyid 34
çill in-nahâse min zâyid
yâ rabbi bill iğ-ğarra
mânî qâdir itla' barra
yâ rabbi bill il-qlâde 35
çill in-nahâse min mîlâde
yâ rabbi bill il-muqâhâr 36

28 qâdim is half of a load which hangs on both sides of the animal.
29 Sgl.: adami.
30 Exclamation of dissatisfaction when feeling cold.
31 i. e. mâî. Baby language.
32 i. e. hurfeš eʃ-ʃamâl, sîlybun marianum.
33 i. e. hulîb el-šâm, euphorbia.
34 i. e. znâmîr. Sgl.: ʃâdâd.
35 qlâde is a necklace to which coins are fastened.
36 muqâhâr explained as šaʃâbî la qâʃât-ʃâbâñ. Cf. Socin-Stumme, Diwan
aus Centralasrubien, poem 88, note 3b.
cill in-nāhse min il muḥtār
yā rabbi bill il-ḥuṣa
qill in-nāhse min mūsa
yā rabbi bill il-ṣalyūn
qill in-nāhse min farʿūn
yā rabbi bill il-qamar
qill in-nāhse min ʿamar
yā rabbi bill il-ṣinād
qill in-nāhse min ihmād
yā rabbi bill il-lattūn
qill in-nāhse min saʿdūn

yā matāra billīna
u billi ibsēt 26 rāʿīna
rāʿīna ḥasan il-iqraʿ
la bizraʿ wała biqlaʿ
iḥī 26 imbū 29 yā he imbū
yamm 26 il-rēṯ yā dāyim
tisqī zarʿna n-nāyim
yamm il-rēṯ yā taqʿa 27
ḥarrakatna ḥāṣ-saqʿa
yamm il-rēṯ yā ḥōbe 28
ḥarraqatna ḥāṣ-ṣōbe
yā ḥāḍr yābu-l-ʿbbās
tisqī zarʿna l-yabbās

billū bāb dārūn
ta yuḥrūṭ fiddānūn
billū bāb sōsītūn
ta tuḥrūṭ biṣṣīrītūn

26 ibsēt, diminutive of biṣṣ, is according to muḥṣī vs muḥṣī a wide ʿabd. It is a short striped coat, reaching to the knees, with short sleeves, only worn by woman 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 biṣṣ, cf. ZDPV., vol. 30, p. 167.
27 taqʿa explained as muṣ nafs.
28 ḥōbe explained as miḥwīs: "the windy one"; should perhaps be ḥōb "heat of fire." Designation for wind and dust during hot weather.
billina yā 'āiše
tsabbih dārič tāišē
tbillina yā mḥammadiye
tsabbih dārič matliye
tbillina yā fāṭma

tsabbih dārič zāftma
billina yā 'āiše
riššina bil-mīye rēšē
ištī u zīdī
u bētna ḥadīdī
'ammna 'atallah
časar iğ-ğarra
ramēnāh barra
rizqna 'al allah
rāḥat umm il-rēṭ ta tḫib ir-rūd
māculos illa l-qamḥ ūl il-qā'ūd
rāḥat umm il-rēṭ ta tḫib il-matár
māculos illa l-qamḥ ūl iš-šāgar
fi bēt ḡāla biqūlu l-ulād il-ḥiddāwīye t-tālye:
mār inqūla ḡīna laik
suḥb il-matár dāḥil laik
ihna l-yōm 'abīdak
mištāē is-sama bi īdak
iḥ厚重ū ibū yā ḫe imbū
idā šān il-ulād dāirīn sawa bišānu hēddā min šān yithammasu
uḏrub biḻ-fāl
u 'ala llāh il-afāl,
u wāḥad biqūl quddāmhim wil-čill biqūlu wārah: yā ḫalāli, yā màli.
yōm iš-ṭīnēn
wafēt id-dēn

11sāftma l.e. 'āime Partic. of 'ām l.e. melān.
10 Pun upon the words riššina and rēšē.
11lamna bidārū l-ulād u bišārū 'yānu in-niswān yirṣīqukūn bil-moie u bāda fāl min šān a'llāh yirāl ātulur u biqūlu:
12 For bilić.
u șurt aċassir 'a ḥāli
yöm it-ṭalāta
ḥalāta zalāta
wişlat șalāti lil-ali.
yöm il-arba'a
banēt rab'a
inhaddat 'aλiya la ḥāli.
yöm il-ḥamis
faṣṣalt qamis
ḥarīr mḥallat cittānī
yöm iḡ-ḡim'a
dawēt šam'a
lam'at lam'a min quddāmi.
yöm is-sabt
sabbāt msabbi
darabni rabbi la ḥāli.

fi ramāḍān bidūru l-ulād 'al-bawāb fil-ḥab u bimdaḥu u biqūlu:
uḥē uḥē i uḥē
man hu lana uḥē 'ali lana uḥē
rabbi irzishum uḥē bi'rṛyisin uḥē
taht et-ṭabaqa uḥē bi'ttib waraq uḥē
fil-qādūs uḥē bi'idd fi'ūs uḥē
haqq il-ʿarūs uḥē laqēt quṭṭa ḥalāli
timši u tunbuṣ ḥalāli
nabāṣt ma'ha ḥalāli
laqēt ǧdīyil ḥalāli.
ū ṣ tištari bu ḥalāli
ḥabbit iqḍāmi ḥalāli
yā min inaqriš ḥalāli
'ali inaqriš ḥalāli
immeh itnaqriš ḥalāli
ṣabūh inaqriš ḥalāli.

Ref: yā ḥalāli yā māli
Ref:
Ref:
Ref:
Ref:
Ref:

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22 For ḥalāl; zulāl.
24 uḥē imperat. of wāha.
ahuh inaqris halali
uhteh inaqris halali
hatu hatu wil-arab matu
wil-barrit aqlat igrina.

in sahhlim hadiye biqulu:
halaf allah alecu u cattir hercu.

win ma sahhlimi si bihdu hiddawiye hazl:
ballata 'a halata
sahibt il-bet darrata
tahune f og tahune
sahibt il-bet mamhune.88

misha ra al-caslan fic-cittab ow fi-ru:
y a mfallis rowwil 'ad-dar
bitlaqi t-tabha 'an-nar
bitlaqi q-grisse
yin'al abu hal-tse.

illi bitfir ramaidan biquluheh:
y a miftir ramaidan ja 'ayif dinak
qutitina s-samra tintish maqarfnak
y a muftir suhr allah siqt 'alak rgal allah
siqt 'alak es-sarrisse 89 thalli 'zamak harisse.

RANAN LAL-ULAD IS-SRAR
min san in-nom wil-mla'abe.

oh minni minni minni
ya 'asfur il-ghanf
ya besla bala bayad
ya hamra bala hinnf.

'enak ya habibin namat
wen il-haqq lam namat
u la 'umr sidde 'a mahlaq damat.

88 Cf. note 40 to translation.
89 Explained as mabiyih.
mā aḥla layāli l-hana rēṭha dāmat
wallah layāli l-hana qawām tīği qawām trūḥ
ama layāli iš-šiddē biṭṭūl 37 ‘al-mağrūh.

ōh minni minni minni
rēṭak yā ḥabībi ma ṭribš ‘anni
win ṭibt ‘anni btowṭšīni 38
yā rabbi iḥallī li iyāk twannīsi 39

nām yā ḥabībi nām
laḏbaḥlak tēr il-ḥamām
yā ḥamān la ṭsaddiq šī
baḏlak ‘a ḥabībi bass ta inām.

miṭlak mā ḡābu 40
lan inḥanu u šābu
low bārtalnu id-dāya
bēš mā ḡābu
miṭlak mā ḡābu in-niswān { yā ward mūṭṭīḥ fi bustān } Refrain:

miṭlak mā bāšūf
yā liyat il-ḥarūf
yā laḥm id-dāni
fil-waraf mulfūf. Refrain:

miṭlak mā bāra
yābn il-umara
raḍbīn il-ḥēl
u māṣyīn ṭandara. Refrain:

had-diye
ṭfiha qalam wḏwīye
wḏ-diye f ṭl-ḥuḥra
timṣik ilḏām il-muḥra. Refrain:

agra’-wantaf ḥabīb sitto
rāḥ yitdandaḏ ḍowwa’ bišṭo 36

37 biṭṭūl instead of biṭṭūl.
38 IV P. of waḥak.
39 From ‘anas.
40 ḡā bi ṭaḥlaz “bring forth a child.”
nizil 'as-sāq yitsowwaq
gāb mṭabbaq ⁴⁴ yit'am sitto. Refrain:
ḥabibi ḥabbēto
ğuwa l-ḥuḍn ḥattīto.
sannūnak u tammūmak 'āyiz yōčil mam ⁴²
wil-āle wil-mazzīka wiḥbāh immak tīltām
sannūnak u tammūmak u 'āyiz yōčil buff ⁴⁴
will āle wil-mazzīka wimmak tīḥla' 'ad-daff
sannūnak u tammūmak u 'āyiz yōčil bēd il-ḡān
wil-āle wil-mazzīka tiḍriblak bil-ḥammām.

win gāni ḥabibi idāda ⁴⁴
laaḍbahlo r-raqqāda
wa'zim ulād il-ḥāra
waqūl ai ḥādi l-āda

win gāni ḥabibi yimši
laa'mallo ḥarūf māḥši
wa'zim ulād il-ḥāra
wiḥlīf āna mṭīliši. ⁴⁶
hizzi hizzi yā nahle
laaḍbahlič gāge u ważze
dādi yā qren il-fūl
dādi yislam li ḥaṭ-ṭūl
hizzi hizzi yā nahle
ċabṣet ruzz yā nahle
hizzi balah yā nahle
tahti saṭḥa yā nahle
hizzi hizzi yā nahle
malli qaḍaḥ yā nahle
mīn rabbūči yā nahle
allah aṭṭāči yā nahle

⁴¹ Cf. note 7 to translation.
⁴² Children use mam i. e. 'am instead of ḥuba; it is used to designate food in general.
⁴³ Children language for ḥuba.
⁴⁴ From dada.
⁴⁵ Cf. note 47 to translation. ⁴⁶ mṭīliš i. e. mà ṭīl ičč.
INDIAN ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

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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 realize 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 sīlpa-sāstras 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 Viśnudharmottara 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 Mūnasāra 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 Śunga, Kuśāna, and Andhra 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 sthapatīs 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 Ābhāsa, Candra-sāla, Hastī-nukha, Kutāgāra, Līkh, Liṅga, Nārāca, 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-śāstras is of great value for the study of architectural history. There is still very much to be accomplished in this direction.

Ābhāsa: together with artha-citra and citrābhāsa are completely misunderstood. Neither of these is a material, but as explained by Śrīkumāra, śilparaśāya, 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:

Sarvāṇagavya-sanyāsānām drśyaṁ tac citrām ucayate
Arthāṇagavya-sanyāsām artha-citraṁ caiva ca (sic).
Paṭe bhittau va yo(a) līkhyāṁ 3 citrābhāsām ihocayate (sic).

The mistake about ābhāsa has led to the extraordinary view (Dict. p. 65, l. 3) that ālekhyā is also a material. Citra, in fact is divided into citra, artha-citra, and citrābhāsa, respectively sculpture in the round, reliefs, and painting. In Indian Architecture, p. 70, in the same connection sarvāṇagadṛśyamāna, 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 citraṇī manḍalāni of Kulacāgga, V, 9, 2 does not mean "painted circular linings," as rendered in S, B, E, XX, but simply "carved bowl-rests."

Ādhāra: add the meaning, "reservoir," Arthaśāstra, III, 8 (Meyer).

Adhīṭhāna, 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.

Ājira: a courtyard, see Geiger, Mahācvāsa, Ch. XXXV, 3 and tranl., p. 246.

Ālambana-sāha: the balustrade, vedikā, of a stairway; sopāna, Cullacāgga, V, 11. Cf. hastī-hasta. Ālambana, per se, is the plinth of a railing or balustrade.

Ālekhyā: not in the Dictionary. See above under ābhāsa. The working drawing, on cloth, for the Lohapāśāda is thus designated in the Mahācvāsa, Ch. XXVII, 10. Ālekhyā-sthāna is a space left in a manuscript for the subsequent insertion of an illustration.

1 Iyal līkhyāṁ.
Ālinda: balcony, gallery. Cullavagga, VI, 3, 5, glossed pamukha = pramukha: ib. VI, 14, 1, described as kathi-nakhakaṁ, see kasti-nakka. In Mahāvamsa, XXV, 3, the rendering of ālinda as "terrace in front of a house door" (Geiger, Mahāvamsa, p. 245, note 2) seems very questionable.

Āmalaka: not in the Dictionary, though discussed in the other volume, p. 179, where kalaśa, "vase" (finial) is misrendered "dome."

Not in the Mānasāra, and the suggested equivalent mārṣāmi-ispako 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 Sārnāth lintel (Sahnī, Catalogue, pls. XV-XXVI); but these imply an already well-established tradition. The form is already employed architecturally in connection with pilasters represented at Amarāvatī. In Cullavagga, VI, 2, 4 a kind of chair is termed āmalaka-vajjika-piṭkā, 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.

Āṅgasa: applied to the enclosure surrounding a stūpa, i.e. the circumambulation-platform between the stūpa and its railing, Dhammapada Atthakathā, 290 (Bk. 21, Story I, Burlingame, H. O. S., vol. 30, p. 175).

Āgidevāra: Arthasāstra, II, 3, and III, 8. Meyer renders "side door," Shamsasatry "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.

Arati: add references to Kauśīlyā Arthasāstra, II, 20, with a table of measurements practically identical with that of the Mānasāra. In Arthasāstra II, 5, the rain gauge (e. v. kupaśa below) is to be an aratī in width, i.e. 2 spans (vitasī) 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-pasti may be rows of garlands or swags, a common enough ornament, or more likely rows of vessels of some kind; phaśikagyhiya must be a crystal dish or platter, as it has four corners in which are placed heaps (valśaya) of gold, gems, or pearls—but more likely we should understand phala-bhagyhiya and translate as "wooden offering table" or "altar." In any case "four corners" has no meaning in connection with any sort of known torana. Agghiya of Mhev. XXXIV, 73 is more doubtful,
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perhaps here equivalent to altars or reredos (Sinh. wakal-kañ). See also agghiya, agghika in P. T. S. Pali Dictionary.

Aryaka-stambha: not in the Dictionary: but see under āveśanin, below, and Dictionary, p. 669.

Āsandi, 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 Amaravati.

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.


Avacaraka: osaraka (Pali) (that which sheds water) overhanging eaves (of a building without verandahs, anālinda), Cullavagga, VI, 3, 5: glossed as chadana-pamukham, "projecting from the roof." Ośaraka, "under the eaves," i.e. outside the house, Jātaka, 111, 446. Cf. modern chajju.

Āveśanin: not in the Dictionary: architect, foreman. Inscription on Sānci: "Gift of Ananda, son of Vasiṣṭhi, āveśanin (rendered "foreman of the artisans") of Rāja Sri Śātakarni" (Marshall, Guide to Sānci, p. 48). Āyaka (āryaka)-stambhas dedicated by Siddhārtha son of Nāgarjuna, both āveśanins (Burgess, Notes on the Amaravati Stupa, p. 56); āveśa is stated to mean a workshop, atelier.

Ayas: not in the Dictionary. This word is always used for iron (see loha, below). Mahābodhi, XXV, 28, ayo-kamata-duṣra, "iron studded gate" (of a city); ib., 30, ayo-gulaṁ, "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 Koṇārak.

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 Mahābodhi, XXXVI, 55, XXXVII, 31, etc.; in the former place provided with a sand court, valikata; ib., XXXV, 89 sāgana. Also called a manḍapa, ib., XVIII, 63.

Bodhi-maṇḍapa (la): is treated as synonymous with vaṇḍana, but is really the special area within which the vaṇḍana is established; see Hasian 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 "caitya-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. Toraṇa is perhaps correct in so far as the window is actually an arch, cātyāgana 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 gandhara-mūkha 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 kāḍa (Jouveau-Dubreuil, passim), but there seems to be no similar word in Sanskrit; kāḍa means nest, and it applies both to the window as an ornament, and to actual pavilions (kāṛa-kāḍa, Jouveau-Dubreuil, Dravidian Architecture, fig. 4). The proper term in Sanskrit seems to be candra-śālā (see a. 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-cātyāgana, 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 gavākṣa may be synonymous with candra-śālā-cātyāgana. Thus in Raghunātha, VII, 11, the gavākṣas 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 gavākṣa. The modern vernacular equivalent is of course jharokha.

The many-cusped arch, known to modern Musalmans masons as piyāṭidār māhrāb, 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-Muhammadan 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, Polonnāruva, 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 Mahāvagga, XXXI, 29, and 60, 61, cetiya-ghara is a structure built over a stūpa, thūpānā tasāpārī gharam. 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 Gadalādeniya, near Kandy, Ceylon. The old caitya-halls are also, of course, cetiya-gharas, and of these there existed also many structural examples.


Channavāra: 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. P. A. Bulletin, No. 152, p. 90. The channavāra 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 ābbāsa. Citra, citra-karma do not always mean painting. Some places where the word occurs and has been so translated need reexamination; 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-saddha, citra-sāla which are of very common occurrence in the sense “painted hall or chamber.” The citra-saddha of Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen, p. 39, has a high tower (uttōupa ṣāha). Description of a citra-saddha cited from the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Meyer, Hindu Tales, p. 174. Cittā-gāra, in Sutta Vihāra, II, 288.

Cālikā: as something at the top must be connected with caṅgā. But in Mahāsāṇa, I. 301, (Dict., p. 197), lambo-kāram api cālikādibhiḥ, cālikā must be “bodice,” and synonymous with cajaka.

Dorāminavati-sāla: 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. R., 1903-04, p. 98, note). This object is known in Ceylon as a yantra-gala, where several examples have been found (Parker, Ancient Ceylon, pp. 298, 658; Mem. Colombo Museum, Series A, I, p. 25).

Deva-kula: in the Acarāṇa-sūtaka (Feer, p. 98), used of a temple of Nārāyaṇa. See also A. S. I., A. R., 1911-12, p. 124. Devakula of
the Naga Dadhi-karna, Mathurā inscription. Lüders’ List, No. 63. Inscription of Loṇāśobhikā on Mathurā aśvagocṣa, see VI Int. Congr. Orientalists, III, p. 143.

Dhavala, whitening: applied to a plastered or other surface, śiṭparatna, Ch. 64. Dhavala-hara, a “White House,” palace, Haribhadra, Śanukundrācariya, 548, 590, 608.

Drupada: a post, Ṛg 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.

Deśara: the parts of a door are listed in Cullavagga, V, 14, 3, also ib. VI, 2 (not quite correctly translated in S. B. E., XX, p. 100), as follows: kaṇāta, the leaves; piṭṭhasamghāṣa (= Sanskrit prasthāsamghāṣikā, “upstanding pair”), the door-posts; udakhaṅkha, threshold; uttarapāsaka, lintel; appalavaṭṭi, bolt-post; kapi-sisaka, bolt (handle); suḷika, the pin or part of the kapi-sisaka which fits into the socket in the bolt-post (cf. suḷi = cross-bar of a vedika?); ghaṭāka, apparently the slot in the bolt-post just referred to; tālachidda, key-hole; avīchana-acchidda, string-hole; avīchana-raja{jju, string for pulling the leaves to from outside preparatory to locking. Some of these terms occur elsewhere; with reference to a passage in the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta where Ananda leams against the kapi-sisaka Buddhaghosa is certainly right in glossing kapi-sisaka as appala, for the Sinhalese aṭula is high enough to lean against (see my Mediaeval 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. 169, deśara is “doorway,” “aperture,” always with reference to outer doors or gates of any building, or of a city, while kaṇāta means the leaves of a door, the door itself.

See also under yrha, and cf. Robert Knox’s description of the palace of Rāja Sinhha II, “stately Gates, two-leaved... with their posts, excellently carved.”


From RV. I, 51, 14 we get duṛya yūpaḥ for the door posts, from RV. I, 113, 14 ṛtā for the door leaves, and from RV. III. 61. 4 a thong (ṣayāma) fastening.

Deśara-bhāka: door posts, Mahāvaṃsa, XXV, 38. aya-deśra, aya-kamma-rada-deśra, ib. XXV, 28, 29, 32.

Deśara-koṭṭhaka, gate house: cittakūṭa deśra-koṭṭhaka, etc., “a gate-house

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 kōṭṭhaka see also Cullavagga, V, 14, 4 and VI, 3, 10; Jātaka, I, 331 and II, 431; and Meyer, Arthadāstra, p. 75, note 5 (in the sense of "shrine"). Kōṭṭhaka is usually "gatehouse," but piṭṭhikōṭṭhaka is "back-room" in Dhammapada Atthakathā, II, 19.

In Jātaka 1, 227, dūrā-kōṭṭhaka is, as usual, gate-house, not as interpreted in S. B. E. XVII, 219, "mansion" (the "mansion" is ghara and it has seven dūrā-kōṭṭhakas).

Gārīkā: red chalk. Cullavagga, V, 11, 6, geruka, red coloring for walls. Medium red color, śilparatna, Ch. 64, 117. Brown, Indian painting under the Mughals, p. 124 (used in preparing the lekhant or pencil). Used as rouge, Karpāramārjuketi, III, 18, see H. O. S., Vol. 4, note on p. 268. As a pigment, dāhātu-rūgā, Meghadūta, 102. Geruka, Cullavagga, V, 11, 6, VI, 3, 1, and VI, 17, 1. Mahāvagga, VII, 11, 2.

Gauda-bharadvaja: insufficiently explained by the cross-reference to stumbha. 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 garudas, 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 Śrīśālam (A. S. I., A. R., Southern Circle, 1917-18); remarkable panels at Koramangala and Belur, Cālkunyan (Mysore A. S. Rep., 1920, and Narasimchar, Kesava temple at Belur, p. 8). A common motif in south Indian jewellery. In Ceylon, see my Mediaeval Sinhalan art, p. 85. Cf. also hatthilinga-sakṣa, Dhammapada Atthakathā, I, 164. Further references will appear in the Boston Catalogue of Mughal Paintings.

Gaudha-kuṭṭa, see s. v. Kuṭṭa.

Gaudharva-mukha: designation of the busts or faces framed in the openings of kuḍa, candra-śālā-vātāyanā, or gavākṣa, gable windows (Jouveau-Dubreuil, Dravidian Architecture, p. 12). Cf. canda-mukha, s. v. candra-śālā.

Gavākṣa: see Gaudha, Gaudharva-mukha, Ghra, and Harmya.

Ghla, ghara, ughāra, geha, etc.: there is an excellent description of Vasantasenā’s house (geha, bhavanā) in the Mrčcchakatāka, IV, 30, seq. There are eight courts (paṭṭhā = prakṣṭhā); above the outer door (geha-deśra) is an ivory torana, supported by torana-dharaṇa-thambha, and stretching up its head (śīra) towards the sky; at each side are festival jāra (maṅgala-kalasa)—"Yes, Vasantasenā’s house is a beautiful thing." In the first court are pābaṇḍa-pañcī, rows of pavilions, having stairways (sabhaṇa), and crystal windows (pāṭṣī.

*Pāli pakṣa, Cullavagga VI, 3, 5 is rendered "inner verandahs" in S. B. E., XX, p. 176.
vāja = sphatika-vārāyana) with moon-faces (muhe-cande), or probably "faces on the candra," i.e. pandhara-mukhas framed in the condru-kālā-vārāyana ornamenting the roll-cornice, for which the description "seeming to look down upon Ujjayint" would be very appropriate.

In the third court are court-eunuchs carrying pictures painted in many colors, vinīhacaugi-avaihitra citraphaka = vinīhacauriśācalīpta citraphalaka. In the fourth court, where music and dancing take place, there are water-coolers (sālīla-gaṅgirī = sālīlagarāraya) hanging from the ox-eye windows (gavakṣha = gavākṣa).

Tisalā's palace in the Kalpa-Sūtra, 32, is a vāsa-ghara, dwelling place; it is saccita-kamme, decorated with pictures, and ulloya-cittiya, has a canopy of painted cloth (cf. Pāli ulloka).

Miindapaṅka, II, 1, 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, 1, 76 = Dhammapada, 154) has "Broken are all thy beams (phāsaka), the housetop (gaha-kāja) shattered": the housebuilder is gaha-kāraka.

See also Bodhigeha, Cetiya-gahara, Cittāgāra, Dhovala, Kūtāgāra, Samudrāgāra, Saṅhāgāra.

Harmany: rāmyam harmany, a beautiful palace, Vikrama Carita (Edgerton, text and transl. in H. O. S. 26, p. 253, and 27, p. 239) has the following parts: mālāpraṭīṣṭhāna, basement; bhūti-stambha-devātorana, walls, pillars, doorways and arches; ājātkājikā, statues; prāśaṁ, courts; kapūra, folding doors; parīṣha, door-bars; astabhj, roofs; viṇākā, cornices; nāgū-danta, pega; mattaśraṇa, turrets; gavakṣa, ox-eye windows; sopāna, stairs; nandāvarta-dīgha, pavilions (!) (see Dictionary, s.v.). Harmikā, the little square structure on the top of a stūpa (Dīcyavadāne). A cross reference to vāja-harmya should be given in the Dictionary.

Harmany, dwelling, Aṭṭhakav Veda, XVIII, 4, 55; RV. I, 121, 1, 1, 166, 4, VII, 60, 16, etc.

Saṭā śa-harmya, Raghavanā, XIX, 39, "palace with an awning"; or perhaps vitāna = modern chajja.

Hasti-kastha, gaja-kastha: amongst innumerable examples might be cited one at Nārāyanpur, Burgess, A. S. W. I., III, pl. XXXI, 3. Elephant-trunk balustrades in Ceylon are et-koula-vel, with the same sense as hasti-kastha.

Hasti-nākha: literally "elephant's nail." In Cullavagga, VI, 14, 1 a pāleṣṭha having an abinda (balcony, gallery), qualified as hasthinakkakam, is a permitted monastic residence. According to Buddhaghosa's gloss this means hasthi-kumbha pataśṭhitak, 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 mont.
Entrance of sela-retiya-ghara at Bedâ.:  
  
hasti-nakha column on left supporting śālīnâda.
Ratha of Nakula and Sahadeva, Mamallapuram.

Hasti-pratna construction (cf. back of elephant on left); shows also pañjara, and kapotas with kūjus.
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 Śīnapālavadha, III. 68, sanaṇaśrayanto rāyopatanto rathāḥ kṣitiḥ hastinakṣetram ... turangiḥ, "the swift chariots are slowly brought down from the hastinakṣa to earth by the horses," seems to refer to a place or structure on the rampart. Amara's gloss is pārdevarī mṛtyugatāḥ "a kuṭa made of earth at the city gate."

The word also occurs in Kautilya Arthaśāstra, p. 53 of Shamasāstra, the Dictionary citing only Shamasāstra's translation s. v. gyha-viṇyāsa. Here too, hasti-nakhas are connected with the gate and rampart of a fort. Meyer's version, p. 74, 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 (śaṅkrāmaḥ saṅkheṣyo); or in case there is no water (for a moat), a cauesway 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 Śīnapālavadha passage would then imply simply the bringing of the chariots across the drawbridge, or, as understood by Amara, across the cauesway of earth which takes its place when there is no water; and thence onto the solid ground.

Of Kešānakṣa-stūpa, s. v. Stūpa, not explained (Feer, Acadēma Šataka, p. 487), but possibly with some reference to a lion capital.

Hasti-prākāra, see Prākāra.

Hasti-prśṭha, goja-prśṭha: this appropriate name is applied to the buildings with apsidal structures, common in Pallava, Cola, and later Dravidian work (see accompanying Plate). The reference on p. 169 to Indian Antiquity XII should be corrected to XI. On p. 398 hasti-prśṭha 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 asaṁkēryo, then supporting a fixed bridge.
Kadu, see s. v. candra-sāla.

Kumbha (and kalāsa): 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, śmalaka, roof-ridge, or whatever otherwise forms the top of a building. Kumbha also = temples of an elephant, see s. v. hasti-nakha.

Kūnpa: a bowl used as a rain-gauge (varṣamāna) and placed in front of a granary (koṣṭhāgāra) (Kauṭūlya, Arthaśāstra, II, 5).

Kuṇḍikā: should be equated with kamaṇḍalu (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 byṛṣis, and should not be confused with the amṛta-kalaśa, 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. Kerawall will appear in Artibus Asiae.

Kūṭāgāra: regarding the kūṭāgāra-sāla in the Mahāli Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, Buddhaghosa, Sumanāgala-Vilāsīnti, p. 309, has the following, which I quote here from a letter received from Mrs. Rhys Davids: "In that wood they established a Sāṅgha-park. There, having joined the kaṇṇikā (ear-thing, corner of the upper storey) of the pillars (thambha, lit. supports) above by the saṅkhēpa (holding together, fastening together) of the kūṭāgāra-sāla, they made the pāsāda (terraced or balconied mansion) like to a mansion of devas. With reference to this the Sāṅgha-park was known as the Kūṭāgāra-sāla." Here, cf. saṅkhēpa with keṣapa 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 Sāñcī). 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, pañjāra or (candra)-sāla 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 pañca-kūpi and pañca-sāla are synonymous designations of hermit's huts, and as these are always single-storeyed cells, it follows that kūpa-sāla 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. Gaha-kāṣṭha, Jātaka, I, 76. In Ceylon in the eighteenth century the use of such finials was permitted only in the case of devāles, vihāres, resthouses, and the houses of chiefs of Divāwa or higher rank. On this analogy the ultimate meaning of kāṣṭha would be “honorable building.” In all the early reliefs, palaces, city gates, temples, etc., are duly provided with finials, while village houses lack them.

Kuṭī: not in the Dictionary as a separate word, but cf. gandha-kuṭī.

In the śālaṇa (= Iśānabali) ritual of the Gṛhya Śāstras (citations in Arthamman, Budhā, pp. 104 ff.) kuṭi = aṣṭamaṇā in the sense of shrines erected for Iśāna, Miśrāṇa and Jayanta.


In the Manimekhala; the small temple of Campāpati, patron deity of Puhār, is called a gajākā.

Kappiya-kuṭi, vacca-kuṭi, Cullavagga, VI, 4, 10.

Lepa: medium, glue, should be distinguished from sudhā, plaster. Vajra-lepa, “adamantine medium,” actually glue, see recipe in the Śilparatna, Ch. 64 (my translation in Sir Ashutosh Moukapjee Memorial Volume); Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, pp. 118, 119. Cf. Uttara Rāmacarita, III, 40.

Sudhā-lepa; plaster and paint, Bodhgaya, 6th-7th century inscription, A. S. I., A. R., 1908-09, p. 104.

Līkha; additional to the common meanings is that of “turning” (wood, etc.). S. R. 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 Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, Pl. VI, fig. 4, for ivory, and remarks ib. p. 141); turned stone pillars are highly characteristic of Cālukyan architecture (cf. Rea, Cālukyan 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 līyana kanda, and the word līyana corresponds to līkhitum 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 līkha. S. R. 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 Mahāsatipāṭhāna Sutta (D. N. II, 291 = Dialogues, 2, p. 328), "even as a skilful turner (bhāmakāra)"; the simile, ("drawing his string out at length," etc.), implies the actually surviving Sinhalese technique.

Steatite boxes "turned on the lathe," found at Bhiṭā 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 Rūpam, 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 lingas over the burial places of dead sannyāsins. In A. S. I., Southern Circle, 1911-12, p. 5 "sannyāsins are not cremated, but buried, lingā shrines or brīndāvana 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. Arunachalasam, 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 Linga-heiligdom van Dinajā," Tijdschr. T. L. en Volkenkunde, LIV, 1924.

Loka: 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 Lohapāśāda (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXVII) was of copper or bronze. In Mahāvamsa, XXIX, 11, loka-patta is a sheet of copper used in the foundations of a stūpa, but we find ḍb. 12, ayo-jāla when an iron trellis is designated. One of the most important architectural references to loka is Mahendravarmā's inscription at Maṇḍagapattu (Jouveau-Dubreuil, Conjeeveram Inscription of Mahendravarmā I, Pondicherry, 1919); here brick, timber, loka, and mortar are mentioned as customary building materials. Copper nails are common finds on ancient sites. Other examples of loka will be found in the Dictionary under abhāsa (1). Cf. also Sinhalese pas-lo, an alloy of five metals.

Laṣṭa: the use of laṣṭa, probably slag, in preparing a kaṭṭa-lekkhāni, should be noted (Śilparatna, Ch. 64).

Maṅkar-toraṇa: hardly an arch "marked" with a maṅka, but one springing from two maṅkara, and usually crowned by a full-faced maṅka or maṅkari.
Mañca: cf. taṅkita mañca, stone couch, the altar of a yakkhavetiya, viz. the bhavana of the Yakkh Suelloma (Sahasya Nikāya, X, 3, P. T. S., ed. p. 207), glossed pāśa-mañca, thus synonymous with sīla-paṭṭa, see my Yakṣas, p. 20, note 3 (ceyadhāi).

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 uusastakam . . . sayanam but this means the savāṣana at the foot of the Bodhi tree (the description is of the Mārahārṣaṇa), certainly not the Parinibbāṇa mañca. Hejāhāmañca, Jātaka, 1, 101, 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 paṭṭipādaka of a mañca should not be fixed legs; no ancient representations or modern examples have trestles. The only trestles occur in connection with tables (khatthapīṭha of Sumangala Vilāsinī, II, 20, text 1, 163, and as seen on early reliefs) and modern daṇḍāsana (Medieval Sinhalese Art, Pl. X, 1). Pīṭha of the Cullavagga may include both khatthapiṭha and pāda*, tables and footstools, hardly "chairs."

The fact that mañca and pīṭha 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.


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 Cālukya temples, and one more modern is illustrated in the Victoria and Albert Museum, List of Acquisitions, 1926, fig. 74. Cf. Sinhalēsē nāga-dangaya. But nāga-bandha also means both in Ceylon and in southern India, the stop of a chamber (Medieval Sinhalese Art, pp. 88, 122, 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-dālā.

Nagara: add reference to the detailed description of a city in Milinda-pañha, V, 4 (also ib. 1, 2 and II, 1, 9); the terms nagara-vaṭṭhakī, daṭṭha-gopura, gopur-ṛṣṭīla, kotṭhaka, devaṭṭhāna occur. Another good description of a city is cited in Barnett, Antagāṇa Daśāṇi, p. 1, from the Aupaṇḍikā Sātra.

Nāgara: the meaning "secular" as contrasted with satya, "sacred," vaisiṣṭha, "lyrical," and māra, "mixed," should be cited from the Vīṣṇudharmottara, in relation to painting.

Nārāca, etc.: the Dictionary has only "a road running east." In the
Sthānāṅga Śūtra* we have vajja-risaka-naraya-sahgahyāga = vajra-
prabhā-nārāya-sahgahyāga, meaning "with joints firmly knit as if
by mortise, collar, and pin." Hoernle, Vēdasagadāsā cites Abhayadeva's
Sanskrit commentary, according to which vajja = kūlika, risaka =
parivṛṣṭaṇa paṭṭa or encircling collar, nārāya = udbhaya-yuṣṭa-yajna-
bandha or double tenon and mortise joint, and saṅghahyāga = scarf-
joint, five kinds being enumerated (for illustration of one see Medi-
aceul Sinhalese Art, fig. 75). One would have thought that vajja
simply meant "firmly." As regards parivṛṣṭaṇa paṭṭa cf. Mahāvagga,
V, 11, "Now at that time the Vihāras were bound together by thongs
of skin," explained by Buddhaghosa (cited S. R. E., XVII, p. 31)
as referring to the tying together of bhītā-dvārakādi "wall posts,
etc." This would seem to have been natural in the case of the wattle
and daub walls of the simple paṇḍa-sāḷās; 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-
relic at Sānō (south gate, left pillar, inner face) is bound by cross-
ing ligatures which could only be described as parivṛṣṭaṇa 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 (vamśa),
ties (nahanā) and binding (prāṇāha), clamps (suvāmśa) and "paladas" and "parivṛṣṭaṇa.
See also Upāmit.

Cf. Mediaceul Sinhalese Art, p. 114, "Nails were not used in ordi-
inary building, but everything was fastened with rattans and other
jungle ropes." This refers to modern village practise.

Nayanonnattana: p. 88 in Indian Architecture: my detailed account of
the netra-mahāgāla ceremony should be cited, Mediaceul Sinhalese
Art, p. 70 f.

Pāḍuka: should be cited also in the sense of sacred footprints, used as
a symbol (Āṭipāda, Viṣṇupāda, etc.). The vācchi-pāḍuka 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. vācchi-kūṭī.
Numerous lavatory sites are illustrated in Mem. A. S. C., Vol. I.

Pālikā: should be translated "abacus," with references to Tamil palagai
Jouveau-Dubreuil, Dravidian Architecture, pp. 10, 25, 42, and fig. 17.
See also kapota (-pālikā).

Pāṭha: 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. Pāṭha, taking all its uses into consideration,
should here be rendered "laterite," a common building material
especially in Ceylon. In Mahāvagga XXX, 7-9, where pāṭhas is used
in making bricks, the word is rendered "sand" by Guizer; but "de-

* Benares edition, p. 413a, cited by Hoernle, Vēdasagadāsā, II, Appen-
dix, p. 45.
composed rock," "grii," would be preferable. True sand (ś étikā) 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 "cabbage") 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 pāṇasa means simply earth, dust, refuse, etc., cf. pāṇasa-kūla, rags from a dust-heap. See also sāraka, s. v. in Dict. and under ābhas.

Paścāngula: kathaka-bhittī of Cullavagga, VI, 2, 7 explained by Buddhaghoṣa as paścāngula bhittī: paścāngulika-pantikā, Mahāvamsa, XXXII, 4; paścāngulitale, Asūpāṭika Sātra, §2. Possibly colored impressions of the human hand such as one not uncommonly sees on house walls, more likely a five-foliate 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 Annadale, N., Plant and animal designs... of an Uriga village, Mem. A. S. B., VIII, 4, fig. 2.

Paṭājara, which has, like candra-śāla-vatāyana, 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 (cēṭāshipsājaraṇa)." Cf. Mahāvamsa, XXVII, 16.

Kaiṭuka-paṭājara, the body of a carriage, Jātaka II, 172, IV, 69.

Porikā: Mahāvamsa, XXV, 48 tīmākāparikkha, "having a great triple mout." See also under Hārmya.

Paṭṭa: no reference to the meaning "frontlet," except that under viru-paṭṭa we find "front-plate." In the story of Udayana, Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen, p. 32, a sovanna paṭṭa is used to cover the brand on a man's forehead and is contrasted with maula, a turban or crown. In Ceylon the gold forehead plate used in investiture is called a mālā-paṭṭa, those thus honored being known as paṭṭa-bendil. In Pārabandhacintāmaṇi we get paṭṭa-hastin, state elephant; now elephants do not wear turbans, but do wear jewelled bands round the temples. In Byahatsamhitā the section on paṭṭas, which are not worn by those of the highest rank, seems to imply the meaning frontlet. Even Mahāvamsa, XXIII, 38, dukkālapāṭṭena vaṭṭhayiten 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 (silāpaṭṭa-saṁ), and Hoernle, Uvasagadādo, II, p. 107; sthala (sthalā) as synonym, Mālavikāgnimitra, IV, 132. Loha- and stūṭha-paṭṭa, sheets of copper and silver, Mahāvamsa, XXIX, 11-12. Paṭhika, stone slab at the foot of the steps, Mahāvamsa, XXXI, 61; other terms current in Ceylon for "moonstones" are hanṣa-loja and ri-handa gala (= sūrya-
candra kala). Črūka-paṭṭa, "stela," should also be noted. Yogapaṭṭa is the braid used by hermits to support the knee when seated on the ground. Cullavagga, V, 11, paścā-paṭṭika, perhaps a "cupboard with five shelves." See also under nārāca.

Phalaka: commonly a panel for painting on. Add: uppaśëna*, a board to lean against, when seated on a couch, to protect the walls. Cullavagga, VI, 20, 2, and VIII, 1, 4. Phalakatharasaśayana, a wooden bed, Jātaka, 1, 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 prāśāda, Dictionary, p. 419. The Besnagar inscription (Mem. A. S. I., No. 4, pp. 128, 129) should be cited (pājā-sīlā-pākāra); also Kāravela’s inscription at the Hāthigumpha, Udayagiri. The Mahāvagga, XXV, 30, has ucca-pākāra, rampart; ib. XXXIII, 3, kathhi-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 hasśītha, sīlā, and dārā-pākāras. Other references, Mysore A. S. Reports, 1913-14, pp. 8, 14 and 1919-20, pp. 2, 3, 5. In Kauśīlīya Arthaśāstra, 53, "rampart" rather than "parapet." Pākāra = wall round a park, Buddhaghosa, Sumangala Vilāsini, 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 Sūriputra, as the Bimhamāna (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 saṅgha 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 Rūpa, No. 27/28). Pramāṇa = land area specified in grants, see Thakur in Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Memorial Volume, 1928, p. 80.

Prāśāda: No reference to the Bharhut relief with inscription Vijayanta pāśāda, the only early prāśāda 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 Lohapāśāda described in Mahāvagga, Ch. XXVII, was an uposatha house of nine storeys each with 100 kuṭāgāras "provided with vedikās, and it contained 1000 chambers (gabha). 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-pāśāda at Polonnaruva should also be mentioned (HIIA, fig. 287). See also under grha.

Punya-rāja, grha: not in the Dictionary. Both have been thought to refer to temples, but the meaning dharma-rāja 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, raṇa-bhūmi, nāṭya śālā, prekṣa-grha, 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.


Rāpakāra: sculptor, not in the Dictionary. But the Śilpi Rāmādeva, son of the rāpakāra Suhaka, inscription at Dhar, A. S. I., A. R., 1903-04, p. 240, is cited under Rāmādeva. Reference should be given to Śivamitra, a śela-rāpakāra of Mathurā, mediaeval inscription at Śrīvastrī, A. S. I., A. R., 1908-09, p. 133. For Buddha-rakkhita, a rāpakāraka, 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 (HIIA, fig. 43). See also Sāṃyutta 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 (ṣṭhamsas sudatā thambha). The description of the heavenly sabhā in Mbh. II, 6-11, is altogether vague.

Sakṣa-tīga: not a “group” of a thousand phalli, but one lingam with a thousand facets, representing a thousand lingas. A good example at Śrīśailam, A. S. I., Southern Circle, 1917-18, Pl. V.

Samudrāśāra: a summer house by a lake, Mālarekāgnimitra, Act IV.
Samuddavīhāra, a monastery on a river-bank, Mahāvamsa, XXXIV, 90. Samuddapagga-sālāga, ib. XIX, 26, a hall built on the sea-shore. Cf. the pavilions on the bund at Ajmer, and the island palaces at Udaipur.


Silpa: in the Atharva Veda, a “work of art” (Bloomfield, Atharva Veda, p. 70).
śilpa-sāstra: Hālan 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 sulva sūtras are effectively śilpa-sāstras, though not actually so designated.

śivikā-garbha, śivikā-gabhā: an inner room shaped like a palanquin, Cullavagga, VI, 3, 3. Glossed by Buddhaghosha as caturassā, four-sided. What may be meant may be gathered from the elaboration śivikās represented in Amaravati reliefs, where their design is quite architectural (Burgess, Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jagāyapa-peta, Pl. XI, 2 and p. 55, and Pl. XI, 1).

sopāna: see s. v. śambha-bāha, karmya, hastisthāta, kaḍākāra, paṭaṇa.

śreṣṭi: that painters were organised in guilds is apparent from Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri, p. 49, where the painter Cittāngīra, "working in the king's citta-sabhā" belongs to a sens of cittagarās. It is of interest that his daughter Kanyāmājari also paints. See also list of 18 guilds in Jātaka, VI, 22: other references s. v. seni in P. T. S. Pall Dictionary.

śrīcaśa (śricacchā): also characteristic for Mahāvīra. The cruciform flower is the later form only; in the Kusāna period it is what numismatists have called a nāga or shield symbol (good illustration on a coin, Rapseon, Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, pl. VIII, 207, reverse, and on Mahāvīra's breast, Smith, Jaina Stupa of Mathūra, pl. XCI, right); the development of the early form into the later can be traced. Also cf. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 205.


stūpa: no description of the component parts is given: they are sopāna, oṣuṇa, medhī or garbha, karmika, yaṣṭi, chattrāvali, varṣa-sthāla or amṛta-kulaṭa. There should be mention of the synonym dāgaba (dhātu-garbha), and of oṣuṇa and jālaka by which names Buddhist relique shrines are referred to in the Mahābhārata (3, 190, 65 and 67). The detailed description of a stūpa in the Dīgāvadāna, p. 244, summarised by Foucher, L'Art gréco-bouddhique... I, p. 96, and the detailed account of the building of a stūpa in Mahāvīra, Chs. XXVIII, seq. should be referred to; also the full account in Parker, Ancient Ceylon. The latter quotes a Sanskritic-Pali text defining the shapes and proportions of dāgabas, from the Waśāvyānta-pota (or Vaiṣāvyānta) a stūpa-sāstra well known in Ceylon, but not mentioned in the Dictionary. The Avadāna Sataka mentions three kinds of stūpas—gandhastūpa, keśanakha-stūpa, and stūpa—the latter being
the regular dhātu-stūpa for funerary relics. The Dhammadāpa Atthakathā, XXI, 1-200, 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 Kāśyapā's Conversion at Sāncē (east gate, left pillar, inner face, third panel) a railed stūpa forms part of the Jātila śrama: so also at Anurādhapu, Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. LXXXVI.

Stūpakā: etenayassu kirtiṇaṇa viya kanakakamayān thūpikaṇa ca yeṣaḥ (Attaṇayulucanā, Alwis, IX, 7). Dome of a palace, Mahāvamsa, XXXI, 13, with above reference (Geiger).

Cf. silāthūpakā, Mahāvamsa, XXXIII, 24, "a little stone stūpa," practically actually the stūpa of H. I. I. A., fig. 292. But the usual meaning of stūpakā (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 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. 200 A. D. almost exactly follows the shape of the slightly swelling aṣṭa of the stūpa of ō. fig. 146.


Tāla-māna: here reference should be made to many published accounts, e. g. Rao, Tālāmāna, my Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, Ganguly, Orissa and her Remains. On pp. 220, 233, what part of the body is the "hiccehut?"

Tṛṇacakadana, Pali tiṣa-cchadana: "thatch," Cullavagga, passim. In Atharva Veda, IX, 10, 11, the thatch is called a thousand-eyed net stretched out like an opāka on the parting (viṣucaṇ, here = ridgepole). See also Upasmit.

Tulā: the meaning "well-sweep" should be added (Cullavagga, V, 16, 2); two other meanings of raising water are mentioned, loc. cit., viz. karuka-tāṅka literally "pot-edge" or "pot-ridge," probably the "Persian" water-wheel, and cakkavaṭṭa, wheel and axle. All three are still in common use.

But is karuka-tāṅka really distinct from karu-koṭaka, a hand wheel for drawing water?

Upasmit, 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 upasmit as (sloping) buttress (by Bloomfield and by Zimmer) is extremely implausible and almost certainly an error. I suggest upasmit = plinth or pillar base; such bases were probably, as at the present day, of stone, as a protection against white ants. Then pratimit

* Cf. Mediaeval 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."
(= stilê) 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 (sândāhāsa); a pākṣa, perhaps the wall-plates; vānā, the bamboo rafters. The roof (chasā) is thatched with straw or reeds (ṭrṇa); the cut ends of the reeds may have given rise to the designation "thousand-eyed" of AV. IX, 3, 8. Pañada (bundles of grass or reeds, according to Zimmer) and parīṣaṅgālāya I cannot explain.

The śikṣāṇi, 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 piliṣaṇa 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.


Vāna-laṣṭhī, rafters or reepers? As a protection against the rain, the vāna-laṣṭhī (of a house, grha) are to be covered over with straw (kaṭa, here thatch rather than straw mats), Arthākāstra, III, 8. Cf. Yaṭṭhi-vana.

Vapra: in Kaṇṭiliya Arthākāstra, 51, 52, vapra-yoparī prākhrāṇa; "glacia" rather than "rampart," which latter rises above the vapra.

Vardiḥaki: I cannot think of any case where the vardiḥaki, Pali vacḍḥaki, is specifically a painter. The usual meaning is architect, artisan. Cf. naga-ra-vardiḥaki, the architect of a city, Milindapañha, H. I, 9. In Mahāvaṃsa, XXX, 5, the 500 iṭṭhakā-vardiḥaki are certainly not all "master-builders" as rendered by Geiger, but rather brickmakers or bricklayers; even the vacḍḥaki who is their spokesman, ib., 12 is hardly more than primus inter pares. Vacḍḥhat, architect, one of the 14 'jewels' of a Cakravartin, Uttradhyayanaśatra commentary, cited Charpentier, p. 321. Numerous designations of craftsmen will be found in the ātapatka Brāhmana 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 karaṣṭa-klī seems to designate such foundation beams; Vedic pākṣa and Sanskrit karṣikā the wall plates forming the framework of the roof. Where we have to do with a colonnade rather than a wall, karṣikā is of course 'entablature.'

Vāstra-nip(y)a: is not "a jar-shaped ornament of a column," but the knotted band or ribbon which so often encircles the pārśa-kumbha which forms the base or capital of a column, and the Mānasāra text cited (kumbha-madhya, 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 ghāta, netu-bandha), ponds, and reservoirs," Arthāśāstra, III, 8.

Vātāyana: the Dictionary citations show that in the śilpa-śāstras 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 vātāpana is a window with a rail-pattern grille; jāla-vātāpana is one with a trellis grille, lattice; salāka vātāpana, one provided with upright turned pillars or bars (not "slips of wood"). Buddhaghosa glosses salāka as thambha. For turning, s. v. likh.

Vedi, vedikā, etc.: veigā of Jacob, 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 (upright), saṭī (cross-bar), upalī (coping), and these words often occur in Prakrit forms in the early inscriptions: also plinth, alambana. In Mahāvamsa, XXXV, 2, muddhavedi is the railing of the karmikā, pādavedi the railing on the basement level of a stūpa; ib. XXXVI, 52 and 103 has pādapa- and sila-vedi, "stone railing" (round the Bodhi-tree) rather than "stone terrace" as interpreted by Geiger, p. 296.

Mahāvamsa, XXXII, 4, vedikā represented in a painting. Alambakāha, the vedikā of a sopaṇa, Cullavagga, V, 11, 6 etc. See also kiṅkini-jālaya. Cross references to p(r)āšāra and bhitti, should be given; cf. bhitti-vedikā of Mahavikāyanātra, V, 1, where it is built round an anoka tree.

The very curious use of vedikā to mean a mode of sitting (āsana) is noted by Charpentier, Uttarādhyayanasūtra, p. 371.
Vidyut-latā: Pali, vijjul-latā, Mahāvamsa, XXX, 96, the Commentary having megha-latā nāma viju-kumāriya, "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 viju-kumāriyo 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 Mycchakapāṭha, V, 46.

Vimāna: reference should be made to the long and excellent discussion of this word in the P. T. S. Pali Dictionary.

Viśā: as this word and also karaṇa-viśā 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 biwa. So far as I know the southern viśā with two large gourds as sounding boxes can be seen first in the paintings at Elūra. The parts of a viśā are named in Māндapaśṭha, II, 3, 5; see also P. T. S. Pali Dictionary s. v.

Historical Architects, add:

Ananda, son of Vāniśṭhi, as above, s. v. aceśaṇa.

Balaka, pupil of Kañha, maker of a sālikā at Konde, and one of the earliest craftsmen known to us by name (Burgess, Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples, 1883, p. 9).

Bammoja, western Cāḷukya 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 (1) of the four types of buildings called Nāgara, Kālinga, Drāviḍa, and Vesara" (A. S. I., A. R., 1914-15, Pt. I, p. 29). The description of Kālinga as a style is cited in the Dictionary from the Māṇasāra.

Dīpā, 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 Somāṭh-Mahādeva at Prabhās-Patṭan. The Sompuras, not mentioned in the Dictionary, are said to have built many temples in Gujarat, to have been at Abu, and to possess MSS. on architecture. One, Nānā-khumā, was in charge of repairs at Rānpur; another, Keval-Rāṃ constructed temples at Ahar (D. R. Bhandarkar, "Chaumukh Temple at Rānpur," A. S. I., A. R., 1907-08).

Jaīta, etc.: an inscription on the window of the second storey of Rāṇa Kumbha's hirītātambhā at Chitor (A. D. 1440-49) mentions the architect of the building, and his two sons Napa and Puṣja. On the fifth storey are effigies of the two last, and a third son, Pama.
Another inscription at Chitor mentions the fourth son, Bairājā. See A. S. I., A. R., 1920-21, p. 34.

Sidatha (Siddhārtha), son of Nāgacana, as above, s. v. ēcāsāgaṇa.
Sīvamitra, as above, s. v. ṛpakaṇa.

Mallikārjuna Chinnappa, builder of the Virahadra temple at Chikkahāḷāpur, Mysore, died 1860; there is a tomb (gaddīge) in a building to right of the temple.

Treatises on architecture:
Rimhamāna: known in Ceylon as Sāriputra. Add reference to translated passages in my Medieval 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 mediaeval Jewish interpreters are divided on the question. Thus Rashi referring to a passage in the Talmud (Pesahim, 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'or (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 ểbhōth, and many others. Every unchaste woman, whether spinster or married woman, was a qedèshah, 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 ʿāḇē to finish does not lead far, but if we turn to the dialects we find that qōṭ 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 symbolic name for Hosea’s alleged wife. As to שׁוֹעַר וּבְרַק (pressed figs and pressed grapes) the shapes of both recall the testicles, and were therefore befitting gifts to a qedeshah. In connexion with this we should consider ענבים (cluster of grapes) not derived from בּוֹשׁ, as in most dictionaries, but from וחשׁ with a liquid מ added as in יִבְרָל. The affinity of the vine and its fruit with obscenity in biblical phraseology is further illustrated in Ezekiel 8. 17 where יֵדֹרַי is but another term for the membrum virile.

I do not think it assuming too much if I offer these remarks as strengthening the symbolic 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:

yasaím nōg hvarštāś vás duśvarštā.

The obvious meaning is “(those not tending cattle,) of whom not the good deeds, but the evil deeds prevail.” But hvarštāś is manifestly an instrumental form, while duśvarštā is nominative (or accusative).² The usual interpretation² accepts the instru-

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¹ See my Sketch of Hebrew Grammar, p. 149; and the Dictionary of Driver, Skinner, etc.
² Note that in the Avesta a neuter plural subject takes a singular verb, as in Vedic Sanskrit and in Greek: Reichelt, Avestisches Elementarbuch, § 419.
³ Jackson, JAOS, 15, lvii; Bartholomae, Die Gatha’s des Avesta, 1905, 95.
mental here as used for the nominative, but such a use in the Gathas, the earliest texts of the Avesta, has been called into question by Meillet. Moulton 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 do indeed have duṣṭaḥ 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 duṣṭaḥ, which also is given by excellent manuscripts, could have been assimilated in ending to hvarštās, while the loss of the two final letters from an original duṣṭaḥ 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:

\[\text{varam ekō gūṇī putrō na ca mūrkhaśatāṁr api}
\text{ekaś candras tamo hanti na ca tāragunār api}
\]

"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

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* Reichelt, § 427.
* Trois Conférences sur les Gathas de l'Avesta, 86.
* Early Zoroastrianism, 380 and fn.
* Geldner, Avesta (known as the Neue Ausgabe), ad loc.
* Quoted in Lanman's Sanskrit Reader, p. 18, lines 2-3. Variant textual readings are given in Böhtlingk, Indische Sprüche, 3. 272-3, No. 5971, with fn. Lanman supplies tamo hammer 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 Slokā 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 hatam*; "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 *mûrkhasatany apī*, 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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*Muḍrā, muddā*

Dr. Otto Francke, in *ZDMG*, 46, 1893, has an elaborate article entitled *Muḍrā — 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 *lekha*, in lists of the *sippas*, 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 kāstraṇa*) is at once correct and intelligible; a rendering *muḍrā = "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 (muṭṭhiṁ). 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 śīkharu hand, which is the same as the muṣṭi hand, but with the thumb raised, is precisely "husband." The outspread hand (paṭāka hand of the abhinaya books) can well be understood to mean "empty"; the nearest meaning given in the Abhinaya Darpana 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 muḍā, 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 muḍrās of the hieratic art, e.g., vyākhyāna muḍrā (often called vītarka) 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 (Kathāsaritśāgara), I, pp. 46, 80-82; Stokes, Indian Fairy Tales, pp. 207, 208; Swynnerton, Romantic Tales from the Punjab with Indian Nights' Entertainment, pp. 329, 392; Vatālapaṇḍavīśvat, story 1; Vimānavatthu-atthakathā, p. 209, cited by K. Mitra in
Brief Notes

JIBOS, 12, 1926, p. 161; Venkatasubbiah, A., The Kalas, 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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**Dandarasa, vanashanartin, and caturakratva**

The Karppurañjarī, IV, 11, speaks of a "staff dance" (dandarasa); 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 vanshanartin 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 Kṛṣṇa 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 Karppurañjarī 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 Mallikarjuna temple at Śrīśailam (reproduced in A. S. I., A. R., Southern Circle, 1917-18), and on the walls of the Malleśvara temple near Bezwāda. In the latter example, one of the musicians of the chorus is playing a sāruṅgi; 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 vanshanartin 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 Atthakatha 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), *candālavāmśa-dhopana* 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 Rajput paintings in illustration of Desākhyā Rāgini. In British Museum MS. Or. Add. 2831, f. 16, the female performer is seen at the top of an upright pole (*khambha* 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 *vamśanartin*, 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 *vamśanartin* as "family dancer," whatever that may mean. In the Taithiriya Samhita of the Black Yajur Veda, VI 1, 1, *vamśás* are horizontal beams, as noted by Keith, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 19, p. 483, note. Hauer, J. W., (Der *Vrātya*, I, 1927, pp. 237-9), has a valuable commentary on the *Karpuraṁjari* passage above referred to, and emphasizes the dark, orgiastic character of the dances, which take place upon the occasion of the *Vataśāvitrivrata*, 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 inerterable on other grounds.

*Caturāśrāvita* is found in the Vikramarjuna 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, makkhacikā 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 Aspapatti Sūtra, § 2 (Leumann, p. 22), lanka glossed mahāvamsāgra-kheñaka, undoubtedly refers to pole-dancers.

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Origin of the Ethiopic gerund

The Ethiopic possesses a unique 'gerund' in Stem I, katīl, always inflected with affixed pronominal element, katilō, 'he killing,' katilōmū, 'they killing.' And in the derived stems it continues as the characteristic of the gerund. The same stem katīl 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 katilat 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 katīl, which survives in the Akkadian per- mansive, 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 katīl, as is largely recognized, developed the almost universal Semitic participle of Stem I, kāṭil (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, katīl > katīl. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that it is in the Ethiopic, in which the gerund alone appears, that the par-
ticiple šatîl 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 yēkātel — Akk. ikātel.

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 šatîl, I may call attention to two examples from the Arabic. In a hadîth of Bukhari’s appears the phrase kâla Zaidun haṭîban, ‘Z. spoke preaching.’ The last word may be construed as an infinitive, limiting accusatively the main verb (although such an infinitive for haṭaba 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, haṭâban. The Ethiopic would have haṭībô, ‘he preaching.’ Again, a passage in the Bilgîs Story, ma’ raḥajîn karîban, ‘he saw a cloud approaching.’ Karîb 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, kârib. The Ethiopic would use the gerund karibô.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS


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 unquestionable. 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 Gatha's des Avesta ubersetzt, 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 hvarštāš 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 (*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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Until recently the Turcologists were unhappy sons in the Orientalist family: they were unsuccessful. The Arabists had a wonderful book on Arabic literature, C. 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 Rieu 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.

Columbia University.

N. Martinovitch.
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. Welcomme  
Mr. Mose 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 KAÜTILĪYA ARTHAŚĀTRA

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The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, or Kauṭalya, has been called by so distinguished and sober an authority as Professor F. W. Thomas "perhaps the most precious work in the whole of Sanskrit literature." Meyer's recent translation, 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 Shamaśastry, 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 kama, 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;

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1 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.

2 CHI 1. 467.

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-miśra, called Nayacandrīkā, edited by Udayavīra Sāstri.4 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,

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4 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 Nayacandrīkā. 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 Pratipadapaṇcikā, 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 Kauṭilya 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 Kauṭilya, 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 niti 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 thorough 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 Kautilya 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 Kautilya 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 Kauttilya 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, everyone will read with interest, and with an amount of sympathy depending in part on his opinions on international politics, Meyer’s discussion of Kauttilya’s psychology and its relation to “Machinellianism” 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,8 which he regards as essentially a part, and an important part, of the Introduction to his Kauttilya. 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 Apastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Nārada, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, and finally Gautama, which previous scholars have regarded as one of the oldest. Of these, he thinks Kauttilya may have used Baudhāyana, but no other. Yājñavalkya is extensively based on Kauttilya, instead of vice versa, as has been held. Even Manu he thinks is decidedly later than Kauttilya, 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 brahmans. The nearest

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approach we have to an early code of worldly law is contained in the Kautiliya.

Meyer goes further and speculates on the origin of the brahmans 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 brahmanes"). 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 Kautilya 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.


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: cāturasto '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-gartēd, Sh 17.18, as ger. from gr (Sh, M), is an impossible form. Read probably with J nāgavāntar, "without penetrating inside (the king's defenses)"; or (less likely) with G nāgavānta, "without attaining his end."

18.11: praṇāśaucauyakto, 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: puṇa, Sh 19.18, omitted.

20.11 and n. 4: jamāha- (not jamāha-) vidyā, Sh 20.21f.; cf. Mbh. 5.2470 and 2474.

21.9: brahmā, Sh 20.8, omitted.

22.11: andha, Sh 21.2, omitted.

23.8 and n. 4: keep text of J, G, sampatamucārthas (Sh 21.14), and construe with preceding; but render "to make known what happens" (sampāta, occurrence), rather than with J "to make collusion manifest."

27.7: entire line, Sh 24.3, omitted.

28.4: kārābhīṣayayata, Sh 24.14, is correct, but means what M suggests in 1.28f., "durch Besteuering gequält"; see PR I § 94. Read

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: chidrāpi, Sh 30.10, omitted.

37.11 and n. 3 (Sh 31.12): M misquotes G’s reading, which is mitraṁ ēkrandām. This must be correct. Sh, J mitraṁ ēkrandābhyaṁ, 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 mitraṁ ēkrandābhyaṁ, 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 daṇḍaṅgūḍhātiśāraṇam.

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 ekasthānāvargoṛaṣa, 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 (ākṣo) 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. ekṣiṇaḥ quoted 42.23, in which ekṣiṇa- is evidently distributive, not intensive.

44.21: read aspāyanikas; Sh 35.16 is correct; in Sh III.2 also read thus, with G.

44.16 and n. 4: pravāra, Sh 36.1, is certainly "hervorragende Helden" (so Sh, G) and kośaṇḍaṇḍa* 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 tāṃ ahāṁ 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): garbhāvadydīśavartypakhyātāsāshtāvyavārykṣodākasathanām (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.: garbhāvadydīśasāshtābhīyāḥ (J "bhīm, also possible), Sh.41.17, "those in conditions of pregnancy and sickness." Cf. preceding.

56.10ff. (Sh 44.17ff.): māṣyagramahāvaśuddham, "cleared by fish-catchers"; so ēvaḍāgraṇā-, "snake-catchers"; cf. ēvaḍāgraṇā below, rendered "Bewaffnete," l. 22. G is perfectly clear and correct. In l. 21 (Sh.l.19) ēvaḍā probably "snakes" rather than "reissende Tiere," since ēvaḍāgraṇā precedes.

58.1: bhūtpūrcam 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 pāttana (none pāṭama), Sh.47.11.

60.26 and n. 7 (cf. Nachtrag 688): J reads vardhāyeyur (Sh.48.1) without report of variant. But varṭa 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: yāthāpatis, Sh.50.9, omitted.

64.24 (Sh 51.4): "wo das Grasgebläschel" etc.; rather, with G, "where there are no water-grass-clumps." J reads khaṣaṇā, but in the parallel (Bk. 12, ch. 4, st. 30) he has khaṣaṇa, and khaṣa 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 savrpa- (so G, tacitly followed by M. "von allen Arten"; Sh.50.10 sarpa-) read with J sarpiḥ, "butter."
78. n. 4 (Sh 53.14): Jolly's note in his ed. renders this long note valueless.

85. 56f.: nityo nityotpādika lābho lābhotpādika iti vyayaḥ, Sh 61.16. M:
"Ausgaben sind ständig, ständige herbeiführend, gewinnbringend,
gewinnbringende herbeiführend." But the following sentences show clearly that -otpādika means just the opposite. The cpds are
dakaraˌrīsih, "having ... as producer (otpāda) or cause," i. e.
durch ständige (gewinnbringende) herbeigeführt." Meyer even manages, with curious blindness, to make K say in 1.16f. (Sh 62.3):
"Was durch diese beiden (ständige und gewinnbringende) veranlasst
wird, das heiset ständige Ausgaben herbeiführend und Gewinn her-
beiführend." (!) G quite correctly.

86. 8: for "Westen" read "Osten," changing text (Sh 62.10) to prās
with J, G, and Sh transl.

92. 10: read with J, G samṛddhi for samarāddhi, Sh 65.15.

96. 12: for "eins" better "a little, a small part." (aipena, Sh 67.15).

102. 21 and 103. 4f.: oohana (not *aa), Sh 72.9,20, means certainly
"command," "Befehl," not "Aufforderung." It is the opposite of the
immediately preceding "prohibition," pratipadha (negative com-
mand). These two terms are constantly used thus technically in
the Mīmāṃśa texts.

103. 12: praʃāapanā (or *aa), Sh 73.4, "notification, announcemenm,"
better than "Aufforderung."

103. 24: ṣāḍhi, "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 kaucapākaḥ, with vv.

119. 4: śecet- before rājī, Sh 83.6, omitted.

124. 12: "Der Stein vom Kalingaland oder vom Flusse Tapti." Where
does M get "Tapti"? Sh 88.17 reads kālingakasthāḥ; J, G
kālingakas tāpi (J "glowing" for tāpi; 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 unhesi-
tatingly as suggested in this note (prthiṣṭaḥ bhāmi).

154. 4 (Sh 101.15): paucālīka (neut., not fem.) Sh, G, J (but Bh *kā).

156. 19: J ca cāryudhāni (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. 10): M misquotes G, who reads uddayam (rendered
labham), but suggests upanayam as a better reading, quoting it from
some bhāṣa (did his copy of Bh read so? Our ed. of Bh uddayam).

158. 11: line, Sh 103.12, omitted.

163. 4: for likha read likṣa (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 tho succeeded by two words. So in the next sentence but one, after kārubhiś (Sh 114. 7).
177. 18 (Sh 115. 4): Bh has vārma, not *mā. I think vārma should be read, altho M's mārvā is a clever guess.
177. 37: read kuttāka (Sh 115. 17).
179. 18: Sh 116. 17, J, G all kulaṭṭha, tho kulaṭṭha alone seems to be recorded in the lexica.
183. 20ff. (Sh 118. 2f.): G, J read as in 1. 32, which is no doubt to be accepted.
194. 39 (Sh 124. 15): Bh's gloss is nakhaḍaśānādikṣatena; 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 kṛtaprāceśāḥ, glost praviṣṭapūrveṇa unumataprāceśāḥ, 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: gṛtṛa after keśa, Sh 131. 3, omitted; read "an Butter (in) der Milch."
210. 6: "für jedes einzelne Ross" (ekaikaśaḥ, 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 nāraṣṭra. The guess is clever snuf; 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 pativeṣṭprakārāḥ; 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 169. 4, 14): G as M both times; kulyaś also J.

254. 44 (Sh 159. 16): G jārakarmasya, which seems likely to be right.

257. 2 (Sh 162. 7): acc. to G, goats pertain to brahmans because offered in sacrifice, and cattle to vaiśyas because used in commerce (and husbandry?).

257. 24 and n. 3 (Sh 162. 15): G as well as J ekadravyasya, which is surely right.

259. 15 and n. 2 (Sh 163. 14): pāraśaça 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. 34 ff. "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 ms. kukkuṭaḥ, G kukkuṭakaḥ.

262. 11: setubandha, Sh 165. 2, must surely mean "boundary marks" here; cf. the next sentence.

266. 20 f. and n. 3 (Sh 168. 15): read with G (u)bāhyāḥ and abhiṣṭāḥ.

268. 10: no reading upādhvān is recorded. Sh 169. 14 reads -kedōropadheśa-bhogaḥ; the correct reading, despite M Nachtrag 773, is kedāropadheśa-bhogaḥ.

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 asaṃkramāṇ.

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, avaḥaratetey avaḥaraḥatām. The meaning (G upaṇayata) is substantially that assumed by M.

281 notes 1-3 (Sh 178. 2-4): G confirms visaṣṭasyān. Why not keep nippaṭane (n. 2) with all texts? ("Or if it otherwise disappears.") J, G confirm pretam (n. 3).

287. 11 and 20: Sh's reading (182. 1) in his Corrigenda is kulabandhana-tūryāṇām. So also J, evidently on ms. authority. G with Sh (in text) kulabandhana ēṛyāṇām. This is translatable: "If an Aryan is pledged in a case of imprisonment in the family or disaster to Aryan, and (then) they get the ransom-price," etc.

287. 49: nagamanaṇapanaṁ is G's reading and doubtless right. J with Sh 182. 7 nagamāpanam.

289. 23: keep saḥrōdhāḥ, Sh 183. 8 with all texts; the same word in 291. 35f., Sh 184. 10 (translate as there indicated, l. 36, with Sh, G).

292. 19 f.: remove parentheses; the words are in the text, Sh 185. 12.

292. 40: J, G confirm nāśaḥkāraḥ (Sh 185. 8).

293. 18 f. (Sh 186. 2): no ex prākāmyam apokramaje, "and there is no
free right to quit" (even on payment of the 12 pana just mentioned); so Sh, G. That is; one who quits is to be fined 12 pana, 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; prakāma = prakāmyacān, yatkecalabhokta, 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 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 dattasyānapākarma, "non-delivery of (promised) gifts," which Sh (189.1), M omit.

298.10 (Sh 189.10): for "gegen König" read "surpassing (upavṛi) kings"; the sense is correctly indicated in the parentheses.

298.38 (Sh 189.9): dāpādānash is a misprint, corrected in Sh Corrigenda.

301.3: anuvācitaṃ Sh 190.19 is a false form; G explains it as Vedic. But the true reading is clearly anuvāsitaṃ, "uninterrupted"; so J with his mass.

301.39f. (Sh 191.9): G reads mahāāyacchān*.

302.1 and n. 1 (Sh 191.13): G, J read pravrajaṇāsu orthaścārōn, which is clearly right. M's pravrajaṇau (twice) is a lapsus colami.

302.5f. (Sh 191.18-19), cf. 303.32ff.: acc. to G anapyaṣat = "property common to several," and nirvacaye "in case it is not common to several, i. e. belongs to one person."

302.13 (Sh 191.19): aparyapanae 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 prāgyāhāna, "Eastern Huns," which he says is a slang expression for Cauḍālas.

312.1ff. (Sh 199.3-4): omit the words "dann Strafen von 100 pana";
read with J and Sh transl. śākyājñavālā (G śākya*) for śatyāḥ, jī* (making this one sentence with the following).

313. 1f. (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: dāṇḍaśeṣaḥ, 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 Mahakaccha (= Varuṇa, Ocean).” So G; cf. M 326. 15 and n. 4.

328. 30 (Sh 207. 12): this is the true reading and interpretation. So J, G.

335. 15 and n. 3: sāmiṣa, Sh 212. 15, is quite right; it means a place that would be profitable to rob (G sadrasya).

336. 1f. (Sh 213. 4): better with J āttarahastam manusyaśaṃsaptatracīnum: “one who carries weapons in his hand, and (and) one who is afraid to mingle with people” (are suspicious characters). So also G, except that he reads it as one word, *hastra-manu*.

338. 23: pravaṇaniśkasanayor (Sh *kōs* vā, Sh 215. 4, is omitted (“or at the entrance or exit”)).

342. 7f. and n. 2 (Sh 218. 2): sākṣaṇām of J is right, and M’s em. sākṣaṇa (so he intends, for *śaṇa) impossible. The tōs of the next sentence refers not to the witnesses but to the facts discovered, i. e. to the cpd. ending *nītāsanā, as M’s own translation of tōs 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: prāpārika seems to be M’s amend.; Sh 219. 3, J prāpāka; G prāpadikā, which at least gives good sense (“conversationalists”).

345. 30 (Sh 219. 18): J, G also ṣāmanayet; 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 eihíhiti,” pācem 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 mārgapaṇannak. M’s utkṣrayati is a lapsus for utkramayati (all texts).

350. 11: “Kassnerbrecher” for sīrthaghāta, 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 readingantarāstakā is found in J, G and is alone possible.

353. 24f. (Sh 227. 3-4): read with G *kābhīṣṭraka* (so Sh transl.), and
pathiveśnāpratirodhakahān ("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 bolāj jānapadakārṇamāsādikādakārī.

355. 20 (Sh 223. 10): samādaśā, "tongue," acc. to G "little finger and thumb," which may be right rather than M's "index finger and thumb."

361. 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 aṇyapravṛtya, or that of 2d ed., which J also has.

368. 29 (Sh 236. 18): delete abhi; all texts simply aṣṭādaśa.

369. 20: "einen Hahn"; why emend from the text of J, G kūṭānāṁ? (Sh 237. 18 ku). Cf. M's note, l. 43f. M Nachtrag 826 (on 370, 18) is erroneous as to G, who reads "kūṭānāṁ.

369. 37: Sh's text (237. 15) is ardha-gateṣa, not ardha*. The true reading is undoubtedly adhva-gateṣa (J, G, M).

372. 6ff. and n. 2 (Sh 239. 14f.): apakṛtya and rāja are right; G has both and J the second. But we must also read apakṛṣṇoto 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 vyātystam recorded? J pratyastam, G with Sh pratyastam.

374. 21f. (Sh 241. 11f.): read with G hiranyakarṣam akarmasyaṇ, 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 aparātāham, 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 anāspadayatva. Sh 245. 6, J anāśaya-stistam; G bharaye nāśavādyastam, which seems best, despite M 829.

384. 17f. (Sh 247. 4f.): the meaning can only be that given in 41f. So G.

355. 14: "(der Soldaten und Offiziere)" in parens.; but the text has ayudhīyānam, Sh 247. 17.

386. 29 (Sh 248. 19): for "einem anderen" probably read "(dem König)" with Sh, G.—32 (Sh 209f.): acc. to G apakṣa = asahāya, udāsina.

387. 34 (Sh 249. 2): G also parārtham,

388. 22 (Sh 250. 9): the meaning is that suggested in 389. 22f., and the true reading probably acaranti (so G) prāṇāh (or with G pra*).

390. 37 (Sh 251. 4f.): J quotes the reading of ma. B as prāṇāvādhānam, which is certainly correct (J, G).
393. 11 and 40 (Sh 252. 13) : M should have kept his conjecture bheda-
dhāna, which is the reading of J, G.
395. 27f. : read riṣau with J, G for riṣena, Sh 254. 13 : "He shall watch
her closely at her monthly periods."
398. 10: ityāga-samāyama, 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 sakya(ḥ) read with G saklaḥ, "affable"
(J with ms. B sakla-).
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 cāturante see on 7. 15. The true meaning of
the first clause is given in Nachtrag, 835. In 7 for "seine Untertanen"
read "die Reichsfaktoren."
403. n. 3 (Sh 259. 6) : the rājapraṅkṛitis 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) viṣiṣṭau, (2) arū, (3) madhyama,
(4) udāśana, and (5-12) the mitra and mitra-mitra of each of these.
Cf. M 404. 1f. with 403. 17. M Nachtrag 836 refers to Śīṣupāla-vadhā
2. 81 and Manu 7. 176ff. (for this read 7. 156ff.). Both texts refer
to 12 rājapraṅkṛitis 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 Śīṣupāla, 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 impos-
sible, since it makes a sentence begin with the enclitie me. Place
the period before dātāra with G and render: "Das heisst Erfolg.
Ein baldigeres Wachstum wird mir zuteil werden, ein grösseres,
oder" etc. sā vyādbhā is paralleled by esa kṣayaḥ, 408. 21, Sh
262. 10.—Read vyādbhādayatarā 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 pratyādāna
means "revenge" or "requital" (from their own king). The
prakṛitis 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) : saṃsaya, "zusammenfassend"; rather, "for an ordi-
nary person," "as a general rule." Followed by prati-vāsaḥ.
419. 3 and n. 1: instead of adding a second śāsana, Sh 270. 5, we must
drop the second śāsana in the next sentence with J, G.
419. n. 2 (Sh 270. 6): read upāyāsam with J, G; but it means the four technical upāyas (sāman, bheda, etc.).

421. 1-3 (Sh 271. 8f.): M is wholly wrong. Read parayaḍḍhā with J, G and render: "He (the enemy) could do no more than annoy him (the vijjita), 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 vijjita)."

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 ms. and texts. Transfer "von der beschriebehen Art" to line 1 after "Schwächerer."

440. 3 (Sh 282. 17): evam, "in the same way (as the preceding)", with N, G, instead of "folgendermaassen."

441. 1 and n. 1: all texts evamābhāto, Sh 283. 4, but M's emend. "tān 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 jñāyāsam and omit 2d sā with G, N: "Oder es mag ein Stärkeren eing, der schwächer ist" etc.

443. 6 (Sh 284. 3): for ādau, which is unconvincing, N reads ato, and G dō which he interprets as ato.

443. 23: "täusche so seine Erwartung"; rather, "cause disunion (among the allies)", eisameśdayet, Sh 284. 13.

444. 20f. (Sh 285. 4): "wenn er die Verwandschaft ... in Betracht zieht;" rather, "wenn er eine Verbindung (a marriage, G) ... erwartet," N, G.

444. 25 (Sh 285. 6): better, "der ein Bündniss eines Freundes mit einem Feinde aufzulösen wünscht," i.e. to detach a friend from intimacy with an enemy.

444. 34: prakartum is a slip for prahartukāmo, which is N's reading, Sh 284. 15, G pratihaturn, J pratihanta."

446. 9 (Sh 286. 7): "Freunden (Alliierten)", mitra, 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) pāṭya-svabhāvah,
“having relations with his (the enemy’s) ‘persons-worthy-of-reverence’” (pājya = guru).

451. 29f.: "vorhergehend" is a slip for "folgendem." M’s ekārthāna* is found in G. N is printed with prāśka as in Sh 299. 16, J, ekārthena", but its gloss (arthāarthābhāyāṁ samandrahaḥ) points to the reading of M.—All texts copakārya.

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 sthirām for sthītāḥ (m) with N, G, and anitra with G (N gloss stātras); in 2, “who destroys a well-intrenched enemy”, and in 4 “Feinde” for “Freunde.”

455. 18 (Sh 293. 14): for "Unfertiges" (anacasis) better “uncertain, indefinite” (as to outcome or profit).

455. 28 (Sh 294. 1): M’s "Pflügen" (karpa) 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 asaktārambhāṁ, not of alparvarṣapākam, for which G says quite simply and correctly alparṣadīnaśākhāram.

456. 14f. and n. 1 (Sh 294. 8): “when (it allows) sale of great objects.” N reads mahāvitrarāsaviṣayo, which is easier. In the preceding sentence J has dhānypamalo as M suggests; but N, G*maṣṭāṇā . . . ōrambhāḥ, which is probably right.

456. 29ff. (Sh 294. 17): read with N, G period after tu, and mahādōṣa, and translate as in M 30ff.

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 “Viehzucht” (6); G reads gorakṣakavati, which suggests the true meaning tho it is probably not the true text, for N, which otherwise agrees with G and M, has gorakṣacat like the rest. M 843 fails to note this variant of G.

463. 10f. (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 pārṣṇigrīha 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 atiṣāmadhatte to atiṣāmadhyate 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: sāmantā with Sh 301. 9, J seems interpretable: “the crowd (varṣa) on the rear of one’s neighbor (and enemy, sāmanta).” G sāmantāḥ.
466. 21f. (Sh 303. 3): read certainly as in 35, with G.

470. 3 (Sh 305. 13): read utadkahinaś with G; delete "Macht der." No text has sakti.

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)," pratipādāvyādasi, Sh 307. 1.

472. 18 (Sh 307. 10): pratibaddhasya is apparently M's emend.; all texts pratibandhasya. "Or: in case he blockade 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 adhyāyamāna 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 anamukṣātaś, and saṁdhipanyodvēgaśakrāṇi, noting taddhikrayodvēga (of all our edd.) as a "false reading." N also reads with G saṁbhāṁśiḥ and anāśraṇaḥ; 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 *bhūmir (all edd.) to bhūmibhir: "who helps out (benefits) his army, treasury, and country."

476. 25: G has M's emend. satrumukhyāḥ, for Sh 310. 4, J śatru mun; he glosses it by amāśyaprabhṛtyāḥ.

477. 5ff. and n. 3 (Sh 310. 6ff.): read and interpret with G; see M 849. tātakulaśa 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 addādā with G (gloss, addāhārā) and J by emend. (his ms. ādā'); N's gloss also points to this tho its text reads ādā*.

481. 20f. (Sh 313. 6): G reads aṣṭamānāsāḥ and, like M, interprets by aṣṭamāṅkāḥ, which is the reading of N and J.

482. 24f. (Sh 314. 4): read with N, G J paricārakachādmāṇa (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. 16 and n. 3 (Sh 314. 14): khāta, J, G, "trench", is certainly right instead of cāṭa, translated "Fenster."

484. 5 and n. 2: vyādhiśkarṣaṇa, 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): sattraṃ etc., "... let him take to the forest. And if there is no forest at hand—" (G).
485.6 (Sh.315.8): for śṛparātair N's gloss is veṣavaudbhir aśeṭaḥ. 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 viṣājīṣu is to make peace with the madhyamā and then secretly help his friend, whom the madhyamā is fighting.
487.38 (Sh.316.15): the true reading is certainly viṣājīṣor eṣā (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 āpy aṃitraabhāsā goes with the following: "Altho the nature of 'enemy' pertains to them (all)—" There are eight kinds of 'enemy' listed here. pārṣṣigrāho is to be distinguished from satrūṣaḥkārah in spite of the loose eṣā (K's style is full of such harshnesses), and uṣanāt from yatavaṇa.
489.16 and n. 4 (Sh.317.18): read certainly yasyā param with G.
490.28 (Sh.318.16): see my note on 39.15.
490.29f. (Sh.318.17-20): read with Sh*, J, G mithrayasamato, and in Sh 318.19 yad with J, G for sad, and render: "Or, an enemy who rises to unconquerable position thru the mishaps of a friend (of the viṣājīṣu), 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 viṣ.) 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 (āriyasamapādhāya = arīyasamapādhāyaṇena, G)."
492.1: title of Book S, uśanadādhrakām, Sh.319.10, omitted.
492.4-6 (Sh.319.12ff.): 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 viṣājīṣu), according to which is easier he (the viṣ.) should attack (the enemy in trouble) or (read eṣā with G, tho the meaning is the same with eṣā) 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. guṇapraitilomukam (which J. emends to "my, entirely destroying the sense, and which M misunderstands) means "applying the (six) guṇas (saṃsā etc.) inversely or perversely ", or, roughly, "bad policy". The others are "lack, deficiency" (abhaṣa), "tumult or disaffection" (pradoṣa), "vice" (prasadā; of course read so with J, G), and "affliction" (pāḍā).
493.6f. (Sh.320.4f.): read with N, G daṇḍopraṣaṇaṇam and render: "mobilization of the army" (for "Vollziehung der Strafen").
493.28 and n. 3 (Sh.320.17): vāhana = vaṭādevi G, aṇuakhyaravṛddhi 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 jānapadeśa 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 durgoṣi predominate over jānapa) it is the country-district that is imperfect (a more serious defect).” M spoils the parallelism of jānapadābhāve with the surrounding paragraphs. tu—tu = ṁe—ḥē. To understand durgo with karṣaka-prāye (M 495.26) spoils the sense; it is jānapade that is understood, or rather exprest (after the second tu, but clearly going with both).

495 n. 1 (Sh 321.12ff.): the text is no harsher than it often is, and I should not change.

496.24 and n. 2: sārataḥ, 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 accomplišt by army or ally.”

496.29: yauṣapadāya, Sh 322.15, as in the first sentence of this chapter, is misunderstood by M; the G gives the true meaning (with N). “When difficulties occur simultaneously (to the vijigtu and his enemy).” Instances: Italy and Rumania in the late war.

497.1-5 (Sh 322.19ff.): “But when the like evil falls on both (vijigtu 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 ve) and the loss (to be sustained in either alternative); unless the above-mentioned (abhiṣṭḥeyaka) 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 rāja includes all other prakṛtis than the rāja (N), or all except the saitra who is also a rāja (G).

497.19 (Sh 323.11): vairāja means “state where the king is absent” (so G), rather than “Fremdherrschaft.” Cf. next.

498.16: read with N, G vairāja (obviously, since maṇyamānaḥ cannot agree with vairājaṃ): “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 oppress no. (Sh lacuna in 323. 12.)

500. 16 (Sh 325. 11): read "von dem Zorn ihrer Untertanen" (prakrti-kopah).

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 satruddha).

502. 20 and n. 3 (Sh 326. 12): M is right in addam, with N, G, J. But pariydgo arthaSa means (with N, G) "abandonment of property (that has been deposited for safe-keeping)", i.e. faithlessness to a trust.

504. 5ff. (Sh 327. 10ff.): kopabdyaasthAnchite as one word; analyze -sthana + hita, "in their activities when in the state of rage and fear." (G).—satityayananm 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 hahyeu, Sh 326, 6; G understands courtesans, which is more likely.

506. 3: "von Dingen, deren man sich zu schämten hat," perhaps more literally, "of the privities" (kaupaa, Sh 326. 8).

506. 7ff. (Sh 328. 1ff.): 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. (1. 11). In 15 (Sh 14): "(Others reply:) Favoring (or, associating with, "parigrahah with J) evil persons (which always accompanies drinking) is the worst of all vices."

507. 7ff. (Sh 329. 4ff.): read with G sarvadhi ca; sakyopaganam dardhdam udaka* (essentially supported by N): "and it burns everything. Water-trouble can be got at, and one can escape from its affliction."

508. 12ff. (Sh 329. 8): with N, G read "ayadhitopasya" 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" (apagraha) rather than "Ergreifung."

510. 2ff. (Sh 330. 10): read with G as in n. 1, l. 25ff. 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. cuskpatham) 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 (abhirjata, 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): "sitten mitten unter uns"; rather, "are always on hand" (G).

513.25f. (Sh 332.8): read with G vatrissatstrocorob.

514.6f. (Sh 332.10f.): jānapadārāga goes with the preceding; read āpady with G, supported by N's gloss ēpadi: "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 apścēt(st). as all in 517.6 (Sh 334.15); so correct M 517.6 and n. 2 (where stī is suggested in both places).

515.8f. (Sh 333.15): more exactly as in 44f.

517.6ff. (Sh 334.16f.): read with G mantravyāyāmabhīyam and sattra-mitrā; omit "Mangel an"; sattra = "forest."

518.6f. (Sh 335.5): as in n. 1 below.

518.8f. (Sh 335.6): for apārāvayītum (G aca"), "weg... gezogen werden," N has the more intelligible apāhayītum, "be collected."

518.13 and n. 3 (Sh 335.7): for asamhātām G says "not combined (with other traits)"; dāyāntārdasamhātām; so also N.

518.25 and n. 6 (Sh 335.13): N, G sattra" as desuae, "forest-ambushes and strategy." G "saṁhitam, metrically better, cf. M 519.25; M's *dhitom 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 nijuktam cē bhāṣkṛte, with N, J, G; but Sh, J are wrong in their interpretation. "...when he presents himself (acāra) after having (just) crushed an enemy (and the vijigatu demands another serious service at once)."

520.13 (Sh 336.11): read with N, G (Nachtrag 859).

620 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.: bhūma, Sh 338. 7, "dry land."
524. 23 and n. 1 (Sh 339. 5f.): read with G as in 38ff., kṣaṇ.
525. 13, cf. Nachtrag 859 (Sh 339. 17): N, unlike G, takes uṇḍiyana with
evassane, but apparently derives it from uṇḍ-asa, "desiring to dwell
near (the enemy, to keep watch on him, when he is) in trouble." 
N reads caturasī 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
caturātim.
526. 7 and n. 2 (Sh 340. 7): read with J, G oṣāndhī, "blind."
526. 24 (Sh 340. 18): "angestammten"; maula acc. to N, G means
"originating in the mūla = sthāniya" (cf. M 59. 1 and 21).
527. 5 (Sh 340. 20): read "meinem" (N magi) for "ihrem."
528. 6, cf. n. 2 (Sh 341. 13): read, "and he operates with forced troops.
daaḍabala 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 Verrättern bestehenden Einschub
(durch die Schlacht) aus dem Weg räumen.
So N, G.
528. 24 and 259. 1 with n. 1 (Sh 342. 2): G agrees with M, but since àsāra
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.: arisuddhapratilomam, Sh 342. 6, is correct, but wrongly trans-
lated. M Nachtrag 860f. misunderstands G, whose gloss says: (with
N): "in (previous) conflict with the enemy they have shown hos-
tility (to him, the enemy)."
530. 6ff. (Sh 342. 10), cf. Nachtrag 861: G's reading was apparently in-
tended by N, judging from its gloss, tho its text is very corrupt.
N seems to have interpreted bhaktavetanaa as M does, not as G.
But M fails to understand the point of the sentence, which is to
distinguish two kinds of outasāhikā balam, viz. bheda and abhedya.
Read: "Wenn es Nahrung, Sold ... zuwege bringt, dann ist es
den Feinden verhetzbar. Es ist unverhetzbar, wenn es hauptsäch-
lich ... zusammengesetzt, fest zusammengeschlossen und mächtig
ist."
530. 17 (Sh 342. 13): "zu Boden drücken" for aeva-prak; rather, "hold
back, not send forth" (N, G).
530. 18: "unbrauchbar machen" for ophalōk kuryā, 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 hājakā, glossed trikaṇṭakāsā kuntāpravāṇaṣ (G kūntātulīya-pra*).

533. 8ff. (Sh 344. 5ff.): M's rendering in Nachtrag 861 is correct as far as it goes, except that "grosen" is omitted before "Gewinn." But further, in 533. 13ff. 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 oṣaṣṭāvaṣsa, interpreted as "banishment." Cf. M 539 n. 1, where all texts read oṣaṣ- (despite M).

535. 4 (Sh 345. 11): yogāparuṣa = γραμματεῖος, "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 viśtis 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", saṣyāḍāṇa); let hostilities ensue for him."

538. 16 and n. 3 (Sh 347. 8): yuga = cākana 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 aṣeṣāvā"; 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 nīrbh; at 559. 4 all have niḥ (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. 5ff. (Sh 349. 12): G nādhanāk for sūdhanā; this is much better, pace M Nachtrag 864, top. "Not without money is money (ariha, 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", meaning which of course it cannot have; that requires enc.

543. 12 (Sh 350. 8): ubhayayoge (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) : ekṣatayoga (= *ge, G), "in the (case of the) one-sided relation." Cf. preceding.

545. 2f. : M omits the words pratijapitar . . . tato (Sh 351. 5) ; his parenthetized clause is quite wrong. It is the upajāpitoṇaḥ who are to be attacked; the "Botentrupfen" are definitely stated to come "from that pratijapītar, von diesem auf die Einfürsterungen Erwidernden." (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 seocittam) müst 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. 39f. (Sh 351. 8f.) : the words in question are adjectives agreeing with sāma, not adverbs.

546. 8ff. and n. 3 (Sh 351. 17ff.) : read with N, G pūrva-pūrvaḥ, and with N, G, J, Sh pūrvaḥ, 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 332. 1) : title, "Die mit Verrätern und Feinden (śatru) zusammenhängenden (widrigen Ereignisse; supply āpadāḥ, 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 śmiśā etc., 547. 13ff.; in all such cases in this chapter supply āpad. "Die reinen (unvermischten, sc. Verschwörungen) sind zweiseitig: 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 ṣatruḥ pradhānaḥ with J, G) "where the enemy that is the chief man (N, G mastria) is, or one that is an agent." N's corrupt text should be read kāryate niṣiquyata iva kāryaḥ, "a person to be used, set to work," so, by the enemy, = anātya, or the śātva-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 (asādhīr with G for siddhīr, proved right by the next sentence), nicht aber mit einem Feind."

547. 25 (Sh 352. 15) : "einfürstern" better than "aufhetzen"; "dadjurch" for "darauf."

547. 40 (Sh 352. 12) : keine gestützte (Verschwörung).

548. 11 (Sh 353. 1) : understand, 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 neun, Ueberlassung der Beute an Gute des Feindes," N, G.

548. 30 (Sh 353. 11): "vor einem Zurückschlag," a defeat (pratigāta).

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. 10f., 551. 10.

549 n. 2: cf. Nachtrag 864. I think cārayati, Sh 353. 14, may be a derivative 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 saṃdāhi with N, G; saṃ is impossible since K uses the dual of two persons. "The alliance (formed against the vijīpta) 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 sārthavarajātvar vā: "und Wälder" for "durch Waldstämme."


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 eśānā 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) characteristic neat parallelism between eśānā and eśādā, and between gūla and śāma. 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, eśānā means just what G says; the parallelism would then be even nearer.

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 (āpod), and may consist of gain, loss, or matters of doubt (as to gain or loss). A gain which, if not obtained (aprāptaḥ with Sh, J, G)," etc.—In 554. 5 the text (Sh 356. 7) says simply kṣaya, "Verlust," where M has "Kriegstier- und Menschenvverlust."

554. 21 (Sh 356. 15): read with G as in M 40: "den Freund eines Feindes (gegen diesen Feind) aufzustecheln."

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. 2ff. (Sh 357. 12) : as preceding.

556. 6 (Sh 357. 14) : " Unheil " for " Zustand."

556. 9 (Sh 357. 16) : certainly " den Vorteil " 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 ( para. ) " G's gloss seems to me perfectly clear and intelligent, and is certainly right.

556. 21 (Sh 358. 1) : " Stammlandes " ; mula = sthāniya, N, G. So frequently.

556. 25 (Sh 358. 4) : " Königsherrschaft " ; better, " kingdom " ( banapada, 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 samśaya as line 29) are correct and are all found in G.

558. 1 (Sh 358. 16) : " oder " for " und " ; 2, " violent " for " herabgekommen " (keep tiṣṇa 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 360. 16) : G's interpretation is the only possible one, pace M Nachtrag 867f.

563. 9 (Sh 361. 13) : J has the easier reading * sam pneumonia, " in a place made safe by ditches etc."

564. 8 : omit " seiner eigenen Person", reading arakṣa* with J, G for atmarakṣa*, Sh 362. 2.

564. 11ff. (Sh 362. 4f.) : as in Nachtrag, 869. The statement about G in 869 1. 1 is erroneous; G interprets as in the following note.

564. 16 : read rākṣaṇa, " protections, safeguards " , with N, G, for prau- ḫiṣaṇa, Sh 362. 6.

565. 10ff. (Sh 362. 17) and Nachtrag 869 : M misrepresents G as to prasūra, which G says is defined by vandjīva; this accords better with the language than M's interpretation. N's gloss on pradāvṛddhair vā 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 apasīne, which keep; it means the same as āca.
568. 17 (Sh 364. 13) : better with G (Nachtrag 870) ; pragaha generally of hostile powers.
568 n. 4 (Sh 364. 10) : G reads kṣaṭa for śakaṭa!
569. 24 (Sh 365. 5) : read with G "klānīṇa acasuptā vā (cf. Nachtrag 870) ; j acasuptān.
570. 8f. and n. 4 (Sh 365. 7) : G also has "cātām; but saraśa (so all) must be kept instead of kharesā. On the preceding sentence see M's last word, p. 983 (correction of Nachtrag 870).
572. 13 (Sh 366. 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 karesa, 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-bhaṅgava-darṣayati (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 sthāpana with viśuddhi.
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. 0) : 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 "öffentlich" 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 apasāram, Sh 378. 18, after "Familie."
594. 2 and n. 1 (Sh 380. 1) : G is probably right in deriving from s-bhāgya; "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. : samutpanne dōgā, 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 jñapadasya ca; N paurasyāca.
600. 22 (Sh 334. 18) : “add "of the cavalry" after "Fusssoldaten.""
601. 4 (Sh 385. 3) : better cāsanañ with N, G: “sollen sie zu den Anwe-
senden sprechen.”
601. 6: keep text, ca praśāitas, 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) : yathāśānmasya, “according as (either happens to
be) at hand,” for M’s “vom Herangeschnitten.”
603. 13 (Sh 387. 9) : māndya seems to be M’s emend. for Sh, J māda; G
pādya, “25 percent solution.”
603. 22 (Sh 387. 14) : kālikā (so J, G), “it can be taken on credit
(to be paid for at a later time), N, G.
603. 20-604. 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. 6 (Sh 388. 18) : better with G (kapta-), “trick fire and smoke.”
605. 8 and n. 3: keep tīkṣṇaḥ with all, Sh 388. 20.
605. 18f. (Sh 389. 7) : read with J, G pādyāgaṇa” and interpret as in
line 35f.
614. 9 (Sh 393. 14) : read with G mitratvenāpadāśanto, “pretending friend-
ship.” Thus the absurd “belehrand” 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) Glose zur Eselsmilch
kann ich nur entnehmen, dass sie füricht ist.” All that poor G says
on gṛdabhīkṣirūbhīkṣīmananto (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 ms. reading dhrauṇapakāraṇaḥ than with M’s emendation, a
veritable “Schlimmbesserung.”
614. 23 and n. 5 (Sh 394. 11) : “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 “Diensete” (keep the text, Sh 394. 3).
616. 13 (Sh 394. 19) : for “zuziehen” better with G’s text māṇayitāyaḥ,
“ehren.”
616. 21f. (Sh 395. 6) : “eine goldene Röhre” (sing.); and it is not at all
clear to me that upśūkṣikā 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: ārdvācābhājīta 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; ekaśā is an intensive, not a distributive, śaṃreśita.
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 sattrisambandhāna ṣūḍkāpuruṣāḥ.
621. 7f. and n. 2: keep the text, with all edd.; tūpyar cābhīkataḥ, 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 cābhīyaktō, interpreted in much the same way.
626. 2 (Sh 401. 2): for pātōṃ, “Niederwerfung,” G pātāṃ, which is better.
627. 17ff. (Sh 402. 2-3): read with J, G sthūpayet for svā#. For utthīṣam, M “was sich (unruhig) erhebt”, G better kyṣyādiprayāsodyatam. Read samaglam with G for saṃgrāmam. 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 (ved = 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 ananyayā, ‘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): evamādd, with all texts; = anaytra-nayana, G.
629. 21 and n. 5 (Sh 402. 18): all texts nāpptī; acc. to G, “‘the bird called viśkīrña.” Cf. 650. 11.
629. 24f. (Sh 403. 11), 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.” mānuṣyaśāṃsī is thus explained by G: satrunākataśva uṣasvapayaṃārāśya uṣasvapaya eva uṣasvapaya iṣṭuḥ kalmāśayeṣu mānāṇāḥ utkṣenē ‘gnow.”
630. 7 (Sh 403. 5): as G (Nachtrag 883).
630. 29: “Oder ein Verräter”; but evaśaṅghāt, Sh 403. 12, goes with the preceding: “or a destroyer (of the enemy) while he feels secure.”

630. 22 (Sh 403. 13): for trupuisa, G trapusa (tanaṅmaprasiddhaopaśāhīṭheḥ), which is probably right; trupu-sa 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 prahavanac for pravahane—anikadarśanasasānga, 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, “vyākāṇo vā savaruddhaḥ ... abhimaitam, 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 mitramukhaśāstra.” 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): acāptārtha, “da er jetzt” etc.; rather, “having (thus) achieved his purpose.”

634. 9 (Sh 405. 19f.): M understands muktakeshāśstra 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 Reichsfaktorenen (des Feindes),” i. e. his treasury, army, etc.

635. 14f. (Sh 406. 15): the interpretation mentioned in n. 2 is right. G explains the ṣāk, 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 (śāstra) of the enemy.”

638. 17 (Sh 408. 16): satrājśein, simply “professional spies, people who practise the spy’s trade” (= satrīn, G).

638. 20 (Sh 408. 17): Sh, G kaunḍinayaka, J *nyaka; in 642. 24 (Sh 411. 1) all kaunḍinayaka.

639. 12-14 and n. 6 (Sh 409. 6): keep kṣaya-yoga with all texts; “a worm-spell which is effective in a month is” etc.

649. 7 (Sh 415. 17): all texts khaṅkṛtiśat; 

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 419. 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 uktaprakāraḥ. 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 (iti), 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 'napfr-kākolōkānām, and insert "Krāśa" in transl.; cf. 629. 21, where all texts have 'napfr.

651.7 (Sh 416.15): read 'ārīcā (or "bā, 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 'magn 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): mrjyāt is apparently M's emend. for majjyāt. The true reading is doubtless aṭjyāt with G. In line 12 also read with G (Nachtrag 890).

658.8ff. (Sh 421.17): G has kākamadhū ca yaḥ, which may be right. Probably right is his prapāyayet (of course with piṣṭa), which despite M Nachtrag 890 is very good: "whomsoever he may cause to drink (these things) after having pulverized them." Or, possibly, padaḥ nayet with J and v. 1. of G.

658.16f. and n. 4 (Sh 422.2): svaṣṣāyupāt is correct; M p. 982.

661.3 (Sh 423.14): cf. Nachtrag 891: G reads both, voraṇa-voraṇa, Sh (Corrigenda) reads voraṇa (only).

663. title, and line 10, cf. n. 1 (Sh 424.14, 18): G tāntram = arthaśāstra; tadāśītā yuktasya, prakriyāstre 'rthanirvayaŋayaṅiyāṣṭrītāḥ.

664.28 (Sh 425.10): ecamādikām iti is to be taken with the preceding (G).—nākyoprayojana yoṣaḥ: "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 (its) concept (meaning)."

665.11, 14, 19 (Sh 426.1, 3, 6): upadesāḥ, "injunction"; opadesāḥ, "reference"; atidēśāḥ, "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 cooperation 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 cooperate 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.
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


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.


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.

PERSONALIA.

Mr. George V. Bobrinski, 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 Przybulski. The first of these bibliographical brochures is expected to appear in October 1929. Mr. Ware would welcome the cooperation of his American colleagues in collecting notices of American publications dealing with any phase of Buddhism.
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
Archer
Barret
Barton
Bates, Mrs.
Bender
Berry
Bishop
Blank
Bobrinskoy
Briggs, G. W.
Brown, G. W.
Brown, W. N.
Buckler
Bull
Butin
Cadbury
Camacho, Miss
Chatterji
Clark
Collitz
Danton
Diez
Dougherty
Douglas
Duncan, G. S.
Edgerton, F.
Eitan
Ensin
Fernald, Miss
Guthe
Hardy
Hussey, Miss
Irwin
Jackson, A. V. W.
Jackson, Mrs.
Joshi
Kayser
Keogh
King
Lambdin
Lea
March
Marcus
Margolis, M. L.
Martinovitch
Matthews, I. G.
Mercer
Michelson
Mills
Montgomery
Morgenstern
Ogden, C. J.
Price
Reich
Rudolph, Miss
Saunders, Mrs.
Schapiro
Schmidt, E.
Steele
Taylor, W. R.
Temple, P. J.
Torrey
Uhl
Weitzel

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 Sākhya system and in other aspects of Hindu philosophy and religion; M. Émile 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 Ike 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 L. Bosworth of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, a New Testament scholar; and two Assyriologists snatched away before their time, Professor Daniel D. Luckenbill 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 Ettalene 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, Volume 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 .................................... 524.18
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

$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 19.00
Expenses of Corresponding Secretary 170.89
Expenses of Editors 35.00
Treasurer's Assistant 10.00
Editors' Honoraria 400.00
Balance, Jan. 1, 1928 4,174.69

$8,179.76

The following special funds are held by the Society:

Charles W. Bradley Fund $3,000.00
Alexander I. Cotheal Fund 1,500.00
William Dwight Whitney Fund 1,000.00
Life Membership 3,673.00
Unexpended income from fund established by the late Jas. B. Nies (and interest thereon) 2,247.76
Reserve Fund, approximately 2,000.00
Publication fund 78.50
Fund from sales of Edgerton's Panchatantra and Blake's Tagalog Grammar 359.77

$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

(including amounts from special funds as follows:
- Life Memberships ........................................ $ 175.00
- Income from Nies Fund with interest ............... 2,847.76
- Publication Funds ..................................... 438.27

Leaving a net cash balance in general funds of ........ $ 713.66

315,174.69

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:

Aldrich, J. M. New species of two-winged flies of the family Cyrtidae, with a new genus from the Philippines. 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 Pan- chayat funds and properties, no. 3.)


Berg, C. C. De Middeljavaansche historische traditie. 1927.

Bopp, F. Grammatica critica linguae sanscritae. 2d. ed. 1832.

Buchanan, F. H. Journal, kept during the survey of Shahabad. 1926.

Burchardt, J. L. Arabische und persische Handschriften. [1928?]


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?]


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.


Hemchandra Raychaudhuri. Political history of ancient India. 2d. ed. 1927.


Houghton, H. P. On presenting Sanskrit in a small college. 1927.


Indian museum, Calcutta. Catalogue of the coins... v. III. 1908.


Isis; international review devoted to the history of science and civilization, ed. by George Sarton, no. 23, v. VII (3), 1925.


Jerusalem University. Dept. of Jewish studies. Maddâ'ê ha-yahadûth, 2. 1927.


Johansson, K. F. Etymologisches und Wortgeschichtliches. [1927.] (Uppsala universitets Arskrift, 1927.)

Johansson, K. F. Etymologisches und Wortgeschichtliches. [1927.] (Uppsala universitets Arskrift, 1927.)


Kidung Sunda; inleiding, tekst, vertaling, en aanteekeningen door C. C. Berg. [1927.]


Ku Chou Pien. Index.

Kunst, J. & Goris, H. Hindoe-Javaansche muziekinstrumenten. [1927.] (Studien over Javaansche en andere Indonesische muziek, deel II.)

Lagercrantz, E. Strukturtypen und Gestaltwechsel im Lappischen. 1927. (Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran Toimituksia LVIII.)


Lehtisalo, T. Ueber den Vokalismus der ersten Silbe im Juraksamojischen. 1927. (Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran Toimituksia LVI.)

Leningradskii institut zhivykh voetochnych lâxykov. A catalogue of the publications of the Leningrad oriental institute. 1927.

Levitsky, V. F. Ocherki istorii khziaistvennogo 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.)


New York (City) Metropolitan museum of art. [Announcements of lectures.] 1926-1927.


Oriental conference. 4th, Allahabad, 1926. Presidential address by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. [19261]

Page, J. A. Guide to the Qutb, Delhi. 1927.

Paret, R. Der Ritter-Roman von 'Umar an-Nu'man. 1927.


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. Tritia Āptya, eine vedische Gottheit, I. [1927.] (Uppsala universitets Arskrift 1927.)

Sandberger, A. Orlando di Lasso und die geistigen Strömungen seiner Zeit. 1926.


Siamese texta. 32 v.

Skhidnît svit, no. 1, 1927.

Stejneger, L. The green pit viper, triméresurus graminicaps, in China. 1927.


Taraporewala, I. J. S. The religion of Zarathushtra. 1926.

Proceedings

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 Yuank Ali
Mr. A. J. Anbian
Mr. Otto J. Bash
Mr. Irving W. Bailin
Rev. David D. Baker
Prof. Gangn Bishen
Prof. P. Lovell Bixby
Rabbi Eugene Blachschleger
Rev. Paul Olaf Bodding
Prof. Dr. Franz M. T. Böhl
Rev. A. M. Boyer
Mr. Watson Boyes
Mr. Paul R. Carr
Prof. Basil Hall Chamberlain
Prof. Jari H. R. T. Charpentier
Dr. William Chomsky
Prof. David E. Culley
Prof. M. Eliz. J. Czarnomska
Dr. Charles Harold Douglas
Hon. Dr. V. D. Dumbadze
Rev. J. Garrow Duncan
Prof. Daniel J. Fleming
Prof. Alexander Freiman
Mr. Erwin H. Furman
Dr. F. W. Geers
Miss Mary S. M. Gibson
Dr. George W. Gilmore
Prof. Allen Howard Godbey
Mr. Cyrus H. Gordon
Rabbi Simon Greenberg
Rev. Dr. A. W. Greenup
Mr. Sarasaram Gupta
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 OLMBSTEAD, of Urbana; and Professor RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, of New Haven.

Corresponding Secretary: Dr. CHARLES J. OGBEN, of New York City.
Recording Secretary: Dr. LUBLOW S. BULL, of New York City.
Treasurer: Professor JOHN C. ARCHER, of New Haven.
Librarian: Professor ANDREW KEOH, of New Haven.
Editors of the Journal: Professor MAX L. MARCOHLIS, of Philadelphia, and
Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of New Haven.

Directors, term expiring 1931: Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of Phila-
delphia; Professor PHILIP K. HITT, of Princeton; Professor JAMES
BISSETT PRATT, of Williamstown.

Director to replace the late Professor Luckenbill, term expiring 1930:
Professor EDWARD CHIBA, 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 MICHELS, of the Smithsonian Institution and George Washington University: Geiger on Päli. Remarks by Professor Edgerton and Dr. Chatterji.

Geiger’s theory, that Päli 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-blicheret scheme, planned by the late Professor Conrady, and now edited by his son-in-law, Dr. Eduard Erker. The first three volumes of a total of perhaps 150 are just going to press. They are one German volume, one French volume, and the author's. (Gunther 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: Naysâbûr 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 Naysâbûr for several weeks and studied the site of the old town, the former residence of the Saffarids (867-903 A.D.) and of the Saljûqs 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 Naysâbûr 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 ETYAN, 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 Barrett.

This paper considers and compares the theory of Paramāṇya, Ākāśa, Dīk, and Kāla with the latest western conceptions of the ultimate nature of matter, ether, and certain ideas of Einstein.

Professor Franklyn 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. Barrett, of Trinity College: A MS. of the Atharva Veda Pīppallādā 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 Devanāgari, 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 dialocation of the bulk of Book 12.1 (as edited), and its lacunae correspond very closely to those of the
of the Society at Washington

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 Pāippalāḍā 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. Martínovitch, 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-Uyuyq, Kutahia, and Nigda 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. Abbott, 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: Ante-diluvian Kings and Patriarchs in the Light of Comparative Mythology. Remarks by Professor Duncan.

The problems surrounding the lists of ante-diluvian 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, JASOS. 43 (1923), p. 323 seq. (written before the publication of the second tablet), and Zimmerm., 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 Hyvernat 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. Martinovich.

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. Philo 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: Mâni 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 Alishar Hûyûk, 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 Kâlakârâya-kathâ. Remarks by Professor Edgerton.

An announcement of a proposed study of the legends and history centering around the Jaina sage or sages "Kâlaka" 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 Nirvâna and Early Buddhism propounded by de la Vallière Poussin and Stecherbatsky.

Professor W. A. Irwin, of the University of Toronto: Truth in Ancient
Israel. Remarks by Dr. Blank, Professor G. W. Brown, President Morgenstern, 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.


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 Gotthell, 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 cooperation. 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 re-elected for the ensuing year: Chairman, Prof. J. P. Chamberlain; Vice-Chairman, Prof. W. F. Wilcoxon; 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. Nettie, Romance Languages, Chicago.
Prof. Frederic A. Ogg, Political Science, Wisconsin.
Prof. Michael J. Rostovtzeff, Ancient History, Yale.
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 Musulmans 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 sovranity 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 Majardi's al-Ahkamul-sultaniyyah. (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 Schlesinger, 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 behemoth sadai 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 WEITZER, of Philadelphia: Egyptian Bakers and Druggists in comparison to Palestinian Bakers and Druggists according to Talmudic Tradition.

Dr. KURT F. LEIDENKER, 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 preeminently 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 Gotttheil, 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: kaspēkem or kaspēkem?

Mr. Arthur A. Demertz, 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 Josippon 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.


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 mkmr (Amen-em-ope, Line 129), which Erman and Grapow (Wörterbuch, II, 162) register as a loan-word without defining. In Psalm 141, 10, mkmrēm means "snakes." LXX translated by amphiblētron. In the forms Mikmoreth and mikmorek 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 Lopes 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. Israél Elitán, 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 š.

The available evidence for phonetic values of Hittite š 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, Sturt- vant, and others. Phonetic values of š 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 _pitch or  in ick. A critical consideration of Hittite etymologies involving š.

Dr. David I. Macht, of the Johns Hopkins University: Experimental Scientific Appreciation of Genesis ii, 24.
Professor THEOPHILE J. MEEK, 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 Purānic 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 Kirfel in his “Purāṇa-Paścalakṣaṇa,” by Loech in the “Yājñavalkyasāṃti” 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

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
Detsvoise  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.
Janssens, 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.


A detailed comparison of Jewish legislation with the customs and laws of the contiguous territory.


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.

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 organiza-

Prof. FRANCIS W. BUCKLES, of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology:
The Human Kāhāt. Remarks by Dr. McGovern.

Among the "garments" used as kāhātī is the wife (divorced), concubine, or widow of a monarch (cf. Mal. ii. 15-16; Qur. ii. 183; I.K. i-i). 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 Graec. c. 8) and the Indo-Germans. Frazer's discussion (Kinship, pp. 143 ff.) is inadequate and starts from the wrong point of view. The woman is a kāhāt 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-rítes in which the god (or hero), partly bestial 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-napišhtim; Ševuša, 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 Presi-
dential Address on "Linguistic Corroboration of Hittite Pre-
history."

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 Taing 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 Hai 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. Nykl, of Marquette University: A Coincidence between a 
Passage in the Manava Dharma Shastra and a Mural Decoration in the 
Maya Ruin at Chichen Itza.

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. DeBevoise, of the University of Illinois: Some Problems in Parthian Architecture.

Dura-Europus, during the Seleucid period, was merely a garrison-post on the Antioch-Selucia road. The present ruins are those of a fortress such as the Seleucidae 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.


The following points harmonize with a date about the beginning of the 2d millennium 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. Janssena.

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
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. Worrell, 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 prove-
nance. 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 welter of decadent
gnosis.

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 archae-
ology 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. Isa 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. HASEN, 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 SPEENLING, 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. LYDEUR, 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 affect 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.

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. KELLOG, 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 Bogazkoi 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. T. GEORGE ALLEN, of the University of Chicago: "Independent" uses of the Egyptian Qualitative.

Mrs. EDITH WILLIAMS WAKE, 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 ṣeptý ṣy ṣwt and the ṣeptý ṣy ṣwt ṣḥ ḫḥʿ ṣḥ ṣḥ ṣḥ.
For this purpose a comparative study was made of certain inscriptions, graffitti, 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 ʿepụty ny ʿṣct might be held by an envoy extraordinary, as well as by the regular messenger of the king. On the other hand the ʿepụty ny ʿṣct ʾr ḥʾst ʿḥʾt were carefully trained men equally competent to act as escort for the viceroy of Ethiopia on his first trip or to trade with cunning Asians for horses for the royal stables.

Prof. GEORGE L. ROBINSON, of McCormick Theological Seminary: Needlessness 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 inscrutable 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 ʾ and ʿ vowels from ʾ and ʿ; (c) Contraction of Diphthongs ʾyy and ʾy to ʾ and ʾ; (d) Contraction of pronominal suffix ʾs to ʾ.

(a) The Arabs at present tend to do away with the final vowels, e. g., ʾitt-imāʾ bataḫ maktāb īlā-l-muʾāšīm, the pupil wrote a letter to the teacher, for the classical bataḫ-t-talāmīḡ ṭalāmīḡ maṭbāb īlā-l-muʾāšīmīm.

(b) When the ʾ and ʿ come in a penult position, the ʾ is pronounced like ʾ, and the ʿ like ʿ (cf. Heb. ʾ and ʿ); e. g., ʾil-ʾmālāk sāfūr mīn bālāda ya-ʾshād-ʿt-kātāb maʾāʾ, the king sailed from his country and took the scribe with him, for sāfūr-ʾl-mālākūm mīn bālādīḥu wa-ʾḥāya-l-kātība maʾāʾ; ṣēd hādī-l-kātāb ya-ʾlktāb ʾdrāsāt, take these books and copy thy lesson, for ʾḥādī hādī-l-kātāb ya-ʾlktāb ʾdrāsāt.

(c) ʾīm-ʾl-ʾrūbāʾaʾ ʾrāʾa ḍēf ʾlābētāʾnā, on Wednesday a visitor came to our home, for ʾaymūl-ʾl-ʾrūbeʾātī qāʾa ṣāfūn īlā ʾḥātītānā. Cf. Heb. ʾā and ʾā.

(d) ʾʾbōtā for ʾbātūḥu, his house; ʾqālāmū for ʾqalamūku, his pen: bālāda for bālāduhu, his country. Cf. Heb. ʾā.
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. SELLENS.
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

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 superintendence 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 acquaintance 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 NÜLDEKE, 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. ADOLF ERMAN, University of Berlin, Germany. (Peter Lennéstr. 36, Berlin-Dahlem.) 1903.
Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
Prof. EDMUND MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Mommsenstr. 7, Berlin-Lichterfelde.) 1908.
Prof. HERMANN JACobi, University of Bonn, Germany. (Niebuhrstrasse 59.) 1909.
Prof. C. SNODD HUGGONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Rapen-berg 61.) 1914.
Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris, France. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, Ve.) 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.
Prof. V. SCHEEL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 2 bis Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.
RÉV. Père M.-J. LAGRANGE, École archéologique française de Palestine, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1921.
Don LEONE CASTANI, DUCA DI SERMONETA, Villino Castani, 13 Via Giacomo Medioli, Rome 29, Italy. 1922.
Prof. MORITZ WINTERNITZ, German University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. (Prague II, Opatovická 8.) 1923.
Prof. HEINRICH ZIMMERN, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Ritterstr. 16/22.) 1923.
Prof. PAUL PELLLOT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (38 Rue de Varenne, Paris, VIIe.) 1924.
Prof. KURT SETHE, University of Berlin, Germany. (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Konstanzerstr. 30.) 1927.
List of Members

Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., Srinagar, Kashmir, India. 1928. [Total: 25]

HONORARY ASSOCIATES
Hon. CHARLES R. CRANE, 655 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
Rev. Dr. OTIS A. GLAZEBROOK, 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. WILLIAM HOWARD T APT, 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 AABON, 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 (Droipsa College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
Prof. A. WILLIAM AHL, Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pa. 1926.
Prof. S. KRISHNASWAMI Aiyangar (Univ. of Madras), "Srijayavasaam," 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.
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, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
THEODORE ANDREWS, 46 East Blackwell St., Dover, N. J. 1928.
Prof. SHIGERU ARAKI, The Peers' 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. Adult, 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 Bahr (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.
Charles Chaney Baker, 1180 Patio Place, Los Angeles, Calif. 1916.
Rabbi Bernard S. Bamberger, Fowler Hotel, Lafayette, Ind. 1927.
*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 Barnston, Ph.D., 1007 Main St., Houston, Texas. 1921.
*Prof. LeRoy Carr Barrett, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1908.
*Prof. George A. Barton (Univ. of Pennsylvania), N. E. Cor. 43rd and Spruce Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Mrs. Frances Crosby Bartter, Box 110, Baguio, P. L. 1921.
Mrs. Daniel M. Bates, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
Prof. Mines 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. Shripad K. Belvalkar (Deccan College), Bilvakunja, Bhamurda, Poona, India. 1914.
*Albert Farwell Bemis, 49 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1927.
Prof. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
Dr. C. C. Berg, Soerakarta, Java, Dutch East Indies. 1926.
Oscar Berman, Third and Plumb Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1926.
Isaac W. Bernheim, 825 York St., Denver, Colo. 1929.
Dr. Simon Bernstein, 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1928.
Prof. George R. Berry, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
List of Members

Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge, 94 Campden Hill Road, London W. 8, England. 1928.

Prof. D. K. Bhandarkar (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 Bishen, M.A., Vedic Bhari 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 Blachschlegel, Box 353, Far Rockaway, N. Y. 1928.


Pres. James A. Blairdell, 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.


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. Bloomhardt, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. 1916.

Emanuel Boshberg, 1296 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1921.

George Borinskoy, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1925.

Rev. Paul Olaf Boding, Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas, India. 1928.


* 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. A. M. Boyer, 114 Rue du Bac, Paris VII, France. 1928.

Watson Boyes, 3552 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1928.

Prof. Charles S. Braden, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1926.

Aaron Byer, M.D., 2027 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.

Prof. James Henry Breasted, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.

Rabbi Barnett R. Bricken, 8206 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1926.
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Prof. GEORGE WESTON BRIGGS, M.Sc. (Drew Theol. Seminary), Green Village Road, Madison, N. J. 1923.


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. 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.


Prof. MILLAR BURROWS (Brown Univ.), 262 Fifth St., Providence, R. I. 1925.

Prof. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.

Prof. MOSÉS BUTTNWIESER (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. CADBURY (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-Loo, Belgium. 1916.

PAUL R. CARP, 3923 Packard St., Long Island City, N. Y. 1928.

Prof. JOHN F. B. CARRUTHERS (Occidental College), 1015 Prospect Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif. 1922.

H. W. CARTWRIGHT, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1928.


HENRY HARMON CHAMBERLIN, 22 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1921.

Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, D. D., Woodstock, Kodaikanal, South India. 1899.

Dr. WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN, New Boston, Mass. 1922.

Prof. JARL H. H. T. CHAPPELL, Ph.D. (Univ. ofUpsala), 12 Goethgatan, Upsala, Sweden. 1928.

Mrs. HAROLD S. CHARTIER, 37 North Boulevard, Gloversville, N. Y. 1924.
List of Members

JAGADISH CHANDRA CHATTERJI, Director, International School of Vedic and Allied Research, Room 1500, Times Bldg., New York, N. Y. 1927.

KRISHNACHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA, M.A., Sanskrit Department, The University, Allahabad, U. P., India. 1925.

Prof. EDWARD CHIERA, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1918.

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 COHENZ, 2029 Entaw 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.


Prof. SAMUEL S. COHEN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.

*Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1027 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.


Dr. MAUDE GAUCKLER (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, Fateghar, U. P., India. 1922.

Dr. WILLIAM COWEN, 35 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.

Prof. J. C. COTJEE, Kt., Presidency College, Calcutta, India. 1928.

Rev. WILLIAM MERIAM 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. CULKEY, D.D. (Western Theol. Seminary), 57 Belvidere St., Crafton, Pa. 1928.

Prof. CHARLES GORDON CUMMINS (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.


Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.
List of Members

Prof. John Pitt Deane, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1926.
Nelson C. Desbois, 902 West California St., Urbana, Ill. 1927.
Rama Deva, Principal, The Gurukula, Kangri P. O., Bijnor Dist., U. P., India. 1928.
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 Dominiun, American Consulate General, Rome, Italy. 1918.
Prof. Aynes C. L. Donohugh (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 23 Midland Ave., White Plains, N. Y. 1926.
Dr. Georges Dossin (Univ. of Liege), 29 Rue des Ecoles, Wandre-lez-Liège, Belgium. 1926.
Prof. Raymond F. 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. Dumbrade, 211 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
Prof. Frederic C. Duncale, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
Prof. Charles Duboiselle, M.A. (Rangoon Univ.), "C" Road, Mandalay, Burma. 1922.
Prof. Franklin Edgerton, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1910.
Dean Granville D. Edwards (Missouri Bible College), 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
Dean Israel Eyros (Baltimore Hebrew College), 3D, Alhambra Apartment, Lake Drive, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
Rabbi Louis I. Edelson, 2 Avon Apts., Reading Road and Clifton Springs Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1927.
List of Members

Pres. Frederick C. Eiselen, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.
Dr. Israel Etan, 270 North Craig St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1928.
Rev. Dr. Barnett A. Elzas, 42 West 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
Prof. Henry Lane Ennix, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
Prof. Morton Scott Ensling (Crozer Theol. Seminary), 4 Seminary Ave., Chester, Pa. 1925.
Sidney I. Esterson, 113 North Chester St., Baltimore, Md. 1926.
Dr. Samuel Feigen, 135 South Aiken Ave., E. E., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1924.
Dr. Shamai 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.
Prof. Benigno Ferraro, Montevideo (Belvedere), Uruguay. 1927.
Rabbi Morris M. Feuerlicht, 3034 Washington Boulevard, Indianapolis, Ind. 1922.
Dr. Solomon B. Finesinger, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1922.
Dr. Louis Finkelstein, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
Rev. Fred Forester, Ph. D., First Lutheran Church, Jeffersonville, N. Y. 1926.
*Marnard Daughcy Follin, Dunedin, Fla. 1922.
Mrs. Florence Campbell Forrester, 1700 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C. 1927.
Dean Hughell E. W. Fosbrooke, 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 Emerson George Fox, Ph. D., 7423 Kingston St., Chicago, Ill. 1924.
Rabbi Leon Frum, 8801 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1926.
Prof. James Everett Fram, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
List of Members

W. B. FRANKENSTEIN, 9 West Kinzie St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEDMAN, 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 FREEMAN, Ph.D. (Univ. of Leningrad), Zwerinskaya 40, Leningrad, Russia. 1928.
FELIX FULL, 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.
*Prof. A. B. GAGENHAGADAR, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India. 1921. ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
Prof. FRANK GAVIN, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
Dr. F. W. GEMS (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, 260 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.
Prof. BEREND GEMSBO, Litt. Dr., Theol. Dr., Transvaal University College, Pretoria, South Africa. 1928.
Rev. PHARES B. GIBBIE, 4 North College St., Palmyra, Pa. 1921.
Miss MARY S. M. GISBON, Curator, Cooper Union Museum of Art, Fourth Ave. and Eighth St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
Dr. NELSON GLUECK, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1928.
Prof. ALLEN H. GOMESKY, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1928.
Rev. CRANSTON E. GODDARD, c/o First Presbyterian Church, Independence, Mo. 1927.
Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, 1357 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
Dr. JANE F. GOOGLOC, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1926.
Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, United Theological College, Montreal, Que., Canada. 1912.
*Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTRELL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
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.
List of Members

Prof. William Creighton Graham, Box 2, Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
Prof. Elihu Grant, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
Jacob Grafe, 1575 Abbottston St., Baltimore, Md. 1926.
Benj. F. Gravelly, P. O. Box 209, Martinsville, Va. 1923.
Roger S. Greene, China Medical Board, The Rockefeller Foundation, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1926.
M. E. Greenbaum, 9 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
*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 Gny (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, Chithnayis Park, Nagpur City, C. P., India. 1928.
Baba Shiva Prasad Gupta, Seva Upavana, Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
Dr. Carl E. Guthrie (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. Hall, 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. Crawhall 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.
Joseph Hayterway, 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1923.
Prof. Raymond S. Haupert, Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa. 1926.
Prof. A. Eustace Hayden, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
List of Members

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. Heinrichsmeier, 4 Concordia Place, Bronxville, N. Y. 1928.
Rabbi James G. Heller, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1929.
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. William Bancroft Hill, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.
Prof. William J. Hinke (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 166 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Masumi Hino (Imperial Univ. of Kyoto), Kamigoryo, Kyoto, Japan. 1928.
Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Katni Murwara, C. P., India. 1928.
Prof. Lewis Hooz (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 Horne, Vice-Chancellor, Hong-Kong University, Hong-Kong, China. 1928.
Prof. Jacob Horschander (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 218 West 112th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
Prof. Herbert Pierrapont Houghton, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1925.
Prof. Dr. M. Th. Houtman, Mallestraat 6, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1928.
Dr. Edward H. Hume, 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
Prof. Robert Ernest Hume (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
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.
List of Members

Prof. MARY S. HUSBURY, 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.


Prof. Henry Hyvernat (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1888.

Prof. Abraham Z. Idelson, 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. 1888.

Mrs. A. V. Williams Jackson, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.


Prof. J. E. Jabezquist (Gordon College), 583 Weld St., West Roxbury, Mass. 1928.


Don Baro JAYATHILAKA, M. A., Westerfield, Castle St., Colombo, Ceylon. 1928.

Rev. Prof. Arthur Jeffery, American University, 113 Sharja Kasr el Aini, Cairo, Egypt. 1923.

Dr. George Jeshubun, 5511 15th Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1925.

*Prof. James Richard Jewett, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.

Muni Jina Vidyajaya, Principal, Gujarat Puratattva Mandal, Ellisbridge, Ahmedabad, India. 1928.

Prof. Franklin P. Johnson, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1921.


*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.


Florin Howard Jones, 130 East 50th St., New York, N. Y. 1918.

List of Members

Prof. S. L. JOSHI, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1927.
Rabbi LEON JONG, Ph.D., 131 West 80th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
Prof. MOSES JUNIO, 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 Maruyama-cho, Koshikawa, 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 FABENS KELLEY, The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1926.
*Prof. MAXL. 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, 406 North Bradford St., Dover, Del. 1923.
Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
Prof. ANDREW KEOHG (Yale Univ.), 49 Huntington St., New Haven, Conn. 1925.
H. KEVORKIAN, 40 West 77th 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.
Prof. GEORGE L. KITTRIDGE (Harvard Univ.), 8 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
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.
List of Members

Dr. George Alexander Kohut, 1 West 70th St., New York, N. Y. 1924 (1894).
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.
Rabbi Isaac Landman, Far Rockway, 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 Lauffer, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
Prof. Jacob Z. Laubach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
Dr. Bimala C. Law, 24 Sukhas 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-Oeinde, Holland. 1928.
Rabbi David Lezikowitz, 2415 South Boulevard, Dallas, Texas. 1921.
Prof. Kurt F. Leidenbeker (Internat. School of Vedis 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.
Dr. Joseph Levitsky (Gratz College), 1737 North 32nd St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
List of Members

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.
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 Elleston Lodge, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1922.
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 Lyman (Univ. of Illinois), 1006 West Nevada St., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).
*Prof. David Gordon Lyon, 12 Scott St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
Albert Morton Lythgoe, Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. Chester Charlton McGown, D.D. (Pacific School of Religion), 721 San Luis Road, Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
Prof. Duncan B. MacDonald, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
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 Mayer, 3709 Texas Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1917.
Prof. Jacob Mann, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
List of Members

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.
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.
Dr. Nicholas N. Martinovich, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1924.
Prof. Alexander Marx, Jewish Theological Seminary, 331 West 123rd 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).
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. Mazumdar (University of Calcutta), 33/3 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta, India. 1926.
Prof. Theophile J. Meek, 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.
Merton L. Miller, 4517 Lomita St., Los Angeles, Calif. 1921.
Prof. Wallace H. Miner, 28 Avenue E, Garden Villas, Houston, Texas. 1925.
Rabbi Louis A. Mischkind, M.A., 911 Washington St., Wilmington, Del. 1920.
List of Members

E. N. Mohl, P. O. Box 76, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1928.

Prof. J. A. Montgomery (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
Leon 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).
Pres. Julian Morgenstern (Hebrew Union College), 8 Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
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.
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. Nakahai, College of Religion, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1926.

Prof. A. Juna 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. Neinhardt; 1909 Minor Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1925.
Rev. Dr. William M. Nesbitt, Watertown, Conn. 1916.

Prof. Herbert Lee Newman (Colby College), 2 West Court, Waterville, Maine. 1928.
Dr. William Frederick Nott, 5422 39th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1915.
William F. Nutt, M.D., Ph.D., Suite 1024, 17 North State St., Chicago, III. 1927.
Prof. Alois Richard Nykl, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis. 1922.
Prof. H. Th. Oosting, 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.


Dr. Felix, Freiherr von Oetefel, 326 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.

Herbert C. Oettinger, Eighth and Walnut Sta., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.


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 Ten Eyck 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 Pilas St., Manila, P. I. 1922.

Prof. Lewis B. Payson, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.


Robert Leet Patterson, 1703 Oliver Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.

Pres. Charles T. Paul, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1921.

Dr. Jal Dastur Cursetji Fakry, 43 Clarges St., London W. 1, England. 1921.

Charles K. Payne, 1120 Kanawha St., Charleston, W. Va. 1927.


Rabbi Walter G. Peiser, 1736 Olive St., Baton Rouge, La. 1928.

Prof. I. Sam 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 Perkinson, 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.


Rev. Dr. David Phillipson, 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.
List of Members

Rev. Malcolm S. Pitt, 55 Rest Camp Road, Jubbulpore, C. P., India. 1925.
P. Paul Popescue, Box 13, Coachella, Calif. 1914.
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. Waldo S. Pratt (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 86 Gillett St., Hartford, Conn. 1928.
Rev. Dr. Sartell Prentice, 17 East 11th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
*Prof. Ilia M. Price, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Rev. Dr. A. H. Pruysen, c/o Methodist Mission, Medan, Sumatra. 1921.
Pres. V. Purandhara Rao, Union Board, Kavaram, Morispeta P. O., Guntur Dist., S. India. 1928.
Prof. Harold S. Quigley, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1928.
Hemendra K. Rakshit, 500 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1926.
G. Ramadas, Sri Ramachandra Vilas, Jeypore, Vizagapatam, S. India. 1928.
Dr. V. V. Ramana-Sastrin, Vedaraniam, Tanjore District, India. 1921.
William Madison Randall, M. A., Kennedy School of Missions, 53 Elizabeth St., Hartford, Conn. 1926.
Prof. Harry B. Reed (Northwestern Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1832 Polk St., N. E., Minneapolis, Minn. 1921.
Rabbi Sidney L. Regehr, 40 North 11th St., Reading, Pa. 1928.
Prof. Nathaniel Julius Reich (Dropsie College), Box 337, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
Dr. Joseph Reiden, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
List of Members

JOHN REILLY, Jr., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.

Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUM, Tokyo Joshi Daigaku, Ioginachi, 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 R. 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 ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

Prof. WILLIAM ROSENBAU, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.

*JULIUS ROSENWALD, Ravinia, Ill. 1920.


Prof. MICHAEL I. ROSTOVZIEFF (Yale Univ.), 1916 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1926.

SAMUEL ROTHENBERG, M.D., 22 West 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.

AMIN ROUSTEN, 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. 1918.

Dr. NAJEEB M. SALEEBY, P. O. Box 226, Manila, P. I. 1922.

Rev. FRANK K. SANBERS, Ph.D., Marmian 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.
List of Members

Prof. Henry Schaefer (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1606 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.


Dr. A. Arthur Schiller, 2101 Myra Court, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1927.


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.


E. E. W. Gs. Schröder, Tarocotong, 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.


Prof. Gilbert Campbell Scoogin, The Gennadeion, Athens, Greece. 1906.


*Mrs. Samuel Bryan Scott (née Morris), St. Martin's Lane and Willow Grove Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.


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. Shashirat Kumar Goswami Shastri, Ph.D. (Gourgopinath Temple), 28 Bonemall Sirrur St., Kumartuli, Calcutta, India. 1926.

G. Howland Shaw, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.

*Dr. T. Leslie Sheah, 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 R. Sherriff, 537 Deming Place, N. S., Chicago, Ill. 1921.

List of Members

DON CAMERON SHUMAKER, Englewood Y. M. C. A., 6547 Union Ave., Englewood Sta., Chicago, Ill. 1922.
Prof. S. MOHAMMAD SIBTAI, 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 ABRAHIM 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 Sta., 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. FRANK 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. 1926.
WILLIAM C. SMITH, 1449-A Kawaiol 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.
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. STEPHEN, 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.
Rev. Dr. ANSON PHILIPS STOKES, 2408 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1900.
Rev. Dr. JOSEPH STOLTZ, 5010 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
Prof. FREDERICK AMOS STUFF (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A, 1283, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
List of Members

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.


Prof. Leo Suppan (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 3422 Pestalozzi St., St. Louis, Mo. 1920.

Pres. George Sverdrup, Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.


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. Tedesche, Ph.D., 200 Linden St., New Haven, Conn. 1925 (1916).


Rev. Dr. Griffith W. Thatcher, Camden College, Hereford St., Glebe, N. S. W., Australia. 1926.

Prof. Elsie Duncan Thomas, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1926.

Eben 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.


*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. Tuck, 522 Linden Ave., Wilmette, Ill. 1926.

Rabbi Jacob Turner, 4167 Ogden Ave., Hawthorne Station, Chicago, Ill. 1921.

List of Members

*Rev. Dr. LEMON LEANDER UHL, Riverbank Court, Cambridge, Mass. 1921.
Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHEN, 44 East 70th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
M. URSHIKIN, P. O. Box 150, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1928.
Rev. MAURICIO VANOVERSERGH, Kabugaw-Apayaw, Mountain Province, P. I. 1921.
Prof. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.

Prof. EDWIN E. VOIGHT, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1925.

Dr. PAUL VOßWILLER (Univ. of Zurich), Frohburgstr. 69, Zurich, Switzerland. 1928.
Dr. J. D. L. DE VRIES, 11 Jac. Catstraat, Utrecht, Holland. 1927.
Prof. JAKOB WACKERNAGEL (Univ. of Basle), Gartenstr. 93, Basle, Switzerland. 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, Brookline, 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, Wellesley, Mass. 1928.


Rev. O. V. WERNER, Ranchi, Chhota Nagpur, India. 1921.

ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 14 John St., New York, N. Y. 1912.

JOHN G. WHITE, 1555 Union Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
Miss VIOLA WHITE (Internat. School of Vedic and Allied Research), 1500 Times Building, New York, N. Y. 1928.


*Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.

PERCIVAL W. WHITTLESEY, M.A., Highmount Ave., Nyack, N. Y. 1926.
List of Members

*Miss Carolyn M. Wicker, care of Rierson Library Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. 1921.

Prof. Leo Wiener (Harvard Univ.), 50 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1928.

Peter Wiernik, 930 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y. 1920.

Mose Wilbushewich, Haifa, Palestine. 1928.

Herman Wile, 500 Richmond Ave., Buffalo, N.Y. 1926.

Rev. A. L. Wiley, Ph.D., Ratnagiri, India. 1926.

Pres. Ernest Hatch Wilkins, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. 1928.


Prof. Herbert L. Willett (Univ. of Chicago), 319 Richmond Road, Kenilworth, Ill. 1917.

Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams (Univ. of Michigan), The Cheshborough 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. 1901.

Mrs. Frederick Wells Williams, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, 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.


Dr. Unrai Wosihara, 595 Tu-ma-mura, Kita-ta-ma-gun, Tokyo-fu, Japan. 1921.

Prof. Louis B. Wolfenson, 100 Canterbury St., Dorchester, Mass. 1904.


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. Woodburne, 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 Lawrence Road, Lahore, India. 1921.
List of Members

E. C. Worman, 5 Russell St., Calcutta, India. 1928.
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. Rysben Keith Yerkes (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.
Prof. Mohammed Haimidullah Khan Yose, Government College, Ajmer, Rajputana, India. 1926.
Prof. Herrick B. Young, American College, Teheran, Persia. 1928.
Rev. Robert Zimmerman, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911.

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