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THE BLACK MAGIC IN CHINA KNOWN AS KU

H. Y. FENG and J. K. SHRIOCK

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

A number of ideas and practices are grouped together under the Chinese term ku. These ideas and practices justify the use of the phrase "Black Magic"; that is, magic whose purpose is to injure someone. In this sense the word is contrasted with wu, "White Magic," or magic whose purpose is beneficial. The phrase "Black Magic" is too general, however, for the Chinese term ku refers to certain particular methods of black magic, which are, so far as the authors are aware, peculiar to certain cultures of South-Eastern Asia. In ancient times this specific feature of culture may have been spread over a wider area.

At present, ku is used primarily as a means of acquiring wealth; secondarily as a means of revenge. The method is to place poisonous snakes and insects together in a vessel until there is but one survivor, which is called the ku. The poison secured from this ku is administered to the victim, who becomes sick and dies. The ideas associated with ku vary, but the ku is generally regarded as a spirit, which secures the wealth of the victim for the sorcerer.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the word ku is at least as ancient as the Chinese script itself. The earliest reliable specimens of Chinese writing are inscriptions on the shells of tortoises and on the shoulder-blades of cattle, found in a Yin-Shang site at An-yang, Honan, in 1899. An ancient form of the word ku has been identified on these fragments. This form is more pictorial than the present form of the word, and shows clearly two insects in a receptacle.

This written word therefore has existed in approximately its present form for at least three thousand years. The ideographic nature of Chinese writing and the continuity of Chinese literature have the effect that while a written symbol may acquire new mean-

* The preparation of this article was made possible by a grant from the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania.

1 亀; formed by ch'ung (insects, worms, etc.) 亀 over min (vessel, dish) 皿.

2 巫.

* 艮賀文字類編 chüan 13. By 羅振玉, 姜承祥編
ings and associations in the course of time, these seldom entirely supersede and eliminate the older meanings, as may happen in phonetic systems. Consequently, while some of the meanings attached to the word *ku* may be older than others, we can be fairly sure that the oldest meaning has not been lost.

The *Shuo wen*, a dictionary of about A.D. 100, says, "*Ku* is worms in the belly. The commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (the *Tso chuan*) says, 'Vessel and worms make *ku*, caused by licentiousness. Those who have died violent deaths are also *ku*.' The word vessel signifies the utility of the thing." As is indicated by this definition, the Chinese written word is formed by the radical meaning "insects" or "worms" placed above the radical meaning "vessel" or "dish."

In the Pre-Han literature, the word is used in five different ways. It indicates (1) a disease, (2) evil spirits, (3) to cause doubt, or a woman inveigling a man, (4) a worm-eaten vessel, and grain which moulders and is blown away, and (5) a divination symbol. Some of these meanings have become attached to the word by analogy.

The use of *ku* as a disease may be illustrated by a passage from the *Tso chuan*.

"In the first year of duke Chao (541 B.C.), the marquis of Chin asked the help of a physician from Ch’in, and the earl of Ch’in sent one named Ho to see him. Ho said, ‘The disease cannot be cured. It is said that when women are approached [too frequently] the result is a disease resembling *ku*. It is not caused by a spirit, nor by food (the methods of magic); it is a delusion which has destroyed the mind.’" When asked what he meant by *ku*, he replied, "‘I mean that [disease] which is produced by excessive sexual indulgence. Consider the word; it is formed by the words for vessel and for insects. It is also used for grain which [moulders and] flies away. In the *Book of Changes*, a woman deluding a man, and wind throwing down [the trees of] a mountain, are *ku*. All these have the same signification.’"

The fundamental idea of *ku* as a disease is based on an analogy. The human body is regarded as a vessel, into which the disease spirits enter like insects. Many early peoples have regarded disease as due to the possession of the body by an alien spirit. Ex-

*This passage is later quoted in full.*
cessive sexual indulgence causes a man to lose his virility, his soul. This is not *ku*, but the effect is similar to the effect of *ku*. Therefore a woman inveigling a man has come by analogy to be called *ku*.

It will be shown that ancient Chinese ideas associated the wind with the generation of worms. This is applied to mouldering grain, either in the sense that the chaff is blown away by the wind, or that worms generate in the grain, become insects and fly away. It appears that the essential idea behind these meanings of *ku* is a loss of soul.

In the *Shih chi feng ch'an shu*, it is said that "Duke Teh of Chin instituted the *fou* sacrifice, killing dogs at the four gates of the city to dispel the *ku* plague." The *Ch'in pen chi* says, "In the second year (of Duke Teh) dogs were killed to ward off *ku*." Dogs have frequently been used in Chinese apotropaic practices, from ancient times until the present.

In the *Shan hai ching* it is said, "Again east 300 li, there is the mountain called Ching-chiu, and there is an animal like the fox, having nine tails and the voice of a baby. It eats men, but those who eat it are immune to *ku*." A commentary remarks on this passage, that such men will not "encounter evil atmosphere." This appears to identify *ku* with malignant atmospheric conditions, something like poison gas. But it might also be interpreted as indicating the presence of evil spirits, or something created by black magic.

Cheng Ssu-nung, in his commentary on the *Ta tsung po*, said, "At present, people kill dogs in sacrifice to stop the wind." Kuo P'u, in his commentary on the *Erh ya*, remarks, "The modern custom of sacrificing dogs in the highways is said to stop the wind." Such customs are very old, and have survived to the present in the belief that the blood of black dogs is an effective antidote to magic. While these latter references are not from pre-Han literature, they probably reflect pre-Han beliefs.

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*Chap. 18, *Saoping 太宗* and 任司農注.*

*Commentary by Kuo P'u.*
The Book of Changes is an ancient work on divination, consisting of the explanations of sixty-four hexagrams, or figures secured in divination. The eighteenth hexagram is formed by the ken trigram placed above the sun trigram. The ken trigram is a symbol of mountains, of resting and stopping, and of the youngest son. The sun trigram symbolizes wind or wood, flexibility, penetration, and oldest daughter. The entire hexagram is called ku. The text of the Book of Changes dealing with the hexagram as a whole, which is probably the oldest strata of the text, is as follows:

"Ku indicates great progress and success. There will be advantage in crossing the great river."... This means that when a man divined, and secured the hexagram ku, the omen was auspicious. It meant that the one who divined would be successful, while his enemies would be injured. Crossing the river was equivalent to an offensive military expedition. The way in which the hexagram ku was used in practice may be illustrated by an incident from the Tso chuan.

"In the eleventh month of the fifteenth year of Duke He, the marquis of Chin and the earl of Ch'in fought at Han, and the marquis of Chin was taken. Before the expedition, the earl of Ch'in asked his diviner, T'u-fu, to consult the milfoil, and he replied,

"A lucky response; if they cross the river, the chariots of the marquis will be defeated."

"The earl asked to have the matter more fully explained.

"The diviner said, 'It is very lucky. You will defeat his troops three times, and finally capture the marquis of Chin. The figure found is ku, of which it is said,

"The thousand chariots are put to flight three times.

"Then you catch what remains, called the fox.

"That fox in ku must be the marquis of Chin. Moreover, the inner symbol of ku represents wind, while the outer represents mountains. It is now autumn. We gather the fruit on the hills, and we shake the trees; it is plain we are to be victorious. The fruit falls down, and the trees are all shaken; what can this be but the defeat of Chin?""

The present text of the Book of Changes cannot be older than the Chou period, but the hexagrams are much older. Chinese tradition says that there were different explanations given to the hexagrams in the Hsia and Shang periods. The oracle bones show that
the word *ku*, written as insects in a vessel, was in existence during the Shang period. The authors of this monograph advance the theory that if we had the Shang explanations of the hexagrams, the two trigrams which in the Chou period were held to represent mountains and wind, would be found to represent vessel and insects.

In using eight symbols to represent many things, each symbol must do more than single duty. The written Chinese words for mountains and vessel are very similar. The theory advanced is that the trigram which in the Chou period symbolized mountains, in the Shang period symbolized vessel. This is merely an hypothesis.

But in the case of the other trigram there is very good evidence for the association of insects and wind, Huai-nan Tzu says:  

"Heaven is one. Earth is two. Man is three. Three times three is nine. Two times nine is eighteen. The number eight stands for wind. Wind represents worms. Therefore worms are transformed in eight days." It will be noticed that the number eighteen is the number of the hexagram *ku*.

The *Shuo wen*, in defining the character feng (wind), says, "When the wind blows, worms generate. Therefore worms are transformed in eight days."

A commentator on this passage, Hsü Hao, says, "The wind has no form that can be pictured, so the character is made from the thing which the wind generates. Therefore the radical 'worm' is the base of the character 'wind.' When the geomancer is searching for a favorable spot in the country, he observes where the wind goes, and he knows that below that spot there are ants. This is the verification of the expression, 'The wind blows, and worms generate.'"

Although the Huai-nan Tzu and the Shuo wen belong to the Han period, the belief in the connection between the wind and worms must be very old, since the character for wind is written with the radical for worms. The connection appears to have been forgotten, since the Tso chuan interprets the hexagram as wind blowing down mountains, an interpretation which does not make sense. The hypothesis advanced here, which does not seem to have occurred to scholars, is that the original meaning of the hexagram was not mountains and wind, but worms in a vessel. This idea is
clearly indicated by the written form of *ku* on the oracle bones. And as *ku* was a kind of black magic, the hypothesis explains why the hexagram indicated success to the diviner and injury to his opponent. That was the purpose of black magic.\(^{13}\)

The *Chou li* says, describing a part of the ancient administration,\(^{14}\) "The department consisted of an official and four assistants. They were in charge of the extermination of the poisonous *ku*. They drove it out by spells, and attacked it by efficacious herbs. They directed those who could control *ku*, and watched the effect."\(^{13}\)

Cheng K'ang-ch'eng's commentary on this passage in the *Chou li* quotes the criminal law of the Han dynasty as saying, "Those who dare to poison people with *ku*, or teach others to do it, will be publicly executed." The law of the Han was based on earlier codes, going back at least to the fourth century B.C., and it is not unlikely that the practice of *ku* was forbidden from the time of the first legal codes in China, perhaps long before. If *ku* always represented a method of injuring others, this is what we would expect, since black magic is usually illegal.


\(^{14}\) No attempt is made here to give the various legal enactments against the practice of *ku*. The penal code of the T'ang dynasty on this subject has generally continued in force, and is quoted in later dynastic codes. The practice of *ku* is called an inhuman crime. One who makes *ku*, or instructs in its use, is hanged, his property confiscated, his family and the inmates of his house are banished 3,000 li, etc. 聶律疏議 ch'üan 18.

\(^{15}\) Chap. 37. De Groot quotes this passage, p. 826, but mistranslates the last phrase.
In Ku Yeh-wang's *Yü ti chih* it is said, "In several provinces south of the Yangtse river, there are people who keep ku. The host uses it to kill people. He puts it in food or drink, and the victims do not realize its presence. If the family of the keeper of the ku all die, the ku flies about without any objective. Anyone who encounters it is killed." The *Yü ti chih* is a work of the sixth century A.D., the period of the Six Dynasties, corresponding to the early middle ages in Europe.

In the *Sou shen chi* of Kan Pao, attributed to the fourth century A.D., is the following passage:

"In the province of Yung-yang, there was a family by the name of Liao. For several generations they manufactured ku, becoming rich from it. Later one of the family married, but they kept the secret from the bride. On one occasion, everyone went out except the bride, who was left in charge of the house. Suddenly she noticed a large cauldron in the house, and on opening it, perceived a big snake inside. She poured boiling water into the cauldron and killed the snake. When the rest of the family returned she told them what she had done, to their great alarm. Not long after, the entire family died of the plague." Kan Pao also mentions a variety called "dog ku," and says that the magic can take the forms of various animals.

"Chiao Shou of the P'o-yang district possessed dog ku. Once a man named Ch'en Ts'en visited Chiao, when he was attacked by six or seven large yellow dogs. Yu Hsiang-po (another man) once ate with Chiao's wife. Later he almost died from hemorrhage, and was saved by drinking a medicine prepared from the roots of the orange tree. Ku has a strange, ghostly appearance. It can appear in many forms, as dogs, pigs, worms or snakes. It is not recognized by the man himself. All who get it, die."

In the *Sou shen hou chi*: "Tan Yu was a poor and devout

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17 *Sou shen chi* chüan 12.
19 De Groot translates Yu Hsiang-po as "paternal uncle," but *hsiang* is not a relationship term.
20 *Sou shen hou chi*, chüan 2. Attributed to T'ao Chien, a famous poet.
monk. There was a family in the district of Yen who manufactured *ku*. Those who ate their food, died from hemorrhage. Tan Yu once visited this family, and the host prepared food for him. Tan Yu recited an incantation, and saw a pair of centipedes a foot long suddenly crawl away from the dish. He then ate the food, and returned home without being harmed.”

In the biography of Ku Chi-chih in the Liu Sung history (A.D. 420-479), an instance of *ku* poisoning is recorded. “T'ang Tzu, of the Hsiang district, went to Chu Chi'i's mother P'en's house to drink wine. On returning home he became ill, and vomitted more than ten *ku* worms. Seeing that he was about to die, he directed his wife Chang that after death she should cut open his abdomen in order to get rid of the disease. Later Chang cut open his body, and saw his 'five viscera' completely destroyed.” 21

These instances from the medieval period of Chinese history indicate a view that *ku* was a kind of poison which was administered in food and drink. A little later a medical work, the *Tsao shih chu ping yüan hou tsung lun* 22 of the Sui period (A.D. 589-618) describes how this poison was manufactured.

“There are several kinds of *ku*. All of them are poisonous. People sometimes deliberately prepare *ku*. They take worms, insects, snakes, and other poisonous creatures, and put them together in a vessel. They allow them to eat each other until only one is left, and this survivor is the *ku*. The *ku* can change its appearance and bewitch people. When put in food and drink, it causes disease and calamity (to the one who eats it). There is also 'flying *ku*.' It comes and goes without one's knowledge, and eventually appears somewhat like a ghost. Those who have seen it, die.”

This appears to be the earliest account, not later than A.D. 600, of how this magical process was carried out. It gives a reasonable explanation of the formation of the written word, formed of insects and dish. The explanation is still more suitable for the pictograph found on the oracle bones of the Shang period.

The idea behind this practice is quite reasonable. If centipedes

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21 The narrative goes on to say that the widow was accused of the crime of mistreating her husband's corpse. The case was brought before Ku Chi-chih, who acquired considerable reputation from the way he handled it.

22 *巢氏諸病源候總論*, chüan 25. A medical work of the Sui period.
and snakes are poisonous individually, the survivor of such a group, who has eaten the others, is considered to combine within himself the collected venom of the group. If a man desires to injure an enemy, no more formidable weapon could be put into his hand. The difficulty is to say when this rational, if mistaken, process becomes pure magic. Action at a distance does not seem to be one of the properties of ku. Poisoning and magic are found together in all countries, from the days of Medea. Some of the stories are pure magic, while others indicate no more than a use of poison.

The evidence presented so far may be summarized. The word itself goes back to the oldest written records of the Chinese language. The pictograph clearly shows insects, worms, or snakes in a receptable. But in the ancient literature of the Chou period, the word is used in a number of ways, of which the most important and primary appear to be as a diseased condition and as a divination symbol. How far may a magical practice first described clearly about A.D. 600 be ascribed to the period before 500 B.C.?

The literature which has survived from the Chou period has been carefully edited, for the most part by Confucians, beginning, according to tradition, with Confucius himself. In their desire to idealize the past, and to show, not what really occurred, but what ought to have occurred, they have created great difficulties for the ethnologist.

But it often happens that ideas and practices which are never mentioned in literature, especially in moral, religious, and philosophic literature, survive unchanged in the lives of the people. The explanation that ku was originally a magical practice agrees with the pictograph on the oracle bones, with the use of the word to describe a disease, and with its use in divination. The Tso chuan indicates that in divination, the symbol indicated that the diviner would be successful in injuring his enemy. In the Han period, the term was used for black magic, and in the medieval period, for a magical method of poisoning an enemy. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that the term always stood for black magic.

Early Chinese literature describes the culture of the valley of the Yellow River. Later literature indicates that the practice of ku extended at one time over the whole area included in China proper. This was probably true long before there is any evidence from the Yangtse valley, or the more southern regions. Even in the medieval period, Chinese observers remarked on the prevalence
of the practice in southern China, and from the T'ang period on, the practice appears to have been more and more confined to aboriginal tribes of the south. The policy of repression definitely stated by Cheng K‘ang-ch‘eng in his commentary on the Chou li appears to have been largely effective throughout the more characteristically Chinese areas, and later writers notice the practice of ku in the south as a peculiar phenomenon. Nevertheless, the practice of ku seems to have been a specific cultural feature which the ancient inhabitants of the Yellow River valley shared with the inhabitants of more southern areas.

The Ling piao lu 23 of Liu Shun, written about A.D. 900, which is one of the earliest geographic works dealing with Kuangtung and the adjacent southern areas, contains the following passage:

"The mountains and rivers of Ling-piao wind and cluster together. It is not easy to go out or come in. Therefore the district abounds in fogs and mists which become pestilential vapors. People exposed to them are liable to become sick. Their stomachs swell, and they become ku. It is popularly said that there are persons who collect poisonous insects in order to make ku and poison people. I think that this is due to the humidity of the place, which causes poisonous creatures to flourish there, and not because the people of Ling-piao are cruel by nature."

From the Sung period on (beginning about A.D. 960), all references to ku assign its practice to the tribes of the southwest. There is an instance recorded in the Ling wai tai ta of Chou Ch‘u-fei.24

"The ku poison of Kuangsi is of two kinds. One kind kills a man quickly, while the other works gradually and does not kill for six months. If a man has a grudge against anyone, he is courteous to him, but poisons him secretly. After half a year, the poison takes effect. The murderer cannot be brought to law, and the poisoning cannot be cured. This is the most cruel form of ku. In 1170, on the eastern side of Ching-chou, there was a seller of sauce who prepared ku. It was discovered, and the man executed.

23 聯表錄異, ch‘uan 1. A work of the T‘ang period, and one of the earliest geographical works now existing about Kuangtung and the adjacent areas.

24 聯外代答, ch‘uan 10. By 周去非. The author was assistant sub-prefect of Kuei-lin, in Kuangsi, during the years A.D. 1174-89. The story is given by De Groot, p. 848.
It is said that when his family prepared _ku_, the women, naked and with dishevelled hair, made a nightly sacrifice of a dish of deer-meat soup. Grasshoppers, butterflies, and all kinds of insects came down from the roof and ate the soup. That which they emitted was the poison. If anyone wishes to know whether a family keeps _ku_ poison, they can tell from the cleanliness of the house. If everything is kept very clean, then the family has _ku_. When the natives of Li-t'ung and Chi-t'ung (in southwestern China) invite guests to a feast, the host must first taste the food in order to convince the guests that there are no grounds for suspicion."

There is a somewhat similar reference in the gazetteer of Yung-fu, a district of Kuangsi. 25 " _Ku_ poison is not found generally among the people (i. e. the Chinese), but is used by the T'ung 26 women. It is said that on the fifth day of the fifth month, 27 they go to a mountain stream and spread new clothes and headgear on the ground, with a bowl of water beside them. The women dance and sing naked, inviting a visit from the King of Medicine (a tutelary spirit). They wait until snakes, lizards, and poisonous insects come to bathe in the bowl. They pour the water out in a shadowy, damp place. Then they gather the fungus (poisonous?) which grows there, which they mash into a paste. They put this into goose-feather tubes, and hide them in their hair. The heat of their bodies causes worms to generate, which resemble newly-hatched silk-worms. Thus _ku_ is produced. It is often concealed in a warm, damp place in the kitchen.

"The newly made _ku_ is not yet poisonous. It is used as a love potion, administered in food and drink, and called 'love-medicine.' 28 Gradually the _ku_ becomes poisonous. As the poison develops, the woman's body itches until she has poisoned someone. If there is no other opportunity, she will poison even her husband or her sons, but she possesses antidotes.

"It is believed that those who produce _ku_ themselves become _ku_

25 永福縣志; quoted by Wang Sen 汪森, in his 粵西叢載 ch'üan 18.
26 種. The chief aboriginal tribe of Kuangsi.
27 The fifth day of the fifth month is an important day in the Chinese religious calendar, the day of the "Dragon Boat Festival." The story told in connection with it dates from the 3rd Cent. B. C., but the festival is probably much older.
28 和合藥 or 粘食藥.
after death. The ghosts of those who have died from the poison become their servants. So a majority of the foolish T'ung make this thing. When a man enters a house in a T'ung village, if he sees no ashes on the hearth, and if the faces of the women appear yellow and their eyes red, he knows that there is ku in that house. Bronze chop-sticks are used as a charm against ku. Dipped into poisoned food, they cause it to turn black . . .

A similar case is recorded in the Shuang huai sui ch'ao. 29 “During the reign of Cheng T'ung (1436-49), Chou Li of the district of Wu-chiang traded in Ssu-eng of Kuangsi, and married a widowed daughter of the Cheng family. He remained there twenty years, until their son was sixteen. One day Chou Li wanted to return home. His wife was unable to dissuade him, but she put ku in Chou Li’s food without his knowledge. She bade her son follow him, and told the boy secretly that if his father promised to come back, he should cure him. For this purpose she taught him the antidote. When Chou Li reached home the ku began to affect him. His belly became swollen, and he drank water excessively. His son asked the date on which he would return to his wife.

“Chou Li replied, ‘I also think of your mother, but I am sick. How can I go back? As soon as I get a little better, I shall start.’

“His son replied, ‘I can cure the disease.’ He bound his father to a pillar. Chou Li was thirsty and asked for a drink. His son offered him a clay bowl filled with water, but when it was almost at his mouth, the boy threw it away. This happened several hundred times. Chou Li became so thirsty that he could hardly bear it. Shortly after, he vomited out a small carp, which was still alive. The swelling soon disappeared, and he was cured. Among the barbarians there are many ku poisons so made as to become effective at a certain date. After that date, the case cannot be cured. Widows are called ‘ghosts’ wives,’ and men dare not approach them. When strangers marry them, they are usually poisoned.”

There is a reference to ku in the Shu i chi. 30 “In Tien (Yun-

29 雙槐年抄, chüan 5. By 黃瑜. 15th Cent. A. D. Chronological records of miscellaneous facts from 1368 (the beginning of the Ming dynasty) to 1487.

30 避異記, chüan 2. By 東軒主人 (a pen name). The author is unknown. The facts recorded occurred under the Manchu reigns Shun-
There are many ku sorcerers, especially among the women. They often seduce men. If the beloved was about to go on a long journey, he was always poisoned with ku. If the man did not return on the promised date, he died. There was a traveler who went to Tien and loved a woman. When he was leaving the place, the woman said to him, 'I have already poisoned you with ku. If you do not return as you have promised, your belly will swell, and then you must come to me as quickly as possible. After a month, it will be incurable.' On that day the man's belly really became swollen. He hesitated to return; then his abdomen burst, and he died. People found in his belly a wooden trough for feeding pigs. It is certainly strange!'

It is significant that in these stories all the practitioners of this love magic are women of the aboriginal tribes of the southwest.

In the *Sui shu ti li chih* it is recorded that "the inhabitants of these districts (in Kiangsi and some other areas south of the Yangtse) often kept ku poison, and the practice was especially prevalent in I-ch'un. The method is, on the fifth day of the fifth month to collect all kinds of insects and worms, from snakes to lice, putting them together in a vessel, where they devour each other. The survivor is kept. If it should be a snake, it is snake-ku. If a louse, then it is louse-ku. This ku is used to kill people. It is administered through food, and afterwards it consumes the victim's internal organs. When the person dies, his property is moved by the ku spirit to the house of the keeper of the ku. If for three years the keeper does not kill a man with the ku, the keeper himself is killed by it. It is handed down from generation to generation, and is given to a daughter as a dowry. Kan Pao (the author of the *Sou shen chi*) regarded ku as a spirit, but this view is mistaken. During the rebellion of Hou Ching, most of the ku-keeping families perished. Since the ku had no master, it wandered about the roads, and those who met it, died."

Another variety of ku is called the "golden caterpillar," or chintsan. Li Shih-chen in the *Pen tsao kang mu* quotes Ch'en...
Tsang-chi of the T'ang period as follows: "The ashes of old satin can cure 'the ku worms which eat satin.' The commentary says, 'The worm crawls like a finger ring. It eats old satin brocade and other silk cloths, just as the silk-worm eats mulberry leaves.' In my opinion, this is the chin-ts'an." According to Li, the golden caterpillars originated in Szechuan and from there made their way into the Hukuang provinces.

The T'ieh wei shan tsung hua of Ts'ai Ts'ao \(^{33}\) says, "The chin-ts'an poison began in Szechuan, but now it has spread to Hu, Kuang, Min and Yueh (Hupeh, Hunan, Kuangtung, Kuangsi, Fukien and Chekiang). There are people who give it away, and this is called 'giving the golden caterpillar a husband.' Those who do this place gold, ornaments for dressing the head, satin and brocade with the worm, and put it beside the road for others to find. The magistrate of Yü-lin told me that there was a legal case involving this practice in the district of Fu-ch'ing. One man brought charge against another, stating that the latter had poisoned his family with chin-ts'an. The magistrate could not find any evidence of such poison having been used. Then someone suggested bringing hedgehogs to the house of the accused. Since the chin-ts'an is known to be afraid of hedgehogs, this advice was followed. The chin-ts'an dared not move, although it hid in a hole under the bed. It was caught and pulled out by the two hedgehogs. It is really astonishing." \(^{34}\)

The Kua i chih \(^{35}\) says, "The chin-ts'an is a caterpillar the color medicines. The last half of the 16th Cent. De Groot makes considerable use of the work.


\(^{34}\) Williams, "Witchcraft in the Chinese Penal Code," p. 91, quotes the Hsi yüan lu 洗冤錄, a guide to magistrates in their duties as coroners, as saying that a medicine including two centipedes, one alive, one roasted, was a cure for ku. De Groot, pp. 863-69, gives a large number of remedies and antidotes for ku, collected from various medical works. They include musk, cinnabar, striped cats, dried centipedes (for snake ku), leek-juice, and "thunder stones." These last are prehistoric implements, stone knives and axes, often found in Kuangtung and the island of Hainan. Domestic fowls are said to detect ku.

\(^{35}\) 括異志. Quoted by De Groot, p. 854. By 魯應龍 of the Sung period. Not to be confused with another book by the same name by 張師正.
of gold. It is fed with Shu satin, and its excretions collected, which are then put into food and drink in order to poison people. Those who take it, die. Then the spirit of the worm is glad, and moves the valuables of the deceased to the house of the practitioner, making him suddenly rich. But to get rid of the worm is difficult, because water, fire and swords cannot harm it. The only way is to put gold and silver into a basket with the chin-tsan, and then place the basket beside a road. Someone passing by may take it. This is called ‘giving the chin-tsan a husband.’”

The Fan T’ien lu t’an tsung\(^{36}\) says, “The antidote for those poisoned by the chin-tsan is food from the home of one who has kept the ku. But it must be given by the keeper of the ku personally, for if it is given by anyone else, the antidote will not be effective. Hence if the person knows where he was poisoned, he can go to the man who poisoned him and beg him pitifully for relief. The man will not acknowledge the act at first, but after incessant pleading, he will angrily take a little food and throw it to the patient. On eating it, the victim will be cured instantly. When the appointed time for poisoning arrives and there are no outsiders present, even the keeper’s own relatives may become his victims, for otherwise the spirit would cause a calamity of some sort. The spirit is appeased by the poisoning, because the spirits of the victims become his slaves.”\(^ {37}\) There do not seem to be any descriptions of the way in which the chin-tsan ku is produced. It is said to be the third stage in the development of ku.

Another variety of ku poison is called t’iao-sheng.\(^ {38}\) This kind of ku is more clearly black magic. It is described in the Ling wai tai ta.\(^ {39}\) “In Kuangsi, those who kill people by t’iao-sheng bewitch the food, and invite guests to eat. When eaten, the fish and meat become alive again, living in the victim’s stomach, and eventually kill him. It is currently believed that the spirits of those who have met death through t’iao-sheng become slaves in the home of the sorcerer. Once a celebrated scholar, while judge of Lei-chou

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\(^ {36}\) 蕭天廬談霧: chüan 33. By 柴喜. A work of miscellaneous notes, published by the Chung-hua Book Co. of Shanghai in 1926.

\(^ {37}\) Ibid.

\(^ {38}\) 排生. The phrase may be translated as “to revive,” or “to become alive again.”

\(^ {39}\) 崇外代答: chüan 10.
(on the island of Hai-nan), had an experience with t׳iao-sheng. He covered some meat with a plate and asked the culprit to bewitch it, in order to test the efficiency of his art. After a while he took up the plate, and hairs were growing out of the meat. What a devil it must be who can do this! Yet undoing the enchantment was quite easy. If you feel that the magic is in your stomach, take sheng-ma and vomit it out. Then if you feel the magic in your intestines, quickly take yü-chin and pass it out. This prescription was printed in Lei-chou for distribution and given to the people after it had been obtained from the culprit.”

The Ch'i hsiu lei kao 40 says, “In Yunnan, Kueichou and Kuangsi, what is called t׳iao-sheng is witchcraft. The sorcerer invites people to eat fish and meat which have been bewitched. When they have eaten them, the animals become alive again in their organs, and then proceed to kill the victims. I (the author) saw recorded in Fan Shih-hu's Kuei hai yü heng chih 41 that there was at that time a man named Li Sou-weng, a judge of Lei-chou. He secured a good prescription . . . (then follows the prescription, which is similar to that in the preceding paragraph). Officials of the place are often attacked by this magic. The prescription is not readily available, so I publish it here.”

The Nan chung tsa chi 42 says, “The chiefs of Yüan-chiang have handed down the method of producing ku. This medicine is not beneficent, but is poisonous. An astonishing fact is that when a new magistrate arrives the people must prepare a feast to welcome him, and they poison him then. The poison does not become effective during his term of office, but the pupils of his eyes turn from black to blue, and his face becomes pale and swollen. Then some months after he leaves office, his whole family die.”

Again, in the same work: “The ku of the people of Burmah does not make use of medicine, but employs spirits. The spell is handed down from generation to generation. Within forty-nine days, they can bewitch a cow-hide to the size of a mustard seed. They call this “cow-hide ku.” They can also bewitch an iron ploughshare to the size of a mustard seed, and this they call

40. 七修類稿, chüan 45. 事物類. By 鄭英. A work of the Ming period.
41. 桂海虞衡志 by 范成大. A work of the Sung period. It treated of the geography and natural history of the southern provinces.
42. 南中雜記. By 劉崑. Miscellaneous facts about South China.
ploughshare *ku*." The method of applying such *ku* is to conceal the mustard seed under a finger-nail, and shoot it out toward the victim. The poison then enters his stomach. When a Chinese was affected by this poison, the Burmese would calculate the length of his journey, and chant the incantation. The *ku* poison would affect him on the calculated day. The victim would become thin, his abdomen would swell, and he would die within a few months. There was one man among the native chiefs called Yang Chiao-pa, of the district of T'eng-yüeh, who could chant a counter spell which would cause the *ku* poison to leave the Chinese and attack the Burmese."

The *Po yüeh feng t'u chi*\(^{43}\) says, "The *ku* drugs are not of one kind only, and the methods of using them differ. *Ku* sometimes changes the five viscera into earth or wood. Sometimes *ku* is put into chicken or duck meat. When the poison entered the stomach, the chicken or duck would become alive again, with wings and feet. It would compel the victim's soul to become a slave in the house of the sorcerer. When the Chinese caught such a sorcerer, they buried him alive, or burnt him."

The *Tien nan hsin yü*\(^{44}\) says, "The Pa-yi (Shan) of the mountains (an aboriginal tribe in southwestern China) skin a cow and bewitch its hide to the size of a mustard seed. Those traders who entered the mountains without knowing this fact, sometimes had love affairs with the native girls. When they had sold their merchandise and were about to return home, the natives would invite them to a feast. At the feast, they would promise the girls to return. If they returned as they promised, they would be cured. But if they did not return, the *ku* poison (administered at the feast) became effective, and their bellies burst. The cow-hides came out as if freshly skinned."

The *Ch'iîh ya*\(^{45}\) contains an interesting passage. "On the fifth day of the fifth month collect all those insects and worms that are poisonous, and put them together in a vessel. Let them devour each other, and the one finally remaining is called *ku*. There are

\(^{43}\) 百越風土記.
\(^{44}\) 滇南新語. By 張澍. An account of Yunnan, written in the latter part of the 17th Cent.
\(^{45}\) 赤雅. By 廬露. chüan 2. A description of the Miao country in Southwest China, written about the first part of the 17th Cent. The author was in the service of a native chieftaness for several years.
snake *ku*, lizard *ku*, and dung-beetle *ku*. The length of time required for the insects to devour each other will be proportionate to the time required for the poisoned victim to die. When the *ku* has been produced, the next step is to put it into food, which will then become a hundred times more delicious. Those who eat this food will die within a few days, or after a year of violent pains in the heart and stomach. The victim's property will imperceptibly be removed to the house of the witch, and his spirit becomes her slave, like the tiger which enslaves its *ch'ang*. Later the *ku* flies about by night, appearing like a meteor. This variety is called 'flitting *ku*.' When the light grows stronger, a shadow like a living man's is produced. This is then called *t'iao-sheng ku*. When its shadow grows stronger, the *ku* can have intercourse with women. Then it is called *chin-tsan ku*. It can go wherever it desires, and spreads calamity throughout the country-side. The more men it poisons, the more efficient the *ku* becomes, and the richer grows the witch. Among the aborigines, such evils are practiced openly. The native officials called Ti-to became aware of this, and asked a magician to dispel the enchantment. They caught the witch, and buried her alive with her head above the ground. They poured wax on her head and lighted it, in order to call back the poisoned spirits. The ghosts did not dare to approach, and the T'ung women cursed the witch for them. This is the only way to put a witch to death, for otherwise it is impossible to bring her under the law.

"The complexion of those who have been poisoned by *ku* becomes more than ordinarily beautiful. The T'ien chi (probably leaders among the women) look at them and smile. Then the victim must kowtow to a chieftainess and beg for the antidote. She will give the victim a pill. If the victim takes it, he instantly vomits strange things with human heads and the bodies of snakes, or having eight feet and six wings. These creatures cannot be killed with the sword, or burned. But if alum is placed on them, they die at once. Otherwise they will return to their old place. I lived long among these people, and know the prescription. Use san-ch'i (literally, three seven) powder and water-chestnuts to make pills. Add alum and tea leaves, making them into a powder. Take five chien with spring water. If vomiting follows, then stop. An old prescription says to take white Jang-ho and drink its juice, then sleep on the roots, after calling aloud the name of the witch. But the effect of this process is very slow."
The T'ung ch'i hsien chih 46 says, "If the mat of the victim is burned, he will see for himself who the sorcerer is. The ku is a spirit, and goes out in the night to snatch the souls of the dead. The houses of ku sorcerers are very clean, because the ghosts of those who have been killed by the ku poison act as servants in them. If a man sits in a posture resembling the written word "woman" (i. e. cross-legged), the ku cannot harm him. Or if the witch is enchanting a man, and he buries some of her food secretly under the intersection of two streets, the ku spirit will turn on the witch herself. And the ku spirit is filled with fear of the hedgehog. If a hedgehog is brought to the house of a witch, the ku will be caught immediately. All these prescriptions and methods of detecting ku have been tested and shown to be effective, so I publish them here."

The Tien nan hsin yü 47 in another passage remarks, "In Szechuan there are many who keep ku, especially the chin-tsan, which is the most malignant form. When the owner has become rich, and has the means, he sends it away... There is no chin-tsan ku among the East and West Yi of Yunnan, but the mischief caused by mice, snake, and food ku is comparatively greater. On calm nights, when the clouds are heavy, there are things which glitter like meteors, sweeping low over the roofs and flying quickly. The long, luminous tail affects the eye and heart like cold flames. I was very much astonished. When I asked my fellow officials, I began to realize that the lights were due to ku, which had been let out by the inhabitants. They also told me that the ku was apt to eat children's brains. It also kidnapped spirits. In those families which kept ku, the women were always debauched by the ku. If the spirit were dissatisfied, it would turn on the keeper and eat his children. Then it could not be sent away until the keeper had become poor, and all his family had perished. For this reason people are often afraid to keep it. Moreover, keeping it is prohibited by law. So the practice is gradually dying out, but it still exists. Those who still supply themselves with ku, do so secretly. In Hsin-hsing and Chien-ch'uan I tried several times to discover who the sorcerers were, in order to put an end to such malevolent things. Sometimes informants appeared, but no evidence could be secured.

47 See note 44.
Hedgehogs are used in detecting *ku*, but without much effect. During the time that the suspects were under arrest, the flitting of the *ku* was noticeably less."

The *Shu yi chi*\(^{48}\) says, "When Sun Hsin-yai of Shih-men was magistrate of K'ai-hua (in Yunnan), he was once sitting in the hall when he noticed a kind of light flitting about like a meteor. He asked his servants what it was. They said that it was the flying *ku*, or snake *ku*. The family who serve the poisonous spirit become rich, but the women and girls of the family are debauched by the snake. The snake goes out every night, flitting like a meteor. When it comes to a less populous place, it comes down and eats the brains of men. So the inhabitants of K'ai-hua dare not sit outside after dark, being afraid of the *ku*."

The same work remarks again,\(^{49}\) "The witch who cultivates *ku* must first take an oath before the spirit that she is willing not to be human in coming transmigrations, and will desire wealth in the present life only. When the victims of the poison die, their property is all removed (by supernatural power) to the house of the witch, and the ghost of the victim becomes her slave. All the work, ploughing, spinning and serving, is done by the enslaved spirit. . . . Those who have been poisoned by *ku* may cure themselves by jumping into a dung pool. Yu-ch'i, Yung-an, Sha-hsien, and other districts of Fukien all have *ku*.

"Recently magistrate Wang, of Yu-ch'i, bought a load of melons. He opened the melons the next day, and all contained *ku* insects. He accused the man who had sold them, who in turn said that they were bought in a certain shop. The magistrate arrested the shopkeeper and questioned him. He said that he and his family had never been sorcerers. On being beaten, he admitted that there was a sorcerer who had a personal animosity against him. The sorcerer was arrested, and did not deny the accusation. The magistrate had him tortured, but he did not feel the pain. He was put in jail, but escaped during the night. He was followed to his house, but the whole family were gone.

"In recent years there was a strange man who taught others a method for curing *ku*. The man would go to the home of the witch, carrying a chicken. The witch would understand, and give

\(^{48}\) 逸異記, chüan 2.

\(^{49}\) Ibid.
him a dose of medicine. All this must be done silently. The medicine was a sure cure.

"In Fukien, there is toad ku, somewhat similar to the chin-tsan ku. Those who serve it are mostly covetous of the riches that accompany it. People sometimes see large sums of money and silks lying beside the road, and they understand that this is someone sending away the ku. The ku spirit follows anyone who takes the valuables. With the wealth, the sender leaves a book telling the methods of serving the ku. The one who picks up the ku must clean his house and worship the ku spirit only, forsaking all Buddhist and Taoist deities. On the day that belongs to metal, the ku spirit will excrete dung like that of white birds, which can be used as poison. Poisons are laid only on the days keng-hsin and sheng-yu. Those who are poisoned, first sneeze. Then the worms enter the intestines and all the joints. The victim loses consciousness, and his belly swells. When the worms have eaten his bones and entrails, he dies.

"The ku poison can be administered in drink as well as in food, or sprinkled on the collars and clothes of the victims. It can be laid on chickens, geese, fish, meat, fruits and vegetables. When a living chicken has been bewitched by ku, its legs are eaten by worms, but it can walk and cackle as usual. When meat is bewitched, it will not become soft on being cooked. In all food that has been bewitched, worms will germinate overnight. So the officials in this land will use food presented by others only when it has stood overnight. Food which has no worms on the second day is not bewitched. The spirits of those who have died of ku poison become the slaves of the witch. The witches sacrifice eggs to the ku spirit on the last night of the year. Husband and wife worship with naked bodies, and thus square their accounts with the ku spirit. When a servant of the Yamen is poisoned, the sorcerer gives five ounces of silver to the ku; for an official, he gives fifty ounces. Those who poison more people, acquire greater riches. If a sorcerer becomes tired of the ku, he doubles the original amount of money he picked up with the ku in order to send it away." 50

Yüan Mei 51 says, "Almost all families in Yunnan keep ku. It

50 Ibid.

can excrete gold and silver, so they get rich because of it. They let the ku out every night, and it darts about like lightning, spreading eastward and westward. A great noise causes it to fall. It may be a snake, toad, or any kind of insect or reptile. People conceal their children because they are afraid of their being eaten by the ku. This ku is kept in a secret room, and is fed by the women. The ku is injured if it is seen by men, because it is formed of pure Yin (the female principle of the universe). That ku which devours men will excrete gold, while that which devours women will excrete silver. All this was told me by Hua Feng, the general formerly commanding in Yunnan.”

Again, in the same work: "Chu Yi-jen was an expert calligraphist, and Ch’en Hsi-fang, the prefect of Ch’ing-yüan in Kuangsi, employed him as secretary. One hot summer day, the prefect invited his colleagues to a feast. As they removed their hats on sitting down to the table, they saw a large frog sitting on the top of Chu’s head. They brushed it away, when the frog fell to the ground and disappeared. They feasted until night, and again the frog crept to the top of Chu’s head, without his being aware of it. They drove it away from him once more, and it fell on the table, spoilt the food, and disappeared.

“When Chu returned to his room, the top of his head itched. The next day his hair fell out, and his head swelled like a red tumour. Suddenly the swelling burst, and a frog stuck its head out. Its forefeet rested on the top of Chu’s head, but the lower part of the frog was in the tumour. He picked it with a needle, but could not kill it. He tried to pull it out, but the pain was unbearable. The physicians did not know how to cure it. Finally an old gate-keeper said that it was the ku. On his advice they pierced it with a gold hair-pin, and the frog died. Chu had no further trouble, but the top of his skull sank down like a bowl.”

The Ch’ien chi 53 says, “The Miao women who kept ku got plenty of money. When the ku becomes too strong, it must be sent away. They do this sometimes as often as once a month. Those ignorant of this often pick up money or packages along the mountain paths. The ku follows them home. When it gets to the house, it must remain there several days. If its wants are not satisfied,

52 Ibid., chüan 19. The passage is quoted by De Groot, p. 852.
53 黔記, chüan 32. By 李宗昉. Written about the beginning of the 19th Cent. It describes the province of Kueichou.
it will cause calamity. During the fall, the Miao women carry pears in cloth bags, selling the pears to children. Many children are poisoned by ku in this way. This was discovered by some of the children, and so now, when they buy pears, they ask, 'Do you have ku poison in your pears?' If the reply is 'No,' the children are safe. Among the women of the Shan, there are many who keep ku.'

In the Fan t'ien lu tsung t'an 54 is the following passage. "Recently a man named Chiang Ch'an-p'o reported that in the district of Lu-an ku is used to kill people. The house of the witch is always clean, since the work is done by the ku. Many inn-keepers serve the ku. If an inn-keeper and his inn are exceptionally clean, those who stay there overnight are poisoned. During one night, several travellers simply disappeared, and all their money and baggage came into the hands of the inn-keeper. There was no sign of the corpses because they were entirely eaten by the ku worms.

"Travellers in this district must know whether the inn contains ku. They lay their luggage at random on the ground, close the door, and stand outside for a while. If no servants appear, and yet the baggage has [mysteriously] been arranged in order, they know that this inn has ku. The traveller must not speak of this openly, but pays his fee and goes to some other inn. Such travellers will not be injured by the keeper of the inn, but will be regarded as men with a great destiny."

The Yi chien chih pu 55 says, "In the various districts of Fu-kien, there are many ku poisoners, but they are especially prevalent in the districts of Ku-t'ien and Ch'ang-ch'i. There are four kinds, snake ku, chin-tsan ku, centipede ku, and frog ku. All can change their forms, and become invisible. All have males and females, which copulate at fixed intervals, varying from two months to once in two years. When the date arrives, the family which keeps the ku prepares a ceremony to welcome their coming, and a basin of water is placed before them. The male and female appear in the water and copulate. Then the poison floats on the water, and can be collected with a needle. A person must be poisoned on this date. This is the breath of Yin and Yang (the male and female principles of the universe), and it is infused into people's stomachs, symbolic of the genital functions. It is not effective overnight. When

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54 See note 36.  
55 夷堅志補, chūan 23.
a guest arrives, even a relative, he is poisoned. The poison can be placed in food, drink, or medicine, but it cannot be put into hot soup. When the medium is too hot, the poison is ineffective. If no outsiders come in on that day, a member of the family is selected to be poisoned. When the poison first enters the stomach the victim feels nothing, but gradually the ku worms generate and feed on the victim’s blood. The worms grow, reproduce, and consume the internal organs. The pain becomes unbearable, and can be relieved only temporarily by drinking water boiled a hundred times. As the pain becomes worse, the victims groan and scratch the bed. When the victim is dying, several hundred worms come out of his eyes, nose, ears and mouth. If they are dried, they can become alive again, even after a long time. The spirit of the victim is controlled by the ku, just as the tiger enslaves the ch’ang, and becomes a slave of the family. Such an enslaved spirit cannot be reincarnated. Even if the corpse of the victim is cremated, the heart and lungs will not burn, but will look like honeycombs.

“In 1175, the mother of Lin Sao-shuan of Ku-t’ien (her surname was Huang) lay dying, apparently from poison. The members of the family said that if she had been poisoned by ku, and her matrix was burned so that the light of the fire would shine upon her, she would reveal who had poisoned her. They did this, and she said that on a certain date, she had been poisoned while eating by Huang Ku’s wife, Lai Shih. The demon was still in their kitchen. Lin Sao-shuan reported this to the local magistrate, and they went to the house of Huang Ku. In the kitchen they found some pieces of silver, five-colored thread, jewels, and small wooden figures on which were written five “Yi” and five “Shun” (words meaning “opposed” and “favorable”). These were in a box with seven holes. There were also two packs of needles, each fifty in number, and eleven needles were without eyes. All these were not things ordinarily used by people. The man was accused before the magistrate. The magistrate arrested Huang Ku, who feigned death in the court. When released, he became alive again, as if helped by some supernatural power.

“Yü Ch’ing of Kuei-chi was judge at that time, and when the

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The spirit of a person who has been eaten by a tiger. It urges the tiger to murder others, in accordance with a common belief that the soul of a murdered man may return to earth if a substitute is provided.
prefect ordered him to examine the case, Huang Ku behaved in the same way. Yü Ch'ing was angry and afraid that the criminal would escape the law, so he came down and cut off Huang's head. He put the head in a basket, and reported the act to the prefect. The prefect reported the case to the emperor and a higher judge, Hsieh Ssu-chi, was asked to investigate the case.

"Hsieh accompanied the local officials to the house of Huang Ku, where he saw centipedes of unusual size. Hsieh said, 'This is the evidence.' Lai Shih was arrested, and tried by Hsieh himself. After a three days trial, the death penalty was passed upon her. The figures (she confessed) were used in divination. If the response was favorable, the guest was poisoned; if unfavorable, a member of the family. The eyeless needles were used in gathering the poison, and the number showed that eleven persons had been poisoned. The ku likes to eat silk brocade, but if this could not be procured, the five-colored threads were fed to it instead. The silver was to have been used in sending the ku away. . . . Huang Ku's criminal acts really reached Heaven, and Yü Ch'ing obliterated an evil-doer by killing him. Many scholars wrote poems in praise of him."

There are also a number of stories indicating that the virtuous scholar need not fear ku. The Chinese have a proverb which says that the heretic cannot overcome the righteous man. Among the Chinese, the educated men have always been the backbone of the moral system. It is natural to find that such men can repel evil influences.

An interesting case is recorded in the *Mu fu yen hsien lu* of Pi Chung-hsün.57 "In Chih-chou there was a scholar named Tsou Lang, having a chin-shih degree. He was poor, but of upright character. One day he was about to start for a nearby town, when on opening his door in the early morning, he saw lying beside it a basket. He opened the basket, and found that it was filled with silver wine-vessels and about a hundred ounces of silver. As it was early morning, no one was watching him. The scholar took it in and said to his wife, 'These things came to me unexpectedly. Are they given to me by Heaven?' He had scarcely finished speaking, when he saw on his left thigh something that wiggled in a

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shimmer of gold. It was a caterpillar. He picked it off with his hand. His hand was hardly turned, when it was back in its old place. He trampled on the worm with his foot and smashed it, but immediately it was again on his body. He threw it into water and into fire, cut it with his sword, and hacked it with an axe, without avail. It followed him everywhere, and never left him. Tsou Lang finally asked the advice of his friends. Those who knew about such matters told him,

"'You have been betrayed. This thing is the chin-tsan. Although it is small, it will cause a great calamity. It can enter the belly and ruin the intestines, after which it will come out unharmed.'

"Tsou Lang became still more frightened, and told his friend about finding the basket.

"His friend said, 'I knew that already. If you serve this ku, you will become rich quickly. This worm eats four inches of Shu satin every day. Collect its excretion, dry it, and grind it to powder. Put a little in food and drink, and give these to others. Anyone who takes it will surely be poisoned. The worm will get what it desires, and it will remove the valuables of its victims to your house.'

"Tsou Lang laughed and said, 'Am I the man to do this?'

"His friend said, 'I know surely that you do not desire to do it, but what other thing can you do?'

"Tsou Lang replied, 'I shall put this worm into the basket with the other things and carry it away. Then there will be no further trouble.'

"'When a man serves this worm long enough,' the friend said, 'he will become rich. Then he gives several times the amount he originally found with the ku away. This is called finding the chin-tsan a husband. Then the ku worm will go. But if you put in only what you found with the worm, I am sure it will not go. Now you are poor. How can you give several times more than you found? I am really concerned about you.'

"Tsou Lang looked at the sky, and replied, 'During my whole life I have tried to be an upright man. I swore not to lose my virtue. It is my misfortune that this thing has happened to me.' He went home and told his wife, saying, 'It is impossible for me to serve the ku worm. I am too poor to send it away. The only thing left for me is death. You had better prepare for the future.'

"He put the worm into his mouth and swallowed it. His family
tried to stop him, but it was too late. His wife wept bitterly, thinking that he would surely die. But after a few days he had no further trouble, eating and drinking as usual. A month passed, and still he was not affected. He finally died at a ripe age. And by means of the silver he had found in the basket, he became well-to-do. Is it that the sincerity of a man can overcome the most poisonous influences?"

The following account is taken from the Yi chien san chih.58

"In the district of Ch'ang-chou there was a brave scholar of strong character. He often thought that while men were cowardly, there was nothing worthy of being dreaded. He regretted that there were no evil spirits to interfere with him and test his courage. Once he went with a few friends to another village, and saw a parcel covered with silk on the ground. The others dared not even look at it, but he laughed and said, 'I am poor, why should I not take it?'

"He opened it before them, and found several rolls of silk, three large pieces of silver, and a ku frog. He said to the frog, 'You may go where you wish; what I want is the silk and the silver.' He took the things home, where his family wept bitterly, thinking that a calamity would soon occur. The scholar said to them, 'This concerns me, not you.'

"That night when he went to bed, there were two frogs, as big as a year old baby, occupying his bed. He killed and ate them both. His family again lamented, but he was delighted to get such good meat. Then he proceeded to get drunk, fell asleep, and passed a peaceful night. The next night there appeared more than ten frogs, though smaller than before. Again he cooked and ate them. The next night there were thirty. Night after night the frogs were increasingly numerous, but their size became ever smaller. At last the whole house was full of frogs, and it was impossible to eat them all. He hired men to bury them in the wilderness. Yet his courage was strengthened still more. Finally the thing stopped after a month, so he laughed and said, 'Is the calamity caused by ku no more than this?' His wife asked him to buy hedgehogs as a precaution but he said, 'I am the hedgehog; what other do you want?' His family was pacified, and nothing untoward happened. So other people commended his behavior."

"夷堅三志壬· chüan 4. A work of the Sung period.
The Yi chien chih pu contains the following story:① "In the city of Ch’uan-chou, there was a house tenanted by several families. One of the tenants was an under-official named Lin, a native of Ch’ing. One night he found an old bamboo basket lying at the street end of an alley. He kicked it playfully, and a small embroidered blanket fell out. On opening it, he discovered silver vessels worth more than two hundred taels. As there was no one around, he took the things home, thinking they had been given to him by Heaven.

"All his neighbors were astonished by this, and the landlord said, ‘This is the Ming custom of serving the chin-tsan. The original owner has become rich, and wanted to shift the calamity to others. Since you have taken this bait, you must not regret it. Today a demon will appear to you. You had better welcome and serve it. Otherwise, great misfortune will happen to you.’ Lin remained silent.

“That night a snake, ten feet long, crawled in as if much pleased. Lin caught it and said, ‘Are you the demon of the chin-tsan? I cannot please you by poisoning people to enrich myself. If I do not, I shall be eaten by you. There is only one death, but I would rather eat you first.’ So he bit the snake, and swallowed it from head to tail, not even leaving the bones. Then he called for wine, and drank until he fell asleep. Next morning he rose up well and unharmed, and later he became well-to-do. All admired his courage.’"

There is an amusing story of this sort in the Fan t’ien lu t’an tsung.② "An old man named Tseng, of Lung-yen in Fukien, picked up a box from the road. On opening it, he found about twenty ounces of silver. He took it home. During the night, a handsome young man appeared to him, who tried to compel him to burn incense and take an oath before Heaven that he would administer poison to someone on a certain date. The old man realized that it was the spirit of the chin-tsan. He refused the request, and so the spirit continued to trouble him. Finally worn out, he faithfully promised. On the fatal day, his son-in-law came. The spirit secretly put the poison in the food, and when the son-in-law returned home, he had violent pains in his abdomen. The old man

① 集志補·chúan 23.
② See note 36.
realized that the pains were due to the poison, and relieved him by administering an antidote. The spirit was very angry, and complained to Tseng.

"The old man replied, 'He is my son-in-law, and my daughter has no children. How can I poison him?"

"The spirit came another time, and exacted a similar promise. This time his sister's son came. The nephew also became violently ill on returning home, and the old man cured him. That night the spirit greatly annoyed Tseng, and the whole family had no sleep.

"The old man Tseng said to the spirit, 'My sister was widowed when she was very young, and this son is her only child. If he dies from poison, my sister's descendants will be cut off. Moreover, I am not willing to do such things. Let us talk the matter over now. Suppose I give you back the original amount of silver, on condition that you go to someone else?'

"'Since I came to your house,' replied the spirit, 'your farm produce has increased every day, and you forget about this benefit. You have not poisoned anyone yet, and you want me to go. You must add at least thirty per cent interest to the sum you give me. Otherwise I will not spare you.'

"Then the old man took count, and calculated that he must give the spirit two hundred and more ounces of silver. He got the silver by selling his farm. Then he put it into the box, which he left where he had originally found it."

This ends the collection of illustrations of the practice of ku, a collection covering the entire period of Chinese literature. A few generalizations may be made in conclusion.

It must not be supposed, as De Groot implies, that all Chinese believe in these things. On the contrary, the fact that it was extremely difficult to make this collection of passages is in itself evidence of the opposite. The physical symptoms ascribed to magical causes are not imaginary, and the diseases are very real. Ku figures largely in Chinese medical works, and the term is still used to describe certain conditions caused by internal parasites.

The idea of ku is very old. It probably originated in the idea that disease was sometimes caused by black magic. The use of the word as a divination symbol, and in the other ways mentioned in classic literature, are probably later accretions. The concept ap-
pears peculiar to Eastern Asia, at least in the method of producing the
*ku* by allowing poisonous things to eat each other. At the same
time, all sorts of extraneous notions have been added from time to
time.

The practice appears to be a connecting link between Chinese
culture and the cultures of Southeastern Asia. However, it was
early suppressed in China proper, and survived among the aborigi-
nal tribes of the south.
THE SECOND LITURGICAL POEM FROM RAS SHAMRA*

A Liturgy for the Festival of the God Alein

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VIROLLEAUD has published three liturgical poems from Ras Shamra. Of two of these the writer has already published translations — that of the first, in volume 52 of this JOURNAL (pp. 221-231), and, of the third in the Journal of Biblical Literature, vol. LIII, 61-78. The translation of the second poem, which is here presented, was completed more than a year ago, and has been awaiting space in the pages of this JOURNAL. The text was published by Virolleaud in Syria, vol. XIII, pls. XXV-XXX. A number of scholars have translated it in whole or in part, but the only renderings which I have been able to consult extensively are those of Virolleaud (loc. cit., pp. 113-163), Montgomery, in this JOURNAL, and Albright, in the Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society (vol. XIV, 101-140). Since, in the meantime, Virolleaud has published a brief poem which contains what was perhaps a hymn sung in connection with the festival at which this liturgy was recited, I have appended a transliteration and translation of that also.

Transliterated Text

The sign Κ is here transliterated ḫ (Ḍād) and ζ, ζ (Ẓā).

Column

1. .................................
2. .................................
3. .................................
4. [w . . . yšh] šr
5. [e'l a'bh e']l mlk
6. [dyknkh yš]h a's-
7. [r[t w bnh e']lt
8. [w sbt a'ryh]
9. [wyn e'n bt]
10. [t b'l km e'lm]
11. w ḫr
12. [k ḫn] a'[šrt]
13. mšb 'el mzl
14. bnh mšb rbt
15. 'ašrt ym mšb
16. klt knyt
17. mšb pdry bt a'r
18. mzl ll by bt rb
19. mṣrb 'arsy bt y'bdr
20. 'ap mšn rmom
21. 'argmk šskn m'
22. mgn rbt ašrt ym
23. măz gnyt 'elm
24. kyn 'aly lmphm
25. bd hss mšblm
26. yšq ksp yšl-

* Continued from Volume 52 (1932).
27. h ḥrš ysq ksp
28. l'elpm ḥrš ysq
29. m l rbtt
30. ysq ḥym w ṭbšḥ
31. k't 'el ḏt rbtm
32. k't 'el nb t bksp
33. šmrzt b ḏm ḥrš
34. k hš 'el nhš
35. b zr 'ḥdm 'ed-
36. ḏ prša b br
37. n'l 'el d qbl bl
38. 'l n yblhm ḥrš
39. šlhn 'el d ml'א
40. mn m dbbm d-
41. msdš 'arš
42. s' 'el dqt k'amr
43. sknt khwt ym'an
44. ḏbḥ rūmm lrbt

22. mšy 'al 'eyn b'l
23. 'ek mšy t b'l
24. 'nt mšyḥ [bm]hš
25. bnyh . . . . [ws]brt
26. 'aryy . . . . . . ksp brt
27. k'tn zi ksp wn .
28. ḥrš šmh rbt 'a[šrt]
29. ym gm lđlmh p .
30. 'n mšr 'apt .
31. dgy rbt 'ašr[t ym]
32. qh ršt bdkṭ . . .
33. rbṭ 'l ydm . . .
34. b mdđ 'el . . . .
35. b ym 'el d[pd]
36. hr 'el y . . . .
37. 'al'eyn . . . .
38. bllṭ . . . .
39. mh k . . .
40. w'at . . .
41. 'ašr[t] . . .
42. b'em . . .
43. bl l . . .
44. mlt . . .
45. dt . . .
46. bt . . .
47. gm . .
48. y' . .

iii,
1. . . . . . . . . .
2. . . . . . . . .
3. . . . . . . . .
4. . . . . . . . .
5. . . . . . . .
6. . . . . . . .
7. . . . . . . .
8. . . . . . . .
9. . . . . . . .
10. . . . . . . .
11. . . . . . . .
39. یُهَّسَن َعَّبَتْ ِشْر ِتُّرْرَك
40. َوْتُن ِرَبْتَ ِبُسْرَتْ ِيَم
41. ِتُمْكَ ِعَلِ ِحْمَ ِحْمِمَ
42. ِمُّلْمِ ِهِتْ ِهِتَ
43. ِتُمْكَ ِمَلْكُ َلَمْ ِعَْيْنَ ِبْلَ
44. ِكْسِن ِعِنْ ِدِّلْنَح
45. ِكْ ِلْنَح ِقُ [دُسِ]ِهِحْ ِ[نِ]ِبِ[نِ]ُ
46. ِكْ ِلْنَح ِنُبِلْ ِكْشَ
47. ِوْ ِ. ِيْشَ ِشْر ِعَلِ ِعَّاَبَ
48. ِبْلُ ِعِلْم ِدْيَكْرُنُكُ ِيْشَ
49. ِعَْرَتْ ِوْبَنَحُ ِعُلْيِتْ ِعَْسَرْت
50. ِأَرْيَح ِعِنْ ِعُنِ ِبْتِ ِلْ ِبْلَ
51. ِكْمُ ِعَلِمْ ِعَْحَرْ ِكْ بْنَ ِعَْرَت
52. ِمْسَبُ ِعَلِ مْسِلْ ِلْحْنَ
53. ِمْسَبُ ِرَبْ ِعَْرَتْ ِيَم
54. ِمْسَبُ ِلْتْ ِكْنْيَتْ
55. ِمْسَبُ ِعَْرَسْ ِبْلُأْرَ
56. ِمْسِلْ ِتْلُى ِبْتُرَب
57. ِمْسَبُ ِعَّرَسْ ِبْتِ ِبْوْدَر
58. ِوْهُنْ ِبْنِ ِتْنِ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد
59. ِبْلُد ِعَلِ مْنُ ِعَّاَرْت
60. ِبْلُد ِعَلِ مْنُ ِعَّاَرْت ِعَلِ مْدْهَد
61. ِمْهُ ِعَلِمْ ِعَّاَرْتْ ِتْلَن
62. ِلْبَنَتْ ِيَبْنُتْ ِيَبْلَ

1. ِكْمُ ِعَلِمْ ِعَْحَرْ ِكْ بْنَ ِعَْرَت
2. ِوْتُن ِرَبْتَ ِعَْرَتْ ِيَم
3. ِرَبْتَ ِعَلِ مْكِمْنَ
4. ِشْبَ ِدْنَكْ ِلْتَرْك
5. ِرْنَتْ ِدْلَ ِلْتَرْك
6. ِوْنَأَبْ ِدْنَ ِمْثَرْ
7. ِبْلَ ِعَلِ مْنُ ِعََّلْتِ ِبْلَغْلَش
8. ِوْتُن ِقْلِبْ ِبْرَْت
9. ِشْرُ ِعَّرَسْ ِبْرَْمَ
10. ِبْ ِعَاَرْمْ ِيَكْلَنْح
11. ِمْهُ ِبْنَتْ ِيَبْنَ ِمْسِنْحُ
12. ِلْمْنُ ِعَّاَيْنُ ِبْلَ
13. ِشْرُ ِعَلِ مْ ِبْحَتْك
14. ِشْبَ ِعَّرَبْ ِكْلَكْ
15. ِتْلَكْ ِقْرَمْ ِمُّدْ ِكْسَ
16. ِجْبْمُ ِمْهَنْدَ ِحْرَش
17. ِيْبَلْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِقْسَم
18. ِوْنَنْ ِبْكَ ِكْسَ ِعَّرَش
19. ِبْكَ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَْنَمْ ِعَّاَن
20. ِشْمُ ِبْلُتْ ِعَلِ مْتْ ِتْلَسْ
21. ِزْنِمْ ِمْرِ ِعَّاَرْش
22. ِعَّدْ ِلْتِنْ ِمْسِنْح
23. ِمُّلْمِ ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِضْنَ
24. ِبْلُد ِعَلِ مْنُ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَْنَم
25. ِشْقُ ِبْلُتْ ِعَلِ مْتْ ِتْبَشْ
26. ِغُهْ ِعَلِ مْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِتْبَش
27. ِبْسِرْكُ ِيْبَلْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد
28. ِبْتُ ِعَلِ مْنُ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَْنَم
29. ِمْهُ ِعَلِ مْنُ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَْنَم
30. ِبْتُ ِعَلِ مْنُ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَْنَم
31. ِبْلُنْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِكْسَم
32. ِمْهَنْد ِكْسَم ِمْهَنْدَ ِحْرَش
33. ِزْنِمْ ِعَلِ مْرِ ِعَّاَرْش
34. ِعَّرَش ِبْكَ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد
35. ِعَْنَمْ ِشْمُ ِعَّاَيْنُ ِعَّاَيْنُ
36. ِبْلَ ِعَلِ مْرِ ِبْتُ ِبْحَتْك
37. ِبْلُنْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
38. ِبْلُنْ ِمْدْهَد ِمُّدْ ِكْسَم
39. ِبْلُنْ ِمْدْهَد ِمُّدْ ِكْسَم
40. ِبْلُنْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
41. ِيْلَكْ ِكْسِرْوَّشَس
42. ِعَلِ مْ ِعَّاَرْش ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَّاَيْنُ
43. ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
44. ِلْتُ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِمُّدْ ِكْسَم
45. ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
46. ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
47. ِبْلُد ِعَلِ مْرِ ِعَّاَيْنُ
48. ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
49. ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
50. ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
51. ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
52. ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
53. ِعَلِ مْرُمْ ِعَلِ مْدْهَد ِعَّاَيْنُ
11. šmnym b'l m. . . . .
12. tšm b'l mr. . . . .
13. b[al'eyn] b'l bqrb
14. bt wy'n 'al'eyn
15. b'l 'ašlm kšr bn
16. ym kšr bnm 'dt
17. ypth hln b bhlm
18. 'arbt bqrb hkl-
19. m w[yp]th bdqt 'arpt
20. 'lp . . . . . kšr w kss
21. šhk kšr w kss
22. yše gh wyšh
23. lrgmt lk l 'al 'e-
24. yn b'l tšbn b'l
25. l kuty ypth h-
26. ln b bhlm 'erb
27. bqrb hklm [yp]th
28. b'l b dqt 'rpt
29. qlh qds b . . . . tn
30. yšny b'l sptn . . . pth
31. qlh qā[s] ykr 'arš
32. . . . . . tārm 'aḥšn
33. rtq . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
34. qām ym b mt a[l'eyn] . . .
35. tṭn 'eb b ms'a 'ehd
36. y'rm šnu hā gpt
37. šr wy'n 'al'eyn
38. b'l 'eb ḥdt lm ṭḥš
39. lm ṭḥš nšq dmrn
40. n b'l qām yḏh
41. k ṭdš 'arš b ymnš
42. bkm yšb b'l l bhth
43. 'amilk 'ablml lk
44. 'arš drkt yštkn
45. dĺl 'al 'el 'ar lbn
46. 'elm mt 'dd lydd
47. 'el žzr yqrn mt
48. b npšh ystrn ydď
49. b gngnh 'ahdy dyml
50. lk l 'elm lymrā
51. 'elm w nšm dyšb
52. [b]hlmt 'arš gm lđ-
53. [r]h b'l kysš 'n
54. [qpn] w'agr b[n]qlm
55. [mmy]m bnum žlmt r-
56. [mt prť] 'ebr mnt
57. šhrnm hbt rkb rpt
58. . . . . . . [rpt t]ḥt
59. b . . . . . [mšrm
60. [h] p . . . . . .

viii, 1. 'e[hāk] 'al tin pnmm
2. 'm dr trdzs
3. 'm dr šrmg
4. 'm ilrn dšr 'arš
5. ša hr dr 'l ydm
6. ḥšb lṣr ṭḥm
7. wrd bt ḥpšt
8. 'arš tspr by
9. rdm 'arš
10. 'edk 'al tin
11. pnmm tk qṛtḥ
12. ḥmrš mk kšu'
13. šbḥ ḥḥ 'arš
14. nḥlḥh wnr dr
15. 'tn 'elm 'al
16. tqrh lbn 'elm
17. mt 'al ybdkm
18. k 'emr ṣbrf
19. k ṭl'e b šbrn
20. qnh ṣḥṭ'ān
21. nrt 'elm špš
22. šḥrt l'ā
23. šmnm b yḏ md-
24. d 'elm mt b'a-
25. lp ṣd ṣrb k-
26. mn lżr mt
27. ḥbr ṣql
The Second Liturgical Poem from Ras Shamra

28. ṭšḥwy  wk-
29. bd hw t wrgm
30. bn 'elm mt
31. šny l ydd
32. 'el dzr thm
33. 'al'eyn b'l
34. ....-t 'al'ey[n] q-
35. rb .... bht ybnt
36. ............
37. ............. y
38. ............. 'ahy
39. ............. 'ahy
40. .............. y
41. .............. kb
42. .............. šht
43. .............. t
44. .............. 'elm
45. .............. -a yd
46. .............. k
47. ...... [gpn] w-agr
48. .............. t

(The rest is broken away)

Colophon

...... 'y nqmd mlk ugrt

Translation

Column i,

1. ..............
2. ..............
3. ..............
4. Then cried the bull of
5. El to his father, El, the king,
6. that he would establish him. He cried to Ashe-
7. rat and her sons, the goddess
8. and the company of her companions,
9. "Woe to us! Baal has
10. no house like the gods,
11. nor defence
12. like the son of Asherat,
13. the dwelling of El, the covered-place
14. of his son, the dwelling of the Lady
15. Asherat of the sea, the dwelling
16. of the Bride, Kanyat,
17. the dwelling of my city, Beth-Ar,
18. the covered-place of my wealth, Beth-Rab,
19. the dwelling of the land, Beth-Yabdar."
20. Also I am repeating the cries;
21. I cry to thee, "Establish (it) in spite of
22. the madness of the Lady Asherat of the sea,
23. the hostility (?) of the mistress of the gods.
24. Hayn going up to the bellows,
25. in his hand grasping the tongs,
26. shall cast silver, shall send
27. forth gold; he shall cast silver
28. by thousands; gold he shall cast
29. by tens of thousands;
30. he shall cast khym and tbš.
31. Humble her, O El, who is their lady;
32. humble her, O El, who shines with silver,
33. who quarries in the mine gold
34. like khes. O El, thou hast rested
35. with the flint-knife on the footstool Eded-
36. parsha in the pit,
37. Naal-El, which yields not
38. to us. There flows for them the gold
39. of the table of El, which fills
40. the conceivable parts of the
41. foundations of the earth.
42. Scatter, O El, that which is mined according to the saying
43. of Saknat-Kakhwat, 'the sandy land
44. prepares wild desired-things by the myriad.'

ii, 1. ....................
2. ............
3. She took her spindle ............
4. the exalted spindle on the (first) day.
5. Her banishment was the binding (?) of her flesh.
6. She removed her garment on the second day.
7. Her banishment was by the rivers.
8. She placed a kphr-offering on the fire,
9. a khbrš, for kindling coals;
10. she abstained from the bull of El-Deped;
11. she besought (?) the creator of creatures (?)
12. for the removal of her affliction. Then she forgot
13. the coming of Baal and Ashtart,
14. when she spied the coming of the virgin
15. Anat. (Her) sister was hastening ............
16. ............ with her (?) persons (?)
17. ...................... stupid (?)
18. ......................
19. ......................
20. man ........................................
21. She was lifting up her voice and crying, "How
22. is coming Alein Baal?
23. How is coming the Lady
24. Anat? Smite her with smiting,
25. her sons ........ (and) the company (?)
26. of her companions ........ silver bright."
27. Then she answered, "Come into being, O silver, and
   (come down?)
28. O gold, that make rich the Lady Asherat
29. of the sea. Also her image ........
30. Answer, O thou who doest correctly; may I take —
   possession — of (?)
31. the fishes of the Lady Asherat of the sea?"
32."Take the net Bedket ........
33. O Lady, upon (thy) hands ........
34. with the beloved of El ........
35. in the sea of El-Deped.
36. The mountain of El ........
37. Alein .................................
38. the Virgin (Anat) ........
39. What .................................
40. and ................................
41. Asherat .............................
42. in ...................................
43. Not for ..............................
44. ......................................
45. ......................................
46. ......................................
47. also .................................
48. ......................................

iii. (About six lines are broken away.)
1. ......................................
2. ......................................
3. ......................................
4. ......................................
5. ................ "Let him not lament (?)
6. ................ shall cleave to (?)
7. ................ generation (to) generation.
8. .................. and Rachad
9. (and the son)s of the gods who rule."
10. ........ Alein Baal
11. the ...... of Yadad
10. ........ Alein Baal,
11. .......... he who rides on the clouds,
12. the ...... of Yadad, and he arose,
13. he stood, he spoke in the midst
14. of the assembly of the gods: "I will set
15. the assembly at my tables, I will hasten,
16. from the cup I will drink it;
17. on them double the sacrifices. Sharpen (?) the three-
edged (dagger)
18. of the Cloud-rider. Slay
19. with the Lady and slay and slay
20. mightily and slay. There shall groan
21. the maid-servants when on it with the lady they look;
22. then at it (shall be) the groanings of the maid-servants."
23. After Alein, the Lord, came
24. there came the virgin Anat.
25. she spoke roughly to Asherat of the sea,
26. she upbraided (?) the mistress of the gods.
27. Then answered the lady Asherat of the sea,
28. "How dost thou speak roughly to Lady
29. Asherat of the sea, thou doest upbraid (?)
30. the Mistress of the gods? You have spoken roughly
31. to the bull of El-Deped; behold you have upbraided (?)
32. the begetter of creatures." Then answered
33. the virgin Anat: "Let us speak roughly
34. even to the lady Asherat of the sea,
35. let us upbraid (?) the mistress of the gods,
36. ......... let us treat roughly the passionate.
37. .............. Alein the lord,
38. .............. the lady Asherat of the sea,
39. .............. the virgin Anat,
40. .............. there shalt thou drink,
41. .............. be merry there."
42. .............. she cried "Cut off
43. .............. our flock, kinds
44. .............. trees"
iv, 1. Bull (of El-Deped and the lady)
2. Asherat of the sea.
3. And thou .....
4. Asherat of the sea ....
5. "harness the stallion, make stirrups (?) of silver (and) of gold of the mines;
6. make a stirrup (?) (for) her she-asses;
7. Qadesh and Amurru shall hear.
8. Saddle the colt, harness the stallion,
9. make stirrups (?) of silver, (and)
10. of gold of the mines;
11. make a stirrup (for) her she asses.
12. Qadesh and Amurru shall prepare to depart,
13. they shall place Asherat on the back of the colt,
14. on the decorations on the back of the stallion,
15. Qadesh will take them behind (?)
16. Amurru, like a star, before
17. to the shrine of the virgin Anat
18. and Baal. Thou shalt seek the height of the north;
19. Behold thou shalt set thy face
20. toward El at the source of the rivers
21. in the midst of the valley of the two abysses.
22. Thou shalt discover the field of El and shalt enter
23. the palace of the king, the possessor of years.
24. Before El thou shalt perform an act of purification, thou shalt hasten,
25. thou shalt prostrate thyself, and shalt honor him.
26. Well! El, when he addresses her,
27. will put away grief and laugh.
28. His feet on the footstool he shall place, he shall twirl
29. his fingers, he shall lift up his voice and cry
31. 'How has the lady Asherat of the sea come?
32. How has the mistress of the gods arrived?
33. She is very hungry (?) and thirsty.
34. Them indeed bring near and make
35. bread; make them drink; make them eat
36. at the tables. Feed and make them drink
37. from the pots; wine is with thee; bring out
38. blood of trees. Lo, the hand of the gods is with thee;
39. They shall ward off from thee the love of the bull
   (which) impels thee.'"
40. Then answered the lady Asherat of the sea,
41. "Thou art wise, O El; thou art very wise!
42. From of old thou hast lived; thou hast had thy way;
43. Thou art equal to our king, Alein, the lord,
44. our judge, and there is none who is above him.
45. Like our lodgments let us build (?) his sanctuary (?);
46. like our lodgments¹ let us mix his cup."
47. Then ... the bull of El his father will cry
48. the king who wilt establish him, there will cry
49. Asherat and her sons, the goddess and the company
50. of her companions, 'Woe to us.' Baal has no house
51. like the gods or defense like the son of Asherat,
52. the dwelling of El, the praying-place of his son,
53. the dwelling of the lady Asherat of the sea,
54. the dwelling of the Bride, Kanyat,
55. the dwelling of my city, Beth-Ar,
56. the praying-place of my wealth, Beth-Rab,
57. the dwelling of my land, Beth-Yabdar.'"
58. Then answered El-Deped in friendliness,
59. "Even I am going to accomplish the humiliation of
   Asherat:
60. Even I will work; alone I will outwit
61. them. The maid Asherat shall burn bricks,
62. with bricks shall be built a house for Baal

¹ Meaning "as in our lodgments," i.e., sanctuaries.
4. let the whiteness of thy beard admonish thee!
5. The compassions which (are) at thy breast
6. when the time drinks its fill of its rain.
7. Baal will appoint the time. Thou dwellest in the high-
lands,
8. and wilt utter (thy) voice in the clouds,
9. to flash lightnings upon the earth.
10. A house of cedars he shall complete for himself:
11. truly a house of bricks he will construct for himself.
12. Call indeed on Alein Baal,
13. cry, 'a caravan in thy wonderful structure!
14. a troop in the midst of thy temple!
15. It shall bring for thee as mountains much silver,
16. as hills, choice gold.
17. The glory of El-Qesem shall be brought to thee.
18. Then build a wonderful structure of silver and gold —
19. a wonderful structure of pure things!' I shall be
jealous of them!
20. Rejoice, O virgin Anat! Thou shalt trample upon
21. doubts and behold the earth.
22. Behold thou shalt set thy face
23. toward Baal at the height of the north
24. in Alp-shad of Rabbath-Kamon.
25. With laughter shall the virgin Anat lift up
26. her voice and cry; she shall announce the good news to
Baal,
27. 'I announce good news to thee; I bring the knowl-
edge (?)
28. thou shalt have a house like thy brother; and a walled-
closure
29. like thy companions. Cry, 'A caravan
30. in thy wonderful structure! a troop in the midst
31. of thy temple! It shall bring thee as mountains
32. much silver; as hills choice
33. gold! Then build a wonderful structure of silver
34. and gold — a structure of pure things.
35. I shall be jealous of them!' Alein Baal will rejoice;
36. he will call a caravan into his wonderful structure,
37. a troop into the midst of his temple;
38. they shall bring us like mountains much silver:
39. as hills, fine gold
40. They shall bring us the glory of El-Qesem.
41. Kasher-w-Khasis shall feed."

42. Then return to the narrative: "When thou shalt send as messengers brave men."

43. After the coming of Kasher-w-Khasis,
44. place an ox before him, a fat one,
45. and directly in front of it thou shalt place a chair,
46. and he shall be made to sit on the right of Alein
47. Baal while eating and drinking.
48. Then Alein Baal shall answer,
49. "(I would build a temple for myself).
50. Haste! silver and gold (for) wonderful structures!
51. Haste! Heap up the silver (and gold)!
52. Haste! Thou shalt build (a temple)!
53. Haste! Thou shalt heap up (the silver and gold).
54. Thy house is (in) the heights of the north;
55. Alp-shad is a house;
56. Rabbath-Kamon is a temple."
57. Then Kasher-w-Khasis answered,
58. "Listen, O Alein Baal,
59. son of the Rider on the clouds,
60. surely I will place a lattice-window in the wonderful structure,
61. a window in the midst of the temple."
62. Then answered Alein Baal,
63. "Do not put a lattice-window in the wonderful structure,
64. a window in the midst of the temple."

vi, 1. Then answered Kasher-w-Khasis,
2. "Thou wilt change, O Baal, so as to desire it."
3. Kasher-w-Khasis repeated the cry,
4. "Listen, O Alein Baal,
5. surely I will set a lattice-window in the wonderful structures,
6. a window in the midst of the temple."
7. Then answered Alein Baal,
8. "Do not put a lattice-window in the wonderful structure,
9. a window in the midst of the palace.
10. Do not plan (?) a lattice-window in Beth-Ar,
11. nor window in the midst of Beth-Rab.
12. Thou didst set a window in the house of Yadad, god of
    the sea
13. (and there was) distress and faintings."
14. ......... Then answered Kasher-
15. w-Khasis, "Thou wilt change, O Baal, so as to desire it.
16. (The foundations) of its wonderful structure thou shalt
    lay
17. (in the earth), thou shalt raise up its temple,
18. thou shalt go to Lebanon and its wood,
19. to Sirion (?) famed for its cedars.
20. Go to Lebanon and its wood,
21. Sirion, famed for its cedars.
22. Thou shalt establish the ritual in the wonderful struc-
    ture,
23. the sacrifices in the temple.
24. This day and the second thou shalt eat
25. burnt-offerings in the wonderful structure, sacrifices
26. in the temple. The third, the fourth
27. thou shalt eat what is placed in the wonderful structure,
28. the sacrifices in the temple.
29. the fifth, the sixth day thou shalt eat
30. what is set in the wonderful structure, the sacrifices
31. in the temple ............
32. On the seventh day thou shalt bring to an end the fire-
    offering
33. in the wonderful structure, the sacrifices in the temple.
34. Turn the silver into curtains; the gold
35. let us turn into bricks. Rejoice,
36. O Alein Baal! A wonderful structure thou shalt build
37. of silver; a temple shall be made perfect
38. with gold. Thou shalt make my wonderful structure
    ........
39. This excellence shall be stainless, the ...... of the
    house (?)
40. of its palace. Slaughter oxen, (slay?)
41. sheep, bring up bullocks, ............
42. the shepherdng of El, calves of
43. a year, a lamb. Strangle kids.
44. Call, O his brother, in his wonderful structure to his brother,
45. in the midst of his temple lift up (your voices to)
46. the seven sons of Asherat;
47. 'Offer the gods lambs a day;
48. offer the goddesses ewe-lambs (?) a day;
49. offer the gods oxen a day;
50. offer the goddesses wild cows a day;
51. offer the gods as it were shame for a day;
52. offer the goddesses as it were union for a day:
53. offer the gods wombs for a day:
54. offer the goddesses phalli for a day.
55. While the gods are eating and drinking (say)
56. Assist, O ye who .......... the fields .............;
57. in drought cut-off (?) barrenness,
58. so ye shall drink wine in pots.”
(At least six lines are broken away.)

vii, 1. “.......................... reeds (?)
2. .............................. Alein Baal
3. and .......................... the measure of El
4. shall ......................... to shave (?) his crown.
5. El .......................... will laugh at the loss
6. as the gods (laughed) in the north.
7. Awake to the ....... of the colts;
8. turn to the .................. of the cities;
9. six to sixty take (for) a city;
10. seventy seven for a town;
11. eighty, O Baal, ..............
12. ninety, O Baal, ..............
13. with Alein Baal in the midst of
14. the house.” Then answered Alein
15. Baal, “I will establish them, O Kasher, son of
16. the sea. O Kasher, build those (things which) thou hast appointed.
17. Let a window be opened in the wonderful structure;
18. a lattice-window in the midst of the temple,
19. and let it be opened (?) for the examination (?) of the clouds
20. in the presence-of Kasher-w-Khasis.”
21. Kasher-w-Khasis laughed;
22. he lifted up his voice and uttered
23. a cry: "Come, O Alein
24. Baal, thou art turning, O Baal,
25. to desire it. A window shall be
26. opened in the wonderful structure, a lattice-window
27. in the midst of the temple. It shall be opened,
28. O Baal for the examination (?) of the clouds.
29. (When) his holy voice shall sound in . . . . .
30. Baal of the north will answer his call (?),
31. his holy voice will descend to the earth,
32. "........................... the ...... I will make small (?)..
33. shut ................................
34. before the day when Alein (?) dies
35. thou shalt fasten up a green shoot, found as a possession
36. of the forests, hated of Hadad of Caelo-
37. Syria. Then answered Alein
38. Baal, "This green shoot do not damage!
39. Do not damage!" Let us recite our song:
40. "The eye of Baal is before his hand,
41. as the bough (?) of the cedar is in his right hand,
42. even as Baal dwells in his beautiful structure.
43. I will be king; I will subdue for thee
44. the earth; routes shall be established;
45. the weak I will not send as messengers to the son
46. of the gods, Moth, to be counted to Yadad,
47. El-Dzer. Moth shall make a hollow
48. for himself; he shall hide Yadad
49. in his covert. I rejoice that he (Alein) will be
50. king over the gods. Surely he will be lord over
51. gods and men, that they may dwell
52. in the tents of the land. Also at his
53. mountain, O Baal, when he cries, (answer.)
54. Gepen-\-w-\-Agar, son of Zalmaweth,
55. ye people of ... Yam 1 son of Zalmaweth
56. thou pride of Pharaoh, the mighty one of Mont,
57. ye parched-ones, destroyed by him who rides the clouds.
58. ................................. clouds, thou who
59. art humbled
60. ..................................... ye refugees,
1. "Then do not set thy face
2. against Mount Taraḍzaz,
3. against Mount Sharmag,
4. against the cleft of Dezer, the land,
5. the sheep of Mount Al-Yadaim,
6. the covering of the sharp rock of Rakhitim.
7. Come down to the house! The festivals (?)
8. of the land thou shalt number with me!
9. Make the earth green!
10. Then do not turn (away)
11. thy face! Smite his (Moth's) city!
12. Put far from thyself the throne
13. of his habitation, the filth of the land
14. is its inheritance, and guard
15. the prison (?) of the gods. Do not
16. draw near to the son of the gods,
17. Moth; do not let him make you
18. like a lamb in his mouth,
19. like a kid in the crushing (?) power (?)
20. of his stroke. Thou shalt avoid (it)."
21. O light of the gods, Shepesh,
22. thou burning one, un-
23. appalled by the hand of the measur-
24. er of the gods, Moth, in Alp-
25. Shad, of Rabbath-Ka-
26. mon, by the sickle of Moth,
27. the destroyer and curser.
28. Thou shalt worship and give
29. honor, to desire and cry
30. to the son of the gods, Moth,
31. the second to Yadad,
32. the god of Dezer, "Thou shalt long for
33. Alein Baal!"
34. "Mayest thou ........., O Alein (?) in the
35. midst of the wonderful structure thou hast built".....
36. ........................................................
37. ............................................. my .............
38. ............................................. my brethren,
39. ............................................. my brethren,
40. ............................................. my .............
The Second Liturgical Poem from Ras Shamra

41. ........................................... hon-
42. or (?) .................................. I have cried (?),
43. .......................................... I have (?) ............
44. ......................................... of the gods,
45. ......................................... Yad-
46. ad (?) .................................. thy (?)
47. ........................................... Gepen-w-Agar. the hire (?)

48. ...........................................

(the rest is broken away.)

Colophon

Naqmad, king of Ugarit.

APPENDIX

The Death and Burial of Alein

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. l b'l</td>
<td>39. ..............t qb 'et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dr b 'ab[n] yd[y ps]ltn</td>
<td>40. ................r 'enšt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[b y'r]²</td>
<td>41. ............tʰu tšql</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. [y]hdy lhm w dqn[yšš]</td>
<td>42. ... t ʰry ap ltlhm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. qn sr'h [y]hrš km gn</td>
<td>43. lhm trammt lšt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 'apl'h k 'mq [y]šš b ml</td>
<td>44. yn tšgyt šš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. b'l mt my l'em bn dqn</td>
<td>45. rp'em thk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. my hmt 'ašr b'l nrd</td>
<td>46. šš tšik 'elnm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. b 'arš 'mh trā nrt</td>
<td>47. 'dk 'elnm hn mtn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 'elm šš 'd tšh' bk</td>
<td>48. 'dk kšrm hbrk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tšt k ym 'udm't gm</td>
<td>49. whss ḍtq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. tšh l nrt 'elm šš</td>
<td>50. b ym 'arš wtmn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. 'msm' ly 'a'eyn b'l</td>
<td>51. kšr whss yd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tšm' nrt 'elm šš</td>
<td>52. ytr kšr whss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tšu 'a'eyn b'l l ktp</td>
<td>53. spr 'elmlk šbny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. 'nt k tštḥ tšlhn</td>
<td>54. lmd 'atn prln rb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. b šrrt šp'n tḥkynh</td>
<td>55. kḥnm ḍb nqdn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The text is published in *Syria*, XV (1934), 227.
² The emendations of the text in lines 1-5 are based on a duplicate published in transliteration by Virolleaud in *Syria*, XV, 230.
Translation

1. For Baal
2. the mountain with stone shall resound. You have cut a palm-
   shoot in the wood;
3. it shall guide to escape and the beard shall triple.
4. The fibre of its shoot shall take root like the garden
   of Aplab; like the valley it shall sink deep root with Moth.
5. Baal is dead! Who is the avenger of the son of Dagan?
6. Who are the mourners of Asher-Baal? Let us go down
   into the earth with him! There shall go down the light
   of the gods, Shephesh, until she is sated with weeping.
7. Thou shalt drink like wine even tears; also
8. thou shalt cry to the light of the gods, Shephesh,
9. "Restore to health for me Alein Baal!"
10. The light of the gods, Shephesh, shall hearken;
11. she shall raise up Alein Baal by the shoulder.
12. Anat when she shall raise him up, shall cause him to ascend
   at the parched-ground of Sap'an, she shall bewail him
13. and bury him and shall sprinkle herself with ashes
14. of the weeds of the earth. She shall sacrifice seventy
15. wild oxen similar to the violation of Alein
16. Baal; she shall sacrifice seventy oxen
17. similar to the violation of Alein Baal;
18. she shall sacrifice seventy sheep
23. similar to the violation of Alien Baal;
24. she shall sacrifice seventy stags
25. similar to the violation of Alien Baal;
26. she shall sacrifice seventy goats
27. similar to the violation of Alien Baal;
28. she shall sacrifice seventy asses
29. similar to the violation of Alien Baal.

Revers

40. ........................................ mankind (?)
41. ........................................ thou shalt weigh for thyself;
42. ........................................ tender (?), also thou shalt eat
43. the bread of restoration, thou shalt drink
44. the wine of exhilaration (?). Shephesh
45. shall divide the rephaim;
46. Shephesh shall divide the elonim (terebinths?)
47. along with thee are the gods; at rest are the dead;
48. along with thee are the ritually pure — thy company,
49. and forethought is thy knowledge.
50. In the sea are creatures and sea-monsters.
51. Kasher-w-Khasis is power;
52. abundance is Kasher-w-Khasis.

53. Scribe, El-melek, the Shibonite,
54. pupil of Ethan-Parlan, chief of
55. the priests, the shepherds,
56. the Sa‘ite. Naqmad, king of Ugarit,
57. the lord, honors Baal-Sharon.

Philological Notes

Column i.

Lines 4-12 are supplied from col. iv, 47-51.

10. b'l (Baal): here, as usually, though not always, in these poems, an epithet of Alein.
11. h۫r: cf. the Arabic ḥ۫r, "defence".
13. mgl: "covered-place", from ZLL.
16. glt: "bride", an epithet; here used as the name of a goddess—possibly Asherat.
knyt: analogy and the parallelism indicate that here this is the name of a temple.

18. tfly: cf. the Arabic faul, “wealth”, “bounty”.

21. šškn: shaphel imperative. The verb appears in Akkadian as šakânu: “set”, “establish”.

m’: ordinarily means “with”, but in Semitic, as every scholar knows, prepositions are employed in various meanings. The context here requires the meaning “against” or “in spite of”.

22. mgn: cf. the Arabic migann, “madness”.

mđz: perhaps for mzz; no such word as mđz appears to be known. For mzz cf. Lisân al-‘Arab, IX, 344.

qnyt: Virolleaud and Albright are, I think, both mistaken in taking this word to mean “creatrix”. It is from the root QNY, which means “own”, “possess” and is used here as a parallel to ba’alat. qnyt’el is an exact parallel to the Akkadian bēlut ilāni, “lady of the gods” or “mistress of the gods”. The phrase adduced in Gen. 14: 19 means, “owner of heaven and earth”, in spite of the fact that Holzinger, Skinner, and J. M. P. Smith have translated it “creator”. Holzinger cites three other passages in which he claims that QNY is equal to BR’. Of these that in Deut. 32: 6 is shown by the parallelism not to bear the meaning Holzinger assigns to it. Montgomery has rightly interpreted qnyt.


25. 'elpm: employed as a numeral as in Hebrew.

29. rbbt: a numerical usage well known in Hebrew.

30. ëym w thâ̇: apparently two metals as Virolleaud has conjectured.

31. kt: imperative of KTT; cf. the Arabic katt, “humble”.

dt rbtm: clearly a reference to Asherat.

33. šmrz: a shaphel perfect from the root MRZ; cf. the Arabic marasa, “cut”. Literally it means “she has cut”.

dm: the word is evidently connected with the root DMM, which has in Arabic various meanings. As dummat it signifies “the hole of a field mouse”. As dimm it means “rupture”. The context here requires the meaning “mine”.

34. ḫs: apparently some term indicating abundance, but I am unable to identify it.

35. b šr: šr, Arabic ZRR, means a sharp stone or flint. Here, apparently, the instrument with which in earlier times mining had been done.

35 f.‘edd prs’a: I take this to be the name of the mine. Both elements of the compound name appear to be non-Semitic.

36. br: I take to be for br‘, “well”, “pit”, here a synonym of dm.
37. \( n' \ell \ 'el \): literally, "the sandal of El", but here a proper name—the name of the mine.
\( d \): the relative pronoun; not \( dg \) as Virolleaud tentatively reads.
The perpendicular wedge is the word-divider.
38. \( mmm \): pl. of \( mn \).
39. \( msdt \): plural of \( mosad \).
40. \( s' \): cf. the Arabic ŠW’ (\( sâ \)).
41. \( sknt \ khut \): apparently some sage whose fame has survived only
in this quotation.
\( ym'an \); cf. the Arabic \( ma'n \), which in the second stem means,
"prepare", "make ready".
42. \( dbh \); cf. the Arabic \( dabah \), "a sandy tract".
43. \( rûmm \): see below, note on line 19 of the Appendix. Perhaps,
however, here the word is kindred to the Arabic \( rûm \), 'wish',
'desire', and means "desired-things". This would suit
the context better.
44. \( pîk \): cf. Hebrew \( pelek \), "spindle".
45. \( npynh \): cf. the Arabic \( nafy \), "exile", "banishment". The final
\( n \) before the possessive suffix is an abstract ending; cf. the
Hebrew and Aramaic ending -\( ōn \).
\( mks \): literally, "a bond"; cf. the Assyrian \( maksû \), "fetter",
"bond".
46. \( mdh \): cf. Heb. \( madh \), "garment".
47. \( t'pp \): cf. the Arabic \( ūf \). The imperfect tenses in this passage
express continuity of action.
48. \( t\dot{\ddot{\ddot{\iota}}}y \): scholars are not agreed as to the reading of the second
and third letters of this word. If this is the correct trans-
literation, the word is unknown. The translation is con-
jectural.
49. \( wtpn \): cf. Arabic \( fhh \), one of the meanings of which is "forget-
fulness".
50. \( ybmt \); perhaps better rendered "sister-in-law". Cf. the Hebrew,
\( yăbām \), "brother-in-law", and the NH, \( yebāmāh \), "sister-in-
law".
51. \( 'al'eyn \): Albright and Montgomery prefer the vocalization Aleyan,
but the ancient pronunciation is confessedly uncertain. In my
Semitic and Hamitic Origins, ch. IX, written in August, 1932,
I have given reasons for connecting the name with the
Hebrew \( 'allon \), "terebinth", "oak".

Lines 27-31 contain an invocation of Anat, in which she implores help in
getting possession of the riches of Asherat. The directions
how to do this begin in line 32. Though the lines following
are much broken, it seems clear that one of the ways suggested
is to catch with a net the fishes of Asherat. Apparently here
we have a reference to the beginning of the fishing industry
as a source of Phoenician wealth.
iii, 11. yqdd: to be so read rather than yt/dd.
12. m'g: probably to be so read, though part of the first letter is lost.
ydd, or Yadad is the god Idad of Philo of Byblos; cf. Eusebius, Evangelicae Praep. I, 10, 37 ff. In viii, 46 ff. and viii, 13 ff.
he is associated with Moth, the god of death.
wqylm: cf. the Arabic qalaša, "rise up".
13. wnywepen: I agree with Albright in regarding this as the Phoeni-
cian form of the Arabic nafathâ, but translate by another
meaning of that Arabic root.
17. sm'a: I take to be a scribal error for snn. The omission of a
single wedge has made the difference.
b'il šiš: literally, "the possessor of three", but three what?
The context suggests that we supply pēôth, "edges" after
the analogy of Jud. 3: 16. Cf. also hßnmasleg šélôshâ šinnayim,
the critical reading in 1 Sam. 2: 13. The context suggests that
the phrase was descriptive of a knife or dagger.
36. huet: cf. the Arabic hawcay, "desire", "love passionately".

iv, 5. The lacuna is supplied from line 10.
gyn: literally "vine", if Semitic. Here it must mean some-
thing like stirrup(?). It is, at least, part of the trappings
of a horse. Montgomery's guess, "platters", does not fit the
context.
8. qd; the parallelism of lines 13, 16, and 17 show that we should
read qdâ here. The scribe accidentally omitted  stripslashes.
9. mdt; cf. the Arabic madala, which, in the fifth stem means,
"cover the face with a veil". The context here requires the
meaning "cover with a blanket" or "saddle".
11. ngbnm: "mines"; so Albright, correctly.
13. qdâ: Here a supernatural spirit, but in Poem III, line 65
Qadesh is the Kadesh in the wilderness. Ammar and Qadesh
are accordingly the spirits of the countries which form the
northern and southern boundaries of the Phoenician territory.
They were still conscious of having come from the South, so
Ammâr (Amurru) forms the vanguard and Qadesh the rear
guard of Asherat's queenly progress.
'amrr: as Montgomery suggests, a survival of the god Amurru.
15. ysmmt: apparently a noun from the pilpel of sim, kindred
in meaning to the Assyrian simtu.
33. rdâ: Montgomery connects with râfab, "moist", but the mean-
ing thus gained does not fit the context. Perhaps the word is
connected with the Arabic rađâba, "suck the lips". The
context here requires the meaning "hungry".
wdt'te: cf. the Arabic swâd, "dry", "wither". tdt'e is a
reflexive formation.
34. dmw· dm't: an infinitive absolute used with the finite verb for
emphasis.
39. yḥss: ḥṣs means in Arabic, “make one’s share small”. In our context the meaning “ward off” is naturally derived from it.

ṭrrk: cf. the Arabic ‘rr.

41. ṭḥmk is a scribal error for ṭḥkm.

45. kinytn is difficult. I take it to be made up of the preposition k, the plural of a noun from the root ḫn, “pass the night”, “lodge”, and the pronominal suffix.

qḍḥ and Ṯbn are conjecturally restored from the fragmentary letters visible.

46. nbl: conjecturally restored from the remaining wedges. bl from balal.

58. l ṭpn: TFN has in xith stem of the Arabic the meaning “dwell peaceably”, “be well mannered”.

60. ‘els: from ‘als, “deceive”.

5, v. rḥnnt: a feminine plural noun from rḥm, “feel compassion”.

The m is changed to n before the dental of the feminine ending.

‘etrk: cf. the Assyrian ḫrtu, “breast”.

6. ṭn’ap: cf. the Arabic na’af, “drink one’s fill”.

’dn: I connect this word with the Aramaic ‘dn, taking y’dn in line 7 as a denominative from the same root. ‘dn may, however, be as Virolettaud thinks, edinnu, “plain”, in which case the denominative verb would mean “manure”, “fertilize”. The passage would then read, “When the plain cries out for its rain—Baal will make the plain fruitful”.

9. ṣrh: cf. the Arabic ṣrḥ, “shine brilliantly”, “flash”.

11. hḥm: Arabic ḥmā, “truly”, “verily”.

13. bḥmk is shown by parallel passages to be a scribal error for bḥtk. Perhaps the perpendicular wedge which has changed the t to m was meant for a word-divider.

39. mḥmḥd: the reading of the text, lḥmḥd is correct to mḥmḥd by the parallel passage above, col. v, 31 f.

41. kṣr-w-hḥss is treated in this text as a singular. If so it is a compound name. Kasher and Khasas may be compared to Uznem and Khasis, who appear in a Babylonian text as messengers of the goddess Ningal (cf. Delitzsch HWB, 285b). Uznem means “hearing” and Khasis, “thought”. Kasher here means “suitable” and Khasas, “thought”. In this text they come to help build the temple.

42. I take this enigmatical line to be a rubric. The poem was recited as a part of the liturgy of Alein’s festival, and the rubric directs the reciter to turn back and repeat a part of the liturgy. Unfortunately the catch words, telling him where to begin his repetition, must have stood in a part of the text now broken away. For evidence of such recitals from other nations see Myth and Ritual, edited by S. H. Hooke, Oxford, 1933, chs. I-III.

49. This line I have conjecturally restored in translating.
vi, 2. Restored from col. vii, 24, 25.
10. Conjecturally restored by analogy with previous lines.
11 and 12 are conjecturally restored.
13. ’lṣm: cf. the Arabic ‘alṣa, which in the second stem means “cause stomachache ache”.
       psm: cf. the Arabic fāš, “collapse”. psm is plural.
16 and 17 are conjecturally restored.
23. nbṭ: Montgomery has satisfactorily explained this word; JAOS, LIII, 119.
32. td: Imperfect from the root WDY.
34. rqm: I take for Arabic raug, “tent”, “canopy”, “curtain”.
36. ybnt: 161 perfect of BNH, employed like the prophetic perfect in Hebrew.
37. yu’m: hophal of ’ATM; cf. Arabic ’atma.
43. ll’em: “kids”; so Epstein, Friedrich, and Albright. Cf. the sing. ll’a in col. viii, 19.
47. In this and the following lines I read with Montgomery ym, “day”, instead of yn, wine.
51. ḫṣm: I take to be k ḫṣm, “like (or, “as it were”) shame”. Cf. the Arabic ḥṣām, “fear”, “shame”, “bashfulness”.
52. kṣ’at: I also read k s’at. Lines 51 and 52 I take to be interpunctionary of the two following lines.
53. ṛḥbt: probably for ṛḥmt, “wombs”, the m having been dialectally changed to the kindred labial ƀ.
54. ḏkrn: Montgomery’s identification of this with zikrōn in Isa. 57: 8 is both brilliant and convincing; cf. JAOS, LIII, 121. As in so many agricultural cult rituals, the acme of the festival was believed to be a divine marital union. For Babylonia, cf. the writer’s Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions, p. 34 ff.; Archaeology and the Bible, 6th ed., p. 346, and The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad, p. 259 ff. For Egypt, Sethe, Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysteriensielen, p. 83 ff.

vii, 19. ḏqṭ: ḏqq in the ivth stem of the Arabic means “examine”.
31. ḣkr: cf. the Arabic KRR.
32. ṣbḥn: cf. the Arabic ḥṣs, “make small”, “damage”.
36. ḥd: I follow Ginsberg and Albright in regarding ḥd as a short spelling of Hadad, analogous to Adda of the El-Amarna tablets. See JPOS, XIV, 129, n. 147.
ụpṭ: cf. the Arabic GFF, one of the meanings of which is “hollow”. GPT also occurs in Ben Sira 40: 16, where the “hollows of the wady” would make much better sense than that which the Greek translator derived by rendering it “lips” or “edges”. In the form GPPY it occurs in Prov. 9: 3, where another meaning of the Arabic root, “crowd” seem to fit, but where the LXX rendered by ἐπὶ κρέτερα, “upon strength”.

\(\text{dr:}\) perhaps to be transliterated \(\text{ṣr}\) or \(\text{ṭr}\), means, as in Poem I, ii, 16, “mountain”. It is from this word for “mountain”, I believe, that our word “Syria” is derived, and not from Assyria, by attrition. \(\text{gpt}\) \(\text{ṣr}\) would then be the “hollow of the mountain” or “Celo-Syria”, which was in later times the land of Hadad.

38. \(\text{lm:}\) both here and in the next line I take to be the negative \(\text{la}\) \text{m} as in Arabic (many Arabisms survive in these texts) and not the Hebrew \(\text{lams}\) as Albright does.

\(\text{thā:}\) I take to be the equivalent of Ar. \(\text{ḥYS}\) and not with Albright, of Ar. \(\text{ḥSY}\). The sibilants in these texts were not as clearly differentiated as in later times.

39. \(\text{nsq:}\) while \(\text{ṣQQ}\) means primarily to “split”, the 2nd stem of the Arabic means “pronounce distinctly”, I take it here to mean “recite”.

53. \(\text{gpw-\text{agr}}\) is, as Virolleaud has perceived, another compound name. Poem III, 8, 15 makes it the vine-god, but here he is equated with Alein.

54. \(\text{b:}\) the variant text (Syria, XIII, 158), reads \(\text{bn, “son”}\), which, in the context, gives a much better meaning.

\(\text{qlm}:\) the Hebrew \(\text{qalmaweth, “the shade of Moth”}\).

55 f. The lacunae are supplied from the text published in Syria, XIII, 158.

\(\text{mm ym:}\) “people of Yam”. Yam is the personified sea. Apparently the sea-peoples are addressed here as shades along with Gepen-w-Agar.

56. \(\text{pr’t:}\) Virolleaud regards this as a feminine plural of the Hebrew \(\text{par’oh}\), and so gains the meaning “princesses”. I regard it as an earlier form of the Hebrew \(\text{par’oh}\). The \(\text{t}\) in \(\text{pr’t}\) would account for the final \(\text{ḥ}\) in Hebrew. Why the feminine ending should have been added in Semitic, we can only conjecture. One thinks of the ascendancy of queen Tiy over Amenophis III, but there may have been some other cause.

57. \(\text{’abr:}\) the Hebrew \(\text{’abir}\).

\(\text{mnt:}\) the Egyptian war-god, Mont. “The pride of Pharaoh, the mighty one of Mont,” is a reference to the shades of the Egyptian strain in the ancestry of the makers of this liturgy, as the reference to the sea-peoples was to the Aegean strain.

viii, 11. \(\text{tk:}\) from NKY.

13. \(\text{ḥḥ:}\) cf. the Assyrian \(\text{ḥahlhu, “filth”}\).

\(\text{ṣbrn:}\) Virolleaud’s copy has \(\text{ṣbr’a}\), but he notes that a bit of clay is broken away and there may have been another wedge which would give \(\text{ṣbrn—}\) a reading which fits the context as \(\text{ṣbr’a}\) does not.

20. \(\text{qnh:}\) from QNN, “flog”, “cudgel”.

22 f. \(\text{f’a ṣmm, literally, who art not stopped”}\).

32. \(\text{ṭhm:}\) from the root \(\text{WHM}\).

47. \(\text{gpw-\text{agr:}}\) completed from col. vii, 53.
2. *psalm:* cf. the Arabic *fasala,* which, in the 4th stem, has the meaning I have assigned the word here.

2-5. These lines are difficult and the translation uncertain.

9. *bk:* I take for the 3 pers. perf. from BKY.

12. *'msm:* the final *m* is regarded by Virolleaud as a particle to strengthen the meaning of the verb. I regard it rather as employed with *l* as a compound preposition. On *'ms,* cf. the Arabic *'amaša,* which in the 2nd and 4th stems means "make whole", "restore to health".

17. *štnn:* cf. the Arabic SNN.

*ḥrt:* cf. the Talmudic *ḥereḥ,* "soot", "sediment".

18. *'elm:* in this context, not "gods", but "weeds"; cf. the Akk. *alamā*.


*gmn:* cf. the Eth. *gaman,* "violare".

43. *trmnt:* from the root RMM.

44. *tšyyt:* perhaps from the root *DY* with infixed reflexive *t,* which, after *š* has become *z.* Cf. the Arabic *diyā* "brightness".

45. *rp'em:* the Hebrew *rphā'īm;* cf. Ps. 88: 11.

46. *'elmym,* is, like the name *al'eyn,* to be connected with the Hebrew word *'ellah,* *allon,* "terebinth"; cf. e.g., Gen. 35: 4 and 8. I take it that here the spirits of the terebinths are thought to have died with Alein.

**Corrections to Vol. 52, pages 221-231**

Page 222, col. i, 23 for *ḥt'eh* read *ḥt'eh.*

_Ibid.,_ line 25 for *l'afmm* read *l'a šmm.*

Page 224, line 5 for "who purifies" read "at the source of".

_Ibid.,_ line 21 for "the god Ded" read "El-Ded".

_Ibid.,_ line 23 for "the storehouse (?)" read "a resting-place".

_Ibid.,_ lines 29 and 34 for "cold-places" read "heights".

_Ibid.,_ lines 31-33 read "the lord; his legs shall reach the footstool; his head shall reach its top. Then Ashtar, the wise", etc.

Page 225, lines 6-9a and 27b-30a read "overcame her. Like the longing of a young cow for her calf, like the longing of a ewe for her lamb, so was the longing of Anath for the shrine of Baal.

_Ibid.,_ line 24 for "is dust" read "the burning one".

_Ibid.,_ line 25 for "of the fleshless" read "verily I will make them".

Page 226, line 5 for "borne" read "begotten".

_Ibid.,_ line 15 read "his feet he set on a footstool".

_Ibid.,_ line 22 for "the god" read "El".

_Ibid.,_ line 31 for "while" read "there".

Page 227, line 47 for "god" read "El".

Page 228, line 12 for "cold regions" read "heights".

_Ibid.,_ line 31 for "god" read "El".
A STORY OF VIKRAMA’S BIRTH AND ACCESSION

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The Vetālapaṅcaviṃśati in its various Sanskrit versions shows a considerable number of interpolations. Some of these are found only in one manuscript or group of manuscripts, others have become integral parts of a version. One of the former type will be presented in this article, and another will be described. These will complete the list of all such insertions which have been found in available manuscripts. Consequently, it seems useful to classify all the interpolations and to indicate the rationale of their insertion. Two types emerge from the mass and will be treated after a short preliminary account of the versions and plan of the work.

The versions of the story-collection known as the Vetālapaṅcaviṃśati are five in number according to the hand books on Sanskrit literature.1 Of these, Somadeva’s and Kṣemendra’s versions (in the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛhatkathāmaṇjarī respectively) may for our purpose be regarded as two versions of one original, the Bṛhatkathā. Their subject-matter is identical in the Vetālapaṅcaviṃśati section. Jambhaladatta and Śivadāsa provide a second and a third independent version. The shadowy Vallabhadāsa version is, as I hope to show at some later time, nothing but a sub-version of Śivadāsa, if it may be dignified with even as much independence as this. We have, then, to deal with three independent versions. Of these the Bṛhatkathā versions and the Śivadāsa version agree in their general outline. There is a frame-story in which king Vikrama (this and several other names are used) and the vetāla-inhabited corpse set out on the road to the false ascetic, the vetāla telling stories on the way, and, when they finally arrive, the king, following the instructions of the vetāla, outwits the ascetic. The vetāla on the road tells 24 stories, the conclusion of the frame-story being the 25th story which makes up the number of the title. The 24 stories in these versions agree in subject-matter, though Śivadāsa handles the details in a manner which is different from, and independent of, the Bṛhatkathā versions. We must conclude that these

1The “anonyme Recension” which Uhle published in AKM viii. 1 is to be disregarded, since it is merely a prose abstract of Kṣemendra’s version.
24 stories and no other were found in the original Vetālapāñca-viṁśati. Jambhaladatta’s version, on the other hand, within the same frame has 25 stories told by the vetāla.²

(1) This discrepancy in the number of the vetāla’s stories results from the first type of interpolation. Extra stories, namely, are given to the vetāla. Three of Jambhaladatta’s stories are found in no other version and together with 22 of the original stories make up the 25 of his version. My manuscripts for this version, few as they are, yet divide into two groups on the basis of the stories retained from the original stock. One only, Cambridge Add. MS. 1655, which comes from Nepal, omits the two stories which in the Bṛhatkathā versions are numbers 17 and 18, in Śivadāsa 16 and 17. The other manuscripts (viz. India Office Sanskrit MS. 3108 [Eggeling 4097], Oxford MS. Wilson 242c [Aufrecht, Oxford Catalogue 327; this is a copy of the India Office manuscript], and MS. 144 in Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, vol. vi., p. 100), all from Bengal, omit the Bṛhatkathā stories 12 and 14, Śivadāsa 11 and 13. The omission of these stories in preference to others may be rationalized for the second group. The 12th story of the Bṛhatkathā versions describes the winning of a bride who lived in a world under the sea, and to this extent is similar to Śivadāsa’s and Kṣemendra’s story 8, Somadeva’s 7. The Bṛhatkathā story 14 leads up to the “Laugh and Cry motif,”² which is employed again in Bṛhatkathā story 23, Śivadāsa 22. But such a rationalization, weak and subjective as it is, cannot be applied, so far as I can see, to the omission which the other manuscript makes. This curious state of affairs indicates perhaps that Jambhaladatta’s version originally included the 24 stories of the other versions plus three other stories, and that later redactors, offended by the discrepancy between the title of the collection and the inclusion of 27 stories, in one way or another ousted a minimal number of stories.²² Whether this is the true explanation or not, we

²The evidence for this is contained in my Jambhaladatta’s Version of the Vetālapāñca-viṁśati (vol. 4 of the American Oriental Series), New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1934, introduction.

²²So designated by Bloomfield in his article in JAOS 36.54-89.

²²²The Newari translation of this version adds further evidence to the same effect; I now regard this theory of 27 stories as certain. Cf. the introduction of the work cited in note 2.
can safely assume that Jambhaladatta's version has an interpolation of three stories, and that the manuscripts give additional evidence that the original Vetālapañcaviśāti put 24 stories in the vetāla's mouth.

Other interpolations of this type are found, but the results are less complex and do not establish themselves as permanent features of a recension. In three of the remaining cases the insertion is made in the same place, immediately before the vetāla's final story with its unanswerable riddle. (In Jambhaladatta's version the case is not so; one original story intervenes between the interpolated stories and the final story.) These insertions are undoubtedly due to the fact that the title will admit of one more story and the redactor had a good story to tell. The bibliography of these insertions follows.

In some manuscripts of Kṣemendra an abstract of Bāna's Kādambarī in 78 ślokas was inserted. This interpolation I have treated in JRAS, 1933, pp. 821-830.

India Office Sanskrit MS. 2239 (Eggeling 4096), which is attributed to Vallabhādāsa, inserts a tale whose theme is that of the "Judgment of Solomon." The text of this story is printed in the Catalogue. Manuscript 470 of Bhandarkar's Report on Search for Sanskrit MSS. Bombay Presidency 1887-91 is identical with this India Office manuscript. Of the two other manuscripts attributed to Vallabhādāsa which I have seen, one is incomplete, the other contains no trace of this inserted story.

India Office Sanskrit MSS. 2688c (Eggeling 4095) and 1668a (Eggeling 4094, Uhle's B), which represent in general Śivadāsa's version, are at the end contaminated with Kṣemendra's version. They contain Śivadāsa's stories 1 to 23, then Kṣemendra's 23, 24, and 25 (the conclusion of the frame-story), giving altogether 25 stories to the vetāla. Kṣemendra's story 23 corresponds in subject to Śivadāsa's 22, but the two versions work out the details in such different ways that the stories were evidently regarded by the contaminator as essentially different. Here we have, as it were, a "fake" interpolation.

Uhle's manuscript c of Śivadāsa has an interpolated story which he describes as "Erzählung XXV." He published the text in AKM viii. 1, pp. 63-64, and a translation with discussion of the theme of the story on pp. 130-131 of his complete translation of Śivadāsa's
version. The story is told by the vetāla, but Uhle nowhere indicates its exact position in the manuscript.

(2) In the second type of interpolation there is an addition to the frame-story, usually giving some account of the previous history and relationship of the king, the ascetic, and the corpse. The position of the addition is variable. Sometimes it is merely tacked on at the beginning or at the end of the complete Vetālapaṅcaviṃśati, occasionally it is more carefully inserted somewhere in the frame-story.

Uhle, in his article “Eine sanskritische Parallele zu einer Erzählung in Galanos’ Uebersetzung des Pañcatantra” in ZDMG 23 (1869), pp. 443-452, published the text and a translation of a story added at the end of his manuscript g. Unlike most of this class of interpolations, it has to do with the king’s use of the magic powers which he gained by his ordeal in the Vetālapaṅcaviṃśati. It is an instance of the application of the parakāyapraeveśavidyā and, as such, was further treated by Bloomfield in his article “On the art of entering another’s body” in Proc. Amer. Philosophical Society, lvi (1917), pp. 1-43.

At the beginning of manuscript 353, described in Peterson, Report on a Search for Sanskrit MSS. Bombay Circle 1884-86, p. 396, there is a short introductory story written in such bad Sanskrit and so corrupt that publication is impossible. In it a digambara Ksāntiśīla at the end of a long “transformation contest” with his pupil Govinda kills him and hangs his corpse on a tree. We undoubtedly have here a previous history of the vetāla-corpse, but no connection is made in the manuscript between it and the main story. I hope to discuss this story at some later date in connection with the introductory story of the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the Vetālapaṅcaviṃśati.

The motif of “three boys born under the same star”

The three remaining insertions are concerned with an accretion to the Vikrama-legend which does not occur widely elsewhere, but yet seems, from the variety of forms in which it occurs, to be a fairly persistent floating element in the Vikrama-cycle. This is the story of the birth at the same time of three boys, one of whom

is Vikrama. The other two are respectively the sons of a potter and an oil-maker. A prediction is made that one shall kill the other two and become king. The oil-maker’s son becomes, after different vicissitudes in each version, the \textit{vetāla}-corpse; the potter’s son becomes the false ascetic of the frame-story. In the introductory story to Uhle’s manuscript a, the potter deceitfully befriends the oil-maker’s son, who apparently knows nothing of the prediction, and hangs him on a tree. He is then forced to flee the country, but returns in the disguise of a \textit{digambara}, the false ascetic. The Hindi version of the \textit{Vetālapañcaviśātī} contains the same incident (as well as the preceding account of the seduction of an ascetic by a courtesan); the details are so similar to those of a that we may infer some close connection between the two accounts. It must be noticed that a does not have the three verses introducing the frame-story in the place where they are given in the usually accepted text of Śivadāsa; if it had them at all, it was on the first folio of the manuscript, which has disappeared. Nor does it have the introductory prose sentence which identifies the king and his capital. The patching on of the preliminary story has been done with some consistency.

The long preliminary story in India Office MS. 2688c (Eggeling 4095), the text of which is given below, has already been summarised in the \textit{Catalogue}. The three boys appear again here; the reason for their simultaneous birth is different, and some of the subsequent details differ also from those of a. The oil-maker’s son voluntarily acts a corpse at first, but later is killed and becomes the \textit{vetāla}-inhabited corpse; the potter’s son, as a \textit{yogin}, presents the king with jewels and by a ruse causes the king to enter a parrot’s body, while he enters the king’s body. Vikrama succeeds in regain-

\begin{footnotes}
\item Text in \textit{AKM} viii. 1, pp. 1-4; translation in volume cited in note 4, pp. 3-10.
\item \textit{AKM} viii. 1, p. 95, critical note on 5. 23.
\item Oesterley, \textit{Baitāl Pachisi}, Leipzig, 1873. \textit{Early Ideas: A Group of Hindoo Stories collected and collated by Anaryan} [F. F. Arbuthnot], London, 1881, pp. 103-109, presents an introduction to the \textit{Vetālapañcaviśātī}, which is merely a somewhat condensed translation of the Hindi version, containing all the incidents of that version. The Marathi version of the \textit{Vetālapañcaviśātī} has been translated by C. A. Kincaid as \textit{Tales of King Vikrama} (1921). This version is a translation of the Hindi version, made in 1830 by Sadeshiv Chatre, and for our present purpose differs not at all from the Hindi version.
\end{footnotes}
ing his own body again, the potter’s son again becomes a yogin and comes to the king’s court a second time with a magic copper vessel with which he wins Vikrama’s favor. Then the main cycle of stories begins. The twofold winning of the king’s favor is necessitated by the two attempts made on his life, but bad workmanship must be seen in the similarity of the two incidents.

Jambhaladatta’s version has an account in the final frame-story given by the vētāla himself of his previous history. It is markedly different from the two forms of the story which have just been given, and yet some points of resemblance can be seen. The vētāla was originally an oil-maker who was befriended and instructed in magic by a jñānin. But he defrauded the jñānin’s former pupil and in consequence of the jñānin’s curse became a vētāla. The former pupil then gained the king’s favor as an ascetic. It is evident that the former pupil corresponds to the potter’s son of the other two versions and that we have here the same story without the apparatus of the simultaneous births. It must be observed that only the Bengal manuscripts have this story; the Nepal manuscript shows no trace of it. This probably means that the original version of Jambhaladatta, like the Bṛhatkathā versions and Śivadāsa’s version knew nothing of this story.

Thakur Rajendra Singh’s Legends of Vikramaditya (Allahabad, The Indian Press, 1913) purports to be an English translation of Lallū Lal’s Singhasan Battiśi, i. e. the Hindi version of the Siṁhāsanadvātrīṅśikā or Vikramacarita. As in the Jainistic version of the Vikramacarita there is a drastic rearrangement of the frame-story, following in the main that of the Jainistic version. The first and second statuette tell the history of king Vikrama. In the tale of the second are found those incidents of Vikrama’s life which the Jainistic version gives to the first statuette. In addition to them there is the tale of three boys born under the same star, in a highly condensed form. The demon conquered by Vikrama tells him of the simultaneous birth of Vikrama, an oil-maker, and a potter. The potter with the aid of his deity had killed the oil-maker and hung his body in a tree and was about to overcome the king by assuming the form of an ascetic and going through the procedure familiar to us in the conclusion of the

*Cf. Uhle’s translation of this story in the volume cited in note 4, and the remarks in the introduction to that volume, pp. xxx-xxxii.*
frame-story of the Vetalapañcaviṃśati. (My summary includes all
the essential points of Singh's text and is little shorter than it.)

Other versions of this story of "three boys born under the same
star" have not turned up. It occurs in no text of any antiquity
except that of Jambhaladatta, and there its form is secondary to
the other versions and, as we have seen, it is probable that the inci-
dent is not an integral part of the original text as composed by
Jambhaladatta. Lallū Lāl's version of the Vikramacarita was com-
posed in the early years of the 19th century. The two interpolations
can, of course, not be dated. The evidence of the versions,
then, points to a late date for the addition of the story to the cycle;
the subject-matter and details of the story (e. g. the part played by
astrology) do not make such a date necessary, though admittedly
they are very much at home in modern India.

Interpolation in India Office MS. 2688c.

In the Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the
India Office, part vii, pp. 1563-4, this interpolation is summarised.
The manuscript is modern, with no date. It is evident from the
incorrectness of the text, as will be seen in the critical notes to the
text here given, that the insertion was not made primarily in this
manuscript, but was found in the manuscript from which it was
copied. The insertion occupies about 18 complete folios.

The following analysis gives the main points in the story:

1. Birth of the three boys, including Vikrama; prophecy. §§ 1-3.

2. Vikrama pretends madness to escape his elder brothers;
Bhartṛhari becomes king. §§ 4-6.

3. Bhartṛhari and the fruit of immortality. He abdicates in
favor of Durmukha. §§ 7-9.

4. A rākṣasa eats Durmukha and thereafter one king each day.
Jackals prophesy in Vikrama's hearing that he will be king. § 10.

5. Vikrama is helped on his way to Ujjain by an ulmuka. § 11.


7. The oil-maker hangs in the midst of corpses in a cemetery;
the potter leaves Ujjain. § 14.

8. The potter, become yogin, gives Vikrama jewels and tricks
him into entering a parrot's body, while he enters Vikrama's body.
§ 15.

10. With her help Vikrama regains his body and the potter becomes a crow. §§ 21-23.

11. The episode of the king’s wives and the oil-maker. The oil-maker is slain and hanged on a tree. §§ 24-26.

12. The potter gains the body of a yogin and comes to Vikrama with a magic vessel. § 27.

The Persian version of the Vikramarāita⁹ contains a considerable part of this material. In its frame-story the birth of Vikrama is narrated in a form very similar to the prefixed story in some of the manuscripts of the Jain Vikramarāita.¹⁰ Then follows an account of how Bhartṛhari came to the throne and at his wife’s instigation drove Vikrama into exile. After this come the incidents numbered 3, 4, and 6 above. The frame-story concludes with an account of the magic throne. In the story of the 7th statuette we have our incidents 8-10. Details of these stories are in general similar to those in our text. Some connexion between the two accounts must be assumed, but in view of the lack of other versions we can say little more than that both are representatives of floating legends about Vikrama. A more detailed examination of some of the incidents is given below.

The story-content of our text is basically simple. The main tale is that discussed above, the motif of “three boys born under the same star” and their struggles for the throne. The chief struggle is that between Vikrama and the potter; it is carried on by means of the parapiṇḍapraveśavidyā. Of the four versions of Vikrama’s adventures with this art treated by Bloomfield, that contained in the Persian Vikramarāita is in the main nearest in detail to ours, though it does not correspond exactly. Its yogin is, of course, not equated with a potter, nor is he connected in any way with the false ascetic of the Vēṭāḷapaṇcaviṃśati. For other divergences I refer to Bloomfield’s article.

The stories of the fruit of immortality and Vikrama’s winning of the kingdom from the demon appear together again, not only in the Persian Vikramarāita, but also in the Jainistic version. The

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¹⁰ Edgerton, Vikrama’s Adventures; text in HOS 27, 241-244, translation 26, 263-266.
latter story is found also in the Prabandhacintāmani.\textsuperscript{11} In the Jain Vikramacarita these stories are numbers 4 and 5 in the frame-story. For the former story there is a close correspondence in detail between these three versions. The fruit passes through the hands of the same people and in the same order. Other versions contained in other texts of the Vikramacarita show differences in detail. In the latter story our text is closest to the Jain Vikramacarita. Neither has an actual battle between the king and the demon, while in the other two versions a battle does take place. The king in our version, when told that he will live to be one hundred years old, says: mamā 'yuṣi śūnyām patitam. nyūnādhikāṁ kuru. In the Jain Vikramacarita his words are: mamā 'yuṣi śūnyām patitam, tarhi tvāyā varṣam ekāṁ samadhikāṁ nyūnām vā karaṇīyam.\textsuperscript{12} The Prabandhacintāmani has no exact parallel for the first half of this speech, and its wording is different for the second. In the Persian version this incident is given, but it has no bearing on the final outcome of the king’s struggles with the demon; the whole story is loose-jointed in this version. For these two incidents the Jain Vikramacarita seems to be the source for our text.\textsuperscript{13}

The incident of the interpretation of the cries of jackals differs somewhat in its details in the Persian Vikramacarita. There Vikrama comes to Ujjain with his patron, a man from Guzerat. Jackals howl at night, one of them with an almost human voice. The patron in Vikrama’s hearing tells his wife what the jackal is saying. His interpretation is practically identical with that given in our text. This story is paralleled also in the (interpolated) 32nd story of the Metrical version of the Vikramacarita.\textsuperscript{14} Our version shows that there gaulī = gaurī = śivā, “jackal.” The incident is a special adaptation of the common motif of interpretation, real or pretended, of animal speech and cries, which has been treated by Bloomfield.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{11} In Tawney’s translation, pp. 4-5.
\textsuperscript{12} Edgerton, \textit{HOS} 27. 233, lines 18-19.
\textsuperscript{13} Singh’s work mentioned above has these two stories in the same order. The first is close in detail to the versions of the Jain Vikramacarita and our interpolation. The second differs somewhat; the demon is sent by Indra to guard the kingdom and challenges Vikrama on his arrival. They wrestle, the demon is worased, and tells of the simultaneous births and the false ascetic who is to appear.
\textsuperscript{14} Edgerton, \textit{HOS} 27. 229 and 26. 248.
\textsuperscript{15} “On overhearing as a motif of Hindu fiction”, \textit{AJP} xli. 309-335.
The "life-index" tree (saubhāgyavṛkṣa, § 8.7) as a "passive" index is frequent in Hindu folklore, but instances in Sanskrit literature are so rare that its use here is important, though it is of late date and undoubtedly based on modern folklore. It is to be added to the cases of the motif in Ruth Norton's article "The Life-index: a Hindu fiction-motif" in Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield, p. 220. It should be noted that here the index is introduced with extreme casualness without any statement of its selection or assignment; this is unlike the general tendency pointed out in the article just referred to, p. 223. The incident is not found in the Persian Vikramacarita.

Of the other incidents, that of the uilmuka is imperfectly motivated and rather unintelligible; we may suspect that it suffers from omission of some important points in the manuscript. The latter part of the incident numbered 11 above is also suspiciously obscure; some omission has certainly taken place and this may be responsible for the obscurity.

Most of the verses in the text are found elsewhere in Śivadāsa's Vetalapācaviñāsati and are repeated later in this manuscript in their usual places. For vss. 2-4 see Uhle p. 5 and critical notes; vs. 6, Uhle p. 17, vs. 23 (also Vikramacarita in Jainistic and Brief recensions, HOS 27, 364); vs. 7, Uhle p. 11, vs. 26(24); vs. 10, Uhle p. 11, vs. 31(29); vs. 11, cf. Uhle p. 6, vs. 12 and Boehtlingk Indische Spräche 998(379). Vs. 8 is Boehtlingk 5161(2330). The famous stanza describing the "nine jewels" of Vikrama's court (vs. 9) is discussed fully by Weber in his article "Ueber das Jyotirvidābhāraṇam." 16 The verse is found in the Jyotirvidābhāraṇa xxii. 10. The verse in rathodhātā meter (vs. 5) is not in Boehtlingk. The introductory narrative verse is not found elsewhere.

The manuscript is badly written with numerous corruptions, bad sandhi, etc. In general I have tacitly corrected the sandhi, recording the manuscript readings only where there may be room for difference of opinion. One or two instances of corruption seem to be of more than casual interest. At § 11.2 the ms. has jācate for yācate, at § 13.24 sāhāhya for sāhāyyam. There are several cases of double sandhi: § 1.13 tasyārtham for tasyā artham; § 2, last line sagarbhābhavan (ms. ovat) for sagarbhā abhavan. In the episode

16 ZDMG 22. 708-730, especially 722-723.
in § 10 the ms. writes throughout vanig- for vanig-. Everywhere except at § 19.4 and 13 piñjara is read for pañjara, and I have retained it in the text. Likewise I have retained ujjayant, which is written throughout except at § 6.24.

A number of new or lexical words appear. There are three unrecorded names of coins: śivāṅka, m., “marked with Śiva” or “having a lucky mark” (?), § 16.6, § 18.14; rajatamudrā, f. (§ 16.12) and raupyumudrā, f. (§ 18.14), “silver coin.” The last two are synonymous; śivāṅka is the smallest coin, next in value come these last two, then the dināra.

Pulinda (§ 16.7 ff.) appears in this text synonymous with mrgayu and vyādha; the meaning “hunter” is an easy development from the recorded meanings “barbarian, mountaineer.”

dhātar (§§ 4.3, 14.3, 19.14) seems to be used as an expletive. It can hardly be anything but the vocative “oh creator!” but the use seems peculiar. Cf. vidhātar (§ 25.11).

Bahucayaska, “of great age” (§ 27.2) is not recorded.

Vīhāyasīn, “heavenly one” (§ 13.17) is an emendation, but a fairly sure one; not previously recorded.

Vohithha, “ship” (§ 10.10) is recorded as a lexical word of neuter gender. It is treated here as masculine with saṁyāntām in agreement with it. Considering the bad state of the text, saṁyātam would be almost equally good; but variation in gender even of common words is frequent in this text, and the emendation is unnecessary.

Sadhu, “usurer” (§ 21.3 ff.) is also known from the Pañcatantra; see Edgerton, The Panchatantra Reconstructed, 1, 155 and 228.

Mañcānaka, gender not determinable, “bedstead” (§ 13.7). The normal Sanskrit forms are mañca and mañcaka. We may compare the Hindi words māc and macān; the latter is in part responsible for the form of our word.

Nispadya, “having cooked” (§ 19. last line). With this meaning beside the attested “having caused to ripen,” compare the two similar meanings of ṣpac.

Samārdyā, “having moistened” (§ 6.16), from sam-ārdrayati, not recorded. Our word is, however, an emendation.

Caurāyate (§ 10.11) is a denominative verb from caura; the ms. however is hardly to be trusted.

The late stem duhitā for duhitṛ is found at § 21.9 in the acc. sg.
and at § 21.1 as prior member of a compound; Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, 3.165a.

The stem śrēṣṭhi is found at § 18.20 and other passages, in the cpd. dattakāśrēṣṭhi, instead of the stem śrēṣṭhin.

The late usage of eka at the end of compounds, discussed by Wackernagel 3.200 f, is seen certainly in phalaikaṁ (§ 7.2) and nālikeraikāṁ (§ 15.3) and probably in yogindraikāh (§ 9.1), though this latter may be an instance of double sandhi for yogindra ekāḥ.

A comparatively rare type of compound is seen in vastavyayogyā (§ 21.7); Wackernagel 2.95ea.

The nominal construction replacing finite verb forms seems to have caused the author or copyists occasional difficulties. In a few cases the nominative subject appears instead of the instrumental with a neuter passive participle: § 2.5 viśālakṣi tadvacanaṁ śrūtvā njāṁ cetāṁ samāhūya bhāṇītāt; § 2.9 manorāmā tatra gataṁ njāṁ cetāṁ samāhūya kāryāṁ bhāṇītāt; § 3.2 rajā 'pi... jyotirvedo brāhmanāṁ āhūya kāryāṁ bhāṇītām (emendation to rājā is very easy). Conversely, the instrumental instead of the nominative is found with an active participle: § 7.6 brāhmanena tat phalaṁ rājñē dattavān; § 15.19 rājñā cai 'kānte gataṁ (emendation either to rājā or to gatam is in order). The instrumental seems to occur even with a finite verb: § 15.27 rājīna kṣaṇam vicintyā 'ha (rājā is a very easy emendation).

The uncertainty as to gender which has been mentioned above involves masculine and neuter nouns. At § 1.13 anugraha is treated as neuter. At § 6.2 vṛttānta, which is reported as only rarely neuter, is treated as neuter. At § 13.27 abhiseka is treated as neuter. At § 19.9, the only passage where the gender can be determined, dīnāra is treated as neuter. § 15.19: rājānās tvāṁ para-piṇḍapraśeṣāṁ jānāsi, iti prasiddhāḥ; here we have masc. for neuter.

Emendation would be easy enough, but is hardly worth making in such "dog-Sanskrit."

The manuscript begins with the two introductory verses, Uhle p. 5, vss. 1 and 2. Then its text is as follows:

āśīd ujjayano rājā sārvabhaumo 1 'tithipriyāḥ
yasmād ujjayanī prabhūn nagārī 'vā 'marāvati. (1)

§ 1. taśya rājño dve bhārye āstāṁ viśālakṣi manorāmā ce 'ti. viśālakṣi subhagā manorāmā durbhagā. viśālakṣi dvau putrau suṣuve, manorāmā vandhyā. tayā cintitam: dhātaḥ kiṁ karomi
kathām mama putrotpattir bhavet. ekadā manoramā siddhasena- brāhmaṇasamīpaṁ gatvā prāṇjalīṁ kṛtvā sthitā 'bhūt. siddhasenas tu tām dinamanaśaṁ 2 vilokyā sasneham āha: aho manorame mama 'ntikām kimartham āgātā 'sī. tayo 'ktam: svāminn aham anapatyā ā dvābhāga ca kiṁ karoṁi. aham api purodhasaṁ 3 prāsādāt kathaṁ sāpatayā bhavāmi, manasi bahudinaṁ vicārya bhavantaṁ mahānubhāvaṁ viṁjaṁ āranaṁ āgām.4 brāhmaṇeno 'ktam: kaṁṣaṁ atra tiśṭha. yathā bhavatyā tathā mama brāhmaṇye 5 'dānīṁ bhāniṁtaṁ: bho sarvāsāṁ varaṁ ādāsi, anapatyā 'hāṁ punar dayitā. mama 'nugrahaṁ bhavāta kathaṁ na kriyate. tasyārthāṁ tavā 'ṛthaṁ ce 'dānīṁ yāvad dhomaṁ viṁjaṁ hutaśeṣanāṁ pāyaśapin- ḍam abhinamtritamā 6 dvayoḥ kare 'rpayāmi. ity uktvā yajñā- kundāntikānā gatvā homāṁ kṛtvā homasāeṣānāṁ pīṇḍadvayam abhinamtraya toryahe dattvā 'vāca: bho brāhmaṇi, imām pīṇḍāṁ sayāhne snātvā sūddhatilataileenā dipakaṁ navinaṁ prajvalyo 'dāṁmukhiṁbhyaṁ nūtanamṛtpātre 7 kṛtvā bhokṣyase. tava putro bhaviṣyati, vararucir nāma 8 brahmavidāṁ śreṣṭhaṁ. aho manorame niṁjāntahpure gatvai 'vaṁ kṛtvā bhokṣyase. tava putro bhaviṣyati yasya sākaḥ prthivyāṁ calisyati, nāmataḥ prasiddho vikramādityah,

kandarpa iva ṛūpāḍhya harivaj ā janavallabhaṁ samudra iva maryādi 10 kṣamayā prthivisamah 1 (2) himakundendutulyābhaṁ śūraḥ sūryāṁ sunirmalaṁ 11 nānāmodasugandhāḍhyah śaurye 12 rāmasaṁhaṁ sadā 13 nānādaṁnaparo nityain nānādharmaparāyaṇaṁ anekarṇpattiśiraṁ samabhyyarcitāsaṁsaṁhaṁ, 14 (4)

পিন্ধাম গত্বা নূর্তাম মৃত্পাত্রে ক্র্ত্বা ভোক্ষ্যাসে। তাব মহানন্দবাহ্য পত্রুবা ভবিষ্যাঃ। ইত্য অকার্ণ্যা কুলালকণ্মী আনোহালাদাম ক্র্ত্বা নান্দিনাম মৃত্পাত্রম একম অদ্যায়া স্যাময় এর মানকামাকাম অসাধা। তাস্মীন এক একত্বাব্য আশ্মৃয়া আমানু তালাকারিন্থি প্রার্থিতা: সুধিহাত্তাল্ম রাজিতা যাচতে। আমানু তালাম গ্রণ্থিতাম মানোমাহিকান্তক। তাক মানোমাহে সন্নতো ‘দানুমক্ষিক্ষাঃ মৃত্পাত্রে পিন্ধাম ক্র্ত্বা যাবৃত প্রুত গাঙ্গ প্রাহা: বহু স্মায়ুমু মানোমাহ ভিত্তারম হাম এর পিন্ধিতা ভাবাতাম। কালামাত্রায় মায়াম এর প্রায়ান্ত আমাম। এর ক্র্ত্বায় 'কাম হাঙ্গাম গাঙ্গায় এতিঃ ধ্যায়াম একাম আমানু। তাদ্যাম এর বল্কত্তম। অথা স্থিভাসেননা দাতাপিন্ধার্থতং বস্ত্রী তিষ্কে সাগরভ্যাসান।

§ 3. দাতাস্থামা মানোমাহ গাঙ্গ আমানু কাই ‘কস্মিন এত্তাম একাম। রাৃঞ্জি এক মানোমাহিয়া পুট্রতপ্তিঃ সুত্ত্বায় যোত্রিং ব্রাহ্মণান্তাম হুয়া প্রভায় কার্যাম ব্রাহ্মণাশাম যাস্তাম প্রুতাঃ। বহু ব্রাহ্মণাল্ম, লাগাম ঵িচার্যা ভবান্তাম কিদ্রাম লাগনাম আত্ম যাস্তাম প্রুত জাতাম। রাজ্জী নির্জাতাম দাইবায়াণ্তা লাগাম ঵িচার্যা ভলাম এর আব্রাজুমাঃ। বহু রাণা, প্রত্যক্ষায় নাম প্রাচ্যুতিঃ ভক্ত্মার্ধিয়া এতি ভতাম জো জো নাম এর ভবিষ্যায় এর তার্থতায় সর্বাকাশান্তসামাং পুরুশঃ রাজারো ভবিষ্যায়। প্রানাম সোদাস্কাশিক্ষব এতাদাতা যাদ উল্লাম্বর্যাঃ একাষ্টাঃ। তাদা রাজ্জী এতিঃ মানাসিঃ প্রা মামা। মাহাল্যাপর্থমাঃ স্থ্যামাঃ একাম। প্রানাম এর ভূত্তিঃ একাম নাম এর ভবিষ্যায় এর তার্থতায় সর্বাকাশান্তসামাং পুরুশঃ রাজারো ভবিষ্যায়। প্রানাম এর ভূত্তিঃ একাম। ইতি এর এর এর এর এর এর এর এর এর এর এর।

§ 4. তাতা কাস্তিঃ কাই ধিসাল্কৃষ্যাঃ একাম অকাম সুতাম স্থুমুক্ষুমানু নামার্থমুক্ষুমান অকাম প্রকামান্তাম একাম। সুত্ত্বায় বিশাদাম গতায়। একাম তাঃ উভাতু: হতাঃ রাজ্জাম ব্রক্স যান্তাম, আহাম নাম হাম এর প্রায়ান্ত এর ভবিষ্যায়। ইতি এর রাহাওযানাম কাথাযাটাম তার মানোমাহিয়া
A Story of Vikrama's Birth and Accession

ghañā ayānantī 52 vikramadhātrī karpūramatī pathy āśrṇot. śrūtvā
tallakṣaṇaṁ manoramānte 53 nivedayām āsa. manoramā 'pi tan-
mukñāh chṛtvā 54 rodanaṁ cakāra. vikramādityo 'pi mātuḥ
sakāśad 55 rodanaḵaṇaṁ vijñāya mātaram āha: he mātār mā mā
rodī. 56 manasi dhaiyam 57 vidhatvā. kuru mama vacanaṁ yad
vadāmi. mātā vadāti: kiṁ tad vacanaṁ putra. vikramo vadāti:
mātas tvam akhilān 58 lokān śrāvayanti muktaṁ hā putre 'ti
śabdam kuruṁ 59 nagare paryāṭanaṁ kuru. yadā lokāḥ śrā-
vayantiṁ 60 muktaṁ 61 hā putre 'ti śabdam kuruṁ 62 evaṁ
vadiśyanti: 63 are 64 manorame kim abhūt tava putrasya, tadā tvam
evam vakṣyasi: ahaṁ tailodvartanādibhir dīne dīne putraṁ śu-
śrūṣamāṇā 'ṣṭau vatsārān 65 nīnāya. aṣṭavārśiko bhūḍ vikramo mayā
vidyāgrhe presīṭaḥ. vikramo 'pi gurukulaṁ gatvā vidiyām 66 paṭhitum
ārebhe, pūrvaṁ vyāyāmavidyāpāragāmy 67 ekāṇaḍāsārre varṣe vik-
ramo 'bhūt. idānīṁ vikrama unmatto 'bhūt. kūpe patati, vastraṁ
ākulaṇi, 68 gālīṁ dadāti, anyadai 'va 69 vadāti. manorame 'ti
vacanaṁ śrūtvā putrāt vikramād idānīṁ chadamahāvena tathai 'va
kurute sme. tāṁ manoramāṁ 70 tathā vikliṣyāmanāṁ lokāḥ prava-
danti: aho manorame kimarthāṁ rodiśi. sā 'vocat: aho bhṛtaraḥ,
aho mātaḥ, aho devāḥ, aho pitaḥ, kim karomi kva gacchāmi. vikramo
vikalo 'bhūt. iti vacanaṁ sumukhadurmmukhāḥyāṁ 71 api śrutam.
rājñā śrutam. śrūtvā draṣṭuṁ samāyāṭaḥ. parasparaṁ tà ucaṭuḥ:
yady eṣa vikramo 'munā prakāreṇa 72 mṛṭim prāṇoti, tada kim-
arthāṁ viṣadāni 73 kriyate gotrabhadhayāt. 74 uktaṁ ca:
locane harināśāvalocane mā vibhūṣaya krśāṇi kajjalaiḥ
suddha eva yadi jīvahāraṇaṁ 75 sāyako na 76 garalena lipyate. (5)

§ 5. vikramo 'pi sumukhadurmmukhau vilokya 'tīvamatto 'bhūt.
yad akṛtyaṁ tat karoti. tan marma mātā 'va jānāti nā 'nyah.
tāv api jātānandathū abhavatām. agnidāhabhayāl lokair nagarān
niḥśārito 77 vikramāh. vikramo 'pi vanāntaram paribhramam
ekasmin sarastre gatvā 'camya, ekottaraśatapāṁthivapūjanam 78
ahaṁ karisya adyārabhya prayaham iti samkalpam akāṛśīṁ ni-
jarāyaprāptaye. tatra sarovaratiṁ mṛḍa ekottaraśatapāṁthivasan-
ghatīnam ekena pāṇinā karoti. vedakvidhīnaṁ 'nena saṭtabhir
mantraṁ prthak prthak pūjayanti.'79 haro mahēśvaraś cai 'va śuḷa-
pāṇipinākadhīṁ, 80 śivaḥ paśupatiś cai 'va mahādeve 'ti visarjanam,
anenai 'va prakāreṇa prayaham ekottaraśatapāṁthivipūjanāṁ karoti.
anucīṭoṣāripahalapātreṇa 81 dhūpadipanaṁ vedyādīna pūjāṁ vi-
dhāya rājyaprārthanaṁ śivabhaktim yacate sa. yače 'haṁ
याचे 'हाँ' सिवा तावा कराराविंदयर भक्तिम, 82 याचे 'हाँ' याचे 'हाँ' पुनर आपि ताम एवा ताम एवा. 83

§ 6. इत्थम 'शिवार्नाम कुरवात्म शशीशुरे राजकीयावनार्किना वालोक्या सुमुखदुर्मुखयर अंकितन गत्ता वृंदतांत उच्यते 84 स्मा. ताव आपि सयाग वार्ताविद्धिम सियामा संक्षेपस्त्वेद्वात् बाबहुवातुह. 85 निजपितर अग्रे वृंदतांत उठतुह. राजा सुनवर वैसाह सुरुवात 'तिमि यं पारिशाकान. 86 गच्छांतु मामका बहुत्या ये का 'न्ये तु विकस्थाना. मनोरामसुतासिया 'द्या पास्यांतु हरा पुजानाम. ततो राजायाबा लोकाहू नुताहा नुताहा दित्वाशाह. 87 तत्र तामा सामाग्य परिशाना. 88 सरस्वस तिरा अशित्ता. ते पारिच्छन्निश्वाया 89 यत्रा तत्रा स्थिताह. तस्या पुजाविद्धिम 90 विलायांताह. 91 विक्रमो 'पी याथाक्तिविद्धिना पुजाम अकारत. पुजांते श्रमाना 92 सामागता। ज्ञायते मामा 93 'बिहिप्राया। सुमुखादुर्मुखाध्यायम बहुत्या मामा वधार्थराह प्रेशिता। ते मामा परिशान 94 ग्राहितम 95 अत्राय 'वा प्राच्छन्ना 96 चारानि। इति नामसा 'वा विकार्या माहेश्वरान क्षामपानम 97 कार्यिता 'पराधाह क्षांतव्यो मामे 'तयु उक्तव 98 'कोटरानातापार्थिवोपरि मुद्रोतसरगाध कृत्वा 99 तनाय 'वा मुत्रेन सर्वः पिन्दिकाह सामार्याया 100 समस्तांश लेपानम विद्याह पुरिःतारापार्थिवोपरि मुद्रोतसरगाध 101 कृत्वा पार्थिवम्मृत्तिकाया 102 गुदाम विशुद्धाम कृत्वा नृत्यां कार्यम अर्थबे मन्त्रम इदामः पात्थाम 103 'सिवा 'सिव बहो 'श्रीमहादेवा 'सम्बो। सर्वाह परिशाकायरतत्तेन 104 कार्मा द्रष्टान्य कातितम: अहो ब्रह्माताध पुजाम 105 'तु समयक्षारेन कृत्वे 'दल एवा 'नुसिताम कृताम, यत पार्थिवोपरि मुद्रोतसरगाध 106 कृताम, तार्किना 'याम 'सावधानामः। सत्यम उन्मत्तो ना 'त्रा 'सामेहाया। लयाताम गेहाम तयायाताम 107 आयाम विक्षिप्ताम। इत्थम 108 अभाग्या सर्व उज्जायिनिः पुरिःम गताध। राजा 109 उज्जायनस्याय 'ग्रे गत्ता वृंदतांत अरुवान। राजा 'पी विक्रास्या ताद्रितिः चस्ताम सुरुवात विक्षिप्ताम ज्ञात्वा सुमुखादुर्मुखाहार प्रति प्रवोकात: अहो पुत्राम युवाम एवा राजानाम भवाताम। 110 तत्राय 'वा 'तममुखाम एधारे 'निरक्ष्या वर्द्धो 'हम्म इति ज्ञात्वा सामातामाहामान्यर्युपार्थिवोपरिमुद्रोदसाद्याया 111 एत्तान्य अपि सामाहुया 'वक्याम जागादः: अहो, अधाराब्याम सुमुखास्याम राज्याम। अत्मैयाम 'सुपिताम सुमुखास्या 'शरसाम सामेरूस्त्वात्ति तिलकात्त वित्त्वा वाने प्राचलितो राजा। पुराद विनिग्राया राजा सुमुखाम सामाहुया काठितावानः अहो, अधाराब्याम 'बहार्तहरसानामम तामा। सु निस्तितम उन्मत्ताम। तस्माद असानाम 112 नाकार्याया। ण स्यादा मरिसयात तादा मरिसयात्त्ते एवा 'ने जिताम। तादा विक्षिप्ता एवा राज्यानुसाह्यानाम बहावित्तीयाय। एवाम सिक्षापानाम 113 दात्त्वा व्यावाम वाने जागामा। सु 'बहार्तहरस 114 राज्याम कारतियो। धमार्याम प्रजायाः सासाति। 115

§ 7. तत्राय 'को ब्रह्मान्यो 'भुवानेश्वरिम देवताम अराध्यायाम
āsa. taya 116 tasmai phalaikaṁ dattam. tasya prabhāvah kathitah: 
yah phalaṁ bhūṅkte so 'jārāmaratvaṁ prápnoti. brāhmaṇaḥ phalaṁ 
ghṛtīva svagṛham āgataḥ. tatra snātva pūjāṁ vidhiyā yāvat phalaṁ 
bhūṅkte tāvad brāhmanyā bhaṅitam: bho kim te 'jārāmaratvena. 
etat phalaṁ rājñā 117 samarpaya. brāhmanena tat phalaṁ rājñē 
dattavān, prabhāvah kathitaḥ. 118 rājñā devyai pīṅgalayai dattam. 
pīṅgalayā māndurikena dattam. māndurikena vesyāyai dattam. 
vesyayā rājñē punah samarpitam. rājā tat phalaṁ punar ghṛtīva 
vesyāṁ prcchati: tvayā kuto labdham. vesyayā bhaṅitam: māndur- 
kena dattam. māndurikena samāhūya rājā punah prcchati: tvayai 
tat phalaṁ kuto labdham. cintāṁ vinā 119 vada. teno 'ktam: 
devyayā pīṅgalayā mahyām dattam. rājā satyam jānātvā 'ntahpure 
gatvā devīṁ samāhūya phalavrīḍtāntaṁ prcchati: bho tatphalasya 
kīḍṛṣaṁ svādu. 120 taya bhaṅitam: iti hṛdyāṁ vaktum na śakya-te. 
rājña 121 mṛṣāvacanabhāṣaṇāc cintitam:

yāṁ cintayāmi satataṁ mayi sā viraktā 
sā ca 'nyam ṭchatja janam sa jano 'nyasaṅtaḥ 
asmatkṛte ca paritusyati kācid anyā 
dhik tāṁ ca taṁ ca madanam ca imāṁ ca māṁ ca. (6)

iti vicintya rājā virakto vadati: he pīṅgale māṁ vinā bhavatyā kim 
kartavyam. tayo 'ktam: tvāṁ vinā prāpaṇus 122 tyajami. tā anyāḥ 
striyo 'svāminis tiṣṭhantu. 123 rājñā vicāritam. uktam ca:

arثانāsaṁ manastāpaṁ grhe duścaritāni ca 
vaṁcanamaṁ ca 'pamānaṁ ca matimāṁ na prakāśayet. (7)

§ 8. iti vicārya chalena 124 mṛgayaṁ gataḥ. tatra gatvā mṛga- 
rudhireṇā 'tmavastram avalippā 'tmanavatkaṁriniṁ kare dattvā rājā 
kathitavān: he karmakārin 125 grhaṁ gatvā bhavatā vaktavyam: rājā 
vyāghreṇa vyāpāditaḥ. idāṁ mama vastraṁ rājñīṁ darśaya. sa tatra 
gatvā tat sarvam rājñō 'ktam vṛttāntaṁ nivedya rājñīhaste tad vastraṁ 
dattvā 'vam vadaṁ: rājā vyāghreṇa vyāpāditaḥ. devyā cinti- 
tam: vātikayāṁ saubhāgyavrksaṁ mayā drṣṭavyam. sā puspava- 
ṭikāyāṁ 126 praviṣya taṁ vrksaṁ haritaṁ viloko ya cintāturvā vadati: 
he vidhātaḥ, 127 kim karomī, vrksaṁ svāmino maraṇāṁ 128 na labhyate. 
idāṁśaṁ mama maraṇaṁ śreṣṭham. iti vicintya tatrā 'gatyā hā nātha 
hā nāthe 'ti jalpaytvā mṛtā bhūmāu patati. etat karma maraṇānti- 
tikāṁ vilokośa śīghraṇaṁ 129 tena rājño 'gre kathitam. rājā tac 
chruṭvā mṛgayaṁ tyaktvā śīghram purīṁ samāyātaḥ. tāṁ mṛtāṁ 
dṛṣṭvā tasyā mukhaṁ krode kṛtvā nādītire 130 nīṣasāda, hā pīṅgale 
hā pīṅgala iti jalpan.

§ 10. ekadā durmukho ’pi mṛgayāṁ gataḥ. tatra rākṣasena ghorarūpeṇa vyāpāditah. punaḥ śiṣṭa yaṁ yaṁ rājānaṁ kurvanti tāṁ tāṁ rātrau khādati.141 evam ujjayani rājyaśunyā jātā. ekasminś cit kāle vikramo ’pi deśantaraṁ paribrahmaṇa svakīyodaraṁ kathaṁ kathaṁ cid bibhāti. ekadā tena cin- titam: kṣatriyaṁnaṁ maraṇaṁ śreṣṭhaṁ na bhikṣātaṁ. uktaṁ ca:

yathā hy ekena cakreṇa na rathasya gatir bhavet evam puruṣakāreṇa vinā daivaṁ na sidhyati.142 (8)

tat karomi 143 yathā rājyaṁ prāponeṁ. ekasmin divase vanigja- nāṇaṁ vohitthāṁ samudrād uttirṇaṁ samayāntaṁ dṛṣṭvā vikramaṁ caurāyate.144 te vanigjanāṁ tatra nadim dṛṣṭvā śivirāṁ cakruḥ. tatra vikramo ’pi nadikule niliyō ’paviṣṭhaḥ. rajaṁnuṁkhe śrgāla.145 militvā ravaṁ vineduḥ.146 teśāṁ vanigjanāṇāṁ śākuniko brāhmaṇo ’vocat: he vanigjanāḥ, adya ’kaś caurāḥ samāyātaḥ, niliyō ’paviṣṭhaḥ. sa tu prasthāya kiṁ grahiṣyati 147 ’ti na jāne. ta evaṁ śrutvā jāgarukā eva sthitāḥ. punaḥ śrgālaṁ bhaṅkitam. śākunikaḥ punar abrāvit: nadyāḥ pūre 148 vāhyāmno mṛtakaḥ samāyāti. tasya kaṭau ratnacatuṣṭayam uddyotitam vartate.149 vikramaṇa taṁ vakyaṁ śrutvā nadipūre dṛṣṭiṁ 150 dattvā jāgarukāḥ sthitāḥ. nadiṇpurake mṛtakaṁ dṛṣṭvā ratnāṁ avalokya brāhmaṇaṁvacanāṁ satyāṁ jñātvā bāhubhyāṁ antaraṁ 151 saṁadhyān mṛtakaṁ samāṇiya ratnāṁ adāya punas tatrai ’va sthitāḥ. tṛtiyaprahare punaḥ śrgāla avadān. punaḥ śākunikeno ’ktam: kenā ’pi naṁ naṁ mṛtakaṁ niḥkāsaṁtaḥ.
tanmāṁśaṁ bhākṣayitvā "śīrvādaṁ vanantī. 152 yena mṛtako nihkā-sitaḥ 153 sa tū 'jjayanīśvaro bhavisyati 154 śvo vā paraśvo vā. vikramo 'pi tad vacaḥ śrutvo 'jjayanīṁ 155 pracalitaḥ. te vanigjanā brahmaṇaṁ nindanti: bho brahmaṇa, evaṁ mṛṣāvākyāṁ bhavatā kutraḥ 'pi na vaktavyam. kutto 'jjayanīṁ kva cā 'sau cauriḥ kva rājaṁ.

§ 11. vikramo 'pi pathi gacchann ekolmukhaṁ paśyati. tatro 'lmuke vāṁ saṁjñāta: bho varaṁ brūhi. vikramo 'pi varaṁ yācate: 156 yadi tuṣto 'si, idāṁm ujjayanīṁ prāppnīyam. punaḥ tvām ko devo 'si. teno 'ktam: bhairavo 'ham. kenā 'pi mamo 'pāsanā kṛtā. mama bhakṣyabhogyasāmagrīm 157 vihāya mayo 'ktam: bho tavā 'desāt samāgato 'ham kṣudhitah. 158 māṁsair māṁ saṁtarpayā. teno 'ktam: mṛtakasya vāmakarasthāne daksīṇakarasthāne pādayoḥ sthāne manusyā vartante, tān bhunyāva. tatra tatra na dṛṣṭam. tatam mṛṣāvādinaṁ dṛṣṭvā mayā bhakṣitavyam. adya tvām netramudraṇaṁ kuru. ujjayanīṁ prāppnī. vikramo 'pi netronmilanaṁ kṛtvā 'jjayanīṁ prāpītah.

§ 12. tatrai 'kā 159 brahmaṇi rodati sma. tatra gatvā vikramaḥ pṛchati: kiṁ rodasi. sā 'vocat: adya mama putrasya rāyam. tasmād rodāmi. mā rodīḥ. adyā 'ham rājā bhavāmi. tad vacaḥ śrutvā yathā śuṣke vrihau jalaṁ nipatati, tāthā brahmaṇi sānandā 'bhūt. tasmin kṣaṇe rājadvārapālakaḥ samāyāti: he brahmaṇi kva 160 tava putraḥ kva cā 'sau. brahmaṇyāḥ brahātīm: ayaṁ mama putraḥ. tena hastau gṛhitvā śīṣṭāntike samāṁitah. śīṣṭāṁ taṁ vilokyā vimanaso 161 rājyaṁ dattavantaḥ.

§ 14.  \( ^{177} \) \( ^{178} \) \( ^{180} \) \( ^{181} \) \( ^{182} \) \( ^{183} \) \( ^{184} \) \( ^{185} \) \( ^{186} \) \( ^{189} \) \( ^{190} \)  

§ 15.  \( ^{190} \) \( ^{191} \)

§ 16. tataḥ prabhṛtī 210 vikramādityarājyopabhogam yogy eva karoti. rājāṃatyo rājāmaḥśyās ca ye cā 'nye nikaṭavartinas 211 te ke 'pi nai 'va jānate. ekadā rājā mrgaṇyūn upāhūya 212 sādaraṁ vacanam āha: bho vyādhāḥ, nagarapraṃtavānasino yāvantaḥ śukās tāvantaḥ saṃnishyāyā 'niyantām. bhavadbhyāḥ prati śukām mayai 213 'kaḥ śivānko dātvayaḥ. tato rājanirdeśāt 214 sarvesu . . . 215 pulindā jivatah 216 śukāṁ niyamya piṇjare kṛtvā 217 rājne dadati. 218 rājā tebhhyo mūlayo dattva śukān ādāyai 219 'kaikāṁ svapāśiṇā hanti sma. evaṁ kramaṇa trimāsamadhye prāntanivāsinaḥ śukā niḥhatāḥ. tato vyādhair āgatyā rājā vijñaptah: bho, atra vane śukā na santi 'dānim. bho bhrātarah, desāntarāc chukā aniyantām. 220 mūlayo prati śukām rajatamudrāṁ dāsyāmi. rājñō vacanam ākārnyā lobbāt krṣpamānasāḥ sarvē varṇā desāntarāc chukān niyamyā rājne prayacchanti. ekadā 'gatyā lokair uktaṁ: mahā- rāje 221 'dānim paṁcaśatakrośaparyantāṁ 222 śukā na santi. rājñō
'ktam: yadī 'dānīm sukā 223 ānīyante tadā prati sukam ekam dināram dadāmi. lobbavyākulacetasaḥ sukānvesaṇe yatas tato nikhilalokāḥ paribabhramuḥ. 224

§ 17. athai 'ko jaratpulindo vanād vanān parvatat parvataṃ paryāṭan kailāsopānte 225 parvatam ekam apasyaṭ. tasmin paryānte 226 sālmalitarum apasyaṭ. tatra gatva pulindaḥ sālmalau dṛṣṭiṁ dattva 'cintayat: asmin sukā nivasanti. jālam āropayāmi. ity ukvā jālam ādāya sarvās sarudikṣu 227 jālam āropya svayam uttatāra. tatattā 228 yāvac chayanam karoti tāvac chukapāṅktyayas tā api samāṭataḥ. 229 vikramo 'nyān sukān vadantī: bho sukāḥ, vyādhenā 'gatyā jālam āropitam. tatra sarve samāṭataḥ. kiṁ kariṣyāmaḥ. sukā ucūḥ: yathā bhavādādeṣaḥ. bhavantaḥ sarva mṛtakibhūtās tiṣṭhantu, sa hi jivata eva sukān grññhāti 230 na mṛtān. mama vacāḥ śrīyataṃ. yadā vyādho 'muṃ tarum āruhya sukān mṛtibhūtān drakṣyati, tadā piṇjare na kariṣyati. bhūmāv eva pātayisyati. tadā sarvair mṛtakalpaś tāvan no 'ṛḍīya samārtatavaṃ yāvad 231 ahāṃ śabadām na karomi. ekam eva mām 232 vyādho grahiṣyati. pareṣām upākāram tu karomi. iti vikramasūkasya vacanam śrutvā sarve mṛtakibhūtāḥ sthitāḥ. etasminn eva 'ntare supotthito vyādho 'valokyā samāṭatān sukān avalokyā vrksam āruhya kramenā 'dhaḥsākhinivāsināḥ sukān mṛtakān nirikṣya bhūmāu pātayati. tato vrksasironivāsinaḥ vikramaṃ yadā pasyati, tadā sajīvāḥ pānīnaḥ dhṛtaḥ. yadā dhṛtaḥ tadā teno 'ccaiḥ śabdaḥ kṛtah. tasmin śabde kṛte sati bhūmisthāḥ sukā udṛḍīya palāyitāḥ. vyādhaḥ sānutāpo 'bhūt. kṣaṇam vicintya vikramaṃ piṇjare kṛtvo 'tīrṇa ujjayanāṁ pracakitaḥ.

A Story of Vikrama's Birth and Accession


§ 20. etasmin antare vidyavati nijacitraalayam sapinjaram sukaam gavakse krtvo 'pari vasterna 'cchadya yatra seta tatra siro-
bhāge 'vasthāpya vṛttāntaṃ pṛcehati. suko 'vadat: vidyāvati, vikramādityarājā 'ham. yo rājyaṁ karoti, sa tu yogi bhavati. tena mama sevā saṃmāsi 264 kṛtā. ratnam kṛtvā nālikeram ekaṁ pratidināṁ 265 samarpayāṁ āsa. şaṣṭhe māsi mama karun markaṭena grhītvā vidāritam. tasmād ratnam ekaṁ bhūmau patitam. tad āścaryam dṛṣṭvā yogināṁ pray āham avocam: 266 hō yogin, tvayā kimartham etad ānītam. hō yoginās 267 tava kaṁ 268 kāmaṁ pūrṇyāmi. punar yogināḥ sarvaṁ pūrvavṛttāntam nivedya: vidyāvati, tadārabhya suko 'ham. itthāṁ sukoditaṁ niśamya vidyāvati sānandam āha: dhairyāṁ kuru, yāvat 269 tava krte yatnāṁ karomi.

§ 21. etasminn antare dattakāśreṣṭher 270 duhitāvidyārūpam ākārya rājā niṣmātyān vivahacaryān 271 dattakāsāṃnidhānaṁ praiṣayat. 272 tatra gatvā 'mātyāḥ 273 sādhum abruvan: hō sādho, nijaduhitaram vivahārthām dehi. no ced dāsyasi, rājā balātkārenā 'pahariṣyatī. śrūtvā mantrīvacaḥ sādhuḥ śokasāndigdhāmanasa 274 uvāca vacanaṁ prājñō mantrīnāḥ puratorudan: sa deśas tatra vastavyayogyo na bhavati, yatra raksako bhaksakaḥ. rājā mama mitram. yathā rājñāḥ svasā 275 tathā mama. idānīṁ rājā viśeptō jāto nijaduhītām eva parīneṣyati. ahaha yataḥ prabhṛti 276 rājā yoginā sārdham gataḥ, tadavadhi rājā viśeptacinto 'bhūt. uktaṁ ca:

rāmo hemamṛgaṁ na vetti nahuśo yāne yunakti 277 dvijān viprasayai 'kasavatsadhehuranaṁ jātā matiś ca 'rjunē dyūte bhrāṭreṣṭuṭayaṁ ca maḥiṣīṁ dharmātmajao dattavān prāyāḥ satpurusō vināśasamaye buddhyā parītyajyate. (10)


§ 23. etasminn antare vidyāvati vāyasam ekaṁ vyāpāyā nija-paryaṅkataṇe 282 samsthāpya sukām 283 sajīkṛtya rājne sakhīṁ
πρεσαγάμ ασα: bho sakhi, rājasamīpe gatve 'tī tvaya bhaṇitam: bho mahārāja, vidyāvatīsamīdiṣṭam vastu śrṇuṣva.284 dinadvayaśā udṛdhaṁ bhavantam āhvayati, rahaḥ kiṃcīd vadiṣṭyati. sā tatra gatvā rājaṁ niśhāsanastham niśrīṣya 'ntikam gatve 'dam āha: bho rājan vidyāvatyā tvam eka eva samāhūtaḥ. kiṃcīd rahovicāraṃ 285 karisyati. janyā lokā vivāhādine yāṣyanti.286 tato rāje 'dam ākarmya sannadanamāḥ kṛtalāmkāra 287 ekākī vidyāvatīcitraśālām ājavāma. rājānam upaveṣya svayaṁ pitur antikam gatve 'dam āha: bho pitā rājā citraśālāyāṁ vidyate. tvam kuṭumbāḥ pracchannibhūya 288 samantato 'valokaya. aham rājāntikaṁ gatvā kiṃcīd vace vadiṣṭyāmi. pitaram ādīśya vidyāvatī rājāsāmīndhau 289 bhūmāv upaviṣṭyā rājānam āha: bho rājan tava strī bhaviṣṭyāmi pitṛydattā. āvayor antarālaṁ kim api ne 'ti. iti matvā kiṃcīd vadāmi. pitaṁ yadi matkathanāṁ karoti. anyathā yadi karoti tadda 'ham marīṣyāmi. rājō 'vaca: sundari mā bhaisi vada 290 vada. sā 'vocad rājānam: maye 291 'daṁ śrutāṁ yad uta rājan 292 parapiṇḍapraseṁān jānāsi. rājā prāha: sundari satyam idāṁ vacaḥ. sā 'vocat: 293 rājan yady evāṁ mṛtasyā 'syā kākasya piṇḍe praviṣṭyātām. rājā 'pi vidyāvattālavānyam alokya kāmavāsam āpanno matibhrānto vicārāya 294 sahasā paṭāntarālaṁ asādyā kākapiṇḍe praveśtuṁ mano dadhe. yāvad rājapṛāṇāḥ 295 svapiṇḍāṁ niśrīṣyā 296 kākapiṇḍe praviṣṭās tāvac chukaprāṇāś 297 caṇcupuṭe niśvasīno rājapiṇḍe praviṣṭāh. yāvad rājā kākāṁ hanti, tāvac chadbāṁ kṛtvā pālayitāḥ. etat kautukāṁ vikramādityaviḍyāvatiyāv eva jānīto 299 nā 'nyāś tṛtīyāḥ. tataḥ prāptaniṣapiṇḍo rājā 'njalim abadhya vidyāvaticaranau vavande. dhanyā 'si, putri. niṣapidaram āśvāsaya 'ty uktvā rājā niṇāntahpuram ājavāma. vivāham atyajat. pūrvavat prajāḥ pratipālayāṁ āsā.

§ 24. etasmat svakīyaṁtaḥpurāṁ rājā tatyāja. antahpurāṇaḥ rājā viraktō 'bhūt. suhrātā nāma 290 mantri rājānam viraktaṁ jñātvā cintayām āsā: nivaligereḥ parvatasyā rājā nilo nāma. tasya duhitā lilāvatī. tāṁ rājā pariṇetum 300 vicārītvān. rājāḥ karaṇo 301 lipītvā vivāhārtham śīstān āhūya presāyām āsā: te tatra gatvā nilam yācitavanah. pattraṁ 302 ca dattām. nilenā 303 rājāḥ pattraṁ pathitam. kanyāyāḥ prārthanāṁ patrābhiprayena jñātvā punas tāṁ rājño vikramādityasya kusalām 304 paprache Śvaca: bho śīstāḥ, yadhā mama kanyā vikramādityām 305 vṛṇotī tadda 'smābhīr dattā. punas taḥsārdhah rājā svabhavanān gataḥ. paṭāntar 306 kanyāṁ samāhūya teṣāṁ agre rājā 307 lilāvatiṁ paprache: he putri, rājā vikramādityas tvāṁ prārthayate. tayō 'ktam: he pitaḥ, evaṁ mā

§ 25. ekādā rājā bāhyakākṣāyāṁ 823 svakīyam alaṁkaraṇāṁ dipālaye dhṛtvā 'nyad veṣaṁ samādhyā dūrā upaviṣṭāḥ. tatra śāṇḍhair vaitāliko 824 dhṛtaḥ. tatra paryāṅkaṁ skandhe kṛtvā tailakārasya gṛhe gataḥ. paryāṅkaṁ bhūmau nīdhāya parivartitaṁ san śīgroṁ pracalitaṁ. rājāṁ cintitam: asya gurucaraṇaḥ pāṭitau. ayaṁ rājā bhavati. iti vicārya tailakārāṁ prati prāha: he tailakāra, ayaṁ rājā 'gacchati. 825 bhavataḥ hantavyaḥ. tailakāraś tadvacanāc chīgrāṁ samuṣṭhitaḥ. khadgaṁ gṛhītvā paścāt pradhāvitaḥ. tāvad rājā vivarāṁ niḥṣṛtya 826 bāhyakāksāṁ gataḥ. tatra vastrādikaṁ gṛhītvā svacatvare gataḥ. tailakāra 'pi rājānaṁ na labdhvā punar grham agaṭ. atha rājā cintitavān: vidhātas tailakāraṁ kathāṁ ghātayisyati. yatho 'ktam:

āyur vittaṁ gṛhachidraṁ mantram aṣṭadhamaithunam
vratadānāpamānaṁ ca nava gopyāni sarvadā. (11)
paraṁ yatnaṁ kṛtvā vadhiṣyāmi.

§ 26. ekadā rājā svavayasyān samāhūya śramasthānaṁ vilo-
kayāṁ āsa. tatra gatvā tailakāraṁ samāhūya kathitavān: bho atra
bhavatā śrāmaḥ kāryaḥ. teno 'ktam: bāḍham iti. sa tv aindra-jālakaṁ jānāti. aindrajālena nityam eva śrāmaṁ karoti. ekadā rājā sa tailakāro 'pi prātaḥsaṁdhyāṁ samāyātau.227 parasparyāṁ228 chidrānveśiṇau229 khaḍgaśramaṁ cakratuḥ. tadā rājñā rākṣasaś230 cintitaḥ. sa tu cintitaḥ san samāyātāḥ. tailakāro 'pi tau dvau vilokyai 'ndrajālāṁ samāśrītaḥ. tatra tābhyaṁ tailakāro hataḥ. tasya dehaṁ śiśiśipāvṛkṣe baddhva rājā 'ntahpuram agamat. evam rājā līlāvatīṁ vivāhya niśkaṇṭakaṁ rājyaṁ karoti.

§ 27. etasmīṁ antare kāko 'py uḍḍīya samudratīre bhubhukṣito231 mṛtakam ekāṁ yogināṁ bahuvaśaṁ dīrghaśmaśraṁ dvitiyarahitaṁ dṛṣṭvā kākapindaṁ parityajya yogināṁ πiṇḍe prāpnaṁ pravesayāṁ āsa. utthito yogi jīrṇakāntenā232 paridhāya desāntaraṁ paryātan sarvakāmadām ekāṁ tāmrasthālīṁ alabhat. tāṁ ādāya kale yogi vikramaṁ ujjayāṁīṁ233 agamat. yatā 'ste vikramaṁ mādityaṁ sahaṁyāṁ samupāgataḥ. yogi rājānaṁ dṛṣṭvā 'ṣīśāṁ dattvā tāmrasthālīṁ rājñe prādāt.234 rājā praḥa: yogin, sthālignāṁ kathaya.235 yogi praḥa: rājān abhilāṣitaṁ kāmaṁ puṇrayati. yad eva manasi 'ksyate, tad evai 'ṣā dadātī. rājā sāścaryam āha: yogin kimartham idrśiṁ236 bahuγuṇāṁ sthālim adāḥ.237 yogi praḥa: rājān rahavāṁyāṁ kathayā sahaṁyāṁ bravīmi. (Then commences the frame-story of the Vetaḷapāṇcacaviṅśati.)

I append commentary on a few passages.

§ 3.  środaśavārṣiky antardasaṁ yad uttaṁghaṁ yāsyati, "there is an intermediate condition (for this astrological term, see BR and the places there referred to) at the age of sixteen years, which (ydm is expected; yad, if correct, is an indefinite neuter and distinctly curious grammar) he will transcend and attain (i.e. kingship; or perhaps, get away)." Vikrama's adventures in his sixteenth year are meant.

§ 5. ekottaraśatapārthivapūjana. The sequel shows that this is worship of 101 forms or "names" of Śiva (pārthiva), embodied in a like number of clay images (pārthiva) or perhaps merely clay balls (cf. pīṇḍikāḥ below, unless this means "pedestals"). The operation visarjanam is perhaps the casting of the images into holy water at the conclusion of the rites. The two sentences: vedokta-vidhinā ... visarjanam, are a general statement describing the procedure usual in a rite of this kind, if the reading pūjyanti is correct rather than pūjayati. I have not found any mention of this whole rite elsewhere.
§ 6.28 and § 13.25. For the ms. "ṛtyuka" I have read "ṛtvik" and made the necessary corrections to produce good Sanskrit. The compound sāmanta then is "vassals, chief minister, priests, domestic chaplain, and spiritual adviser(s)."

§ 22. The bride passes irrevocably into her husband's power when she has taken seven steps from the south to the north of the fire in the marriage ceremony; Mānavadharmaśāstra 8.227 and the Gṛhyasūtras — Sāṅkhāyana 1.12.11 (see Oldenberg's note in SBE 29) and 1.14.5, Pāraskara 1.8.1, Āśvalāyana 1.7.19, Khādira 1.3.26.

§ 23.17. The curious word-order sā 'vocad rājānam is not without parallel in this text; cf. § 6.4 rājā sūnvor vacaḥ śrutvā prabhā 'imāyān parīṣakān; § 6.6 manoramāsutasayā 'dya paśyantu harapūjanam; § 24.17 rājā . . . nilam samāhāya provāca tad vacaḥ. However, another emendation is possible: sā 'vocat: rājan maye etc. But this would result in repetition of the vocative in the same sentence, unless, indeed, we emend the word after uta to rājā.

§ 25. This episode is obscure; the darkness might lift if we had the contents of the gap indicated in critical note 321. The king's thought: asya gurucaranauc pātīlac. ayaṁ rājā bhavati, is particularly obscure. The sense seems to be: "his guru has been felled. He is (or, will become) king;" but what does this mean?

CRITICAL NOTES

1 "bhaume. 2 "manasām. 3 "dhasā. 4 Either this or "āgata must be read for the ms. "āgat. 5 "brah. 6 "amantritam. 7 "nātakamṛtap. 8 "nāmā. 9 harir iea. I give the reading, which is undoubtedly intended here also, of the verse as it is found in the accepted text of Śivaśās. 10 māryāmā. 11 "ānus. 12 "saurye. 13 "nekanarap. Before this line, the ms. has mahāsāhasikaḥ, a gloss, as both the sandhi and the metrical form show. 14 "sā. 15 "kāmā. 16 rājā. 17 "mā. 18 "mānoyātam. 19 "nta. 20 "kulāyam. 21 "nti. 22 "yāc. 23 "sikṣenena. 24 "kāmīti. 25 Some noun is omitted. 26 "kāya. 27 "yāc. 28 bhukte. 29 "yāc. 30 "mātrā. 31 "yakṣa. 32 "ttā. 33 Is sāyām a loc. with prāha, or is it merely a corruption for satīm? 34 "prāsādam. 35 "vibheda. Or emend vibhīdha? 36 "gāyā. 37 "nti. 38 "bhavat. 39 ekasminv. 40 "putrā. 41 rājā. 42 "brāhmaṇāhāya. 43 yaddvālamhitāya. 44 bhārīharāsa. The name bhā is a gloss. 45 "vakramādityah- kumbhakarputrāstaikāravputrāś triṣiminām. 46 "pindā. 47 "sak. 48 "nāt. 49 "kāh. 50 "sikṣmāryāmukhāt. 51 "sāṅsām. 52 "to. 53 So ms. Read "ntīke? 54 "krutā. 55 "sak. 56 rodi. 57 "dairā. 58 "nti. 59 "nā. 60 "nti. 61 "nti. 62 "kura. 63 "att. 64 "arā. 65 "rōm. 66 "vīda. 67 "vāyāpyatvād. 68 "kāl. 69 "nyayadeva. 70 "ramā. 71 "sumukhē. 72 "munātra-kārena. 73 "vātānām. 74 "bhīyāt. 75 "kāmā. 76 "sāyakena. 77 "nīdā. 78 "ekotā. 79 See comm. 80 This is a half-sloka. 81 "patreṇa. 82 bhaktiḥ.
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88 Probably metrical originally. 84 úcate. 85 vabhavatūt. 86 parikṣa. 87 The sentence so far is a half-šloka. 88 parikṣa. 89 parikṣanāṇahūtā. 90 Before this word the ms. has pā, perhaps for pārthicaṅnā. 91 tāḥ. 92 I have found no vernacular word that this might stand for. 93 sākā is the only Sanskrit word that suggests itself. 94 āya. 95 grā. 96 prakṣaṅ. 97 chāmāpana. 98 uktā. 99 teṣaṅkrītve. 100 samargha. 101 gām. 102 mṛtyayā. 103 For m 4 p, the ms. has mamidā pañhat. This is the only emendation that suggests itself. 104 ennata. 105 pājā. 106 sargā. 107 yantām. 108 iṣyam. 109 rājā. 110 tām. 111 sāsamanta-
mantrantirīyukapurodhāsācyagha. 112 āsākā. 113 śīpāpana. 114 hari.
115 jā sāṣati. 116 sā. Perhaps to be omitted. 117 rājāmān. I have changed this to genitive, but without conviction. 118 tām. 119 cintāsito.
120 svādā. 121 rājā. 122 aśā. 123 striyā
yaḥvamāmhi tiṣṭhanti. Perhaps the verb-form might be kept, 'will stay'.
124 kṣalayena. 125 kārin. 126 puṣpiṇ. 127 tā. 128 nān. 129 śīragra-
mind. 130 nandit. 131 ā. 132 ā. 133 d. 134 rodni. 135 kundākikaromi.
136 kṣatrāṅkaromi. 137 gṛtrā. 138 rudana. 139 mṛṣya. 140 samau
bhavisyati. 141 sādāti. 142 daicena siddhyati. 143 karoti. 144 So ms.
145 tān. 146 nād. 147 prasthaikam grahamiṣa kim grahamiṣa. 148 nādyā-
pūre. 149 vartta. 150 tā. 151 bāhuhdyanturāna. 152 vadati. 153 nihkā-
śita. 154 yātu. 155 ni. 156 jācate. 157 grī. 158 tām. 159 ko. 160 Not
in ms. 161 cimāni. 162 carvati. 163 jya. 164 For m m, mamāhisa.
165 te. 166 vāhāsīm. 167 sāhāya. 168 vara. 169 śīṣṭā tṛtyukuprodhā anyā-
gatthā. 170 hāh. 171 śrko. 172 alisya. 173 nāgārm. 174 mātanā. 175 māh.
176 dhanyantarichapanaku. 177 ghato. 178 rucimrā. 179 ptā. 178 gavet.
180 āhārairavāk. 181 para. 182 mṛtakāval. 183 rājyānimugrāam. 184 jāhāna.
185 tā. 186 syak. 187 mā. 188 ni. 189 tyaktā. 190 kanthā. Should
kanthān be read? 191 ratna. 192 tā. 193 sahācyayam. 194 kerama.
Perhaps to be emended 'kekeratana. 195 saṃsārayavant hi nālikeratana
dattevāni. 196 ratnabhānī. 197 mahy. 198 śod. 199 rājas. 200 rājā.
201 śiṣṭā. 202 śūka. 203 śīnemusfau. 204 sthi. 205 prānāyamgān. 206 kṛitydevavāt.
Read hyade prāviśan? 207 jīyā. 208 rājā. 209 puc. 210 bhrtya. 211 tīkā.
212 mrgapāpahaya. 213 mamai. 214 rājān. 215 Some word, perhaps vaneu,
is omitted. 216 jīvantā. 217 kṛtyeva. 218 dadati. 219 pāḍaya. 220 nātār
sūkān aniyatām. 221 rājñe. 222 yāṃcakasatahāroṣa. 223 śūka. 224 pari
bhramu. 225 kailāspatē. 226 paryate. 227 sūkāsū is inserted before c.
228 tāje. 229 chukāmpatavay vopī samatata. The plural is not certain,
but seems better than a masc. sg. 230 grahnātī. 231 āvātā udāyaman-
tarvayagad. 232 mā. 233 ruddha. 234 gālīm. 235 dadan. 236 ṛthā.
244 kās. 245 kāte. 246 sra. 247 isitā chāgha. 248 athameva. 249 śūrdyato. 250 dhī.
251 yānte. 252 pāṁtamaireya. Perhaps read pātum. 253 ako. 254 bhartu
255 nirdesa. Some word, ārebhē or the like, has been omitted. 256 dhi.
257 There is an omission, -gyhe gateā brūte or the like. 258 vidyā.
259 bhāt. 260 labdhch. 261 sākam. 262 adāni. 263 hade. 264 khaṇm.
265 dīna. 266 acvati. 267 yogis. 268 kām. 269 yovat. 270 śhe. 271 cerrya.
272 praspā. 273 māt. 274 sūkhasaṃ. 275 rājāsyanutā. 276 bhrtya.
277 yanesukati. 278 rājām. 279 kām. 280 kalpa. 281 mantri. 282 patyaṅka.
289 ānya. 290 dyada. 291 sāvadhadājanamanaye. 292 rāja. 293 vod. 294 ničor.
295 pṛṇā. 296 niṛṣṭya. 297 pṛṇā. 298 vēty eva jānasi. 299 nāmā.
300 rājāḥ prinetu. 301 karo. The emendation is doubtful; I take karana
in the sense 'scribe'. 302 the ms. has pratra-throughout. 303 niče. 304 rāja.
vikramadīyakūsala. 305 tya. 306 pañfántarpa. 307 rājā. 308 nāryā. 309 gām.
310 rāja. 311 samoevā. 312 likam. 313 pañfánt. 314 śi.
315 śyd. 316 gayahanyahanyah. 317 vasālākārikāh. 318 khaṅdāhair. 319 han
nyahanaṁ. 320 tā. 321 V.'s speech is omitted. 322 muñcanti. 323 vāhyā
kacchāyām. So also below. 324 sāṅdhaiv vaikāriko. 325 paccanti. 326 niṛṣṭya.
327 yāto. 328 paran. 329 nič. 330 rājasāk. 331 viśhukito. 332 thā
Perhaps read 'thām. 333 nojī. 334 pradāt. 335 katha. 336 śī. 337 adāt.
The article represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do on the Vetālapaścaviṇāsati during my tenure in 1932-3 of a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge here the help of the Council. The manuscript in which the interpolation treated in detail in this paper is found was one of a lot of manuscripts which the India Office Library with its well-known courtesy put at my disposal in 1929-30. I desire to make this partial acknowledgment of the invaluable helpfulness of the India Office Library, pending complete publication of the material I was thus able to use.
RAS SHAMRA NOTES III

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1. Virolleaud’s Tablet No. 2. This text, published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, 1929, Pl. LXII, and reproduced here as Plate 1, is divided into several panels, in the topmost one of which only one word survives, *rbn* (“our lord” ?). My enumeration of the panels, as I-IV takes account only of the panels that follow. Dhorme recognized, in his essay at interpretation, *Rev. Biblique*, 1931, 37-39, the textual distinction of these four panels by the alternating use of *-kn* (“your,” fem.) in Panels II and IV, and *-km* (“your,” masc.) in III, and so we may presume for the almost entirely obliterated I. Dhorme’s early and prompt treatment of these tablets suffered from the lack of final definition of several of the characters. The mutilated character of the text and the cryptic form of the vocables, apart from the obvious proper names—some of which were not recognized in the earlier publications, have rendered interpretation difficult.

The accompanying Plate 2 presents a parallelistic rearrangement of the three surviving panels. For the technical reproduction of this plate I am indebted to my younger colleague Dr. Z. S. Harris, as I am also in his debt for his excellent advice and criticism of this study. The panels are grouped in sections, A, B, etc., based upon the obvious parallelisms.

This Plate gives the actual text, without corrections, save for a few cases of faulty punctuation in the original. At once it is evident that the panels are for the greatest part repetitive, and so we may infer, liturgical, although, as we shall see, with a crescendo of motif. A primary result of this presentation is control of the textual errors. Thus in C we can restore *ḥ signUp* to the expected gentilic *ḥ signUp* *y*. In the same group the apparent *ḥry* must be read *ḥry* with its parallels. In E *lšnupkn* is to be corrected by the parallels to *ušnupkn*. Some further emendations are suggested below.

I proceed with sundry fresh diagnoses of several misunderstood or unknown vocables. In the first place the character *w* introducing the initial words in C, D, E, with two additional cases in E, can be nothing else than the conjunctive *waw* vocalized before a consonant with semi-vowel, as in Hebrew. As the cases here prove, this ob-
servation corroborates the point I made in my "Notes II," in this JOURNAL, 1934, 61, although without much evidence. With this letter — "and," we have for the following words at the beginning of C, E, F, the vocables thťv'n, šnypkm/n. The former is evidently the root ḥt', and the form t(u)ḥaṭṭi'v'n, "you shall make atonement." The following vocable I recognized to be composed of šny and pkm/n, and the latter as šikem/n, "your mouth." Casting about for an interpretation of the evidently verbal root, I found the Arabic sny, "lift up," only classical, I think, in the verb, but better known in its derivative saniy, "exalted, beautiful," = Eth. šannay. This identification has been happily corroborated for me by the discovery of the same root in Biblical Hebrew by Prof. D. Winton Thomas in an interesting communication to ZAW 1934, 236 ff. Translate then, "lift up your (mouth) voice"; cf. Heb. naša' kōl. These two phrases at beginning of E, "you shall make atonement," and "lift up your voice," are followed by "with your mouth." (For 'ap in this sense, in Epic C, see this JOURNAL, 1934, 64; in panel III the 'u before the noun is an error.) In the same group, E, there follows evidently "and with the x (an illegible word) of your soul, and with the kṭṭ which you will kṭṭ," again an unknown root, the verb in intensive, denominative form, and the noun in cognate relation. Evidently the address is not to deities (so Dhorme) but to two choirs, male and female respectively. At the beginning of F the same two verbs recur, thťv'n being followed by lb... possibly lbkm, "your heart," in which case the parallel lb... is an error or a misreading.

At the end of F, passing over l't' for the moment, we read, "our sacrifice we shall sacrifice," imperfect tense, as the following imperfects prove (vs. Dhorme, "we have sacrificed our sacrifice"). There follows hw l't' n't'y hw nkt nkt; the construction is obvious: "this is the l't' we shall l'y, this is the nkt we shall nkt," the second verb representing nnkt, with assimilation of radical n. The root l'y I can now identify. The noun occurs, in sing. and pl., in Table 1, line 1, (also apparently verbal l't'w in Tab. 9:1), where Dhorme translates with "devin," apparently from root š'y, "to inspect." But the root is found in South-Arabic mt'y, mṭ'yṭ, used in parallelism with root ḍbh, "to sacrifice"; see CIS IV no. 428; Rossini, Chrestomathia, 261, and a discussion by Rhodokanakis in his Studien zur Lexicographie und Gramm. des Altsüdarabischen, II, 66; its
special nuance is not yet known. There follows in H: "let it be lifted up" to the gods as named; the verb *yatalasi* is Ifteal; for the sacrificial use of the root cf. Ps. 96:8, etc. Thus the several panels after directions for a choric liturgy terminate in a declaration of the performance of the sacrifice as culmination.

But also the introductory theme in each panel is sacrificial. In A, panel III opens with škrb ṭr, obviously "present (Shafl—cf. the similar use of Heb. Hif.) a bull"; this is paralleled in IV with ṭb *lmgr*; the first word is the imperative "repeat" (and so the verb in the Epics); the second is infinitival noun from a root *gpr*. I can provisionally only relate this root to Akk. *kāpu*ru, "to cut." The sacrifice appears to have been of the primitive kind, with the mere cutting of the throat of the victim (see Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, 114 ff.), or with the cutting of the victim to pieces, as in the covenant sacrifice, e.g., Gen. 15. For the following enigmatic *mšrmšr*, in both panels, I can only suggest the Akk. root *mšr*uru, again "to cut." For such intensifications of a root I may refer to Eitan in *JPOS* 1, 180 ff.; cf. Is. 29:9. There follows in III of A the vocative, "sons of Ugarit," in IV "house of Ugarit"; but I think that in the latter case *bt* is error for *bnt*, "daughters (of Ugarit)," as appropriate to the female choir addressed.

There comes the crux in this liturgical composition, dependent upon a sacrifice, in B, C, D. In C occurs the thrice repeated list of six peoples, specified generically with the term *ulp*, "tribe," Heb. *šlep*; or the word may be vocalized *ullūpe* (pl.), "chiefs," = Heb. *šlūp*, used of the Horite chieftains in Gen. 36; see for review of the discussion Ginsberg and Maisler, *JPOS* 1934, 259. The last four peoples were promptly identified: the Hurrians, Hittites, Alashians (of Cyprus), the Subareans. The second, *Dāmy*, was connected by Dhorme with the alleged Greek Didymaeans; for the first term, *Ktšy* I may compare the Kadousioi noticed at length by Kent in this *Journal*, 1934, 45, and also the *Kattešišša* in Götze's *Annalen des Muršiliš*, 165. In III of B *npy* occurs five times in construction with a following noun, the last two of which are the god's name Ugar (patron of Ugarit) and the royal name *Nkmā*, both

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1 Supplementarily I note that the root occurs in the colophon to Epic text A just published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, 1934, 241, indicating a function of the "chief of priests," i.e. as *t*y of "king Nkmā," that is, his sacrificiant; the noun is apparently of *kattāl* formation.
well known in these texts. The preceding *trmn* may be error
(easily induced by similarity of signs—yet *trmn* occurs elsewhere)
for *Tkmn*, the chief deity named at end of group H.² The first
word in the series, *ymn*, cannot be *Yawan*, “Ionians,” with Dhorme,
whether philologically or contextually. In IV of B there is a varia-
tion from III. I think we must amend to read *npy ʿugr*, as in III,
the following *ḥmyt ʿugrt* is then the god’s epithet. Recognized by
Dhorme as = Heb. *ḥōmah*, “wall,” I take the word to be similar
to Biblical epithets and ascriptions of Deity as “the wall,” and
“who-is-roundabout,” e. g. Ps. 125: 2; Zec. 2: 9; and still more
to the point may be recalled the enigmatic phrase addressed to the
Prince (i. e. patron deity) of Tyre at Eze. 28: 14: “Thou art the
encircling Cherub.” The following *npy ʾıṭ* I cannot interpret;
may the second noun be parallel to ʾıṭ, “woman,” found in Epic C,
a development from Arabic *ʾuntay*, and mean “women,”—and so
appropriate to the female choir?

The obscure *npy* Dhorme translates with “expulse!” sing. impv.,
with the following noun as object. But we can hardly expect such
a ban to be placed upon the native god and king. As from the same
root I propose a noun which may be expressed by the magical term
“aversion”; it is the ban of (laid by) the gods and the king upon
the hostile peoples named in C. Then the very prosaic repetition
of those names is explained; the “word” of a magical rite includes
the explicit and repeated naming of the object. In C order is given
to the two choirs to pronounce these names. In D the several cases
of initial ʾulp is to be rendered as plural, “the tribes (chieftains)
of your *ḥbt*, of your *mḍll*.” The former word may belong to the
root ḥwb/ḥyb, and in its construction mean “(those) in your debt,
in guilt towards you”; and the second may be from the root ḥll,
dll, zll, in Arabic, Aram., Heb., and mean “(those) of your despite,
contempt.” At end of D we read ʾulp ḫr paralleling two mutilated
phrases; I have no key to the riddle.

In H there is the *sursum* to the gods: “to the Father of the
Divinities, to the circle of the Divinities”; then in alternating

²This divine name, occurring also at 1: 3, 6; 3: 31, has been identified
by Dussaud (*Syria*, 12, 70), Bauer (*ZAW* 1933, 100), with Kassite
Sukamuna, but this is denied by Albright (*JPOS* 1934, 107) by reason of
the distinction of *k* and ʾ. As for *trmn* it occurs probably at 1: 15, at
1: 12 in the form *trmn* (in both cases in god-lists); and now it appears
in Virolleaud’s fresh text, p. 241.
form, II, "to the company of the Divinities," III, to ṯkmn the Father of Years" (all these theological terms being found elsewhere); then IV unites these two latter terms in a final crescendo.

Finally, at the end of H, at least in III and IV, occurs the enigmatic ḫn 'r (in IV the second word is written in sprawling fashion to indicate the end). I can only suggest that the phrase means, "Behold, he (the god) is awake." (Both words occur in the Epics, the root 'ūr in Hif. at A vi 31, as also otherwise in intensive forms). This then is the pronunciation of the successful culmination of the rite. The application of this verb to Deity is frequent in Biblical usage, e.g. Ps. 44: 24; 59: 5, and in particular note "the Lord's Remembrancers" of Is. 62: 6. Most interestingly the phrase throws light upon Elijah's satiric taunt to the Phoenician Baal-priests: "Call with a loud voice, for he is a god... perhaps he is asleep and must wake up!" (1 Ki. 18: 27). And, supplementarily, Dr. J. Finkel has given me another striking parallel, at Hab. 2: 19: "Woe to him who says to a timber, Awake!—Arouse thee! ('ūrî), to a dumb stone."

A definite progression is to be noted in these groups. A contains the order for sacrifice; B gives the statement of the "aversion," followed in C, D with the naming of the hostile objects; E is a summons to expiation and to song. F and G express the occurrence of the sacrifice in the first person plural, H the "elevation" and destination of the sacrifice in the passive mood; at the end is chanted the oracle that "the god is awake."

This study adds an illustration to the liturgical art of Ras Shamra, already capitally presented by Dr. Harris in this Journal, 1934, 80-83. The bearings of our text upon the forms of Hebrew psalmody are manifold.

2. Supplementary Notes to Tablets 3, 15. 3: 1. byrḥ—šmtrg: i. e. "in the month—," and in line 3 "on the 13th (day?)," i. e. a date; then read šammī ṭg(m), "I have given word," an introduction to the document. For such use of the root ṭgm cf. Tab. 18 and the tablet published by Dhorme in Syria, 1933, pp. 235 ff.

3: 5. Translate ṭkm 'īt, "and so it is." Understand the final šhm yd as šatti-ma yādī, "and I have set my hand," i. e. as notarial signature to the document. Cf. Heb. nāṭan yad, and the equivalence of "hand" and "name" at Is. 56: 5.

3: 15. The text reads: bt šbn—wblh ddy 'my 'iwnr 'alnr l'ahḏt
'aly ydn mnm wbnh. Translate: “The house of Šbn—and its owners, my friends, my relatives, 'Iwrn (and) 'Alnr for a possession for me. Our hand, Mnm and his son(s).” To be sure, the preposition 'al would be unique. I take lahdt to be identical with רוחני at Gen. 23:9. As for the name Mnm, it occurs, as has not been recognized, in the tablet of Dhorme’s noticed above, lines 17, 17: mnm rgm, “Mnm has spoken.” The gentilic šbny occurs in Virolleaud’s fresh text, p. 241, and throws light upon our Šbn.

A note may here be added on 'iwr, an element of the first n. pr. It occurs in the name of the writer of Dhorme’s tablet cited above, 'iwr-šr, which Virolleaud, Syria, 1934, p. 83, has rightly identified with Hurrian Ewiri-šarri. See further the remarks made by Speiser on the Hurrian element iwri in his Mesopotamian Origins, 145 f.9 Also it occurs in Tab. 28 in the form 'iwn. I am inclined to refer to this origin the perplexing name of the Jebusite whose threshing-floor was bought by David, 2 Sam. 24:16 ff. The Hebrew tradition of the name varies remarkably, as is notorious, not only as between Ktib and Kre, but also within the Ktib. At v. 16 Kt. presents רֶאֶה (preceded with the article!), vs. חֶרֶנֶה, and this is universally supported by the Greek transcription Orna. Punctuate then as 'Ewrina. We may then possibly explain the obscure phrase at v. 23: “All of it gave Araunah (sic) the king to the king.” Now 'iwri means ‘king’ (so Speiser); is the Jebusite’s epithet a gloss to his name? Finally may the name of David’s ‘Hittite’ captain חֶרוֹן go back to the same origin as Ewrina?

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9 [The Nuzi name Irwi-šarri is not uncommon with persons of prominence; cf. e.g., Ir-wi-šarri már Ki-in-zí-ia šangû ša dAdda, “Irwi-šarri, son of Kinziya, priest of Adad”; Chiera, Nuzi I. 13. 39. E. A. S.]
A HURRIAN AFFRICATE OR SIBILANT IN RAS SHAMRA

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In their valuable article “Semitized Hurrians in Syria and Palestine,” 1 H. L. Ginsberg and B. Maisler discuss the name ʾiwriṣ from a recently found Ras Shamra tablet. 2 They note that the sign here transcribed Ṣ is not the usual ṣ of the Ras Shamra alphabet, and suggest that it is a Hurrian sibilant, transcribing it Ẓ. This is a most excellent suggestion, well borne out by the evidence, and the following remarks are intended merely to offer additional material.

The character under discussion is a two-edged sign, similar in construction to the three-wedged ẓ. It occurs but rarely and is generally regarded as a mere variant of the ẓ sign 3; it is not even mentioned in the tables of the Ras Shamra alphabet as constructed by various scholars. It is by no means certain, however, that variants existed at all in this script, and before discussing the evidence for this sign it might be best to review what is known of the script in general. For the writing in itself presents certain problems. In the Tablets it is often unwieldy, and there are actual variations in form in certain of the letters. Some tablets exhibit these variations consistently: in T 3, obverse, the letter ṛ is usually written with 6 or 7 wedges instead of 5, while ṯ and ṣ are also peculiar; in T 9 ṛ has 4 wedges instead of 3, ṛ 7; in T 12 Ṱ and ṇ each have 4 wedges. In many of the other tablets similar variant forms occur exceptionally. It is true that the writing is in general bad in some of these tablets, especially in the obverse of T 3. The variations are sufficiently consistent, however, to give the impression that the script had but recently become fixed and that in some cases the exact arrangement of wedges had not yet been settled in the scribal school of Ugarit. We may, therefore, have here an indication that

1 JPOS, 1934, 243 ff.

2 The Ras Shamra texts will be referred to as follows: Tablets T, Syria 1929, 304 ff.; T 4, ib. 1933, 229 ff.; T 7, ib. 1934, 75 ff.; T 8, ib. 1934, 148; T 8, ib. 1934, 244 ff.; Poems A, ib. 1931, 193 ff.; B, ib. 1932, 112 ff.; C, ib. 1933, 128 ff.; A sup., ib. 1934, 226 ff.

3 Thus Albright, JPOS 1934, 108 (cf. also his treatment of the words discussed below); Dhorme, OLZ 1933, 8.
the Ras Shamra script did not have a very long tradition behind it at the time when these tablets were written. In the poems, however, there is no question of such variability; the writing is on the whole excellent, every character is definite in form, and there are no deviations from the "correct" arrangements of wedges. If, then, the tablets do indeed betray an early stage of the script, they must be somewhat older than the poetic texts. At all events, the script had certainly become standardized by the time the poetic texts were written.

The standardization of the script is also seen in the spelling, for the orthography is fixed throughout.4 There are no variant spellings in either the poems or the tablets. This in itself may not be sufficient proof of a long tradition, for the consonantal writing is etymological and would therefore have been easier to maintain. Even foreign words, however, have a set spelling, as for example in the name 'ušḫr in T 13 and Syria 1931, p. 389, and in the various frequently repeated Hurrian words in T 4. It may be therefore assumed that the scrib in the poems is well normalized and that haphazard variations of signs are not to be expected.5

The casual occurrence of a š with two wedges for the usual form with three, would, then be quite surprising. Actually, however, there is no such irregularity, for we find the two-wedged sign used as a distinct character. It appears only in certain words, and then consistently each time those words occur. The sign is rare in the

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4 There are, incidentally, but few errors (i.e. confusion of similar letters) in the poems, and even the tablets are not too badly bungled.
5 One possible variant is the elaborate š, Virolleaud's and Dhorme's š, Albright's no. 17 (JPOS 1932, 187), which is accepted as a variant of the usual s sign. It is entirely absent from the poems, but is found in T 1: 9 (kšm; cf. kam, 3: 19?), 12: 11 (ḥšwn; cf. ḫwn, 12: 37), 33: 7 (kšu ʾšt; cf. ksʿu ʾšt, 23: 2), 46: 4 (-šʿu), T² A 2, 7, B 14 ('ušš), 17 and in the word ššw, "horse," T² A 4, 6, 10, B 31, 32, now also in T³ 1: 6 ('aršn), 15 (šdy). In all these tablets the usual s also occurs. In all the cases above where words with š have been compared with similar ones in s, Bauer (Das Alphabet von Ras Shamra, p. 33) considers the two to be variant spellings of the same word. The evidence seems to bear this out. The consistent use of š in ššw (a non-Semitic word) would, however, argue for a special value for this sign, while its absence from the poems may also point to its having originally represented a non-Semitic sound. Its similarity to the s (samek) of the early Phoenician alphabet is noteworthy. If it is indeed a variant, its absence from the poems would again show the standardization of the writing in the poetic texts.
poems. It occurs in žrt in A iii 5, 11 which is not to be confused with tbšr, bšrtk, B v 88, 89; the passage in A iii 4-5, repeated in 10-11, reads bḥlm lṭpn 'il dpʾfd bžrt bny bnwṯ, “In the dream of Lṭpn El dʾPed, in the vision (?) of Bny Bnwṯ,” bšrt being b + žrt. The sign appears also in the phrase ẓd ’il in A i 6, B iv 23. Here ẓd is distinct from šd, “field.” The latter is always spelled with š (A ii 20, 34; B v 86, 118, viii 25; C 13, 18, 68), whereas the ẓ occurs only in the sentence tgly ẓd ’il; if this were a mere variant for š it would be hard to explain why it happens regularly in this phrase and in this phrase only. The character occurs again in ‘ẓbt, B v 75, 92, 99, of which nothing can be said except that in view of its repetition the spelling with that sign is obviously definite. It appears once more in the broken vocable ktXž-,7 B iii 41, and perhaps in ẓd, ‘breast’ in C 61, the meaning of which is made definite by the context ynmq bʾap ẓd, ‘sucking at the breast’;8 this word may be the same as the ẓd above. Lastly, it occurs in arʾḥ, in A sup i 4, while in the unpublished parallel text which Virolleaud quotes ad loc. the word appears again with the same spelling. So much is at all events clear from all these cases, that the sign is no variant, but a letter in its own right. Ginsberg, indeed, has suggested 9 that the two-wedged sign is š (Hebrew masoretic šin), the three-wedged ẓ; the evidence does not bear this out however, for all the words which have ẓ in Hebrew are here written with š: šmh, šd, bšrt, etc.

It is impossible, however, to identify this new letter among known Semitic consonants, and it is only additional evidence from the tablets that carries the investigation farther. In the Tablets the sign is found, in obscure context, in T 6: 8 (lʾsr-), 34 (ḥʾš-); 7: 5 (lyš ?); 28: 7; 30: 4 (ʾarʾžl); T 8 B 15 (ḥʾšr). Tablet 7 and 28 are Hurrian, and 30 probably so. In T 4, the only large Hurrian

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7 X is used for the sign of undetermined value, Albright’s no. 8 (JPOS 1932, 187), formerly read š; see Albright, JPOS 1934, 104 ff.
8 This phrase occurs also in C 59, where our character happens to be effaced, and in C 24, where the word is written ẓd. If the writing in C 61 is correct, the ẓ in C 24 would be an error for the somewhat similar š. However, both the sign in C 61 and that in C 24 may be errors for š, which is similar to both and which would be the correct letter if the word is ẓd, “breast.”
9 Tarbiz 4 (1932) 380; OLZ 1933, 593, n. 1.

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See Montgomery, JAOS 1933, 101. Cf. also ibid. Professor Montgomery’s invaluable notes on the words discussed below.
tablet in the group, the sign is very frequent. It occurs in 19 words, some of them often repeated: 'išr (18 times), ḫṣr (15 times), ḫlāl (also 15), ḫāšnnk (5), 'aršnnk (3), 'inš (3), pēzph (2), nār, 'ašnn, māḍ, pēznn, ṭy, 'iṭān, ṭrḥnāk, dpūl, pbnū-, 'iṣikū, 'iš-, -lā. In the apparently Hurrian T₄ the sign occurs in 'iš(r), pēp-, ḫṣr, ḫlāl (twice), and in T₃ 1 in mār and tgān. In Syria 1931, p. 389, in a tablet giving a list of mostly Hurrian deities, the sign appears in pēzphand, a name which occurs in T 4: 35, 37 without the Hurrian ending -nd. In all these tablets the usual s also occurs, and in no case does the one sign come for the other. It seems fairly clear, therefore, that this is a special sign for a common Hurrian sound which did not exist in the Semitic speech of Ras Shamra. What sound it was is hard to tell; a priori it need not have any connection with the s. The two remaining occurrences of the character give us nevertheless some indication of its value. In T 14, a list of non-Semitic deities, the name 'ašmnw occurs. This is in all probability the name of the Phoenician god Eshmun, which, in the accepted opinion, was of foreign origin. This Hurrian sound would then have been a peculiar sibilant which in Phoenician borrowing was taken over as s. Fresh evidence appears now in the name 'iwšr, identified as Ewiri-šarrī by Ginsberg and Maisler, and independently by Virolleaud and by Albright. Finally, Professor Speiser suggests that the name Tgān in T₃ 1: 9 may be the Hurrian Tagi-senni or Taki-senni. In both cases we again find a Hurrian sound, and one which, in cuneiform transcription, appears as s.

I had discussed this s with Professor Speiser last year, before the name 'iwšr was published by Dhorme. He noted at that time that

10 See Albright, "The Syro-Mesopotamian God Šulman-Ešmun," Archiv für Orientforschung 7 (1931-32) 164 ff., where he discusses a Hurrian name bearing the element Šulman in an Akkadian letter from Ras Shamra, Syria 1929, pl. LXXVI, no. 2, 11: 6, 16; the connection of the divine names Šulman and Ešmun is now complicated by the occurrence of 'ašmnw = Ešmun in the Tablets.

11 On the name, and especially the element iwrī, see Speiser, Mesopotamian Origins, p. 145, n. 90.

12 Syria 1924, 83.
14 Cf. Tagi, Amarna 249. 8, etc., and Taku, Amarna, 51. 5, in Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, also the many names in -senni, e.g. Puḫi-senni (listed as Buḫi-senni in Gadd, cf. note 15 below).
there is a sound peculiar to Hurrian which is represented by cuneiform $z$ in the Nuzi tablets, and which may be the sound in question. The Nuzi tablets are written in Akkadian, in large part by Hurrian scribes, and the spelling often shows the linguistic background of the writers. Dr. Speiser pointed out that in these texts the Akkadian sibilants are completely confused, showing that the scribes could not recognize the differences between them. In the Hurrian proper names in the same tablets, however, $s$ and $z$ are kept reasonably distinct.\textsuperscript{15} Since the Hurrian scribes did not hear the difference between Akkadian $z$ and the other sibilants, this $z$ in their own proper names must have represented a peculiar sound, different from the Akkadian $z$ and distinct from their own $s$. Its exact value is unknown, but Professor Speiser is of the opinion that it was an affricate rather than a simple sibilant, for there is evidence that the sound could be represented in writing either as a dental or as a sibilant. To the cases which he intends to publish elsewhere, there is now added the variation of $N\text{-}i\text{-}q\text{-}m\text{-}e\text{-}a\text{š}$\textsuperscript{16} and $Nqmd$\textsuperscript{17}, if indeed it is phonetic rather than morphological. This variation of dental and sibilant may yet be found within the Ras Shamra alphabet itself, for Virolleaud reports that in an unpublished text\textsuperscript{18} the name $L\text{ṭ}p\text{n} 'i\text{l} dp'\text{id}$ is written $L\text{ṭ}p\text{n} 'i\text{l} ṣp'\text{id}$\textsuperscript{19}. There must have been more phonetic peculiarities in Ras Shamra than the writing betrays.

We have here, then, a Hurrian affricate or sibilant. Its use in Hurrian words in the tablets is hardly surprising. What is of particular interest, however, is the use of this letter in apparently Semitic words in the poems. Ginsberg and Maisler recognize this Hurrian character, outside of $\text{ṭwrēr}$, only in T 4 and 7 and in


\textsuperscript{16} Virolleaud, \textit{Syria} 1934, 243. The name comes from a Babylonian letter found at Ras Shamra and announced in \textit{C. R. Acad. des Inscr.} for Dec. 2, 1932, where it was rendered $N\text{iqmēaz}$.

\textsuperscript{17} King of Ugarit, in the colophons in A sup. vi 56, and the end of B viii.

\textsuperscript{18} A “hymn to the moon,” \textit{Syria} 1934, 82, mentioned also \textit{ibid.} 1932, 143, n. 1.

\textsuperscript{19} The sign here represented as $z$ is Albright’s no. 9a (\textit{JPPOS} 1932, 187), now transcribed $\varepsilon$ by him (\textit{JPPOS} 1934, 105) and $\varepsilon$ by Virolleaud. In the same unpublished text Virolleaud mentions $\text{ṭhrm}$ for $\text{ṭhrm}$, showing what may be a regular variation in that text.
Syria 1931, p. 389; they divorce it completely both from the three-wedged ș and from the two-wedged sign as it appears in the other tablets and in the poems, assuming the existence of two two-wedged signs, the one, Hurrian, in the tablets just mentioned, and the other, Semitic, everywhere else. The sign which they recognize as Hurrian is, however, the same as the ĝ elsewhere. The only difference between the ĝ in these tablets and elsewhere is calligraphic, a difference noticeable in the other signs also. The Hurrian value of this character must therefore be recognized in all its occurrences, e.g., in the name 'užmny in T 14, and in the poems. It is this last phenomenon which is linguistically the most interesting. Why certain Semitic words should be written with this sign or pronounced with this foreign sound, is difficult to explain. The contact between the two linguistic communities of Hurrians and Semites at Ugarit may well have led to certain contaminations and to changes in the pronunciation of some words, depending always on the individual history of each word. For that matter, since none of these words have been definitively identified, they may be merely semitized loan-words, retaining the sound of their original Hurrian sibilant. Beyond this point it is hard to go at present. Further occurrences of the sign will surely aid in explaining its use.
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Origin of the Alphabet of Ras Shamra and its Bearing on the Origin of the Phoenician Alphabet

In a paper read before the Prussian Academy of the Arts and Sciences on January 11, 1934, Professor Erich Ebeling of Berlin ascertains that “das Ras-Schamra Alphabet aus den einfachen Zeichen des babylonischen Keilschriftsystems, die bekanntlich als Silbenzeichen Vokal und Konsonant in sich vereinen, entwickelt worden ist.”

The present writer reached essentially the same conclusion before Ebeling’s paper had been published differing only with regard to the derivation of the Ras Shamra characters from their Babylonian models in the following instances:

No. 1 = ʼ: from Babyl. an, and not from a.
No. 3 = ʾ: from Old-Babyl. un, and not from Babyl. u.
No. 4 = b: from Babyl. ba; E. from Babyl. bi.
No. 10 = h₂(ḥ): from Babyl. hu; E. from Old-Babyl. ḫa.
No. 15 = l: from Babyl. la; E. from Babyl. lu.
No. 20 = ʿ: from Babyl. en; E. from Babyl. u, ḫa.
No. 22 = ś: from Babyl. zu/ṣu; E. from Babyl. za.
No. 25 = r: from Babyl. ra; E. undecided between ur and ra.

Professor Ebeling bases his argument for the Babylonian origin of the Ras Shamra characters solely upon the similarity between these characters and certain signs of the Babylonian cuneiform system. I would stress in addition the historical situation during the middle centuries of the second millenium B.C., when Babylonian (or rather “Akkadian”) was the lingua franca in the Near East while the Ras Shamra alphabet was being developed; it is logical to assume that the Ras Shamra characters had cuneiform signs as models. The Ras Shamra alphabet probably compares with Babylonian cuneiform writing as the Sinaitic alphabet compares with the Egyptian hieroglyphs.

¹ Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzung vom 1. Februar 1934, p. 11.

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After this consideration of the Babylonian origin of the Ras Shamra alphabet it is surely pertinent to inquire whether the Phoenician alphabet might not have developed out of the Ras Shamra script. Even a superficial comparison between the Ras Shamra characters and those of the Phoenician alphabet reveals certain striking similarities between the two scripts. Some of the differences between the two alphabets might be explained by the change of wedges into straight lines and the ultimate direction of the writing from right to left instead of from left to right.  

I submit, therefore, that the Phoenician alphabet and all alphabets derived from it go back to the cuneiform script rather than to the Sinaitic alphabet. Concerning the latter view, which is held by Professors Olmstead and Sprengling, Dr. Flight has this to say: "Their argument on the point in question is based for the most part, however, upon the similarity of form between corresponding characters in the two alphabets. So far as this argument is concerned one can see as much evidence for the derivation of certain Ras Shamra characters from the Canaanite-Phoenician as from the Se'irite-Sinaitic."  

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New York.  

A Note on the "Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither" by Ludolph Von Suchem (1350)  

Aubrey Stewart, in his preface to Ludolph Von Suchem's Description of the Holy Land, which he translated for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society in 1896 (London), comes to the conclusion that the original was written in 1350; this date is printed on the front page of this book just below the title. I find, however, that there is some doubt about the accuracy of the date in question.  

In Ch. XXXII, entitled "Ancient Babylon, or Baldach," we read: "I will tell you somewhat about the loss of this city of Baldach, according as I have read thereof in the chronicles 1 and  

---[A number of detailed arguments had to be left out for lack of space.  
E. A. S.]  
1 According to Stewart, the reference is probably to Haithoni Armeni
histories of the kings of Armenia, and have heard from a right truthful knight who was there at the time. In the year of our Lord 1268, when the Tartars had conquered all the kingdoms of the East, Ayco, the then King of Armenia, of his own accord proceeded to the great Khan, the Emperor of the Tartars, to visit him. Ayco was kindly received by him, because so great and singular an honour had been shown him, that kings should of their own accord visit him and come to meet him, whereat he was much pleased and honoured the king with many presents. In process of time, when the King of Armenia was about to return home, he asked the Emperor to grant him five boons” (pp. 73, 74).

This statement contains three serious errors.

1. The Armenian King Ayco, mentioned by von Suchem, was the King of Lesser Armenia, Haitum I (1226-1270), while the Tartar Khan in question was Manku Khan (1256-1259). Haitum I left for the court of Manku on Feb. 4, 1254 and returned on June 5, 1256; the year 1268, in which the trip is placed by von Suchem, cannot represent the correct date.

2. The Baldach of von Suchem is Baghdad, which was taken by the Tartars, aided by the forces of the Armenians and the treachery of its own commander, on February 5, 1258. The Mohammedans were ruthlessly butchered, but the Christians were not molested because of the intercession of the Armenians and other Christians then in the army and at the court of the Tartars.

3. Von Suchem states that “about the loss of this city of Baldach” he has “heard from a right truthful knight who was there at the time.” From that statement we are to infer that this truthful knight was actually present on the battlefield at the fall and capture of Baghdad by the Tartars in the year 1258. Now if von Suchem wrote his Description of the Holy Land in 1350, 92 years must have elapsed by then since the fall and capture of Baghdad. And if he heard this story on his first visit to the Orient (about 1336) his informant must have been at least 100

_Historia Orientalis_, in Vol. II of Vincent of Beauvais’s _Fragmenta_. This Armenian chronicler is really Haitum, prince of Gorigos, whose work is entitled _Liber Historiarum Partium Orientis_. In a French MS now in the Bibl. Nat. of Paris (No. 12201), entitled _Merveilles du Monde_, is included an excellent copy of the Haitum Chronicles, mentioned above, together with forty-three splendid illustrations.
years old, or he could not have taken part in a battle fought in 1258.
It follows that we should place the date of von Suchem’s book
and the year of the author’s first visit to the Holy Land at a much
earlier time. If it should be found that no change in either date is
justified, then we cannot but conclude that the truthful knight was
not so truthful and von Suchem was a very gullible tourist. Or
did he make up the story to give his work a more authoritative
aspect?

Wichita, Kansas.

H. KURDIAN.
REIEWS OF BOOKS

A Guide to an Exhibition of Islamic Miniature Painting and Book Illumination. By M. S. Dimand. New York: Metropo-
titan Museum of Art, 1933. Pp. ix + 53, with 39 illustra-
tions. $1.00.

We see from the title that this pamphlet is a guide to the exhibi-
tion which remained in the Metropolitan Museum from October
9, 1933 to January 7, 1934. But it really contains a brief manual
of Mohammedan painting written in a serious, but popular, form
by a noted specialist in this field. The author was the soul, the
organizer, and the manager of this exhibition, which proved both
interesting and important to the lovers and connoisseurs of Ori-
ental Art in this country. There were shown wonderful miniatures
and bookbindings from twenty private collections, eight of them
from abroad, and from the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Musée des
Arts Décoratifs, the Louvre, and four American museums.

The book opens with a preface by H. E. Winlock, Director, and
the first chapter, dealing with Islamic calligraphy, is prepared by
Joseph M. Upton, Assistant to Dr. Dimand. The work of Dimand
is divided into five sections: The Beginning of Islamic Painting,
The Mesopotamian school (12-13 cc.), Persian, Indian, and Tur-
kish Painting. The last chapter is devoted to bookbinding, which
is an important branch of Moslem art.

From this brief summary everyone can appreciate what a wealth
of material is concentrated in about forty pages, and the name of
Dr. Dimand is the best guarantee that the results are trustworthy.
His work can be warmly recommended to anyone who wishes to
know something of Islamic painting. The pamphlet is decorated
with 39 beautifully made reproductions of sections of manuscripts,
bindings, and of several miniatures.

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The author, a young Swedish Orientalist, studied the Eastern
Turkish dialect in 1929-1930 in Kashgar, Chinese Turkestan, and

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the book under discussion is the result of these studies. First of all, Mr. Jarring in two bibliographical lists shows a deep knowledge of technical literature, and especially, of the Russian works which he handles quite successfully. He is not like so many Orientalists who think that in our time it is possible to be a Turcologist without studying the Russian works on the subject. Concerning the first bibliography we can remark that a very important dissertation published in 1903 by the late Prof. N. Katanov on the Uriankhai dialect is missing, and the works of Mr. Polivanov are uselessly mentioned because this scholar is a Japanist and only recently, with a political aim, has turned to Turcology.

After defining Eastern Turkish, and surveying the earlier works on the subject, the author gives us a detailed study of the vowels (pp. 22-98). In two of the last chapters (11th and 12th, pp. 98-128), we have an explanation of the system of the consonants. The most interesting part of the book, with a separate pagination, is entitled “Materials.” It contains several extracts from some Eastern Turkish literary works and popular songs given in the Arabic alphabet, with a phonetic transliteration and a German translation. The phonetic transliterations are especially useful for Turcology, because linguistic data on Eastern Turkish are not too familiar to European scholars. At the end the photo of a fragment of a poem is added.

Our one quarrel with Mr. Jarring and modern philologists in general is that their system of transliteration is exaggerated (54 signs used by Mr. Jarring!). The old great scholars, like W. Radloff, who had published many and many volumes about Turkish linguistics, have used a much simpler phonetic alphabet, but their results were none the less valuable.


We cannot review this work without mentioning an article published later on the same subject, also by Prof. P. Kahle, in the Geographical Review, New York, October, 1933, pp. 621-638, under the title “A Lost Map of Columbus.” In this article the same
question is discussed, but in a more condensed form, and only one map is reproduced.

In 1929, at Constantinople, among several maps found in the Seraglio, Dr. Kahle discovered a Turkish map of the Atlantic Ocean. When he had read the Turkish inscriptions on it, he suggested that it was a portion of the world map which had been prepared in 1513 and presented by the Turkish admiral, statesman and cartographer, Piri Reis, to Sultan Selim I at Cairo in 1517; Kahle had already a special interest in Piri Reis and had written two works concerning his activities. When our author later studied the charts of Columbus and compared them with this Turkish map, he concluded that the latter was a reproduction of a lost map of Columbus of 1498. But in what way did the map of Columbus reach the hands of the Turkish admiral? Kahle tells us that the uncle of Piri Reis, Kemal Reis, had a Spanish slave who had travelled three times with Columbus to America. He was captured after a Turkish naval victory in the Mediterranean, near Valencia, in 1501. Thus, this map either belonged to the Spanish slave or was a part of the booty. And Piri Reis reproduced it later as a Western portion of the world map when he was ordered by Sultan Selim to prepare such a work.

The material given as proof by Prof. Kahle is considerable enough and his hypothesis is possible. But he, himself, writes: "A complete discussion of this remarkable document and the many problems that it raises must be reserved for a longer study now in preparation." We are obliged to wait, with great interest, for the final solution of these problems.

N. MARTINOVITCH.

New York City.

Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece. By E. L. SUKENIK.
London: 1934. 90 pp., with numerous drawings and 19 plates; royal oct. $3.50.

The British Academy is to be congratulated on having asked Dr. Sukenik to deliver the 1930 Schweich Lectures which this book gives to the general public in printed form. Discoveries in the field of synagogue architecture and ornamentation since the days of Kohl and Watzinger have made a new treatment of the subject
highly desirable, and no one is more intimately acquainted with the field than the Archaeologist to the Institute of Jewish Studies at Jerusalem, himself the excavator of the Beth Alpha and other important synagogue sites. That the book is the fruitage of a series of lectures is quite apparent, for its method is to instruct by choosing certain of the outstanding monuments as the subject of discussion, rather than to cover the whole field as Krauss did in his *Synagogale Altertümer* (1928). The choice, however, is excellent. It embraces the synagogues of Capernaum, Chorazin and Kefr Bir'im from the older Palestinian series, Delos, Miletus, Priene and Aegina from the publications of classical archaeologists, and Na'aran, Beth Alpha and Jerash from the post-war discoveries in Bible lands. An appendix brings important comment on the most recent finds at Stobi, Hammath, Dura and 'Esfia.

The book is one which will delight the general reader desiring to acquaint himself with the important facts about the most significant of these ancient Jewish monuments. But its appeal is equally to the scholar searching for contributions to the field of inquiry. Three things about the publication give it special value in this connection: first, the detailed analysis of the architecture of the Capernaum synagogue (superseding Watzinger), second, the section on inscriptions, and third, the discussion of the use of pictorial art in ancient synagogues generally.

The last-mentioned topic is one that the excavations at Jerash, Beth Alpha, Na'aran and Dura have brought to the fore. Most of the implications involved in the existence of an ancient Jewish pictorial art are as yet obscure. The question which everyone faced with the evidence naturally asks himself is how the use of such representations in synagogues can be reconciled with the commands of Exodus 20:4 and Deuteronomy 5:8. Dr. Sukenik has made the first real attempt to answer this question. His suggestion is that the ancient Jews were generally more favorable to pictorial and even sculptural art than we have imagined, and that only in times of national crisis was there objection to it. The final proscription against the use of pictures in Jewish houses of worship he places in the period between 400 and 600 C. E. This position is thoroughly sound, but one may well wonder whether the earlier exegetical treatment of the Old Testament passages did not also distinguish between images that might be the occasion of idolatry and those that did not, and whether place was not as im-
portant a factor in determining the attitude toward art as time
was. Certainly the most lavish pictorial decorations are those of
the synagogue at Dura in Mesopotamia, and even in the trouble-
some second half of the first century the author of *IV Maccabees*,
who lived outside Palestine, was able to contemplate a structure on
the walls of which the sufferings of the Jewish heroes were depicted.

*In the discussion of the architectural form of the ancient syna-
gogues Dr. Sukenik gives due prominence to the basilica type so
commonly found, and implies that there was probably an earlier
type lacking certain of its features. Possibly the discoveries at
Dura will eventually permit us to construct a clearer picture of
this earlier type. The Dura synagogue is utterly unlike the Pales-
tinian edifices, and, as it agrees in many important respects with
those of Hamam-Lif and Priene (if this was a synagogue), may
well be taken as the representative of a distinct type. The fact
that it meets Jewish devotional needs more immediately and recalls
the Wilderness Tabernacle in some of its features makes it possible
to consider the Dura type as the precursor of the later Hellenistic
edifice.

To all interested in ancient Jewish life and culture Dr. Suke-
nik’s newest publication can be warmly recommended as a most
satisfying treatment of a highly important and thoroughly live
topic.

CARL H. KRAELING.

Yale University.

Les Noms Magiques dans les Apocryphes Chrétiens des Éthiopiens.
Pp. 88-137.

The author studies the magic names contained in Basset’s *Les
Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, with references also to the texts which
have been published by Worrell and Ehringer. He finds that
many of the names drawn from foreign sources may be traced to
an origin in Jewish magical usage; this conclusion is, perhaps,
somewhat too strongly expressed. Further study, we are inclined
to think, will show a larger borrowing from the Coptic. However
this may be, every worker in the field is indebted to the author of
the present brochure for his pioneer—and very thorough—efforts
in throwing light upon a difficult and interesting subject. In the study of the names of native origin every possible attempt is made to find an etymological derivation. Here a higher degree of success has been reached than the reviewer was able to attain in the study of a lengthy text which he has just completed; many of the names here seem to be meaningless combinations of letters although a large number end with 'êl or yâl, which would indicate an origin at least partly Jewish. We find Aešcöly's work so valuable that we venture a criticism only with the hope that the author will continue his labors in this field and find it useful; that he arrange the names in the sequence of the Ethiopic alphabet, not of the Latin. No one is likely to use the work who is not acquainted with Ethiopic.

Oriental Institute, Chicago.

FRANK H. HALLOCK.


With gratifying promptness comes now to hand this third volume of Vedic Variants, full of interest and enlightenment. In the introductory chapter of the first volume we have read: "For the most part . . . the variants between text and text are based upon the natural freedom of expression in prayers and songs of praise, and upon the looser syntax which, compared for instance with Greek and Latin, pervades Sanskrit from the Veda to the end of its career." These words gave an intimation of the large significance of the study and analysis of the variants. The first volume dealing with the verb and the second volume dealing with phonetics have indeed offered opportunity for many interesting observations concerning grammar and linguistic psychology: this third volume "aims to include all variations in the inflected forms of such words [nouns, pronouns, and adjectives] in the repeated mantras of the Veda," with some slight exceptions; and the material divides itself into "formal variants and syntactic and stylistic variants." The study of the formal variants is a contribution to morphology in
Sanskrit grammar, and the study of the other variants illumines the uses of cases, numbers, and genders, but for the most part the uses of cases. One fact clearly emerging in this volume is that case constructions which would at first thought seem in no wise similar are in the variants actually interchanged to a surprising extent: and one can hardly fail to be surprised at the number of the variants which have their place in this volume. The variants are interesting because "they illumine the ways in which the whole stock of mantra material was reworked in the course of the centuries." It might be added that those ways are many and some of them strange.

Although the syntax of Sanskrit is looser than that of Greek and Latin there are certainly many close parallels which come to the mind of a student of the classical languages. The circumstances which produced the variants in the Vedic texts have no counterpart in Greek and Latin but in these latter languages different cases are at times found expressing the same idea; so in Latin we find genitive of quality and ablative of quality with a considerable overlapping of usage. Something vaguely approaching a Vedic variant appears in the following lines:

\[
\text{quae nos materiem et genitalia corpora rebus}
\]
\[
\text{reddunda in ratione vocare et semina rerum}
\]
\[
\text{appellare suemus \ldots}
\]

(Lucr. 1. 58-60.)

The dative of reference as variant for possessive genitive or possessive pronoun is common in Roman comedy and appears not rarely in Augustan poetry; indeed the type optundit os mihi (Cas. 931) is more frequent than the type auris graviter obtundo tuas (Cist. 118).

Case usages are not merely matters of syntax but are influenced by the particular words used (e. g. some Latin nouns are defective), by the literary form or department, and by the times. Some such matters are set forth in this volume of the Variants, and there seems to be opportunity for further study along such lines. Indeed one might hope that these volumes of Vedic Variants may stimulate studies in syntax.

The reviewer has spent some time in editing a Vedic text and finds in this volume reason to think that he has at times too readily "corrected" a case form of the manuscript; but on the other hand
has at times thought in going through this volume that some variants may be merely mistakes in the tradition.

The volume is commended not only as sound and instructive but also as interesting, and we may surely be permitted to express the hope that the next volume may not be too long delayed.

LeROY C. BARRET.

Trinity College, Hartford.
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Society's Committee on Policy held its second meeting on Monday, December 31, 1934, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City. The session lasted from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., and was devoted to an exhaustive study of changes in the Constitution of the Society as recommended by the special sub-committee headed by Prof. Sturtevant. Another meeting of the Committee will be held in conjunction with the forthcoming meeting of the Society at Ann Arbor. It is hoped that the present and the amended Constitutions can be printed in parallel columns in the next issue of the JOURNAL so as to enable the Society to take formal action at its meeting in 1936.

The Executive Committee of the Society authorized the Editors to apply the balance of the sum of $200.00, which the Board of Directors set aside for the purpose of enlarging vol. 54. 2-3 of the JOURNAL, to the last number of vol. 54.

The President of the Society appointed Drs. Kent and Speiser as delegates of the Society to the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, to be held at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, April 5-6th, 1935.

Owing to an oversight on the part of our printer the title-page and the table of contents of vol. 54 were printed on the same sheet of paper as the last eight pages of the volume. Subsequently the printer supplied separate copies of pages in question for the use of those who care to bind their volumes. These copies are being sent out to subscribing libraries with the present issue of the JOURNAL. Members may obtain them free of charge upon application to the Office of the Society, in care of the Yale University Press.

Volume 6 of the Society's Monograph Series, containing The State Letters of Assyria, by Robert H. Pfeiffer, is now on sale. Volume 7, which will contain A Union List of Printed Indic Material in American Libraries, by Murray B. Emeneau, is in press.

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NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

A Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, will be held at Princeton University from June 20 to July 31 in the coming summer. The Committee of Direction consists of Prof. P. K. Hitti, Director, Prof. W. L. Wright, Secretary, Professors H. H. Bender, A. M. Friend, Jr., and J. T. Gerould, and Mr. Mortimer Graves, for the American Council of Learned Societies. The set courses will include elementary and advanced courses in Arabic,
an elementary course in Turkish; and in case of demand courses in Persian; general courses in Islamic Culture and Literature, History of the Ottoman Empire, Islamic Art, will be given by Professors Hitti, Wright, and Dr. Aga-Oghi. Also a number of Semitists and specialists in allied fields have been invited to give lectures, among them Professors Calverley, Montgomery, Sarton, and Sprengling. Further information can be obtained from Prof. W. L. Wright, 20 Maple Street, Princeton, N. J. The Seminar will be housed in the Graduate College of Princeton, where dormitory accommodations have been provided for both men and women.

PERSONALIA

Professor James Haughton Woods, of Harvard University, died on January 14th, 1935, at the age of seventy-one. He was graduated from Harvard in 1887, and from the Cambridge Theological School in 1889, and studied at the University of Berlin (1889-91) and the University of Strassburg (1894-97). He was first appointed to the faculty of Harvard University in 1891. He taught at various times History, Philosophy, and Anthropology. In 1913 he was made professor. In 1916-18, and again in 1921, he was exchange professor to France. Professor Woods was especially interested in Comparative Religions, and investigated the philosophy of India and Japan, travelling to the Orient for that purpose. He was a member of many learned societies, and was well known as an author, translator, and editor. He contributed to the Harvard Oriental Series the volume on the Yoga System of Patanjali (1914). One of the most distinguished of American Orientalists, Professor Woods combined wide interests with thorough scholarship and mastery of detail.

Benjamin F. March, of the University of Michigan, died on December 13th, 1934, at the age of thirty-five. He was one of the most promising of American sinologists. He graduated from the University of Chicago in 1922, and attended the Union Theological Seminary the following year. He was in China from 1923 to 1927, as a member of the faculties of the Hopei and Yenching universities. He lectured on Chinese Art at the Summer Session of Columbia University in 1927, was Curator of Asiatic Art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1927-33, and went to the University of Michigan in 1933. He was the author of China and Japan in Our Museums, 1929; Standards of Pottery Description, 1934; and Some Technical Terms of Chinese Painting, to be published in 1935. He is survived by his wife, Dorothy Rowe March, and a child, Judith. During the World War he served in France with Field Remount Squadron No. 305.
LINGUISTIC SCIENCE AND THE ORIENTALIST *

ROLAND G. KENT
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

ABOUT A YEAR before I was admitted to membership in this honorable Society, I was engaged in tracking down a review which proved to have been used in dishonest fashion by the publisher in his promotion circular, and while thus occupied I happened upon the following letter sent by one Edward S. Dodgson to the editor of The Academy, and by him printed in the section reserved for Correspondence: 1

Sir,—To primitive man the sea must have seemed more shiny, open, and seeable than the land, which is blocked with hills, and covered with a hull of woods and forests. Whether θαύ and silua, sylva are connected with Old-English hulen, Icelandic hylja, Gothic huljan, is for philologists like Dr. W. W. Skeat to say. But may it not be that, just as Latin māre appears to come from a root meaning to shine, to gleam, so the Gothic saiws = the sea, is akin to Gothic saihwan = to see? In the Carpathian Mountains there are lakes known as "eyes of the sea;" and in Baskish a spring of water is called ur-begi, literally water-eye. The Greek is ὠκτω, and is thought by some to come from ὠκτω = swift, but is it not possible that its etymon is the same as the Latin oculus, and other Indo-European words meaning eye?

Under date of the very day on which The Academy containing Mr. Dodgson's letter was issued, Mr. A. L. Mayhew of Oxford penned the following protest, which appeared in The Academy one week later: 2

Sir,—As a student of comparative philology for more than forty years, and as a sincere friend of The Academy, I most earnestly entreat you, as you value the representation of The Academy as a literary and scientific weekly review, not to admit letters from Mr. E. S. Dodgson on the subject of com-

* Presidential Address delivered at the meeting of the Society, in Ann Arbor, April 24, 1935.
1 The Academy No. 1873, p. 626 (March 28, 1908).
2 The Academy No. 1874, p. 648 (April 4, 1908).
parative philology. In the letter which appears in this week’s Academy on the etymology of “Sea,” there is scarcely a line which does not contain a gross blunder. The letter clearly shows that the writer is absolutely ignorant of the elements of old English or of Gothic scholarship. There is not a single etymology which is suggested in this astounding letter that would not be laughed out of court by any competent scholar.

I am quite sure that if you had been told how bad the communication was you would never have given it the hospitality of your columns. I tell you now so that you may be warned in future.

You listened to my advice on philological letters in the case of the late Mr. Hall; I think that it will be to the interest of The Academy if you listen to me now, or at any rate take the advice on the matter of some competent scholar.

The editor, thus cornered, thought to extract himself from the position of having committed a bad bull, by appending the following note to Mr. Mayhew’s letter:  

We do not editorially profess to be authorities on comparative philology and we decline responsibility for views expressed in our correspondence columns. We constantly admit to its hospitality correspondents with whom we are in profound disagreement, and the responsibility for any mistakes and blunders they may make must rest on their own heads. Admitting that Mr. E. S. Dodgson’s etymology is at fault, of which there appears to be little doubt, the value of his letter lies in the fact that it has drawn from Professor Skeat an authoritative pronouncement. Regarded from this point of view, correspondents who write and make inaccurate statements in the columns of The Academy are really often conferring a benefit on our readers, since they afford the means for the exposure of error.

A rather naive view of editorial responsibility! And if the publication of error does the readers a service if the error is later corrected, what a field of service the newspapers of today have but imperfectly realized, since they rarely publish the corrections of the errors. But to return to The Academy, we find on another page of this issue the letter from Dr. Skeat:  

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* The Academy, loc. cit.
I am afraid that hardly any of the conclusions suggested in Mr. Dodgson's letter are likely to be accepted by the best authorities.

The Gothic *huljan* is allied to the Latin *celare*, and cannot be connected with *silua*.

The connection of the Latin *mare* with a root meaning "to gleam" is just a possible guess, but cannot be said to be convincing.

The Greek for "ocean" is spelt with a *kappa*, and cannot be connected with the Latin *oculus*, the root of which appears in Greek with a *pi*, as in our borrowed word *op-tics*, and is therefore not *ok-*, but *oq-*.

The connection of the Gothic *saiws*, sea, with *saihwan*, to see, is impossible. It is unlucky that Gothic uses the symbol *ai* in two different and unconnected ways; but such is the fact. In *saihwan* the *ai* represents short *e*, and the root takes the form *seq*. But in *saiws* the *ai* is really a diphthong, and the Germanic type is either *saiwiz*, or else, as Uhlenbeck writes it, *saigwiz*, on the strength of a possible connection with O. H. G. *gi-sig*, a lake or pool. In other words, the forms *saihwan* and *saiws* have nothing in common except the initial *s*.

One might suppose that Mr. Dodgson would withdraw from the field; but no! he is sans peur, even if not sans reproche. He at once writes another effusion, to which the editor of *The Academy* gives space:

"I am obliged to my friend Dr. Skeat for commenting on my letter about the word 'Sea,' . . . We cannot see or know the origin of all the oldest words; but we are free to guess at it, in the light of the phenomena of nature, as they meet the reason of mankind." No, Mr. Dodgson; only as they meet the requirements of linguistic science. "How very ancient is humanity, and how few are the languages which can boast of ancient documentary evidence! *Huljan* does not resemble *celare* so much as *saiws* does *saihwan*. In favour of *mare* meaning 'shining' one may cite *mar-mor*, *mor-ning*, and perhaps *mar-tyr*, a person who enlightens by his testimony." Why, Mr. Dodgson, do you cite Latin, English,

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*The contrast of *ok-* and *oq-* hardly makes clear the difference in the roots; the second root would now be quoted as *oq-*.

*The Academy* No. 1875, p. 672 (April 11, 1908).
and Greek, all in one breath, and on the same basis? And do you not know that the pre-Christian meaning of martyr was "witness", and that the word got its new meaning as the result of the painful deaths of "witnesses" to the Christian faith? "I gathered from Liddell and Scott that in the optic words, to which Dr. Skeat refers, the root oc or ok was older than op, and that okeanos must be a very ancient word. It may have been the name of a demon like Neptune, and possibly referred to the western strait of the Midland Sea, considered as the eye of the great unknown 'whale-road' out beyond." What rubbish, mixed with lack of understanding! "The 'root' seg, and the Germanic 'types' saiñiz, or saigñiz, are mere matters of pedantick conjecture, without any documentary evidence." Yet how much better than Mr. Dodgson's ignorant conjecturings! Of which he makes some more: "Is not saiñala, the Gothic for soul, sees, derived from sañhwan? Does it not mean the see? Is not the soul, more than the eye, that which sees? Written words are but dead letters, except for those who know what things, thoughts, and sounds they represent. I do not think many readers of The Academy will follow Mr. Mayhew in his attempt to stifle free thought and enquiry about comparative philology, which is so necessary a study", a praiseworthy idea, expressed by an unworthy champion, "if all the citizens of the world are to understand one another and live like a happy family." Even here I must disagree with Mr. Dodgson: as a comparative philologist, I do not anticipate that the study of comparative philology will smooth out international differences and bring universal peace.

Curiously, in this four-cornered wrangle of Dodgson, Mayhew, Editor, and Skeat, I look upon the perhaps discourteous Mayhew as the only one with reason on his side. Mr. Dodgson was one of the many persons who thinks that anyone has a right to etymologize, and to get a hearing for his views; but he was ignorant even of the fact that there is a science of linguistics: he was no more qualified to air his views on etymology, than a street-sweeper is to expand views on the tensile strength of structural steel, or on the correctness of the logarithmic tables. The editor was wrong in admitting such trash to his columns; as we know, it is pedagogically wrong to set error before learners (wherein I include readers of The Academy) unless the correction follows at once, and reaches all who read the original: even then, there is a waste of time and space. Mr. Skeat was wrong in his dignified refutation, because
his very judicial manner dignified his unworthy opponent's views. Mr. Mayhew, however, struck at the root of the matter: silliness should not be spread abroad, in etymology any more than in any other science. The editor would surely not have given printing space to a communication which claimed, as a matter of scientific fact, that sugar and vinegar would unite chemically and form beefsteak; no more should he befriend silly etymologies.

But whereto all this? It has not touched on Oriental science, you may say. True: the illustrations have been from Occidental languages; but etymology is a science applying to every language, and virtually all Orientalists have to devote a great part of their time to the understanding of languages. A high percentage of them must or should busy themselves with the interpretation of languages: and it is to them that I intend especially to direct my remarks from this point on. There are also others who must utilize the results of other scholars' linguistic researches; to them I say: You must make yourself able to judge of the validity of the work which others have done, or you may base your own work on discredited theories.

For there is a science of linguistics, just as there is a science of textual criticism, of biblical exegesis, and now also of archaeological excavation. But comparatively few scholars in our country have any definite idea about the science of linguistics and its methods—even though in most of the subdivisions of the linguistic field we have some notable exponents who rank high in the linguistic scholarship of the world. Let us come to the main divisions of the Oriental field, however, disregarding the rest. We may fairly divide it into Semitic studies, with Hittite, Egyptian, and Hamitic bordering upon them; Indo-Iranian; Dravidian; Chinese and other monosyllabic tonal languages; Japanese; Indonesian; Bantu.

The first step toward a scientific knowledge of a language is to draw up a careful descriptive study of it: what sounds it has, how they are made, in what positions in the words they are found, etc.; what variations of form, if any, are used to express the modifications of the idea expressed by the word and its relations to its

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7 In the case of a language not previously reduced to writing, this involves the taking down in a phonetic notation a series of texts, as dictated by a native speaker of the language. With such tasks we are not here concerned, since this address is directed essentially at the interpretation of older languages preserved in manuscripts and inscriptions.
neighbors in the expression of thought; what suffixes, prefixes, infixes are used, if any; the means of expressing the logical relations of the ideas (syntax); not to omit a list of the words or roots composing the vocabulary.

Some of the Oriental languages have as yet hardly been subjected to this careful descriptive study; but I would pass to the next step, the preparation of an historical grammar of related languages. In this, the first step is the gathering of a stock of word-groups, which seem by similarity of form and of meaning to be genetically related. Thus Latin pater, Greek πατέρ, Sanskrit pita, English father are, for example, such a group of related words. In addition to this, there must be an observation of the differences between corresponding sounds, as that in the examples just quoted the original sound which appears as p in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, appears as f in English, at least in the initial position. From such observations a series of inductions will give the formulation of the sound-changes in accordance with which the various languages which stand in relation to one another have become differentiated.

Now for the present I wish to speak only of two sets of Oriental languages, the Indo-Iranian and the Semitic. The former are a branch of the Indo-European, and have been well studied; their historical study stands on a firm and valid basis. It is otherwise with the Semitic languages: and I wish to illustrate by certain examples, which are symptomatic, the fact that much which has been written on the linguistics of Semitic languages is entirely unscientific in its method. It would be possible for me to draw my material from the published works of members of this Society; but I recall what the Roman Juvenal felt obliged to do when in a spirit of revulsion at the follies of his time he started on the writing of satire: warned by his friends of the danger involved, he announced that he would draw his examples from those whose ashes lay buried by the Flaminian and the Latin highways. So I, out of fear for my own safety as well as for the feelings of some of my friends, now draw my examples from the writings of those who are separated from us by the width of an ocean.

I wish at the outset to emphasize the fact that I am not so much concerned with errors of fact as I am with errors of method.\(^a\)

\(^a\) Juvenal, Sat. 1. 170-1.

\(^a\) My friend and colleague Prof. E. A. Speiser has contributed most generously of his time and his learning, to verify the facts of Semitic grammar
And the canons of method which may here be illustrated are the following:

a. There must be a careful distinction between speech, which consists of sounds, and writing, which consists of visual symbols indicating to the eye what the ear is to appreciate.

b. There must be a correct and consistent technical terminology.

c. There must be strict observance of the formulation that sound-changes are regular, if the conditions are the same; if they seem not to be, then there is some special cause affecting the development.

d. The fact that a sound-change, as of *n* to *l* or of *l* to *n*, may be found in one or more languages, is no evidence that it is to be assumed as normal in some other language.

e. Only comparables may be compared with one another: thus in an etymological comparison, words from languages not mutually related cannot be compared — English, Hebrew, Chinese, for example.

These are only a few matters, each (except the first) divisible into many; but they are convenient for the development of my thesis, that many scholars who write on the linguistics of the Semitic languages have not acquired the technique of linguistic science, without which their work is futile and their results may be, and often are, worthless.

Perhaps I may most profitably take as a work for examination the *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, by De Lacy O’Leary, published in 1923, the most recent of foreign treatments of the subject in English.\(^9\) Alas, he offends against the principle that sound and letter are to be carefully distinguished, for on pages 56-7 he says,\(^{11}\) “The four letters *f*, *z*, *s*, and *q* are called in Arabic

which are involved in my discussion; and I hereby express to him my sincere thanks. Without his cooperation in this and other ways I should not have ventured to speak upon this topic; but the blame for any errors that still remain must be mine, and not his.


\(^{11}\) The citations from O’Leary’s work, and from the works of others, are verbatim, except that words in Oriental alphabets are transliterated in my quotations, for ease of typography, and that words and phrases unnecessary to my purpose are omitted, though never in such a way as to prejudice the author’s meaning.
'covered', because the lingual outlet of the letter is covered by the opposite side of the palate.” He means “sound” where he says “letter”.

This is a bad beginning. I pass now to his technical terminology. On page 29 he states: “It must be noted that b, g, d, k, p, t are aspirated as bh, gh, dh, kh, ph, th, in Hebrew and Aramaic by the influence of a preceding vowel.” On page 88 he refers to the same process as aspiration. But aspiration is the emission of a puff of breath at the end of the utterance of a consonant, such as we have in English p in pins, but not found in spin nor in upper. O'Leary's error is in confusing aspirate with spirant: a spirant is a consonant produced by the friction of the breath against some part of the vocal apparatus, a very different thing from an aspirate: examples of spirants are found in the English words the views of the faiths.

We pass to another point of terminology. On page 63 he says: “There are four sonants, l, r, n, and m. Of these m is allied to the labials, n to the dentals.” Quite absurd: sonant means voiced, emitted with a vibration of the vocal cords; and not only these four sounds, but also b, d, g, and their spirant variants, and also y, w, and z are sonants. However difficult it may be to find a single term to denote l, r, n, and m, sonant is another thing. And then “m is allied to the labials, n to the dentals:" not at all, but m is a labial, and n is a dental—no mere alliance. He forgets himself on page 135, where he calls m a labial outright; but on page 123 he says: “the labials, among which we must include the sonant labial m;” his trouble is that he has failed to acquire a generic term for the stops (mutes, occlusives) b, g, d, p, k, t, so that for b and p he must say “labials” and leave m aside as a pariah. If he had said “labial stops” or “labial stops and spirants” (including the values f and v, which are spirants), he could then have added “the labial nasal”; but the term “labial” would have included all five in a perfectly proper manner, intelligible to all clear-thinking linguistic scholars.

He has another term, apparently a favorite, elision, which he uses to denote any loss of a sound or of a syllable. On page 72, in speaking of “Abyssinian”,, he says: “The vowel of the

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12 It is impossible to determine exactly what O'Leary means by “Abyssinian”, a term which he uses on page 4 (cf. also page 1), although he summarizes the linguistic conditions of Abyssinia on pp. 22-3. In quoting him, I am obliged to use the term.
formative *t̪a-* is not elided in the perfect, but in the imperfect (*yetqatel*, etc.) it is brought into contact with the initial radical."

What has taken place is syncope, the loss of a vowel in an unaccented medial syllable: here *yataqatel* became *yetqatel*, the syncopeation (not elision, which O'Leary's wording indicates) of the vowel leading to a change in the quality of the preceding syllable.

On page 135 O'Leary has a heading "Haplology and Elision," seemingly intended to cover losses of every kind: the first examples are really examples of haplology, loss of at least a consonant and a vowel when similar or identical groups stand in close proximity to one another. But he never uses the word haplology except in the heading, overworking elision for every phenomenon of loss, even (page 136) that of consonants when another consonant of identical or nearly identical sound is separated from it by one or at most two vowels: this is of course loss by dissimilation, as when Latin reduplicated perfect *ste-ste* became *stett* (to present *stō*). On page 137 he speaks of the loss of a final short vowel as elision; this might be correct if the next word began with a vowel: for elision can be said only of the loss of a vowel before a vowel; but he uses it of the loss of a final vowel at the end of a phrase ("in pause"), where nothing follows.

It must be clear that in these respects, which I could amplify (I limit myself to clear cases, readily set forth), the technical terminology of O'Leary lacks all agreement with conventional usage, and is even inconsistent within itself. No science can be advanced by such exposition; for science is exact, or it is not science. Curiously, at the very outset (page 4) O'Leary has cut out from under his feet the possibility of making his treatment scientific by asserting that while the five main Semitic languages (Arabic, "Abyssinian", Hebrew, Aramaic, Assyrian) cannot be arranged into closer sub-groupings, "still less are we able to designate any one of them as the parent language, or to construct a 'proto-Semitic' as representing the mother speech." Of course no one of these is the parent language; but as for the reconstruction of the proto-Semitic, the comparative grammar of a family of languages consists in that very thing, the reconstruction, so far as the evidence carries us, of the mother tongue of the family, and the tracing of the development from this mother tongue down to the various later and recorded languages and dialects. O'Leary might better have said that there was no possibility of writing
a comparative grammar of the Semitic languages, and have re-
frained from writing his volume. But how about the truth of his
statement? The Semitic languages are all quite closely similar to
one another, much more so than are the languages of the Indo-
European family; and yet the Indo-European mother-tongue has
been reconstructed to such an extent that the comparative grammar
of Indo-European languages is further advanced than that of any
other group of languages, and serves as a model for the studies of
other language-families. It is even probable that the variations
among the Semitic languages, at least among the five which O'Leary
named in the passage which I have cited, are no greater than those
within the modern Balto-Slavonic division of the Indo-European;
their differences are certainly much less than those among the
modern Indo-Iranian languages. But after denying the possibility
of a firm basis for his comparative grammar, O'Leary seems to have
gone ahead with some vague unnamed and unnamable previous
linguistic state as his starting-point: he dare not name it, for its
only possible name is proto-Semitic. 13 What does he mean (page
60) when he asserts that "the original sounds [uncovered sibilants]
are retained, it would appear, in Hebrew alone, for there only do
we find the four non-emphatic sibilants distinguished as s, ʃ, ʒ, and
z." 14 What can he mean, except that these are proto-Semitic
sounds? And similarly, whenever he discusses the values assumed
by a sound in any Semitic language, he assumes a starting value
to which he attaches no name. Thus, on pages 65-67, he discusses
the semi-vowel w and the values which it takes in the languages;
he says (page 66) : "Generally initial w becomes y (in Hebrew),
thus Arabic walada, Hebrew yalad, 15 etc." What is this "w" and
to what does it belong, whence does it come unless from proto-
Semitic—which is proved for Hebrew by citation of an Arabic
cognate word?

In historical linguistics, it is de rigueur to state the conditions in
which a change of a sound takes place. Thus in Sanskrit, when
one original sound splits into two in Sanskrit, as when an earlier

13 German ursemitisch.
14 Passage quoted verbatim, except for omissions; cf. note 10. I make
no comment on the correctness or otherwise of the statements in the pas-
sage, as I am concerned with matters of method and not with matters of
fact.
15 Both meaning "bear" (verb), and therefore exact equivalents.
k becomes either k or c, and an earlier s becomes either s or š, we must (and do) specify the conditions which produce the division. Such a problem lies before the Semitic scholar in the development of the spirants from the stops, a phenomenon which I have mentioned: the condition is that the stops become spirants when they are postvocalic. Over such statement of conditions O’Leary usually passes lightly; thus on pages 50-53, he treats the palatals (i.e., palatal stops), and speaks of various shifts in their sounds without attempting to state the phonetic environment in which the shifts take place. (If the change is universal for the sound in question, no definition of conditions is needed, nor is indeed possible.)

There is a flagrant example of neglect of this principle in pages 42 and 61-2. On page 42 he says: “The most striking change of k to Hamza occurs in the preformative of the Causative stem of the verb, where ha- itself is derived from an earlier ša-.“ And on 61-2, he presents a table of examples from Arabic, “Abyssinian”, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian, showing that the sibilants remained sibilants in these languages, though there were some shifts in their articulation: with that I am not concerned here, but only with the fact that they remained sibilants. But he goes on to say: “At a very early date it would seem that there had been changes from š/s to h and thence in normal course to Hamza. Thus, in the personal pronoun Assyrian šu, ši, Minaean su, Hebrew ha’, hi’, Arabic huwa, hiya, but both retained in Mehri, where he, hi appears as masculine, se, si as feminine. So in the causative preformative š- in Assyrian and sometimes in Aramaic, with very rare survivals in Hebrew; h- in Hebrew and in older Aramaic, with a few survivals in Arabic; Hamza in later Aramaic, in Arabic, and Abyssinian, but in these two latter with s- retained in the reflexive st- (Arabic istaqtala, etc.). Here, again, Mehri retains both š- and h-. Minaean shows causative s-, and this becomes h- in Sabaean. So in Mehri we often find h for Arabic s-, as in Arab sab‘, “seven,” Mehri hōba‘; Arabic sitt, ‘six,’ Mehri hitt, etc.”

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16 The change of k to Hamza is here not phonetic, but due to a process of re-formation (so Dr. Speiser informs me); nothing in my argument depends on this, and I pass it by without discussion.

17 The passage is quoted verbatim; any errors of fact are therefore retained.

18 So O’Leary for the correct ša, ši.

19 Mehri has not š, but s, in the causative; cf. J. Barth, Pronominalbildung 17 (1931).
Now if this statement is to be taken at its face value, we can extract from it the following: that *s* and *h* varied with each other when initial before a vowel; that this variation is limited to the pronoun and the causative preformative; and some other matters with which we are here not concerned. My objection lies against the points specifically named; for phonetic changes do not (as O'Leary implies and almost asserts) affect a selected list of words: unless we admit that phonetic changes are regular and affect all occurrences of the sound where the conditions of speech are the same, there is no science of language.

Our author seems to mean that the sound which he is discussing started as an original *s* and in some languages developed to *h*. Why then did the initial antevocalic *s* in Hebrew *sagad* 20 'salute', the *š* in Hebrew *šēš* 'six', and in *šēm* 'name', persist in Hebrew, which has *h* in the pronoun and in most of the causative forms? The same holds for Arabic, except that the *h* of the causative has been replaced by Hamza; "Abyssinian" is like Arabic, and Aramaic also, except that there are a few causatives with *s*. Assyrian has a sibilant throughout. 21 No, there is no possibility of deriving the *h*-forms from the *s*-forms; there is a persistence of the Semitic sibilants in other typical words. It is necessary to assume two sources for these words, one a pronoun beginning with *s* and the other a pronoun beginning with *h*, which may later become Hamza. Professor Speiser, in a paper read last year at the meeting of this Society, identified the causative preformative with the pronoun; 22 and an admission of the twofold origin of the pronoun sets matters in order. 23

I come now to matters of wrong interpretation, where the evi-

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20 Sic! This is O'Leary's example; it is really a word borrowed by Hebrew from another dialect. Any Semitic scholar can substitute another example that will illustrate my point.

21 Apart from some very modern dialects, the change of *s* to *h* is found in Semitic only in a few words, which are under special influences and must be discussed individually.

22 This paper is not yet published, he informs me.

23 There is nothing astonishing in such a twofold origin. For comparison, consider the Indo-European demonstrative, which has the stem *so* in nom. sg. masc. *so* (Skt. *sa*, Gk. ὅ), fem. *sā* (Skt. *sā*, Gk. ἥ), and the stem *tō* in all the other case-forms: nom.-acc. sg. neut. *tōd* (Skt. *tad*, Gk. τό), gen. sg. masc. *tōsio* (Skt. *tasya*, Gk. τοῖον, τοῦ), etc. Cf. also English *he* and *she*, from different roots.
dence lies at hand. On page 89, O’Leary, under the heading Palatalization, says: “In Arabic dialect 24 palatal k is thus affected by a neighboring i, e (a): in ‘Iraq and Nejd, as well as amongst the Bedwin of the Syrian desert and the fellahin of Palestine, k often becomes c after e, i (a), thus in ‘Iraq 2nd fem. suffix -iə for -ik (≈-ki), plur. -cen.” Any student of linguistic processes knows that vowels are much more likely to produce changes in preceding consonants than in those which follow, especially if the consonant standing between vowels belongs in the syllable which contains the following vowel. Such is the case here: the original ending was (as O’Leary himself knows) -ki, in which the final -t 25 palatalized the preceding consonant and changed the preceding vowel, whereupon it was lost in pronunciation. It has escaped O’Leary that such a lost sound might have produced its effect before it was lost—but such is an extremely common process. Curiously, after this example, O’Leary lists a number of instances in which a following front vowel has palatalized (often with assimilation) a preceding consonant; but as the vowel was retained in the pronunciation, there was no obstacle to his making a correct interpretation.

A lack of historical perspective appears also in O’Leary’s treatment of the suffixed pronoun of the first person singular. On page 149 he speaks of this as attached to nouns and prepositions, in the forms -ya, -iya, -i, and their phonetic developments, “and so we may regard -iya as in all probability the original form.” On the next page he speaks of this pronoun as attached to verbs, “where it has the inserted consonant -n-. This is a purely phonetic addition called by the Arabic grammarians ‘the supporting n’ or ‘the protecting n’, and so Brockelmann refers to the n as used to avoid hiatus (Brockelmann, Sem. Sprach., Leipzig, 1906, p. 100); but Wright (Comp. Gram., p. 96) seems disposed to regard it as in some way denoting the accusative.” These are most astonishing statements. Even a “phonetic addition” must have some origin, genetic or analogical—in the latter instance the source of the analogy must be sought; and as for its “denoting the accusative”, there is, I think, no basis for a view that a case-element may here be attached to the end of the verb or to the beginning of the pro-

24 Properly, in some Arabic dialects.
25 The final vowel in this termination is by origin a long vowel, but is not so marked by O’Leary.
noun. The explanation is simple: this \( n \) is the same \( n \) which appears in all forms of the first person pronoun in the singular,\(^{28}\) when it is a separate word: Arab. 'anā, Heb. 'anī, Ass. anāku, etc.

Another instance of unclear statement and wrong attitude toward a phenomenon is seen in the treatment of the demonstrative \( ha \) (page 163), which “occurs as the definite article in Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, and sometimes in Samaritan. In this use it appears as \( hā- \) with closure by doubling the following consonant, or (in Hebrew) as \( hē-, hā-, \) before the laryngals; but of these \( hā- \) is obviously the normal form, although this does not preclude its identification with Arabic \( hā, \) the shortening being due to its use as a prefix. . . . it is . . . simply an instance of the preservation of a short vowel by the expedient of closing the syllable by doubling\(^{27}\) the following consonant.” The true solution is simple, but escapes him: an original \( hā \) (still preserved in Arabic in a different use, and sometimes in Hebrew) has, as a proclitic, suffered shortening of the vowel, with a simultaneous lengthening of the initial consonant of the word to which it was proclitic. O'Leary's misunderstanding of this comes out clearly on page 105, where under “Preservation of original \( ā \)” in Hebrew he says: “Sometimes \( ā \) is preserved by doubling the following consonant so as to produce double closure, . . . thus \( hā- \) in \( hūmmālāk, \) etc.” This is based on the assumption that \( ha \) was originally \( hā \) and not \( hā; \) and strange to say, it immediately follows the formulation that “Very often even in nouns the initial syllable shows \( ā \) changed to \( ā \) in double closure, thus \( yaktāl > yiktōl. \)” In other words, to preserve the short \( a \) in \( ha, \) the following consonant is doubled, which produces the very condition in which \( ā \) becomes \( ā \) but it here prevents the very same change!

The same attitude is taken toward the interrogative \( mā \) (page 173), which appears in Hebrew as \( mā \) or \( mā, \) “the short retained by closure of the syllable”; the original length of the vowel is seen abundantly in the other Semitic languages. The proper formula of this phonetic change is that when a monosyllable ending in a long vowel is united closely with the following word, the long vowel

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\(^{28}\) A fact recognized by J. Barth, *Pronominalbildung* 36 (1913); and by H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache* 260 (1922).

\(^{27}\) Properly, by lengthening the following consonant, so that part of the consonant belonged to the preceding syllable.
is shortened before any one of certain consonants, that consonant being simultaneously lengthened to preserve the syllabic quantity.

I wish to quote one more passage from O'Leary's grammar, in which he has failed to make the obvious explanation. On page 195, in discussing the dual, he says: "Hebrew has [as ending of the dual] -ay, which appears in the construct, and so yaday 'two hands' (Ezek. xiii, 18), rarely -e as in śnē 'two' in the combination śnē 'āsēr 'twelve'. With mimation yādayim 'two days', etc." Now to call this addition of m mimation is to imply that this m is identical with the m which Proto-Semitic used in the singular to mark a noun as indeterminate (i.e., the m had the value of an indefinite article); it is far from certain that the -m of the plural is of the same origin, and it certainly does not have the same semantic function. In reality, yādayim is the dual yāday + m taken from the plural; 28 any writer of a comparative grammar should be able to see this fact and to state it unequivocally.

I would not have you think that my critique is directed against O'Leary's work alone, nor even specifically; his is but a type, and its failings are symptomatic, although, as a comparative grammar, it furnishes more abundant material for my scrutiny than do most other volumes. I turn now to one passage taken from C. F. Burney's edition of The Book of Judges, 29 which illustrates a different violation of linguistic method: the assumption that if a change of a sound to another sound has occurred in some other language, or is a variation seen in the comparison of two other languages, this same change or variation may be operated with in connection with the problem in hand. On page 430, Burney is speaking of Joshua 15: 9, where he translates a phrase as "the spring of the waters of Nephtoāh"; 30 which he says is "probably Liftā", in justification of which he sets a long footnote: "The interchange between n and l, as seen in Nephtoāh, Liftā, may be illustrated by Hebrew niškā and liškā 'chamber,' Heb. nāḥāš (root of nāḥāš 'serpent') and lāḥāš 'to hiss,' Bab. nēšu and Heb. lāyīš 'lion,' New Heb. nākuš and Bib. Heb. lākuš, Aram. nēšaṭ and

28 Hebrew alone is in question here.
30 The words mē nephtoāḥ more probably are the name of the Egyptian Pharaoh Mineptah or Merneptah; an interpretation first set forth by von Calice, OLZ 6.224 (1903).
lekat, ‘to pick up,’ Heb nathan and Aram. nathan and nthal ‘to give,’ Heb. almânâ and Aram. armâlā ‘widow,’ etc. The interchange is not confined to Semitic: thus the English Lincoln appears in Northern French as Nicole; level is from Old French livel, which has become niveau in modern French; lilac comes ultimately from the Persian nilak, a variation of nilak ‘blue’; etc.” The non-Semitic pairs of words are quite irrelevant, but all show one feature, the presence of two l’s at some period of their history: thus niveau for livel shows a dissimilation of the l’s, nilak for nilak shows an assimilation to the second l, Nicole for Lincoln shows a dissimulative loss of one n and of one l and a metathesis of the remaining l and n, so as to produce a familiar name.31 Of the Semitic examples—if for purposes of argument we grant the correctness of Burney’s equations—some seem to show the same processes as the Indo-European words; others are onomatopoetic; still others may be products of contamination of two roots having more or less the same meaning; but there is nothing which can justify the assumption of the etymological equivalence of n and l in Semitic words,32 any more that to assume from some scattered Indo-European words that the nude is ipso facto, etymologically, the lewd. No; Burney here transgresses against linguistic science.

I turn now to a third volume, The Book of Job, a revised text and version, by C. J. Ball;33 as it happens, it is equipped with a preface by Mr. Burney, who in eulogistic terms commends Mr.

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31 I could add other examples from the Indo-European languages, of this same scattered character, but all resting on assimilation or dissimulation.

32 Some of the (non-Indo-European) languages which were in contact with the Semitic languages geographically did have this change of n to l, or of l to n; but no such change is found in the Semitic languages themselves (on the authority of Prof. Speiser). Such interchange might sporadically result in any Semitic language as the product of the linguistic substratum or through borrowing. S. L. Skoss, in the Jewish Quart. Rev. 23. 1-43 (1932), has an article on “Permutation in Hebrew,” in which he edits and translates a chapter from the dictionary of David ben Abraham al-Fāsi on this subject: in which 25 different pairs of consonants (among them, n and l) are listed as varying with each other. The examples are sporadic, and must be studied and judged individually; to regard them as establishing normal phonetic developments is to turn the linguistic science of this field into chaos.

33 C. J. Ball, The Book of Job, a revised text and version; Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1922. Quotations are verbatim, except for omissions that do not change the meaning.
Ball’s linguistic discoveries, and says that for himself “one of the most interesting and valuable features of the book is the elucidation of the original biliteral forms of Semitic roots by reference to Sumerian.” I am not qualified to judge the validity of such a theory: certainly Sumerian words could have been, and were, taken over by the Semites when they overspread the territory formerly occupied by the speakers of Sumerian; but that Sumerian influence was so strong that it formed the basis for a new make-up of the language of the Semitic successors, not only in that region, but also among all speakers of Semitic dialects, wherever located, is rather hard on the credulity of the Indo-Europeanist without an intimate knowledge of Semitic dialects. But to return rather to matters of method, I illustrate this by the following passage (page 229, note to Job 14:2): “The Prim. root of this $mll$ is prob. the same as that of ’ml, ’ml, droop, languish, become weak and powerless. And since MAL = BAL, PAL, nbl, npl, may also be regarded as cogn. Cf. Sum. MAL in KA-SU-MAL = KA-SU-GAL, labânu appi, ‘to throw down the face’, i.e. prostrate oneself, face downwards in prayer; KI-AN-BAL (place + high + low), šapiltum u elitum, ‘upper and lower side’; IM-BAL, a wind that downs things, a hurricane (nabbaltu); nabâlu, written also napâlu, to ‘down’, throw down, destroy, cities; nabultum, a prostrate body, a corpse, Heb. nephelâh; perhaps nabâlu, land, as opp. to tâmtu, the sea, str. the low, the bottom, ground, fundus > the dry, which would connect it with nablu = Sum. BIL, BAL, fire, a different word. The Assyir. labânu, to ‘down’, may be a phonetic variant of nabâlu, throw down. (So $mll$ to say, speak, is akin to Sum. BAL, to speak, say, tamû, dabû.)” Out of all this, the central point seems to be that as the Sumerian ideograms MAL, BAL, PAL are interchangeable in meaning, so the Hebrew $mll$ is identical with nbl and npl, or all three go back to the same biliteral root which is seen in Sumerian in three ideographic forms. But as an ideogram does not represent the pronunciation of the spoken word, there is no basis for regarding $m$, $b$, $p$ as interchangeable sounds in this root: they are at best only interchangeable writings in Sumerian. With this the entire basis for his disquisition is swept away.

Again, page 273, in a note on Job 19:18, Ball seeks to establish a root han ‘smell, stink’ (with the validity of his argument for this, based on Semitic words, I am not concerned), and adds the
following: “This HAN (KHAN) is probably a weakened form of the primitive Asiatic root KAN (GAN), which we seem to see in the Sumerian GIN, sweet, pleasant (tābu; cf. gâne(h) ḫattoḇ Je 6:20), KU(N), sweet, and in the Chinese kan, kam, keīn, kō, sweet, which Edkins regarded as the source of hōng, Jap. kyō, kom, incense, sweet-smelling (Rad. 186).”

We must ask what is a “primitive Asiatic root”? Is there a proto-Asiatic language? Such an inference is not wont to be drawn by scientific linguists. Perhaps he means that from a very early language of Asia this root or rather a word based on this root was borrowed by other languages and was thus spread over much of Asia; but his terminology does not indicate this. And it is startling to see that he thinks that one and the same root might yield derivatives in Sumerian, Chinese, and Japanese, as well as in the Semitic languages, though no two of these are genetically related.

In equating words of languages unrelated by origin Ball is going back to the methods of those who derived all languages from Hebrew, regardless of all internal and historical evidence. This is not with him an exceptional proceeding: cf. page 349, in the second paragraph of his note to Job 30:9: “Nēgīnā(h) music, playing on stringed instruments, La 5:14, and the verb ngn appear to be derived from the root NAG, to strike; cf. Sum. BA-LAG, harp, lyre, music, SIR BALAGA, zamār balaggi, ‘harp-music’, ‘harp-playing’, BA-LAG ZURA-TA, ina balaggi u ikribī, ‘with music and prayer’; and the Ch. lok, ngok, Annam. lak, Ṉiak, ‘joy’, ‘music’.” Wherein he adds Anamese to his list of equated languages, which may go with Chinese, but has nothing to do with Semitics. He has also assumed the n : l variation, which has been discussed above; of which I repeat that in each Semitic example it must be explained, however it is to be dealt with in Chinese and in Anamese.

I fear to bore you, but I would introduce one more example before I come to my summation of the matter. On page 424, in a

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24 Again a mere verbatim quotation, except that I have transliterated the Hebrew words; the validity of his etymological combinations may be left in abeyance.

25 It is only by borrowing that words or derivatives of the same roots could be common to genetically unrelated languages.

26 Following the narrative in Genesis 11.1-9.

27 A spelling preferable to that with two n’s.
note to Job 38:32, we read the following statement by Ball:
“If, as Burney thinks, EB s.v. Stars, ‘âyis is the Pleiads and kîmâ(h) Canis Major, the Great Dog which lies at the feet of Orion the Hunter southward,” perhaps kîmâ(h) = kînā(h), with interchange of n, m, such as we find elsewhere and kînā(h) may be compared with the Aryan base KWAN, Gk. κυν-, Lat. can-, Chinese k’üen, F. k’êing, hound, Irish and Gaelic cu, dog, Welsh ci, Chinese kou, J. ku, dog.” Here is even worse confusion of languages: Indo-European (the correct term rather than Aryan), Semitic, Chinese, Japanese. But he seems to think that where n stands, it may equally well be m. It is true that n and m interchange before certain consonants of similar position of articulation (n standing before t and d, m before p and b, etc.), but this is emphatically not true when the nasal sound stands before a vowel. All Ball’s argument in this passage, so far as it is linguistic, is nonsense.

I would remind you that my aim is not a critique of the scholars whose works I have introduced into the argument. They appear in the picture simply because their work is symptomatic of what is done even now by Semitic scholars, and I can reveal the defects of Semitic scholarship through them, without giving direct offense to friends whom I esteem highly. Yet if the shoe fits, they also must put it on. I cannot have them feel that they are exempt from criticism because they are not named: but at the same time I wish to enter here the explanation of the curious situation which exists in Semitic scholarship, in its linguistic aspect.

From before the beginning of the Christian era the books composed in Hebrew and Aramaic, which are collectively known as the Old Testament, have been the subject of an intense interest, as is natural and proper, to those who professed the Jewish religion. Targum, Halakhah, Mishna, Midrash, Talmud, Masoretic text, and commentaries galore, enter upon the scene; and little of this could be done without etymological interpretation of the more difficult words and passages. The doctrine of the triliteral roots was

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28 This identification with the Dog-Star is, Prof. Speiser tells me, a pure assumption unsupported by evidence.
29 The term Aryan is now properly used only in the meaning of Indo-Iranian.
30 'Triliteral' is an unfortunate term, since it implies that the roots are made up of letters rather than of sounds; ‘triconsonantal’ would be
established by Judah Ibn-Ḥayyūj of Cordova in the early part of the eleventh century of the Christian era; his discovery was a notable achievement. But in all this time the Old Testament books were of high importance also to Christians, who, though having split off from Judaism, still claimed to retain a share in their historical and spiritual message. From the pre-Christian Greek translation known as the Septuagint, and from later Greek versions, as well as by comparison with the original Hebrew text, Latin versions were made for the use of the Christians. That of St. Jerome, toward the end of the fourth century, gradually gained general acceptance; it was presently known as the Vulgate. More and more the Christian scholars found it necessary to have a first-hand knowledge of the original Hebrew text; and despite the reluctance of orthodox Jewish scholars to impart such learning to their religious opponents, there were some who were broad-minded enough to have no such scruples, and there were also those Jews who were converted to Christianity, and brought their knowledge of the Hebrew language with them into the service of their new faith. The situation has been thus summed up: \(^41\) "At first, and indeed down to the middle of the seventeenth century, Jewish traditions and methods in the study of Hebrew dominated Christian scholars; but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the study of other Semitic languages opened up that comparative linguistic study which was systematized and brought nearer to perfection in the nineteenth century by scholars such as Gesenius," and others, whose names need not be quoted.

Meantime another field of linguistic study had been lying dormant. The grammatical studies of the Greeks and the Romans had been available to the Christian Church from its earliest days, but they were rather devoted to the interpretation of difficult words and passages in pre-Christian authors; and except for the practical purpose of learning Latin as a spoken language in the days when vernacular languages had replaced it with the peoples of western Europe, Latin grammar was in a static condition. Interest in language as such received its first effective stimulus from Sir William Jones, who on returning from India made known in 1796, to preferable. But of course the term is too firmly established by centuries of use, for any change to be thinkable.

\(^{41}\) George Buchanan Gray, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 3. 858-9, s. v. *Bible.*
Occidental scholarship, the high importance of Sanskrit. And though the exact status of Sanskrit was for a time somewhat misunderstood, acquaintance with it led to Friedrich von Schlegel's recognition in 1808 of the fact that certain languages were genetically related, which we now term the Indo-European family or group. His studies were speedily followed by the works of Franz Bopp, Rasmus Rask, and Jacob Grimm, and before 1825 it was recognized that to the Indo-European family there belonged Sanskrit, Avestan, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Old Church Slavonic, Gothic, and German, as well as other languages obviously akin closely to these. Grimm's Law of the Germanic Sound-shift, the Aryan law of palatalization, Verner's Law (as a regularly formulated exception to Grimm's Law), Brugmann's demonstration of the presence of vowel nasals in the parent Indo-European language—all these were steps in the direction of a science of language. The final step was taken in 1876, when A. Leskien propounded the view that sound-changes are regular and universal: that is, that a given sound in the earlier parent language will develop to the same sound in any specified later language, without exception. The formulation, known as the Invariability of Phonetic Law, needed to be amplified by the proviso under the same conditions: the sound may develop differently if the conditions in which it stands are different in different words. To this must be added also the possibility, frequently operative, that analogical influences may have their effect and produce other changes. Into such details I cannot now go; but from the day when the regularity of linguistic processes was recognized linguistics entered into the dignity of a science.

42 Formerly called Aryan (cf. note 39); and in German regularly denominated indogermanisch.
44 Mixture of dialects through the borrowing of forms of one dialect by the speakers of another dialect is also an important factor, which might perhaps better be made a separate item in our list.
Indo-Europeanists busied themselves with historical studies in all known Indo-European languages; and comparative grammars of the whole field, and of special branches of the family, as well as historical grammars of the separate languages, are available for virtually all the parts of the field.

During these last sixty years, also, linguistic scholars have entered upon the study of other language groups. The languages of the American Indians, themselves forming many mutually unrelated families; the Bantu languages of Africa; the Indonesian languages of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, have all been taken up by scholars trained in the methods of Indo-European linguistics, as well as other scattered languages.

Here we come upon a remarkable situation, so far as Semitic studies are concerned. Indo-European methods have made less impression upon scholars in Semitic languages—apart from some notable exceptions 45 — than upon those in the other less-known fields which I have named. Why so? The explanation is not far to seek. Semitic scholarship is largely in the hands of those who came into it by way of theological and religious interests, often with a missionary interlude which turned their attention upon the practical speaking of languages. When these theologians—I use the term without disparagement, to include those whose first interest in languages has started from theological studies—when these theologians, I say, turned to pure scholarship, they were mature scholars, though trained for another career and not for linguistics. Yet when they turned to scholarly work in Semitic languages, they were obliged to perform the tasks of the scholar in linguistics: and for this they were not prepared. It is not human nature for a person of mature years to go to school again, to learn a new technique which is to apply to a subject matter already familiar to him. Such, of course, is the reason for the present situation in Semitic linguistic scholarship, and notably in this country.

But this natural human impulse does not excuse Semitic scholars. Their craft obliges them to perform tasks of linguistic science. They are under obligations therefore to learn the technique of that science. If they do not do so, they cannot claim validity for their

45 Brockelmann was a disciple of Brugmann, the eminent Indo-Europeanist; Bergsträsser at one time lectured on general phonetics at Bonn. They are the most distinguished exponents of scientific Semitic grammar.
conclusions, except such as was reached in the hit-or-miss method prevailing in Indo-European studies before the discovery of the regularity of phonetic law. The easy problems have ceased long ago to be problems; advances can now be made only by a scientific procedure. For the sake of accuracy and correctness in his own work, the Semitic scholar must learn from the Indo-Europeanist the method which the Indo-Europeanist has worked out, with stumbling and straying, but at last with validity, which he alone has worked out, which he alone is able to pass on to workers in other linguistic fields.

I have no desire to scold nor to rebuke, nor to assume a "holier-than-thou" attitude. I have attempted merely to present a picture of the present situation which holds with most Semitic studies which in part or in whole lie within the linguistic field, notably among scholars of English speech, less among those of German and French speech. My concern is perhaps even more limited than it seems to be: it is with the Semitists who are my fellow-members in the American Oriental Society, representing the best that there is in this field in my own country. To them I appeal that they should acquaint themselves with the essentials of linguistic method, that the fruits of their research may be founded not upon the shifting sands of superficial resemblance and sporadic analogies, but upon the firm rock of scientific method.
POLITICAL THEOLOGY IN EARLY ISLAM
ĤASAN AL-BAŞRĪ'S TREATISE ON QADAR

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1. General Significance. To the student of Islam, the name and fame of Ėhasan al-Başrí have always conveyed reminiscences of a legendary figure rather than a historical personality. He is of that early and stormy era of Islam in the annals of which truth is forever fused with fiction, and the facts of his life, just as the features of his individuality, can only be found in a sea of fancy and anecdote supplied by an adoring posterity.

Born in the year 21 A. H., his very childhood is surrounded by the mist of fable. Significant, if only as a symptom, is the endeavor of tradition to bring him into the sacred circle of Muhammed himself. He is said to have been suckled by the wife of the Prophet 'Umm Salama; or to have imbibed heavenly wisdom by having once drunk from a pitcher that had been used by Muhammed; upon hearing him speak, 'A'isha exclaims that he talks with the tongue of prophets. Over against fabulous elements of this kind, stands the plain fact of his vast and lasting influence in nearly all branches of Muslim lore and all denominations of Islam—a fact which has often tempted modern scholars to appraise his actual contribution from such reliable, if secondary, sources as were at their disposal.¹

Under these circumstances, a document bearing the name of Ėhasan al-Başrí would command our attention, whatever its contents. As it is, the Arabic text found in a Constantinople codex and published in a recent issue of Der Islam,² by Hellmut Ritter,


² Vol. 21, pp. 67-82. (In the present article, this text will be referred to by the pages and lines of Ritter's edition, without further specification.) Preceding the text-edition, R. offers an important, if not entirely lucid contribution to the problem of Ėhasan on pp. 1-66; for the data of his manuscript material, cf. especially p. 62 (and this article n. 7 and 10).

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contains a treatise of unusual interest. The problem of qadar, it
has often been observed, occupies the center of philosophical and
theological speculation in Islam, from its earliest beginnings
through all stages of its historic development. Owing, however,
to the complete absence of contemporary records, our knowledge of
the speculative movements in early Islam, and therefore also of the
genetic history of qadar, has been to date both meager in extent and
unreliable in character.

The early school of Arab thought known as that of the Mu'tazila,
and founded by Ḥasan’s pupil Wāsil Ibn ‘Aṭā’, has often enough
been the subject of scholarly presentations, to be sure. Yet these
presentations are not based on the works of the great pioneers of
the Mu'tazilite school, none of which have come down to us, but
depend either on its younger representatives or, and this is the
rule, on doxographies written by Sunnite authors and, therefore,
not free from bias of one kind or another. Nor is the Mu'tazila
the “first” school of speculative thinking in Islam. It was pre-
ceded by the movement of the so-called Qadarites, whose relation-
ship to the Mu'tazila must be said, from all appearances, to have
been paternal both in time and ideology. If, therefore, the treatise
is authentic, as we hope to demonstrate, it represents not merely a
work from the hand of Ḥasan, but the only product of early Muslim
theology that has come down to us; a treatise on qadar contem-
porary to the Qadarite movement in its pre-Mu'tazilite period.

2. THE LETTER OF 'ABD ALMALIK. Our document is in the form
of a risāla, that is, a message, a brief, an epistle, the seeming
casualness of which is perhaps one reason why the work is not
found mentioned by any of the earlier Arabic authors dealing with
Ḥasan.* Another, more probable, reason would be deliberate

*The pertinent material offered by Jāḥiz, Zamaḥsharī, Murtaḍā, has of
late been considerably increased by the publication of the Kitāb al-Intiṣār,
of al-Ḥayyāt (edited by H. S. Nyberg, Cairo 1925), and the Maqālāt of
al-'Ash'arī (edited by Hellmut Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30), whose extra-
ordinarily rich material on the Mu'tazila (still to be critically appraised)
must have been gathered, if not actually compiled, before the author's
break with al-Jubbātī; (see R. Strothmann, Der Islam 16, p. 280 ff., and
19, p. 220).
Ṭabarī († 310), Ta'rīḥ (ed. M. J. de Goeje) III, 4, pp. 2488-2493; Ibn
Qutaiba († 276), Ma'ārif (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 225 f.; see, however, the
following note.
"conspiracy of silence". Official orthodoxy, as crystallized in the centuries after Ḥasan, could not well afford to have this pillar of the Muslim church associated with ideas that had come to be labeled as heterodox.\(^5\) As far as can be seen, the first to face the issue of the risāle is Shahrastānī.\(^6\) While he is too good a Sunnite to refrain from expressing some misgivings as to its authorship, there is apparently no question in his mind as to its genuineness. He merely suggests that it was written, at the request of Ḥabīl b. Merwān, by Ḥasan’s pupil Wāṣil Ibn ‘Aṭā’. Our document is actually addressed to the famous Omayyad Calif, the author introducing nearly each paragraph with the words yā ‘amīr al-mu’minīn. And it contains, fortunately, not only Ḥasan’s treatise in extenso, but also the letter of Ḥabīl inviting him to write the treatise.

This letter would deserve a critical study on its own account. It begins with the words From Ḥabīl b. Marwān, Com-
mander of the Believers, to al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abi ‘l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Peace be upon thee. In the course of the letter, however, the writer, with but few exceptions, appears to refer to the Calif in terms of the third person singular.\(^7\) This would seem to fit well with a

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\(^5\) This "conspiracy," however, cannot be said to have been very successful; apparently the tradition associating Ḥ. with the qadar-problem and the Qadariyya was too persistent to be passed over in silence altogether (which fact is no small support of the authenticity of our document). One cannot help wondering whether such statements as wa-kāna takallama fi shay’in min al-qadari (Ibn Qutaiba) or kāna yaqūlu bi-qauli ‘l-qadariyyati (Ṭabarī 2489, 17) do not hint at the risāle before us. Significant, too, is the report of an admirer who, after Ḥ. had died, inquires about his writings and is told that, while on his sick-bed, Ḥ. had ordered all his works burnt! (Ibn Sa’d 127, 10 ff. and, with some variations, Ṭabarī 2492, 1 ff.). Cf. below n. 45 and 57.

\(^6\) K. al-milāt wa’n-niḥal (ed. W. Cureton), p. 32 (mark the rather mild expression: wa-la’alḥā ī-Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā’). That in Sh.’s time († 548) copies of our document were rare (and unavailable to the public?) may perhaps be inferred from the words wa-ra’aytu risālatan.

\(^7\) Only two instances of the 1st person occur both in (a) the MS underlying Ritter’s edition (Köprülü 1589) and (b) the abridgment used in his critical apparatus (Aya Sofya 3998); viz. in the introductory formula (fa ‘inni ʿaḥammidu ‘ilayka ‘l-hā), and in an apparently parenthetic clause at the end of the letter (fa ‘inni la‘lam nasma’ fi ḥadā ‘l-kalāmī mujādilān). In both instances the usage of 1st p. would be most natural if Ḥasan’s correspondent was al-Ḥajjāj acting upon orders from the Calif. The other occurrences of the 1st p. are not borne out by both texts and present no doubt "corrections" of later copyists; (a) balājani = (b) balāja ‘amira
statement of the Mu'tazilite author Ibn al-Murtada, suggesting that the letter was written not by the Calif himself but by his brilliant general and viceroy al-Ḥajjāj, governor of ʿIrāq, at the order of the Calif—a suggestion quite plausible in itself. Al-Ḥajjāj is known to have maintained, during his residence in Baṣra, friendly relations with Ḥasan until 86, in which year the intercourse of the two men came to a tragic end. Indeed, there seems to be ample evidence for al-Ḥajjāj having been the intermediary not only in conveying to Ḥasan the Calif's request but also in presenting to the Calif Ḥasan's reply. Accordingly, our treatise appears to have existed from the beginning in two recensions: (a) the authentic form as it left the hand of the author, addressed to the Calif, but actually submitted to al-Ḥajjāj; and (b) a summary of it forwarded to the court in Damascus by al-Ḥajjāj together—and this should be well noticed—with a vigorous indorsement by himself.  

l-mu'minina; and (a) wa-la ya'lamu 'amīru l-mu'minina 'anna 'aḥadan 'adrakahu min aṣ-ṣaḥābatī = (b) wa-la ya'lamu 'aḥadan takallama bihi minman 'adraknā min aṣ-ṣaḥābatī. See below n. 10.  


See, e.g., Mas'ūdi, Les prairies d'or 5, p. 314; the very manner in which the break between the two men is reported (cf. Ṭabarī 2490, 13; Kitāb al-ʿaḍānī, Bālaq 1285, 4, p. 74) points to their one time intimacy; see especially Ibn Ḥallikān (de Slane), 1, p. 362, and comp. Schaedler, p. 55 f.; and Ritter, p. 53 ff. Since 86 is also the year of 'Abdalmalik's death, this year (705 A. D.) is, at any rate, terminus ad quem for the date of our document.  

A comparison of the two MSS used by Ritter (see n. 7) makes it quite clear that they are dependent upon texts that had formed some such relationship as assumed above, Körprülül 1589 descending from (a), and Aya Sofya 3998 from (b). 1. In the text depending on (a) we have both the original beginning (salām ʿalayka yā ʿamīra l-mu'minin) and ending (wa-hādā jawābu mā saʿaitani anhu); here the author speaks directly to the Calif throughout, using the 1st p., of course, whenever the occasion offers itself; 68, 10: 'aḥdaṭna; 72, 5: kalāmī wa-kitābī; 82, 20: bayyantuhu wa-aḍḍaṭtuhu. 2. In the text depending on (b), on the other hand, only about one fourth of the material of the risāle is contained; namely, six quotations of varying length, and differing in order from that of the risāle. These quotations are appended (p. 80, n. a) by a plea to the Calif on Ḥasan's behalf, paying high tribute both to the author (lām yaqa ... aḥadun hūwa a l'amū bi ilāhi ... min al-Ḥasan etc.) and his treatise (fasūl kitābī l-Ḥasan ba da kitābī ilāhi ʿsh-shifāʾu), and urging the Calif to hold him in high honor. The person writing the plea can be none other
Be that as it may, in the letter before us Ḥasan is asked by ʿAbdalmalik, whether directly or through the mediation of al-Ḥajjāj, to write his opinion (qaʿl) on qadar in clear terms, and to send the brief to the Calif. A rumor had reached the Commander of the Believers that he, Ḥasan, was holding views on (fi wasf) qadar the like of which none of the Companions of the Prophet was ever known to have held. The Calif had been well aware of Ḥasan’s great piety and learning, and therefore disbelieved (ʿankara) that rumor. Now he wanted Ḥasan himself to enlighten him: had Ḥasan derived his unprecedented qadar theory from a duly transmitted utterance of the Prophet, or perhaps from logical reasoning,\(^1\) or else from exegesis of the Quran?

Seen by itself, without the help of Ḥasan’s reply, the Calif’s request would confront us with many a difficulty. The term qadar, it will be remembered, is used by Muḥammed in passages of decisive importance for the theodicy of the Quran. Yet, had it been for ʿAbdalmalik’s letter alone, we should have been at a loss to say just what he meant by that term, or what views of qadar he expected Ḥasan to hold, and in which way Ḥasan seemed to differ from such views. Nor would it have been of much use to consult in the matter Quran commentaries or Arabic dictionaries, whether Oriental or Western. For here we should find that, in the course of its long and complicated semantic history,\(^2\) qadar may assume basic aspects not only very dissimilar but even mutually exclusive. Only this much, then, becomes clear from the Calif’s letter: that at the court in Damascus a certain theory of qadar was held to be

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\(^{1}\) 'am ṣan raʿyin raʿaytahu. It is interesting to find, in a document as old as ours would be, raʿy contrasted, on the one hand, with rivâya and, on the other, with 'amryuʿrafatu taṣdiqahu ʿfi 'l-qurʾān; see Goldziher, Die Zāhiriten, p. 5 ff.

\(^{2}\) See the present writer’s article “Das Problem der Kausalität bei den Arabern,” WZKM 30, p. 37 ff. (Das Qadarproblem, p. 43 ff.).
alone becoming of a man of piety and learning; and that not even a Hasan might deviate from that theory with impunity.

3. The Qadar of Allah. What, then, is the precise sense of qadar at the particular date and sphere of our document? Hasan does not appear to offer a verbal definition of the basic idea. What qadar meant in the consensus of his time and environment, he naturally takes for granted no less than 'Abdalmalik. It is, therefore, only by inference that we may circumscribe the general, popular concept of qadar, as presupposed both in the Calif's quest and in Hasan's response. But the impression thus gained is incalculably more vivid than could have been obtained from a verbal definition, however alert and accurate.

Virtually, the Calif had challenged the Basraite not so much to explain as rather to defend his "novel" theory on qadar. And, as would seem inevitable in disputes of this kind, the defensive soon turns into an offensive. This lends Hasan's tone a peculiar blend of zest and irritation that may well be detrimental to the proper philosophical tone of his treatise, but adds vastly to its value as a historical and personal document. To meet effectively the subtle reproof of the Calif, Hasan sees himself obliged to discuss the idea of qadar in a variety of modes, now quoting the word from the Quran, now expounding on it in his own name, now again in the name of certain contemporaries whose views differed from his own and with whom, as will be seen, he is vigorously concerned throughout the discussion.

But the basic idea of qadar as a technical term remains the same. It expresses, generally speaking, the share of God in the destiny of man; the share, that is, affected by God's will, His power, His acts, His knowledge, His grace, His displeasure, as the case may be. In so far as man perceives his life and fate, whether in totality or in any given particular, as controlled by God, as depending on God, this control is qadar, this dependency is on qadar. As an attribute it is applicable only to God.12 Used in its nominal form, qadar simply means "the qadar of Allah".14 In its verbal form, qadara

12 In a non-technical sense, derivatives of Qdor (but never the form qadar) are used both of God and men: qudra, "power," "capacity," (of God: 76, 6; of men: 70, 10; 73, 12; 77, 10); qadir, "able," "capable" (of God: 76, 7; of men: 77, 12); see 75, 6; 76, 13 ff.
14 Cf. 75, 7; 76, 1.
denotes an action of controlling, of affecting, of providing, with
God always as the subject, and with Man, for the most part, as the
object.  
To Ḥasan as well as to those of his contemporaries whom he so
forcefully repudiates, qadar denotes, specifically, the principle of
pre-determination and pre-destination in Allah’s administration of
the affairs of man; the difference involves only the practical
appliance of the principle. Ḥasan’s all important aim is to demon-
strate that, so far as man’s conduct is concerned, this principle
must not be thought to extend beyond the metaphysical realm of
that administration. The absolute reality of qadar is to him no
less essential than to his opponents, but from the beginning to the
end of his treatise he emphatically and ardently denies the incom-
patibility of the qadar of Allah with the moral and religious free-
dom of man. Owing to the polemic-apologetic nature of his risāle
and to the make-up of his own personality, his “demonstration”
appears to be lacking in analytical exactitude and objectivity. It is
with the vehement eloquence of an outraged preacher, rather than
the detachment and finesse of a dialectitian, that he proceeds to
expose the fallacy of those who take the qadar of Allah to mean
ethical determinism, and believe it to hamper, to interfere with,
the religious self-destination of the individual. The risāle is, in

16 In the text before us, the idea of qadar is often expressed by qaḍā’,
the two terms being used interchangeably. Occasionally they are combined
into a kind of hendiadison: min qaḍā’i ʿllāhi wa-qadarīhi (69, 9, and
passim). In verbal sentences they are governed by the same syntax; comp.
mā qaḍartu ʿalaykum (70, 1) with mā qaḍaytu ʿalaykum (82, 9), and
similarly throughout the text. Whatever different aspects of the qadar-
idea might have been originally expressed by the two terms (cf. WZKM 30,
p. 51 ff.), to the author of our risāle they are obviously exact synonyms.

17 The idea that man’s destiny, whether merely physical or both physical
and moral, had been determined before it began to unroll its earthly course
—an idea attested to already in the Quran (Sura 57: 22: ʿī tābīn min
qaḍī ʿan nabraʾahā)—is variously evidenced in our text. Once the author,
speaking from the point of view of his opponents, appears mindful to bring
out that idea with special care (74, 1: wa-yamnaʿanā ʿan natūba ʿau qad
manaʿanā ǧalīka); cf. also 74, 21; ʿī ṣufāni ʿummahātikīm. [See Buḥārī
(ed. Krehl) 4, p. 251 (fa-yuktabu kādīlika ʿī ṣufāni ʿummīkī) and Ibn
Shāhin, Faraj (ed. J. Obermann), p. 9, 7; see also below n. 60]. On the
Quran passage just quoted Ḥ. merely remarks: faʿinnamā (sic) ḥaḍīhi
l-maṣāʾib ʿī ṣaʿāwadī wa-l-anfūṣāi etc. (74, 7).

18 That is, the realm of Allah’s teachings (ʿamr, nāhy), His guidance
(ḥudū), His “law” (ḥukm); see below passim.
short, an impassioned sermon defending the thesis of Free Will in terms of the Qadar of Allah.

4. THE "NIHILISTS". Hasan admits that he was the first to take up the speculative study (kalâm) of qadar. But he disclaims that in so doing he was guilty of introducing an innovation. It was true that the "predecessors" (as-salaf), by which word he obviously refers to the Companions of the Prophet, have not expressly taught or demonstrated the thesis of free will. But simply because to them it was a matter of course, an article of general agreement. It was only since "certain people" (an-nās, al-qaum) began to propagate the opposite attitude that he saw himself obliged to rise in defense of that thesis. We suspect that these "people" were the political force behind the letter of ‘Abdalmalik, which could hardly have been dictated by sheer academic curiosity.

This suspicion is borne out not only, indirectly, by the tenor and disposition of the risāle as a whole but by frequent direct intimations. Formally addressed to the Calif, the treatise is a bitter refutation of these "people". Doubtless it is they who brought Hasan’s teachings on qadar to the attention of the Calif, who would see for himself the great social and political dangers involved in these unauthorized teachings. Nothing, indeed, is easier to imagine than the postulate of self-responsibility of the individual being pointed out to the Calif as undermining the authority of State and, especially perhaps, of the Omayyad dynasty. To spice it all with the flavor of heresy was a simple enough matter. We recall how

18 'ahdaftā 'l-kalâm fihî (68, 10). Taken at its face value, this statement would make Hasan the founder of the Qadarite movement by his own testimony. (That the followers of Hasan’s kalâm called themselves “Qadarites” would be quite natural, especially if the name was to imply a defensive attitude; a qadari would then be he who, while adhering to the principle of qadar, is given to the speculative study of it in terms of our treatise. For other explanations of the name, see WZKM 30, p. 57.)

19 See 68, 9 f. [I hold that the reading yâdkuru (so Murtaḍa, who in his already mentioned Kitâb al-munys, above n. 6, gives several passages from our treatise, p. 12 bottom to p. 14 top) is superior to the yankaru of MS]. See also in the indorsement of al-Ḥajjāj (above n. 10): wa-gâla (viz. Hasan) yâdkuru ‘anna ‘s-salafa ‘l-mâḏina min yâkābati ‘n-nabûyi ‘olayhi ‘s-salām kânâ ‘alā kalâmihî etc. (80, n. a).

20 Cf. 68, 10 f. and 70, 16.

21 See 68, 16 f. and, especially, 81, 12 ff.

'Abdalmalik, as if wishing to avert the pressure brought to bear on him, "disbelieved" the rumor of Ḥasan's unheard-of teachings in view of his great piety and learning—which, in the mouth of the Calif, implied loyalty to the Commander of the Believers as a matter of course.

However that may be, the historical significance of the theory and practice of those "people" as described by Ḥasan can scarcely be overrated. His characterization may well be one-sided in its emphasis, and not free from exaggeration in this or that detail. But, basically, the colors employed in his picture are, without question, as genuine as his indignation. It is very regrettable that he does not name any of these "people" either as individuals or as a party; apparently, they were too well known to the prospective readers of Ḥasan's treatise, particularly to al-Ḥajjāj and 'Abdalmalik, to require specific identification. Instead, he refers to them, in true oriental fashion, by epithets appropriate to the occasion, such as al-juhhāl, "the ignorant", az-ẓālimūn, "the wrong-doers", al-muhātī'ūn, "the misleaders". But perhaps the most characteristic epithet applied by Ḥasan to his opponents is al-mubaṭilūn, "the nihilists".23

From his own point of view, at all events, the qadar theory of these "people" could not possibly have been epitomized more fittingly than as a doctrine of moral and religious nihilism. Yet, to Ḥasan's boundless vexation, they themselves quote for the sanction of their theory the sacred authority of the Qur'an. Here, they argue, in the scripture of divine revelation, qadar is postulated as complete and absolute determinism, not only physical but ethical and spiritual as well.24 It deprives man of any initiative, any choice, any voluntary share in his conduct. Man's destiny can only be what Allah knew that, by His all-embracing qadar, it would be.25 Any endeavor on man's own behalf is doomed to fail, his fate having been determined beforehand by God's knowledge and volition. From the very womb of his mother man has been decreed to be "blessed or afflicted".26 Without any merit acquired, or any

23 Cf. 69, 21; 79, 16; 81, 15; 82, 2 ff.
24 fa-yuṣjdilūna fa-yaqqlūna qad qala 'llāhu ta'ālā yudīlū man yashā'u wa-yahdī (72, 15). fa-yuṣfisirūnā dālika bi-ra'yihim fi 'l-tā'ati wa-ʾl-maʿṣiyati wa-yasʿumūnā 'anna 'l-kufra wa-ʾl-faṣqa ... kulluhā min 'inda Ḥālī (referring to Sura 4: 78) (78, 5 f.). See also 74, 5 f.
25 Ḥūna ilmi 'llāhi huwa 'l-māni'u etc. (77, 5 ff.).
26 Referring to Sura 11: 105: ḥalaqa 'l-ibāda fi buṭāni 'ummakātihim
iniquity committed, his "breast" is made wide and easy or strait and narrow. He is created for hellfire or paradise, just as he is formed tall or short, black or white. Accordingly, he is rewarded for deeds he could not help performing, and made to answer for others he had no way of preventing; as when the adulterer is punished for having begotten a child whose birth was, in truth, decreed by the will of God. Man triumphs or suffers for works done, not by him, but in him, through him, despite of him.

5. In Defense of Islam. The qadar theory just described is not presented by Hasan in a connected statement. Neither is, for that matter, his refutation of that theory. He unfolds the argument on both sides gradually, proportionately, accumulating details to the very end of the discussion. A certain order in plan and composition is discernible; but it is the dramatic order of a homily, not the structural one of abstract reasoning. It is, as if Hasan imagined himself engaged in a verbal dispute, with the Calif as the judge, with the "nihilists" as his articulate opponents, with

["ašqiyā'a] wa-su'adā'a fa-lā sabila li-man 'ašqāhu 'ilā 's-sa'ādati wa-lā sabila li-man 'as'ādahu 'ilā 'šsh-shaqā'i' (74, 20 ff.).

27 Referring to Sura 6: 125: ḥaṣṣa qauman bi-sharhi 'ṣ-ṣudāri bi-ṭayri 'amalīn gāūhīn qaddamāha wa-qauman bi-ḍayyi 'ṣ-ṣudāri (ya'ni 'l-qulūb) bi-ṭayri kufri khān minhum etc. (79, 13 ff.).

28 Referring to Sura 7' 179: fa-ja'ala li-jahannama qauman là yaqdura 'alā 'l-fa'atī 'illatī fīlabahum bihā wa-ja'ala il-lānmātī qauman la yaqdura 'alā 'l-ma'ṣiyatī 'illatī nahāhum 'anṭā kāmā 'annahu ḥalaqa 'l-qāṣira la yaqduru 'an yakūna fawillān etc. (76, 13 ff.). See also 77, 5 f. (fa-šāra qaum-lukhum etc.) and 8 f. (fa-shabāhā gālika etc.).

29 As must be inferred from Hasan's answer (see below n. 69), the "nihilists" merely point (referring no doubt to Sura 24: 2, which reference may simply have been omitted in our text by some copyist) to the case of adultery as an instance of punishment for a deed (viz. begetting of the child) decreed by Allah. Ritter (p. 57 f.) calls attention to the question of the adultery-child in the Christian-Muslim polemics of John of Damascus (who flourished after Hasan's time; see C. H. Becker, Islamstudien 1, p. 434 ff.). But there the question is obviously considered from the aspect of the al-ašlah theory (introduced into Islamic dogmatics by the Mu'tazilites) and has no bearing on the "Anfaenge der Qadarije" (see also below p. 155 f.). One of the points of indirect evidence for the authenticity of our document is given by the fact that not a trace of foreign (Jewish or Christian, not to say "Greek") influence can be detected in it (excepting, of course, what had been introduced to the Muslim world by the Qoran).

30 li'anna gālika bi-sa'mimih layṣa minhum wa-lā 'ilayhim wa-lākinnahu shy'un 'umila bīhim (70, 13).
the Quran furnishing an almost unending array of witnesses for the attack and the defense, respectively.

From the outset, Ḥasan is mindful to establish a criterion of validity for the dispute about to take place. The "Predecessors", he says, never predicated of Allah except what Allah predicates of Himself. To this observation, we cannot help noticing, Ḥasan attaches the greatest possible importance. Plainly, it is to him the inviolable criterion not only in the present dispute but in theological questions of any kind. The religion of Allah is not arbitrary; it is manifested, recorded, revealed. It does not depend on the caprice of human doubt and conjecture. Its code has been unrolled forever by Scripture and Prophets. What men know of God and His qadar, what they may ascribe to God, is only what God reveals of, what He ascribes to, Himself. Accordingly, any statement concerning the nature of qadar, for which there is no evidential proof in the revealed word of Allah, is of necessity arbitrary and therefore erroneous. It is the presupposition of all revealed religion which Ḥasan introduces here to defend the integrity of Islam against the qadar theory of the "nihilists".

The one fact which to him overwhelmingly disproves that theory is the fact of man's religious obligations; the fact, that is, of commands and prohibitions, of merit and guilt, revealed by God for the guidance of the race. In these obligations, Allah clearly and manifestly reveals what He pleases and desires of man, and what in man is obnoxious and offensive to Him. That man is nevertheless capable of doing what is wrong in the eyes of God shows that here, in the sphere of man's moral conduct, God's decree, His will, His knowledge, do not mean the same as in the sphere of man's physical existence. In teaching man to do what is good, in commanding man to refrain from what is evil, Allah reveals that

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31 wa-lā yulḥiqūna bi-'r-rabbi 'illā mā 'alḥaqa 'r-rabbu bi-nafsihi etc. (68, 5 f.).
32 Turning directly to the Calif (71, 15), Ḥ. implores him: fa-qul yā 'amīra 'l-mu'minīna kamā qāla 'l-lāhu . . . wa-lā ta'āl mīn al-lāhi 'illā mā ra'diya li-nafsihi; see also 69, 19; 81, 3; and most impressive 82, 1 ff.
33 See 68, 12 (wa-layza dinu 'l-lāhi bi-l'amāniyī); 69, 15 (la-qad bāyyana 'l-lāhu li-'bādīhi wa-mā tarakahum fi labisin min dīnikhim); 70, 7 (fa-mā taraka 'l-lāhu lil-'ibādī ḥuṣṣatan bā'da 'l-kutūbī wa-'r-rusuli).
34 fa-kullu qaulin layza 'alayhi burhānun mīn kitābī 'l-lāhi fa-huswa qalālatun (68, 13).
35 See 68, 6, in the context of what precedes and follows.
here, in the realm of good and evil, pre-destination consists in the
guidance of His teachings, that qadar here is defined by His com-
mand, confined to His command. Allah does not forbid man to
be tall, or punish him for being black. Therefore, the only deter-
minant of his physical existence is, of necessity, the qadar of Allah,
man having therein no share of will, no power of change. To
apply this to man’s moral destiny is to maintain that Allah openly,
in His revealed teachings, desires of man one thing, but secretly,
by His qadar, desires of him the opposite; or that He commands
man to see and hear, yet predestines him to be blind and deaf;
it means, quite apart from the gross blasphemy, to ascribe to God
the contrary of what He ascribes to Himself.

Hasan’s position may best be characterized by one of the epi-
grams so peculiar to his style: mā nahā ʿllāhu anhu fa-laysa minhu.
“What God forbids is (if performed by man) not from Him”. Hasan
leaves no doubt that “what God commands” is no less
“not of Him”; that, in other words, the righteous is as much
the free agent of his fate as the wicked, the “guidance” being
merely a didactic, rather than a deterministic, factor. But it is
significant for the pragmatic trend of his thoughts that Hasan

36 qadāʾuḥu (see above n. 15) ʿamruhu bi-ʾl-maʾrūf waʾl-ʾadli waʾl-ʾiḥsān
etc. (69, 11); referring to Sura 33: 38 the author says in his masterful
epigrammatic style: waʾamarahu qadaruhu wa-qadarahu ʿamruhu ʿannahu
lā yaʾmuru bi-ʾl-faʾṣāḥāʾi (70, 4). On “knowledge” see below n. 43; on
“will,” n. 66.

37 See 77, 9 ff. (fiʿlu ʾllāhi bihih laysa lahum fihi taqdimu ʾḥtiyārin wa-lā
qudratun ʾalā taqyirīhi).

38 See 69, 20; 74, 16 f.

39 While Hasan’s argument is first and last from “what God ascribes
to himself,” i.e. from revelation, he often points out, parenthetically, that
the advocates of moral determinism, in addition to belying the expressive
declarations of God, ascribe to Him the “ugliest attributes” (76, 15:
biʾaqqabaʾiʾ ʾṣ-ṣifāti). It is in this more or less casual manner that Ḥ. argues
from the concept of ʿadl (a concept so fundamental in the school of the
Muʿtazila); cf. 68, 8 (layṣa bi-zallāmin); 73, 14; 74, 17; especially inter-
esting is 75, 6, where Ḥ. terms the determinists as al-muḥālifūna liʾamri
ʾllāhi wa-ktābīhi ʾwaʾ-ʾadlihi.

40 fa-ḥal yadrī ḥāʾulāʾ ʾl-fuḥḥāl ʾalā man raddāʾ innamā raddāʾ ʾalā
ʾllāhi taʾalāʾ! (81, 15).

41 See 69, 7.

42 See 70, 9 ff. (qad jaʾala fiḥim min al-qudratī etc.); and especially 80,
1 ff. Referring to Sura 76: 3 (ʾinnā hadaynāhu ʾre-sabila). Ḥ. remarks:
yaqūlu ʾarrāfnāhu ʾf-ṭariqaʾ ʾimmāʾ an yashkura etc. (71, 12).
dwells with special emphasis on removing the absolutism of qadar from “evil” and from “what God forbids”. There can be but little doubt that the “people” who branded him an “innovator” made the most of their qadar theory by applying it in practice whenever suitable. We will see that Hasan does not hesitate to accuse them of using qadar as an excuse for their selfishness and licentiousness, their “sinful appetites and treacherous iniquities”.

That at the time of Hasan local governors, or government officials, actually were in the habit of justifying their graft and acts of tyranny by pointing to qadar, we are told on good authority, by Ibn Qutaiba. And it is out of this situation that we may best understand why his risâle is partial to such epigrammatic exclama-

43 A particularly instructive instance of this may be seen in the way H. discusses the problem of God’s knowledge. Theoretically, he holds of course that Allah’s ‘ilm determines neither the fate of the believer nor that of the unbeliever. But since his opponents, for apparent reasons, emphasize the negative effect of the divine ‘ilm, H.’s refutation is directed accordingly: God’s knowing that some people will be unbelievers merely means that He knew beforehand that they will choose unbelief of their own free will (bi-ḥtiyārihim) and that, consequently, they would be equally able to forsake unbelief if they would choose to “abhor” it (77, 11 ff.). Remarkably enough, H. finds evidence for this concept of God’s conditioned, rather than conditioning, knowledge in the Ḥiḍr story and in the case of the Munāfiqūn (77 ff.), both of which seem to have led the “nihilists” to their “disputation” of ‘ilm. [Cf. Ibn Shāhīn, Faraj, p. 10 ff.].

44 See 68, 11, and below in this article.

45 Kitāb al-ma‘ārif, p. 225. It is noteworthy that the case is brought to H.’s attention by the two men who head the List of Qadarites given by Ibn Qutaiba (p. 301), Ma‘bad al-Juha-nil and ‘Aṭā’ b. Yasār. As the report reads, one gains the impression of two pupils asking their master’s opinion (fa-yas’alānihi) in a question of practical theology. At any rate, he answers the question in terms of our treatise: kaḍaba ‘a’dā’u ʿllāhi. (Mark, too, that the third “Qadarite” in Ibn Qutaiba’s List, ‘Amr b. ‘Ubaid, is actually known to have been a pupil of H.’s). I take it that the mutāk of the report are the governors of the Calif and their subordinates.

46 An effect of this one-sidedness may be seen in a statement by a contemporary of Hasan, Dā‘ūd b. ‘Abi Hind, according to which H. had taught that all is determined by qadar except “the works of impiety” (rather than “both the works of piety and impiety,” as required by our treatise); Murtaḍā, p. 12, l. 3 bottom: kullu shay’in bi-qadā‘i ʿllāhi wa-qadarihi ‘illā ‘l-ma‘āṣ. (The sentence sounds almost like a literal translation of the well known Agadic saying: hak-kol bidê shamayim hûṣ miyyir’at shamayim (Bab. Ber. 33b); but the two utterances have hardly more in common than the similarity of the religious-historical situation out of which they were formulated).
motions as "Violence and tyranny are not of the decree of Allah"; "He does not order abominations". "Guidance comes from Allah, but error is of man's own doing!" 47

In Hasan's conviction, then, implicit evidence of moral freedom is given by each "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not", in every pronouncement of divine retribution, in all instances of revelation calling upon man to serve God. But he goes further. He bids the Calif not to be impatient of the length of his discourse as he is about to introduce explicit evidence. He quotes the cases of Adam, Moses, Muhammed, and even of Cain, Pharaoh, Hudhud, as "binding proofs" against those who shift the responsibility of their shortcomings to God. Thus Adam refers to his sin by saying "we have wronged our souls", not by saying "it was Thy qadar and qadā'". The same is true of all other prophets. None of them ever failed to attribute to themselves, rather than to God, errors they occasionally committed.48 But easiest of all Hasan finds "evidential proof" by applying the method of contradictio in adjecto. Thus, in the words of the Quran, Allah says: Do ye what ye wish (not: "what I predestined [qadar tu] upon you"); or He who exercises qadar to guide (not: "who exercises qadar to lead astray"); or Let him, who will, believe; and let him, who will, disbelieve (not: "let him, whom I will, believe; and let him, whom I will, disbelieve"); or As a reward for what ye have done (not: "for what was done in you", nor "for what I decreed [katabtu] upon you").49

Not so easy is it for Hasan to disprove the claim of the "nihilists" that their theory of qadar, too, is based on the teachings of the Quran. To his religious conscience, the absurdity of such a claim is a foregone conclusion, to be sure. Could the word of Allah belie itself; the teachings of the "most perfect revelation" contradict one another?50 But, as was to be the experience of so many protagonists of Islam after Hasan—not to mention that of

47 See 69, 8; 71, 18 (al-hudā min allāh wa-‘d-dalāl min al-‘ibād); cf. above n. 36.

48 See 72, 5-12; 71, 15 f.; 82, 16-19; and above n. 15.

49 See 69, 14; 69, 21-70, 3; 70, 14 f. The Quran passages referred to are (in the order in which they have been quoted above): Sura 41: 40; 87: 3; 18: 29; 32: 17. On katabtu = qadar tu, see Goldziher's review of de Vlieger, Kitāb al-qadar, ZDMG 57, p. 396 f.

50 Comp 70, 16-71, 2.
his kindred spirits in Judaism and Christianity—theological self-consistency of revelation could only be maintained by means of the dialectic gymnastics of exegesis. And it is quite interesting to note that Ḥasan gives much less space to the many Qoranic passages favoring his thesis than to the interpretation (ta’wīl) of the relatively few passages alleged to suggest the antithesis.\(^{51}\)

We meet here Ḥasan as an exegete of astonishing skill and resourcefulness. Perhaps it is the pride and sensitiveness of one who was himself of non-Arab descent,\(^{52}\) when he shows that the “arguments” of his opponents are not only in each case based on their misinterpreting the spirit, but in some cases on their insufficient understanding of the language, of the Qoran. Allah revealed the Qoran to people who should understand the proprieties of Arabic! Ḥasan himself is not reluctant to elucidate, when necessary, these proprieties from Arabic poetry or even from popular usage.\(^{53}\) That according to the Qoran many people are created “for hellfire”; that no one can believe except by Allah’s “permission”; that man does not choose what is good “unless Allah wishes”—these and similar utterances prove, when properly understood, the exact opposite of what the determinists claim that they prove. The Arabic preposition “for”, li, may be used to indicate not only purpose, intention, but also consequence, result, outcome; the Arabic word for “permission”, ‘idn, is synonymous with taḥliya, thus implying the act of giving access, of letting alone, of refraining from interference; Allah’s “will” as a pre-condition of man’s choosing what is good means, in truth, His willingness to teach and reveal to man what good is.\(^{54}\) As Ḥasan takes up one after another of the Qoran passages alleged to postulate the moral absolutism of qadar, they turn out, in the light of his exegesis, to lend additional support and force to the theology of free will, which

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\(^{51}\) Of some 90 passages from the Qoran discussed more or less fully in our treatise, only about 10 or 12 are mimmā yunāsī’ūna (var. yujādīlūna) fīhi; their re-interpretation by Ḥ. occupies the major part of our text, 72, 13 to 81, 12.

\(^{52}\) Of Persian extraction, Ḥ. seems even to have retained (or acquired?) the ability to speak and to write Persian (see Ibn Sa’d, p. 123, 12: fa-qāla bi-l-fārīsīyyati, and cf. Schaeder, p. 47 and 49).

\(^{53}\) See 76, 20-77, 3; and 79, 8 (wa-qad taqūlu l-’arab).

\(^{54}\) See 76, 16 ff.; 73, 11 f. and 16 f. The Qoran passages referred to are (again in the order quoted above): Sura 7: 179; 10, 100; 81: 29. (Cf. n. 66.)
may well claim him as its founder and originator in Islam. [See below, note 72].

To Hasan himself the controversy of Moral Determinism vs. Free Will is not an isolated theoretical question of theology. We have already seen that the sponsors of this controversy must have presented a politically powerful party, and we may assume that it was not without personal risk of liberty, if not of life, to attack them one and all. Sunnite writers relate—with proper contempt, of course,—the names of two pioneers of the Qadarite movement, Ma'bad al-Juhanî and Gaylân ad-Dimishqî. The former seems to have been an intimate, perhaps a pupil, of Hasan; the latter is said to have been a disciple of Ma'bad. Both are reported to have been sentenced to death for their adherence to the thesis of free will.55 That Hasan, too, was in danger must be inferred not only from the letter of 'Abdalmalik—who is said to have been responsible for Ma'bad’s verdict in the year 80 A.H.56—but particularly from the warm plea which al-Ḥajjâj enters on Hasan’s behalf when submitting his brief to the Calif.57

Hasan, however, exercises no restraint, and leaves nothing unsaid. His personal denunciation of the “nihilists” is as aggressive and ardent as his theological refutation. He compares them with the heathens at the time of Muhammad who, too, claimed that in their abominations they follow the ways of their fathers.58 Once, he asks, rhetorically, whether they realize that it is against Allah that their controversy (radd) is turned. He implores the Calif to

55 Ibn Qutaiba, p. 244; (Shahristâni, p. 17); Murtaḍâ, p. 15 ff. On Ma’bad’s relationship to Hasan, cf. Kitâb al-Ma’ârif 225 (above n. 45) and Ibn ‘Asâkir (Ritter, p. 60). See the next note.

56 Taqribirdî, Nujûm (ed. T. G. J. Juynboll and B. F. Matthes) 1, p. 222, (cf. H. Steiner, Dic Mu’taziliten, p. 29, n. 2); see also Goldziher, Vorlesungen, p. 98 f.

57 Above n. 10. A contemporary admirer tells how he tried to make H. forego his stand in the qadar problem by actually threatening him with reprisals from the government, Tabari, p. 2492, 16: haddadtu bi’s-sulţân. (Very instructive is the addition in Ibn Sa’îd, p. 122, 3: fa-qala I’a’ûdu fihi ba’da I’yauma—a clear instance of “whitewashing” of Hasan’s reputation in terms of Sunnite piety! See also p. 122, 4 f.). On ‘Ayyûb’s statement Murtaḍâ remarks: wa-kâna I-Ḥasanu fi zamâni ‘uzmi I-ḥâṣari min bani ‘Umâyri wa-rubbânâ yattaqqi (the last clause is made improbable by the fact of our risâle), Muṣna, p. 15.

58 See 70, 4 ff. (wa-la-qad qala qâlîka qaumun fa-‘âba I’llâhu ‘alayhim, referring to Sura 7: 28).
dissociate himself from people who know not what qadar means, merely using it as an excuse for their moral irresponsibility. They seek zestfully after the doubtful passages of the Qoran, out of the rebellion of their heart against their duties and obligations as Muslims.\textsuperscript{59} Unwilling to take upon themselves the burden of the truth, they adhere to the ease and levity of the untruth. Their insincerity is apparent by the way they belie the very principle which they profess to guard. They take good care of themselves, without leaving it to the qadar of Allah. They employ every means of care and precaution to protect their property, to increase their material goods. But when it comes to their spiritual well-being, they leave it to qadar. Confronted with the imperatives of religion, they point to the writing-reed of Fate that had inscribed their foreheads with “blessed” or “afflicted”\textsuperscript{60}. To the call of Allah himself, admonishing them to believe, to obey, to return, they reply, brazenly and in ill faith, that their will is overwhelmed, their endeavor interfered with, their intention rendered futile, by the Qadar of Allah.\textsuperscript{61}

6. AUTHENTICITY. It was inevitable that the powerful voice of his “message” should reverberate in the several branches of Muslim theology as they eventually developed in the generations after Hasan. This may seem to render the question of authenticity rather difficult. In reality such a question hardly exists. Apart from the obviously editorial remarks of Shahrastānī, mentioned above, it is hard to detect any reasonable ground for doubting the genuineness of the document. The historical reality lingers from

\textsuperscript{59} See 82, 1 (above n. 40); 68, 16-69, 1; 72, 14 ff.

\textsuperscript{60} See 75, 6-76, 2. The expression jaffati l’aqlāmu wa-kutība alā l-jabīni makes it especially clear how much the qadar concept of the “nihilists” still bore the earmarks of ancient Arab fatalism. Nevertheless, repercussions of these very words may be found in Sunnite Ḥadīt; see, e.g., Buḥārī 4, p. 251, Bāb jaffa l’qalāmu; see also Goldziher, ZDMG, 33, p. 623, n. 1; and 57, p. 398 ff. (Goldziher’s remark that in den älteren Kadar-Sprüchen des Islam finden wir sie—viz. the concept of the inscribed forehead—noch nicht is now invalidated by the occurrence of that concept in the text before us. Its striking parallels both in Indian literature, pointed out by G., and in the Old Testament—Ez. 9: 4; cf. Is. 4: 3—would require, and deserve, a critical investigation in itself.)

\textsuperscript{61} See the impressive finale of our text 82, 1 ff. which, at the same time, forms the emotional climax of the risāle, and must be read in the original to be fully appreciated.
the first to the last line of our risâle. What could possibly have been the motive of some late theologian who, having "forged" both a letter of 'Abdalmalik and a reply by Hasan, went to the pains of fabricating also a second recension with an indorsement of the revered Hasan by the universally despised Omayyad general al-Ḥajjāj?

But even if we were to go by the test of inner evidence alone, we would be led in the direction of Hasan, certainly as to his age, almost certainly as to the type of piety he is known to have represented. It is all but inconceivable that anyone undertaking to defend the thesis of free will in Hasan's name, but after his times, would be as completely void of the rationalism and schematism of the Mu'tazilites, the classical champions of that thesis, as our risâle appears to be. It is well to recall the main points of argument common to the Mu'tazilites. To them it is reason, 'aql, that makes the divine attribute of justice, 'adl, a sort of axiomatic idea a priori; therefore, God is compelled, wujiba 'alayhi, He is bound by reason, not only to grant His creatures freedom of action, but to administrate their affairs to their greatest possible advantage (al-'aslaḥ); reason, on the other hand, requires that man discriminate good and evil independent, regardless, of revelation.

All this is entirely foreign to the author of our treatise. We have seen that his sole criterion in defense of free will is that of revelation. The word of God to him is light above darkness, life above death. To believe in moral determinism, he once exclaims, is to render God's teachings to mankind void and meaningless. His treatment of qadar is theocentric rather than homocentric; he starts, not from the reason of man, but from the manifested will of God. He does take justice in the divine measures of reward and punishment for granted, but primarily because it is attested to by revelation, and even then it is not the arithmetical 'adl of the Mu'tazila. He would have been horrified at the very thought that there be anything that God "must" or "cannot"—an idea

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62 See above the notes 5, 45, 46, 57, and below n. 67 and 72; see also Ritter, 61 ff.
63 See 70, 7, and 74, 22-75, 1.
64 We have seen (above n. 39) that 'adl, while used in the author's argumentation against his opponents, has not yet reached the methodic rigidity, nor the terminological force, of later times. This is even more true of the other pillar of the Mu'tazilite system, of 'aql, which is mentioned only once in our treatise (74, 19), and in a most casual way, at that.
so essential with the Mu'tazilites.65 We remember, too, how to him man can only choose good, know what is good, because God has taught and revealed it to him.66 Nor does he propose to explain the suffering of the innocent, or rationalize about the prosperity of the wicked. The idea of al-ʾaṣlaḥ is unknown to him, both in word and spirit.

In later times, Muslim readers of our treatise seem to have been bewildered by its author appearing to advocate determinism no less than free will.67 One might as well be surprised to find that Plato is not a consistent enough Stoicist. The very inconsistency of our author betrays his historicity, exposes the logic of Early Islam. His religious genius can perceive man only as free to serve God, to choose between good and evil, righteousness and wickedness. Here the concept of an ethical-didactic will of Allah had broken through the absolutism of His decree; and to this epochal achievement of Islam our author clings, heroically, against the deep-seated, national-Arab trends of his time and environment. But he lived too near the time of Ḫâhiliyya himself to have overcome altogether the concept of dahr,68 the historical predecessor of qadar. Man's physical existence, his material woe and weal, is still in absolute control of qadar. In the case of adultery our author plainly agrees with the "nihilists" that the child is the product of predestination; only to him the adulterer is punished for having disobeyed the command of Allah, not for having begotten the child.69

Yet, having become restricted to the sphere of material woe and weal, qadar lost its sharpest edges, of terror and hopelessness. By

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65 Referring to Sura 6: 35, the author even says: lau shâ'a ʾan yajbaru rahum 'alâ ʾf-tâʿati la-kâna qâdîrân (76, 6).
66 See 71, 3; 73, 17 (fa-min mashīratihi lanâ ʾl-ḥayra qabla ʾan nashâʾaʾan (= ʾannahu) dallânâ ʾalayhi wa-bayyana hu la). See above n. 42.
67 Shahristânî, p. 32, 3 bottom (wa-ʾl-ʾajab f). (Massignon, Essai, p. 173: en le mitigeant!) One of Ḥ.'s pupils, accused of disloyalty to his master (apparently after the latter had died), justifies his position by saying that Ḥ. was confusing (kâna muḥallîf; perhaps: muḥâllafen, "confused"), in that he sometimes taught freedom and sometimes again determinism (Ṭabarsi, Ḥiṭṭijâd, quoted in Massignon, Recueil, p. 4, 15).
68 See WZKM 30, p. 60 f.
69 See 74, 2 (wa-layṣa yuʾaḍḏibu ʾl-lâhu ʾz-zâniya ʾalâ ʾl-ʾaḍḏ). Mark the interesting comparison of the adulterer with one who sows in an acre he does not rightfully own, which may nevertheless yield crops by God's will.
the revolutionary deed of Muhammed, qadar had become the qadar of God; and this is what, in effect, our author is holding forth to his opponents all the time. Outside the moral-religious sphere, man’s destiny, with its variable of success and failure, of happiness and misery, is still wholly determined by heavenly decree. But it had become the decree of a personal God, who tests man with the joys and sorrows of life, so that he may not despair for what he misses, nor rejoice too much in what he possesses. Man’s heart is still made “wide” or “narrow”, but only in retribution for what he has accomplished, or failed to accomplish, by his own power and will.\(^{70}\) The “writing-reed” of blind Fatum has been replaced by the sunna of Allah, by the hukm of Allah, who guides and tests, punishes and rewards, helps and forgives.\(^{71}\)

It remained for the coming generations of Islam to develop more methodic means of speculation, and to find more systematic answers to the permanent questions of theology faced by the author of our treatise. What he offers are mere rudiments and, again, only such rudiments as were indispensable for the basic institutions of Islam. But just therein lies the strongest test of his authenticity. Elements may be found in our risâle that make its author appear as much a forerunner of Şûfism, as other elements would establish him a pioneer of the Mu’tazila. Yet it would be altogether unwarranted to stamp him with either label. His treatise is the product of no school, it follows no scheme, it employs no set terminology. It is the spontaneous outcry of a preacher of Islam who sees its foundations at stake, its message of hope and its code of observances annulled by a conservatism that antedated even Muhammed.\(^{72}\) In

\(^{70}\) See below, ad “P. 80, l. 3-6”; and cf. above n. 27.

\(^{71}\) Especially interesting is in this respect the author’s discussion of shahr as-ṣudûr (79, 10-81, 12). It shows how easily the seed sown by H.’s theological speculation of qadar might ripen both into Şûfie piety and Mu’tazilite dialectics. Cf. such striking passages as 74, 8 ff. (‘. . . ’annahu mubtalînî fû ḥâdihi ’d-dunyâ bi-sh-shiddati wa-r-raḥâ . . . likaylû na’sâ etc.); 79, 2 ff. (fa-ḥâdihi sunnûtu ’llâhi); 80, 7 ff. (wa-lam yaḍkur allâhu lakum ḡâliqa li-yaqtû’u rajû’ahum wa-lâ li-yu’yisahum min raḥmatihî wa- faḍlîhi etc.); and even more decisive 81. 8 ff. (lam yaj’al al’-umûrû ḥatman ’alâ ’l-idâd etc.).

\(^{72}\) It is the great irony of Muhammedan history, and of religious history in general, that the thesis by which Islam is here protected against complete disintegration was to become obnoxious to Muslim orthodoxy, so that Abbasid caliphs, with but few shining exceptions, were to find themselves, in this respect, one with their Omayyad predecessors whom they otherwise
the school of the Mu'tazilites, qadar developed into a formidable system by which rationalism, perhaps better, 'aqlism, defended itself against a dogmatic concept of omnipotence, and a fundamentalist interpretation of the Qoran. In Sufism, on the other hand, qadar was sublimated into tawakkul, and religious practice subordinated to intention and meditation. Neither of these stages had yet been reached at the time of our treatise. Here moral responsibility and pragmatic self-discipline of the believer are still the supreme need, the dire issue, of young Islam consolidating itself against the fatalistic carpe diem of recent paganism.

7. TEXTUAL. Professor Ritter has earned our thanks for making this important document available to us. But the text he gives, while admirable as a whole, leaves much to be desired as to detail. Obviously, it was not his intention to undertake an exhaustive textual critique of his manuscript material, or even to mark off the text difficulties as such. In what follows only a cross-section of these difficulties can be offered, with preference given to passages that bear on the understanding of the risâle, and to such obvious misreadings as could be easily amended.

P. 71, l. 16: Between قال الله فرعون and something is evidently missing; presumably it is the conjunction ان. Curiously enough, the same omission seems to occur two other times in our text, as will be seen below.

P. 72, l. 2 f.: The incomplete quotation of the Qoran verse

so utterly condemned. If anything becomes established by our document it is the fact that the qadar ideology was the direct and inevitable outgrowth of the deed of Muhammed; and that, accordingly, the theory of its foreign origin, vaguely repeated ever since the times of Alfred von Kremer (cf. his Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzüge, p. 2 ff.) should be abandoned once for all. The evidence from our risâle becomes especially irrevocable when combined with the reluctant, and therefore all the more trustworthy, testimony which we have been able to adduce from Sunnite writers. We could not very well expect them to say in as many words that their great and revered Hasan was the founder of the, to them disreputable, Qadriyya. But, seen critically, their very disavowals (Ṭabarî 2493, 20; al-Ḥasan sayyagahu 'l-Qadariyyatu; Ibn Sa'd 127, 21: کننا 'ahu 'l-qadari yantaḥšuna 'l-Ḥasan ... wa-knna quluku muḥallifan lahum) are tale-telling. Until, therefore, and unless evidence to the contrary be established, we must consider the Qadarite movement as having rooted in the kind of piety brought to light by our document, and Ḥasan al-Brasî as the spiritual head of that movement.
(Sura 41: 17) cannot have been intended by the author. Restore therefore: فاستحقاقا العمي على الهنی [فأغذِلهم صاحة العذاب: الهنی] بما كانوا يكسبون
This omission, apparently the error of an early copyist, seems to have led to the textual confusion in l. 4: وَكَانَ بَنُو أَصْبَاحُ اسْتَثِيمَةَ النَّغَاءِ العَلِيمَ العَلِيمَ
There can be no doubt that in the original the text read: وَكَانَ بَنُو أَصْبَاحُ اسْتَثِيمَةَ النَّغَاءِ العَلِيمَ العَلِيمَ

L. 6: The word يغتبطي, while not impossible, is in view of the context (أَقْرَم) very improbable.
Read: يغتبطي

L. 15: As must be inferred from the infinitive مصمون, the preceding final verb, no doubt مصمون in the original, was intended as مصمون (not فيتبتون); cf. p. 67, l. 15.

P. 73, l. 1: I assume that the text has scriptio defectiva but is otherwise correct as it stands:

L. 8 ff.: The fusion of two different, but very similar, Quran verses (Sura 10: 33 and 40: 6) may well be original, the author quoting from memory. In l. 15, however, the case is just the reverse, and the passage (لا مأك... مأك) should be deleted. Having written correctly the beginning of Sura 81: 28, the copyist continued erroneously with Sura 74: 37 which has the identical beginning (أَمَّا شاء مأك), but could hardly have been intended for the present context. The error, by homeoteleuton, was all the more natural as in what precedes (p. 70, l. 9) Sura 74: 37 had actually been quoted.

L. 16 f.: The passage صدق الله لم يكن لمشاء الخير إلا أن يشاء لنا seems like a subtle epigram of Sufic meditation, and this is perhaps why some copyist wrote it this way. But it is certainly wrong as it stands.

P. 74, l. 1: Add probably after علويه (cf. yatûb 'alaynâ in what immediately precedes).

L. 8: I suppose that the original text read: (not يتشابه الدلائل أن الله) Fustamla بذالة أن (وأنت) لمن صبر
The third word is a correction of the erroneously written second word (a procedure usual with oriental copyists).

P. 75, l. 8: The extremely improbable reading لنقل الحق علويهم وحقه الباطل is the result of mispunctuation on the part of some

Cf., e.g., Ibn Shāhīn, Farāj, p. 31, 9: لا مأك أَنتِ لا لمن صبر
and similarly passim.
copyist. The intended punctuation is لاقل الحق عليهم وخفة الباطل (as p. 76, l. 21).—L. 10: is most likely — wa-takuzzu (see Lane, VII, p. 2608, col. 1).—L. 12: Read قدر لك (not لله), as in l. 16.—L. 18: I believe that زادها is simply miswritten for (the fem. suffix referring to الدار, of course).

P. 76, l. 15: The clause وعذبهم . . . خوميس seems to be misplaced from l. 14; it should be made to follow the words نهایهم عنها.

P. 77, l. 9: Delete the words علم الله انهم as a repetition from l. 8 (whereby انهم was simply miswritten for ربهم). The erroneous addition led some copyist to "correct" the fem. suffix at the end of the clause into a masculine one, thus making it refer to Allah. Unquestionably, the clause read in the original: النبی لا الا يمان سبیل لهم إلى تجاوزها.—L. 12: I doubt that was intended by the author. The context requires a word synonymous with the immediately following العدل; probably, then, الانصاف.

P. 78, l. 7: The phrase بّنظصر ما renders the context pointless. Read, as in the next line, ببعة مابعع; (the mistake may have been caused by ناقيم in l. 9).

P. 79, l. 4: Again an الله seems to have been omitted after, as twice above.—L. 10: Read فيه (in lieu of ف).—L. 17 f.: The word وسعهم is obviously misprinted for وسعها; the numeral ١٨٧ ١٨٦ for ي بهم, I take it, for بها.

P. 80, l. 3-6: The passage is badly confused in the edited text. From a close examination of the context (in what precedes, an explanation is given for the "widening" of heart paralleling very closely the one given here for the "narrowing") it becomes apparent that when the copyist responsible for the present text reached the word وصلةه, in l. 4, his eye wandered to وصلةهم in l. 6, leaving out the matter that stood between these two words. Upon reaching the word والترية, he noticed his mistake and inserted the omitted passage here, but instead of repeating fi ʿajil ... waʾt-taubati in its entirety, he repeated only the beginning and the end of it. The situation may be seen from the following juxtaposition:
The Original Text.

ومن ترك ما أمره الله به من الطاعة وتبادي في كفره وضلله جعل الله صدره ضيقا حربيا كأنها يصدق في السماء عقوبة منه له بكره وضلاته في عاجل الدنيا [وهو مع ذلك مطبق للاثابة] والنتيجة مأمور بها مدعو اليها

The Edited Text.

ومن ترك ما أَمَرَه الله به من الطاعة وتبادي في كفره وضلله في عاجل الدنيا وهو مع ذلك مطبق للاثابة والنتيجة جعل الله صدره ضيقا حربيا كأنها يصدق في السماء عقوبة منه له بكره وضلاته في عاجل الدنيا والنتيجة مأمور بها مدعو اليها

P. 81, l. 12: Read في جن instead of فصين, and place the sign for the end of the sentence before, rather than after, the words في هذا القول. —L. 14: The use of fem. sg. in tad‘āhum (as referring to ar-rusul) is very odd. I assume that يدعوهم = بدعوهم (for تدعوهم) يدعوهم.

P. 82, l. 12: After حريم, add (left out by the printer?) —L. 15 f.: The reading قضى الله على نبيه اللاتين ثم آذن له الخ is quite impossible. In what precedes, the author cites an instance from the Quran which, according to the "nihilists", evidences the incompatibility of qadar and 'amr: Muhammed, acting under the compulsion of qadar, prohibits something against the command of Allah, and is then rebuked for it. Here, the same instance is cited, only with the Prophet permitting something against the command of Allah. Read, therefore: قضى الله على نبيه اللاتين ثم آذن لهم الخ. See above, n. 15.
It will be seen that nearly all of the above difficulties may be reduced to two types of scribal error: (a) cases of addition, omission or misplacement, due to homoeoteleuton; and (b) cases of improper punctuation. Obviously, the text left the hand of the author either with very few or no diacritical points. This will have to be borne in mind by anyone who would undertake a more detailed study of the Arabic document than could be offered at the present occasion, and especially a critical translation of the edited text—an undertaking that can not be recommended strongly enough.
IS THE BOOMERANG ORIENTAL?¹
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Of the various weapons of aboriginal peoples which have been given a romantic setting in popular fancy, none seems to be so cloaked with misconception as the boomerang of the Australians. The various misunderstandings current in lay opinion, but also found occasionally in scientific circles, apparently are founded upon the inaccurate and ambiguous reports which emanated from Australia during the period of initial contact between Europeans and the aborigines. At that time a reputation based upon only partial truth was given the boomerang outside of Australia and once established, it has been perpetuated by subsequent tradition. These beliefs have not only mitigated against a satisfactory understanding of the position of the boomerang in Australian culture but have confused the identity of weapons in other parts of the world which have been compared with it.

Of the popular fallacies associated with the boomerang perhaps the most widespread and deep-rooted is the belief that all boomerangs are of the returning type. As a matter of fact, returning boomerangs constitute only a very small percentage of Australian boomerangs, a percentage difficult to estimate accurately but which under normal aboriginal conditions may have been exceedingly small. It is important to note this small ratio for the lack of its appreciation is the basis of much of the misunderstanding with which we are concerned. In order to distinguish the two types we will henceforth use the word boomerang to imply the ordinary varieties which do not return to the thrower, the sense in which the word is used in Australia; and the term "returning boomerang" to designate the small percentage which, when thrown properly, perform certain gyrations in the air and finally fall near the point from which they were hurled.

It is also generally believed that the returning boomerang is a weapon and that it is used in war and for hunting. These func-

¹This paper is intended to supplement "Australian Throwing-sticks, Throwing-clubs, and Boomerangs," one of a series of studies made in Australia by the writer under a Fellowship grant by the Social Science Research Council.
tions, however, with few exceptions, are found associated only with ordinary boomerangs. The returning boomerang is regarded by the aborigines as a toy to be thrown for amusement. In only a few instances are there reports that it is used for other purposes, although in emergencies it may be utilized as a weapon in the same manner as any other suitable object.

It is likewise important to understand that the returning boomerang, contrary to popular belief, will not return to the thrower if it strikes any object during its flight. In most cases such a happening would cause it to fall directly to the ground. Occasionally if an obstacle is not struck squarely, the stick may be deflected and started on a different course of flight, but in such an event, the point of landing would be altered. The common belief, therefore, that the boomerang will return to the hand of the thrower after it has struck the enemy or the prey has no basis in fact.

Lastly, neither ordinary nor returning boomerangs are ubiquitous in Australia. Although their distributions are widespread, there are certain rather extensive areas in which both varieties are unknown. Returning boomerangs have not been found among tribes which do not possess the ordinary type but the ordinary varieties are present in some regions where the returners are known to be lacking.

_Australian Missile-Sticks_

Basically considered, the boomerang should be regarded as a form of missile-stick of which there are three classes in Australia. For convenience these may be spoken of as 1. Throwing-sticks, 2. Boomerangs and 3. Throwing-clubs.

The Australian throwing-stick is a straight or slightly curved peeled stick about two feet in length, round in cross section, with a diameter of slightly more than one inch, and which tapers slightly to roundly or bluntly pointed extremities.

The boomerang, on the other hand, is a curved stick, characterized by a transverse section with two equal or unequal convex surfaces, or one convex and one flat surface and which tapers abruptly or gradually to extremities of various shapes. In length, boomerangs vary from about 18 inches to 3 feet. There are a few larger ones, some 8 feet long, which may be used for striking, or in ceremonies. These are not thrown and should be termed "boomerang-clubs."
The throwing-club is a weapon characterized by knobs, flares, bulges or other features carved in the solid matrix and which is used in one hand for throwing or for striking. These weapons differ only in proportions from larger counterparts, clubs, which require two hands for use and are not thrown.

Throwing-sticks, it seems obvious, are the most simple of the three classes of missile-sticks in that they approach closely a natural form which requires very little alteration in manufacture. They are distributed throughout the western half of Australia and were characteristic of the aboriginal culture of Tasmania. They also appear sporadically in the geographically intermediate area of southeastern Australia where throwing-clubs prevail. It appears, therefore, that throwing-sticks are of relatively great antiquity, by virtue of their appearance in Tasmania, and that they have been superseded in southeastern Australia by throwing-clubs. It may be that throwing-sticks were an original possession of the invading Tasmanians.

Throwing-clubs are lacking in Tasmania and the western half of the continent but are found throughout Eastern Australia from Victoria and South Australia to Torres Straits where their distribution connects with the appearances of similar but not identical forms in New Guinea. Although many varieties appear to be indigenous to the continent, fundamentally it would seem that throwing-clubs in some undetermined basic form or in concept diffused to Australia from New Guinea and have supplanted the use of throwing-sticks in a large part of eastern Australia.

Boomerangs vary so much in their forms, sizes and weights that it is a difficult matter to classify them into types and varieties. Some are symmetrical in form, others have one arm longer than the other. In many specimens the width is fairly constant throughout the greater part of the weapon, in others it is relatively great at the bend and may decrease gradually or abruptly as the ends are approached. The degree of curvature also shows much variation and may range from a right angle or less to almost 180°. For the shape of cross-section, we find some examples thin and wafer-like, whereas others may be almost round, or in those specimens having one flat surface, almost hemispherical. The extremities run the gamut from round to pointed, and in addition there are several varieties of specialized ends with angular or other features which set them off from the more usual forms. Finally there is the ques-
tion of a longitudinal twist, a feature necessary to the returning boomerangs but also one occasionally found to a slighter degree and perhaps accidentally in those not intended for use as playthings.

When all these variable features are taken into consideration it is clear that the number of combinations is infinite and that it is a most difficult matter to describe the differences between the boomerangs of many regions of the continent. There is no one feature sufficiently constant to serve as a standard. Nevertheless in any one area the boomerangs, like other culture traits, generally are found to conform to certain local patterns, and with close observation it is possible to consign fairly accurately many specimens to the sections of the continent from which they came. In some instances, distinguishing features, such as a peculiar feature in shape or in decoration, may permit the identification of a relatively small area as the place of manufacture. In a few cases the form may be of such a general nature that provenience can be indicated only vaguely.

Ordinary boomerangs are common throughout Australia except in the three northern peninsulas, the Kimberley district, northern North Australia and the Cape York peninsula, and possibly in a few small districts in the southern part of the continent. They were also lacking in Tasmania.

Returning Boomerangs

The returning boomerang, obviously a variant of the ordinary boomerang, differs from the latter in certain important respects which in many cases are differences in degree, not in kind. Returning boomerangs are characterized by (1) a curvature which resembles the arc of a hyperbola; (2) a "rounding," by which one of the surfaces in transverse section shows a greater curvature than the other; and (3) a "twisting," by which the arms exhibit a longitudinal twist of from 2° to 3° similar to the blades of a screw propeller. However, since many ordinary boomerangs are characterized by one or more of these traits or may differ only slightly in all three respects, it is often a most difficult matter to determine whether a specimen is a returner, especially in museum collections where warping may have taken place. Without all of the features enumerated a boomerang cannot be made to return to the thrower.

Returning boomerangs are of widespread distribution. Although affirmative reports are not available to show their appearance in
all regions they are specifically denied only for a large part of the Central Australia-southern North Australia area where ordinary boomerangs are in use. It is presumptive to state that they are coexistent with ordinary boomerangs throughout the remainder of the distribution of the latter but we at least know that they are or were present in parts of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia. It is important to note that they are unknown in the northern Kimberley region, northern North Australia and the Cape York Peninsula, the three main northern peninsulas of the continent, in all of which regions ordinary boomerangs are also lacking. Both types were also unknown in Tasmania, a fact which indicates that boomerangs do not have as great an antiquity as throwing-sticks.

**Origin of Boomerangs**

On the basis of Australian evidence, there seems to be no good reason for believing that boomerangs are not indigenous to Australia. In this instance the geographical distribution of boomerangs as a class appears to be illuminating. As we have already seen, both ordinary and returning boomerangs are lacking in the extensive area comprising the three northern peninsulas. It is presumable that they have never been used in the northern Kimberley district and northern North Australia, for we find the ordinary varieties diffusing into these areas at the present time. The crucial place where boomerangs seem to be unknown, but where we would expect to find some traces of them if they had been brought into Australia from a foreign source, is the Cape York Peninsula. For this region, Roth informs us that they are lacking north of the Palmer and Mitchell rivers.² That boomerangs have diffused northward into the southern part of the peninsula is not known from specific data although such a movement may be indicated by the gradual change from fine weapons to cruder ones as one goes north. A northward diffusion is also suggested by linguistic evidence. The Gunananni tribe, for instance, who inhabit the area between the Mitchell and Statton rivers, possess two kinds of boomerangs, one light in weight, the other heavy, and one very much more curved than the other, to which they apply the same term, their only term for boomerang, *we-angala.*³ Southward from this

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² Roth, p. 201.  
area specific names seem to be applied to these two types, whereas the word *we-ngal*, or a cognate, is used as the generic term for boomerang.*  These facts also seem to support a theory that there has been a derivation from within the continent.

In a culture where throwing-sticks undoubtedly have been in use for a great period of time, we do not have to look far for a possible and most reasonable ultimate basis from which boomerangs could have been derived. It should not be implied that there was necessarily a direct change from a throwing-stick to a boomerang by the reduction in height of the cross-section and the giving of a greater curvature, although such could have been and may have been the case. It seems much more reasonable to suppose that such a change, if it actually happened, was gradual and that considerable time may have elapsed before what we recognize as a boomerang was produced.

There are many specimens with forms which appear to be transitional between throwing-sticks and boomerangs. These, by themselves, however, should not be considered as conclusive evidence of a historical change from the former to the latter. They might very well represent a movement in the opposite order. However, if it could be determined that these specimens actually represent transitional forms, we could be quite certain that throwing-sticks were the earlier in view of their greater antiquity as indicated by their appearance in Tasmania, and by their simplicity in likeness to natural forms. It is possible that these modern specimens which appear to be transitional may represent combinations of features recently borrowed from each type.

In respect to returning boomerangs, there seems to be no reason for doubting, on the basis of Australian evidence, that they have been derived from ordinary boomerangs somewhere in Australia. They, too, are not only lacking in the same northern peninsulas, toward which boomerangs are now diffusing, but their origin can be explained most logically in the similar non-returning boomerangs with which they are always associated.

In just what locality such a transformation may have been first recognized and accepted as a new culture trait cannot be indicated, nor can we point to any particular variety of boomerang as the one

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*Ibid.*, p. 201. For the lower Tully river; compare also *wongala*, the word for boomerang at Mackay, Smyth, I, p. 329.
most likely to have been the forebear. As we have already stated, the differences between the returning and non-returning types are often most difficult to distinguish. Thus any one of a number of the latter could have been the basis from which the former could have developed, probably it would seem, by the accidental realization that certain characteristics in form, the rounding and twisting, were responsible for a peculiar flight.

So-called Boomerangs of Other Areas

If we are correct in postulating an Australian origin for both ordinary and returning boomerangs, it follows as reasonable, in view of the lack of their appearance in the northern peninsulas of the continent, the only regions known to have received direct cultural influences from other areas, and the only areas where Australians could have influenced other peoples,8 that they have not diffused from Australia to any other region, but have been isolated in Australia since the time of their inception. If such is the case, no theory of diffusion is necessary to explain those weapons found in other parts of the world which are similar in general form and which have been implied by some to be historically related to Australian boomerangs.

Now sticks for striking or for use as missiles are certainly very simple weapons. It should not be considered as surprising, therefore, to find them in use on the various continents in contemporary times or in different periods of the past. There are many instances of such appearances in each of which, as a rule, the specimens as a group differ in detail from those of other regions. Some are plain, straight or curved sticks, round in cross-section, and correspond in a general way with what we have termed for Australia, throwing-sticks. Others with one flat and one convex surface, or two flat surfaces in some instances, and showing a longitudinal curve, come under the general definition we have given to boomerangs. Still others, with various knobs or swollen features for heads, can be placed, in terms of our grouping, into the category of throwing-clubs. No distinctions, however, have been made by many

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8 The Australians are poor navigators and could not have carried cultural influences to other peoples. Their watercraft were most advanced in those regions where boomerangs are lacking. See my paper, "The Chronology of Australian Watercraft."
writers, and, as a result, we find cases in which the terms throwing-stick, boomerang, and throwing-club have been used differently or applied without discrimination to various types of missile-sticks. It is not to be supposed that a solution to the problems involved can be reached merely by the adoption of a uniform terminology, for general terms, themselves, are subject to misuse and lead to misunderstanding when applied to classes of variable objects which, although showing resemblances, are not necessarily related to each other.

In respect to Australia we have arbitrarily chosen our definitions for the convenience of classifying in a broad, general way, certain weapons found on that continent. It must not be assumed, therefore, merely because these general definitions are found to be applicable to certain objects in other parts of the world, that a historical relationship between them is indicated. By such a method, it would be possible by a change in definition to infer relationship in the most questionable and unwarranted instances. It is a reasonable assumption, I should say, to expect to find variation and basic similarity among widely spread traits which are historically related. It is also just as reasonable, in my estimation, to find that simple traits, discovered independently and found suited to the same general purposes, show some similarity as well as differences. It is possible, therefore, to confuse matters by interpreting historically different traits as variants of a common generic form, on the one hand, or by implying variants as being historically unrelated, on the other. The first misuse seems to be characteristic of the extreme diffusionists; the second, of the extreme evolutionists. Such misuses, however, are difficult to avoid as the result of the many similarities and the many mutations commonly met with in culture.

The term, throwing-club, as we have defined it, seems to be a satisfactory one for general world use. Off hand, it does not imply any particular minor feature which might restrict its meaning to some peculiar form. The term throwing-stick would also seem to qualify as a general term if we were to amend our definition to include all simple stick forms not classifiable as throwing-clubs, regardless of the shapes of their cross-sections. With such a definition, boomerangs would be classified as a special type of throwing-stick. The term boomerang is the only one which leads to mis-
understanding when used for weapons other than Australian, for it generally implies characteristics which, as we have seen, are fallacious. It would be desirable to restrict its use only to the Australian weapons, although, as a result of a lack of any other adequate term to designate a curved, flattened throwing-stick, it seems likely that its use will be continued in other areas. There can be no basic objection to such a practice if only it will be realized that these various objects do not become returners merely because they have been termed boomerangs and that they are not necessarily related to other objects given the same appellation in other parts of the world. So deep-rooted is the myth that all boomerangs are returners that it is generally found that most writers who apply the term to weapons of other peoples hasten to add that the weapons they refer to are not returners. With such an ambiguous meaning associated with the word it is not surprising to find great confusion in discussions concerning "boomerangs."

"Boomerangs" have been reported for many regions of the world. In the New Hebrides, for example, Rivers described as a "boomerang" a rather stout object, apparently oval in cross-section and about 16 inches in length, which has a longitudinal curve and two unequal and tapering arms terminating in squared off ends. It is not a weapon for it is used only in sport and is stated not to return. In one method of throwing, it is hurled against the ground, whence it revolves in the air and deflects to one side or the other. It is found only along the northern part of the western coast of Espiritu Santo and is called in the native dialect tiokhi or tioki. It is said to have some connection with the kava ceremony and was regarded by Rivers as historically related to the Australian boomerang and as having been introduced by his famous "kava people."

That the tiokhi is different in form and in function from Australian boomerangs seems clear. However, it is important to note that in the Boulia-Glongcurry district of Queensland there is a not dissimilar object called a kundi-kundi which is used in a similar

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*The word boomerang, of course, is Australian. Morris gives the words burramanga and boomori, wind, from the Hunter River of northeastern New South Wales. Apparently it was only in the dialects of this general region that these words or variants were found. Boomerang is now commonly employed in eastern Australia among both whites and aborigines who speak English. In Western Australia the word kylie is preferred."
manner. It is a thick, rounded stick, 18 to 20 inches in length, pointed at both ends and strongly bent. It is used for sport by being held in the hand with the convex side forward and with the forefinger pressed along the concave side, in contrast to the Australian method of throwing boomerangs by holding them with their concave side forward, and hurled against a log or branch lying on the ground. It strikes the obstacle and flies into the air revolving as it goes on a more or less horizontal plane. Roth regards the *kundi-kundi* as a stage in the evolution of the boomerang from a *nulla-nulla* or a straight throwing-stick, a conclusion which may or may not be the case. Indeed this object of sport may have no historical relationship with boomerangs which it resembles only in a most general way. It is possible that the *kundi-kundi* and the *kiokhi* are related, although such a relationship is by no means either obvious nor certain in view of their simple form and function, as well as the fact that they seem to be separated by a distance of over 2,000 miles. However, if it were possible to establish a historical relationship between these two objects of sport, it would not follow that either one of them is necessarily an Australian boomerang. Nor would the proof that the *kiokhi* was derived from Australia alter the conclusion, based on Australian evidence, that the boomerang, itself, has not diffused from Australia.

For the Celebes, there is a report of "knieformig gekrümmte bumerangähnliche Wurfhölzer zur Vogel jagd" which functionally is similar to both Australian ordinary boomerangs and throwing-sticks. There seems to be no reason for supposing that there may be any direct historical relationship between this weapon and any of the weapons found in Australia.

The well known flat, curved weapon in the American Southwest, usually spoken of as a rabbit-stick, is also occasionally referred to as a "boomerang" or is spoken of as being "boomerang-shaped." These terms may be misleading to some, although it seems to be realized generally that these sticks will not return and have only the most superficial resemblances with the Australian weapons. Incidentally rabbit-sticks have a considerable antiquity in this general region for they have been excavated from the Val Verde County cave deposits in Texas. In more recent times, they

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7 Buschan, p. 861.  
8 Pearce and Jackson, p. 44.
have diffused westward to California where their northernmost appearance is among the Gabrielmo. 9

The most confusing use of the term boomerang in the writer's opinion is that of the German scholars, Graebner, Schmidt and Koppers, who apply it in its usual Australian sense, by which the ordinary and not the returning boomerang is implied, to certain missile weapons of the Sudan and Upper Nile, including throwing-knives of iron. 10 Indeed, the word is employed by them as the distinguishing term for a Kulturkreis, their Boomerang or Negritish Kulturkreis, regardless of the differences between the missile-sticks of the various regions. Although the professors of the Kulturkreis theory postulate a historical relationship between these various weapons and thus consider their use of the term justified, such a connection is neither obvious nor, in the writer's estimation, reasonably demonstrated. The so-called "boomerangs" of the Upper Nile and the Sudan 11 show only the most generalized and superficial resemblances with Australian boomerangs. They are often sharply bent 45° to 90° at the fore-end and seem to be characterized by swollen foreparts. In certain respects, therefore, these African weapons are nearer what we have called throwing-clubs, or even throwing-sticks, than what we have termed boomerangs. However, there seems to be no advantage in equivocating over the use of terminology, for just the application of the same term to these various differing weapons will not demonstrate their historical unity, although it is easy for one to become susceptible to such a belief if the term is used in such a loose fashion, nor will the use of different terms prove the appearances to be the results of independent development.

These examples of the wide and varied application of the word "boomerang" to non-returning weapons or objects used in sport are sufficient to demonstrate how innocently or purposefully mis-

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9 Kroeber, pp. 467, 632.
10 See Graebner, Schmidt and Koppers. For the throwing-knives, see Thomas.
11 Until comparative studies commenced, all writers seem to have spoken of these weapons as throwing-sticks. See Schurtz, p. 316, for ancient Egypt and the Sudan; Baker, Sir Samuel, Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia, p. 511 (cited by Lane Fox, 1869, p. 430); Knight, pp. 13-14, for Abyssinia as far as Lake Chad, also the Upper Nile; Brough Smyth, I, pp. 321 et seq., for the Es-sellum of the desert, similar to the ancient Egyptian curved sticks.
leading such remarks may be. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, that in other cases where it has been assumed or claimed that the returning propensity is associated with certain weapons, the confusion is still greater for, as we have already said, the boomerang myth is so deep-rooted that there is a natural tendency to assume that any weapon called "boomerang" will return, and vice versa, that any weapon believed to be a returner must be a "boomerang."

India

The question of the ability of weapons other than Australian to return, however, is a moot one. Many claims have been made, but none seems to have been proved, and most have been discredited. There appears to be only one recent statement that returning weapons are found elsewhere. In this instance, in the article on Boomerangs in the 14th Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the statement is made that in India there is a "boomerang-shaped instrument which can be made to return." This information tells us very little, for we are not informed whether these instruments were made intentionally to return or were found by the experimentation of Europeans to have such properties of flight. The statement is of interest, however, as a continuum of one of the early claims of Lane Fox, on which, judging from the references listed, it is based.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century Europeans seem to have been trying to make certain Indian weapons return. As early as 1869, Lane Fox illustrated certain curved, pointed weapons, elliptical in cross-section, which in general respects are comparable with some of the Australian ordinary boomerangs. Aside from the fact that they are heavier and thicker than the latter, have surfaces equally convex, and apices at the extremities of the convex sides, they are stated definitely not to return. The crudest are said to come from Goojerat and an "improved form" from Madras. The latter is a short, curved weapon with a knob handle. Subsequently in 1872 the same writer, in attempting to show a historical relationship between the Australian and Indian weapons, remarked: "The Dravidian boomerang does not return like the Australian weapon. The return flight is not a matter of such primary importance as to constitute a generic difference, if I may

12 Lane Fox, 1869, p. 430 and Pl. 20.
use the expression; the utility of the return flight has been greatly exaggerated; it is owing simply to the comparative thinness and lightness of the Australian weapon (sic).” 13 In 1877, however, Lane Fox after considerable experimentation announced: “An improved form of this weapon is used by the Marawars of Madura, and some of these are much thinner than the boomerangs of the Kolis, and in practice I find them to fly with a return flight like the Australian boomerang.” 14 This is the statement that seems to be the basis for the recent claims, referred to above, that a “boomerang-shaped instrument” in India can be made to return. It seems quite certain that Lane Fox was not making the implication that returning “boomerangs” were in use but merely stating that by experimentation with certain specimens he was able to obtain what he regarded as a flight comparable with the flights made by Australian returning boomerangs. However, he does not define what he means by the term “return flight.” At last, in 1883, he seems to have accepted as a fact that these weapons as a class and in their aboriginal use were neither intended to return nor capable of being made to return. 15

The most recent detailed attention to these Indian weapons is a study by Hornell. 16 He finds them to be in use among Maravans and Kallans, Vellelas, Valliyans, Nadars (Shanars) and Muhammadans in Madura, Ramnad and parts of Tanjore, Tinnevelly and Pudukkottai. In some cases, they were used for hunting hares, deer or partridges; in others, they were considered as weapons of war. At the present time many have ceremonial value and are made of ivory or steel. In no case did Hornell find any evidence of return flight.

It would seem, therefore, that there is no good evidence for believing that returning “boomerangs” were ever used by the native peoples of India, although it is possible that some of their weapons, taken individually, can be made to exhibit some semblance of a return flight, using the term in its broadest possible sense. Such a possibility in itself is not remarkable, however, for as

13 Lane Fox, 1872, p. 323.
14 Lane Fox, 1877, p. 30, quoted by H. Balfour in a footnote in Hornell, p. 338.
15 Lane Fox, 1883, p. 461. See also Buschan, p. 538.
Brough Smyth has commented, it is quite possible “to get some sort of return flight, if a crooked stick be thrown in the air.” 17

**Egypt**

Claims have also been made that the hunting stick of the ancient Egyptians, apparently a property from pre-dynastic times to at least the 18th Dynasty, was a returning “boomerang.” Again it is Lane Fox who is responsible for the confusion in respect to these objects. He practised with a fac simile of a weapon in the British Museum and stated in 1872 that he “succeeded in at last obtaining a slight return of flight,” and added: “In fact it flies better than many Australian boomerangs for they vary considerably in size, weight and form, and many of them will not return when thrown (sic).” 18 Here again we are left in doubt as to what in his estimation constitutes a “return flight.” A few years later, in 1883, he appears to have become convinced that the Egyptian sticks were not returners. At this time he postulated the theory that the returning type is found only in Australia but that it represents an evolution from the ordinary boomerang which had diffused from an unknown point of origin to Egypt, India and Australia. The ordinary boomerang is regarded as a development from the throwing-stick, which in turn is supposed by him to have had its beginning in the throwing-club. Both of the latter in his opinion, for which he gives no substantiating evidence, diffused successively from their respective points of origin to their present distributions. 19

The belief that Egyptian hunting missile-sticks had the returning character of the Australian returning boomerang, has also been held by no less an Egyptologist than Erman who in 1894 wrote: “The throwing stick is a simple but powerful weapon—a small thin piece of wood, bent in a peculiar way; when thrown, it hits the mark with great strength, then returns (sic) in a graceful curve and falls at the feet of the marksman.” 20 That Erman's

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17 Brough Smyth, I, p. 322. 18 Lane Fox, 1872, p. 323.
19 Lane Fox, 1883, pp. 461 et seq. Whatever may have been the historical development in other regions, we have already stated that throwing-sticks appear to be older than throwing-clubs in Australia and that both seem to have a non-Australian origin. Whether the one was developed from the other we have no way of telling at present.
20 Erman, 1894, p. 236.
statements are based entirely upon fancy seems clear, for aside from the facts, in so far as I have been able to ascertain, that there are no references in the Egyptian writings to a returning propensity of this weapon, and that no one has ever succeeded in "at last obtaining" more than a "slight" return with a fac simile, it is well known that a returning boomerang will not return if it strikes anything in its course. It is interesting and important to note that Erman deleted the above passage in his revised edition in 1923.\textsuperscript{21}

The supposition that the ancient Egyptian stick was a returner has been carried further by Nies who goes so far as to postulate a unitary origin for it and the returning boomerang found in modern Australia.\textsuperscript{22} He illustrates a specimen from Gurneh (XVIII Dynasty or earlier) but admits: "It does not seem to have the elevation of 2° to 3°, which Thomas states are necessary to give the weapon its peculiar flight, but then one will find that these characteristics are also wanting in some of the boomerangs from Australia in the American Museum of Natural History in New York (sic)."\textsuperscript{23} Here again we find the confused idea that all Australian boomerangs are of the returning type. Nies quotes a Mr. Van Shrum, described as an expert maker and thrower of "boomerangs," who had an engagement at the New York Hippodrome at the time, as saying that the Egyptian specimen in question was particularly suited for throwing at birds, and that it would return, if thrown high, even though it lacked the skew!

Two interesting examples of Egyptian throw-sticks from the tomb of Tut-an-kh-Amen were recently figured by Hornell. It is quite apparent that they have only superficial resemblances with either the Indian or the Australian weapons. It also seems quite plain, in view of their peculiar form, that they could not be returners. Hornell believes that there may be some historical connection between them and the weapons of India.

Had it not been for the intense interest of Lane Fox in comparing primitive weapons and especially in attempting to find returning boomerangs in various parts of the world, it seems doubtful whether the claim that Egyptian throw-sticks could return would

\textsuperscript{22} Nies, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{21} Erman, 1923, p. 264.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., pp. 28-29. The reference to Thomas is taken from the Encycloped\-dia Britannica, 11th edition, article on Boomerangs.
ever have been seriously made. These weapons had been described in detail by such earlier writers as Wilkinson who stated quite definitely that they did not have the peculiarity of return flight characteristic of the Australian returning boomerang.24

The present attitude of all modern Egyptologists, at least I know of no views to the contrary, is that there is no evidence for believing that the Egyptian hunting stick returned in flight.25 That the use of the term "boomerang," however, is still confusing to some is well illustrated by Hall (1930) who explicitly describes the Egyptian weapon as a throw-stick and says it was "not a boomerang, since it did not return in its flight."26

Babylonia

Attempts to ascribe a "returning boomerang" to ancient Babylonia have been made by Nies who would trace the Assyrian sign gešpu to what in Proto-Elamite he regards as a modified pictograph of a "boomerang."

Barton, however, as he admits, regards this sign as having its origin in a bow.27 Nies goes still further, and, without archaeological data or other evidence, adduces here "the object in the hand of Eannatum, the sickle-like weapons on the shoulders of Ishtar that appear on seals, and the weapon of Ramman on the boundary stones."28

Three Syrian throw-sticks have been figured by Petrie. There appear to be some differences between them and those of Egypt, although so many varieties have been unearthed in the latter region that it is impossible to compare them as a group.29 None gives the impression that it could have the properties of a returning weapon.

24 Wilkinson, p. 325, f. n. 3. This is a revised edition of his earlier work.
25 An opinion kindly given by Mr. Battiscombe Gunn, formerly Curator of the Egyptian Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.
26 Hall, p. 116.
27 Barton, p. 34.
28 Nies, p. 32, gešpu is said to mean throw, cast, strike, be in violent motion, down, destroy, finish, end, also turn, return, turn aside, separate, decide, portion, a bow, prostrate, overthrow, fall, especially naparšudu, to flee, deviate, i. e. to bend in running.
29 Petrie, Pl. 43, 3 Syrian, 1 Libyan and 3 Egyptian; Pl. 69, 6 various Egyptian.
Europe

It has also been suggested, indeed as early as 1838,\textsuperscript{30} that a returning weapon was known in early Europe. Isidor, bishop of Seville, who wrote at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries is reported to have said that the cateia would return if thrown by a skillful hand.\textsuperscript{31} This weapon, therefore, has been regarded by some as a “returning boomerang.”\textsuperscript{32} However, what is known of the weapons of this period from specimens and literature offers no support to such a contention.\textsuperscript{33} A mythological background for the concept of a returning weapon may be found in Thor’s hammer.

Conclusions

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, it thus appears that there are no satisfactory indications that returning weapons were known outside of Australia. Certainly good evidence of their presence in other regions has not been presented and, as we have seen, most claims have been withdrawn by the ones who made them. However, even though it could be shown that returning weapons of boomerang-shape were known in other areas, it would not follow necessarily that they were historically related to Australian boomerangs. The facts of distribution and the directions of diffusion within Australia must be accounted for in any attempt to link the Australian returning toy boomerangs with the weapons of other peoples.

The conclusions that returning boomerangs are indigenous to Australia must not be considered as prime facie evidence that ordinary boomerangs must also be an Australian development, although, as we have seen, the facts from Australia indicate that such is equally the case. It is quite true that there are weapons which resemble them vaguely in many other parts of the world but this does not seem remarkable when it is realized that we are concerned with very simple objects used to satisfy the most fundamental wants

\textsuperscript{30} See Brough Smyth, I, pp. 325 et seq., for a discussion of a paper by Samuel Ferguson, “On the Antiquity of the Killee or Boomerang,” read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1838.

\textsuperscript{31} Lane Fox, 1869, p. 430.

\textsuperscript{32} See Walker, 1901, p. 338, citing Schiaparelli.

\textsuperscript{33} Brough Smyth, op. cit.
of man. Certainly it does not seem reasonable to deny that many peoples might observe that curved sticks are satisfactory weapons, nor does it seem logical to suppose that different peoples, independent of one another, may not have changed the natural round cross-section of a stick to other shapes which vary according to the locality from oval or biconvex to rectangular. These remarks should not be construed to mean that all the appearances of these weapons represent independent developments in the regions where they are now found. There may be some direct relationship between some of the Asiatic and African forms but more data than just the observation that these weapons have generalized similarities in form and function should be presented before such a claim can be considered valid.

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THE EARLY SIGNIFICANCE OF CHINESE MIRRORS

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WHEN MIRRORS were first used in China we do not know, nor from whence came the Chinese type of mirror of polished metal with a knob in the center of the back pierced for a ribbon or cord, although there are those who have proposed an origin outside of China which is by no means conclusive. In the 21st year of Duke Chuang of Lu, the traditional date of which is 673 B.C., "a queen's large girdle with a mirror in it," is mentioned in the Tso Chuan.¹ The seventh century is probably two or three centuries before the period of any mirror which has yet been found. The earliest mirror bearing a dated inscription is of the year A.D. 6. Within recent years many mirrors have come to light which are undoubtedly earlier than the inscribed mirrors and date from the late Chou and Ch'in dynasties. About a year ago Sueji Umehara, one of the greatest authorities on ancient bronzes, has described five square mirrors which he attributes to the Ch'in dynasty.² The more usual type is round and many early examples are already well-known.³ Lighter and thinner than later mirrors, they have a delicate fluted knob and flat mirroring surface. They bear highly formalized and decorative designs and display a mastery of technique taken over from the casting of bronze vessels. Such mirrors as these, among the earliest now known, can not be the first products of the craft.

Going still farther back, to a time before the Chou dynasty, when reflection was known only by means of the natural mirror of a quiet pool, reflection was already used in a splendid figure, of how the character of a ruler was imaged in the people of his state, just

² Sueji Umehara, "On some recently discovered square mirrors with open-work design of birds and beasts," Kokka, No. 505, Dec., 1932.

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as his face was reflected in quiet water. This comparison is found in an ancient proverb, 4 "The men of old have a saying, 'Let not men in water look for their reflection; let them to the people look for their reflection.'" To this simple admonition was added the further connotation that when the tyranny of a sovereign is reflected in the injuries and hardships which he visits upon his subjects, Heaven will revoke the divine appointment by which he reigns, following the belief that there existed a reciprocal influence between Heaven and the people.

By observing the mirror of the people one might thus learn of the disposition of Heaven. For in the ethical code of the Confucian canon, one’s fate was irrevocably dependent upon one’s character and acts. The fall of the Yin dynasty, or any other dynasty for that matter, was believed to be the just retribution for evil, the fate a tyrant brought upon himself. The collapse of the Yin was a mirror for the rulers and princes of the Chou dynasty, in which they might read their own destiny if they did not take warning, as is said in the Shu Ching, 5 "Now the Yin have lost the appointment of Heaven. Now should we look to their reflection, seriously, for the regulation of our affairs." And again in the Shih Ching, 6 it is repeated,

"When the Yin had not lost the multitudes, They were equal (on Earth) to Shang Ti (in Heaven); Look now as in a mirror at Yin, For the great appointment (of Heaven) is not easy to retain."

The metaphor of the people who reflect the character and conduct of their sovereign, is thus extended to include the reflection of the will and sanction of Heaven, and the revelation of his destiny to a prince. As is said in the Shih Chi, 7 "I have heard that in the mirror of water one looks at one’s face; in the mirror of men one knows whether one is fortunate or unfortunate." For others the mirror of a former reign is a warning, foreshadowing the future. And in a final step all history becomes a mirror, and was commonly used in the titles of historical works like the T’ung chien. 8

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5 Shu Ching, loc. cit.
7 Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Shih Chi, 79 (Ts'ai Chai).
8 司馬光 Ssu-ma Kuang, 資治通鑑. Tzʻu chih tʻung chien is popularly known as 通鑑 Tʻung chien, "Universal history" or "Mirror of History."
The reflection of the sky as the reflection of Heaven is a basic analogy for another famous comparison: that of the mind and the mirror which we find in the well-known phrase of Chuang Tzū's. The mind of the sage perfectly calm (like untroubled water) is like a mirror which reflects Heaven and earth and all beings. The comparison between tranquillity and reflection as spiritual vision, is carried over to a similar association between brilliance and reflection. The bright surface of polished bronze bore a semblance to the sun, moon, and stars, which by their shining manifested the intelligence of Heaven. In the words of the Odes,

"O sun, O moon, which enlighten this lower earth," and,

"O bright and high Heaven, Who enlightenest and rulest this lower world" or again,

"Great Heaven is intelligent, And is with you in all your sayings; Great Heaven is intelligent, And is with you in your wanderings and indulgences."

The Duke Huan, in 711 B.C., is described as having, "The sun, and moon, and stars represented on his banners; — these to illustrate the brightness of his intelligence." So the mirror in turn became a symbol of the intelligence of Heaven and the sages.

The analogy between the purity of water, unclouded by any silt, and the purity of mind free from worldliness, equally essential to the clear image in the water and the clear vision of a sage, is likewise carried over to reflection in bronze, in a parallel figure of the brilliance of the mirror undimmed by dust. On several Han mirrors there is a long inscription, "Purity of mind is reflected in the mirror; the bright light is patterned after the brightness

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10 Shi hu Ching, Legge, Chinese Classics, vol. IV, p. 44.
of the sun and moon.” Again and again an inscription will end, “As brilliant as the sun and moon,” as an invocation to the all-encompassing intelligence of Heaven.

Together with this figurative association of the mirror with the sun and moon, there was what must have seemed like a practical demonstration, an actual proof of some connection between them, in that with a mirror one might draw “bright fire” from the sun, and “bright water” from the moon. At present no one questions the use of the mirror as a means by which fire might be drawn from the sun, but as a means to obtain water, this has long been doubted. The Shuo Wên refers to a basin for this purpose. Granet speaking of chien would make a distinction between a mirror and a utensil to obtain water, “Le terme kien désigne le miroir métallique que la Reine portait à la ceinture. On nomme du même mot l’instrument qui servait à tirer l’eau de la Lune.” Whereas a bronze mirror would serve as well as any other metal object upon which the dew might collect, particularly, when in the Ch‘in and early Han one finds mirrors having a back with a high edge. The obverse side could not have been used, for it was either flat or convex, and the moisture would have run off. Another obvious difference between a mirror for fire and a mirror for dew would necessarily be one of size. Even the smallest mirrors, some only two inches across would serve to light a fire, but a greater surface would be needed for the collection of dew. There is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, a beautiful mirror with appropriate decoration of clouds and dragons which is nine and a half inches in diameter, and the back with a high edge is almost a half inch deep. It is not impossible that an early mirror such as this one might have been used to gather dew.

These uses, while suggestive of some mysterious connection between mirrors and the sun and moon, undoubtedly appeared as natural phenomena without magic or wizardry, for the moon was believed to be made of water as the sun is made of fire. This was

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16 泉屋清賞 Sen-oku Sei-shô, Collection of ancient bronzes of Baron Sumitomo (1921), pl. 2-7, English text, part II (by 原田淑人 Harada Yoshito), pp. 6, 7.
18 Granet, Danzas et Légendes de la Chine ancienne, p. 514.
19 M. F. A. 31. 2, D .238, Th. .008.
an obvious truth to Wang Chʻung, when in disproving mythical beliefs, he says, that if there were a crow in the sun it would burn in the fire, and if the hare were in the moon it would drown in the water. Nor can this usage be described as exclusively sacrificial, for any blaze was kindled in this way. A mirror to get fire, and a borer as well, were customarily worn attached to the girdle by the “sons” and “sons’ wives,” who rose and dressed at cock-crow. The dew was valued for its purity, an aid to that inner purity by which the Taoist achieved longevity and immortality. This celestial commodity was so ardently sought after in the Han dynasty, that the moisture collecting on any metal object would have proven insufficient, especially, when those who rose at dawn found all the vegetation hanging heavy with dew. The mirror was then probably displaced in practical use. The late Han mirrors, unlike those of the Chʻin and early Han, do not lend themselves to this purpose.

Han mirrors had other merits, along with their obvious use as a hand-mirror and the very efficient way in which they mirrored the face, for by this time most mirrors were convex, reducing the size of the reflection so that within a smaller circumference one’s face is seen in excellent proportion. They were then worn for more than convenience, by men and women alike. They had assumed an ulterior purpose and new designs. In wearing a mirror, it was believed one might thus ensure numerous benefits.

The mirror, a symbol which revealed the sanctions of Heaven, as displayed in its roundness; as a symbol of the intelligence of Heaven, as displayed in its shining; as the medium by which fire was drawn from the sun and water from the moon; all these associations lent to the mirror a mystical validity, and in the Han dynasty it became a talisman, a supernatural agent of the sun, moon, and stars, which were believed to control the destiny of man.

The decoration of the Han mirror represents those celestial influences which were invoked. Linked with current Taoist beliefs, and especially with the cosmogony of that dynasty, the mirrors bear astrological symbols, such as the symbolic animals: the tiger, the dragon, the red bird, and the Sombre Warrior, representing the heavenly regions of the Quadrant; the deities of longevity and immortality, and immortalized men; the stellar divinities, such as

the Five Emperors who resided in the constellations; the genii, the winged chariots, other celestial animals and birds, accompanying them. The nipples or round protuberances, the Chinese interpret as constellations. In these mirrors one has a true talisman. By these signs and figures the cosmic forces were propitiated, and through their benevolent influence it was believed that one might acquire wealth, prosperity, and peace, advancement to high state position, many descendants, protection for one's parents and children, a long life, continued happiness, the avoidance of all ills, general good fortune, and the immortality of Hsi Wang Mu and Tung Wang Fu.

Only after the Han dynasty was the mirror itself invested with magical power and freighted with weird uses. They hinge on the belief that the mirror has in itself an occult power. On a Han dynasty mirror, the figure of Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, is represented on the back of a mirror, and the inscription around the edge states that "Huang Ti wards away evil." But later, the mirror itself was believed to have the power to ward off all evil influences, to reflect what is invisible to the naked eye, and also to reveal the unknown.

In a consideration of the early significance of Chinese mirrors, these superstitions may be ignored. I have only mentioned them here because they have so befogged the understanding of the use and purpose of mirrors. Richard Wilhelm has stated erroneously 22 that mirrors from the Ch'in and Han dynasty were chiefly employed for purposes of magic, and that behind their practical use, which (he wrongly believes) dates as far back as the T'ang and Sung times, there persisted for a long time the semi-magical background of the wizard's mirror. It seems hard to believe that any mirror should be regarded as all magic and no vanity, yet again de Tizac says, 23 "Le miroir, ou le disque métallique que nous appelons improprement miroir, est, à l'origine, l'un des objets dont l'usage rituel est le plus accusé."

Soulié de Mourant 24 who, while uninformed when he says that no mirror is authentically dated and that in dating mirrors in the Han dynasty we are attributing fine pieces to a still barbaric age(!) expresses the general bewilderment, when he writes, "Whether

24 George Soulié de Mourant, A history of Chinese art, pp. 113, 114.
these objects were used simply for mirrors is a question still under discussion. M. d’Ardenne de Tizac quotes the opinion of those who gave them a ritual use. But what use? The fact is brought forward in our day that they were magic utensils.” Instead of calling a mirror a magic utensil, it would be more illuminating to call it a protector against evil, such as demons and sickness, a disc for divination like a crystal gazer’s globe, a thought and crime detector, a precursor of X-ray or a light-emitting object, after one story or another of wonder-working which has appeared as a dramatization in the popular mind of the earlier concepts when they were half-forgotten.

Yetts,²⁸ as well as Sirén,²⁹ have given credence to the burial of mirrors in great numbers, for the purpose of lighting the grave. This is a late superstition, based on de Groot’s ³⁰ description of a custom in Amoy, and an account he quotes from a book ³¹ written in the early fourteenth century.

In the Han tombs excavated at the Chinese settlement at Lo-lang ³² in Korea, many mirrors have been found similar to those in China at the time. Only a few were found in each grave. They were placed there along with the pottery, the toilet boxes, the weapons, and other personal belongings. One, for example, was found by the Tokyo Imperial University expedition,³³ with a long silk sash still attached to the knob by a narrow ribbon. It was lying in its own tray in a round covered toilet-box of lacquer, above a lower compartment fitted with smaller boxes for the comb, hair ornaments, jewelry, the powder and cosmetics, of the dead woman.

³¹ 周密. Chou Mi, 百字雜識. Kuei hsü tsa shih, Miscellaneous accounts about various subjects.
³³ Yoshito Harada, Lo-lang, a report on the excavation of Wang Hsü’s tomb in the “Lo-lang” province, an ancient Chinese colony in Korea, plates LXXXV-XCVI, XXXII, pp. 32-34.
This toilet-box was placed in the grave with the same natural and human motivation that the belongings of the Empress Yin were treasured in her tomb, as it is recounted in the T'ung chien.31 "In A.D. 74, the Emperor Ming saw his mother, the Empress Yin in a dream. He awoke so saddened that he was not able to sleep again. The new day being a fast day, he went directly with his retinue to visit her tomb. The trees about the tomb were covered with the dew of good augury. The Emperor had the officers gather the dew. The offerings having been completed while he rested, he had brought out before him all the possessions of his mother treasured in her tomb; *the mirrors in which she had mirrored her face* and her toilet articles among other things. He was moved to tears and all the courtiers wept."

The burial of personal possessions along with food and drink was essentially the fulfilment of the desire to provide, for the long future, those things which had been needed and prized in life, especially objects such as a mirror, and food such as peaches and jujubes, which were believed to ensure immortality.

There need be no question that the Chinese mirror was always used as a toilet mirror, and as a talisman it was worn even in the hope that it might be so used in the hereafter. The utility of the early mirror is not to be denied. Upon its function its original significance depends. The mirror had entrapped reflection, that before had only been seen moving capriciously across the surface of water. As the sky and passing clouds, and all the firmament is reflected on a quiet sea, so the Earth bears the image of Heaven. And in the Weltanschauung of the Chou dynasty the earthly order was believed to reflect the heavenly order. The political metaphors of the people reflecting the sanctions of Heaven, reflecting the character and destiny of their ruler, arebut extensions of the world concept. This symbolism of reflection was embodied in the mirror. Wisdom attained through reflection or contemplation was regarded as perfect and universal receptivity. The shining bronze typified the supreme intelligence of Heaven—manifested in the shining of the sun, moon, and stars. Its validity as a cosmic symbol was proven by drawing the fire from the sun and water from the moon. With Taoist astromancy, it was a celestial agent of supernatural potency. The mirror was in turn an emblem and a talisman of Heaven. It became synonymous with history, and a symbol of wisdom and purity.

31 T'ung chien, chap. 45, pp. 15 a, b. Weiger, Textes historiques, p. 702.
THE CONDITIONAL SALE INTO SLAVERY OF FREE-BORN DAUGHTERS IN NUZI AND THE LAW OF EX. 21: 7-11

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The recently published Nuzi documents have brought to light new material on slavery as it existed in the Euphrates Valley in the middle of the second millennium B.C. The Nuzian slave institution merits a special study inasmuch as its methods of adoption, sale, and treatment of slaves differ from the methods employed in the neighboring Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite lands. A comparative study of the Nuzian slave practice with those of the last named countries should prove highly interesting. This paper is limited to a single phase of the Nuzian slave institution, namely, the sale into slavery of young girls by their parents with the explicit condition that they be married off by their purchaser, a practice of which, curiously enough, there is no trace in Babylonia and Assyria, but which has its exact parallel in an archaic law of the earliest Hebrew slave legislation.

1 The following abbreviations have been used in this paper:

AASOR, The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research.
BE, The Babylonian Exped. of the University of Pennsylvania.
     Ser. A: Cuneiform texts.
HSS V, Chiera, Excavations at Nuzi, v. I = Harvard Semitic Series,
     v. V.
HSS IX, Pfeiffer, Excavations at Nuzi, v. II = Harvard Semitic Series,
     v. IX.
KB, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
N I, II, III, Chiera, Joint Exped. with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi, American
     School of Oriental Research. Publications of the
     Baghdad School, vols. I, II, III.
RA, Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.

2 For a discussion of the very interesting methods of sale and adoption in Nuzi see: Gadd, Tablets from Kirkuk, RA xxiii (1926); Koschaker, Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit. Abb. der
     Philol.-Hist. Klasse der Sachs. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Band xxxix,
     no. 5 (1928); Speiser, New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws,
     AASOR, x (1928-29) and Saarisalo, New Kirkuk Documents Relating to
     Slavery, Studia Orientalia, v. 3 (1934).
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We have known so far (with the exception of the archaic and the half understood law of Ex. 21: 7-11) of two methods by which a parent could dispose of his daughter in case of economic pressure: (1) he could have her adopted and receive in return a "gift" from the adopter, or (2) he could sell her outright into unconditional slavery. In addition to these two methods the Nuzians employed a third scheme by which certain sales into slavery of young free-born girls assumed a semblance of legitimate marriage, i.e., conditional sales whereby the giving into marriage of the slave girl was made obligatory upon her purchaser.

Examples of clauses containing the marriage conditions in the Nuzian sale documents:

1. Preamble: statement of the character of the sale.
   
   1. ṭuḫ-pi mārtāti(pl. ti) ʿkāl-la-tu₂-ti...a-[na mār]tāti(pl. ti) ṣu kāl-la-tu₂-ti(ti)...i-dīn.⁴ "Tablet of daughterness and brideship...into daughterness and brideship (his daughter)...he sold ".

2. Conditions of sale: (a) to be married to her master, (b) to be married to her master's son, (c) to be sold as a wife to a free-

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³ The scarcity of slaves in early Babylonia which gave rise on the one hand to a traffic in foreign slaves (see Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie, nos. 123 and 162; Schorr, Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessechts, no. 105; Peiser, KB iv, p. 44, no. 3 and also N II, nos. 179 and 195), and on the other hand to the promulgation of drastic laws against kidnaping of minors and adults (Code of Hammurabi, § 14), and against the export of native-born slaves (ibid., § 280), gave rise also to an extensive and profitable trade in free-born children, commonly called adoption. Although in rare late cases the cause for adoption was a desire on the part of the adoptive parent to leave someone to care for his soul after his death (see Clay, BE xiv, no. 40 and Gadd, op. cit., no. 9), the underlying motive for adoption was purely economic. It was a business transaction made and agreed upon by the parties concerned for their mutual economic advantage. The father or mother received a compensation in the form of a gift and the adoptive parent acquired a reliable, trustworthy, and cheap laborer who could be "disinherited" at the slightest pretext and often even sold into slavery. In course of time adoption outlived its economic usefulness and its practice was discontinued.

⁴ N I, no. 50; see also ibid., no. 26; HSS IX, no. 145; Chiera-Speiser, JAOS 47 (1927), no. 5. Some of the documents have only mārtātu in the preamble while others have only kallaltu. For the former see HSS IX, no. 119; Speiser, AASOR X, nos. 26, 27 and Gadd, op. cit., no. 35; for the latter see Chiera-Speiser, op. cit., no. 4 and Speiser, op. cit., no. 31.
born man outside of the family, (d) not to be given as a wife to a slave, and (e) to be given as a wife to the owner's slave.

(a) \( \text{U } \text{šum-ma } \text{ḥa-āš-ḥu } \text{T } \text{a-na } \text{āš-šú-ta } \text{i-ta-ḥa-az-zu}. \) "Or, if he so desires, \( \text{T } \) (the purchaser of the girl) may take her as a wife."  

(b) \( [\text{Ḥa]-ši-iḥ } \text{šu-ú } \text{a-na } [\text{āš-š}] \text{u-ti } \text{a-na } \text{māri-šú } \text{i-na-an-din}. \) "If she wishes, she may give (the bought girl) as a wife to her son."

(c) \( \text{Ḥa-ši-iḥ } \text{šu-ú } \text{ù } [\text{a]-na } \text{āš-šu-ti } \text{i-na } \text{bá-bi } [\text{i-na]-an-din-na-ši-[ma].} \) "If she wishes, she may sell her (the bought girl) as a wife 'in the gate'."

(d) \( \text{A-na } \text{aššuṭi(pl. ti) } \text{a-na 1 ardi la īnaddin}. \) "As a wife to a slave she shall not be given."

(e) \( \text{U } \text{T } \text{a-na } \text{āš-šu-ti } \text{a-na } \text{A } \text{a-na } \text{ardi-šu } \text{iddin } \text{ù } \text{šum-ma } \text{A } \text{im-tu } \text{ù } \text{T } \text{Sh } \text{a-na } \text{ša-ni-im-ma } \text{ardi-šu } \text{na-din}. \) "And \( \text{T } \) (the purchaser) as a wife to \( \text{A } \), his slave, he has given (her); and if \( \text{A } \) dies then \( \text{T } \) shall give \( \text{Sh } \) (the bought girl) to another one of his slaves."


3. \( \text{Ma-nu-um-e } \text{ša } \text{i-na } \text{bēri-šu-nu } \text{ibalkatu(tu) } \text{I } \text{ma-na } \text{kaspū I, ma-na } \text{ḥurāšu } \text{ù } \text{ma-al } \text{la.} \) "Whoever among them withdraws, shall supply one mina of silver and one mina of gold."

The principle underlying such a sale was to insure the sold girl with a marital status and thereby prevent her master from exploiting her as a prostitute, the inevitable fate of the female slave

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*Chiera-Speiser, op. cit., no. 5. The conditions of the sale are: A sells his daughter W into daughershup and bridishup to T who may either take her as a wife for himself or give her in marriage to one of his slaves.
*HSS IX, no. 145. The conditions of the sale are: The woman G sells her daughter H into daughershup and bridishup to the female slave Hj. who may sell her as a wife (1) to whomever she wishes, (2) to one of her sons, (3) in 'the gate', but (4) cannot give her in marriage to a slave.
*HSS IX, no. 145; see also Gadd, op. cit., no. 35; Speiser, op. cit., nos. 26, 30, 31; Contenau, Contrats et Letters d'Assyrie et de Babylone, no. 7.
*Speiser, op. cit., no. 26. The conditions of the sale are: The purchaser may sell the girl as a wife to whomever he wishes, but cannot give her in marriage to a slave; see note 6.
*Ibid., no. 78, etc.
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at all times and in all countries where slavery existed. The condition that the slave girl be married was fundamental. Thus a father takes the precaution to safeguard for his daughter this marital status by inserting in the sale document a special clause to the effect that should her slave-husband die that her master immediately give her as a wife to another one of his slaves. The status of the respective husband was of secondary importance. This depended primarily on the bargaining power of the seller. If the sum needed was small and not urgent, a father might succeed in having his sold daughter married off to a free man, otherwise he had to be satisfied with a slave as son-in-law.

The contracts fail to give the status of the girl when sold to a free man. On the other hand when the agreement calls for a union with a slave, the status of the girl and that of her future children are stated: they remain slaves, the property of their owner. The status of the girl is given in the following clause: "ù a-ti-i Sh bal-ṭa-at ù i-na biti ša T la ū-us-ši, "*so long as Sh (the girl) lives, she shall not leave the house of T (the master who gave her in*

11 Prostitution as a means of earning a livelihood by unmarried and divorced women was a recognized and established institution in the early Semitic world. Though not a very honorable profession, no disgrace attached to the person practicing it. The professional prostitute was a free-born independent woman and the law protected her economic position and regulated her social status in the class pyramid of early Babylonia. In an adoption document, dated in the reign of Rim-Sin, the adopted free-born girl was to be made a prostitute (KAR-LIL) and maintain by her earning her foster father (Poebel, BE IV, part ii, no. 4); in another document, dated in the reign of Kurigalzu, in the Kassite period, the adopted girl was either to be given in marriage or made a prostitute, but could not be reduced to slavery (Clay, BE XIV, no. 40: 6-10). The prostitute could marry a free man and assume the right of the first or legal wife (cf. Barton, An Important Social Law of Ancient Babylonia, AJSL 37, p. 85). In course of time the social and legal status of the prostitute underwent a radical change. The Assyrian Code treated her socially on a par with the slave and legally as half free. Like the unmarried temple prostitute (qadištu) she had to appear in public with her face unveiled and her head uncovered as a sign that she belonged to an inferior and despised social class. The degradation of the prostitute to the level of the slave in Assyria and neo-Babylonia was due to the fact that the majority of the prostitutes at that time were slaves hired out by their masters to individuals and public houses.

12 See note 9.

13 N I, no. 26; see also Chiera-Speiser, op. cit., no. 4.
marriage to one of his slaves). The status of her children is given in the following clause: sa uš-tu lib-bi ša W ú-uz-zu-ú a-na T lu-ú amtatu(pl. tu) ú lu-ú wardatu(pl. tu), "all the offspring that come out of W (the girl) become T’s (the owner’s) female or male slaves." ¹⁴

The earliest Hebrew slave legislation does not deal with slavery proper although the terms נמא and לְכָּבָּר are employed to designate the persons spoken of in those laws. The first part of the legislation (Ex. 21: 2-6) concerns the defaulting debtor (or thief) who was sold in order to work off his debts. The second part (ibid., vv. 7-11) deals with the free-born young girl who was sold into slavery by her father under the explicit condition that she be taken as a concubine by her master. These are two distinct phases of semi-slavery, the first of which (vv. 2-6) has its parallel, in principle, in the Code of Hammurabi (§ 117), and the second (vv. 7-11) can now be traced back to the earlier slave institution of the non-Semitic Nuzians.

The Hebrew law regarding conditional sales of free-born young girls is a fragment of an original series of enactments dealing with all cases of conditional sales. The law of Ex. 21: 7-11 reads as follows:

Preamble: "If a man sells his daughter to be an נמא, she shall not go out as the לְכָּבָּר (the defaulting debtors) do." ¹⁵

Condition of sale: "If her master dislikes her, although he has appointed her for himself, then shall he let her be redeemed; to sell her to a stranger he shall have no power for he has dealt deceitfully with her. And if he has appointed her for his son, he shall treat her in the manner of daughters. If he takes to himself another (wife), he shall not diminish her food, clothing and conjugal rights." ¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., no. 5; see also N II, no. 120. [The technical terms in question are properly abstracts—collections, as may be seen from the supplement -tu, in spite of the plural sign. E. A. S.]

¹⁵ The injunction לְכָּבָּר נמא לְכָּבָּר לְכָּבָּר which, translated literally, means "to an alien people he shall have no power to sell her," makes no sense. Targum Onkelos renders יְבֵצָר נמא לְכָּבָּר by יִבְּצָר נמא לְכָּבָּר "to another man", and Rashi renders it by לְכָּבָּר לְכָּבָּר "to another". These renderings fit the context admirably. According to the Nuzian practice the purchaser could sell the girl to a stranger ('in the gate') if the marriage clause explicitly allowed him to do so, otherwise it constituted a breach of contract.
Penalty for breach of contract: "If he does not do these three things to her, then she shall go out free without compensation".

The preamble is utterly perplexing. V. 7b is not the sequel to v. 7a. It would be absurd to expect a master to marry every female in his household. The later Deuteronomic law (15:12) knows no such compulsion: both male and female defaulting debtors are to be released in the seventh year. The integrity of the preamble can be maintained, however, if we take the term נ vnא to convey here the same meaning as the Nuzian kallatu "bride", i.e., the law contemplates a brideship sale. The girl was sold by her father on the condition that she be married to her master and hence "she shall not go out like the נו ו שהוא do". The body of the law (vv. 8-11) deals with a single case of a brideship transaction: the sale of a free-born young girl on the condition that her master, not an outsider, marry her. In case he refuses to do so, after she had reached puberty, on the ground that she does not find favor in his eyes, he may take recourse to one of the following: (1) he may let her be redeemed, (2) he may give her as wife to one of his sons, or (3) he may retain her as a concubine. In the latter case he must supply her with the necessities of life. Should he refuse, however, to comply with these conditions, then, as a penalty for breach of contract, "she goes out free without compensation".

Like the Nuzian documents, the law of Ex. gives only the status of those girls who were to be married to slaves. Their status and that of their children is given in v. 4 of the same chapter: "If his master gives him (the defaulting debtor) a wife and she bears him sons or daughters, the woman and her children remain the property of her master and he goes out alone".

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14 The interpretation of Rashi (see also Benziger, Archæol., p. 160, note) that by נ vnא was meant a Canaanitish woman is not convincing for in that case נ vnא or נ vnא would have been employed. The law refers to a free-born woman who was sold on the condition that she be given as a wife to a slave, in which case both she and her children remain in perpetual slavery. See above, note 14.
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Palladas and Jewish Reflection upon the Beginnings of Man

Meditation upon the pit whence we were digged has moved many men to bitter utterances about the generation of human kind and the miserable beginnings of physical life; but for harsh sarcasm it would not be easy to match a certain epigram 1 of Palladas of Alexandria (fl. 400 A.D.). Because of its stark brutality scholars are readier to refer to it than to quote it; 2 but since a bit of history appears to be involved in its language, the words must be set before us.

*Αν μνήμην, ἄνθρωπε, λάβης, ὃ πατήρ σε τί τοιῶν ἔπαιρεν, παύσῃ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης.
ἄλλ’ ὁ Πλάτων σοι τύφον ὀνειρόσωσον ἔνεφυσεν,
ἀθάνατὸν σε λέγων, καὶ φυτὸν οὐφάνειν.
ἐκ πηλοῦ γέγονα: τί φρονεῖς μέγα; τούτο μὲν οὖν οὕτως
ἐπ’ ἀν τις, κοσμοῦν πλάσματι σεμνοτέρω.
εἰ δὲ λόγον ζητεῖς τὸν ἀληθινὸν, ἐξ ἀκολαστόν
λαγνείας γέγονα, καὶ μιαρὰς βανίδος.

A fairly close rendering is as follows:

Bethink thee, man, what way thy father wrought
In getting thee, and set thy pride at naught.
Perchance by Plato’s dreamings thou’rt beguiled,
Who called thee deathless, and high heaven’s child.
Thou’rt made from clay? Vain boast! That tale was told
To set thy spawning in a daintier mould.
Wouldst know thy source, and idle prating stop?
From lust unbridled and a filthy drop.

As far as I know, it has not been observed that the last words are closely paralleled by a passage in Pirqe Aboth (Sayings of the Fathers) 3.1: ‘Aqabiah ben Mahalaleel said, “Consider three

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1 Anthol. Pal. x. 45.
2 E.g., J. W. Mackail, Select Epigrams of the Greek Anthology, p. 330;
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things, and thou wilt not come into the hands of transgression. 
Know whence thou camest; and whither thou art going; and before 
whom thou art about to give account and reckoning. Know whence 
thou camest: from a fetid drop; and whither thou art going: to 
worm and maggot; and before whom thou art about to give account 
and reckoning: before the King of the Kings of Kings, the Holy 
One, blessed is He!” * 'Aqabiah, who is thought to have lived in 
the first century of our era, speaks here in sad seriousness, with 
none of the acrid raillery that pervades the epitgram of Palladas; 
yet the coincidence in one point of language is none the less strik-
ing. One can trace the idea further back in Jewish thought; thus 
Job, x. 9-11,

Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast fashioned me as clay;
And will thou bring me to dust again?
Hast thou not poured me out as milk
And curdled me like cheese?
Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh
And knit me together with bones and sinews.

The language of Job in v. 10, though veiled by comparisons, is 
scarcely less frank than that of Palladas,* but there is no bitter 
abasement conveyed by it. As Gray remarks,5 “The poet has no 
thought of the sinfulness of the flesh; the human body is the noble 
workmanship of God; behind the human functions of procreation 
and gestation lies the activity of God.”

A striking passage in the Wisdom of Solomon next deserves 
attention (vii. 1-2).

Εἰμὶ μὲν καγώ θνητός ἵσος ἀπασιν,
καὶ γηγενοῦσι ἀπόγονος πρωτοπλάστου;
καὶ ἐν κοιλίᾳ μητρὸς ἐγελήφην σάρξ
δεκαμηναῖοι χρόνοι, παγείς ἐν αἰματι
ἐκ σπέρματος ἄνδρος καὶ ἡδονῆς ὑπνο ἱενελθούσης.

The resemblance of v. 2, παγείς ἐν αἰματι ἐκ σπέρματος ἄνδρος
καὶ ἡδονῆς ὑπνο ἱενελθούσης, to the last distich of Palladas’ verses 
is very close, particularly when it is remembered that ὑπνο is an

* Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, translated by C. Taylor.
* Cf. the note on v. 10 in Jastrow, The Book of Job.
* Note on the passage in Driver and Gray, Job (International Critical Commentary).
euphemism for σωνοσία; but here also, as in Job, the spirit of the passage is widely different. In these and the following verses (3-8) the wise King is represented as looking back to the humble beginnings from which, like all other mortals, he is sprung, and meditating upon the power of wisdom to lift the soul above the clay. The words of the first two verses are spoken in humility, not in bitterness.

There is still another passage which may be compared with those already cited, a prayer to Helios in the great Paris magical papyrus (P. IV, 640-651 Prisendanz): κύριε, χαίρε, μεγαλοδύναμε, με<γα>-λοκράτωρ, βασιλεύ, μέγιστε θεών, Ἡλιος, ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, θελ θεών, ἱσχύει σοι ἡ πνευ, ἱσχύει σοι ἡ δύναμις, κύριε· ἐάν σοι δόξη, ἁγιαλόν με τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, τῷ σε γεννήσαντι καὶ ποιήσαντι, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος, ἐγὼ ὁ δείκνυ τῇ δείκνυ, γενόμενος ἐκ θυτῆς ὑστέρας τῆς δείκνυ καὶ ἱγιόρος ὑπερματικοῦ καὶ, σήμερον τούτου υπὸ σου με<πα>γεννήθηναι, ἐκ τοσοῦτον μυράδων ἀπαθανατοποιεῖσ ἐν ταυτῇ τῇ ὄρε κατὰ δόξην θεοῦ, ὑπερβαλλόντως ἅγιον, προσκυνήσι σε ἀξίοι καὶ δέεται κατὰ δύναμιν ἄνθρωπιν. The passage has been discussed by Dieterich (Mithrasliturgie, pp. 67-8), who sees in it a prayer to the Sun to be the petitioner’s messenger to Mithra, whom he wishes to adore; he has been purified and now seeks to be made immortal. Although Dieterich does not mention this point, it seems possible that the words ἄνθρωπος κτλ. are a confession of earthy origin, a formula of self-abasement necessary to be uttered before rebirth. Somewhat similar is the idea in the same papyrus 517-523, ἐπεὶ μέλλω κατοπτεῖσιν σήμερον τοῖς ἀδανάτοις ἰμασι, θυτῆς γεννήθησιν ἐκ θυτῆς ὑστέρας, βεβελτωμένοις ὑπὸ κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου καὶ δεξιάς χερός ἄρθρατον, ἀδανάτῳ πνεύματι τοῦ ἀδανατον Αἰώνα καὶ δεσπότην τῶν πυρλῶν διαδημάτων, ἀγνο αἰγιοσθεῖς ἀγνάσμασιν ἅγιος, κτλ.

In view of Solomon’s reputation as a master of magic, it may be suggested that the above cited passage from the Wisdom, where he describes his progress from earthy beginnings to divine knowledge, has had some influence upon the formulas used by adepts in the art. As for Palladas, it would be going too far to hold that the language of his famous poem must have been derived from Jewish lore. Such gloomy reflections have doubtless occurred independently to thousands of men, and the tongues of the ribald have never been

*It may be noted that in later use, particularly in medical writers, ἰχώρ tends to denote a foul or diseased humour of the body.
withheld from the theme. Still, Alexandria was the melting-pot of
religions as it was the melting-pot of races; and it is not impossible
that Palladas knew something of Hebrew wisdom literature. He
may at least have turned to his own purposes a phrase learned
through Jewish channels and derived either from The Wisdom of
Solomon or from Pirqe Aboth, which was read in the synagogues
at certain seasons of the year from early times.7

It can hardly be said that the character of the Jewish sources
fully accounts for the quasi-liturgical use of the similar words in
the magical papyrus. There it could be more easily explained if
such language had occurred in some early penitential office. Yet
this is on the whole not very likely, because as a friendly critic8
remarks, "in liturgical texts the tendency is to think of man not
in terms of his individual physical origin, but rather in terms of
the original divinely created perfection which was his and which he
lost." I must leave the question to those who are expert in litur-
giology. As far as I know, modern Jewish ritual has nothing so
plain-spoken. The formula of self-abasement in the evening service
of the Day of Atonement is much milder: "Before I was formed I
was nothing worth, and now that I have been formed I am as though
I had not been formed. Dust am I in my life: how much more so
in my death," etc.

It is not the purpose of this note to pursue at length the theme
of harshly-phrased contempt of the body and its origin. There are
examples of it in Marcus Aurelius (ii. 2, iii. 3, ix. 36), and certain
church writers use language reminiscent of Wisdom, as Theophilius
of Antioch (ad Autolycum i. 8, Migne, P. G. VI, 1037A), Zacha-
rias of Mitylene (Ammonius, P. G. LXXXV, 1044A), and doubt-
less many more. Indic religious philosophy sometimes recommended
meditation upon man's low origin in words as rude as those of Pal-
ladas; e.g. Institutes of Vishnu, Sacred Books of the East, VII,
p. 282.

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7 Just how early is uncertain. The fact was attested by R. Amram b.
Sheshna in the ninth century; v. Encyclopaedia Judaica, s. v. Abot, col. 368.
8 A. D. Nock, in a letter
Vitae prophetarum

It is the purpose of this paper to draw attention to a Jewish book of the late Hellenistic age known as the Vitae prophetarum which, though thoroughly studied from the point of view of textual criticism, has not yet been investigated as a source of information on the history of religion, especially Jewish religion at the time of Christ. The book, though plainly of Jewish origin, has come down to us enriched by several Christian interpolations, and has in most versions been connected with the names of St. Epiphanius of Salamis (4. cent. A.D.) and Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre (end of 3. cent. A.D.). The book has been preserved in Greek, Armenian, Syrian and Ethiopic as well as in Latin, where the most remarkable, though not complete quotation is to be found in the Historia scolastica of Petrus Comestor (12. cent.). From here it found its way into the vernaculars of the West as well as into the illustrations of the Speculum humanae salvationis (14. cent.). From many points of view Comestor’s edition is better than even the best Greek versions.

The book has undergone so many alterations, that it proves to be difficult to ascertain the age of its several component parts. Tentatively, the first Christian interpolations may date to the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. The Jewish nucleus must be considerably earlier, as the maryrdom of Isaiah described in the Vitae prophetarum is referred to in the Epistle to the Hebrews II: 37, and is alluded to in the Gospel of St. John 6: 37. Some of the most important practices presupposed in the Vitae prophetarum, such as the worshipping of prophets’ graves, excited the wrath of Jesus, as is shown in Matth. 23: 29 and 37.

From the point of view of history of art, it is one of the Christian interpolations, preserved in its integrity only by Comestor, that first arouses our interest. Here it is told how Jeremiah educated the Egyptians to worship the image of a virgin with child indicating,


3 Lutz u. Perdrizet, Speculum humanae salvationis, Mühlhausen: 1907.
that a saviour born from a virgin would cause the fall of the Egyptian gods. This may reflect the belief that the pictures of Isis were the prototype of those of the Virgin Mary, a contention that is supported by the similarity of the Coptic “Maria lactans” types with the Isis of Hellenistic Egyptian art. The story is partly taken from one of the sources of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, but has itself been imitated in later literature. It reappears enlarged and fantastically adorned in the so-called *Religious controversy at the Sasanian court*, a work of probably Syrian origin, in which another mother goddess stands for the Egyptian Isis. In post-medieval Europe the Jeremiah story served as a justification for the worship of “black madonnas” which were regarded as pre-Christian.6

As to the Jewish element of the book in question, it consists of brief descriptions of birth and burial places of the prophets followed by the stories of their peaceful or violent deaths, and by other legends. Since the topographical indications seem to be always exact, it follows that the main purpose of the book was topological: it was a pilgrim’s guide, and as such it inaugurates the long chain of pilgrim literature on Palestine. Prophet’s graves are still worshipped in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and occupy, by reason of the functions ascribed to them, a place comparable to that of the ancient Baalim.6 They often constitute places of pilgrimage and are described as such by modern travelers as well as by visitors of the Middle Ages, who tell us also about the sacred trees and wells connected with their cult. But such practices were already in vogue in New Testament times. The *Vitae prophetarum* refer to two cases of graves adorned with sacred trees (Obadiah and Jeremiah). In another case they tell about the miracles expected by the pilgrims at the site of the sanctuary (Jeremiah).

What is still more important, even the dying and resurrected gods tend to hide behind the names of prophets. At the Siloam canal the grave of Isaiah was shown and the story told that the prophet, when sawed to pieces under an oak tree, became the eponym of the place. It was also believed that the prophet possessed the

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power of alternately opening and closing the spring. The *Talmud* likewise contains this legend, but here no statement of locality is made and the modification introduced that the prophet is sawed inside a tree. Thus the prophet comes to resemble a spirit of vegetation. It may be noted that in two Talmudic versions Isaiah is enshrined in a cedar tree, the same tree, in which according to the Egyptian *Tale of two brothers* (2. Mill. B.C.) Bytis-Adonis met his fate. Since both Bytis and Isaiah die when their tree is sawed down, it may be safely inferred that Pseudo-Isaiah is merely an aspect of Adonis. Reanimation or even resurrection have probably been assumed, traces of which may be distinguished in the so-called *Ascension of Isaiah*.

St. John compares Jesus with the prophet who feeds the waters of Siloam (6:37).

But according to the *Vitae prophetarum* most of the ancient prophets had to suffer a violent death, and this interpretation, in a way characteristic for the Jewish Haggadah, is based upon assumed indications in the canonical books. To cite an instance, Comestor's version of the life of Jeremiah contains a few supplementary words, according to which the prophet suffered martyrdom by his own free will. They can be authenticated by a comparison with the *Additional Words of Baruch*. Now this passage was based on a misunderstanding of Jeremiah 43, 8, where the prophet is said to have deposited stones before the Pharaoh's palace. Thus Jeremiah is seen providing the material for his stoning, thereby setting an example of voluntary martyrdom.

All this bears, of course, largely on the questions of the life of Jesus, his view of his own calling and of the growth of the tradition about him. Two of the miracles related in the *Vitae prophetarum* bear an unmistakable resemblance to corresponding passages in the New Testament (the temptation of Christ and the feeding of the 5000). Jesus himself refers in his speeches to the worshipping of the prophet's grave (Matth. 23:29-37), to the martyrdom of his prophetic forerunners (Matth. 23:29-37 and Luke 20:9-15) and

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*Talmud Yebamoth* 49 b, Sanhedrin 10: 28 ca 37, Younger Persikta, Vienna: 1880.


to his inevitable martyrdom as a result of being a prophet (Luke 13:33). These sayings are among the most authentic in the Gospels and must not be confounded with certain of the later predictions of suffering. Closer investigation is desirable as to whether dogmatic ideas regarding the death and assumption of prophets could possibly have contributed to Jesus' resolution of seeking his death at Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{11}

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\textsuperscript{11}A book, in which I attempt to discuss these problems, is in the course of preparation.
REVIEWS OF BOOKS


An outstanding excavation has been crowned by an equally outstanding publication. Mr. Woolley shows by this work that he deserved the good luck of digging up so important a site. It was no easy task to excavate an area honeycombed by nearly 2,000 tombs of most erratic stratification. When the first objects appeared nobody could know the real character of the site. Woolley is frank in admitting that some mistakes may have been made at the beginning. But to read his account is to be convinced that nobody could have done the work better. It is thrilling and instructive to follow his tale of how he excavated the shafts leading down to the tombs, how he obtained entrance to them and extricated the buried objects in a most punctilious and ingenious way. His method of observation cannot be surpassed. From slight imprints in the soil he was able to reconstruct completely destroyed objects such as wooden wheels or carvings. Not even the faint traces of a very fine muslin escaped his trained eye. The reconstructed objects themselves are the best proof of his competence. One must appreciate the condition in which the lyres, the goats, and the ‘standard,’ were found to realize what work he has done. There are nearly two hundred pages of lists, and the catalogue of objects numbers 18212 entries! The careful drawings which show the objects in situ should also be mentioned.

Although Woolley’s preliminary reports were very detailed, much new knowledge can be gathered from the publication. After an introduction and a general survey of the cemetery we have a
description of the tombs with a full account of the excavation and of the finds in each individual burial. A chapter on the dates closes this descriptive part which comprises about a third of the whole work. Next comes a systematic discussion of the results. The chapters are: architectural materials and methods, dress and personal ornaments, musical instruments, shell inlay and engravings, metals, inscribed materials, cylinder seals, beads, stone, woodwork, pottery. A chapter on 'general results' is added, depicting the glory of Sumerian civilization in an enthusiastic, perhaps a little too enthusiastic, manner. The last third contains lists and catalogues.

It would be impossible to give a summary of even the most important items; only a few can be mentioned. Woolley holds that all earlier burials were made in regular graveyards located outside the towns and that the custom to bury the dead under the floor of the house, practiced from the time of the third dynasty of Ur onward, was based on religious and not on economic grounds (cf. Yeivin in the Second Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, pp. 33 f.). Timber centering and caissons were used in building the vaults. A few tombs point to a rite in which a fire was lighted in the tomb, partially burning the body. The stones used must have been carried from a distance of some thirty miles. Woolley claims that all architectural features are indigenous to Mesopotamia, e.g., the vaults are to be derived from reed buildings, the columns originated in the use of palms for supports, and so on. I would rather believe with Jordan and others that the herringbone pattern made with plano-convex bricks, and the use of stone came from elsewhere. Although reduced to fine powder, three kinds of weaving could be observed in a tomb. The normal position of pins was against the upper arm or shoulder so that they must have been used to fasten cloaks. From the peculiar arrangement of beads Woolley concludes that they were sewn on jackets with sleeves. I am not certain that this conclusion is inescapable. If it is, it would be very noteworthy because the monuments do not show such a garment. Only the bodice characteristic of Ishtar figures from Hammurabi's time would furnish a parallel (cf. W. Reimpell, Geschichte der Babylonischen und Assyrischen Kleidung, Berlin 1921, p. 60). Sistras and pipes used as musical instruments have been found. Woolley identifies the animals of
the rein-ring and on the 'standard' not as mules, as some scholars have done, but as onagers, the wild asses, an identification which may fit the historical requirements best. A fragment of iron is of meteoric origin. In regard to foreign relations, some axe types point to Anatolia and a kind of bleached beads to India. Woolley believes in connections between Sumer and Egypt and holds that Egypt was on the borrowing end in most cases, an assumption in which he is certainly right. Of very great importance are the anthropological results presented by Sir Arthur Keith. All the remains, those of Queen Shubad and Meskalamdug included, belong to a 'Proto-Arabic' race, which is identical with that of the present Arabs in Iraq. Since, however, the total number of skeletons suitable for study was only nine, no conclusion can be drawn as to the actual racial composition of the Sumerians of that time; nevertheless, the early appearance of the Semites in Mesopotamia and the great part which they had in the origin of Mesopotamian civilization is now supported by the anthropological material.

Two major problems have not been mentioned as yet. As the title of the book shows, Woolley clings to his former opinion that the tombs belong to royal persons, not to priests or priestesses sacrificed in fertility rites, as many scholars have assumed, lately Frankfort and Speiser (Iraq I, p. 12, Antiquity, 1934, p. 451). The strongest argument by which Woolley tries to refute his opponents seems to me to be based on the sex of the persons buried. In sacrifices we would expect either a male and a female body buried together, or else bodies of the same sex, either male or female. Actually, however, the tombs betray no such order.

The second problem concerns the dating. Woolley once more defends his opinion that the 'Royal Cemetery' is earlier than the First Dynasty of Ur and belongs to about 3500 to 3200 B.C. His arguments are historical, stylistic, and stratigraphical. Let us see whether they are absolutely conclusive. The historical reason is that the means from the 'Royal Cemetery' do not occur in the preserved lists of the kings and must, therefore, be earlier. This argument would be valid only if the lists were absolutely complete. Since such is not the case as regards the Kish list (p. 321) the possibility exists that the few names from the cemetery may not have been included in our Ur list. Woolley finds the style of
the monuments from the R. C. earlier than that of the First Dynasty. But his simple statement that the styles of the First Dynasty and of Urnshe show degeneration, is far from being a thorough analysis of the development of the Sumerian art, which would be necessary to support an opinion not shared by other scholars and differing from current ideas of normal developments. His other argument that the tomb and house furnishings betray the First Dynasty is not borne out by the finds from the R. C. Nor is the evidence from seals in favor of the author's views. To be sure, Woolley denies that seals could be used in this way because the arguments are based on purely subjective criteria of style. But, I ask, is a sequence of pottery types not based on stylistic grounds and, vice versa, is there no historical and stratigraphical evidence for the dating of seals? (Cf. H. Frankfort, Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad, p. 40)? Now, a seal like Nr. 11107, Pl. 198, dated by Woolley within the earlier part of the R. C., is in style and contents absolutely identical with seals from the Sargonic period (Pls. 214 ff.). Furthermore, it has an inscription in cuneiform which, according to Burrows (pp. 314 ff.), must be later than Lugalanda. There are many other seals ascribed by Woolley to the later part of the R. C. which everyone who has worked with seals would assign to the Accadian period. Seals Nrs. 13516 on Pl. 201 and 13574 on Pl. 204, which Woolley also assigns to the R. C., show the style of Lugalanda. Some Indian seals and beads were found, according to Woolley, in the R. C., whereas the date ascertained by stratigraphical evidence is Sargonic (H. Frankfort, loc. cit., pp. 47 ff., Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1932, pp. 3 ff.). Are we to assume that the Indian civilisation was stationary for nearly a millenium? Woolley's dating goes against all our ideas and long-tried methods. We could adopt it only if his stratigraphical evidence were absolutely conclusive. Now Woolley found a barren layer above the R. C. which provides a terminus ante quem for it. A couple of Sargonic tombs were dug through this layer, but all predynastic ones were below it. In the same layer jar sealings of the first dynasty were found. Woolley, therefore, places the tombs below this layer before the first dynasty. I accept all his stratigraphical facts, although his plans and sections showing the stratification are too few to allow a check-up of his assertions. But is his conclusion as to the date
unassailable? Were both the barren layer and its contents deposited at the same time, or were the seals found between the floors of houses? The layer consists of rubbish brought from elsewhere. There is no proof that this rubbish does not date from earlier times. Since there were in it broken bricks it may have come from a building long in ruins, and disturbed when the foundations for a new building were laid deep in the ground. Strong arguments compel us to accept this solution for which numerous analogies can be found in the history of excavation. My opinion, therefore, is that the R. C. extends over a very long time beginning in the Early Dynastic Period and reaching into the Accadian one, the barren layer originating in the latter period. For absolute dates I refer to Albright's elucidating remarks in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 38, pp. 608 ff. It goes without saying that a lowering of the dating does not diminish in the least the value of Woolley's work and finds.

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*Die althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisches Nachleben* (Ergänzungsband zum *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*).


This volume, bearing copyright date of 1930, but with a postscript on p. 197 indicating its completion in December 1934, has just come to hand. So much is to be said lest it appear that any neglect of delay has been shown to this notable work in the columns of the *Journal*. Technically it is a very handsome volume, of about 12 x 19 inches format, printed on a superior heavy paper, and adorned with a large number of illustrations, topographical and archaeological, carefully placed, which give a welcome atmosphere of historical reality to the literary subject. The reviewer greets the work with unstinted praise, both for the richness of its contents and its method of arrangement, in which respects it stands above many volumes of similar character. It is not an "Introduction to the Literature" after the character of many well known authorities, in which book after book, or category after category
(Pentateuch to Wisdom) is handled; it is not a history of the books, themselves mostly artificial units, but a description of the currents of the literature in their rise, development and varied transformations. The first main part, pp. 24-101, treats of the "Forms" of the Hebrew literature, to wit, (1) of Poesy; (2) of the Saying (Spruch), extending from the popular saw to the sententious proverb with its development as in the Wisdom literature; and the "word" of the seer, the prophet, the priest, the lawgiver; finally (3) of Prose, which ranges from saga and myth through legend and tradition to historical writing. This arrangement is original and suggestive. We have here a finely done analysis of the several literary species as illustrated throughout the Hebrew Bible. The second part (pp. 102-194) presents the "Course of the History"; it gives under the several epochs marked out by the political history the various developments of the literary forms as listed in the preceding part. The development of the subject is closely knit, but excellently articulated; there may be noted the integration into that history of the Yahwist, the Elohist and the Deuteronomist, pp. 112 ff., 126 ff., 138 ff. Running comparison is made with the similar forms in Egyptian and Babylonian-Assyrian literature, with a useful apparatus of citation and bibliographical reference; the likenesses are generously allowed, along with the possibilities of dependence upon the literary forms of the Empires, but Israel's peculiar genius is fully honored. Throughout there is a wealth of fine literary judgment, much of it packed away in long stretches of finer type. One literary criticism might be made, that the author, doubtless owing to the need to compress his extensive material, has indulged too much in the long and involved period, familiar to the German, often difficult to the outside Barbarian. Very admirable are the brief surveys of the several historical periods, preceding each section. In citation of verse the metrical forms are always presented, by accent-count, and all cases of text correction are scrupulously indicated. More than most students of Hebrew letters Hempel recognizes the worth of the prose, and the reviewer heartily agrees with him in his pronouncement (p. 94) that in the writing of history Israelite literature has produced its truly unique contribution ("ihre eigenartigste Leistung"). And the writer lays his finger, perhaps indirectly, upon the secret of this blossoming of Israel's interest in
history (p. 99): "Religiöses und geschichtliches Denken sind ja in Israel nicht von einander zu trennen; geschichtlich denken aber heisst für seine rationale Eigenart: Geschichte erklären und verstehen." All of which is summed up in Schiller's statement, which was Israel's basic judgment of history: "Weltgeschichte ist Weltgericht." Under each section throughout the book is given a well-selected bibliography, along with a copious apparatus of references to authorities. The latter part of the work, in particular the sections on Jeremiah, Ezekiel Second Isaiah (Torrey's Pseudo-Ezekiel is ignored), appears rather cramped in comparison with the preceding sections; and the concluding section on the Hellenistic literature is very brief, although capitally summarized. There is a table of Addenda, pp. 195-7, necessitated by the long process of publication, and also an excellent Index. The book deserves addition to every Biblical library, public and private.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

University of Pennsylvania.


The results of the 1931-2 season at Dura are recorded in the fifth Preliminary Report which lies before me. The most striking discoveries of this campaign were in architecture. The first seven chapters, by Dr. Clark Hopkins, take up in turn the fortifications, several important blocks of private houses, the market-place, the temples of Aphlad and of Azzanathkona, the praetorium of the Roman garrison, and above all the Christian chapel. In general the finds are discussed room by room, immediately following the architectural description, with the special exceptions of the papyri and the hoard of coins.

Dr. Hopkins commences by reviewing briefly the chronology of the fortifications. The citadel, certain details of whose construction he compares to Hellenistic examples at Ephesos, Priene, Heraclea and Assos, he ascribes to a western school of military architecture, but with some borrowings from the east. The outer
fortification or enceinte is another matter. Cumont and Pillet thought both citadel and enceinte the consecutive work of Seleucid engineers. In later Reports, however, the completion of the enceinte has been referred to the beginning of the Christian era.

Dr. Hopkins now links it with the earliest date recorded epigraphically in a temple of the city—32 B.C., in the Temple of Artemis. To the succeeding ninety years belong the earliest date recorded from the enceinte—17/16 B.C., on the monumental Palmyrene Gate—and the earliest dedications in three temples—12/13 A.D. in the Temple of Azzanathkona, 53 A.D. in the Temple of Aphlad, and 55 A.D. in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods. He reasons (pp. 132-3) that these temples were probably built not long before their earliest preserved dated inscriptions, that this ninety-year period was no doubt one of great prosperity, that various new ethnic elements were attracted by this prosperity and introduced their particular cults at that time, that a larger city scheme was adopted giving new room for sacred precincts, i.e., that not long before this period the great outer wall had been built around the growing city. I could not draw an unconfused conclusion from this sequence of events, but with little reluctance Dr. Hopkins assigns the enceinte to the close of the pagan era.

Dr. Hopkins' and my divergent views on the walls have been debated verbally, at Dura and elsewhere. I think we are agreed that the principal problem is the date at which the eventual maximum area of Dura intra moenia was established. None the less we have often found ourselves arguing on subsidiary problems: whether this enceinte was constructed at once of stone, or initially of luba which would later be replaced unit by unit in stone, or in some other manner. The lack of bonding between the masonry of certain towers and that of their adjacent walls may or may not indicate that the original enceinte enjoyed stone towers connected by mud brick walls. All this does not matter. While interesting for a study of military architecture, it is apart from the real issue: on the day when Dura's government undertook to guard a specified wall line the city within that line began to take shape.

I prefer to assign the whole eventual plan to the moment of foundation; the natural possibilities for enceinte fortification provided by the north and south wadis, to be united by the comparatively short west wall, taken in conjunction with the interior
ravines which determined the extent of the citadel, would not have been overlooked by the builders of the latter. This falls naturally in the early third century B.C., immediately following the colonization of Europos. For a variety of reasons I would ascribe the enceinte to a date not later than the close of this same third century. The position of Dura as a provincial center with its record-office implies some capacity for defense. I am impressed by the discovery of a parchment of the early second century B.C. beside the Tower of the Archers and of numismatic evidence of a Seleucid foundation in the Temple of Artemis, by Dr. Hopkins' own demonstration (pp. 76 ff.) that the agora was laid out in the early Parthian or the Seleucid period, and by his hitherto overlooked parallels (p. 4) between the citadel and the enceinte which narrow the gap between them. I cannot visualize the Parthian governor so wealthy and at once so foolhardy as to fortify at fabulous expense a frontier post on the far bank of the Euphrates, at the mercy of any western or southern enemy who could prevent reinforcements from crossing; there were many points in the Jeziresh strategically more important to the Parthians.

I am not moved by the fact that dated epigraphical evidence only begins in 32 B.C., for early colonists are not self-conscious and generations may lapse, as at Minturnae, before a large body of texts appears. Any rebuilding or restoration might have been attended by the complete cleaning out of archaic or superseded inscriptions. The inscription of 32 B.C. might have been, though it probably wasn't, inscribed on a column already two centuries old. The argument from silence is weak here, as ever.

But the best evidence ought to be the architectural details of the citadel and the enceinte itself. To me the towers, gates, arches, doorways, windows, etc., resemble details of fortifications of the third and second centuries B.C. in Asia Minor and the Greek mainland. These same criteria Dr. Hopkins accepts as pointing to the end of the first century. His theory of eastern influence is largely based on parallels at Hatra; what happens to this theory if Hatra is shown to be the work of Parthian-hired Greek engineers?

The simple fact is that neither Dr. Hopkins nor myself, nor anyone else, has made or had time to make the study of the walls that the walls deserve. A competent architect with archaeological training ought to spend one of the remaining campaigns on a concentrated study of the walls and their parallels.
I feel strongly on this subject not principally for the sake of the walls themselves, for they will eventually find their own way to their correct date, but from concern for the buildings within them. Hopkins' view defers their foundation to the period following 32 B.C.—for we may all agree that such valued buildings as temples would not have been erected in the unfortified desert. Buildings which do not at first fit the pattern stipulated by this date are sawed off or stretched, like the unhappy victims of Procrustes, to make them fit. If on the other hand this clamp were removed and the walls and temples, objects deserving of the most assiduous study, were allowed to fluctuate until they came to rest at their own levels, our historical study of Dura's architecture would be greatly benefited. In the meantime Dr. Hopkins' insistence on this date vitiates every phase of his and his colleagues' architectural researches.

I do not wish to dwell any further on the table of contents per se, but I cannot go on without calling special attention to the market-place of Dura and the parallels which Dr. Hopkins has drawn between it and the suq of modern Arab towns, and to the Christian chapel whose architecture has been described ably by Dr. Hopkins and whose inept but fascinating mural decorations are the subject of a capable study by Professor P. V. C. Baur, who ascribes them to a purely eastern school at the very beginning of the third century.

Also to be numbered among the most valuable discoveries of a singularly successful season is the large number of papyri found in rooms W 13 and W 18 of the Temple of Azzanathkona. All or most are from the archives of the nearby praetorium, and reflect a wide range of activities of the cohorts detailed to Dura. Several are extensive, one for instance being a roll 2.25 m. in length. It was clearly out of the question to prepare a formal publication of these in time to be included in the present volume; instead, a brief list of the least rotten specimens, with typical excerpts, is presented with the promise that these documents will be published in full elsewhere.

The volume is edited by Rostovtzeff without the assistance of Professors Baur or Bellinger. Rostovtzeff also, with the aid of Kenneth Boyce, read the proofs. I note a number of misprints and errors such as, on p. 130, 0.001 for 0.01; p. 132 salle for
salles, p. 197 under inscr. no. 548 1929-30 for 1928-9 and \( \eta \pi \) for \( \eta \pi \); Plate XXVIII Phechimnaios for R(h)echimpnaios. The orthography of the expedition architects leaves something to be desired; Pearson's Romen for Roman (Plate III) and Deigert's graphiti for graffiti (Plate XXXIV) escaped editorial correction and give the volume an illiterate appearance it does not deserve. Dr. Hopkins' statement, on p. 115 under no. 418, that the name 'Paχυμαιος is not found elsewhere, is strictly true, though in this same report 'Peχυμαιος appears (no. 504) as well as a feminine form 'Peχυμαιων (no. 517). There is some disagreement as to accent; 'Paχυμαιος ('Pe-) appears beside 'Paχυμαιος ('Pe-). A Latin transliteration Rahiminanaeus appears at Minturnae. The cross-references under no. 517 are apparently numbered by a provisional catalogue; for no. 480 read no. 504 and for no. 455 read no. 418. On p. 188 under no. 526 'Αμαθαρα, a name already known at Dura, might have been cited as a suitable parallel to 'Αμαθεκα.

As usual in Dura reports, this volume with 312 pages of subject matter has no index except of inscriptions. Opening it at random, I observe for instance that there is no way to find the description of the silver crown illustrated on Plate XIX 3 except to read the whole volume. It seems to me the sheerest folly to frustrate so much accumulated research for such petty economies.

Space in the Journal leaves no room for the compliments one could pay this volume. With or without flaws, the results of this fifth season make this volume a stimulating contribution to Hellenistic history and archaeology and the most remarkable publication yet issued by the competent and brilliantly successful school of Dura archaeology, built up by Rostovtzeff within Yale's classical department and admirably led in the field by Dr. Hopkins.

University Museum, Philadelphia.

Jotham Johnson.


This presentation of the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office in published form compensates for its long-delayed
appearance by its admirable arrangement and completeness. The compilers are to be congratulated for the exact and detailed classification of the material. The list of contents together with the Index of authors and titles guides one unerringly to that which he seeks.

The description of each item with a statement of the number of folios, the material (paper, etc.), the form of gathering, the size of leaf, the script, the exact or approximate date, the number of lines to a leaf, the title, the author (if any), a brief but skillful description of the contents, indicating the degree of correctness, together with mention of the presence of decorations and illuminations, the quotation of the beginning and end of each manuscript, and pertinent bibliographical notes, is thoroughly adequate and enables one to judge quickly the condition and value of any particular manuscript.

In view of the tremendous value of this excellent and accurate piece of work one hesitates to offer any adverse criticism. My only personal suggestion is that an index by script and a list of the illustrated manuscripts might have been added.

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It is to be regretted that what is obviously intended only as a text-book for the students of the author has received the accolade of such perfection of typography and general format.

The author's analysis of the Katha Upanishad lies too much on the side of propaganda. Mr. Rawson, in tacit agreement with Mr. Kumarappa, the author of *The Hindu Conception of The Deity*, is carried away by his doctrinal enthusiasm in claiming for the Upanishads in general a preponderance of belief in a personal deity of grace. His text is: There is no message that the modern world needs more than the great Upanishad doctrine of Unity.

The text itself is based upon previous editions. The author’s arrangement of commentary, translation and text is inexplicably
haphazard and careless. Occasionally in the commentary there is no numeral to indicate which verse is being treated. This defect, however, will present little difficulty to the astute student of the Kātha Upanishad, who can use the commentary of the author as a spring-board to his own deductions.

University of Pennsylvania.

HORACE I. POLEMAN.


In 1929 Dr. Pierson published the first volume of the present series on the Manyōsū and stated in the Preface that his study is to be strictly from the point of view of a linguist. The Manyō anthology is the oldest Japanese collection of poems compiled in the 8th century, and the poems are written by means of Chinese characters used phonetically, known as Manyō kana, the parents of the modern Japanese syllabary. The primary purpose of the present translation is not to make this treasure house of the ancient Japanese culture available to Western students, for already Dickens, Waley, and Chamberlain as well as Aston and Florenz have contributed much on the side of its artistic interpretation. Dr. Pierson rather considers the present task as a necessary preparation to determine the Japanese language of the 7th and the first half of the 8th centuries. Therefore, each word and each form of that word is noted down with its place in the sentence, its translation, the number of the poem and the Book, and the different characters in which it is written. When the last poem of the twenty books is translated, then the author hopes to commence his real task of compiling a reliable etymological dictionary of the Japanese language. Furthermore, with this basic study, he hopes to venture to compare it with the languages of the surrounding countries.

The present volume completes 243 poems of the total 4496. Each poem is given in both the Manyō kana and transliteration in roman letters, followed by translation, general remarks, grammar, script, and different readings. For the author’s purpose, the transliteration plays an important rôle; hence he makes a careful dis-
tinction in transcribing such sounds as ha (va) and wa; e, ye, and we; i, yi, and wi, etc. For the English speaking readers who have been accustomed to the Hepburn style of romanization, in spite of an essay "On the transliteration and transcription of the Japanese kana, archaic, ancient and modern," in the preface to Volume 1, Dr. Pierson's system is a bit confusing. Perhaps when the work is completed and characters indexed, then, we can better understand the logic of his system.

In translating poetry, one's claim to absolute literalness often raises some doubts as well as complicated problems. Moreover, the criterion of literalness is difficult to establish, and even if we take for granted that it is applied with strict grammatical accuracy, good poetry seldom conforms to grammatical formulas. In its unconventional use of words one finds full utterance of artistic impulse which creates an over-tone. Especially when the original is as compact and suggestive as Japanese poetry, I doubt whether one can be certain that "the real 'flavour' of the language is far better preserved in a literal translation" or not. A literal translation to be good should take all these matters into serious consideration and still be faithful to the original.

In this respect, I disagree with Dr. Pierson. To give a concrete example, on p. 158 Tabito's poem,

Kono yo ni ni tanusiku araba,
Kom yo ni va, musi ni tori ni mo
Are va narinamu.

is translated as:

If I only live happily now, then I do not care if I become an insect or a bird in the next world.

The very literal translation I wish to give will be:

If, in this world, I can be happy, I am willing to be an insect or a bird in the world to come.

In the original there is only one 'if'; kono yo is not 'now,' but 'in this world'; kom yo is not 'the next world,' but 'the world to come.'

Another example is a humorous poem by Okura on p. 147, which is translated as:

I, Okura can now at last return home. The children will perhaps cry and that mother of them too will (surely) be waiting me.
I would translate it:

Okura now will take his leave. The children may be crying and their mother too may be waiting for me.

The use of such words as 'can,' 'I, Okura,' and 'at last' spoils genial mood and light touch of this poem. As an excuse for leaving the banquet scene early, Okura mentions his wife and children in third person.

_Tama_ 珠 (v. 1, p. 12) are 'pearls' as Dr. Pierson translates, but _tama no wo no_ 匝 (v. 3, p. 241) refers to _maga-tama_, a string of beads made of jade. The names of the months such as _fumitsuki_ and _kisaragi_ translated as 'July' and 'March' are misleading to the Western readers. Personally I prefer 'the seventh month' and 'the third month.'

The intrinsic value of Dr. Pierson's task, however, is not at all marred by such minor objections I have raised, and we shall look forward to his thorough study of the _Manyō kana._


In 1903 Dr. T. Sekino first noticed fragments of roof-tiles and bricks scattered over fields and road-side of Silla, and collected some 600 items which he compiled into a volume included in the _Atlas of Korean Antiquities_, v. V. Unfortunately, the specimens came from peasants' or dealers' hands, and one cannot be certain of their authenticity. In recent years, however, H. Moroga and K. Mitsunari made regional searches for these tiles, and the present study is based on them.

The invention of roof-tiles and bricks in burnt clay seems earlier in China than in Western countries, appearing long before the Christian era. South Manchuria and northern Korea yielded Han tiles, but Kudara and Silla, two of the ancient southern kingdoms, yielded tiles of different patterns, far more artistic and versatile.
They are confined to the sites of the palaces and Buddhistic temples which date back to the 6th century. The majority is the common roof-tile, convex or half cylindrical, with or without decorated face, besides some unusually shaped tiles used for roof-corners and rafter ends. They were manufactured with moulds, sometimes of wood, when precise patterns were needed, but mostly of clay.

Generally speaking, the Silla tiles fall into two main groups: convex tiles with ornamental disks and concave tiles with ornamental faces. The chief designs in the first group are of the lotus flower which came into vogue with the introduction of Buddhism. At first the petals were single, but gradually more complicated chrysanthemum-like flowers or broad double petal patterns appeared. A graceful design of the honey suckle and acanthus leaves and other naturalistic flower patterns as well as various animal designs are superbly executed. As to the concave tiles, they appeared later, and the decorative treatment is freer and more graceful than the others, and the motives fall into karakusa or vine designs, and angels and animals.

As to the tile patterns and the sites where they were found, the authors note the following points: first in Silla a single temple site often yields many different patterns. For example Mr. Mitsu-nari collected 67 different pieces of tiles in a day at the site of the Korin Temple. In a Japanese temple site a very moderate number of tiles with different patterns are ever found. Secondly, samples of one and the same pattern are found at various sites.

The first point is explained by the authors as artists' desire to satisfy their own artistic impulse, quite unconcerned about the unity of the tile patterns. Furthermore, temples were often either restored or rebuilt in the course of centuries, employing different tiles of period and pattern. Secondly, unlike Japan, where each temple had its own kilns to make tiles, there were at Keishu, the capital of Silla, only a few tile factories, and tiles were distributed from them on demand to various temples.

The volume is beautifully illustrated and the text carefully documented.

Shio Sakanishi.

Library of Congress.

In the third volume of the Oriental Shadow-theater Series, edited by Jacob and Kahle, Professors Georg Jacob and Hans Jensen show what scholars, although themselves not Sinologues, can do when they deal with Chinese material. Das chinesische Schattentheater is an account of material relevant to the Chinese shadow-theater available in Germany. With the exception of a few errors and debatable points, the book is a well-rounded handbook on the Chinese shadow-theater. Since a table of contents is not to be found, a summary of the topics in the monograph will not be out of place.

The main part of the book consists of eight chapters (pp. 1-86) for which Professor Jacob is responsible, and two appendices (pp. 89-122) by Professor Jensen. In addition there is a Foreword (vii-xv) by Professor Jacob, an Addenda to the periodical bibliography of the Oriental Shadow-theater in the First and Second Volumes of the Series (pp. 87-88), an Index of Chinese words (pp. 123-130) and a Postscript.

The Foreword enumerates the material on which this study is based. There is the Köln Collection of 1,200 small and 900 large figures, most of which are from the time of Ch'ien-Lung (1736-1796), now in the Kölner Institut für Theater-wissenschaft. There is another collection of 2,919 figures, also from the time of Ch'ien-Lung, but a little older than the Köln collection. This collection is now housed in the Deutsche Ledermuseum zu Offenbach. Another collection has 1,300 figures, some of which may belong to the time of Yung Cheng (1723-1735), has been brought to Hamburg. The fourth collection, of 6 figures only, is interesting because of its esthetic quality. It was brought from the province of Szechuan and presented to the Kieler Theatermuseum by Dr. Chuang Chen, then a student at Kiel. The introduction includes a brief bibliography. It is sobering to note that even in Germany, the land of scholars, the facilities for this kind of study are by no means perfect (see pp. xiii-xiv).

The first chapter deals with the origin and ancient history of the shadow-theater in China. It is meagre, but by this time one should learn not to expect much from studies about origins. The
second chapter, also very short, deals with the material which German scholarship has made accessible to students.

The third chapter, on the plot, demonstrates the wealth and importance of this material. It is regrettable, however, that in discussing the religious plot, the author should have unhesitatingly connected the White and Black Snakes with Totemism and the Kitchen God with Fetishism. Time was when every cock and bull story was endowed with totemistic significance. Nowadays people are more wary. Various scholars have used Fetishism in various senses,¹ but where can we find assurance for the belief that the god of the Kitchen is identical with the kitchen? The whole matter needs of course special treatment: here I simply register a mild protest. Professor Jacob's treatment of Taoism and Buddhism is sound. From religious plots he proceeds to historical plots, a social play and bourgeois scenes and farces. The wide range of the material shows that further studies of this one aspect alone will be fruitful as well as formidable. It is also to be hoped that such studies will lead to a complete motive-index of Chinese folklore, but of that elsewhere.

In the fourth chapter Professor Jacob enters into a detailed study of the figures. This study consists of four parts: deities, racial types, animals and accessories. The illustrations in this section are particularly helpful to readers who have no access to the collections themselves.

The fifth chapter, about the performance itself, suffers from an inevitable lack of illustrations. A play must be seen to be understood. The author has seen amateur performances in Kiel. The reader must have at least a similar opportunity in order to have substantial impressions from the performance.

In the sixth chapter Professor Jacob observes that in the Chinese shadow-theater didacticism is placed above esthetics. His discussion of the function of the Chinese theater is adequate. The stage in China has always had, at least in principle, a high moral mission. This is not strange when one thinks of the illiteracy of the Chinese masses and the consequent need of a means of education that will appeal less through the written, than through the spoken, word.

In the seventh chapter, on the tasks of the future, Professor

¹ See article in the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.
Jacob shows a thorough understanding of the demands of this particular branch of study. He touches upon every important phase of the study of the Chinese shadow-theater. The eighth chapter, the shadow-theater as a source of Chinese folklore, is by far the most interesting and the richest section of the book. Under the heading of religion, the author dwells on deities, heaven and hell, belief about the soul, fate, demonology and festivals. Other topics are the Emperor, family life, poverty and greed, shops, official and scholarly careers, soldiers, robbers and civilians, justice and the chase. From this chapter one derives a far more realistic picture of Chinese life than from any other discussion. If it were only for this contribution, the shadow-theater deserves to be studied. The relation between the shadow-theater and other branches of folklore, for example, Märchen, legends and popular romances, is very strongly marked.

The contributions of Professor Jensen are well integrated. Appendix I, on the “pun in Chinese Shadow-plays,” must seem forbidding to people who are not Sinologists. Its vast importance becomes clear, however, when one undertakes to read an actual Chinese play, or even a translated one, if faithfully done. Of such Professor Jensen has supplied a very happy example in Die Spinnennetzhöhle (The Cave of Silk-nets). While I have to refrain from criticizing the translation, because the original is not at hand, I must say that the adding of Professor Jensen’s study and translation to Professor Jacob’s work effects an excellent combination.

The numerous illustrations in white and black and the one-page imitation reproduction of the text are highly satisfactory, although colored illustrations obviously would be more so.

Throughout the reading of the book I am impressed by the clear and straightforward prose of Professor Jacob. The experience of reading other German scholars has not always been so happy. The system of transcription of Chinese sounds employed by the author is hardly an advance over the makeshift of Anglo-American scholars.

I venture to append a list of errata and doubtful points:

P. 54, Note 26. K’ung Ming invented face-painting in order to frighten

*The pun in literature and magic is a very important subject needing fuller treatment, especially in Sinology.
his enemies. (?) An unpublished dissertation of Mr. Chang Ts'un Hsiang on "Theatrical Masks in China" may throw further light on the question.

P. 56, L. 1. For Li Ts'un-Hsü read Li Ts'un-Hsiao.
P. 65, from bottom LL. 10-11. For Ming T'ai-Tsung (1628-1644) read Ming Seü-Tsung.
P. 69, L. 9. For Tsch'ing-tu Fng read Fng-tu Tsch'ing.
P. 69, L. 15. For Yuch-King-T'ai read Nieh-King-T'ai.
Ibid. For Mond read Schuld.
P. 80, L. 9. "Bärentatzen" belongs at least to the popular list of the Eight Precious Foods (Delikatessen!). The world is still awaiting a special article on the true history of the Eight Precious Foods.
P. 82, Note 110. Is irrelevant, the story is legendary.
P. 82, LL. 17-18 生 bezeichnet eigentlich nur einen Student der Reichsuniversität (Kuo-tse-tschién in Peking)." (?)

T. T. SHUI.

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This little book contains six Haskell lectures delivered at the University of Chicago in 1933. The treatment is popular, there is no index, and Dr. Hu seldom cites authorities outside his own published works in English. Nevertheless it is a valuable historical treatise on the cultural changes taking place in China, written by the man who is regarded as more responsible for some of those changes than any other. The analyses are always interesting and frequently show great penetration.

One or two criticisms may be made. Dr. Hu does not seem to appreciate the conservative force of the classical education combined with the government examinations and the appointments to the civil service. Men with a classical education always oppose change, in both west and east. But the situation in China resembled what the situation in the west would have been had the teachers of Latin and Greek been also the government officials. Dr. Hu appears to underestimate the merits of an ideographic language, and the scientific achievements of his nation, and ignores
the fact that the advance in western science is largely the result of the development of the artificial experiment and "Arabic" notation, rather than of a greater interest in science. In his chapter on religion, he naively maintains that the ancient Chinese religion was the result of climatic conditions. But the book is stimulating, and should be read by all those interested in the history of cultural dynamics.


This book contains printed lectures delivered at the University of Chicago under the Haskell Foundation. Six religions—Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Hinduism—are considered in relation to modern scientific thinking, modern social-economic problems, inter-cultural contacts, and the task of modern religion. Each religion is studied separately by a different scholar, sometimes by several scholars. The men are well-known and properly qualified, including such names as Sprengling, Pratt, Allen, Joshi, Kaplan, Natarajan, Hodous, and Hu Shih.

The book assumes that all living religions change continually, and that the present offers unusual problems to which religions must be adjusted. It makes little or no attempt to estimate those factors in human nature which do not change, or those features of religion which are permanent. Perhaps the authors do not consider that there are any such. The treatment in general is liberal, and the reviewer gathered the impression from the book that a man can hardly be conservative and scholarly at the same time. One of the authors admits frankly that he is an agnostic. In such a collection it is inevitable that the work should sometimes be uneven, and that different writers should have somewhat different ideas of what religion is, and how it should be approached. It is impossible to make detailed criticism, but the reviewer would like to know the authority for the statement of Professor Hodous on page 171, that Confucius was regarded as a god in the 1st Cen. B. C. In general, the book is stimulating, and its scholarly standard is high.

The first edition of this book was issued in 1895. The present edition is a reprint issued by the photographic process, with a thirty-five page preface added. It is unnecessary to say anything about a photographed text on its fortieth anniversary, except that it ought to have been brought up to date, especially in the notes. Beal is still the chief authority on Chinese Buddhism for Waddell, and the great amount of work done since 1895 is ignored. On Tibet itself, Waddell ignores Desideri before him, and Sir Charles Bell after him, as well as the work of scholars like Levi, Laufer, Stael-Holstein, Vallée-Poussin and Wolfenden. It is absurd to print a badly-drawn sketch of the Potala, when excellent photographs are easily available. This edition should be popular in Germany, for Waddell is wedded to the theory that all good things, including the Buddha, are Aryan. The work cannot, at this date, be regarded as critical. This is too bad. The book has an important place in the history of western knowledge of Tibet. It ought to have been rewritten, and a new and adequate set of notes added. The bibliography is hopelessly out-of-date, listing Klaproth, Monier-Williams, Huc, and Terrien de Lacouperie, but omitting all modern names.

J. K. Shryock.

Philadelphia.
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

[We present here, in parallel columns, the present Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, and the new form proposed by the Committee on Policy, which will be presented for formal action at the 1936 meeting. The parts common to both run across the page; the parts which are in the present Constitution and By-Laws only stand to the left of the black line in the center of the page, and the proposed changes and additions stand to the right of the black line. Suggestions for further changes or additions should be sent at once to Prof. E. H. Sturtevant, Yale Graduate School, New Haven, Conn.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLD CONSTITUTION</th>
<th>NEW</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ARTICLE I.</strong> This Society shall be called the <strong>AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.</strong></td>
<td><strong>NAME</strong></td>
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| **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. |

| **MEMBERSHIP AND ELECTION** |
| **ARTICLE III.** The membership of the Society shall consist of corporate members, honorary members, and honorary associates. |
| **ARTICLE IV. SECTION 1.** Honorary 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. members may be elected only upon recommendation of the Executive Committee and the vote of not less than three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting. No further honorary associates shall be elected. |

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OLD

SECTION 2. Candidates for corporate membership may be proposed and elected in the same way 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, three 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

NEW

SECTION 2. Corporate members shall be elected by the Executive Committee. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars, but shall be exempt from obligation to make this annual payment in case he shall have made to the Society at any one time a donation of one hundred dollars less one half the amount he has paid in annual assessments. The Executive Committee may, for due cause, release members from the payment of annual assessments.

OFFICERS AND GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE V. SECTION 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, an Editor, and two Associate Editors. The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting for a term of one year.

SECTION 2. There shall be an Executive Committee consisting of the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Editor, the Presidents of Branches of the Society, and three other members of the Society, one of whom shall be elected at each annual meeting for a term of three years, and shall not
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.

be eligible for immediate re-election. Between meetings of the Society the Executive Committee shall have power to take any action that the Society itself could take; but all its acts must be reported to the Society at the next annual meeting. The Executive Committee may recommend action by the Society at the annual meeting, and it shall adopt a budget annually. The Secretary may on his own initiative, and shall at the request of any other member of the Committee, ask the Executive Committee to vote upon specific questions by mail, and if a majority of the Committee shall vote by mail for or against any measure thus submitted that vote shall be decisive; provided that any member of the Committee may demand that a proposal shall be discussed at a meeting of the Committee before final decision; in which case a mail vote shall be invalid.

ARTICLE VI. All Ex-Presidents of the Society and the Associate Editors shall be entitled to attend meetings of the Executive Committee, but they shall not vote except as hereinafter provided. If any member of the Executive Committee is unable to attend a meeting of the Committee he may appoint an Ex-President to vote in his stead, and the Editor may in like case appoint one of the Associate Editors. If at any meeting of the Executive Committee a member is absent and is not represented by a proxy of his own choice, the presiding officer of the Executive Committee may appoint an Ex-President to vote in his stead.
OLD

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

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

ARTICLE IX. An annual meeting of the Society shall during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. One or more other meetings, at the Directors, may be held each year at such time Directors shall determine.

NEW

ARTICLE VII. The investment of the Society's permanent funds, including all donations made in accordance with Article IV, Section 2, shall be managed by a Committee on Investments, consisting of the Treasurer and two other members of the Society, to be appointed by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII. Section 1. The Editor shall have charge of the JOURNAL and of all other scientific publications of the Society, and shall supervise their publication within the limitation of the funds certified by the Treasurer as available for that purpose.

Section 2. The Associate Editors should represent provinces of the Oriental field in which the Editor is not a specialist. The Editor should consult with them in regard to matters falling within their respective competencies; but, in case of disagreement, the final decision shall rest with the Editor.

Section 3. The Treasurer shall act as business manager of the JOURNAL and all other publications of the Society.

Meetings

ARTICLE IX. The shall be held in proximity to Easter, the precise time and place to be determined by the Executive Committee.

discretion of the Executive Committee, and place as the Executive Committee shall deter-

mine.
OLD

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.

NEW

BRANCHES OF THE SOCIETY

Branches

Society.

Branch

Society.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Executive Committee, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting, provided that notice of any proposed amendment shall have been sent to the members of the Society at least three weeks before the meeting at which it is to be considered.

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

FINANCE

I. The offices of Secretary and of Treasurer shall be combined and held by one person to be entitled the Secretary-Treasurer. He shall have general oversight of the welfare and business of the Society. He shall prepare and present annually to the Executive Committee a budget for the ensuing year. He shall have authority to make contracts and to pay out money in accordance with the directions of the Executive Committee. He shall receive a stipend to be fixed by the Executive Committee, which stipend is to cover his expenses, including clerical assistance.
OLD

superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

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

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

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

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

NEW

II. The fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. At each annual meeting the President shall appoint two auditors to examine the accounts of the Secretary-Treasurer and of the Committee on Investments. The Auditors shall perform their duty as soon as possible after January 1, and shall report to the Executive Committee before the next annual meeting of the Society.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the name of the donors, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the Library during the previous year, and shall be further guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Executive Committee 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 Editor, 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 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. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of all numbers of the Journal issued during his membership, provided that he has paid his annual assessment for the previous year. Back volumes of the Journal, so far as they are available, shall be furnished to members in regular standing 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 annul the election. If any corporate member
shall for two years fail to pay his assessments,

his name may, after formal notification, be dropped Society at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

shall for one year fail to pay his assessment, his name shall be removed from the mailing list of the JOURNAL; and if he shall fail to pay for two years, his name shall, from the list of members of the Society, unless the Executive Committee shall otherwise direct.

STANDING COMMITTEES

IX. a. There shall be a Nominating Committee of six members, three of whom shall be elected by the Society at each annual meeting to serve for two years. The members of this committee shall be ineligible for immediate re-election. The chairman of the committee shall be elected by the Society from among those members of the committee who have already served for one year of the term. This committee shall make nominations for all elective offices of the Society as provided in the Constitution and By-Laws, but nominations from the floor shall have equal standing.

IX. b. There shall be a standing Committee for the Promotion of Oriental Research, to consist of three members, each to hold office for a period of three years; one of whom shall be chosen annually by the Executive Committee. It shall plan and support meritorious projects in Oriental fields.

IX. c. There shall be a Committee on Co-operation, to be appointed by the Executive Committee, which shall further co-operation with the work of organizations whose activities overlap or border upon the Oriental fields, and shall suggest the correlation of Oriental and mar-
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

The Library

X. a. The Library shall be accessible

X. b. 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.

X. c. Persons not members may also be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall

original studies in institutions which are devoted to teaching and research.

IX. d. There shall be a Committee on Membership, to be appointed by the Executive Committee, which shall systematically endeavor to secure new members. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be ex-officio a member of this committee.

IX. e. There shall be a Committee on the Enlargement of Resources, to be appointed by the Executive Committee, which shall seek additional financial support for the endowment funds and the current activities of the Society. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be ex-officio a member of this committee.
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 membership 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.

Branches of the Society

XI. a. Upon the formation of a Branch,

XI. b. Within the provisions of the budget the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society shall forward to the Treasurer of each Branch funds sufficient to defray the expenses of the Branch.

The accounts of the Treasurer of each Branch shall be audited annually, and a statement of the audit shall be included in the annual report of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society.

AMENDMENTS

XII. These By-Laws may be amended by vote of a majority of the members present at any annual meeting.
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The following persons were elected corporate members of the Society subsequent to the last published list: Miss Adelaide A. Adams, Mr. Francis O. Allen, Rev. Frederick Aston, Prof. S. Basare, Miss Joyce Black, Dr. Meribeth Cameron, Mr. Douglas D. Crary, Miss Dorothy Cross, Dr. S. D. Davidson, Prof. D. H. Davis, Mr. R. M. Engberg, Mr. Nabih A. Faris, Rabbi J. D. Folkman, Prof. A. Götze, Miss Helen Hall, Prof. Felix Howland, Miss Isabel Hubbard, Mr. Wilson M. Hume, Prof. Isaac Husik, Mr. Harald William Jacobson, Hon. Nelson T. Johnson, Rev. W. P. Lemon, Prof. Julius Lewy, Rev. Herbert G. May, Mr. William S. McCullough, Dr. Isaac Mendelsohn, Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., Mr. Pierre M. Purves, Mrs. Diana J. Reisman, Mr. H. V. Rohrer, Prof. H. N. Rowley, Mr. Joseph A. Russell, Rev. E. W. Seraphin, Mr. Carol E. Simcox, Rev. Victor H. Sword, Mr. Gordon R. Taylor, Prof. S. S. Van Valkenberg, Mrs. Richard H. Webber, and Mr. Frederick V. Winnett.

Prof. Price of Chicago, has sent in a correction to the effect that the death of Prof. Edward Chiera occurred on June 20, 1933, and not on June 21, as stated in the report of the Corresponding Secretary.

PERSONALIA

Miss Bapsy Pavry and Dr. Jal Pavry, the daughter and son of the distinguished Parsee High Priest of Bombay, during a recent journey were received in audience by the Shah of Persia in Teheran, by the King of Afghanistan in Kabul, and by Signor Mussolini in Rome. Receptions were tendered in their honor in Moscow, Teheran, and Kabul.
ARABIC MAGIC MEDICINAL BOWLS

H. HENRY SPOER
NEW YORK CITY

THE SIGNS and symbols,¹ as well as the designs, found upon magic bowls, although we may not be able to interpret all of them, and although some of them may appear to us as devoid of sense or as mere playful fancies of the engraver,² were, I cannot but feel, of deepest significance to the medico-sorcerer, and had a definite, inherent meaning, forming an essential part of the mechanism needed for the production of the magic healing spell.

The accompanying plates represent some sections of the engravings found on ṭāṣa I, described below, and on ṭāṣa III (Pl. V). The mystic devices referred to above, occur, in larger or smaller number of various sizes and forms, on all kinds of ṭāṣāt. The principle underlying their employment is always the same, namely, to produce a certain psychological effect upon the person who has come for healing.

The most frequent designs are inscribed circles, single or concentric, or a whole chain of them, as on ṭāṣa I, or sections of circles, or circles which cut one another.³ Then there are magic squares, differing as to the number of cells; triangles, the sides of which are formed by parts of the peripheries of three circles; cartouches, egg-shaped or otherwise. A boss may be found in the centre of the bottom of the bowl, either with a magic square or the Seal of Solomon on the top. This seal may also be found in other places on the same bowl. Instead of a boss with a flat top a hemisphere, divided into inscribed sections,³ may take its place. There is finally the "Most Exalted Name of Seven Symbols." These are

¹ Called indiscriminately ʿahrāf and ḥwāṭīm.
² H. A. Winkler, Siegel und Charaktere in der Muhammedanischen Zauberkeit, p. 96.
³ J. T. Reinaud, in his description of a ṭāṣa similar to one of Rehatsek's (cf. note 25) and mine (No. V) poses the question: "Are the two discs the sun and moon in conjunction?"—Description des monumens musulmans du cabinet de M. le duc de Blacas, vol. II, p. 355.
³ My ṭāṣa IV, astronomical, has 4 divisions, while ṭāṣa VI, of very elaborate workmanship, has 10 divisions.
sometimes distributed in the four corners of a talisman, or are used to form a wafq of $7 \times 7$ cells.

The Seal of Solomon is sometimes a plain pentagram or a hexagram. On one of my tāsāt (III) there appears a very elaborate and somewhat unusual hexagram on the top of the boss (Fig. I). Three sides of the seal are formed by the prolongation of the final

alif of مَنَا and the other three by that of حَمَا, all ending in an upward curve or hook. The corners of the hexagram are held together, as with clamps, by the conventionalized letters ﷺ and ﷦. Underneath this seal, on the underside of the tāsāt, is a plain hexagram. The whole design forms the phrases ﻫَا مَنَا "O Most Bountiful One!" and ﻫَا ﺟِبَار "O Most Powerful One!" The ﷲ is formed by the hook. Solomon’s seal is astrologically the symbol

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4 Al-Būnī, Sams al-ma‘ārif al-kubrā, lith. ed. Cairo 1322 A. H.-1324 A. H. (1904-1906 A. D.), 4 vols. bound in one, vol. III, 58 (This is the edition always referred to in this article unless otherwise stated). Winkler, op. cit., p. 95, has reproduced a heptagram from Tilimsānī in which the seven seals are distributed in the seven corners, each with the addition of a letter.

8 Al-Būnī, ibid., p. 71.
of the sun, which explains the sun in the middle of the hexagram. The twelve rays of the sun may be symbolical of the twelve letters of the Creed, lā ilāh ila allāh, in Arabic, which Al-Bûnî connects with the number of the signs of the zodiac.

The importance of the circle in later Muhammedan magic may be due, in a large measure, to Al-Bûnî's description of a vision which he had of two concentric circles of double lines, which contained the Highest Name of Allāh. He says: "I was in solitude. There appeared to me an image in a circle, and in it was the Image of Majesty, and this is the Mightiest Name of Allāh. And from it is derived every name. And in it is the source of the Exalted Name. As this image was implanted in my memory and heart, after the state (in which I had been) had ceased to be, and the luminous image had disappeared, I drew its likeness upon paper. And the power of thought returned to me, and I said, 'Perhaps the Ninety Nine Names are derived from this Name.' " In this drawing there appear in the inner circle the following "Beautiful Names of Allāh," arranged in the form of a square: 'Allîn; 'Adl; Ḥalîm; Ṣârî; 'Azîz; 'Adl; Ğâmi'; Mu'tî; Bâ'it; Musawwir; Ghafûr. To the right of this square is the name Fa'al and to the left 'Alî. Within the square, written below one another, are the names Allāh Mut'al; Aṣ-Ṣâbûr, and to the right of these names, written perpendicularly, occurs again the name Ghafûr. The importance of the circle as a magical device is also brought out by the amulet called dâ'irat al-'ihâta "circle of enclosure."

The Most High Name of Seven Symbols, sab'a hawâtîm or hawâtîm jâlîjâlîtiya.

Although the order of the seven symbols has varied at different

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*I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. D. B. Macdonald for the explanation of this hexagram which is similar in construction to that published by him in the ZA. 1911, p. 267.


*Vol. I, pp. 41-42. Winkler, op. cit., reproduces this seal on p. 45. For magic circles cf. I. Goldzieher, Zauberkreise, in Anfange zur Kultur und Sprachgeschichte, also ZDMG. 70. A. Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts, index under "circle in magic."

*In Winkler's text and in the lith. ed. by Mustapha Eff. Fahmi, Cairo 1874, there occurs to the left of these names the name Našî.'

times, the first symbol has always been the so-called Seal of Solomon or an original sign which it has replaced.\textsuperscript{11}  Al-Būnī, in the \textit{Šams al-ma‘ārif al-kubrā}, seems to use indiscriminately—at least the copyist—the pentagram and the hexagram,\textsuperscript{12} while Dērābī\textsuperscript{13} uses consistently the pentagram. In the poem describing this symbol Al-Būnī\textsuperscript{14} calls it خاتم خياسى أركان, the accompanying drawing is however a hexagram. The corresponding sign in the Dīwān ‘Alī\textsuperscript{15} is a small circle, which, as Winkler has shown,\textsuperscript{16} is the original form of the first symbol, or at least its earliest known form, a round ħā’. This seems to be borne out by a reference in the opening words of the invocation in which Al-Būnī (vol. I, p. 71), mentioning the signs of the Exalted Name in their order, says: “I invoke Thee by the ħā’ al-mauqāfat min al-a‘āsam. The first sign is therefore obviously neither a pentagram nor a hexagram, but a ħā’.

The order of the signs in the so-called poem of ‘Alī differs from that found in Al-Būnī. It is as follows: 1) small circle. 2) three sticks with a bar over the top. 3) mīm. 4) something “like a ladder.” 5) small circle. 6) ħā’, connecting to the left, its tail being bent over it like that of the wāw in fāsāt, or in Al-Būnī’s Name of Seven Symbols, etc. 7) the “four fingers” with a bar across the top. The first circle is called simply ĥātam but the other ĥātam ĥērin, “seal of goodness.” May not these two circles have been in Al-Būnī’s mind when he had the psychic experience of seeing the “Picture of Majesty” in two concentric circles? Another figure representing the ĥātam is composed of two ħā’, 8, placed one above the other, upside down, so that the shanks cross. As such it occurs in the ĥātam which Şēh Muḥammedi Qanbaris saw in a Şūfī mosque.\textsuperscript{17} The letters ħā’ and wāw do not occur in it. A symbol closely resembling this “doubled” ħā’, appears twice on

\textsuperscript{11}Winkler, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 67, and the list on pp. 114 ff. On Hebrew talismans the hexa-pentagram “is found also reduced to a simple square,” cf. M. Schwab, \textit{Vocabulaire de l’Angéologie}, p. 21. The process is therefore the reverse of that observed in connection with the Arabic ĥātam.

\textsuperscript{12}E. g. vol. I, pp. 69, 71.

\textsuperscript{13}Printed ed. by Muḥ ‘Alī Mafiḥi, Cairo, n. d.

\textsuperscript{14}Vol. I, p. 69. Winkler’s ed. has a pentagram, p. 80.


\textsuperscript{17}Al-Būnī, vol. I, p. 68.
the inside and once on the outside of ṭāṣa I, described below, at the beginning of Arabic inscriptions.

On ṭāṣa III, referred to above, occurs frequently a sign which appears to me to be a developed or conventionalized form of the “doubled” ḥā'. It is composed of two hollow bars, crossing, so as to form a cross with arms of equal length and five squares. It rests on two arms in the fashion of the St. Andrew's cross. This sign is easily formed by the prolongation of the shanks of the “doubled” ḥā'. This symbol occurs frequently after the basmala or before the word 'aʾūḍu, but also in other connections, e.g. Symbol, 'aʾūḍu billāhi min ēš-šaitān ar-raḡim; basmala, symbol; Sur. 112; symbol; basmala; symbol; Sur. 113, after 'allaḏi in v. 5 follows the symbol and also at the end of the verse. I have not found this symbol on any of my other ṭāsāt, nor does it occur on those published by Reinaud and Rehatsek.

In a printed edition of Al-Būnī the ḥātam is represented by the lām-alīf /XML/; which, as Winkler has pointed out, was originally the letter /XML/ ḥā'. In the FXML/ “seal of evil,” the opposite of the sab'ā ḥawālim, the first and last signs are actually lām-alīf. Al-Tilmisānī employs an octogram in place of the sixth symbol, which should be ḥā', while for the first one he uses in one instance a pentagram and in another a hexagram. Winkler suggests that it takes the place of ḥā'. It is however to be noted that the ḥā' is also missing in the lithographed text of Al-Būnī used by Winkler, and also in the Cairo text of the Ḥusainiya Press. As there is no substitute for the omitted symbol, the Name, in this instance, has therefore only six signs. The Name, as it appears in Cod. Berol. 4125 f. 76a, agrees in the first six symbols with that found in these two editions of Al-Būnī, but there are added, after the second ḥātam the letters ḥā' and

19 P. 118, Nos. 21; 19.
21 Ibn al-Ḥāġg at-Tilmisānī, Sumūs al-ʾansūr waḵunūd al-ʾasrūr al-kubrā Cairo, Mathbaʿat at-Taqaddum al-ʿUmmiya, 1932; cf. in regard to this author Winkler, p. 86, n. 4, and for the drawings of the ḥātam, p. 116, Nos. 17 and 18.
22 Pp. 56, 144.
24 Winkler, op. cit., p. 116, No. 19.
wāw. The writer of the Cod. Berol. was evidently conscious of a serious omission in the writing of the Name, as he found it. Considering the importance of these two letters in Muslim theology, he added them, and thereby produced a Name of eight symbols in which the hexagram does not take the place of hā’. On a 跌幅, described by Rehatsek, there appears a hexagram between the hā’ and the wāw, also in this case the hexagram does not take the place of hā’. On a bronze 跌幅 (V) in my possession, resembling Rehatsek’s on Pl. I, p. 150, the Name of the Seven Symbols appears with a hexagram as the seventh symbol instead of a hā’. This would seem to bear out Winkler’s suggestion that the second หัต which stands for hā’. Yet I am more inclined to think that the maker of the 跌幅 was conscious of the fact that the Name should be written with seven symbols and not eight, which, in view of the importance attached to the number seven in the Qur’ān, (e.g. 7 verses of the ฟัติha Sur. 15 v. 87; Allāh created seven heavens, Sur. 78 v. 12; and seven earths, Sur. 65 v. 12; etc., etc.) might be expected. He perhaps retained the Seal of Solomon because of its great magic power, the บasmala was originally written upon it, and dropped the hā’, as the wāw would anyway remind him of ḤE. In Al-Bu’ni’s second explanation of the Name of Seven หวātim, Allāh is invoked by, among other sacred letters, “the glorious wāw,” while the hā’ is merely called الزو الاعظم “the split hā’.” The greater importance of the wāw seems to be impiled in the fact that in Al-Bu’ni’s waqf of 7 × 7 cells, formed of the Name of Seven Symbols, wāw always precedes the pentagram in the six lines derived from the first. The difficulty, experienced by the maker of this 跌幅, was probably also felt by the writer of Cod. Par. 1216 and by Tilimsānī. Both writers retained the second หัต and omitted the hā’, thereby gaining a name of seven symbols against the eight of the Cod. Berol. and the 跌幅 of Rehatsek.

25a “The Muslim sorcerer, who had united the 7 seals, was certainly accustomed to hear of 7 seals. It was his merit to decide upon 7 signs as the 7 symbols, which, only slightly changed, have spread over the whole Muhammedan world.” Winkler, op. cit., p. 114.
26 I, p. 71.
27 I, p. 71.
The confusion about the form of the Most High Name is probably due to the fact that some one, at an early date, added a hātam to the original Name of Seven Seals to be able to form a magic square of $8 \times 8$ cells. Such a square is found in Dērābi. It is noteworthy that he repeats the second hātam only in the last horizontal row, which is a repetition of the first. In the remaining 6 rows the opening symbol is repeated at the end of each row, so as to obtain rows of 8 cells.

It seems that the hexagram, to judge by Winkler's Table, is more frequently used than the pentagram or any other of the signs representing the hātam.

Al-Būnī makes two contradictory statements as to the total number of the signs composing the Most High Name. Thus he says:

"Of the letters there are four from the Torah,
And four from the Gospel of Jesus, the Son of Mary,
And five from the Qurān. In their entirety
They are useful for every creature, eloquent and dumb.
Do not fear snake, nor be afraid of a scorpion,
Nor of a lion that cometh toward thee roaring."

The second passage is accompanied by the symbols:

There are in it six letters from the Torah, and they are \(\overline{\text{א}}\) \(\overline{\text{ב}}\) \(\overline{\text{ג}}\)
And from the Gospel there are in it \(\overline{\text{ד}}\) \(\overline{\text{ה}}\) \(\overline{\text{ו}}\)
And from the Qurān \(\overline{\text{ז}}\) \(\overline{\text{ח}}\) \(\overline{\text{ט}}\)

The six letters from the Torah are, in this order, hā', wāw and the four perpendicular lines called "fingers" or "alifs" i. e. the 6th, 7th and 5th symbols. The number of the letters taken from the Gospel is not mentioned, but is indicated by the two symbols, the "ladder" and mīm, i. e. the 4th and 3rd symbols. The letters taken from the Qurān are likewise indicated by their signs, the hexagram and the three perpendicular lines with a crossline above, i. e. the 1st and 2nd symbols. It is noteworthy that the symbol of the "four fingers" is evidently regarded here as being four separate

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28 The animals mentioned here are engraved in the bottom of one of Rebatsek's ḟāṣāṭ (see note 25). He identifies the third animal with a dog. In my ḋāw, V resembling R's, the figure of this animal is practically erased.
symbols. A remote age is attributed to this Name by the Imām Abū ‘Alī et-Ṭabarṣī, who reports that it was found engraved upon a rock by ‘Alī Ibn ‘Abī Ṭālib who declared it to be the Highest Name of Allāh. Ewald in 1839, at a time when the knowledge of South-Arabian inscriptions was still in its infancy, took this statement as a historical fact and regarded the sab‘a ḥawātim as a Himyaritic inscription. Al-Būnī relates that the seven aḥrāf were written upon the Gate of the Ka‘ba.

Al-Būnī’s poem describing the symbols of the Most High Name is based upon that given in the so-called Dīwān ‘Alī, enlarged, with some verbal changes and a different order of some of the lines. Dīrābī’s version shows similar peculiarities. Al-Būnī says:

"Three sticks are erected after a seal,
Over their heads something like splendour is spread out;
Then (follows) mīm, blind, maimed; then a ladder,
And in its midst are two crossbars in partnership.
And four, like unto fingertips, (come) after it,
Pointing unto the good works and gather the means of subsistence;
And a split hā‘, then a bent wāw,
Like the tube of a cupper; because of the mystery it is long-necked.
And its last (symbol) is like the first, a seal
Of five points, and they encircle the mystery.
And this is the Name of Allāh, it is most majestic.
And his Names are renowned among the creatures.
And this is the Name, O fool, firmly believe it,
And do not doubt (it), so that thou mayest have the spirit
and the Paradise as friends.

Budūḥ.

The simplest form of the magic square is the budūḥ of 3 × 3

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22 Winkler, pp. 65 f.
25 Other copies read sikām inst. of bahā‘.
26 For various theories as to the origin of this word and its modern use cf. Enc. of Islam, art. Budūḥ, by D. B. Macdonald. Lane cites an instance in which the budūḥ square, although he does not use that name, is used as a framework for a magic ink mirror. The square has an oblong form.
It owes its name to the fact that the letters spelling this word occur in it. Due to al-Ghazālī's interest in it, it is also called al-ǧadwal al-muṭalaṭ lil-Ghazālī. The four letters ʿ, ʾ, ʿ, ʾ are distributed in the four corners of the square. The remaining five cells, forming a cross, contain the letters—beginning at the top of the middle columns of cells, ʿā, ʿā, and alif; to the right of ḥā is the letter zēn and to its left ǧīm. Instead of Arabic letters Arabic numerals, called "Indian letters," corresponding to the

The sign for the letter ḥāʾ is a ḥāʾ maqūqa and is found in the upper left corner of its cell, to make room for the ink. The Modern Egyptians, 5th ed. 1871, p. 341.


For a drawing of such a square, and its use as a talisman to ease birth, see Fr. Dieterici, Die Propadeutik der Araber, p. 43, a chapter translated from the rasāʿil of the ʾiḥwān es-ṣafāʾ. Cf. also note 38. Dērābi, op. cit., pp. 119, 123. Doutté, op. cit., p. 192.

This is probably what Al-Būnī meant when he says: "And what concerns his word: All armies shall be put to flight (a quotation obviously intended to be from 'Ali), this means, draw out the letters of these noble names and translate them into Arabic ones, and make a wafq of the letters in the midst of a tablet . . .," vol. I, p. 70. Winkler op. cit., p. 84, n. 3. In speaking of the making of a certain talisman Al-Būnī, III, p. 42, says: "engrave upon it 12 ل hindi" which, as the accompanying drawing shows, are 12 Arabic signs for the numeral 9. Al-Birūnī, kitāb at-taḥīm li awāʾil sināʿat at-taḥīm, "The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology," text and transl. by Ramsay Wright, London 1934, speaking of the origin of the use of Arabic letters in place of numerals, says: "The people selected the order of the 交通枢纽 al-jummāl because this was widely diffused among the People of the Book before the time of the Arabs" (section 116). In the next section he complains of "people outside of the profession" (of astronomers), who willfully put false values to ẓ and ʿ. In section 118 he points out the special forms of certain letters when used as numerals, thus ز = 3 is written without a tail, to distinguish it from ژ = 8. Kaf must always be written horizontally, so as not to resemble ٩, i.e., ٩ this is the form always found upon tāʾāt.

On the top of a ١ ٢ ٣ ٤, of Bokhara origin, in my possession, appears a magic square of 4 × 4 cells with the Arabic numerals for 4, 8, 1, 9. They are so arranged as to form the sum of 22, whether added horizontally, perpendicularly or diagonally. The second horizontal row is like the first one read backwards. For description and illustration see the article by Mrs. H. H. Spoor (A. M. Goodrich-Freer), "Notes on some Hebrew
numerical value of the Arabic letters, are also used. Two such squares occur on my ṭāṣa V, they are called ḥātam abī saʿīd. The total sum of the numerals, whether added horizontally, perpendicularly or diagonally, is always the same, 15. The numerals in the four corners, 2, 4, 6, 8, are called موجات المحلف, while the uneven numbers, in the other cells, 9, 5, 1 and 7, 3, are called مفرادات المحلف. The word budūḥ is used in a good sense, while the word إجر، composed of four of the remaining letters, is used in a bad sense. Ġāber, on the reputed evidence of Apollonius (Baltūnūs), says that the budūḥ square, of which he gives a drawing, but does not use the name, is a magic tablet to assist women in an otherwise difficult childbirth. If the writing in question is really Ġāber's we have here the earliest known representation of a budūḥ square.

On ṭāṣa I (Fig. II), there occurs in a circle an irregular budūḥ square of 4 × 4 cells. The four letters are distributed in consecutive order in the cells of the first horizontal row and serve as the base for the remainder. There is no common numerical value to the added numbers in either the diagonal or perpendicular cells, nor does there seem to be any stereotyped arrangement for the order in which the letters are placed, except that those in the third horizontal row form the word budūḥ written in the reversed order, maʿkūs, to be read from left to right. This same arrangement occurs also in nin-budūḥ squares (Fig. II). The same phenomenon is referred to by Doutté, op. cit., p. 198, quoting Ibn al-Hağğ,

Amulets,” in Papers and Transactions of the Jubilee Congress of the Folk Lore Society, London, p. 298, Pl. V.
44 J.A., XII, p. 523.
45 Ibid.
Sumūs al-Anwār, p. 57, in connection with the seven "names of the moon." For instance, instead of Miḥā'il the name appears as Līḥīm, etc.; cf. also Winkler, op. cit., p. 12, n. 2.

The numerical value of the letters of squares of $4 \times 4$ cells, other than budūh squares, when added horizontally, perpendicularly or diagonally is not always the same. For instance, the nu-

I. II. III Magic Squares inside of Bowl.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
I & II & III & \\
\hline
ب & ل & و & ح\\
لا & ع & و & ح\\
ج & ل & و & ح\\
ل & د & و & ح\\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Centre of Bowl

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
ب & ل & و\\
لا & ع & ح\\
ج & ل & و\\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Inscription around Centre

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
١٤٨١١٤٩٤١١٤٩٨٢١٤٩١\\
١٢٤١١٤٩٤١١٤٩٨٢١٤٩١١٤٩٨٢١٤٩١١٤٩٨٢١٤٩١١٤٩٨٢١٤٩١\\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Fig. II.

The numerical value of the letters of square III on Fig. II is 52 when added horizontally or perpendicularly, while diagonally the sum is 36 and 6 respectively. A peculiarity of this square is that the diagonal from left to right is composed of the four ب.

By the insertion of ب after ب and ل after ل a magic square of $6 \times 6$ cells is formed. I do not know whether such a one occurs on ṭāsāt.

The magic square of $3 \times 3$ cells, the smallest of the squares, is

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Al-Bānī, vol. IV, 118; Doutté, \textit{ibid.}, p. 235.}
\end{flushright}
associated with Saturn, the remotest of the seven planets. Its sacred numbers are 3, 9, 15, 45. The square of \(4 \times 4\) cells is Jupiter's, its sacred numbers are 4, 16, 34, 136.\(^{47}\)

**Tāsa I.**

The bronze bowl described here has a diameter of 6 inches, a depth of \(1\frac{3}{4}\). In the centre is a boss \(\frac{1}{2}\) inch high, 2 inches wide

![Interior of Bowl](image)

**Magic Inscription on Rim of Bowl.**

at the bottom, \(1\frac{1}{2}\) at the top (Fig. III). The rim of the bowl is about \(\frac{1}{8}\) of an inch wide. All details of the inscriptions and orna-

\(^{47}\)W. Ahrens, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 198, 201 f. also *Die Mag. Quadrate* At-Būsi's by the same author, in vol. XII.
mentations etc. are carefully executed. Much usage has almost effaced the inscriptions near and in the bottom of the bowl.

The Interior of the ǧāsa.

There are eight lines of magic signs on the top of the rim, divided by short lines ending at both ends in a hook, one pointing upward and the other downward (Fig. IIIb).

On the inner edge of the ǧāsa, encircling it, are the words of Sur. 20 vv. 3 to 7 engraved. The beginning of this inscription is indicated by a symbol resembling the "doubled" ǧā. Just below, and concentric with this inscription, is a large circle which is part of a system of skilfully connected and inscribed circles, which fill the interior of the ǧāsa. These circles, formed of double lines, a sort of ribbon ¼ inch wide, wind in and out, having neither a visible beginning nor an end. The idea is perhaps that all the virtues and graces contained in and conveyed by them are gathered in one indivisible whole, symbolical of the Unity of Allāh, cf. Sur. 112. This "ribbon" forms 6 circles of 2 inches in diameter, they appear as if hanging from the large circle. Three of them contain inscriptions, the other three, alternating with them, have each, in the middle, a magic square of 4 × 4 cells (Fig. II). The squares are formed of double lines and placed in such a position that the lower corners point to the centre of the ǧāsa. They are surrounded by inscriptions. One of the squares is a budūh. The 6 circles are connected by means of loops, smaller circles, each containing two or three magic signs. The spaces, above and below the connecting loop, resemble, roughly, cones. The upper ones are filled with four lines of magic signs and the lower with three (Figs. III, IV). Finally, this ribbon forms a circle in the bottom of the ǧāsa, having a diameter of 2½ inches. In the middle is the round boss; on its flat top is a magic square, with letters, of 4 × 4 cells (Fig. III). The sloping side of the boss is inscribed with magic signs (Fig. IIb).

The Exterior of the ǧāsa.

Encircling the ǧāsa, just below the rim, is the famous ʿayatu l-kursi, Sur. 2. v. 256. Its last two words are found in the cartouche following upon the name al-hamal, aries, a sign of the zodiac, falak al-burūğ, indicating the beginning of the order in which to
read the ḥāsa. Below the Throne Verse are twelve egg-shaped cartouches (Fig. Va), each preceded by the name of one of the signs of the zodiac. These names appear in the little triangular spaces formed at the top by the joining of two cartouches and the

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<th>No. 2</th>
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<td>![Cartouche Image]</td>
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</table>

**Fig. IV.**

circle above them. Six of the cartouches are inscribed with verses from the Qur'ān, while the remaining six, alternating with them, contain each six lines of magic signs interspersed with letters and, what are evidently, numerals.

The Cartouches.

In the cartouche preceded by:

48 For the sake of convenience I have drawn the cartouches in straight lines.

49 On another ḥāsa (IV) the signs of the zodiac are represented by images, cf. note 3.
1) Al-ḥamal, aries, are, besides the last two words of the Throne Verse, Sur. 97. vv. 1, 2.

2) At-lūr (tāsa has sōr), taurus, is a magic inscription. In it occur the letters a, k, h, خ, n, َث.

3) Al-γεζά, gemini, are Sur. 97. vv. 3, 4 and part of v. 5.

MAGIC INSCRIPTIONS ON THE OUTSIDE AND BOTTOM OF BOWL.

4) As-saraṭān, cancer, is a magic inscr. with the letters a, k, َس, َث, َن, َب, m.

5) Al-asad, leo, are the remainder of Sur. 97. v. 5, and Sur. 110. vv. 1, 2 to َل dīnī.

6) As-sunbulu, virgo (lit: ear of wheat), is a magic inscr. with the letters a, k, َت, َل, m, f (or q), َث, َت.

7) Al-mizān, libra, are the remainder of Sur. 110. v. 2 with the addition of al-qayūm “the Self-subsistent,” the basmala and the letters wāw and َلīf, the beginning of wāl-ʿaṣri “by the afternoon,” Sur. 103. v. 1, continued in No. 9, al-qaus.
8) Al-'aqrab, scorpio, is a magic inscr. with the letters a, d, k, h, ِ, n, m.

9) Al-qaus, sagittarius, is Sur. 103, cf. No. 7, adding yā ḥay. Ṭūṣa has ‘asr inst. of ‘aṣr.

10) Al-ḡadī, capricornus, is a magic inscr. with the letters a, k, f, h, l, m, n.

11) Ad-dalū, aquarius, are the basmala and Sur. 61. v. 13 beginning with nasrun minallāhi “help from God,” closing with O Muhammed! O ʿAlī, hēr ed-dīn “Best of the religion!”

12) Al-hūṭ, pisces, is a magic inscr. with the letters a, k, h, ِ, n, ِِ, ِ. l.

Below the cartouches appears a circular magic inscription containing the letters a, d, ِِ, f, k, l, m, n, h. The letter ِāʿ is found only on the rim, and ‘ayin only in the cartouche ḫār. All the other letters mentioned occur several times. It is noteworthy that the kāf, used in magic inscriptions, is always the “horizontal” one of Al-Birūnī. It does not occur in the non-magic inscriptions. Kāf is found in every line of the cartouches and once in every line of the upper triangular spaces between the circles, but never in the lower ones (Pl. Ia).

The frequent occurrence of kāf may be accounted for by the fact that great power is attributed to its inherent qualities. It does not only cure the milt, if written four times on a vessel, but produces union and friendship, if written 12 times on a bronze vessel. By it “Allāh causes His love to dwell in the hearts of His creatures.” A powerful talisman is formed by four “horizontal” kāf, united two by two and laid across one another. In the angles, thus formed, the names of the angels Ǧabrāʾīl, Mīḥāʾīl, ʿUzrāʾīl and Isrāfīl are written. The kāf stands probably for al-Kāf “the Sufficient One”? cf. Sur. XXXIX. 37, ‘alaisa allāhu bikāṣīn ‘abdahu? We may perhaps see in the hooked lines on the rim of the ṭūṣa connected letters kāf, such as found in the kāf talisman. The letter hāʾ has always the form ُ, never the round form, which is used for the numeral five.

Some of the magic signs resemble the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9, corresponding to the letters a, b, ِ, d, w, h, and ِ. According to the ‘ilm al-ḥurūf “the science of letters” almost any of the

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50 Al-Būnī, III, p. 43. For a drawing of the Kāf amulet see also T. Canaan, op. cit., p. 108.
letters of the alphabet may be regarded as the initial of an Attribute or Excellent Name of Allâh, or as that of a saint. Al-Bûnî describes the essences of the letters of the alphabet.

The magic letters are sometimes so arranged as to form sentences or words. For the most part however they seem to be just magic signs, or must be regarded as such, until a key for the solution of the mystery which surrounds them is found. P. Casanova discovered one for one particular inscription, but it is not of general application.

One sign, the meaning of which I cannot explain, and which I have not found elsewhere, is of frequent occurrence on this tâsa. It resembles the Arabic figure for eight with a hook at the top on the left, turned upward. Another very frequent sign resembles a Greek capital Φ, without the perpendicular line extending beyond the circle at the top (cf. Plates I. II. IV.). This sign is really the letter ħâ’, as is proved by the word ḫy on tâsa II. The ḥâ’ is exactly like this sign, and the ya’ is a mere twist to the left at the end of the perpendicular line.

The beginning of the inscription, which encircles the interior of the tâsa near the edge, is prefixed by the “doubled” ħâ’, referred to above. It opens with the basmala and continues, “in the Name of Allâh, in the Name of Him who causes all (mankind) to return (to Him), the Lord of the future and present world. There is neither a superior to Him nor one who brings Him to an end. His are what is in the high heavens etc.” (Sur. 20. vv. 5-7.)

The inscriptions in the circles, or medals, are unfortunately not well preserved. The opening lines contain for the most part “Excellent Names,” Sur. 20. v. 7, or šifât, of Allâh, what follows is too fragmentary to yield any connected information, so that neither date nor original ownership can be determined, if at all mentioned in the now illegible parts of the inscriptions. The inscription around the boss begins with al-‘uyûn wa . . . , the next few words are doubtful, but the closing words, are, wa nûr en-nahâr wa dâw’ al-gamr wa šu’â’ aš-šamâs. The last word, following upon šamâs, is doubtful.

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81 E. Rehatsek, op. cit., p. 150.
II.

Bronze ṭāsa of as-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr ‘Asad ed-Dīn Širkūh, 570AH.

This ṭāsa has a diameter of 7½ inches and a depth of 2¾. Upon it are no magic squares, and it lacks most of the symbols generally found on ṭāsūt. The only Arabic inscription is found on the outside, just below the edge, encircling the ṭāsa. Below the inscription is a mystic ornamentation, consisting of a large number of semi-circles, crossing each other in such a manner as to form, together with the top line, 13 small triangular segments of curved lines. Below these are two rows, each of 14 lozenge-shaped four-cornered fields, formed by the intersecting lines of the circles. The lower of these two rows is interspersed with 13 cone-shaped divisions. These 54 divisions probably represent a conventionalized magic square. All the divisions are filled with small magic signs resembling numerals and letters. Frequent among these are the ḥā’ maṣqūq, lām, the round ḥā’ and a sign resembling an omega closed at the top. In the lower point of one of the large squares occurs a ǧīm. In the circular magic inscription upon which the semi-circles rest occurs the horizontal kāf. All the signs of this inscription are large. Concentric with it are traces of at least six more magic inscriptions of small size letters.

The Interior of the ṭāsa.

A magic inscription, of small signs, runs along the top. In it occur several horizontal kāf. The decoration below this inscription is similar to that on the outside. As there are only nine semi-circles, the divisions formed by them are fewer and larger. At the top of the ṭāsa are nine triangular segments, formed in the same manner as the corresponding ones on the outside. There are 18 large fields of a triangular form and nine, smaller than these, of a conical form. All the lines are naturally curved. All the divisions are filled with magic signs and letters. In 16 of the 18 large sections occurs the horizontal kāf, in most of them at least three times, never less than twice. It may occur oftener, as well as in

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24 Cf. note 41.
the remaining two sections, but the thick solder of mended places and heavy tinning, hard to remove, have covered some parts of the bowl where it was injured. This *fāsa* must have been much in demand during the many centuries of its existence, for whatever was below these sections has practically disappeared by much rubbing.

The words in this inscription are, for the most part, divided, and the parts are placed above one another, as is done in ornamental Arabic inscriptions. The first part of the words is generally in bold characters, while the remainder is mostly of very small letters, difficult to decipher.

1) Original diacritical points.—1b) Orig. d. p. on ش.—1d) Orig. d. p. on ف.2) Orig. *shedde*.—3) Orig. vowel.—4) Instead of *fā*, the word "proven" is found on some *fāsāt*, e. g. Reinaud, op. cit., vol. II. 310; Rehatsek, op. cit., vol. XIV. 204.—5) Omit و.6) Orig. *sukūn*.—7) Upper line of ي is not engraved.

*Translation.*

"It was prepared and carved while the moon was in the scorpion, by order of as-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Mansūr 'Asad ed-Dīn Sīrūh, in the year 570.* This blessed *fāsa* (protects) against all

*Bokhārī reports, on the authority of al-'Aswad, a *ḥadīth*, which he claimed to have received from *Āisha, in which Muhammed permits the use of *rūqāya*, charms or spells, in case of stings by snakes or scorpions. But the *rūqāya* was, according to 'Abd el-'Azīz, on the authority of 'Āisha, an invocation to God for healing; cf. *Ṣaḥḥ, Constantinople ed., Part vii, p. 24.*
poisons. In it are gathered notable (or: well tried) benefits, such as are against the sting of the snake and scorpion. And against the fever, the pain of parturition (of women) and the mare, and the (bad) milk of nursing women. Against the bite of a (mad) dog. Against bowel complaint and colic, and against hemorhacy and plagues, against fever of the liver and milt. Against power and magic spells. Against pain of the heart. Against the evil eye and bleary-eyedness, against inflamed eyes and cold in the head. Against the whitlow, fluxes, flatulence, piles and against cold humour. It is for the stopping of a haemorrhage, and for all diseases and complaints. And he who has been stung, or his messenger, shall drink out of it, and he will be cured by the permission of God the Most High."

It is generally accepted that 'Asad ed-Dīn Širkūh, uncle of Šalāh ed-Dīn, died in Egypt 564 AH, but, according to the inscription on this tāsa, he was still alive in 570 AH. The designation as Sulṭān is surprising as Širkūh was not an independent prince. However this title was at times bestowed upon the highest official as a laqab (for references see Enc. of Is. art. Sulṭān) before it became the sovereign title of the ruler of the country. The domineering personality of Širkūh and his quasi independent position in Egypt might have readily suggested to an admiring or overawed subject the appropriateness of bestowing upon him the laqab Sulṭān. A not infrequent procedure in the Near East in similar cases for very personal reasons.

It is noteworthy that it is not necessary for the sick person to drink from the bowl, but that he will equally benefit by its healing qualities if his messenger drink from it in his stead. The liquid to be used is according to an inscription on a tāsa of the year 463 AH (published by Rehatsek, op. cit., vol. XIV, pp. 205 ff.), "whatever of water, oil or milk may be ready at hand."

The legality of the use of charms in cases of illness is probably based on the hadith of al-'Aswad, while the invocation generally finds a place at the end in the concentrated form of bi idīn rabbina, which has also the authority of 'Aisha, or something similar. Abu Sa'id el-Khudri reports a hadith (Bokhari, op. cit., Part vii, pp. 22 f.) which shows that the Prophet was not without a sense of humor. In answer to the question of some of the 'asbāb, who had cured the šeh of a certain tribe, who had been bitten by a scorpion, by the recitation of the first Surah, whether they might accept the goats which they had stipulated as the price for healing him, Muhammed said laughingly: "Who has taught you that it is a charm? Take them, and reserve a portion for me."
ON THE ORIGIN OF CERTAIN COPTIC VERBAL FORMS

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I. The First Perfect

A very few early texts in several different Coptic dialects (Sahidic, Sub-Akhmimic, Fayumic and one or more of the less-known idioms which are subsumed under the label “Middle Egyptian”) make use of a verbal auxiliary identical with the First Perfect in meaning, and also in form except that it shows an initial ḥ which the First Perfect lacks. Owing to the paucity of materials, it is impossible to construct a complete paradigm of this early Coptic auxiliary, even when we combine all of the forms found in different dialects. Table 1 gives all of the forms which I have been able to find, with symbols indicating the dialect or dialects in which each form appears; the complete paradigm of the First Perfect is added for comparison. All forms included in the table are taken from passages where the meaning is certain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early form with ḥ</th>
<th>Normal form of First Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st s.</td>
<td>hai- (S, F, M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd m. s.</td>
<td>hak- (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd f. s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 I use the symbol M to designate the last named group of Coptic idioms, and M. Eg. for the language discussed in Gunn’s Studies in Egyptian Syntax and Gardiner’s Egyptian Grammar; further, d. for the demotic script, and D. for the successive forms of the Egyptian language which were written in that script. The other abbreviations used in this article are the familiar ones; thus Aₐ for Sub-Akhmimic. Note that M, as used here, does not include F.

2 The existence of the early paradigm with initial ḥ was first pointed out by Crum, together with its correct derivation from D. ḫ: AZ 36 (1898), 140. See further Spiegelberg, OLZ 7 (1904), 199; Sethe, AZ 52 (1914), 112-116; Crum, JEA 13 (1927), 21 (best references to the sources).—The related relative formation ṣeḥ “who has (done)” was first pointed out by Ludwig Stern, AZ 24 (1886), 133, with a series of etymological remarks which come astonishingly close to the truth for that early day.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early form with h</th>
<th>Normal form of First Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd m. s.</td>
<td>haf- (F, M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd f. s.</td>
<td>has- (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>han- (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pl.</td>
<td>hau- (F, M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before noun subject</td>
<td>ha- (A₂, F)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the perfect tense with initial h is in any case an early phenomenon in the history of the Coptic language, and since, as we shall see, it is derived from a form which occurs in Ptolemaic and Roman Demotic, we should expect to find it well represented in Old Coptic. I have found only one example: ΑΒΔΕΝC in the magical text Paris L, line 35, which doubtless represents hafšens, “he asked her”.

It is also rather surprising to find no Akhmimic form in the paradigm, since Akhmimic in many respects is the most archaic of the Coptic dialects. However, the A perfect relative formative etah-, “who has (done)”, is obviously related.

Of the two manuscripts which were practically our only sources for A₂, the Gospel of John does not use our form at all; while the Acts of Paul uses it only before noun subject, but uses it there regularly with only two exceptions. Hasty search in Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien* (1934), fails to reveal any example.

The fact that no Bohairic example has been found, may be due to the lack of early materials in B.

There is perhaps no text which uses our form with h consistently, to the exclusion of the normal First Perfect without h. The fact that both forms occur side by side is consistent with the behavior of the consonant h in Coptic manuscripts generally: “Weakness or absence of h is undoubtedly a general tendency, not only in Sahidic, but also in other dialects.” This is particularly true of h < Egyptian h. If our auxiliary with initial h had been known

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8 For the text, see Erman, ΑΖ 21 (1883), 100 = Georg Möller in Preisendanz, *Pap. graecae mag.*, I, p. 70. That ΑΒ may represent the now more familiar haf- was suggested, with some hesitation, by Spiegelberg on the margin of his copy of ΑΖ 38, p. 91 (now in my possession).
8 Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 110.
8 Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 250.
to scholars before any etymology for the First Perfect had been proposed, I do not think the identity of the two forms would ever have been questioned. Unfortunately the First Perfect without $h$ looks like a derivative of the L. Eg.-D. auxiliary verb $i\text{-}tr$-,” “to do”, which is known to have lost its $r$ in certain forms long before Coptic times. This etymology was proposed at least as long ago as 1880, and formed a part of the common fund of Egyptological belief before the synonymous form with initial $h$ was discovered; apparently it remains a part of that common fund today, though at the cost of separating two Coptic forms which, to my mind, are obviously one and the same.

The derivation of the perfect auxiliary with initial $h$ is not disputed: it comes from the verb $w\ddot{\jmath}h$, one of whose many meanings

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* Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 374. Six years later Stern had seen his error: see above, footnote 2. His Coptic grammar remained, and still remains, an indispensable tool, constantly in the hand of every Coptician; but the paragraph in the *Zeitschrift* seems to have passed unnoticed.

* The derivation of the First Perfect from some form of the verb $i\text{-}ry$ “to do” is maintained by Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, Part I (1929), p. 1; Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (1933), § 546; Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (1925), § 181; Till, *Akhmimisch-Koptische Grammatik* (1928), § 132a and *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (1931), p. 54; I accepted this derivation and taught it to my students until recently, and I am not aware that anyone now living is on record against it. The derivation from $w\ddot{\jmath}h$, “to finish”, which I am advocating in the present article, was proposed by Spiegelberg in *OLZ* 7 (1904), 199 and 25 (1922), 399, note 3; also by Sottas, *P. dém. de Lille* (1921), p. 38 and in greater detail in *Revue égyptologique*, N.S., vol. 2, fasc. 3-4 (1924), 13-16; but Spiegelberg afterwards withdrew his support from it, *Dem. Gr.* § 188 Anm. Both Spiegelberg and Sottas rightly pointed out that Heinrich Brugsch had discerned the historical relation between the Demotic and Coptic forms; they were unaware that Stern had made the discovery even before Brugsch (see above, footnote 2). Stern and Brugsch, like several more recent writers, excusably misread $d. w\ddot{\jmath}h$ as the face-hieroglyph $\dot{h}r$ (which Brugsch further mistransliterated $\dot{h}a$, the two mistakes serving in some degree to cancel one another). See also Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, pp. 107-108; Griffith and Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, p. 30 (note on line 24); Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, vol. 3, p. 224, note 14.—A derivation of the First Perfect from L. Eg. $i\omega sf (\dot{h}r) sdm$ was proposed by Sethe in *ZDMG* 79 (1925), 292; this was also included in the view of Stern, who wrongly supposed that the d. form which we now read $w\ddot{\jmath}h sf sdm$ could be derived from $i\omega sf \dot{h}r sdm$.—The excellent remarks of Hess, *Der demotische Teil der dreisprachigen Inschrift von Rosette* (1902), pp. 51 and 53, unfortunately escaped my notice until this article was in type.
is "to finish". This verb is often used in Ptolemaic and Roman Demotic as an auxiliary with perfect or pluperfect meaning, often (but by no means always) with the added connotation "already", for example, md·t nb·t r·dd·t w3h·y ir·w n·t dr·w, "all things which you have said, I have (now, already) done them for you, all of them". It occurs ten times in the Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden, and seems there (as often in earlier texts) to be a precise equivalent of the Coptic First Perfect.

Both Spiegelberg and Sottas have pointed out that the royal name Apriēs (from w3h tb p3 R', the vulgar equivalent of w3h tb R') presents an admirable phonetic parallel to afsōtm, "he has heard", from wēh·f sdm, "he finished hearing". Other, less close, phonetic parallels, are the personal names Χαποχρατης, Χαποχωνης, from 'nh p3 hr'd, 'nh·f n Hns.

A detail tending to support the derivation of afsōtm from wēh·f sdm is the coincidence between the d. variant r-wēh·f sdm (i.e., with a prothetic vowel in front of wēh·f) and the variant eafsōtm of the Coptic First Perfect. So long as this was supposed to be the circumstantial e-, its occurrence here was anomalous. It is now seen to have quite a different origin, being probably a remnant of the first syllable of *we3hāfsōtm.

Other Coptic derivatives of the auxiliary wēh, such as the very interesting Sahidic forms collected by Crum, Monastery of Eiphanius, II, p. 291, no. 544, note 3, are not discussed here since they have no direct bearing on the etymology of the First Perfect.

All forms of this auxiliary, in Coptic as well as in Demotic, are restricted to perfect or pluperfect meaning.

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9 I. Kh., 5, 28. For this D. auxiliary in general, see Spiegelberg, Dem. Gr., §§ 188-194.
10 See the glossary of Griffith and Thompson, no. 592; their reading "hr(1)" , which Thompson has now abandoned (A Family Archive from Siut, glossary, no. 83) led Sottas (op. cit., p. 16) to the erroneous conclusion that the auxiliary wēh does not occur in the Magical Papyrus. Its absence from that text would be hard to explain.
11 Pointed out and correctly explained by Spiegelberg, OLZ 25 (1922), 399, n. 3, and Dem. Gr., § 189, Anm.
12 Steindorff, Kopt. Gr., § 328.
13 The e- which sometimes occurs in front of ṣare- remains unexplained. Other apparently anomalous examples of e- introducing independent statements are so rare that they may perhaps be disregarded; but see Till, A.-K. Gr., § 141k.
14 The evidence for this is overwhelming, and the isolated F fragment of
Coptic Verbal Forms

All forms of the First Perfect, in all dialects, appear, therefore, to be perfectly normal derivatives of the sdm= f form of w3h- with the single exception of the second person feminine singular, which is are- in B and generally in S, al- in F, ar- in A, A₂, and sometimes in S. The r or l of these forms cannot have originated in the sdm= f form of w3h; its probable source will be discussed in the third part of this paper.

II. The Second Present and the Circumstantial

Anyone who begins the study of Coptic through the Sahidic dialect must wonder why the Second Present and the Circumstantial are treated as two distinct tenses;¹⁵ for in that dialect the two are morphologically identical and differ only syntactically, the Second Present being used only in main clauses¹⁶ and the Circumstantial only in subordinate ones.¹⁷ Semantically, the Second Present represents time which is absolutely present, and the Circumstantial, time which is present relatively to the main clause on

Job xxx, 9 (Coptica, III, p. 29) alleged as an exception by Sethe apud Crum, JEA 13 (1927), 21, note 4, has to be interpreted accordingly: tenû de hâîš[aap nêu n]ukithara [. . .] aw ò anak hauû[ò nàwà] means "Now I have become for them a song, and they have gossiped about me", even though this is not a precise translation of the Greek (it happens, perhaps by a mere coincidence, to be a possible rendering of the Hebrew tenses, as my colleague Prof. W. A. Irwin assures me); note, further, that the next clause (verse 10) uses past tenses both in Greek and in Sahidic.—That the forms translated as present by Erman in AJ 44 (1907), 113 are all really past, is now generally recognised.

¹⁵ They are actually treated as one by Steindorff, Kurzer Abriss der kopt. Gr. (1921), § 71. This was doubtless meant only as a simplification for beginners, not as a retraction of the opinion which he had indicated in Kopt. Gr. (1904), § 286, Anm. The same explanation perhaps applies to his treatment of the Third Future in S as a single tense.

¹⁶ It seems to me improbable that the Second Present could be used in protasis, as stated by Steindorff, K. Gr. (1904), § 481 and Till, A.-K. Gr., § 220; all examples are probably to be treated as Circumstantial, as is done by Mallon, Gr. copte (1926), § 388 and Chaine, Éléments de gr. dialectale copte, § 920. The only apparent exception known to me is atetnsëtme, "if you hear," quoted by Till from Zach. vi, 15 (A., ed. Bouriant), where Till himself very properly questions the text.

¹⁷ A further syntactic difference will probably be found to be that the Second Present can only be negativated with (n-) . . . an, and the Circumstantial only with -tm- (=tém-). See Steindorff, K. Gr., §§ 459, 482; Stern, K. Gr., §§ 390, 452; Mallon, Gr. copte, §§ 237.3, 256.
which it depends. The whole distinction, in Sahidic, seems to lack empirical reality.

In A₂, the situation is the same as in S. In A, F and B the syntactic difference is accompanied by a morphological one, for in these three dialects the Second Present begins with the vowel a while the Circumstantial begins (as in S and A₂) with e. In no dialect is there any consonantal difference between the two. Table 2 exhibits all forms of both tenses in the five adequately known dialects. For a reason which will appear later, the forms of the Negative Present of Custom are also tabulated here for comparison, but without their characteristic initial consonants (mp in B, m in the other dialects).

**Table 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circumstantial</th>
<th>Second Present</th>
<th>Negative Present of Custom, omitting its initial consonants (mp in B, m in S, A, A₂ and F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(all dialects, except as specified)</td>
<td>Sahidic, Sub-Akhmimic, Fayumic, Bohairic</td>
<td>Sahidic, Sub-Akhmimic, Fayumic, Bohairic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st s.</th>
<th>ei-</th>
<th>ei-</th>
<th>-ei-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd m. s.</td>
<td>ek-</td>
<td>ek-</td>
<td>-ek-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd f. s.</td>
<td>ere- (S, A, A₂, B)</td>
<td>ere- (A, B)</td>
<td>-ere- (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ele- (F)</td>
<td>ale- (F)</td>
<td>-ele- (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd m. s.</td>
<td>ef-</td>
<td>af-</td>
<td>-af-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd f. s.</td>
<td>es-</td>
<td>as-</td>
<td>-as-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pl.</td>
<td>en-</td>
<td>en-</td>
<td>-en-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pl.</td>
<td>eten- (S, A, A₂)</td>
<td>eten- (A)</td>
<td>-aten- (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eteten- (F)</td>
<td>ateten- (F)</td>
<td>-aten- (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ereten- (B)</td>
<td>areten- (B)</td>
<td>-areten- (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pl. Before noun subject</td>
<td>ere- (S, A, B)</td>
<td>ere- (B)</td>
<td>-ere- (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ele- (F)</td>
<td>ale- (F)</td>
<td>-ele- (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e- (A)</td>
<td>a- (A)</td>
<td>-a- (A less usually)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relation shown in the above table between the Second Present and the Circumstantial may be explained historically in either of two ways: either the distinction between these two tenses is an ancient one which has been lost in S and A₂, or it is a more recent one which developed in A, F and B after their separation from S and A₂. Although we possess an almost continuous series
of linguistic monuments going back more than three thousand years before the date of the earliest known Coptic texts and including, presumably, texts representative of all of the Coptic dialects in pre-Coptic forms, yet the nature of hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic writing makes any effort to sort the texts according to dialects extremely difficult; I shall say nothing further here about this method of investigation. Another method, which Romance philologists are applying with great success to the data embodied in the linguistic atlases of France and Italy, starts from the geographical distribution of many specific phenomena at a single moment of time: this method is hampered in the case of Coptic by the twin facts that all of the Coptic dialects are now dead and that their geographical distribution, when they were all living, is subject to grave doubts. In spite of these difficulties, some progress has been made in studying the historical interrelations of the dialects.  

Approaching our problem from this angle, I think it may be said that a distinction which exists in A, F and B but not in S or A₂, is more probably an ancient than a recent one.

If the distinction is ancient, in the sense of having once existed in the ancestral forms of S and A₂ as well as in those of A, F and B, then our inability to distinguish dialects need not prevent us from distinguishing these two tenses in pre-Coptic forms of the Egyptian language: if there were two Egyptian tense-forms corresponding to the Coptic Second Present and Circumstantial respectively, there is at least a reasonable chance that the two may differ observably in Egyptian writing.

There are in fact, as has long been known, two etymologically distinct forms of expression in Egyptian which offer themselves for study here:

(1) The Middle Egyptian *lw-f hr sdm*, literally "he is upon hearing," which lost its preposition *hr* "upon", becoming *lw-f sdm* in L. Eg.; and M. Eg. *lw-f sdm(w)*, literally "he is (in the condition of having been) heard." In L. Eg. these two forms have become identical except that the one uses the Infinitive and the other the Qualitative; Coptic uses both the Infinitive and the Qualitative in forming both the Second Present and the Circum-

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18 See especially Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, Part II, Chapter I.
19 In this paper I extend the term "Qualitative" to the Egyptian ancestors of that Coptic form, for the sake of simplicity.
stantial, and the distinction between the Infinitive and the Qualitative in Coptic is essentially the same as in L. Eg.

(2) L. Eg. ird-ir f sdm, a combination of a sdm-ir f form of iry "to do" with the Infinitive, meaning literally "he does hear." This form was probably not originally used with the Qualitative, but it may have come to be so used in Demotic. 20

In what follows, I shall cite these two Egyptian forms of expression as (1) and (2) respectively.

It is a painful fact, but a fact nevertheless, that what appear to be L. Eg. examples of both (1) and (2) can be found in both main and subordinate clauses, and expressing past, present and future time: each of the two appears to cover all, and more than all, of the uses served by the Coptic Second Present and Circumstantial. It is suspected that this apparently hopeless confusion may be at least partly due to the odd orthography of Late Egyptian. 21 Demotic orthography, in this case, is even more confusing than that of L. Eg.—or so it appears at present. Future research will have to wrestle with this aspect of the problem, but the prospects cannot be called encouraging.

In M. Eg., where (1) is a clearly differentiated form and (2) can hardly be said to exist, (1) is often used with pronoun subject (though not with noun subject) in subordinate clauses; and when so used it corresponds very closely indeed to the usage of the Coptic Circumstantial. In L. Eg., not only is this circumstantial use of (1) extended to the form with noun subject, but the same introductory element iw (or what appears to be that) is constantly prefixed to sentences of many other types, giving them circumstantial force. This last function is performed in all Coptic dialects by a prefixed e- (never a-, and never ere-, ele-). The apparent identity of this e- with L. Eg. iw on the one hand and with the initial vowel of the Coptic Circumstantial on the other (contrasting, in A, F and B, with the initial vowel a of the Second Present) is a reason for suspecting that the Circumstantial (but not, or not

20 See Junker, Papyrus Lonsdorfer I (SB. Akad. Wien, 197. Bd., 2. Abh., 1921), p. 22; of the two examples which Junker cites (Ryl. 226, note 20 and 243, note 17) the former may well be an Infinitive with passive sense, as Griffith suggested, but the latter is almost certainly a Qualitative. The real difficulty here lies in the apparently hopeless confusion (rightly stressed by Junker) between demotic spellings of i-ir and those of iw.

21 Cf. footnote 24.
necessarily, the Second Present) may likewise be derived from L. Eg. *iw.*

(2), it will be remembered, was a L. Eg. combination of a *sd₃m*-f
form of a verb *ṭry* "to do" with (originally) the Infinitive of the
main verb. A *sd₃m*-f form of the same verb, and one which may
reasonably be thought to be identical with the form used in (2),
appears in Coptic in the Negative Present of Custom,²² where it
is invariably preceded by the negative element *m*- (written and
perhaps pronounced *mp*- in B, the *p* if real being derivable from
*mpef-*) . The L. Eg. ancestor of this negative element was written
*bw*; its L. Eg. pronunciation is unknown.²³ The invariable pres-
ence of this negative element in the Negative Present of Custom,
and its invariable absence in (2), would perhaps go far toward
explaining the differences in vocalization which exist, in F and A₂,
between the Negative Present of Custom and the Second Present—
if it could be shown on other grounds that the Second Present is
descended from (2).

Personally, I believe that the Second Present is descended from
(2) and the Circumstantial from (1), but I do not see how either
of these propositions can be quite conclusively proved or disproved.
I base this scepticism on the peculiarities of L. Eg. and d. spelling
which have already been mentioned. Gardiner, in his brilliant
discussion of the tense-formative *ere-* in L. Eg.,²⁴ has shown con-
cclusively that certain forms of *iw* and *ṭry* were confused, at least
in writing, as early as the nineteenth dynasty—in other words, at
the very beginning of the L. Eg. period. When once this fact is
admitted, what reliance can be placed on *any* writing of either *iw*
or *ṭry* in Late Egyptian or demotic?

The probable conclusion seems to me to be, that (2) had lost its
*r* by the nineteenth dynasty, except in the second person feminine
singular, in the form before noun subject, and perhaps in the
second person plural (cf. B *aret-en*-). Those forms which had lost
the *r* were then probably identical in consonantal structure with
the corresponding forms of (1). At some date which we cannot

²² See Table 2.
²³ Albright believes that it "was presumably vocalized *bāw*" (*The
Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 24). For my part,
I doubt whether it ever contained either a *b* or a *w* in actual speech: see
*AJSL* 48 (1931), 42, and Czermak, *Die Laute der äg. Sprache*, §§ 118
and 138.
²⁴ *JEA*, 16 (1930), 220-228.
now determine, this close resemblance between (1) and (2) in all but two or three forms led to the equalizing of these two or three forms also, by the transfer of the consonant r which had survived in these forms of (2) to the corresponding forms of (1), where it was etymologically out of place. When this had happened, the two paradigms (1) and (2) may well have been identical with the Coptic Circumstantial and Second Present, respectively. But I must repeat that I do not see how this conclusion can be proved or disproved.

III. The Verbal Infix -re- of the 2nd Person Feminine Singular

There exists in all Coptic dialects a verbal infix -r- or -re-(F -l- or -le-) whose function is to mark the second person feminine singular as subject. It is found in all dialects in the Second Present, the Second and Third Futures, the First and Second Perfects, the Imperfect, the Circumstantial, the Conditional, and the Negative Present of Custom; in S, B and F in the (affirmative) Present of Custom; in B and F in the First Future; and in F alone in the First Present. The Present of Custom and its negative counterpart contain the verb iry "to do", and I have tried to show in the second part of this paper that the Second Present probably contained the same verb. In the light of present knowledge, the Second Present would seem to have been probably the most important source of our infix. The Present of Custom is ruled out in A and A₂, which show the r (of hₗr?) in all forms, and therefore is not likely to have been a principal source in the other dialects; while the Negative Present of Custom is a relatively uncommon form, and will probably have played only a subsidiary rôle. Other possible sources for the infix are the Conditional, whose origin is totally obscure, and the Third Future,

25 Infixes of similar form and related origin exist also for the second person plural, and for noun subject, but no two of the three are quite alike in their distribution. For simplicity's sake, the infix of the second person feminine singular, which is the most widely used of the three, is alone discussed here.


27 Two different etymologies for the Conditional have been offered, one
whose derivation no longer seems as obvious as it did before Gardiner
published the article on the tense-formative ere- which I have men-
tioned above. The Second Future is almost certainly a direct
derivative of the Second Present (S and presumably A₂ efna-
AFB afna-) and Circumstantial (efna- in all dialects). The First
and Second Perfects, the Imperfect, the Circumstantial, the Fayumic
First Present and First Future and the Bohairic First Future
probably adopted the infix after it had already come to be felt as
a sign of the second person feminine singular in the Second Present
and the Negative Present of Custom.

by Spiegelberg, Dem. Gr., § 499, and the other by Sethe, ZDMG 79 (1925),
296, note 1, and AZ 64 (1929), 66; neither is very convincing.

28 This remark, which was based originally on the phenomena observed
by Gardiner in M. Eg. and L. Eg., is reinforced by two facts of Coptic
morphology: first, the Third Future presents only a single paradigm in
each dialect, differing in this respect from the Second Future which pre-
sents two paradigms corresponding to the Second Present and Circum-
stantial, respectively, in those dialects (A, F, B) where the Second Present
and Circumstantial differ morphologically from one another; second, the
single paradigm of the Third Future corresponds to that of the Second
Present in A, but to that of the Circumstantial in F and B.
RAS SHAMRA NOTES IV:
THE CONFLICT OF BAAL AND THE WATERS

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(1) The Text

In Syria XVI. 29-45, M. Virolleaud has published a fresh Hebrew text from Ras Shamra. Of the tablet, which is incomplete, he presents but one face containing a single column of text, and in deferring the publication of the reverse states that the subjects it treats are very different from those on the published face. The editor expresses the gist of this new epical fragment, as he interprets it, by the title "La révolte de Košer contre Baal."

The text may be divided into three acts on both literary and dramatic account. Lines 1-10 present a dialogue between the divine hero and Kuthar; ll. 11-27 pictures in Homeric fashion the combat between the hero and his opponents; ll. 28 ff. constitute an epilogue in which, after a couplet describing the victor's triumph, Athtart takes the rôle.

The accompanying plate presents, in Hebrew transliteration, parts one and three in running form. But part two is a specimen of highly developed poetic, perhaps choric, art the most remarkable that has yet appeared in these texts. And accordingly I have attempted to present the at once metrical and dramatic style in tabular form of lines and columns. This exhibit will, I trust, explain itself; the lines are to be read one after the other, the columnar lines being applied to collate the parallel recurrent phrases.

1 Cf. Z. S. Harris's article in this JOURNAL, 1934, 80 ff., and for parallels in the Hebrew Bible (studied independently of these texts), the several illuminating articles by Principal Slotki, e.g. AJSL of Oct., 1933, Journal Manchester Eg. and Or. Soc., XVIII, in both of which the writer lists his earlier titles. In similar vein is the article by Walker and Lund on "The Literary Structure of the Book of Habakkuk," JBL 1935, 355 ff.

2 Cf. the writer's Notes III, supra 89 ff., for a similar presentation. For citation of the earlier epical texts I use the following sigillia: A = Syria XII. 193 ff.; B = XIII. 113 ff.; C = XIV. 125 ff.; D = XV. 307 ff. I have again to thank my colleague Dr. Harris for his kind aid in preparing the final copy for the plate.

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Some few remarks may be made on this graphic form. By the arrangement proposed the poem divides into two equal strophes of 12 lines each; and the forms are almost wholly correspondent. I had earlier thought of supplying in B 2 the plus contained in B 14, as a clerical omission; but I have avoided the heroic treatment by my attempt at interpretation. Similarly I have speculated whether C 3 should not be supplied before D 15; it must be supplied in thought before the following choric expression. I might compare the actually unsyntactical repetition at Ps. 18:14 from v. 13, of the phrase "hailstones and coals of fire." Also there is unequal balancing of form between the two strophes; C 3 and G 10 stand sole, but their quantum is made up by the parallelistic J 19 and 23, which have no parallel in the first strophe. There is a similar phenomenon in the poetical passage treated by Dr. Harris in his article cited above.

In respect to literary form the variations in this poem constitute an interesting phenomenon. Under E there is the alternation of subjects of the verb, with accompanying grammatical change in gender. Under F there is the progress of action on part of the berserker hero, from "smiting the shoulder" and "the chest" of his two antagonists, to his "smashing the head" of the one and "the forehead" of the other, this along with alternation of verbal tense. I 12 with its introductory preceptive particle l- is a demand; the parallel simple impf. at l. 20 is statement of fact, the result demanded.

(2) The Myth

The myth is that of the rebellion of the waters personified in the Sea and the River. The genius of the former is Zebûl-Yam, Abode-of-the-Sea, of the latter Tâpiât-nahar, Ruler (the Biblical "judge")-of-the-River.\(^*\) The River is the fabulous water-supply

\(^*\) "Abode," i.e. temple, etc., is a surrogate for the divine name as here and in the earlier texts, Zebûl-Baal; cf. later Hebrew maqâm, etc.

[A striking parallel to the River-Judge is reflected by the legal provisions in cuneiform law whereby disputed cases are presented to the "River-god" for decision by ordeal; cf. e.g., Assyrian Laws, KVI. 1. §§ 17, 24, 25. By an interesting coincidence, the same issue of Syria in which the present text is published illustrates a statuette from Mari inscribed with the name of Idi-4Nîrûm (Pl. ix), with the Sumerian and Akkadian equivalents for "river." The date of the Mari statuettes is Early Dynastic, i.e., cir. 3000 B.C.—E. A. S.]
of the earth; cf. "the River" which "went forth to water the earth" in the Eden story (see Skinner, Genesis, 62 ff.). The myth is similar to that in the first of the Babylonian Seven Tablets of Creation, of the war waged against the gods by Tiamat and her associates; it is not the Biblical story of the Noachian deluge. Compare also the myth of the rebellious Sons of God in Gen. 6, and its later counterpart in Enoch, cc. 6 ff. But the present myth has its independence and serves to illustrate much mythological language of the Hebrew Bible.

Such reminiscences are the following: Ps. 29:3, "The voice of Y. is upon the waters," and v. 10, "Y. took his seat on the Flood, and Y. sits a king forever." Ps. 93 is a brief commentary on our myth: "Established is thy throne from eld. . . . The rivers of Y. lift up, they lift up their voice, the rivers lift up their . . . [pounding?]. More than the voice of many waters, more glorious than the breakers of the sea, glorious in the height is Y." Compare the reminiscences of such a divine conflict at Ps. 18:14 ff., e.g.: "thundered in heaven Y., and the Highest gave his voice. . . . And he sent his arrows and scattered them [no immediate antecedent!], and lightnings he shot [?], and confounded them. And were seen the channels of the waters . . . at thy chiding, O Y." A similar case is found at Is. 17:12 f., where mythological language is inserted into the historical prospect, with an inimitable alliteration and syntax like instances in the Ras Shamra texts:

Ah, the roar of many peoples, 
like the roar of seas they roar, 
And clash of nations like clash 
of mighty waters a-clashing, 
Nations like the clash of many waters a-clashing.—
And He scolds it and it flees afar.

Again the singular "it," perhaps better "him," without antecedent. (I have followed the Hebrew text, pace the critics, whose classical taste is offended by the repetitions.) Further there is the striking literary reminiscence of the epical l. 12 at Is. 57:20:

A similar passage of singularly alliterative character appears at Ps. 46:3 f.
The action and the *dramatis personae* of the myth are at first sight obscure, this largely owing to the broken condition of the first four lines. M. Virolleaud, as his title proposes, discovers a contest between the highest Baal and the well known genius of these tablets Kuthar (also with the composite name Kuthar-and-Hasis, as earlier, and with a new epithet Kuthar-ṣmdm), with Aleyan-Baal arrayed on the latter's side. But the identity of the unnamed divine speaker in the opening lines is revealed in the response made to him by Kuthar in ll. 7 ff. (as I interpret): "I say to thee [not "go," with Vir.], to Zebül-Baal, I repeat to the Cloud-Rider: Thy enemies the Baals thou shalt smash ... thou shalt take thy everlasting sovereignty." Now Zebül-Baal is no other than Aleyan as the parallelism in A i. 14; iii. 3, proves, while "Cloud-Rider" is also epithet of Aleyan, with B iii. 11, 18; iv. 122; D ii. 7. On the other hand the named opponents are Yam "Sea," l. 13 =Zebül-Yam, l. 14 etc., and Nahar "River," ll. 13, 20 =Ruler-of-the-River, ll. 15 etc. The former deity is also addressed as 'z ym, "Mighty-One-of-the-Sea," l. 17. It is their waters which "surge up to the throne and seat" of Aleyan Baal, ll. 12, 20. For another name given to this deity in the "scolding of names," l. 19, see notes below.

There arises the problem of the identity of the "Baals" who are spoken of as "thy (Aleyan's) enemies," ll. 8 f., and whose "death" is referred to at ll. 32, 34, 36. They can be no other than the deities of the deep and their associates whom Aleyan "smashed"; they are not the whole pantheon. Indeed in the combat Baal has his cortège of followers, expressed in parallel phrases, ll. 13, 21 and ll. 15, 23 (for the terms see below).

The third act, ll. 28 ff., with the introduction of Ath tart and her "scolding" of Aleyan and crying "shame" on him, raises yet another problem. That goddess has appeared hitherto only in the smaller Tablets, except for a case of disputed spelling (ʾttʾrt for ʾttʾrt?), B ii. 13. Why her umbrage here is not obvious. I can only compare Ishtar's dismay and rage over the flood in the Gilgamesh Epic, in truly feminine passion. Ath tart's motive may

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*Virolleaud, p. 29, discussing the alleged enmity of Kuthar towards Baal makes the point that he is called "Son of the Sea" at B vii. 15; but the interpretation is doubtful, and in any case we can hardly expect logic in these erratic deities.*
probably be explained thus: Her complaint, ll. 29 f., is that the destruction of the Sea involves that of the River; it is the fate of the latter that outrages her. I can but suppose that the myth involved lies in the problem facing nature, of which Athtar as goddess of fertility was the peculiar patroness, if the River, i.e. the rivers, are suppressed equally with the Sea. Their punishment and restraint equally with the Sea was necessary in view of the destructive spates, sails, of Syria and Arabia. Their equality is expressed at Ps. 24:2, "He has founded it [the earth] upon the seas, establishes it on the rivers." (N. b. the variation of tense just as in the present poem.) Again Ps. 74:15, "Thou hast dried up ever-running rivers"; for the "drying up" cf. our text at 1.28. The indeterminate noun "river," whose "channels rejoice the City of God" (a paraistical expression), Ps. 46:5, may be the River of our myth. To Athtar's mind the destruction of the Baals of the deep might also involve the destruction of many, or all, Baals, and lead to the tyranny of one God. This notion may underlie the phrase "a day for the death of Baals," ll. 32, 34. The Phoenician myths as retailed by Sanchuniathon are full of the envies and contentions of the deities for supremacy.

In the following translation fragmentary vocables will be avoided to be discussed below in the Notes.

(3) Translation

... (5) To the earth will fall my despisers, and to the dust the braves of Ay. (6) From his mouth a word surely came forth, with his lips he addressed him [?]: "And do thou announce (7) — under the throne of Zebūl-of-the-Sea." And answered Kuthar-and-Ḥasis: "Surely I speak (8) to thee, to Zebūl-Baal, I repeat to the Cloud-Rider. Behold, thy enemies (9) the Baals, behold, thy enemies thou shalt smite, behold, shalt destroy thy foes. (10) Thou shalt take thy everlasting kingdom, thy rule that is for ages and ages."

(11) Kuthar-of-the-Bands [?] descends and scolds them by name [lit. their names]: "Thy name, thou!"

(12) Surges, surges the surge of the Sea, the surge of the Sea to his throne, (13) the River to the seat of his rule. Advances the congregation of Baal. Like an eagle with his fist [fingers] (14) he smote the shoulder of Zebūl-of-the-Sea, on the breast (15) the Ruler-of-the-River.
Advances the band of the congregation of Baal. Like an eagle (16) with his fist he smites the shoulder of Zebûl-of-the-Sea, on the breast the Ruler-of(17)-the-River. "Potentate of the Sea, let its \_ \_ \_ \_" [two jussive verbs with subjects].

(18) Kuthar-of-the-Bands descends and scolds them by name:

(19) "Thy name, thou, is Aymr, Aymr, Lord [mr]-of-the-Sea, Lord of the Sea."

(20) To his throne the River, to the seat of his rule!

Advances (21) the congregation of Baal. Like an eagle with his fist he smote the skull of (22) Zebûl-of-the-Sea, on the forehead [between the eyes] the Ruler-of-the-River. And he suppresses the Sea, (23) raises the earth.

And advances the band of the congregation of Baal. (24) Like an eagle with his fist he smites the skull of Zebûl-of-the-Sea, (25) on the forehead the Ruler-of-the-River. He suppresses the Sea, he raises (26) the earth \_ \_ \_ [passage as at l. 17, but verbs in indicative].

(27) Baal collects and dries up the Sea, he dispatches the Ruler-of-the-River.

(28) By name Athtart scolds him: "Shame on Aleyan Baal, (29) shame on the Cloud-Rider. Like the conquest [or captivity] of (30) Zebûl-of-the-Sea is the conquest of the Ruler-of-the-River. \_ \_ (31) Puts us to shame [?] Aleyan Baal and the Cloud-Rider.

(32) A day for the death of Baals \_ \_ \_ " (34) He answers: "A day for the death of \_ \_ \_ (36) Baals he slew \_ \_ \_ (38) on his head \_ \_ " (4) He answered her \_ \_ \_.

(4) Notes

1. mtt, ḫy appear to represent the verbs "to die," "to live."
2. l'āšā’îhīm: "let me destroy them," or "save them"; the latter meaning is supported by Akk. ušēšī and Bibl. Aram., the former by Targumic šēšī, and this appears more suitable to the theme. [But Shafal from īš should be *ušāṣī? Do we have here a (secondary?) root š? E. A. S.]

3. bām mnḥ l'ābd: Vir.: "in the sea an asylum for the wanderer."

— 'amr: Vir. offers several choices, of which the verb "to speak" is most likely, cf. B i. 42.

4-5. ḫrbm || ṭm (with parallel unintelligible verbs): if the for-
mer is "sword," with suffix, the latter may be explained from the possible interpretation of 'ét habbarzél, 2 Ki. 6:5, as "the iron head" of the ax, here used as term of a weapon; see GB Lex. and Stade ad loc. for opposite views.

5. dlny(?): "my despisers"; is it to be connected with z'il, Arab. gill?; cf Ps. 10:13, of God's despisers.

'dm 'ay: understanding the second much disputed radical as ḍ, I propose the ppl. of the Heb. root śm, "to be strong." The following vocable is the divine name found below in 'aymr, the adversary of Baal.

7. yXr: as in other cases of its occurrence (also in ll. 18, 26 below), the value of the second radical is wholly obscure. Vir. interprets as proper name of some "being who receives a mission." But a verb is required, doubtless in the impf. For the balance of the phrase cf. Ps. 29:10, "Y. sits enthroned on the Flood."

8. ḣnt: Vir. as an unknown name. But it is the verb ḫny, otherwise used in parallelism with verbs "to speak," e. g. B viii. 31.


For the root ṣmt cf. Ps. 18:41 (Hif.), with object "enemies" as here.

ṣrilk (ignored by Vir.) as כ to 'ibk must have the same meaning, "foes," and is identical with Heb. sar; for the fem. abstract cf. ēbatī, "my enemies," Mic. 7:8, 10.

10. 'lm as "eternity" also B iv. 42, distinct from 'lmk at D ii. 12. For "his 'lm" cf. Eccles. 12:5, used of man. The late hymn in Dan. 5:31 recalls this ancient expression of the divine eternity. N. b. supply of the unessential particle ġt on metrical grounds.

11. kfr śmdm ynl: Vir., "K. soumet (ses) attellages," or in variant form, "K. attelle ses coursiers," understanding śmdm of the horses yoked to the chariot. But in comparison with śmd bd at l. 15 (see note there) I take the word here in sense of "bands, troops," either as object to the verb; or preferably (n. b. position) in construct with "K.,” thus giving him an epithet. Compare the יִרְעַמֵי in Kalamuwa inscr. l. 15.

yp'r etc.: Vir., "il prononce leurs noms [of the horses] (en disant): 'Ton nom (à) toi, c'est Ygrš, Ygrš!'" from which interpretation I totally dissent. I would take the verb pr in the poetical Arab. sense of "scolding," the defiance by name and epithet of the opponent, as in early Arabian saj. Then the following
"thy name, thou" must be understood as exclamation or interrogation, the name being actually pronounced at l. 19.

12-13a. The rhetoric of the passage is evident, even if the syntax be obscure. The advance of the stormy waters of the Sea and the River against Baal is presented in fine epic style.

13b. Vir. is puzzled over the conflict of genders between $trtkš$ here and $yrtks$ at l. 15. The conflict is resolved by recognizing that the respective subjects must vary in gender. The first verb is construed with the noun $bd$, which must be fem., the second with $smd$, which must be masc. This grammatical interpretation denies Vir.'s treatment of $bd$ b'l as proper name of "a personage who runs to the aid of B.," comparing the element $bd$ in Phoen. nn. pr., e.g. Bod-Ashtart. The element is indeed that Phoen. word, obscure in origin, used here as in the phrase "the $bd$ of the Sidonians" (Piraeus inscr., Cooke, NSI. no. 33), in the sense of "clientèle of the Sidonians." The present would then be the earliest occurrence of this interesting word. With Vir., the verb is the Arab. $rqq$, Aram. $rd$, "to move, dance," here used of the rhythmical surging of the waters.

"Like an eagle": the same simile of divine action at Jer. 48: 40.

14. $hlm$ [= l. 26 || to the impf. $ylm$ ll. 16, 24: with Vir. the root must mean "to smite," but must be Hif. of a root $lm$, perhaps aboriginal to Heb. $hlm$.

15. $smd$ $bd$ varies with $bd$ above, of which it is only an amplification; cf. Syr. use of the root in sense of "assembly," etc.

"Between the hands": i. e. "on the breast"; as Vir. notes, the same expression is found at Zech. 13: 6. Note below the parallel "between the eyes."

17-18a. *z $ym$, etc.: as argued above I take the sentence as vocative. For *z cf. the Akk. divine epithet $ezsu$, and Heb. 'issus, epithet of God, Ps. 78: 4. For the following phrase cf. the parallel at l. 26. The verbs are jussive here, indicative there; they are respectively fem. and masc. with following subjects of identical gender; and the pronominal suffix -$h$ affixed to each must refer here to the antecedent "thy sea," and below to antecedent "the earth." Vir. translates: "pour que se calment (?) ses vagues," and suggests Heb. $pinnōt$, "pinnacles, crests." I hazard the guess that $pnt$ means "surface," as "face," and $tmn$ is the Akkad. $tēmennu$, "foundation."
19. The obvious proper name ‘aymr is composite, the first element having been used alone in l. 5. Have we a foreign word, e.g. Aya= E a the Bab. god of waters? The second element is best explained as identical with the following repeated mār [yam], “lord of [the sea]” (so the spelling of this word also in Phoen. nn. pr.). There is evident alliterative play upon the vocables of the whole phrase. I confess my skepticism as to interpretation. Parallelism requires ym as subject, then mār as verb—but with what meaning?

22. yprsh: I had thought of Arab. paršaḥa, “to extend,” but Vir. does better by comparison with Akk. pullasuḫu, “to tread down.” He takes it as a middle, “elle s’effaisse,” but the gender of the verb and its parallel ykl, which cannot have ʿarš (infra) as subject, requires a masc. subject, i.e. Baal. The parallel is then to be explained from the root kīl, and as Hif., in the sense “to levitate, raise”; cf. Arab. yakala in the latter sense. N. b. the acc. with the prep. l, as frequent in these texts.

27. ykt: to be explained from Arab. root kyt, “to collect,” which probably is to be related to Heb. kṣš, as generally understood at Zeph. 2:1. The same may be root of the name of the river Kishon, whose floods are notorious since the days of Deborah.

yšt ym ykl y tpt nhr: for the first sentence Vir. translates, “sets the sea in its place,” with which might be compared Ps. 104:9, “thou hast set a bound” [to the waters]. But parallelism with the following verb, which appears at D i. 2, of the “dispatching of the Serpent,” suggests the unique and rare Heb. root nšt “to dry up,” cf. Is. 19:5, where again epical language (e.g. “River”) is employed. The many references to the drying up of the Red Sea in Biblical poetry are generally regarded as having a mythological background; see Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, 90 ff.

28. bšm tgrm: Vir. avoids translation of the first word; I have no doubt that it means “by name.” He questions the suffix -m of the verb, whether as plural “them” (but no plural antecedent appears), or as the Akk. conjunctival particle -ma, found elsewhere in these texts. As “name” is in the sing. (vs. ll. 11, 18), and only Aleyan is “scolded,” we may best regard -m as sing., “him,” as found in Phoen. and in Heb. -āmō (see Ges.-Kautzsch. HG, § 58, g, § 103, f, note). The root gr is constantly used in Biblical poetry of the divine activity, e.g. Ps. 9:6; 104:7; Is. 17:3 (cited just above).
bš “shame”: cf. root bhš in same construction, D ii. 11, 19; the roots vary as in Heb. and Aram.

29b-30. kšbyn (bis): Vir. as verb, “as we have conquered,” but Athtart’s implication of herself in the contest which she denounces is unlikely; it is preferable to assume a noun in -án. The root may be understood from the Heb. “to take captive.”

31. ybš nn: Vir. finds a single verbal form, “is ashamed [Aleyan]”; but nn is apparently suffix, “[shames] me,” or “us.”

33. šrr = Heb. šôrêr, “enemy”?

Postscript: There has come to hand, since the above article was in press, fasc. 2 of Syria, 1935, containing a study by M. Dussaud, pp. 196-204, upon the same text.
CHÂYÂ

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THE WORD châyâ (cf. Gk. σκιά) is primarily "shadow" and secondarily "reflection" and "likeness." In the Rig Veda these two senses are felt together; that which is in itself the manifested likeness or image of deity (Lat. imago dei) is also shadow in the sense of refuge (śarman) or coolth (hima) from oppressive heat. In I. 73. 8 Agni is said to be associated with, or present in, the world "like a shadow" (châyâvâ viśvam bhuvanâṁ sisakṣi); in what sense this is a laudatory expression appears in VI. 16. 38, "We come to thee, O Agni, in thy golden likeness (hirânyasâm- drśak), for refuge (śarman), as to shade (châyâm īva) from burning-heat (ghṛṇēḥ)"; 1 cf. II. 33. 6, where the favor of Rudra is compared to a shade as if from burning-heat (ghṛṇēva chāyâm ... rudrasya sumnam). The thought in I. 116. 8, where the Āśvins are lauded with the words "Ye warded off with coolth the scorching fire" (himena agnim ghrânsam avârayetham), is the same; but it must not be overlooked that agni here is not the manifested Agni of I. 73. 8 and VI. 16. 38, but either simply "fire," or more correctly, Agni ab intra as Ahi Budhnya, Śuṣṇa, the "flesh-eating, man-hurting" (kravyāt ... puruṣa-reśanaḥ) Agni of Atharva Veda III. 21. 8-9, against whom we have the prayer mo aham ṛṣam "may I not be hurt" in RV. X. 18. 13, the similar mā ṛṣāmā in I. 94. 7, and mā mā hinsth in Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā XII. 102 and Taittirīya Saṁhitā III. 5. 6. This painful heat from which the shade or coolth is welcome shelter is not that of the Sun or manifested Fire, but that of the interior operation (guhya vrata, I. 163. 3), where in the beginning the desirous (ichchant, prajā-kāmya, etc.) principles are on fire to set foot on the broadway of life (amṛtasya gātu, etc.) and to extend their line (tantum tan, etc.); the painful heat is that of the antenatal matrix wherein these principles are "cooked" or "ripened," as for example in VII. 104. 8 "with well-cooked intellect proceeding."

1 Parallels may be noted in Isaiah 25. 4 "a shadow from the heat," ibid. 32. 2, "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," and Lamentations 4. 20, "under his shadow we shall live."
Chāyā

(pākena manasa carantam), and in VII. 103. 9, where “they that had been glowing vessels attain to coming forth” (taptā gharma anuvate visargam). It is in fact by means of this shade or likeness that the whole light-world is brought forth to be the field of experience; as in V. 44. 6, where the Several Angels, the First Sacrificers, “by the efficacy of the reflection in the Waters (chāyayā...sidhrayāpsu) disposed for us the wide earth, the broad expanse, a great and noble manhood, and unfailing power.” The use of chāyā in the preceding passages might have been regarded as “poetic imagery,” but in V. 44. 6 it is quite clear that chāyā is not merely in a figurative sense a place of comfort, but is the form of deity reflected in the Waters, the manifested light in the worlds, cf. Gopatha Brāhmaṇa I. 3, where “Having emanated those Waters (tā āpah srṣṭvā), he (brahman, mahad yakṣam of antecedent text) looked and saw his own reflection (chāyām) in them.” So far,

It is by this anterior “cooking” that the desirous principles, including Agni himself and other Ādityas, are perfected (sukṛta) and qualified (arhaññ) to go forth, e.g. X. 63. 4, where it is “by fitness” (arhañañ) that “they” (unspecified, but evidently sarpya as in Pañcaranśa Brāhmaṇa XXV. 15. 4) attain divinity and aeviternity (amṛtatvam), whereas those that are “imperfect” (duṣkṛta) “tread not the paths of Order” (ṛṣayā panthāṁ na taranti duṣkṛtaḥ, IX. 73. 6). It may be noted that the cooking or ripening (pakva as opposed to āma) and fitness (arhaññ) which in RV. represent the necessary qualification for progression, become in Buddhism, in an ethical connotation, the qualifications for further progress.

For the manifested likeness as the common origin of all things cf. Colossians I. 15-16, “Who is the image of the invisible God...for in Him were created all things in Heaven and Earth, etc.” (imago dei invisibilis...in ipso condita sunt universa in caelis et in terra...omnia per ipsum et in ipso creato sunt: et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso constant). The last expression, omnia in ipso constant, exactly renders X. 82. 6, ekam arpitam yasmiṁ visvāṁ bhuvanāṁ tathāḥ, and similarly AV. X. 7. 32, tasmāḥ chrayante ya u ke ca devā; just as imago dei invisibilis is precisely “chāyā.”

Yakṣa in RV. (VII. 88. 6 and X. 88. 13) has undoubted reference to Varuṇa, in AV. VIII. 9. 26 and X. 7. 21 a like reference can be inferred; in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads the Yakṣa is Brahma. An identification of Varuṇa with Brahma presents no difficulties. The Buddha is also referred to as Yakṣa, in Majjhima Nikāya I. 383, and bearing this in mind, it is interesting to remark the survival of the older phraseology in the Divyāvadāna, text, p. 547, where the Buddha’s “shadow” is by him “expressed and uttered on the canvas” (tatra chāyā utsaṛṭṭa uktāḥ ca) to be colored in (raṅgaṁ pūr) by Rudrāyaṇa’s painters (citakara);
then, the divine chāyā is the form of deity ab extra, in act, and as
mediate cause of the becoming of the whole world; chāyā is that
manifested form of his, in and by which all things that had been
merely in potentia, in the darkness and heat where they are ripened,
are enabled to realise their existence and accomplish their ends in
the cool light of day, that is their “shelter” or “refuge” (śarman).
It is precisely this “shelter” (śarman) that is wanting in the
beginning, “then was neither death (mṛtyu) nor life (amṛta), nor
any manifestation (praketa) of night and day,” X. 129. 1-2."5
Before the manifestation of the light, when all was covered over by
darkness, there was no revelation (praketa), no likeness (chāyā),
no refuge (śarman), no coolth (hima), but only the burning heat
(ghṛṇi, gharma, uṣṇa, ātapa) of the interior darkness. In the
expression chāyātapaṇa, Katha Up. III. 1 affirms the unity of these
contrasted principles in the undivided Brahman; and this corre-
sponds to RV. X. 5. 7, where “Agni in highest heaven,” that is
where he is one with Varuṇa ab intra, is satasat, the unity of being
and non-being.

The nature of the “likeness” (chāyā) must not be misconceived.
A priori, the desirous principles are in the bonds of Death, homeless
in the In-finite, adrift in a landless Sea; what they desire is to be
released “from the bond of Death, not from the bond of life”
(bandhanān mṛtyor munṣiya nāṃṛtāt, VII. 59. 2), from the
In-finite, not the Finite (ditiṁ ca rāśvādhitim uruṣya, IV. 2. 11),
to be taken up into the Āśvin’s ships of life (I. 116. 5, I. 181. 4,
V. 73. 4, etc.), and brought across the River to a promised land
(II. 15. 5, III. 33, VII. 60. 7, etc.). The promised land is a wide
earth (bhūmi, etc.) and a support (pratiṣṭhā) anywhere within the
worlds, where the Sacrificer may enjoy length of days (dirgham
āyus) or aeviternity (amṛṭatva), and great possessions (rai). But
the freedom thus attained by the mumukṣu is not an ultimate
release, in coming forth from death to life he is not thereby alto-

all of which from a Vedic point of view could only have reference to the
creation in the beginning; and thus the historicity of the supposed Buddha’s
portrait, suspect on other grounds, can be finally disposed of. For the
notion of a strictly speaking creative art implied above, cf. Augustine,
De Trin. VI. 10, where the Son, the perfect Word, is spoken of as “so
to speak, the art of God.”

* For śarman as desired shelter see I. 140. 12, IV. 25. 4-5, V. 2. 12. Praketa
refers to Agni (I. 94. 5, I. 113. 1, VII. 2. 11), Vasiṣṭha (VII. 33. 12), or
Indra (III. 30. 1, X. 104. 6).
gether freed (atimucyte, as in Jaiminiya Upanisad Brāhmaṇa I. 3), for there is no escape from death in the worlds: his, Hiraṇyagarbha’s, Agni’s, Prajāpati’s, likeness, the desired refuge, is both of life and death (yasya chāyā mṛtyu yasya amṛta, X. 121. 2), the Year both separates and unifies (Aitareya Aranyakā III. 2. 3), Brahmanaspati gathers together and divides (sa saṁnayaḥ sa vinayaḥ II. 24. 9);* the manifested God himself is subject to inveteration and rejuvenation (jjuvṛvān yo mukur ā yuvā bhūt, II. 4. 5, of Agni), and it is not without good reasons that RV. identifies Agni with Yama, or calls them “darling friends” (X. 21. 5). A discussion of the deaths and resurrections of the devas in RV. requires a separate article; in the meantime it is important to make it clear, in connection with X. 121. 2, that the life attained to by the desirous principles and by means of the manifested “likeness” (chāyā) is primarily a life in the worlds, a life of varying duration according to the individual’s station in the worlds, and one which may be aeviternal (as when the devāḥ are referred to as amṛtāḥ), but even for the highest of the Angels, even for Agni, from whom the devāḥ receive their aeviternity, is not an eternal (in the proper sense of timeless) life such as belongs to the interior operation, that is to the Godhead as such, and to the Supreme Identity, tad ekam of X. 129. 2, Agni as satasat in X. 5. 7, Mitrā and Varuṇa as seers of the in-finite and finite both in V. 62. 8. As Eckhart also expresses it, with respect to the life of the manifested deity (the “hundred years” of Brahma’s life in Paurānic formulation) “God comes and goes, God passes away.”

Quite distinct from the use of chāyā in all the passages cited above is the rarer, and so far as I know only Aupaniṣada, use of chāyā exclusively in the primary sense of “shadow” or “darkness,” and as the opposite of light and manifested being. It is in this sense that Bhād Aranyaka Up. III. 9. 14 speaks of the “Person whose abode is in the Darkness” (tama eva yasyāyatanam . . .

*With the conception of “gathering together” (Mitra as yātayaj-jana in III. 59. 5, Yama as saṁgamano jandnām, X. 14. 1) cf. Matthew 23. 37, “How often would I have gathered thy children together,” ib. 32, “Before him shall be gathered together all nations,” and Galatians 3. 28, “Ye are all one in Christ Jesus.” For the identity of Yama and Agni, cf. Revelations 22. 13, “I am Alpha and Omega, prior and proximate, first and last” (from the Vulgate, not as in King James version); and Hebrews 12. 29, noster deus ignis consumens est.
purusam) as the “Person in the mode of shadow” (chāyā-mayāḥ puruṣaḥ), whose name is “Death” (mṛtyuḥ), and alternatively of the “Person whose abode is in the Waters” (āpa eva yasyāyatanam . . . puruṣam) as the “Person in the Waters” (apsu puruṣaḥ), whose name is Varuṇa; and contrasts these with the manifested aspects of the Person, the “Person whose abode is in appearances” (rūpāṇy eva yasyāyatanam . . . puruṣam) who is both the “Person in the Sun” (āditye puruṣaḥ) whose name is Actuality (satyam), and “Person in the mirror” (ādarśe puruṣaḥ) whose name is Life (asuḥ), 7 or alternatively the “Person whose abode is in the Seed” (reta evāyatanam . . . puruṣam) and is the “Person in the mode of filiation” (putra-mayāḥ puruṣaḥ) whose name is Prajāpati (ib. 12, 15, and 17). It may be noted that Varuṇa and Mṛtyu are also, and rightly, identified in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa I. 7, and that there can be as little doubt of the identity of Varuṇa, ab intra, with Vṛtra, as of Agni, ab intra, with Ahū Budhnya and Tṛta, and of the latter in turn with Varuṇa (VIII. 41. 6). The Person in the Darkness, or Person in the Waters, corresponds also to non-being (asat) and to the in-finite (aditi, i.e. as Nirṛti, apām upasthe, aditer upasthe, and nirṛter upasthe being all equivalent), to the silent, resting, Brahman that is not in any likeness (amūrta, asabda, śānta, Maitri Up. VI. 3. 22, and 36), the Eternal Impartite (akāla, akula, ib. 15), to Death and Privation anterior to the assumption of being (as in Brhad Āraṇyaka Up. I. 2. 1), to the anātmaya of Taittiriya Up. II. 7, to Buddhist anatta, nibbāna, and in Christianity to the “Dark Ray,” 8 Eckhart’s “sable stillness,” the Godhead that is “as though it were not,” Böhme’s God that is “no thing.” To Him the Comprehensor returns, having done with the experience of divided things, and there “death gets him not, for Death becomes his essence, of all these Angels he becomes the Unity” (Brhad Āraṇyaka Up. I. 2. 7). Having found his way out through the solar gateway of the worlds (loka-dvāra, Chāndogya Up. VIII. 6. 6; svargasya lokasya dvāram, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa

1 This correspondence of macrocosm and microcosm is repeated in Kauśitaki Up. IV. 2, āditye mahat . . . ādarśe pratirūpaḥ, and inverted in Kaṭha Up. VI. 5, yathādarśe tathātmani, cf. also Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII. 2, where “yonder world” and “this world” are each the counterpart (anurūpa) of the other.

III. 42; cf. Pūṣan in RV. as vimuco napāt), he is no longer in the bondage of life-and-death, but as kāmacārīn can “pass up and down these worlds eating what he will” (Taittiriya Up. X. 3. 5), for “having become one” (ekadhā bhavantiḥ, Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa III. 33; cf. BṛhadĀraṇyaka Up. V. 5. 12) he is “That One” (tad ekam, X. 129. 2) and “shapes his body as he will” (VII. 101. 3), “proceeding as he will” (X. 168. 4), as Person no more allzumenschliche (Agni, amānava puruṣa, Chāndogya Up. puruṣaḥ . . . aprāṇo hy amānah, Muṇḍaka Up. II. 1. 2) he is one with Agni not only in a manifested form, but as “Who proceedeth foremost, and yet abideth in His ground” (anu agraṇ carati, kṣeti budhnah, III. 55. 7). Chāyā, then, as shadow in the sense of manifested likeness of divinity is man’s temporal and aeiternal refuge (śarma); chāyā, as the sable stillness of unmanifested Godhead, is his last resort (parāyaṇam).

*Cf. Pistis Sophia, “He shall have the power of exploring all the regions of the Inheritances of Light, and of remaining in the region which he shall choose,” and John 10. 13, “I am the door; by Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and shall find pasture.”

Here and elsewhere, Christian parallels are cited, not with a view to demonstrating “influences,” but to remind the student that in Vedic doctrine there is nothing unique, and that the voice of tradition is everywhere the same.
A PURCHASE CONTRACT FROM THE TIME OF SAMSU-ILUNA

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The case tablet published here belongs to the A. W. Lane Museum of Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. Professor J. H. Hicks, curator of that museum, has permitted its publication.

According to the statement furnished by the seller of the tablet, it comes "from a ruin called Abu-Jamous, near Babylon, where but few tablets have been discovered." The text is a common purchase contract for real estate and follows the usual scheme: description of the boundaries of the property sold, mention of the parties, price, oath by the gods, witnesses, and date. However, the text has some peculiarities worthy of notice.

1. The Description of the Property. In purchase contracts for real estate the property is described by its two sides (da or us-sa-du), by its front or first front (sag-bi or sag-bi I-kam), and by its rear, or second front, (egir-bi or sag-bi II-kam). In the contract under discussion the property is described by both of its sides and by its second front. It is surrounded on three sides by the property of the seller. In the place where we usually have the description of the first front, we have here merely sag-bi, "its front," and nothing more. This fact indicates that there was no necessity for describing the front, apparently because all houses had only one front. The scribe follows the usual scheme of description, mentioning the first front as well, but he does not fill out the description of the front. The reason why all houses had one front might be that in the town in question all houses faced the street. Possibly the place was merely a temple, and the buildings surrounded it so that each one faced the temple.

2. The Oath by Gula. The most interesting feature of this contract is the oath. For the first time we have an oath taken by Gula. This fact proves that in the place where the contract was made, namely, in that temple, Gula was the chief deity. The oath was therefore taken by Marduk, the god of the country, and by Gula, the goddess of the place. The contracting parties and the witnesses were probably officials in the temple of Gula.
Against this supposition may be argued that the seller of the property, Ilushu-naṣir, the son of Imgur-Shamash, is designated in his seal as arad dNin-šubur, "a servant of Nin-shubur," namely, a priest of Nin-shubur; one of the witnesses, Adad-qarnaia, the son of Ibni-Adad, is designated as arad dAdad u dŠala, "a servant of Adad and Shala," namely, a priest of Adad and his consort, Shala. Nin-shubur, as well as Adad and his wife, Shala, thus seem to have had chapels in the temple of Gula, together with servants from among their own followers to take care of their food, etc. The oath, however, is taken by the main deity, Gula, and not by guest deities, as Nin-shubur and Adad.

Since Gula is commonly known as "the great physician" (a-zugal-la-tu), it is probable that this place was some kind of healing resort where the sick of the surrounding localities were brought to Gula for healing. The first witness is not a rabiânu "mayor," or daiânu "judge," but a pašišu "anointer," some kind of official in the temple. Apparently the place was not very important, and the pašišu was the highest in rank. Gula plays an important role in the incantations. To her the prayers for recovery of health are directed. The pašišu, who is also a reciter of incantations (see Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien [1925], 2. Band, 64) would be an important official in the temple of Gula.

3. The Personal Names. Most of the personal names are the usual ones of the Hammurabi period. The greater part can be found in Ranke's Early Babylonian Personal Names (1905). Those not mentioned there occur in the contracts published later. Some of the names deserve attention. It is interesting to note that in this apparently small place two names compounded with Hammurabi appear. The purchaser is called Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ri-im-[ili?] "Hammurabi is the beloved of god" (line 8); and one of the witnesses is named Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ra-ap-pa-su-nu "Hammurabi is their healer" (line 21). Hammurabi must have been highly esteemed in that place if during his life two parents gave their children names praising Hammurabi. Since the names compounded with Hammurabi are rare, the addition of two new names of this kind in one place is certainly worthy of notice. The other names compounded with Hammurabi are: Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ba-ni "Hammurabi is creator"; Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-lu-da-ri "May Hammurabi live forever" (Ranke, op. cit. p. 36); Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-dšamši(-ši)
“Hammurabi is my sun” (ibid. p. 187); Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi-[ili] “Hammurabi is my god” (Scheil, Une saison de fouiller à Sippar, p. 123, No. 146). Cf. also Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi-[ili] (Legrain, The Culture of the Babylonians p. 241, No. 328: 1). A couple of names compounded with Hammurabi which have not as yet been published are: Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi-[ili] (Yale Babylonian Collection, 8718: 17) from the 25th year of Samsu-iluna; Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi-ša-ta-ka-lim “Hammurabi of support”* (YBC, 6821: 3, 5; 8767: 4, 9, 15; 7612: 31) from the 6th year of Samsu-iluna. The names compounded with Hammurabi can be divided into three groups:

(1) Prayers for Hammurabi: “Hammurabi shall live forever”;
(2) Glorification of Hammurabi: “Hammurabi is the beloved of the god,” “Hammurabi is their healer,” “Hammurabi of support”;
(3) Deification of Hammurabi: “Hammurabi is my god,” “Hammurabi is my sun,” “Hammurabi is creator.”

Also the name 4Adad-gar-na-a-a “My horns are Adad” (line 18 and seal) seems to be new. For similar names compare Īlu-i-na-ia “My eyes are god”; Šamaš-i-na-ia “My eyes are Shamash” (Ranke, op. cit. pp. 104, 145). It is interesting to note that “the servant of Adad and Shala” is chosen from among Adad’s adherents, as we can see from the fact that both Adad-qarnaia and his father, Ibni-Adad, bear names compounded with Adad.

3. The Date Formula of the 12th Year of Samsu-iluna. The date formula shows that the transaction is from the 12th year of Samsu-iluna. The time was troublesome. A decrease in the number of contracts is noticed. Only nine contracts from that year have been published: CT, IV, 49c; A. Poebel in BE, VI, Part 2, Nos. 38, 39; Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et contrats, No. 134; E. Chiera, Old Babylonian Contracts, No. 135; Hunter, Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts, vol. VIII, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 10. The Yale Babylonian Collection possesses twelve more tablets from this year: Nos. 4242, 5933, 6186, 6193, 6672, 7621, 7816, 7830, 7912, 8062, 8413, 8447. Another purchase contract of that year is therefore quite welcome.

The date formula of this text is one of the more complete ones known. The most complete one was published by Chiera, op. cit. No. 135: 25-28:

*I am indebted for this translation to Professor Arnold Walther.
mu Sa-am-su-i-šu-na lugal-e
kur-gú-si-a an-ga-âm mu-un-da-bal-eš-âm
á-kal-maḫ ḫmarduk-ka-gè
mu-na-an-sum-ma-ta

The present text has almost everything except the last line. Compare also Hunter, op. cit. No. 10, case.

While the formula in general is clear, the phrase an-ga-âm is disputable. Hunter translates it "suddenly" (op. cit.), but apparently without any actual foundation. Thureau-Dangin, following a vocabulary, an-ga-âm = ša-nu-um, translates it "pour la seconde fois" (RA XV. 50, note 1). Poebel regards it as related to the infix nga meaning "also," "as well" (Sumerische Grammatik, § 498). He disregards this word in his translation, however. Possibly it has a special purpose. The troublesome time of Samsu-iluna begins with the invasion of the Kassites, which serves as the date formula for the ninth year. The formula for the following year has the battles against the armies of Idamaraz, Iamutbalum, Eshnunna, Erek, and Isin. During his eleventh year Samsu-iluna was compelled to demolish the walls of the southern cities of Uruk and Ur, which deed is used as the date formula for that year. These internal troubles caused the foreign countries under his dominion to revolt against Samsu-iluna, who fought and subdued them "by the mighty power of Marduk" in his twelfth year. This event is commemorated in the date formula for this year. That Samsu-iluna held dominion over various countries we know from the date formula of his first year (see M. Schorr, Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts [1913], p. 594). This revolt is expressed by this word an-ga-âm, "also," "as well." The translation of the formula runs as follows: "The year (named after the event) Samsu-iluna, the king, all the foreign countries as well, which revolted against him, by the lofty power given to him by Marduk (he smote them)"; namely, not only did he fight against the cities of Babylonia mentioned in the preceding date formulas, but he also fought successfully against the foreign countries under his rule.

The formula of the present text has one peculiarity: it has mu-da-bal-e instead of mu-da-bal-eš. It may seem that eš is omitted accidentally, that the scribe intended to write e-eš, as in BE. VI. Part 2, No. 39:28; OECT. VIII, 1:26; YBC. 8062:18.
For the introduction of a seemingly superfluous e in the preterit plural, cf. Poebel, *Sum. Gram.* §§ 457, 461-63. However, another possibility should be taken into consideration. In some of the texts the phrase occurs in a relative clause: *mu-da-bal-éš-a,* “which revolted against him” (*OEVT. VIII.* 1:26); and even in the singular *mu-un-da-bal-a* (*OEVT. VIII.* 5:27). Following this thread, it should be asked whether e in the present text, instead of the usual a, does not serve to express the relative clause. Possibly the same form is preserved in YBC. 8413:20. That the relative a can, under certain circumstances, become e is proved by Poebel, *Sum. Gram.* § 721. That the verb may appear after the collective *kur* in the singular is to be seen from the writing *mu-un-da-bal-a* (*OEVT. VIII.* 5:27) and *mu-da-bal* (YBC. 4242:21).

4. The Language. The present contract is written in the usual contract Sumerian of the Hammurabi period; thus *ki* “from” (line 7) is used instead of the original *ki-ta; igi* “before” (lines 16-21, 23-25), instead of the older *igi-šè.* That the center was Semitic is to be seen from the personal names: not a single Sumerian name appears in the contract. There are, however some indications that in the temple of Gula, in contrast to the other Semitic centers, good Sumerian was still used. Thus the scribe writes *in-pà-dè-éš* “they swore” (line 16), instead of the corrupt form *in-pà-dè-meš*; cf. Poebel, *Sum. Gram.* § 456. Also the writing *in-ši-šám,* instead of the usual *in-ši-in-šám* “he has bought from him” (line 9), is characteristic of classical Sumerian. Cf. Poebel, *Sum. Gram.* § 502 a, b.

5. The Text. The text is not well preserved. The clay is not baked and is crumbling. However, by a combination of the tablet and the case, we may obtain almost the whole text. When the text is missing on both of them, the restoration is marked with square brackets. While the text on the tablet and the case is the same, except for the omission of *um in gù-nu-um-mà-mà-a* (line 14 = 16) on the case, the number of lines differs: The tablet has twenty-eight lines; the case had not less than thirty lines. This difference is due to the splitting of some lines into two: 8 = 8-9; 11 = 12-13; 15 = 17-18. In the main text the case splits the lines in order to avoid any difficulty in reading, but in the names of the witnesses it crowds each name and the name of the father into one line. While the first three names of the witnesses are the same on the
case and the tablet, the order of the other four differs: Tablet, names 4, 5, 6, 7 — Case, names 6, 4, 7, 5.

The transliteration and translation follow the text of the tablet, which is better preserved; the deviations on the case are marked in the notes.

Lane Museum, No. 1, 15th Shebat, 12th Year of Samsu-iluna

Contents. Hammurabi-rīm-[ili?], the son of Sin-magir, bought 1½ (?) sars of built house from Ilushu-našir, the son of Imgur-Shamash, for 6½ shekels of silver. The seller and all his heirs swore never to contest the sale. Seven witnesses, the first of them an “anointer.”

Transliteration

(1) 1(?)½1 sa[r] ṣ–dü-[a]
(2) d[a] āa – sū-na-ṣi-ir [du]mu Im-[gur]-SaMaš
(3) [ū] d[a] āa – sū-na-ṣi-ir dumu [Im-gur-d]SaMaš
(4) sag-bi
(5) sag-bi II-kam-ma sū-na-ṣi-[ir dumu Im-gur]-r SaMaš
(6) ā sū-na-ṣi-ir dumu Im-[gur-]SaMaš
(7) ki sū-na-ṣi-ir dumu Im-[gur] SaMaš
(8) 1Ha-am-mu-ra-bi-ri-im-[ili?]² dumu dSin-ma-gir
(9) in-ši-šam
(10) šam-ti-la-bi-šē
(11) 6(?)½ gīn kū-babbar² in-na-an-lal
(12) u₄-kūr-šē sū-na-ṣi-ir
(13) û ibila-a-ni a-na me-a-bi
(14) ṣ–šē gru-umu³-ma-ma-a
(15) mu ḏMarduk ḏGu-la² ū Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal
(16) in-pa-dē-eš
(17) igi Gi-mil ḏMarduk dumu Be-li-ilu guda
(18) igi ḏAdad-qi-na-a dumu Ib-ni ḏAdad
(19) igi A-at-ta-a dumu Ša-lu-ru-um
(20)* igi A-bi-šiSaMaš dumu ìm-gur-ŠaMaš

¹ The number of sars is not well preserved. While only one and one-half are visible, there is space for three.
² On the case the following is written on a separate line.
* Case omits um.
* Case has here name from line 21.
(21)\textsuperscript{*} igi Ha-am-mu-ri-bi-ra-ap-pa-šu-nu
(22)\textsuperscript{*} dumu Si-li-li
(23)\textsuperscript{*} igi Ṭa-ab-šilli-dMarduk dumu dSin-ma-gir
(24)\textsuperscript{*} igi E-a-ga-mil dumu Ilu-li-tūl
(25) itu Zīz-a u₄ 15-kam
(26) mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e
(27) kur-gú-si-a an-ga-ām
(28) mu-da-bal-e á-kal-maḫ dMarduk-kišib Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi-ra-ap-pa-[šu-nu]

\textit{Seals.} On the tablet:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Ilu-šu-na-ši-ir
dumu Im-gur-\textsuperscript{d}Šamaš
arad \textsuperscript{d}Nin-šubur(?)
\end{itemize}

On the case:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{d}Adad-qar-na-ia
dumu Ib-ni-\textsuperscript{d}Adad
arad \textsuperscript{d}Adad
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item ù \textsuperscript{d}Sa-la
\end{itemize}

\textit{Translation}

(1) \(1\frac{1}{2} (?)\) sars of built house
(2) by the side of the house of Ilushu-naṣîr, the son of Imgur-Shamash,
(3) and by the side of the house of Ilushu-naṣîr, the son of Imgur-Shamash;
(4) its front
(5) its second front Ilushu-naṣîr, the son of Imgur-Shamash,
(6) the house of Ilushu-naṣîr, the son of Imgur-Shamash,
(7) from Ilushu-naṣîr, the son of Imgur-Shamash,
(8) Hammurabi-šīm-[iš?], the son of Sin-ma-šir,
(9) has bought from him.
(10) As its full price
(11) \(6\frac{1}{2} (?)\) shekels of silver he has weighed out to him.
(12) That in the future day Ilushu-naṣîr

\textsuperscript{*} Case has here name from line 24.
\textsuperscript{*} Case has it on the preceding line.
\textsuperscript{*} Case has here name from line 20.
\textsuperscript{*} Case has here name from line 23.
(13) and his heirs, whosoever,
(14) concerning the house shall not contest,
(15) by the name of Marduk, Gula, and Samsu-iluna, the king,
(16) they swore.
(17) Before Gimil-Marduk, the son of Beli-ilu, the "anointer";
(18) before Adad-qarnaia, the son of Ibni-Adad;
(19) before 'Attâ, the son of Shalurum;
(20) before Abil-Shamash, the son of Imgur-Shamash;
(21) before Hammurabi-rappashunu,
(22) the son of Silili;
(23) before Ṭab-ṣilli-Marduk, the son of Sin-magîr;
(24) before Ea-gamil, the son of Ilu-liṭul.
(25) The month Shebat, the 15th day,
(26) the year (named after that) Samsu-iluna, the king,
(27) the entire foreign country which likewise
(28) has revolted against him by the lofty power of Marduk ... 

The seal of Hammurappashunu

**Seals.** Ilushu-naṣir,
the son of Imgur-Shamash,
the servant of Nin-shubur.
Adad-qarnaia,
the son of Ibni-Adad,
the servant of Adad
and of Shala.
SOME NOTES ON THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM CHALDICARUM *

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The work which I am about to discuss is a first grade work. Though as yet incomplete, it is already an indispensable source for everybody who tries to understand the history of the earlier part of the first millenium B.C. Its importance will increase, however, when the publication, so badly needed, has been continued and brought to a close. It comprises the inscriptions of the Urartian kings who ruled in the 9th, 8th and 7th centuries over a large and powerful kingdom. Their historical significance rests on the fact that they enable us to learn something about the conditions prevailing in the northern parts of the Near Eastern world during the centuries in which the Assyrian Empire arose and declined; they help us to recognise that in the mountainous sector of the Near East there existed during these centuries an empire which counter-balanced the great Mesopotamian power and to some extent even competed with it for supremacy.

To establish the details of the historical development will be a subject for future research. For the time being we can face only the philological problems presented by the voluminous material. But first we shall have to make further progress in deciphering the language which is still insufficiently known.

The first issue of the Corpus, reviewed by the present writer in Klio 23 (1929) pp. 107-11, has already revived the long neglected studies in this field, a fact which becomes evident from the supple-

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† As to Urartian history and culture see my brief summary in Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III. 1, 3. 3. Abschnitt, 1. Lieferung), 173-85.


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ment which has been added to the second issue in order to let readers benefit by the results obtained. It is to be hoped that the publication of the second issue will have a similarly stimulating effect.

The former issue presented the inscriptions of the older Urartean kings (Nos. 1-30). It got down to Menuas, a contemporary of Semiramis, the real founder of the Urartean power. This king left so many documents that the second issue had to be devoted entirely to his remaining inscriptions (Nos. 31-110).

We owe the present form of the texts to the cooperation of the editor with F. Bagel and F. Schachermeyr. It seems to have been done quite carefully. There are only a few remarks which I can contribute.

No. 31 l. 15: ḥa-a-ū-a-li is surely a verbal form, more precisely a 3rd person sing. with the suffix of a plural object as indicated by me to Friedrich (cf. Arch. Or. 3. 269, note 2). This interpretation requires that an accusative in the plural precede. It is surely contained in the first word of the line ending in -ii-e. It can not therefore be interpreted as a proper name.—l. 17: Is me-si-ni pi-i correctly printed? The usual spelling would be me-si-ni pi-i.—l. 16: Read URUMe-li-tē-i-a-al-hē and cf. Sayce 29 502. In -al-he we meet a suffix which forms adjectives derived from geographical names. Other instances are: KUR 4 Ḥušalhi M.-O. 4 C 3; KURQumahalhi M.-O. E 41; URUPuinialhi M.-O. A 17; Sayce 49. 17; and with a slight variant probably also KUR Qulhahal M.-O. D 6, cf. Qumahalhi M.-O. E 37. Cf. Friedrich, Einführung p. 63.

No. 32 B obv. l. 9: Passages like M.-O. C 4 39 and 39; CICH. 112 (pl. XXVII) A 2. 21; 149 (plate XXXIX) rev. 1 induce me to


Sumerian readings of ideograms will be preferred here—in spite of L.-H.’s protest—because their lack of inflection makes them much more appropriate for this purpose.

'M.-O.' refers to Marr and Orbeli, Archeologičeskaa Ekspedizione v Van (1922). The inscriptions there published are easily accessible also in Tseretheli's treatment (see note 2).

Read there against Marr and Tseretheli: e-ir-ši-du[-bî].
read e-ir-ši-du-bi. Where the supplement [ra]-ni-si of the Corpus is taken from, we are not told; supplementations are not justified by notes in the second issue either (cf. Klio 23 p. 108).—My supplement has the consequence that every line known starts with a complete word; I suppose therefore that nothing at all is lacking in the beginning of the lines.—Rev. l. 14/15. In my opinion ar-št and u-ru-li-a-ni are two words. It never happens—or practically never—that one and the same word is spread over two lines. At any rate, it must not be supposed that this occurs three times with the same word: CICH. 27. 34; 53. 14 and this passage.

No. 33 A. 12: Read EN. NAM, Akkadian bel pišati and compare M.-O. D 19; F 16; CICH. 112 B 1 (plate XXVI). 17; Nor-Bay. 4.

No. 52 rev. 8: The restoration of the first word is very doubtful. I do not think that the šu-i-ni-ni of the passages quoted is of much help. Furthermore, the two remaining upright strokes are opposed to the reading šu.

No. 55 rev. 2: The pu must be between brackets because it is supplied.

No. 56 l. 10: There is no reason at all to join patari (l. 11) by a hyphen to the preceding DHal-di-i. As to the construction I agree with Friedrich, Caucasa 8. 115.—l. 31: Instead of the name of an unknown deity DHu-li-e (cf. col. 92) I propose to read a verbal form 'a-ḫu-li-e,* although this word seems to be unknown also. In my opinion the context requires a verb in this place.

No. 70 l. 6: Read of course t[i-i-ni].

No. 80 l. 7: See below.—l. 14: a-lu-še UDU RU-qu-du-lī, perhaps sub-qu-du-li; cf. 88. 6.

Every Corpus Inscriptionum should be restricted to the mere presentation of facts. It should abstain from all interpretation. So, we can only approve the editor’s refusal to give full translations; it would indeed be premature and above all opposed to the character of a Corpus. It was of course tempting to add several remarks on questions which arose in the recent literature of the subject. It is to be regretted that the editor has yielded to this temptation, the more so as his discussions are full of polemics against the younger generation of scholars who have worked in this field, particularly against M. von Tseretheli,7 Joh. Friedrich8 and

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*The AN which seems to begin the line is in reality only a part of the first sign. The edge of the stone is somewhat mutilated. The sign is apparently ‘a.

7 Col. 59 note 1, col. 62 note 1, col. 83 note 1. I myself recommended Tseretheli’s manuscript to the Heidelberg Academy for printing. I am far from identifying myself with Ts., but I must say here that just in
to a lesser degree, also against the present writer. These comments are out of place in the Corpus and cannot be regarded as felicitous. The overwhelming majority of them fail to refute the arguments attacked.

In the following lines I wish to show this in discussing some of the points involved.

I. Joh. Friedrich who deserves very well of the new branch of cuneiform studies doubted (ZA. NF. 6 p. 285) that "Khalidic" was the genuine name of the language in the inscriptions. He emphasized in arguing against L.-H.—and I think rightly—that the alleged occurrences of Khaldi or Khaldini for the people and of Khaldia ⁹ for their country do not exist in the texts, that only a god Khaldi occurs. I have myself expressed the same opinion in my Cultural History of Asia Minor (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients, 3. Abschnitt 1. Lieferung) p. 175, note 5 and have, therefore, adopted the name "Urarțean" for the language and the kingdom in which it was used. Against this cautious attitude L.-H. tries once more to prove that the expressions ĐHaldinini ušmašini and ĐHaldinini alsuššini are datives in the plural and mean "to the Khaldi-gods" and "to the great Khaldians" respectively (cols. 73 f.).

Against this opinion the following details are to be emphasized:

a.) The construction of both phrases is obviously the same as in [ĐHal-]di-ni-ni ba-ú-ši-i-ni equaling Ass. i-na <qi>-bi-it ĐHal-di-a "on the command of god Khaldi" in the Topzawâ bilingual stela (ZDMG. 58. 834 f.) ll. 17 and 15 of the two respective versions, and equaling Ass. ana tukultî ĐHal-di-a "with the support of Khaldi" ibid. ll. 25 and 24. A similar phrase occurs also in the other bilingual text, the Kelišin stela (CICCh. 12 and now 12 Bis [cols. 132 ff.]) in ll. 20 Urarţ. = 17 Ass., unfortunately mutilated in both versions. The reading adopted now in the supplement of the Corpus (col. 133 ff.) is Urarţ. ĐAl-di-ni-ni uš?-qi?-ni = Ass.

the points touched by the quoted notes I agree almost completely with Tseretheli. L.-H.'s censure is unjustified.


As to this, L.-H., too, cites (col. 76) only examples with the determinative "god." The determinative "country"—so frequent in the inscriptions—could not be left out under any circumstances, if the word denoted a country. I agree with Friedrich, l.c.
[ina an]-ni ki-ni DHal-di-e. The reading of both versions is quite uncertain. It seems even possible to replace uš?-gi?-ni—for which reference can be made to CICh. 10. 12—by uš-ma-še-ni or also uš-ma-ši-ni, a reading which would impart to this passage still more significance for our problem. At any rate, we have before us in all these phrases undoubtedly adverbial expressions and no datives in the plural.

b.) At the base of alsuišini and ušmašini are the words alsuiše and ušmaše. These words are not theoretically constructed; they actually occur in our materials. We can state with absolute certainty that they are abstract nouns. For this fact I refer particularly to the inscription Nikolsky 104 14 (= Sayce 64) restored recently from a new fragment published in Izvestia Akademii Nauk 1932 p. 345 and to be further completed by the duplicate Nikolsky 13. Here we find the group: ul-gu-še al-su-i-še [ar-di-še] 11 ar-ni uš-ma(-a)-še pi-šu-še ú-a-ni-še. Two of these words are known from bilingual texts: ulguše “life” and pisuše “gladness, gaiety.” There cannot be any doubt because of the common suffix that the others belong to the same general class of nouns. As alsui- certainly means “great” (also L.-H. col. 65), the abstract alsuiše is clearly “greatness.” Of the same kind is CICh. 149 (pl. XXXIX). 8 ff.: a-ru-ú-še e-ku[-ú-še] iš-pu-i-še ul-gu-[ú-še] pi-šu-ú-še al-[su-i-še] e-ja ar-di-[i-še] ar-a-ni uš-[ma-še].

I have, therefore, little doubt that also in the Topzawā stela—as Tseretheli, SBHAW. 1927/28. 5 (cf. p. 294 note 2) p. 53 has already pointed out correctly—in accordance with the Ass. words DHal-di-a li-tú da-[na-nu ḥa-du]-tú iddina 40a “Khaldi gave me power, strength and gladness” (I. 25 f.) we must read: a-ru-me-e

10 I myself proposed [ina te]-ni-e-ni (ZA. NF. 5 112). Tempting as Ebeling’s reading may be, I have not been able to verify his ki on the Berlin cast. There is no Winkelhaken at all. Furthermore, it is more probable that the Urartean word is rendered by only one Assyrian word Taking into consideration what is said above, the supplement [ina da]-ni-e-ni does not seem to be unlikely.

10a ‘Nik(olsky)’ refers to Materiały po Archeologii Kaukasa 5 (1896).

11 For this supplement note the passages given in the text immediately afterwards. L.-H.’s supplementation of Nik. 13/14, given in col. 74, must be corrected.

12 L.-H. (col. 74) quotes incorrectly and in my opinion also incompletely.

13 This Nor-Bayazet 7.
DHal-di-i[-še] [uš-ma]-še-e ar-di-še pi-su-u-še. That is to say, ušmašê is equivalent to Ass. litu "power."

It may be added that in DHal-di-ni uš-ma-ši-i-e and DHal-di-ni ar-ni-i-e CICh. 18. 17 (both of them datives in the singular) we have to recognize attributes of the god Kaldi.

There remain the three nearly identical passages CICh. 112 (pl. XXVII). A 2. 16 f., M.-O. E 16 f., Nor-Bayazet 6 f.: KUR Bi(-i)-a-i-na(-a)-ú-e uš-ma-a-še(-e) KUR Lu-lu-i-na(-a)-ú-í (or: KUR KUR[13] na-a-pa(-a)-miş(-i) a-i-di[14] "in order to establish power for the country of the Biya'ans (but) humiliation for the Lulu'ans (or: the enemy's country)."

The conclusion from the evidence given can only be: DHaldinini ušmašini means "in the power of Kaldi" and DHaldinini alsušini "in the greatness of Kaldi."

II. L.-H. denies (cols. 153 f.) that DHal-di-na-ni, DHal-di-na-ü-e and, we may add, DHal-di-na, belong grammatically together with DHal-di-ni-li, all of them interpreted as nominal forms in the plural by Joh. Friedrich (see most recently the paradigm in Einführung in das Urartäische p. 15). L.-H. defends his previous position that the suffix -na means "city" (cols. 76,[15] 152 ff.) and calls it a "Grundpfeiler der chaldischen Forschung" (col. 153). Although L.-H. accuses everybody who takes Friedrich's part of "sinning against the spirit of the language" (col. 154), I can only concur with Friedrich.[16] My reasons are the following:

a.) The expressions

DHal-di-na-ni KÁ, CICh. 12. 23, 29; 102. 2 f.
DHal-di-na-ü-e KÁ, CICh. 18. 16 = 58; 16. 5, 10.
DHal-di-na KÁ, 101. 3, 4, 5, 7; 103. 2.
DAl-di-na KÁ, CICh. 12. 22.
DHal-di(-i)-ni-li KÁ, CICh. 11. 7 = 23 = 39; 22. 6; 56. 6; 68. 3.
DHal-di-ni-li KÁ. MES, Nor-Bay. 4.
DHal-di(-i)-ni-li KÁ-li, CICh. 66. 4 = 9; Nik. 12. 5.

[14] For the form cf. ZA. NF. 5 118; the meaning given for the verb is entirely conjectural. Cf., however, CICh. 168 (pl. XLII). 3.
[15] The DHal-di-i URU of CICh. 70. 6 quoted there is irrelevant to our problem. I can see no proof that it is to be read otherwise than DHal-di-i patari "Kaldi-city."
[16] My former opinion that the Urartean plural is characterized by the syllable na was in spite of L.-H.'s protests (cols. 62, 76, 152 and note 3) only partly wrong.
belong without the slightest doubt to one and the same paradigm. They are different grammatical forms of one and the same phrase.

b.) The plural nature of KĀ “gate” or “gates” is distinctly indicated in the last two of the examples listed. As to ḏHa đinik KĀ, it is (except in CICH. 11) guaranteed by the verbal form ši-di-iš-tu-a-li; see my observation referred to by Friedrich, Arch. Or. 3. 269, note 2. In the two occurrences in the Kelišin stela the Assyrian version makes certain the plural character by its rendering. And with regard to the rest of the forms, Friedrich’s explanation (Caucasia 8 p. 125 f.) that in Urartean the plural mark could be omitted seems to me perfectly correct.

c.) L.-H.’s argument that the equivalent of Ass. KĀ is Urartean susi (cols. 96 f., 101, 148, 152), that is to say, a singular, is wrong. In order to prove this it would be sufficient to repeat Friedrich’s reference to the text now published as CICH. 66.17 Having read, however, L.-H.’s prejudiced note (col. 148), I prefer to take another way of proving his error.

The inscription Nikolaev 14 reads in its new form,18 l. 3:

DHal-di-na-ni KĀ bi-di-ni.

As has long been known, a duplicate of this text exists in Nikolaev 13. But here the passage reads:

[DHal-di-na-ni xx-]ra-a bi-di-i-ni.19

That is, the ideogram is here replaced by its phonetic reading. Although the unfortunate mutilation of the stone conceals the beginning of the word—probably only one syllable is lacking—one thing is sure: susi is not the reading of KĀ. We have even a second example for this fact, which is unfortunately mutilated once more: CICH. 80 l. 7 is in my opinion to be restored as:

a-li DHal-di-n[a-di xx-]ra-di-e TAG-e.

17 That L.-H. is able to get his identification from this very text is the consequence of his rendering šidištuali by “nachdem er wiedererbaut hatte” (cf. col. 89). It can be proved, however, that this rendering is wrong. The form in -uali is a simple 3rd person singular with the suffix of a plural object (cf. above 295). The two forms šidištuni and šidištuali are therefore on the same level and perfectly parallel to each other.

18 Izvestia Akademii Nauk 1932 p. 345.

19 Meščaninov, l.c. p. 348 supplies [du]-ra-a, I do not know on what evidence.
Here we meet the directive of the same expression for which the available forms have been listed above.

III. L.-H. formerly identified the Urartean word *pulusi* or *nà pulusi* with the ideogram DUP.TE; he restates his reasons once more in cols. 60 f. He asserts that TE merely forms part of the ideogram, though he admits that he cannot give the explanation for it. I adopted myself the equation ZA. NF. 5 p. 122, but since then I have become more and more sceptical. I wish to set forth my doubts here.

a.) There is no reason at all to regard TE as belonging to the ideogram, in other words as something to be explained by Sumerologists. A Sumerian DUP.TE is entirely unknown, and to assume such a word in Urartean epigraphy would be a construction ad hoc. It is much more reasonable to see in the syllable TE a phonetic complement, the end of the corresponding Urartean word.

b.) DUP-te and *pulusi* are used in phrases which for the most part are different from each other. In dealing with the setting up of the respective objects the Urartians say:

DUP-te *teru-*: CICH. 29. 2 ff.; 88. 3 f.; M.-O. D 11, E 13; Muš 20
II 3, III 7.

*pulusi kuyu-*: CICH. 14. 1 ff.; 15. 1 ff.; 31. 12; 33. 1 ff.; 48. 1 ff.; 52. obv. 1 ff.; 56. 1 ff.; 82. 3; 83. 1 ff.; 84. 1 ff.; 85. 1 ff.; 89. 1 ff.; 90. 1 ff.; 91. 1 ff.; 92. 1 ff.; 93. 1 ff.; 94. 1 ff.; 95. 1 ff.; 96. 1 ff.; 21
129 A 1. 1 ff.; 149. 1 ff.; 151. 1 ff.; Zivin. 22 4; Van Angestan. 23 1 ff.

Once *pulusi au-*: CICH. 168 (pl. XLI). 1 ff.

The opposites are:

DUP-te *pitu-*: CICH. 13. rev. 21; 21. 15 f.; 27. 29 f.; 32. rev. 2;
31. 22 f.; 34. 7; 35. 7; 38. 4; 47. 10 f.; 51. rev. 2; 87a. 10, b. 10;
129 a 1 (pl. XXX) 16; Sayce 50. 35; Sayce 86. 32; Nik. 21. 22;
Maku 24. 7. *pulusi suyidu-*: CICH. 55 rev. 3 ff.; 129 (pl. XXX)
A 1. 15.

The only exception I know of is the sentence *a-lu-še DUP-te in-su-u-i-du-li-e*, Kelišin (== CICH. 12 and 12 Bis). 37.

21 One expects the name of a god. Probably the restoration is not entirely correct. The loss of the stone prevents any examination.
23 Mesšaninov, Khaldovedenia p. 265 no. XX.
24 Zapiski Vostočnago Otdielenia 25 pl. 1.
c.) DUP-te is never the main subject in an inscription, the object commemorated; pulusi, on the contrary, almost always has this function, particularly in the cases where the word occurs in the first few lines of an inscription. It plays there the part elsewhere played by a “palace” or a sanctuary. Since an inscription, as L.-H. himself has stated repeatedly (cf. col. 97), never commemorates itself, pulusi cannot mean “inscription.”

It is also significant that in CICh. 129 (pl. XXX) A 1. 15 f. DUP-te is mentioned immediately after pulusi. That the two words are identical is impossible also for this reason.

d.) The pulusi has a religious significance. The usual type of pulusi inscription states that the king erected—or whatever kuyumay mean—this pulusi to this or that deity. Furthermore, pulusini-kai is in apparent parallelism to ḫaldina KĀ, denoting a sanctuary, in CICh. 56. 29. The connection with religious matters is evident also from CICh. 129 and 149.

More precise determination had better be left for future investigations.

IV. Hittite scholars will be astonished to learn from cols. 85 ff. that so far they have read the name of the country Arzawa erroneously. They are told they must replace their reading Arzawa by Arzawi. It is regrettable that L.-H. did not consult anybody familiar with Hittite texts before printing such a statement. If he had done so, he would have found out that in the Hittite syllabary there exists a special sign yi and that also ú-i is used to express this succession of sounds. The name under discussion, however, is never spelled with yi or ú-i. Hittite scholars will therefore keep to their former reading.

Fully half of the Urartean inscriptions still remain to be edited. We look forward with interest to future parts of the Corpus. As far as known, the inscriptions of Menuas’ successors surpass those of this king in size as well as in historical importance. What philology can learn from them can scarcely be overestimated.

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28 As an additional element in CICh. 31 and 82.
29 L.-H.’s rendering by “cover with writing” depends upon his interpretation of pulusi, and becomes uncertain if the latter is not accepted. It may be added that i-ú CICh. 56. 5 is a conjunction “when, after.” The alleged i-ú “as follows” (also ZA. NF. 5 116) very possibly does not exist at all.
PROBLEMS OF RIVERS AND CANALS UNDER HAN WU TI (140-87 B.C.).

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A study of the treatises on rivers and canals in the Shih chi and the Ch'ien Han shu reveals the reign of Han Wu Ti as a central chapter in the millenial struggle of the Chinese race against flood and drouth. In the narrative of the control and use of water appear economic items—information on agricultural productivity, on transportation and regional exchange. There was an evident concentration of imperial activities near Hsi-an, which required large quantities of grain and wood from a distance. Indications of how policy was formed and administration carried on are the more valuable because they come naturally in the story of the waters: witness the conflicts of local interests, the personal advantage of high officers, the appeal to superstitious practices, the authority of the Yu tradition. The continuing peril of the Huns suggests a proposal defiant of geography—to change their whole environment and character by running the Yellow River through their country.

Our texts put the effort of Wu Ti's era in its setting of hundreds of years of work with rivers and canals. In undated times a canal had been drawn off from the River near K'ai-feng, reaching the sea through the Hwai valley; a great canal connected the Hwai with the Yangtze; the T'ai-hu region was cut by water-courses; there was a canalized passage from the old Yellow River course in northwest Shantung to the sea near Laichow; canals cut the Hupeh plain from the left bank of the Han; the Mo was controlled near Ya-chow, and the Min was managed in two courses by Ch'eng-tu. In about 400 B.C. the Chang-teh area of northern Honan was irrigated from the Chang; and in 247 was begun the highly successful Cheng Kuo canal, carrying water from the Ching across to the Lo in southern Shensi (on lines recalled by modern engineering) and reclaiming 40,000 ch'ing (ca. 1,000 sq. m.) of marshy or salt land.

The Shih chi treatise, which Chavannes has translated, covers Wu Ti's reign to a few years after 109 B.C.; thus far the Han shu is an equivalent, with many verbal variations which do not yield
significant differences of content. Here we are limited to an analysis of the recorded facts.

In 132 B.C. came the great break in the River at Hu-tzu (in K'ai-hsien near Ta-ming), pouring southeastward via the Hwai to the sea, the first reported use of this course by the main stream of the Yellow River. The breach was not closed, ostensibly because of the Grand Councillor's arguments for letting nature have her way, supported by the readers of emanations; but our scribes recorded that the Councillor got his income from the territories just north of the southward break. Some twenty years later, after a succession of bad harvests, the Emperor elaborately undertook repair at Hu-tzu, and turned the River into two channels along the old course.

There was a veritable boom in waterways, not always well considered. A canal from Hsi-an to near T'ung-kuan, running south of the Wei, was profitable both for transport and for irrigation. The Fên canal watering southwestern Shansi was expected to produce much grain within easy carriage to the capital; but the river changed its course, and soon the canals and fields were abandoned to immigrants from the Yüeh of the southeast. In southern Shensi, improvement of the Mien (upper Han) and Pao rivers was undertaken, to connect with the Hsieh (Yeh) and Wei by a hundred-li portage; there was hope of bringing the grain of the Han valley to the capital, of exploiting the building timber and bamboos along the way, and of bettering the transport from the middle Yangtze. But the rocky channels and irregular torrents were never really conquered. A canal east of the Lo (Shensi) is obscurely described, seemingly short and unprofitable; part of it was said to be built by digging a long line of deep wells, perhaps a confused account of an underground watercourse in the loess. Other enterprises are referred to as benefiting over 10,000 ch'ing (ca. 250 sq. m.) in each case: three up the Yellow River in the far west; one north and west of Hsi-an; irrigation of two commanderies from the Hwai; a project in Shou-kuang, (N. central) Shantung; use of the Wen below T'ai Shan.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien concludes his treatise with an account of his own travel and observation on the watercourses, while the Han shu continues the story. Further irrigation was attempted in southern Shensi, supplementing the Cheng Kuo project. Most
successful was the Pai canal from the Ching to the Wei near Loyang (Shensi), two hundred li in length. "When the people secured its benefits, they made a song in these words: 'Whence came our cultivated fields? From the gleaming reservoirs at Kuo. The Cheng Kuo was earlier, and then the Pai canal. Grasp the spade to make clouds, and break open the channel to cause rain.' In one shih of water from the Ching there are several tou (1/10 of a shih) of mud; thus there is both irrigation and fertilization, lengthening our ears of grain. The feeding and clothing of the metropolitan district, with its vast population, that tells the productiveness of these two canals.

"At this time there was concern regarding the Hsiung Nu. Those who pushed for glory and gain, and who discarded of [possible] advantages were very numerous. A man of Chi, T'ing Nien, offered a written proposal which declared: 'The River emerges from the K'un Lun and passes through the central state to flow into the P'eng Hai. This is its geographical setting, sloping from the northwest plateau southward and eastward; you may observe the nature of the territory according to the maps. If you order the hydrographic engineers to level down the high places, opening a great river which would come forth from the plateau, traverse the middle of the Hu country, and flow eastward to the sea; in this way the land east of the passes would be perpetually freed from flood disasters, and the northern frontier would not suffer from the Hsiung Nu. . . . The Hu robbers are a calamity, invading and plundering us, overthrowing our armies and slaughtering our commanders, exposing their skeletons in the wilderness. The Empire is forever warding off the Hsiung Nu; but does not suffer from the hundred Yüeh, because streams separate them and cultivated lands divide them. . . .'

"When the proposal had been presented, the Emperor praised it, replying as follows: 'T'ing Nien's plan has been thoroughly considered. But the River indeed was directed by the great Yü. When sages carry out their enterprises, they act for the benefit of ten thousand generations. What is in relation with the bright spirits is, we fear, difficult to alter.'

"After [the work at] Hsüanfang, the river again broke northward at Kuant'ao (just S. W. of K'aihsien), branching off as the Tun-shih river, going northeastward across the Wei commandery
and Ch'ing-ho, Hsin-tu (Chichow), and P'eng-hai to enter the sea. It was broad and deep as the great rivers; so they accepted the course of nature and did not block it. Since the channel was opened, the four or five commanderies north and east of Kuan-t'ao have, it is true, suffered slightly at times from the waters; on the other hand the six commanderies south of Yen-chow have had no trouble with floods."

As the Han shu goes beyond Wu Ti to the Wang Mang era, it records with increased detail the accumulation of experience, and discussions of principle reached a discrimination that has not been greatly surpassed in two thousand years. In some places there had been built through the centuries a series of parallel dikes extending tens of li back from the River, and stone facing protected several long stretches. Officials observed that for a long period all breaks had come within a certain reach of the River, and urged a new channel start from there. Some officers were continually weighing the injuries and risks to areas north and south of the River, and one insisted that channels be kept open to both of the main mouths, dividing the dangers. Opponents of any particular plan could usually denounce it as "unconstitutional" because it did not follow the scheme of Yü. There were specific reports on areas damaged, buildings destroyed, persons driven out, transfer of funds and grain to flooded regions, costs of repair, settlement of refugees. Special rewards stimulated officials to efficiency and economy, while one high dignitary rebuked by the emperor committed suicide.

As to policy, there was a preponderance for conformity to nature, with the backing of Taoist concepts if you like. Why not use the vast expenditures on dikes and relief to move the peasants and let breaks be utilized in natural places? Why should the great system of the Han contend with the waters for a paltry foot of land here and there? The worst way is simply to build the dikes higher and higher, for that means no limit to cost and effort and danger. People lose half their time on dike-work; in the undrained (perhaps brackish) areas near the river people become sick, vegetation fails, even fish and turtles do not thrive. A compromise policy retains dikes, but draws off water in canals. This practice is difficult at changing levels, but the advantages of reclamation, increased fertility, and transportation are considerable.
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Hebrew and Aramaic from Beth Shemesh

Professor Elihu Grant's most recent volume, Rumeileh (Haverford, 1934), continuing the reports of his excavations at 'Ain Shems, brings interesting material, with some items of especial importance. It is excellently illustrated, as usual, containing thirty-two plates in half tone, three colored plates, and six maps, besides figures in the text. It is furnished with an Index which includes also the material reported in the former publications, Beth Shemesh (1929), and Ain Shems I (1931) and II (1932); a very useful feature. The volume will be reviewed by experts in Palestinian archaeology; it is the purpose of the present writer to attempt the decipherment of four brief inscriptions found at this site, each offering its own peculiar problem. Two of the number are jar handle inscriptions of the common sort, containing names of men; a third jar handle presents a legend of a hitherto unknown type; the fourth object is a private seal brought to light in the earlier (British) excavation at Beth Shemesh.

The stamped impressions on jar handles are sometimes indistinct or defective. In the present examples we are fortunate in having before us drawings which may be relied upon as accurate. The two inscriptions published in Rumeileh come from Iron Age levels, and their script also marks them as of the best period of Hebrew epigraphy. In the case of the inscription from Room 379 (Fig. 2A, p. 29), the fact that two jar handles with the same impression were found (p. 67) adds to our confidence in the reading. The characters, as drawn, are those of the 8th or 7th century B.C. The reading above the usual dividing line is סָדָבֵל; below the line, סָדָב. If we have here two Hebrew proper names, as is altogether probable, they are at least unfamiliar. It is noticeable that each of the two ends in aleph; hypocoristica in -ā are not very common in the old Hebrew known to us (though in actual use, in ordinary intercourse, they may have been much more numerous than our texts give us reason to believe). As for סֵזָל, it could be the abbreviation (Zakkā) of such familiar names as Zachariah or Zakkūr. The name סֵזָל, on the other hand, is problematic. A theophoric name
containing either נַחֲאֹ (Ps. 85:3) or חַלְשִׁ (Ps. 78:7), cf. the מַמְשָׁה of the Elephantine papyri, may be conjectured; beyond doubtful guesses we shall hardly come at present.

The inscription on the jar handle found in Room 376 is described (p.68) as both small and crowded; it is also somewhat defective. The characters, as copied, are of the same age as in the former case. See again Fig. 2A, p.29. Above the line the letters are לַמְנָה; below the line, מָלִּכְכ, with a dividing mark after the first letter. The first name is evidently מַנָּה, familiar from the O.T. (Menahem), and found on a seal excavated by Bliss at Tell el-Judeideh. The three remaining letters, BGB, make a most unpromising combination, the least that we could ask for is another G; and the question arises, whether this impression of the stamp can be trusted. Further study may possibly bring new light.

The inscribed object mentioned above as found in the British excavations at 'Ain Shems is a small scarab seal, published in the P. E. F. Annual, II (1912-1913), pp. 91 f. (with an enlarged facsimile of the impression) and Plate LXI, 1. See also David Diringer, Le Iscrizioni Antico-Ebraiche (Firenze, 1934), pp. 206 f. and Plate XX, fig. 18. The reading hitherto adopted is: above the line, לַמָּה; below the line, בָּעֵדַע. The date indicated by the archaeological evidence is given as c. 700. The inscription has received no satisfactory interpretation (see Diringer).

The Hebrew characters on the seal are roughly and clumsily made, and I venture to think that they have not been correctly read. The third letter in the first line is not aleph, but samekh. Diringer repeats what others have said in holding that the former letter is "abbastanza chiara," since it has only two transverse lines. But his Plate XXII, 9b, shows a samekh with only two such lines (read as this letter by several experts, without hesitation), and he includes the form in his own Table of old Hebrew characters. I lay no weight on the fact that Euting's Table of Aramaic alphabets in Chwolson's Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum has a specimen exactly like the one on this seal (an example from the Egyptian papyri), for it seems to me a mere coincidence; but I think that the reading of samekh on our seal is certain. In the final letter in the line I can see only yodh, not hê. The short but heavy stroke at the bottom, running to the right, seems decisive. The name Ḥassai (cf. Zakkai) would be a regular abbreviation of בַּלָּא (1 Chr. 3:20).
As for the second line of the inscription, we may well be satisfied with the reading given above. The name Ba'd'eł sounds strange to readers of O.T. Hebrew, but it seems to be sufficiently supported by the נוירו which occurs twice in the Elephantine papyri. The proposal of Père Vincent (Revue Biblique, 34 [1925], p. 440), to read the familiar Biblical name נוירו, would be very attractive if the preceding characters could be made to agree; but the reading of beth is clear beyond question at the beginning of the second line, and is quite impossible at the end of the first line.

A jar handle inscription published by Grant in his volume Beth Shemesh (1929), p. 213, is of unusual interest. The object was picked up by Grant on the untouched surface of the mound, at the beginning of his excavation (see p. 18). The script is plainly of later date than that of the two inscriptions discussed above, published in Rumeileh. There is however one character which seems to prohibit carrying the date down far. The kaphe of this type, the favorite form in the older Hebrew writing, finely exemplified for instance in the Siloam inscription, seems to have disappeared from use during the two centuries of Persian rule of Palestine. It was foreign to every variety of Aramaic script, and by the latter it eventually was crowded out. The Jewish coinage, with all its great variety of types of script, has no example of the form here considered, and this would seem to show that it had long been out of use. Regarding the progress of this displacement, however, we have as yet no information.

Another example of the later use of this form of kaphe is to be seen in the terra cotta object (label?) excavated by Bliss in 1900 at Tell el-Judeideh; see P. E. F., Q. St., 32, p. 221 and Plate VII; Bliss, Excavations in Palestine, p. 122. The character is noticeably like our specimen, exactly similar in the form of the head, where the line of the shaft is continued in the middle line of the three, rather than in the one at the right, as in the older form. The meaning of the legend, ניקש, is uncertain, and so is the date, though it can hardly be doubted that the object belongs to the Persian period. The safest guess for both inscriptions would seem to be the fifth century, though the fourth may be possible.

In the inscription from Beth Shemesh, the characters in the upper line are לִלָּבכ, with the second ל reversed; the lower line has יש. The reversing of the final letter in the first line is
merely for symmetry, to correspond to the same letter at the beginning of the line. This device which I remember to have seen in at least one other Jewish inscription is also to be found in the late Phoenician seal published by me in this Journal, 28 (1907), p. 354.

As far as I am aware, the only attempt to interpret which has been made is that by Diringer, op. cit., p. 342. He is troubled by the reversed lamedh, cuts quite loose from it, and conjectures h§ instead; obtaining a proper name נֶסֶן, which he admits to be a strange compound and does not attempt to explain. The lower line is supposed by him to contain the familiar name Shallūm.

If I am not mistaken, this is a jar handle stamp of a new type—the type of inscription ancient enough, to be sure, inasmuch as it carries a good omen. It begins with a feminine imperative; feminine, because these jars were carried by women; and the inscription says, in effect, “Good luck to her who shall handle this jar!” It reads לְבֵנַי לוֹשָׁלָם, “lay hold in peace!” and, since this verb is known to us as only Aramaic, the vocalization is doubtless לְבֵנַי לוֹשָׁלָם. The interpretation seems quite certain, and the legend is an interesting monument of Palestinian life and language. We are perpetually surprised to find how modern the ancients were. This bit of writing, moreover, appears to be the earliest known witness to the adoption of Aramaic as the popular speech in Judea. I hope to return to this subject elsewhere.

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The Conjunction of May 205 B.C.

The History of the Earlier Han Dynasty, written by Pan Ku (58-82 A.D.) and others, in chap. I, p. 18b, reads, “In the first year, in the winter, the tenth month (November 14-December 12, 207 B.C.) there was a conjunction of the five planets in (the constellation) tung-ching.”

Dr. J. K. Fotheringham of Oxford has very kindly calculated this conjunction. According to his results, this conjunction cannot have been correctly recorded for 207 B.C., inasmuch as at that time, altho the planets were within about 41° of longitude of each other,
"Mercury and Jupiter were on one side of the sun, visible as morning stars, and Venus, Mars, and Saturn were on the other side, visible as evening stars." In 206 B.C., Mars was far away from Jupiter.

The date of closest approach for these planets was on May 30, 205 B.C., when the planetary longitudes were as follows: Mercury and Jupiter at 88.3° right ascension, Saturn at 90.7°, Mars at 98.4°, and Venus at 111.3°. The total range in right ascension was thus 23°.

But at that time all the planets were not in the constellation *tung-ching*. The right ascensions of the stars in that constellation are calculated for 205 B.C. by Dr. Fotheringham as follows: μ Gemini as 62.8°, ν as 64.9°, ε as 67.3°, γ as 67.8°, ζ as 70.5°, ξ as 73.3°, and η as 77.7°. *Tung-ching* is however stated by Chinese authorities to contain 33 Chinese degrees, which is about 32.5° in European measurement. The next constellation in the Chinese zodiac is *kuei*, whose constituent stars ranged at that date from 95.3° to 98.8° R.A. This constellation is said to contain 4 Chinese degrees (about 3.9° in our measurement). Hence "it is clear from this that the space between one asterism in the list of zodiacal constellations and the next was reckoned to the preceding asterism. At least this was so with *tung-ching*." Then *tung-ching* extended from 62.8° to 95.3° R.A. Even so, on May 30th, Mars was in *kuei* and Venus in the next constellation, *liu*.

Dr. Fotheringham has however calculated that on May 16th, 205 B.C., when Mercury was first opposite the first star in *tung-ching*, being at 62.8°, the other planets were located as follows: Jupiter at 85.0°, Mars at 88.8°, Saturn at 88.9°, and Venus at 95.9°. They were thus spread over 33.1° of longitude. The first four planets were in *tung-ching*, and Venus was just over in *kuei*. Venus had last been seen in *tung-ching* on May 14th, two evenings previous. But *kuei* is usually mentioned together with *tung-ching* in the *History of the Earlier Han Dynasty*; the two were grouped together as the constellation *shun-shou* (lit., "the head of the quail.") Chinese astronomers thus had no difficulty in giving "the conjunction the benefit of any doubt." We may then take the middle of May 205 B.C. as the date of this conjunction.

How did this conjunction get dated in November 207 B.C. in the *History*? That date was the result of a misunderstanding on
the part of its author. The earliest extant statement about this conjunction is found in the Shih chi, chap. XXVII, p. 40a, "When the Han dynasty triumphed, the five planets appeared in conjunction in (the constellation) tung-ch'ing." (Cf. E. Chavannes, Memoires de Se-ma Ts'ien, vol. III, p. 407.) Chavannes adds a note that this conjunction happened in 200 B.C., on the authority of Ssu-ma Ch'en's So yin. But the So yin gives that date, not to this conjunction, but to the event mentioned next, the siege of Kao-tsu at P'ing-ch'eng, for the note comes after the sentence recounting the siege. Elsewhere the Shih chi (cf. Chavannes, ibid., vol. II, pp. 389, 390) gives this date for the siege.

The date when "the Han dynasty triumphed" may be variously given. One answer, besides that of the Han History, is that the triumph occurred when Han Kao-tsu returned from his virtual banishment to Han by Hsiang Yü and conquered the three states that had been set up by Hsiang Yü to succeed the state of Ch'in—which was June 206 B.C. Kao-tsu however first actually assumed imperial prerogatives when he did away with the Ch'in dynasty's gods of the land and grain and substituted his own gods—which is dated in the History of the Earlier Han Dynasty on March 5, 205 B.C. About the time of the conjunction in May 205 B.C., Kao-tsu did triumph over Hsiang Yü, in that he, together with his allies, entered P'eng-ch'eng, Hsiang Yü's capital, but he was severely defeated immediately afterwards. Perhaps this conjunction actually helped him to keep up his courage after that defeat, for the History tells that he was not cast down by that annihilating defeat, from which he barely escaped with his own life, and after which his allies all left him, but immediately set on foot new projects to overthrow Hsiang Yü. Hsiang Yü was however not killed until January 202 B.C., and Kao-tsu did not ascend the throne as emperor until February 22, 202 B.C. It was thus quite natural that Kao-tsu's assumption of imperial prerogatives in March 205 B.C. should have been linked with the conjunction in May, and that the conjunction should have been said to have happened when the Han dynasty triumphed.

The astrological interpretation of this conjunction also assisted in bringing about the statement in the History. The ancient Chinese allocated the various regions of the sky to various states, just as was the case in the ancient Mediterranean world. Accord-
ing to Cheng Chung (ca. 5 B.C.-83 A.D.), shun-shou, which includes tung-ching and kuei, was allocated to Ch'in. Since Kao-tsu had possessed himself of this territory, it is natural that the conjunction should have been interpreted with reference to his dynasty. Ying Shao (ca. 140-206 A.D.) remarks that this conjunction indicated that a new emperor of a new dynasty would conquer by his righteousness.

Because of this astrological interpretation, when the exact date of the conjunction had been forgotten, it was natural to have put this conjunction at the beginning of the Han dynasty's reign. Liu Hsiang (80-9 B.C.) wrote, "When the Han (dynasty) entered (the region of) Ch'in, the five planets appeared in conjunction in (the constellation) tung-ching." In the Shih chi, chap. LXXXIX, p. 9b (repeated in the Han History, chap. XXXII, pp. 6b, 7a) we find a further detail, "The old gentleman Kan said, 'When the King of Han (Kao-tsu) entered the pass (October 207 B.C.), the five planets appeared in conjunction in (the constellation) tung-ching. Tung-ching is the portion (of the heavens allocated to) Ch'in. Whoever reaches (that place) first should have been made its king.'"

With the foregoing statements before him, it is quite natural that Pan Ku should have written as he did and dated this conjunction at the official beginning of the Han dynasty in November 207 B.C. He evidently had no exact record of the conjunction except the foregoing passages and was not sorry, in his record, to glorify the dynasty under which he was writing.

HOMER H. DUBS.

Library of Congress.

The first volume of this sumptuous work received in its manuscript condition the prize of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1930; this has been expanded by the editor to the present three volumes, a massive opus of 800 pages. It is to be warmly hailed as the first long step towards booking the lexical contents of the South Arabian inscriptions. Withal it confines itself to the proper names, but this limitation is an index of the vast amount of material which has slowly and with arduous care been brought to light from the interior of ancient Arabia, amounting to some 7000 inscriptions, as the editor reckons. Only scanty lexical compendia have as yet been published. In 1917 Pilter published an Index of the South Arabian Proper Names contained in the Corpus of Semitic Inscriptions, vol. IV. Since the Glossary in Hommel's Chrestomathie of Minaean texts (1893) Rossini has published in his Chrestomathia (1931) a most valuable Glossary, which goes beyond the limits of the texts in his selection. Otherwise apart from indexes of words discussed in various monographs, e. g. in Rhodokanakis's invaluable publications, there is no collection of lexical material, and the student is forced to compile his glossary for himself.

"South Arabian" of the title is used in its philological, not geographical sense, and this lexicon includes not only the names of the Minaeans, Sabaeans and related peoples, but also those of the northern Lihyanite, Safaitic and Thamudene groups, as well as the proper names found in epigraphic Ethiopic. The editor has devoted careful criticism to all the texts and published studies, an arduous work indeed especially in view of the difficult interpretation of the innumerable graffitti of the northern groups. The reader should in the first place give his attention to the Preface of vol. I, in which the editor explains the disposition of his material. The arrangement according to a series of lexical groupings may at first seem complicated; as the editor remarks in his Preface, "no classification is faultless"; but with an understanding of his method the reader
will appreciate the value of his distinction of materials. Vol. I contains in several chapters the "Names of Gods," "of Persons," "of Ethnic Groups," "of Places," "of Months," with an Appendix of "Ethiopic Names." The classification of human personal names is as follows: (1) Simple Proper Names, in two classes, (a) Denominative Names, e.g. 'ab, "Father," 'usáma, "Lion," (b) Simple Verbal Names, which makes the largest group of all, pp. 39-217; (2) Theophorous Names; (3) Composite Names; and finally with due caution Names of Uncertain or Unknown Provenance. The student should carefully note the Additions and Corrections, pp. 389-415, consisting largely of supplemental material that came to hand in the continuance of the original work. Vol. II, Répertoires alphabétiques, contains two indexes which serve the previous volume; first a useful index of the roots of the elements in proper names which do not begin with the root in question or with the first radical of the root. The second is a General Alphabetic Index, with cross-references to the analytic lists in vol. I. It is to this index that in case of uncertainty as to classification the reader should first apply. The same index also contains a full supplement of all citations of names, complementing the first indexes, which gave only exemplary citations. Vol. III is a General Concordance of South Semitic Inscriptions; it is divided under the heads of the several South Arabian dialects. The volume is in a word a bibliographical index, a most welcome supplement to the lexicon. In brief, it gives a means of locating the often frequent publications of a given text, and this by a very careful system of abbreviations. If for instance the reader desires to follow the subsequent treatment of any one of the 985 texts in the Corpus, he can obtain under its number the concordance of publications; and so similarly for Glaser's 1756 numbers. This work is of immeasurable value, as any student will realize who has attempted to make his way through the accumulated and scattered literature.

The lexical material is treated with scrupulous care. The root in classical Arabic is given, if attainable, along with the meaning of the vocable, which is presented in transliteration. The treatment often expands into a considerable note in discussion of readings and interpretations. It may be remarked that there remains much to be done on the forms and the semantics of these ancient names, so far antedating those of literary Arabic, and often to be compared rather with the older Semitic languages. For instance we have
frequently to do with the polarization of Semitic roots. Thus the name יָמִי is translated "Amm rejects," which seems impossible as a proper name; this interpretation follows the Arabic root nakira "to ignore." The Hebrew follows this meaning in nokri "stranger," but its verb in Hifil means "to recognize"; a parallel may be found in English "to look into," which implies an initial ignorance. Under the list of Simple Proper Names are many which are abbreviations of compounds; e.g., divine names become personal, as II, Ilat (cf. Biblical Eli, and Jehu, which Akkadian and Syriac properly present as Yahu); others are reduced to the predicate of the original theophorous name, e.g., Nebaț (as with the name of Jeroboam I's father); this may be the case with the name 'tк "ancient," possibly reduced from a form like the Sabaean name 'Amm-tк "Amm is ancient," with which is to be compared not only "the Ancient of Days" of Daniel with same root in the Aramaic epithet, but also the Ras Shamra epithets for El as eternal. Such a frequent element as dmr (see II, pp. 6, 46) is evidently a divine element, and is to be explained from the Syriac dmr with its notion of "reverence," cf. "the Fear of Israel," Gen. 31: 42; the same root is found in Biblical Zimri, Zimran. I note with interest the name listed in I, p. 265, transliterated as Sab'an'asrawān, i.e. "the seventeenth," which is to be explained as a date-name, compare my note on Bath-sheba, JQR. 24, 264 f.

But our notice cannot extend beyond presenting the richness of this fine compendium, for which Semitic philology is immensely indebted to M. Ryckmans. It is a work that will stand alongside of our great Semitic lexica. And the reviewer expresses the hope that M. Ryckmans may proceed now to a complete lexicon of the South Arabian inscriptions.

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This brochure reviews the life of Apollonius of Tyana, chiefly as recorded by Philostratus in his Vita Apollonii. Mr. Charpentier believes that the diary of Damis really existed and he is inclined to accept the other sources of Philostratus. He summarizes briefly the chief articles dealing with the Indian travels of Apollonius and
points out that a knowledge of India and its customs might have
eliminated some of the scepticism regarding the visit of Apollonius.

But, though Mr. Charpentier emphasizes that the excavations at
Taxila have vindicated Philostratus in his description of the city,
it seems to me that he himself too readily assumes that other state-
ments of Philostratus are merely fanciful. I hold no brief for the
reliability of Philostratus nor even for the visit to India of Apollonius;
but surely certain statements can not be dismissed sum-
marily as untrue. In one case, at least, I believe Philostratus to be
sustained by the facts.

Mr. Charpentier says (p. 25), "As grapes have never been cul-
tivated within India proper wine was never prepared within the
country." On p. 60 he says again that grapes were never grown in
India, and dismisses the notice regarding vines and wine (Ap. III.
5) as without foundation. He is not the first, by any means, to say
that grapes were not grown in India, but I have never seen any
reason given for the statement. Perhaps it goes back to Baber who
says, in his sweeping condemnation of things Indian, that they had
no grapes and no melons. Tod helped spread the idea: "To
Baber... India is indebted for the introduction of its melons and
grapes..." But there is plain evidence to the contrary. Hema-
candra (1088-1172 A.D.) was obviously familiar with the grape.
He lists it among other trees and plants in the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi
(4. 221), and in the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-caritra (1. 6. 409) he
refers to Śabariś on Mt. Satruñjaya drinking madhu made from
grapes (ḍrāksṭā), the date palm (kharjūra) and the palmyra palm
(tāla). Surely madhu made from grapes is wine; but assuming
that it might be only unfermented grape juice, it is clear that the
grape was no novelty in Gujarat at least four centuries before
Baber. It is more difficult to say whether it was growing in India
in the time of Apollonius, but it seems not improbable. It is men-
tioned in the Jain Āgamas, and the word dakkhaṇa occurs,
which sounds like a cultivated vineyard.

Mr. Charpentier dismisses other things also as "sheer fancy"

1 Leyden, Memoirs of Babar, p. 333.
3 Piṇḍaniryukti 169 and the Sthānāṅga 3. 4.
4 Anuyogadvāra 131. According to the lexicons, Suśruta mentions the
grape several times, and drāksṭavāna occurs in the Harivaṇaśa, but I have
not these texts to ascertain the context.
too readily (p. 60). Surely the wild asses with one horn are rhinoceroses, and are not the dragons the hooded cobras and huge pythons, granting that much fiction is mingled with their description? A thousand stadia a day for a camel does not seem an impossibility (p. 37). The Encyclopedia Britannica (s. v. camel) says that the dromedary "is celebrated for its fleetness, carrying its rider when necessary 100 miles a day." The same work (s. v. lion) says that within the nineteenth century the lion’s range extended through the northwest parts of Hindustan, so it does not seem "utterly doubtful" (p. 38) that lions were seen by Apollonius. The consumption of lion-flesh is more startling, but apparently not unheard of. Berwick * quotes Bruce † as saying that he had eaten it.

Mr. Charpentier dismisses the stay with the "philosophers" as wholly imaginary, mainly because all the details do not apply to any one sect which we know. But that is hardly sufficient reason. Most of the description undoubtedly applies to Indian ascetics, as he admits. There are infinite variations of rules and customs among Indian ascetics today. It would be very easy to describe accurately a group that would be very difficult for even contemporaries to identify.

The author’s conclusions are that Apollonius existed, that the diary of Damis existed, that Book II was written by a traveler who went as far as the altars of Alexander but no further, and that Book III is mainly fanciful, based on other writings. I do not think such a distinction can be made between Books II and III.

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* Cf. Briggs, JAOS 51. 278.

† The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, translated from the Greek of Philostratus, with notes and illustrations. By the Rev. Edward Berwick, London, 1809.

* Presumably, Bruce’s Travels. Berwick’s translation has many interesting, however uncritical, notes. He says (p. 73): “The wandering Arabs are exempted from paying tribute to either Tunis or Algiers, on account of their being obliged by the institution of their founder to eat lion’s flesh for their daily food. Bruce mentions his having eaten of three different aged lions, of which none were tolerable.” He also quotes Buffon (presumably from the Histoire Naturelle) as saying that Indians and negroes frequently eat the flesh of lions, and that Indians eat the flesh of tigers.

This Oxford doctoral dissertation was completed about ten years ago; no publication since 1924 seems to have been used in it. It is thus out of date bibliographically at least; but also in other ways. It should not have been published without far-reaching revision.

As a descriptive account of the religion of the Veda it is negligible, and doubtless is not meant to claim much originality. Only a minor part is devoted to this subject: that part contains chiefly a brief and conventional treatment of Rigvedic mythology (closely following Macdonell for the most part), plus a yet briefer and more perfunctory chapter on the Brāhmaṇas; nothing on the Upaniṣads, and next to nothing on the Atharva Veda. It is, indeed, clear from the title that the author's interest lies elsewhere; namely, in developing his theories of the origin of Indic and Indo-European religion (and even of religion generally), and its relation to magic. In itself, the Vedic religion serves as a sort of peg on which to hang an extensive structure of speculation, which occupies the greater part of the book.

Mr. D. draws a sharp line between "magic," which is "coercive," and "religion," which is devotional and "propitiatory" (p. 20). These two are regarded as mutually exclusive and irreconcilable opposites, "fundamentally different attitudes of mind" (p. 131), altho sometimes it is admitted that both may have existed side by side "from very early times" (p. 135). Among the Indo-Europeans, "magic," if it existed at all (which sometimes the author inclines to doubt, p. 63), was very unimportant compared with devotional "religion." Their migratory life "would prevent them from being very superstitious or magical," since "magic, generally speaking, is the curse of a settled ... life" (p. 63),—an astonishing dictum for which no evidence is offered (it is news to me that nomads are "generally" not addicted to magic). Like the Indo-Europeans, their descendants the Indo-Iranians and the Vedic Indians were devotees of true "religion," and had little or no "magic." Even the Atharva Veda contains "not truly magical charms" but "degenerate forms of prayer" (p. 135); and furthermore, the Atharvan compositions are very late and belong only to a
decadent stage of Vedic religion. "The Rigveda is the only book where we can find the pure Vedic religion" (p. 198).

From this it may be guessed that Mr. D. is vigorously opposed to the theory that religion develops out of magic. Much that he says against this theory has a great deal of force. But he is so ardent in the cause that he comes perilously close to arguing that magic develops out of religion. Indeed he actually does argue that about Atharvan magic, as we saw. Here he certainly goes much too far. In fact, I think he greatly exaggerates the cleavage between what he calls "magic" and "religion." Let us accept his distinction between these terms (it has its convenience, tho I can see also some inconveniences); let us call "coercive" supernaturalistic practices and compositions "magical," and devotional ones "religious." That it is possible to make such a distinction, in the abstract, may be admitted. Yet both seem to me better described as different aspects of the same thing; and (what is really important) at any rate no psychological (or, if you like, linguistic) distinction is made between them in the Veda. As a matter of fact, primitive—and even not so primitive—man naturally tries to impose his will on his environment by force so far as he thinks he can, and resorts to propitiation of some sort or other only when he feels confronted by force majeure, or when he thinks that cajolery is apt to be easier or more effective than a domineering attitude. He deals thus with his fellow humans, and quite similarly with the non-human powers with which he comes in contact, and to which his animistic fancy assigns volitional and other anthropomorphic functions like his own. (See my essay on "The Religion of the Veda" in Religions of the Past and Present, ed. J. A. Montgomery, Philadelphia, 1918, especially p. 117 f.) "Gods" are merely "spirits" or mysterious powers too mighty to be dominated by force; that is their only distinction from the powers used in "magic." There are many border-line cases which slip over from one class to the other according to shifts of human psychology; nay, even the highest "gods" may, in extreme cases, be conceived as "coercible": witness the Brāhmaṇas, where (we may grant Mr. Deshmukh) "religion" has changed ("degenerated" if you like) into "magic." Generally, on the other hand, a man does not pray to his ox or his plow, simply because he thinks he doesn't have to, in order to control them. If he thinks he could profit by cajoling them instead of bullying them, he does so; then "magic" changes into "religion."
Taken as a whole, neither is "older" than the other and neither "originates from" the other. But also, the two are inextricably blended—rather, in the Veda at least, never at all distinguished psychologically (aliter, linguistically). They are very frequently combined in the same verses, both Vedic and other.

This is disputed by Mr. D. on p. 155, where we read that except the word mantra, "which in the Indian vernaculars has come to mean 'incantation,' but which originally meant 'a hymn,' there cannot be found in the Sanskrit language any words for 'magic,' 'magical,' or 'magician,' and 'priest,' 'priestly,' or 'priesthood' which have anything common between them." I think it can very easily be shown that this is the reverse of the truth. In the Veda it would be much more nearly true, and indeed would involve very little exaggeration, to say that every such word has both meanings; the fact being, as I said, that to the Vedic consciousness the two are absolutely one. Any Sanskrit dictionary will show that mantra means "magic charm" as well as "devotional hymn," already in the Rigveda itself (I am sure Mr. D. cannot mean that this alleged "change" does not occur until "the Indian vernaculars," tho his statement is most unfortunate, in suggesting that absurdity). Exactly the same is true of brāhmaṇa, which is probably the favorite word of the Atharvan magicians for their own charms (so used about a hundred times). They constantly call themselves brahmāṇa, vipra, vipāścit, kāru, etc. (references in Whitney's Word Index). In short, they apply all the time to themselves and their activities the entire vocabulary used by the Rigvedic priest-poets of themselves and their activities, except only technical words referring to the specific ritual rôle of the Rigvedic (hotar) priest. Mr. D. makes much of the fact that yātudhāna and yātuvid ("sorcerer, black-magician") are not used of priests. A curiously naïve argument! These are terms of abuse. They are applied never to the speaker but only to those who use magic against "us." The yātudhāna is simply a vipra whom the speaker hates; naturally he is not complimented by identification with the speaker's own class. We, the vipras, do the same things that the yātudhāna does (the AV. is full of such charms—as well as of their antidotes), but of course only for our own righteous ends; the enemy is by definition wicked.

On p. 60 it is argued that if magic had flourished in Rigvedic times as it did (he here admits) in Atharvan times, the RV. could
not have been “kept free from any traces of” it “by the care and cunning of the collectors of the hymns,” so as “to leave no trace of its existence whatsoever, even in that most heterogeneous of collections called the Rigveda.” It would be hard to crowd into a short passage a greater number of errors. The Rigveda as we have it contains plenty of “magic.” There are genuine Atharvanic charms, not only in Books 1 and 10 (e.g. the vermin-charm 1. 191), but even in the family-books (e.g. the sleep-charm 7. 55, part of which occurs in the AV. where it is more at home). And it is only in its present expanded form (containing magic) that the RV. can properly be called a “heterogeneous collection.” If we should limit our consideration to the original kernel, which we can roughly determine as the hieratic family collections (partly included in Book 1) and Book 9 (minus certain late accretions to them, of course not clearly definable at times), then and only then could we say that it contained no “magic” in Mr. D.’s sense. But it also contained e.g. no marriage or funeral rites (would Mr. D. then maintain that these, also, were cultivated little or not at all in the “pure” Rigvedic times?). The truth is that this original RV. (the only RV. which contained “no trace” of “magic”), so far from being “heterogeneous,” was remarkably homogeneous, and had a strictly limited practical purpose. It was a hymn-book of selections to be used by the hotar-priest at the hieratic, aristocratic, three-fire rites, of which the most important was the soma-cult. Naturally, therefore, it contained only hymns addressed to the powerful gods of those rites. But the practisers of this cult also engaged in very many other “religious” and “magical” rites. It was not “care and cunning” that excluded them from the (original) RV., but the practical purposes of the thoroly ritualistic and highly sophisticated priestly authors. And in spite of this they were not, finally, excluded from the collection as it has come down to us.

The old idea that the Rigvedic religion was a simple nature-worship, and that the poets were children of nature pouring forth the naïve devotion of their hearts to the divine powers of the universe, was exploded so long ago that I supposed no one now held it. But Mr. D. seems to come quite close to it, at least for the early Rigveda. See e.g. p. 138, where we read of the “crude but childishly simple ... prayers addressed to the various gods”—in IE. and Indo-Iranian times, it is true, but just below, this state of things “can be proved to have prevailed ... till the time of the
Rigveda." And indeed, what other evidence could there be for such a characterization of IE. and Indo-Iranian prayers? Later, to be sure, a growth of ritualism in the RV. is admitted, and even "the whole body of hymns" may have been regarded as ritualistic in "the latter half of the Rigvedic period" (p. 339). To me it seems that one who sees anything "childishly simple" in any composition of the Rigveda is manifesting considerable simplicity himself.

I cannot take space to list the numerous errors of detail which mar the book. Many of them cannot be misprints; as when Boghaz-köi is located in Persia (twice, pp. 195, 197), or when Boehtlingk and Roth's lexicon is attributed to an author named "Petersberg" (so! p. xv).

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Professor Foucher's eloquent study of the iconography of the Buddha nativity is unfortunately marred by a complete neglect of the Vedic sources of its formulae. The paper is for the most part a restatement of the view that the representations of the type of the Abhiṣeka of Śri-Lakṣmī as they occur in Early Buddhist art are actually "Buddha nativities"; the hope is expressed (p. 22) that I may concur in this view. I do so only to this extent, that inasmuch as these representations are actually of one and the same maternal principle or nature that is represented in the Buddha legend by Māyādevī, the Buddha's mother who dies seven days after his birth, they may be regarded as virtually, and possibly were actually regarded as, "nativities" in connection with the Buddha's incarnation. On the other hand, it must be emphatically denied that the formula had not already, and long before it could have been thus interpreted in Buddhist circles, been anything but a symbol of Śri-Lakṣmī. M. Foucher (p. 13) with reference to the elephants supported by lotuses, remarks, "it is obvious that they, too, are a kind of specific detail subsequently added to the older theme. We are thus able to observe retrospectively the old imagemakers' increasingly bold attempts at grafting on to the traditional symbol everything which could render its meaning more forcible."
All this is entirely to ignore the Śrīśūkta, which not only describes Śrī-Lakṣmī in great detail as a lady of the lotus who is the mother of Agni-Jātavedas, but actually employs the expression “bathed by royal elephants with golden jars” (gajendrāir . . . snāpilā hemakumbhair); with reference not to the child, but to the mother. Needless to say that “the khila texts . . . are by no means a modern product, they belong rather to the Vedic age. . . . Only a few of them can be assigned to a late Brāhmaṇa period. . . . The Śrīśūkta is connected with the cult of Śrī and Lakṣmī which became prominent in the Yajurveda period” (Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen des Rgveda, 1906, pp. 2-4). As to the notion that “no one would ever have dreamed of using the frail cup of a flower as a support for an adult human being, still less for huge elephants” (p. 13), it should suffice to point out that in the Rgveda (VI. 16. 13 and VII. 33. 1) both Agni and Vasiṣṭha (an essential name of Agni as “the best of Vasus”) are represented as having come into being supported by a lotus, and that the Brāhmaṇas understand by the “lotus” (flower or leaf) the “Earth,” that is, universal substance, resting on the surface of the primordial waters, whence it arises in response to the manifestation of the light of the Sun. The lotus is then already in the Rig Veda the support of the “whole of life” (Agni, viśvāyus).

If ever the Śrī-Lakṣmī was understood in the sense of a Buddha nativity, the interpretation must have been early abandoned, for it is soon replaced by the standing figure of Māyādevi, holding to a branch of a sāl tree, a type that is mythologically that of the Yakṣī, and humanly speaking that of a Śalabhaṇjikā. Whereas the Śrī-Lakṣmī type is often, although not invariably, a seated one, the early Buddhist accounts of the nativity (Mahāpadāna Suttanta in the Dīgha Nikāya, and Acchariyabhhudhammasutta in the Majjhima Nikāya), which are nearly contemporary with the earliest extant Buddhist art, assert emphatically that it is a universal law (dhammatā) that the mother of a Bodhisattva, unlike other women, is delivered standing (thīlā va bodhisattvaṁ bodhisattamātā kucchinā parihartvā vijāyatī. Ayam ettha dhammatā, D. II. 14—XIV. 1. 22). This tradition is preserved in the later accounts, and it is especially noteworthy that in the Mahāvastu version (II. 18. 7) it is related that Māyādevī had come into the royal park “to take part in the śalabhaṇjikā festival.” In the art of Amarāvati, the nativity is indicated, in connection with the śalabhaṇjikā figure of
Māyādevī only by pāduka represented on the cloth that is held by the Lokapālas who receive the child, while the more realistic art of Gandhāra shows the child actually emerging from the mother's side.¹ We find in this iconography, then, two already well recognized stages in the manner of representation; in the latest (in manner, if not in date) the child is visibly represented; in the other, the child is unseen, although its presence is indicated by the footprints. We now venture to suggest that in a third and still earlier stage of the iconography of the nativity that the birth may have been indicated in a more summary manner merely by the standing yakṣī-sālabhaṅgikā figures beneath the tree, without even the symbolic representation of the child; in other words, that the Yakṣī figures with trees, which are so familiar in the art of Sāṇīci, Bodhgaya, and Bhārhut are really “nativities,” and that no necessity existed for the representation of the nativity in any other way.


Mr. Binyon's collection of five lectures, accompanied by a large number of wisely selected illustrations, provides what is undoubtedly for the general reader the best available introduction to the inner life of Asiatic peoples as it has found expression in art. It is the work of a poet, perfect in its kind; by sheer sensibility and without reference to the literary sources of Asiatic aesthetic the author has rightly grasped the religious, if not entirely the metaphysical, essence of Asiatic art, and has known how to communicate this spirit in words that have a beauty of their own. He speaks truly when he refers to “a flowering of the mind in form... making what are called aesthetic necessities appear as almost irrelevant externality.” “It is rather hard for us,” he says pathetically, “used to the practice of painting from nature with the eye on the object, to realise what intensity of contemplation preceded the actual throwing of the preconceived design with swift immediate strokes upon the absorbent silk or paper” (p. 92); “He (the

¹ It may be remarked in this connection that in Rig Veda IV. 18. 1-2 Indra, who takes birth in the same manner pārśvāt, already refers to this as “the pathway found of old”; and that like the Buddha's, and in fact for the same reasons, his mother does not survive.
landscape-painter) must identify himself with what he paints, become what he contemplates, before he can express it truly" (p. 97). These remarks might have been related to the European approach by a citation of Eckhart's, "To be properly expressed, a thing must proceed from within, moved by its form," and Dante's, "He who would portray a figure, if he cannot be it, cannot represent it." For mediaeval Christian and Asiatic art have actually a common level of reference and both are languages independent of observation; beauty for both is linked more closely to cognition than to feeling.

Repeatedly the author deduces from an analysis of the paintings themselves what is really explicit in the artist's ascertained ways of operation. For example, "Neither do these artists shrink from the vastness of empty space. They discover in it their own liberation" (p. 98); this might have been based upon the actual Śāḍhanas, in which we find it constantly enjoined that the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (mentally evoked from a primordial concept of sound expressed within the heart, cf. St. Thomas' "per verbum in intellectu conceptum," said with reference to the interior operation of the artist) "are to be established on the background of space" (ākāśaśādēśe); nor is this an external and dimensioned space to be delimited in terms of a scientific perspective, but an unconditioned principle of space within us. Problems of optical plausibility do not arise. The represented figure is the affirmation of an infinite negation, and this latter is the matter of ultimate significance, liberation being from the limited existence that belongs to any specific manifestation. And this leads us to an ultimate consideration hardly touched upon in the volume before us, that implied in the fundamental proposition of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, that "the picture is not in the colors, the principle evades the letter." Furthermore, the picture that is not in the colors is not itself the picture of any thing, but only the indication of a principle; the function of the work of art is not fulfilled merely by an assimilation of our consciousness to its ethical refinement, but only when the form of our being has been enlarged in conscious identity with the immaterial and strictly speaking non-existent principle that lies at the core of being and to which the image refers. When that has been touched, the function of the picture has been accomplished, and this is what is really implied by the Zen dictum that all scripture is vain. It is not enough to frame the absolute in words or forms;
it must be directly experienced. Mr. Binyon need not fear that he has "talked too much about the world of ideas in which they (these works of art) were born": he speaks of the "unreality of all but thought," but we must also remember that all this art, the Buddhist art in particular, whether hieratic or Zen, has ultimate reference to the experience of a reality beyond the unreality of thought itself.

Sometimes the author seems to have personal experience of a characteristically Asiatic type. For example: "On a summer night, driving in an automobile, have you not sometimes been startled and thrilled by the apparition of wayside flowers and grasses suddenly isolated and luminous in the beams of the headlamps? A moment ago there was darkness.... Can they really have been there in the dark, with all their intricate profusion of form and color? You feel as if they had been suddenly created for you yourself" (p. 134). Does not this correspond essentially to Rig Veda V. 81. 2, where the Sun as maker (kavi, "poet" in the original sense of the Greek word as "creator") sets free the varied likenesses, or all the beauties, of things (viśvā rūpāni prati muñicate)?

The Chinese Dragon has always been for the author a favorite theme; the reader will recall The Flight of the Dragon. We think him right when he connects the Dragon with the Tao concept; not that the tao in tao t’ieh, the dragon-mask on Chinese bronzes, has any connection so far as the characters are concerned with Tao as "Way," but that, as he rightly remarks, the Dragon, which represents in Western thought the power of evil, is from the Chinese point of view on the whole a beneficent power, in any case a marvellous and splendid power, as being the protean source of all life, the source alike of life and death. For the typically objectively oriented consciousness the power of death is evil; but there is another point of view according to which all that we call life is no more than the wandering of a prodigal son. As Chuang Tzū expresses it, "How do I know that he who dreads to die is not as a child who has lost the way and cannot find his home?" Many religions, the majority perhaps, have conceived the form of deity ab intra in the likeness of a serpent or dragon of protean versatility, and only ab extra in angelic or anthropomorphic forms. As soon as the dualistic and existential point of view is assumed, the Powers of Light (Solar Hero) and Powers of Darkness (Dragon)
are seen in clear-cut opposition; the Son is set over against the uncanny Father. It is a special characteristic of Chinese metaphysics to have dwelt rather upon the thought of this unitary source or Father than upon that of a manifested and intelligible Son; and this, whether consciously or by unconscious necessity, is reflected in the persistent attachment to the dragon symbol proper to Chinese culture. Considerations of this sort are by no means, as might at first sight appear, irrelevant to the appreciation of art even in its aesthetic aspects. The serpent-dragon plays, for example, a no less significant part in Mayan art, and Spinden remarks that “the high esthetic qualities [of Mayan art] were wasted on subjects that appear trivial to us”; while as he himself realizes, “When we can bring ourselves to feel the serpent symbolism of the Mayan artists as we feel, for instance, the conventional halo that crowns the ideal head of Christ, then we shall be able to recognize the truly emotional qualities of Mayan sculpture.... The serpent... appears as a general indication of divinity.”

Mr. Binyon’s references to Rajput painting are sympathetic and felicitous. But we think him wrong in saying that “it is mainly concerned with everyday life... the world they represent is small and circumscribed compared with the world of the Japanese woodcuts” (pp. 192, 195). He seems to think of the “mystic” (or rather metaphysical) significance of Rajput paintings as of something imported into their interpretation. But whereas the Ukiyoye prints are really “pictures of the transient world,” and were understood by the Japanese themselves to be such, the Krishna paintings were never in the same sense understood to have been representations of pastoral life made merely as such; just as the Vedic liturgies, pungent with the scent of cow-sheds, were never conceived to have been merely the lyrical expressions of primitive ranchers. It has been universally understood, and explicitly stated by some commentators, that the Krishna legend is not historical but has to do with the relation of the human soul to deity; and while because of its vulgar associations the Japanese print had no appeal for the connoisseur or philosopher, the Rajput painting appealed as much to the connoisseur, the poet, and the metaphysician and theologian as to the countryman, so that we cannot apply the designation “popular” to both kinds of art in the same sense.

1 The Civilisation of Mexico, 1928, pp. 89, 95, 98.
The volume is in every respect well produced. We note on p. vii the misprint Nizano for Nizam. The omission of any reference to the developments of art in south-eastern Asia, viz. in Java, Cambodia, and Siam, is rather surprising.

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The Hindu Conception of the Deity As Culminating in Rāmānuja.


This thesis, accepted by the University of London for the Ph. D. Degree, presents an interesting study of the Viśiṣṭādvaita ("qualified Unity") as it plausibly threads its way in search of a monotheistic principle of Grace through the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgītā, the Pāñcarātra and Purānic literature, and the religion of the Āyārs, culminating in the teaching of Rāmānuja. The author is to be commended for the careful and consistent manner in which he proceeds through this maze of literary material.

The impression gathered is that the author conceives of an unbroken, literary tradition, with modifications and contributions along the way, for an undifferentiated deity of grace. He wisely avoids the controversial subject of popular forces behind this literary tradition and consequently does not concern himself with a discussion of bhakti per se. The statement that, "The Gītā's unique contribution lies in the thought that the Supreme Being of the Upaniṣads, the all-pervading unknowable One whom the philosophers proclaimed has assumed the form of Kṛśṇa, Arjuna's charioteer" is a naive analysis, the result of the author's point of view and method of approach to the problem. This same doctrinal naivety is observable at other points in the book.

It is interesting to note on page 89 the author's cautious suggestion that Viṣṇu was a Sun deity even before the period of the Brāhmaṇas. But there can no longer be much doubt in the minds of scholars that Viṣṇu was definitely a Sun deity in the Rg Veda.

In his discussion of Rāmānuja the author is forced to consider the conflict of karma and grace, a subject which he avoids up to that point. He merely presents Rāmānuja's point of view with no personal suggestions on the problem, except that he does honestly
call attention to the conflict, and the failure of Rāmānuja to cope adequately with a situation which he has encountered by claiming Reality for the world. Similarly in general the procedure is not so much critical as expository. Consequently much of this thesis consists of quotations from translations of original sources. Less of this and more of personal comments and interpretations would have made the treatise more readable, especially for the general reader, to whom the author has given his special attention in various explanations of rather elementary matters as well as in an index of subjects.

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The author modestly calls his work: "an introductory study," and indeed, covering a period of two thousand years he could scarcely hope to exhaust a subject that so vitally concerns China's cultural development. Yet, with this necessary reservation, he has done much to destroy the erroneous notion, long prevalent, that ever after Confucius' death official worship has been paid to him, or at least, that since the Han dynasty his foremost position in the state religion has been unchallenged and unchanged. Dr. Shryock shows that a careful scrutiny of the facts does not bear out such views. The state worship of Confucius has undergone fluctuations just as Confucianism itself has had its ups and downs. He has grouped round his main problem such developments as seem to have a more direct bearing on it; it is however clear that a true picture of the place of "the State cult of Confucius" can only be obtained when we have a history of the development of other official cults as well. The present book is a valuable contribution towards such a history.

In tracing the origin of the worship of Confucius, the author's starting-point is very sound. He shows that worship of the departed spirits in ancient China was strictly limited to the direct descendants. For Confucius therefore to have gained a primary position in the official cult is something extraordinary that requires explanation.
Dr. Shryock devotes a good deal of attention to the first mention of official worship of Confucius. In Sze-ma Ch‘ien’s account of Confucius’ Life (Shih-chi, ch. 47, Mém. hist., V, p. 429) it is stated that Kao-tsu performed a t’ai-lao sacrifice to K‘ung-tzŭ when he passed through Lu. In the Ch‘ien-han-shu, ch. I, this information is repeated and is dated in the 11th month of the last year of his reign, B. C. 195. Dr. Shryock therefore calls this sacrifice “well authenticated” but fails to observe an important point. The Pen-chi of the Shih-chi, with which the Ti-chi of the Han-shu runs almost parallel, lacks that notice. Why? It is idle to suppose that the text is corrupt and that the sentence has dropped out. If at any time there should have been reason to suspect corruption of the text, the scholars would certainly not have neglected the occasion to bring the Shih-chi into harmony with the text of the Ch‘ien-han-shu on this important point. The fact that they have not done so guarantees the text as it stands. Since Sze-ma Ch‘ien does mention it towards the end of his biography of Confucius, why does he omit this mention in the Annals, considering the care he generally takes to have Annals and Biography correspond exactly as to facts? Surely, if the records contained this notice, he cannot have omitted it because he thought the fact of little importance. There would indeed have been good reason to insert it. Immediately after the mention of Kao-tsu’s sacrifice the Ch‘ien-han-shu records Kao-tsu’s measure with regard to the sacrifices on the tombs of extinct feudal families; Sze-ma Ch‘ien has the same notice. From a Confucian point of view it looks ill that Kao-tsu did take care of these feudal princes, including even Shih Huang-ti, and, according to the reading in the Shih-chi, apparently did nothing to show respect for Confucius. The writer of the Ch‘ien-han-shu must have been glad to remedy this situation by inserting the mention of Kao-tsu’s sacrifice to Confucius, which, no doubt, he took from Confucius’ biography in the Shih-chi. In Pan Ku’s time it would not do to have the first Han Emperor show some interest in the worship of Confucius.

If, however, Sze-ma Ch‘ien’s omission of this fact in the Annals cannot be regarded as accidental, but means that the records made no mention of it, it makes his reference to it in Confucius’ biography itself suspect. This suspicion is confirmed by another circumstance. At the end of the biography a genealogy of Con-
fuciens' descendants is given, concluding with K'ung An-kuo, his son and grandson. Of K'ung An-kuo it is said that he was a po-shih in the service of the "present" emperor (Wu-ti) and that he died young (蚤 本). We know indeed (Ch'ien-han-shu, ch. 88) that he perished in the sorcery affair of B.C. 91; this has already led Chavannes (Mém. hist., V, p. 434) to observe that therefore this part of the Shih-chi must have been written between 91 and 87, the year of Wu-ti's death. We do not know the date of K'ung An-kuo's birth; in view of the early marriages of Chinese it is possible that a person who is said to have died young, had already a grandson, although the probability may be against it. In the latter case the date of writing would have to be placed some years after 91. Without however pressing this point, we may concede that the text was written in 91. But even so we cannot escape from the difficult question as to whether Sze-ma Ch'ien was still writing in that year or not.

In a recent article in Asia Major Fr. Jäger has given a good summary of some of the views that have in modern times been expounded by Chinese scholars on this matter. Within the scope of this review it is of course impossible to treat this problem adequately. Suffice it to recall the fact that the statements made in Sze-ma Ch'ien's so-called "auto-biography," tzü-hsun (Shih-chi ch. 130) are contradictory, and they have led a radical scholar like Ts' in Shih to assert that Sze-ma Ch'ien ceased writing in 122; others like Liang yü-sheng regard 104 as the final year with some additions down to 95, others again like Li K'uei-hui accept the year 95. It will be recalled that Sze-ma Ch'ien suffered mutilation in 98. The Ch'ien-han-shu ch. 62 contains a letter, written by Sze-ma Ch'ien to his friend Jen-an, who was one of the victims of the calamity of 91. Chavannes, with older Chinese scholars, after some hesitation, admitted it as genuine (Mém. hist I, p. XLII). It is however suspicious that it contains quotations from the Auto-

1 Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 21-37, Der hensige Stand der Schi-ki-forschung.
2 自 本
3 戴 適 in his Shih-chi-t'an-yüan 史記探源 (1910).
4 梁 玉 纖 in his Shih-chi-chih-yi 史記通疑 (1787).
5 李 奎 耀 in his Shih-chi-chüeh-yi in The Tsing Hua Journal, IV (1927), pp. 1175-1215.
6 任 安
biography and appears only in the *Ch’ien-han-shu*. In the *Shih-chi* itself events of the year 91 or thereafter are not recorded except in a few instances, in passing references that look entirely like later additions. I cannot follow Jäger, when, on Wang Kuo-wei’s authority, he seems inclined to accept the statement about Li Kuang-li’s submission to the Hsiung-nu (B. C. 90) as authentic. Cf. Jäger, *loc. cit.*, p. 34. In speaking of K’ung An-kuo’s work on the *Shu-ching*, for example, in ch. 121, Sze-ma Ch’ien does not mention his death.

This is very important. With practically no evidence to support the view that Sze-ma Ch’ien wrote parts of the *Shih-chi* as late as 91, our suspicions against the end of Confucius’ biography are certainly not allayed. I have however no wish to infer anything more than the probability that the text has been tampered with. In any case it is important to observe that the notice about Kao-tsu’s sacrifice is not in the Annalistic Records but forms part of a narrative, written either by Sze-ma Ch’ien himself or by some one else under the influence of the Confucian school. If Sze-ma Ch’ien himself wrote it, his enthusiasm for Confucius has made him accept it without verifying it from the Annals. If he had done so, he would have noticed that, in the first place, it was unlikely that Kao-tsu should have honoured a local worthy with such an important sacrifice as that of *t’ai-lao*, reserved only for the most solemn occasions, and in the second place the circumstances were such as to make the tradition even more suspect. Kao-tsu was on his way home from his expedition against Ch’ing Pu; he had been wounded by a stray arrow, as both the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu* testify; on the way he fell ill, which illness after a few months led to his death. It seems unlikely, though it may not have been impossible, that he should have interrupted his journey under such circumstances.

In Dr. Shryock’s discussion of Sze-ma Ch’ien’s account, there is another point that deserves correction. He writes: “the historian says that he visited the tomb and saw the clothes, lute, chariot, and books of Confucius. If he saw the books, it is a pity that he did not give a list, and it is also hard to understand why, if they had been always preserved in a mortuary temple, the Han scholars had such a hard time in fixing the text.” This however is charging Sze-ma Ch’ien with more than he actually says. In the narrative
it is stated, that the objects named were preserved in the hall that had been turned into a memorial temple by later generations. What Sze-ma Ch'ien himself had seen, he describes in his final verdict on Confucius as follows: "When I went to Lu, I saw Chung-ni's mortuary temple, his chariot, his clothes and his ritual objects; and I saw the scholars at fixed dates perform ceremonies at his house." The books, significantly, are not mentioned. In the "autobiography" (Mém. hist., I, p. xxx, Shih-chi, ch. 130; also Ch'ien-han-shu, ch. 62). Sze-ma Ch'ien states that on this visit to Lu "he saw the relics of Confucius" (觀孔子及遺風). No mention is made of "books." This is an important difference. I believe that the expression shu used in the Biography should not be understood as referring in a general way to Confucius' writings, but that it indicates definitely the Shu-ching. It should be read in conjunction with the statement in ch. 121 about K'ung An-kuo's Shu-ching in ancient characters, where it is said, that "the K'ung family had a shang-shu in ancient characters" (孔氏有古文尚書). It is not certain when this text was "discovered." The accounts of its find on the occasion of the pulling down of Confucius' house are contradictory; Pelliot believes that it is a legend of the second half of the first century B.C. Sze-ma Ch'ien in any case knows nothing about it. When he visited Lu, after his twentieth year, the existence of the Shu was apparently still unknown in the K'ung family. K'ung An-kuo, according to the Ch'ien-han-shu, ch. 36 presented his text to the throne "after the T'ien-han period" i.e. after B.C. 97. Sze-ma Ch'ien knew him and is supposed to have questioned him on this text. This would presumably have been about that same time. The word shu in the narrative would therefore, indicate that it was written after Sze-ma Ch'ien had become acquainted with K'ung An-kuo's text. In recalling what he himself had seen, however, he omits all mention of shu. If one admits that later hands have tampered with the text, one can well understand why such an addition as the word shu should have been made, once the legend around the book was started. From a stylistic point of view it deserves atten-

* Doubtless they were fakes!
* Ch'ien-han-shu, ch. 88.
tion that the rhythm is imperfect in its enumeration of five nouns; the last one looks as if it were tagged on. Immediately before, the text is admittedly corrupt; either the characters ti- tsü have been displaced or they should be omitted altogether. This is additional proof that the reliability of this part of the text is not above suspicion.

A few words should be said on the "ceremonies." In the Biography of Confucius it is stated; "From generation to generation the custom having been transmitted in Lu to perform sacrifices at fixed dates of the year at the tomb of Confucius, the scholars also performed the rites of the District Banquet and the Archery Bout at the tomb of Confucius." Let us first consider the second half of the sentence. Sze-ma Ch'ien, in relating what he had seen, says that "the scholars at fixed dates performed ceremonies at his (Confucius') house." For reasons indicated above, Sze-ma Ch'ien's personal account should be considered as more trustworthy than the narrative in the Biography. In the preceding sentence in Biography the word "tomb" occurs twice; graphically it is almost exactly the same as the character for "house," so that contamination is very easy. A simple text-correction is therefore obvious and has indeed been suggested by Yen Jo-chü 闕若璩 (1636-1704) in his Ssu-shu-shih-ti-hsü 四書釋地續. The character "tomb" is a mistake for "house." Yen admits that the rites, performed by the scholars, took place in (the courts of) the house; this connects the statement up very naturally with the following one of the halls having been converted into an ancestral temple.

Should we admit, then, that there were two centres in which Confucius' memory was perpetuated: one at the tomb, where his descendants sacrificed and another in the hall of what was supposed to be his house, where the scholars met for their ceremonies? It is possible; yet the text, it seems to me, suggests something else. Yen wishes to make the correction of "tomb" into "house" only once. This is arbitrary. To read "tomb" in the first half and "house" in the second half of the sentence would create a very forced antithesis. The sentence is closely knit together by means of 面 erh and 亦 yi "also." Obviously the two clauses emphasize that two different groups performed certain ceremonies at the same place.

\[10\] Cf. Liang Yü-sheng 梁玉繩, Shih-chi-chih-yi 史記志疑 ch. 25, p. 29.
If we accept corruption of “house” into “tomb” we must accept it for the entire sentence and therefore make the correction twice. Ku Yen-wu (顧炎武 1613-1682) has in fact already suggested.\textsuperscript{11} that the sacrifices also took place in the house and he thought that Sze-ma Ch’ien had probably misunderstood the situation. It did not occur to him to make the text-correction and his suggestion has not been accepted by other text-critical scholars. Yet on purely philological grounds I incline very much to this interpretation. I want to add one more suggestion. The sentence is followed by the statement: “the tomb of Confucius is large one ch’ing.” This, with its clumsy repetition of the words “the tomb of Confucius” seems to me almost certainly to be an addition by some commentator who, being puzzled by the mention of archery bouts etc. on the tomb, wanted to explain that (in his time no doubt; when?) the tomb occupied a very large area.

Apart from the traditional story therefore of the disciples having dwelt on the tomb, the tomb itself, as a center for worship, disappears. Neither in the statement about Kao-tsu, nor in that of the visit which the officials are supposed to pay before they take up their official duties, is the tomb mentioned. Chavannes has in each case added this word in brackets. Shryock has, unconsciously, I suppose, made the correction of冢 “tomb” into 家 “house” himself three times in the text of the Shih-chi, printed in Appendix IV p. 271, which is rather amusing.

Dr. Shryock traces the vicissitudes of the Confucian cult throughout the centuries in a way that is, in the main, exact. It would seem that his views are somewhat influenced by the orthodox school: “the Sung Confucians are nearer to the spirit of Confucius himself than the scholars of the Han period were” (p. 152). Reformers have always claimed to go back to the views of the Master. I wonder if they did! It is true that the Sung school did try “to free themselves from Buddhist and Taoist thought” (ibid.) but the Chinese mind by that time was so profoundly impregnated by both that its very structure had been affected. No efforts of the Sung school could extirpate that influence.

The important fact that from 720-1530 the objects of worship were images, is well brought out (p. 138). Yet it is inexact to say that images have entirely disappeared. Even up to modern times in

\textsuperscript{11} In his Jih-chih-lu 日知録 quoted in Shih-chi-chih-yi loc. cit.
the temple at Ch‘ü-fu itself there was a large image of Confucius; more examples could be given, although, of course, they were exceptions to the general rule.

The list of names of all the scholars that have been associated with the worship given in the Appendix is very useful. Dr. Shryock states (p. 263) that a number of the names he gives do not appear on the list given by Doré (Recherches etc.) This is not quite true. Only No. 1 of those given by Shryock in the Eastern cloisters and No. 35 of those mentioned in the Western cloisters do not figure in Doré’s list, which gives an earlier enumeration. The order however is different, east and west having been frequently interchanged and it would have been worth while to examine why this is so. The second character of No. 17 in the Eastern Wu p. 242 is not read Mei (which is written 眉 ) but Chien 肩.14

There is a strange note on p. 194 affirming that the expression 廟 miao the generic term for “temple,” is commonly used by Buddhists and Taoists. This is certainly not true. The common designation for Buddhist temples is 寺 ssü, for Taoist temples 觀 kuan, while miao is used for the temples associated with the state-cult: K‘ung-tzü-miao (Wen-miao), Kuan-ti-miao, Ch‘eng-huang-miao.

Chi-ku, mentioned in an extract from Biot, on p. 69, whom Dr. Shryock has been unable to identify, is doubtless the great commentator Yen Shih-ku. The collection of essays, mentioned in passing in a note on p. 109, called Jih-chih-lu, is by the famous Ku Yen-wu mentioned above. The translation of the title 紹聖侯 Shao-sheng-hou on p. 129, as: “Successful and Holy Marquis” is wrong. Shao indicates the ancestral line, and the translation

12 See a photo in A. Tschepe, Konfucius, I Teil, Sein Lebes, 1910 (frontispiece).
13 [Professor Duyvendak has apparently misunderstood a statement made on p. 190, which says, “The images, with a few exceptions in private temples, ... were never renewed.” The author was speaking of the state temples, and considered the Ch‘ü-fu temple as the property of the K‘ung family. J. K. S.]
14 I regret that a casual remark made by me several years ago in conversation about tablets added to the worship of Confucius during the republic has caused the author some trouble. I cannot verify now whether the addition he mentions on p. 260 corresponds with the notes I made at the time in Peking on a visit to the temple.
therefore should be something like: "Marquis who transmits the Sage-ness in direct descent."

It would be well if Dr. Shryock could conform to the customary romanisation, rather than follow his provincial dialect. The difficulties and confusions in romanisation are already great enough and there is no need to make matters more complicated by provincialisms.

University of Leyden.

J. J. L. Duyvendak.


This volume consists of a series of reports by competent scholars of progress made in the adoption of the Latin alphabet by nations which until relatively modern times had made no use of it. Nineteen countries are considered. There is also a brief paper on the romanization of writing, with suggestions for the improvement of the alphabet, by Professor Denzel Carr, a young American who holds a chair at the University of Cracow. The reports are exceedingly interesting, and will be of value to students of linguistics.

Linguists are primarily interested in spoken languages, but the alphabet is concerned with written language. In all languages which are written phonetically, or which have had no written forms, as in the case of the Bantu languages, the chief problems are how to convince the people that the prevalence of the Latin alphabet justifies the initial difficulties of its adoption, and whether the letters of the Latin alphabet can be used to render acceptably sounds which do not exist in European languages. It may be said that the Latin alphabet is successfully overcoming these problems.

But in the case of languages which are written ideographically, rather than phonetically, a new factor enters, which western scholars seldom consider. Is a phonetic system of writing as valuable as an ideographic system? Westerners assume that the former is the more valuable, but without a fair consideration of the problem. The chief advantage of phonetic writing is that it is
easy to learn. The advantage of ideographic writing is that it permits written language to triumph over differences of dialect and even of language structure, as well as the fluctuations of pronunciation. In the case of China, where an ideographic writing has been used for a long time, a scholar who has learned it can consult the original sources of the literature of his race for 3,000 years. He can do, after learning one system of ideographic writing, what a western scholar can do only after mastering a dozen languages. The outstanding modern instance of ideographic writing is Chinese. It permits the uniform writing of dialects whose spoken forms are so different as to be mutually unintelligible. In Japan, it has been largely used to write a language which is structurally quite different from Chinese. It is the greatest single factor in the continuity of Chinese civilization. The question of the abandonment of this ideographic writing for a phonetic form in order that the masses may learn to read in two years less time than they could learn their present system is a very serious one, and the answer is not so simple as we sometimes think. In the opinion of the reviewer, the greatest calamity which could happen to the Chinese people would be for them to adopt a phonetic system of writing.

It is interesting to notice that the reports from China, Japan, and Annam, particularly the first country, recount many difficulties, but do not touch the heart of the question. Do we not profit ourselves by a limited use of ideographic writing? We write French with the Latin alphabet, but if we really wrote French as it is pronounced at present, it would be much more difficult to read than it is. Our civilization has unquestionably advanced over that of the Greeks and Romans in two directions, science and music. In both cases, our progress has been made possible by our use of two generally accepted ideographic forms of writing, the symbols of mathematics, and musical notation. We can understand the essentials of Euclid without a knowledge of Greek. We can play a composition of Rimsky Korsakov without a knowledge of Russian. It would be quite possible to have an ideographic writing which would not eliminate all differences between spoken languages, but which would make it possible to overcome such differences much more easily than they can be overcome at present.

This is an excellent book. It is strictly limited in its aim, and stays within those limits. Among the subjects considered are the monarchy, the classes of the people, the central and provincial administrations, the army, legislation, justice, finances, and the church. A bibliography and index are provided, but no map. The author assumes a good deal of knowledge of Siam on the part of his readers, such as acquaintance with the history and religion of the country. In this way he is able to treat his subjects adequately within a limited space. Even so, his accounts of such large matters as Siamese law are necessarily sketchy.

One or two minor criticisms may be made. A reader unacquainted with Siamese has some difficulty with the large number of words which are left untranslated. Some of the assumptions which the author makes concerning the early history of the Tai, such as that the Tai were originally a "race" of primitive Mongolian nomads, do not rest on a very firm basis. Tai is a group of allied languages, not a race, and no one knows the origin of the people. The author emphasizes the changes in Siamese administration and culture brought about by Khmer influence after the capture of Ankor Thom in 1431, but says little about Burmese influences. Indian influence is treated fully.

The author's interest is strictly confined to government and administration. He has already made a study of State Ceremonies. It is to be hoped that he will be able to continue his productive work, and make further studies in a civilization which is too little considered by scholars, especially in America.


This volume, a study in the similarities between Chinese and the Tai languages, is number 3 of volume XX of the Historisk-Filosofiske Meddelelser, given at the Kgl. Danske Videnskaberernes Selskab. The first numbers of this volume were on the word order in modern French, by Andreas Blinkenberg, and a textual criticism of the Skjaldekvad, by Finnur Jónsson. No. 3 is written in
German. All words are given in phonetic script, and in the case of Chinese words, the characters are given. There is no index to this number.

The introduction gives an excellent résumé of the recent work of Karlgren and Maspero in reconstructing the sounds of archaic Chinese, giving particular attention to their theories of the use of 1 as an initial sound, and as an infix. Comparisons are made with the Tibetan-Burmese group of languages. A section discusses the vocalization of the Indo-Chinese languages. The Tai languages considered are Siamese, Lao, Shan, Ahom, Black Tai, Nung, and Dioi. The last two are spoken in the Chinese province of Kuangsi. The interrelation of sounds in these languages is considered, and their transcription. As in the case of the Chinese dialects, the tones not only differ from place to place, but the pronunciation of classes of tones differs also. For example, in two dialects of Lao, the first two tones, the even and the falling, are interchanged. The author discusses the relation of the tone systems of the Tai languages and Chinese. Special sections are devoted to word formation with infixes in Siamese, and to traces of the same phenomena in Chinese, particularly in connection with the sounds 1 and r. This last is still debatable ground, as no such infixes exist in modern Chinese. The investigation throughout the book is thorough, and the book itself is a valuable contribution to a difficult subject which has not yet been sufficiently investigated.


This standard work was first published in 1908. It was intended as an introduction to the subject, primarily for the man of general culture and interest in art, rather than for the specialist on the Far East. Its purpose was to awaken in the West an appreciation of Far Eastern painting, and it remains the best book in English for this purpose. It supplements the work of H. A. Giles, Waley, Siren, and Morrison. Charmingly written by a master of the English language, beautifully illustrated by reproductions of the art which is discussed, and adequately printed and bound, this edition reflects great credit upon all who were concerned with it.
Mr. Binyon has kept in touch with recent work in his field, has made corrections and done some rewriting, but in general the text has not been materially changed. Six new illustrations have replaced ones used in the earlier editions.

It should be remembered that while this book is scholarly, it is not intended primarily for the scholar. Mr. Binyon does not appear familiar with the work of Coomaraswamy, March, and the work of Brown and others on Jain paintings. He slides very smoothly over the much disputed question of Greek influence and the Mathura art. It will be a matter of opinion whether he gives full credit to the influence of Buddhist painting in China, and he certainly differs from Laufer on this point. Scholars will regret that he does not give the Chinese and Japanese words, and more quotations from works on painting in those languages. Nevertheless, the book is one that all students of the Far East will wish to own, and it is the best of all books for the layman.

J. K. Shryock.

Philadelphia.
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

Professor Ignazio Guidi, Honorary Member of the Society since 1893, died in Rome on Thursday, April 18, at the age of 91. A brief account of his writings, prepared by Professor Richard Gottheil, will be published in the December issue of the JOURNAL.

Certain errors which appeared in the JOURNAL 55, second cover page, have been corrected in this issue.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

GRANTS IN AID OF RESEARCH

The American Council of Learned Societies is able to offer 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, literature, and linguistics; archaeology and art; musicology; history, especially all branches of cultural and intellectual history, but exclusive of those branches that are essentially social, economic, and political history; and auxiliary sciences.

Grants are designed to assist research by scholars who are trained in scientific methods of investigation. The maximum of the grants is three hundred dollars. Small additional allowances may, however, be made at the discretion of the Committee to meet unusual expenses involved in the research; the nature of such expenses must be indicated in the application.

Applicants must be citizens of the United States or Canada or permanently employed or domiciled therein; they must be actually engaged in the research for which they request assistance, and must personally be in need of the aid for which they apply.

Applicants must possess a doctor’s degree or its equivalent in training, study, and experience. No grants will be made to assist in the fulfilment of requirements for any academic degree.

Applications must be made in duplicate upon special forms provided for that purpose, and must be mailed to the Secretary for Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C., not later than January 15. Awards will be made in April.
SUMMER SEMINAR IN ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

The six weeks' Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and held at Princeton University, concluded its sessions Wednesday, July 31. The Seminar had a limited registration of 33 and drew scholars from 19 educational institutions in seven nations. Its enrollment was composed principally of members of college teaching staffs with a few missionaries and advanced graduate students.

Dr. Philip K. Hitti, Associate Professor of Semitic Literature in Princeton, was the director of the Seminar and Dr. Walter L. Wright, Jr., Assistant Professor of History in Princeton and President-elect of Robert College, Turkey, was secretary. In addition to these two, the faculty consisted of Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, Research Professor of Islamic Art in the University of Michigan, Dr. Muhammad Simsar, of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Nabih A. Faris, of Jerusalem, and Edward Jurji, of Baghdad.

Men prominent in various fields delivered special lectures at the Seminar. Among these lecturers were Dr. Julian Morgenstern, President of Hebrew Union College, in Cincinnati; Dr. Nicholas N. Martinovitch, former professor in Petrograd University, Russia; Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology; Dr. M. S. Dimand, Chief of the Department of Near Eastern Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. John G. Hazam, formerly of Stanford University and the University of Oregon; Dr. Martin Sprengling, Professor of Semitics in the University of Chicago.

Also Dr. Isaac Husik, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. James A. Montgomery, Professor of Semitics in the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Walter T. Swingle, of the United States Department of Agriculture; Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, Professor of the History of Religion in the Princeton Theological Seminary; and Professors C. Rufus Morey and Albert M. Friend, Jr., of the Princeton Department of Art and Archaeology.

PERSONALIA

The annual Haskell Lectures for the year 1935-1936 will be given at Oberlin under the auspices of the Graduate School of Theology during the first two weeks of October next. The lecturer will be Dr. Heinrich Frick, Professor of Theology and Director of the International Institute for the Study of Religions at the University of Marburg, Germany. His subject will be The World Beyond and the Last Judgment; A Comparative Study of Eschatology in East and West. Further information may be obtained from Professor Clarence H. Hamilton, Oberlin, Ohio.
The sessions of the One Hundred and Forty Seventh Meeting of the Society were held at the University of Michigan, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, April 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1935. All the sessions were held in the Alumni Memorial Hall. The following members were present at one or more sessions:

Adams, Miss
Aga-Oglu
Aga-Oglu, Mrs.
Barret
Bechtel
Bender
Black, Miss
Blair, Miss
Blank
Bobrinskoy
Bonner
Bowman
Braidwood
Braden
Briggs
Buckler
Bull
Butin
Buttenwieser
Clark, W. E.
Clendenin
Cook, Miss
Coomaraswamy
Crary
Cross, Miss
DeLong
Debevoise
DeWitt, A. S.
DeWitt, Mrs.
Dubberstein

Driscoll, Miss
Edgerton, F.
Edgerton, W. F.
Elisséef
Emeneau
Engberg
Everett, Mrs.
Folkman
Gardner
Geers
Glueck
Graves
Hahn, Miss
Hall, Miss A. H.
Hall, Miss H. B.
Hall, R. B.
Hallock, R. T.
Hamilton
Hardy, R. S.
Harris, Z. S.
Hubbard, Miss
Hughes
Hummel, A. W.
Hussey, Miss
Irwin
Jacobson
Johnson, S. E.
Kent
Lewy
McCullough

McDowell
McGovern
MacLean
Matthews, I. G.
May
Mayer, L. A.
Meek
Michelson
Monroe
Moore, Miss
Morgenstern
Nakarai
Olmstead
Orlinsky
Price
Purves
Pyatt
Reisman, Mrs.
Riggs
Rogers, Mrs.
Ruthven
Sakanishi, Miss
Sanders
Schmidt, N.
Schoch
Schurman, Miss
Sellers
Seraphin
Shambaugh, Miss
Shier, Miss
Prof. Louis C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan, was a guest of the Society at one of the sessions and was invited to read a paper.

THE FIRST SESSION

At 10.10 a. m. on Wednesday, the first session of the meeting was called to order by President Roland G. Kent in the auditorium of the Alumni Memorial Hall. Reading of the minutes of the meeting in Philadelphia in 1934 was dispensed with as these were already in print (Journal 54, 321). There were no corrections and the minutes were approved.

Professor Waterman, Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented his committee's report in the form of a printed program. It was announced that the center of social activities was the Michigan Union, which had courteously offered its facilities to the members of the Society. It was also announced that the University Club and the Women's League extended their privileges to the members. The following exhibits were announced:

In Alumni Memorial Hall: Tibetan art, Persian miniatures, Islamic calligraphic specimens, old Japanese road maps.

In the Museum of Classical Archaeology: Finds from Karanis and Seleucia on the Tigris.

In the General Library: Illuminated Islamic Manuscripts and Arabic mathematical manuscripts; Greek and Coptic papyri.

In the Museum of Anthropology, Museums Building: The Far Eastern collections.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor LeRoy C. Barret, presented the following report:

The statistical summary of membership is not wholly comforting. There are now on the list 638 names, a net loss of 118. At, and since the last meeting, 1 has been reinstated, 62 have been elected to corporate membership (14 of whom did not accept and so were not put on the list of members), 27 have resigned, and death has removed 9. The number of
new members added during the past year (48) is greater than the number added in the preceding year (30), the number lost by death and resignation (36) is less than in the preceding year (58): the large loss is due to members dropped.

No events of unusual sort can be recorded as features of the activities of the Society during the last year. That there is some increase of interest concerning the Orient on the part of the general public seems clear, and that there is increasing interest of a scholarly sort is, I believe, a reasonable opinion. The Society is taking definite steps toward a more vigorous activity, and a proposal for revision of the constitution is ready for the consideration of the members.

During the year Professor A. V. Williams Jackson represented the Society at the exercises at Columbia University, marking the 1000th anniversary of the death of Firdausi; and Professors Kent and Speiser represented the Society at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia.

The Corresponding Secretary attended the Eleventh Annual Conference of Secretaries, held in Boston on January 31st in connection with the meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies. The most important matters discussed by the secretaries concerned the continuation of their conference and a possible expansion of its make-up; the extended roto-photograph service of the Modern Languages Association, the ACLS plan of assistance to publication, and near-print methods of publication.

We now record briefly the names and services of those members whose deaths have been reported since the last meeting:

Basil H. Chamberlain, for forty years professor of Japanese and Philology at the University of Tokyo, was a master of the Japanese language and its dialects and had published a number of books on phases of Japanese literature and culture. He published also a number of works in French. He died on Feb. 15, 1935 in Geneva, Switzerland, where he lived in retirement.

John S. Chandler, missionary of the Congregational Church for 55 years in India, for many years devoted his abilities as a linguist to teaching and to translation of English works into Tamil; he compiled a Tamil dictionary and worked on a revision of the Bible in Tamil. For his linguistic work the Indian Government bestowed on him the Kaisar-i-Hind medal. He died at Kodai KanaL, June 19, 1934, at the age of 85.

Valdemar T. Hammer, successful manufacturer, was from boyhood an ardent collector, and as a development of the collector's zeal he became interested in classical and oriental archaeology. He was glad and eager to share his pleasure in his hobbies with others old or young, and in a delightfully gentle way he spread abroad in a large community a beneficial influence. Death took him suddenly on April 7, 1935, as he was walking on his estate at Branford, Connecticut.
BERTHOLD LAUFFER, curator of anthropology at the Field Museum, was a distinguished student of race, language, culture and history, particularly with respect to the Chinese people. He was a productive scholar and our Society has had high regard for him not only as a member, but as former president. He died September 13, 1934, at the age of 60.

BENJAMIN MARCH, lecturer on Far Eastern art at the University of Michigan, curator at the Detroit Institute of Arts, was an eager student and teacher in the field to which he was devoting himself, i.e. Asiatic art, especially Chinese. It was due largely to his urging that the Society meets in Ann Arbor this year. His death is a heavy loss to his personal friends and to the Society. He died December 14, 1934 aged 35.

ADOLPH S. OCHS was the maker of a great newspaper, but that was only one expression of the noble ideals which moved him, for he was a philanthropist in the essential meaning of the word. Here and in foreign lands his death has been greatly mourned, and we also know that a worthy member of our Society has departed. Died April 8, 1935.

KURT SETHE, Egyptologist, was one whose achievement put him among the greatest scholars in his field. Energetic and tireless, endowed with splendid mental powers, he ranged through the field of Egyptian philology to which he made many and varied contributions, and left his colleagues with a sense of irreparable loss. He died suddenly on July 6, 1934, at the age of 64.

LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, man of business, philanthropist, and a lay leader of Reformed Judaism in this country, his adopted land, was a director of the Jewish Publication Society of Philadelphia, member of the board of governors of Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, active in the work of the National Council for Jewish Education: indeed, he was interested in every activity tending to improve human welfare. He died after a very brief illness on September 23, 1934, at the age of 63.

JAMES HAUGHTON WOODS, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Harvard University, was a student and expounder of Oriental philosophies, had been chairman of the division of philosophy at Harvard, twice exchange professor at the Sorbonne. He was a member of many learned Societies and was known as author, translator, and editor. Died suddenly in Tokyo, January 14, 1935.

IRVING F. WOOD, teacher of Biblical literature, held positions in Jaffna College in Ceylon, the University of Chicago, and Smith College, and was visiting professor in institutions in China, Japan, and Palestine. His scholarly publications were primarily concerned with the literature of the Bible. Died August 29, 1934.

Upon motion the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted.

Tribute was paid to the late Mr. March by Professor Waterman.
REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In the absence of the Treasurer, Professor John C. Archer, the Corresponding Secretary presented his report as follows:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1934.

Receipts
Cash Balance, Jan. 1, 1934 ........................................ $14,904.18
Dues (from 461 members) ........................................ 2,560.63
Life Memberships (2) ........................................ 175.00
Sales: JOURNAL (net) ........................................ 470.46
   American Oriental and Monograph Series (net) .............. 188.90
   Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions (net) .......... 21.62
   Ibid., on acc’t (Pfeiffer) ................................ 500.00
   Catalogues of Library ................................... 6.21
JOURNAL reprints ........................................ 20.20
Author’s corrections ..................................... 21.25

Interest:
Yale University (cash on deposit) ......................... 579.51
Mortgage @ 6% ........................................ 300.00
Minneapolis G. E. Co .................................. 50.00
Virginia Rys ........................................ 50.00
Minn. G. E. Co. bond paid ................................ 1,000.00
Justin E. Abbott estate ................................ 637.50

The Year’s receipts ..................................... $6,641.28
Grand Total ........................................... $21,545.46

Expenditures

The JOURNAL:
Printing ........................................ $2,316.50
Paper, type, etc .................................. 190.59
Reprints ........................................ 78.60
   “ additional ................................... 80.20
Corrections ........................................ 71.21
Total ........................................... $2,737.10

Stock and clerical .................................. 136.22
Secretary’s expenses ................................. 155.46
Editors’ expenses ................................ 27.78
Dues, A. C. L. S .................................. 25.00
Committee on Arrangements, Philadelphia, 1934 .......... 37.75
Honoraria:
W. N. Brown ........................................ 200.00
E. A. Speiser ........................................ 200.00
J. K. Shryock ........................................ 200.00
J. C. Archer .......................................... 100.00
Vol. 4, A. O. Series ................................ 751.05
_Ibid_., advertising .................................. 29.84
Vol. 5, A. O. Series ................................ 309.08

Grand Total ......................................... $ 4,909.28

**Balance, Jan. 1, 1935** .................................. 16,636.18

Grand Total ......................................... $21,545.46

**Monograph Account**

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Total ............................................. $6,099.82

**Journal Account**

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<tr>
<td>Corrections</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reviews</td>
<td>35.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>From authors, for reprints</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrections</td>
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Total ............................................. $2,851.45

**Balance Sheet**

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<tr>
<td>Bond, Virginian Ry.</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stock, C., R. I. &amp; P. Ry.</td>
<td>75.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cash</td>
<td>16,636.18</td>
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Total ............................................. $23,711.18
REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

It is hereby certified that the accounts of the Treasurer have been examined, and have been found correct, and that the foregoing Report is in conformity with the accounts.

E. H. STURTEVANT,
K. S. LATOURETTE,
Auditing Committee.

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were accepted.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

In the absence of the Librarian, Professor Andrew Keogh, the Corresponding Secretary presented his report, as follows:

During the year 1934/35, 165 volumes and 398 numbers of periodicals have been added to the Society's Library. Of the periodical numbers 375 were in continuation of sets already in the Library; 19 represent titles new to the Library. There have been three additions to the exchange list; al-Andalus, Journal of the West China Research Society, and Publications of the Indian Research Institute. With this year's $100 appropriation for the Library, some greatly needed binding has been done, chiefly of current journals in frequent use; 68 of these volumes have been bound at a cost of approximately seventy-five dollars. The remaining sum of twenty-five dollars has been devoted to the buying of missing periodical numbers in order that the Library may have, if possible, complete files of the more important journals.

The cataloguing of books, pamphlets, and periodicals is up to date.

The following is a list of the accessions for the year:

Abegg, E. Der Messiasgläube in Indien und Iran auf Grund der Quellen dargestellt. 1928.
Abu'l Hasan 'Ali ibn Nāṣir. Akhbar'ud-Dawlat 'is-Saljūqiyya. Ed. by Muhammad Iqbal. 1933. (Panjab university oriental publications)
Adler, C. Lectures, selected papers, addresses, collected and pub. by his colleagues and friends. 1933.

The Editors again call attention to the fact that reference in this list constitutes acknowledgment of many of the books sent to the JOURNAL for review.
Amaracandra Sūri. Padmānanda mahākāvya by Amaracandra Sūri. Ed. by H. R. Kapadia. 1932. (Gaekwad’s oriental series, no. 58)
American society for the excavation of Sardis. Sardis; publications of the American society for the excavation of Sardis, v. 7. 1932.
Amulyachandra Sen. Schools and sects in Jaina Literature. [1931] (Visva-bharati studies, no. 3)
[Aśvaghoṣa] Nairāṭmyaparipṛcchā. Ed. by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya. [1931] (Visva-bharati studies, no. 4)
Banaji, D. R. Slavery in British India. [1933]
Bardhë, F. i. Le dictionnaire albanais de 1635, ed. par M. Roques. I. Dictionarius latino-epiroticum per R. D. F. Blanchum. 1932. (Bibliothèque de l’École nationale des langues orientales vivantes)
Belvalkar, S. K. History of Indian philosophy. v. 7. [Indian mysticism: Mysticism in Maharashtra] [1933]
— Shree Gopal Basu Mallik lectures on Vedānta philosophy delivered (December, 1925) pt. 1: lectures 1-6. 1929.
Bhāsa. Thirteen Trivandrum plays attributed to Bhasa translated into English by A. C. Woolner and Lakshman Sarup. v. 1. 1930. (Panjab university oriental publications, no. 13)
Bloch, J. La formation de la langue marathé. 1920. (Bibliothèque de l’École des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques. 215. fasc.)
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. Het Oud-Javaanse Brahmatanḍa-purāṇa, vertaald door dr. J. Gonda. 1933. (Bibliotheca Javanica, 6)
Breloer, B. Alexanders Kampf gegen Poros. Ein Beitrag zur indischen Geschichte. 1933. (Bonnier orientalische Studien, Hft. 3)
Brown, W. N. The swastika, a study of the Nazi claims of its Aryan origin. [1933]
Budge, E. A. W., tr. The Alexander book in Ethiopia. The Ethiopic versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the chronicle of Al-Makfīn, the narrative of Joseph ben Gorion and a Christian romance of Alexander. Tr. into English from mss. in the British museum and Bibliothèque nationale. 1933.
— Legends of Our Lady Mary the perpetual virgin and her mother Hannā, tr. from Ethiopic mss. 1933.
Budge, E. A. W., tr. One hundred and ten miracles of Our Lady, tr. from Ethiopic mss. 1933.
Chiera, E., ed. Sumerian epics and myths. [1934] (The University of Chicago oriental institute publications, v. XV. Cuneiform series, v. III)
—— Sumerian texts of varied contents. [1934] (The University of Chicago oriental institute publications, v. XVI. Cuneiform series, v. IV)
Christensen, A. Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l’histoire légendaire des Iraniens. 2. ptie. 1934. (Archives d'études orientales, v. 14: 2)
David, M. Vorm en wezen van de huwelijksluiting naar de oud-oostersche rechtsovatting. 1934.
Davies, N. de G. The tomb of Nefer-Ḥotep at Thebes. v. 2. Plates. 1933. (Metropolitan museum of art. Egyptian expedition. Publ., v. 9)
Dikshitar, V. R. Ramachandra. The Mauryan polity. 1932. (Madras university historical series, no. VIII)
—— Some aspects of the Vāyu purāṇa. 1933. (Bulletins of the Dept. of Indian history and archaeology, no. 1)
Fahlgren, K. Hj. Śūdākā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im Alten Testament. 1932.
Ferdovsi 934-1934. [Collection of papers on Firdawsi, on the occasion of the 1000th anniversary of his birth] 1934.
Fiesel, E. Etruskisch. 1931. (Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, hrsg. von W. Streitberg. II. Die Erforschung der indo-


Frankfort, H. The Indus civilization and the Near East [1932?]


Ginzberg, S. The life and works of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto. 1931.


Guhyasamāja Tantra; or, Tathāgataguhyaka. Ed. by B. Bhattacharyya. 1931. (Gaekwad's oriental series, no. 53)

Haakma, R. Inleiding tot de studie der vervoegde vormen in de indone- sische talen. 1933.

Haefeli, L. Stilmittel bei Afrahat dem persischen Weisen. 1932. (Leipzig semitistische Studien. N. F., Bd. 4)

Hahn, F. Kurukh folk-lore in the original. 1905.

— Kurukh (Orāō)-English dictionary. pt. 1. 1903.

Hannah, H. B. Grammar of the Tibetan language, literary and colloquial. 1912.


Hari śāstri, B. Chitrprabhā, a commentary on Haridikshita's Laghu- śabdaratna. Ed. by Mahāmahopādhyāya Tāṭā Subbarāya Śāstri. 1932. (Andhra university series, no. 6)

Harsadeva. Liṅgānuśāsana with the commentary Sarvalakṣaṇā by Prthiviśvara. Critically ed. from original manuscripts and with an introduction, indices and appendices by V. Venkatarama Sharma. 1931. (Madras university Sanskrit series, no. 4)


Heimann, B. Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens. 1930.


Heras, H. The conversion policy of the Jesuits in India. 1933. (Studies in Indian history of the Indian historical research institute, St. Xavier's college, Bombay, no. 8)
Heras, H. The Pallava genealogy. 1931. (Studies in Indian history of the Indian historical research institute. St. Xavier’s college, Bombay, no. 7)

Hiriyanna, M. Outlines of Indian philosophy. 1932.


Höfler, M. Die katabanischen und sabäischen Inschriften der südarabischen Expedition im Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien (II) [1933]


Ivanov, V., ed. Two early Ismaili treatises: Haft-bābī Bābā Sayyid-nā and Māṭlībūl-mu’minīn. Persian text by W. Ivanow. 1933. (Islamic research association, 2)


Jacob, G. Das chinesische Schattentheater. Bearb. von G. Jacob und H. Jensen. 1933. (Das Orientalische Schattentheater, Bd. 3)

— Das indische Schattentheater, bearb. von G. Jacob, H. Jensen, H. Losch. 1931. (Das Orientalische Schattentheater, Bd. 2)

Jayākhyasaśāhītā. Ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya. 1931. (Gaekwad’s oriental series, no. 54)

Johnson, S. [Copies of eight letters by Samuel Johnson, T. B. Chandler and Stephen Sewall, from Johnson’s Letter books in Columbia university library]


Jung, M. The Jewish law of theft with comparative references to Roman and English law. 1929.

Kāṭyāyana. Kāṭyāyanasmṛti on vyavahāra (law and procedure) Text (reconstructed), translation, notes and introduction by P. V. Kane. 1933.

Kebra nagast. The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek (I). Tr. from the Ethiopic by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. 1932.

Kešava. Kalpadrukośa. Comp. by Shrikanta Sharma. v. II. Index. 1932. Gaekwad’s oriental series, no. 60)


Kimchi, D. David Șimhî’s Hebrew grammar (Mikhhol) systematically presented and critically annotated by W. Chomsky. pt. 1. 1933.

Kittel, F. Grammar of the Kannada language in English. 1903.


Krishna Menon, S. T. K. Dravidian culture and its diffusion. [1933] (Madras university extension lecture, 1933)

Krishṇa-Svāmi Aiyangār, sakkoṭṭṭai. Evolution of Hindu administrative institutions in South India. [1931] (Sir William Meyer lectures, 1929-30; Madras university)

Kuppuswami Sastri, S. A primer of Indian logic according to Annabhāṭṭa’s Tarkasaṅgraha. 1932.

Lagercrantz, O. Indogermanisches Prädikativ. 1933.

Law, B. C. Geography of early Buddhism. With a foreword by F. W. Thomas. 1932.


Lévi, S., ed. Fragments de textes koutchéens, Udānavarga, Udānaṣṭotra, Udānālanākāra et Karmavibhāṅga pub. et tr. avec un vocabulaire et une introduction sur le “tikharien.” 1933. (Cahiers de la Société asiatique, 1. sér., II)


Levy, R. An introduction to the sociology of Islam. v. 2. [1933] (Herbert Spencer’s Descriptive sociology, demy 8vo series, v. II)

Lichtenstaedter, S. The future of Palestine. 1934.

Lindquist, S. Die Methoden des Yoga. 1932.

Madan, A. C. Swahili (Zanzibar) grammar. 1905.


Mahēśvara. Commentary of Skandasvāmin and Mahēśvara on the Nirukta, chapters II-VI. Critically ed. for the first time by Lakshman Sarup. 1931.
Majumdar, N. G. Explorations in Sind. 1934. (India. Archæol. survey. Memoirs, no. 48)

Maṇḍanamiśra. The Sphoṭasiddhi of Ācārya Maṇḍanamiśra with the Gopālikā of Rṣiputra Paramēśvara ed. by S. K. Rāmanātha Šastri. 1931. (Madras university Sanskrit series, no. 6)

Mansion, J. Esquisse d’une histoire de la langue sanscrite. 1931.


Meillet, A. Grammaire du vieux-perse. 2. éd., entièrement cor. et augm. par E. Benveniste. 1931. (Collection linguistique, 34)

Meissner, B. Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch. II. [1932] (Chicago. University. Oriental institute. Assyriological studies, no. 4)

Muhammad Ikbāl, Sir. The reconstruction of religious thought in Islam. 1934.

Mukerji, D. G. Daily meditation; or, The practice of repose. 1933.

Mukerji, J. N. Sāṅkhya; or, The theory of reality. A critical and constructive study of Īśvara-kṛṣṇa’s Sāṅkhya-kārikā. [1931]

Nāgārjuna. Mahāyāna-viśīṃsā. Ed. by Vidhushekha Bhattacharya. [1931] (Visva-bharati studies, no. 1)


Nicolas, A. L. M. Qui est le successeur du Bab? 1933.

Nilakanta Sastri, K. A. A. Studies in Cōla history and administration. 1932. (Madras university historical series, no. 7)

Nītiśāstra. Oud-Javaansche tekst met vertaling uitg. door R. N. G. dr. Poerbatjaraka. 1933. (Bibliotheca Javanica, 4)


Oriental studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, ed. by Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry. 1933.

Ortiz de Urbina, I. Die Gottheit Christi bei Afrahat. [1933] (Orientalia christiana, v. 31-1, no. 87)


Pārānanda Sūtra, ed. by Trivikrama Tirtha, with a foreword by B. Bhattacharyya. 1931. (Gaekwad’s oriental series, no. 56)


Pires, E. A. The Maukharis. With a preface by H. Heras. 1934. (Studies in Indian history of the Indian historical research institute, St. Xavier's college, Bombay, no. 10)


Quigley, H. S. Chinese politics today [1934] (The Day and hour series of the University of Minnesota, no. 8)

Rajavade, V. K. Words in Rgveda (being an attempt to fix the sense of every word that occurs in Rgveda) v. 1. 1932.


Ramaswami Aiyar, L. F. Dravidic problems. 1933.

Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V. Tulu initial affricates and sibilants. [n. d.]


Roerich, G. N. Dialects of Tibet. The Tibetan dialect of Lahul. [19—1] (Tibetica I)


Sāhajī, King of Tanjore. Śabdaratnasamamanvaya koṣa of King Sāhajī of Tanjore. Ed. by Vitthalram Lalluram Shastri. 1932. (Gaekwad's oriental series, no. 59)

Saktisāhāgama Tantra, ed. by B. Bhattacharyya. Vol. 1, Kālikhaṇḍa. 1932. (Gaekwad's oriental series, no. 61)
Sangameswara Sastri, G. Sangameswarakrodum on Jagadisa’s Siddhanta-lakshanam. 1933. (Andhra university series, 7)

Sankaran, C. R. Accentuation in Sanskrit determinative compounds. [19—1]

Saunders, K. J. Whither Asia? a study of three leaders. 1933.


Sewell, R. Historical inscriptions of Southern India (collected till 1923). Pub. by the Univ. of Madras. Ed. by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. 1932. (Madras university historical series, no. 5)

Shehupak, N. Dictionnaire sanskrit-français par N. Stchoupak, L. Nitti et L. Renou. 1931-32. 3v. (Publ. de l’Institut de civilisation indienne)

Shiahbū’-dîn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī. True meaning of religion (Risāla dar Ḥaqiqatī Din), Persian text and an English translation by W. Ivanow. 1933. (Islamic research association, no. 3)

Skachkov, P. E. Vnutrenniaia Mongoliia (ekonomiko-geograficheskii ocherk) 1933. (Nauchno-issledovatel’skaia assotsiatsiia po izucheniiu natsional’nykh i kolonial’nykh problem, Moscow. Trudy, vypusk 10)


Sogdīskii sbornik. [A collection of papers on Soghdian antiquities recently discovered in Tajikistan] 1934.

Stein, M. A. Archaeological reconnaissances in Southern Persia. [1934]

Suali, L. L’illumine; la légende du Bouddha. Tr. de l’italien par P.-E. Dumont. [19251]

Suttanipāta. Buddha’s teachings, being the Sutta-Nipāta or Discourse-collection. Ed. in the original Pali text with an English version facing it, by Lord Chalmers. 1932. (Harvard oriental series, v. 37)


The training of the Zen Buddhist monk. 1934.

Taitirīrya-prātiṣakhyā with the Bhasya Padakramasadana by Māhiṣeya. Critically ed. by V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyabhushana. 1930. (Madras University Sanskrit series, no. 1)

Tarapore, J. C., ed. Pahlavi Andarz-Nāmak containing Chītak Andarz 1 Pōryōṭkaēśān; or, The selected admonitions of the Pōryōṭkaēśān and five other Andarz texts. Transliteration and translation into English and Gujarati of the original Pahlavi texts with an introduction by J. C. Tarapore. 1933.

Thackeray, H. St. J. Josephus, the man and the historian. 1929. (Hilda Stich Stroock lectures at the Jewish institute of religion)

Thadani, N. V. The garden of the East. 1932.

Toledo museum of art. Toledo, Ohio. Catalogue. Special exhibition of Persian art. [1935]

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Venkatasubbiah, A. Vedic studies. v. 1. 1932.

Waldschmidt, E. Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten von E. Waldschmidt und W. Lentz. 1933.

West China border research society. Journal. v. 1, 3-5. 1922-32.

Whitney, W. D. Sanskrit grammar. 1891.

Ysander, T. Studien zum Be’schtischen Hasidismus in seiner religionsgeschichtlichen Sonderart. 1933.

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft. Jahrg. 1, no. 2; 2, no. 1. 1933-34.

On motion the report of the Librarian was accepted.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Since the last meeting of the Society the Editors have published Volume 54, parts 2, 3, and 4, and Volume 55, part 1. The total number of pages was 476 as compared with 416, the number of pages printed during the preceding year. There is still a large amount of material available, and incoming contributions of merit are on the increase. Because of a considerable reduction in the cost of printing of the JOURNAL, the Editors hope further to enlarge the JOURNAL in the course of the present year, either through an increase in the size of the individual issues or through the publication of occasional departmental supplements.

Two volumes have been added to the American Oriental Series. Volume 5 presents the work of Professor William F. Albright on The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography. Volume 6, by Professor Robert H. Pfeiffer, deals with The State Letters of Assyria. Volume 7 will contain A Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries, by Dr. Murray B. Emeneau. The cost of the latter publication is borne by the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Editors take this opportunity to express to the Council their appreciation of this generous contribution to the cause of Indic studies. Lastly, the Editors have accepted for publication a study by Dr. Zellig S. Harris on the subject of
A Grammar of Phoenician. Attention is called to the fact that Members of the Society and Subscribing Libraries have the advantage of considerable reductions in price if these publications are ordered promptly and directly from the Editors.

W. Norman Brown,
John Knight Shryock,
E. A. Speiser,
Editors.

On motion the report of the Editors was accepted.

On the motion of Professor Speiser it was voted to extend the hearty thanks of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies for the generosity of the Council in aiding the Society in the publication of Dr. Emeneau's volume on A Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee. The report referred to the election of members whose names are given below, and to other actions of the Committee, published in the JOURNAL 55. 113.

Upon motion the actions of the Committee were ratified.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following forty-one persons recommended by the Directors were duly elected corporate members of the Society (the list including three who were elected at a later session): *

Miss Adelaide A. Adams
Mrs. R. Aga-Oglu
Mr. Francis O. Allen
Prof. S. Basare
Dr. George Bechtel
Miss Joyce Black
Dr. Meribeth Cameron
Mr. Douglas D. Crary
Mr. George B. Cressey
Miss Dorothy Cross
Dr. S. D. Davidson
Prof. D. H. Davis

Mr. R. M. Engberg
Dr. Nabih A. Faris
Rabbi J. D. Folkman
Prof. Albrecht Götze
Miss Helen Hall
Miss Isabel Hubbard
Prof. Isaac Husik
Mr. Harald William Jacobson
Hon. Nelson T. Johnson
Rev. W. P. Lemon
Prof. Julius Lewy
Rev. Herbert G. May

* The other persons whose names were published in the JOURNAL 55. 236 had been elected previously by the Executive Committee.
Election of Officers

Professor N. Schmidt presented the report of the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1935-36 as follows:

President: Professor William Foxwell Albright, of The Johns Hopkins University.
Vice-Presidents: Professor Edgar H. Sturtevant, of Yale University; Dr. Charles J. Ogden, of New York; and Professor LeRoy Waterman, of the University of Michigan.
Corresponding Secretary: Professor LeRoy C. Barret, of Trinity College, Hartford.
Recording Secretary: Dr. Ludlow Bull, of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.
Treasurer: Professor John C. Archer, of Yale University.
Librarian: Professor Andrew Keogh, of Yale University.
Editors of the Journal: Professor W. Norman Brown, of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. John K. Shryock, of Philadelphia; and Professor Ephraim A. Speiser, of the University of Pennsylvania.
Directors for the term ending 1938: Professor Theophile J. Meek, of the University of Toronto; Professor W. H. Worrell, of the University of Michigan; and Dr. James R. Ware, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge.

Nathaniel Schmidt, Chairman,
Paul Emile Dumont,
Julian Morgenstern.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

Election of Honorary Member

On recommendation of the Directors, Dr. Antoine Meillet, Professor of Indo-European Comparative Philology at the Collège de France and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Society.

The president announced that the International Congress of Orientalists was to meet in Rome, Italy, in September 1935, and
asked that those members of the Society who expected to attend the Congress should notify the Corresponding Secretary.

At this point the President of the Middle West Branch of the Society, Professor Francis W. Buckler, announced that the annual business meeting of the Branch would be held on Friday morning at 9.15, and he announced the appointment of committees of the Branch.

The President of the Society appointed as a Committee on Resolutions, Professor Sturtevant and Messrs. Orlinsky and Winnett.

At this point the Corresponding Secretary was requested, by unanimous vote of those present to send telegrams of greeting from the Society to Professor Charles R. Lanman and Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.

The reading of papers was then begun.

Professor Julius Lewy, of the Jewish Theological Seminary: A new Version of Sennacherib's Campaigns.


Professors L. Waterman and L. C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan: The recently discovered revolutionary mathematical Attainments of the Babylonians. Remarks by Dr. Shryock and Professor Speiser.

After the session the members of the Society were the guests of the University of Michigan at luncheon at the Michigan Union, where President Ruthven of the University made a cordial address of welcome.

THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order at 2.30 P.M. President Kent resigned the chair to Professor Francis W. Buckler, President of the Middle West Branch of the Society, and delivered his Presidential Address on "Linguistic Science and the Orientalist" (published JOURNAL 55. 115). President Kent then resumed the chair.

The following papers were then read:

Professor E. A. Speiser, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Problem of Gender in the Semitic Languages. Remarks by Professor Kent.

Professor W. N. McGovern, of Northwestern University: The Indo-Scythians.
Professor N. C. DEBEVOISE, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Cicero, Cilicia, and the Parthians.
Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Oriental Science and Greek Philosophy. Remarks by President Morgenstern, Professor Bonner and Dr. Coomaraswamy.
Professor G. W. BRIGGS, of Drew University: Some Means of fixing Attention according to the śīva Sanhītā. Remarks by Dr. Coomaraswamy and Professor F. Edgerton.
Mr. Z. S. HARRIS, of the University of Pennsylvania: Some phonetic Deductions from Ras Shamra.

On Wednesday evening the members of the Society were entertained delightfully by President and Mrs. Ruthven of the University of Michigan at a reception at their house.

**THE THIRD SESSION**

The third session was called to order at 9.15 A.M. to hear the Presidential Address of the President of the Middle West Branch of the Society, Professor Francis W. Buckler of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, on “The Shāhnāmah and its Place in the Genealogia Regni Dei.”

The meeting then divided into three sections.

**THE SECTION FOR SEMITICS AND RELATED STUDIES**

Professor Price presided at the section for Semitic and Related Studies. The following papers were read:

Professor W. F. EDGERTON, of the University of Chicago: On the Origin of certain Coptic verbal Forms. Remarks by Dr. Bull and Professors Speiser and Worrell.
Professor W. A. IRWIN, of the University of Chicago: Isaiah’s Attitude in the Crisis of 701 B.C. Remarks by Professor Buttenwieser.
Professor NELSON GLUECK, of the Hebrew Union College: Israel in the Arabah. Remarks by Professors Meek and Speiser.
President JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College: What happened to Jerusalem about 485 B.C. Remarks by Professor Irwin.
Rabbi SHELDON H. BLANK, of the Hebrew Union College: A Reexamination of some biblical Sources for the Relations between Israel and Edom.
Mr. F. V. WINNETT, of the University of Toronto: A new Thamudic Inscription (illustrated). Remarks by Professor Butin.
THE SECTION FOR INDO-IRANIAN AND RELATED STUDIES

Dr. Coomaraswamy presided at the section for Indo-Iranian and Related Studies. The following papers were read:

Professor TRUMAN H. MICHELSON, of George Washington University: Anaptysis in Middle Indo-Aryan. Remarks by Professor F. Edgerton.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of Yale University: Meter in Buddhistic Sanskrit. Remarks by Professor Kent.

Dr. M. B. EMENEAU, of Yale University: The Causative in Dravidian. Remarks by Professors Kent and Michelson, Miss Hahn, and Dr. Coomaraswamy.

Professor E. H. STURTEVANT, of Yale University: Vowel Assimilation or Ablaut in certain Hittite Words. Remarks by Professors Kent, Edgerton and Michelson.

Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: The Darker Side of Dawn.

Dr. G. V. BOBRINSKOV, of the University of Chicago: A line of Brahmi-script in a Babylonian Contract Tablet. Remarks by Professor Michelson, Dr. Bowman and Mr. Winnett.

THE SECTION FOR FAR EASTERN STUDIES

Mr. Graves presided at the section for Far Eastern Studies. The following papers were read:


Professor CHARLES S. BRADEN, of Northwestern University: Konkokyo, a little known Japanese Sect. Remarks by Professors Eliissef and McGovern.

Miss Ardella R. HALL, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Chinese Art and Genius (illustrated). Remarks by Dr. Hummel.

Professor SERGE ELISSEEF, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute: An Abortive Proposal for Japanese Assistance to the last of the Ming Emperors. Remarks by Dr. Hummel, and Professors Hamilton and McGovern.

After the session the members of the Society were generously entertained at luncheon at the Michigan Union by their fellow member Mr. Henry K. Schoch, of Detroit and of the University of Michigan.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order at 2.30 p. m. and the following papers were read:

Professor MOSES BUTTENWIESE, of the Hebrew Union College: Psalms 137, 42-43, and 107A and the Spiritual Condition of Israel during the Exile.
Mr. H. M. Orlinsky, of Dropsie College: The columnar Order of the Hexapla. Remarks by Mr. Johnson.

Dr. W. E. Staples, of Victoria University: A persistent Mistranslation. Remarks by Professors Speiser and Meek, and President Morgenstern.

Professor N. Schmidt, of Cornell University: The Aramaic Origin of Gospels. Remarks by Professor Sanders.

Mr. W. H. Dubberstein, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Materials for the History of Seleucid Babylonia.

Professor T. J. Meeke, of the University of Toronto: The Transliteration of Cuneiform. Remarks by Professors Olmstead, Sturtevant, Kent, Waterman, and Lewy, and Dr. Geers.

On Thursday evening the Annual Dinner of the Society took place at the Michigan Union.

THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order at 9.15 Friday morning. Professor Watermann reported for the Committee on Arrangements.

THE NEXT ANNUAL MEETING

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the next annual meeting of the Society would be held, at the invitation of Yale University, at New Haven in the neighborhood of Easter 1936, the exact days to be fixed by the Executive Committee.

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE PROMOTION OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

In the absence of Professor Bender, chairman of the committee, the Corresponding Secretary read the following report of the Committee on the Promotion of Oriental Research:

The Standing Committee for the Promotion of Oriental Research, consisting of Professors Bender (chairman) and Montgomery, and Dr. Hummel, reported to the Directors of the Society at their meeting Tuesday evening, the 23rd of April 1935, on the first year of its work. The committee outlined its policy and reported in some detail on its activities in connection with various projects of research.

The committee voted to suggest to the Society, through its Directors, that it look forward constructively to a time and situation when the Society will make available or secure funds sufficient to permit the setting aside of a substantial sum each year for the support of research projects, on the ground that the Society should be able to offer some amount, however small, when it seeks support outside. In this connection, the committee offered its services in an advisory capacity.
of the Society at Ann Arbor

The committee decided also to announce in the Journal that members of the Society who have well planned projects or complete manuscripts are invited to submit them to the Society. Beyond this the committee does not plan, except by informal contacts, to make any effort to secure applications, the desire being to keep a high standard of applications. The committee will critically examine such matured projects, and, if it approves them, will assist in trying to secure funds for publication, providing there seems to be a reasonable prospect of securing such funds. The committee will not serve as a mere rubber stamp of approval.

During the past year seven projects were approved by the committee, and every effort was made to further them. Of this number three were carried, in cooperation with other agencies, to the point of appropriations involving many thousands of dollars. Three were definitely advanced with increased hope for the future, and one was rejected by the body to which application was made. But even for that single case another solution is likely to be found.

As regards many of these projects public announcement would be premature now, for one reason or another; but from time to time, as the situation may justify it, the committee will issue statements in the Journal under the heading, "Notes of the Society."

REORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY

President Morgenstern reported for the Committee on the Reorganization of the Society. He announced that the committee, after long and careful consideration had proposed amendments to the Constitution and By-laws, which would be submitted to the members of the Society for their consideration (published Journal 55. 226), and passed upon at the next Annual Meeting.

COMMITTEE ON A LAUFER MEMORIAL

The Corresponding Secretary reported that in pursuance of a vote of the Board of Directors the President had appointed a committee to consider plans for a permanent memorial of the late Dr. Berthold Laufer, consisting of Professor Clark, chairman, Professor Olmstead, and Dr. Shryock.

Professor Olmstead reported for the American schools of Oriental Research, and President Morgenstern spoke briefly on the Endowment Fund of the Schools.

REPORT OF DELEGATES TO THE COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Professor N. Schmidt read the following report for Dr. Shryock
and himself as Delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies.

The Council met in Boston, Massachusetts, in the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, on February 1st and 2nd, 1935. The organization of the Council had taken place in the same building fifteen years before, on September 19th, 1919.

The meetings were stimulating and fruitful. The Budget adopted for 1935 amounted to $109,750.00, the funds being obtained chiefly from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations. A number of important actions were taken which are of interest to this society.

The Council has adopted the following system of rendering assistance to publications: It will extend assistance to a limited number of works in the humanities by American scholars, normally in the form of a subvention to the sponsoring society. It invites its constituent societies to propose suitable works for assistance. The selection of works to be recommended is made by a jury consisting of the Advisory Board, and of not more than seven other members named by the Executive Committee. Works to be recommended should be complete works, preferably the results of constructive research. Assistance was voted to eight works, and the jury did not have sufficient information on seventeen titles to warrant making a decision. The editors of the Journal did not make any request for funds this year.

The Committee on Far Eastern Studies reported the death of Dr. Berthold Laufer, expressed appreciation of his work, and recommended that a permanent memorial, in the form of a chair of sinology, a fellowship, or a memorial re-publication of his collected works, should be provided. The Training Center for Far Eastern Studies in the Library of Congress has increased its personnel. The work of translating the Han Dynastic History is proceeding satisfactorily under the direction of Dr. H. H. Dubs. A successful Summer Seminar was held in 1934 at the University of California, and Columbia University is planning to hold one in 1935. A number of grants have been made to individual scholars in this field, and the first volume of Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations has been published, containing The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung, by Dr. L. C. Goodrich.

The Committee on Indic and Iranian Studies reported that an American School of Indic and Iranian Studies had been incorporated, and that an archeological expedition to the Indus Valley was projected. The chairman of the committee, Professor Brown, has been in India endeavoring to make arrangements for this enterprise. The committee also reported on the work done during the year on the Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, and on the listing of Indic texts and translations.

In the summer of 1935, there will be held at Princeton University a Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies. Professor Hitti will be in charge of the Seminar, which is a new venture in this field. It is to be hoped that it will be very successful.
The Permanent Secretary, Mr. Leland, spoke on the death of Mgr. Lacombe, and there were a number of appreciations of his work.

Among those projects which were assisted, and which are of especial interest to the society, were the Preparation of Skeletal Remains at Haifa, by T. F. McCown, of the American School of Prehistoric Research; the Study of the Non-Aryan Languages of India; the Research in American Indian Law; and the Index to Tertullian. While not in the Oriental field, members of the society will be interested in the Descriptive Grammar of English, now being undertaken under the direction of Professor Sapir. An interesting outline of the work already accomplished was presented at the meeting.

Attention may once more be called to the Council's funds which are applied to research fellowships. At present these are sought chiefly for research in English and Romance philology and literature, but they should be more generally utilized by orientalists. The Rotograph Service of the Modern Language Association has now been extended into the other fields of the humanities. The project for Excavation at Tarsus in Cilicia, proposed by the Archeological Institute of America, was referred back to the Executive Committee. The American Society of International Law was admitted to representation on the Council.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Professor Sturtevant, for himself and his colleagues, Messrs. Orlinsky and Winnett, presented the following minute of the Committee on Resolutions:

The American Oriental Society, having held an unusually successful meeting at Ann Arbor, desires to thank its host, the University of Michigan, for the use of its buildings, for the privilege of viewing its museum exhibitions, for numerous courtesies on the part of the University Staff, and particularly for the luncheon given to the members of the Society. Our thanks go also to the Michigan Union, to the Michigan League, and to the University Club for putting at our disposal their facilities for comfortable and pleasant living. We thank President and Mrs. Ruthven for the delightful hospitality that we have experienced at their house; Mr. Henry K. Schoch, whose guest we have been at luncheon; and particularly the Committee on Arrangements for their efficient provision for all our needs.

Upon motion the minute was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

APPOINTMENT OF STANDING COMMITTEES

The President announced that in pursuance of a vote of the Board of Directors he had appointed a Committee on Investments, consisting of the Treasurer, Professor Price and Dr. Ogden.

He also announced that the Committee to Nominate Officers in
1936 was to consist of Professor Olmstead, Mrs. DeWitt, and Professor Clark.

As auditors he appointed Professors Burrows and Torrey.

To the Committee on Arrangements he appointed Professor F. Edgerton, chairman, Professors Archer, Burrows, Kraeling, Sturtevant and Torrey, with the Corresponding Secretary ex-officio; the committee to have power to add to their number.

RESOLUTIONS REGARDING SYSTEMS OF TRANSLITERATION

On motion of Dr. Aga-Oglu it was voted that the Society should express to the international Congress of Orientalists the Society's desire for the adoption of an international system of transliterating Arabic, Iranic, and Turkish.

On motion of Professor Meek it was voted to make similar representations regarding the transliteration of cuneiform.

Remarks on the same subjects were made by President Morgenstern and Professors Buckler, Buttenwieser, Sturtevant and Worrell.

BUSINESS SESSION OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH

The Middle West Branch met in the Alumni Memorial Hall at 9.15 Friday morning with the President, Professor Francis W. Buckler, presiding.

The President announced the Committee on Nominations as Professor Olmstead, President Morgenstern, and Professor Worrell.

Professor Sellers offered and the Branch accepted the following Treasurer's report:

Balance reported at last meeting .................. $23.36
Expenditures—stamps and post cards .................. 1.00

Balance on hand ........................................ $22.36

For the committee on nominations Professor Olmstead presented the following, who were elected unanimously:

President: Professor MARTIN SPRENGLING, of the University of Chicago.
Vice-President: Professor SHELDON BLANK, of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.
Secretary-Treasurer: Professor O. R. SELLERS, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Members of the Executive Committee: Professor FRANCIS W. BUCKLER, of Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, and Professor C. L. PYATT, of the College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky.
The Branch voted to accept the invitation of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, for the next annual meeting, and set April 3-4, 1936, as the provisional date, with power to change if necessary left to the Executive Committee.

For the Resolutions Committee Professor Price offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

We of the Middle-West Branch express our appreciation of the willingness of the parent society to bring its meeting this year as far West as Ann Arbor, and of the fact that so many members have attended.

We express our satisfaction also that so many members of the Middle-West Branch have been present and participated in the program.

IRA M. PRICE,
C. L. PYATT,
CHAS. S. BRADEN.

The session of the Branch adjourned at 9.37 A. M.

PAPERS READ AT THE FIFTH SESSION

The following papers were read:

Rev. S. E. JOHNSON, of the Seabury Western Theological Seminary: The "Septuagint" Translators of Amos.

Mr. R. M. ENGBERG, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Cultural Ties of Megiddo in the Hyksos Period. Remarks by Professor Speiser and Dr. Bull.

Professor O. R. SELLERS, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary: Optimistic Passages in Ecclesiastes.

Professor CAMPBELL BONNER, of the University of Michigan: Remarks on some Syrian and Palestinian Bronze Amulets. Remarks by Professors Kent and Irwin, Dr. Bull, President Morgenstern, and Miss Hahn.

Mr. W. S. McCULLOUGH, of the University of Toronto: A Mandaean Incantation Bowl (illustrated). Remarks by Professors Bonner, Speiser, Buckler, Olmstead, Meek, and Kent, and Dr. Debevoise.

Miss W. VAN INGEN, of the University of Michigan: Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris and the Question of Parthian Art (illustrated). Remarks by Dr. Debevoise, Dr. Aga-Ogлу, and Professors Meek, Olmstead, Speiser, Buckler, and Kent.

The following papers were read by title:

Professor W. F. ALBRIGHT, of the Johns Hopkins University: The Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Canaan.

Professor J. J. OBERMANN, of Yale University: New Light on the Semitic Background of the Greek Alphabet.
Dr. G. V. Bobrinskoy, of the University of Chicago: The Sandhyāworship.

Mr. Roswell S. Britton, of New York: Divination Relics in the Chalfant-Tooker Collection.

Dr. S. Sakanishi and Dr. Swingle, of the Library of Congress: The Hyakumanto Dharaṇi, earliest dated Specimen of the Printer’s Art.

Professor N. J. Reich, of the Dropsie College: Archaic Demotic Papyri and the Demotic and Greek Mummy Tickets of the University of Michigan Collection.

Dr. William Rosenau, of the Johns Hopkins University: Maimonides as Lexicographer.

Professor F. R. Blake, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Hebrew Imperfect and Perfect with waw Conversive. (b) The postpositive Particles of Reference in Maya.

Miss Helen B. Chapin, of Mills College: An early Saiva mukhaliṣga as a possible Prototype of Buddhist Stūpas representing the five Dhyāni Buddhas.

Professor Kurt Leidecker, of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute: A new psychological Approach to Upanishadic Thinking.

Rev. Dr. H. H. Spoer, of New York: (a) Arabic magic medicinal Bowls. (b) A ṭasa of as-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr ’Asad ad-Din Sirkūh.

Professor L. C. Barrett, of Trinity College: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Seventeen.

Mr. Richard T. Hallock, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Syllabary Text Rm 2,588.

Professor George A. Cresset, of Syracuse University: The Fenghsien Landscape.

Mr. Charles S. Gardner, of Newtonville, Mass: (a) Religious Toleration in China under the early Manchu Emperors. (b) Recently discovered manuscript sources for Modern Chinese History.

Mr. Robert S. Hardy, of the University of Chicago: The Annunaki and Igigi, Gods of Earth and Heaven.

Miss A. Rudolph, of Columbia University: Seven Letters from the Samuel Johnson Correspondence. (Copies of these letters have been given to the Library of the Society.)

Dr. R. A. Bowman, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Development of the Aramaic Business Document in Assyria.

The session adjourned at 12 M.
ANGEL AND TITAN: AN ESSAY IN VEDIC ONTOLOGY

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

Ekain vaidiain vi babhüva sarvam, RV. VIII. 58. 2.
Bhråtarañ varunam agha à vavrtvosv, RV. IV. 1. 2.
Sarpya vâ adityåh, PB. XXV. 15. 4.1

Introduction

The leading idea to be developed in the present article is that the Devas and Asuras, Angels and Titans, powers of Light and powers of Darkness in RV., although distinct and opposite in operation, are in essence consubstantial, their distinction being a matter

1 “This One becomes the All;” “Turn hitherwards, O Agni, they brother Varuña” (that is, “Reveal thyself,” since Agni is “Varuña’s face,” RV. VII. 88. 2, Sûrya the “face” of the Angels, Mitra, Varuña, Agni,” I. 115. 1); “The Serpents are the Suns.”

Abbreviations: RV., Rg Veda Såhûtâ (also to be understood where no indication is given; references to the eighth book follow the consecutive numbering, without separation of the Vâlakhilya); TS, Taittiriya Såhûtâ; AV, Athareva Veda Såhûtî; VS, Vâjasaneyi Såhûtâ; MS, Maitrâyâni Såhûtî; TB, Taittiriya Brâhmaña; AB, Aitareya Brâhmaña; PB, Pañcaviśîka Brâhmaña; KB, Kauêitaki Brâhmaña; SB, Śatapatha Brâhmaña; JB, Jaiminiya Brâhmaña; JUB, Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brâhmaña; GB, Gopatha Brâhmaña; AA, Aitareya Arânyaka; BrD, Brhad Devatâ; N, Yâsaka, Nirukta; BU, Brhadâranyaka Upaniṣad; ChU, Chândogya Upaniṣad; KU, Kaêha Upaniṣad; TP, Taittiriya Pratishâkhyâ; Áp. Át. Āp. S., Āp. Sthâta Śrauta Sûtra; Mbh, Mahâbhârata; BG, Bhagavad Gîtâ; R, Râmâyâna; BP, Bhâgavata Purâṇa; YS, Yoga Sûtra; D, Dîgha Nâkâya; SP, Saddharma Pûndârika; SBE, Sacred Books of the East; HOS, Harvard Oriental Series; JAOS, Journal of the American Oriental Society; WZKM, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenländes; VM, Macdonell, Vedic Mythology.

Some of the problems discussed have been previously raised by Professor W. Norman Brown, “The Sources and Nature of puruṣa in the Puruṣasûkta (Rig Veda 10. 90),” JAOS. 51. 108-118, and “Proselyting the Asuras,” JAOS. 39. 100-103. The present treatise is independent of Siecke, Drachenkämpfe, Leipzig, 1907, and Scharbau, Die Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur, Stuttgart, 1933.


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not of essence but of orientation, revolution, or transformation, as indicated by such express statements as “The Serpents are the Suns” in PB., and the constant employment of vṛt, to “turn,” “-vert,” “-volve,” etc. in RV. and Brāhmaṇas, in connection with the relations of Angels and Titans, passim. In this case, the Titan is potentially an Angel, the Angel still by nature a Titan; the Darkness in actu is Light, the Light in potentia Darkness; whence the designations Asura and Deva may be applied to one and the same “Person” according to the mode of operation, as in the case of Varuṇa, or alternatively, there may be a distinction of names in the same sense, as in RV. I. 163. 3, “Trita art thou (Agni) by interior operation” (guhyena vratena). At the same time it is proposed to show that whereas the Angels are typically “men” or “birds,” the Titans are typically theriomorphic and in particular ophidian (sarpya). These theses are of primary importance in the exegesis of iconography and that of “serpent-worship.” The proposition as outlined above is summarized in the citations prefixed by way of “argument.” In the present essay account is taken only of the masculine powers; in connection with the corresponding feminine powers, the matter of sarpatva has been discussed in “The Darker Side of Dawn,” Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications, vol. 94, no. 1; the two papers should be read together.

1. Indra and Namuci

The story of Indra and the Titan Namuci, “Holdfast,” has been admirably discussed by Bloomfield. Here we shall only refer

2 “The Story of Indra and Namuci,” JAOS. 15. 143 ff. I do not agree with Bloomfield that the “foam of the waters” used by Indra as his weapon necessarily means “lead.” In śB. XII. 7. 3. 3 Indra’s vajra is actually made of the foam of the waters. Or we might understand that Indra cut off Namuci’s head with the foam “by way of vajra,” following Mahiddhara on VS. X. 33, and on the analogy of PB. XV. 5. 20, “with a reed by way of vajra,” and JB. III. 266, “blade of grass into which Indra infused his vajra.” In X. 61. 8 phena = retas. If then we correlate I. 103. 7 vajrenā with II. 11. 2 viryena, and recall that virya is not merely “bravery” but also “seed” (as rendered by Bühler in translation of Manu. I. 8), it is apparent in what sense, viz. by the “seminal virtue” as vajra, that Indra decapitated Namuci (and thus generated life); and this is confirmed by PB. XV. 5. 20 śīkāh vajram, if we equate śīkā with vetasa, as employed significantly in X. 95. 4 śmatīta vetasena, cf. śB. IX. 1. 2. 22 where the bamboo (vetasa) is a kind of “water” symbolically
to what is pertinent for present purposes. Indra and Namuci, Titan and Magician, whose identity with Vṛtra is evident, had been boon companions, that is drinkers of soma together, ante principium. A compact is made that Indra shall not slay Namuci "with anything dry nor with anything wet, neither by day or night," that is, ostensibly, not under any circumstances whatever. There is indeed a marked reluctance on the part of either to slay the other; thus, in MS. IV. 3. 4 Namuci says "Let us twain be friends," Indra replying "I will not slay." This reluctance on the part of the Angels to injure the Titans, who are in fact their kinsmen, recurs throughout the traditional literature; cf. Mitra's similar reluctance to slay Soma, ŚB. IV. I. 4. 8, Arjuna's reluctance in BG. I. 26 f. ("I will not fight"; Arjuna's opponents, "ancestors, relatives, and friends," are in fact the Vedic Titans), and Indra's again in Jātaka, text I. pp. 202-203 (where "not for the sake of empire" parallels BG. I. 35 "not for the kingship of the three worlds," the dominion in question being in both cases that which is in fact reversed in RV. X. 124. 4, pary āvard rāśtram, and that which is ultimately won by the Pāndavas in Mbh.).

Indra nevertheless finds means to slay Namuci, evading the conditions by a subterfuge. Namuci's severed head "rolls after" (anavavarta) Indra, bitterly reproaching him as the "betrayed of a friend" and "treacherous hero-slayer of the innocent" (TB. I. 7. 1. 7-8 and PB. XII. 6, cf. Mbh. IX. 2436). Indra atones by means of a sacrifice (no doubt a Pravargya ceremony, where the "head of the sacrifice" is symbolically restored) and an expiatory bath in the river Aruṇā.

In the RV. accounts Indra, "seeking a broadway for Manu, wrung off (avartayaḥ) the head of Namuci ... churned (mathāyat) Namuci's head, to wit the bright revolving gem" (āsmānam cit svaryāṇī vartamāṇam, V. 30. 7-8); which "gem" is the Sun, cf. V. 47. 3 where Agni is prṣnir āsmā, "variegated gem," and VII. 104. 19 pra vartaya divo āsmānam, "set Heaven's gem a-rolling," addressed to Indra as demon-slayer.

Notice should be taken here of the equivalence of vṛt, and math = "twirl"; the latter root is used in RV. passim with reference

used to "quench" (āmayaṇi) the fierce interior aspect of Agni, i.e. to "set aside his scorching evil" (śucam asya pāpmāṇam apahanti, ib. 20), which is just what Indra does to Namuci.
(1) to the generation of Agni by Mātariṣvān (= Vāyu, Spiritus) in the beginning, or by sacrificers in the analogous rite, and (2) to the rape of Soma by the Hawk (śyena = Agni, as demonstrated by Bloomfield, JAOS. 16. 11 ff.). The nature of the movement implied in both cases is the same, viz. a turning round, hence our rendering “twirl,” the significance “churning” being involved only in so far as the process is applied to a liquid, as in samudramathana. The most important passages for the production of Agni by “twirling” include I. 141. 3, where Mātariṣvān “twirls him from his ground (budhnāt), from the Buffalos’ image (varpasaḥ), when he lay hidden” (guhā santam = ab intra), who is thus “brought to us from the Supernal Father” (pituḥ paramāt); III. 9. 5, where Mātariṣvān brings “Agni hither from afar, who had been hidden (tirohitam) from us, brings from the Angels him that had been twirled” (mathitam); and VI. 16. 13 where Atharvan “twirled (nir amanthat) thee, Agni, from the lotus (puṣkarāt = budhnāt, above), from the head of Viśva(-rūpa), the

* The “Windnatur” of Mātariṣvān (= Mātali) is discussed by Charpentier, Kleine Beiträge zur indoiranischen Mythologie, Uppsala, 1911, pp. 68-83; Charpentier concludes (in general agreement with the view of the Indian commentators) “Alles in allen kann ich nicht umhin die Windnatur des Mātariṣvān-Mātali für sekundar in Bezug auf seine Natur als Prometheus und einer der ‘Vater’ zu halten.” Mātariṣvān is Vāṭa-Vāyu, the Gale, the Dawnwind (I. 122. 3 vasarḥā . . . vātaḥ) who awakens Agni (pra bodhaya purandhim, see Bloomfield in JAOS. 16. 18 f.), he fans the flame of Life (VI. 6. 3, where Agni is vīṭajātāṣaḥ). Cf. the “Spirit,” the “Wind,” and the “East Wind” in Genesis I. 2 and VIII. 1, and Exodus XIV. 2. Reference to the dawn wind can be traced in almost all nativities, cf. the mediaeval German “Do in der Stāl kimt überall der kalte Wind herein.”

* Varpas = rūpa (Śāyaṇa); the manifested Agni is “The Father’s own image abiding in himself” (cf. PB. VII. 6. 2) . . . his image, that is to say, his Son” (Eckhart), cf. AV. X. 8. 28 (= JUB. III. 11), “Is he their eldest or their youngest? Is he their Son or their Father? Truly it is one Angel that has entered into intellect, erst was he born, and yet is even now in embryo,” i.e. as in RV. III. 55. 7, “albeit he proceeded foremost, still he stays within his ground.”

* It hardly needs to be demonstrated here (cf. my Elements of Buddhist Iconography, 1935, pp. 19-21) that Śāyaṇa correctly explains the lotus, puṣkara, as a designation of the ground of existence in any world. It may be added, however, in connection with the kenning abja, “born of water,” equivalent to “lotus,” puṣkara, that in VII. 34. 16 this epithet is applied to the Serpent, “I celebrate with litanies the Serpent water-born (abjām . . . ahiṃ, cf. apāṁ napāt = Agni), seated in the rivers’ ground, the
priest” (mūrdhno visvaśya vāghataḥ). Those for the production of Soma by twirling are I. 93.6 where “the Hawk twirls (or 'grinds,' amatīnāt) Soma from the Rock” (parī śyeno adreḥ), and IX. 77.2, Soma “whom the Hawk from Heaven wrung” (yam divas pari śyeno mathāyat, cf. in V. 30.8 cited above, śiro dāsasya namucer mathāyat). The latter passages are especially intelligible in the light of the repeated “Vṛtra was Soma” in ŚB.

2. Makha

The references to a Titan Makha driven away by the Bhrgus in RV. IX. 101.13, or whose head is cut off by Indra in X. 171.2, presupposes the Brāhmaṇa versions in which Makha’s head becomes the Sun. In X. 171.2 Indra “lifts from his hide raging Makha’s head” (makhasya dodhataḥ śiro ’va tvaco bharah), anticipating the prayer in the fourth verse, to bring back from the West into the East “the Sun, Vaṣa that had been hidden from the Angels.”

rivers’ beds” (budhne nadināṁ rajāṣu śidan—a little difficult, but evidently tantamount to nadi-ṛtam applied to Vṛtra elsewhere), who in the next verse is referred to more specifically as Ahi Budhnya. The consequent exegesis is very elegant; for we may say that just as Ahi is abja, not indeed as being a lotus, but like the lotus in this respect as well as in that he is Agni’s source, so Agni born from the lotus is abjaja. In full agreement with this is a passage in which Agni is described as found “where he has crept up out of the waters onto the lotus-leaf” (aḍbhya upodāṣytaṁ puṣkaraparṣe, ŚB. VII. 3. 2. 14), with which may be compared also the account of the procession of Arbuda Kādraveya (son of Kadru, i.e. of the Serpent Queen, and probably the same as Ahi, at least an ahi), “The Serpent Prophet had made an incantation, thereby he crept forth, and that, indeed, is called ‘Arduba’s creeping forth’” (sarparsə mantrakṛt yenopodāsarpat...arbudodāsarpaṇi nāma, AB. VI. 1, where also Arbuda is called a venomous serpent or basilisk, ḍīveṣaḥ, the Skt. equivalent of Avestan aṣhi-visha in Azhi-visha; from PB. IX. 8. 7-8, cf. IV. 9. 4-6, it appears that the mantra alluded to is RV. X. 189, for here it is “by the sarparaṁya verse that Arbuda puts off his corrupted skin,” mṛtāṁ tvacam apāhata).

For the lotus (= earth) as Agni’s birthplace cf. also VIII. 72. 11, where soma is “poured in the lotus” (niṣkitam puṣkare), and ŚB. VIII. 6. 3. 7, yoniṁ ca puṣkara-parṇam. RV. VII. 33. 11, where Vasiṣṭha (Agni) brahman...jātaḥ...puṣkare, corresponds to GB. I. 16 brahma ha ca vai brahmaṇam puṣkare aṣṭe. That Agni is said to creep up out of the waters onto the lotus corresponds to the Gnostic symbol of nymph and imago.
(sāryam . . . devānāṃ cit tiro vaśam): "raging Makha's head" corresponding to "raging Vṛtra's head" severed by Indra with his hundred-jointed bolt in VIII. 6. 6 (vi cid vṛtrasya dodhato vajrenā śiro bibheda); "Vaśa" to that "equine Vaśa" who is aided by the Aśvins in I. 112. 10, etc., and in VIII. 46. 33 is evidently the Sun; and the "hide" to the "black skin that Indra hates" (indradviśṭam . . . tvacam asiknim, IX. 73. 5), the "Serpent's inveterated skin" of IX. 86. 44 where Soma "even as Ahi, creeps forward from the ancient skin" (aḥir na jūṇām ati sarpati), in harmony with PB. XXV. 15. 4 where the serpents "abandoning their inveterated skin (hitvā jīrnām tvacam) creep forward (atisarpanti), put away Death, and become Adityas." Somewhat to anticipate, we may remark that the bisection of the Serpent may be equated with the diremption of Heaven and Earth.

Turning now to the Brāhmaṇa versions, in PB. VII. 5. 6 Agni, Indra, Vāyu, and Makha, all desirous of glory (yaśas) take part in a sacrificial session. Makha obtains the glory, but as he leans on his bow, the end springs up, cutting off his head, and "this became the pravargya, for Makha is indeed the sacrifice." This pravargya (or pravarga) is also called in ritual the mahāvīra, or gharma, and "the head of the sacrifice." In TA. V. 1. 1-5, Makha is called Vaiśṇava (Saumya in ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 17), the bow "spins up" (udavartat) the head, which circles about Heaven and Earth (dyāvāprthiḥ anuprāvaratata, cf. RV. V. 30. 8, vartamānān rodasi); and "that he turned forth" (prāvaratata, i.e. 'proceeded,' cf. pravṛttī) is the origin of the term pravargya, that he was glowing that of the term gharma, that he had great heroism that of the term mahāvīra." TB. II. 6. 13. 1, sa bibheda valam magham, cf. RV. III. 34. 10 bibheda valam, suggests the identity of the personified "Cavern," Vala (cf. vara, varāṇa, varuṇa, vṛtra, varāha) with Makha, but that the reading is magham and not makham, cf. IX. 20. 7 krīḷur makhō na maṁhayuh pavitrāṁ soma gacchasi, "even as Makha, Soma," etc., emphasizes the indivisibility of reckless bravery, wealth, and generosity in the ideal hero. The account is fuller in ŚB. XIV. 1. 1; the Angels present are Indra, Agni, Soma, Makha, and Viṣṇu (perhaps we ought to read Soma-Makha or Makha-Viṣṇu); it is Viṣṇu's head that is severed by the bow, the string of which is gnawed by ants, and this head becomes "yonder Sun"; the rest of him lies outspread (pravṛj, whence ŚB. derives
pravargya, better than as in TA. cited above). Indra rushes up to the fallen “hero” (mahāvīra) engulfs him (taṁ paryagṛhṇāt, in other words, swallows him up, or rather drinks him, who is really Soma), and thus “became makhavat, for Makhavat is he who is metaphysically (parokṣena) Maghavat”; moreover, “Makha is the same as Viṣṇu ... the Sacrifice.” It is evident that an

*In RV. V. 30. 15 the gharma is said to be heated pravṛj, “for the Pravargya.” Closely related to pravṛj is Vedic para vṛj, to “re-ject,” “cast away,” so often employed in connection with Agni RV. II. 13. 12; II. 15. 7; IV. 30. 16; and probably in the same connection in I. 112. 8). In I. 116. 24, Soma too is “like Rebha, pravṛktam”; while in X. 8. 9 para vṛj in the form para vark is used in connection with the decapitation of Viṣṭarūpa; whence it may be inferred that para vṛj, para vṛkta, applied to Agni and Soma are said with reference to the deposition of the body after decapitation. These terms occur in association with the expression “making the blind to see, the lame to walk,” and if as we suppose this means “effecting the Sun’s procession,” who had been as it were a “blindworm,” the connection of ideas is evident; for the Sun being Varuṇa’s “eye,” passim, Varuṇa can only be thought of as blind while yet the Sun is tamasa apagātham, guhā nihitam, etc., i.e. before the section of the Serpent’s head, and as “crawling,” which is expressed by saying that the Sun was originally “footless” (apad, often tantamount to “serpent,” cf. SB. I. 6. 3. 9, “in that he, Soma, was footless, he was Ahi) and is footless until Varuṇa “makes feet for him, that he may proceed” (I. 24. 8); for the corresponding distinction of the “footless” and the “footed” aspects of the feminine principles, see The Darker Side of Dawn. For a fuller discussion cf. vṛj or varj on RV. see Bloomfield in JAOS. 35. 273 ff.; the primary sense is that of “do,” and hence “do for,” as in the expression “done for” == “ruined.” Para vṛj corresponds also to paraśa in IV. 18. 8 and paraśyat in X. 72. 8.

With reference to the designations of Agni as prāṇīr āśmā and of the Sun as vartamāṇam āśmāṇam previously cited (whence the use in ritual of a “variegated stone,” āśmāṇam prāṇīm, representing “yonder Sun,” SB. IX. 2. 3. 14), it may be observed that these formulations, taken in connection with the ophidian character of the deity ab intra, explain the origin of what is now (inasmuch as the significance has been forgotten) strictly speaking a superstition, the notion viz. that there is a jewel in a serpent’s head.

7 By devouring, or as we must phrase it in the present connection, drinking Makha-Soma, Indra appropriates the fallen hero’s desirable qualities by an incorporation that is at the same time sacrificial and Eucharistic, cf. John VI. 56, “He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.” This was, of course, the basic principle of cannibalism, and it is notable that it should have survived in both the Vedic and the Christian rituals of Communion.
expiation is required (the slaying of Vṛtra, parallel to that of Viśvarūpa, is indeed one of Indra's kībīsāni, AB. VII. 28; for which sins of Indra's see Bloomfield in JAOS. 19 (2). 118 f.). But only Dadhyaṇc Atharvan knows how the head of the sacrifice is to be put on again, and Indra, perfectly satisfied with what has been done, forbids him to reveal it.³ The Aśvins nevertheless, as also

The Brāhmaṇa accounts are clearly prefigured in the briefer Vedic references. That Makha is the sacrifice and cause of its efficacy is particularly clear in IX. 20. 7, "Thou, Soma, goest playfully (kṛīṇa) unto the filter, even as Makha prodigal of gifts (mākho na maṁhayuḥ), lending the laud its heroic-virtue (suśrīram)," where also it should be noted that kṛīṇa (cf. the use of kṛīṭ elsewhere in RV.) implies the same as uḷāva-tāraṇa, or in other words, a willing sacrifice. In IX. 17. 6 Soma is the "head of the sacrifice" (mūrdhan yajñasya). In IX. 5-6 Soma is assimilated both to Indra and to Prajāpāti explicitly, and by the expressions employed, to Agni as in I. 13. In I. 134. 1, VIII. 7. 27, and VIII. 46. 25 Vāyu alone or the Devas collectively are invited to "partake of Makha (makhasya dāvane, better perhaps, "to partake of the sacrifice"), and "to be lavish" (dāvane) in turn; and that all actually partake of Makha's virtue in this way may be inferred from the use of makhya, "brave" (in battle, cf. gigantomachy) as an epithet not only of Indra himself (III. 34. 2) but also of Pūṇa, Savitṛ, Agni, Aśvins, and Maruts.

A pale reflection of the foregoing doctrine survives incidentally in Pali Buddhism, where it is explained that Indra is called Mabhavā because as a man he had once been a brahman of that name" (Dialogues of the Buddha, 2, p. 297, citing S. I. 230 and J. IV. 403 = V. 137). Makka, in Pali, is "wrath," "mercilessness," etc.

³ Dadhyaṇc himself is made to suffer decapitation, after which his head is replaced with that of a horse; a parallel to the decapitation not only of that by which the procession of Agni-Sūrya is effected, where there is a symbolic replacement in the ritual, but also to that of Ganesa who in Saiva mythology is related to Skanda Kumāra as is Agni to Indra in RV. (the relation of brahma to kṣatra), and losing his head, is given that of an elephant.

The "mystery," the "honey" i.e. "soma" (cf. X. 68. 8 aśnāpinaddham madhu) doctrine is that of the true meaning of the sacrificial ritual, its significance as an act of expiation and reintegration, an undoing of the work of disintegration with which the world begins; which mystery, although outwardly enacted in the ritual, is even now by no means to be revealed to any but a qualified student (8B. loc. cit.).

The nature of the "sweet doctrine" is nevertheless sufficiently indicated in SB. XIV. 1. 2. 18, and more clearly than in TS. VII. 3. 1. 4; three Mahāvīra pots have been made, one addressed with the formula "Makha's head art thou," and the other silently, and it is explained, "By whatever one does (karoti) with Yajus formula, by that one constitutes (saṁskaroti,
in RV. I. 116. 12, get the secret from him, and they instruct the Angels accordingly how by the proper use of the Mahāvīra vessel, “the head of the sacrifice is put on again, the sacrifice is made whole”; the Āśina themselves are then admitted to a share in the sacrifice.ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 17 gives formulæ for making the vessel, which has parts corresponding to those of a head, and when completed it is addressed with the words “Makha’s head art thou,” taken from VS. XXXVII. 8, ŚB. adding “for it is indeed the head of Makha Saumya,” i.e. of that Makha who is or was really Soma, cf. “Now Vṛtra was Soma,” cited below. In PB. VI. 5 the Sun is emanated (aṣṭijyata) from the head of Prajāpati, “he smote off his head” (udahāṇ instead of the usual udevavarta), and “that became the drona-kalaśa,” corresponding to ŚB. IV. 4. 3. 4 cited below. The identity of Makha-Saumya with Prajāpati is very

‘integrates’) that aspect (rūpam) of Prajāpati that is explicit and finite (niruktās ca parimitās ca), and by whatever one does silently (tuṣṇim) thereby one constitutes that aspect of him that is implicit and infinite,” so that by doing in both ways one constitutes Prajāpati in his entirety (sarvaṁ kṛṣṇam), and thus reintegrates himself. This explanation applies moreover to the practice of “silent recitation” elsewhere, e.g. manasā stucate in TS. VII. 3. 1. 4, cf. ŚB. II. 1. 4. 29; cf. also the orationes secretae in the Christian sacrifice (the Mass). The principle of subtle (sūkṣma) as distinguished from gross (sthāla) worship in later practice is analogous.

As to the ritual itself, it should never be forgotten that “the observance of the rule thereof is the same as at the creation” (ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 26 and 3. 1. 36, etc.); and inasmuch as the “creation” is strictly speaking eternal (see my “Eternal Creation in the Rg Veda” to appear in the Ramakrishna Memorial Number of the Vedanta Kesari in 1936), it may be said of the sacrifice as envisaged in the Brahmaṇas, what has been affirmed of the Christian sacrifice, the Mass, that “it is not confined to, nor limited by, the conditions of time and space” (Bede Frost, The Meaning of Mass, Oxford, 1934, p. 63), and as to its efficacy, what is affirmed of the Hebrew sacrifice, that “the impulse of the sacrifice is the mainstay of the worlds” and that it is by the impulse of the smoke from below that “the lamp (i.e. the Sun) is kindled above” (Zohar, Vayehe section, II. 374 in the Sperling and Simon version). Here as elsewhere there is nothing whatever unique in the Vedic point of view.

*In which they originally had no part, as we know also in connection with the story of Cyavāna (PB. XIV. 6. 10; ŚB. IV. 1. 5; JB. III. 120 f., etc.), whom we identify with Prajāpati.

10 “He;” “Indra” must be supplied. In ŚB. IV. 4. 3. 4 (Kānva), devāḥ . . . vyagṛṇata, (Mādhyaminda) udevavarta.
evident also in SB. XIV. 1. 2, where both alike are the sacrifice; even apart from which the equivalence would be obvious, inasmuch as in both cases it is always a primary purpose of the ritual to reintegrate the creator, when he is disintegrated by the expression of creatures, has fallen down, and cannot rise (for Prajāpati, see SB. I. 6. 3. 35-37, PB. IV. 10. 1, VI. 5. 1, etc.).

3. The Sacrifice of King Soma

In SB. IV. 4. 3. 4 we find "Now Vṛtra was Soma." When the Angels smote him, his head whirled up (udvavarta) and became the droma-kalaśa," i.e. the soma-vessel, cf. PB. VI. 5. 7 "the vessel of the Angels." That the head becomes a vessel explains the designation of certain vessels as kapāla, "skull-cup," in this and other ritual usage. "Vessel of the Angels" would appear to be the Sun, rather than the Moon, which would be the vessel of the Asuras.

The preparation of soma represented an actual sacrifice of King Soma, as is explicit in SB. IV. 3. 4. 1, cf. IV. 4. 5, 21-22, where the pressing of the stalks is called the slaying of Soma, and the dry stalks are symbolically rejuvenated by immersion in water, as tantamount to tincture (rasa), as an act of expiation; actual sacrifice is similarly indicated in the use of root śam in RV. V. 43. 4, bāhū . . . somasya ye śamitārā, "these arms that give Soma his quietus."

Recalling the equivalence of vṛt and math it can be clearly seen how the grinding of the soma-stalks reflects the passion of Makha-Saumya or Vṛtra. That the obtaining of soma has also to be represented as a rape accomplished by the Hawk (Agni) on behalf of Indra, or as a theft on Indra's own part (another of his kūbiśāni) depends of course, on the well known fact that whether as King or Tree, Soma was originally in possession of the Titans, and by them well guarded, cf. X. 97, where Soma is the king of the herbs, that were in being long prior to the being of the Angels themselves.\(^{12}\)

\(^{11}\) "Vṛtra was Soma" seems to render the text most literally, and better agrees with the sequence of events than does Eggeling's "Soma was Vṛtra."

\(^{12}\) It is notorious that the Titans were the first possessors of Soma, mighty soma-drinkers before the nativity of any Angel; there "the Gandharva protects his (Soma's) seat," IX. 83. 4 etc., thence that the Hawk (Agni) brings it for Indra, or that Indra steals it for himself, RV. passim. Soma as a tree is the king of plants, the Tree of Life as
In connection with the idea of sacrifice it may be noted also that
the designations soma and puruṣa are definitely assimilated in X.
51. 8, where “the Person of the herbs” whom Agni obtains when
he accepts the priesthood can hardly be other than King Soma.
It is “as Ahi that he (Soma) creeps forth from his inveterated
skin, and as a lusty glaucous courser that he runs and plays”
(ahir na jūrṇāṁ ati sarpati tvacam atyo na kriṇāṁ asarad vṛṣā
hariḥ, IX. 86. 44), tallying with “Vṛtra was Soma” cited above,
cf. the designation of Soma as “Boar” (varāha, IX. 97. 7).

4. Viśvarūpa and Vṛtra

Viśvarūpa, “Omniform,” occurs both as the name of a Titan,
and as an epithet with application to his father Tvasṭṛ, the creator
per artem. In RV. II. 11. 19, X. 8. 7-9, and X. 99. 6 (combining
these accounts) we find that Trita Aptya (i.e. Agni, ab intra,
eager to proceed) in alliance with Indra slaughters the three-
headed,13 six-eyed, seven-rayed Viśvarūpa, wrenching away (parā
distinguished from the Tree of Death, cf. Genesis III. 22 “lest he take
also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever.” As a liquid, obtained
when the “tree” is sacrificed, the soma is the sap (rasa), the blood of
the tree, the Water of Life. On the other hand, the soma drunk in
earthly rituals is never that very wine of life whereby the intoxicated
Indra is enabled to overcome the Titans and to bring about the whole
emancipation, but only rasa, amṛta, analogically. Expressions such as
parvatāydhā, IX. 46. 1 or nābhā prthivya giriṣu, IX. 82. 3 (cf. V. 43. 4,
IX. 72. 7, and Yaśna XLII. 5) are by no means in the beginning designa-
tions of a local habitat, the site of which may have been lost in later
times; the soma is “lost” in quite another sense, “they fancy when the
plant is pressed that they drink of the very soma, but of him the Brahms
understand as Soma, no one ever tastes, none tastes who dwells on
earth,” X. 85. 3-4. “What the Brahmas understand by ‘Soma’” is not,
of course, a physical entity. In this connection the explicit enunciation
of a doctrine of transubstantiation in AB. VII. 31 is significant: “it is
metaphysically (parokṣeṇa) that he obtains the drinking of soma, it is
not literally (pratyakṣam) partaken of by him. The Nyagrodha is
metaphysically King Soma; metaphysically the Kṣatriya obtains the
semblance of the spiritual power (brahmaṇo rūpam), by means of the
priest, the consecration, and the invocation, as it were.” Soma, amṛta, is
dīvi . . . gālham, RV. VI. 44. 23-24. Cf. SB. III. 6. 2. 10-11, where the
only approach to Soma is by way of dīkṣā and tapas.

13 The three heads of Viśvarūpa, like those of the Sun, may correspond
to the three worlds, cf. JUB. III, 11-12, where it is “by three turns”
vark) or carrying off (ava ... bharat) his heads and lifting his cattle. In II. 11. 19 Indra hands over Viṣṇavūpa to “Trita of our party,” and it is to be inferred that a decapitation takes place, for in the next verse the Sun is set a-going (avartayat sūryo na cakram). In X. 99. 6 the epithets are unmistakable, but the dāsa is called the Boar (varāha), and not otherwise named.

(āurvādhir) of the Gāyattra (Sāman) that the Puruṣa conquers Heaven, Midhome, and This World, and all that is in them; the Gāyattra itself being tryāvṛt. The use of āvṛt here, answers to the use of root vṛt throughout, as well as to the special sense of āvṛtta, tantamount to pravṛtta, and meaning a coming into the worlds.

14 Indra’s connection with the Sun has been sometimes misunderstood; his position is strictly speaking that of Lucifer before the Fall. Indra is never at war with his fellow-Angels. It is for them that he is besought to “pull the Sun’s wheel towards us” (pra sūras cakram vyhatād abhihe, IV. 16. 12), it is from the Titans and for Kutsa as he struggled that Indra “steals the solar wheel” (cakram muṣāya ... sūryam, IV. 30. 4); just as he “fixes” (ni khidat) the wheel and “steals away” (apa ḍhayi) Life Universal (viśvāyu, i.e. Agni) from the Great Fiend (maho druhaḥ, IV. 28. 2), and entirely parallel to this is his abduction of the Word (vācam muṣāyati, I. 130. 9), whose restoration is demanded and effected in X. 109. In X. 23. 5 where Indra “wins” (jayat) the Sun as if at a game of chance, it is from the Titans that he wins, not that “he vanquishes the Sun” as pretended in VM. p. 31.

Indra’s great rebellion against the Father, by which the kingdom is overturned, takes place in the beginning. Nevertheless in RV. for the most part Indra observes the legitimate relations of kṣatra to brahma, he acts as Fidei Defensor (vratapā), his courage and loyalty to his companions are far from ignoble; the dual Indrāgni even preserves the primordial coincidence of kingship and priesthood in one and the same person. But in the later literature (BrD. VII. 54-58) and especially in Buddhism, the possibilities inherent in the principle of temporal power are more fully developed; Indra becomes Mammon.

It must be realised, of course, that Indra, Lucifer and Satan, must not be confused with the “evil” power of Darkness, Death (mṛtyu, māra), the Godhead, the “unkindly Father” himself. The width of the entire universe divides the one from the other, divides the “outer darkness” from the Darkness ab intra, “impervious to all illumination and hidden from all knowledge” (Dionysius, Ep. ad Caian Monach., cited St. Thomas, Sum. Theol. III. 92. 1), but of which St. Thomas says that it is called “Darkness” “on account of its surpassing brightness,” i.e. as being a blinding light. Indra, although like every other Angel of Titan birth, remains an Angel even in his pride, being like Satan “fallen not in nature, but in grace”; whereas the Dragon-Father never was nor ever can be natured, it is he that by his nature natures all things.
In the longer versions of TS. II. 4. 12 and 5. 1 ff. (cf. KB. XV. 2-3) Viśvarūpa is Tvaṣṭṛ’s son by “a sister of the Titans,” Viśvarūpa has already been slain, and Tvaṣṭṛ prepares a soma sacrifice, from which Indra is excluded. But Indra seizes the soma by force, as in so many other texts he is said to have done. Tvaṣṭṛ whirls (avartayat) the remainder of the soma upon the sacrificial fire, saying “Hail, wax great, as Indra’s foe.” It springs to life and is called Vṛtra, either because Tvaṣṭṛ “verted” it into the fire, or (more correctly) because it “envelopes” these worlds. This Vṛtra takes demonic possession of Agni and Soma, who thus fall into the asurya power. Indra, and even Tvaṣṭṛ (as also in RV. I. 80. 14) are alarmed. Tvaṣṭṛ provides Indra with his bolt (as usual, e. g. RV. I. 85. 9, but in VI. 44. 22 Indu—i. e. Indra, as in II. 22—“steals his unkindly father’s weapons and his magic”) and Indra raises it to slay Vṛtra, but Agni and Soma cry out that they are “in him.” Indra makes Vṛtra gape, and Agni and Soma escape from his mouth. Heaven and Earth are extracted by the promise of lights to the former, species (rūpāṇi) to

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15 Another of Indra’s many kilbiṣṇa. In RV. III. 48. 4 “When at birth he had overcome (his father) Tvaṣṭṛ, Indra by main force stole (āmuṣya) the soma and drank it”; in VI. 44. 22 Indu (Indra, here as in II. 22) “steals the weapons (ayudhāni) and magic-arts (māyāḥ) of his unkindly father” (pirur aśivasya—mark the contrast in X. 124. 2-4, where Agni, although he chooses Indra and deserts the Father, calls himself unkind, the Father kind); in IV. 17. 12 “What recks Indra of his Mother, what of the Father Progenitor that begat him? (He recks only) of that which immediately whets his fury” (viz. the soma-draught). Indra’s violent disruption of the preexisting harmony, and brutal treatment of his parents, as in IV. 18, although really in accordance with the Supernal Father’s providence (dhituḥ pituḥ . . . parasya, X. 8. 7), becomes an occasion of reproach; for these and the other offences, although he acts by infallible necessity and “does what must be done,” Indra is sometimes excluded from the sacrifice, e. g. in AB. VII. 28, where his tort against Bṛhaspati as well as Viśvarūpa is cited, and “because he stole the soma of Tvaṣṭṛ, even today the temporal power (kṣatra) is deprived of soma drinking.” Agni, on the other hand, is the Redeemer (kilbiṣasṛty, X. 71. 10).
16 The derivation of Vṛtra, like that of Varuṇa, from vr, to “cover,” “enclose,” “hide away,” would seem preferable to a derivation from uryt.
17 In X. 90. 13-14 it is Agni and Indra that proceed from the mouth of Puruṣa; the Puruṣa’s head is “con-verted” (sam avartata) into Dyaus, here evidently the Sun.
the latter. Very significant is the remark addressed by Indra to Viśṇu, "Come, let us grasp that by which he (Vṛtra) is these worlds" (vo yena ayam idam), cf. RV. X. 88. 9 where "in him (Agni) the Angels offered up the whole universe" (yasmin ājukhaṇur bhuvanāni viṣvā). In ŚB. I. 6. 3 the course of events is similar; when the soma is cast into the fire "inasmuch as it was whirling (vartamāṇah) it became the Dragon, inasmuch as it was footless (apad) it became the Serpent." All things, Angels, sciences, glory, food, and beauty come out of Vṛtra, who lies drained of his contents like an empty bag, "contracted and emptied out." Indra is about to slay him, but he says "Cast not, for thou art now what I (was erst); only dissever me." Indra cuts him in two (āvedhānceabhinat), making the moon of that part of him in which the soma inherited, and of the other, titanic part, the belly in all creatures, whence men say that "Vṛtra is within us."

In PB. VII. 5. 20 it is Usanas Kāvya, "who was the priest of

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18 Similarly in PB. XVIII. 9. 6, Heaven obtaining from Vṛtra her lights (nakṣatrāṇi) and Earth her diversified phenomena (citṛṇi rūpāṇi). Rūpāṇi in this connection we take to be "things in their kind," the "works of distinction and adornment"; cf. the pururūpā vapāṇi of Earth in RV. III. 55. 5, viśvarūpāḥ paśuvaḥ in VIII. 100. 11, sarvāṇi rūpāṇi in AB. V. 23 in connection with Earth as the Serpent Queen, and JB. I. 160, cf. TS. II. 4. 6, where the Earth is citrā. The partition of Vṛtra, of Puruṣa, of Prajāpati, is the act of creation involving the separation of Heaven and Earth; for the corresponding division of "lights" and "species," viz. of image-bearing and omniform light and of exemplified phenomena, see my "Vedic Doctrine of Exemplarism," to appear in the James Haughton Woods Memorial Volume.

19 We have pointed out in The Darker Side of Dawn that apad becomes a kenning for "snake," and the significance of apad as contrasted with ekapad, padae, etc.

20 That Vṛtra is "emptied out" corresponds to the expression aricyata employed in connection with Prajāpati when he has poured out creatures, e.g. PB. IV. 10. 1 prajā asṛjata so 'ricyata; and to Eckhart's words, "the whole of what he knows, the whole of what he can afford," that is of course his finite and presentable aspect, his "face," for it is but a "fourth" of his being that "becomes" (abhacat, RV. X. 90. 3-4), "three fourths remain within" (trīṇi padāni niḥśita guhā, AV. II. 1. 2).

21 In most of the accounts it appears that the Dragon is wounded vitally and rendered impotent rather than slain; as holds also for Prajāpati, the Sacrifice, who "survives this passion" (tām va ādyuṣārtim atyajīvat, PB. VI. 5).
the Titans” that is persuaded to come over to the side of the Angels, who are thus supported by the spiritual power,22 and this explains the allusion “when Uśanas reached you,” in RV. V. 31. 8.22 In JB. I. 125, Bṛhaspati (also son of Tvaṣṭṛ, RV. II. 23. 17) is the priest of the Angels, Uśanas Kāvyā of the Titans; the victory of the Angels is assured when the latter is won over. In the version of BP. VI. chs. 7-13, Vṛtra behaves with great nobility, but accuses Indra of Brahman-slaying, in that he killed his guru, Viśvarūpa, here Vṛtra’s brother. It requires 360 days for Indra to cut off Vṛtra’s head, that is evidently an aeonic “Year,” during which Time is as it were gradually unrolled. This is in fact a repetition of the TS. account, in which Viśvarūpa is a Brahman, and Indra incurs the guilt of Brahman-slaying, which he bears for a “Year,” i.e. until the end of an aeon, until the “Day of Judgment.”

The version of Tvaṣṭṛ’s sacrifice given in ŚB. II. 2. 4. 1-8 is of

22 Food is the sine qua non of existence in any mode, the anna-maya being the support of all modality; hence in X. 90. 2 it is said of the Puruṣa as Lord of Life that he “rises up by food,” food as in MU. VI. 11 being the premier manifestation of the Spirit, “by food the breath of life is mode-ised” (maya).

That “Vṛtra is within us,” not only answers to the concept of a digestive fire or combustion, but suggests an interesting parallel; for it is by the “stomach” that we are prompted to take “food” (as pointed out in ŚB. I. 6. 3. 17), and if the stomach be identified with the Dragon or Serpent, then we may say that when the “bird” eats of the sweet fruit of the fig (śvādu pippalam atti, I. 164. 20) that “the Serpent tempted him”—as in Genesis, “The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat”—and conversely it can be seen that fasting may be regarded, not as a moral exercise, but as a metaphysical rite, in imitation of that other “bird” that “does not eat of the tree” but merely regards it (abhi cākaśī, ib.). The designation “food” has of course a very wide application, covering all objects of desire, by the acquisition of which the individual functions as such. The identification of Vṛtra with the belly—the likeness of the bowels to a snake is obvious—corresponds to the conception widespread in antiquity, of the “bowels” as the seat of the emotions, i.e. of the will, in distinction from the “heart,” in which the operation of the intellect takes place.

22 The “persuasion” here, which persuasion is often a bribing, corresponds to the “con-version” accomplished elsewhere by more violent means; in RV. I. 148. 1 for example, it is Agni whom Mātariśvān “grasps and grinds” (mahāyod im viṣṭaḥ) to be the “multiform priest of all the Angels (ḥotāraṁ viśvāpauḥ viśvedeyam, where viśvedeyam = vaīvāraṇuyam). Cfr. Agni as “Titan priest” in VII. 30. 3, the Sun as “Titan Priest of the Angels” in VIII. 101. 12.
particular interest and throws a clarifying light upon its significance as a creative act. Here the name of Prajāpati replaces that of Tvaṣṭr; i.e. the concept of creation by generation replaces that of creation per artem. Prajāpati is single in the beginning, he desires to be propagated; he breathes forth Agni, the sacrificial fire, as indeed might be expected of him who is really the Dragon. The Earth (prthivi = urvarā, hairless similarly in RV. VIII. 91. 5-6) is “bald,” without vegetation. The Fire is a devourer. Prajāpati is afraid: therefore his Allmight (mahimā), his Word (vāc), departs (apacakrāma); in other words, the derevption of the First Principle, the division of Essence and Nature, Heaven and Earth, that had been conjunct (parikṣitā, samokasa, etc. in RV.) now takes place (as in BU. I. 4. 3, cf. 17, ātmānam dvedhāpātayat, JUB. I. 54, te vyādavatām, RV. X. 27. 23 kṛṇitatrād esām, etc.). Prajāpati “seeks to make an offering in himself” (ātmann eva ṛhuīm tīsa); he “rubs up” (udāmrṣṭa, cf. RV. X. 167. 4, stomam ... un mrje, “I stirred up the hymn”) and he rubbed his hands together so hard, that even now the palms are hairless. What he thus obtains (vīveda, “found”) is an offering of “milk” (payas), evidently the equivalent of soma in the TS. versions cited above. That “milk” he casts into the fire, and thence arise the plants. He rubs again, and obtains a second flow. He is in doubt whether or not to make an offering of this other milk (which corresponds to the “remnant of the soma” in the TS. versions). His own Allmight speaks out (sva mahimābhīvyāda), “Make thou the offering” (juhudhi). Again he casts the “milk” into the Fire; “and thereupon the Sun rose (udiyāya), the Gale sprang up (pra babhūva), the Fire was averted” (agniḥ paraṇ paryāvartata, the Fire that is thus “turned back away” being of course the “devouring Fire” against whom so many apotropaic incantations are employed in the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas). Thus Prajāpati “propagates himself, he bears himself across from the Fire, from Death” (prajāpatiḥ ... agnir mṛtyor ātmānam atrāyata), note the parallel in RV. X. 53. 8 (atra jahāma ye asann āsēvāḥ śivān-vayam uttarema, where atra = paraṇ in SB. cited above). Finally, this Resurrection of the Dying God (cf. PB. XXV. 17. 2-3, where Prajāpati when he is “stupified by eld,” jīryā mūrah, by the performance the sacrifice once more comes into act as the quickening principle of all things, sarvasya prasavam agacchat) is for him who understands the promise of a like regeneration, “for when he dies,
and when they lay him in the fire, then is he born (again) of the fire (agnér adhījāyate), the fire consumes his body only” (SB. loc. cit. 8) all of which is in full agreement with the assumptions of the Funerary Hymns in RV., nor could any doctrine be more explicit.

Certain conspicuous common traits are to be remarked in Viśvarūpa and Agni, Sūrya, and other aspects of the primary proceeding power. In RV. I. 146. 1 Agni ab intra (pitror upasthe) is like Viśvarūpa triple-headed and seven-rayed; in II. 5. 2 Agni, and in VIII. 72. 16 the Sun are similarly seven-rayed; and “where those seven rays are, thither goeth back mine affinity (nābhi, navel), Trita Āptya knoweth that, who converseth with my kin,” I. 105. 9, cf. X. 64. 13. In III. 38. 4 it is as the Sun that Viśvarūpa manifests himself, “When he (the Sun) upstood, all things him adorned, who moves self-luminous; that is the Bull’s, the Titan’s mighty figure, it is the Omniform who takes his stand upon his aevitenaries” (mahat tad vṛṣṇo asurasya nāmā, ā viśvarūpo amṛtāni tasthau, cf. IX. 75. 2). In VS. V. 35, Agni is addressed as the “omniform light” (jyotir asi viśvarūpam).

5. The Boar, Varāha, Emuṣa

The Boar, in Pauranic mythology an avatāra of Viṣṇu, who lifts up Earth from the Waters in the beginning, is in RV. a hostile power who withholds the means of life from Angels and men, and is identified with Viśvarūpa (X. 99. 6) and with Vṛtra (I. 61. 6-8, and I. 121. 11, cf. I. 32 where Vṛtra is also Vyāinsa and the “first-born of serpents,” prathamajām aṁhnām, IV. 1. 11 where Agni jāyata prathamaḥ . . . budhane . . . apād aśīrṣa guhamāno antā, i.e. is Ahi Budhnya, and X. 90. 7 puruṣain jātam agrataḥ).

In two of the RV. texts Viṣṇu is associated with Indra in the slaying of the boar; in the first, I. 61. 7, where the theft at the soma-feast is mentioned, viṣṇu may be adjectival, qualifying Indra, in the second, VIII. 77. 10, it is explicitly Viṣṇu that “brings back the bacon.” In general, the exploit is typically Indra’s, though to Viṣṇu’s advantage as in TS. II. 4. 12 cited above. In RV. I. 121. 11, for example, we find “Thou great one (Indra) didst with thy bolt put to sleep the Boar, the Dragon (vṛtram . . . varāhum) as he lay (āsayamānam) in the water-channels.” In TS. VI. 2. 4. 2-3 the boar Emuṣa. is said to have in keeping the
wealth of the Titans, beyond the seven mountains, that would be, apart from the seven worlds, and in accordance with the asurya possession of all things in the beginning; Indra, urged by Viṣṇu, pierces the mountains (cf. RV. VIII. 77. 6 and 96. 2) and both come into possession of the food and wealth, i.e. as in RV. VII. 5. 3 the Titans are made to relinquish their “delights” (bhōja
nāṇi). In TS. VII. 1. 5. 1 the Boar, who now raises the Earth from the Waters, is identified with Prajāpati; Prajāpati, who is the Sacrifice, also with Death and with the Year in SB. X. 4. 3. 1-3. That will no longer surprise us; nor can we wonder at the dual part played by the Boar or Viṣṇu, all such apparent contradictions being inevitable consequences of the opposing operations (vivṛata, X. 23. 1, virūpā kṛtāṇi, III. 38. 9, etc.) and double seeming (virūpa, viṣurūpa, passim) of the deity who moves in opposite directions (dvivartani, X. 61. 20, etc.), stands at the parting of the ways (panthāṁ visarge... tathau, X. 5. 6 = VS. XII. 66 tathau samare pathināṁ), and changes his fashion as he will (yathāvaśam = anu vratā), from sterility to productivity (VII. 101. 3 as in SB. XII. 7. 2. 17).

6. Ahi-Vṛtra

We have already outlined certain versions of the story of Vṛtra; and there can be no doubt from RV. I. 32 and other texts of the identity of the Dragon, Vṛtra, with Ahi,24 the Serpent. Decapita-

24 Ahi corresponds to Avestan Azhi, known also as Vishapa, “of poisonous slaver,” and also to Sumerian Muššušu, the seven-headed dragon slain by Ninurta, later Tiāmat bisected by Marduk, who makes Heaven of one of the parts; “it would be remarkable if this entire Indian and Iranian legend was not ultimately Sumerian” (Langdon, Semitic Mythology, p. 130, and fig. 57, which might well be described as a picture of Indra with his vajra, slaying Ahi-Vṛtra). The like considerations are put forward by Frankfort in “Gods and Myths in Sargonid Seals,” Iraq, I, 1934, p. 19 in connection with his Pl. III, fig. h, cf. Pl. I, fig. a in the same journal, of which figures the same may be said as of Langdon’s. It is also pointed out by Frankfort that the Sumerian seals are archetypal for the slaying of the many-headed Hydra by Herakles; it may be added that Zeus is represented in Greek mythology both as snake and bull, and that the conflict of Herakles with the Hydra is really that of son with father, cf. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 495.

There can be no possible doubt of the correspondence of Vedic ahi, sarpa, and prākṣa with later nāga; this is not only apparent on ontological grounds (characteristic power of nāgas to appear either as “snakes” or
tion is indicated in I. 52. 10 “severed his head” (abhinac chiraḥ, cf. II. 11. 2 ava abhinat, II. 20. 6 ava ... śiro bharaḍ dāsasya, VIII. 6. 6 śiro bibheda), and recalling the equivalence of śiras and sānu (denoting the “head” of the Mahāvira vessel respectively in SB. XIV. 1. 2. 17 and Āp. Śr. S. XV. 2. 14), the same is apparent in I. 32. 7, where a blow on the nape of the neck may be understood, and this is followed by a further dismemberment. In the texts to

as “men” at will, association of nāgas with Varuṇa, and the West, and waters generally, and the manner in which the nāgas, often seven-headed, are represented in iconography), but also in the significant designation ahi-nāga applied to the Serpent overcome by the Buddha in the fire temple, in Mahāvagga I. 15. 7 (P. T. S. Vinaya Piṭaka, I. 25).

As regards Varuṇa, the assimilation to Ahi-Vṛtra is developed in the following section. If he is not explicitly called a snake in RV. the later texts and iconography are unanimous in recognizing that such is his real nature. Varuṇa is an adder (prdāku) in AV. XII. 3. 57, like the rivers ab intra, prdākvaḥ, ib. I. 27. 1; ib. X. 4. 17, Indra overcomes both the male and female adders, i.e. purifies them as he does Apāla in RV. VIII. 91. Apotropaic texts respecting Varuṇa abound, e.g. RV. X. 97. 16, where Varuṇa is assimilated to Yama, and SB. XII. 7. 2. 17, where Varuṇa is “evil” (pāpman), the purpose of the offering being to convert him into Savitṛ in accordance with RV. VII. 101. 3. The three last cited texts are inseparably connected. Ocean, Varuṇa’s express domain, is “abode of nāgas” (nāgānām ālayam, Mbh. I. 21. 6 and 25. 4), and nāgas are represented amongst the angels of the western quarter at Barhut (JRAS. 1928, p. 392). Varuṇa and Sagara are nāgarājas in the Mahāvyutpatti; Varuṇa-paṇcami replaces the more usual expression Nāga-paṇcami in the Nilamata Purāṇa; in Nepal, a seven-hooded Varuṇa may occupy the centre of a nāga-mandala. In Buddhist cosmology Virūpākṣa, who as Regent of the West corresponds to Varuṇa, is again a nāgarāja. It should be noted that virūpa cannot originally have meant “formed,” for which we have duskṛta in quite other connections; virūpa in RV. always implies a duality of aspect, i.e. an alternation of aspect in what is essentially the same or consubstantial, e.g. I. 95. 1, I. 122. 2, V. I. 4, where Night and Dawn are virūpā, “of unlike aspect,” VII. 103 where the Brahman frogs are similarly designated, and X. 95. 16 where Urvaṣī dwells amongst mortals “in another aspect,” virūpā. Virūpākṣa should therefore mean “having unlike eyes,” which is appropriate for Varuṇa, whose “eyes” are the Sun and Moon.

The Buddha legend preserves a double version of Indra’s (occasionally Agni’s or Bṛhaspati’s) battle with Ahi-Vṛtra, who is also Mṛtyu, the principle of Death: first, in the Māra Dharaṇa, where may be noted Māra’s (= Mṛtyu’s) use of weapons characteristic for Ahi, who likewise resorts to lightning, thunder, and rain of hail (RV. I. 32. 13), or for the Dāsa Namuci who “makes women his weapons” (RV. V. 30. 9), and also that the Buddha is deserted by the timorous Angels, just as in Indra in
be cited, it is this subdivision of an originally simple recumbent and sleeping principle that should be especially remarked. In IV. 19. 3 "Thou (Indra) didst dismember (viṛṇā) him, the impartite (aparvan) Serpent (ahim = vrtram in verse 1), him the insatiate, who was unawakened (abudhyam), dormant (abudhyamānam), fast asleep (susūpānam), outstretched (viyatam) lying (āsayānam) against the seven scarps" (saptā prati pravataḥ, cf. varāham tiro adrim in I. 67. 7, saptānāṁ girinām in TS. VI. 2. 4. 3). In II. 11. 5 "Thou, Champion (Indra), hast smitten in thy manly might (vīryena) the Serpent (ahim = vrtram in verse 9), the Magician, as he lurked obscured and hidden away in secret in the Waters (guhā hitāṁ guhyāṁ ghūham apsv api vrtaṃ māyinan kṣiyantam), him that held down the Waters and the Light of

RV. passim, e.g. IV. 18. 11, VIII. 93. 14-15, VIII. 96. 7 ("shrinking from the snort of Vṛtra, all the Angels, thy companions, left thee in the lurch"), and in AB. III. 20 and IV. 5; second, in the Conversion of the Jaṭilas (who are also Kaśyapas, "Tortoises," cf. RV. IX. 114. 2 and AV. passim where Kaśyapa is an, or the, Prajāpati, see MV. pp. 151, 153), on which occasion the Buddha spends the night in a fire-temple, the resort of the Nāga Ahi (ahināgam in Mahāvagga, I. 15. 17), and overcomes him, fighting fire with fire (tejasā tejam). In Jaina tradition the story survives in the episode of Mahāvira’s (a name significant of Indra in the Vedic formulations, e.g. I. 32. 6) conflict with an unnamed adversary who appears in the form of a serpent (Hemacandra, Triṣaṭṭiśalākāpurusacaritra, parva 10, see MFA. Bulletin No. 197, 1935, pp. 38, 39 with fig. 3 on p. 37); the serpent here, however, is elsewhere called Saṅgana, i.e. Yama (for fuller discussion see my "The Conqueror’s Life in Jaina Painting," to appear immediately in Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art. The name of Jina, "Conqueror," applied to Mahāvīra, no less than that of Tīrthaṅkara, is redolent of Vedic phraseology. There is in fact in the Indian tradition no aspect of the proceeding power that is not of necessity engaged in a mortal conflict with Death, in the beginning.

Finally, the whole problem of the Aryan or non-Aryan character of nāgas has been somewhat incorrectly stated, cf. Vogel, Indian Serpent Lore, pp. 32, 191, 225, 226. The serpents themselves are non-Aryan by definition, only becoming Arians by "qualification" (arhāna) and by "creeping farther" (ātisarpāṇa, whence the imitation of this motion in the sacrificial ritual); on the other hand, the doctrine about serpents is just as much an integral and indispensable part of the Vedic Aryan as it is of any non-Aryan, e.g. the Sumerian tradition. The tremendous emphasis laid on the dragon-slaying motif in all traditions can be readily understood when we realize that the dismemberment of the ophidian power is precisely the act of creation.
Heaven" (apo dyāṃ tastambhāvāṅsam, where as in so many other texts, dyu is tantamount to "Sun"). The sequence is explicit in II. 19. 2–3, where "This mighty Indra, hewing apart the Serpent that withheld the flood (arno vṛtam), propelled the flood of waters to the sea (of life), brought about the Sun's nativity (ajanayat sūryam), found the cattle, by means of night fulfilled the work of days," cf. I. 61. 10. Similarly II. 11. 18, "Thou cleavest the spidery Vytra, son of Dānu (vytraṁ dānum aurṇavābham, Vytra being similarly Dānava in RV. I. 32. 9 and SB. I. 6. 3. 9), unveiled the Light for the Aryan-ilk (apa aurṇor jyotir...

28 Root stabh is employed here not in the favorable sense of "support" but as in RV. VI. 44. 22, where Soma "pins down the miser" (paṇim astabhāyat).

29 Vytram, from root vṛ, to "invest," etc., and certainly with an implied vrtram, as is explicit in I. 52. 2 and VIII. 12. 26, vytram nadi-vṛtam, "the Dragon that invests the rivers and will not let them go." In this connection, and without taking up at length the Qabbalistic exegesis of Genesis, and the correspondence of Pharaoh, Moses, Egyptians, and Israelites respectively to Vytra-Namuci, Indra, Asuras, and Aryans, may be remarked the notable text Ezekiel, XXIX. 3, "Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great Dragon (tanim = Babylonian tiamat) that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said: My river is my own, and I have made it for myself."

30 The names are confusing. In SB. loc. cit., Danu and Danayu or Dānava receive the stricken Vytra "as his mother and father." Danu does not occur in RV. Dānu in II. 11. 18 is evidently patronymic or matronymic, presumably the latter, in which case either Danu or Dānu could be assumed for the mother's name. In I. 32. 9 Dānu with vrtraputra must be the mother; that when Indra sinks them both, "Mother above and son below, there Dānu lay, like cow with calf" (sahavatsa na dhenuḥ), and that dānu is also "fluid," "moisture" or "mist" are perfectly consonant, for the floods are said to flow over Vytra's stricken body. "Cow with calf" suggest Aditi-Vāc and Agni (cf. I. 164. 17), here, of course, that Agni who takes refuge in the Waters (X. 51. 1 etc.); Dānu is in fact the consort of the Ādiyās Mitrāvaruṇa (dānunās patti in I. 136. 3 and II. 41. 6) or of the Āśvins (dānunās patti in VIII. 8. 16), Ahi is born of the Waters (abja in VII. 34. 16), Śuṣpa son of the mist (miho napat, V. 32. 4), Agni son of the Waters, passim, the "glittering (dānucitraḥ) Waters" of V. 31. 8, the "Waters whose wealth" (rūdhara dānunā) flows for Indra in I. 54. 7. Dānu and Dānava discussed above are etymologically distinct from dānu and dānava derived from dā to "give" and meaning generous. Such complexities can only be understood in the light of the doctrine of dual operation (eivārata) which is so evidently assumed throughout RV., as it is also in every other body of traditional teaching.
äryāya), sank the Dasyu";²⁸ the following verse implying an identification of Viśvarūpā with Vṛtra, elsewhere his brother. The fullest and perhaps most interesting account occurs in RV. I. 32; here Indra dissevers Vyānsa, "the most Vṛtra, firstborn of the Serpents, as a tree is cut up into logs, so that he lies emasculate (vṛṣṇo vaḍhriḥ),²⁹ divided into many parts" (purutrā...vyastak).

²⁸Ārya and Dāsa or Dasyu in RV. are synonymous with Deva and Manuṣya or Narya, and Asura respectively, the Aryans being those who cross the Waters and settle round the Light, a proposition discussed in my Rg Veda as Land-Nāma-Bōk. It is only by analogy that such terms have been applied to human societies; incidentally, the inconsequence of a racial discrimination based on the supposed existence of an ethnic Aryan type becomes apparent when we reflect that we are all Aryans by father-right and non-Aryans on the mother-side, for the feminine principle is always an Asuri in RV., we are children of day and night, of fire and water, our very existence derives from an exogamy and miscegenation, who inherit accordingly a bilateral symmetry, cf. the correlation of the right and left eyes with Indra and Indrāṇi in ŚB. X. 5. 2 and Upaniṣads; Eve, "the mother of all living," is drawn from Adam's side, cf. Parsu, the "Rib," daughter of Manu (X. 86. 23), who is the mother of the children of men (ŚB. I. 8. 1. 8-11); while in the Shah Nāmah, which Professor F. W. Buckler called "an epic of the genealogy of the kingdom of God on earth," the mother is always Turanian, and many an Indian dynasty traces its ancestry to a Nāgini; and in the Edda, the consorts of the Aesir are always of Wane or giant origin.

²⁹"Emasculate," in line with the descriptions elsewhere of the deity ab intra as blind, halt, and ineffectual, and the designation of the feminine principle ab intra as Vadhrimati: "Now he sterile, now progenitive, he shapes his fashion as he will" (stārīr u teva bhavati sūta u teva, yathā-vāśāṁ tavanām cakra eṣaḥ, RV. VII. 101. 3), corresponding on the one hand to AV. VI. 72. 1, "As by his titan magic the black (snake) extends himself, assuming forms (i.e. those of 'serpent' or those of 'man') at will" (yathāsītah prathayate vaśāṁ anu varāñśi kṛṣṇavas asurasya māyayā), —asita, the "black" (snake, skin, or garment) referring to the ab intra aspect of Agni or the Sun, as in AV. XII. 3. 55 and TS. III. 2. 2, — and on the other to RV. X. 168. 4 where "the Spirit of the Angels moves at will, so let us come unto this Gale with offering" (ātmā devānām...yathā-vāśāṁ carati...tasmai vātāya haviṣā vidheṣa). The doctrine of the "impotence of the Godhead" is common to Vedic tradition and Christian exegesis (typically in Eckhart), but requires a longer and fuller discussion than can be undertaken here.

The assimilation of Vṛtra's fall to the felling and cutting up of a tree (cf. X. 89. 7) is itself significant in connection with the question asked in brahmodya, X. 31. 7 = X. 81. 4, "What was the wood, what the tree out of which they fashioned Heaven and Earth?", and with the customary designation of Agni and Soma as vanaspati.
In I. 61. 10 Indra cuts to pieces the scorching Vṛtra (śuṣṭantam being tantamount to an identification with Śuṣṇa, “Drought,” as also in VIII. 6. 14-15); in VIII. 6. 13 “rends him joint from joint, and drives the Waters to the Sea,” in I. 130. 4 “using his bolt (on Ahi) like a carving knife,” while in VIII. 7. 23 it is Indra’s allies the Maruts that “tear him joint from joint” (vi vṛtraṁ parvaśo yayuḥ). It remains to note the conspicuous correspondences and contrasts. The consubstantiality of Agni with Ahi Budhnya is generally admitted (VM. p. 73); in I. 79. 1, Agni is a “raging serpent” (ahir dhunir, dhuni occurring also as the name of a Titan in VII. 19. 4 and X. 113. 9); AB. III. 36 employing a strictly technical terminology explains that Ahi Budhnya is invisibly (parokṣena) what Agni Gārhapatya is visibly (pratyakṣa), and VS. V. 33, where Ahi Budhnya and Aja Ekapad,²⁸ the Sun, are identified and the epithet “Waylord” (adhvapati) distinctive of Agni is used in the invocation. The language of II. 11. 5 cited above corresponds to terms that are characteristic for the hidden Sun, e.g. V. 40. 6 f. where when the Sun has been smitten with

²⁸ For the Sun as Ekapad, “One footed,” see Dumont in JAOS. 53. 326 ff. The Sun is originally footless, Varuṇa gives him feet that he may proceed, RV. I. 24. 8; thus Varuṇa himself as Sun “with his bright foot ascends the vault of heaven (arcina padā nākam āruhat, VIII. 41. 8. The Sun’s feet are his rays; his one foot that is alternately dark and bright (Mbh. XII. 362. 7-8) is coincident with the axis of the universe (skambhena virodasi ajo na dyām adhārayat, VIII. 41. 10); that it is alternately dark and bright (asita, ēucina, Mbh. XII. 362. 7-8) corresponds to RV. V. 62. 8 where the pillar that Varuṇa and Mitra mount is golden at dawn and bronze at sunset, what they see from above when the pillar is golden being the finite (ditim), and what they see when it is brazen is the infinite (aditim). The Sun has also, of course, a “thousand feet” (sahasrpādam, in VIII. 69. 16), i.e. indefinitely numerous rays, every one of which is from the standpoint of the corresponding individual the Sun’s “one foot,” and at the same time the pillar (skambha = stauros) or bridge (setu = cinvad, bifōst, etc.) that at once connects and divides Heaven from Earth, the light from the darkness.

A further allusion to the Sun as ekapad occurs in VS. XXIII. 50, ekena aṅgena paryemi. The conception must at one time have been visually represented; for it has survived in folk art to the present day, see the two representations of the “Mansion of the Sun,” reproduced from alpōna drawings, in A. N. Tagore, Bāṅgaler Vṛata, Calcutta, n.d., Pl. 99, where moreover the Sun’s “one foot” is supported by a boat or swing (ναυ and preṅkha in RV. VII. 88. 3, cf. VI. 58. 3, golden preṅkha in VII. 87. 5, naunagara in JB. I. 125).
darkness by the titanic Svarbhānu, Atri "finds him, hidden by the
darkness and inoperative" (gūthāṁ sūryāṁ tamasa āpavrAtena
... avindat, where apavrata — avrata, "idle," a pejorative designa-
tion often applied to the non-Aryan aspect, and denoting the divine
"idleness," here in other words denoting that the Sun does not
shine, but is overcast, apiṣṭam, as in II. 11. 5); cf. I. 117. 4-5,
where Rebha in need of aid is assimilated to the "hidden horse
(aśvam na gūtham) ... sleeping in Destruction's womb (suṣuP-
vāṅsāṁ na nirṛte r upasthe, cf. I. 164. 32), the Sun abiding in the
Darkness" (sūryam na tamasi kṣiyantam, cf. tamasi kṣesi addressed
to Agni, whose procession is delayed, in X. 51. 5, and kṣeti budhnaḥ
applied to Agni as "remaining in his ground." even while he goes
forth, in III. 55. 7).\(^{31}\)

The designation auroṇavābha, patronymic or simply adjectival
form of Ērṇavābha, "thread-spinner," i.e. "Spider," is of no
little interest. In RV. VIII. 77. 1-2 "the stark and far-famed
Auroṇavābha and Ahīṣuva" are destined to be overthrown by Indra,
asbefalls in VIII. 33. 26, where auroṇavābham qualifies vrītam as
in II. 11. 18. In the Brāhmaṇas, Ērṇāvām is a Gandharva. In RV.
VI. 15. 16 the altar, Agni's birthplace, is "an anointed, downy
nest" (āuṇavantam yonim kulāyinaṁ gṛtvavantam, where ēuṇav-
vantam may be regarded as synonymous with auroṇavābham, and
there is also an allusion to the pubescent vulva, cf. Apālā's prayer
in VIII. 91. 5 fulfilled in Romasā in I. 126. 7).\(^{32}\) In the same way

\(^{31}\) All the associations of Agni with the word budhna in RV. imply his
budhnyas, chthonic character; his terrestrial origin in the worlds being
always analogous to this origination in the ground of the divine being.
Further evidence of the consubstantiality of Agni with the Serpent ab
intra may be cited in the identification of Mitra with the Titan Vamacitra
or Vipracci, the eldest son of Danu and father of Rahu or Namuci, as
worked out by Przyluski, "Un Dieu Iranien dans l'Inde," in Rocznik
Orientalistyczny, VII.

In Apuleius, Psyche's husband, otherwise assimilable to the Indian
Puruṣāvats, is described in what purports to be a Miletian oracle as "no
wight of humane seed, but Serpent dire and fierce as might be thought,
who flies with wings ... the rivers blacke and deadly floudes of paine,
and darkness eke, as thral to him remaine" (Adlington's version, 1639).

\(^{32}\) The same is implied in V. 5. 4 where the barhis or "strew" is
addressed as "soft as down" (āuṇamradāḥ), followed in the next verse by
"Open yourselves, ye doors angelic, apt for advent" (devīr dvāro vi
śrayadhiṁ sam suprāyanādāḥ), an almost literal parallel to X. 18. 10-11 invok-
ing "girlish Mother Earth to be as soft as down to him of the Guerdon"
I. 105. 9, "Where are those seven rays spun forth (ātatāh), there is my navel" (nābhīḥ, i.e. Agni's chthonic navel, nābhīḥ prāhiyāh, and the navel of aevityernity, amṛtasya nābhīḥ, passim). The latter passage is to be borne in mind in connection with the word āṛṇanābhi, the regular designation of the Spider in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads: e.g. BU. II. 1. 20, where all things are said to proceed from their source "as a spider might ascend by means of

(dakṣiṇāvate, Dakṣiṇā being the Dawn as in I. 123. 1 and X. 107, mother of Agni as in III. 58. 1, likewise Indrāṇī as in II. 11. 21, and the Serpent Queen), followed by "Be opened up (uc chevačaseva), O Earth, hinder him not (mā ni bādhathan), be apt for advent (śūpāyanā), wrap him in down (abhi ... āṛṣuhi, from root vṛ, as in āṛṣa) as a mother wraps her skirt about her son," by which we understand induce him in the robe of light (nārījaman, drāpin hiranyam, etc.) that he puts on when he appears in the worlds; "Be opened up" implying, not "Open to receive," but "Open to give out." It would take too long to discuss here the proposition that the application of the funeral hymns must be clearly distinguished from their wording, which has all to do with birth, and not with burial. Not that the theme of resurrection is any but fitting matter for a requiem; but rather and on the contrary, that the language of the funeral hymns implies the thought Mora janaa vītac. That in general the yogī and saṁnyāsa are not cremated, but thrown into water or simply buried is in accord with strictest logic, inasmuch as these have not desired a resurrection, but to be dead and buried in the Godhead.

To āṛṇamradāḥ (barhis) cited above from RV. V. 5. 4 corresponds exactly to SB. I. 3. 37 and BU. VI. 4. 3, lomāni barhis. It may be added that there can be no doubt of the identity of the āṛṇāvantaṁ yonih kulāyinaṁ gṛhaṁ vasantam savitrā, Agni's birthplace in RV. VI. 15. 16, cf. AB. I. 28 savitri kulāyam ... āṛṇāstukāḥ, with the viśvambhara kulāya, "all supporting nest" in BU. I. 4. 7, rightly although not literally rendered by Hume (Thirteen Principal Upanishads, p. 82) as "fire-holder," i.e. fire-place or hearth. But this is not (as Hume surmises) the best source for the Vedantic simile "as fire is latent in firewood or in covered embers"; this simile derives far more directly from the familiar Vedic concept expressed in V. 11. 6 where the Angirases find Agni "lying hidden in every log" (guhā hitam ... śiśiṣyāṁ vanevane, cf. X. 91. 2 and many similar passages).

The "Spider" imagery is the obvious source of the well-known āṛṇā, the brow-spot or tuft that is a constant laṅkāṇa of the Buddha as Mahāpurisa; which āṛṇā, especially in Japanese iconography, is often represented not merely as a mole, but as the source of radiating lines of light. That this āṛṇā is also in a certain sense an "eye," and is analogous to the third eye of śiva, still more marks his solar kinship, who is called the "eye in the world (oakkhuṁ loke), i.e. that "Eye," the Sun, which in RV. passim "surveys all things" (viśvam abhi caṣṭe).
its thread (yathornanābhiś tantunoccarē), as sparks ascend from fire,” and Mundaka Up, I. 7, “Just as a spider emanates and withdraws (srjate ghrnate, lit. ‘pours out and dries up’), so all this comes into being from him who does not flow forth” (aksarāt sambhavati iha viśvam). The Sun, as we have already seen, shines forth with seven rays; or alternatively, it is the co-creators (kavayaḥ) operating sacrificially as mediate causes, who “spin their seven threads to form the web” (sapta tantūn vi tantire kavaya otavai, I. 164. 5); which “seven rays spun forth” (sapta rasmayaś tatāḥ) are proper to the Inductor of the Sacrifice (Agni or Sun) who as eighth Ādītya “impels all things” (viśvam invati, II. 5. 2); and these seven rays as we have seen are also Viśvarūpa’s.

A sacrificial gāthā quoted in KB. XIX. 3 explicitly refers to the Year, the Sun, as a spider. The “Spider,” then, is Agni and/or the Sun, regarded as a Titan while the rays are hidden in his belly, as an Angel when he spins the web; each thread of which, for one that can pursue the clew, follow let us say the via analogia, unravelling the tissue, provides a pathway leading in again towards its source. Needless to say, the “Spider” image analysed above involves the well-known doctrine of the sūtrātman, as can be readily seen if we collate RV. X. 168. 4 where the Sun “is the spiration of the Angels” (ātmā devānām) with SB. VIII. 7. 3. 10 “Yonder Sun connects (samāvayate) these worlds by a thread (sūtre), and what that thread is is the Gale” (vāyuḥ), cf. also BG. VII. 7, “All this universe is strung on me like rows of jewels on a string” (protaṁ sūtre maṇiṅgāṇā iva). It may be added that the symbolism of the spider’s web of which the threads are rays of light is but a special form of the more universal symbolism of spinning and weaving that is so commonly employed in the Vedic and in other forms of the universal tradition, cf. for example, Dante, Paradiso, XXX. 49-51, “living light ... in such a web of its refulgence” (luce viva ... di tal velo di suo fulgor).

In IV. 19. 3 cited above the terms abudhyam, susūpānam, and āsāyānam are to be noted. All have a common implication, a shade of which can be recognized when we speak colloquially of the sun as “going to bed” at night; for he similarly “couches” in the night of time. Abudhya is primarily “unawakened,” and secondarily “stupid,” a wellknown characteristic of giants in all folklore, susūpānam and āsāyānam, “sleepy and lying” correspond to the equally characteristic notion of “brooding” (over treasure).
It is significant that in I. 103. 7, Indra actually “awakens the inert Serpent with his bolt” (sasantaṃ vajreṇa abodhagyo ’him); for to be awake (budh, jaṅgṛ) is specific for the Angels in RV. passim, and above all for Agni, who is uṣarbudh, “awakened at dawn,” awakening being the same as kindling, cf. V. 1. 1, abodhya agniḥ samidhā . . . pratī . . . uṣasam, and in IV. 23. 7-8 the sequence “He smites the Indra-less destructive fiend” (druhāṁ jīghāṇsan dvārasam anindrām). . . . The radiant cosmic 33 laud pierces the deaf ears of Life, awakening him” (ṛtasya śloko badhirā tatarda karnā budhānāḥ śucamāna āyoh); in the latter passage Āyus is specifically Agni 34 (Bloomfield in JAOS. XX. 180) and we recognize the concept of him as a “deaf adder” ante principium. Alternatively, in I. 113. 4 it is Dawn that awakens the several worlds, or all beings (ajīgar bhuvanāni viśvā). That Ahi is smitten and awakened is then the same as to say that the chthonic Serpent is con-vertled (samutṛ) or extroverted (puruṣatṛ), the Darkness literally up-turned (udvṛt) into Light. Thus buddha, “awakened,” is also “illuminate.” It is most interesting to observe that the original concept of the awakened serpent is clearly preserved in Buddhist thought, viz. in the Commentator’s explanation of budh as “an uprising from the sleep of the kindred of the slime” (bujjhitāḥ kilesa-santāna-niddāya uṭṭhahati, Atthagalī, 464, text p. 217).

Āṣayānam, “lying down,” is specific for the deity ab intra, and contrasts with the act of procession, which is a being seated (sad), a standing up (sthā, generally with urdhvā, cf. Śāyaṇa’s sthitām padārtham jātām), and a motion (cār, whence the paṇca jana are sometimes referred to as cārṣāṇayaḥ). To lie and to sleep, to stand up and to wake, are respectively coincident. From the karmakāṇḍa point of the latter condition is of course superior, though the former is logically prior; from the jñānakāṇḍa point of view, the reverse holds good, the well-known Indian saying “Better to stand than

33 Ṛtasya, “cosmic,” inasmuch as Greek Kosmos is precisely “Order.”
34 The designation Āyu is here applied to Agni ab intra; the Gandharva Urṇāyu within is Viśvāyu without: for the raison d’etre of ārya- here, see the discussion of the “Spider” symbolism, above, and for that of āyu, “Life” cf. John, I. 3-4 “All things that have been made were Life (vitā = āyus) in Him,” and Col. I. 16, “In him (the Son) were created all things,” cf. AV. XII. 3. 47 “a filial (kaumāra) world hath been born, a son.”
walk, better to sit than stand, better to lie than sit" providing a
good example of what is known as "inverse thinking" or "pro-
cedure upstream."

The divine procession involves an apparent partition; krama is
dvīva (TP. XXI. 16). In the Vedic dragon-slaying texts, others
as well as those cited above, nothing is more conspicuous than the
emphasis laid on the scission or subdivision of the originally im-
partite (aparvan) ophidian principle. It is precisely in the same
way, except that the strictly speaking mental character of the act
is also indicated, that RV. describes the subdivision of That One
(tad ekam, X. 129. 2) Integral Multiplicity (viśam ekam, III.
54. 8—and a characteristic formula in Plotinus), the unity of the
Person and the Word (puruṣa, vāc), which division is effected by
the First Sacrifice. "It is by their wordings that the vibrant
co-creators (viprāḥ kavyaḥ) conceive him to be manifold who
abideth One" (vacobhir ekam santam bahudhā kalpayanti, X.
114. 5), "calling him manifold who is but One" (ekam sad viprā
bahudhā vadanty agnim . . ., I. 164. 46), cf. Makha, whom "so
long as he was one, the many did not overcome (ekam santam
bahuvo nābhyaadhṛṣṇuwan, TA. V. 1. 3). Similarly as regards the
feminine aspect: "By the sacrifice they followed up the footprint
(padavīyam = vestigium pedi) of the Word, found her harboring
in the Prophets, brought her forth, departed her distributively
(vy adadhuḥ purutā), the Seven Singers uttered her in concert
everywhere (X. 71. 3), who says also of herself, "The Angels have
departed me distributively" (mā deva vy adadhuḥ purutā,\(^{25}\) X.
125. 3).

It is equally significant that no essential value would be really
changed in the Puruṣasākta by a substitution of "Vṛtra" for
"Puruṣa": here, X. 90. 11-14, the question is asked in brahmodya
fashion, "When they divided up (vy adadhuḥ) the Person, how-
many-fold did they think him out to be?" (katidhā vy aklpayan),

\(^{25}\) Vy adadhuḥ amounts to "contracted and identified into variety." The
use of vad, kīp (as also in samkalpa, "notion," e.g. Kena Up. 29-30,
where the notion formed of deity is contrasted with the blinding vision
of the deity as he is in himself) must be understood in connection with
the whole Vedic doctrine of creation by designation, nāmadheya), see my
"Vedic Exemplarism" to appear in the James Haughton Woods Memorial
Volume, and Scharbou, Der Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur,
the answer following ending with the words “Thus they designed the worlds” (lokān akalpayan); a further correspondance being patent in verse 14, “from his head was Heaven adverted (śrīṣṇo dyauḥ sam avartata), from his feet the Earth,”* as whence however it is clear that the Puruṣa has already assumed a human aspect, ante principium, or rather does so in principio; “he shines upon the world as Person” (puruṣarūpaṇa, AA. II. 2. 1), for the Brahman-Yakṣa “chooses the Person for procession” (puruṣaṁ prapadanaye, JUB. IV. 23-24), the Sacrifice is the Eternal Man, our Sire (yajño manuḥ . . . naḥ pitā, X. 100. 5), that is Agni (“Be Manu thou, beget the angelic kindred,” manur bhava janayā daivyam janam, X. 53. 6), and the Year (AB. II. 17, SB. X. 4. 3. 1-3, etc.). The Sacrifice is an eternal puruṣa-medha.

The expression “footless and handless” (āpād ahaftaḥ)—a serpent kenning—applied in I. 32. 7 to Ahi-Vṛtra, in III. 30. 8 to Kuṇāru and Vṛtra,* represents the converse of what is applicable to the manifested Sun, Sun, Sūrya or Savitṛ, respectively “single-footed” and “golden-handed” (ekapad, hiranyakahastaḥ, passim) and the manifested Agni, “footed” or who is preeminently “footed (padavīḥ) waywise leader” (vidvān pathaḥ puraeta, V. 46. 1), “the herdsman never-falling as he goes about his ways” (gopām anipadyamānam . . . pathibhiś carantam, I. 164. 31), but “footless and headless, hiding both his ends (āpād aśirṣā guhamāno antā, cf. X. 79. 2, guhā siro nihitam ṛdhag akṣī) when first born in the ground of space (budhne rajasaḥ, i.e. born as Ahi Budhnya), in his matrix, in the Bull’s nest” (asya yonau . . . vrṣabhasya nile, IV. 1. 11), i.e. ante principium, immediately antecedent to his kindling.

* As in the Edda, Grimnismal, 40, “From Ymir’s flesh the Earth was shapen . . . and Heaven from his skull” (ór hauzi himinn). The account of the Titan Ymir’s prior being found in Völuspā, 3, Ár vas aldā þars ymir bygpi . . . þör þannsk deva né upphiminn, gap vas ginnungą, en gras hevrţi, corresponds exactly to RV. I. 129. 1 and 3. Similarly in the Babylonian legend, Marduk bisects Tiāmat, the dragon-mother of the gods, and makes Heaven of her upper part, etc.

* In SB. I. 7. 1. 1 the soma-guardian (i.e. the Gandharva, whose consort Indra so often beguiles, e.g. in JB. I. 125, see Bloomfeld in JAOS. XXVIII. 80ff.) is similarly a “footless archer” (āpād astaḥ; the Gandharva, in other words, is the dragon or serpent guardian of the Tree of Life, as in all other mythologies.
7. Procession is a sunwise turn

In connection with the use of vr̥t, it is to be observed that the "turn about" is always right handed, the powers of darkness being, as in other traditions, those of the left, the powers of light those of the right. The smitten Dasyu "sinks on Indra's left" (RV. II. 11. 18), "Indra with his left hand constrains the giants (vr̥dhataḥ, as in X. 49. 8, X. 69. 10), with his right lays hold upon his deeds" (dakṣine sam grbhitā kṛtāṇi). As Daksā is virtually the right hand of God, so Daksinā is "right lady," viz. in RV. primarily the Dawn, the milch-cow, and mother of Agni (I. 123. 1, III. 58. 1) and in TS. VI. 1. 3. 6 similarly of Indra, and it may be easily seen how the secondary meaning of daksinā, "sacrificial fee" is derived; for the First Sacrifice is always a sattra performed by the officiants on their own behalf, and wealthy Dawn with her abundant kine is their reward. On the other hand when the feminine principle is considered with respect to her origin, just as Heaven is "above" and Earth "below," so "he" is right and "she" left, as in ŚB. X. 5. 2. 9, BU. IV. 2. 2-3, and MU. VII. 11, where the "person" in the right eye is Indra, the "person" in the left Indraṇī or Virāj, their conjunction taking place in the "heart," or ritually, within the veiled sados. The sacrificer himself moves sunwise, "He makes a right turn (prasa-lavyāvarṭayati), thereby he turns yonder Sun to the right, and accordingly yonder Sun moves round these worlds from left to right" (ŚB. VII. 5. 1. 37); in the same way the hempen girdle is twisted sunwise, which is the "human" way, "and were it twisted widdershins, it would be sacred to the Fathers" (ib. III. 2. 1. 13, cf. also I. 2. 1. 12 with Eggeling's note).

The notion of a single principle that faces in two opposite directions, that namely of the Janus type in iconography, is thus extensively developed in RV., e.g. X. 5. 6, where Agni is stationed "at the parting of the ways" (panthāṁ visarge), that is of course on the threshold of the gate of the worlds (lokadvāra). Amongst the consequences of such an opposite orientation of the light and dark worlds we may note, for example, "Those that come hitherward (arvāṇc) they call departing" (parācāḥ), RV. I. 164. 19, and "What incantation the Angels pronounce forwards (avastāt), that the Titans pronounce backwards" (parastāt), JB. I. 125, analogous to which is the pulling of the Devas and Asuras in
opposite direction at the Churning of the Ocean, and it should not
be overlooked that such an opposition of the opposing principles is
indispensable for creation. From the karmakāṇḍa and ksatriya
point of view, the auspicious motion is forwards in a rectilinear
sense; but from the jñānakāṇḍa and brāhmaṇa point of view the
auspicious direction is, not indeed backwards, but—in a sense to be
explained—nevertheless an opposite one. Inevitably opposite, for
when the forward steps have been taken, they must in some sense
be retraced, whatever has been affirmed must also be denied, what-
ever has been stolen must be restored, if ever the Wayfarer is to
reach That One “who never really rises nor sets.” For the extro-
verted consciousness, accordingly, an introversion is required, and
this is what is alluded to in all such expressions as pratyakṣetana, 
“reverse thinking,” defined as follows by Maniprabhā on YS. I. 29,
“Thought is said to be reversed (pratyañc) when it turns (añcati)
against the current” (pratipam), which as Bhoja adds, “is effected
in the case of yogis.” The “upstream” imagery, which recurs
also in the Pali Buddhist uddhānsota, “Upstreamer,” is first to
my knowledge explicitly employed in TS. VII. 5. 7. 4, pratikūla
iva vā itaḥ svarga lokaḥ, “Heaven world is counter-current as it
were from here,” cf. JB. III. 150 and PB. XXV. 10. 12-18.
As a further example of “reverse thinking” may be cited BG.
II. 69, “That which is the night of all beings is for the truly poor
man (saṃnyāst) the time of wakening; when other beings are
awake, then it is night for the seeing Muni,” cf. “The light that
is in you is darkness,” and the discussion of susupānam in section 6
above, recalling that susupta, “Deep Sleep,” is contrasted in the
jñānakāṇḍa with the “Waking State” of consciousness, as superior
to inferior.

It is important to observe, at the same time, that the “opposite
direction” is not a backward one, but onward (TS. VII. 2. 1. 3
prāṇ iva hi suvargaḥ). The Wayfarer, whether he continues on the
devayāna or lingers on the pitṛyāna, is always thought of as fol-
lowing up the circle of the Year, he does not turn about leftwise
to go backwards (incantations are repeated backwards and widder-
shins movements made only in black magic); any such backsliding
(avaśarpaṇa as contrasted with atisarpaṇa) would involve, not the
desired integration (saṁskaraṇa) but a disintegration (vikaraṇa,
vistaraṇa). It should be added that the circumambulation of the
Year which represents the individual’s pilgrimage envisaged as if
taking place on a given level of reference, a single "world" (loka), can be regarded from another point of view as a movement outwards (pravṛtti) from the centre towards the circumference, and conversely (nivṛtti), this motion following first a downward and later an upward course on a continuous spiral centred about the axis of the universe; the points at which the spiral cuts successive levels of reference, and in particular those planes that represent the "seven worlds," representing the different stations that are occupied by this individual principle in the course of its transmigration (paribhramanā) and mode-ification (vṛtti). The Wayfarer in either case—when half the circle has been run, or when the spiral is reversed—moves now in a new and opposite direction, "counter-current." The turning point, so critical in the history of the individual, is referred to in religion as a repentance, or even more significantly as a conversion, while in metaphysics this is the "reversion of the spiritual power," brahmaṇa āvartah as cited above, of which dis-passion (vairāgya) is the sign. The pilgrimage is of significance for the pilgrim only until he reaches its end, until he "goes home" (astam eti), where none will ask him whence he came or whither he went; the pilgrimage begins with a gliding forth (prasarpaṇa, upōdāsarpaṇa, etc.) from the bonds of Varuṇa, of Death, which is coincident with the rising of the Sun, the "Light of them that sit in darkness" (tamasi harmye), summoning those asleep to take up their beds and walk, and ends in a "full-gliding" (atisarpaṇa) that is a full-release (atimokṣa) from "all the ills that follow in the bridesmaid's train" (X. 85. 31). That emancipation is a return to Varuṇa, to Death, no longer as prisoner, but as a friend, there the pilgrim once more sees his "Father and Mother" (I. 24. 1), Varuṇa and Aditi, Heaven and Earth, united in the common nest (X. 5. 2); Varuṇa is deathless (RV. I. 164. 38), "Death does not die" (SB. X. 5. 2. 3), the Comprehensor unified with Death "becomes the Single Angel, even Death, discards recurrent death, death gets him not" (BU. I. 2. 7). An understanding of the ontology and teleology thus formulated in RV. and later is indispensable for any valid interpretation of the texts themselves—kas tāṁ praveda ... so asmīn madeta (AV. IX. 1. 6), or otherwise, yas tāṁ na veda kīm raś karisyati (RV. I. 164. 39).
8. Casting the snake-skin, or changing color or garment

The proposition that "The serpents are, that is, are consubstantial with, the Ādityas," the "Suns" or children of Aditi, already cited from PB., can be supported and amplified from many other texts. In RV. IX. 86. 44, for example, Soma "like Ahi, creeps forward out of his old skin" (ahir na ārṇām ati sarpaṭi); in IV. 13. 4 "Thou goest forth with mightiest steeds, discarding the black robe (asītam ... vasma, cf. asīṭaḥ in AV. VI. 72. 1), the quivering rays of the Sun, as he extends his web (tantum avavayyan ... raśmayaḥ, involving the "spider" imagery), sink the darkness like a skin (carmeva) into the Waters," cf. VII. 63. 1; that is, "when man's libation calls me to the white-garment" (nīrṇīye, X. 49. 7), for indeed Varuṇa "changes the black robes into clean and white ones in his operation" (anu vratā, VIII. 41. 10, his operations being respectively interior, guhya, and exterior, āvis), "Agni now wields, now layeth down his tool (vāśīm), as does the Titan his white garment" (VIII. 19. 23, cf. X. 20. 6 agnim ... vāśimantam, "with the flaming sword"?); in X. 63. 4 the Ādityas "man-regarding, with ever open eyes, have won as Angels, won by their qualification (arhaṇā) a lofty seviterinity; driving in chariots of light (jyotirathāḥ, contrast the young streams that are still 'footless and carless' in X. 99. 4), having the serpents' magic but yet innocent (ahimāyā anāgasaḥ, exact equivalent of Matt. X. 16, prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae), have clothed them in a glorious heavenly garment." In JB. II. 134 "As Ahi casts his skin, as one would pull a blade of grass from its sheath, so he (Indra) is liberated from all evil" (yathāhīr ahi-ccḥayai nirmucyeta ... eva, sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate). In PB. XXV. 15. 4 "By that sacrificial session, the serpents conquered Death; he conquers Death who follows the same course. Thereby they shook off their old skin, and crept onwards, put away Death and conquered him. The serpents are the Ādityas. He who follows the same course shall shine with the Ādityas' glory." In ŚB. II. 3. 1. 3 and 6 the Sun, who when he sets enters as an embryo (garbha) into that womb that is Agni (agnāv eva yonau),38 and is

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38 "The womb that is Agni," viz. the Agni that is hidden, ab intra, may seem to stand in need of explanation. The expression tallies with PB. XXV. 10. 10, where "This Mitra pours his seed into Varuṇa" (retaḥ varuṇo eṣiṭaḥ), ŚB. II. 2. 4. 5 (see p. 387, above) where the consuming
hidden by the night as embryos are hidden, now when he rises, "Even as Ahi, so does he free himself from his skin (yathā ahiś tvacō nirmucyeta), so does he free himself from night, from evil" (pāpmanah, cf. AB. V. 25, where the Sun is called "that Angel who has most effectively smitten evil away"); and all this is imitated in the ritual when the officiating priests "creep" (srup, with pru, prati, niḥ, etc.) to or from the sadas, "Even as Ahi frees himself from his skin, even so do they free themselves from all

Agni, Vāc being absent, receives Prajāpati's seed, who thus reproduces himself (cf. AA. II. 3. 7 where the seed in man is proper to the Sun, the blood in woman proper to Agni, and also BU. VI. 4. 3, where in a sacramental interpretation of the sexual act, the place of Agni's kindling is analogically madhyatas tau muskaus); and is likewise in agreement with BG. XIV. 3, "My womb (yoni) is the Great Brahman, therein I lay the embryo" (garbhām dadhāmi, cf. RV. IX. 74. 5, where "Soma lays the embryo in Aditi's womb," dadhāti garbhham adīter upasthe), this "Great Brahman" corresponding to the "Transcendental Nature" (para prakṛti) that is the "womb of all existences" (etad yonīni bhūtāni sarvāṇi, BG. VII. 5-6), "which Nature is mine own, and I when I resort to her, I pour forth at her will this whole body of being that hath no independent will" (ib. IX.) cf. Eckhart, "From the Father's embrace of his own nature comes the eternal playing (=līlā) of the Son"; or again, Muṇḍaka Up. III. 1. 3 where the Highest is referred to as "Creator, Lord, and Person, Brahman-womb" (brahma-yoni), cf. RV. X. 29. 14 where Agni "is born from the Titan's womb" (asurasya jaṭhārī ajāyata), and SB. VI. 1. 2. 6-9, where Prajāpati is "pregnant" (garbhīn).

None of this is strange, even to Christian theology, but only unfamiliar: the Supreme Identity, tad ekam, is the unity of a conjoint principle, and were it otherwise the birth of the Son could not be called a vital operation (St. Thomas, Sum. Theol. I. 27. 2). That Supreme Identity may be called by the names of either of its conjoint principles, i.e. may be spoken of as Varuṇa or Agni (usually m. but in the passages discussed semantically f.) or as Aditi or Virāj (both usually f. but often also m.), may in other words be thought of either as f. or m. or both at once. What may be said of the Virāj, whence all things milk their characteristic virtue, "Who knoweth her progenitive duality!" (mithunatvam, AV. VIII. 9. 10), cf. JUB. I. 54, where the conjoint principles Śāman and Rk., i.e. Heaven and Earth, "become Viraj," and—only thus in unity, within—"beget" (tau virāj bhūte prajayĀyaṁ) the Sun, after whose birth they are again divided, is also repeatedly affirmed in RV. e.g. X. 27. 23 krntatrd eśāṁ upārā udāyaṁ, "at their diremption rose the latter."

That he who both "begets" and "brings forth"—we meet in Christian doctrine with such expressions as "the Father's child-bearing"—is a conjoint principle is to allude to his essence and his nature, which are one and the same in him, so that we speak indifferently of the "divine essence"
evil.” To put off the snake skin corresponds, accordingly, to “putting off the old man.”

To put off Death is to escape from Varuṇa, that is from the bonds of Varuṇa. Most of the difficulties that have been felt in the interpretation of Varuṇa, as “a god of Day” or as a “god of night,” have arisen from a failure to observe that he is from the beginning both, now one and now the other “according to his operation” (ānu vratā, VIII. 41. 10), although when contrasted with Mitra, as Titan with Angel, eternal with mortal, night with day, the non-proceeding Varuṇa is the power of darkness, the Father or Elder

and “divine nature”; he may as well be called a Mother as a Father, as in the expression “Natura naturans, Creatrix, Deus.” The doctrine of the Son’s eternal birth indeed implies not merely a temporal mother, but an eternal maternity in God, which is precisely that of the divine nature “by which the Father begets” (St. Thomas, Sum. Theol. I. 41. 5, cf. Damascene, de Fid. Orth. I. 18 and Augustine, de Trin. XIV. 9). That God is thus the Father-Mother, or simply “Parents” (plu., du.) may be compared to the Vedic usage, in which the “Parents” are spoken of indifferently as “Mothers” (mātarā) or as “Fathers” (pitarā), Skr. having the advantage of recourse to grammatically dual forms which do not imply exactly what an “and” implies, but rather specify the dual aspect of a single substance, e.g. Mitrāvaruṇa, Indrāgni, in the first case the relation being that of Son-Father, in the second that of King-Priest. It must not be forgotten that from an Indian point of view the “seed” is consubstantial with him whose seed it is, and thus the father is the embryo, and reborn as the son, as for example in RV. VI. 70. 3 “He in his begotten is born again, by law” (pra pra jābhīr jāyate dharmaṇas pari). Note should be taken of this in connection with the often misinterpreted doctrine of reincarnation and common confusion of reincarnation with transmigration—the father as an individual principle transmigrates, and is thus reborn in another mode of being, but as father is reproduced in his son in that same mode of being in which the fact of paternity had been occasioned by the fact of filiation. The father, who sooner or later passes away—and this applies as much to the Father as to any individual principle, for “God comes and goes, God passes away” (Eckhart)—is resurrected in the son, who again as in this way bringing his father to birth, as well as inasmuch as filiation is the occasion of paternity, is called his “father’s father.” Resurrection and transmigration are Vedic doctrines, not so “reincarnation” in the supposedly Buddhist and in the Theosophical sense. Even in BG. II. 22 it is far from likely that the “body-dweller” (dehi) who abandons his inveterated bodies (sāriṇa śiṃ vihāya jīraṇa, echoing PB. XXV. 15. 4 hita jīraṇam tvacam) does not imply the living principle in all things rather than any individual principle as such.
Brother ab intra (I. 164. 38, X. 85, 17-18, X. 132. 4, and more explicitly in TS. II. 1. 7 and 9). In the same way Agni, "Varuṇa at birth, Mitra when kindled" (RV. V. 3. 1), "Varuṇa as Játa-vedas, Mitra as priest and house-friend" (III. 5. 4), "Tanūnapāt as Titan embryo, the Praise of Men when born abroad" (III. 29. 11), is from the first point of view a man-devouring, flesh-eating power to be avoided by all means (X. 16. 9 etc.), and from the second the herald (dāta) of the Angels and Friend (mitra) and Guest (atithi) of man, just as his Nordic equivalent, Loki, is now the foe and now the ally of the Æsir. In general theology, these contrasted aspects of the deity are those respectively of Mercy and of Justice; in Islamic metaphysics, for example, Heaven is the reflection of his absolute Love, Hell of his absolute Majesty. Here we are concerned with Varuṇa in the latter aspect, that of the Varuṇa from whose justice the herbs are besought to deliver us—"Release me from the curse, to wit from that of Varuṇa, from Yama’s hobble" (muṃcantu mā śapathyād ato varuṇyād uta, ato yamasya paḍbīṣāt), X. 97. 16, where may be noted the assimilation of Varuṇa to Yama, and that to be "tied by the foot," or "hobbled," is virtually to be "footless," cf. paḍgrabhi, "Foot-seizer," a demon in X. 49. 5).

In X. 129. 1 the question is posed, "What covered up?" or "Who enveloped?" (kim āvarīvar), i.e. when as yet there was no distinction of being and non-being, life and death, day and night; the most evident answers are to be found in VIII. 100. 7 "It was

**That in X. 85. 18 "he who orders the seasons and is born again" (ṛtāh anyo vi dadhaj jāyate punaḥ) may not as Sāyaṇa says, be the Moon, but Agni or the Sun, may be seen by comparison with X. 72. 9 prajāyai mṛtyave tvat punar mārtāṇḍam abharat, II. 38. 4 where Savitṛ vi ṛtāh adarśaḥ, and X. 2. 1 and 3, where Agni is addressed, vide ā ṛtāh ṛtupate . . . ṛtāh kalpayati.

**The herbs”—whose king is Soma—are invoked here, because it is by the soma-draught that Indra is inspired and empowered to release his friends.

**As regards "release from Varuṇa," the inverse thought (pratyakṣetaṇḍa) should be noted in VII. 86. 2, kadā na antar varuṇe bhuvāni, "When at last shall I come to be within Varuṇa?", i.e. "dead and buried in the Godhead," cf. VII. 88, where also Varuṇa is both loved and feared. It is indeed by Varuṇa himself, when he shows his face (Agni, VII. 88. 2), when he becomes Savitṛ (SB. XII. 2. 7. 17) that one is freed from Varuṇa’s bonds; the Father as the Son is the redeemer from the Father’s wrath.
Vṛtra that enveloped” (yo vo avāvarit vrtraḥ), and X. 90. 1 where it is the Person (puruṣa), whose identity with Ahi-Vṛtra has already been deduced on other grounds, who “encloses Earth all round about, and overpasses the dasāṅgulam” (sa bhūmiṁ vísvato vṛtvā aty atiśthad dasāṅgulam—the meaning of the last word need not detain us); or again in TS. II. 4. 12 “Inasmuch as he enclosed these worlds, that is why he is ‘Vṛtra’” (yad imaṁ lokān aurṇot tād vrtrasya vṛtratvam)—this derivation from vṛ being etymologically preferable to that from vṛt, though from a nairuktā, or hermeneutic, point of view, as well as the semantic (since both operations coincide in the referent), both derivations may be regarded as valid.

In any case, and apart from the evident functional equivalence, the common derivation of “Varuṇa” and “Vṛtra” from vṛ suggests that “That One” in whom and by whom all things are concealed while as yet he is “equally spirated, despirated” (āṇīd avātam, X. 129. 2) must be as much Varuṇa as Vṛtra. That Varuṇa is indeed himself the “fence” (varāṇa) is indicated by the variant texts, varāṇo vārayālai in AV. VI. 85. 1 and X. 3. 5, and varuṇo vārayāt in TA. VI. 9. 2; cf. also “vala” = vara, and varāha, also from vṛ. GB. I. 7 takes up the words of RV. X. 90. 1 with slight variation; the timid waters choose the Brahman to be their king, and “inasmuch as he encompassed them, he was their de-fence (yac ca vṛtvātiśthaṁ tad varanō ’bhavat), and being such a ‘fence’ he is also to be known as ‘Varuṇa’ (taṁ vā ētāṁ varanāṁ santeṁ varuṇāṁ ity ācakṣate), that is, metaphysically” (parokṣena). Further, “In that he was separated from the sea (samudrād amucyata) he became ‘Mucyu,’ and this Mucyu is metaphysically known as ‘Death’ . . . Varuṇa, Mṛtyu, from all whose members as he strove and seethed (srūntasya taptasya) the tincture flowed as sweat (raso ’kṣarat, so ’ṅgaraso ’bhavantam), and that ‘aṅgarasa’ is metaphysically known as ‘Aṅgirasas.’” The latter part of this relatively “late” text exactly corresponds to BU. I. 2. 2, but whether or not to be regarded as wholly explicit in RV., the exegesis is altogether correct. Mucyu is no doubt the same as the Buddhist Nāga Mucauliṇa or Mucilinda, cf. Mucukunda in Mbh. In any case, it is impossible to doubt the identity of Varuṇa ab intra with the Asura-pitr, Ahi-Vṛtra, and Mṛtyu = Māra, nor his identity with the dreaded forms of Agni and Rudra—Noster
Deus ignis consumens est.\textsuperscript{42} Nor can it be denied that Mitra, the kindled Agni, is Varuṇa’s “face,” and Sūrya his “eye.” The dual MitraVaruṇau is the unity of both in what from our point of view appears to be a dual operation, one of contrasted activity and idleness, productivity and impotence, mercy and judgment, duration and eternity, the viṣṇu pāṇi svaraṁ of VI. 70. 3. In this identity, the consubstantial or consanguineous pair, Mitra and Varuṇa, the one made manifest and subject to inveneration, the other unseen and eternal (I. 164. 38 and X. 85. 17-18), are respectively the apara and the \textit{para} Brahman of the Upaniṣads, likewise mortal and immortal, in a likeness and not in any likeness (BU. II. 3).\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{42} This identity or coincidence was maintained by Bergaigne, but has been doubted by others, including Norman Brown (JAOS. 39. 108), who however informs me in correspondence that he does not absolutely deny its possibility. It is in fact only if we omit the qualifying \textit{ab intra} from the proposition enunciated as above that “it requires a strong effort of will to identify two characters so extremely dissimilar in the Veda as are Varuṇa and Vṛtra” (Brown, loc. cit.). It may be observed also, that even for the scholar who is not a professed Christian, a modern Christian inheritance and “moralistic” preoccupation have made it difficult to accept the position of the older teaching, by no means unknown even to the Middle Ages in Europe, that “good” and “evil” have a valid significance only “under the sun” and “within the worlds,” but in the Supreme Identity are coincident without opposition or composition.

\textsuperscript{43} In the present article, references are drawn as far as possible from RV. rather than from “later” sources. At the same time, I am far more in agreement with Bloomfield, who argues that we must abandon the belief “that the allusions to the story which may be gathered from the scattered mantras are the only true material for its reconstruction” and like him am “more and more inclined to the belief that \textit{mantra} and \textit{brahmaṇa} are for the least part chronological distinctions; that they represent two modes of literary activity, and two modes of literary speech, which are largely contemporaneous. . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times” (JAOS. 15. 144, cf. Eggeling in SBE. XII. xxiv, and Edgerton in JAOS. 36, 197), than with Brown who argues that “the later material is so liable to follow ideas not really contained in the Rigveda” (JAOS. 51. 108). Even in the Upaniṣads I do not see the development of any new doctrines, merely a certain distinction in phraseology and a difference of emphasis. For example, as to the identity of Varuṇa with Brahman: in the first place, as remarked by Grassmann, Wörterbuch, s. v. \textit{brahman}, “die Keime der späteren Sonderung finden sich schon vereinzelte im RV.” (a statement certainly erring on the side of moderation), and in the second, it would be very difficult to distinguish the conception of MitraVaruṇau, the latter the “immortal, uterine brother
9. The Endlessness of Agni

In RV. IV. 1. 11-12 cited above at the close of section 6, q. v., in a description of Agni, when “first born in his ground,” budhne, i.e. as Ahi Budhnya, he is referred to as “footless and headless, hiding both his ends” (apād āśiṁs ā guhāmāṇo antā). Evidently, guhāmāṇo antā is tantamount to ananta, “endless,” “infinite,” “eternal,” “without beginning or end,” and also the name of the seven-headed nāga, Śeṣa, “Residue,” who forms the couch (śayana) of Nārāyaṇa-Viśṇu as the latter lies recumbent on the back of the

of the mortal; men mark the one and fail to mark the other” (RV. I. 164. 38, cf. X. 85. 17-18) from that of the two aspects of the Brahman, para and apara, respectively immortal and mortal, in a likeness and not in any likeness (BU. II. 3); in such a case it is the reference, and not the name that is significant, and in any case the distinction of brahma from kṣatra, as well as their coincidence, outwardly in the dual Indrāgni and inwardly in the Supreme Identity, are sufficiently explicit.

It is not, of course, intended to deny that there is a linguistic development in the Upaniṣads, when we compare them with RV., which denial would be absurd. But literary history and the history of metaphysics are two very different things, one might even say that the philosophia perennis has no history, and cannot have a history, which was also Augustine’s view. What then do we understand by Bloomfield’s “two modes of literary expression (belonging to) the same cycle of thought” (loc. cit.)? Certainly not his “lyric” and “epic-didactic” modes; for RV. is no more “lyrical” in our sense than it is in any part whatever “satirical,” and if the Brāhmaṇas are in parts didactic (and we should describe them rather as technical and exegetical), they are certainly not “epic” in any literary sense. The contrasted modes are those of liturgy on the one hand and initiatory teaching on the other: the exegetical parts of the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upaniṣads in general, are primarily concerned with jātāvidyā, bhācavērta, or “Genesis,” that kind of knowledge, viz. which is ascribed to and expected of the Brahman par excellence, that priest viz. who does not himself take an active part in the ritual, but jātāvidyāṁ vedaṁ (X. 71. 11), he in other words who on the proper occasions, that would be either in the colloquies of Brahmins or in giving instruction to a qualified pupil, gives the answers to all those questions that are posed in the brahmodya hymns, such questions for example as kim āvaricar in X. 129. 1.

Otherwise expressed, the karmakāṇḍa, sanctioning and enjoining action, represents that part of the Vedas proper to the kṣatra or temporal power; the jānakāṇḍa, theoretical in the strict sense of the word, that part proper to the brahma or spiritual power. Nothing forbids us to suppose that the latter part was not originally “published,” nor in fact “published” until later, when a linguistic development had already taken
primordial Waters at the dawn of creation, the beginning of an
aeon (Mbh. I. 36. 24, etc.). *Guhamāno antā* furthermore implies
a conjunction of extremities, the converse of the separation of the
Puruṣa’s head and feet in RV. X. 90. 14,44 wherewith the creation
is initiated; implies, in other words, such a conjunction of ex-
tremities as is represented by the ancient and well-known symbol
of the serpent with its tail in its mouth, or such strapwork motifs
in art as are represented in their simplest form by the familiar
symbol ∞ denoting mathematical infinity. It is then by no means
surprising that in the ritual, the primary significance of which is a
symbolic reintegration of the divided principle and therewith of the

place. Reasons for such a publication at this later time may be connected
with the *kastrīya* reaction against the spiritual power, involving in the
first place the claim to an intellectual equality or even a superiority, and
leading finally to a heterodox development in Buddhism and Jainism.

However this may be, we could not expect to find in a liturgy also a
doctrinal exposition, where it would be out of place. It is true that the
material is so extensive, and so infallibly consistent with itself ("its
every part seems to be conscious of and assimilated to every other part,
Bloomfield in JAOS. XXIX. 288), and we may add with traditional
metaphysical doctrines preserved by other than Indian cultures, that it is
by no means impossible to extract from the mantras the doctrines assumed
in them, just as it would be possible to deduce the implied doctrine from
the Psalms or the mediaeval Latin hymns; what in fact the consistency
proves is that those who composed the mantras, whether human or super-
human beings, must have been fully aware of all their implications, or if
not it would be as if we had come upon a series of elegant mathematical
formulae, and yet believed that they had been written down blindly, which
is as much as to say under verbal as well as theoretical inspiration; where-
as it is impossible to suppose that the Veda in its present form could have
antedated, let us say, a knowledge of carpentry, which means that the
*ipsissima verba* of the Veda, as distinct from their references, must be
thought of as in some sense of human and temporal origin. It is not with
respect to the words in which it is recorded that the *sānātana dharma* is
eternal; the "eternity" of tradition has nothing to do with the possible
"dating" of a given scripture as late as the first millennium B. C.

"That in X. 90. 1 the Puruṣa, in the beginning, is said to have a
thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, cannot be taken literally;
the sense is rather that all these are latent in him, who is omniform or
protean, i.e. as in VS. XIII. 41, where the Solar embryo (i.e. ab intra,
"at night," see SB. 3. 1. 3 cited in section 8) is called "the omniform
likeness of a thousand" (*sahasra* pratiṃdān viśvarūpam), the mani-
fested Sun being accordingly "thousand-footed" (*sahasrapad*, VIII. 69.
16).
officiant himself, there should be so much stress laid on the putting together again of the two ends, for example, the ends of the Year or beginning and end of the Sāman, which ends are divided in the worlds, as Heaven from Earth, or Sun from Moon. In this connection the ritual texts are of the highest interest both with respect to the doctrine involved and also, what amounts to the same thing, as affording an intelligible and authoritative explanation of the meaning of symbols and the content of traditional arts.

In AB. III. 43, for example, we find: "The Agnistoma is (outwardly a rite, but) metaphysically Agni. ... Again, in that they praised him as the Head (mūrdhnam santam) and as having become Light (jyotis)," the Agnistoma being the praise of light, they

46 Mūrdhnam santam jyotir bhūtām; in agreement with all that has already been cited respecting the transformation of the serpent's head into the Sun or Heaven, and more exactly with RV. X. 88. 6 "At night Agni is the Head of being (mūrdhā bhuvāvahavātānakitāgniḥ), thence in the morning he is born as the rising Sun" (tataḥ sūrya jāyate prātār udyan); which text also makes it clear that the so-called Brāhmaṇa doctrine, which is also Sāyana's (on I. 103. 1), viz. that at night the Sun enters into Agni, is not a new one. Cf. also X. 8. 6 "to Heaven thou (Agni) listest up thy radiant Head."

These doctrines about the "Head" are paralleled in Gnostic formulations, cf. the Syriac Valentinian hymn included in the Panarion of Epiphanius, verse 5, reading "From the Head he proclaimed tidings about the Father," as to which W. R. Newbold (JAS. 38. 15) remarks "The 'Head' is the first emanation of the Abyss, usually called Noet or Μορφή, but often Πρῶτος or 'Αρχή. ... It was 'from the Head' that the Light proclaimed tidings, for being himself an emanation of Noet, who alone knew the Father, he derived from him all that he proclaimed to the Aeons." In the same way the subdivision of the One, which we have recognized to be the sacrificial act of creation—self-sacrificial in that He lends himself to this division, a suffered passion in that it is by "man" that He is mentally outstretched on the Procrustean bed of time and space in cosmic crucifixion—is also Gnostic doctrine, e.g. in the " Untitled Apocalypse" (Bruce Codex), "He it is whose limbs (or members) make many a myriad of myriad of powers, each of which comes from Him." The gnostic character of the Indian doctrine of Sacrifice was remarked upon by Eggeling in SBE. XLIII. xvii. That the teachings of Plotinus are hardly distinguishable from those of the Upaniṣads has often been recognized. The latter problem has too often been discussed (e.g. by Keith, in Indian Culture, II. 135 ff.) as though the only alternatives were those of borrowing or of independent origination. It is not thus, however, that the similarities, often amounting to identity in the scriptures of widely separated cultures, are envisaged by those who speak of
call it Jyotistoma, or ‘Light-laud’ metaphysically. . . . This is the sacrificial pattern (yajñakratuḥ) without beginning or end (apūrvo anaparah, cf. Dante’s nè prima nè poscia, Paradiso, XXIX, 20); the Agniṣṭoma is like a chariot wheel, endless (ananta),46 as is its coming forth so is its onward course (yatheva prāyanāṁ yathodayanam). As to this a sacrificial verse (yajñagāthā) is sung:47 ‘That which is its beginning is also its end (yad asya pūrvam aparāṁ tad asya), that again which is its end is also its beginning’;48 like the gliding of a serpent (aher iva sarpaṇam) is that of the Śakala,49 they do not discriminate which of the two

the “Ancient Wisdom”—an expression which, however it may have been abused, is far from meaningless. The true explanation is to be found in the integrity of what has been called “the universal and unanimous tradition”: “Die Menschheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistes-

Sprache” (Jeremias, Altorientalischen Geisteskultur, Vorwort); “Eine grosse Weltlinie der Metaphysik zieht sich durch aller Völker hindurch” (Sauter, in Archiv für Rechts- und Socialphilosophie, Oct. 1934, p. 9).

Even apart from any comparisons of wordings, this should be self-evident to every student of the history of symbols; visual symbols being essentially the language of metaphysics, as words are of philosophy.

46 Cf. RV. V. 58. 5 and VIII. 20. 14, “spokes where none is last in order.”

47 The source of this gāthā is unknown, but Śāyaṇa says “it is chanted everywhere.”

48 Cf. Boethius, de Cons. I, prose 6, “Is it possible that you who know the beginning of all things (Skr. jātaviṃśa) should not also know their end”; similar St. Thomas, Sum. Theol., I. 103. 2e; Eckhart, I. 224 (Evans ed.) “In principio (Skt. agra) signifies, in the beginning of all things. It also means the end of all things, since the first beginning is because of the last end. . . . What is the last end? It is the mystery of the darkness of the eternal Godhead which is unknown (Skr. anirūkta, etc.) and never has been known and never shall be known”; Jeremias, Der Antichrist in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 1930, p. 4, “Der Abendländer denkt linienhaft in die Ferne, darum mechanisch, areligios, faustisch. . . . Das Morgenland und die Bibel (and might have been added, the Edda) denken nicht linienhaft, sondern zeitraumlich, spiralisch, kreislaufig. Das Weltgeschehen geht in Spiralen, die sich bis in die Vollendung fortsetzen. . . . Das grossartige Symbol der Schlange, die sich in den eigenen Schwanz beisst, stelt den Æon dar.” The circumference of a circle is at the same time “endless,” and wholly constituted of coincident beginnings and ends.

49 Śāyaṇa says that Śakala is a “name of Ahi.” That is hardly, as Keith calls it, “absurd”; it is none the less likely enough that śakala also designated a particular “serpentine” ritual, of such a sort for
(ends) is anterior” (na vi jānanti yatarat parastāt, cf. Dante's senza distinzione nell'esordire, Paradiso, XXIX, 30).

In JUB. I. 35 “The Year is in the Śaman. . . . The Year is endless (ananta), its two ends (antau) are Winter and Spring; after (anu) this it is that the two ends of a village are united, after this that the two ends of a necklet meet, after this that the Serpent lies wrapping round about his coils (etad anv ahir bhogān paryāḥṛtya saye), truly like a necklace laid end to end about (samantam . . . abhiparyakta) the neck, so is the Endless Chant” (anantaṁ sāma). In JUB. I. 2, again, it is prescribed that the Gāyatrap Sāman should be sung “according to the course of the Gale and the Waters” (vāyoś ca apān ānu vartma geysam), which course is, with respect to the Gale, “from all quarters together, winding itself in so as to generate a whirlwind” (res-mānaṁ janamāno niveṣṭamānah), and as to the Waters, “making bends, winding themselves in, flowing in eddies” (aṅkāisi kūrvāṇa niveṣṭamāṇa āvartān 50 srjamānāḥ), and with respect to both, in this way at the same time fontal and inflowing (cf. TS. III. 2, 2, verses), “not straight away (parān), lest there be a loss” (kṣayād eva bībhyyāt, cf. RV. VIII. 7. 16, utsaṁ duḥanto akṣitam). Similarly in AB. V. 2, “they proceed in sets of three days without a break (savitataś tryahair avyavachinnair yanti), and ib. III. 44, where it is laid down that the Agniṣṭoma should be celebrated “without haste,” and in accordance with motion of the Sun “who never really sets nor rises” (nā kadācanāstam eti nodeti), but only “inverts himself” (viparayasyate, cf. PB. VII. 10. 3, and ā vaṣṭeva in RV. IV. 1. 2), “indeed he never sets” (na ha vai nimircaṭi),\footnote{\v{c}e{\v{c}} 7} example as the Prsthya Ṣāḍaha described in AB. V. 22, where the Serpent Queen is lauded.

\footnote{50} Cf. RV. X. 30. 10, āvartyatīh . . . devīdārāḥ; JUB. III. 33, where when “breath turns resounding up and up” (prūnas svarya upary upari vartate) this is called the “re-turn of the spiritual power” (brahmāṇa āvartaḥ); and the value attached to “auspicious curls” (nandyāvarta, etc.) in the later iconography.

\footnote{51} Echoed in ChU. III. 11. 3 “He indeed neither rises not sets, and for him that understandeth this, it is evermore high noon, such is the interpretation of the incantation” (na ha vā asmā udeṭi na nimircaṭi sakṛā ēva āhāvāṃmah bhavati, ya etām evam brahmāpatān veda, where nimircaṭi replaces the Brāhmaṇa nimircaṭi, in accordance with a familiar change (cf. jasthara and jathala in RV.) and there is no necessity either for Bôhtlingk's emendation nirmumloca, or for Hume's designation of na
and “he who comprehendeth this (ya evam veda) attains to conjunction, likeness, and same-worldness with Him” (sāyujyaṁ sārūpatāṁ salokyatāṁ). In RV. I. 115. 5 the shining of the Sun, although alternately radiant or dark, is called “endless” (ananta).

The endless continuity of the divine act of being is emphasized, indeed, throughout RV. For example, I. 164. 51, “One and the same does this Water rise and fall as day succeeds day” (samānam etad udakam uc caity ava cāhabhiḥ); I. 123. 8, the Dawns, “Each like other, today, tomorrow, following Varuṇa’s lengthy pathway” (sadrṣir adya sadṛṣir . . . śvo dirgham sacante varuṇasya dhāma . . . triṁśatam yojanāni, the triṁśad dhāma of X. 189. 3, all day and night); I. 124. 3 “straight she followeth the cosmic path” (ṛlasya panthām anv eti sāduḥ); I. 160. 1, where the Sun “proceeds by Law” (tyate dharmaṇa, cf. in IV. 18. 1 “the ancient pathway found of old,” and the survival of the same conception and almost the same phrasing in the Buddhist account of the Nativity, D. XIV. 1. 21 f. where in connection with every detail it is repeated, ayam ettha dhammatā); IV. 18. 6, where the Rivers of Life “flow cosmic-orderly” (arṣanti ṛtavari) and IV. 19. 7 where these young maidens are “cognizant of Order” (ṛtajñāḥ, i.e. foreknow their way).52 In I. 113. 3 the paths of Day and Night are “endless (adhvā anantaḥ); in V. 47. 2 the motion of Heaven and Earth is on “paths without end” (anantāsaḥ . . . panthāḥ); in AV. X. 7. 42 the tissue woven by Day and Night “shall never undo nor come to an end” (nāpa vṛṇjāte na gamāto antam, cf. Dante’s “such a withy as shall never be unwithied,” Paradiso, XXIX. 36). This is all summed up in the beautiful verses of TS. III. 2. 2. RV. affirms with no uncertain voice, but

nimloca (ti) as “impossible” (Thirteen Principal Upanishads, p. 207). Nimloca (jaghanārdhdhaḥ) occurs in the sense of “West” in BU. I. 1. 1, nimlocaṇi in the Vīṇṇa Purāṇa with reference to Varuṇa’s Western Paradise.

52 Plotinus offers a striking parallel to the Vedic concept of the Fountain of Life (utsa, etc.) with its inexhaustible ever-flowing streams of living water or milk (utsaṁ duhanto akuśitaṁ, VIII. 7. 16, avatam akuśitaṁ, VIII. 72. 10): “Imagine a spring that has no source outside itself; it gives itself to all the rivers, yet is never exhausted by what they take, but remains always integrally as it was; the tides that proceed from it are at one within it before they run their several ways, yet all, in some sense, know beforehand down what channels they will pour their streams” (Enneads, III. 8. 10).
rather with Hers who in X. 125. 5 "utters what is most felicitous alike to Angels and to men": Sicut erat in principio, est nunc et semper erit, in saecula saeculorum.

10. The trace of "endlessness" in art

In connection with JUB. I. 35, cited above, we have pointed out elsewhere in what manner such a passage illustrates the concept of art as an imitation of heavenly "forms," as enunciated for example in AB. VI. 27. We have also repeatedly shown, and once more above in section 6 in connection with the ārṇā, that the symbolism and iconography of Indian art can almost always be referred to Vedic formulations, and that apart from these sources, the symbolism and iconography cannot be explained, but only described. Some further illustrations of this may be given in connection with the concept of endlessness discussed above. If the Vedic chant was in fact of such a sort as the Brāhmaṇas indicate, we might well expect to find some traces of a similar quality in the Indian music of much later periods. Indian music is in fact of a kind that has been preserved in Europe only in connection with the Gregorian chant, which in its turn represents a "style" of great antiquity, and may have Babylonian sources (Lachmann, Musik des Orients, 1939, p. 9). We find in fact that European auditors have repeatedly remarked upon the unbroken sequences and absence of crisis and finale in Indian music: for example, Keyserling, Travel Diary, III. 30, "It is not easy to explain in words what Indian music means ... no beginning, no end; it is the undulation and the sway of the eternally flowing stream of life," and Fox-Strangways, Music of Hindustan, p. 2, "We do not know what to make of music which is dilatory without being sentimental, and utters passion without vehemence." Not long ago an American child of five, hearing phonograph records of Indian music, remarked in my hearing "That kind of music goes round and round, this way and that way and then comes back." These are precisely those formal qualities which are ascribed by the Brāhmaṇas to the Vedic sāman.

If again the philosophia perennis has come down to us in "spiralisch" terms, such as are so often employed in connection with the eddies of inexhaustible waters, the possibilities of being, stirred into life by the dawn winds of creation and the light of the
risen Sun, it may well be assumed that spirals and maeanders wherever they occur in primitive art, that is to say in the ideological art of a time when man was thinking in far more abstract terms than any to which we are now accustomed, are the signs and symbols of these waters. Notions of endlessness, eternity, recurrence, surely underlie not only the well-known symbol of the serpent with its tail in its mouth, and in this sense "endless," but also all those Indian or other ancient motifs of interlacing serpent and dragon forms in which beginnings and ends are confused, and those well-known designs of "strapwork" and "knots" of which the component bands have neither beginning nor end.55

11. Conclusion

It has, we think, been shown beyond all question that the Father and the Son, Dragon and Solar Hero, although in outward opposition, are secretly at one, are one and consubstantial. What must be regarded from without and logically as a dual operation of alternate sleep and waking, potentiality and act, is inwardly and really the mere and simple nature of the Supreme Identity (tad ekam, sadasat). This Identity, being of conjoint principles, the same equations hold when the problem is approached on the feminine side, as has been done in The Darker Side of Dawn. In the course of the analysis it has been brought out that neither the Vedic ontology nor the formulae in which it is communicated are peculiar to RV., but can as well be recognized in all the extra-

55 In Chinese art the tao t'ieh motif which whether with or without buffalo horns seems to represent a jawless dragon's head (e.g. Eumorropolos Cat. I, Pl. XX, A, 26); we find examples of the dragon biting its own tail (Relics of Han and pre-Han Dynasties, Tokyo, 1932, Pl. LXI, fig. 4, and Pelliot, Jdes Archaisques de Chine, 1925, Pl. XVII), or chains of dragons similarly disposed (Eumorropolos Cat. I, Pl. LI, A, 72); and if the dragon form is again and again represented against a background of spirals or maeanders, what else can these maeanders represent but the watery abode of these sons of the mist?

On Chinese dragons see also de Visser, The Dragon in China and Japan, 1913; Werner, Dictionary of Chinese Mythology, 1932, s.v. lung; Mackenzie, The Migration of Symbols, 1928, where should be noted also, in connection with what has been said above regarding Pharaoh, numerous Egyptian representations of serpents beleaguering waters. On spirals and dragons see again Mackenzie, and for the importance of the spiral problem in art, cf. Cook, The Curves of Life, 1914.
Indian forms of the “universal and unanimous tradition.” At the same time, the consistency and continuity of the tradition transmitted in Indian literature and art has been suggested; the tradition is expanded rather than deformed in the Epics, Purāṇas, and Tantras; the name “Vyāsa,” that of the “author” of the Mbh. denoting indeed not “Compiler,” but “Expander,” vyāsatas signifying “in great detail,” “with proxility,” or “diffusely.” In the matter of iconography, more could have been said as to the meaning of the Nāga types in Indian and other arts, but this can be readily deduced by the reader for himself; the well-known motif of paired and interlacing Nāgas (as seen on Nāgakals and at Koṇārak) representing, for example, the co-habitation of the conjoint principles ab intra; that of the enmity of Phoenix (garūda) and Nāga reflecting the outward opposition of the separated principles.  

Indications have been given of the significance of certain well recognized characteristics of Indian music, of the use of spiral forms in “ornament,” and of the āṇā as a laksāṇa of the Mahāpuruṣa; in the latter connection it may be observed that while the Mahāpuruṣa, as the Supernal Sun, thus appropriately wears the solar image on his brow, Śiva, who is the power ab intra, as is also indicated by his nāga-ornaments, wears the Moon.

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64 In this connection attention may be called to the well-known Etruscan painting in the Grotta dell’ Oroco (fourth century b.c.) depicting a winged “demon” with a serpent, or to speak in Indian terms, a Garuḍa and Nāga. In this representation, reproduced and discussed by Evans, Palace of Minos, Vol. IV, pp. 188-190, not only are there to be seen two serpent heads rising from the bird-like head of the winged “Phoenix,” but as remarked by Evans, the pattern of the wings displays “the same ‘wave and dot’ pattern as the adders of the Minoan (snake-) Goddess, and clearly represent a similar viperine breed.” The ophidian source of the solar power, who at the same time brandishes the Serpent as immediate “Avenger,” could not have been more clearly indicated in art. The two serpents heads recalled the ṣrakau-ṣānu form of Indra represented in the well-known Mathurā image discussed in The Darker Side of Dawn, note 25 (we have called attention above to the equivalence of ṣānu and śira). Sir Arthur Evans assumes an ultimately western Asiatic origin of the form.
THE HORSES OF T'ANG T'Ai TSUNG AND THE STELE OF YU

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Since the publication in 1918 by Mr. C. W. Bishop of the stone reliefs of the famous horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung, and in particular of the two which came to the University Museum in Philadelphia at that time, a great deal of additional information has been gathered about them and some of the related monuments. But there have also arisen certain doubts about these horses and certain misconceptions and false inferences have been drawn. In view of the confusion that seems to exist in regard both to the horses and to various documents relating to them, I feel that the time has come to make a few definite and clear statements as to what we know and what we do not know about these horses.

There are four questions which I shall attempt to answer briefly in this paper:

1. Are the two reliefs in the University Museum the originals made for T'ang T'ai Tsung in 637, or the copies said to have been made by Yu Shih-hsiung in 1089?

2. Do the so-called "large rubbings" prove the existence of the copies?

3. Is there conclusive evidence for the existence of a set of horse tablets in miniature?

4. What is the Stele of Yu and what evidence does it present in regard to these questions?

It would seem hardly necessary to answer the first question, "Are the two reliefs in the University Museum the originals," were it not that the question continues to be asked and a statement is therefore in order. Yes, they are the originals. That can be proved by comparing them with the photographs taken by Chavannes about 1909 when he visited the Chao Ling, which was the royal burial ground of T'ai Tsung up in the mountains five

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miles north of the town of Li Ch'üan. These photographs were later published in "Mission Archéologique," unfortunately without text, but with captions under the pictures stating that they were taken in the Chao Ling, and indeed the general view of the site shows that it was up in the mountains.  

The fact which settles the question of the two reliefs now in the University Museum is that they show the same injuries and breaks as those photographed by Chavannes in situ. In Chavannes's photograph of the horse "Curly" (Fig. 1) note the great diagonal cracks clear across the tablet and especially the ragged breaks of the raised forelegs and of both hind legs. The tablet in the Museum shows precisely the same breaks and injuries (Fig. 2). The Museum photographer has thrown a strong oblique light upon it which makes the relief seem higher and brings out mutilated portions in greater prominence than does the diffuse outdoor light of Chavannes's picture. Nevertheless a careful comparison will show that the two photographs are of the same sculpture. Likewise, notice the tablet of the horse "Autumn Dew," or "Sudden Dew," as the name is literally (Fig. 3). This is Chavannes's picture taken at the Chao Ling. The injuries to the legs and to the General's right arm enable us to identify without question the relief in the Museum (Fig. 4), which shows the identical breaks, besides, I grieve to say, a few additional ones which it has suffered since 1909. It is possible to copy sculpture exactly, but it is not possible to make it break in the same way as the original. The reliefs in the University Museum are therefore the original sculptures from the Chao Ling.

Now as to the second point. There are in existence authentic rubbings which have been taken from these sculptures, but there is also a series of large so-called "rubbings" which, though they agree in size and general appearance with the original stones, yet show certain differences. On the original tablet of the horse "Autumn Dew" (Fig. 4) both horse and man are in profile. All four feet of the horse rest upon the ground line. The man's face is practically in outline. Note the pose of his head on his shoulders;

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* See Mission Archéologique, Pl. CCLVII, No. 438.
* Chavannes's photograph, moreover, appears to have been slightly retouched where the legs are broken.
the nearly straight line of his belt. And there are the breaks in the tablet. In this so-called "rubbing" (Fig. 5) no breaks are evident and the whole picture is distorted. The horse stands almost at a three-quarter angle, with its hind hoofs out of line above the ground. The General's belt is curved and tips up behind, his head is turned halfway toward the front and is set upon his shoulders quite differently from the head of the figure on the tablet. Certain scholars have thought this distortion was due to an attempt to take a rubbing from a high relief. This would distort some details, but should not disturb the relative positions of the main features. For instance, it could not turn a horse or a man's head partly around. Others have assumed, again, that these differences were due to the fact that the "rubbings" were supposedly taken from copies of the tablets which Governor Yu Shih-hsiung in his inscription of 1089 says he had made for T'ang T'ai Tsung's Miao, or memorial temple, at the West gate of Li Ch'uan, and which were to save sight-seers a trip to the Chao Ling. These authorities have been convinced that these "rubbings" prove the existence of Yu's copies. Unfortunately they do not prove anything. They are not even rubbings. They never saw a stone. Two methods of manufacture appear to have been used, both employing stencils for the various parts. The technique in the one case is a perfectly familiar one; I have often used it in making biological charts. There is a stencil for each detail, body, head, legs, saddle, etc. The operator lays one on the paper at the desired angle and blows ink over it with an atomizer. Then he arranges the next stencil, and so on. An expert does not even need the stencil—pieces of paper with the desired curve of the edge will protect the part which is not to be shaded and give a sharp edge. The softest effects of shading may be obtained by this method. The other method is a sort of printing within the stencil by means of an inked pad and in this case the textile imprint is evident. The rubbings which I have examined show that an outline of the whole horse was first drawn in pencil as a guide to laying on the stencils. Placing of the framework varied. Details were touched up with a brush. In other words, these pictures are simply made up,—not out of "whole cloth," I admit, because the purpose of making them was to sell "representations" of well-known works of antiquity. As accurate docu-

* See Ferguson, Eastern Art, Vol. III, p. 64.
ments, however, these so-called "rubbings" are worthless and prove nothing. They certainly do not prove that Yu's copies exist, or ever existed. The distortions are due to the method used, and to the carelessness of the man who blew the atomizer or placed the stencil.

It has hitherto been assumed that Yu's copies were made in stone like the originals. But Yu does not say that this was the case. He says only that the copies he ordered were to be chên su (真塑), accurate, or "true models," and the character used for models, su (塑) means primarily to model in clay. If copies were actually made, it is possible that they were not of stone but of some more perishable material. So far as we have learned, there are no records to show that anyone ever saw these copies. Only an examination of the site will reveal whether or not they were ever made.

The chief document in regard to the stone horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung, aside from the great tablets themselves, is the stele set up by Yu Shih-hsiung, Governor of Li Ch'üan in the last half of the 11th century. Rubbings of the inscription on his stele are known and the inscription is quoted in all the local gazetteers of the region. It was apparently from the printed quotation in one of the gazetteers that Mr. Waley made his discovery that the figure of a man standing in front of "Autumn Dew" represented the famous T'ang General Ch'iu Hsing-kung. And it was from the gazetteer of Li Ch'üan Hsien that Dr. Ferguson got the text of Yu's inscription which he published and translated in Eastern Art, Vol. III, thus making a great contribution to the knowledge of these sculptures. It would seem almost too obvious to suggest that this inscription comes from the top of the stele which bore the outline pictures of the horses, a rubbing of which was illustrated in Bushell's Chinese Art (Vol. I, fig. 18). It showed only the horses and Bushell apparently thought it a stele of the T'ang period. But the Li Ch'üan Hsien Chih, after quoting Yu's inscription, adds a note which reads, "Below are the pictures and the eulogies." I therefore concluded that Yu's inscription belonged at the top of Dr. Bushell's rubbing and I began to search for a rubbing which would include both. With the kind aid of Mr. C. T. Loo a rubbing of the nearly complete stele was found. So far as I know, no one

has hitherto actually stated that the inscription and the horses are from one and the same stele. Therefore I now present the more complete picture (Fig. 7), which is important for my next point.

This inscription of Yu Shih-hsiung’s, as has been shown by Dr. Ferguson, speaks of three monuments or sets of monuments to the memory of the horses. First, there were the great reliefs in stone, tablets 5 feet x 6, which T’ai Tsung had had made and set up at the Chiao Ling 450 years before Yu’s time. Second, Yu had ordered models of these to be made which were to be exact copies, and these were for T’ai Tsung’s Miao at the west gate of the town. Third, there was another undertaking of Yu’s which has been interpreted as a third set of tablets, only in miniature, with drawings of the horses engraved on them, and these were to be put in the same Miao on the walls of the Wu, the Wu being lateral shelters, or covered walks, at the sides of one of the courtyards.

Let us examine the evidence for such a set of tablets in miniature. First there are the often cited “small rubblings” of the horses, of which a set was loaned me by Miss Bragg, Director of the Berkshire Museum, and of which Figure 6 is one. These average ten inches in height and there is no border to indicate the edge of a tablet. But, sad to relate, these little pictures are made by the same methods as the full-size ones. There is even a third method used, that of printing with wood blocks. Therefore, they too are false rubblings and, as proof of anything, are worthless. Again we may assume, however, that something well known is represented by them. They may be merely reductions of the large set to a more convenient and less expensive size. I think it more likely, however, though I cannot yet prove it, that this small set had its origin in the outline drawings of the horses on the stele of Yu Shih-hsiung which we have just examined. Chang Ch’ao, who visited the Chiao Ling and T’ai Tsung’s Miao in 1611, records that he found the Six Horse Pictures Stele in the Miao and said that the horses engraved on it were about seven inches high, which in Chinese measure of that time would equal about ten inches of our modern measure. This, and the fact that as a rule no tablet edge is indicated, lead me to believe that this small set may have been inspired by the pictures on the stele. But since these are not rubblings at all, they cannot be accepted as documents.

*Miss Bragg wrote me of the technique, having arrived at the same conclusions I had reached in regard to the method used.
Secondly, does the text of Yu Shih-hsiung's inscription necessarily imply that he had a set of horse tablets made in miniature? Mr. Waley, in his article in the *Burlington Magazine*, tells of the modeled copies and continues, "In the same place he (Yu) set up incised slabs representing the design of the reliefs." Evidently

Mr. Waley interpreted the text as meaning another set of tablets, though he does not say they were in miniature. Dr. Ferguson's actual translation, "stone engravings of these figures shall also be placed in the covered passageways"* does not commit him to the theory of tablets, but he proceeds, seemingly misled by the set of

“small rubbings,” to conclude that it means a set of stone tablets of the horses in miniature.

Let us look at that portion of the text of Yu’s inscription which relates to this matter. (Fig. 8, 16th to 22nd lines inclusive, and text Fig. 8a.) Yu tells us that he had copies of the Chao Ling tablets accurately modeled for the audience hall of T’ai Tsung’s Miao. The dimensions of the tablets, the delicacy of execution, nothing should differ by an atom or a hair’s breadth (from the originals). This would make it convenient for the going-and-coming-to-see-worthy-ones.  又 ALSO | 別 ANOTHER (or, OTHERS) (pieh) | 爲 TO BE MADE (or, WHICH WERE) | 繪 DRAWN-IN-OUTLINE | 圖 PICTURES | 刻 CUT (or, ENGRAVED) | 石 on STONE | 於 PUT IN | 廟 THE CLOISTERS (wu) | 下 UNDER (the roof) | 以 IN ORDER TO | 廣 SPREAD WIDELY (the fame) | 其 of THOSE | 傳 HANDED-DOWN (things). The solution hinges on what Yu, the author of the inscription, meant by pieh. Another? Other? Other what? Other slabs? Another what? Another monument to the fame of the horses? Another set of horses? Pieh, which by itself means merely another or others, doubtless refers back in this case to the character su (copies), and should therefore be translated OTHER COPIES (of the horses). A free translation of the above passage should read as follows: “I also had other (copies) made, outline pictures (which were then) engraved on stone and placed under the cloister (roof), in order to spread widely (the fame) of those (which had been) handed down.” With due respect to the authorities mentioned there does not seem to be here proof that there was a set of tablets in miniature, or even a set of tablets. What monument, other than the set of big copies, did Yu have erected at this time? What object had pictures engraved on it which would add to the fame of these horses? Doubtless the stele itself. Below the inscription is another set of the horses, in outline pictures engraved on stone. Moreover, this was set up in T’ai Tsung’s Miao, where Chang Ch‘ao saw it in 1611, with the Chao Ling Map Stele, erected by Yu four years later, standing opposite it. And so I am inclined to doubt the existence of any third set of tablets, whether in miniature or not, and to consider that the text which has been commonly thought to
refer to them refers rather to the engravings on the stele below the text; that is, to the stele of Yu Shih-hsiung itself.

A note must be added on the drawings of the horses which appear on this stele. It is evident that they have not been drawn by a master. Yu says in his inscription above that he had seen the painting of the horses said to be by the brush of Yen Li-pên. It is possible that we have here a reflection of that painting, for the pictures, although following the designs of the tablets, do not suggest the monumental quality of the slabs of the Chao Ling, but seem to point to a pictorial ancestor. This is, however, supposition. In the lower left corner of the stele may be seen a signature. It reads "Wu Tsung-tao engraved (it)." Wu Tsung-tao was a famous artist who is supposed to have flourished about 1010 and was already a noted painter at that time. He must have been a very old man if he cut these pictures in 1089. Or, the evidence of this tablet may prove to be earlier and more reliable than sources which have been used hitherto in dating this artist. But that is another problem.

Finally, may I call attention to two points in regard to the great tablets of the horses. First, they were certainly not in their original positions when Chavannes photographed them. Their positions in 1089 are definitely established by the labels on Yu's stele. "Autumn Dew," "Curly" and "White-Footed Crow" were then all on the west side. When Chavannes saw them they were on the east and the other three were on the west. In addition, "Blue Piebald" and "Shih-Destroying-Red" had changed places. Additional evidence that they were not in original position when Chavannes saw them is the fact that the left end of the slab picturing "Autumn Dew" was pushed up against the corner of the brick building so that it was completely hidden and covered by the wall (Fig. 3). It is to this fact, however, that we owe the preservation of a beautiful and typical T'ang design in flat relief, which ornaments that end of the slab (Fig. 9a). The presence of such a design means that this end of the tablet was intended to be seen and that, therefore, the tablet must originally have been placed in a different position, so that it would show. The narrow design (Fig. 9b) is from the face of the tablet in the lower left corner and is the only remaining portion of a delicate pattern in flat relief which decorated the raised border around the horse.

*See Mission Archéologique, Pl. CCLVII, No. 439.
The second point, which I hope to enlarge upon some other time, is that originally the tablets were almost certainly painted. When I first began to study them about ten years ago, there were then definite traces of paint on the two in the museum, and I have some evidence which suggests that the poems composed by Tai Tsung were put on the squares intended for them—put on in paint, over characters cut in as low relief as this delicate border design.
Fig. 1. Tablet of the Horse "Curly" as found by M. Chavannes in situ in the Chao Ling.

Fig. 2. The Tablet of the Horse "Curly" as it appears now in the University Museum.
Fig. 3. Tablet of the Horse “Autumn Dew” as found by M. Chavannes in situ in Chao Ling.

Fig. 4. The Tablet of the Horse “Autumn Dew” as it appears now in the University Museum.
Fig. 5. So-called "large rubbing" of the Horse "Autumn Dew," with the General Ch‘iu Hsing-kung.

From Ferguson, Eastern Art, vol. III.

Fig. 6. So-called "small-rubbing" of the Horse "Curly."

From an original owned by Miss Bragg.
Fig. 7. The Stele of Yu Shih-hsiung. From a Rubbing showing the Engravings of the Horses with the long inscription above them.
Fig. 8. A Detail of the Stele of Yu containing that part of the Inscription relating to the pictures incised on stone.

PLATE V
a. Rubbing (intensified) of the low relief remaining on the left end of the stone slab of “Autumn Dew.”

b. Rubbing (intensified) of the border design on the frame of “Autumn Dew,” trace of which remains in lower left corner of the slab.
NEW NUZI TEXTS AND A NEW METHOD OF COPYING CUNEIFORM TABLETS

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(with 6 plates)

When Dr. S. N. Kramer was preparing the publication of the Sumerian Hymns and Epics,¹ which the late Dr. Chiera had copied, he asked me to copy the reverse of one tablet, the text of which had been left out. At the suggestion of Professor A. Poebel I used an enlarged photograph of the tablet in question, tracing the signs on it; the photograph was then bleached so that the signs stood out. This gave me the idea of employing the same method in copying the Nuzi tablets of the Harvard Semitic Museum as well as the remaining unpublished Nuzi material which the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad had loaned to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The method of “inking photographs” is not new in itself, having been used with marked success in the field of Egyptology; but no one had applied the process, so far as I know, to cuneiform texts. In this field one may speak of various “schools of copyists.” While all aim at a faithful reproduction of the signs, the degree of accuracy depends largely on the copyist’s drawing ability and on the sharpness of his eye. Moreover, few attempt to show the shape of the tablet and the exact position of the signs, not to speak of cracks and breaks. There have been notable exceptions, but the time and trouble required have caused many to resort to more or less conventionalized copies. They might thus succeed in making the reading easier, but they overlook the important fact that publications of ancient texts should present the material as it actually is.

Photography alone, however, cannot be sufficient. Most tablets are curved and the writing goes over to the reverse, and no photograph, however excellent, can give the whole text at a glance. Composite photographs are often necessary and the prints must be given special treatment.

The method that I have followed consists, briefly, in taking a good photograph of the tablet, making an enlargement of it, tracing

¹ Oriental Institute Publications XV.
the signs on the print, and bleaching it until the signs alone remain. My equipment includes a double-extension, 9 by 12 cm. Royal camera, supplied with a double anastigmat, helioplan lense, 1: 4.5, F 13.5 cm., set on a special stand. The tablet is placed on a glass plate resting on two horizontal rods which are about two feet apart and one foot from the ground. A white sheet of cardboard is placed on the floor under the plate. In this way the shadows cast by the tablet are carried off the field and a white background is provided for the photograph. The light is at about three feet and at 45 degrees from the upper left-hand corner of the tablet. The angle of the light will depend largely on the curvature of the tablet. In order to give even light to the edges of the tablet adjusted mirrors are used. With a 100 watt bulb, the shutter closed down to F 12.5, on an Eastman Commercial cut film, the average exposure is 35 seconds; more if the tablet is dark and less if it is of a light color.

The photographs are then enlarged to twice the linear size of the tablet. When the cut is made for final reproduction, it is reduced (as in the present instance) to one-half of the photograph, so that the true size of the characters is indicated. When the writing goes over the edge to the reverse, the signs are traced on the photograph of the right edge and on a duplicate of the reverse, and after bleaching each line is cut off separately and glued in place on the obverse.

After the signs have been copied the print is bleached in the potassium iodide-iodine bleacher and fixed in hyposulphite.

The texts discussed below have been reproduced by the above method.

After the death of Dr. Chiera I undertook to copy the remaining Nuzi tablets discovered during the first campaign, which Dr. Chiera

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* After two years of experimenting I have found that Gevaert Novabrom No. 1 (dead matte) extra-vigorous paper is best suited for enlarging. It gives very good contrasts and absorbs the ink easily.

* I wish to take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude to P. M. Bardin and H. P. Burtsch, preparators at the Oriental Institute, for their invaluable technical advice.

* The photographs of Text No. 4 (see below) were taken by Mr. L. W. Hough, staff photographer of the Oriental Institute, to whom and to Dr. Boyes, Secretary of the Museum, I hereby express my thanks.
had brought with him to Chicago on loan from the Baghdad School. Three of these texts are presented below. The new texts are numbered respectively JENu 1023 (1), 921 (2), and 4 (3). While engaged in this task I found a number of undeciphered fragments which I was able, with the aid of the Assyrian Dictionary, to fit on to texts previously copied. As an example of this latter group I have included in the present article a restored text (4) consisting of JENu 630 + JEN 363 + an unnumbered fragment.

Text 1 is a slavery document concerning two Ḫabiru women from the land of Akkad. "Of their own free will" they enter the house of Tehiptilla. Their (previous) owner, Dūr-Ilishu, is responsible for them. The price set for them is forty shekels (SU). The colophon states that "if the women break the contract and say, 'We are not slavewomen,' they shall pay a certain amount of gold as fine."

Text 2 is a lawsuit between Huite and Naniya, arising from an earlier mortgage (titennûtu). Of particular interest is the mention of the maiaru-field in an actual context instead of the usual stereotyped clause. Huite is declared winner and awarded the field with its newly planted seeds.

Text 3 concerns the same Huite and deals with a certain field twice mortgaged. The document refers to the same parties as JEN 491, and both tablets correspond in shape and share the same scribe.

The measurements of the texts published below are as follows: 1 (unbaked)—98 x 70 x 31 mm. 2 (unbaked)—83 x 65 x 30 mm. 3 (baked)—77 x 62 x 31 mm. 4 (unbaked)—110 x 66 x 33 mm.

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8 The unpublished texts are cited as JENu, those previously published (Joined Expedition at Nuzi, vols. I-V) as JEN.

*Two unpublished tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum give the important equation of šiqlu with SU.
NOTES TO RECENTLY PUBLISHED NUZI TEXTS

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It has justly been remarked that no site in Western Asia compares with ancient Nuzi in the wealth and variety of legal material preserved in private family archives. The importance of the Nuzi records for the study of the legal practices, the social and economic conditions, and the cultural background of this out-of-the-way district in the East-Tigris area is self-evident and not unexpected. But local considerations barely begin to reflect the full significance of these documents. Composed in a Hurrian settlement, they shed brilliant light on the life of a group whose amazing record of migrations throughout the length and breadth of the Near East has contributed, within the last decade or so, a fascinating chapter to the history of the second millennium B.C. Nuzi was thus an interested witness of the Amarna age; by reason of its eccentric location it was also, fortunately, a reasonably objective one. Its documents allow us to judge the impact of the civilizations of Babylon and of Ashur upon the heterogeneous traditions of the recently settled Hurrians. The original background of these newcomers is thereby brought into sharper relief. We note the ever-recurring reminders of the westward orientation of the Hurrians, and the biblical parallels, whose number is constantly increasing, now find a ready historical explanation. Finally, an extremely valuable feature of the Nuzi documents is the wealth of their onomastic material. We have here a larger group of personal

1 Cf. Koschaker, Keilschriftrecht 6 f. (reprinted from ZDMG 89).

2 For the older literature on the subject cf. Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res. (AASOR) VI. 75 ff.; Gadd, Tablets from Kirkuk, RA XXIII. 49-161 (abbr. Gadd); Koschaker, Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit (NKRA). Further references will be found in JOURNAL 52. 350. n. 1 and RA XXXI. 54. n. 1. The texts are cited as follows: JEN—Chiera, Joint Expedition at Nuzi (5 vols.); HSS—Harvard Semitic Series (V by Chiera, IX by Pfeiffer, and X by Meek). Other titles are given in full.

3 For the problem of the Hurrians see AASOR XIII. 13 ff. (= Speiser, Ethnic Movements in the Near East, ASOR Offprint Series 1).

4 Ibid. 44, and Gordon, Revue Biblique 1935. 1 ff. Gordon's first example (p. 2) is anticipated in AASOR XIII. 44.
names of both the Hurrians and the Habiru than has been contributed by all the other ancient sites put together, although Nuzzi lay far from the center of either group. This welcome surprise must be ascribed to accidents of discovery.

The study of the Nuzzi texts (including a number from the city of Arrapha) may be said to have begun in the year 1926, for prior to that date only a few scattered specimens of this family had been made known. So young a discipline will naturally teem with unsolved problems. For answers we must look to further publications. The total number of documents unearthed runs into several thousands, but until last year only some 600 of these had been published. A year ago the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad brought out two further volumes of the texts which the late Dr. Chiera had dug up in 1925. Copied by the discoverer and prepared for publication by Drs. Gelb and Lacheman, these new texts constitute Nos. 321-559 of the yield of Chiera’s initial campaign. Three additional documents from the same collection are presented by Dr. Lacheman in the current issue of the Journal together with a republished and supplemented older text (JEN 363).

Lastly, Dr. Meek has just contributed to the Harvard Semitic Series a volume of texts from the same site, consisting of 231 splendidly autographed documents accompanied by a valuable introduction and indices of proper names. The total number of published Nuzzi texts is thus now well over a thousand. But with one clear exception (No. 231) Meek’s texts do not come from the Hurrian level at Nuzzi. Dug up for the most part during the season 1930-31, they represent older strata, the majority coming from the Old Akkadian occupation at which time the city bore the name of Gasur. Since the present notes are concerned with the output of the Hurrian period, I shall confine my remarks to the material of Chiera and Lacheman and the last document in Meek’s work. Obviously, only a few topics can be touched upon in this general survey. My principal object is to indicate a few of the many aspects on which the new texts throw fresh light.

* For the latter see Chiera, AJSL XLIX. 115 ff.
* Gadd, op. cit., and Contenau, Babyloniaca IX. Nos. 2-4.
* JEN IV-V, Philadelphia, 1934.
* See above, pp. 429-31.
* Ibid. p. x.
with Lacheman’s Text 1, which is sufficiently important to be given in transliteration and translation. 11

(1) 1\textsuperscript{d}Ištar\-a-ḫa- at ụ [A-ḫa]-ti-ia  (2) 2  awwalāti\textsuperscript{pl} an-nu-tu, Ḫa-bi-ru-ū  (3) ša maštAQ-qa-ti-i  u ra-ma-an-šu-nu-ma  (4) a-na a-mu-ti i-na bi t 1Te-hi-ip-ti-l la  (5) uš-te-ri-ib-šu-ru  u 1Dūr-ili-šu  (6) šu-ur-šu-nu ša a-we-la-ti sum-ma  (7) awwalāti\textsuperscript{pl} ti pa-qī-ra-na ir-ta-šu-ū  (8)  u 1Dūr-ili-šu ū-za-ak-kašu-nu-ti-ma  (9)  u a-na 1Te-hi-ip-ti-l la i-na-an-di-in  (10)  u 1Te-hi-ip-ti-l la 40 SU kaspa  (11) ki-ma e-wu-rū-ti-šu it-ta-di-im  (12) sum-ma 1Dūr-ili-šu  ippalkat\textsuperscript{2}-ma  u  (13) i-ir-ri-iš  u 10 MA.NA ḫurāṣa  (14) a-na 1Te-hi-ip-ti-l la ū-ma-al-la  (there follows a list of 19 witnesses—34) IGI 1Ta-a-a mār Apil\textsuperscript{3}Sin ṭūpsar-ri  (35) abanīkunu 1Dūr-ili-šu  4 awwalāti iiddin\textsuperscript{nu}  (li. 36-39 contain other seals—40) sum-ma awwalāti\textsuperscript{pl} ippalkatū  u i qa-ab-šu-ū  (41) la GIM-nu-mi ū ū-šu-ru-ū  (42) MA.NA ḫurāṣa ū-ma-al-šu-ū

\textsuperscript{1} U. \textsuperscript{2} SAL.MEŠ, cf. l. 6. \textsuperscript{3}KI.BAL. The sign may have been šu (=šū), or ša, perhaps the latter in view of the final vowel of iiddinu.

(Translation:) Ishtar-ahat and Ahatiya, these two Habiru women from the land of Akkad, now themselves for slavery into the house of Tehip-Tilla (5) they have caused to enter. And Dūr-ilišu is the šu-ru of the women. Given that the women have a claimant, then Dūr-ilišu shall clear them and furnish them to Tehip-Tilla. (10) And Tehip-Tilla 40 shekels of silver as his ewrūtu has paid. Given that Dūr-ilišu breaks the agreement and demands (them back), then ten minas of gold to Tehip-Tilla he shall pay as fine. (List of 19 witnesses and scribe—35) Seal of Dūr-ilišu who the women has sold. (Other seals—40) Given that the women break the contract and say, “We are not slave-women,” a tenfold mina of gold they shall pay as fine.

The text is of unusual interest for a number of reasons. It presents several philological peculiarities and two hapax legomena. Its chief claim upon our attention rests, however, upon its illustrative value as regards the status of the Habiru. This fact was recognized by Chiera who excerpted the above text in his article on the “Habiru and the Hebrews.” 12 The publication of the docu-

11 Thureau-Dangin’s system (Le Syllabaire Accadien) is employed below except in the case of proper names where the primary value of each sign has been used in order not to prejudge the issues involved.

12 AJSL XLIX. 119 f.
ment enables us now to check Chiera’s conclusions and to modify his original interpretation. But before this is attempted, a few philological notes will be in order.

L. 2. The application of the term avéláti (spelled out in l. 6) to slave-women is rather startling. But the scribe betrays his inadequate knowledge of Akkadian idiom in other instances as well; cf., e.g., his use of the masculine pl. form Ha-bi-ru-ú instead of the correct feminine form of the ethnicon, which is found in JEN 453. 11.

L. 6. For šu-ur-šu-nu (and e-wu-ru-ti-šu, i. 11) see below.

L. 10. For the equation of SU with šiqlu see above, p. 430 n. 6.

L. 13. For i-ir-ri-š (not i-ni-ri-š as indicated by Chiera, AJSL XLIX. 120) in the sense of demanding the return of lost property cf., e.g., JEN 530. 10.

L. 14. The translation of umalla, “shall pay as fine” is based on the value of mullú “fine,” which is normal in these texts.

L. 41. GIM-nu stands apparently for amtandas, which may be termed a pseudo-permansive. The form a-šu-ru-ú is based clearly on the adjectival type quttulu, with the final vowel lengthened as in ešru. The same fine is specified in l. 13, where the amount is indicated ideographically. This particular value for 10 is new.

But the key words for the proper understanding of the text are šu-ur-šu-nu (l. 6) and ki-ma e-wu-ru-ti-šu (l. 11). Although the women are said to have entered of their own will, Dûr-ilishu is paid on their account 40 shekels of silver for his ewurutu, and he is entitled to the payment by reason of being their šu-ru. This latter word is taken by Chiera (op. cit. 119) to mean “owner,” though the appended question mark admits this translation to be a guess. It would be idle to speculate on which of the several values applicable to this form (which could be connected with šuru, šuru, or šuru) would be most suitable in the present context. The safest method is to proceed from the internal evidence of the document itself, and the clue must be sought therefore in ewurutu.

That ewuru signifies “heir” was first suggested by Koschaker. Since that suggestion was made (1928) the number of references has increased considerably and a closer study of the term is possible. The basic form (ewuru) is found in Gadd 5. 50, JEN 333. 74, 76 (in the latter instance miswritten ta-aš-ru), 392. 14, and HSS V. 60. 10. The phrase ewurumma eppuš (šepuš) “shall become ewuru” (note the intransitive use of the verb!) is found in Gadd

13 NKRA 14f.
14 Ibid. 15 (pointed out by Landsberger).
51.9, JEN 513.7, and HSS V.67.15. In all passages where sufficient data are available the term is applied to adopted sons, with the single exception of JEN 392 where the party in question is the ewuru of his elder brother. Particularly illuminating is HSS V.67.8 ff.: “Given that there is a son (by marriage) of Shurihil (the testator and adoptive parent in this case), he shall be the principal son (rabû) and shall receive a double share; in that case (û) Shennima (the person adopted) shall be next in order (terdennu), according to his (proper secondary) share (ki šépi šu-ma) he shall inherit... When Shurihil dies, Shennima shall become ewuru.” It would appear, then, that ewuru is applied to specifically designated heirs rather than to direct heirs; hence the term may be used for adopted children, and for next of kin (brother, JEN 392); presumably it could also be applied to special grants made by a father to his daughters.

The abstract noun ewurâtu, which occurs in our text for the first time, can mean nothing else than ewuru-rights. Dûr-ilišu cedes these rights to Tehip-Tilla for the sum of forty shekels. His claim to such authority is based on his being the šu-ru of the women.

18 On this term see now Koschaker, Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten 35 ff. (reprinted from ZA NF. VII).
19 My previous reading of the ideogram GIR as emâqû (instead of šepu, cf. AASOR X. 2. line 11) has proved to be erroneous.
20 For this latter possibility there is no illustration in the Nuzi documents, but there may be one in the Hittite texts. The decision hinges on the interpretation of the Hittite legal institution called ıwaru. The meanings established for this term are “share of father’s estate given in his lifetime” (Sturtevant, Hittite Glossary 30), “dowry” (ibid. 82), and in general “inherited feudal property” (Götze, Kleinasiens 97, where the full literature is cited). The basic connection between the ıwaru-institution and the Nuzi system of land tenure is recognized by Götze (loc. cit.). But now that we have been able to narrow down the meaning of ewuru to something like “heir by decree” as contrasted with “direct, automatic heir,” the possibility of an etymological connection between the Hittite and Nuzi terms is worth considering. To be sure, there is the difference in the respective medial vowels. The interchange of a and u, however, is not new at Nuzi; see below (p. 442) for Zi-la-ka-pi/Zi-la-gu-pi, and note, e.g., Nuzi Kušu-hai and Babylonian Kašši. More probable would be the assumption that the difference is morphological. For whereas ıwaru is the object, ewuru is the subject of the institution in question. Bearing in mind this fundamental distinction, the Hittite denominative ıvarrusṭa (i) “give an ıvaru” (cf. Friedrich, ZA NF. 2. 48. n. 1, and Sturtevant, op. cit. 30) may be contrasted tentatively with Nuzian ewurumma epēšu.
This term can now be interpreted as “next of kin,” normalized as šu′ru, and equated with šēru in the sense of Hebrew šěr “kinsman, kinswoman” (cf. Lev. 18:12, 20:19). The name Dūr-ilishu, good Semitic (“Akkadian,” cf. l. 3) like that of the two women, helps to confirm this identification.

As to the actual status of the Habiru as implied in this document, two points receive a certain amount of illumination. In the first place, the payment involved is one-half of the average price for a bride and two-thirds of the usual amount paid for slaves in an ordinary transaction. This lower rate must be somehow interconnected with the other feature of the contract, the so-called self-enslavement. It is plain, of course, that the phrase ramānšunu-ma uššeribšunu cannot be taken in its strict literal meaning. It has a bearing on the ultimate status of the “enterers” after the completion of the transaction rather than on their frame of mind prior to it. But a more precise definition of the underlying legal matters will have to await the decision of a jurist.

Before we leave this valuable document, attention may be called to a term which resembles in sound the ewuru discussed above. Among the recently published alphabetic texts from Ras Shamra there is a letter of one ’wr-žr, which has attracted much notice and has led to considerable discussion. With the controversial problems of interpretation we are not concerned at present. What matters just now is the name of the writer, first read ’Ur-shar, but subsequently found by several scholars to be Hurrian; the first element is now commonly read Ewiri-. That this Hurrian word has nothing to do with our ewuru is plain from the fact that the former has the value EN “master, king.” The point that I wish to make is that the middle vowel of e-wi-ri is inorganic, the correct form being ewri. To be sure, the full name is once spelled out E-wi-ri-šar-ri. By its side we have, however, ib-ri as a name element in the Tunip letter, and independently in the letter of Tushratta. Moreover, the same word is common in the Nuzi dialect as irwi, particularly in the name of Irwi-šarri, an exact

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18 Published by Dhorme in Syria XIV. 235 ff. and discussed in particular by Ginsberg and Maisler, Journal Pal. Or. Soc. 1934. 243 ff., and ibid. 1935. 181 ff. Cf. also Albright, BASOR 54. 26; Thureau-Dangin, Syria XII. 254; Montgomery, Journal 55. 94; Harris, ibid. 95 ff.
20 Knudtzon, Amarna 17. 47.
counterpart of the above Ras Shamra name except for the meta-
thesis of $w$ and $r$.\textsuperscript{23} Now it is the very fact of this metathesis that
precludes the existence of an intervening vowel. Apart from this
transposition, the disparity between $ewiri$ and $irwi$ must be graphic
and not phonetic; it is due to the shortcomings of the cuneiform
syllabary which was equipped to represent $irwi$, but not $ewri$. To
express the latter it was necessary to resort to writings like $ib$-$ri$,
or else $e$-$wi$-$ri$, with the medial vowel understood as silent. When
we find a form like $e$-$wi$-$ir$-$ni$, the $r$ is obviously syllabic ($ewrni$).\textsuperscript{24}
The transcription of the western form (Ras Shamra, Tushratta
letter, Boghazk"{o}"{o})\textsuperscript{24} should be therefore $ewr$, the eastern (Nuzi)
i/$ewri$. The latter is, of course, in no danger of being confused
with $ewur$, owing to metathesis of the postconsonantal liquid in
this particular dialect.

Turning now from Lacheman’s texts to the two handsome vol-
umes from the matchless hand of Chiera, we note first the difference
in the reproduction of the characters. Lacheman’s copies are
properly tracings, giving an absolutely faithful picture of the
originals, including seal impressions, the precise location of the
breaks, and the like. Chiera’s autographs are, on the other hand,
inevitably conventionalized to a certain extent. One cannot imitate
very well the calligraphy of scores of scribes. When the copyist is
as reliable as Chiera was, there is little danger of wrong readings.
But only tracings will reproduce all the graphic mannerisms of
numerous scribes. In the last analysis it becomes a question of cost.
When inked photographs can be afforded they are to be preferred
to autographed copies.

With the exception of a few m\textit{\text{"{a}r\text{"{u}tu}} fill-ups (JEN 400 ff.) the
entire fourth volume of JEN is given up to proceedings in court.
The value of these texts for our knowledge of East Hurrian legal
procedure cannot be overestimated. From this long series of actual
cases it is possible to reconstruct a considerable portion of the
underlying law code and to obtain a reasonably complete picture of
the basic legal machinery. While a full discussion will doubtless be

\textsuperscript{23} Speiser, \textit{Mesopotamian Origins} 145. n. 90.
\textsuperscript{24} See now Friedrich, \textit{Analecta Orientalia} 12 (Festschrift Deimel) 124,
who also regards the $r$ as syllabic.]
\textsuperscript{24} Cf. now Brandenstein, \textit{Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazk"{o}"{o}} (KUB)
XXVII. 38. IV. 13 [and add Friedrich, loc. cit.].
forthcoming from Koschaker and his able disciples, a few gleanings may be presented in this rapid survey.

JEN 333, to which I have had occasion to refer above, is a remarkably lucid account of a lengthy law-suit. A tentative translation of this text was given by Chiera and myself eight years ago (Journal 47. 50 ff.), which was subsequently modified and corrected by Koschaker and Landsberger. The publication of the text itself makes possible further corrections and additions. In line 38, end, the reader will reconstruct ši-mu-[ma]-ki “of the will.”

In line 76 the ta of ta-aš-ru should be provided with a sic!, for the reading is clearly e-wu-ru, as was first suggested by Landsberger.

For the present I wish to draw attention to the phrase [la] bēl šitti la bēl pu-ú-ri à la m[i]-im-ma a-na-ku-mi “I am not owner by inheritance, nor owner by lot, nor anything” (ll. 12-13). The witness conveys in this quaint manner that he cannot be the proper defendant in this suit about a certain piece of land, having acted merely for a third party who claims to be the real owner. The phrase throws some light on the question of land tenure not only in Nuzi, but also in Canaan. Possession of land could be obtained through šitti (inheritance share), pûru (lot), or by other means such as mortgage, etc. (mimma “ anything”). According to the Middle Assyrian law šitti was the preferred share of the eldest son, while the remaining shares were divided by lot (pûru). Whether the same practices obtained in Nuzi is doubtful, but allotment played an important part in any case. This helps to illustrate the biblical use of yll “fall” (i.e. “by lot,” usually with hâl “share”) when taking possession of land is indicated. The

25 NKR A 15, 75 f.
26 Ibid. 15.
28 Cf. Judges 18: 1; Psalms 16: 6, and in the causative with la “ lot.”

Closer connection with the Middle Assyrian laws may be indicated in two Nuzi passages. In JEN 196. 8 f. a field is granted ana GI.GAG.TAG. GA šušpâti “as arrows of the quiver” (cf. Koschaker, OLZ 1932. 405), and in JEN 519. 6-7 we have GI.MEŠ.GAG.TAG.GA ina šibbi šiš(i) pâti [both times with the verb nadda “cast,” as recognized by my student, Mr. M. Berkooz]. It would appear that we have here the mechanics of the pûru usage: it was based on the fall of the arrows from the quiver (cf. Psalms 16: 6 for a figure of speech based on this practice). Now this type of inheritance is clearly the part (qâtu, šêpu) of the terdennu (mâru
originally inalienable land could be obtained through inheritance as a preferential share, or by lot, and the phraseology which reflected this system was retained even after the system itself had been modified.

From the marginal notes to these texts the following few may be selected. JEN 321. 14-15 contains the phrase kunukkēšunu giriru “their seals have been rolled”; cf. also ibid. 330. 13, and HSS IX. 108. 6 (where the final KU should be changed to ru). JEN 330. 7 mentions the place-name Tūr-za-zi, which reappears as Du-ur-za-an-zi in 339. 3. It is interesting that the same name is found in Meek’s Old Akkadian texts in precisely the same two forms (Dūrzazi, HSS X. 155. II. 2 and Dūr-zanzi, ibid. 111. 4). But whether this locality, which lay in the immediate vicinity of Nuzi (cf. JEN 330. 6-7), is to be identified with the city of Tursha/n, as Albright seems to imply (BASOR. 59. 9), is extremely uncertain. The latter name is in all probability Hurrian (cf. the personal names Turari, Tursheni, Turshiya). In JEN 331. 13 correct i-na-ak-mi to i-la-ak-mi. The meaning of the passage is that “whenever (immatimē with present tense) G. attempted to go to the gods (take the oath) M. would seize him (in order to prevent him).” JEN 335 is one of several texts recording suits over animals which had died as a result of an act described by ul-te-ib-bir, l. 9; cf. ū-še(1)-bi-ir, 341. 7 (alpa tappašu), ū-še-ib-bi[-ir], 349. 6, et al. This verb is obviously a cognate of Heb. רקוב used in Ex. 22: 9, 13 (cf. also Ezek. 34: 4) in the technical sense of inflicting injury upon animals; the parallel between our uttebbiršu ú imtūt (ll. 9-10), or, better still, between it-ti-ib-ir-mi (for ʾiṭtebir-mi) ú mi-it-mi (ll. 19-20) and the biblical נ сах, Ex. 34: 13, could scarcely be more complete.

JEN 343 (among others) shows that the penalty for theft was twelve times the property involved. In a similar case (ibid. 347) the zillikuḥlu officials testify (širumma ḫepsû, cf. 385. 20) against the suspect, who is obliged to take an oath (išāni našû) with regard

šēru or eceu, as opposed to the preferred share of the māru rabû. We obtain thus a clue to the obscure passage in KAV 2. IV. 11 ff. (for previous interpretations cf. Driver and Miles, op. cit. 302 ff., 501 f.). The tašāmu TUR šā pārdāni (ll. 20 f.) is the secondary share selected by lot, while the tašāmu GAL is the zittu of the māru rabû. The encroachment on a neighbor’s šā tappaʾišu bounded property (tašāmu) that represents his preferred share (GAL) draws, therefore, a heavier fine than trespass on an allotted share (šā pārdāni).
to or against (ana) this testimony. The interesting colophon states that the case was appealed to the king, which meant an additional cost of one ox, the usual charge for such appeals.

JEN 353.26 contains the barbarous UD.MIP₂-ti, for ǔmåti "days." Such heterogeneous (Sumerian and Akkadian) ideograms with phonetic complements in the vernacular are intelligible enough in Hittite, but out of place in Nuzi, where the written language was, after all, a dialect of Akkadian. *Ibid.* 372.4 admirably supports the view of Landsberger that kuruštu is fodder for fattening animals. The phrase reads: še'āti₂ša UDUP₂ ku-ru-uš-ta-e "barley for fattening sheep"; cf. also HSS IX. 50.10, 25.5, both of which Landsberger overlooked. In passages like JEN 384.5 ḫararu interchanges with the more usual kumanu (e.g., No. 401.6) as a subdivision of the awēحارu (epinnu) measure. In Middle Assyrian texts, on the other hand, kumanu seems to take the place of epinnu; the discrepancy would disappear if mala kumanu in the Nuzi texts merely indicated something like "full measure." In JEN 404 ina migratišu (l. 2) "with his consent" is unusual for a mārūtu-document.

JEN V is considerably varied in contents. In addition to the Habiru texts, those bearing on family laws (Nos. 428-41) are of particular interest. The very first one may be taken as a sample, even though its fragmentary condition necessitates a certain amount of restoration. Li. 6 ff. read: ū ʾS. a-na [aš-šu-ti] a-na márišu i-na-an-di-[in] ḫa-di-inšša a-na-a-wēli ša DUMU.DŪ (evurumma ippuš, or ša ana mārūtu ša ippuš, cf. *ibid.* 432.9) i-na[-an-di-in]

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²⁹The use of ana in this connection goes back to the Hammurubaby Code Rev. VI. 4 (ana mutiša). But the usual translation of the phrase “for the sake of her husband” is not adequate in the light of the present occurrences. The force is rather that of Latin corum.

²⁰*Archiv für Orientforschung* (AfO) X. 149.

²¹So of course and not še'āti as maintained by Gordon, *Musön* XLVIII. 118, on the basis of HSS IX. 144. 20, where we should read Ū-ti "balance payment" in šupe'ulu transactions (≡ īplīti?), which is so frequent in the Nuzi texts.

²²Cf. *Keilschriften aus Assur juristischen Inhalts* (KAJ) 149.2: 3 1 ku-na-ni 3 GIR₂ eqla.

²³This form interchanges with ḫašh/ḫaššu. The final n is unusual. Does it reflect the changed pitch which is to be presupposed in sentences of this kind, i.e., ḫadi "and if it please her"? Cf. the fem. form ḫa-ta-ta, JEN 465.10.
ù la a-na aš-šu-ti a-na awēlī <na-ka-ri> i-na-an-din “And the woman Š. as wife to her son she may give (and), if it please her, to one adopted she may give; to a stranger she shall not give (her).” In JEN 434.9-10 šu-ú-mu ša awēlī ša-a-ni-i [i]-ga-ab-bi “speak the name of another man” is an interesting paraphrase of “live in the house of another man.” Ibid. 438.4: ša-la-aš-šu-um-ma i-pu-šu “forfeit” brings up once more the question of the etymology of ša(la)ššu-ma; the correspondence of šal(a)šu with Šaššu suggests strongly the Akkadian word for “three.”

One could bring up many other points and problems, but space does not allow such luxury. In conclusion, I wish to cite a few samples of the onomastic material. The names It-hi-ip-Nu-zu (ibid. 505.5) and A-ri-ip-Ḫur-ra (No. 506.1) permit the identification of Nuzu and Hurra as deities. The ideograms MAR.TU.KU (ibid. 357.21) can be deciphered without much difficulty as Amurriš-takal. SEŠ-ia (ibid. 333.88) is probably Šenni-ia. But we do not have always such smooth sailing. In JEN 477.29 Du-uš-ma-na strikes one as an Indo-Iranian name, for all that the father bears the typically Hurrian name of Tehit-Teshup. We have the same problem with Tu-uš-ma-na, son of Tu-ri-ki-tar (JEN 89.18). But on finding that Tehit-Teshup appears in JEN 85.34 as the father of Du-um-ši-ma-na, the two being clearly the same as the above pair, we are constrained to give up all thoughts as to the possible non-Hurrian origin of Duš-mana. And yet, Du-u(m)-ši-ma-na is a not impossible writing for the former. What I am driving at is that Hurrian names appear in these texts in many and wondrous disguises. How seriously should one take the ideographically written names? At first glance (DINGIR)UTU-ri (son of Zi-la-gu-bi, JEN 68.29) looks like Simika-ri; but Ša-ma-aš-RI son of Zi-la-ku-bi (JEN 212.28) forces us to normalize the

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54 Note, e.g., ki-ir-pa-an-šu eḫ-te-pu “I disinherit him,” JEN 478.4-5. Cf. ASSOR X. 10. The phrase refers evidently to some symbolic act which consists in the breaking of an earthen vessel.  
56 Here ṣal is an obvious error for šar.  
55 For *Šimigī + ari, though it is of course problematical whether the verb would appear in this bare form. This purely hypothetical equivalence is mentioned merely for the sake of argument. For the equation of Šimigī with DUTU see KUB XXVII. iv, and cf. ASSOR X. 4 for the writing gi (would the k in -kari, wr. usually -qa-ri, be due to the following a t?).
pair as Samaš-re'u and Ṣil(i)-Kubi. On the other hand, there are many scribes named Šimikari (cf. e.g., JEN 87. 40, 204. 38, 311. 29, 478. 24), while a number of others bear the approximately equivalent Sumerian name (DINGIR)UTU MA. AN. SE. Was the latter a showy translation of the Hurrian original? Yet, in two instances Šamaš-iddinam (to give the Sumerian group its Akkadian value) has UL(DU₇).(DINGIR)IM as father (JEN 82. 25, 436. 15). And as if this were not enough, UL.(DINGIR)IM is the son of the unquestionably Hurrian Dūp-ki-til-la (JEN 340. 44). The chances are that the fanciful scribe was to his friends plain Šimikari son of Shehel-Teshup, or the like, rather than Šamaš-iddinam or UTU.MANSE son of DU₇.ISKUR. But we cannot be sure.

Finally, the text published by Meek in HSS X. 231 is unique among all the records of the Hurrian period at Nuzi. As Meek has pointed out, it differs from the contemporary documents in clay texture, shape, size, and content. ²⁷ The few lines that have been preserved give (with the aid of restorations from unpublished seals) the name of Ithi-Teshup son of Kibi-Teshup, king of Arrapḫa, followed by curses against those who remove the king’s name. Adad and Ishtar of Lubdi (Lu-ub-tu-ḫi) are invoked as protecting deities. That the text bears unmistakable marks of western influence has also been recognized by Meek. Of special interest is this new instance of the Hurrian suffix -ḫi, with genitival or adjectival force. ²⁸ An extension (of non-Hurrian origin?) of this suffix is found in mātKu-ḫi-su-ḫa-i (HSS V. 37. 6) and mātKu-u[š]-su-šu-[ḫ]-ha-ū (JEN 529. 69) “land of the Kassites, Babylonia.” The evident importance of the city of Lubdi, well attested in the Nuzi records as well as in later Assyrian times, ²⁹ cannot escape notice. From all indications, the discovery and excavation of the site is a goal well worth pursuing.

²⁷ HSS IX. xxvi. The number 230 should be changed to 231.
²⁸ Note the change of the i in Lubdi to u before -ḫi (Lubduḫi). That such changes do not necessarily imply a suffix -uḫe instead of -ḫe, as maintained by Albright (AfO VI. 166), may be seen from such forms as (URU)U-da-ḫi, (URU)Kī-iz-su-va-at-na-ḫi, and (URU)ša-mu-ḫa-ḫi, Syria XII. 258 f., and now also KUB XXVII. 1. II. 33-39. All that we may gather from instances like Lubdi/Lubduḫi is that a final i changes to u before the suffix -ḫi. [See now the identical conclusion of Friedrich in Analecta Orientalia 12. 120. n. 3.]
²⁹ On the question of the location of Lubdi see Albright, Journal 45. 211 f. For a recent gentilic form see AfO X. 47 (Lu-ub-da-i-tu).
THE MAGIC HOLLY IN JAPANESE LITERATURE

SHIO SAKANISHI

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The Japanese Hiragi translated "holly" is properly the Osmanthus ilicifolius,1 and in spite of Ichiku Okamoto's statement that it was first transplanted from Korea during the Kyôhô era (1716-1736),2 holly is a native of Japan. It is widely distributed in the main island and Shikoku, and used as a hedge plant. Its prickly and non-prickly kinds are distinguished as "male" and "female" holly.3

Holly called hihiragi or rarely hiragi, is mentioned twice in the Kojiki, the earliest written record of Japan, compiled in 712 A.D. The first is in connection with the name of a deity, Hihiragi-no-sono-hana-madzumi-no-kami.4 Motoori suggests that hihiragi here may be only a kind of "pillow word" for the succeeding sono-hana, the flowers, and the remaining part of the name is corrupted beyond identification.2 Tominobu, however, suggests that the holly tree blossoms very rarely; hence it is described as madzumi, "rarely seen."6 Chamberlain accepts the latter interpretation and translates it: "Deity Waiting-to-see-the-Flowers-of-the-Holly."7

The second passage in the Kojiki refers to a holly-wood spear eight fathoms long, which was given to Prince Yamatotake by the Heavenly Sovereign before he was sent to subdue the East.8 Later upon his successful return, the said spear was presented to the great

2 Kariya, Ekisai, Senchû wamyô ruiju shô [Catalogue of Japanese names], revised and annotated, ca. 1810, Book 20, under Trees.
3 Matsuoka, Gentatsu, Honzo ikka gen [Herbalist notes], ca. 1800, Book 2, under 枸枒. Encyclopaedia Britannica: "In some English districts, they are distinguished as 'he' and 'she' holly."
6 Hosoda, Tominobu, Jindai seigo tokiwac-gusa [Words and phrases used in ancient times], in manuscript.
8 Ibid., p. 22.
The Magic Holly in Japanese Literature

shrine in Ise.9 Of course the story of Prince Yamatotake belongs to the age of myth, but coming down to the historical period, we find that in the first month of the year 702 A.D., the court architect presented Emperor Monmu with a holly-wood spear eight fathoms long.10 and in the eighth month of the same year, the said spear was sent to the shrine in Ise.11 In the Harima fudoki, the earliest topographical history compiled in the Wadō period (703-714), China is described as Hiihiragi yashiro sokotsukanu kuni, "the country whose foundation cannot be touched even with a holly-wood spear eight fathoms long."12 The term "eight fathoms long" is often used to give an impression of incommensurability. Motoori supposes a spear to be a mere ornamental stick and not the weapon with a metal point.13 However, since the holly-wood is described as hard and white like bones of a dog,14 and its grain as extremely fine, it was well fitted to be made into a weapon. Ascham speaks of the fitness of holly for the piecing of a shaft.15 It is noted also that among the Maidu Indians of Butte County, California, the arrow points made from the holly bush have long been used for small game and birds.16 In any case, judging from the above as well as the later records, the holly-wood spear eight fathoms long seems to have been vested with a certain magic power among the primitive Japanese.

About the same time another holly cult was growing up in the Imperial court. On the second day of the first month of the year 689 A.D., "the Bureau of Great Learning presented eighty staves"17 to the members of the Imperial Household for the purpose of driving out evil spirits.18 The Engi-shiki 19 describes in

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9 Yamato-hime no mikoto seiki [Story of Princess Yamato], compiled in the 9th century, and only a second half comes down in manuscript. Some scholars, however, believe it to be a later forgery.
11 Ibid., p. 22.
12 Gunsho ruiji [Collected works], 1918, vol. 17, p. 9.
14 Wakan sansai zue [Illustrated cyclopaedia of Japanese and Chinese matters], 1713, Book 84, p. 11.
15 Tozophilus, Book 2: School of shooting.
19 Compiled during the Engi period (901-922) and deals with the court rites and ceremonies exclusively, 1906 ed., pp. 485-6.
detail the ceremony which was performed on the first day of the Hare each year and mentions holly among the woods used for this purpose. The custom was of Chinese origin, and in its early stage peach sticks were used. In Japan sticks cut to five feet in length and tied two or three together, were placed in the four corners of various rooms in the court. The occasion was made much of, and Sei Shōnagon counts it as one of the most pleasant events of the court life. There is evidence of its being annually observed till the beginning of the 14th century, but gradually this quaint ceremony was merged into another of the same purpose known as the Setsubun.

The Setsubun too has its origin in China, and the ceremony is characterized by the scattering of toasted beans on the eve of the spring season to drive out evil spirits. Because of the close resemblance in their purpose and method of celebration, often the Setsubun and the ancient court custom known as Tsuina have been confused. The former came into existence at least two hundred years later and at first was celebrated only among the common people.

The Setsubun is first described in the Tosa nikki [Tosa Diary]. On his return journey to Kyoto from his post in Tosa Province, Tsurayuki was detained at Ōminato by a storm, and wrote:

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20 *Han shu* 漢書 99, Book 2. 卯金刀 or 剛卯 is a kind of metal sword devised by Wang Mang (B.C. 33-A.D. 23) and worn on the first day of the Hare each year to drive away evil spirits. When the above two or three characters are put together, they form the character 劉 the surname of the Han rulers.

In Japan wooden sticks used for the same purpose were first called 剛卯枝 and later 卵枝. Though some scholars claim that Chinese 剛卯 and Japanese 剛卯枝 are different, as far as I can determine, they seem to be the same.


22 *Makura no sōshi* [Pillow-book], ca. 1000, Book 4.

23 *Koji ruien* [Cyclopaedia of antiquities], Part 19, p. 1367.


25 *Hou han shu*, Book 15. See also: *Lei shu t’suan yao*, 經書摘要, Book 5.


27 See: Aston’s *Nihongi*, p. 389.

28 Written by Ki no Tsurayuki in 935.
Though 'tis the New Year's day, the ship remains at the same place. . . .
All day we thought only of Kyoto longingly.
'I wonder,' we said to each other, 'how it is in Kyoto. Are the customary decorations of straw rope, mullet head, holly, and the like displayed at the small house doors?'

Tsurayuki makes it clear that it was a custom among the common people, but before the 15th century it came to be an annual institution. In a New Year's surimono, Hokkei (1780-1850) depicts a woman toasting beans under the customary decorations of the season, and on the top of a sliding door is stuck a holly branch with a sardine head.29 The mullet head in the course of time was substituted for the sardine head, and in his poem called "Holly," Tameie Fujiwara makes a pun with the word iwashi, sardine, and iwoji, not to say.30 In the Seiji yōryaku,31 it is said, there is a crude picture of a court astrologer chasing a devil with a stick, the end of which is decorated with a prickly holly leaf.

Thus very early holly came to be credited with the power of exorcising the evil spirits, was the essential element of the festival of Setsubun, and the coming of the spring was heralded by the voice of holly venders.32

A 17th century rationalist as well as moralist Kōko Kaibara writes: 33

On the eve of the beginning of the spring season, to place heads of sardine and holly is to ward off the devil called Kagu-hana [Smelling Nose], who is said to eat man. But really this is a superstition of the ignorant and should not be taken seriously.

Nevertheless, this custom was practised widely, and holly was considered the only effective means of frightening away the devils. To cite a few examples from the contemporary literature: in a

29 The Art Institute of Chicago, Negative No. 45721.
30 Yono naka wa kazu narazu tomo hiiragi no
Iro ni idetemo iwoji tozo omoo.
An anthology compiled in 1224 and quoted in the Kokon yōran kō, vol. 1, p. 936.
31 Compiled by Kotosuke Koremune, ca. 1000.
32 Haikai jiten [Dictionary of the Haikai poems], revised and enlarged ed., 1928.
33 Nihon saiji-ki [Calendar of rites and ceremonies of Japan], 1687, Book 7, p. 10.
comic interlude entitled Setsubun Festival, probably put in the present form in the mid-16th century, there is the following monologue by the devil who comes from the Island of Eternal Youth:

As I hurry along, I am already in the Isles of Japan. I am exceedingly tired and hungry and want something to eat. Oh, here is a house. I shall take a look.

Ouch, ouch! How painful!
I forgot all about this being the night of the Setsubun when people put holly at the door to scare us away, and hurt my eyes badly.

Again in the Oni no tsuchi [Magic Mallet of the Devil] of a little later date, the devil who comes from the Island of Hôrai to attend the fair of the Dragon’s day, has had a little too much to drink.

Devil: How frightening! Terrible, terrible!
Waki: What is the matter, Sir?
Devil: Yonder between the two stone buildings, a branch of holly is sticking right into my path. I am scared. Ha, ha, ha!

One of the favorite subjects of the Otsu painters in the 18th century was a rat chasing a devil up a pillar holding in his mouth the magic holly leaves. Sometimes on the side, yuruse, yuruse, “Pardon, pardon,” is written with vermillion ink. In netsuke too this theme is frequently used, and once I saw an unsigned netsuke illustrating a master of ceremony with a holly twig in his hand and a devil hiding his face with his hands. In textile, the only design of holly I have seen is of the beautiful kesa or priest’s robe of the 17th century, identified as the Shichijô style by Miss Helen C. Gunsaulus.

Holly either as a given or surname is not known in modern Japan. However, in ancient times in the province of Yamato, there was one Hiragi (which is a contracted form of Hiiragi), who was

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Zoku kyogen ki [Collection of comic interludes; second series], 1903, p. 365.

Kyogen niju-ban [Twenty comic interludes], 1903, p. 97.

Otsu-ye, 1920, Folio 1, plate 24.


The Art Institute of Chicago, Negative No. C12600.

a Shinto priest. During the Genroku period (1688-1704) there was in Kyoto a group of metal workers known as the *Hiragi-ya* [Holly House]. They're sword-guards were called the *Hiragi-ya tsuba* and prized for their exquisite inlay work. As to the origin of their name "Holly," nothing is known.

Holly, however, was used as the *mon* or family badge, and according to Yorisuken Numata, its earliest use appears in the *Kenbun shoka mon* [Family badges of various houses which I have seen or heard] compiled in the 15th century. Already a holly crest was used by the Kamiie and Uehara families. In the early Tokugawa period among the feudal lords, Ōsaki and Ichihashi adopted it. The Ichihashi badge especially is interesting since it consists of three holly leaves and three toasted beans, suggesting definitely the celebration of the *Setsubun* and their power of exorcising evil spirits.

The legend of the Holly Grove in the suburb of Kyoto again goes back to antiquity. In the year 735 A.D. for the first time, the country experienced the terrific epidemic of small-pox. It started in spring and raged till the late summer, taking a heavy toll of lives. Especially Tanka Fujiwara, a poet and courtier, suffered a loss of his four sons. Grief stricken, Tanka consulted the famous oracle of the Kamo Shrine, and was told to offer a prayer at the Shrine of Holly. Having followed the oracle, the remaining members of the family escaped the dread disease, and as an expression of his deep gratitude, Tanka offered a holly tree to the shrine.

The efficacy of the shrine of Holly against small-pox soon spread.

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40 Wada, T., *Honpō sōken kinkō ryaku-shi* [Brief history of the metal workers of Japan], 1913, pp. 85-86.
41 *Nihon monshō gaku*, 1926, pp. 646-8.
42 Tanaka, Kikuo, *Iroha-biki monchō* [Family badges arranged in the i-ro-ha order], 1881, p. 100.
43 *Hiragi no mori* in Japanese. Its earliest mention is in the *Chōshun-ki* [Diary of a courtier] by Morotoki Minamoto (d. 1139).
44 *Shoku Nihongi*, Book 12, p. 214.
45 *Kamo-Miyoja jinja* in the Lower Kamo District in Kyoto and one of the earliest national shrines listed in the *Engi-shiki*, Book 9: Deities IX, p. 281.
46 *Hiragi no yashiro*, one of the lesser shrines within the great *Kamo jinja*. Its patron deity is Prince Susanoo, brother to the great Sun Goddess, Amaterasu. The name Hiragi probably was derived from a holly tree growing in its ground.
over the country, and people came from far and near with their offerings, and the famous Grove of Holly was thus established. The trees offered, however, were not all holly: there were camellias, elder bushes, orange trees, and others. But as soon as they were transplanted in the grove, they began to grow prickly leaves and gradually the entire tree was metamorphosed into holly. During the Middle Ages, the grove was considered one of the curious sights of Kyoto.

Chûryô Satô, an herbalist of Edo in the 18th century, was not willing to accept such a tale without looking into the matter personally. In the course of his herb-gathering, therefore, he made a special pilgrimage to the Shrine of Holly and wrote:

... It is said that all the trees brought to the Grove of Holly metamorphose into holly, but upon examining them closely, I find that they do not metamorphose, but are holly from the first.

The story of metamorphosis, however, found an exponent in Sôzan Miyoshi, who visited the Grove in 1838. He writes:

... As I looked closely into the sacred Grove, which is some 24 square yards, I found, though there are various kinds of trees, they are either entirely or partially holly. ... I recognized camellias, oaks, gardenias, and a few others, but they were already half holly. In one corner, however, there was a clump of elder bushes, which still maintained their own leaves. It might be that the leaves of the lower branches have grown prickly, but they were so closely planted that I was unable to examine them. Inside the Grove, it is so crowded that there is no more space, and people plant their offerings outside, and they all turn into holly in no time. ...

To sum up, from primitive times to the present, holly in Japan has been vested with a certain magic power. Although the rites and ceremonies connected with it came from China originally, its cult is indigenous to Japan, and finds closer parallels in Western folk-lore.

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47 Koji ruien under Plants, Book 10, p. 631.
48 Matsuo, Genki, Fuyô Kyôka-shi [Description of Kyoto], 1665, vol. 1, p. 2.
49 Chûryô manroku [Chûryô’s miscellany], ca. 1790, and printed in the Zuikitou taikan, vol. 5, p. 22.
50 Sôzan chobun kishû [Sozan’s wonders, seen and heard], 1854, Book 5, p. 53.
51 See for example the English use of holly to drive out witches and for Christmas decoration, or the legend of holly-oak in the sacred grove of Diana.
(Specimen Plate)
(fol. 24 a)
THE GARRETT SAHIDIC MANUSCRIPT OF ST. LUKE

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(with one plate)

As far as we know to-day, there are extant no complete copies of ancient Coptic manuscripts of the Gospel of St. Luke. The Sahidic Coptic manuscript of St. Luke, which is now in the possession of Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore, is therefore of very great importance in the study of the Coptic Gospels. The Garrett manuscript, which is written in well-drawn uncial script on parchment, probably was copied in the sixth century.

In the *Album de Paleographie Copte pour servir a l'introduction paleographique des Actes des Martyrs de l'Egypte* by Henri Hyvernat, Paris-Rome, 1888, plate 3 is a reproduction of pages 20 and 21 of a manuscript from the Borgian Collection, No. 246, Naples, which is assigned to the sixth or seventh century. A comparison between this plate and the Garrett manuscript shows rather close resemblances in the formation of the letters. While the Borgian codex is practically constant in having a single form of M and A, we have two types of these letters in the Garrett manuscript.

On plate 4, Hyvernat, *op. cit.*, we have a reproduction of a manuscript which too is dated about the sixth or seventh century. The C and the A of the Garrett manuscript resemble those of the plate. The two types of M also have their counterparts on plate 4. On the basis of these comparisons, the manuscript apparently belongs to the sixth or seventh century.

Further aid in dating the manuscript is found in W. H. Worrell's *Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic according to the Chicago Manuscript* (University of Chicago Press, 1931). Speaking of the date of his manuscript, Worrell says (xi): "The hand of the Chicago manuscript would, in the absence of other evidence, be dated conservatively as of the sixth century; and this would seem to be demanded by the rounded epsilon, on the one hand, and the hair lines and smallness of the letters on the other." Professor Worrell reproduces four pages of the Chicago manuscript in facsimile. A comparison of these pages with the Garrett manuscript
shows many close similarities in the formation of the letters, among which is epsilon. If we accept Worrell’s date, the Garrett manuscript should be assigned to the same period; the writer sees no reason to disagree with Professor Worrell.

A comparison of the Garrett manuscript with the plates in the third volume of Horner’s Sahidic Version of the New Testament, Oxford, 1911, also favours the sixth century as the date of this manuscript.

The ornamental scrolls which are drawn in the margins at the beginning of chapters or divisions in the text, show likewise a great similarity to the scrolls of the above mentioned Borgian codex. The decorations are drawn in ink only, without any further colouring. The divisions in the text correspond to the early kefálaia which were used in Greek Biblical codices.

The manuscript lacks about 370 verses through loss of folios; only 55 folios are left. In some places the codex is worm-eaten; in many cases the lower line or a portion of it is missing, because the folio is either worm-eaten or thumb-worn. Folio 1 is very badly mutilated, and chapter 1, 1-5 is practicallly illegible; folio 1 b is more legible than 1 a, but much is missing on account of the worm-eaten condition of the folio. Folios 2 and 3 are also very fragmentary. Folio 4 has one large worm-hole and two smaller ones. On account of defects of this nature occurring throughout the codex, probably fifty more verses are missing in this codex. No superscription is visible on the first page.


The upper margins in a number of pages contain short lines of script which have been added by different hands of a later period. These notes, in some cases, are short titles indicating the content of the text below; in other cases, they are liturgical memoranda, noting the days on which particular lessons are to be read. No consistent system, however, is furnished in these fragmentary marginal notes.

In respect to completeness, the Garrett manuscript of St. Luke takes a worthy place beside Horner’s Sahidic MSS. of Luke, 91 and 114. These manuscripts are described in The Coptic Versions of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect—otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic, Oxford, 1911 (which is Horner’s work), Vol. III, 353, 355. In the John Pierpont Morgan Library is a Coptic manuscript of the four Gospels, of the eighth or ninth century. In this manuscript the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John are complete, but fourteen leaves from Luke (IV, 33-IX, 30; IX, 62-XIII, 18) were missing, when the manuscript was found.

A comparison of the contents of the Garrett manuscript with those of the manuscripts used by Horner and of the Morgan Gospels shows the great importance of this codex in the Coptic version of St. Luke. This codex represents a good text of the Sahidic Gospel of St. Luke. A careful collation of the manuscript with the text and apparatus criticus of Horner proves that there is extant just one Sahidic version of this Gospel. The manuscript, in many cases, follows Horner’s readings in the footnotes rather than those of his text. While the manuscript is old and excellent, it gives us practically nothing beyond what Horner had in forming his text. It should be noted that it has many points of agreement with the
following of Horner's manuscripts, which are arranged in the order of the frequency of these agreements: 114, 91, 89, 85, 86, 73, 129, 90, 111, 11, 8, 9, 78, 8, 53, 88, 25, 70, 16, 126. It is of the greatest importance, however, to observe that its readings agree most consistently with 114, 91, 89, 85, and 86, and consequently we conclude that it forms a group with them. Agreements here and there with the following also were noted: 37, f1, m1, γ1, 121, 131, 241, 11, 251, 1, 128, 346, 108, 15, 41, 17, 33; the order of the numbers in this sentence and the following one is of no significance, since the agreements are too few to enable us to draw any conclusions. Occasional readings were also found in agreement with e1, 61, 91, 191, 211, 43, 5, 14, 13, 18, 41, 47, 49, 50, 57, 62, 63, 64, 69, 84, 113, 116, 118, 124, 131, 157, 159, 209, 239, 240, 244, 274.

The dialect of the manuscript is Sahidic. In 18, 11, Horner has Ἅθσον, which is a Bohairic form; he does not list in his notes the Sahidic form, Ἅσον. The manuscript uniquely has the Sahidic form in this instance. The codex, however, contains a few localisms or individualisms, among which is especially prominent the fondness of B for q. In this category are found the following examples: 3, 7, ὄνεκδω—ὄνεκβω, which is also Sahidic. This reading is not found in any of Horner's manuscripts: 7, 14, ἄντεκτι—ἄντεκτι, agreeing with Horner's MSS. 114, 129; 7, 24, ὄνικενωμεν—ὄνικαίωμεν, agreeing with Horner’s 78, 80, 86, 114; 7, 44, ἄγκτοτυ ἄπεκδω—ἄπεκτοτυ ἄπεκδω, agreeing with 78, 86, 114; 8, 18, ἄγκτοτικ—ἄγκτοτικ, agreeing with MSS. 86, 91, 114; 10, 1, ἄκνεκμνος—ἄκεκμνος, agreeing with 88; 10, 11, ἄγκτωτε—ἄγκτωτε, agreeing with 88, 91; 10, 17, ὄνικενωμενοῦς—㈏ικεκλέωμονοῦς where δ and 88 have -β; 10, 35, ἄγκτοποοῦς—ἄγκτοποοῦς; 12, 7, ἄκέκι—ἄκέκι; agreeing with 89, 91, 129; 12, 26, ἄγκτοποοῦς—ττάκτοποοῦς; 13, 21, ὄνικεκτο—ττάκτοκτο; 18, 20, ἄγκτροητ—ἄγκτροητ agreeing with 89, 91, 114. Some of these forms are recognized in the lexicon as variant Sahidic forms.

1 In all citations, the reading of Horner is always placed first, while that of the Garrett manuscript is second.

2 The interchange of these two sounds is frequent, cf. Till, W., Koptische Dialettgrammatik, München, 1931, § 7 i; Worrell, Coptic Sounds, Univ. of Michigan, 1934, 83-88, 99-100.
There is found in the manuscript also the opposite change, \( \text{q} \) for \( \overline{\text{b}} \): 9, 32, \( \pi\delta\nu\eta\beta \overline{\beta} \)-\( \pi\delta\nu\eta\beta \); 10, 35, \( \beta\kappa\tau\epsilon \)-\( \delta\kappa\iota\epsilon \), '2 drachmas.' According to Horner, his manuscript had \( \overline{\text{b}} \), which he corrected to \( \text{b} \).

In the manuscript, in a number of instances, \( \gamma \) is read for \( \kappa \): 6, 18, \( \nu\kappa\alpha\kappa\theta\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu\nu\omicron\alpha\theta\rho\tau\omicron\nu \); 8, 29, \text{idem}; 11, 24, \text{idem}, in agreement with MS. 89; 13, 14, \( \epsilon\varrho\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\kappa\alpha\tau\kappa\tau\epsilon \)-\( \epsilon\varrho\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\kappa\alpha\tau\kappa\tau\epsilon \iota \) where 90 and 91 also have \( \nu\kappa\alpha\kappa\theta\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu\nu\omicron\alpha\theta\rho\tau\omicron\nu \). On the other hand, \( \kappa \) is found for \( \gamma \): 19, 29, \( \epsilon\beta\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\nu \)-\( \epsilon\beta\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\nu \). In agreement with MS. 89, 90, 91, 114.

\( \alpha \) is found for \( \tau \): 10, 18, \( \epsilon\nu\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\alpha \)-\( \epsilon\nu\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\alpha \) in agreement with 91; 10, 35, \( \eta\mu\nu\mu\nu\nu\omicron\tau\xi\epsilon\nu\nu \)-\( \eta\mu\nu\mu\nu\omicron\tau\xi\epsilon\nu\nu \). \( \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\nu \); in agreement with Bohairic D, E; 11, 18, \( \pi\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\alpha \)-\( \pi\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\alpha \), in agreement with MS. 89; 16, 26, \( \omicron\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon \)-\( \omicron\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon \), in agreement with 91, 114.

On the other hand, \( \tau \) is written for \( \alpha \): 9, 7, \( \varphi\nu\rho\omega\tau\alpha\nu\iota\varsigma \). Among other changes may be noted \( \text{q} \) for \( \gamma \): 20, 18, \( \epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon \). The opposite change is found, 8, 29, \( \epsilon\omega\alpha\gamma\tau\nu\rho\nu \)-\( \epsilon\omega\alpha\gamma\tau\nu\rho\nu \). In 18, 1, \( \delta \) is written for \( \kappa \), and \( \kappa \) (graphically) for \( \nu\kappa\alpha\kappa\theta\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu\nu\omicron\alpha\theta\rho\tau\omicron\nu \). In this case, MS. 89, 91, 114 also have \( \delta \) for \( \kappa \). In 19, 2, 5, 8, \( \zeta\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\zeta\alpha\iota\omicron \)-\( \zeta\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron \) in agreement with MS. 73, etc.

Anaptyxis occurs: 11, 18, \( \beta\varepsilon\alpha\zeta\beta\omicron\nu\omicron\alpha\gamma\omicron \)-\( \beta\varepsilon\alpha\zeta\beta\omicron\nu\omicron\alpha\gamma\omicron \). 11, 18, \text{idem}, but cf. 11, 19, \( \beta\varepsilon\alpha\zeta\beta\omicron\nu\omicron\alpha\gamma\omicron \). \( \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\nu\pi\nu\alpha\zeta \)-\( \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\nu\pi\nu\alpha\zeta \). Metathesis is found, 8, 41, \( \iota\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\omicron \). \( \alpha\iota\iota\omicron\nu \).

The manuscript is consistent in the use of double consonants in certain words. The word 'kingdom,' e.g., has \( -\overline{\rho}\rho - \): 1, 33, \( \nu\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\nu\nu\iota\nu\nu \)-\( \nu\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\nu\nu\iota\nu\nu \), like MS. 89; 4, 43, \( \nu\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\nu\nu\iota\nu\nu \)-\( \nu\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\nu\nu\iota\nu\nu \), in agreement with MS. 86; 6, 20, \( \tau\epsilon\nu\nu\omicron\nu \)-\( \tau\epsilon\nu\nu\omicron\nu \) (MSS. 86, 111, 114); 12, 31, \( \nu\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\nu\nu\iota\nu\nu \)-\( \nu\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\nu\nu\iota\nu\nu \), like 89. The word 'Pharisee' prefers \( -\overline{\gamma}\gamma - \): 5, 17, \( \gamma\varphi\alpha\iota\pi\iota\alpha\omicron\omicron \)-\( \gamma\varphi\alpha\iota\pi\iota\alpha\omicron \). (MS. 86); cf. also 5, 30 (MS. 86, 111); 6, 7 (MS. 86, etc.) 7, 36 (MSS. 78, 114, 131, \( \mu \)); 11, 37-38 (MSS. 89, 91, 241); 11, 43 (MSS. 89, 91, 241); 11, 53 (MSS. 89, 91); 17, 20 (MSS. 89, 91, 114, \( \gamma \)); 18, 10 (MS. 89, etc.).
Double Κ is found: 6, 14, ΙΑΚΒΒΟΣ—ΙΑΚΚΒΒΟΣ (MS. 114); likewise 6, 15, where it agrees with MSS. 111, 114.

The manuscript has rather uniform peculiarities of spelling. 1 for ει is very frequent. A few examples will suffice: 1, 29, πειακναςκονσι—πιακναςκονσι; 1, 63, ακατει—ακατε (MS. 18); 2, 37, γεννηκεια—γεννηκεια; 4, 12, πιπαζε—πιπαζε; 9, 21, ακπαραγε—ακπαραγε (MSS. 91, 129); 10, 21, πικοεικ—πικοεικ, but in 19, 34, the manuscript writes πικοεικ. On the other hand, in 6, 21, where Horner writes ΤΕΤΝΑΙ, the manuscript has ΤΕΤΝΑΕΙ. We also find examples of Υ for Η: 8, 14, ΝΗΧΑΟΝΗ—ΝΗΧΑΟΝΗ; 9, 33, ΝΗΕΙΝΗ—ΝΗΕΙΝΗ; 19, 21, ΝΑΥΚΤΙΡΟΣ—ΑΥΚΤΙΡΟΣ, but in 19, 22, the manuscript agrees with Horner. On the other hand, Η may be written for Υ: 1, 2, ΝΗΥΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ—ΝΗΥΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ (MSS. 114, 126); 4, 20, ΗΝΥΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ—ΗΝΥΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ. Υ and Η may also be interchanged in the same word: 4, 44, ΝΕΥΚΗΡΥΣΣΕ—ΝΕΥΚΥΡΗΚΣΣΕ; 8, 1, ΕΥΚΗΡΥΣΣΕ—ΕΥΚΥΡΗΚΣΣΕ. Η may be written for Η: 6, 35, ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ—ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ.

There are some unique readings, but they are not of serious value in the construction of a text, since in most cases they do not change the meaning.

It seems strange that the manuscript omits the Golden Rule, 6, 31: “And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.” There is no defect in the manuscript at that passage; it proceeds directly from verse 30 to verse 32. Similarly 11, 10 is entirely omitted. In 3, 6, there is an omission of the first half of the verse: ΑΥΦ ΝΕΟΟΥ ΥΠΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΑΟΥΚΝΩ ΕΒΩ. 12, 55 omits at the end of the verse: ΑΥΦ ΜΑΡΙΚΩΝΗ.

The few additions to the text are not serious. In 18, 31, for ΡΙΤΝ ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΣ, the manuscript has ΡΙΤΝΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΣ. In 19, 21 is found a doublet: ΕΚΩΙ ΗΝΠΕΤΕΙΝΩΚΑΝΝΕ • ΕΚΩΙ ΗΝΠΕΤΕΙΝΠΕΚΚΑΛΛΕ ΕΓΡΑΙ.

A few errors may be mentioned: 5, 17, ad finem, ΕΤΡΕΚΤΑΛΒΟ, where the manuscript has ΕΤΡΕΚΤΑΛΒΟ, the feminine for the masculine; 5, 24, ΕΙΧΩ—ΕΥΧΩ; 11, 42 ΝΕΨΨΕ ΕΛΛΑΥ, where the manuscript has the negative, ΝΨΨΕ ΑΝΕΛΛΑΥ; 17, 5, ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ—ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚ.
It is evident, therefore, that the manuscript presents a good text. In fact, it gives us a few corrections: 4, 29, ἀπτοός, ‘of the mountain’; since Horner gives no variant, it is possible that his text here contains a misprint; at any rate, the codex correctly reads ἀπτοοῦς; 12, 15, ἔχε έρφεν ἄνοικα ἄν δοξά εἰς ἐπεφηνῇ εβολή ἡγετοῦ, which Horner translates: ‘for if the possessions of one should abound, he is not about to find his life out of them’; here the codex has the correct reading: ἔχε έρφεν δοξά ἄνα ἐπεφηνῇ εβολή ἡγετοῦ.

In some cases, the codex uniquely employs a synonym: 3, 4, τὴν τέρημα τῆς ἀποκαλεί, where MS. 128 has τὴν πιστάει; 4, 35, ἀψούχος ἁμοι—ἀψαροῦ, ‘struck him,’ ‘cast him’; 8, 12, πλαβολοξ—πλονηρος; 9, 39, σβήνει, ‘foam,’ for which the manuscript has σβήνετη, ‘foam,’ a form (but with ἀν) to which Crum, in his Coptic Dictionary, assigns first place; 11, 39, ἀκλαρπία—πονηρία in agreement with MSS. 89, 91; 12, 33, μολε, ‘moth’—μολες, in agreement with MSS. (9?), 89, 91 (fr); 12, 48, κενάφατο—κεναξνοή; 12, 57, ἀερωτήν ἐντην ἄνειρα ἐντην θεοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀνακιμάζε; 17, 14, ματοῦρτον ἐνούγνημ—ματακαρωτήν ἄνοιγα ἄνοιγα ἄνοιγα ἀνακιμάζε; 18, 15 and 17, ἀνιμ—κοιαί; 18, 19, ουδὴ—εἴροι; 18, 36, ἐπιπάραγε—ἐπιμοούσε, in agreement with θ; 20, 26; ἐσονί—εὐςοῳβεκ.

Sometimes the supralinear stroke is used instead of the full vowel ή; in other cases, we have the reverse usage. Generally, however, the manuscript is accurate in this matter. At the end of the line, η is usually represented by a long horizontal stroke over the preceding vowel which thus closes the line. In 8, 29, η is similarly represented: ηςεμμα—ηςε::ηςα; it may be, however, that the scribe had in mind the unassimilated η.

Naturally it is impossible in an article of this sort to go into greater detail in describing the manuscript. The writer has endeavoured simply to point out the most important characteristics both in readings and in spellings. The codex represents an excellent text and offers, as has been indicated, a few advantages over Horner’s text. In the main, it is very closely related to MSS. 114, 91, 89, 85, and 86.
IGNAZIO GUIDI—SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

RICHARD GOTTHEIL
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

One of the greatest living Orientalists has passed out of existence at the ripe age of ninety-one. He was an honorary member of our society and we honored ourselves by making him such. As one who knew him personally and had been at his house at No. 24 Via Botteghe Oscuro in Rome, I feel it a privilege to say a word in regard to him.

Guidi was born in Rome on the thirty-first of July, 1844. As the great Italian Encyclopedia says: “He made an Orientalist of himself,” for Oriental languages were not as yet cultivated in Italy—beyond the province of those interested in ecclesiastical matters. From the year eighteen seventy-three to seventy-six he was custodian of the numismatic collections at the Vatican. At the University, during various periods, he taught Greek. In 1876 he became Instructor, in 1879 Extraordinary Professor, and in 1885 Ordinary Professor of Hebrew and the Semitic Languages, including Ethiopian. On account of his age he had become Emeritus Professor. He died at 9.30 a.m. on Thursday, April the eighteenth, and was buried on Saturday afternoon at 4 o’clock.

The notice I have received reads in part:

“Oggi alle ore 9.30 si è spento serenamente con i conforti della religione e con la benedizione speciale del S. padre

Ignazio Guidi
Professor Emerito nella Regia Università di Roma
Senatore del Regno.”

He was of a most lovable character, only too willing to help others on the way, if they showed real scholarly interest.

As regards his works, those of which I have knowledge are the following:

a. Arabic:


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6. Index to the Kitāb al-Aghānt, Leiden, 1900.

7. Translation into Italian of Khalil ibn Ishāk al-Jundi's al-Mukhtasar, or code of Muslim law according to the Malikite system, Rome, 1919.


10. Summarum Grammaticae veteris linguae arabicae meridionalis, Cairo, 1930 (Latin and Arabic).

b. Syriac:


c. Ethiopic:


2. Proverbi, Strofe e racconti Abissini, tradotti e pubblicati, Roma, 1894.
   (There were various editions of this work.)
22. “Textes orientaux inédits du martyre de Judas Cyriaque,
43. “Strofe e favole abissine,” L’Oriente, Roma, 1894, pp. 88 ff.
46. Hasîr sánta mashaṭ qedûs (Short Stories from the Scriptures), Asmara, 1907.
d. Hebrew:

e. Coptic:

f. Persian:

g. Varia:

The preceding imperfect account of that which the great Italian master has left may give some little idea of the breadth of his knowledge and the earnestness of his scientific life. In addition, I have a box-full of learned reviews from his pen which I have not attempted to list here.

May his soul rest in peace!
BRIEF COMMUNICATION

Observation of the Equinox at Petra

Reflecting on the lunar calendar in Hellenistic Babylonia, it has occurred to me that a group of monuments at Nabataean Petra suggests a clue to its practical operation. Seleucid or Parthian adaptations aside, the new year of the Neo-Babylonians and of the Hebrews and other Semitic groups, Nisan 1, began on the evening when the first new moon after the vernal equinox appeared. Observation of the new moon was simple and made without instruments; that of the equinox was more difficult, but equally indispensable to the calculation.

On the vernal (and autumnal) equinox the sun rises on almost the exact eastern point, and sets on approximately the western, of the horizon. If two poles are set up a few meters apart along a true east-west line, the approach of the equinox will be reflected, to a regular observer, in the decreasing gap between one pole and the sun-cast shadow of the other until pole and shadow coincide. Movable poles may in fact be used to determine the east-west line, for only on the equinox can coincidence occur alike at sunrise and sunset.

This annual observation made, a new year would begin automatically with the appearance of the following new moon. Intercalary months would be added to those years whose twelfth months ended before the vernal equinox. A calendar so controlled would automatically fall into a nineteen-year cycle of moon and sun identical with that purported to have been brought to virtual perfection by "Chaldaean" astronomers through centuries of tedious calculation, and provably adopted by the Neo-Babylonians.

On "Obelisk Ridge," a high place above Petra, the living rock has been cut down to a flat platform, leaving, however, two roughly-hewn obelisks of approximately equal size. The platform on which they stand commands a clear view of the mountainous horizon enclosing the city; it is an ideal spot on which to have established an astronomical station. According to the observations of Kennedy, these obelisks stand on a true east-west line. I cannot confirm this statement for in 1929 when I visited Obelisk Ridge I did not
anticipate their bearing on calendar studies, nor was I equipped
to take accurate compass readings. Another traveler may be able
to give closer attention to this detail. If it is true, the obelisks
could have effectively served the purpose of the poles just hypo-
theetically described, in signaling the passage of the equinox.
Whether or not the nineteen-year cycle was in use at Petra, a
crude transit of this sort was necessary to any observation of the
equinox and in the absence of a more rational explanation their
presence is provocative.¹

Jotham Johnson.

University Museum, Philadelphia.

¹ See: F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel II 2* (1924),
pp. 422-463; cf. D. Sidersky, “Étude sur la chronologie assyro-babylo-
nienne,” *Mém. sav. étr.* XIII (1923), pp. 105-109, and Fotheringham, ‘In-
debtedness of Greek to Chaldaean Astronomy,’ *The Observatory* LI (1928),
p. 309.

J. Johnson, “The Dura Horoscope and the Seleucid Calendar,” *Dura*
p. 147-153.

Gustaf Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer* (1908), pp. 130 ff. and
figs. 96-98; Sir Alexander Kennedy, *Petra, Its History and Monuments*
(1926), pp. 68 f., 74 f., and figs. 164 and 202.
REVIEWS OF BOOKS


Dr. Speiser presents us with a publication which one studies with the greatest delight. The site, situated fifteen miles from Mosul and, therefore, within the domain of "Assyria," is of outstanding importance for the earlier history of Mesopotamia; the printing of text and plates is excellent, the tasteful arrangement of various objects on the same plate being particularly laudable; and finally, the scholarship is of the highest standard. As it should be in a final publication, the material, thoroughly digested and completely mastered, is presented in a well rounded picture. To fulfill all claims of objectivity, the presentation of facts is separated from their interpretations. The descriptions are brief and succinct, but suffice to stress the essential points, the chapter on pottery by Miss Cross being up to the same standard as that of other parts of the book. The judgments are as sagacious as they are sober; cf. for instance, the conclusions on the vexed questions of the early occurrence of the horse, and the treatment of the ethnic problems. The parallels are as complete as they can be, and they prove that the well known Semitist is also a thoroughly trained archaeologist. His talents as historian become apparent in the conclusions drawn from the archeological material as to the character of the people: the inhabitants of Gawra VI were commercially minded, whereas those of VIII were preoccupied with religion.

We now attempt a brief account of the chief results. The uppermost strata, settlements I, II, III, were small, since the accumulation of the debris diminished the available space more and more, and they date from Hurrian times. Stratum IV, probably contemporary with the third dynasty of Ur, consists of a shrine which shows analogies with the temple of Ishtar in Ashur-E. Stratum V with a shrine very similar in type is Sargonid. The language of the inhabitants of these two settlements was doubtless Semitic, as was also that of the people in stratum VI.
This latter stratum lasted from the later "Early Dynastic" to the beginning of the Sargonid period; it shows a fairly large town, compact, but well laid out; it has an open square in the center, a drainage system, and is well fortified. Its relations were far flung: brickwalls on rubble foundations and schematised idols point to Anatolia, figures of horses and a "covered wagon" to the Caucasus region and even farther, a gaming die to India; analogies in pottery, implements, cylinder seals, toilet sets, and other things, prove strong connections with Southern Mesopotamia, so that Gawra VI gives the impression of having been a "melting pot." An interesting seal, Nr. 67, reminds of later Cypriote pieces; since the difference in time, however, is very great, I am disinclined to assume any connection. A "fountain-head" pot found in a trial trench seems to me close in style to the pottery of Stratum V. The statuette, Pl. XXXIII, probably represents a crouched figure, the lower part being schematised (cf. V. Müller, Fruehe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien, Pl. VI). All the strata from I to VI are included by Speiser in the "Late" period of Gawra, since trial excavations have shown that the strata reach down to the very beginning of civilization in Mesopotamia; the occupations after 3000 prove thus to have been not the most prominent stage in the splendid history of Gawra. Stratum VII with which, therefore, the middle period begins, has very meager architectonic remains, but is important as a transitional phase: stone implements are more numerous than in VI, but show a considerable decrease in comparison with VIII; objects in copper, on the other hand, very rare in VIII, increase in number, although they are still far behind L. VI so that the term "chalcolithic," given to the middle period by Speiser, is justified; stamp and cylinder seals occur by side, no cylinders being earlier and no stamps being later than VII. The pottery compels to date VII to the end of the Jemdet Nasr and the beginning of the "Early Dynastic" periods and shows the very interesting fact of the intrusion of people with "Billa" ware. The difficulty arising from the different dating of the corresponding ware at Nineveh by Mallowan is solved by showing that the dates at Nineveh must be modified on account of the better evidence at Gawra. In contrast to VI, where strong Sumerian influences are discernible, the "highland" component is very strong in VII. This is still more pronounced in VIII, which is distinctly un-
Sumerian. This stratum, subdivided into three settlements, is undoubtedly the most important level dealt with in the publication. Its foremost interest lies in architecture. The main type of sanctuary shows a large central room with the entrance in the short side flanked by smaller rooms on either side. The walls have recessed niches and, at the front side, low windows. The nearest parallel, as Speiser rightly observes, is the Innin temple of Karaindash at Uruk, which was unique in Mesopotamia hitherto. The fact, however, that this type is intrusive in Mesopotamia, is not altered by its occurrence at Gawra, and we must look to the “highlands” for its cradle. The low windows likewise point to regions outside Mesopotamia, since they are found at Boghazkeui and at Zenjirli (cf. *Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* vol. 42, 1917, p. 137 ff.; *Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* vol. 36, 1921, p. 93 ff., vol. 44, 1929, p. 241 ff.), the difference in time playing no rôle in the “immovable East.” Speiser finds another partial analogy for the Gawra type in the “Kalksteintempel” of Uruk V, but I am unable to follow him entirely in this respect. The fundamental difference is that the central space at Uruk is an open courtyard with the main sanctuary at the back, the latter being a “broad” room, so that the building belongs to the “central court” type, whereas the temple at Gawra belongs to the “block” type (cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* vol. 37, 1933, p. 599 ff.); cf. also the reconstruction of the temple at Uruk in *Vorläufiger Bericht* V, E. Heinrich, Schilf und Lehmp, Berlin, 1934, p. 28, with that of the temple at Gawra in the *Bulletin* of the American Schools of Oriental Research 54, April 1934, p. 17). Nor would I call the open space between the projecting wings of the Gawra type “liwān,” because liwān means a selfsufficient and roofed room according to Oelmann’s terminology (*Bonner Jahrb.*., vol. 127, 1922, p. 217 ff.). The “long” room type is not the only one at Gawra, but the “broad” room too is represented by the important buildings 833 and 822. I am inclined to find even the “Ishtar-temple type” in the building 808, although the door is not in the corner; but the two niches in one of the short sides and the podium pointing to them show that chief orientation of the room is in the direction of the longitudinal axis, precisely as in the temples of Ishtar. Another feature worth mentioning is a true barrel vault above ground, not underground as in the Royal cemetery at Ur. The date of VIII can be fixed by the pottery,
which shows that the latest phase falls within the Jemdet Nasr period and that the earlier phases must, therefore, be contemporary with the Uruk period. Speiser's account ends with VIII, since he did not participate in the excavation of the lower strata, of which five more have been found. Archaeology is an "experimental science" in the sense that our conclusions can be tested by future excavations. I am convinced that Speiser's work will stand the test.

Valentin Müller.

Bryn Mawr College.


Diringer's publication will be welcomed by all those who deal seriously with the history of Palestine and its antiquities. For students of Semitic epigraphy it provides a long-needed and highly important book of reference. The material which it brings together has been scattered through journals, pamphlets, and other publications, some of which are not easily accessible. A somewhat similar collection covering a different period of Palestinian history is the unpretentious work by Samuel Klein, entitled Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum (Ossuar-, Grab- und Synagogenschriften), Wien-Berlin, 1920. This little volume of 106 pages, with good indexes, but without facsimiles or other illustration, deals with the later period of Jewish history subsequent to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. Diringer's work, on the contrary, is designed to close with the end of the Hebrew monarchy, and its plan includes every variety of help which could reasonably be required.

The following subjects are treated in the successive chapters: The Gezer Tablet; Ostraca (especially those excavated at Samaria); Siloam Inscriptions (the famous inscription of the Tunnel and also those found at Silwān); Jar handles; Seals (these occupying a considerable part of the volume); Weights and Measures; Miscellany. An Appendix contains a brief chapter on forgeries, and another on the old Hebrew script, of which tables are given in Plates XXIX and XXX. The inscriptions are well indexed, with tables containing the names of persons and the geographical names
and terms, and also listing conventional signs (numbers, etc.) and the marks of punctuation.

Dr. Diringer has collected diligently, and the corpus which he presents includes nearly everything that had been published in this field up to the time when his manuscript was finished. The inscriptions are numbered consecutively, in their several groups, for convenience of reference. In each case there is a transliteration in the square character, followed by a commentary. A most useful feature, deserving especial notice, is the very complete and accurate bibliography accompanying each inscription. Some interpretations are open to question, as must inevitably be the case in any work of this nature, but the author's thorough study and good judgment are everywhere apparent. I have noted one or two inaccuracies; for instance, the statement in regard to seal no. 27 that its publisher dated it in the "epoca Romana," whereas he made it contemporaneous with the Siloam Inscription.

The facsimiles (28 plates) will of course receive especial attention. In a few cases these are photographs made from the objects themselves (i.e., they reproduce the half-tones which had appeared in former publications), but generally they reproduce drawings of the inscriptions. One could often wish to have both. As a rule, the drawings, whether made by Diringer himself or by his predecessors, are carefully executed and may be relied upon. Sometimes, indeed, they are rough and not quite satisfactory; but the difficulties in the way of such graphic interpretation are well known. All in all, we have in the work before us an admirable achievement.


Littmann's volume constitutes Division IV, Section B, of the Publications (entitled "Syria") of the Princeton Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-05 and 1909. The Nabataean Inscriptions were published by him in 1914; the Arabic and Safaitic are promised to appear soon.

The volume contains a map of the region concerned (Northern Syria), and also a special map of the Derr Sim'an. The inscriptions number 64 (aside from the list of 25 proper names painted on the wall of a church at Sadad, published in Oriens Christianus in
1930). About one-third of the inscriptions are dated. They are mostly of the 6th century; four of them of the 5th; others down to the 10th. In addition to the ordinary dating by the Seleucid era, the large proportion of dates according to the era of Antioch is instructive. Antioch, in all the earliest time, was the head of the Syriac church.

These documents, it is hardly necessary to say, are very brief, and sometimes difficult to interpret. They are building inscriptions; lists of names, or single names; pious formulae; isolated dates. About one-half are graffiti. The dated specimens sometimes furnish valuable evidence for the study of architecture. There is some interesting palaeographical material: the letters of the Syriac script joined in an unusual way, or strung on one continuous base line, as in the manuscripts; and such peculiarities of orthography as the omission of initial ālaf, of waw at the end of a 3rd pers. masc. perfect tense, and of the same letter in the syllable (this hardly remarkable).

The inscriptions are illustrated by facsimile drawings and occasional photographs. An Index lists both the proper names and the Syriac words, and an Appendix contains a welcome re-examination of certain inscriptions previously published.

In general, it is safe to say that what Littmann has given here will hardly be improved upon. Where the few still-visible marks permit only a conjecture, his guess is likely to be the best one. I would raise a query only in the case of his longest text, Graffito no. 28; a curious bit, in an interesting script. He renders as follows:

I Marzûk, the sinner, make you to know, my brethren, a miracle that came to pass: On the 15th of April [Nīsān, written with š!] there was a great hailstorm, until there were scattered (?) all trees and crops; but it stopped (?) instantaneously (?).

Judging from the facsimile, the last two words are very doubtful; but my query concerns the word "scattered," which seems unsuitable, especially in speaking of trees. I seem to recognize in Littman's drawing the root b'r instead of b'dr, and as Bar Bahlûl gives the meaning "devastation" for bu'ārā, I would suggest "ruined," or the like, instead of "scattered."

Charles C. Torrey.

Yale University.
Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens
Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und
Schülern aus dem Kreise des Orientalischen Seminars der
Universität Bonn. Edited by W. Heffening and W. Kirfel.

Many over the world will share with his immediate friends and
students in congratulations to Professor Kahle at the epoch which
this handsome volume celebrates. The history of text and lexico-
graphy of the Hebrew Bible, the Masora, the versions and the
related history and life of the Samaritans; the manners and cus-
toms and arts—for example the shadow-plays—of the modern
Islamic world, in which he spent some of his earlier years, and
ccontributions to the study of Arabic and Turkish documents—for
example the Lost Map of Columbus (see Martinovitch's review
above, Journal 55, 106)—all these studies have notably distin-
guished him in the realm of scholarship. To this function he has
added to a unique degree that of patron and friend to a host of
students, and through his genuine friendliness and administrative
ability he has made Bonn a centre of Oriental studies, where also
he is the leader in what we in America call a Summer School. His
catholic interest has included the Far East as well, and many of
the articles in the present volume testify to his broadminded
leadership in all things Oriental. It would require an encyclopaedic
reviewer to appreciate the twenty-three monographs composing this
volume, of which fourteen come from the hands of his associates
and students at Bonn. The initial article by A. Schott alone be-
longs to ancient history, with its subject, "Wann entstand das
Gilgamesch-Epos?", of which epic he has just published a fresh
translation in the Reclams Bibliothek; by a somewhat abstruse
argument he would date the composition about the time of Shulgi
of the last dynasty of Ur. In the field of the Bible Edelmann gives
a contribution on the History of the Masora, Horst on Theft in
the Old Testament, Peters on the Textual History of Ex. 32: 18
(an interesting specimen), Sperber on the Problems of an Edition
of the Septuagint, coming to rather skeptical conclusions. Engber-
Of the nine articles in the Islamic field may be noticed a Fourteenth
Century Mamlik Fatwa on the Status of Christians, by Atiya;
the Construction of Islamic Law Books, by Heffening, the Concept
of Prophecy in Islamic Theology, by Frick (in the case of Mohammed, "so wird aus dem echten Propheten ein falscher Apostel"); and the study of a Tunisian shadow-play by Levy; in the East Indian field articles on native medicine, the stone-cult and resurrection stories by Hilgenfeld, Kirfel, Losch, and a presentation by Matsumoto of the second chapter of the Suvikrāntavikrāmi-Prajñāpāramitā in the Sanskrit and the Chinese translation in type. There are two papers on Japanese subjects, that by Pippon (of Tokyo) treating a Sino-Japanese constitutional document of the seventh century. The contribution by Wang on Musical Relations between China and the West is of general interest; in addition to the summary of historical facts he holds the theory that the homeland of musical theory for both Greece and the Orient was Babylon (p. 219). Also to the history of culture belong the articles respectively on Chinese porcelain in Islamic lands, by Röder, and on porcelain in Chinese medicine, by Schmitt. A portrait of Dr. Kahle graces the volume, which is concluded with the valuable Bibliography of his publications, compiled by Katharina Korn, pp. 225-231.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

University of Pennsylvania.


Upon the "subtle movements of the brush that leave their trace in changing ink tone," as succinctly stated by Miss Driscoll in her Foreword (p. vi) to the book under review, does indeed depend "the real quality of calligraphic art." This monograph on the foremost of Chinese arts supplies a tool, both for a stimulation of a wider appreciation in the west of so sensitive an art, and for the initiation of the practicing student of art into methods and technique of the Chinese brush and ink.

For the reader who knows Chinese there are, furthermore, herein gathered, organized, and discussed selected passages from literary sources on the art which, with few exceptions, may easily be located in certain Chinese texts for comparative study. Should the book fall into the hands of some scholar-calligraphist of Chinese, it is
hoped, as Miss Driscoll desires (p. vi), that it may lure him—or her—into the more extensive presentation of this creative art.

Into the brief space, however, of the seventy pages (sixty-four in the body of the text), through an orderly arrangement of the material as set forth in the table of contents, one may find in this monograph both an introduction to and an appreciation of a fine art, as well as practical suggestions for the beginner in its study. One may read and enjoy a vivid portrayal of the symbolism, the dynamic ideal, and certain values of the art along with the technique of calligraphic expression.

Had there been less use of the quotation marks for many single words and brief phrases without direct reference to any special text, it would have given more value to those clearly taken from a passage under discussion. The following examples might have been among those avoided: "would look better" (p. 2); "naturally" and "natural" (pp. 15, 64); "one thousand 4\text{h} in length" (p. 17); and "nature" and "human effort" (p. 63). Just what Chinese term is meant to be translated by "classic point of view" (p. 43), as well as a few other short terms and phrases within quotation marks, is puzzling. In the cases of "good" pattern (p. 5), of "modern" (pp. 14, 25, 26, with retention or substitution on p. 28), and of "better" (p. 53), in spite of the technical meaning of the Chinese term translated, the quotation marks might well have been omitted.

Their use around words and phrases taken directly from passages translated or discussed (p. 28) does, however, certainly add to the vividness of the monograph. Like a red thread binding together the pattern of the book runs the term, "the idea of the mind," found in variant wordings (pp. 6, 27, 53, 63, 64), but with lack of definite reference in spite of its use in the citation on page fifty-two, and its association with an authority of another passage (p. 53).

The concept expressed in "life-movement" gathers into a whole the calligraphic art depicted in the monograph. It is like an envelope which holds the message from the writer of the note within to the reader of the contents. It is so technical as it is interpreted in the study that the reader has a desire to find its Chinese equivalent in transliteration in parenthesis that it may be sought in the list of miscellaneous terms at the end of the book, without the necessity of looking up the reference given (pp. 1, 2,
Reviews of Books

5, 59, 60, 63, 64, shêng-tung, see H. A. Giles: A English-Chinese Dictionary, Shanghai, 1912, no. 9865). It is so artistic a point of view that from it the study as a whole seizes the attention of the reader.

With allusions and citations continually occurring in Chinese writings it is very probable that the phrases of the sentence translated on page forty-two as a quotation from Lord Chung (Chung Kung) all belong to earlier standard writers. Yü-hu translated as "a crystal jar" is literally "a jade" jar (Giles: 4954; Tz'ü-yüan, Commercial Press' Chinese Encyclopedic Dictionary, Shanghai, section vii, p. 8). Yao-t'ai (Giles: 12918; Tz'ü-yüan, vii, 36; F. S. Couvreur: Dictionnaire classique, etc., Ho-kien-fou, 1911, p. 223), translated as "a tower of jewels," is probably a reference to a tower (?) that is supposed to have been erected in the mythical garden of the legendary Hsi-wang-mu, "West Queen Mother" (H. A. Giles: Adversaria Sinica, Shanghai, 1914, pp. 1-19). Mu jo(ju) ch'ing féng (Giles: 8082; Couvreur: p. 583), translated as "soothing as a clean breeze"—perhaps clean is a typographical error—is a phrase found in the Book of Poetry ("Greater Odes of the Kingdom," Ta-ya [Giles: 12807], III, III, vi, 8: 6 to 8 in the translation by James Legge: The Chinese Classics, Oxford, 1893-1895, Vol. IV [book not available for indicating page]).

The following suggestions are added to those made above. Transliterations in the text without the equivalent Chinese characters in the lists at the end of the book were noticeable in a few instances: Shu-p'u (On Calligraphy), p. 15; ma (horse), p. 16; li, p. 17; mo (ink), p. 18; chih, p. 31, translated "to tear," character found in the Chinese text on page thirty-six, Giles: 1931a; and Chuang Tzŭ and the Tao-te-ching, p. 64. Two errors in transliteration occur: Chung-shan on page forty-five should be Ch'ung-shan (Giles: 2930); Tu should be T'u in the title of the work, T'u-hua chien-wen chih (Giles: 12128). The reviewer would like to raise the question of the transliteration pai (white, see note 47) for Giles: 8556, as it is not clear in her mind when the reading po should be given.

Apparently the translators in the passage on page forty-five omitted lu (deer, Giles: 7434)), found in the source. Tsan has a much larger use than the one described in note 9. As typographical mistakes, there is the omission of the first half of the quotation marks on page fifty-eight, lines 1-4; and the dates for Mao Chin
(p. 44) should, according to the I-nien-lu hui-pien (Gest No. 1358, T'oung-pao, xxv, 65-81, 1925, viii, 14), be A. D. 1598-1659. Omissions in pagination for references are at times irritating; the passages for notes 1, 9, and 33, for example were much more quickly located than in the cases without page numbering.

The information about Ch'ên Ssû in note 4, which had been sent to Miss Driscoll by Dr. Kiang K'ang-hu may be found in the Chung-kuo jên-ming ta tsû-tien (Commercial Press' Cyclopedia of Chinese Biographical Names, Shanghai, p. 1080); he is mentioned in A. Wylie's Notes on Chinese Literature (reprint of 1922, p. 151); and is included in the collection of short sketches of noted bibliophiles, Chung-kuo ts'ang-shu-chia k'ao-lüeh (Gest No. 1417), compiled and published about 1928, by Yang Li-chêng and Chin Pu-ying (pp. 92-93).

On dates for Chang Yeh-yüan (p. 10), it may be helpful to note that in the period A. D. 874-879 he was made Minister of Justice (see Cyclo. Chinese Biog., p. 943). Thus his Fa-shu yao-lu may easily have been much later in date than that earlier work written in A. D. 847, although according to the imperial Ch'ien-lung catalogue (Ssû-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu, chüan 112, pp. 8b-10a) the compilation includes citations written no later than the period A. D. 808-820.

For the reader who knows Chinese there is in the monograph an especial value in the selections from and the method of handling the material from Li Shun (pp. 52-59). This contribution in the field of Chinese calligraphy will be greatly enlarged by a companion study by the authors covering a translation and discussion of the entire contents of "The Eighty-four Laws." To the reader who is not an artist, but who is acquainted with Chinese character, the simpler but perhaps less artistic styles in Illustrations 1, 2, 6, 7, 13-16 give more pleasure than do the ones wherein it is difficult to decipher the script. To such a one the delight in Chinese calligraphy is enhanced by "the meaning of the characters as a possible source for dynamic inspiration" (p. 9).

The Gest Chinese Research Library.

NANCY LEE SWANN.

China reached her last great climax during the reign of Emperor Ch’ien-lung, 1735-1796. Considering the vast extent of her territory and that of her vassal states, her large and rapidly growing population, the high quality of the art objects produced at this time, the assembling of valuable collections of paintings and literary works, the construction of magnificent palaces and temples under the patronage of a powerful and enlightened ruler, and her international prestige,—in view of all these tests of greatness, we may fairly say that the old China had attained the zenith of her development. Emperor Ch’ien-lung rode this wave of splendor so magnificently that he is often given credit for its brilliance. One popular writer even says that he was perhaps the greatest emperor the world has ever seen.

But before we kotow so abjectly before this golden image, might we not ask whether the panegyrists are really well informed? Have they examined all the aspects of his benevolent character? The very brilliance of the period has often obscured the fact that not only was the zenith reached, but also passed in this same reign. If the glories of this picture are due to the perfections of the Emperor himself, to whom are we to ascribe the dark blots?

Mr. Goodrich’s monograph deals with one of the activities of the Emperor Ch’ien-lung which has been almost entirely neglected by writers in western languages, and which has not been adequately dealt with even by Chinese scholars.

Ch’ien-lung, in brief, was a despot. For all the munificence of his gifts to literature, he stands accused before the bar of public opinion for his open interference with the independence of the scholars of his day, for his deliberate falsification of history, for his malice towards a score of authors (several deceased long before) and their descendants, and for his repeated burnings of hundreds of books, woodblocks of many of them included (page 6).

After citing other instances of the burning of books by order of the rulers of previous dynasties, and of the punishment of literary men under the first three emperors of the Ch’ing dynasty and in the early part of the reign of Ch’ien-lung, our author gives an account of
the severe literary inquisition of the years 1774 to 1788. He shows convincingly that this was closely connected with the assembling of the greatest literary collection in all the history of China, namely the Ssu K’u Ch’üan Shu. This was a collection of what the scholars under the Emperor’s direction considered the best works in Chinese literature, well-known classics as well as rare books which were gathered by imperial command from the whole empire. It seems to have been the intention of the Emperor to have the whole collection printed, but when it reached the enormous size of 36,000 volumes containing about 3,000,000 pages, the best he could do was to have seven manuscript copies made for the imperial palaces and a few favored cities. The same officials who were combing the empire for rare books to be forwarded to Peking for this collection were also required to search for books containing treasonable passages or slurs on the Manchu dynasty. These officials drew up a set of rules which should guide the provincial officials in their search for offensive books and a list of books which were worthy of destruction. This index, it is estimated, included over 2300 works listed for total suppression, and 340 more for partial suppression. Of this total of over 2600 our author lists in Appendix I some 476 works which were condemned but which have survived to the present time. The fifteen years of the inquisition, 1774-1788, thus resulted in the loss of over 2000 works, so that at present we have only partial and probably distorted sources for the history and literature of China for the few centuries preceding Ch’ien-lung’s reign. The narrative account of this inquisition, its background, methods, aims, and effects, is included in Part I.

Part II contains imperial edicts, memorials, reports of officials, and detailed case histories showing how the inquisition affected certain authors, their families, and their works.

Both parts I and II are well supplied with footnotes giving the Chinese characters for Chinese proper names and numerous references to the sources. These full references should prove most useful in the further study of the subject which is needed in order to locate as many as possible of the works now lost but which may yet be discovered by diligent searching. The bibliography contains references only to works or articles in constant use by the author, although many other works are referred to in the footnotes and index. Your reviewer sees no good reason for dividing the index into two parts, one for general items, and the second for titles to
Chinese works. They might better be included in one list. One might also question the advantage of referring in the footnotes to works listed in the bibliography by number instead of by title in the more usual way. There are only a few typographical errors, for instance, a missing hyphen from "non-canonical" (p. 4, l. 24), a missing question mark (p. 90, l. 10), "pass" for "past" (p. 174, l. 8), and "be" for "by" (p. 204, l. 9).

In general the work bears evidence of thoroughness and scholarship. It reflects credit not only on the author but also upon the donor and committee in charge of the Willard Straight Fellowship, on which Mr. Goodrich spent two years abroad. It sets a high standard for the new "Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations," which is being sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, and of which this is Number 1. Seldom does a careful and critical historian shed so much new light upon such a brilliant and important period in history, or on such a famous person as the Emperor Ch'ien-lung.

CARROLL B. MALONE.


Dr. Shryock, already well known for his books, The Temples of Anking and their Cults, and The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius, has, in the book before us, undertaken a study of the development of religion in the widest sense of the word. The purpose of the undertaking is to show "that men have a large share in creating their ideas of the universe in which they live. Their motive in so doing is to satisfy their desire for perfection." This philosophical position he learned from his teacher in philosophy, Professor E. A. Singer. The book is divided into four parts. In Part I five chapters are devoted to "Our Desires and Our Environment" in which the relation of desire to environment, the origin and development of religion, and religion as culture, and the relation of the individual to society are discussed. In Part II "Religious Formulas" are discussed. Here the main themes are the soul, the state of the dead, and ideas of God. Part III, entitled "The Emotions in Religion" discusses not only the part played
in religion by the emotions but the relation of religion and ethics, conscience and sin, and conviction. Part IV, which treats of "Religion as Behavior" contains Dr. Shryock's treatment of such questions as authority in religion, ceremonies, prayers, communications from the gods, priesthoods and their equivalent, the diffusion of religion, and the place of art and images in religion.

The author's method is that followed in Toy's *Introduction to the History of Religion*. In each chapter the opinions or customs of the devotees of a wide variety of religions are cited and the conclusions are thus objectively based on facts. The range of Dr. Shryock's erudition, as shown in these citations is amazingly wide and accurate for a man of his years. The author's running comments on the material are pithy and sane. It may be added, too, that Dr Shryock has abundantly demonstrated his thesis, and has done it in a way to help genuine religion. Some of his chapters, like that on "Authority" and "Communications from the Gods" are particularly good.

No book is, however, quite perfect, and *Desire and the Universe* has, in the opinion of the reviewer, one minor and one major fault. The minor fault is that, at a number of points the author inveighs against the older students of the history of religion for holding what he calls a "unilinear" theory of the development of religion, while he apparently deems himself able, because of his anthropological studies, to show that every religion has arisen from a mixture of cultures. Of course all science is progressive, and those who write from the vantage ground of wider knowledge are always able to point out some mistakes of pioneers. It happens, however, in this case that some of us who began our studies earlier than Dr. Shryock had made the same discovery by researches in our own fields without the aid of anthropologists. For example, in the reviewer's *Semitic and Hamitic Origins* (of which Dr. Shryock once wrote a notice, by the way) abundant use is made of the principle, to which attention is called in the preface.

The other defect of the book (and in the reviewer's opinion it is of major importance) is that in his discussion of the ideas of God in Chapters 3, 9, 10, and 11 he has a good deal to say of monotheism, and his remarks again and again reveal the fact that he is quite unaware of what monotheism is. This is doubtless due to the fact that, under the influence of W. Schmidt and the anthropologists, he has discarded the more accurate scientific nomen-
clature of earlier students of the subject, and has included under a single term things that are disparate. A primitive tribe was not monotheistic because, in order to give unity to its world, it believed in a supreme god. There is inherent in real monotheism an element of hostility to other beliefs. Genuine monotheism differs from this kind of primitive belief as positive virtue differs from the innocence of childhood. It is something that has been won by struggle. The intelligent leaders of a monotheistic community are conscious of its cost, of its worth, and of its difference from polytheism. The real monotheist denies that other gods have jurisdiction at all or that they exist. Because Greeks sometimes prayed to Apollo and Babylonians to Marduk as though other gods did not exist they were not monotheists, nor did they "betray a tendency to monotheism." It would be as correct to say that the beggar who flatters me into giving him five dollars by telling me that I am his only hope and resource, while he conceals from me the fact that by the same tactics he has just secured five dollars from my neighbor, is a monanthropist! F. Max Müller and Hartmann, who understood the real nature of monotheism, invented the term "henotheism" by which they rightly distinguished such flattering approaches to the gods in the Rig Veda from monotheism. Later, scholars applied the same term to peoples like the Hebrews before Amos, who believed that one god made the world, and that he demanded their sole allegiance, but who did not deny the existence of other gods. Through works on the history of religion by masters of the subject the clear distinction of this scientific nomenclature runs. The late W. Max Müller once denied that Ikhnaton was a monotheist, because, in one of his obscure inscriptions, Müller found what he took to be the recognition of the deity of another god than Aton. Wherever real monotheism has existed it is militant and hostile to the worship of any god but one. It was so in Israel after Amos, in Zoroastrianism, in Christianity, and in Islam. The kind of fact on which Dr. Shryock relies to prove that "primitive men can and do believe in monotheism" (p. 130) has been known since the history of religion has been studied. Perhaps the scholars of fifty and seventy years ago had not amassed as many examples of it as Dr. Shryock, but they were well acquainted with the phenomenon, and they had not had the accuracy of their theological conceptions corrupted by the inaccurate use by anthropologists of theological terms. Primitive men were henotheists, not monotheists. To
inaccurately call them monotheists is unscientific and is also un-
fortunate in that it gives aid and comfort to a reactionary type of 
thelogian who loves to call himself a "Fundamentalist." The 
blurring of this distinction is a grave fault in what would otherwise 
be a great book. The work is well printed. I have noticed but one 
serious typographical error. On p. 187, the fourth line from the 
bottom, "inquiry" should be "iniquity."

GEORGE A. BARTON.


This publication satisfies a long-felt need of Sanskrit scholars, a need not felt so much in other fields as in the Oriental field both because of the lack of cataloguing facilities and the very extensive literature in this. Gratitude to the American Council of Learned Societies for its financial backing of this work and to Dr. Emeneau for his painstaking and eminently satisfactory compilation will long endure, especially if the work is supplemented from time to time in one way or another. It seems to me that the only sensible and practical procedure for libraries owning Oriental collections which are being constantly augmented is to maintain one or more staff-members who have been sufficiently trained in the several departments of Oriental studies to do the requisite cataloguing accurately. If these libraries are connected with universities—as they are in most cases—offering courses in Indic and other Oriental languages, their officers should avail themselves of the opportunity by urging some members of the cataloguing staff to take such courses. Any normally intelligent person could in his or her spare time train within a period of two or three years to satisfactorily catalogue the majority of printed texts in the Indic or any other division of the Oriental languages.

In the book under discussion the list is complete for the following libraries: Library of the American Oriental Society, Boston Public Library, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Columbia University Library, University of Chicago Library, Cleveland Public
Library, Library of Congress, Harvard University Library, Johns Hopkins University Library, McGill University Library, Gest Chinese Research Library (housed at McGill University Library), New York Public Library, Princeton University Library, University of Pennsylvania Library and Yale University Library. "Exigencies of time and distance" unfortunately prevented the inclusion of the University of California collection. Some small libraries were visited by Dr. Emeneau, but their collections were not included because they merely duplicated the nearest large collection. The list comprises texts in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and most of the books in the older stages of the vernaculars, except in the case of Urdu, composed before 1800; a few later texts of importance, especially those forming parts of series; translations of texts; fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit texts; and journal articles. Some lithographs are also included but unfortunately not all. This lack obviously accounts for the incompleteness in the listing of Urdu texts. With this one exception the work completely meets all demands even to the extent of giving a correct and thorough hierarchical succession of commentators, which Indic scholars have so far lacked. The List of the More Important Serial Publications of Texts will be especially helpful. The index of authors and of titles at the end of the work completes the story.

It was not possible, of course, to list with each entry the corresponding library catalogue number. Therefore, I urge the above libraries to make provisions for any necessary revision of their card catalogue, so that their entries for the works included correspond exactly to the entries in this list. Otherwise there will surely be considerable difficulty in some cases, as in the past, in locating a given text even though it is definitely known that it exists in the library. Also since articles in journals have no library holdings indicated, it is our fond hope that libraries will cease cataloguing journals in a more or less haphazard method and bring themselves to rigid conformity.

Horace I. Poleman.

University of Pennsylvania.
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Executive Committee has elected the following corporate members:

A. H. Fey
R. Habas
H. L. Norris
J. A. Pope

A. Sperber
Bishop W. C. White
S. N. Wolfenden

The Executive Committee has ratified the following amendments to the Constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies:

Voted, To amend the Constitution by adding to Article 3 the following paragraph:

(d) Any member of a constituent society not otherwise a member of the Corporation who may be elected to a constitutional office of the Council, but such ex-officio membership shall be only for the duration of the term of office.

and to instruct the Secretary to communicate this amendment to the constituent societies for ratification.

Professor Roland G. Kent represented the American Oriental Society at the commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the opening of Bryn Mawr College, November 12, 1935.

The Editors have accepted for publication in the American Oriental Series Professor L. C. Barret’s edition of Books XVI and XVII of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES
Assistance to Publication

The American Council of Learned Societies is prepared to extend assistance in publishing a limited number of meritorious works in the field of the humanities written by American scholars. It invites its constituent societies to propose books they deem suitable for assistance, but reserves the right to consider works submitted by others if the Executive Committee has accepted them for consideration.

Works proposed for publication must be complete in themselves, preferably the results of constructive research presented in the form of volumes of conventional size. Important books of reference and critical editions of valuable texts may also be submitted.

Plans for the manufacture, publication, and distribution of each assisted work, and for the disposition of the proceeds, must be approved by the Executive Committee.
Applications for grants in aid of publication, on forms provided for the purpose, must be received in the Executive Offices of the Council, 907 Fifteenth Street, N W., Washington, D. C., on or before March 1, 1936, to be acted upon in May, 1936. Applications must include descriptions and critical appraisals of the works proposed, together with full manufacturing specifications and estimates of cost. No work can be considered of which the manuscript is not available for examination in completed form.

The Council has announced that the American Council of Learned Societies research fellowships and larger grants in aid of research have been discontinued for the present. Small grants will be awarded next April.

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LIDZBARSKI FUND COMMITTEE

Professor Charles C. Torrey has been appointed member of the Lidzbarski Fund Committee, representing the Society. The Committee includes also according to the specifications of the donor, representatives of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (Enno Littmann), the Société Asiatique (Rene Dussaud), and the Royal Asiatic Society (D. S. Margoliouth). A prize of 5000 marks will be awarded at every alternate International Congress of Orientalists for an outstanding work in the field of Semitics. The subject of the first prize-winning essay is to be “The extension of our knowledge of Aramaic dialects since the publications of Theodor Nöldeke.” Manuscripts should be submitted to the Business Manager of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft at least six months before the next International Congress. The will of the donor provides also for the award of a medal to a distinguished Orientalist, regardless of his particular field, at every other Congress of Orientalists. The first recipient of the Lidzbarski Medal is Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, of Graz, the well-known authority on South Arabic. The medal was presented at the recent session in Rome.

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THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII has recently issued a prospectus of the courses offered in Oriental Studies, primarily in Chinese and Japanese. The size of the faculty and the variety of courses offered compare favorably with the staff and program of American universities on the continent. On the other hand, the library facilities are very meagre. Honolulu is ideally situated for the investigation of Far-Eastern subjects, and the Oriental Institute has great plans for future development, which it is hoped may be realized.

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FONDATION—DE GOEJE.

1. Depuis novembre 1934 le Conseil n’a pas subi de modifications et est ainsi composé: MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), Tj. de Boer, J. L. Palache, Paul Scholten et A. J. Wensing (secrétaire-trésorier).

3. Des dix publications de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires que sont mis en vente au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués:

I. The Ḥamāṣa of al-Buḥṭurāl. Photographic reproduction of the Ms.... with indexes by R. Geyer and D. S. Margoliouth (1909) f 96;
II. The Fākhīr of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama ed. C. A. Storey (1915) f 6;
III. Goldziher, Streitschrift des Ḥazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte (1916) f 4.50;
IV. Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove transl. by A. J. Wensineck (1919) f 4.50;
V. C. van Arendonk. De opkomst van het Zaidijtische Imamaat in Yemen (1919) f 6;
VI. I. Goldziher, Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung (1920) f 10;
VII. Averroes, Die Epitome übersetzt .... von S. van den Bergh (1924) f 7.50;
VIII. Les „livres des chevaux“ de Hišām b. al-Kalbī et Muh. b. al-Aṭrābī, publiés par G. Levi Della Vida (1927) f 5;
IX. D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, Hadramaut (1932) f 9;
X. at-Tabari, Kitāb Iḥtiṣāf al-Fuqahā'. Das Konstantinopler Fragment herausgegeben von J. Schacht (1933) f 4.80.

Leiden, novembre 1935.

PERSONALIA

On October 31, 1935, Professor Syvain Lévi, Indologist, honorary member of the Société died in Paris.

On December 2, 1935, Professor James H. Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, life member of the Société, died in New York.
FIRDAUSI'S SHĀHNĀMAH AND THE GENEALOGIA REGNI DEI

F. W. BUCKLER
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY,
OBERLIN COLLEGE

"I end the story of Shāh Yazdagird,
And in Sapandārmad, the day of Ard,
The year four hundred of Muhammad's Flight,
The last words of this royal book I write.
For ever flourishing be Shāh Mahmūd,
His head still green, his heart with joy imbued.
I have so lauded him that publicly
And privily my words will never die.
Of praises from the Great I had much store;
The praises that I give to him are more.
May he, the man of wisdom, live for aye,
His doings turn to his content alway.
This tale of sixty thousand couplets I
Have left to him by way of memory.
My life from days of youth to eld hath sped
In talk and hearkening what others said.
When this, my famous tale, was done at last
O'er all the realm my reputation past.
All men of prudence, rede and Faith will give
Applause to me when I have ceased to live,
Yet live I shall; the seeds of words have I
Flung broad-cast and henceforth I shall not die."

In these words, Firdausi concluded his task of writing the Shāhnāmah or Book of Kings, when in sight of fourscore years on

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1 Presidential Address, delivered at the meeting of the Middle West Branch of the Society, in Ann Arbor, April 25th, 1935, in commemoration of the Millennium of the birth of the poet Firdausi.
2 The Shāhnāmah of Firdausi, done into English by Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner, London, 1905-1925, ix, p. 122. I have confined my references and quotations to this edition, as the most accessible that is available. The references to the Persian text are given in the margin. In future references it will be cited Firdausi (Tr. W.).
February 25th, A.D. 1010. He was, according to an earlier line, seventy-one years of age, from which it would follow that he was born about the year 940 A.D. but the general view inclines to a much earlier date. Firdausi may have been born anytime between 933 and 941 A.D. The date accepted by His Majesty Ridha Shāh Pahlavī is 934 A.D. In the year that is past, probably the most significant event was Persia’s celebration of the millennium of her Epic Poet’s birth in October last. From the Seven Climes, wherever the Shāhnāmah is known, the tributes tendered in his praise have endorsed the pride of his concluding boast.

In the quest for a topic for my Presidential Address, it appeared to be fitting and proper to bow to the all compelling decree of destiny, and to accept the honour, so graciously bestowed by the Members of the Middle-West Branch of this Society, as the opportunity to be the mouthpiece of the Society’s tribute of homage, and to attempt an ascription of the glory due to the Poet of the Divine Glory of the King. Others, better fitted than I, have praised his poetic art. To me falls the humbler lot of assessing the place of his Epic in the annals of that earthly manifestation of the Kingdom of God, inherent in the person of the King of Kings, whose Khilāfat is alike direct from God, as it extends from remotest antiquity to the present occupant of the Throne of the Glory, the Shadow of God on earth, His Majesty Ridha Shāh Pahlavī.

Before the greatness of the throne and the grandeur of Firdausi’s own achievement the mere historian may well stand appalled, and, “conscious of his own defects, sue for mercy at the threshold of the Grace.” He can, however, use the opportunity of his mughaddama for the appropriate purpose of acknowledging the debt of the West to those scholars whose labours have rendered the Epic accessible and intelligible. Pre-eminent among these stands Theodor Noeldeke whose edition of Tabari and essay Das Iranische Nationalepos lay the foundations of any approach; the editors of the text, Mohl, Vullers, Lumsden and Turner-Macan, and for the


English speaking world, the translations of Champion, Atkinson and particularly Arthur and Edward Warner. I would commend the last piece of work as a translation at once faithful and literary, accompanied by invaluable notes and appendices, to any who would attempt to understand the meaning of the Kingdom of God on earth in the kindred Shāhnāmah, which has given rise to the Four Gospels of the Christian Church, and to the Messianic Hope, which they claim to satisfy.

The task before us is to attempt an assessment of Firdausi’s place in the Genealogy of the Kingdom of God on earth. It is not quite the same thing as the estimate of Firdausi as the poetic historian of the idea, though some consideration of that question of necessity forms part of the scheme. The real problem is to discover his place in history, rather than his place among historians or his value as an historical authority. I hope to show, in the time available, that it is here that his significance really lies. The Shāhnāmah belongs to the category of works, which mark the foundations of sovereignty and the declaration of the basis of Divine Right by which Kings rule. Its kindred are the Zamyād Yast, Deutero-Isaiah, The Book of Daniel, the Gospels, S. Augustine’s De Civitate Dei, Marsiglio of Padua’s Defensor Pacis, and the succession of works to which the Shāhnāmah itself gave rise—the Zafarnāmah, the Akbarnāmah and the monuments of Mughal monarchy. Like the Akbarnāmah, the Shāhnāmah is in reality a Declaration of Independence. It is Persia’s declaration that her Kingship derives its authority not from the comparatively recent Khilafatu’rasūl’lāhī, but from the immemorial antiquity of the Khilafatu’llāh whose succession dates back to Zartušt and beyond, while its vicegerency is ever present in the possession of the farr—the ḥvarenō Kavaēm, the Divine Glory of the Kayanians.

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8 V. supra, n. 2, Firdausī (Tr. W.), I, 76-87; Grundr. Ir. Phil., II, 206 ff.
7 For a discussion of the position underlying Abū’l-Fażl’s Akbarnāmah v. my paper “A New Interpretation of Akbar’s ‘Infallibility’ Decree of 1579” J. R. A. S. (1924), pp. 591-608. Also a discussion by Professor ‘Abdu’l-Ghani in A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court (Allahabad, 1929-), III, 243-46. For reasons which I notice later, I feel his rejection of the Shāhnāmah in favour of the Zafarnāmah as the foundation of the Akbarnāmah is unfortunate.
Both Firdausi and Abú'l-Fażl had the same task to perform for their respective monarchs and states—their deliverance from the thraldom of an unrecognized Muslim authority by means which would not undermine the authority of the King under whom they lived, and the appeal of both is ultimately to the same source—the Kayan Glory 'that cannot be forcibly seized,' and the victory of Ahūramazda's deputy (Khalīfah) over Azī Dahhāk, of the Kingdom of the Light over the powers of Darkness. Its power is seen in the title and it pervades the language of Ghulām 'Ali Khān's work, the Shāh 'Alamnāmah, at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, when in face of defeat and usurpation, he portrays Shāh 'Ālam II (1761-1806) as the true vice-gerent of Allāh in the throes of his struggle with Ahrimān and Azī Dahhāk; and in Shāh 'Ālam's own works under the takhallas, Āftāb.

The subject falls into five main divisions: First, the historical setting of Firdausi's life and work and his attitude to the developments which were taking place in his own lifetime; secondly, the historical, mythological and theological background of Firdausi's argument, together with its principal western offshoots; thirdly, the Sunni Muslim position, which appears in the traditions of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate of Bāghdād, and the strength of Persian influence even in Arabic sources; fourthly, the occasion and setting of the Shāhnāmah; and fifthly, the significance of the Shāhnāmah in subsequent political theory and developments in the Muslim world. Within the limits of this survey, I hope to show the unity of the system of monarchy and consequently the unity of its literary expression not only in the millennium and a half which separates the capture of Babylon by Cyrus and the year of Firdausi's birth, but also in the subsequent millennium in which the Orient has lived and thought in terms of his Shāhnāmah, which is the Epic of the manifestation of the Glory of the Kingdom of God on earth.

First, the historical setting of Firdausi's life and work.

Before the middle of the ninth century A.D., the decay of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate had set in, beyond any hope of stay or check, so that after a century from the battle of the Zāb (750 A.D.), the forces of Persian national life, at first harnessed and then repressed, were free once more to assert themselves. The evidence
of their re-appearance is varied. The ancient Persian families, which had adopted the Muslim faith for political reasons, stood forth as leaders in the houses of Tāhir and Sāmān. The House of Ghazna claimed descent from Yazdagird III and the Sāmānids from Bahrām Chubān, while the popular movement found its expression in the lead of Ya‘qūb the Coppersmith and his dynasty (867-903 A.D.). With the revival of Persian national family life, there emerged from their hiding, the heroic traditions of the Sāsānian nobility, and these appeared not only in a revival of Pahlavī literature, of which the Dēnkard is evidence but also in the revival of the Shi‘at-‘Alī in a variety of forms, particularly in the preservation of the marriage of Husain with ‘the Gazelle,’ a daughter of the Sāsānian House, awarded to the son of ‘Alī by ‘Umar.” Throughout, the note of the appeal is to the House of


“Wilt thou treat Yazdagird, the king of kings,
Worse than malignant Turks . . . ?
... From sire to sire his ancestors
Were mighty men and compassers of wisdom
From Nūshrūn, the Shāh, back to Ardashīr,
While, seventh backward from Ardashīr, Sāsān
The world-lord, had the crown, for God entrusted
To him the Kayan crown, and all the kings
Were of that glorious race.”

Firdaουsī (Tr. W.), IX, 105, and n. 1.

For the date of the Dēnkard v. E. W. West in Grundr. Ir. Phil., II, 91,
“According to statements contained in the last section of Book III, its compilation was commenced by Atur-farnbag, son of Farukhzat, a leading high-priest of the Mazda-worshippers, who had a religious disputation with Abalish in the presence of the Khalifah Al-Mamun who reigned in 813-833. And the work was completed by Aturpat, son of Hemet, who is mentioned in the Iranian Bundakish, XLV, 11, as a contemporary of Zat-sparam, who is known to have been living in 881, when the third Epistle of Manushtshihar was written.”

For the story of Shahhrbanu Bégam v. E. G. Browne, op. cit., I, 130-134.
The whole subject of the Persian revival in the tenth century A. D. is treated fully by E. G. Browne, op. cit., I, 339-480.
Sāsān, and the preservation of the line of legitimist right to the throne of Persia by lineal descent, which resides in the hidden succession from the Kayans to the Sāsānid, the succession inherent in the Imāms and the Sayyids, and, finally in ‘the Hidden Imām and the doctrine of the Mahdī.’

Nor is the legitimist descent, derived from birth, the only way. Persian Kingship is ultimately a mystical concept. It is possible, therefore, for it to lie hidden in mystic orders, whether they be the order of the fire-priests of Persepolis or the Sūfis of Gilān, whence sprang the Šafawī dynasty.⁹

The victories of the Ghaznawid House had brought to completion the process by which Persia was once more united politically, under a King of her own national stock. Maḥmūd’s claim to descent from Yazdagird III is, in itself, sufficient to account for the favourable view of Yazdagird and the air of hostility towards the Arabs, who belong to Turān, whose king is Azi Dahhāk. One reference is sufficient to illustrate this point.¹⁰ When Rustam the son of Hurmuzd, on the eve of Kadīsīyya, his last fight with the Arabs,

“observed the stars and smote
His head because it was a day of bale,”

he wrote to his brother as follows

“When I agnized this secret of the sky—
That it assigneth us but grievous travail—
I wept right sorely for the Iranians
And burned for the Sasanians. Woe is me
For head and crown, for state and throne, and woe
For majesty, for fortune, and for Grace
Because hereafter will defeat betide them
From the Arabians, the stars will not turn
Save to our hurt, and for four hundred years
None of our royal race will rule the world!”¹¹

¹⁰ Firdausi (Tr. W.), IX, 73.
¹¹ Ibid., IX, 73-4.
The four centuries reaches its term in Mahmûd of Ghaznî and the completion of the Shâhnâmah. The interim

"Hath been the epoch of 'Umar, made known
The Faith, and to a pulpit changed the throne." 12

It is, in the eyes of Firdausî, a parallel of the Ashkanian (Arsacid) period, when

"Folk called them 'Tribal Kings.' Two centuries passed,
And thou hadst said: 'There is no Shâh.'" 13

This fact determines the approach of Firdausî to his task. He was probably a Shi'ah, and therefore had less sympathy for 'the epoch of 'Umar' than for the preceding royal house of Sâsân. Mahmûd was a Sunni, so that it was necessary to temper the Shi'ah antipathy to the second Khalifah and to find the necessary compensation in the words he placed in the mouth of Bahram, and the other loyal supporters of Yazdagird III. The course he adopted, however, placed him on the horns of a dilemma, for his enemies at the Court of Mahmûd were able to point to both his Shi'ah belief and his undue affection for the Fire-worshipper. 14 His satire on Mahmûd contains his reply to these criticisms.

"Ho! Shâh Mahmûd who hast as victor trod
The climes! if man thou fearest not fear God,
For there were many Shâhs ere thou hadst birth
Who all were crownèd monarchs of the earth
And all of them pre-eminent o'er thee
In treasure, host, throne, crown, and dignity.
They did no act that was not good and right,
Went not about to swindle and to spite,
Dealt with their subjects justly and were naught
If not God's worshippers."

And

"But is there, tell me this, one viler yet
Than he whose heart against 'Ali is set?" 15

The appeal of Firdausî, then, is to the Glory of the House of

12 Ibid., IX, 121, cf. p. 76.
13 Ibid., VI, 210.
15 Firdausi (Tr. W.), I, 40.
Sāsān, particularly to Nushīrwān, whose justice becomes proverbial even among the Muslimīn, against all invaders. His object is to place its Glory on the background of immemorial right, *sub specie aeternitatis*. Consequently, the pre-Sāsānian history and mythology is forced into the mould of the Sāsānid, while, even the Sāsānian history is subject to that form of compression or synthesis which marks the form of the heroic story or saga. For, it must be remembered that Firdausī's object was not to write a history of the Kings of Persia but rather to produce the King's Book, an *Eikōn Basilikē*,—the *Shāhnāmah*,—in order to enshrine the memory of the Glory of the Kingdom, at the time when its political realization was rendered imminent by the triumphs of Yazdāgird III's descendant Subuktigīn, the father of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, to whom the poem is dedicated.\(^{16}\)

The result of this treatment shows itself in several ways. First, there is a certain foreshortening of the background. This effect destroys the value of Firdausī as an historian at a variety of points. His tendency to concentrate into the term Tārān all the Asiatic enemies of Iran is an example. The treatment of the Rūmī feud, along similar lines, is another case in point. They fix, however, the Persian point of view in his own time, but, what is more important, they fit into the traditional Persian heroic scheme of the King and the Enemy, Azī Dakhāk.\(^{17}\) This form is ultimately Median, Magian and Zoroastrian, and it is given an ultimate theological form in the struggle between Ahūra Mazda and Ahrimān for the possession of the Glory. The *Shāhnāmah*, indeed, is the most complete account of the struggle in existence. It is, moreover, oriental in its entirety, and free from any serious adulteration from Hellenistic or Arabic sources, for though it is certain that Firdausī was not ignorant of Arabic, yet he appears not to have written in the language, and to have had little sympathy with the spirit of the Arabic interpretations of his theme.\(^{18}\)

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\(^{17}\) For an example of Firdausī's treatment of Roman affairs v. *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), VI, 294 ff.

Out of this consideration emerges perhaps the most important conclusion concerning Firdausi’s place in the Genealogia Regni Dei. He marks a point of crystallization of the traditions, oriental, in general, and Persian, in particular, concerning the proper embodiment in letters and saga of the reign of the King. The Royal Hero King is faced from his birth with the machinations of Ahrimān, either directly in his diabolic (Firdausi frequently uses Iblīs for Ahrimān) form or indirectly through the mediation of Azī Dahhāk, and on the successful manipulation of the situation depends the rest of the reign. His knowledge of the method of disposing of the Enemy—his wisdom and ‘justice’—are the accompaniments and outward manifestations of the possession of the Glory. For that reason Harpagus advised Cyrus to pretend to be lacking in wisdom, because it would throw doubt on the Magian award and, thereby, serve to protect him from Azī Dahhāk (Astyages).

The presence of this normal form of ‘King Book’ or Shāhnāmah suggests kinship in the works in which its development appears, and that suggestion, confirmed by other elements, amounts to certainty. This point is best illustrated by the place of Cyrus in Western literature. The royal shepherd motif appears in all forms of the Cyrus legends, and it is ultimately merged into the Magian recognition—or its national priestly counterpart—and the proof of wisdom, revealed at the age of ten, twelve or sixteen. Its final proof lies in the complete victory, whereby Azī Dahhāk is overthrown and Babylon—or Bāghdād—is captured. The treatment of Herodotus and Xenophon bears all the marks, not of historical but of heroic treatment of Cyrus, and it is as offshoots of the Cyrus Shāhnāmah that they should be regarded. The same—

19 Enc. Brit. (11th ed.), II, 821a (Astyages), VII, 706b ff. (Cyrus). Both articles are by Eduard Meyer. I suggest that the Armenian identification with Azī Dahhāk, though its appearance in literature is late, reflects Persian opinion and contains the key to the conflict of names. Cyaxares the Mede, as the enemy of Persia would be known as Azī Dahhāk in Persia prior to the conquest of Media by Cyrus. For a recent discussion of the question in another connexion v. H. H. Rowley, Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel, Cardiff, 1935, pp. 30 ff.

20 Firdausī (Tr. W.), II, 328 ff. Xenophon’s Cyropaedia is, indeed, an excellent account of the consequences of the possession of the Royal Glory (ḥeartenō Kavaēm) in righteous rule, wisdom, and the ability to interpret the will of the deity.
and more—is true of the passage assigned to deutero-Isaiah, where we find not only the normal Cyrus motif, but also the suffering Servant, which in Siyawūsh is as characteristic of Persian as of Jewish thought. In addition, the assignment of the divine source of the Kingship of Cyrus to Yahwēh is characteristic of the conception of the divine authority of the ‘King of Kings’ represented by Cyrus in contrast with Cambyses, a fact noticed in the Egyptian source, Pseudo-Callisthenes, in connection with Alexander the Great, and endorsed by Josephus in his—probably apocryphal—story of Alexander’s proskynēsis before the High Priest.  

The most important western offshoot of this tradition, however, is the Isa-nāmāh—or Jesus Saga—of which the Gospels are offshoots. The Fourth Gospel, in form and content, belongs definitely to the category and family of which Firdausī’s Shāhnāmāh is the most illustrious collection. The saga behind the Synoptic Gospels is clearly an offshoot of the form of Cyrus biography and the Zartušt-nāma. The revelation of the Glory before birth, at the baptism, on the Mount of Transfiguration and at the Tomb on the Third Morning, combined with the tongues of flame descending on the diadochoi (khulafā) of the Kingdom represent the fundamental element of the Epic form of the Shāhnāmāh. In addition, we have the varied forms of the attacks of Ahriman, claiming to control the Glory and to have it in his gift, or, indirectly, through Azī Dahhāk (Astyages) represented by the Edomite Herod or the Rūmī Pontius Pilate or the Herodians who combined both the Tūrānī and Rūmī positions. More striking still are the shepherd and Magi, in their recognition of His possession of the Kayan Glory, at a time when according to Persian tradition—also illustrated by Firdausī’s cavalier treatment of the Arsacids—the Glory lay hid. The story of the Gospels turns on the attempt to annex ‘the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized,’ and Jesus the

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21 For the suffering Servant motif in the Shāhnāmāh see the account of Siyawūsh, Firdausī (Tr. W.), II, 191 ff.; the Jewish assignment of Cyrus’ Kingship to Yahwēh (Is. 41); for the episode of Alexander the Great and the High Priest v. Josephus, Antiq., XI, 8, 5.
22 V. my paper Regnum et Ecclesia, particularly pp. 33 ff.
23 E. g. the Temptations (Lk. IV, 5-7), cf. Zamyād Yast, VII, 34 ff.; IX, 57-64, S. B. E., XXIII, 293 ff., 300 ff.).
24 Cf. Zamyād Yast, IX, 61 ff., XII-XIII.
Christ is portrayed as one who is wiser than Jamshid. The wisdom, royal dikaiosune, the organic nature of the Kingdom, delegation of powers and the royal feast and the anabasis against the enemy all appear, while in the death on the Cross, we have a suggestion of Afrasiyab’s capture and murder of the King’s son Siyawush, from whom came the Glory to Kai Khushrau. If this kinship is once recognized, it will be seen that in the Alexander Biographies of the West—the Sikandarnamah—in the lives of Cyrus (the Great and the Younger)—the works of Dio Cassius, the historian, and the Augustan histories, but particularly in the Gospels, we have a Western branch of the tradition whose Eastern branch is represented by Firdausi’s Shahnamah. This fact is of the utmost importance for, together with the Book of Daniel, which is the Zamyad Yast of Hebrew literature, the literature here indicated attests the continuity of the Kingly tradition and Kingly Glory, through the Arsacid period, when it was transmitted from the Kayan Sassan to Ardashir by the arthavans of Persepolis.

For the Christian scholar, it transforms Firdausi’s Shahnamah, from a remote Oriental Epic into a first hand commentary on the Gospels, despite the millennium which separates their Shah from the Epic of the Kayan Shaha. It also serves to explain—as the modern Formgeschichte theories fail to do—the form of the Christus-saga and its derivatives—the Four Gospels. It assigns to Marcion of Pontus, whose Kings claimed descent from Cyrus and Darius, his proper place in Church History and transforms his ‘Gospel’ from a mangled version of Saint Luke to a book of the Shah-Isa-namah opening with the descent of the Kayan Glory, while the Gnostics culminating in Manes represents a Magician or Zoroastrian attempt to assess the theme in terms of the theology of Persia. There we must leave the western offshoot of the Royal Genealogy consummated in the Shahnamah, and turn East again.

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27 V. supra, nn. 8-9.

Further East, in Bāghdād, the Muslim Babylon, there is a similar movement visible under ‘Abbāsid rule. The ‘Abbāsids had succeeded in overthrowing the Umayyads by means of Persian support, and their dynasty marks the beginning of the wholesale introduction of Persian officers and institutions into the Caliphate. But, the party (ṣhi‘at) of ‘Alī was destined to fare no better than under the preceding dynasty, for when once the ‘Abbāsids had gained their end, they proceeded to repress both the Shi‘ah and the Persian. The downfall of the Barmakids under Hārūnu‘l-Rashid can be regarded as the final act of this line of policy. Nevertheless, the ‘Abbāsids were ready to adopt the same basis of eccumenical authority as that which runs through Hebrew tradition from Cyrus to Jesus of Nazareth, and to annex the Kayan Glory, by virtue of their conquest of Elam. Our evidence for this policy is found in ‘Alī Ṭabarī’s The Book of Religion and Empire, written at the command and with the assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (847-861 A.D.). In this work the claims of past heroes from Cyrus to Alexander and beyond are examined, but in every case the words of the Hebrew Prophet point ‘without doubt’ to ‘the kingdom of the Arabs’ and more especially to this ‘Abbāsid Kingdom.’ The work, in fact, is the ‘Abbāsid counterpart of the Book of Daniel, and it annexes to Bāghdād, the Glory of Babylon in the same manner and by the very words used by the Hebrew Prophets to annex it to Jerusalem. This work was written probably in 855, eighty years before the birth of Firdausī, on the eve of the overthrow of Mutawakkil, whose fate, in the eyes of Persian, Jew and Christian, must have resembled that of Belshazzar. The time was ripe for the fulfilment of the words of the Prophet Muhammad concerning Hasan the son of ‘Alī “This my son is a Sayyid and God will reconcile through him two Muslim parties.”

In 839 at Āmul was born the historian Al-Ṭabarī, who lived until 923 A.D. His work Ta‘rikh al-Rusūl wa‘l-mulūk was trans-
lated into Persian in 963 by order of the Sāmānid ważīr Abū ‘Alī Muhammad al-Balʿami, and supplemented considerably in the earlier period. The part of the Arabic work dealing with the Sāsānid period was translated into German in 1879 by Noeideke.\(^{26}\) This work, in its Persian form, was either one of Firdausī’s sources or derived from the same sources, particularly the Persian Khudaināma or Book of the Kings. The significance of the work lies in the fact that the historian Ṭabarī gave to the Muslim world the historical vindication of the Sāsānids and their predecessors, which is the counterpart of the theological and apologetic vindication of the ‘Abbāsids by the other Ṭabarī. In the writings of his younger contemporary, Maʿṣūdī, who died in 956 A. D. after a life spent in travel, we find the same attention paid to the Sāsānids, and a notice of the literary activity, in the Kitāb al-Tanbih, summarizes the literary activity of Persian national writers in 956 A. D., when Firdausī was thirty years of age.\(^{27}\)

The Persians have a book entitled Kuhān Nāmah, in which are related all the dignitaries of the Persian monarchy, to the number of six hundred, classified according to the rank that has been assigned to them. This book is part of the ‘Ain Nāmah, which is a book of (administrative) regulations. It is a volume comprising several thousand pages and complete copies can only be found with the Mābād and other persons invested with some degree of authority. . . . Those occupied with the history of the Kings and the peoples differ in opinion on the origin of the Persians, the names of their Kings and the length of their reigns. We furnish the traditions of the Persians themselves and neglect the information given by other peoples—Israelites, ancient and modern Greeks, since the opinions which they follow are contrary to Persian tradition. It is, indeed, fairer to follow the Persians in this matter, when the distance of time and the multiplicity of events have weakened their traditions, caused the memory of their glories to fail and their institutions to perish.

Maʿṣūdī proceeds to indicate the glories of ancient Persia, stating that he had seen at Istakhr, in 916 A. D. a great book contain-

\(^{26}\) Under the title Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, Leyden, 1879. For details v. pp. xiii-xxxviii. This work alone, together with its Persian translation is sufficient evidence of the interest in Ancient Persian Kingship at the time Firdausī took over the task of Daqiqī (c. 976), v. pp. xxiii ff.

\(^{27}\) Maʿṣūdī, Kitābī-Tanbih waṣl-‘ishrāf, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Bibl. Geog. Arab, VIII), Leyden 1893, translated under the title Le Livre d’Avertissement, pp. 149 f.
ing the lives of the Kings of Persia, their reigns, the accounts of their buildings, and other details, which he had been unable to discover either in the *Khudaināmah*, the *ʿAīnnāmah*, the *Kuhān-nāmah* or any other work. It contained portraits of the Sāšānids, twenty-five men and two women, and with each portrait was the biography of the monarch, both of his public and private life, based on documents recovered from the treasure of the Persian Kings. The work was completed in 722 A.D. and translated from Pahlavi into Arabic for the *Khalifah Hishām*.38

Maʿsūdī, then, gives us both a contemporary statement and a convenient summary of the state of knowledge and the authorities available for the use of Firdausi and his younger contemporary Al-Thaʿālibī, whose monumental work *Ghurar al-Siyār* is the Arabic, prose counterpart of the *Shāhnāmah*.39 (The portion referring to the Kings of Persia has been edited and translated into French by Zotenberg, the translator of the Persian Tabari.) It is probable that Al-Thaʿālibī and Firdausi both died in or about the year 1031 A.D.,40 and, with this notice of him and of the Baghdādī Maʿsūdī, as the Arabic representatives, respectively, of the Irāqī and Persian strands of Persian traditions, we must pass from the setting of Firdausi’s life to his work. It may, however be pertinent to remark, that Al-Thaʿālibī frequently gives the sources used by Firdausi with a greater degree of accuracy than Tabari.41

The problems of chronology and myth which beset the content of the *Shāhnāmah* have invaded the story of the life of its Poet, and, however great is the implicit testimony of Persia's appreciation of Firdausi, it is equally disconcerting to any attempt to determine the main points of his life. It is, however, not necessary here to enter into any detail.

When Firdausī was about forty years of age, the Persian poet Daqīqī was assassinated by one of his slaves. The date is uncertain, and the possibilities range from 952 A.D. (Huart) to 976 A.D. (Warner). Huart's date is certainly too early, as it is not easily reconciled with the date of the *Shāhnāmah* and its dedica-

38 I. p. 151 ff.
40 Enc. Islam, s. v. ath-Thāʿalībi. Zotenberg in his Preface confuses two entirely different persons named Thaʿalībi.
tion, after thirty five years’ work, to Maḥmūd, whose accession took place in 997 A.D., and on the whole a date between 970 and 976 A.D. is preferable. Daqiqi was, like Firdausi a native of Tūs, which is in the region of the southern coast of the Sea of Qazwīn (the Caspian Sea). This region was, so to speak, an asylum and refuge of Persian nationality from the Arab advance. Four centuries later, after the death of Timūr, it was from Gilān near by, that the Ṣafawī house started on its victorious career, which led to the establishment of the Shi‘ah form of Islam as the national faith of Persia.

The records of the Sāsānīd House, according to the preface to the Shāhnāmah written by Baisinghar, the grandson of Timūr, were captured by the Arabs and a translation of part of them was submitted to ‘Umar, who by no means approved of their contents. From Arabia they went to Abyssinia, where by order of King Jasha they were translated. The contents became known in India, whence they were brought by Ya‘qūb Lais, who commanded Abū Mansūr to transcribe in Persian, what a learned (dānishwar) dihkān had written in Pahlavī, and to complete the record to the death of Yazdagird III (652-3 A.D.). Abū Mansūr transmitted the task to Su‘ūd, who with four others carried it to its completion. The advent of the Sāmānids, at the end of the ninth century brought encouragement to the work, as they claimed Sāsānīd descent, and Nūh II (976-997) commissioned Daqiqi to put the records into Persian verse. He had written a thousand lines when he was assassinated.

It is significant to notice that Firdausi, like Daqiqi and the others who participated in the work, were dihkāns—landed proprietors, or perhaps better, members of ‘county families,’ whose ancestry went back to Sāsānīd times and even beyond. Furthermore, the preliminary work, which preceded Firdausi’s epic and rendered it possible, reflects the persistence of the Zoroastrian faith and traditions. The term Shāhnāmah, with its kindred terms Bastānnāmah, Khudaināmah, Kuhannāmah, appears to have acquired the technical significance, on which Firdausi’s work set the

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43 V. M. Nāzīm, op. cit., pp. 21 f.
44 *Firdausi* (Tr. W.), I, 67 f.; cf. E. G. Browne, op. cit., I, 461, the stanza opening “O King, recalling Dara’s noble line.”
The prevailing Sāsānīd atmosphere accounts for many of Firdausī's troubles and for the assumption that Daqīqī himself was a Zoroastrian, as is certainly suggested by Daqīqī's own lines:

"Of all of this world's good and ill
Four things Dakikī chooseth still—
Girl's ruby lips, the sound of lyre,
The blood-red wine, the Faith of Fire." 45

But the most important consequence is the parallel between Persian and Jewish history, that this situation produces. The kinship of the Jewish Messianic hope with Cyrus the Great is by no means wholly dependent on the Return. The Kayan House of Elam is the oriental counterpart of the Davidic House of Jerusalem, and both are agreed in their antagonism to the political control of Babylon. 46 Bāghdād was the 'Arab Babylon, and the motive which prompted the Hebrew Prophet to write 'Bel stoopeth, Nebo boweth down' reappears in the Persian Poet to extol the royal pantheon of Zoroastrian Persia and the rights of 'Ali against the Babylonish usurpations of 'Umar and the House of 'Abbās. David and Solomon are replaced by Ardashīr (who was crowned in Bāghdād!), and Nushirwan, and in the victorious Mahmūd, the shoot of Yazdagird's rod, is revealed a Persian Messiah. 47

Mahmūd's accession in 997 A.D. and his recognition of Firdausī both fall far too late for the occasion and inception of the work. Indeed, both Firdausī and his generation, as well as subsequent generations, have been disposed to assign to the son of Subuktīgīn a greater share of the glory than is his due, for it was Subuktīgīn who laid the foundations of Mahmūd's success. He was, moreover, the contemporary of Firdausī, being born in 942 A.D. and ascending the throne of Ghazna in 977 A.D., the year after the death of Daqīqī. Subuktīgīn's reign supplied all the necessary elements of the Great King, including the victories over the King of Hind, Jaipal. Mahmūd merely completed the edifice by the overthrow of the Sāmānids in 999 A.D. and the subjugation of

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45 Firdausī (Tr. W.), p. 69.

46 The historical parallel can be carried farther, and I suggest that the thought underlying the rise of the Messianic Hope is that if Anshān could produce a Cyrus to force Bel to stoop, then why should not Jerusalem or Juda?

47 V. particularly Firdausī (Tr. W.), VI, 207-9.
Northern India as far as Somnāth, whereby he became Lord of Hind.\textsuperscript{48} The recognition of Maḥmūd by the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah, whereby Maḥmūd received the title of the Right Arm of the Faith and the State, naturally evokes no response from Firdausī to whom Maḥmūd is the King of Kings, and the possession of Bāğhdād by the House of 'Abbās is an usurpation of the city of the House of Ardashīr.\textsuperscript{49}

It is not only over Hind that the Conqueror of the Two Worlds must rule but over Rūm. Here Persian royal tradition takes its most notable departure from Avestan tradition, which regards Sikandar Rūmī (Alexander the Great) as possessed of the divinity of Ahrimān.\textsuperscript{50} The Persian tradition follows the Egyptian suggestion in Pseudo-Callisthenes and transforms Alexander’s ancestry from Greek to Persian, Darab—a purely fictitious King—being his true father, Philip his foster-father and Darius Codomannes his younger, usurping brother. So Alexander is incorporated into the Kayan royal Pantheon.\textsuperscript{51} Caesar is descended from Salm, the son of Farīdūn, and so he has a status in the divine Kingship, but Firdausī leaves no doubt that it is a vassal status. It is fitting that the Persians rule the Greeks, is the Kayan reply to Euripides, for the Persian King is Lord of the World, and the Great King relinquishes no claim to overlordship that he has ever exercised.\textsuperscript{52} This position in Firdausī and the nation he represents is not a matter of political science or diplomatic theory, but a matter of fact and religion. It is clearly stated in praise of Maḥmūd,

\begin{quote}
"'Tis the king of Rūm and Ind, 
King from Kannūj e’en to the river Sind, 
While in Tūrān and in Īrān men give\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}\textsuperscript{48} Cf. the poem in praise of Sultan Maḥmūd, particularly Firdausī (Tr. W.), I, 113. \textsuperscript{49} Firdausī (Tr. W.), VI, 258. \textsuperscript{50} Firdausī (Tr. W.), I, 59-62 where full references will be found. \textsuperscript{51} Ibid., I, 55; VI, 11-19, 29 ff. \textsuperscript{52} Salm was the eldest son of Farīdūn (Firdausī, Tr. W., I, 187-8); he conspired with Tūr (ibid., 190 ff.) after receiving the governorship of Rūm and the West. Therefore, from the beginning, Rūm was part of the territory of the Great King, and the defeat of Salm by Minūchihr (ibid., 220-229), falling as it does in the Pishdādian period, fixes the assumption as a theological and historical ultimate, in the eyes of the Poet; cf. the advice of Lichas to the Spartans, Thuc., VIII, 43, 3-4.\end{flushright}
As slaves obedience to his will and live
Thereby. With justice decked he earth and now,
That done, hath set the crown upon his brow." 52

Firdaūsī is first and last the Poet of the Kayan Glory or Grace—the farr or ḫwarened kavaēm, of which the possession marks the Great King and constitutes his right to rule. The determination of the right and the possession rests with the Magi, 54 for, while others may possess its mark, it is only in the King that it abides in all completeness with its attributes of wisdom, bravery, and justice. It is 'the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized'; it is likewise the Glory that cannot be hid. Turānī maternity does not obscure it, 55 and Azī Dahhāk is he who strives to gain it by force, whether he be Turk or 'Arab matters not. 56 History and legend alike ascribe to Nushīrwān—the Sāsānian who outdid the achievements of Alexander the Great—the virtue of not attempting 'to seize the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized,' and his brother, who made the fatal error, was set aside by the Magi. 57 It is the struggle for the possession of the Glory and the detection of its divine presence or its elusiveness on which turns the form of each biography from the Piшhdādians down to Yazdagird III. 58 Firdaūsī's task is to show its continuous incarnation throughout the ages in a royal pantheon, differing from Avestan and post Avestan tradition only in the inclusion of Alexander the Great. The argument implicit in the Epic is that the Glory is eternal and that from age to age it will manifest itself. Even in the dark periods of Turanian triumph, it merely lies concealed, and that it will reappear as it does in Maḥmūd.

The King of Turan—the Enemy—maintains all the outward appearance of its possession, and his benighted followers believe that he is its possessor—as did Pirān, the faithful follower of

52 Firdaūsī (Tr. W.), I, 113.
53 It is impossible to give references to a word which occurs on almost every page. For the right of the Magi to judge the rightful possession of the Glory, cf. Hdt. I, 107; Mt. II, v. also Firdaūsī (Tr. W.), II, 372; cf. I, 60 ff., n. 57 infra, and Heb. kavōd yahwēh.
54 E. G. Khuşrau, Firdaūsī (Tr. W.), II, 363-372.
55 Cf. S. B. E., XXIII, 297 ff.
57 V. E. G. Browne, op. cit., II, 142-144; cf. I, 140-150.
Afrasiyāb, and the house of 'Abbās—but, in that, they are led astray for its home is in the Kayan house. This fact, however, is of considerable importance as it provides a link between the Shāhnāmah and the literature on the theory of the Caliphate. Firdausī's Shāhnāmah supplies the necessary introduction to the work of his younger contemporary Māwardī. The al-Aḥkāmu'l-Sulṭāniyyah is a constitutional treatise of the overt working of the theory of monarchy described in heroic strain by Firdausī. As an instance of their proximity may be cited the automatic disqualification of anyone announcing himself to be the Khalīfah and so attempting 'to seize the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.' Their difference appears most strikingly in the stress on the Succession of the Prophet Khilāfatu Rasūl-illāhi) in Māwardī, at the expense of the eternal presence of divine vicegerency (Khilāfatullāh) in Firdausī. It is the difference of the 'Arab and the Persian.60

Our last task is to show briefly the process by which the Shāhnāmah became the foundation on which future Muslim Kings were to base their right to rule. The custom of writing and retaining the records of the reign was maintained at all courts. It was the duty of the waqi'a-navisī, whose work was simply that of compiling the ephemerides of the reign. The duty of putting these records into literary form was assigned to a writer of standing. At the Ottoman court in the sixteenth century, there was a series of these writers who held the title of Shāhnāmajī. Their works were called, variously, a Shāhnāmah, a Fatiḥnāmah, or Zafarnāmah. Frequently the name of the sovereign was prefixed to the book particularly that of Alexander the Great, the Sikandarnāmah or Iskandarnāmah.61 In most cases there was an appeal, by means of a genealogy, to high antiquity and distinguished ancestry. Both poetry and prose were used to set forth the record. These epics were not infrequently avowed continuations of Firdausī. They were all indebted to him for their language and metre, for the Shāhnāmah had, so to speak, established the technique of correct epic writing.62

The most interesting fact of all, however, is seen in their relation to the political exigencies of the period in which they appear. We have seen already that there is, in Firdausi’s *Shāhnāmah*, a definite political *motif*—the re-instatement of the Persian King as the King of Kings, without reference to Muslim authority—particularly the authority of the ‘Abbāsid *Khalifah* at Bāghdād. The *Shāhnāmah* and its descendants became the regular form in which such assertions of sovereign rights were stated. It is neither possible nor necessary here to quote the *catena*, and a few examples must suffice. Hamdu’llāh Mustaufi’s *Ẓafarnāmah* (c. 1334 A.D.) forms the link between Firdausi and Sharaftūl-Dīn Yazdi’s *Ẓafarnāmah* or *Iskandarnāmah-i-Timūrī*. The force of the allusion to Alexander was the declaration of overlordship over the Ottoman (*Rūmī*) Turks. From the *Ẓafarnāmah* spring the Timūrid works by which the descendants of Bābur, particularly Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.), declared their independence alike of Ottoman Turk and Šafawī Persian. Of these works, Abū’l-Faḍl’s *Akbarnāmah* is the most important, as, together with the *Tarīkh-i Afsī*, it gives to Akbar’s reign the significance of the millennium achieved. At the same time the Šafawī poets produced their *Shāhnāmah*, *Isma’ilnāmah*, *Shāhanshāhnāmah*. To continue this enumeration would be but to weary my audience with a series of names, nevertheless there are two works, written just over a century ago and belonging to the same *literary* category, which cannot be omitted here—the *Jirjis-i Razm* of Safdar ʿAlī Shāh Munsif and the *Jarjnāmah* of Firūz ibn Kā’us (1814-1837 A.D.)—the latter a work of forty thousand couplets, in praise of the Four Georges!

In conclusion, it must be noticed that, with the exception of the Mongol Kings, who base their right to rule on equalling or excelling the achievements of Alexander the Great—the significance of the title *Iskandarnāmah*—the claim of the *Shāhnāmah* and its kindred works is that the hero possesses by virtue of his birth and ancestry the *farr* or the Kayan Glory, whose mark is on his body. It sets out the unity of the body regal from Jamshīd and Farīdūn

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66 *Firdausī* (Tr. W.), II, 373.
to the King who is the writer's hero. Firdausi's *Shāhnāmah* laid the foundation on which his successors built, and provided the means whereby Muslim monarchy could exist independent of 'Umar's choice of the succession (*Khīlāfat*), by resting its claim on the right of 'Umar's contemporary Yazdagird III and the divine *Khīlāfat* inherent in the Kayan and Sāsānid monarchies. It is this development which accounts for the tendency of the term, (and the view inherent in the term), *Khalīfatu’l-lāh* to supersede the term *Khalīfatu Rasūl-Allāh* in political prestige, particularly after the assumption of the rôle of Leader of the Faithful by the Ottoman Sultan in virtue of his possession of the Twin Shrines. From the eighteenth century onwards, moreover, the situation in the Muslim world has been marked by the steady advance of Azī Dahhāk and the forces of Tūrān, in the north, from the expansion of Russia, in the south, from the extension of the power of the East India Companies. In 1857, Bahādur Shāh II, unmindful of his Pishdādian predecessor, committed the folly of attempting 'to seize the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized,' and

"Pressed by the world's new lord
He fled, surrendering crown, throne and treasure,
Host, power and diadem. The world turned black
To him, he disappeared and yielded all." 67

Sixty years later, Persia faced her revolution, which was the result of the combined attack of the Azī Dahhāk of Western mercantile companies and the Azī Dahhāk of the North—Russia. The consequence of the Revolution, the War and the great Turanian menace of the North was the deposition of the last Qājār and the elevation of Ridha Pahlavī Shāh to the *maṣnad* in 1926. Both the title he has assumed and his *farmān* ordering the Firdausi celebrations mark an appeal to Persia's past as the means of restoring the Kayan Glory to its native throne.

67 *Firdausi* (Tr. W.), I, 140.
MAIMONIDES AND SPINOZA ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLE
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In November 1932 the tercentennial anniversary of the birth of Spinoza was celebrated throughout the civilized world. In March and April of the present year the octocentenary of Moses Maimonides will be celebrated wherever there are Jews interested in their past.

Spinoza was born a Jew, but unfortunately was excommunicated by the Synagogue because of his independence and freedom of speech. His was an age when theological controversies were taken seriously, and the Jewish community of Amsterdam was even more sensitive than the native Dutch because they were recent immigrants from Spain and Portugal, did not yet feel completely at home in Holland and no doubt feared the consequences of theological odium should it become publicly known that a non-conformist like the young Spinoza, was tolerated in their midst. His exclusion from the society of his own people must have made a great impression upon the sensitive youth which was deep and lasting and contributed to the solitariness of this great thinker whose unpopular ideas must have made his life a lonely one under any circumstances. The few friends he did have were Christians, and Spinoza, always so gentle and unruffled, betrays a trace of bitterness when he speaks of the Jews who had treated him so badly.

In the Ethics, Spinoza is the Olympian who envisages eternity, and religion, race and nation are treated as non-existent. Geometry is universal and Spinoza treats of reality and truth more geometrico, as befits a philosopher.

In the Theologico-Political Treatise, he is concerned with the concrete problem of political freedom. He urges that freedom of thought and expression is not merely not incompatible with public peace and loyalty, but that it can not be suppressed without suppressing peace and loyalty itself. He is speaking here of a subject very near to his heart as a man and not merely as an abstract philosopher. He had suffered and was suffering in his own person from political and religious intolerance. In this work therefore we
find the human side of Spinoza coming out a little more clearly, and we are surprised by the strange phenomenon that while he is dealing in detail with the Old Testament and very cursorily with the New, for as a Jew he had been brought up on the Old Testament and had mastered Hebrew, the language in which it was originally written,—we are met, I say, with the strange phenomenon, that while he writes as only a Jew steeped in Jewish literature can write of the Old Testament, his references to the ancient Hebrews and the Jews breathe a certain aloofness as if he was not one of them, and he does not spare them in his attacks. It grates a little because it seems somewhat untrue to the traditional picture of Spinoza as being always equable and affable and cheerful and never saying an unkind word about anybody. At the same time it is understandable and at the same time gratifying, because it shows that Spinoza was human after all.

Maimonides, on the other hand, had never been disowned by his people despite the fact that he too offended the fundamentalists of his day. But he lived in a different age. The Mohammedans in Spain in the twelfth century until the coming of the Almohades were liberal. Science and Philosophy were respected and cultivated with diligence. Moreover, Maimonides did not publish his philosophical work, the *Guide of the Perplexed*, until he was an old man and had become distinguished as the greatest rabbinical authority of his time. Much could be forgiven the “great luminary of the exile,” who was trying to help the perplexed of his day to solve their perplexities and remain loyal to the teachings of Judaism.

A comparison of these two men as interpreters of holy writ is therefore both timely and instructive.

Unlike other books, the Old Testament, as soon as the canon was closed assumed a unique position among the Jews. It was the word and the law of God revealed to Moses and the prophets. It was complete and perfect, nothing could be added to it or taken away. As the Jews lost their state and were dispersed among the nations, the only thing that held them together was this book, as they refused to be lost in their dispersion. Hence it was necessary for them to draw their intellectual and spiritual sustenance from the Bible. This involved the interpretation of the book, particularly of its laws, so as to adopt them to new conditions of life.

This phenomenon is not unique so far as law is concerned. The Romans had an analogous experience with the law of the XII
Tables, which was called by Livy (III, 34, 7) "fons omnis publici privatique iuris," although in Justinian's time nothing was left of the original legislation. The difference, however, is that the Romans had their own state and were free to make new laws whenever they chose. Moreover they had already made a distinction between ius and fas, human law and divine, i.e., law concerning human relations and ceremonial law having to do with man's relation to the gods. As the Jews, however, lost their state, they became a Church and the Church absorbed all law, human as well as divine.

The first stage of biblical interpretation is to be found in the Mishna and the Gemara or in the Talmud and the Midrashim. It is for the most part an interpretation of the civil and ritual law of the Pentateuch. It corresponds to what is called the Interpretatio in Roman law, the extension of the law of the XII tables by means of fictions. The only difference is that the fictitious character of the rabbinical interpretation is more drastic, owing to the fact that in post-Biblical times the Jews had no legislative body and hence had to make interpretation do the work of legislation.

Thus the first stage or period of Jewish interpretation of the Bible was principally legalistic (including the ceremonial law) and was mostly concerned with the Pentateuchal codes. As thus interpreted the Pentateuchal law, in theory, embraced the whole life of the Jew, his relations to his fellow Jews and his relations to his God in the broadest sense. The literary products of this interpretation are to be found in the two monuments of rabbinical Judaism, the Mishna (ab. 200 A.D.) and the Gemara or Talmud (Babylonian and Palestinian—ab. 500 A.D.), as well as the Midrashim (of different dates). These became authoritative, and formed the bases of the various codifications from Jehudai Gaon (760) to Joseph Caro (16th century).

In the Alexandrian period, during the first two centuries B.C., when the Jews were under Greek rule, they acquired new interests. Living in a hellenistic atmosphere they absorbed something of the scientific and philosophic ideas of their political masters, which broadened their outlook. Once more they found the Biblical writings in need of interpretation, but of a different kind. Hence it was not only the legal codes, but even more so the narrative portions of the Pentateuch, which were subjected to interpretation,
and by introducing the allegorical method, they were able to find in the Pentateuch not merely practical teachings but also theoretical, such as they found in Platonism and Stoicism. This kind of interpretation can be seen in the work of Philo (b. ab. 25 B. C.).

So far as the literary documents are concerned, the Alexandrian literature seems to antedate the Palestinian and the Babylonian, but there is no doubt that legalistic interpretation was carried on a long time before it was put down in definitive literary form. Moreover the Alexandrian movement came to an end shortly after the days of Philo, and its medieval analogue did not begin until about the ninth century.

In the early middle ages the mantle of the Greeks, whose philosophical schools were closed by Emperor Justinian in 529, fell upon the Arabs. To be sure, the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians in Syria and Mesopotamia founded theological schools in the fourth century in which Greek science and philosophy were also cultivated, but they did not carry these activities very far, and their importance in this respect is rather that of mediators between the Greeks and the Arabs. The latter owed their first knowledge of Greek science and philosophy to the Syrian Christians whom they employed as translators. The Arabs, then, were the real successors of the Greeks and, as is well known, cultivated philosophy and the sciences very seriously from the 8th to the 13th centuries.

The Jews followed in the wake of the Arabs and like them, both in the East and in Spain, devoted a great deal of their energies to science and philosophy. Again the Bible perforce had to be subjected to another effort of interpretation, for as the word of God and the sole expression thereof it must contain all that is found to be true regarding God, the universe and the soul of man, in short all those matters which a cultivated Jew in those days found important for a complete life.

Maimonides was the greatest exponent of this movement. He did not, so far as we know, write a commentary on the Bible, but in his Guide of the Perplexed we find a good deal of interpretation of biblical texts and, what is more important, a complete theory of interpretation.

He tells us in the Introduction why he called his book the Guide of the Perplexed. The Perplexed are those persons who are devout students of the Bible and believers in the truth of its teachings,
who have also familiarized themselves with the science of the philosophers and find discrepancies between the two. They are confronted with two alternatives. They must either accept the biblical statements and reject the conclusions of reason as taught by the philosophers, or they accept the teachings of reason and reject the statements of the Bible. As rational beings and believers in the Bible, they can not do either, hence their perplexity. And Maimonides undertakes to guide these persons in their difficulty.

His theory is as follows: There can be no disagreement between reason and revelation, for truth is one; rational truth and revealed truth must coincide. Philosophy is rational truth, the Bible is revealed truth. Not everything taught by a philosopher is necessarily true, but the teachings of philosophy are true. As to the Bible, everything in it is true, but one must understand what it says. If a given interpretation clashes with reason, that alone is proof that the interpretation is wrong. If you ask: But why was the Bible written so obscurely that the ordinary reader can not understand it? Was it not intended precisely for the ordinary reader? If you ask this question, Maimonides's answer is: Yes, the Bible was written for all kinds of readers. It was written for the wise and the simple, for the young and the old. And precisely because it was intended to be some things to all men, it is in need of interpretation.

The source of error may be twofold, one may fail to understand the import of a biblical passage or one may misunderstand it and gather an erroneous doctrine. The first is not serious. The Bible contains certain doctrines which an untrained person can not understand either because he has not the preliminary knowledge which requires years of steady application to obtain, or he may by reason of his inherent intellectual weakness be unable to grasp profound metaphysical concepts. In a case like this he can see only the surface meaning of the biblical text and that is enough for him. Every one is not bound to be a philosopher.

However, there are certain passages in the Bible which if one understands literally he will have an erroneous conception of God. These are the anthropomorphic expressions of which the Bible is full, and to think of God as corporeal in form or endowed with faculties and emotions akin to those of man is a very serious error and tantamount to idolatry. It is not incumbent upon every man, woman and child to be able to prove scientifically the exis-
tence, unity and incorporeality of God, but if one believes that God is multiple or corporeal, he is guilty of a serious offence, which may exclude him from the community of Israel.

Accordingly Maimonides undertakes to enlighten the sophisticated reader for whom his work is intended on both these aspects of biblical interpretation. So far as the anthropomorphic expressions are concerned, he says that they are to be understood as metaphors. Hand of God, mouth of God, feet of God, face of God, etc., are expressions intended for the simple reader, to whom the reality and activity of God can not be brought home in any other way. With respect to the esoteric part of biblical doctrine, Maimonides identifies it with the physics and metaphysics of Aristotle and interprets the creation story in Genesis in the sense of Aristotle's physics, and the first chapter of Ezekiel describing the divine chariot as an allegory teaching doctrines of metaphysics akin to those of Aristotle.

Maimonides's theory of biblical interpretation is not incompati-ble with the traditional rabbinical interpretation, for in the first place the passages which lend themselves to metaphysical interpretation are not the laws but the narratives, and secondly, Maimonides does not deny the historical truth of the narratives, he merely superposes the deeper philosophical interpretation upon the literal. It is only in reference to the anthropomorphic expressions that he rejects entirely the literal interpretation.

His standard of interpretation is, as can easily be seen, an external one, the one of rational truth. The assumption—an a priori assumption—is that the Bible must accord with reason, i.e., with what Maimonides was convinced was the teaching of true science and philosophy. Any apparent discrepancy must therefore be explained away by interpretation. And this was bound to lead to all sorts of artificial devices.

Textual criticism did not exist in Maimonides's day. The variants in the Masoretic text were regarded as genuine and original and there was no study of the Greek version, as Greek was an unknown language to Maimonides and his Jewish contemporaries. The Aramaic version of Onkelos was carefully considered. Maimonides, in fact, refers to it in support of his interpretation of the anthropomorphic passages, but the genuineness and accuracy of the Masoretic text were never doubted.
Inconsistencies in the Bible itself did not escape Maimonides or his rabbinic predecessors, the sages of the Talmud, but with the exception of a lone figure, Hivi al Balki, a contemporary of Saadia (9th century), all smoothed them over by interpretation. The unity of the Pentateuch was never doubted for a moment, nor was the Mosaic authorship. The last twelve verses of Deuteronomy recording the death and burial of Moses did indeed seem incompatible with Moses’s authorship of every single word in the Pentateuch, as the Talmud had already noted, and one Rabbi said that those verses must have been added by Joshua, while another Rabbi would not concede even this much and found satisfaction in the theory that God dictated those verses to Moses as he dictated all the rest. Indeed, why not? God can dictate the future as well as the past.

The foundations of Hebrew grammar were laid down long before Maimonides and the science of grammar was carefully studied by Saadia and the famous grammarians Menahem ben Saruk, Hayyuj and Ibn Janah, and was applied to the study of the Bible. The cognate languages, too, especially Arabic, were brought to bear upon the interpretation of difficult Hebrew words and phrases in the Bible. But all this did not affect the doctrinal and tendentious exegesis of the philosophers. Once grant the multiple meaning of the sacred text, exoteric and esoteric, and all difficulties vanish.

Strangely enough, Maimonides may be said to have inaugurated the study of comparative religion as an aid to the study of the biblical institutions. He did this as he did the rest in aid of his rationalistic hypothesis. If the Bible must accord with reason and its teaching of God must be in agreement with the conception of God attained by philosophy, the institution of sacrifices is an anomaly. To be sure, Maimonides could have read some esoteric doctrine in Leviticus as he did in Genesis and Ezekiel, but he could not break with the historical tradition which was continuous and showed beyond any doubt that the sacrifices were taken very seriously, that there was a Temple and a priestly and levitical caste. The Talmud devotes several treatises to the services in the Temple, the prayer book is full of references to the sacrifices, and the messianic hope is associated with the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of the sacrifices. There must be some explanation
for this peculiar institution, which can not be allegorized. The creation story and the description of the divine chariot are just stories, they do not involve any practical institution. Here we are dealing with laws prescribing a very complicated ritual which occupied a central position in ancient Hebrew worship, a position incompatible with Maimonides’s conception of God.

A similar difficulty arises in connection with the explanation of certain prohibitions in the Pentateuch, such as the wearing of garments of wool and flax mixed (sha’atnez), of shaving the corner of the beard, of seething a kid in its mother’s milk, of sowing mixed seeds (kii’aim), and so on. What is the reason for these?

It is in order to explain these peculiar laws and institutions that Maimonides has recourse to comparative religion. He read, he tells us, all the works of the Sabeans, idolaters who lived in the time of Abraham, so far as these works were extant in Arabic. These Sabeans were star worshippers and practiced certain ceremonies analogous to those forbidden in the Bible to appease the stars and induce them to prosper their agricultural activities. The Sabeans also offered sacrifices to the stars. Moses desired to wean the Israelites away from idolatrous practices and lead them to the worship of the true God. With this object in view he followed a twofold method. Some of the rites he prohibited outright, the practice of offering sacrifices was regarded by the people as the very essence of religious worship. It would have been bad policy to prohibit it, as it would have involved a complete break with traditional custom. The Israelites would have refused to follow. As a clever statesman, Moses let them have their beloved sacrifices with all their pomp and ceremony, but with one proviso—they must sacrifice to the true God and not to the stars. Gradually, he hoped, as they came to understand the nature of the true God they would discontinue the sacrifices of their own accord (III, 29-32).

There is one important exception to the statement made above that in the time of Maimonides no one had undertaken any kind of historical or literary criticism of the Pentateuch. That exception is no less than the famous commentator Abraham ibn Ezra (1092-1167). But this very instance shows how rare such criticism was and how dangerous it was to speak of it plainly. It shows also
that historical and grammatical exegesis was not regarded as in any manner incompatible with the allegorical interpretation that was otherwise prevalent. For Ibn Ezra uses both. His comment on Ecclesiastes 5:7 is a good example of the current method of interpretation. The text reads:

“... if thou seest the oppression of the poor, and the violent perverting of justice and righteousness in the state, marvel not at the matter, for one higher than the high watcheth, and there are higher than they.”

There would seem to be no difficulty in this passage that should call for an extraordinary comment. Ibn Ezra, however, says:

“Know that there is a watcher who sees this violence. He is not one, but there are many, and one is higher than the other. No one knows the number of the many watchers, for there are higher ones than these, and they are of different rank. He who knows the mystery of God knows that ‘higher than the high’ means fifty-five, but I cannot explain.”

Obviously Ibn Ezra is not thinking of human watchers but of divine, and of a sort of hierarchy, and he ends up mysteriously, “He who knows the mystery of the Name, knows that ‘higher than the high’ are fifty-five.”

What is all his mystery about? I have not seen any explanation of this cryptic remark anywhere, but the solution seems clear. According to Aristotle in the Metaphysics XII, 8, there are according to one theory fifty-five celestial spheres. The spheres were believed to be endowed with life and were moved by separate Intelligences or Spirits, each sphere having its own Intelligence. These Intelligences of Aristotle were identified by the Jewish Aristotelians with the biblical angels. As movers of the spheres they controlled also the terrestrial (sublunar) world, though the specific Intelligence in charge of sublunar existence was called the
Active Intellect. Thus fifty-five spheres were moved by fifty-five Intelligences or angels, who represented the celestial hierarchy in charge of mundane happenings.

At the same time the mystic and astrologer Ibn Ezra was a very keen grammarian and exegete. And if a comment like the one just mentioned could not be stated plainly (לֹא אִובְּרָה לֶפָרְשָׁה) for fear of imparting esoteric doctrine to the uninitiated, the precaution must be still greater when suspicion is cast upon the authenticity of certain passages in the Pentateuch.

Ibn Ezra does not doubt the divine authority of the Pentateuch and he attacks unsparingly a certain Isaac ben Suleiman (d. 940) who denied the authority of the first chapter of Genesis, but certain passages in the Pentateuch troubled him, and his comment on Deut. 1:5:

“beyond the Jordan, in the land of Moab, took Moses upon him to expound this law . . . .” is as follows:

“Beyond Jordan . . . If you understand the mystery of the twelve, ‘And Moses wrote,’ ‘And the Canaanite was then in the land,’ ‘In the mountain of the Lord it shall be seen,’ ‘Behold his bed is a bed of iron,’ you will know the truth.” I do not know whether Spinoza was the first to penetrate Ibn Ezra’s secret, but there can be no doubt that his solution is correct.

The expression “beyond Jordan” to designate the east side of the river indicates that the passage must have been written on the west side, i. e., in Palestine. But Moses never was in Palestine, hence the verse was not written by Moses. In his remark on this passage Ibn Ezra indicates cryptically that this is not the only passage which must have been written later than the time of Moses. The last twelve verses of Deuteronomy recording the death of Moses could not have been written by Moses. The verse: “And Moses wrote this law. . . .” (Deut. 31:9), speaks of Moses in the third person, hence it was written by someone else. If this is what Ibn Ezra meant, the argument is very weak, for with few
exceptions Moses is referred to in the third person throughout the Pentateuch and there was no need of singling out this particular passage. Moreover the *Gallic War* always speaks of Caesar in the third person. Possibly Ibn Ezra had something else in mind. Gen. 12:6, describing Abram’s passage through Canaan and arriving in Shechem, notes that the “Canaanite was then in the land,” thus implying that in the time of the writer the Canaanite was no longer in the land. Hence it must have been written after the Israelitish conquest. It is possible, indeed, that the remark means: “the Canaanite was then *already* in the land,” as compared with a time anterior to Moses when some other people occupied the land. And, in fact, Ibn Ezra’s comment on the passage is: “It is possible that Canaan took the land away from some one else; but if this is not the meaning, then there is a mystery here, and the wise will keep silent.” Again a mystery. Spinoza, however, points out that in Gen. 10:19, which names the original inhabitants of the land, we are told that “the border of the Canaanite was from Sidon, as thou goest toward Gerar, unto Gazah; as thou goest toward Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboim unto Lasha.” Hence the Canaanites were the original inhabitants, and the word “then” can not mean “then already,” but then still in the land, as compared with the time of the writer, when the Canaanites were no longer there. In Gen. 22:14, Mount Moriah is called the mount of God, but it did not become the mount of God until it was chosen as the site of the temple. Finally in Deut. 3:11, speaking of Og King of Bashan, the text says: “Only Og King of Bashan remained of the remnant of the Rephaim; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon?” This reference to his bedstead was clearly written long after the time of Og, who was a contemporary of Moses and whose defeat Moses describes to his own generation.

Precisely what Ibn Ezra had in mind as an explanation of these mysteries, it is hard to tell. Probably nothing more serious than the suggestion that the verses in question are interpolations. But in Ibn Ezra’s day that was serious enough. It is to be hardly assumed that Ibn Ezra meant to deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole.

Spinoza found a kindred spirit in Ibn Ezra. But he was free.
He cast off the traditional shackles and spoke his mind. And in so doing, he laid the foundations of biblical criticism.

Spinoza's fame as a philosopher so overshadowed his achievement as a biblical critic that among the voluminous writings on Spinoza there is scarcely anything that deals with his critical exegesis.¹

For the first time in history Spinoza lays down the axiom that to understand the Bible we must approach it without prejudice or preconceptions. The Bible must be treated like any other ancient book. Or, in his own words, "The method of interpreting Scripture does not widely differ from the method of interpreting nature—in fact it is almost the same. For as the interpretation of nature consists in the examination of the history of nature and therefrom, as from established data, deducing definitions of natural phenomena, so Scriptural interpretation ought to proceed by the examination of Scripture and therefrom, as from established principles and data, deducing the intention of its authors in the proper manner" (VII, 6-7, ed. Bruder).²

The divine origin of the Bible must be a conclusion and not a premise. And as far as possible we must get the meaning of Scripture from Scripture itself.

All this sounds obvious to us now. In Spinoza's day it required all the courage of the lonely and independent thinker to suggest so simple an idea. The accepted view was that of Maimonides which we discussed before.

Spinoza was aware that he was making a revolutionary suggestion, and the author whom he expressly opposes is Maimonides, whose statement he quotes. "The opinion of Maimonides," he says, "was widely different. He asserted that each passage in Scripture admits of various, nay, contrary meanings; but that we could never be certain of any particular interpretation until we knew that the passage, as we interpreted it, contained nothing con-

² Spinoza's biblical criticism is contained in his Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. The translations are taken from R. H. M. Elwes in Bohn's Libraries though he is not always accurate. The English reader need not confine himself to the passages quoted, but for the benefit of the student, who may desire to verify the quotations in the original Latin, I have indicated the references to Bruder's edition, by chapter and section.
trary or repugnant to reason. If the literal interpretation clashes with reason, then though the passage seems perfectly clear, it must be interpreted differently" (ibid., 75).

As an instance of this canon of interpretation Spinoza mentions the passage in Maimonides's *Guide of the Perplexed*, which has been quoted so often that it almost seems a commonplace, namely the statement of Maimonides in Ch. 25 of the Second Part of the *Guide*, which he makes in connection with his discussion of the origin of the world.

Aristotle believed in the eternity of the world and gave certain proofs in support of his opinion. Maimonides is bold enough to disagree with Aristotle and rejects eternity in favor of creation in time. Fearing that his motive might be misunderstood and that he might be charged with theological prejudice unbecoming in a scientific philosopher, Maimonides says: "Know that the reason we reject the doctrine of eternity of the world is not because of the biblical texts which say that the world originated in time. For the texts concerning the origin of the world are no more numerous than those which speak of God in corporeal terms. Moreover, the gates of interpretation are not closed or impassible in the matter of the origin of the world. We could interpret them metaphorically as we interpreted metaphorically those passages which ascribe corporeality to God. In fact, it would be much easier to do this here than in the other case. But there are two reasons why we do not do so in this case. One is that the incorporeality of God is clearly proved by reason and hence it was necessary to interpret metaphorically those passages which literally understood, clash with reason. But the eternity of the world has not been proved, and hence there is no need of doing violence to the text and explaining it allegorically in favor of an unproved opinion. The second reason is this: Belief in the incorporeality of God is not opposed to the fundamental principles of our religion, whereas to believe in the eternity of the world would upset the basis of religion. . . ."

"Such are the words of Maimonides," says Spinoza, in commenting on the passage just quoted, "and they are evidently sufficient to establish our point. For if he had been convinced by reason that the world is eternal, he would not have hesitated to twist and explain away the words of Scripture till he made them appear to teach this doctrine. He would have felt quite sure that
Scripture, though everywhere plainly denying the eternity of the world, really intends to teach it. So that, however clear the meaning of Scripture may be, he would not feel certain of having grasped it, so long as he remained doubtful of the truth of what was written.

"... If such a theory as this were sound, I would certainly grant that some faculty beyond the natural reason is required for interpreting Scripture. For nearly all things that we find in Scripture cannot be inferred from known principles of natural reason, and, therefore, we should be unable to come to any conclusion about their truth, or about the real meaning and intention of Scripture, but should stand in need of some further assistance.

"Further, the truth of this theory would involve that the masses, having generally no comprehension of, nor leisure for, detailed proofs, would be reduced to receiving all their knowledge of Scripture on the authority and testimony of philosophers, and consequently, would be compelled to suppose that the interpretations given by philosophers were infallible.

"Truly this would be a new form of ecclesiastical authority, and a new sort of priests or pontiffs, more likely to excite men's ridicule than their veneration" (ibid., 77-79).

Spinoza continues in the same vein in criticism of Maimonides, ending up with the following scathing remark: "Therefore, the method of Maimonides is clearly useless; to which we may add that it does away with all the certainty which the masses acquire by candid reading, or which is gained by any other persons in any other way. In conclusion, then, we dismiss Maimonides' theory as harmful, useless, and absurd" (ibid., 86-87).

From Spinoza's fundamental principle that the method of interpreting Scripture is similar to the method of interpreting nature, he draws the following corollaries.

1. We must know "the nature and properties of the language in which the books of the Bible were written, and in which their authors were accustomed to speak."

2. We must make "an analysis of each book and an arrangement of its contents under heads. We should also note all the passages which are ambiguous or obscure, or which seem mutually contradictory."

3. We should investigate the "environment of all the prophetic
books extant; that is, the life, the conduct, and the studies of the author of each book, who he was, what was the occasion and the epoch of his writing, whom did he write for, and in what language. Further we should inquire into the fate of each book: how it was first received, into whose hands it fell, how many different versions there were of it, by whose advice was it received into the Bible, and, lastly, how all the books now universally accepted as sacred, were united into a single whole” (ibid., 15-25).

Spinoza is aware that it is easier to lay down the prerequisites for an understanding of Scripture than to follow them out in practice. He enumerates the difficulties attaching to language, in the case of the O. T. the Hebrew language. We know it imperfectly by reason of historical accident, such as the loss of all ancient Hebrew literature except a small fraction thereof contained in the Hebrew Bible; then there are the difficulties and ambiguities inherent in the structure of the language itself, such as the lack of vowels, the incomplete character of Hebrew moods and tenses, and so on.

To get a complete history of the books of the Bible and its authors is now impossible. And so Spinoza concludes his enumeration of the difficulties as follows:

“The foregoing difficulties in this method of interpreting Scripture from its own history, I conceive to be so great that I do not hesitate to say that the true meaning of Scripture is in many places inexplicable, or at best mere subject for guesswork.” However, he does not despair, because these difficulties apply only to certain parts of the Bible, “when we endeavor to follow the meaning of a prophet in matters which can not be perceived, but only imagined.” There is enough left that we can understand. “The precepts of true piety are expressed in very ordinary language, and are equally simple and easily understood.” . . . “Therefore we need not be much troubled about what remains; such matters, inasmuch as we generally can not grasp them with our reason and understanding, are more curious than profitable” (ibid., 65-69).

Spinoza did not content himself with laying down rules for the study of the Bible, he made use of them himself in his investigation and obtained certain interesting results, some of which I shall now briefly indicate.

In his discussion of prophecy he says: “Our conclusions on the
subject must be drawn solely from Scripture; for what can we affirm about matters transcending our knowledge except what is told us by the words or writings of prophets? And since there are, so far as I know, no prophets now alive, we have no alternative but to read the books of prophets departed, taking care the while not to reason from metaphor or to ascribe anything to our authors which they do not themselves distinctly state" (ibid., I, 7).

“A perusal of the sacred books will show us that all God’s revelations to the prophets were made through words or appearances, or a combination of the two. These words and appearances were of two kinds: 1. real, when external to the mind of the prophet who heard or saw them. 2. imaginary, when the imagination of the prophet was in a state which led him distinctly to suppose that he heard or saw them” (ibid., 9).

Referring to the Sinaitic revelation, he says: “Scripture seems clearly to point to the belief that God spoke himself, having descended from heaven to Mt. Sinai for the purpose. . . . Further, the law of Moses . . . nowhere prescribed the belief that God is without body, or even without form or figure . . . it forbade the Jews to invent or fashion any likeness of the Deity, but this was to insure purity of service. . . . Nevertheless the Bible clearly implies that God has a form” (ibid., 17).

“Revelation may be through figures only, as in I Chronicles, 22, where God displays his anger to David by means of an angel bearing a sword, and also in the story of Balaam” (ibid., 19).

Here again he pays his respects to Maimonides very frankly.

“Maimonides and others,” he says, “do indeed maintain that these and every other instance of angelic apparitions . . . occurred during sleep, for that no one with his eyes open ever could see an angel, but this is mere nonsense. The sole object of such commentators seems to be to extort from Scripture confirmations of Aristotelian quibbles and their own inventions, a proceeding which I regard as the acme of absurdity” (ibid.).

He (Spinoza) further concludes from his examination of the prophetic books that “the prophets were endowed with unusually vivid imaginations, and not with unusually perfect minds (Solomon was the wisest of all men, but had no special faculty of prophecy)” . . . “To suppose that knowledge of natural and spiritual phenomena can be gained from the prophetic books, is an utter mis-
take." "Prophecies varied not only according to the imagination and physical temperament of the prophet, but also according to his particular opinions; and prophecy never rendered the prophet wiser than he was before" (II, 1-3). Prophetic knowledge is inferior to natural knowledge, for the prophets required a sign to assure them of the truth of the revelation, whereas natural knowledge, like mathematical, carries its own certitude with it.

"Everyone," he says, "has been strangely hasty in affirming that the prophets knew everything within the scope of human intellect; and although certain passages of Scripture plainly affirm that the prophets were in certain respects ignorant, such persons would rather say that they do not understand the passages than admit that there was anything which the prophets did not know; or else they try to wrest the Scriptural words away from their evident meaning. . . . If either of these proceedings is allowable, we may as well shut our Bibles, for vainly shall we attempt to prove anything from them if their plainest passages may be classed among obscure and impenetrable mysteries, or if we may put any interpretation on them which we fancy" (ibid., 25).

Spinoza concludes therefore that "in matters of theory without bearing on charity or morality the prophets could be, and in fact were, ignorant and held conflicting opinions. It therefore follows that we must by no means go to the prophets for knowledge either of natural or of spiritual phenomena" (ibid., 52).

In his discussion of miracles, Spinoza virtually abandons his own canons of interpretation. Spinoza's conception of God and nature leads to a definite rejection of miracles in the sense of a breach in natural law brought about by an intervention of the Deity for a certain purpose. Spinoza states this very plainly. Instead, however, of following his own rule and proceeding to an impartial examination of Scripture, which would of course show that the authors of the biblical narratives believed miracles possible, Spinoza in this case, it would seem, is either not quite honest with himself or was really misled into adopting a method of interpretation which is not so different from that he so execrates in Maimonides. He actually attempts to show that the Bible itself taught a belief in the inviolability of natural law. He cites such passages as that "there is nothing new under the sun" (Eccl. 1:10), or "He hath also established them [the heavens] for ever and ever;
He hath made a decree which shall not be transgressed” (Ps. 148: 6); or the passage in Jeremiah (31: 36): “If these ordinances [i.e., of the moon and the stars] depart from before me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before me forever.” As if the authors of the Bible were familiar with the philosophy of Spinoza, and as if a few poetical expressions can be used to countervail all the accounts of miracles in the narrative portions of the Pentateuch. These, he explains, have been misunderstood because “Scripture does not explain things by their secondary causes, but only narrates them in the order and the style which has most power to move men, and especially, uneducated men, to devotion; and therefore it speaks inaccurately of God and of events, seeing that its object is not to convince the reason, but to attract and lay hold of the imagination” (VI, 49). He goes into certain detailed explanations, he tells us, “lest anyone should, by wrongly interpreting a miracle, rashly suspect that he has found something in Scripture contrary to human reason” (ibid., 52). But this latter motive was precisely what led Maimonides to his interpretations, which Spinoza thinks so absurd.

Likewise Spinoza gets into difficulties when he discusses the meaning of the Divine Law (ch. IV). Here again Spinoza, to be consistent with his metaphysical system, can not admit that God can be conceived as a law-giver or potentate ordaining laws for men. God is identical with the universe, and the laws of God are the laws of nature, necessary, universal and unchangeable.

However, instead of admitting that the authors of the biblical books had a different opinion and did conceive of God as a “potentate ordaining laws for men,” Spinoza attempts to show that the Bible agrees with his philosophy, as Maimonides tried to show that the Bible agrees with Aristotle’s philosophy. To prove his point, he again has recourse to the poetic books of the Bible, thus: “Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding,” for “wisdom gives length of days, and riches and honour; her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace” (Prov. 3: 16, 17), and other similar passages. This, says Spinoza, teaches that salvation is dependent upon knowledge, which of course includes the knowledge that all things are governed by necessity and that God does not give commandments to man,
rewarding him for obedience and punishing him for disobedience irrespective of the natural result of his conduct.

But the ceremonial law is a stumbling block in Spinoza's path as it was in that of Maimonides. What does he do with it? He tries to make it out that Isaiah and Jeremiah and the Psalmist did not take the ceremonial law seriously. The passages he quotes are the well-known ones—Isaiah 1:10; Ps. 40:7-9; Jer. 9:23. All this in spite of Leviticus. And he sums up the matter by saying that the object of the ceremonial law was to perpetuate the State, "that men should do nothing of their own free will, but should always act under external authority, and should continually confess by their actions and thoughts that they were not their own masters, but were entirely under the control of others. From all these considerations it is clearer than day that ceremonies have nothing to do with a state of blessedness, and that those mentioned in the Old Testament, i.e., the whole Mosaic law, had reference merely to the Government of the Jews, and merely temporal advantages" (ibid., V, 31).

I confess that if I had to choose between Maimonides and Spinoza in this particular point, I should prefer Maimonides. Happily I am not forced to either.

The real contribution of Spinoza to biblical criticism, apart from the canons of interpretation, which he did not, as we have seen, follow successfully himself in certain cases, are the chapters on the authorship of the Pentateuch and the historical and prophetic books (VIII-X). Whatever we may say about the specific conclusions, his method is that of modern textual, historical and literary criticism, and many of the points he made are now commonplace of Biblical criticism. He argues against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, though he is not yet familiar with the documentary hypothesis, and conjectures that Ezra was the author of the Pentateuch. "Ezra," he says, "did not put the finishing touches to the narratives contained therein, but merely collected the histories from various writers, and sometimes simply set them down, leaving their examination and arrangement to posterity."

These chapters in the Theological-Political Tractate are full of interesting details, and the interested student is advised to read them for himself.
"A book that is shut is but a block"

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