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*Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language.* — By  
CARLOS EVERETT CONANT, Professor in the University  
of Chattanooga, Tenn.

1. *Geography.*—The group of twenty-six small islands known as Palau (Palao, Pelew, or Bälau)<sup>1</sup> lies to the West of the Carolines in the western Pacific at longitude 135 degrees East, and latitude five degrees North. About five hundred miles due West of the Palau group lies Mindanao, of the Philippine archipelago, and about 350 miles to the South the "head" of New Guinea. In 1899 Germany purchased the islands from Spain and since that time they have been considered a part of the Carolines. The population of the Palaus is, according to Fritz<sup>2</sup>, about four thousand.

2. *Bibliography.*—Keate, George. *An Account of the Pelew Islands.... Composed from the Journal and communications of Captain Henry Wilson and some of his officers who, in August 1783, were there shipwrecked in the "Antelope".* London 1788. (The work concludes with a brief "Vocabulary of the Pelew Language" in which the native words are spelled according to English rules of orthography, e. g., *too* [Walleser *tu*] 'banana', *aem* [Wall. *oim*] 'five'. It was published in an anonymous French translation, *Relation des Iles Pelew*, in two volumes, 8vo, by Maradan, Paris, 1793, and in Spanish translation, *Relación de las islas Pelew*, by the bookseller Gómez Fuentenebro, Madrid, 1805).

<sup>1</sup> Of these different spellings, Palau is the new (German) form, Palao the Spanish orthography, Pelew the form used by Keate, following Captain Henry Wilson, and still printed on English and American maps, while Bälau is the native pronunciation of the name according to Walleser (*Wörterb.*, part II, p. 82).

<sup>2</sup> Georg Fritz, *Die Zentralkarolinische Sprache* (being No. 29 of the *Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*), Berlin 1911, p. 6.

Walleser, Bishop Salvator, Apost. Vicar of the Caroline and Marianne Islands. *Grammatik der Palausprache*, in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, Jahrg. XIV, Abt. 1, 1911, pp. 121-231.

Walleser, Bishop Salvator. *Palau Wörterbuch* in two parts: 1. *Palau-Deutsch*, 165 pp., and 2. *Deutsch-Palau*, 79 pp., with an appendix (pp. 81-98) of German-Palau conversational exercises. Hongkong, Typis Societatis Missionum ad Exteros, 1913.

Gabelentz, Georg von der, and Meyer, Adolf Bernhard. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Melanesischen, Mikronesischen und Papuanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1882.

The Palau words in this study are taken, except as otherwise indicated, from Walleser.

3. *Palau sounds*.—According to Walleser (*Gram.*, p. 122) the sounds of Palau may be represented by the following characters:

Vowels: a, ā, e, i, o, ō, u, ū.

Consonants: b, ch, d, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t.

These signs have their German sounds, except as indicated in a subjoined list of *Abweichungen* which I here summarize:

(a) *eu* is not a diphthong, the two vowels being distinctly pronounced, e. g., *pegéu* 'courageous'.

(b) *ōa* is nearly equivalent to *a* in Eng. *all*, e. g., *togōal* 'tobacco'. In *oá* the vowels are pronounced separately, *soák*, 'my will'.

(c) Vocalic doubling indicates lengthening only, as in Ger. *Saal*, e. g., *diil* 'abdomen'.

(d) *ch* as in Ger. *suchen*, e. g., *chútem* 'land' (*k* or *c* in Keate).

(e) *d* final and preceding or following a consonant is a spirant similar to Eng. *th*, e. g., *mad* 'to die', *dماك* 'together', and has a tendency to become this spirant in all positions. Keate wrote *th* everywhere, e. g., *catheil* (Wall. *chadil*) 'mother', *thingaringer* (Wall. *dengerenger*) 'malicious, mischievous', *math* 'to die'. But it does not appear from either of these sources whether the spirant is surd, as in Eng. *thing* (Goth. þ), or sonant, as in Eng. *this* (Mod. Greek δ). Walleser says the Palau children often mispronounce it as *d* in positions where it should sound *th*. This would seem to point to the sonant spirant *d*, as in *this*. On the other hand the *th* of Palau words



in Keate's vocabulary, collected 130 years ago, was probably understood by Captain Wilson and his officers as a voiceless spirant, at least when final, witness the spelling *cokeeth* (cf. *teeth*), and not *cokeethe* (cf. *teethe*); *outh* (cf. Eng. *uncouth*, *th* = *þ*), and not *outhe* (cf. Eng. *soothe*, where *th* is sonant). Keate would have had no scruples in using final silent *e* to show the sonancy of *th* on the analogy of Eng. *teethe*, *soothe*, since he uses it elsewhere to assist in showing the pronunciation of a preceding consonant, e. g., in *yarse* 'sail' (Walleser *āars*) to show that the *s* is the surd sibilant, as in *sparse*, and not *z* as in Eng. *cars*, so *kowse* (Walleser *chāus*) 'lime'. The sound doubtless has changed somewhat since Wilson's discovery of the islands, and probably, as is true of the labial and palatal stops in Palau, is pronounced now as a surd, now as a sonant.

(f) *ng* = *ñ* (*ng* in Eng. *singer*, never as in Eng. *finger*)<sup>1</sup>.

(g) *s* as in German; but W. does not say whether it is the surd sibilant as in *es ist*, or the sonant *z* sound of *diese sind*, or whether it is sometimes the one and sometimes the other according to position, as in German. It is, however, presumably the surd. That is certainly the pronunciation of Wilson's Palau islanders, since Keate nowhere writes a *z* in his vocabulary, but frequently writes *ss* to show that the *s* has not the sonant sound, as in *oyless* 'knife'. When preceding or following *u* or following *ll*, *s* approaches the sound of *sh*, e. g., *ousesuāu* 'to whistle', *gedōlls* 'corpulent', cf. Eng. *sure*, *sugar*.

(h) Doubling of a consonant indicates a long single consonant, as in Italian, e. g., *mellōmes* 'bright' (cf. Ital. *bello*).

(i) Unaccented vowels are as a rule so indistinctly pronounced as to lose their distinctive character.

(j) It is often difficult to distinguish the sonants *b* and *g* from their corresponding surds *p* and *k*. This is at once seen by comparing the vocabularies of Walleser and Keate. For 'sleeping mat or cover' the former has *bar*, the latter *parr*, and conversely, Walleser gives the word for 'star' as a *pduch*, while Keate spells it *abbthduk*.

So great have been the changes in the phonological develop-

<sup>1</sup> In all non-Palau examples I write *ñ*, while leaving Walleser's *ng* unchanged. Had I changed his orthography in this case it would have been necessary to make other changes for the sake of consistency, e. g., *ï* for *ii*, *χ* for *ch*, and this, for various reasons, I have not considered advisable.



ment of the Palau language from the primitive Indonesian speech that the appearance of most Palau words gives no clue to their original forms. In the case of some half dozen words like Pal. *mad* (IN *matai*) 'die', and Pal. *kid* (IN *kita*) 'we' (inclusive), the relation is sufficiently apparent, but no one would at first sight suspect the IN origin of Pal. *gall* 'food', though it is identical with Tag. *kanin*, Bis. *kan'on*. So with Pal. *dēi* (IN *tēlu*) 'three', *chad* (IN *atai*) 'liver', *diil* (IN *tian*) 'abdomen', *ngau* (IN *api*, *api*) 'fire'.

4. *Erosion of unaccented vowels*.—In contrast with the erosion of consonants and preservation of vowels which is characteristic of the Polynesian languages, Palau, like many other Micronesian—and Melanesian—languages, suffers a weakening and loss of unaccented vowels, while it preserves *all* the consonants of the IN prototypes, though these have, of course, been changed in character as detailed below. In this latter respect the other Micronesian and the Melanesian languages differ from Palau in that they generally lose at least one of two or more consonants in a word. The whole matter may well be illustrated by IN *ikan* 'fish', as it develops in various Oceanic territories. In Hawaiian and Tahitian *ia* both consonants are lost. In Samoan *īa* a trace of the *k* is left in the *hamza* or glottal stop. Fiji *ika* loses only the final *n*, while the latter half of the word is lost in Marshall *iek*, and Central Carolinian *ik*. Palau, on the other hand, preserves all the consonantal elements of *ikan* in the form *ngigel*, where IN *n* regularly becomes *l*. The *e* is a weak, colorless vowel serving as a glide between *g* and *l*. Another example is IN *manuk* 'bird, fowl', Palau *malk*, but Cent. Car. *mān*, Polyn. *manu*.

Indonesian final vowels and diphthongs, if unaccented in Palau, are regularly lost, e. g., IN *batu*: Pal. *bad* 'stone'; IN *mata* 'eye' and *matai* 'die' both become Pal. *mad*; IN *atai*: Pal. *chad* 'liver'; Bisaya *babau*: Pal. *bab* 'over, above'.

Unaccented vowels in final syllables ending in a consonant are either lost entirely or retained as a weak, colorless vowel like the Javanese *pepet*, e. g., IN *anak*: Pal. *ngalk* 'son, daughter'; IN *manuk*: Pal. *malk* 'bird, fowl'; Philip. *danum*: Pal. *ṛalm* 'water'; Tag., Bis. *dagum*: Pal. *rasm* 'needle'; Tag. *takut*: Pal. *dakt* 'fear'; IN *timur*, *timug*: Pal. *dims* 'east, south'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel* 'fish'; IN *bulan*: Pal. *būiel* 'moon'; IN *langit*: Pal. *eānged* 'sky'. But an original *pepet* is regularly retained, e. g.,

Philip. *inumēn*: Pal. *ilūmel* 'drink' (subst.); IN *nīpēn*: Pal. *uīngel* 'tooth'; IN *tarēm*, *talēm*, *tadēm*: Pal. (*ke*)*dōrem* 'sharp'; IN *dēngēr*, *dēngēg*, *dēngēh*: Pal. (*o*)*rēnges* 'hear'; IN *dēkēt*: Pal. *rēged* 'stick, cleave'. Likewise paroxytones ending in *a* + *hamza* retain the unaccented *a* of the ultima, e. g., Mal. *darah*: Pal. *rāsach* 'blood'; Mal. *nanah*: Pal. *lālach* 'pus'. For *hamza* in Pal. see 17.

5. *Accented vowels*.—Indonesian vowels that bear the accent in Palau regularly remain unchanged, e. g., IN *mata*: Pal. *mad*; IN *buā*: Pal. *bung* 'flower'; Tagalog *sinag*: Pal. *sils* 'rays of sun'; IN *dēkēt*: Pal. *rēged* 'stick, cleave'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel*; IN *bulan*: Pal. *būiel*; IN *nana*: Pal. *lālach* 'pus'.

6. *Extent of consonantal change in Palau*.—Only two primitive consonantal sounds have remained entirely unaffected in Palau. These are *m* and the velar nasal *ŋ*, e. g., IN *mata*, *timur* (*-g*, *-h*), *danum*: Pal. *mad*, *dims*, *ralm*; IN *nīpen*, *lanit*, *buā*: Pal. *uīngel* (with metath.), *eānged*, *bung*.

Few, if any, languages of the entire Austronesian speech territory present such sweeping consonantal changes as we find here. This phenomenon, together with the further fact that all the original consonants are retained in some form, gives the Palau language a unique appearance as compared with its Oceanic neighbors. A most striking effect of this retention of consonants together with the loss of unaccented vowels is the multiplication of consonant combinations that look decidedly out of place in an Austronesian language, e. g., *bdībd*, *bldukl*, *bltkill*, *gsōus*, *kīmūdel*, *klsakl*, *kdgmal*, *lmatk*, *pduch*, *tkinged*, *tngmuth*.

7. *Indonesian k*.—Original *k* is sounded in Palau now as *k*, e. g., IN *kita*: Pal. *kīd* 'we'; IN *tēkēn*: Pal. *dēkel* 'pole'; IN *manuk*: Pal. *malik* 'fowl'; and now as *g*, e. g., IN *kutu*: Pal. *gud* 'louse'; IN *dēkēt*: Pal. *rēged* 'stick, cleave'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel* 'fish'; IN *kayu*: Pal. *gar* 'tree, wood'. But the distinction between the surd and the sonant (*k* and *g*), as in the case of *p* and *b*, is vague and uncertain.

8. *Indonesian t*.—Original *t* becomes the sound written *d* by Walleser. It often is a spirant, probably the *th* in *then* (see above 3e).



	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Mal.	timur 'East'	dims	'South'
Bisaya	túlug 'to sleep'	durs	'sleep' (subst.)
Bisaya	tá'i	dach	'excrement'
Phil.	tian	diil	'abdomen'
Bis.	talúm, tarúm	(ke)dórem	'sharp'
	těķěñ	dékel	'pole'
	taliña	ding	'ear'
	tělu	(o)děi	'three'
	takut	dakt	'fear'
	atěp	chádou	'roof, thatched covering'
	batu	bad	'stone'
	pitu	uid	'seven'
	kutu	gud	'louse'
	kita	kid	'we' (inclusive)
	mata	mad	'eye'
	matai	mad	'die'
	atai	chad	'liver'
	lanit	eáged	'sky'
	děķět	réged	'stick, cleave'
	urat, ugat, uhat	ngurd	'vein, sinew'
Mal.	pahit, Tag. pa'it	(me)chuáched	'bitter'

Note: The original final *t* in Pal. *dakt* (IN *takut*) is preserved by surd assimilation to the preceding *k* (see below 19a).

9. *Indonesian p*.—Original *p* becomes *u*, which is blended with a following accented *u*.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	pa'a, Mal. paha	uách	'leg'
	pitu	uid	'seven'
	pa'it, Mal. pahit	(me)chuáched	'bitter'
Bis.	puhun	uchúl	'trunk, beginning, origin'
	puki	uki(k)	'vulva'
	pukět	úked	'long sea-net'
	pusěr (-d)	údes	'navel'
	ěpat	oáng	'four'
	'apur (-g, -h)	cháus	'lime'
	apui	ngau	'fire'
	'atěp	chádou	'roof'
	nipěn	uíngeł	'tooth'

The *ch* in the words of the table represents an older *hamza* (see below 17).

*Cháus* and *ngau* do not exemplify a blending of *u* (<*p*) with the original *u* of *apur* and *apui*, but a loss of the (in Palau) unaccented vowel (see above 4) and the regular development of *p* to *u*. The same is true of the unaccented initial *u* of *uchúl* (<*pu'un*, Bis. *puhun*) and *ukí(k)* (<*pukí*).

In *oáng* (<*ēpat*) and *chádou* (<*atēp*) the obscure *pepet* has been partially assimilated to the following *u* (<*p*), which itself is reduced to a semivowel or mere glide in *oáng* and hence does not appear in the orthography.

In *uíngeł* (<*nípēn*) we have manifestly a case of metathesis for \**ngiuēł*, but not in *údes* (<*pusēr*, *pusēd*), where IN *s* regularly becomes *t* in Pal. (see below 13) and then tends to become the sonant *d*, while the final *s* goes back to a special type of the RLD consonant (see below 16b).

10. *Indonesian b*.—Original *b* wavers in Palau between *b* and *p*. Walleser gives *b* in many words where Keate and (particularly) Gabelentz and Meyer, quoting Semper<sup>1</sup>, write *p*, e. g., IN *batu*: Pal. (Wall.) *bad* (Semper) *pad* 'stone'; IN *bulan*: Pal. (Wall.) *búiel* (Keate) *pooyeer* 'moon'. Less commonly the reverse is the case, e. g., IN *bitu(ēn)*: Pal. (Wall.) *a pduch* (Keate) *a-bbthduk* 'star'.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	<i>babui</i>	<i>bábi</i>	'swine'
Bis.	<i>ibabau</i>	<i>bab</i>	'over, above'
	<i>běnua</i> 'country'	<i>belú</i>	'village'
	<i>batu</i>	<i>bad</i>	'stone'
	<i>balai</i>	<i>blai</i>	'house'
	<i>bau, bahu</i>	<i>bau</i>	'odor'
	<i>bara, бага, baha</i>	<i>bas</i>	'charcoal'
	<i>bulan</i>	<i>búiel</i>	'moon'
Bis.	<i>bukid</i> , Mal. <i>bukit</i>	<i>búkel</i>	'hill, mountain'
	<i>buña</i>	<i>bung</i>	'flower'
	<i>běras, bėgas, bėhas</i>	<i>bras</i> (borr.?)	'rice'
	<i>rěba', gěba', hěba'</i>	<i>sibech</i>	'tear down'
	<i>'uban</i>	<i>chebál</i>	'gray hair'
Phil.	<i>ibėg</i>	<i>nguibes</i>	'desire'
	<i>abarat, -g-, -h-</i>	<i>ngobárd</i>	'West'
	<i>těbu</i>	<i>teb</i> (dep Semper)	'sugarcane'

<sup>1</sup> C. Semper, "Über die Palausprache" in *Korrespondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft f. Anthr., Ethnol. u. Urgesch.* 1871, pp. 63-66.



<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
buku	puk	'knuckle'
bitu(ĕn)	pduch	'star'
bulu	pŭi	'hair (pubic)'

11. *Indonesian n*.—Original *n* becomes *l* regularly in Palau.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	nana'	lálach	'pus'
	nara, naga, naha	las	'nara' (a redwood tree)
	niur, niug, niuh	lius	'coconut'
	minum	melim	'to drink'
	inumĕn, Bis. immun	ilúmel	'drink' (subst.)
	minatai	mlad	'dead'
	anak	ngalk	'son, daughter'
	manuk	malk	'fowl'
	danum, r-, l-,	ralm	'water'
Tag.	sinag	sils	'sun'
	tanĕm	dálem	'to plant'
	tinaĭ	delách	'intestines'
	bĕnua	belŭ	'village'
	anai	ngal	'white ant'
	kanĕn	gall	'food'
	ina, Fiji tina	chadil	'mother'
	ĕnĕm	malóng	'six'
	bulan	búiel	'moon'
	tian	diil (pr. dīl)	'abdomen'
	ikan	ngigel	'fish'
	dalan, ralan, lalan	ráel	'way'
Mal.	hujan, Bis. ulan	chull (<churl)	'rain'
	tĕkĕn	dékel	'pole, pike'
	pu'un, Bis. puhun	uchúl	'trunk (tree), origin'
Mal.	dahan	ráchel	'branch'
Mal.	huban	chebál	'gray hair'
	-na	-(e)l	'his, her, its'

12. *Indonesian l*.—Original *l* (not to be confused with the *l* of the RLD series) becomes *i* (*e*), with a tendency to weaken to the semivowel *y* before vowels. It is absorbed by a following original *i*, if this is accented in Palau.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	lanit	eáinged (yangeth S.)	'sky'
	layar, -g, -h	eárs (yarse K.)	'sail'
Maloh	lalas	eáes	'house fly'
	lima	im <*iim	'five'
	dalan, ralan	râel	'way'
	bulan	búiel	'moon'
Phil.	ulëg	ngúüs <*ngúis	'snake'
	talina	díng <*diing	'ear'
	bulu	púi	'hair (pubic)'
	tëlu	déi	'three'
	walu	iái	'eight'
Tag.	labi	bei	'more'

In the last example *lâbi* > *bâli* > *bal* > *bai* > *bei*.

13. Indonesian *s*.—Original *s* regularly appears in Palau as *t*.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	ěsa, sa	tang	'one'
	sakai	tak	'to load on vehicle'
	p-in-ěsa	ulët	'prest out'
Phil.	asu	chat	'smoke'
	susu	tut	'uber'
	siu	tiu	'nine'

Tag. Bis. sila (l < RLD)

tir 'they'

In IN *pinesa* the unaccented vowels *i* and *a* are lost, *p* becoming *u* and *n* becoming *l*, giving *ulët* by regular process.

14. Indonesian *y*.—Original *y* becomes *r*.

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
'ayam	châram	'animal'
layar, layag	eárs	'sail'
kayu	gerregâr	'wood, tree'

*Gerregâr* is from the reduplicated *kayukâyu* and is written *garagar* by Keate and *kirkar* by Semper. Keate gives the simple *gar* as meaning 'fire', cf. Bis. *kalayu* 'fire'.

15. Indonesian *RGH* Consonant.—The *RGH* consonant is regularly represented in Palau by *s*.

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Phil. gākēt	sakt	'to tie'
Phil. gēba	sibech	'tear down'
Tag. gónot 'black oakum'	suld	'oakum'
Bis. bága 'ember'	bas	'coal'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Bis. dágum	rasm	'needle'
Bis. nága	las	'nara (tree)'
Bik. dúgi	rus	'spine, thorn'
Phil. apug	cháus	'quicklime'
Phil. niug	lius	'coconut'
layar, layag, layah	eárs	'sail'
Bis. tulug, turug	durs	'sleep'
Mal. timur, Bis. timug 'East'	dims	'South'
Mal. deñar, Tag. diñig	rénges	'hear'
Tag. sinag	sils	'sun'
Phil. ulēg	ngūūs	'snake'
Phil. ibēg	nguibes	'desire'

16. *Indonesian RLD Consonant*.—The RLD consonant regularly appears as *r*, except in the type represented by Jav. *pari*: Tag. *pálai*: Mal. *padi*: Toba Bat. *page*, Pangasinan *pagéi* 'unhulled rice', which we may for convenience call the *g*-type, where Palau, like certain other languages of Austronesia, *e. g.*, Manggara and Samoan, has *s*.

(a) *RLD, except g-type.*

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Phil. danum, ranum	ralm	'water'
Phil. dalan, ralan	ráel	'way'
Bis. dagum	rasm	'needle'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Mal. dahan	ráchel	'branch'
dua, rua, lua	o-rúng	'two'
Mal. dúri, Bkl. dúgi	rus	'spine, thorn'
Phil. dēkēt	réged	'stick, cleave'
Phil. dēñēg	rénges	'hear'
Bis. túlug, túrug, Mal. tidor	durs	'sleep'
Phil. sira, síla, sida	tir	'they'
tarēm, talēm, tadēm	dórem	'sharp'



(b) *RLD, g-type.*

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
Jav. <i>iruñ</i> , Tag. <i>iluñ</i> , Čam <i>iduñ</i> , Karo, { Toba, Ibanak, <i>iguñ</i> , Iloko <i>agoñ</i>	<i>isng-ék</i>	'nose'
Bulu <i>apěru</i> , Mal. <i>hampědu</i> , Toba <i>pogu</i>	<i>choás</i>	'gall'
Jav. <i>pusěr</i> , Formosan <i>pusol</i> , Tag. <i>pusod</i> , { Pangas., Iloko <i>puseg</i>	<i>údes</i>	'navel'

In Palau *isngék*, the final syllable is the possessive 'my'. Without suffix, the velar nasal *ñ* (*ng*) is lost, giving *is*. With *isngék* compare the *s* of Manggara and Samoan *isu* 'nose'.

17. *The Glottal Stop or Hamza.*—The glottal stop appears as *χ* (*ch* in Walleser) in all positions, initial, medial, and final.

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
Mal. <i>hayam</i> 'fowl'	<i>cháram</i>	'animal'
Mal. <i>hapur</i>	<i>chaus</i>	'lime'
Mal. <i>hati</i> , Magindanau <i>hatai</i>	<i>chad</i>	'liver'
Mal. <i>huban</i> , <i>uban</i>	<i>chebál</i>	'gray hair'
Mal. <i>hujan</i> , Tag. <i>ulan</i>	<i>chull</i>	'rain'
Mal. <i>dahan</i>	<i>ráchel</i>	'branch'
Mal. <i>paha</i> , Bis. <i>pa'a</i>	<i>uách</i>	'thigh'
Mal. <i>tahi</i> , Bis. <i>ta'i</i>	<i>dach</i>	'excrement'
Phil. <i>mapa'it</i>	<i>mechuáched</i>	'bitter'
Bis. <i>puhun</i>	<i>uchúl</i>	'trunk, origin'
Mal. <i>darah</i>	<i>rásach</i>	'blood'
Mhl. <i>nanah</i>	<i>lálach</i>	'pus'
Mal. <i>rebah</i>	<i>sibech</i>	'tear down'
Phil. <i>bitu'(én)</i>	<i>pduch</i>	'star'

18. *Excrecent initial ñ (ng).*—As a rule words which in Indonesian begin with a vowel, not preceded by initial *hamza*, prefix an inorganic *ñ* (*ng*) in Palau. Where initial vowels appear in Palau these are, in most cases, from original *l* (> *i* or *e*) or *p* (> *u* or *o*), e. g., IN *lañit*: Pal. *eáinged*; IN *pu'un*: Pal. *uchúl*.

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
<i>anai</i>	<i>ngal</i>	'white ant'
<i>apui</i>	<i>ngau</i>	'fire'
<i>anak</i>	<i>ngalk</i>	'son, daughter'
Phil. <i>abagat</i> 'South, Southwest'	<i>ngobárd</i>	'West'



Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
ikan	ngigel	'fish'
Phil. <i>ibĕg</i>	nguibes	'desire'
urat, uġat, uhat	ngurd	'vein, sinew'
Phil. <i>ulĕg</i>	ngũs	'snake'
aku	ngak	'I'
ia	ngi	'he, she, it'

This inorganic *n* appears, but with less regularity, in several other Oceanic languages. It is often prefixed to the first personal pronoun, as in Ponape *nai* 'I', where IN *aku* is reduced to *ai* by loss of *u* and weakening of *k*.

19. *Special treatment in sandhi.*—(a) *Retention of original t.* IN *t*, which regularly becomes *d* (*th*) in Palau (see 8), remains unchanged when immediately preceded by *k* after Palau loss of the unaccented vowel that originally intervened, *e. g.*, the final *t* of IN *takut*: Palau *dakt* 'fear'; Phil. *gakĕt*: Palau *sakt* 'tie, bind, string for binding'.

(b) *Retention of original l.* IN *l*, which regularly becomes *i* (*e*), in Palau (see 12), is retained when brought into contact with a preceding *b* by loss of an unaccented intervening vowel, *e. g.*, Palau *blai* (IN *balai*) 'house'.

(c) *RGH consonant appears as r.* The RGH consonant regularly appears as *s* (see 15). But when immediately following initial *b*, (*p*), or immediately preceding final (Palau) *d* or *t*, it appears as *r*, *e. g.*, Phil. *bĕgat*: Pal. *praud* (Semper), *berrĕod* (Wall.); IN *urat, uġat, uhat*: Pal. *ngurd* 'vein, sinew'; Bis. *habagat* 'Southwest': Pal. *ngobĕrd* 'West'; IN *ratus, gatus*: Pal. *dart* 'hundred' from the metathesized *\*tarus, \*tagus*, where the initial *t > d* and the final *s > t* by regular process. Metathesis in this word is not infrequent in other languages, *e. g.*, Iloko and Kankanai *gasut*, Bontok *lasot*, Ginaan, Tingyan *kasut*.

(d) *Assimilation of liquids.* Palau *rl* and *lr* always suffer assimilation, becoming either *ll*, as in Pal. *chull* < \*churl (IN *'uran, 'ulan, 'udan*) 'rain, or *rr*, as in Pal. *merrĕader* < \*meltrader, pret. of the verb *merĕader* 'accompany' formed by the infix *l* (IN *in*), cf. Pal. *mlad* (IN *m-in-atai*) 'dead'. This assimilation of *l* to an adjacent *r* in the verb is pointed out by Walleser<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik*, p. 138.

20. *Recapitulation*.—(a) Final vowels and diphthongs, if unaccented in Palau, are lost: IN *mata* 'eye' and *matai* 'die': Pal. *mad* (4).

(b) The vowel of a final syllable ending in a consonant, if unaccented in Palau, is either lost: IN *manuk*: Pal. *malk*, or weakened to a colorless vowel (pepet): IN *bdan*: Pal. *büiel* (4).

(c) Original vowels which bear the accent in Palau remain unchanged: IN *bulan*: Pal. *büiel* (5).

(d) Original *k* remains or becomes *g*: IN *kita*: Pal. *kid*, IN *kutu*: Pal. *gud* (7).

(e) Original *t* becomes *d* (sometimes spirant): IN *mata*: Pal. *mad* (8), or remains unchanged: IN *takut*: Pal. *dakt* (19a).

(f) Original *p* becomes *u*: IN *pitu*: Pal. *uid* (9).

(g) Original *b* remains unchanged: IN *batu*: Pal. *bad*, or becomes *p*: IN *bulu*: Pal. *püi* (10).

(h) Original *n* becomes *l*: Mal. *nanah*: Pal. *lälach* (11).

(i) Original *l* becomes *i* (e): IN *bulu*: Pal. *püi* (12), or remains unchanged (after *b*, 19b), or becomes *r* by assimilation (19d).

(j) Original *s* becomes *t*: IN *susu*: Pal. *tut* (13).

(k) Original *y* becomes *r*: IN *layar*, *layag*: Pal. *ears* (14).

(l) The RGH consonant becomes *s*: Phil. *gakët*: Pal. *sakt* (15), or *r* before final (Palau) *d* or *t*: IN *wrat*, *ugat*, *uhat*: Pal. *ngurd* (19c).

(m) The RLD consonant becomes *r*: Phil. *danum*: Pal. *raim* (16a), or *s*: Jav. *irun*, Čam *idun*: Pal. *isng-ék* (16b), or *l* by assimilation (19d).

(n) The hamza becomes *ch* (i. e., *χ*): Mal. *hati*: Pal. *chad* (17).

(o) Words beginning with a vowel prefix the velar nasal *ŋ*: IN *anak*: Pal. *ngalk* (18).

## 21. Origin of individual Palau sounds.

Palau	Indonesian	Examples
a (accented)	a	mad < IN <i>mata</i> (4)
a (unaccented)	a	lälach: Mal. <i>nanah</i> (4)
e (accented)	ě	réged: Phil. <i>děkět</i> (5)
e (unaccented)	any vowel or i	büiel: <i>bulan</i> ; eänged: IN <i>lañit</i> (4 and 12)



<i>Palau</i>	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Examples</i>
i (accented)	i	kid: IN kita (5)
i (unaccented)	l	púi: IN bulu (12)
u (accented)	u	púi: IN bulu (5)
u (unaccented)	p	uid: IN pitu (9)
o	any vowel	(see below)
k	k	kid: IN kita (7)
g	k	gud: IN kutu (7)
t	s (t after k)	tut: IN susu (13); dakt: IN takut (19a)
d	t	mad: IN matai (8)
p	b	púi: IN bulu (10)
b	b	búiel: IN bulan (10)
ñ (ng)	ñ	bung: IN buña (6)
ñ (ng) excrement		ngigel: IN ikan (18)
m	m	mad: IN matai (6)
r	RLD	ralm: danum, ranum (16)
	RGH(sandhi)	ngurd: IN urat, ugar, uhat (19c)
	n > l in Pal.	merráder < *melráder (19d)
l	n	lálach: IN nana' (11)
	RLD (Pal. r)	chull < *churl: Phil. ulan, uran (19d)
	l (after b)	blai: IN balai (19b)
s	RGH	sakt: Phil. gakët (15)
	RLD (g-type)	isngék: Jav. iruñ, Ibanak iguñ (16b)
	s (sporad.)	sils: Tag. sinag; bras: Mal. bēras
ch (i. e., x)	hamza	chad: Mal. hati (17)

Pal. *o* is a secondary sound of varied origin. In unaccented syllables it may represent any IN vowel, like *e* (see 4), and assumes its quality under the influence of surrounding sounds, e. g., Pal. *ngobárd*: IN *abarat*, *abagat*, *abahat*; Pal. *chádou*: IN *atép*, where *ép* > *eu* > *ou*, cf. for Indo-European the Lat. *ou* < *eu* in OLat. *douco* < \**deuco*, Goth. *tiuhan*; Pal. vbl. prefix *o*: IN *pa*, e. g., Pal. *orénges*: Phil. *padēñēg* 'hear, cause to hear', the stages of change being *pa* > *ue* > *uo* > *wo* > *o*. Here again the Latin has a parallel development in *soror* < \**swesōr*, Skt. *svásar-*. Pal. *koád* < \**kapátai* (fr. IN *patai*) has its *o* from *ap* > *eu* > *ou* > *ow* > *o* with loss of the semivowel glide *w* (*u*) before the vowel *a*. This *koád* is stereotyped and treated as a

root in Pal. in the sense of 'kill', and takes all the prefixes, infixes, and suffixes that a simple root assumes, e. g., *omekoád*, where the prefixed element is IN *pama* or *pēmě*. Were we permitted to reconstruct the word in its entirety it would give, then, the form *\*pamakapātai*. This analysis is instructive as showing the continued use of formative elements attached to petrified complexes whose original composition has been lost sight of by vocalic erosion and consonantal change.

Pal. *kodáll* 'death' is from the same *koád*, which loses its *a* when the accent is shifted to the following syllable. The whole word represents a hypothetical IN *\*kapatāyan* > *\*keudārl* > *\*kowodārl* > *\*kodall*, where *y* regularly becomes Pal. *r* (14) and is then assimilated to the adjacent *l* (19d).

Pal. accented *o* may result, either from a rounding of original *a*<sup>1</sup>, as in *dórem* < IN *tarēm*, *talēm*, *tadēm* 'sharp', or from *pā* or *áp*, as in *reóngel* (= *reó-ng-el* with the poss. suffix *el* < IN *na* 'his, her, its' and the excrescent *ng* as connective), where *reó* is from IN *rēpa*, *lēpa*, *dēpa* 'fathom', the development being *repá* > *reuá* > *reuó* > *reiwó* > *reó*.

<sup>1</sup> For the independent rounding of original *a* in Indonesian languages, compare the final vowel of Jav. *limá* and Tíururá *limo*: IN *líma*, where the sound is close to that of Ger. *o* in *hoffen* or Fr. *o* in *écôle*. Cf. Conant, *Notes on the phonology of the Tíururá language*, JAOS, Vol. xxxiii (1913), p. 150.



*The Vedic Dual: Part II, The Dual in Similes.*—By  
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In the first part<sup>1</sup> of this study of the Vedic dual, the writer showed that when in either the Rig or the Atharva Veda a plurality of bodily parts that are naturally dual is ascribed to an individual, the grammatical number is due to the requirements of the mythic symbolism or of the metaphor or other poetic figure. This second part of the study will corroborate the conclusions there reached by presenting lists of all the Vedic duals occurring in similes and a study of the phenomena associated with them. Naturally the same principles are found operative in the simile as in the metaphor. These seem so fundamental and obvious that it would seem supererogatory to state them; but they have been sometimes so disregarded in the translation and interpretation of Vedic passages that there may be warrant for noting their value in exegesis.

The general principle is that when the stress of comparison falls upon the substantive terms of a simile, these terms are in numerical concord. Thus in the RV. we find the following duals after dual antecedents:—

After *arvinā*—*āñcā*, X, 106, 9<sup>d</sup>; \**akṣī*, II, 39, 5<sup>b</sup>; *ajā*, II, 39, 2<sup>a</sup>;  
\**adhvagātū*, VIII, 35, 8<sup>b</sup>; *apāsā*, X, 106, 1<sup>b</sup>; *āraṅgarā*, X,  
106, 10<sup>a</sup>; *īryā*, X, 106, 4<sup>c</sup>; \**ulanyajā*, X, 106, 6<sup>c</sup>; \*\**upadhī*,  
II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>; \**uṣṭārā*, X, 106, 2<sup>a</sup>; †*rbhū*, X, 106, 7<sup>c</sup>; \**ṣṭhāu*, II,  
39, 6<sup>a</sup>; *kārnā*, X, 106, 9<sup>c</sup>; *kārnāu*, II, 39, 6<sup>d</sup>; *kirānā*, X,  
106, 4<sup>c</sup>; \**kīnārā*, X, 106, 10<sup>c</sup>; †*ksāmā*, II, 39, 7<sup>b</sup>; X, 106, 10<sup>d</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> See this *Journal*, XXX, p. 174 ff.

Starred words are *āñcā*; *śṛṅgāva* in RV. Words marked with the obelisk are discussed later; those with the double obelisk have the comparative particle *nā*, all others have *iva* or *va*.

*khyāḡalā*, II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>; *grāhrā*, II, 39, 1<sup>b</sup>; *gāurā*, VII, 69, 6<sup>a</sup>;  
*gāurāu*, V, 78, 2<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 87, 1<sup>d</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; *grāvānā*, II, 39, 1<sup>a</sup>;  
*gharmā*, X, 106, 8<sup>a</sup>; *calkravākā*, II, 39, 3<sup>c</sup>; *1jaraṇā*, X, 40, 3<sup>a</sup>;  
*jāratos*, VIII, 73, 11<sup>b</sup>; *\*jārbhārī*, X, 106, 6<sup>a</sup>; *\*dāmpatī*, II,  
39, 2<sup>d</sup>; *dutā*, II, 39, 1<sup>d</sup>; X, 106, 2<sup>c</sup>; *nadyā*, II, 39, 5<sup>a</sup>;  
*\*nābhye*, II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>; *\*\*nāse*, II, 39, 6<sup>c</sup>; *\*nāitoḡā*, X, 106, 6<sup>b</sup>;  
*nāvā*, II, 39, 4<sup>a</sup>; *\*npātī*, X, 106, 4<sup>b</sup>; *pakṣā*, X, 106, 3<sup>a</sup>;  
*pajrā*, X, 106, 7<sup>a</sup>; *patarā*, X, 106, 8<sup>c</sup>; *pādā*, II, 39, 5<sup>b</sup>; X,  
106, 9<sup>b</sup>; *pārijmānā*, X, 106, 3<sup>d</sup>; *paḡvā*, X, 106, 3<sup>b</sup>; *pitārā*,  
III, 58, 2<sup>b</sup>; *±VII*, 67, 1<sup>d</sup>; X, 39, 6<sup>b</sup>; 106, 4<sup>a</sup>; *pitārāu*, X,  
131, 5<sup>a</sup>; *putrā*, X, 106, 4<sup>a</sup>; *\*pradhi*, II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>; *\*pravāsā*,  
VIII, 29, 8<sup>b</sup>; *prāyogā*, X, 106, 2<sup>b</sup>; *brhāntā*, X, 106, 9<sup>a</sup>;  
*brahmānā*, II, 39, 1<sup>c</sup>; *\*±mananyā*, X, 106, 8<sup>d</sup>; *mahiṣā*, VIII, 35,  
7<sup>b</sup>-9<sup>b</sup>; X, 106, 2<sup>d</sup>; *mitrā*, X, 106, 5<sup>b</sup>; *mṛgā*, X, 40, 4<sup>a</sup>; *mēne*,  
II, 39, 2<sup>c</sup>; *mēsā*, X, 106, 5<sup>d</sup>; *\*yugē*, II, 39, 4<sup>a</sup>; *yuvaḡā*, VIII,  
35, 5<sup>a</sup>; *rathyā*, II, 39, 3<sup>d</sup>; *\*rājaputrā*, X, 40, 3<sup>d</sup>; *vāṇsagā*,  
X, 106, 5<sup>a</sup>; *vāḡā*, X, 106, 5<sup>c</sup>; *vātā*, II, 39, 5<sup>a</sup>; *vīrā*, II, 39, 2<sup>a</sup>;  
*ḡaphāu*, II, 39, 3<sup>b</sup>; *\*ḡrṇge*, II, 39, 3<sup>a</sup>; *ḡyenā*, V, 74, 9<sup>d</sup>;  
VIII, 73, 4<sup>b</sup>; *ḡyenāu*, VIII, 35, 9<sup>a</sup>; *ḡruṣṡivānā*, X, 106, 4<sup>d</sup>;  
*ḡvānā*, II, 39, 4<sup>c</sup>; *sārughā*, X, 106, 10<sup>b</sup>; *sudinā*, X, 106, 1<sup>d</sup>;  
*stānāu*, II, 39, 6<sup>b</sup>; *havisāu*, V, 78, 1<sup>c</sup>-3<sup>c</sup>; VIII, 35, 8<sup>a</sup>;  
*hariṇāu*, V, 78, 2<sup>a</sup>; *hāstā*, II, 39, 7<sup>a</sup>; *hāstāu*, II, 39, 5<sup>c</sup>;  
*hāridravā*, VIII, 35, 7<sup>a</sup>. (92)

After *rōdasī*,— *adhvarā*, III, 6, 10<sup>c</sup>; *\*nārī*, X, 93, 1<sup>b</sup>; *mātārā*,  
IX, 18, 5<sup>b</sup>.

After *hārī* (*īndrasya*),— *pakṣā*, VIII, 34, 9<sup>b</sup>; *\*rājī*, X, 105, 2<sup>c</sup>.

After *babhrā* (*īndrasya*),— *\*kanīnakē*, IV, 32, 23<sup>a</sup>.

After *dhiṣāne*,— *\*cārmaṇī*, VI, 8, 3<sup>c</sup>.

After *adhīṣavanyā*,— *jaghānā*, I, 28, 2<sup>a</sup>.

After *bāhū* (*agnīmanthanāu*),— *tāskarā*, X, 4, 6<sup>a</sup>.

After (*haviṛdhāne*),— *yamē*, X, 13, 2<sup>a</sup>.

After *ādri*,— *rathyā*, VII, 39, 1<sup>c</sup>.

After *ḡpṛe* (*īndrasya*),— *\*srāvā*, X, 96, 9<sup>a</sup>. (12)

So with elliptic duals:

After *2kṣoṇī*,— *\*mātārā*, VIII, 99, 6<sup>b</sup>.

After *pitārā* (*ḡbhūṇām*),— *yāpā*, IV, 33, 3<sup>b</sup>.

After *2āyajī* (*āulukhālāu*),— *hārī*, I, 28, 7<sup>c</sup>. (3)

<sup>1</sup> So Sāyana, Grassmann RV. and WB, but Ludwig RV. takes it as inst. sg.

<sup>2</sup> See JAOS XXXII, 42.

<sup>3</sup> See JAOS XXXII, 43.



Also with dual dvandvas:

After *uśāsānāktā*,— *\*dhenū*, VII, 2, 6<sup>b</sup>; *\*pātnī*, I, 122, 2<sup>a</sup>; *padē*, III, 55, 15<sup>a</sup>; *\*vayyē*, II, 3, 6<sup>b</sup>.

After *mitrāvārunā*,— *\*ācāvā*, VI, 67, 4<sup>a</sup>; *pitārā*, IV, 41, 7<sup>d</sup>; *\*rathyā*, VII, 25, 2<sup>a</sup>; *vrajā*, V, 64, 1<sup>c</sup>.

After *indrāgnī*,— *āñcā*, V, 86, 5<sup>d</sup>; *ācāvā*, VI, 59, 3<sup>b</sup>.

After *indrāsōmā*,— *ācāvā*, VII, 104, 6<sup>b</sup>; *\*nypāti*, VII, 104, 6<sup>d</sup>.

After *indrābrahmanaspātī*,— (*ācāvā*) *yājā*, II, 24, 12<sup>d</sup>.

After *indrāvāyū*,— *\*dūtā*, VII, 91, 2<sup>a</sup>.

After *dyāvāprthivī*,— *\*mene*, I, 95, 6<sup>a</sup>.

After *indrāvārunā*,— *vṛṣabhā*, IV, 41, 5<sup>b</sup>. (16)

Two singulars may be substituted for the antecedent dual:

After *vīpāt chutudrī*,— *ācve*, III, 33, 1<sup>b</sup>; *gāvā (mātārā)* III, 33, 1<sup>c</sup>; *mātārā (gāvā)*, III, 33, 3<sup>c</sup>; *rathyā*, III, 33, 2<sup>b</sup>.

After *yamā yamī ca*,— *\*cakrā*, X, 10, 7<sup>d</sup>.

After *yamī anyācā*,— *\*cakrā*, X, 10, 8<sup>d</sup>.

After *vāyūh pūṣā ca*,— *\*vīpātī*, VII, 39, 2<sup>b</sup>. (17)

The forms given in the foregoing lists differ in some instances from those of the *Padapāṭha*. Thus in II, 39, we have *ṣṛṅgeva* in 3<sup>a</sup>, *yugēva* in 4<sup>a</sup>, *nābhyeva* in 4<sup>b</sup> and *nāseva* in 6<sup>c</sup>. The *Padapāṭha* resolves these into *ṣṛṅga-iva*, *yugā-iva*, etc. This hymn is mainly an aggregation of thirty similes in which the Aṇvins are described. In twenty-five of these, the dual is unmistakable. Bollensen (*Orient und Occident*, II, 472) suggests that we should read *yugē-va*, *nābhye-va* and *nāse-va* in the places cited, but failed to note *ṣṛṅgeva*, which should just as obviously be resolved into *ṣṛṅge-va*. In 7<sup>b</sup> the *Padapāṭha* resolves *kṣāmeva* into *kṣāma-iva*. I have already given in this *Journal* (XXXII, 41 f.) reasons for resolving it into *kṣāmā-iva* and taking *kṣāmā* to be an elliptic dual<sup>1</sup>. Thus we have duals throughout.

In IV, 32, 23<sup>a</sup>, the adjective *vidradhē* shows that the noun in *kanīnakēva* is feminine, hence we must, against the *kanīnakā-iva* of the *Padapāṭha*, accept Bollensen's resolution into *kanīnakē-va*.

In II, 3, 6,—

*sādhv āpānsi sanātā na ukṣitē*  
*uśāsānāktā vayyēva ranvitē |*  
*tāntuṁ tatām samvāyanti samīci*  
*yajñāsya pēcaḥ sudūghe pāyascvatī ||*

<sup>1</sup> So also in X, 106, 10<sup>d</sup>.



The *Padapāṭha* has in *b vayyā-iva*, but *ranvitē* and the other six duals show that we should, with Grassmann (*WB*, s. v. *iva*), read *vayyē-va*<sup>1</sup>.

The *Padapāṭha* takes the combinations *upadhīva* (II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>), *cārmanīva* (VI, 8, 3<sup>c</sup>), *dāmpatīva* (II, 39, 2<sup>d</sup>), *nṛpātīva* (VII, 104, 6<sup>d</sup>, X, 106, 4<sup>b</sup>), *pātnīva* (I, 122, 2<sup>a</sup>) *pradhīva* (II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>) and *vicpātīva*, (VII, 39, 2<sup>b</sup>), as instances in which the dual desinence *ī* is not *pragrhya*. As the form *va* is now so incontestably established for Vedic, it would seem preferable to take them under the rule as *pragrhya* forms plus *va*. In favor of this disposition of them we have *akṣī iva* (II, 39, 5<sup>b</sup>), *indragnī īṣa* (III, 12, 5<sup>c</sup>; SV. II, 925<sup>c</sup>; 1053<sup>c</sup>; MS. IV, 11, 1<sup>c</sup>; 159, 8), *dyāvāprthivī ihā* (IV, 56, 1<sup>a</sup>; QṢ. 8, 19, 1), *brhatī iva* (I, 59, 4<sup>a</sup>), *hārī indra* (VIII, 3, 17<sup>b</sup>; 13, 27<sup>c</sup>; 70, 7<sup>d</sup>; X, 114, 9<sup>d</sup>; SV. I, 301<sup>b</sup>), *hārī iva* (I, 28, 7<sup>c</sup>), *hārī ihā* (I, 16, 2<sup>b</sup>; 121, 8<sup>a</sup>; 177, 4<sup>d</sup>; TB. II, 4, 3, 10<sup>b</sup>), *ārtñī iva* (AV. I, 1, 3<sup>b</sup>), *agni indra* (TB. II, 4, 5, 7<sup>d</sup>), *indrāgnī idam*, TB. III, 5, 10, 3; MS. IV, 13, 9; 212, 5), *indrāgnī iva* (SMB. 2, 4, 14)<sup>2</sup>. Against it we have, so far as I have found, the unique *rōdasimē* (*rōdasi-imē*) found in VII, 90, 3<sup>a</sup> and repeated in SV. II, 925<sup>c</sup>; 1053<sup>c</sup>; MS. IV, 11, 1<sup>c</sup>; 159, 8—all the same *pāda*.

In VII, 2, 6, the traditional text reads—

utā yōṣane divyē mahī na  
uśāsānāktā sudūgheva dhenūh /  
barhiṣādā puruhūtē maghōnī  
ā yajniye suvitāya cṛayetām //

<sup>1</sup> Many of our handbooks fail to give sufficient recognition to this form *va*. The *Petersburg Wörterbuch* does not cite it for the Vedas. The *Monier-Williams Dictionary* cites it only for the *MBh.* and the *Kāvya* literature "in some more or less doubtful cases". *Macdonell's Dictionary* says *va* for *iva* is "very rare". *Speijer* and *Thumb* are silent about it. *Bollensen* in 1864 (*I. c.*) showed its existence in a number of instances in the *RV.* and *Grassmann* (*I. c.*) extended *Bollensen's* list to a total of thirty-seven. *Laanman* (*NI.* pp. 343 and 361) accepts *yugē-va* and *nabhyē-va* in II, 39, 4, *vayyē-va* in II, 3, 6, and *kaninakē-va* in IV, 32, 23 as correct, and *nāse-va* in II, 39, 6 as probable, stating as the other possibility that *nāsā* might be taken as a nom. du. fem. from *nās* "strong". *Arnold* (*Vedic Metre*, p. 78, § 129) accepts the instances cited from *Laanman*. *Whitney* in his *Grammar* has a line and a half (1102f.) about it but in his *Index Verborum* to the *Atharva Veda* gives ninety-eight instances of "monosyllabic *iva*" in that Veda.

<sup>2</sup> This list is not complete, as the phenomenon did not come under observation until lists were nearly collected.

The *Padapāṭha* gives in *b* *sudūghā-iva*, but Bollensen (*l. c.*) showed the lack of reason in comparing *uṣāsānāktā* to a single good milch cow, —*sudūghā dhenūḥ*— and proposed the emendation *sudūghe-va dhenū*. The accumulated duals in *a*, *c* and *d*, and the normal usage in similes seem to make the emendation imperative.

*Padā b* in its traditional form is, however, quite at home in I, 186, 4—

*ūpa va ēṣe nāmasā jīḡṣā*  
*uṣāsānāktā sudūgheva dhenūḥ |*  
*samānē āhan vimīmāno arkām*  
*viṣurupe pāyasi sāsminn ūdhan //*

[You (= *viṣve Devās*) I entreat, with reverence, with wish to win, (And) *Uṣāsānāktā*, like a good milch cow, Arranging (my) song of praise on a common morning With milk of differing hue in this udder].

We believe Ludwig is right in his exegesis,—the singer is the cow lowing with full udder at the milking time, the song he offers is the milk implied in *sudūghā*, the *viṣurupe pāyasi* is milk mingled with the yellow Soma juice and the *ūdhan* is the place of sacrifice whence milky libations flow. Indra is compared to a cow in II, 16, 8<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 1, 10<sup>c</sup>; 14, 3<sup>a</sup>, as is Agni in I, 66, 2<sup>b</sup> and the *kṣetrapati* in IV, 57, 2<sup>b</sup>. So here conversely the Ṛṣi with his strengthening offering of song. For the transition in *b* from the pl. in *a*, compare that from the sg. of 1<sup>ab</sup> to the anonymous pl. 1<sup>c</sup>, first named in 2<sup>a</sup>.

In X, 10, 7<sup>d</sup>, the amorous Yami proposes to Yama—

*vi cid vrheva rāthyeva cakrā,*

and in 8, he replies,—

*anyēna mād āhano yāhi tīyaṁ*  
*tēna vi vrha rāthyeva cakrā.*

As *cakrā* may be masc. du. or neut. pl., the question arises which have we here. Grassmann (*WB. s. v.*) considers it plural. Sāyaṇa glosses by *cakre*, hence he took it as dual. The latter is undoubtedly right. The form *cakrā* is demonstrably dual in I, 166, 9<sup>d</sup> and in VIII, 5, 29<sup>c</sup>. The ordinary Vedic chariot was two-wheeled, as will be shown in part III of these studies. The general principle of numerical concord requires the dual. The metaphor in the verb as well as the simile is that of two wheels with a common axle. Hence we conclude that the form is dual in both places.



In the hundred and thirty similes thus far considered, the principle of numerical concord holds. It is not, however, without exceptions, real or apparent. We now pass to a consideration of those similes in which only one term is in the dual. The most frequent case is that in which a dual *upameya* has a singular *upamāna*. Thus in I, 34, 7<sup>ed</sup>,—

*tisrō nāsatyā rathyā parāvātā*  
*ātmēva vātāḥ svāsarāṇi gachātām.*

[Come, car-borne Nāsatyas o'er the three distances,  
As the breath, the wind, to the early morning sacrifices<sup>1</sup>].

The singular is required for two reasons:—

1. In the RV., *ātmān* is *singulare tantum*,
2. The simile is *χαρά σὺν*; a duality or plurality of *vātās* would be incongruous in sense, implying discord.

In I, 180, 9<sup>ab</sup> we find, in an Aṇvin simile,

*prā yād vāhethe mahinā rāthasya*  
*prā syandrā yātho mānuṣo nā hōtā*

[When you fare forth by the might of your car,  
You go with haste like (a) man's hotar].

The concord is again *χαρά σὺν*. Except on special occasions, the Vedic *yājāmānas* has a single *hotar* (see I, 139, 10<sup>a</sup>; III, 41, 2<sup>a</sup>; V, 41, 5<sup>c</sup>; 43, 3<sup>c</sup>; 49, 4<sup>c</sup>; VII, 1, 16<sup>c</sup>; 7, 5<sup>d</sup>; 56, 18<sup>a</sup>; etc.).

One reason for his haste is suggested by I, 25, 17<sup>c</sup>—

*hōteva kṣādase priyām*

[Like a hotar you eat what you are fond of].

A duality of *hotars* is known only in the case of the *dāivya* *hōtārā*, variously identified as Agni and Āditya, Agni and Varuṇa, or Āditya and Varuṇa.

The phrase *mānuṣo hōtā* may be taken also as a metonym of Agni (cf. II, 18, 2<sup>b</sup>; III, 3, 2<sup>b</sup>; VII, 8, 2<sup>b</sup>; 73, 2<sup>a</sup>). In this case also, only the singular could be expected.

In X, 106, we have 37 similes with the Aṇvins as *upameya*. The *upamāna* is dual in 35 of them. In 3<sup>c</sup>, however, we find,—

*agnīr iva devayōr dīdivānsā*

It would be easy to emend to *agnī iva*, but what would it mean? The Veda knows no two fires of a worshipper. His fire is regularly in the singular. The epithet *triśadhassthā*, applied to Agni, would warrant the idea of three fires, though *triśa-*

<sup>1</sup> See JAOS, XXXII, 409f. or more fully, Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* III, 113ff.

*dhastā agni* is found only in the singular. Sāyana explains our passage,— *agnir yathā havirbhiḥ stutibhiḥ ca dīpyate, devān icchato yajamānasya yajñe stutibhir dīptāu bhavataḥ*. This seems substantially correct, so we would render—

Beaming (du.) like the fire of a worshipper.

An alternative interpretation may be had by taking *agnir* as a proper noun and *devayōr* as an ablative of cause;—

Beaming like Agni (beams) because of his worshipper.

Then in 7<sup>ab</sup>, we have

*pajrēva cārcaram jāram marāyu*  
*kṣādmevārtheṣu tartarītha ugrā /*

As Griffith says of the passage and its context, “nearly every word is a difficult riddle”. There seems to be in *pāda b* a comparison of the Aṇvins with *kṣadman*, a word found elsewhere in the RV. only in I, 130, 4<sup>a</sup>, in a comparison with Indra’s thunderbolt. The usual rendering is “Vorlegemesser”. Grassmann (*WB*) says of our passage: “wäre der Dual zu erwarten” and in his *RV.* renders, “wie zwei Vorlegemesser”. The dual, however, is not needed. The following interpretations seem possible. They are arranged in order of preference.

1. The Rev. Dr. J. B. Nies of Brooklyn, NY., assures me that the Vedic sacrificial knife, like the Sumerian, was a broad, cleaver-like, two-edged blade. With an ancient specimen found in India, now in his possession, a strong man could sever at a blow the head of a bull. Such a knife with its two edges would answer well the purposes of the simile.

Like two sturdy men, the moving, aging, mortal (world?)  
(frame?)

You press through to your goals, mighty ones, like a sacrificial knife.

2. The context may be understood as referring to some such exercise of the healing power of the Aṇvins as was manifested in the case of Cyavāna, restored to youth from helpless old age. We should then have a *comparatio compendiaris*,— Your healing, rejuvenating power ... like the (penetrating power of a) sacrificial knife.

3. On the analogy of *drāghmā* for *drāghmanā* (X, 10, 4<sup>b</sup>) and *raçmā* for *raçmanā* (VI, 67, 1<sup>c</sup>), *kṣādmā* may be an inst. sg.,— “as it were with a sacrificial knife”.

4. *Nāigh.* 2, 11 gives “water” as a meaning of *kṣadman*, as does Sāyana here. Hence the comparison would be between



the *cārcaram jāram marāyu* and *kṣadmā*,— You press through the moving, etc. as through water.

The singular is justified in any of these.

I, 183, 1<sup>d</sup>— *tridhātunā patatho vir nā parṇāḥ*

On your triple car you fly like a bird on its pinions. The Aṣvins are mounted on their triple car,— *trivandhuró*, *trīcakráh* (1<sup>b</sup>), *trāyaḥ pavāyo* (I, 34, 2<sup>a</sup>), *trāyo skambhāsa* (I, 34, 2<sup>c</sup>). The R̥ṣi likens the whole complex, car and riders, to a bird in flight. So we, in the case of an aeroplane carrying two or more persons, would say—"They fly like a bird".

The Veda knows no duality of *parṇām*, even for a single bird. The meaning seems to be "pinions, wing-feathers", rather than "wings". Hence, by metaphor, "the leaves of a tree". Otherwise we might explain the plural here as influenced by the bizarre number of the parts of the chariot.

I, 37, 6— *kó vo vārsiṣṭha á naró*  
*divác ca gṃác ca dhūtayaḥ |*  
*yát sim ántam ná dhūnuthá ||*

[Who is your very mightiest, O heroes,

Ye shakers of heaven and earth,

When ye shake them as the hem (of a garment)?]

The simile is *κατά σύνεσιν*. The Maruts shake heaven and earth as one. Also *ántam* is practically *singulare tantum* in this sense.

VI, 67, 3<sup>ed</sup>; MS. 4, 14, 10<sup>ed</sup>; 231, 6

*saṁ yāv apnasthó apáseva jánān*  
*chrudhīyatác cid yatatho mahitvá*

The *Padapāṭha* has *apāsā-iva*, which may be a nom. dual as in X, 106, 1<sup>b</sup>, or an inst. sg. *Apnastho* may be nom. sg. or acc. pl. Accordingly we may render—

Who by your majesty unite the obedient as by work the lord of an estate (does) his people; or,

As two active (men, overseers) unite (or impel) their laborers.

In the former the stress of comparison lies upon the instrumentals *apāsā* and *mahitvá*. *Mitrāvaruṇā* acting as one would be in comparison *κατά σύνεσιν* with *apnasthó*. In the latter, the comparison is formally correct between MV. and *apāsā* and *apnasthó* must be taken as an adjective, "being at work"<sup>1</sup>, with *jánān*, "people".

<sup>1</sup> This would seem a possible meaning for the word, which is *ἀπαζείρημα* in RV.

VIII, 87, 1<sup>ab</sup>—

*Dyumñi vām stómo aṇvīnā  
krivir nā sēka ā gatam /*

Grassmann, Ludwig and Griffith see here a comparison between *aṇvīnā* and *krivir*. To me the simile is between *stómo* and *krivir*.

Clear is your song of praise, Aṇvins,

As a water-skin in its outpouring. Come ye.

Or at least a *comparatio compendiaria* in *pāda* b,

Come ye to its outpouring like (to that of) a water-skin.

VIII, 73, 17<sup>ab</sup>—

*aṇvīnā sū vicākaṇā  
vrkṣām paraṇumāñ iva /*

18<sup>ab</sup> *pūram nā dhṛṣṇāv ā ruja  
kṛṣṇāyā bādhitō viṣā /*

These are separated only by an irrelevant refrain common to every *ṛc* of the hymn. It seems better to take them together. The translations of Grassmann, Ludwig and Griffith take the comparison in 17 to be between *aṇvīnā* and *vrkṣām*, but Ludwig in his commentary would place the punctuation at the close of *pāda* a. This seems much better. The passage is not clear, but if we accept with Sāyana a reference to the story of Saptavadhri, who, in V, 78, 5, 6, seems to have had hand or foot caught in a split tree and to have been extricated when he invoked the Aṇvins' aid, we may render somehow thus—

When you see clearly the Aṇvins,

Like a man with an axe, strong one, break down the tree,

Like the fort (that you once broke down)

When (you were) harassed by the black folk.

Saptavadhri is named in 9<sup>a</sup> preceding. The incident in 18 may have given him the name (prosonym), "the one having seven eunuchs", as black aborigines may have been taken captives here and made his eunuchs. Grassmann (*WB*) refers 18 to Indra, though there is no allusion to him elsewhere in the hymn.

IV, 41, 8<sup>ab</sup>—

*tā vām dhīyō vāse vājayāntir  
ājīm nā jagmur yuvayūḥ sudānū /*

I do not see the comparison of some of the translators between *vām* and *ājīm*. At the most it would be a *comparatio compendiaria* as *vām* could be compared only to the goal not



to the race track. The meaning seems to be—These hymns, O bounteous givers, longing for both of you, racing for (the prize of) your favor, have gone to the track as it were, (i. e., in competition with those of other Ṛṣis).

Conversely the singular may have a dual *upamāna*.

Thus in III, 18, 1<sup>ab</sup>, we have

*Bhāvā no agne sumānā ūpetāu  
sākheva sākhye pitāreva sādhat /*

[Be thou gracious, Agni, on our approach,

Good as friend to friend, as one's father and mother].

The meaning of *pitāra* as an elliptic dual excludes the singular. There is no need of Bollensen's labored attempt (*op. cit.* p. 472) to explain *pitāreva* as *pitāre-va*, and this *pitāre* as an archaic dative and the elliptic rendering "as (a son) to his father".

X, 89, 2<sup>ab</sup>—

*sū sūryaḥ pāry urā vīrāṁsy  
ēndro vavṛtyād rāthyera cakrā /*

[He (Indra) is Sūrya. Through the wide expanses,

Indra turns hitherward like the wheels of a chariot].

A commentary may be based on

I, 30, 14<sup>c</sup>—*ṛṇōr ākṣam nā cakryōḥ* and

I, 166, 9<sup>d</sup>—*ākṣo vaç cakrā samāyā vī vāvṛte*.

Both in our passage, X, 89, 2<sup>b</sup>, and in I, 166, 9<sup>d</sup>, Grassmann takes *cakrā* as neut. pl., apparently not considering what manner of chariot it would be with a plurality of wheels upon a single axle. Ludwig in his commentary remarks that *cakrā* may be inst. sg. It would be a bizarre picture, indeed, to represent the mighty Indra rolling through the vast expanses by a single chariot wheel. *Cakrā* is masc. dual in both passages, as this alone is the normal number. The two wheels on one axle turn together.

X, 59, 1<sup>abc</sup>—

*Prā tūry āyuh pratarāṁ nāvīya  
sthātāreva krātumatā rāthasya /  
ādha cyāvāna ut tavīty ārtham*

Grassmann, Ludwig and Griffith, all see a comparison between *āyuh* (sg.) and *sthātārā* (du.). If this were the case, the dual could be easily defended by the analogy of II, 12, 8<sup>c</sup>—

*samānām cid rātham ātasthivānsā*

The twain mounted on a common car, i. e. the king, or

warrior, and the driver, hence the two usual occupants of the car, the familiar later *rathināu*.

A study of the hymn, however, suggests another interpretation as more in keeping with its general tenor. Four times, in *rcas* 4, 5, 6 and 7, the *Ṛṣi* asks for longer life. Four times he asks for sight,—

4<sup>b</sup>— *pācyema nū sūryam uccārantam.*

5<sup>c</sup>— *rārandhī naḥ sūryasya samdīḍī.*

6<sup>a</sup>— *pūnar asmāsu cākṣuḥ (dhehi).*

6<sup>c</sup>— *jyōk paçyema sūryam uccārantam.*

Thus the burden of his song is life and light. We may find both desires in the opening lines, and render—

May (Subandhu's) life be carried forward anew,

May the guides as it were of his car be possessed of power,  
Then active, he will effect his purpose.

Grassmann both in his *WB.* and his *RV.* takes *krátumatā* as a nom. du. built on the weak stem instead of on the strong. Lanman (*NI* 516) considers this "not improbable". *Sthātārā* is thus in comparison with an implied *akṣyāu* (eyes) and the dual is normal both for this reason and for that already suggested. This interpretation does not greatly differ from Lanman's (*l. c.*): "Discerning are the two guides as it were of the body". As he does not state how he arrives at this, one cannot tell how much we differ in method of approach.

The dual might have a plural *upamāna*, but this does not seem to occur in the *RV.* Two passages have, however, been so taken.

I, 141, 11<sup>cd</sup>—

*raçmīr iva yó yāmatī jánmanī ubhé*

*devānām çānsam ṛtā ā ca sukrātuh*

[Which with kindly power guides as they were reins  
both races and the praise of the gods at sacrifice].

Here the formal *upameya* is *jánmanī ubhé devānām çānsam ca*, a dual plus a singular, so the plural *raçmīr* is formally normal. There is, however, a sort of *comparatio compendiaria* here. The races are guided but the reins are only the instrument by which the horse, or horses, are guided. So "reins" is equivalent to "steeds directed by the reins". The steeds of the figure would be the individual members of the two races. Again the *RV.* knows no duality of *raçmī*, but uses the pl. even in the case of a single horse, as in I, 144, 3<sup>d</sup>— *vōḥur*



*nā raçmīn*, or a collective sg., even for plural horses, as in V, 44, 3<sup>d</sup>, *hārīnām*. So the pl. is amply justified, even if *jānmanī* alone be taken as *upameya* of the simile.

I, 95, 6— *ubhé bhadré joṣayete nā mēne*  
*gāvo nā vāçrā ūpa tasthur évāiḥ /*  
*sā dākṣānām dākṣapatir babhūva*  
*añjānti yān dākṣiṇatō havīrbhiḥ //*

[Both auspicious ones, like dames, fondle (Agni).

Like lowing kine they stand about in their wise.

He of the wise became lord of wisdom,

Whom, on the right, they balm with their oblations].

The translators give no intimation of taking the simile in *pādas a* and *b* otherwise than between *ubhé bhadré* (= *uṣāsā-nāktā* or *dyāvāprthivī*) and the pl. *gāvo*. But clearly *b*, like *d*, refers to the worshippers, who in *b*, in wonted wise, stand about the newly born Agni and in *d* pour their oblations of oil upon him. The hymn is marked by some of those swift and sudden transitiqs in which the Rṣis frequently delight. Thus in 1 we have day and night, in 2 Tvaṣtar's ten daughters, in 3 the *yajamānās*, in 4 and 5<sup>ab</sup> Agni, in 5<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup> *uṣāsānāktā* or *dyāvāprthivī*, 6<sup>b</sup> the *yajamānās* 6<sup>c</sup> Agni, 6<sup>d</sup> the *yajamānās*, 7-11 Agni. There is thus no comparison between *ubhé bhadré* and *gāvo* and the plural of *b* is normal.

Conversely a plural may have a dual *upamāna*.

I, 59, 4<sup>a</sup>— *brhatī iva sūnāve rōdasī giro*

[Like the great twain worlds are the praises (offered)

to their son, i. e., Agni is everywhere praised,

his songs fill the vast heaven and earth].

*Rōdasī* is here a *duale tantum*, it could not be pluralized. Nor could *giro* be made dual, for imagine the bathos of two songs filling the vast reaches of the two worlds. The plural indicates the vast volume of multitudinous songs.

VII, 2, 5— *svādhyò vi dūro dēvayāntaḥ*  
*āçiçrayū rathayūr devātātā /*  
*pūrvī çīçum nā mātārā rihāṇē*  
*sām agrāvo nā sāmāneṣv añjan //*

[The pious worshippers opened wide the doors

fain for chariots in the god's service;

Like rich parents caress their child,

Like maidens (adorn themselves) for the assembly,  
they adorn him].

The numerical concord of *pādas a, b* and *d* is broken by the dual of *c*. Sāyana explains the metaphor of *mātārū* by the sacrificial ladles, *juhū* and *upabhṛt*; Ludwig suggests also *dyāvāprthivī*. In either case the elliptic dual must remain as a *duale tantum* in its meaning.

Here may belong also:—

I, 180, 4<sup>d</sup>—

*rāthyeva cakrā prāti yanti mādhyah*

[Like chariot wheels run the sweet (juices)].

IV, 30, 2<sup>ab</sup>— *satrā te ānu kṛṣṭāyo*

*viçvā cakrēva vāyrtuḥ*

[All people have run together

as chariot wheels after you (Indra)].

X, 117, 5<sup>cd</sup>—

*ō hī vārtante rāthyeva cakrā*

*anyām-anyam ūpa tiṣṭhanta rāyaḥ*

[Verily riches roll on like chariot wheels

Now one, now another, they approach].

There is doubt whether *cakrā* is here dual, the conventional number for a chariot, or plural for a plurality of chariots.

In the examination of these twenty passages we see that a real lack of numerical concord may be due (1) to words that are found only in one grammatical number in the meaning required; (2) to constructions in which there is concord of sense rather than of form; (3) to poetic exigency as strict concord would lead to incongruity, bathos, etc.; (4) to rhetorical tropes, etc. There is always a good and sufficient reason for the lack of numerical concord. The instances in which the examination has led to new interpretations show something of the value of the principle in Vedic hermeneutics.

A collection of the similes with lack of concord between the singular and plural numbers, which the writer is making, will illustrate and corroborate the foregoing and will furnish new interpretations for several Vedic passages.

#### AV.

The Atharva Veda has few duals in similes. Those which show the normal numerical concord between the substantive terms are—

After *ajirādhirājāu* (= *mṛtyūç ca nīrṛtiç ca*)—*çyenāu* (VII, 70, 3<sup>b</sup>).



After *ântāu*—*sammātārāu* (XIII, 2, 13<sup>b</sup>). See *JAOS.* XXXII, 44.

After *gfāhrāu*—\**kurkurāu* (VII, 95, 2<sup>a</sup>); *gāvāu* (VII, 95, 2<sup>b</sup>);  
and *vfkāu* (VII, 95, 2<sup>d</sup>).

After *muškā* (*strīyās*)—*gardabhāu* (XX, 136, 2<sup>d</sup>); *ṣakulāu* (XX, 136, 1<sup>d</sup>).

With elliptic dual as antecedent—

After *dāmpatī*—\**cakravākā* (XIV, 2, 64<sup>b</sup>).

With dual dvandva as antecedent—

After *dyāvāprthivī*—*dhenū* (IV, 22, 4<sup>b</sup>).

After *prāṇāpānāu*—*anaḍvāhāu* (III, 10, 5<sup>b</sup>; VII, 53, 5<sup>b</sup>).

With two singulars as antecedent—

After (*ṣrutādhārāṇā ca mēdhā ca*)—\**ārtñi* (I, 1, 3<sup>b</sup>).

After *āvām*=*strī anyā ca* (or *anyāc ca*)—*sākhāyāu* (VI, 42, 1<sup>d</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>).

To these are to be added a few listed also in RV.—

After *indrāsomā* (RV. VII, 104, 6<sup>b</sup>)—*ācīvā* (VIII, 4, 6<sup>b</sup>).

After *indrāsomā* (RV. VII, 104, 6<sup>d</sup>)—*nṛpātī* (VIII, 4, 6<sup>d</sup>).

After (*havirdhāne*) (RV. X, 13, 2<sup>a</sup>)—*yamé* (XVIII, 3, 38<sup>b</sup>).

After *yamāc ca yamī ca* (RV. X, 10, 7<sup>d</sup>)—*cakrā* (XVIII, 1, 8<sup>d</sup>).

After *yamī ca anyāc ca* (RV. X, 10, 8<sup>d</sup>)—*cakrā* (XVIII, 1, 9<sup>d</sup>).

Of similes with but one dual member, I find a single instance,—III, 29, 6—

*īreva nōpa dasyati*  
*samudrā iva pāyo mahāt |*  
*devāu savāsīnāv iva*  
*ṣitipān nopa dasyati ||*

[Like a refreshing draught he faileth not,

Like the sea, the great water,

Like the twain gods that dwell together,

The white-footed (ram) faileth not].

The concord in the singular in *pādas a, b* and *d* is broken by the dual in *c*, in which the reference is to the *aṣvīnā*, *duale tantum*.

The Rig Veda gives us 130 similes with the dual in both the *upameya* and the *upamāna* and at least 13, at most 20, others in which but one term is in the dual. The Atharva Veda gives but 19 similes with complete dual concord, and but one in which a single dual is found.

\* Starred forms are *ānāḥ* *siṣṭmāva* in AV. All the words listed have *iva* as the particle of comparison.

Not only in the dual but also in the other numbers does the AV. show a remarkable lack of similes as compared with the RV. Thus, according to the citations in Whitney's *Index Verborum*, we have in the entire twenty books of the AV. only 368 similes with *iva* or *va* and 38 with *ná*, a total of 401, against the 207 similes with *iva* and 315 with *ná*, a total of 522, found by actual count in the first book alone of the RV. Of these the AV. has 40 with *iva* and 14 with *ná*, that are common to it and to the RV.

These figures give a conclusive demonstration of the enormous difference between these two Vedas in the use of figurative language, in their poetic power and artistic technique, and afford a strong confirmation of the statements made by the writer in this *Journal*, XXX, 182ff. and XXXII, 33ff. The study of the instances in which the general numerical concord between the terms of a simile is not maintained affords another demonstration of the vast gulf that so often separates the artistic, hieratic R̥ṣi of the R̥g and the feebly imitative and essentially prosaic Shaman of the Atharva in the skill with which they use rhetorical tropes and syntactical schemata.

This study amply illustrates also the strict use of the dual in Vedic.



*Some Aspects of the Overland Oriental Trade at the Christian Era.* — By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The conquests of Alexander resulted in a great development of commerce between India and the Mediterranean, which was made possible through the establishment of a regular overland trade route under single control from end to end. This was the route which led from Antioch in Syria to the ford of the Euphrates, thence down that river and across to Seleucia on the Tigris, up the Zagros valley, over the plateau to the Caspian Gates and north of the Persian desert to Nisaea and Antiochia Margiana; thence through Bactria to the Pamirs, or through Arachosia to Kabul and the Panjab. Under the earlier Seleucidae Greek cities grew up at frequent intervals along this great highway of commerce, and Greek traders were active.

The disintegration of the Greek power in Asia was succeeded by the establishment of the Parthian dynasty, and the disintegration of the Greek power in Mediterranean lands was succeeded by the establishment of the Roman Empire. For three centuries the diplomacy of these two powers was focussed on their trade relations. The Parthians controlled the great overland trade route, and levied onerous taxes on the rich commerce that passed over it to the new market of the West; the Romans sought to create new trade routes, or failing that, to force better terms from Parthia.

The trade was largely in gems, spices and fine textiles from India, and in silk from China, paid for in coin or its equivalent, for Rome had little else to offer. It was therefore a trade that was peculiarly subject to intermediate taxation by any power established astride the trade-routes, and peculiarly susceptible of diversion from one route to another.

As the power and wealth of Rome increased, the enterprise

of her subjects was directed eastward, and before 50 A. D. the periodicity of the Indian monsoons was observed and Roman shipping was regularly dispatched from Egyptian ports to India, steering straight across the ocean and no longer hugging the shore. This sea trade was very actively developed between 50 and 100 A. D. and seriously crippled the overland caravan business; but before this came about, there was another important diversion of trade from the Parthian highway. In the Mediterranean lands it was observed through the growing prosperity of Petra at the expense of Antioch. By tracing the new route we may discover a striking combination of political and commercial elements that threatened the very existence of the Parthian power.

The route led from Petra, either overland across Arabia, or more notably by sea around Arabia, to the head of the Persian Gulf; thence up the mountains of Elam and overland south of the Persian desert to Lake Helmand, Arachosia and Kabul. This brought into combination the Nabataean Kingdom, the Arab states of Mesene and Characene which were closely related to it, the ancient Kingdom of Persis, the Scythian Sacae, and finally the Yue-chi or Kushans, ruling on either side of the Hindu Kush, in territory taken by them from the Greek kings of Bactria.

Of these elements three, the Arab Persian Gulf states, the Sacae at Lake Helmand and the Persians between, were at least nominally subject to the Parthian dynasty, but the bond was very loose. We read in the *Shah Nama* the contempt of Persia for the Parthians; "the throne did not belong to any one" and "men said that they had no longer a kingdom on the earth." And the Sacae, though admitting the Parthian overlordship, had previously admitted that of the Yue-chi, by whom they had been driven over the Pamirs, and who had followed them and were settled in adjoining territory; so that by inheritance they were no subjects of Parthia. The maintenance of overland trade by this route, in competition with the older Parthian route, depended on the existence of a strong power controlling the passes into India and Turkestan. Precisely this power existed under the Yue-chi dynasties.

There has been much discussion of the dates of these dynasties and the extent of the territories over which they ruled.



The tribes came out of Chinese territory and overran Bactrian territory before 100 B. C. Overland trade between China and the Greeks in Bactria had been opened soon after 200 B. C., the terrors of the great deserts having been overcome by the use of the Bactrian camel. By their control of the mountain passes the Yue-chi tribes were intermediaries in this trade, from the profits of which the growth of their influence was no doubt derived. After an uncertain period of settlement north of the Hindu Kush they penetrated India through the upper Indus and the Panjāb, and established there an empire which perhaps overshadowed and outlasted their Bactrian dominion. Their various tribes, although apparently allied or confederated, were under chieftains of different families, so that their dynasties were not necessarily continuous.

Recent debate has been focussed on the relative priority of the two leading Kushan dynasties, the one including Kozoulo and Wima Kadphises (the former at first ruling jointly with the Greek Hermaeus) and the other, Kanishka, Vasishka, Kanishka II., Huvishka and Vasudeva. The Kadphises dynasty, it is generally admitted, attached to themselves the remnants of the Greek kingdom of Kabul and overthrew the Indo-Parthian kingdom of Gondophares, about 50 A. D., after which they greatly enlarged the Kushan dominions in Arachosia and India. The beginning of the Kanishka dynasty is dated 58 B. C., the so called Vikrama era, by Prof. Sylvain Lévi, Prof. O. Franke, Dr. Fleet, Mr. Kennedy and others; 78 A. D., the Saka or Salivahana era, by Fergusson, Prof. Percy Gardner, Prof. E. J. Rapson, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Cunningham, and by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in the third edition of his *Early History of India*, although in previous editions he had preferred a 2<sup>nd</sup> century dating; and by the Messrs. Bhandarkar as late as 278 A. D. The question of Kanishka's date is important because of its bearing on the history of both politics and religion; for in addition to his military achievements he convened a great Buddhist council out of which developed a missionary activity that was possibly felt as far away as China and Roman Syria. While the recent discussion of this question at sessions of the Royal Asiatic Society<sup>1</sup> in London has, perhaps, resulted in no final conversion to any of these dates

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, various numbers, 1912-13-14; see also the introductory treatises in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new ed., vols. I and II.

by its partisans, it has served especially to direct attention to the important part played by the Kushan dynasties in the international silk trade; and further examination of the general state of international diplomacy and commerce of that period indicates, if not an earlier dating of a single dynasty like that of Kanishka, at least a dating of the domination of international trade-routes by the Yue-chi earlier than the overthrow of the Gondophares dynasty, about the middle of the first century.

The increase in the importation of silk at Rome was noted before the end of the Republic, and even at a time when conditions tended to restrict traffic through the trade-route terminus at Antioch. Lucan<sup>1</sup> gives a vivid description of the charms of Cleopatra seen through the "Sidonian fabric"; during the reign of Augustus silk fabrics were much affected by men, although the fashion was considered effeminate; and early in the reign of Tiberius the Roman Senate enacted a law<sup>2</sup> "that men should not defile themselves by wearing garments of silk". If we credit the various statements of Pliny<sup>3</sup> this law was ineffective, and the demand for silk continued to grow; the fabric was worth its weight in gold, and the trade was a serious drain on the resources of the Empire. Pliny, indeed, counts it among the "most valuable productions"; "the most costly things that are gathered from trees are nard and Seric tissues".

The rise of the Nabataean trade coincided with the decline of the Ptolemies in Egypt and the overthrow of the Sabaeans, the commercial intermediaries of the Ptolemies, in South Arabia, by their neighbors and rivals the Homerites, who levied tribute on all traders from Egypt. This upheaval in South Arabia led also to the expulsion of another tribe, the Abaseni, into Africa, where they established the Abyssinian kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

This happened about, or a little before, the Christian era.<sup>5</sup> By 80 A. D. those "people called Axumites" were established, and maintained friendly relations with Rome; so we are told by the author of the *Periplus*;<sup>6</sup> later they were active allies

<sup>1</sup> Pharsalia X, 141.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, Annals. II, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Nat. VI, 20; XI, 26; XXI, 8; XXXVII, 67.

<sup>4</sup> Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ch. XIV.

<sup>5</sup> Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*.

<sup>6</sup> *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, §§ 4, 5; ed. Schoff, pp. 61-6, 140-2.



of the Romans and cooperated with them in destroying the power of the Homerites and thus clearing the sea-route to the East.

The Nabataean allies at the head of the Persian Gulf were the states of Characene and Mesene. Racially they were closely related. From their port of Obollah or Apologus (the Ubulu of the Assyrian inscriptions) the author of the *Periplus* noted in 80 A. D. an active sea-trade to India,<sup>1</sup> exporting gold and various products and bringing back timber and less bulky merchandise. Now the Chinese annals give us an important reference to this state. In a section written about 90 A. D. and embracing facts coming within the period 206 B. C. to 25 A. D. we find this comment:<sup>2</sup>

"The country of T'iao-chih is densely populated; it used to be governed by petty rulers, but An-hsi (Parthia) reducing them to vassalage, made it into a dependency".

At the time this was inserted in the annals it must have been "news". It can probably be referred to the latter half of the first century A. D. The author of the *Periplus* knew no Parthia; indeed, he speaks of "Persis" as an independent power, holding half of Southern Arabia.<sup>3</sup> And a later passage in the Chinese annals refers again to T'iao-chih as having become "subject to Parthia as a vassal state under a military governor having control of all the small cities".<sup>4</sup>

The century following the Roman occupation of Syria was one of unrest among the Arab tribes of the northern desert, and the old highway from Antioch to Seleucia was infested with robbers. Indeed, it was not until the rise of Palmyra that the caravan trade was effectively policed and again became prosperous. And we have two records that indicate some effort of the Parthians to connect with the Southern, or Nabataean route; one Chinese, the other Greek.

In a year fixed as 97 A. D. "the general Pan-Chao sent Kan Ying as an ambassador to Ta-ts'in, who arrived in T'iao-chih, on the coast of the great sea. When about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Parthia told Kan-Ying: 'the sea is vast and great; with favorable winds it is possible to cross within three months:

<sup>1</sup> *Periplus* 149-151.

<sup>2</sup> Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Periplus*, §§ 27, 87: *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 161.

<sup>4</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.*, 38.

but if you meet slow winds, it may take you two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea take on board a supply of three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make a man homesick, and several have thus lost their lives'. When Kan-Ying heard this, he stopped."<sup>1</sup>

Now this port where the timid Kan-Ying ended his mission and avoided *mal de mer*, is named Yü-lo, which Prof. Hirth identifies with Hira below Seleucia, whence ships reached the Persian Gulf by the Euphrates, or the Pallacopas Canal.<sup>2</sup> It was "at the extreme west frontier of Parthia"; below it was T'iao-chih of the Arabs, which later came into vassalage; and from this place "coming from the land-road of Parthia you make a round at sea, and taking a northern turn, come out from the western part of the sea, whence you proceed to Ta-ts'in",—by circumnavigating Arabia.<sup>3</sup> That is, at the end of the first century A. D. the Parthians were cutting into the Arab sea-route and about the same time they subjugated the Arabs themselves.

The Greek source for our view of the policy of Parthia as regards this southern route, is in the *Mansiones Parthicae* or *Parthian Stations* of Isidore of Charax, dating close to the Christian era.<sup>4</sup> Here we are taken by the older route from Antioch to Seleucia, with mention of the "island in the Euphrates, where was the treasure of Phraates, who cut the throats of his concubines, when Tiridates the exile invaded the land";<sup>5</sup> and of the Greek city Artemita—"but now it is called Chalaras",<sup>6</sup> (showing the growth of Arab influence). Thence Isidore proceeds through Parthia proper to Nisaea and Antiochia Margiana. But here, instead of bearing eastward, his route bends southward through "Alexandria of the Arii"<sup>7</sup> to "Sacastana of the Scythian Sacae", being the Lake Helmand region,<sup>8</sup> and finally "the city of Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia; it is Greek, and by it flows the river Arachotus".<sup>9</sup> And here the itinerary ends with the statement "As far as this place the land is under the rule of the Parthians".

That is, at the Christian era no Parthian custom-houses

<sup>1</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.* 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 43.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, I, 244-256; also ed. Schoff, Philadelphia, 1914.

<sup>5</sup> Isidore, § 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* § 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* § 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* § 18.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* § 19.



collected their tolls east of Mervrud, Herat and Kandahar. Between those points and the Pamirs it seems necessary to infer the existence of a foreign and independent power, which can hardly have been other than that of the Yue-chi.<sup>1</sup>

But observe that Isidore shows us Parthian control over one section of the southern route, that between Kandahar and Lake Helmand,<sup>2</sup> and a nothern connection from that point to the old overland route;<sup>3</sup> while we have ample evidence that from the Saka territory trade went also through Carmana to Charax Spasini and Obollah, where it paid tolls to another power. This we may explain from the peculiar position of the Sacae, with their dual subjection, Kushan by inheritance and Parthian by adoption. And just at this time they played a large part in the Parthian empire; for when Phraates IV. whom Isidore mentions, was first driven from his capital by Tiridates in 33 B. C. he fled to the Scythians, who lent him troops and reestablished him on his throne. Just then the Parthians were in no position to be over-insistent on their sovereign rights; for the Romans supported Tiridates (who struck coins with the title *Philoromaïos* in addition to the usual *Philellēnos* of the Parthians) and kept him in their pay as an ever-useful pretender to the throne of their enemies.<sup>4</sup>

One of the earliest Chinese references to Parthia states that "when the emperor Wu-ti (B. C. 140-86) first sent an

<sup>1</sup> That such a power existed north of the Hindu Kush is indisputed. Between that range and the Indus the Greek city-state of Kabul may well have been the only place that had not succumbed to it. The routes eastward from Herat to the Bamian-Balkh pass, and from Kandahar to Kabul, had formerly been feeders to the Parthian trade-route; now they were under other hands. Isidore lists Arachosia and Sacastana under the Parthian dominions, but this was evidently no more than their western border. Later (about 35 A. D.) they moved eastward under Gondophares, and in the general break-up after his death (about 50 A. D.) the author of the *Periplus* (80 A. D.) found quarrelling Parthians at the mouths of the Indus, while above them were the Arattii, (a Panjāb tribe) the Arachosii, the Gandaraei (Gandhāra, with its capital Takhasilā, Taxila) and the people of Poclais (western Gandhāra, below Kabul, with its capital Pushkalāvati, Pukkalaoti, the Peucelaotis of Arrian) and "above these the very warlike nation of the Bactrians",<sup>2</sup> certainly the Yue-chi, probably then dominant over the small states above mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Periplus*, § 47; *op. cit.*, pp. 183-7.

<sup>3</sup> Isidore, § 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* §§ 16, 17, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia in the British Museum*, XXXVIII, plates 16-23.

embassy to Parthia the king ordered a general to meet him on the eastern frontier with 20,000 cavalry. As they sent an embassy to follow the Chinese embassy they came to see the country of China. In the east of Parthia are the Ta-Yuehchi"<sup>1</sup> (Kushans)—we may infer, not yet independent. And two centuries later, when the campaigns of Pan-chao brought the Chinese arms westward, we are told that he "established contact with Parthia"—that is, that by the end of the first century A. D. the Kushan power no longer blocked the Chinese trade-routes, but was confined to the Indus and its affluents.

The development of trade between the Kushan and the Nabataean dominions was the result of disorganization and weakness in the Roman and Parthian empires. With their recovery we shall see how quickly this interloping combination was broken up. Rome disliked Parthia, but one set off tariff-collectors was better than two; and the author of the *Periplus* tells us the Nabataeans took their 25 % of all merchandise and maintained a garrison to collect it.<sup>2</sup> So the policy of Rome was to develop some workable arrangement with Parthia for the overland trade, to build up her own sea-trade, and to destroy other competitors. A like policy ruled in Parthia and China.

While Rome was torn by the civil wars following the murder of Julius Caesar, and Parthia by those following the murder of Orodes by his son Phraates whom Isidore mentions, Kabul, Obollah and Petra could trade together unmolested; and this state of things endured until the close of the war of the Armenian succession, 58 to 62 A. D., after which there was lasting peace between Rome and Parthia.<sup>3</sup> Even at the Christian era Isidore shows us the Parthians tapping it at Lake Hira. In 80 A. D. the author of the *Periplus* knew of the Kushans as "the very warlike nation of the Bactrians", who dwelt "above the Arachosians"<sup>4</sup>—but their warlikeness received a severe check in 90 A. D. when a Kushan king sent a great army, said to have included 70,000 cavalry, over the Pamirs to do battle with the Chinese general

<sup>1</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Periplus*, § 19: *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson, *Sixth Monarchy*, ch. XVI.

<sup>4</sup> *Periplus*, § 47; *op. cit.*, p. 184.



Pan Chao.<sup>1</sup> The Kushan force was annihilated; Pan Chao "established contact with Parthia", and the 2d century A. D. shows us the Kushans overrunning India as far as the Ganges, but no longer measuring strength with China or Parthia. And in 104 A. D. the emperor Trajan sent a Roman army to the conquest of Petra and the destruction of the Nabataean Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Parthia alone remained to claim its share of the overland trade and to compete with the Roman sea-trade; as the Chinese annals have it, "they (the Romans) traffic by sea with Parthia and India, the profit of which trade is tenfold. They are honest in their transactions, and there are no double prices . . . Their kings always desired to send embassies to China, but the Parthians wished to carry on trade with them in Chinese silks, and it is for this reason that they were cut off from communication. This lasted until the ninth year of the Yen-hsi period during the emperor Huan-ti's reign (A. D. 166) when the King of Ta-ts'in, Antun (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) sent an embassy who from the frontier of Jih-nan (Annam) offered ivory, rhinoceros horns and tortoise shell"; (products of the Abyssinian coast of Africa)—"from that time dates the direct intercourse with this country".<sup>3</sup>

These various facts indicate that during the century between 50 B. C. and 50 A. D. we can account for the existence of a strong power, independent of Rome or Parthia, astride the overland trade routes, and that after about 50 A. D. we must assume its decadence and soon after 100 A. D. its passing from Central Asiatic affairs and its expansion in a purely Indian field. The Chinese annals show us the Yue-chi west of the Pamirs by 100 B. C. Does the later history of Turkish invaders lead us to suppose that this tribe remained peaceful shepherds for more than a century when let loose on the remains of Greek prosperity in Bactria? Did they not rather, like the Ottoman Turks, pursue their conquests with full vigor, fortifying themselves by assuming a religious leadership that would command the allegiance of their victims?

The history of the first century B. C. requires a Yue-chi

<sup>1</sup> V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3<sup>d</sup> ed. pp. 253-4; Douglas, *China* (Story of the Nations series), p. 18; Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cassius, 68, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 42; this was probably a trading venture, and not an official mission.

power, if not everywhere supreme, at least the dominant force, between the Oxus and the Indus, taking full advantage of the temporary weakness of Rome and Parthia to strengthen its control of the silk-trade; the century following the Christian era shows that power spreading over Northern India and finally reaching the Erythraean Sea; but for an "Indo-Scythian" in the second century A. D. shutting off Chinese from Parthians there is no ready explanation. After the defeat at Kashgar and the fall of Petra, the bases for such a power are not apparent. And whatever the ultimate decision as to the date of Kanishka (which the fortunate discovery of some inscription may at any time establish beyond doubt) it is clear at least that his race before and during the first century exerted a more complete control of the overland trade-routes than they could have done at any date after 100 A. D.<sup>1</sup>

On the sea-route the Indo-Scythians asserted themselves after their overland control declined. We find many evidences of their activity in the Indian Ocean. Pausanias gives us one, where he mentions the "island of Seria", usually confused with the Seres of China, but which we may identify with Masira on the southern coast of Arabia. He follows earlier writers in saying "both the Seres and the inhabitants of the neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacaea (the modern Kuria Muria) are of the Ethiopian race". But he qualifies by adding "some say, however, that they are not Ethiopians but a mixture of Scythians and Indians".<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Periplus* saw there only "three villages of natives, a rascally lot, wearing girdles of palm leaves";<sup>3</sup> but the Indus delta he knew as "the coast district of Scythia, which lies above toward the north".<sup>4</sup>

And so we are led to a later Chinese account, when the

<sup>1</sup> The subsequent history of the Kushan tribes north of the Hindu Kush is still obscure. Apparently they were much reduced by the Sassanians in Persia and a new race of Asiatic invaders, the Ephthalite Huns. In 481 A. D. the Kushans defeated the Sassanian king Perozes, who attacked them where they then lived, on the southern shore of the Caspian; but about 600 A. D. they were overwhelmed by Armenian troops subject to the greatest of the Sassanians, Chosroes II. At that time both Kushans and Ephthalites were apparently vassals of the Turks. (Cf. Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, XVI; XXIV.)

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, *Descr. Graec.* IV, 26; see *Periplus*, ed. Schoff, pp. 144-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Periplus*, § 33; *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> *Periplus*, § 38; *op. cit.*, p. 166.



missionary activities of the Kushan monarchs had outlived their military glory:<sup>1</sup> "as regards Ta-ts'in and T'ien-chu (Syria and India) far out on the western ocean, we have to say that, although the envoys of the two Han dynasties have experienced the special difficulties of this road, yet traffic in merchandise has been effected, and goods have been sent out to the foreign tribes, the force of winds driving them far away across the waves of the sea . . . All the precious things of land and water come from there . . . and also the doctrine of the abstraction of mind in devotion to the Lord of the world, all this having caused navigation and trade to be extended to those parts".

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<sup>1</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 46. General attention will also have been given to the results of Dr. Marshall's explorations in the Gandhāra region. His paper on the Date of Kanishka (*JRAS*, Oct. 1914) appeared subsequently to the preparation of the foregoing, and points perhaps in the same direction, of Kushan influence waning in Central Asia as it advanced in Northwestern India. It is, of course, mainly by archaeological investigation that any question like this can be finally solved.

(W. H. S., June, 1915.)

*The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Four.*—Edited, with critical notes, by LEROY CARR BARRET, M. A., Ph. D., Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

*Prefatory.*—This fourth book of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda is edited in the same manner as were the first three books (see this Journal vol. 26 p. 197, vol. 30 p. 187, and vol. 32 p. 343). The remarks prefaced to Book Three are applicable here without change; the added experience in handling this manuscript seems to be bringing only one gain, a somewhat surer realization of the limits of possible attainment in restoring the text, and yet evidence of this may not always be clear in the results presented. Book Five will follow this one as soon as possible; at my request Professor Edgerton of the University of Pennsylvania has edited Book Six.

The transliteration is given line for line with the ms. and in spite of the limitation of a narrow page there ought to be no confusion in finding a passage in the facsimile. The abbreviations are the usual ones; except that Ç. is used to refer to the AV. of the Çaunikiya School, and ms. (*sic*) is used for manuscript. The signs of punctuation used in the ms. are fairly represented by the vertical bar (= colon) and the "z" (= period); and the Roman period is used for a *virāma*: daggers indicate a corrupt reading.

### Introduction.

*Of the ms.*—This fourth book in the Kashmir ms. begins f. 61a l. 4 and ends f. 74b l. 16,—13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> folios, inasmuch as f. 62 is omitted in the numbering though the text is not interrupted. In f. 64b l. 5 three or four letters are marred by peeling of the bark: and there are not more than four unclear signs. The number of lines of script per page varies from 17 to 19.



*Punctuation, numbers, glosses, &c.*—There are no numbers at the ends of stanzas, and only irregular punctuation to mark the ends of hemistichs. In some places a short vertical bar just below the line of script indicates the position of a colon. No accents are marked.

The grouping of the hymns in anuvākas is maintained; there are 8 anuvākas with 5 hymns in each, and all are correctly numbered except that no number is written for anuvāka or hymn at the very end of the book. All the hymns are numbered save no. 14 and no. 40; the end of no. 14 is not indicated in any way.

In the left margin of f. 63b opposite l. 16 stands ācīrva-  
canam: its position at the end of no. 5 seems to indicate that it applies to that hymn. In the lower margin of f. 70a is written vrhaspatasūktam (*sic*); it seems to refer particularly to st. 2 of no. 27. In the right margin of f. 71a stands śaḍrtam sūktam, referring to no. 30: cf. Ppp. 2. 69 where the edited text probably should have been śaḍrtusūktam. In the top margin of f. 71a stands indram mitram divisū, probably abbreviated for devisūktam and referring to no. 28 (= RV. 1. 106); in the same margin is also apānnāṣṭakamita referring to no. 29 (= Ç. 4. 33) where there is some anukramamī material prefixed to the hymn. Thrice (in hymns 9, 17, 19) only the pratika of the last stanza is given followed by ity ekā to indicate previous occurrence in this ms.; this ity ekā seems to be an abbreviation perhaps of something like ity ekarcam, meaning "and so forth to the extent of this one stanza".

There are some corrections, both marginal and interlinear usually consisting of two or three letters.

*Extent of the book.*—This book has 40 hymns of which two are prose. The normal number of stanzas in a hymn is seven, as it is in Ç. 4: 31 hymns have 7 stanzas each, and not one has less. Assuming the correctness of the verse divisions as edited below (there are uncertainties in several places), we have the following table:

31 hymns have	7 stanzas each	= 217 stanzas
4 " "	8 " "	= 32 "
2 " "	9 " "	= 18 "
2 " "	10 " "	= 20 "
1 hymn has	13	= 13 "
40 hymns have		= 300 stanzas

*New and old material.*—There are 15 hymns in this book which may fairly be called new, although material already familiar in other texts enters to some extent into the structure of some of them. The number of stanzas which are essentially new is 114: the number of pādas which do not appear in the *Concordance* is a little above 260.

Of the 40 hymns in Ç. 4 sixteen appear here in fairly close agreement: there are here also two hymns of Ç. 1 (combined into one here), two of Ç. 2, one each of Ç. 3, 7, and 19; and some few scattered stanzas or pādas. Three hymns of the RV. appear here, a group of verses of KS. appear here as a hymn, and three stanzas of ApMB. (I. 6. 5—7) appear as the core of a hymn here. Other correspondences are insignificant.

## ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ÇĀKHĀ BOOK FOUR.

1. [f. 61a, l. 4.]

Ç. 4. 2.

om̐ namo nārāyaṇāya z z om̐ hiraṇya-  
garbhas sam avartatāgre bhūtasya jātāṣ patir eka āsīt. sa  
dādhāra pṛthivīm  
dyām utemām kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema | ya ojadā  
baladā ya-  
sya viçva upāsate prasiçam̐ yasya devāḥ yasya çchāyāmṛ-  
taṁ yasya mṛtyu-  
ṣ kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema | yaṣ praṇato nimiṣato  
vidharta patir viçvasya  
jagato babhūva | içe yo asya dvipadaç catuṣpadaṣ kasmāi  
devā z yana dyāur ugrā  
pṛthivī ca dṛça yena sva stabhitam̐ yena nākaṁ | yo anta-  
rikṣam̐ vimama varīya-  
ṣ kasmāi de z ya ime dyāvāpṛthivī tastabhānādhāred avasā  
rejamāne |  
yasminn adhi vitata eti sūraṣ kasmāi de z yasya viçvo  
himavanto mahitvā  
samudram̐ yasya rasayā sahāhuḥ diço yasya pradiçaṣ pañca  
deviṣ kasmāi de-



vāya haviṣā vidhema z āpo ha yasya viçvam āyur dadhānā  
 garbham janaya-  
 nta mātārā | tatra devānām adhi deva āstha ekastūne vimate  
 dr̥dha ugre ā-  
 po garbham janayantīr vatsam agre sam īrayan. tasyota  
 jāyamānasyolvasīd dhi-  
 raṇyayaḥ hiraṇya ulvāsīd yo gre vatso ajāyata | tvam yo  
 tyor vṛbhnavantyoṣ pa-  
 [f. 61b] ry apaçyad ruḍūr mahīḥ. z 1 z

Read: hiraṇyagarbhas samavartatāgre bhūtasya jātaṣ patir  
 eka āsit | sa dādharma prthivīm dyām utamām kasmāi devāya  
 haviṣā vidhema z 1 z ya ojadā baladā yasya viçva upāsate  
 praçisaṁ yasya devāḥ | yasya chāyāmṛtaṁ yasya mṛtyuṣ ka-  
 smāi \* z 2 z yaṣ prānato nimiṣato vidhartā patir viçvasya  
 jagato babhūva | içe yo asya dvipadaç catuṣpadaṣ kasmāi \*  
 z 3 z yena dyāur ugrā prthivi ca dr̥dhā yena sva stabhitam  
 yena nākaḥ | yo antariksaṁ vimame varīyaṣ kasmāi \* z 4 z  
 ya ime dyāvāprthivi tastabhāne adhārayad avasā rejamāne |  
 yasminn adhi vitata eti sūraṣ kasmāi \* z 5 z yasya viçve  
 himavanto mahitvā samudram yasya rasayā sahāhuḥ | diço  
 yasya pradiçāṣ pañca devīṣ kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema z 6 z  
 āpo ha yasya viçvam āyur dadhānā garbham janayanti māta-  
 raḥ | tatra devānām adhi deva āsta ekastūne vimite dr̥dha  
 ugre z 7 z āpo garbham janayantīr vatsam agre sam ārayan |  
 tasyota jāyamānasyolva āsīd dhiranyaḥ z 8 z hiraṇya ulba  
 āsīd yo gre vatso ajāyata | †tvam yotyor vṛbhnavantyoṣ† pary  
 apaçyad uḍūr mahīḥ z 9 z 1 z

Our version of this hymn agrees closely with that of MS.  
 and KS. St. 6 here is original but resembles somewhat st. 7  
 of MS., and for that reason it might be better to read in our  
 a āyan. It may be that what is given here as st. 9 does not  
 belong to the hymn. Perhaps the root bhram is in 9c.

2. [f. 61b, l. 1.]

Q. 4. 8.

bhūto bhūteṣu paya ā dadhāti sa bhūtā-  
 nām adhipatiḥ rbabhūva | sa te mṛtyuṣ carate rājasūyam  
 sa rājā rājyam a-

nyatām idam z abhi prehi vidāyasvograḥ cettā sapaṭnahā | ā  
 tiṣṭha  
 mittravardhana tubhyaṁ devā adhi vruvan. z ātiṣṭhantaṁ  
 pari viḥve abhūṣaṁ ḥchri-  
 yo vasānaḥ carati svarociḥ mahat tad viṣṇor asurasya nāmā  
 viḥvarūpo amṛ-  
 tāni tasthāu z yenā vyāghraṁ pariṣasvajānā siṁhaṁ hinvanti  
 mahate sābha-  
 gāyā | mahiṣaṁ nas subhavas tasthivāṁsaṁ parimṛjyante  
 dvīpinam apsuntaḥ  
 vyāghro adhi vāiyyāgre vi kramasva diḥo mahiḥ diḥas tvā  
 sarvāyānty ā-  
 po divyāṣ payasvatīḥ ya āpo divyāṣ payasā sadanty ānta-  
 rikṣa uta .  
 pārthivā yāḥ tāsāṁ tvā sarvāsāṁ apām abhi śīncāmi var-  
 casā |  
 abhi tvā varcasāsṛjaṁ divyena payasā saha | yathāso mittra-  
 vardha-  
 nas tathā tvā savibhā karat. z 2 z

Read: bhūto bhūteṣu payā ā dadhāti sa bhūtānām adhipatiḥ  
 babhūva | sa te mṛtyuḥ carate rājasūyaṁ sa rājā rājam anu  
 manyatām idam z 1 z abhi prehi vidāyasvograḥ cettā sapa-  
 tnahā | ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana tubhyaṁ devā adhi vruvan z 2 z  
 ātiṣṭhantaṁ pari viḥve abhūṣan chriyo vasānaḥ carati svaro-  
 ciḥ | mahat tad vṛṣṇor asurasya nāmā viḥvarūpo amṛtāni ta-  
 sthāu z 3 z enā vyāghraṁ pariṣasvajānāḥ siṁhaṁ hinvanti  
 mahate sāubhagāyā | mahiṣaṁ na subhavas tasthivāṁsaṁ pa-  
 rimṛjyante dvīpinam apsv antaḥ z 4 z vyāghro adhi vāiyyāghre  
 vi kramasva diḥo mahiḥ | diḥas tvā sarvā āyānty āpo divyāṣ  
 payasvatīḥ z 5 z yā āpo divyāṣ payasā sadanty antarikṣa uta  
 pārthivā yāḥ | tāsāṁ tvā sarvāsāṁ apām abhi śīncāmi varcasā  
 z 6 z abhi tvā varcasāsṛjan divyena payasā saha | yathāso  
 mitravardhanas tathā tvā savitā karat z 7 z 2 z

In 6a we might read madanty as in C.; neither is very good. In 4c nas subhavaṁ might be better; cf. MS. 2. 1. 9.



3. [f. 61b, l. 12.]

KS. 37. 9.

yat te candram kaçyapo roca-  
nāvad dit saṁhitam puṣkalam cittrabhānuḥ asmin sūryār-  
pitas sapta sākaṁ  
tasmin rājānam adhiviçrayemam. | yebhiç çilpāis paprayā-  
nām adrū-  
had yebhir dyām abhyapiṇçaṣ pravidvān. | yabhir vācam  
puṣkalebhir avyayaṁ-  
s tena māgre varcasā saṁsrjeha yebhis sūryas tapati pra-  
ketubhir ye-  
bhir agnir dadrçe cittrabhānuḥ yebhir āpaç candravarṇā  
ajinvan te-  
[f. 63a] na māgre varcasā saṁsrjeha | āyam bhātu pradiçaṣ  
pañca devī indra iva  
jyeṣṭho bhavatu prajānām. | asmin dhehi puṣkalam cittra-  
bhānv āyam prṇātu raja-  
sor upastham | anu tvendro vatv anu vṛhaspatir anu tvā  
somo nv agnir āvit. |  
anu tvā viçve avantu devās sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ  
anu tvā  
mittrāvaruṇehāvatām anu dyāvāpṛthivī moṣadhībhiḥ sūryo  
hobhir anu  
tvāvatu candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvedam āvi dyāuḥ ca tvā  
pṛthivī ca pracetasā  
çukro vṛhad dakṣiṇā tvā pipantu | anu svadhā siktā somo  
gniṣ pūṣā tvā-  
vatu savitā savena z 3 z

Read: yat te candram kaçyapa rocanāvad yat saṁhitam  
puṣkalam cittrabhānu | yasmin sūryā ārpitās sapta sākaṁ tasmin  
rājānam abhi viçrayemam z 1 z yebhiç çilpāis paprayānām  
adrūhad yebhir dyām abhyapiṇçat pravidvān | yebhir vācam  
puṣkalebhir avyayaṁs tena māgre varcasā saṁsrjeha z 2 z  
yebhis sūryas tapati pra ketubhir yebhir agnir dadrçe citra-  
bhānuḥ | yebhir āpaç candravarṇā ajinvan tena māgre varcasā  
saṁsrjeha z 3 z āyam bhātu pradiçaṣ pañca devī indra iva  
jyeṣṭho bhavatu prajānām | asmin dhehi puṣkalam cittrabhānv  
āyam prṇātu rajasor upastham z 4 z anu tvendro 'vatv anu

vṛhaspatir anu tvā somo 'nv agnir āvit | anu tvā viçve avantu  
 devās sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktaḥ z 5 z anu tvā mitrāva-  
 ruṇā ihāvatām anu dyāvaprthivi sahāṇṣadhibhiḥ | sūryo 'ho-  
 bhir anu tvāvatu candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvedam āvit  
 z 6 z dyāuḥ ca tvā prthivi ca pracetasā çukro vṛhad dakṣiṇā  
 pipartu | ann svadhā cikitām somo 'gniḥ pūṣā tvāvatu savitā  
 savena z 7 z 3 z

The ms. corrects ttr to tr in f. 63a l. 2. Note that f. 62 is omitted in the numbering of folios. For st. 1 see also Ç. 13. 3. 10, and for st. 7 see Ç. 6. 58. 1.

4. [f. 63a, l. 8.]

Ç. 1. 7 and 1. 8. 1-3.

stuvānam aṣṭhā naya yātudhānam kimī-  
 dinam tvam hi devām stuto hantā tasyota babhūvyathā |

In pāda a the sign ṣṭh is not perfectly formed, and it seems that we must read agna ā naya, with kimīdinam at the end of b. In c I think deva saṁstuto is the most probable correction; in d babhūvitha ought to be read and dasyor as in Ç. seems better although tasyota might possibly stand; read also hantā.

ājyasya parameṣṭhin jātave-  
 das tanūvaçim. | agne tūlasya prāçānam yātudhānād vi lā-  
 payaḥ

Read in ab parameṣṭhin and tanūvaçim. In c it would seem that we ought to read tāulasya which is reported for all mss. of Ç.; read also prāçāna yātudhānān.

vi la-  
 paṇtu yātudhānātriṇo ye kimīdinaḥ yathedam agne no  
 havir indraç ca  
 prati haryatām. |

In ab read vi lapantu yātudhānā atriṇo; in c athedam; haryatam as in Ç. does not seem necessary.



agniṣ purasthād ā yaçchatu pratha indro  
nudadaçvāhumā |

vraivītu sarvo yarmān ayam asmāitedya |

In the first hemistich we must surely read purastād ā yaçchatu and nudad bāhumān; then if prāthendro may be read the two pādas are brought to a fair state; but ā yaçchat protendro would seem rather better. In c read yātumān, and for d ayam asmity etya.

paçyāmi te vīryā jātaveda pra ṇo vrū-  
hi yātudhānā nṛcakṣā | tvayā sarve paritaptāṣ parasthād ā  
yāntu pra-

vruvānā upedam. z

In a read jātavedaṣ, in b yātudhānān nṛcakṣaḥ, in c purastād. In a Ç. has paçyāma which might stand here.

ā rambhasva vrāhmaṇā jātavedo hṛdi kāmā-  
ya randhaya | dūto nu agnir ut tiṣṭha yātudhānān ihā naya |

The ms. corrects to rabhasva; read thus: vrahmaṇā should probably be read also in a. With randhaya pāda b seems possible, though it is somewhat suspicious. In c read no agna.

tvam agne yātu-  
dhānān upababaddhān ihā naya | athāiṣām indro vajreṇa  
apa çīrṣā vṛ-

çcatu

In b read upabaddhān, or upa baddhān as Whitney suggests. In c d read vajreṇāpa çīrṣāpi; or perhaps vajreṇāpi with Ç.

idaṁ havir yātudhānān nadī henam ivā vahān nīdām  
strī pumān karya

[f. 63b] çambhūvatām janah

Read: idaṁ havir yātudhānān nadī phenam ivā vahat | ya idaṁ strī pumān akar iha sa stuvatām janah z 8 z This is

the version of Q.; I do not believe that our ms. indicates any variant.

yātudhānasya somapa jahi pra-  
jām nayasya ca | nya stuvā-  
nasya pātaya padam akṣatāvaram |

In b read nayasva, in c ni, in d param akṣy utāvaram.

ayaṁ stuvānāgamatvaṁ smota prati  
haryata vṛhaspate vaçe kṛtvāgniṣomā viddhatam. z 4 z

Read: ayaṁ stuvāna āgamat taṁ smota prati haryata |  
vṛhaspate vaçe kṛtvāgniṣomā vi vidhyatam z 10 z 4 z

Several of the vertical bars (i. e. punctuation marks) are below not in the line.

5. [f. 63 b, l. 3.]

Q. 4. 4.

yām tvā gandha-  
rvo śanad varuṇāya vratabhaje tām tvā vyaṁ khanāmasy  
oṣadhiyaṁ çevaha-  
rṣaṇī z vṛṇas te khanatāro vṛṣā tvāpaçy oṣadhe | vṛṣāsi  
vṛṣṇyā-  
vati vṛṣaṇe tvā khanāmasi | ud uṣā ud a sūrya uç çuṣmā  
oṣadhī-  
nām. ud ejitu prajāpatir vṛṣā çuṣmeṇa vajinām. z ūr-  
dhvasrā-  
ṇim idam kṛdhi yathā smi te virohato abhitaptam ivānatī  
tatas te çuṣma-  
vattaram iyaṁ kṛṇotv aṣadhiḥ apām rasāuṣadhīnām aho  
vanaspatīnām  
avo somasya trātāmy āriṣyam asi vṛṣṇeham | açvasya ṛṣva-  
sya bhastasya puru-  
ṣasya ca | ye ṛṣabhasya vājas tam asmāi dehy oṣadhe | sam  
vājā ṛṣabhānām



saṁ ṣuṣmā oṣadhīnām saṁ pūṣām indra vṛṣṇīham asyāi  
 dehi tanūbalaṁ | a-  
 dyāgne abhya savitur adya devī vṛhaspatīḥ adya me vra-  
 hmaṇate dhanur ivā tā-  
 nayā pasah ūrdhvās tiṣṭhanti giraya ūrdhvā vātā ud irate  
 ūrdhvo yaṁ mā-  
 sako mayūṣīvāhād a bhūmyām ut tiṣṭho agra vidhonusva  
 vitesv āyantu nā-  
 nyādyāḥ ato droṣva pāyava nāvaglāyo dhi muṣka-  
 yoh. z 5 z anu 1 z

In the left margin opposite the last line is *ācīrvacanām*;  
 also a stanza end after *tiṣṭho* seems to be indicated by two  
 slight oblique strokes above the line, in the next to the  
 last line.

Read: yām tvā gandharvo 'khanad varuṇāya vratabhāje |  
 tāṁ tvā vyaṁ khanāmasy oṣadhīm ṣepaharṣaṇīm z 1 z vṛṣa-  
 ṇas te khanitāro vṛṣā tvam asy oṣadhe | vṛṣāsi vṛṣṇyāvati  
 vṛṣaṇe tvā khanāmasy z 2 z ud uṣā ud u sūrya uc chuṣmā  
 oṣadhīnām | ud ejatu prajāpatir vṛṣā ṣuṣmeṇa vājinām z 3 z  
 ūrdhvasrāṇīm idam kṛdhi yathā sma te viroḥato abhitaptam  
 ivānati | tatas te ṣuṣmavattaram iyaṁ kṛotv oṣadhīḥ z 4 z  
 apām rasa oṣadhīnām atho vanaspatinām | atho somasya bhrā-  
 tāsy ārcyam asi vṛṣṇyam z 5 z acvasya rcyasya bastasya pu-  
 ruṣasya ca | ya ṛṣabhasya vājās tān asmāi dehy oṣadhe z 6 z  
 saṁ vājā ṛṣabhānām saṁ ṣuṣmā oṣadhīnām | saṁ pūṣām indra  
 vṛṣṇyam asmāi dehi tanūbalaṁ z 7 z dyāgne adya savitar  
 adya deva vṛhaspate | adya me vrahmaṇas pate dhanur ivā  
 tānayā pasah z 8 z ūrdhvās tiṣṭhanti giraya ūrdhvā vātā ud  
 irate | ūrdhvo 'yaṁ māmako māyuh ṣīvāhād ā bhūmyām z 9 z  
 ut tiṣṭho agre vidhonusva vitesv āyantu nānyādyāḥ ato  
 droṣva pāyavaṇ nāvaglāyo 'dhi muṣkayoh z 10 z 5 z anu 1 z

For st. 1a cf. Ppp. 3. 15. 2a where the ms. has *varāho*  
*ṣanad*: in 1b *vratabhāje* seems good though *vratabhāje* might  
 stand, or the *Q. mṛtabhāje*. Our st. 2 appears only in *Kauç.*  
 40. 14. In 4a the general significance of *ūrdhvasrāṇīm* is  
 clear, but the exact meaning I cannot see; if it is to be  
 emended *ūrdhvasrāṇīm* or *ūrdhvasānum* might be acceptable.  
 In 8c *mayūkhi* ought to be considered. The suggestion for  
 10a seems possible; in 10c perhaps *atho dravasva* might stand;  
 but I get nothing satisfactory out of the stanza.

6. [f. 63b, l. 17.]

Q. 4. 5.

hiranyaçrṅgo vṛṣabho yas samadrād udācarat. tenā saha-  
 syenā vayan̄ | na bhūmim̄ vāto vātu nāta pati  
 sūryaḥ z  
 jinaç ca sarvān svāpaya sanaç cendrasakhā caran̄ | vāihye-  
 ṣayā puṣṭhiça-  
 [f. 64a] yā nārīr yā talpaçivare | striyo yāṣ puṇyagandhās  
 tās sarvāt svāpayā-  
 masi | yejan-ejar ajagrabham̄ cakṣuṣ prāṇam̄ ajagrabham̄  
 āṅgāny agrabham̄ sarvā-  
 rātrīṇām̄ uta çarvare z yaste yaç carati. yasya tiṣṭhan̄ vi-  
 paçyati | teṣām̄ sam̄  
 dadhso kṣāṇi yathedaṁ harmyam̄ tathā | sapta mātā sapta  
 pitā saptā çvā sapta  
 vispatiḥ svapantus sarve jñātayas sarvam̄ ni çvājanam̄  
 çayyaḥ svapna  
 svapnādhikaraṇena sarvam̄ ni ṣvapayā jinaṁ | otsūryam̄  
 anyāt svāpaya dvi-  
 ṣam̄ caratād aham̄ indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ. z 1 zz

Read: hiranyaçrṅgo vṛṣabho yas samadrād udācarat | tenā  
 sahasyenā vayan̄ ni janānt svāpayāmasi z 1 z na bhūmim̄  
 vāto ud vāti nāti paçyati sūryaḥ | janānç ca sarvān svāpaya  
 çunaç cendrasakhā caran̄ z 2 z vāihyeçayāṣ puṣṭheçayā nārīr  
 yās talpaçivariḥ | striyo yāṣ puṇyagandhās tās sarvās svāpa-  
 yāmasi z 3 z ejad-ejad ajagrabham̄ cakṣuṣ prāṇam̄ ajagra-  
 bham̄ | āṅgāny agrabham̄ sarvā rātrīṇām̄ uta çarvare z 4 z ya  
 āste yaç ca carati yaç ca tiṣṭhan̄ vipaçyati | teṣām̄ sam̄ dadhmo  
 'kṣāṇi yathedaṁ harmyam̄ tathā z 5 z svaptu mātā svaptu pitā  
 svaptu çvā svaptu viçpatiḥ | svapantu sarve jñātayas sarvam̄  
 ni svājanam̄ çayayaḥ z 6 z svapna svapnādhikaraṇena sarvam̄  
 ni svāpayā janam̄ | otsūryam̄ anyān svāpaya dvyuṣam̄ caratād  
 aham̄ indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ z 7 z 1 z

In the top margin of f. 64a the ms. has ssvā correcting sarvāt svā.

The corrections follow pretty closely the version of Q.: in 5a I have inserted ca in accord with RV. 7. 55. 6a. The



reading of 6d offered is a conjecture, attempting to keep close to the ms., where however a confusion may have arisen by anticipation of 7b; for 6d Ç. has svaptv ayam abhito janaḥ.

7. [f. 64a, l. 7.]

Ç. 2. 33.

akṣībhyām

s te nāsikābhyām karṇābhyāmn āsyād uta | yakṣmaṁ cīrṣa-  
 ṇyam mastiṣkāl la-  
 lātād vi vayemasi | grīvābhyas ta uṣṇihābhyas kīkasābhyo  
 anūkyāḥ ya-  
 kṣmaṁ doṣaṇyam ānsābhyām purasto vi vahāmasi |  
 klomnas te hṛdayābhyo halī-  
 ksmāt pārçvābhyām yakṣma satastābhyām klihaṁyo yatanas  
 te vi varhāmasi | ātre-  
 bhyas te gudābhyo vanugdhyād utarād uta | yakṣmaṁ pā-  
 ṇyor aṅgulibhyo nakhebhyo vi  
 vrhāmasi | hastebhyas te māṇsebhyas srāvabhyo dhama-  
 ni\*ah yakṣmaṁ prṣṭibhyo ma  
 majjabhyo nābhyām vir vahāmasi | ūrūbhyām dveṣṭhivad-  
 bhyām pārṣṇibhyām pupadā-  
 bhyām yakṣmaṁ bhajaddhyām çronibhyām bhaṇsaso vīr  
 vahāmasi | aṅgād-aṅgāl lo-  
 mno-lomno baddham parvaṇi-parvaṇi | yakṣman tatasyām  
 te vayam viṣkaṇcam vi va-  
 rhāmasi | aṅgād-aṅgād aham tava puruṣaḥ. z 2 z

Read: akṣībhyām te nāsikābhyām karṇābhyām āsyād uta |  
 yakṣmaṁ cīrṣaṇyam mastiṣkāl lalātād vi vrhāmasi z 1 z grīvā-  
 bhyas ta uṣṇihābhyas kīkasābhyo anūkyāḥ | yakṣmaṁ doṣaṇyam  
 ānsābhyām urasto vi vrhāmasi z 2 z klomnas te hṛdayābhyo  
 halīksmāt pārçvābhyām | yakṣmaṁ matasnābhyām plihno ya-  
 knas te vi vrhāmasi z 3 z āntrebhyas te gudābhyo †vanugdhyād  
 udarād uta | yakṣmaṁ pāṇyor aṅgulibhyo nakhebhyo vi vrhā-  
 masi z 4 z hastebhyas te māṇsebhyas snāvabhyo dhamani-  
 bhyah | yakṣmaṁ prṣṭibhyo majjabhyo nābhya vi vrhāmasi  
 z 5 z ūrūbhyām te aṣṭhivadbhyām pārṣṇibhyām prapadā-

bhyām | yakṣmañ bhasadyaṁ çronibhyām bhañsaso vi vṛhū-  
masi z 6 z aṅgād-aṅgāl lomno-lomno baddhañ parvañi-par-  
vañi | yakṣmañ tvacasyaṁ te vayañ viṣvañcaṁ vi vṛhāmasi  
z 7 z 2 z

At the beginning of 2d the ms. corrects pu to mu.

In 4b the vanugdhyād of the ms. may be a corruption of  
vaniṣṭhor in Q.; gdhy and ṣṭh are somewhat similar. In 5a  
the asthibhyaṣ of Q. seems better than our hastebhyas, which  
latter might easily be a misreading for the former.

8. [f. 64a, l. 17.]

agne rakṣohā

tigmas tigmacṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ kaviṣ kavitaṁā apāgha-  
çañ-  
sañ duritām sahatām arātiñ pratyāñ pratihaṛaṇenā aghā-  
yate  
[f. 64b] aghaṁ prati harāma | indro rakṣohā z somo ra-  
kṣāuhā z varuṇo rakṣohā z  
vāyu rakṣohā | tvāṣṭā rakṣohā | dhātā rakṣohā z savitā ra-  
kṣohā z  
sūryo rakṣohā z candramā rakṣohā | vṛhaspatī rakṣohā z  
prajāpatī rakṣo-  
hā | parameṣṭhī rakṣohā z tigmas tigmacṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ  
kaviṣ ka-  
vitāmā | apāghaçañsañ duritām sahatām arā\*im \*\*\*\*\*ñ pra-  
tihaṛaṇenā  
aghāyate aghaṁ prati nurāma. z 3 z

Read: agnī rakṣohā tigmas tigmacṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ kaviṣ  
kavitaṁā | apāghaçañsañ duritām sahatām arātiñ pratyāñ  
pratihaṛaṇenā | aghāyate aghaṁ prati harāma z 1 z indro  
rakṣohā . . . z 2 z somo rakṣohā . . . z 3 z varuṇo rakṣohā  
. . . z 4 z vāyū rakṣohā . . . z 5 z tvāṣṭā rakṣohā . . . z 6 z  
dhātā rakṣohā . . . z 7 z savitā rakṣohā . . . z 8 z sūryo  
rakṣohā . . . z 9 z candramā rakṣohā . . . z 10 z vṛhaspatī  
rakṣohā . . . z 11 z prajāpatī rakṣohā . . . z 12 z parameṣṭhī  
rakṣohā tigmas tigmacṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ kaviṣ kavitaṁā | apā-



ghaçaṁsaṁ duritaṁ sahatāṁ arātiṁ pratiyaṁ pratiharāṇenā |  
aghāyate aghaṁ prati harāma z 13 z 3 z

Cf. MS. 1. 5. 1: 67. 5 and TB. 3. 1. 1. 4; 2. 8. In TB. we find apāghaçaṁsaṁ nudatāṁ arātiṁ, which suggests the possibility of prati nudāma here; but harāma is clear in the first writing of the formula and nurāma at the end may well be only the result of confusion of signs.

9. [f. 64b, l. 6.]

Q. 7. 109.

samvasava iti to nāmadhe-  
yam ugraṁpaçyā rāṣṭrabhr̥to hy akṣā | tasmāi ta indo ha-  
viṣā vidhema |  
vayaṁ syāma patayo rayiṇām z yadam ugrāya babhrava  
yo kṣeṣu tanuva-  
çī | ghr̥tena kalpaṁ çikṣāma | sa no mṛdāta idr̥çe | ghr̥tam  
agne a-  
psarābhyo vaha tvaṁ pāṇsuṁ nakhebhyas siktāpaç ca |  
yathābhāgo havyadātiṁ  
juṣaṇo madantu devā ubhayāni havyā yo no devo dhanam  
idaṁ ti-  
deça yo kṣāṇām grahaṇaṁ çaṣaṇaṁ ca | sa no vatu havir  
idaṁ juṣā-  
ṇo gandharvāis sadamādaṁ madema | yāpsarasas sadamā-  
daṁ pādanty anta-  
rā havirdhānam sūryaṁ ca | tā no hastaṁ kṛtena sam  
sr̥jantu sapatnaṁ naṣ ki-  
tavaṁ raṇdhayantu | yad devān tātito huve vrahmacaryaṁ  
yad ūvima | akṣā-  
ṇ yad babhrūṇālabhe tā te no mṛdānta idr̥çe ādinavam  
ity ekā z  
z 4 z

Read: samvasava iti vo nāmadheyam ugraṁpaçyā rāṣṭrabhr̥to  
hy akṣāḥ | tasmāi ta indo haviṣā vidhema vayaṁ syāma patayo  
rayiṇām z 1 z idaṁ ugrāya babhrave yo 'kṣeṣu tanūvaçī |  
ghr̥tena kalpaṁ çikṣāma sa no mṛdātidr̥çe z 2 z ghr̥tam agne

apsarābhyo valha tvaṁ pāṇsūn akṣebhyas sikatā apaç ca | ya-  
 thābhāgo havyadātīm juṣāṇo madantu devā ubhayāni havyā  
 z 3 z yo no devo dhanam idaṁ dideça yo 'kṣāṇāṁ grahaṇāṁ  
 çeṣaṇāṁ ca | sa no 'vatu havir idaṁ juṣāṇo gandharvāis sa-  
 dhamādaṁ madema z 4 z yā apsarasas sadhamādaṁ madanty  
 antarā havirdhānaṁ sūryaṁ ca | tā no hastāṁ kṛtena saṁ  
 sṛjantu sapatnān naç kitavāṁ randhayantu z 5 z yad devān  
 nāthito huve vrahmacaryaṁ yad ūṣima | akṣān yad babhrūn  
 ālebhe te no mṛdantv idrçe z 6 z ādinavam ity ekā z 7 z 9 z

In 2c kalpam seems possible, but it might be only a cor-  
 ruption from kalim (so Ç.) through kalyam; Whitney reports  
 kalyam as the Ppp. reading. In 6b the ms. clearly has  
 ūvima but it does not seem at all acceptable, so I have read  
 with Ç., and in 6c I have taken the suggestion of Bloomfield  
 and Whitney ālebhe. The previous occurrence of st. 7 in this  
 ms., as indicated, must have been in some of the lost portions.  
 The stanza in Ç. reads ādinavaṁ pratidivne ghrtenāsmāñ abhi  
 kṣara | vrkṣam ivāçanyā jahi yo asmān pratidivyati.

10. [f. 64b, l. 17.]

bhagas tveto nayatu hastagrhya vṛhaspatiḥ raetā  
 te astu | devas tvā savitā satyadharopasatyām namasyā  
 kṛṇotu

In pāda b read puraetā; in cd read satyadhara upasadyām  
 namasyām. Pāda a = Ç. 14. 1. 20; pāda b = Ç. 7. 8. 1b.

yām a-  
 çvinā madhukaçām devāgre ajanayaṁ tayā tvā patyām  
 avatām kṛṇvo  
 [f. 65a] madhumatī vayam. z

For b read devā agre ajanayan; if the words are rightly  
 divided in c patyām (occurring also in 3c and 6c) escapes  
 me unless it means "dominion". For d read kṛṇmo madhu-  
 matīm vayam.



uttārā svaçruvā bhava nā-  
nāndud apaçikṣā | viça tvā

patyām kṛṇva bhavā devṛṣu priyaḥ

In a read çvaçruvām, and for b nanāndur upaçikṣāḥ. For c a possible reading is viças tvā patyām kṛvantu (understanding ā + kr): for d read bhavāsi devṛṣu priyā. Cf. Ç. 14. 1. 44; ApMB. 1. 6. 6; SMB. 1. 2. 20.

In the top margin over nanāndud apa the ms. gives ru na.

adbhir āttamānam ta-  
nvaṁ çumbhamānā grhā-  
n prehi mahiṣi bhavāmi | tatra tvāhur grhapatyāya devāḥ  
prajāpatir ja-  
radāṣṭir yathāsat.

In a read āttamānam, in b bhavāsi: in c garhapatyāya. For pāda a cf. Ç. 12. 3. 30b, and for c Ç. 14. 1. 20c.

yad uttaram ārohanṭir vyasyāntiṣ pṛda-  
nyataḥ | adbhi-  
ṣ tvā çattror mūrdhvānam sahaputrā virāḍ bhavaḥ

Read: ud uttaram ārohanṭi vyasyanti pṛtanyataḥ | udbhi-  
ntsva çattror mūrdhvānam sahaputrā virāḍ bhava. z 5 z

This is a variant of ApMB. 1. 6. 5, where pāda c is mūrdhvānam patyur ā roha; our suggestion is only a makeshift.

çvaçrūṇām çvaçurāṇām grṇām  
ca dhanasya ca | vi rāja patyām deveṣu sajātānām virāḍ  
bhava |

In b read grhāṇām, in c devṛṣu, and in d virāḍ. Cf. ApMB. 1. 6. 7.

yad gi-  
rīṣu parvateṣu goṣv aḥveṣu yar madhu | yenākhyābhyāṣi-  
cyanta tenā-  
ham asyā mūrdhvāna abhiṣiñcāmi nāryaḥ |

In a read giriṣu, in b yan; in c yenākṣā abhya°, in d probably mürdhānam, and in e nāryāḥ. Pādas ab = Ç. 9. 1. 18ab; c = Ç. 14. 1. 36c; for the rest cf. SMB. 1. 7. 5.

yad varco gavi kalyāṇe  
yad vā sūrya vase tṛṇe | abhyañjanasya yad varcas tena  
mānājmi varcasā  
z 5 z anu 2 z

Read: yad varco gavi kalyāṇe yad vā sūrye 'vase tṛṇe |  
abhyañjanasya yad varcas tena mānājmi varcasā z 8 z 5 z  
anu 2 z

11. [f. 65a, l. 10.]

yenācarad uṇāṇā kāvyo gre vidvān kratū-  
nām uta devatānām. | sahaḥṛdayena haviṣā juhomi sa-  
dhrīci-  
nam vo mano stūgram | mahat satyaṁ mahad dhavir uṇa-  
nāṣ kāvyo mahān. | devā-  
nām ugrāṇām ṣataṁ ḥṛdayāni sahācara | ahaṁ satyena sa-  
yuj ā-  
carāmy ahaṁ devīm anumati\* pra veda | indredamvānām  
hṛdayaṁ vo stu  
sadhrīcinām vo mano stūgram | tvaṣṭā vāyus kaṣyapa indram  
agnir manasā  
tvāyaṁ haviṣas padena | avindām ṣaktro rajasi praviṣtaṁ  
sadhrīci-  
nam vo mano stūgram | yename dyāvāprthivy ataṣkartur  
yenābhavantarikṣaṁ  
[f. 65b] svar yat. | manasā vidvān haviṣā juhomi sadhrīci-  
nam vo mano stūgram dyāvā-  
prthivī ḥṛdayaṁ sasūvadhri yenedaṁ tvaṣṭā vy akr̥ṇotu  
dhīraḥ tasyā uṇa-  
naṣ kratubhis samvidānaṣ cittaṁ viveda manasi praviṣtaṁ |  
cityaṁ cāitad ākūti-  
tiṣ ca yena devā viṣehire | etat satyasya ṣṛaddhaya ṛṣayas  
sapta juhvatī  
z 1 z



Read: yenācarad uṇāṇā kāvyo 'gre vidvān kratūnām uta devatānām | sahrdayena haviṣā juhomi sadhricinām vo mano 'stūgram z 1 z mahat satyaṁ mahad dhavir uṇāṇā kāvyo mahān | devānām ugrāpām ṣataṁ hrdayāni sahācarā z 2 z ahaṁ satyena sayuj ā carāmy ahaṁ devīm anumatiṁ pra veda | indro devānām hrdayaṁ vo 'stu sadhricinām vo mano 'stūgram z 3 z tvaṣṭā vāyuṣ kacyapa indro agnir manasā tvāyan haviṣas padena | avindan ṛcaktro rajasi praviṣtam sadhricinam vo mano 'stūgram z 4 z yeneme dyāvāprthivi caskambhur yenābhavad antarikṣam svar yat | manasā vidvān haviṣā juhomi sadhricinām vo mano 'stūgram z 5 z dyāvāprthivi hrdayaṁ sasūvāte yenedaṁ tvaṣṭā vy ākr̥notu dhiraḥ | tasyoṇāṇā kratubhis saṁvidānaḥ cittam viveda manasi praviṣtam z 6 z cittam cāitad ākūtiḥ ca yena devā viṣhire | etat satyasya ṇaddhayaḥ ṛṣayas sapta juhvati z 7 z 1 z

In the right margin of f. 65a opposite l. 11 is dhrici; and in the top margin of f. 65b is ṛi perhaps intended to correct sasūvadhri.

In 2b and 6a it might be well to write uṇāṇāḥ. In 4c I incline to think cittam a probable reading. In 5a the reading of the ms. may be ataṣkantur; it seems probable that a form of skambh is intended.

12. [f. 65b, l. 5.]

Q. 4. 31.

tvayā manyo saratham ārujanta ṛṣamāṇāso ṛṣadā marutvaṁ

tikṣṇa iṣava āyudhā saṁṣiṇānopa pra yanti nara agnirūpāḥ  
agnir i-

va manyo ttvāra sāsahasvas senānīn nas sahure huta edhi  
jivvāya ṣattrū-

nvi bhajāsu veda | oja mimāno vi mṛdho nudamba sahasva  
manyo abhimā-

tim ammahe rujan mṛṇan prehi ṣatṛn. | ugram te ṇaddho  
nanv ā rurugle va-

cī vaçaṁ nayāsaha ekaja dhvaṁ eko bahūnām asi manyam  
 īdatāṣ pa-  
 cūn-paṣcūn yuddhāya saṁciṣādhi | akṛdyaduda kayā ajā  
 vyaṁ  
 dyumantaṁ ghoṣaṁ vijayāya kṛṇmahe | vijeṣakṛd indra  
 ivānava-  
 vravo smākam manyom adhipā bhaveha | viyaṁ te nāma  
 sahure gr-  
 ṇāmasi vidmā tam utsaṁ yava ābabhūtha | ābhūtyā sahasā  
 vajra  
 sāyakas saho bibharṣy abhibhūta uttaram | kratvā no manyo  
 saha ma-  
 dy edhi mahādhanasya puruhūta saṁ sṛji z saṁsṛṣṭan  
 dhanam ubhayaṁ  
 samākṛtam asmabhyaṁ dattaṁ varuṇa ca manyo | bhiyo  
 dadhānā hṛdayeṣu  
 çattravaḥ parājitā yaṁtu paramāṁ parāvataṁ z z z

Read: tvayā manyo saratham ārujanta ṛṣamūṇāso dhṛṣatā  
 marutvan | tikṣṇeṣava āyudhā saṁciṣānā upa pra yanti naro  
 agnirūpāḥ z 1 z agnir iva manyo tvara sāsahasva senānir nas  
 sahure hūta edhi | jitvāya çatrūn vi bhajasva veda ojo mimāno  
 vi mṛdho nudasva z 2 z sahasva manyo abhimātīm asme rujan  
 mṛṇan pramṛṇan prehi çatrūn | ugraṁ te çardho nanv ā ru-  
 rujre vaçī vaçaṁ nayāsā ekaja tvam z 3 z eko bahūnām asi  
 manyav īdatāṣ paṣcūn-paṣcūn yuddhāya saṁ ciṣādhi | akṛttaruk  
 tvayā yujā vyaṁ dyumantaṁ ghoṣaṁ vijayāya kṛṇmahe z 4 z  
 vijeṣakṛd indra ivānavavravo smākam manyo adhipā bhaveha |  
 priyaṁ te nāma sahure grṇāmasi vidmā tam utsaṁ yata āba-  
 bhūtha z 5 z ābhūtyā sahasā vajra sāyaka saho bibharṣy abhi-  
 bhūta uttaram | kratvā no manyo saho medy edhi mahādha-  
 nasya puruhūta saṁsṛji z 6 z saṁsṛṣṭan dhanam ubhayaṁ sa-  
 mākṛtam asmabhyaṁ dattaṁ varuṇa ca manyo | bhiyo da-  
 dhānā hṛdayeṣu çattravaḥ parājitā yaṁtu paramāṁ parāvataṁ  
 z 7 z 2 z

In the TB. version of st. 1b (TB. 2. 4. 1. 10) harṣamūṇāso  
 stands, and it might well be read here. The reading of our  
 ms. in 4a does not seem to offer any help; I have adopted  
 the RV. reading. For 7d Q. and RV. have parājitāso apa  
 ni layantām.

In 2d the ms. corrects to nudasva.



13. [f. 65b, l. 18.]

Ç. 2. 25 (in part).

vī prṣṇyaparṇy açam nirṛtaye karat. | ugrā hi kaṇvajambha-  
nī tām

[f. 66a] tvāhārṣam sahasvatī |

In pāda a read prṣṇiparṇy, in b 'karat; in d sahasvatīm.

sadānvāghnī prathamā prṣṇyaparṇy ajāyata | tayā  
kaṇvasyām ciraç chinadmi çakunīr iva z

Below the line after prathamā a colon is indicated. Read  
prṣṇiparṇy in b, kaṇvasya in c, and çakuner in d.

ūrjabhṛtam prāṇabhṛtam pra-  
jānām upatarpanīm | sarvās tvā prṣṇyaparṇī yataṣ kṇvā  
anī-  
çat. |

In b read upatarpanīm; probably ūrjabhṛtam can stand in  
this form. There seems to be reference here to female kṇvās,  
so for the second hemistich we may read sarvās tvām prṣṇi-  
parṇy ataṣ kṇvā anīnaçah.

samākṛtīn āniradāta stīrṇaçṛṇgeva ṛṣabhaḥ rāyam ka  
kaṇvam pāpmānam prṣṇyaparṇī mahambatī |

I have not been able to get a satisfactory form for pāda  
a; sam ākṛtīr anīnaçah may be something like what was in-  
tended. In b read stīrṇaçṛṇga iva: in c arāyam kaṇvam, and  
for d prṣṇiparṇī sahasvatī.

tvam agre prṣṇiparṇy agnir i-  
va prṇvahi kṇvā jīvitayopanī | grāmeṇā veçaya tamān-  
sī yatra vā çchās tat pāpīr apa pātayah

It seems best to put these six pādas into one stanza; they are parallel to parts of stt. 4 and 5 in Q. With some bold emendations we may read: tvam agre pr̥cipar̥ṇi agnir iva pranudann ihi | kaṇvā jivitayopanir girim enā ā veçaya | tamānsi yatra vā chāyās tat pūpir apa pātayaḥ z 5 z

rāyam asṛkpāvānaṁ yaç ca sphā-  
tim jahirṣati | garbhādaṁ kaṇvaṁ nāçayaṁ pr̥ṣṇyapar̥ṇi  
sahasvatī |

Read arāyam in a, jirṣati in b; probably nāçaya in c; for d pr̥cipar̥ṇi sahasvatī.

ā no gāyāno gr̥hān yā ca sphātim upāharān | ugre pr̥ṣṇya-  
par̥ṇi-  
s tam kaṇ kaṇvām ānaçāitaḥ z 3 z

Read: ya no gayān yā no gr̥hān yā ca sphātim upāharan | ugre pr̥cipar̥ṇi tvam tam kaṇvām ānaçayetaḥ z 7 z 3 z

#### 14. [f. 66a, l. 10.]

yasminn āsistihita i-  
d antaḥ chalyo veṇur veṣṭanaṁ tejanaṁ ca | māu nirjanitri  
janayehi  
çṛṇvam ayaṁ tātum ayata hitu prahita |

In pāda a a possible reading might be āsit sthita id antaḥ; the regular sandhi would then call for çalyo in b. For c perhaps so nirjanitri janayeha sṛṇyam is possible, and for d perhaps iyaṁ tātum etu hetuḥ prahita. These are merely suggestions, and to call them possible may be too bold.

asti bhittvā yada majja-  
ṣ pāpātha yadi vā saritaḥ puruṣaṁ nikāme | urvīm gavyū-  
tis aty ehy a-  
rvāñ. paçcād açmīn uddhataḥ sūryasya |



In a read *asthi* and *yadi majjñas papātha*, in b *sṛtaṣ* and *nikṣāse*. In c read *gavyūtim*, in d *raçmīn*.

mātariçvān pavamānāstvā-  
yam sūryābhrājan tanvādṛcekāḥ | asno gandhāt puṁsaḥ  
praty avasva vi-  
mucyasva yo nyayāste tra |

For a b we may probably read *mātariçvan pavamānāstv* *ayam sūryabhrājan tanvām ḍṛekāḥ*; in d *yo 'nya āste 'tra*.

praty avasvātāu saty ehy arvāṅk  
tāns te vidma ba-  
hudhāva vīrye | imās svasāro ayam it pitā cayaṁ te mâte-  
mam e-  
hi bandhum |

For a the best reading I can get is *praty avasva tān aty ehy arvāṅ*, and in b perhaps *vīryāya*. The second hemistich is good if we read *pitā ceyam*.

amitrāir astvā yadi vā sumitrāir devāir vā  
deva prahitāva-  
[f. 66b] çṛṣṭāvadvān. çṛgaṁ puruṣe jahātī z çṛṅgo çikharas  
saṁ sṛjāmi-  
taḥ

In a read *amitrāir* and *sumitrāir*, and perhaps *astā* for *astvā*; in b *devi prahitāvasṛṣṭā*; in c probably *āvidhyān sṛgaṁ*. For d I would read *çṛṅgī çikharas saṁ sṛjāsitaḥ*; but an instrumental case would seem preferable to *itaḥ*. The ms. corrects to *sṛgaṁ* in c.

siṣāsi sakto yadi vāsy agre yadi vāsy aritaḥ puruṣa-  
sya māmse  
dadhrṁ paçān upavṛjya muktākṣi çalyaṣ kṛṇutām āyinā-  
yahastā

In a we might read *çikhāsi*; in b *ṛtaḥ*. In c read *dadhrk paçān upavrajya +muktākṣi*; possibly *moktā* is intended. In

d I can only suggest āyino ahastān; there is no sign of the end of the stanza.

(hastā)bhy a-  
staṁ ṣamayo bhriyamāṇo vahiṣṭhāpacyām vīrudhām bale-  
na | adbhiṣ prā-  
nakta syās satyaktaḥ koṣe jāminām nihataṁ hy aṁsaḥ.

Perhaps a possible form for pādas ab is abhy āstām samo yo bhriyamāṇo vahiṣṭhāpacyām vīrudhām balena; all but the last two words appear very uncertain. For c it seems as if we might have adbhiṣ praniktaḥ syās satyaniktaḥ; or perhaps we might read adbhiṣ prāpaktu yas satyaktaḥ. For d read koṣe jāminām nihataṁ hy aṁcuḥ.

ṣaṣṭirātre ṣa-  
ṣṭiṣasya ṣalyasya paridhiṣ kṛtaḥ yatas tvam adya devayam  
āsthā |  
nā ṣyāvayāmasi |

Read: ṣaṣṭirātre ṣaṣṭikasya ṣalyasya paridhiṣ kṛtaḥ | yatas tvam adya devīm āsthānāt ṣyāvayāmasi z 8 z 4 z

In pāda a ṣaṣṭikasya seems preferable to the possible(?) vocative ṣaṣṭiṣasya. In c devayam might be acceptable.

There are some indications that this is a charm to accompany the making of an arrow; but the whole thing is unclear to me and the suggestions offered are based only on possibilities of the palaeography of this ms.

15. [f. 66 b, l. 7.]

Q. 4. 12.

saṁ majā majjñā bhavatu saṁ u te pa-  
ruṣā paruḥ saṁ  
te mānsasya visrastāṁ saṁstrāvam asu parva te |

Read majjā in pāda a, put colon after paruḥ, and read saṁstrāvam astu in d.



majjñā majjñā saṁ dhīyatā-  
m adhnāstha vi rohatu | srāva te saṁ dadhmā snārdhnā  
carmanā carma roha-  
tū

Read majjā for the first word in a, asthnāsthi in b; for c read snāva te saṁ dadhmaḥ snāvnā, in d rohatu.

loma lomnā saṁ dhīyatām tvacam saṅkalpayā tvacam |  
asṛk te snā  
rohatu mānsam mānsena rohatu |

For b read tvacā saṁ kalpayā tvacam; in c read 'snā.

rohiṇī saṁrohiṇy āthnaç çirṇasya  
rohiṇī rohiṇī rohiṇyām arha, ātāsi rohiṇy asy oṣadhe

The consistent reading of rohiṇī here probably has no significance; and there seems to be a dittography after çirṇasya. Something like the following might be considered possible: rohiṇī saṁrohaniy asy asthnaç çirṇasya rohiṇī | rohaniyām arha abhāsi rohiṇy asy oṣadhe.

ya-  
d a çirṇe yad a dyuttam asthi peṣtam tātpunaḥ | dhātā tat  
sarvaṁ kalpayā  
yā maṁ dadhata paruṣā paruḥ |

Read: yad u çirṇam yad u dyuttam asthi peṣtam ta ātmanah | dhātā tat sarvaṁ kalpayāt saṁ dadhat paruṣā paruḥ.

Whitney reports for Ppp. reading in cd kalpayāt saṁ dadat.

yadi vajro viṣṛṣṭā sthālakā  
jātu patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam | vṛkṣād vā yadi vāvibhyasi  
çī-  
rṣarbhūr iti sa evam san dhāmi te paruḥ

In a read vakro and sthālakā; and in b viriṣṭā would seem a little better. In c the intensive of vyadh seems to be

intended and we may probably read vāvyadhyase; unless we may read vā vidhyase which does not seem to me as good; with \*blur the rest may stand I think.

ut tiṣṭha prehi sam u dhā-  
hi te paruḥ sam te dhātā dadhātu tanno viriṣṭām rathasya  
cakra pyupava-

[f. 67a] r yathāiryathāiti sukhasya nābhiṣ prati tiṣṭha evam  
z 5 z anu 3 zz

Read: ut tiṣṭha prehi sam u dhāhi te paruḥ sam te dhātā  
dadhātu tanvo viriṣṭam | rathas sucakras supavir yathāiti su-  
khas sunābhiṣ prati tiṣṭha evam z 7 z 5 z anu 3 z

With the corrections suggested the form of this hymn be-  
comes fairly satisfactory: it varies notably from the version of  
Q., and generally for the better.

16. [67a, l. 2.]

Cf. RV. 1. 191. 1—7 passim.

udyann ādityo guṇān hantu sūryo nimrocān raçmibhir u  
vantu | tāvan no a-

dhi samhataṁ apsarā mūlam aghanad gandharvaṣ pary  
avravit. tena vo vattrā-

hā sūryo ni jassyān ni mṛtrata ghnām | guṇām hantv ā-  
yatī ghnān hantu

parāyatī ghrāṇān vaghnatī hantu ghuṇān pinaṣṭi piçatīm  
ghu-

nānaṣ kiñ caneha vaḥ prativuddhā abhūtana | pradoṣam  
taskara iva |

guṇānā madhyata jyeṣṭhaṣ kaniṣṭhā uta madhyamaḥ hatā  
vā sarve jñā-

tayo hatā mātā hataṣ pitā yathā phena udaye dadṛçāno  
ni

jasyatu evān vayan ghuṇān sarvān sākam vācā ni jāsa-  
yāma-



si | ni gāmvo goṣṭhe asadan ni mṛgāso avikṣata | nityam  
 ādi-  
 tya raçmibhir ghrāṇān sarvān ajījaśaḥ udyān rathīn ā ta-  
 nuṣva bā-  
 ṇa vabhi sam arpayā | ghrāṇā tvam parvaṇāditya ghorayā  
 tanvā ta-  
 paḥ. z 1 z

Read: udyann ādityo ghrāṇān hantu sūryo nimrocān raçmi-  
 bhir u hantu | tāvan no adhi samhatam z 1 z apsarā mūlam  
 akhanad gandharvaṣ pary avravīt | tena vo vṛtrahā sūryo ni  
 jasyān ni tṛmrata ghrāṇān z 2 z ghrāṇān hantv āyati ghrāṇān  
 hantu parāyati | ghrāṇān avaghnati hantu ghrāṇān pināṣti  
 piṇṣati z 3 z ghrāṇāṣ kiṁ caneha vaḥ | pratibuddhā abhūtana  
 pradoṣaṁ taskara iva z 4 z ghrāṇānām madhyato jyesthaṣ  
 kaniṣṭha uta madhyamaḥ | hatā vas sarve jñātayo hatā mātā  
 hataṣ pitā z 5 z yathā phena udake dadṛcāno ni jasyati |  
 evā vyaṁ ghrāṇān sarvān sākaṁ vācā ni jāsayāmasi z 6 z ni  
 gāvo goṣṭhe asadan ni mṛgāso avikṣata | nityam āditya raçmi-  
 bhir ghrāṇān sarvān ajījaśaḥ z 7 z udyān raçmīn ā tanuṣva  
 bāṇā vabhi sam arpayā | ghrāṇān tvam parvaṇāditya ghorayā  
 tanvā tapaḥ z 8 z 1 z

It seems clear that there are eight stanzas here, but the  
 first and fourth each lack a pāda: in st. 1 I believe it was  
 pāda c, and in st. 4 pāda b. For the missing(?) pāda of st. 1  
 we have no hint, but we can see a parallel for a first hemistich  
 of st. 4 in RV. 1. 191. 7cd adṛṣṭāḥ kiṁ caneha vaḥ sarve  
 sākaṁ ni jasyata. In st. 2d ni mṛdnād might be read. Our  
 st. 3 is a variant of RV. 1. 191. 2; for our 4cd cf. RV. st.  
 5; our 7ab = RV. 4ab = Q. 6. 52. 2ab.

17. [f. 67a, l. 13.]

Contains Q. 7. 56. 8; 6. 138. 3ab: RV. 1. 191. 13—15.

yānataṣ paraṇato dāror ivāpataksaṇam | ça-  
 rkoṣo nāma vāsi kutaṣ tvam vithavānaça |

Read vā asi in pāda c, and viṣavān asi in d.

ya ubhayena praharasi

puçchena cāsyena ca | yāsyē cana te viṣaṁ kutas te pu-  
çchadhāv asat.

Read āsyē in c, and pucchadhāv in d. Ç. 7. 56. 8cd has āsyē na te viṣaṁ kim u te pucchadhāv asat; but it does not seem necessary to have a negative in our pāda c.

vi-

dapsutaçya dānavasya tasya tvaṁ naṣād asi | tasyāgre ra-  
saṁ viṣaṁ ta-  
tas tvardhārasaṁ viṣaṁ |

The general import of the first hemistich is fairly clear, I believe; for vidapsutaçya I have thought of yad apsu tasya, or else some form of vi+dabh; for naṣād perhaps we might read niṣad in the sense of "abode". In pāda c read 'rasaṁ, and in d possibly tavārasaṁ.

rasārasaṁ tvākaraṁ vadhre va-  
dhriṁ tvākaraṁ vadhriṁ

tvā cakrun devā amṛtāsāsuraṁ |

In a read arasārasaṁ, at the end of b tvākaram; in c cakrun for d probably amṛtāso asuram iva.

yattakaṣ kakumbhakas takam bhi-

[f. 67b] nadmi taṁ mayā | tato viṣaṁ parā sica | sapācīm  
anu saṁvitaṁ

Read: iyattakaṣ kuṣumbhakas takam bhinadmi taṁ mayā |  
tato viṣaṁ parā sicam apācīm anu saṁvataṁ z 5 z

RV. has açmanā at the end of b which is better than taṁ mayā, if the latter is really possible. Perhaps sica would be better in c.

imaḥ pa-

çcā mayūryas sapta svasāro agruvaḥ | tās te viṣaṁ vi jahur  
udakaṁ kumbhi-  
nir iva | kūpāt kulajanir iva |



Read: imāḥ paçcād mayūryas sapta svasāro agruvaḥ | tās  
te viṣam vi jahur udakaṁ kumbhinir iva kūpāt kulajanir iva  
z 6 z

RV. has pañca in a, in c it has jabhrira ° °. Whether there  
is really a fifth pāda seems to me doubtful.

navānām navatīnām ity ekā z z

z 2 z

The reference here is to Ppp. 3. 9. 7 which was edited as  
follows: navānām navatīnām viṣasya ropuṣṇām | sarvāsām agra-  
bham nāma vitāpetārasam viṣam.

18. [f. 67b, l. 4.]

vrātam aha sapakṣiṇām | vrātam tuṇḍīyaçām uta |  
vrātam

vuddhirbalānām aham pradhvām rakṣā iva cātaye |

Removing the colon after pāda a and reading tuṇḍīyasām  
we have a good hemistich. In c vṛddhabalānām would seem  
good; in d pratyāṇ rakṣa iva seems to me the most plausible  
suggestion.

pravaktā pramā-  
dāitā nibhrā tandrīs titīyaka | tām jaṅgitrasyāgninā sarvaṁ  
apa  
yajāmasi |

The margin has mahi correcting yajāmasi.

In pāda a we might read prasūdhaye tām, for b nidrā  
tandrīs trītyakāḥ: in cd read tām jaṅgidasyāgninā sarvāṁ apa  
yajāmahi.

açundhān naṣ pari pāhi rakṣobhya uta jaṅginah  
yā-

tudhānāt kimīdinah tasmān naṣ pāhi jaṅgiduh

Read açundhān in a, jaṅgiḍa in b, kimīdinas in c, and jaṅgiḍa in d. The ms. corrects jaṅgiduḥ to jaṅgiḍaḥ.

vatsarābhyo gandha-  
rvebhyo devebhyo asurebhyāḥ yātudhānāt kimīdinaḥ tasmān  
naṣ pā-  
tum jaṅgiduḥ

Read apsarābhyo in a, kimīdinas in c, and pātum jaṅgiḍaḥ in d.

ni te çatrūn dati devo agnis trir arātum asitam  
yātudhānān ā yāhi çatrūn duritāpaghnāyānsa tām no ya-  
kṣmebhyah  
pari pāhi jaṅgiḍaḥ ni te çatṛn dahati devo gñin nir arātum  
asitam  
yātudhānān ā yāhi çatṛ duritāpaghnāyānsa tām no ya-  
kṣmebhyah |  
pari pāhi jaṅgiḍaḥ

Read: nis te çatrūn dahati devo agnir nir arātim asitam  
yātudhānam | ā yāhi çatrūn duritān apāghāyāns tām no ya-  
kṣmebhyah pari pāhi jaṅgiḍa z 5 z

The extensive dittography is clear. The emendation in pāda c is not beyond criticism.

akarmāgnim adhipām asya devam anv āra-  
psva sahasā dāivyena | sahasvān nas sahasā pātu jaṅgiḍo  
yato ja-  
yema pṛtanājyeṣu

Read jaṅgiḍo in c.

satyo gnis satyāpaḥ satye me dyāvāpṛthivi  
viçvaçambhū satyam idam vrahmāsmākaṁ kṛtam astu | yam  
abadhnād uçane-  
ndrāya tam te badhnāmi jaṅgiḍam z 3 z

Read: satyo gnis satyā āpaḥ satye ime dyāvāpṛthivi | viçva-



çambhu satyam idam vrahmāsmākaṁ kṛtam astu | yam aba-  
dhnād uçanendrāya tam te badhnāmi jaṅgiḍam z 7 z 3 z

19. [f. 67 b, l. 18.]

Cf. RV. 1. 191, 10-12, 14.

iyantikā çakuntikā

[f. 68 a] sakhā jaghāsa te viṣaṁ | maham mṛṣy asāu asāu  
puruṣo mṛtaḥ sa ja

na marāti mā vyaṁ marāmāre bhyojanaṁ hṛiṣṭhā madhu  
tvā madhulāka-

rat. sūryaṁ viṣa saṁsrjāmi dvitīyaṁ surāvato grhe | tri-  
suptā viṣpū-

liṅgakā viṣasya puṣpakas akṣan ā | ālvantarotaṁ viṣaṁ vi-  
tārī ka-

rambho rasaṁ viṣaṁ vār ugram arasaṁ viṣaṁ agniḥ ca  
viçvacarṣaṇiḥ çakunti-

kā me vṛavid viṣapuṣpaṁ dhayantikāḥ na ropayati na mā-  
dayati na

viṣaṁ hanti pāuruṣaṁ | mahamṛṣamāu asāu puruṣo mṛtaḥ  
sa ja na

na marāti mā vyaṁ madāmāre syojanaṁ hariṣṭhā maru  
tvā madhulāka-

rat. navānām navatīnām ity etā z 4 z

Read: iyantikā çakuntikā sakā jaghāsa te viṣaṁ | †maham  
mṛṣy† asāv asāu puruṣo 'mṛtaḥ | sa cin nu na marāti mā va-  
yaṁ marāmāre 'sya yojanaṁ hariṣṭhā madhu tvā madhulāka-  
rat z 1 z sūrye viṣaṁ saṁsrjāmi dṛtiṁ surāvato grhe | †ma-  
ham \* \* | sa \* \* \* z 2 z tris sapta viṣpuliṅgakā viṣasya puṣpa-  
kam akṣan | †maham \* \* | tāç cin nu na maranti mā \* \* \* z 3 z  
†ālvantarotaṁ viṣaṁ vitārī karambho 'rasaṁ viṣaṁ | †maham  
\* \* | sa \* \* \* z 4 z vār ugram arasaṁ viṣaṁ agniḥ ca viçvacarṣa-  
ṇiḥ | †maham \* \* | sa \* \* \* z 5 z çakuntikā me 'vṛavid viṣa-  
puṣpaṁ dhayantikā | na ropayati na sādāyati na viṣaṁ hanti  
pāuruṣam | †mahamṛṣ† asāv asāu puruṣo 'mṛtaḥ | sa cin nu na

marāti mā vayan marāmāre 'sya yojanaṁ hariṣṭhā madhu tvā  
madhulākarat z 6 z navānām mavatinām ity ekā z 7 z 4 z

The hymn is given thus en bloc to display the more clearly what seems to me the intention of the ms. in respect to the refrain. Good work in textual criticism has been marred by theories of responsion: but the repetition in RV. 1. 191. 10—13 and the habit of this ms. as seen in hymn 8 of this book, or Bk. 3. 9 and 15, gives strong reason for the arrangement. But st. 6 as given is not symmetrical with the others; its pādas abc plus arasaṁ sūryaṁ viṣam appear as a complete stanza on f. 115b. In view of this it might seem good to write the refrain only in stt. 1—5.

For our 8a RV. has sūrye viṣam ā sajāmi; which may be intended here. In 4a there seems to be a possibility that some form of ālu is present, and then perhaps cārkoṭaṁ viṣam. Our 5a has appeared Ppp. 3. 9. For st. 7 cf. no. 17 of this book.

20. [f. 68a, l. 9.]

madhumatī patye ssi

yajñārāya madhumattaraḥ atho madhumavyase bhaṁso ma-  
dhon nipatane haṁ

In pādas a b it would seem possible to read \*syāṁ jārāya madhumattarā; the verb probably should be in the first person and to read 'smi would leave "yaj" unaccounted for. In c I can only suggest madhumad yaço me. Pāda d seems clearly to begin bhaṁso madhor, after which nipatanam if that may mean "abiding-place"; I do not believe aham is here, but it might belong to st. 2a.

madhu-

nā mā saṁsrjāmi māsureṇa surām iva | vāṇ mahyaṁ ma-  
dhunā saṁsrṣṭā-

kṣāu mī madhusaṁdrṣī

In d read \*kṣyāu me; cf. Ç. 7. 36. 1a.



madhu dyāur madhu pṛthivī madhv  
indro madhu sūryaḥ |  
striyo yā jajñire madhu tābhyo haṁ madhumattaraḥ

In d read 'haṁ madhumattarā.

madhumatīr uṣadhaya ā-  
po madhumatīr uta | gāvo yā jajñire dhu tābhyo haṁ ma-  
dhumattaraḥ

In a read oṣadhaya, in c madhu, in d 'haṁ madhumattarā.

madhu-  
r jāto madhuga vīrudhām balavattamaḥ | tenāhaṁ sarvasmāi  
puse kṛṇve  
nikaraṇam hṛdi |

Read for a madhor jāto madugho; cf. Q. 5. 4. 1ab: in c  
read puṁse.

yathāçvo bandhaneṣṭho vaḍavām abhi dhā-  
vati | evā  
tvam ugra oṣadhe muṁ kanikradatim ā naya  
In d read 'muṁ kanikradatam.

aṅgo namo divi  
çvaso aṅgo na-  
mo divi stanah anyā vivitsamāno anyāḥ parājighāṁsan. | |  
[f. 68b] mām anu vra te manaç chāyāyantum ivā nayat.  
z 5 z anuvā 4 zz

Read: aṅgonnamas divi çvaso aṅgonnamas divi stanah | anyā  
vivitsamāno anyāḥ parājighāṁsan | mām anu pra te manaç  
çayyāyām tam ivā nayat z 7 z 5 z anu 4 z

The reading suggested for the first hemistich is very close  
to the ms., but I am not altogether confident about it; the  
second hemistich seems fairly good. Pāda e = Q. 3. 18. 6c;  
in pāda f I have also thought of çāyantam or chāyāyantram;  
but in any case this pāda does not seem to follow up pāda e  
very well.

21. [f. 68 b, l. 2.]

khananti tvā tayimātādāmārasi bāhavaḥ dāsasya prakrīd  
 usy uta kha  
 im arasasaṁ viṣaṁ |

In ab read tāimātādā, and for the rest of b māro 'si bāhvoḥ might be possible. In c I have thought of prakrīr asy uta, for which cf. Q. 4. 7. 6: for d kha idam arasam viṣam seems probable. A plant-name in the vocative seems to follow tvā; cf. the following verse which occurs f. 115a l. 12 and 13: aṣyatthe nihataṁ viṣaṁ kapagle nihataṁ viṣaṁ ṣilāyāṁ jajñe tāimātaḥ prathamō viṣadūṣaṇi. This seems to throw some light on our pāda a.

idarnti tvā karkataṇḍaḥ kurumgā adhi sāniṣu |  
 pāpī jagdhi prasūr asy atriṣāte na ra rūrupaḥ |

For ab read adanti tvā karkataṇḍa kuraṅgā adhi sāniṣu. In c pāpīr seems probable; for d read abhrikhāte na rūrupaḥ. Pāda d is Q. 4. 7. 5d, which appears Ppp. 2. 1. 4d and 5d where abhrikhāte should have been read.

ava jṣām iva dhanvi-  
 naḥ ṣuṣmaṁ tanomī te viṣaḥ | parā roraṇsya pātaya sūrya-  
 pūrvā ṣa-  
 voṣasuḥ

For ab read ava jṣām iva dhanvinaḥ ṣuṣmaṁ tanomī te viṣa; cf. Q. 6. 42. 1ab. In pāda c we seem to find parā+pat, and for roraṇsya we might consider rohāṇsi; parā rohāṇsi pataya is the suggestion for c. In d sūryapūrvā seems good and inclines one to think of uṣasaḥ at the end; but a marginal correction reads vaṣoṣamaḥ. I can get nothing further here.

sinduḥ paṣcāt parihitas sūryasyodayanaṁ puraḥ  
 tato yad anta-  
 rā viṣaṁ tat sarvaṁ vidūṣaṇaṁ |



Read *viṣadūṣaṇam* in d: pāda b — VāDh. 1. 15b and Ppp. 4. 22. 3b. Read *sindhuṣ* in a.

madhu tvā madhukṛt kṛṇotu pituṁ tvā pitu-  
kṛt kṛṇotu | tato niṣadya pātaye radho vāya tiṣṭhate |

In c pataye (2nd sg. opt.) would seem preferable: in d  
rādho 'vāya.

jaghāsa tvā lo-  
makaṇyas tan mām upariṣṇyāparud dāimāiḥ cakrire srja  
sarvaṁ nvaiṣajo vi-  
ṣaṁ |

In pāda I think we may take *jaghāsa* as 1st person and  
read a vocative after *tvā*; perhaps *lomakaṇṭa* is possible, as a  
plant name. For b I can only suggest (with little confidence)  
*tan mām upariṣaṇyāpāt*. For cd it seems possible to read *ud*  
*dhūmāiḥ cakrire mṛjaṁ sarvaṁ bhīṣajo viṣaṁ*. With such  
corrections the stanza could be translated, I believe.

urvyā urakṣatas turāyāturasya ca | bhūmyā hi jagra-  
bhaṁ nāma viṣaṁ  
vārayatam iti viṣaṁ dūṣayatād iti z 1 z

Read: *urvyā urakṣatas turasyāturasya ca | bhūmyā hi ja-  
grabhaṁ nāma viṣaṁ vārayatām iti viṣaṁ dūṣayatām iti*  
z 7 z 1 z

22. [f. 68 b, l. 11.]

ahaṁ vā i-  
ndram ātaram indro mām indrabhrātaraṁ indrādi vakrām  
vīrudham arṣaṁ vi-  
ṣadūṣaṇi |

For the first hemistich I can offer only what the trans-  
literation gives, and that seems a very doubtful text: *indrād*

u might be considered in c. In d we would probably be safe in reading abarṣaṁ viṣadūṣaṁ, or ariṣaṁ.

yadi kici padvat sabhavad yāt kāṇḍe yaç ca  
puṣpavat.

ud ejitu prajāpatis sarvaṁ tad viṣadūṣaṁ.

Here we might read in a yat kiṁ cit and çaphavad, in b yat and yac; in c read ejatu as in Ç. 4. 4. 2c.

sindhuṣ paçcā-  
d varuṇas sūryasyodayanaṁ punaḥ tato yad antarā viṣaṁ  
tad vācā dū-  
ṣayāmasi |

The sign "v" in viṣaṁ in pāda d is imperefect; and a period after viṣaṁ is suggested.

In a read varuṇasya, in b puraḥ. Cf. st. 3 of preceding hymn.

yāvat sūryo dhipati yāvaç cā dyā vapaçyati | tāva-  
d viṣasya dūṣaṁ vaco nir mantrayāmahe |

In a read 'dhipatir, for b yāvac ca dyāur vipaçyati. With our a b cf. Ç. 10. 10. 4d.

jihvā me madhusaṁsrā-  
[f. 69a] vā jihvā me madhuvādinī | jihve varcasvatī bhava  
sāpa te puruṣo ri-  
ṣat. |

In d read māpa te. Ç. 19. 39. 2c is na ghāyaṁ puruṣo riṣat.

hā hī kalyāṇi subhage prṣṇiparṇy anāture | imaṁ me  
adya

pāruṣaṁ dīrghāyutvāyo anvayaḥ

In b read prṣṇiparṇy, in c pūruṣaṁ; and for d probably dīrghāyutvāyānu nayāḥ.



yā dyo varṣantu vr̥ṣṭayo yābhi-  
r jīvāntv aghnyā ta me viṣasya dūṣaṇīs savitā kāçayat.  
z 2 z

Read: yā dyor varṣanti vr̥ṣṭayo yābhir jīvanty aghnyāḥ |  
tā me viṣasya dūṣaṇīs savitā tā ākāçayat z 7 z 2 z

23. [f. 69a, l. 5.]

Q. 19. 46.

prajāpatiṣ tvā badhnātu prathamā ambhṛtaṁ vīryāya  
kam | taṁ te badhnāmy āyu-  
ṣe varcasojase ca balāya cāstṛtaṣ tvābhi rakṣatu | ūrdhvas  
tiṣṭhaṁ ra-  
kṣaṁn apramādas ambhṛtemanu mā tvā dabhaṁ paṇayo  
yātudhānām indrīva  
va dhasyū davi dhūṣva pr̥danyataḥ sarvāṅç chatṛṇ vi ṣa-  
hasvāstṛtaḥ ghṛtā-  
tullabdho madhuvāṁ payasvā sahasraṁprāṇaç çatayonir  
vayodhā çambhū-  
ç ca mayobhūç corjasvāṅç ca payasvāṅç cāstṛtaḥ asmin ma-  
nām ekaça-  
taṁ vīryāṇi sahasraṁ prāṇā yasminn astrire | vyāghra  
çatṛṇ abhi  
tiṣṭha sarvān yas tvā pr̥denyād adharas so stv astṛtaḥ çā-  
taṁ cana prahara-  
nto bhijanto na tastreire | yasmin indraḥ pary adhatta ca-  
kṣuṣ prāṇam a-  
tho balas ambhṛtaḥ indrasya tvā varmaṇā pari dhāmo pu-  
nas tvā devā |  
paṇayantu sarve tvastṛtaḥ yathā tvam uttaro sāu sapatnas  
sapatnahā sa-  
jātānām aso vaçī tathā tvā savitā karad astṛtas tvā abhi  
rakṣa-  
tu z 3 z

Read: prajāpatiṣ tvā badhnātu prathamam astṛtaḥ vīryāya  
kam | taṁ te badhnāmy āyuṣe varcasa ojase ca balāya cāstṛtas  
tvābhi rakṣatu z 1 z ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan rakṣāpramādam astṛte-

mañ mā tvā dabhan paṇayo yātudhānāḥ | indra iva dasyūn  
ava dhūnuṣva pr̥tanyataḥ sarvāṇḥ ṣaṭrūn vi śahasvāstr̥tas ° ° °  
z 2 z ghṛtād ullabdho madhumān payasvān sahasraprāṇaḥ ṣa-  
tayonir vayodhāḥ | cāmbhūḥ ca mayobhūḥ corjasvāṇḥ ca paya-  
svāṇḥ cāstr̥tas ° ° ° z 3 z asmin mañāv ekaṣatañ vīryāṇi sa-  
hasrañ prāṇā astr̥te | vyāghra ṣaṭrūn abhi tiṣṭha sarvān yas  
tvā pr̥tanyād adharas so 'stv astr̥tas ° ° ° z 4 z ṣatañ cana  
praharanto bhidanto na tastre | yasminn indraḥ paryadatta  
cakṣuṣ prāṇam atho balam astr̥tas ° ° ° z 5 z indrasya tvā  
varmaṇā pari dhāpayāmo yo devānām adhirājo babhūva | pu-  
nas tvā devāḥ pra payantu sarve 'str̥tas ° ° ° z 6 z yathā  
tvam uttaro 'so asapatnas sapatnahā | sajātānām aso vaḥ tathā  
tvā savitā karad astr̥tas tvābhi rakṣatu z 7 z 3 z

The ms. indicates punctuation after 3b, after cakṣuṣ in 5c  
and after 7b. In st. 6 I have supplied from C. the missing  
pāda b.

24. [f. 69a, l. 17.]

apaḥ caravaḥ coṣmā ca vāḥ paḥṇa ṣokaḥ cābhivi-  
[f. 69b] ṣoka tr̥tiyekaḥ ca pareparaḥ ca te takmaneto na-  
ṣyata |

Read: apa ṣaravaḥ coṣmā ca vāḥ paḥṇa ṣokaḥ cābhiviṣo-  
kaḥ | tr̥tiyakaḥ ca pareparaḥ ca te takmāna ito naṣyata z 1 z

There are a good many uncertainties here. In pāda b cā-  
bhivikaḥ would rectify the meter. In c tr̥tiyakaḥ is given as  
being the normal spelling, but in Ppp. 1. 32 the word is  
spelled tr̥tiyeka; parepara seems surely to be a fever, perhaps  
equivalent to anyedyuḥ.

veda vāi te takmañ nāmāgniṣ tañ  
nāmāsitañ tveto vi nayāmasy anu takmāñ vṛtrasya romi  
nabhasyo napāt. |

In a and in c read takman, in b tañ nāmāsitañ. In d the  
best suggestion seems to be vṛtrasya ropir.



dyāu-

ç cāsmat pṛthivī ca takmānaṁ nāçayatām itaḥ | pañcapa-  
tsuntri nāma

te mātā asūyeka psu nṛtyase |

For the first part of c I can get nothing; for the rest we might read nāma te mātāsūyeko 'psu nṛtyase. The transliteration in c is not sure.

tasyāhaṁ veda te nāma ça takmaṁ nir ato dhru-  
vaḥ odur asya nāmāsi priyātithiç ca tanveto nāçayāmasi  
vrahmaṇā

vīryāvatām

For b read sa takman nir ato dravaḥ. In c we should probably read huḍur asya nāmāsti, comparing Ppp. 1. 32. 2; Ç. 1. 25 has hrūḍu. For de read tam ito nāçayāmasi vrahmaṇā vīryāvatā; these pādas = Ç. 4. 37. 11ef.

yo si jalapaç ca lapaç cām māguç ca tapāiç ca |  
tṛtiyekaç ca parepa-

raç ca te takmānāito nacata |

In a we seem to have jalpa and lapa; and asti would perhaps fit better with pāda b, in which there may be two verbs; I can only suggest yo 'sti jalpaç ca lapaç cā māguç ca tepuç ca. But it would seem to give a stronger hemistich if we could read two nouns in b. Read cd as in st. 1.

vikileda virohatu vṛkāmaç kalitv arju-  
na | giriṁ gaçcha dhūmaketo rṣeṇa mām sa saṁdate | vṛhat  
tvam agne rakṣo

adhi saṁjahi madhyamaṁ uttasaṁ çṛṇiḥ |

In pāda a vikledo is possible, and probably virohatu can stand; for b the only suggestion I can make is vṛkān skhatayaty arjunaḥ, but this is not convincing. For cd a possible reading is giriṁ gaçcha dhūmaketav rṣeṇa mām sa saṁdhatte; but pāda d is not very good. In f read madhyamam uttamaṁ.

çam no agnir jyotiraneke  
 astu sam dyāvāpṛthivī yanehasā | mâteva piteva rakṣata  
 enam muñca-  
 tānam pary añhasaḥ z 4 z

Read: çam no agnir jyotiraniko astu çam dyāvāpṛthivī ane-  
 hasā | mâteva piteva rakṣatānam muñcatānam pary añhasaḥ  
 z 7 z 4 z

Pāda a = Ç. 19. 10. 4a; for b cf. RV. 6. 75. 10b.

25. [f. 69b, l. 11.]

Ç. 4. 10.

vātāj jāto antarikṣād vidyuto jyo-  
 tiṣaḥ pari | sa no hiraṇyadā çaṅkhaḥ kṛcanaḥ pātv añhasaḥ  
 hiraṇyā  
 nām eko si sa hosāc abhi jajñiṣe | ratheṣu darçatam iṣa-  
 dhāu ro-  
 canas tvaṁ | yo grato rocanāvāṁ samudrad adhi jajñiṣe |  
 çaṅkhena tvā  
 rakṣānsy atriṇo vi śahāmahe | ye triṇo yātudhānām rakṣa-  
 so ye  
 kimīdinaḥ | sarvāṅç chakha tvayā vayaṁ viṣūco vi vudhā-  
 mahe | z  
 çaṅkhenāmivām avadyaṁ çaṅkhenotas sadānvā çaṅkho no  
 viçvabheṣaja-  
 [f. 70a] ṣ kṛcanaḥ pātv añhasaḥ divi jātas samudrataḥ  
 sindhutas paryābhṛtaḥ sa no  
 hiraṇyadāç çaṅkha āyuspratarāṇo matiḥ devānām asta  
 kṛcanam babhū-  
 va tad ātmanā caraty apsv antaḥ | tam te badhnāmy āyuṣe  
 varcase balāya ca kā-  
 rṣiṇas tvābhi rakṣatu z 5 z anuvā 5 || z

Read: vātāj jāto antarikṣād vidyuto jyotiṣas pari | sa no  
 hiraṇyadāç çaṅkhaḥ kṛcanaḥ pātv añhasaḥ z 1 z hiraṇyānām



eko 'si sa homād adhi jajñise | ratheṣu darçatas tvam iṣudhāu  
 rocanas tvam z 2 z yo 'grato rocanānām samudrād abhi ja-  
 jñise | çaṅkhena hatvā rakṣānsy atrīṇo vi śahāmahe z 3 z ye  
 'trīṇo yātudhānā rakṣaso ye kimidinaḥ | sarvāṇç çaṅkha tvayā  
 vayanī viṣūco vi vidhyāmahe z 4 z çaṅkhenāmivām avadyanī  
 çaṅkhenota sadānvāḥ | çaṅkho no viçvabheṣajaṣ kṛçanaṣ pātv  
 aṇhasaḥ z 5 z divi jātas samudrataḥ sindhutas paryābhṛtaḥ |  
 sa no hiranyadāç çaṅkha āyusprataraṇo maṇiḥ z 6 z devānām  
 asthi kṛçanaṁ babhūva tad ātmanvac caraty apsv antaḥ | taṁ  
 te badhnāmy āyuse varcase balāya ca kārçanas tvābhi rakṣatu  
 z 7 z 5 z anuvā 5 z

The ms. indicates a punctuation after 5b; and it seems to suggest a separation of tvābhi in 7e. Our st. 4 has no parallel. In 6d I have given maṇiḥ with Q., but the reading of the ms. gives reason for thinking of 'sati.

26. [f. 70a, l. 4.]

RV. 8. 91.

kanyā vār avāyati

somam açrutāvadat. | hastam bharanty avravīd indrāya  
 çanimami tvā çakrā-  
 ya çanimami tvā | asūyeṣu vīrako grham-grham vicakaçat.  
 imam jambhasutam piva dhānāvantaṁ karambhiṇam apū-  
 pavantaṁ ukthinaṁ  
 kuç chakat kuvit karat kuvin no vasyasas karat. kuvit sati-  
 yaço yatī-  
 r indreṇa saṅgamāmahī | ā canī tvā cikitsāmo dhi cana tvā  
 nemasi | çanāir iva çanakāir ivendrāyendo pari srava | imāni  
 trī-  
 ṇi viṣṭapā tānīndra vi rohaya | çiras tatasyorvarām ād idam  
 mā  
 upodare | asāu ca yā na urvātirā imām tatvas pari | atho  
 ta-  
 dastu yaç chiras sarvā tā romaçā kṛdhi | kha rathasya khe  
 nasaṣ khe yo |

gasya cakrato | apālām indra triṣ pūtvya akr̥ṇot sūryatva-  
cam̐ z 1 z

Read: kanyā vār avāyati somam api srutāvidat | astam̐ bha-  
ranty avravid indrāya sunavāni tvā cakrāya sunavāni tvā z 1 z  
asāu ya eṣi virako gr̥ham̐-gr̥ham̐ vicākaçat | imam̐ jambhasutam̐  
piba dhānāvantaṁ karambhipam̐ apūpavantaṁ ukthinam̐ z 2 z  
kuvic chakat karat kuvit kuvin no vasyasas karat | kuvit pa-  
tidviṣo yatir indreṇa saṅgamāmahai z 3 z ā cana tvā ciki-  
tsāmo 'dhi cana tvā nemasi | çanāir iva çanakāir ivendrāyendo  
pari srava z 4 z imāni triṇi viṣṭapā tānindra vi rohaya | çiras  
tatasyorvarām̐ ād idam̐ ma upodare z 5 z asāu ca yā na ur-  
varūd imām̐ tanvaṁ pari | atho tatasya yac chiras sarvā tā  
romaçā krdhi z 6 z khe rathasya khe 'nasaṣ khe yugasya ça-  
takrato | apālām̐ indra triṣ pūtvya akr̥ṇoh̐ sūryatvacam̐ z 7 z 1 z  
In st. 1b I have given avidat with RV. and JB.; but it  
would seem possible to retain avadat of the ms., or perhaps  
even to read avandat.

27. [f. 70a, l. 15.]

divas pr̥ṣṭhe sadhupr̥ças suparn̐ṣ pañcaçate bhuvanasya  
gopāḥ ā-  
nujāvaram̐ anuratta ugrā teṣām̐ indram̐ vīyā īrayanta

In a read madhupr̥ças suparn̐ṣ. In c I am not sure that  
ānujāvaram̐ can stand and anuratta I cannot solve; it would  
seem fitting if pāda c began with yā (or ya). For d read  
teṣām̐ indram̐ vīryāīrayanta; the ms. makes the correction to  
vīryā.

purohitaḥ pa-  
rameṣṭhī sadāj̐jāyābhivardham̐ asmā kr̥ṇod v̐rhaspatiḥ tena  
sapatrā-

[f. 70b] n adharān̐ kr̥ṇuṣva kṣeme paçūn̐ bahulān̐ vardha-  
yetvā |

In ab we may probably read sadāj̐yāo abhivardham̐ asmāi;  
or perhaps sadā jayād. In c read sapatnān̐, in d vardhayitvā.



jāitrāyodyātu rathavā-  
hanam te | gobhācam ūṣanta ye samānas sarve samagrā  
dadhr̥cā bharanta |

The ms. gives only this for st. 3 and it looks as if pāda b is the missing one. For c the only suggestion I can make is gāvo bhāgam ucchanto ye samānās; in d read dadhr̥cā.

a-  
bhi vardhasva bhrātr̥vyān abhi ye tvā prdanyataḥ ni śiṇḍhi  
sarvān dhūrvato bhī  
bhīvardhato yathāsasi |

In b read prtanyataḥ; in c ni śiṇḍhi, and for d probably abhīvardho yathāsasi. Q. 1. 29. 3d is abhivarto yathāsasi.

abhivardham abhibhavam abhiṣeṇam  
mahāgaṇam

viṣas tvā sarvā vāñchatv āpo divyāṣ payasvatīḥ

In a we may probably read abhivardham, in b abhiṣeṇam, in c read vāñcechantv. With our a cf. Q. 1. 29. 4a; cd = Q. 4. 8. 4cd.

abhī vardhasva prajāyā  
vāvṛdhāno abhy anikāiṣ paṇubhir bhavāmi | vrahmarāja-  
nyāir viṣvāir vāvṛ-  
dhānaḥ cūdrāir atīha sabhayā prdanyataḥ

In a read abhi, in b bhavāsi; in c vāvṛdhānaḥ, and in d a possible reading is abhiha sahyāḥ prtanyataḥ. It does not seem probable to me that a form of sabhā should stand in pāda d. The margin seems to suggest cūdrer.

vardhasva kṣettrāiṣ pradatasva pra-  
jaya vardhasva vīraiṣ paṇubhir bahur bhavaḥ ṇriyā sa ulkāir  
yamas tvā pr-  
danyād āpr̥tas tubhyaṁ ṇapala ṛtyāya tiṣṭhatu | om̐ dāpr̥tas  
tubhyaṁ ṇa-  
pala ṛtyāya tiṣṭhatu z 2 z

Read: vardhasva kṣetrāṣ pra prathasva prajāyā vardhasva  
vīrāṣ paçubhir bahur bhavaḥ | çriyā çūlakāir t̥yamas tvā prta-  
nyād t̥āprtas tubhyaṁ t̥çapala r̥tyāya tiṣṭhatu z 7 z 2 z

For the first hemistich the suggested form seems good. In  
c yas tvā prtanyād would end the pāda well; but to end c  
thus would not divide the syllables of the second hemistich  
evenly. For āprtas I should incline to read ābhrtas, and  
r̥tyāi for r̥tyāya; also sapāla might be possible. The import  
of the hymn is clear in the main, but the details are by no  
means certain. In the lower margin of f. 70a, below st. 2, is  
written vṛhaspatasūktah.

28. [f. 70b, l. 10.]

RV. 1. 106.

indram mittram varuṇam agnim ūtaye  
mārutam çardho aditiṁ havāmahe | ratham na durgād va-  
savas sudhānuvo  
viçvasmān no añhaso niṣ pipartana | ta ādityā ā gata sa-  
rvatāta-  
ye bhūta devā vṛttratūryeṣu sambhuvah ratham na durgād  
vasavas sudhānavo vi-  
çvasmān no añhaso niṣpipartana | avantu naṣ pitaras supra-  
vācana uta de-  
vī devaput্রে t̥avṛdhā | ratham na durgād vasavas sudhā-  
navo viçvasmā-  
no añhaso niṣ pipartana | narāçansam vājinaṁ vājayantam  
kṣayadvīraṁ  
pūṣaṇam sumnāir amahe | ratham na durgā z vṛhaspate  
sadam in na suvām kṛ-  
dhi çam yor yat te manurītam turīmahe | rathan na durgā  
z indram kutsam vṛtra-  
haṇam çacīpatiṁ kaṭe nivāḍha ṛṣir ahvad utaye | ratham  
na durgād va-  
[f. 71a] savas sudhānavo viçvasmān no añhaso niṣ pipar-  
tana z devāin no devy adi-



tin ni pātu devās trātā trāyatām aprayuçchan. tan no mittro  
varuṇo mā-  
mahantām aditis sindhuṣ pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 3 z

Read: indraṁ mitraṁ varuṇam agniṁ ūtaye mārutaṁ çar-  
dho aditiṁ havāmahe | rathaṁ na durgād vasavas sudānavo  
viçvasmān no aṁhaso niṣpipartana z 1 z ta ādityā ā gatā  
sarvatātaye bhūta devā vr̥tratūryeṣu çambhuvaḥ | rathaṁ na  
" " z 2 z avantu naṣ pitaras supravācanā uta devī devaputre  
rtāvrdhā | rathaṁ na " " z 3 z narāçansaṁ vājinaṁ vāja-  
yantaṁ kṣayadviraṁ pūṣanaṁ sumnāir imahe | rathaṁ na " " z 4 z  
vr̥haspate sadam in naḥ sugaṁ kṛdhi çam lyor yat te  
manurhitaṁ tad imahe | ratham na " " z 5 z indraṁ kutso  
vr̥trahanaṁ çacipatiṁ kūte nibālha ṛṣir ahvad ūtaye | ratham  
na durgād vasavas sudānavo viçvasmān no aṁhaso niṣpipar-  
tana z 6 z devāir no devy aditir ni pātu devas trātā trāya-  
tām aprayucchan | tan no mitro varuṇo māmahantām aditis  
sindhuṣ pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 7 z 3 z

In the top margin of f. 71a stands indraṁ mitraṁ divisū  
and also apannāṣṭakamta.

29. [f. 71a, l. 3.]

Ç. 4. 33.

om̐ kutsa ṛ-

ṣiḥ gāyatriyām̐ chandaḥ agnir devatā apan nā aṣtau çucaye  
viniyogaḥ  
z z om̐ apa naç çoçucad agagne çucakad ā rayim̐ | apa naç  
çocuca-  
d aghaṁ | sukṣettriyām̐ sughātuyā vasūyā ca yajāmahe |  
apan naç ço-  
çucad aghaṁ | z pra yad bandhiṣṭa etām̐ prāsmākasaç ca  
sūrayaḥ apa na-  
ç çoçucad aghaṁ | pra yat te agne sūrayo jāyemahe pra-  
ti vayam. apan naç ço-  
çucad aghaṁ | pra yad agne sahasvato viçvato yanti bhā-  
navaḥ apan naç çoçu-

cad agham | tvaṁ hi viçvatomukha viçvataṣ paribhūr asi  
 apan naç çoçuca-  
 d agham | dviṣo no viçvatomukhāti nāveva pāraya | apan  
 naç çoçu-  
 cad agham | sa nas sindhum iva nāvayāte parṣas svastaye |  
 apan naç çoçuca-  
 d agham z 4 z

Read: apa naç çoçucad agham agne çoçugdhy ā rayim | apa  
 naç çoçucad agham z 1 z sukṣettriyaṁ sugātuyā vasūyā ca ya-  
 jāmahe | apa naç " " z 2 z pra yad bhandiṣṭa eṣāṁ prāsmā-  
 kāsaç ca sūrayaḥ | apa naç " " z 3 z pra yat te agne sūrayo  
 jāyemahi pra te vayam | apa naç " " z 4 z pra yad agneḥ  
 sahasvato viçvato yanti bhānavaḥ | apa naç " " z 5 z tvaṁ  
 hi viçvatomukha viçvataṣ paribhūr asi | apa naç " " z 6 z  
 dviṣo no viçvatomukhāti nāveva pāraya | apa naç " " z 7 z  
 sa nas sindhum iva nāvayāti parṣā svastaye | apa naç çoçucad  
 agham z 8 z 4 z

The ms. corrects to apa naḥ in st. 8. We might retain  
 parṣas in 8b.

The anukramaṇi material prefixed may be read thus: kutsa  
 ṛṣiḥ | gāyatraṁ chandaḥ | agnir devatā | apa no aṣṭāu çucaye  
 viniyogaḥ. In Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramaṇi (ed. Macdonell,  
 p. 9) the entry referring to RV. 1. 97 is apa no 'ṣṭāu çucaye  
 gāyatraṁ.

30. [f. 71a, l. 13.]

om̐ devaç çaraṇakṛtaç çaraṇā me bhavata  
 prācyāṁ  
 diço gñinā rājñādhyakṣeṇa yaçā bhūyāsaṁ yasasaṁ mā  
 kṛṇuta  
 cārum antrādaṁ parā dviṣantaṁ sṛṇītaḥ | bhavata dakṣi-  
 ṇayā di-  
 ço indreṇa rājñā bhavata pratīcyā diço varuṇena rājñā  
 bhavata udi-  
 cyāṁ diças somena rājñā bhavata dhruvāyā diço viṣṇunā  
 rājñā bhava-



ta ūrdhvāyā diṣo vṛhaspatinā rājñā | bhavata uttamāyā di-  
 ṣaṣ prajāpatinā rājñā | bhavata paramāyā diṣaṣ parameṣṭhi-  
 nā rā-

[f. 71b] jñādhyakṣeṇa devāḥ ṣarakṛtaṣ ṣaraṇā me bhavata  
 sarvābhyo gbhya iṣānena rājñā-  
 dhyakṣaṇa yaṣā bhūyāsam yaṣasam mā kṛṇuta dviṣantam  
 ṣṛṣṇitah z

z 5 z anu 6 z

Read: devāḥ ṣarakṛtaṣ ṣaraṇā me bhavata | prācyā diṣo  
 'gninā rājñādhyakṣeṇa yaṣā bhūyāsam | yaṣasam mā kṛṇuta  
 cārum antrādam parā dviṣantam ṣṛṇita z 1 z devāḥ " " bha-  
 vata | dakṣiṇāyā diṣa indreṇa rājñā " " " z 2 z devāḥ " " bha-  
 vata | pratīcyā diṣo varuṇena rājñā " " " z 3 z devāḥ " " bha-  
 vata | udīcyā diṣa somena rājñā " " " z 4 z devāḥ " " bha-  
 vata | dhruvāyā diṣo viṣṇunā rājñā " " " z 5 z devāḥ " " bha-  
 vata | ūrdhvāyā diṣo vṛhaspatinā rājñā " " " z 6 z devāḥ " " bha-  
 vata | uttamāyā diṣaṣ prajāpatinā rājñā " " " z 7 z de-  
 vāḥ " " bhavata | paramāyā diṣaṣ parameṣṭhinā rājñā " " " z 8 z devāḥ ṣarakṛtaṣ ṣaraṇā me bhavata | sarvābhyo digbhya  
 iṣānena rājñādhyakṣeṇa yaṣā bhūyāsam | yaṣasam mā kṛṇuta  
 dviṣantam ṣṛṇita z 9 z 5 z anu 6 z

In the right margin of 71a stands ṣaḍṛtam sūktam, seem-  
 ingly indicating this number; cf. Ppp. 2. 69. The word antrā-  
 dam does not fit this context very well; perhaps the clause  
 would be better written yaṣasam mā kṛṇuta parā dviṣantam  
 ṣṛṇita.

31. [f. 71b, l. 3.]

Q. 3. 16.

prātar agnim prātar indram havāmahe prā-  
 tar mittrāvaru-

ṇā prātar aṣvinā prātar bhagam pūṣaṇam vrahmaṇaspatim  
 prātas somam uta ru-

dram huvema | prātarjitam bhagam ugram huvema vyaṇ  
 putram aditer yo vidhartā |

agniç cid yām manyamānas turaç ci rājā cid  
 yām bha-  
 gaṁ bhakṣīty āha | bhaga praṇeter bhaga satyarādho bha-  
 gemām dhiyam utavā u-  
 daṁ naḥ bhaga prāṇo janaya gobhir aṇvāir bhaga pra nṛbhir  
 vṛvantas syāma z  
 utedānīm bhagavantas syāmota prapitva uta madhye ahnā  
 utodite maghat sū-  
 rye vayām devānām sumatāu syāma | bhaga eva bhagavām  
 astu devās tena vayām  
 bhagavantas syāma | taṁ tvā bhagas sarve ij johavīmi ma  
 no bhagaṣ puraetā  
 bhaveha z sam adhvarāyoṣaso nasatto dadhikrāveva ṇu-  
 caye padāya arvā-  
 cīnam vasuvidam bhagam no ratham ivāçva vājina avantu |  
 aṇvāvatīr go-  
 matin na uṣāso vīravatīṣ sadam icchantu bhadraḥ | ghṛtaṁ  
 duhānā vi-  
 çvataṣ pravīṇā yūyam pāta svastibhis sadā naḥ z 1 z

Read: prātar agniṁ prātar indraṁ havāmahe prātar mitrā-  
 varuṇā prātar aṇvīnā | prātar bhagam pūṣaṇāṁ vrahmaṇas pa-  
 tiṁ prātas somam uta rudraṁ huvema z 1 z prātarjitaṁ bha-  
 gam ugraṁ huvema vayām putram aditer yo vidhartā | ādhriç  
 cid yām manyamānas turaç cid rājā cid yām bhagam bhakṣīty  
 āha z 2 z bhaga pranetar bhaga satyarādho bhagemām dhi-  
 yam ud avā dadan naḥ | bhaga pra no janaya gobhir aṇvāir  
 bhaga pra nṛbhir nṛvantas syāma z 3 z utedānīm bhagavantas  
 syāmota prapitva uta madhye ahnām | utoditāu maghavant  
 sūrye vayām devānām sumatāu syāma z 4 z bhaga eva bha-  
 gavān astu devas tena vayām bhagavantas syāma | taṁ tvā  
 bhaga sarva ij johavīmi sa no bhagaṣ puraetā bhaveha z 5 z  
 sam adhvarāyoṣaso namantu dadhikrāveva ṇucaye padāya | arvā-  
 cīnam vasuvidam bhagam no ratham ivāçvā vājina ā vahantu  
 z 6 z aṇvāvatīr gomatiṁ na uṣaso vīravatīṣ sadam ucchantu  
 bhadraḥ | ghṛtaṁ duhādā viçvataṣ pravīṇā yūyam pāta svasti-  
 bhis sadā naḥ z 7 z 1 z

For pravīṇā as given in st. 7 here TB and ApMB have  
 prapīṇā which may be intended by our ms.: but the reading  
 of the ms. can stand.



32. [f. 71 b, l. 15.]

Ç. 4. 32.

yas te sadyo

vidhad vajra sâyaka saha ojaḥ puṣyad viçvaṁ manuṣaṁ  
sāhyāma dāsa-

m āryaṁ tvayā yujā vayaṁ sahasakṛtena sahasā mahīyasā |  
manyur indro

manyur evāsa devo manyur hotā varuṇo jātavedāḥ manyur  
viça īdate mā-

[f. 72a] nuṣīr yaṣ pāhi no manyo tapasā sajoṣāḥ | abhihi  
manyo tapasas taviṛyaṁ ta-

pasā yujā vijīha sattṛṇ. | amittrāhā vṛttrahā dasyuhā ca-  
viçvā va-

sūny ā bharā tvaṁ naḥ tvāṁ hi manyo abhibhūtyojās sva-  
yambhūr bhāso abhimāte-

sāhaḥ viçvacarṣaṇis sahuris sahiyān asmāsv ojaḥ pṛtanāsu  
dhehi |

abhāgas sann apa pareto asmi tava kṛtvā tavaviṣasya pra-  
cetāḥ taṁ tvā manyo a-

kratur jīhīdāhaṁ svā tanur bhalāvā na ehi | ayaṁ te assy  
upa mehy arvā-

ñ pratināsu suhure viçvadhāvaṁ | manu vajrin upa nā va-  
vṛtsu hanāva dasyū-

n uta podhyāpe | abhi prehi dakṣiṇato bhavā no dhā va-  
vṛttrāṇi jamghanā

ca bhūri | juhomi te dharuṇe madhvo agram ubhā upāṇçu  
prathamā piveva z

z z z

Read: yas te sadyo vidhad vajra sâyaka saha ojaḥ puṣyad  
viçvaṁ anuṣak | sāhyāma dāsam āryaṁ tvayā yujā vayaṁ sa-  
haskṛtena sahasā mahīyasā z 1 z manyur indro manyur evāsa  
devo manyur hotā varuṇo jātavedāḥ | manyuḥ viça īdate mā-  
nuṣīr yaṣ pāhi no manyo tapasā sajoṣāḥ z 2 z abhihi manyo  
tapasas taviṛyān tapasā yujā vi jahiha çatrūn | amitrahā vṛtra-  
hā dasyuhā ca viçvā vasūny ā bharā tvaṁ naḥ z 3 z tvāṁ  
hi manyo abhibhūtyojās svayambhūr bhāso abhimātiṣāhaḥ

viçvacarṣaṇis sahuris sahiyān asmāsv ojaṣ prtanāsu dhehi z 4 z  
 abhāgas sann apa pareto asmi tava kratvā taviṣasya pracetaḥ |  
 taṁ tvā manyo akratur jhiḍāhaṁ svā tanūr baludāvā na ehi  
 z 5 z ayaṁ te asmy upa mehy arvān praticīnas sahurē viçva-  
 dāvan | manyo vajrinn upa na ā vavrtsva hanāva dasyūn uta  
 bodhyāpeḥ z 6 z abhi prehi dakṣinato bhavā no 'dhā vṛtrāṇi  
 jāṅghanaḥ ca bhūri | juhomi te dharuṇe madhvo agram ubhā  
 upāṅgu prathamā pibeva z 7 z 2 z

In the top margin of 72a is yām correcting taviryām.

In st. 1a manyo as in the other texts seems a better reading but sadyo can stand. In 3a tavasas as in Ç. and RV. is much better and perhaps should be read here; tapasas might have been written through anticipation of tapasā in 3b. In 7b the ms. reading jāṅghanaḥ ca may be considered as pointing to the jāṅghanaḥ of the other texts but with jāṅghanaḥ ca I have kept as close to the ms. as possible.

33. [f. 72 a, l. 10.]

Ç. 4. 23.

agner manve prathamasya pracetasas pāñcājanya  
 bahudhā ya-  
 m indhate viço-vi priçīçimāṁsam īmahe sa no muñcatv  
 aṅhasaḥ sajātaṁ  
 jātavedasam agnir vāiçvānaraṁ vibhuṁ havyavāhaṁ ha-  
 vāmahe sa no muñca-  
 tv aṅhasaḥ | yathā havyaṁ vahasi jātavedo yathā yajñaṁ  
 kalpayasi  
 prajānan. | evā devebhyas sumati hy ā vaha sa no muñcatv  
 aṅhasaḥ | yāma-  
 n-yāmabhy apayuktaṁ vayiṣṭaṁ karman-karmatv ābhagaṁ |  
 agnīm īde rakṣoḥaṇaṁ  
 yajñavṛtaṁ ghṛtāhutaṁ sa no muñcatv aṅhasaḥ yenaṛṣayo  
 balam idyota  
 yajā yanāsurāṇāṁ ayajanta māyā | yenāgninā paṇīn indro  
 [f. 72 b] jighāya sa no muñcatv aṅhasaḥ yena devā amṛtam anv  
 avindan yenoṣadhī madhuma-



tīr akṛṇvan. | yenedam svar ābharam sa no muñcatv añhasaḥ z yasyedam pradiçi

yad virocate yaj jātām janitavyam ca kevalam stāumy  
açrīm nāthito johavi-

mi ma no muñcatv añhasaḥ z 3 z

Read: agner manve prathamasya pracetasas pāñcanyasya bahudhā yam indhate | viço-viçaḥ praviçivānsam imahe sa no muñcatv añhasaḥ z 1 z sujātām jātavedasam agniṁ vāiçvānaram vibhum | havyavāham havāmahe sa no " " z 2 z yathā havyam vahasi jātavedo yathā yajñam kalpayasi prajānam | evā devebhyas sumatiṁ hy ā vaha sa no " " z 3 z yāman-yāmann upayuktam vahiṣtam karman-karmann ābhagam agniṁ iḍe | rakṣoharam yajñavṛdham ghṛtāhutam sa no " " z 4 z yenaṛṣayo balam uddyotayan yujā yenāsurānām ayuchanta māvāḥ | yenāgninā pañin indro jigāya sa no " " z 5 z yena devā amṛtam anv avindan yenāṁsadhīr madhumatir akṛṇvan | yenedam svar ābharan sa no " " z 6 z yasyedam pradiçi yad virocate yaj jātām janitavyam ca kevalam | stāumy agniṁ nāthito johavimi sa no muñcatv añhasaḥ z 7 z 3 z

In st. 3c ihā might be read for hy ā as given above. In 5c the ms. reading jighāya does not give as good a meaning as jigāya.

34. [f. 72b, l. 4.]

Q. 4. 25.

vāyo savitur vidathāni manma-  
he yāv ātamanyūd viṣato ye ca rakṣataḥ yo viçvasya pari  
babhūvas tāu no mu-  
ñcatam añhasaḥ

Read vāyos in pāda a, ātmanvad viṣato yāu in b: it seems clear that for c we may read yāu viçvasya paribhū babhūvathus. With these corrections the stanza differs from the Yajur Veda texts only in having viṣato for their bibhrto.

yayos saṁkṣātā varimāṇi pārthivā yābhyām  
 rajo gu-  
 sthitam antarikṣam yayoh prayām nānu ṣaṣ canānuṣe tāu  
 no muñcatam añhasaḥ

Read saṁkhyātā in a, and probably antarikṣe in b; we may leave gusthitam as yet another spelling of guṣpitaṁ. In c read kaṣ canānaṣe.

tava vrate ni viṣamṭve janāśas tvāiyate prehirate cittra-  
 bhānau | divaṁ vāyo-  
 s savitā ca bhuvanāni yaçchatas tāu no muñcatam añha-  
 saḥ |

Read viṣante in a, for b tvayy udite prerate citrabhāno. The simplest correction in pāda c is to read vāyus and yaçchatas; but vāyos of the ms. does suggest the Ç form yuvam vāyo, and with this we would read yacchathas here.

pra sūmatim sam  
 mumatir vā ūtaye mahatsvantaṁ matsaram mādayetām |  
 arvāg vāmasya prava-  
 tā ni yaçchatas tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ

For the first hemistich read pra sumatiṁ savitar vāya ūtaye mahasvantam matsaram mādayetām. | In c read yacchatas.

rayim me poṣam savitota vāyus ta-  
 no jakṣivāṁ savitāmuṣavāu | aveyakṣmatām muhasmasu  
 dhattam tāu no mu-  
 ñcatam añhasaḥ

For pāda b we may read tanvo dakṣam ā suvatām suṣevāu; tanvo is closer to our ms. than tanū (as in Ç.) and jakṣivāṁ seems to have no place here. A good reading for pāda c is, I believe, yāv ayakṣmatām maha asmāsu dhattam; otherwise begin the pāda with ayakṣmatām.

apeto vāyos savitā ca duṣkṛtam upe ya-  
 kṣmam sa



samitām sedatim. para saṁ hy ūrjā sṛjata maṁ balena tāu  
no muñca-  
tam aṇhasaḥ

Read vāyo in a; and for b I would read apa yakṣmaṁ  
çimidām sedhataṁ parā. In c read ūrjayā sṛjathaḥ saṁ.

upa çreṣṭhā nāçiṣo devayor dhvamanv asthiram |  
stāuma de-  
vaṁ savitāram ca vāyuṁ tāu no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ z 4 z

Read: upa creṣṭhā na āçiṣo devayor dhāmann asthiraṁ |  
stāumi devaṁ savitāram ca vāyuṁ tāu no muñcatam aṇha-  
saḥ z 7 z 4 z

35. [f. 72 b, l. 16.]

Q. 4. 27.

marutām ma-  
manva adhi me vruvantu premaṁ vojo vājasātāvantu | āsūn  
iva suya-

mām bhūtaye te no muñcatv aṇhasaḥ | utsam akṣitam ya-  
canti ye sadā ya vā

[f. 73 a] siñcantu rasas oṣadhiṣu puro dadhe mārutaḥ pṛṣṇimā-  
taram te no muñcatv aṇha-

saḥ | payo dhenunām rasam o ṣadhīṇām yavas arvatām ka-  
vayo ya invat.

saçmā bhavanti marutaṁ dyonās te no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ |  
apas samudrād dvi-

vam ud vahanti divas pṛthivīm abhi yā sṛjanti | yadbhī-  
çānām muru-

taç caranti te no muñcatv aṇhasaḥ ye kilālāis tarpayantyo  
ghṛtena ya vā va-

yo medasā saṁsṛjanti | ya içānā maruto varṣayanti te no  
muñcantv aṇhasaḥ |

yadīd idam māruto mārutena yadi devā dāivenayajñag  
āraḥ

yūyam esiddhe vasavas tasya niṣkṛdhe te no muñcantv  
 aṇhasaḥ | tigmam anikaṁ  
 vitataṁ sahasvaṁ mārutāṁ ṇavaḥ pṛtanāsu ugrāṁ stāumi  
 māruto nāthite  
 jōhavīmi te no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ z 5 z anu 7 z

Read: marutāṁ manve adhi me vruvantu premanṁ tṛvojo  
 vājasātā avantu | ācūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye te no muñcantv  
 aṇhasaḥ z 1 z utsam akṣitāṁ vyacanti ye sadā ye vāsīncanti  
 rasam oṣadhiṣu | puro dadhe marutaḥ pṛcīmātṛn te no " " z 2 z  
 payo dhenūnāṁ rasam oṣadhināṁ javam arvatāṁ kavayo  
 ya invatha | ṇagmā bhavantu marutaḥ syonās te no " " z 3 z  
 apas samudrād divam ud vahanti divas pṛthivīm abhi yāḥ  
 srjanti | ye adbhīr iṇānā marutaḥ caranti te no " " z 4 z ye  
 kilālāis tarpayanti ye ghr̥tena ye vā vayo medasā sam̐srjanti |  
 ya iṇānā maruto varṣayanti te no " " z 5 z yadid idam maruto  
 mārutena yadi devā dāivyenedrg āra | yūyam iṇidhve vasavas  
 tasya niṣkr̥tes te no " " z 6 z tigmam anikaṁ vitataṁ sa-  
 hasvan mārutāṁ ṇavaḥ pṛtanāsūgram | stāumi maruto nāthito  
 jōhavīmi te no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ z 7 z 5 z anu 7 z

The ms. suggests a punctuation after \*sīncantu in 73a l. 1,  
 and after aṇhasaḥ in 73a l. 5.

In st. 1b we might read with Q. premanṁ vājam, or perhaps  
 predam ojo; the ms. reading might be a sort of confusion of  
 the two. In 3b we might keep close to the ms. and read  
 yavam, but javam is much better. In 7b Q. has ṇardhaḥ,  
 which may have been intended here for v and rdh are similar  
 signs.

36. [f. 73a, l. 10.]

Q. 4. 26.

manve vām dyāvā-  
 pṛthivī subhojasāu ye prathetās amitā yojanāni pratiṣṭhe  
 hy abha-

bha vantaṁ vasūnām te no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ | pratiṣṭhe  
 ha babhūvathur vasūnām pra-



viddhe devī subhage utūdi dyāvāprthivī bhavataṁ me syone  
 te no muñca-  
 tam aṇhasaḥ ye prāutyā bibhrto ye manuṣyā ye mṛtaṁ  
 bibhrato ye haviṁṣi |  
 dyāvāprthivī bhavataṁ me syone te no muñcatam aṇha-  
 saḥ | yatra çriyā  
 bibhrto ye vanaspatin yayor vām viçvā bhuvanāny antaḥ  
 dyāvāprthivī  
 bhavataṁ me syone te no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ ye kilālāis  
 tayaṁto ye ghrte  
 yābhyām narte kiṁ cana çaknuvanti | dyāvāprthivī bhava-  
 tāṁ me syone te  
 [f. 73b] no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ asaṁtāpaya svatapasā huve  
 vām urvī gabhīre kavi-  
 bhin namasye | dyāvāprthivī bhavataṁ me syone te no  
 muñcatam aṇhasaḥ ye  
 na medam abhiçocati yena vā yena kṛtaṁ pāuruṣeyaṁ na  
 dāivyaṁ stāumi  
 dyāvāprthivī jōhavīmi te no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ z 1 z z

Read: manve vām dyāvāprthivī subhojasāu ye 'prathetām  
 amitā yojanāni | pratiṣṭhe hy abhavataṁ vasūnām te no muñca-  
 tam aṇhasaḥ z 1 z pratiṣṭhe ha babhūvathur vasūnām pra-  
 viddhe devī subhage urūci | dyāvāprthivī bhavataṁ me syone  
 te no " " z 2 z ye srotyā bibhrtho ye mānuṣyān ye 'mṛtaṁ  
 bibhrtho ye haviṁṣi | dyāvā " " z 3 z ye usriyā bibhrtho ye  
 vanaspatin yayor vām viçvā bhuvanāny antaḥ | dyāvā " "  
 z 4 z ye kilālāis tarpayatho ye ghrtena yābhyām narte kiṁ  
 cana çaknuvanti | dyāvā " " z 5 z asaṁtāpe sutapasā huve vām  
 urvī gambhīre kavibhir namasye | dyāvā " " z 6 z yena medam  
 abhiçocati yena vā yena kṛtaṁ pāuruṣeyaṁ na dāivyaṁ |  
 stāumi dyāvāprthivī jōhavīmi te no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ z 7  
 z 1 z

In 6a we might accept the ms. reading svatapasā, but the  
 ms. probably has merely a faulty writing: we might also con-  
 sider svatavasā.

37. [f. 73b, l. 5.]

Q. 4. 28.

bhavācarvāu manve vī tasya vittam yayor vām yad idam  
 vitiṣṭhate | yāv āiṣāte  
 dvipado yaç catuṣpadas tâu no muñcatam añhasaḥ yor  
 abhyadhva ubha yad yāure ci-  
 d yāu vitatāv iṣabhṛtām amīṣṭhāu | bhavācarvā bhavataṁ  
 me syonāu tâu no muñca-  
 tam añhasaḥ yayor vadhān vāpapadyate kiñ canāntan de-  
 veṣu uta mānuṣe-  
 ṣu bhavācarvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tâu no muñcatam  
 añhasaḥ yāv ārebhathe ba-  
 hu sākam ugrāu pra cetasyarāṣṭram abhibhāñ janeṣu | bha-  
 vācarvāu bhavataṁ  
 me syone to no muñcatam añhasaḥ sahasrākṣāu vṛtrahaṇā  
 huve vām dūre-  
 hetī sunemī ugrāu | bhavācarvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tâu  
 no muñcatam añha-  
 saḥ z z yaṣ kṛtyākṛd yātudhāno mahalo ni tasmin yaha-  
 tam a-  
 dhi vajam ugrāu | bhavācarvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tâu  
 no muñcatam añhasaḥ  
 adhi me vrūtaṁ pṛtanāsa ugrāu sam vajreṇa sṛjataṁ yaṣ  
 kimidi |  
 stāumi bhavācarvāu nāthito jahavīmi tâu no muñcatam  
 añhasaḥ z  
 z 2 z

Read: bhavācarvāu manve vām tasya vittam yayor vām yad  
 idam vitiṣṭhate | yāv iṣāte dvipado yā catuṣpadas tâu no muñca-  
 tam añhasaḥ z 1 z yayor abhyadhva uta yad dūre cid yāu vitatāv  
 iṣubhṛtām aṣiṣṭhāu | bhavācarvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tâu ° °  
 z 2 z yayor vadhān nāpapadyate kiñ canāntar deveṣūta mā-  
 nuṣeṣu | bhavācarvāu ° ° ° z 3 z yāv ārebhathe bahu sākam  
 ugrāu pra ced asrāṣṭam abhibhāñ janeṣu | bhavācarvāu ° ° °  
 z 4 z sahasrākṣāu vṛtrahaṇā huve vām dūrehetī stuvann emy



ugrāu | bhavācarvāu ~ ~ ~ z 5 z yaṣ kṛtyākrd yātudhāno †ma-  
halo ni tasmin †yahatam adhi vajram ugrāu | bhavācarvāu  
~ ~ ~ z 6 z adhi me vrūtam pṛtanāsūgrāu sam vajreṇa srjatam  
yaṣ kimīdi | stāumī bhavācarvāu nāthito jōhavimi tāu no muñ-  
catam añhasaḥ z 7 z 2 z

In st. 5 b it does not seem that our ms. presents a variant in its sunemi. In 6 b dhattam as in Q. is the only plausible suggestion; adhi seems to improve the pāda.

38. [f. 73 b, l. 17.]

Q. 4. 29.

manve vaṁ mittrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvṛdhāu satyojasāu  
dṛhyā-

nī yo nirete yāu satyāvānam avatho haveṣu tāu no muñ-  
catam añha-

[f. 74 a] saḥ | satyojaso dṛhvaṇī yo nidethe pra satyāvānam  
avatho have-

ṣu | yāu gaṇchato nṛcakṣasa āpabhruṇā sutam tāu no muñ-  
catam añhasaḥ |

yav ṛṅgirasom atho thāv agasti mittrāvaruṇā jam atrim |  
yāu kaṇya-

pam atho yāu vasiṣṭham tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ | yāu  
bhāradvājam avatho

vadhyadhvaṁ viçvāmittram varuṇa mitra kutsam yāu kakṣi-  
vantam avataḥ prota ka-

ṇvam tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ yāu dyāvāsyam avatho  
yāu gaviṣṭhiram mi-

ttrāvaruṇā pumīḍham attrim | yo vimaḍam avathas sapta-  
vaṣṭhim tāu no mu-

ñcatam añhasaḥ yo medhātithim avato yāu triçokam mittrā-  
varuṇā u-

ṇanam kāvyū || yāu mudgalam avatho gāutamam ca tāu no  
muñcatam añhasaḥ ya-

yo rathas satyavartmarajjuraçmir mithuyā carantim abhi-  
yāti dūṣayan.

stāumi mitrāvaruṇā nāthito jōhavīmi no tau muñcatam añ-  
hasaḥ z

z 3 z

Read: manve vām mitrāvaruṇāv r̥tāvrdhāu satyāujasāu dru-  
hvaṇo yāu nudethe | yāu satyāvānam avatho haveṣu tāu no  
muñcatam añhasaḥ z 1 z satyāujasāu druhvaṇo yāu nudethe pra  
satyāvānam avatho haveṣu | yāu gacchatho nṛcakṣasā babhrupā  
sutaṁ tāu " " z 2 z yāv āṅgirasam avatho yāv agastīm mitrā-  
varuṇā jamadagnim atrim | yāu kaçyapam avatho yāu va-  
siṣṭhām tāu " " z 3 z yāu bharadvājam avatho yāu vadhrya-  
çvaṁ viçvāmitraṁ varuṇa mitra kutsam | yāu kaksivantam ava-  
thaḥ prota kaṇvaṁ tāu " " z 4 z yāu çyāvāçvam avatho yāu  
gaviṣṭhiraṁ mitrāvaruṇā purumidham atrim | yāu vimadam ava-  
thas saptavadhrīm tāu " " z 5 z yāu medhātithim avatho yāu  
triçokam mitrāvaruṇā uçanām kāvyaṁ yāu | yāu mudgalam  
avathaḥ prota gotamam tāu " " z 6 z yayo rathas satyavar-  
tmarjuraçmir mithuyā carantam abhiyāti dūṣayan | stāumi  
mitrāvaruṇā nāthito jōhavīmi tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ  
z 7 z 3 z

The ms. suggests a colon after nirete in f. 73b, l. 17, and  
one after añhasaḥ in f. 74a, l. 9. In the top margin of f. 74a  
ṣe is written above (nide)the.

In 1b and 2a druhvaṇo has seemed the most probable  
reading but the reading of TS., MS., and KS. is rather against  
it; they have satyāujasā dr̥hvaṇā (MS. durhvaṇā) yaṁ nudethe.  
In 2c perhaps babhrupām would be a better reading.

39. [f. 74a, l. 12.]

Ç. 4. 24.

indrasya manve çaçvad yasya manvire vṛttraghna  
stāumā upa memā  
aguḥ yo dāçuṣas sukr̥to havam ethā sa no muñcatv añha-  
saḥ yaç carṣa-  
nīpra carṣaṇi svarvid yasya grāvāṇaṣ pravadanti nṛmṇe  
yasyādhva-



ryus saptahotā mudicyut ma no muñcatv añhasaḥ | yo gra-  
 ṇām ugrabāhu-  
 r yo dānavānām balam āsasāda | yena jitās sindhavo  
 yena  
 gāvas sa no muñcatv añhasaḥ | yasya vaçāsu ṛṣabhāsa  
 ukṣaṇo ya-  
 smin iyaṁte svarvas svarvide | yasmiñ çukraṣ pravartate  
 vrahmaçumbhitas sa  
 no muñcatv añhasaḥ yasya juṣṭiyam sominaḥ kāmayingante  
 yo havanta  
 iṣuvantaṁ gaviṣṭāu yasminn arkas saçriye sminn ojas sa  
 no muñca-  
 [f. 74b] tv añhasaḥ | ya uttamaṣ karmakṛtyāya jajñe asye  
 vīryam prathamasyānuvu  
 ddham yonodyato vajro bhyāyatāham sa no muñcatv añha-  
 saḥ yas saṅgrāmān naya-  
 ti sam yudhe vaçī yaḥ puṣṭyānas saṁsrjata dvayāni | stāu-  
 mindram nā-  
 thito johavīmi sa no muñcatv añhasaḥ z 4 z

Read: indrasya manve çaçvad yasya manvire vṛtraghna  
 stomā upa mema āguḥ | yo dāçuṣas sukrto havam eyāt sa no  
 muñcatv añhasaḥ z 1 z yaç carṣanipraç carṣaniḥ svarvid yasya  
 grāvānāṣ pravadanti nrmpam | yasyādhvaras saptahotāmadhucyut  
 sa no " " z 2 z ya ugrāṇām ugrabāhur yayur yo dānavānām  
 balam āsasāda | yena jitās sindhavo yena gāvas sa no " " z 3 z  
 yasya vaçāsa ṛṣabhāsa ukṣaṇo yasmāi miyante svaravas svar-  
 vide | yasmiñ çukraṣ pravartate vrahmaçumbhitas sa no " "  
 z 4 z yasya juṣṭiṁ sominaḥ kāmayingante yaṁ havanta iṣuvantaṁ  
 gaviṣṭāu | yasminn arkaç çriye yasminn ojas sa na " " z 5 z  
 ya uttamaṣ karmakṛtyāya jajñe yasya vīryam prathamasyānu-  
 buddham | yonodyato vajro bhyāyatāhiṁ sa no " " z 6 z yas  
 saṅgrāmān nayati sam yudhe vaçī yaḥ puṣṭāni saṁsrjati dva-  
 yāni | stāumindram nāthito johavīmi sa no muñcatv añha-  
 saḥ z 7 z 4 z

In st. 2b I have followed Q. in reading nrmpam, but nrmpa  
 as in the ms. seems possible. In 3a I have inserted yayur,  
 following Q. In 4c Q. has yasmāi çukraṣ pavate which is  
 better than our text at least in meter. At the end of f. 74a

l. 19 the ms. would seem at first sight to give havabu but I do not believe that the scribe intended that.

40. [f. 74b, l. 4.]

çunam vātmān a  
 pākaromi çunam badhnāmi tam̐bhyām āgreṇa vrahmaṇā  
 havis tasmiṇṇ jā-  
 gara kaç cana | bāhum vatsam upanayam pātre gām duhann  
 avravīt. ariṣṭam  
 vrahmabhyo haviḥ çivam kṛṇotu kaçyapaḥ yatraṣ tiṣṭhanti  
 sukr̥tasya lo-  
 ke trayo tikāçā trīṇi çīrṣāṇy eṣām trayas tiṣṭhanti pra-  
 gr̥hya  
 kumbhaṁ yathā haviḥ kaçyapum yathāte satyāt sambhūto  
 vadati taṇḍulā-  
 t kṣīrāvapam ṛṣir vrahmatyāgreṇam ni ced etu kaçyapa  
 ṛtumukhe  
 candra bhāgāṣ pātram odanam uddharāt. prāpartu vrahmaṇo  
 havi-  
 r yathā vedena kaçyapa | ye bhūtāny amṛjanti ye bhūtāny  
 akalpa-  
 yan. | sarvasya vidvān adhvaryuḥ ṣaṇṇām bhavati kaçya-  
 pa | çī-  
 vāpo vatsekhyāç çivā bhavanty oṣadhīḥ vāto vatsedyas  
 kaçyapaç çiva  
 çivam tapatu sūryaḥ z z iti atharvaṇapāippa-  
 lādaçākhāyām caturthaṣ kāṇḍas samāptāḥ z z  
 kaṇḍaḥ z 4 z

Read: çunam vatsān upākaromi çunam badhnāmi tantyām |  
 āgrayaṇam vrahmaṇā havis tasmiṇ jāgara kaç cana z 1 z bā-  
 hum vatsam upanayan pātre gām duhann avravīt | ariṣṭam  
 vrahmabhyo haviç çivam kṛṇotu kaçyapaḥ z 2 z trayas tiṣṭhanti  
 sukr̥tasya loke trayo 'tikāçs trīṇi çīrṣāṇy eṣām | trayas ti-  
 ṣṭhanti pratigr̥hya kumbhaṁ yathā haviḥ kaçyapo yatāte  
 z 3 z satyāt sambhūto vadati taṇḍulān kṣīra āvapam | ṛṣir



vrahmabhya āgrayaṇāṃ ni ced etu kaçyapaḥ z 4 z rtumukhe  
candra bhāgāḥ pātram odanam uddharāt | prāpantu vrahmāpo  
havir yathā vedena kaçyapaḥ z 5 z ye bhūtāny amṛjanta ye  
bhūtāny akalpayan | sarvasya vidvān adhvaryuḥ ṣaṇṇāṃ bha-  
vati kaçyapaḥ z 6 z çivā āpo vatsebhyaç çivā bhavantv oṣa-  
dhiḥ | vāto vatsebhyaḥ kaçyapaç civam tapatu sūryaḥ z 7 z 5 z  
anu 8 z

ity atharvaṇi pāippalādaçākhyāṃ caturthas kāṇḍas samā-  
ptaḥ z z kāṇḍaḥ 4 z

In st. 1d I have wondered if kaçyapaḥ might stand at the  
end. In 3d yatāte is given as being very close to the ms.,  
but yacchāte might be considered as a possibility. In 4d ni  
codayatu is in some respects much better than ni ced etu;  
but feeling rather uncertain about the entire hymn I have  
not ventured to depart so far from the ms. In 5c prāpantu  
would seem to be an a-aorist from pra+āp, but prapantu  
might be considered as a possibility.





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*The Life of St. Simeon Stylites: A Translation of the Syriac Text in Bedjan's Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, Vol. IV.*—By the Rev. FREDERICK LENT, Ph. D., of New Haven, Conn.

This famous saint was born near the close of the fourth century at Sīs, near Nicopolis, in Northern Syria. Long before Simeon lived, there had been at the sanctuary of the goddess Attar'athē, in Hierapolis, a tall pillar, on which a man stood seven days twice a year for communion with the gods. (Lucian, *De dea Syria* c. 28 sq.). But, as Nöldeke points out (*Sketches from Eastern History*, Trans. London 1892, ch. VII), Simeon probably had never heard of it; the practice had died out long before he was born. Theodoret, an educated Syrian, regarded Simeon as the father of all who adopted life upon pillars. Besides the sketch of Simeon's career given by Theodoret (see Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, v. 82, Theodoretus 3), the historian Evagrius gives a short notice of his life. Another Greek biography, said to be written by Anthony, a disciple of Simeon, Nöldeke refers to a late date, on account of its extravagances.

The Syriac biography with which we are concerned was probably written shortly after Simeon's death, which occurred in 459 A. D. There are three known manuscripts of this Syriac Life. The Vatican MS. was published by S. E. Assemani, *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum* (Rome, 1748), Vol. II, pp. 273—394. The two other MSS. are in the British Museum. Bedjan, in preparing the Life of Simeon for publication in his *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, first copied the text of Assemani. Then he collated it with the MS. B. M. Add. 12174, and so discovered that this text not only gave the facts in a different order, but contained material not found in Assemani's text. As one or two leaves of this MS. are lacking, he made use of another still older, Add. 14484, which gave the same facts in the same order as 12174, but more soberly and concisely. Because of its simple, beautiful style, and because of its order

of events, which appears more logical than that of Assemani's edition, Bedjan regarded the text of this MS. 14484 as the oldest of the three. One important passage (p. 643), containing a very friendly allusion to the Emperor Leo, but altered in Assemani's text by the erasure of the eulogistic words (p. 393), caused Bedjan to conclude that this MS. was written before Monothelitism invaded Syria, that is, before the seventh century A. D. It is the text of this MS., B. M. Add. 14484, which is given in Bedjan's *Acta*, vol. IV, pp. 507—644, and which is here translated. (See Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, Leipzig, 1894; vol. IV, Preface pp. XI—XIV.)

What relation does the version represented in Assemani's text bear to that given by Bedjan?<sup>1</sup> The two texts, when they report the same incident, use practically the same words. The variations in language are, however, too numerous to mention. One text may employ a synonym for the term used in the other, or a whole sentence may occur in one which is not in the other, or a scripture quotation may be peculiar to one text. But in spite of these differences, the wording is substantially the same in the two texts. The differences, however, are sufficiently numerous and striking to show that neither text was copied from the other. Furthermore, the differences between Bedjan's and Assemani's texts exclude the possibility that both could have been derived from one common MS. We have here two quite independent recensions, as is shown by the variation in the order of events narrated. If we number the paragraphs in Bedjan's text, beginning with page 532, consecutively, and then attach the same numbers to the same incidents as given in Assemani's text, the order in the latter is as follows: 31—57, 21—30, 32, 2—11, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 66. This shows how differently the same material is grouped in the two texts, and makes it evident that they represent different recensions, neither one derived from the other. This opinion is strengthened by the presence of the material found in Bedjan's text which is not in the other.

<sup>1</sup> See the article by C. C. Torrey, *The Letters of Simeon the Stylite*, published in this *Journal*, vol. XX (1899), pp. 253—276. Professor Torrey maintained that the Bedjan recension is the original, and pointed out (pp. 275 f.) one passage in which it is certain that the text of Assemani is merely an abridgment. The proof needs to be considerably extended, however, and an attempt to do this is made in the following pages.



This matter peculiar to Bedjan's text is found in seven sections. The first is p. 507 from the beginning to p. 508, l. 5. This opening paragraph is simple and natural, written in the usual manner of introduction to the life of a famous man. It is extremely unlikely that an author presenting for the first time an account of the Saint's career would begin as abruptly as Assemani's text does, without a single reference to the readers for whom it was intended. That the biographer had such readers in mind is shown later (e. g. on p. 548, Bedjan; Assemani, parallel passage) by a direct address to them. The fuller text is probably the more original in this instance.

The second section, Bedjan, p. 512, l. 14—p. 514, l. 17, is an account of a raid made by Isaurian bandits who took captive some people of *Siṣ*, Simeon's native village. The Saint was instrumental in delivering the captives, whom he rescued by miraculously paralysing the arm of the robber chief. He also procured water by miracle. There is no reference in the context to make the inclusion of the story necessary. Assemani reads smoothly, omitting it. On the other hand, such a raid was probable, and the account is sober and quite in keeping with the context. There is nothing to render it suspicious, or to mark it as a later addition. No motive is apparent for its introduction, if it did not stand in the original account.

Section three, Bedjan, p. 520, l. 3—p. 521, l. 11 (see Assemani, p. 28, l. 12) tells how, when other monks had finished the nocturns and gone to rest, Simeon would stand weighed down with a stone hung to his neck, keeping vigil. When it was time for the others to arise, he would remove the stone and join in the prescribed service. One night, as he was putting the stone on his neck, he fell asleep. Deeply chagrined at thus yielding to what he regarded as Satanic temptation, he procured a rounded piece of wood, on which he stood thereafter during the nightly vigil, in order that, if he should fall asleep, the wood, rolling, might awaken him. These severe practices aroused the hostility of the monks, who would have him to do only as the rules enjoined. Now, although Assemani does not have this section, his text does have the story of the rounded piece of wood, given in another connection where it is quite irrelevant. After Bedjan, p. 521, 5th line from the bottom, Assemani (p. 280) inserts this paragraph:

"The manner in which the monks afflicted him, and harassed him,

in order that he should conform to their mode of life, is beyond description. For many times they assembled and said to the abbot, 'If he will not conform to the same mode of life as the brethren, let him leave the monastery!' But the abbot did not act on their protest, because he loved Simeon greatly, since he saw his labor and toil, and knew that envy prompted them to say, 'Let him conform to our mode of life.' For by night Simeon made a piece of wood round, and stood on it," etc.

Then follows material, part of which is found earlier in Bedjan. It can hardly be doubted that Bedjan's account is here the more original. The section is orderly and natural, while the other text has introduced in a disjointed manner the one item it preserves. In this instance, again, the longer text is the preferable.

The fourth section is found in Bedjan, p. 525, l. 15—p. 526, l. 5. By comparison with Assemani (p. 185) it will be seen that the latter gives a different account of Simeon's exit from the monastery, and the context does not require for smooth reading the material given in Bedjan, although Assemani's text omits the motive for the prayer it records, viz. 'If it is Thy will that I perform the Lenten fast in this place, direct me.' Bedjan's text gives this, by stating in exact chronology that the time was just before Lent, in the year 458 of the Antiochan Era. The entrance into the monastery at this time marked an important crisis in Simeon's life. That a careful and intimate biographer should preserve the date of this entrance into Telneshe, is therefore just what we should expect. The account contains no exaggeration, but just a simple story of faith and divine guidance, which suggests no motive for its arbitrary insertion by a later hand. Here again, therefore, the longer account may be regarded as original and preferable.

The fifth section, Bedjan, p. 538, l. 19—p. 539, l. 3, contains a brief description of the Saint's clothing, together with a general statement that he glorified God. The absence of this paragraph in Assemani's text does not mar the story, but its presence in Bedjan's text gives vividness to the account, and it is reasonable to suppose that his biographer would have mentioned just such a fact as is here recorded. The failure to do so is against the originality of Assemani's text.

The sixth section is the longest one peculiar to Bedjan's text, extending from p. 548, l. 21 to p. 555, l. 2. It contains



a descriptive résumé of Simeon's monastic life from the day he entered upon the practice of standing on a stone in the mandra, and began to immure himself during the Lenten fast. Then follow stories of various miracles of healing. The section is fittingly introduced by a general eulogy on Simeon's healing powers, and a direct address to the reader, with a promise to give an account of some things selected from many, sufficient to illustrate the Saint's miraculous activity. The section is followed by further similarly illustrating material, which would seem out of place if this section were omitted. In Bedjan's text, the reason for the introduction of any incident is always clear. Stories which illustrate a phase of Simeon's life are grouped together. Assemani's text, on the contrary, is disjointed, and shows no such orderly and logical arrangement. The general scheme of the life as given in Bedjan seems to demand that this section should be given here.

The last section, Bedjan, p. 643, l. 15—p. 644, l. 12, is the closing paragraph of the life. All it records was evidently known to the writer of MS. B. M. Add. 12174 (see Bedjan, p. 643, Note), and its absence gives a very abrupt termination to Assemani's text. Evagrius was evidently familiar with this longer ending paragraph, and it seems more natural than Assemani's version. On the expunging of the words applied to Leo, (Bedjan, p. 643, Assemani, p. 393) Assemani has this note (p. 412, Note 47):

"Haec iisdem plane verbis leguntur apud Evagrium lib. 1, cap. 13, pag. 271. Leonis autem Imperatoris nomen ex codice nostro expunctum est, fol. 77, colum. 1, l. 17, a quonam vel quo concilio, nescio. Suspicio, nebulonem quemdam Jacobitam in odium Catholici hujus Imperatoris, qui Chalcedonense Concilium acerrime propugnavit, ejus nomen abrasisse."

There is nothing in Bedjan's closing paragraph to mark it as anything but the original. Thus a comparison of the whole text of Bedjan with that of Assemani leads us to regard the former as in every respect the superior and earlier version. If a later editor added the paragraphs which are peculiar to the longer version, we might expect to find some differences of vocabulary and idiom in the added paragraphs. But Bedjan's text is a unit in point of style, and as we have seen, the verbal agreement with the shorter life in the narration of the same incidents is very marked. Some readings in Bedjan's text are

obviously preferable: e. g., "Timothy, the disciple of Paul",<sup>1</sup> where the other text reads, "disciple of Simeon". Assemani's text betrays its author's distance from the age of Simeon, e. g., "As said his acquaintances and those familiar with him from his youth" (p. 269, l. 16, 17; cf. Bedjan, p. 508, last line), but Bedjan's text never hints at any dependence upon hearsay. It is consistent with the statement, more than once repeated, that the writer or writers learned directly from Simeon the facts of his life not immediately known by observation.

Bedjan is right in thinking that the more logical order found in his text points to the original composition, and not to editorial work. As we have indicated, Bedjan's version is orderly in its groupings of material. Both Assemani's and Bedjan's versions agree, in the main, in the narration of the story of Simeon's early life. But when once he has begun his monastic career, and all that follows is descriptive of his mode of life and illustrative of his activities, as ascetic and miracle worker, as prophet and beholder of visions, Bedjan's material is logically arranged, every incident finding its proper place under an appropriate heading. For example, if the announcement is made, "Now concerning the visions which Simeon saw", all the material introduced is relevant. In Assemani's text, on the contrary, no such order is observed, as may be readily seen by a glance at the numbers which show the different placing of the same incidents in the two recensions. It can scarcely be doubted that the logical arrangement is more original than the haphazard and disjointed method followed in the shorter version.

Of the two recensions, then, Bedjan's text represents the original story, and that of Assemani a later and shorter version.

As we have noticed, the shorter recension has omitted nothing which is vitally important in giving a correct impression of the saint's life. We gain the same view of his career and estimate of his personality in the shorter as in the longer account. Probably the omitted material was purposely left out by an early editor. In one instance, at least, he composed a paragraph, substituting it for the omitted section, in order to give a motive for what followed (p. 280, Assemani, explains that the envy of the monks led to persecution, see above,

<sup>1</sup> See below, page 511.



p. 105f.). The opening and closing paragraphs of the longer recension add nothing to the story. The man who undertook the copy did not have the same interest in his readers that the original author had. His attention is riveted to Simeon's career, so he passes at once to the narrative. Being further removed from the age of the saint than the author, he can not feel, as the author did, when he lovingly penned the closing sentences, that Simeon's influence and prayers still brood over the whole creation. So the copyist omitted this, to him, unnecessary paragraph. None of the material peculiar to the longer recension adds to our knowledge of Simeon. It could be left out without seriously damaging the narrative.

A later writer who was well acquainted with this abridged life, but having no text before him, wrote as he remembered, and gave us the story as it stands in Assemani's text. Memory could not preserve the logical orderly arrangement of the original story, but could hold nearly every incident and almost keep the writer to a literal reproduction of the history. Some things he could recall without remembering the exact connection, as, for example, the story of Simeon's vigils kept by standing on a piece of rounded wood. This impressed him as a meritorious act, and was mentioned, while he forgot that the saint was led to adopt the practice because he fell asleep one night while tying the stone weight to his neck. So, too, he remembered that Simeon entered the monastery of Telneshē, but he forgot the year and the exact season. The fact was for him more important than the connection.

There is no improbability inherent in the supposition that a man could write thus from memory. Parallels not a few may be found in all literatures, and particularly among Orientals of the first Christian centuries, when memory was more tenacious than in an age of many books. Even in modern times, Arab writers can tell with astonishing verbal exactness, from memory, stories much longer than that of Simeon the Stylite. In Codex Vaticanus Clx. the Life of Simeon is followed by a letter from the Elder, Cosmas, to Simeon. To the letter is appended a colophon (*Acta Martyrum*, Assemani, II. 394 ff. copied in Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* IV. 648f.), in which we read

"May God and his Christ remember for good Simeon bar Apollon, and Bar Haṭar the son of 'Udan, who assumed the labor of making this book, 'The Glorious Deeds of Mar Simeon

the Blessed'. They made it by the toil of their hands and the sweat of their brows. — — — This book was finished in the month of Nisan, on the 17th of the month, on the fourth day of the week, in the year five hundred and twenty-one, of the Antiochian chronology. — — — And let everyone who reads it pray for those who undertook the work and made this book, that God may give them everlasting forgiveness of sins. Amen and Amen.

Let everyone who reads and makes, pray for him who wrote. — — — Farewell in our Lord; and pray for me."

Assemani thought that Cosmas composed the life of Simeon, and that the date here given (521 of the Antiochan reckoning = 473 A. D.) was that of the transcription of this MS.; he regarded Simeon bar Apollon and Bar Ḥaṭar as those who requested, or aided in, the writing of the life. Wright thought they were the paid copyists of this portion of Codex Vat. Clx. Nöldeke (*Sketches*, etc. p. 225), Bedjan (*Acta Mart.* IV. p. xiii), Torrey (*Letters of Simeon*, p. 274 f.), and Duval (*La Lit. Syriacque*, p. 160) regard these two men as the original authors, and 473 A. D. as the date of the composition of the Life.

It seems to the present writer more probable that the names given in this colophon are those of the men who reproduced the abridged Life from memory, "by the toil of their hands and the sweat of their brows." It is much more difficult to suppose that the colophon contains matter which stood originally at the end of the longer Life, but which has been lost from there. As it stands in the Vatican Codex, it is a whole, and evidently in its original place. It was added to the MS. containing the abridged life and the letter of Cosmas. 473 A. D., therefore, is the date when the text of Codex Vat. Clx. was written from memory by these two men, Simeon bar Apollon, and Bar Ḥaṭar, son of 'Udan. The original Life, composed by one of Simeon's disciples, was accordingly written between the Saint's death, in 459 A. D., and 473 A. D., when the two men made their memory recension of the abridged story. Bedjan's "Life" was probably written shortly after 459 A. D. The MS. B. M. Add. 14484 is written on parchment in the Estrangelo character, and was dated by Wright as of the sixth century.

The text of this Syriac composition is a model of its kind. Nöldeke has cited Assemani's edition more than two hundred



times in his grammar, in illustrating classical Syriac usage (see Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, Trans. Crichton, London, 1904, p. 333). Thus will be seen the importance of the text for the student of Syriac. Of no less interest to the general student, we trust, will prove this "Life of Simeon the Stylite", here translated into English for the first time.

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(P. 507,<sup>1</sup> below.) **The Heroic Deeds of Mar Simeon, the Chief of the Anchorites.**

To our brethren and sons and friends, children of the Holy Catholic Church: we make known to you in our writings (p. 508) the glorious deeds of the Man of God, who was a friend to the Christ. He gave himself to service in the vineyard of our Lord from the dawn even until the evening all the days of his life. He turned the stubborn of heart to conviction, and finished his struggle with praise, and his Lord took him to himself, that he might pay him the good reward of his labor in the land of the consummation of life eternal—the blessed Mar Simeon.

This glorious man, then, came from the region of Nicopolis, and the name of his town was Şiş. Now he had Christian parents who gave him baptism when he was small. He had a brother whose name was Mar Shemshi, and they alone remained to their parents of the many children whom they had had. This blessed one from his boyhood loved to shepherd the flocks of his parents, and he practiced himself in toil, weariness and exhaustion. When he was grown up, he had this peculiarity, that with much diligent care he used to collect storax as he shepherded the flocks, and he would kindle a fire and burn the storax as incense, although he did not know just why he offered it. For hitherto the Scriptures had not been heard by him, and he was not persuaded in the fear of the Lord, while he was growing up from his boyhood among the flocks. He was radiant of countenance, and fair of face, and gentle and benevolent. In stature he was small, but in strength lusty, and in his running (509) he was swift; and he won favor

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<sup>1</sup> The numbers enclosed in parentheses refer to the pages of Bedjan's text.

with everybody. He rejected food for himself while he fed others.

When his parents departed from this world, and he and his brother remained heirs, he entered the church, and heard as the epistle was read. And he asked those who stood with him: "These Scriptures, what are they? and what is in them?" They said to him, "These are the Scriptures of God, who dwells in heaven; and the word of God is in them." Then he felt much surprise in his heart, and on the following Sabbath he again entered the church, and heard those holy Scriptures with discernment. From that day on a surpassing diligence was his, and he gathered storax, and bought also that which his fellow-shepherds gathered, and with discernment placed it before our Lord, saying, "Let the sweet odor go up to God who is in heaven."

And after a few days, there appeared to the Blessed One a visitor as he was with the sheep. This was the first vision which he saw. For he saw that there came a man who stood by him, whose appearance was like lightning, his garments shining as the sun, and his face like rays of fire. He held a golden staff in his hand, and called and raised him up. When the Blessed One raised his eyes and saw this wonderful sign, he trembled and was affrighted, and fell upon his face on the ground. But he gave him his hand and, raising him up, said to him, "Be not afraid, but come after me without fear, for I have something to tell thee and shew thee. (510) For the Lord wills that through thy hand His Name should be glorified. And thou shalt be chief and director and leader to his people, and to the sheep of his pasture, and by thy hand shall be established the laws and the commandments of the Holy Church. And many thou shalt turn from error to knowledge of the truth. And if thou dost serve acceptably, thy name shall be great among the Gentiles and even to the end of the earth, and kings and judges shall obey thee and thy commands. Only have patience and endurance, and let love be in thee toward all men. If thou dost indeed observe these things, not among the first and not among the last shall he be who glorifies himself and becomes as great as **thou** art."

Then afterwards he took him, and, going up to the mountain, placed him on its top and showed him stones which were lying there. And he said to him, "Take, and build!" Said



the Blessed One to him, "I do not know how to build, for I have never constructed any building." He said to him, "Stand by and I will teach thee to build." Then he brought a stone which was carved and was very beautiful, and put it in the hands of Mar Simeon, and said to him, "Place it firmly at the east, and another on the north, and toward the south another, then place one upon them, and the building will be completed." Said to him the Blessed One: "My Lord, what is this?" The man replied, "This is an altar of that God whom thou dost worship, and to whom thou dost offer incense, and whose Scriptures thou hast heard."

(p. 511). Then he lead him from there, and said to him, "Come after me", and he took him into a martyrion which was near there, in which was laid Mar Timotheus the disciple of the apostle Paul. And when he was about to enter it, he saw before the court of the temple people, who could by no means be numbered; and they were clothed in white, and were like to bridegrooms. From the north also some in likeness of women clothed in purple, both modest and adorned with great beauty. The Blessed One asked him, saying, "My Lord, who are these?" And he returned answer and said to him, "These men and women whom thou seest, these are they who are destined to receive at thy hands the Sign<sup>1</sup> of the Messiah, and be turned to the knowledge of the truth." Then he showed him also birds in the form of peacocks whose appearance was like the flame of fire. From their eyes went forth as it were swift lightnings. And when they saw the Blessed One, they unfolded their wings, and raised their heads and uttered a cry loud and strong, so that the earth trembled from their voice. Then the man motioned quietly and gently with the staff which was in his hand and made them be still.

Again he led the Blessed One and brought him within the temple; and when they had reached the altar and stood that they might pray, there went up from beneath the altar a man of pleasant mien whose appearance was more comely than the sun. His beauty was beyond compare, his face was glad (p. 512) and his countenance exceedingly cheerful. His hair was sprinkled with white and grew in clusters. And his

<sup>1</sup> I. e. Baptism.

garments were white, and his speech was soft and pleasant. And approaching, he greeted the Blessed Mar Simeon three times with much love, and said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simeon, if thou art equal to the part and service to which thou art called." Then the two of them laid hold of him and brought him to the altar, and he<sup>1</sup> put in the mouth of Mar Simeon something white like snow and round like a pearl, and thus he said: "Such a taste and such sweetness can not be found in the world." And his soul was satisfied and fat exceedingly. Then this man gave him the golden staff which he held, and said to him, "With this staff thou art to shepherd the flock of Christ. Be strong and mighty." And when he had said these things to him, he became invisible and ascended.

And after a while the Isaurians made a raid, and they came and entered Şis, the native village of the Blessed One, which was in the region of Nicopolis, and the saint happened to be there. And they lifted up their hands, the Isaurians, against him, and took him. But the Lord delivered him from their hands. And they took many people captive, with Thomas, the son of the brother of the Blessed One, who also had departed from this world with a good name after living as an ascetic. Then the Blessed One arose and went after those who were taken captive, and he found them (513) in Kastelēn, encamping. And when the sentinels of the camp saw him, they seized him with watchful care, and led him to their chiefs, of whom the name of one was Bos and of the other Altamdora. They said to him, "Why is it thou hast been so rash as to come hither? And thou hast not feared, and thy heart hast not trembled?" And he turned and said, "For the redemption of Thomas, my brother's son, and of this captivity have I come." And when they saw, they were filled with anger, and gave order that they should take off his head with the sword. One of them then drew a dagger that he might smite him, when immediately his right hand cleaved to his shoulder. And when they saw, fear fell upon them, and Bos their chief commanded that they should set out for another place. And when the Blessed One saw that they did not receive his supplication, he became incensed, and lifted up his hand against Bos, when immediately an unclean spirit

<sup>1</sup> Assemani's text has: He who had come up from beneath the altar.



took possession of him, and before the Blessed One he was convulsed, while he cried out and said, "Alas! thou servant of Jesus Christ." When the Isaurians saw this phenomenon they were exceedingly affrighted, and they approached the Saint and said to him, "Tell us in truth if thou art the servant of God." He said to them, "I am a Christian." Then the Isaurian chief, as he stood in misery, said to the Blessed One, "My sins were stirred up against me in thy coming to me. But I beseech thee, offer up petition in my behalf." The Blessed One said, "If indeed thou askest that I should offer petition on thy behalf, deliver into my hands this captivity which thou hast taken captive. (p. 514) For lo, their crying has gone up before God. And this trial He sent upon thee." Now this captivity was in number, men and women, four hundred. Then the Isaurian chief besought him that he would pray for him, and he would give the captivity into his hands. So the saint kneeled down and prayed. And when he finished his prayer, he stretched out to him his right hand and said to him, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ he healed." And immediately the unclean spirit departed from the man, and he was recovered, and he delivered all the captivity into the hands of the Blessed One. And the Blessed One, on his part, as he lead away all the captivity, commanded them that they should tell no one anything of what Christ had performed through his hands, for the deliverance of their lives; and he dismissed every one to his own country in peace. While he was travelling on the mountain, he and Thomas, the son of his brother, his nephew thirsted for water. And the Blessed One lifted up his eyes, and prayed saying, "Oh Christ, who redeemed him from captivity, do not let him die of thirst." And at once water burst forth in the dry place, and they drank. And when their thirst was quenched, the water was sought but could not be found. And he led the youth and brought him to the village of the house of his kinsfolk.

After these things the saint was in a fast twenty-one days, while he neither ate nor drank, a man who from his youth with food of flesh and drink of wine had been nourished. After those days he desired to eat. Now there was there in the village a certain man, a fisherman, and that very night he had caught fish, not a few. (p. 515) He had a daughter whose

name was Mary, and her father left the fish with her and went away. And when the Blessed One came, he desired that she should give him three pounds, and take the price for it. But she denied with an oath, saying, "My father has not brought anything today." And when he went away from her, he stood with some soldiers who were on guard there because of the Isaurians, and with some of his townspeople. And as they were standing and talking, on a sudden something entered the girl and the fish and carried them out to the street before all the people; the girl herself leaping and gnashing her teeth and smiting her head and crying out at the Blessed Mar Simeon, while the fish also were leaping toward him. And when the soldiers and the citizens saw this sign, they feared, and desired to gather the fish or calm the girl who was acting in such a shameful manner. But they could not. Then her father came, and many of her people, and they besought the Blessed One, and he went and took hold of her, and immediately she became quiet, and the fish also became still. The saint said to her, "Because thou didst lie, God hath exposed thee publicly." Those things did our Lord by the hands of the Blessed One, and he thoroughly fulfilled his petition, because it was not in gluttony he asked. For as he went out from there to the flock, as he wandered along on the mountain, he found a large fish, and having made the sign of the cross, he took it and went back to the village. When those soldiers (p. 516) who had been standing in the village saw it, they marvelled. And our Lord did also here a miracle. For for three days those soldiers and his fellow-townsmen ate of it, and scarcely then was it consumed, because the blessing of the Lord rested upon it. Two of the soldiers who were there loved the Blessed One ardently, whose names were Selwāna and Bar Shabbatha. And until he stood upon the pillar, they came and went in his presence, and narrated many things before him and his disciples.

The Blessed One was constant in fasting and prayer, entering the church among the first and going out among the last, while the greater part of the time he was passing the nights in the church. And from dawn until dark he was on his knees, and from dark till dawn he was standing in prayer. And when he was many times in these exercises, those who were of the same age as he were watching him, that they



might see if he moved his feet, and changed from the spot in which he stood. But no-one could find this in his case.

He had a brother whose name was Mar Shemshi, and it was his wish to have the inheritance divided with him. He said to him, "Do as you please, and whatever you want appropriate without controversy." But his brother on his part divided everything rightly. For they had a paternal aunt, who was extremely rich. And in those days (p. 517) she departed from the world, and everything that she owned she left to the Blessed One. And everything she left he administered in the fear of God and gave to the poor and the needy; and especially he provided for the monastery of the Blessed Mar Eusebona, because the son of his paternal uncle was there, a man set for a sign, who was in the monastery thirty-five years. And from the time he entered the door of the monastery he had not turned back to see it.<sup>1</sup> And the Blessed One remembered that he had gone to that convent. After these things he remained four months, because he had seed sown, and because he had many affairs to attend to in other convents and with the poor. But in all the fast of the forty days, while he was living in the city, he tasted no food except the Eucharist which he received when he was half way through the fast. And he waited until the great day. Also, again, in the matter of his seed which he had sown, our Lord did a great miracle. For he allowed the gleaners and the poor among the sheaves, and said to them, "Let everybody take as much as he can carry." And our Lord sent a blessing upon it, and there came forth sixtyfold and a hundred-fold. And bread also and boiled food he took out to the reapers. From it he set in order before the gleaners and before the poor, and they ate and were satisfied. And he with his own hands served them, and mixed the wine for them. And these things the Blessed One told not in pride, but confessing and praising God for his providence towards him (p. 518), repeating that which the apostle said, that "The gift of God is greater than can be told." After these things he loaded whatever he had on camels, and took it to the convent of Mar Eusebona, and from it distributed in the other convents. And when he had been in the convent of

<sup>1</sup> I. e. the door.

Mar Eusebona three days, it happened that there came there Mar Mara, bishop of Gabola, a notable man. And the head of the convent brought him and presented him to him that he might be blessed by him. And when he saw the Blessed One, how fair of face and comely of visage he was, he marvelled at him and was astonished. His brother also, Mar Shemshi, came to Mar Mara that he might be blessed by him. And when he saw him he said to him, "See, my son, that thy brother, who is younger than thou, hath chosen for himself that good part to which nothing is equal." And when Mar Shemshi heard his words, he also determined to become a monk. So he blessed them, and they two took the tonsure together. And they became choice vessels suitable for the use of their Lord, and finished their days in good reputation and in the service of righteousness. And when he went away from him, this Mar Mara, the bishop, said to the abbot and to those who stood by him, "Truly, this blessed one, if the brethren permit him, will become a chosen vessel acceptable to God, and his fame will go out from one end of the earth to the other. For I know what sign I have seen in him" (p. 519).

And when Shemshi his brother had been with him about five months, he also went and distributed whatever he owned to the poor, and to the convents. And whatever was left over he loaded on beasts of burden and brought to the convent where he was a novice.

The Blessed Mar Simeon had no care for anything except how he might please his Lord. And when he had been with the monks a long time, he separated from them and went and digged for himself a hole in a corner of the garden up to his breast, and he stood in it two years in the oppressive heat of summer and the severe cold of winter. When the monks saw his hard toil, and no one of them was able to vie with him in his ascetic practices, they were filled with jealousy, and said to the abbot, "If he is not placed on an equality with us, he can not live here." When the abbot saw the will of the monks, he entreated him either to mingle with the brothers or to diminish his toil; but he did not obey. Then the abbot said to them, "My sons, what should impel us to be hinderers to him who is constraining himself for our Lord's sake?" One of the brothers thought that in hypocrisy he stood



in that place, and wished to test him. So he came and stood above him, but in that very hour the justice of the Lord thrust him down and he fell and became dumb. The brothers who happened to be there ran and carried him and came and put him under a certain tree; and he vomited blood, and after three days died.

His practice while he was with the brotherhood was thus: from Sunday to Sunday<sup>1</sup> (p. 520) he took for himself some soaked lentils, but sometimes once in two weeks, or even once in three, while he constrained himself with severe effort. And when they forced him to sit at the refectory table, he gave himself the appearance of taking the food, although in reality he ate nothing at all. For the blessed morsel which he received with the other brothers from the abbot he placed under the cover of his couch, and without his intent the brothers found it. Again, when the brothers finished the nocturns and lay down to rest, he would hang a stone about his neck all the time that his companions were resting. When it was time for them to arise, he untied the stone from his neck, and stood with them for the service. But on one of the nights, when he had put the stone on his neck, he was tempted by Satan and sleep fell upon him. Of a sudden he collapsed and fell headlong, and his head was wounded; but he took some of the dust of that place in which he was standing, made the sign of the cross upon it, and closed with it the wound, which immediately was healed so that he had no sort of injury. Afterward he procured a certain round piece of wood, and stood upon it at night, so that if he chanced to fall asleep, the piece of wood would roll from under him.

When the brethren saw his severe toil, and desired to conduct themselves in like manner but were not able, they planned how they might bring false accusation against him. (p. 521) So they said to a certain simple-minded brother of the convent, "Take a dish and put into it morsels of bread and bits of cooked food; then go and show it to the abbot and say to him, 'This food I took from Simeon as he was partaking of it. This mode of life which he keeps up is mere dissimulation!'" When the abbot heard, he called him and

<sup>1</sup> This means that he partook of food on the successive Sundays *only*.

accused him. But he upon this affair returned no answer, because he thirsted that there might be accomplished in him that which our Lord said, "Blessed are ye when men say against you all manner of evil for my sake, falsely."<sup>1</sup> And again the abbot called him and said to him, "Declare if in truth this was spoken about thee," and threatened him with excommunication. Thereupon he revealed to him that it was said about him falsely.

Again, there was there a certain place where wood was piled, and he went and hid himself in it. The brethren thought that he had surely left the convent; but as one of the hebdomadaries went to bring wood he found him standing huddled up in a corner, and came and made it known to the abbot. Then he and the brethren went and entreated him, but he was with difficulty persuaded to go with them and receive the eucharist.

And again, there went one of the hebdomadaries and heated a poker red-hot and said to him, "If thou hast in thee faith and trustest in thy God, take this poker." He immediately signed himself with the cross and took it with both hands. They expected (p. 522) that nothing would be left of his hands, but he despised them (i. e. his hands), and there was no injury at all done him, for it was as though his hands had been put in cold water. Although great indignation fell upon him from the brethren, yet he did not slacken his toil.

After these things he took a hard rope, and wound it round his body many times, until his body swelled out over the rope and hid it. And when the abbot knew it, he compelled him, but with difficulty, to loosen it from him, filled with flesh and blood from his body.

One time as he stood and prayed, Satan appeared to him in the likeness of mist and smote him suddenly upon his eyes and took his vision. And after a long time the abbot besought him to let him bring a physician to see him. But he was unwilling, and said to his brother, "Take me and lead me to the sepulchre in which the blessed ones are placed. I will beseech them, and they will pray for me." And when he had been there three days without sight, in the middle of the night flashes of light appeared to him, until all the

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. 5:11.



house became light from it. And in that hour his eyes were lightened as formerly, and he went to the brethren. And when they saw him, they marvelled at him.

Now there was near the convent a certain cave which was dark and terrible, so that even if in the daytime one saw it he was terrified and trembled, from the sound of roaring (p. 523) which was heard from its interior. And when the fast of the forty days came, this Blessed One went to that cave, and there had many a conflict with Satan. For there came against him serpents and vipers, puffing up and hissing. Moreover, he showed himself in the likeness of a leopard and of terrible beasts. Yet he did not feel afraid at the sight of them, and was not alarmed by their noise, but gave himself over to prayer, and was looking to heaven and making the sign of the cross upon his breast, when suddenly Satan disappeared, vanishing like smoke before the wind. Then a great light shone in that cave, and a voice was heard by the Saint which said, "Lo, the brethren are jealous of thee, and Satan harasses thee; but be strong and of good courage, because the Lord will not let go of thy hands. For lo, his grace keeps thee and his right hand upholds thee, and a head to thy brethren he will make thee, and Satan shall be trampled under thy feet." When the fast was ended, the brethren sought him in every place and did not find him. And when the abbot saw that he was not there, he said to them, "Take a lamp and go, enter and seek the Blessed One in that cave for our Lord's sake; perhaps he has entered there; let him not die there, lest we be punished for sinning against him." So brethren in whom was the love of our Lord, arose, and took lamps and candles, and entered and sought him diligently, and they found him standing in a certain corner of the cave. Then they led him away and brought him to the convent, and he received the eucharist with all the brethren.

(p. 524) The brethren then assembled and said to the abbot, "Choose one of two things. Either keep this brother and we will depart, or send him away, and keep us." But the abbot, because he was not willing to drive away the brethren of his convent, who were a hundred and twenty, pacified them by saying, "If he is not persuaded to put himself on an equality with you, I will do your pleasure." And when for a whole year he besought him, and he did not relax from his

asceticism, and the brethren did not desist from their importunities, and the fast of the forty days drew near, the abbot summoned him kindly and said to him, "Thou knowest, my son, how much I love thee, and in nothing have I distressed thee, and I have not sought that from here thou shouldst go; but because of the brethren's importunity, and the laws enacted by former abbots, and since I am not able to deviate from their laws, arise, get thee to such a place as our Lord appoints for thee. And if the Lord knows that in heart and truth thou art seeking him, he, the Lord himself, will give thee thy petition and thou shalt be head to thy brethren. And this convent in which thou hast been a disciple shall be to thee sustaining and supporting; and I shall hear that the Lord magnifieth thee, and I shall rejoice over thee." Which also happened to him. In the lifetime of his master he became very famous, and his renown went out into the world and before kings, and he heard and rejoiced. And when the abbot finished his course, into the hands of the Blessed One he committed the monastery. He also was a perfect man, who from boyhood to old age had lived in the monastic rule. When he was five years old he entered the convent, and he departed (p. 525) from the world seventy-nine years old, having lived in amazing and wonderful practices. He then gave to the Blessed Mar Simeon four dinars as he arose and departed, and said to him, "These shall be for thy clothing and sustenance until mankind appreciates thee." And the Holy One on his part said to him, "Far be it from Simeon thy servant that he should hold a dinar in his hand. But instead of these which enrich me not, supply me with prayers which aid me." So he prayed for him and blessed him, saying to him, "Go in peace, and may the Lord be with thee forever."

With that separation, therefore, he went out from the convent. And when he had gone a short distance from the convent, he found a road which led to the north. As though it was from the Lord, he turned aside and went in it until he entered the borders of Telneshë. Then he turned aside from the way and stood in prayer under a tree until evening. And he asked in prayer and thus he said: "Oh Lord God, who createdst me in the womb of my mother as thou didst will, and broughtest me forth to this light in thy grace, and



implantedst in my mind thy fear as thou didst will, and didst separate me from the house of my fathers in thy mercy, and I have borne thy cross and followed thee according to thy word, and thou hast guarded me from evil and from all their powers in the day of my adversity,—be to me a good guide and protector, that to that place to which thy Glory is pleased, I may come." And when he finished his prayer, (p. 526) he arose and went down in the way until he came to a certain mountain which was in the town of Telneshē, before the beginning of the fast of the forty days, in the year four hundred and fifty-eight in the chronology of the city of Antioch. There he sat down in a certain valley, considering again in his mind that he would turn to the desert. Then he stood in prayer a long time, and thus he said in his prayer: "O Holy Lord God, if it is thy pleasure that in this town I keep the forty days' fast, at whatever convent I shall knock first let him who comes out answer me and say to me, 'Enter thou, sir,' simply, without investigation." And when he had finished his prayer, our Lord directed him straight to the convent of Maris bar Barathon of Telneshē, who was the chief of the town. In that time there happened to be there in that convent an old man, a son of the world (i. e. a layman), and a small boy about seven years old. When the holy master knocked, that boy at once went out with great alacrity and opened the door; and when he saw the Blessed One, he greeted him and said to him, "Enter, my master." The Blessed One said to him, "Go in, my son, make known to the abbot." The boy said to him, "No, indeed, sir, but do thou enter; I will not let thee go." And he clung to him, and forced him to enter. When he went and told the old man, he also came out quickly and in gladness received him, with affection and love, as though he had known him a long time, since his way was directed from the Lord. And there were no brethren dwelling there, except the old man, and the boy, because it was from the Lord, and they happened to be there and (p. 527) receive him. So he lodged with them in honor. Then in the morning the Saint said to the old man, "I was seeking a place where I might hide myself in this fast." He said to him, "Lo, all the convent is before thee. Wherever thou wishest I will make for thee a place." And he sent and called his son, whose name was Maris, and he

fixed for him a certain small upper room, which was satisfactory to his mind.

There happened to come there Mar Bas the periodeutes of blessed memory. And he was a man set for a sign, a servant of the Messiah, rejoicing in virtue and far from envy. He was of the people of Edessa of Mesopotamia, a son of senators. And when he had come and talked with the Blessed Mar Simeon, in the love of our Lord, those things which are seemly and becoming to the fear of God, for he was a wise and holy man, then he blessed him and closed the door upon him, and locked it. And he constrained the holy master, and placed with him seven small loaves, and filled a cab<sup>1</sup> of water. And after forty days had passed, the Holy Mar Bas came with great eagerness, and opened the door, and found those seven loaves untouched, and the cab of water full, and the Blessed One kneeling and praying. And every one was astonished and marvelled who happened there, all the more so because at once when they gave him the holy eucharist<sup>2</sup> he was strengthened and arose and went out (p. 528) with him to the court. The next day, he sought that he might go to the desert, but they persuaded him, and built for him a cell on the mountain. And there was also in Telneshē a priest at that time, whose name was Daniel, a Christian man. This same one gave a place in his field, where the cell was built.

And the next year, again at the beginning of the fast of the forty days this same master, the Blessed Bas, came and sealed up the door of the cell. And when the forty days were fulfilled, he brought with him the presbyters in whose district he was, and also, with design, some of the periodeutes his companions. And they came and opened the door, and when they gave him the eucharist, our Lord did there a great miracle. For a certain man from Telneshē who was one of the rulers of the city, whose name was Marenes, brought with him a *hin* filled with ointment. And as Mar Bas stood, and those who came with him, and all the populace, he brought it to the saint that he might bless it. And when he said, "May our Lord bless," at that moment it bubbled up and overflowed like a seething caldron, until all that place was

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<sup>1</sup> Nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. hot coal, see Is. 6.



filled with the ointment, and it was poured forth so that all the people took from it. Also they brought many vessels and took from it, yet it was not brought to an end, but filled and overflowing it went down with that man and was in his house, (p. 529) filled, for many years. And healing and remedy in abundance came to everybody from that ointment. This was the first sign which was wrought through the hands of the Blessed Mar Simeon in public, after he had gone out from the convent.

For secretly, also, many battles he had with the Enemy of the good. For Satan brought against him, as he stood and prayed, a black serpent which was very fierce, and it puffed and hissed and threatened him and coiled itself up between his feet, and wound itself about the leg of the holy man many times, up to his knee, and tightened like a rope, as though it would terrify him and take him from prayer. But the Saint was not terrified, but persevered in prayer. And when he had finished his prayer, he raised himself erect, and went out that he might go away. And when he was a little way from it, the messenger of the Lord smote it, and rent it from end to end. Again, after ten days, as he was standing praying by night, he saw the appearance of a dragon. It was fierce, large and fearful, and changed its appearance. It hissed, and whistled violently, and lashed its tail upon the ground, and rattled and made a noise, so that the earth was moved at the sound it made, and there went out from it as it were flames of fire. Out of its nostrils went forth smoke, and its eyes flashed like lightning. Its length too was considerable. But he, the heroic one, was not daunted, but lifted up his eyes and his hands towards his Lord, and turning blew at it as he said (p. 530) "Our Lord Jesus Christ rebuke thee." And immediately it vanished, and was not.

The holy Mar Bas, the Periodeutes, after he went down from the presence of the blessed master, in the church before all the people, said as with prophetic inspiration, while he marvelled, that many signs our Lord would do by the hands of this Blessed One, so that neither by the hand of a prophet nor by the hand of an apostle had our Lord done more than these. For the kings of the earth and the great ones would come to greet him and prostrate themselves to him, and would seek from him that he should pray for them—which indeed did happen.

Now there was a certain man in the village Yathlaha, which was distant from Telneshē about three miles, who was a rich man and chief of the village. This same man had a daughter who had been a paralytic from the time she was a child, and she had not even been able to move for about eighteen years. They brought her and placed her on the north of the cell, and her father entered and told the Blessed One and besought him to pray for her. And he said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, take some of this dust, and go out, and apply it to her." Now there was no ointment there that might be given, nor could they give any *hnāna*<sup>1</sup>, for he had been there only a year and two months. But as soon as that dust touched her in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, (p. 531) she sprang up, and stood up well; and they gave praise to God, all who saw her. Then on foot she ascended the entire length of the mountain. And her father built for her a convent, and she dwelt in it all the days of her life. This one, then, was the first paralytic who was healed there, and this sign was wrought there, and her father remained with the Blessed One all the days of his life.

After this there came to him two boys who were paralytics, sons of two sisters from the vale of Antioch. One was born paralytic, and the Evil One smote the other six months after he was born and paralyzed him. And a man from Telneshē happened to be passing and saw them, and he told their people about the Blessed One. For hitherto his fame had not gone out. And when they came with them, they brought them in and laid them down before him. As he looked at them he was much moved, because the boys were beautiful. Now they had been in that pitiable condition seven years. And when he finished his prayers, he called those who had brought them and said to them, "Anoint them with this dust in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." And just as soon as they anointed them, they leaped up and stood and went back and forth before the Blessed One. So they both of them went away healed, rejoicing and praising our Lord.

Again, there came there a certain soldier, (p. 532) who had done a dreadful deed. For as he was going along the road he saw a certain virgin maiden whom he took by

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<sup>1</sup> "Mercy"; a compound of consecrated earth, oil, and water.



force and outraged. And immediately an evil spirit smote him and threw him from his horse, and he withered up like dry wood. He could not talk, neither moved, nor knew any one. And they brought him and laid him before the saint a whole day. When he had ended his prayer, he commanded, and they smeared him with some dust which was before him and also threw water upon him. Then his reason returned, and he sat up, speaking. Then the saint said to him, "Dost thou promise that never again thou wilt do according to that wicked deed?" And he promised that never would he do anything wicked and impious. Thereupon he said to him, "Rise, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." And immediately he sprang up and stood and walked. And he went away whole, rejoicing and praising God.

After him there came there a certain man tortured by an evil spirit. For it would lie with him on the bed in the likeness of a woman, and he was greatly tortured and afflicted. When the saint saw him, he said to him, "Anoint thee with that dust in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and make with it the sign of the cross three times in thy house, and thou shalt not see it again." And he did as he said to him, and never again an impious thing did he see, until the day of his death.

And in those same days, again, there came to him a certain man from Halab, who brought his son with him (p. 533) bound with chains, because an evil spirit had suddenly come upon him. He would stone his parents with stones, his reason was completely taken away, he wore no clothing at all, and was continually chewing his tongue and biting his arms. And when his father came, he entered and threw himself down before the Blessed One (because up to this time he stood on the ground), and with tears and bitter groans he besought him. And the Blessed One answered and said to the father, "Weep not, but loose from him those bonds." And when his father loosed him, the saint called the boy, and immediately he answered him with joy. And he said to him, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, take some of this dust which is before thee, and anoint all thy body." And the boy himself took it in his hands and anointed all his body. Then he commanded, and they brought water, and he blessed it and took it and caused him to drink and threw some on his face. At

once his reason returned, and he knew his father, and ran and went and kissed the garments of the saint, and was blessed by him. He lodged there that day, and in the morning went away with his father, healed and praising and blessing God, because He had become his healer through the hands of the saint.

After these things, there was a certain deacon about three miles from the cell, who went out to the harvest, having with him a small boy. As the deacon was reaping and the boy was playing, there went out a fierce black serpent, and coiled himself about the legs of the boy, and began squeezing, while the boy began to howl, calling for help (p. 534). The deacon, then, when he saw it, said to it, "By the prayers of Mar Simeon who stands in Telneshē, hurt him not." At once it departed from him, and coiled itself up, and was like a string, and did him no hurt at all. Three days it was thus. And all the village went to see it, and they came and told the Blessed One. He said to that deacon, "Go and say to it, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, go away and do not hurt any one!'" After that the serpent was released and went away.

Another time they brought to him a boy from the vale, who had a stone in the bladder and was greatly tortured and afflicted. Much money, too, had been spent upon him for physicians, and no one had helped him at all. And when he came to the saint, and he saw him, he gave commandment, and they brought water, and he said to his father, "Put some of that dust in it in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and give to him to drink." And immediately when he drank of that water, our Lord gave him deliverance. For there went out from his bladder a round stone, and immediately his internal organs were completely relieved. So he went away well, rejoicing and praising God.

Now an elder of Telneshē loved Mar Simeon greatly, and was with him constantly. The saint's cell stood in his field, and whatever he wore as clothing (p. 535) this elder bought for him at his own expense. And one time the elder came up with all his deacons to the Blessed One, to pay him a visit. And one of those deacons who was steward in the church, joking with him, said to the saint, "Untie that little purse of thine and make a distribution to my master's household". But he said to him, "Did some one tell thee that I have money, or didst thou perceive it?" And at once his reason turned



upside down, and he became as weak as water, and he tore his garments. They took him down, carrying him, and he remained two days in dreadful agonies, tortured, beating his head and gnashing his teeth; then he died.

After these things the saint formed the purpose of shutting himself up three years, so that he should not see any one and also no one should see him. And he made for himself a chain twenty cubits long, and put it on his leg and fastened it in a rock. It happened that there came along the holy man, the lover of God, Mar Bas, and the elder of the village, and they constrained him by entreaties until he divided those three years in half. Then this Mar Bas constrained him, and left with him a peck and a half of dry pulse, a peck for a year. For he had there a large urn of water, which contained three cabs. And when he had stopped up the door and was all alone, there suddenly appeared to him the Adversary, who made a great contest with the Blessed One and began to war with him openly. For he came upon him (p. 536) in the likeness of soldiers who were riding horses. And they drew their swords and filled their bows and left their horses for an onrush upon the Blessed One. But he, the holy saint, from the service of his Lord did not cease. Once again they ascended and stood on the wall of the cell and rolled stones down on him, in order that he might betake himself from that place in which he was standing. And one day Satan appeared to him in the likeness of a camel which was lustful and foaming and mischievous, coming and putting its head upon his back. When he reached the Blessed One, there was one in the likeness of an old man standing before the Saint, and he took dust and threw it in the mouth of the camel, when at once it vanished and was not, disappearing like smoke before the wind. Then the old man said to him, "Fear not, be of good courage and be strong."

Another time Satan came with his host, and they were bearing lighted torches. They appeared like flashes of fire ascending even to heaven. Again, they came and stood by him, and were crying and clamoring a long time that they might hinder the Blessed One in his religious exercise. But he was not afraid of them, neither was he terrified by their shriekings, but kept occupied in the service of his Lord. Sometimes they appeared as though destroying rocks and

stones, and like the noise of thunder and like the sound of weeping, and as though men, again, were quarrelling with their fellows (p. 537) with spears and swords, and there were some who cried with doleful shrieks, "Thou hast killed me!"

Again Satan appeared to him in the likeness of a lion, which came from the door and opened its mouth, and there went forth from its mouth as it were flames of fire, and it threatened and roared and lifted up its voice, and pawed with its feet and sent the gravel flying clear to the heavens. Then it rushed upon him violently. While its insane fury continued, after its manner, the Saint did not neglect his religious exercises. Then, again, it vanished like its fellows, and was not.

That abominable one, the doer of evil deeds and lover of wickedness, appeared to the holy one at midday as he stood praying, in the likeness of a beautiful woman who was clothed with garments of gold and adorned with beautiful things, and she merrily laughed and came towards him. When the Saint saw her, he crossed himself, and turning breathed on her in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and immediately she became like a beast whose hands and feet were cut off, and wallowing in howling retreat as though many were pursuing her, until she reached a corner of the cell, she vanished like smoke.

After the saint had been imprisoned five months, and the enemy had warred with him in all forms and appeared to him in all varieties of shape, yet the Blessed One indeed from the service of his Lord had not ceased and from his heavenly labor had not turned, Satan went and collected snakes (p. 538) and scorpions and mice and field-mice and all abominable reptiles, and brought them and filled with them that tank of water which he had there, until it was putrid and the odor went outside of the cell. When the Blessed One saw that the place stank, and he was annoyed by the odor of the stench, he brought earth and stones and filled it. Many days passed, and when the heat was strong in the month of Tammuz, there was not a drop of water for his drink, and the day on which the door should be opened was still distant thirteen months. Being exceedingly thirsty, he digged in the ground where he was standing, and kneeled and put his mouth in it, breathing the coolness of the clay. Then he stretched his hands towards heaven and prayed, and thus he said in his prayer, "O Mighty



Lord, possessor of heaven and earth, according as thy Divinity knoweth deal with thy servant." And he continued in prayer to God a long time. When he arose from his prayer and crossed himself, he turned to his right hand and saw a brook filled with water, clear and cool and sweet. And when he saw it, he thought it was an illusion. And he came and prayed by it no little time. But the waters did not remove from their place, so he knew that this thing was from God to him; and it remained for his use until the day the cell was opened.

His clothing was patched with straw from the wild grain of the second year, which grew before him in the enclosure, and upon it he coiled a hard rope (p. 539). With this clothing he was clothed seven years; then he made him a cloak of goat leather.

Thus evil was put to confusion with all its retinue, and the Messiah was glorified by his faithful servant.

May our Lord be adored for his lovingkindness! He did not leave his Athlete in this contest, but speedily sent him consolation and comfort. For there appeared to him, after that commotion and clamor and strife, a beautiful man who was covered with a white stole, who came and stood in front of the window of the sacred treasury and folded his hands behind him. And he bowed and raised himself up many times. And when he had finished his prayer, he went to the eastern wall, and spreading out his hands to heaven, prayed a considerable time, then disappeared. From him, therefore, the Blessed One learned this custom, by which he bowed and stood up. For he knew and understood that that was the care of our Lord.

Now again after this there appeared to him beautiful boys who were clothed in white and bearing wax-candles lighted and golden crosses. They stood by the wall and just before the window of the sacred treasury, and sang praises, saying, "Blessed is the Lord who chose the elect in a strong city." And many times was heard there the voice of worship and of praise and of adoration, so that many of the people of the village, they who were passing the night in the threshing-floors and were rising early to go to work, heard the sound, and also saw the vision. For no one began to lodge in the mandra (p. 540), until Satan incited the robbers and brought against him three of them. They came and descended from the wall

at midnight, and one of them drew his sword and rushed violently against him. The other two raised their spears against him, which were bound with iron. But as that first one ran violently on and came, suddenly our Lord smote him upon his face and dimmed his eyes, and he swayed like a reed. And he was paralyzed and dropped down, his sword falling from his hands. Then, his mouth closed, he stood up there in that place, unable to move to either side. His companions, too, likewise continued, speechless, upon their spears, with their mouths closed. And at dawn they were standing, and so stood all day in extreme misery, bowed before him. When it was evening the Blessed One spoke with them and said to them, "Whence come ye? And what seek ye?" Thereupon two of them in great agony said to him, "We came as robbers, and descended that we might kill thee." One, indeed, could not open his mouth, but with closed mouth thus he remained. Thereupon the Holy One cried out (for them) three times, and at once they could uproot their legs from the ground. Then he said to them, "Go away, and do not again harm any one, lest ye suffer worse than this."

Now after those days of his imprisonment, when the year and a half was fulfilled, the Holy Mar Bas came, and a considerable crowd collected. And they opened the door and gave him the eucharist. (p. 541) That very day our Lord exhibited lovingkindness and shewed a marvellous sign. They opened the mortar into which had been put the lentils which the Holy Mar Bas left for him, and they found it full, just as they had left it, and they wondered and were astonished. Then the elders and deacons arose, and gave a present from it to all the people, from three o'clock even until nine, and it was not exhausted. Then there went up also widows of the city, and received their skirts full and went down, and still it remained just as it was. And also at this Mar Bas greatly wondered. Every one else wondered at it, too, for this was a marvellous thing.

After these things he set up a stone, that he might stand upon it, that had four bases<sup>1</sup> and was two cubits high.

Mar Bas, however, excused himself from further visiting and entered and dwelt in his convent, and our Lord gave prosperity

<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 510.



in his hands, and he built an excellent monastery in which our Lord took pleasure.

After these things the Saint's fame began to be talked about in the world, and men began to flock to him from everywhere. For he stood upon that stone five years. And his fame began to spread abroad to all quarters, and men resorted to him from every place. And after the five years which he stood upon the stone, his brother Mar Shemshi fell asleep in good renown and works of righteousness. This thing also our Lord revealed to him, and did not hide from him concerning his departure. For, three days (p. 542) before, he called three elders, chiefs of the city, Marenas and Demetrianus and Maris, and said to them, "Before the door of this cell is opened, Mar Shemshi my brother will depart this life. But make a shrine and put him in it, and take heed that no one take him from you." For he saw thus: a certain tree which was loaded with much fruit and beautiful in its appearance, with its top-branches adorned and leafy and full of fruit, and its leaves pleasant to see, and to behold they were very delightful. And there was a certain branch in it which was shooting out from it. And there came a certain man of good appearance, whose aspect was very wonderful, and led with him four men who carried axes in their hands, and he said to them, "Cut down this branch from this tree, for it greatly hinders it, and keeps it from bearing much fruit." And lo, still another man appeared, who stood by it, who also on his part was adorned in his apparel and comely in his visage, and this man said, "Let us make another companion for it." But he answered and said to him, "A companion is not needed for it, for it is sufficient by itself both for those outside and for those inside." And when the branch was taken from the tree, the man commanded those four men and said to them, "Dig now, and go deep, and let the root of this tree be placed upon the rock, and fill up, going up even to its topmost branches, and let it be made very firm that it may not be shaken. For much is the fruit it will bear, (p. 543) and strong winds and billows and violent tempests will strike it." And as they digged deep and placed it, firmly setting its root, it put forth new shoots, and branching threw out limbs to all quarters, and bore much fruit, a hundredfold over that it had formerly borne. And beneath the root of that tree there sprang up suddenly a

fountain of mighty waters, and covered the mountains and hills, and it shot up and sprang up to the four quarters. And lo, again, suddenly there appeared much animal life, and birds innumerable, of every species and every form, great and small, from all quarters resorting and coming, eating of the fruit of that tree and drinking from the fountain. And in proportion as they ate and drank from it, the fruit of the tree increased and abounded, and the fountain also was mighty and strong-gushing. The tree was Mar Simeon, and the branch which was cut from it Mar Shemshi his brother. When the days of his brother were finished, he departed from the world, just as he had said in those days of the retirement in the cell.

When the day came and the door of the mandra of the saint was opened, God stirred up all mankind, as though a heavenly command from on high were upon all the world, and creation was moved that it should come; for there was no limit or reckoning to it, and the mountains were covered and the highways were filled. And no one could see any other thing except that human throng; it was not possible to know who were halting, nor who were setting out. His fame spread to the four quarters of creation, and it increased and became known unto the King of the West. (p. 544) And again, his fame was heard also even by the King of the East. Our Lord began to do and show by his hand wonderful miracles and marvellous wonders. And the gift of healing was given him from God, the story of which is too great for the mouth of mortal man. And was fulfilled the word of the apostle who said, "The gift of God is greater than we can tell." For what mouth of mortal man can venture to tell it; or what witness be found to record it, or what intelligence so sound as to be able to count or compute it; what benefits were from God by the hand of the Blessed Mar Simeon to all mankind? For how many afar off were brought near! And how many were wandering astray and by his word were turned from error to a knowledge of truth! How many thousands and tens of thousands who heard his commands were brought home and submitted themselves to the yoke of Christ! For who is he will count or reckon the thousands and the tens of thousands innumerable, who while savage came to the sight of him, and to his word and to his teaching divine, and joyfully surrendered themselves to the fear of Christ, and became workers and ser-



vants of the Truth! For the fame of his benefactions spread, which our Lord did by his hand, from end to end of creation. And that was fulfilled which the Prophet said,<sup>1</sup> "Their glad message is gone out in all the earth and their words to the ends of the world."

For letters of kings poured in, and by the hand of messengers in writings, petition and request with captains of their hosts they were sending to his righteousness. (p. 545) And they besought from his holiness that he would bless them and pray for their kingdom, and the rulers who were under their power, and that he would command them all whatever he pleased. For joyfully without refusal they received his word, and in the beginning of their letters, "father and teacher who from God is given to us," they addressed him. And they implored him that freely he would command concerning everything. But whatever praised and glorified God and was for their soul's welfare and of help to the poor and establishing their kingdom, he counselled and advised them.

But those kings, with the princes who were under the authority of their kingdom, joyfully received the answer of the letters of the Blessed One, and quickly did all that he commanded as his pleasure. And they praised God concerning the reports, news, and good things which they heard. And was fulfilled concerning him, the holy saint, that which our Lord said in his Gospel, "Blessed is the servant on account of whom the name of his Lord is praised." For by his diligence and his toil he was the cause of advantage to himself and to many, and the name of God was praised on his account and for his sake, from the rising of the sun unto its going down.

How many thousands and myriads who were even unconscious that there is a God, through the saint came to know God their Creator and became his worshippers and adorers! Again, how many unclean were sanctified, and how many (p. 546) licentious became chaste at sight of him! How many, also, who were not persuaded in the fear of our Lord, who came to hear him from distant places, when they saw his beautiful person and his discipline and never-ending toil, despised and left the transitory world with all that is in it, and became disciples of the word of truth, and many of them

<sup>1</sup> Psalm 19, 4; cf. Rom. 10, 18, 1 Thess. 1, 8.

were vessels of honor! Again, how many harlots came there and from afar saw him, the Holy One, and renounced and left their places and the cities in which they had lived, and surrendered themselves to the Christ, and entering dwelt in convents and became vessels of honor, and with their tears they served their Lord and blotted out the list of their debts! How many distant Arabs who did not even know what bread is, but whose subsistence was the flesh of animals, when they came and saw the Blessed One, became disciples and were Christians and renounced the images of their fathers and served God! How many barbarians and Armenians and Aurtians and pagans of every tongue came continually, and every single day crowd upon crowd received baptism and confessed the living God! And there was no end to the Arabs and their kings and chiefs who there received baptism and believed on God and confessed the Messiah, and at the word of the Blessed One also built churches among their tents! How many oppressed were released by his word from their oppressors! How many (p. 547) bills of debt were torn up by his effort! How many maltreated were relieved from those who led them in bonds! How many slaves, too, were manumitted, and their documents torn up before the Holy One! How many orphans and widows were sustained and supported (after our Lord) by the standing of the Blessed One! His Lord did these things by his hands. He also magnified the priests of God sedulously, and the regulations and laws of the church were established by his care. He also gave command regarding usury, that one half of the usury on everything should be taken; and every person in joy received his command, so that there were many who remitted the whole of it and did not exact usury after he had commanded.

Now concerning the healing which our Lord gave through his hands, and how much deliverance and benefit came to men through his prayer, and to how many afflicted lives which had been crushed and tortured by smittings of various sorts from the workings of the Devil, by the hands of the Blessed Mar Simeon God was pleased to give alleviation and free them from the servitude of the Fiend, this for the mouth of mortals is too great to speak about. How many thousands and tens of thousands of afflicted, to whom our Lord gave help and deliverance, went away rejoicing from the presence of the



Blessed One, praising God. And that was fulfilled concerning the Blessed One, (p. 548) which our Lord said, "Those who believe in me, the works which I do shall they do, and greater than those." For what mouth would dare to tell or count or reckon the benefits even of one year which were conferred in the mandra of the Blessed One, to say nothing of fifty years! How many lepers were purified there! How many blind were led when they came, but, after our Lord had permitted them to see the light, went away praising God! How many hunch-backed, too, were straightened out by his prayers! Again, how many paralytics were conveyed there like luggage, and some of them, also, on litters, who were even unable to move, and our Lord by his prayer gave them help and deliverance, and they went out from his presence healed, running and rejoicing and carrying their couches and praising God who had magnified his lovingkindness to them! But because your mind is very eager to hear the exploits of holy men, and your attention desirous to learn what was done from God through his servants, and how much, too, he exalted and honored those who loved him, as much as our mind can, we will narrate a few things out of the many. For who is it measures the great abyss or counts the sand which is on the sea-shore, but God who made them? Thus, also, the treasures of the faithful and the exploits of the blessed ones there is no one who knows, except God their Creator.

The beginning, then, of the monastic life of the saint (p. 549) in the mandra was thus. He stood on a stone in the north-west corner of the mandra. Every year, during the holy days of the Lenten fast, he remained shut up in the mandra without food and drink until the day of the passover, being tempted by the evil Enemy of mankind, who envies the grace of the good and is the enemy of righteousness. He appeared to him in various forms, in a variety of moulds, like vipers and other serpents, just as he had appeared to him in the cave when he went out from the monastery; and they coiled themselves on his body with many threatenings, breathing fire, in order to turn him away from confidence in his Creator. But he stood in his integrity, and did not remove his eyes from heaven. And in the fast of the forty days Satan appeared to him in the form of a lion, and of a dragon which coiled itself all about his body and stung him on his foot. He had no power

over him, it was only that his Creator would show him that he had a human body. And in all this contest and war he was not brought down from his integrity, but Satan continued in his discomfiture and cried out, and howled with the rest of his hosts, and said, "Woe to us! Because the shame which we received from Job is renewed to us in Simeon who is from Şiş!" Many times this happened, yet he did not turn around, but stood in prayer uninterruptedly. And every year, every fast of the forty days, food such as is suitable for men did not (p. 550) come to his mouth. And many whom they brought with severe afflictions were healed by his prayers.

A certain monk, a paralytic, whose shanks were cleaving to his thighs, came to him, as they carried him, and they laid him down before the Saint. And with eyes lifted toward heaven, and standing in prayer, he besought the Lord in his behalf. Thereupon his legs were suddenly straightened, and he stood up and leaped before him like a hart, shouting with a loud voice, with the rest of the many people who were there, praising and blessing God, who had strengthened his weak limbs.

And after a while many people in the village of Telneshē were struck with sicknesses of severe tumors, so that many of them passed away from earth with the tumor-disease. Then all of them assembled and went up to the Blessed One and entreated him to offer petition on their behalf to God, that they might be delivered from the severe sicknesses which were sent upon them. Now as he stood in prayer, a certain stone eucharistic chalice was placed in the window which was before him. And as all of the assembly of the people stood, and petitioned and prayed him in behalf of their sicknesses, he lifted his eyes to heaven and prayed. And as he offered his prayer, suddenly that cup was filled with water, and overflowed on all sides upon the ground. And all the people ran, and rubbed themselves with the water, and immediately they were cured of the sickness of their tumors.

(p. 551) Again, a certain great man from the order of the nobles, who was an inhabitant of the West, who had heard the fame of the Blessed One, was lying ill of severe sickness, of a flux of blood of years' duration, so that on account of it he also endured severe trials, such that he was unable to put clothes on his body, because of the flux of his blood. This



was a secret, however, not revealed to any one, on account of his noble extraction. But he came to the Blessed One and besought him that from the hard trial which was upon him he might be delivered by his prayers. So he prayed for him to God, and the afflicted was delivered from his sickness. And he went to his house, exulting and praising God on account of the healing which had been given him by the prayers of the man of God.

And a certain woman who was led by an evil spirit and was in grievous torment and had not one quiet hour from the plague, but was rent by the devil, so that blood flowed from her mouth, she too came to the mandra of the Holy One. And when the many people saw her, they made a request of the Holy One in her behalf that he should petition God for her that she might be cured of her severe affliction. And he prayed to God and besought in her behalf. Then he dispatched a certain man of those who stood before him and sent word to the devil who was speaking by the mouth of that woman, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ I command thee to be still and not talk." (p. 552) In that very hour the unclean spirit departed from her, and she was healed of her devil.

Again, a certain great man, governor of a certain city of the land of Palestine, who was a heathen, had his head bent and his neck placed on his breast so that he could not lift his head up. But he came to the man of God, borne by two on a litter. And they presented request that he would ask mercy from God upon him, while he informed him that many physicians had given him up, and he had spent much money on account of his sickness with sorcerers and magicians, yet was not one whit better of his disease. And he cried out and said before him, as he clasped his feet and supplicated him, "From thee I will not depart, and from the door of thy God I will not remove, and my hands from thy feet I will not lift, and the prayer thou dost offer to God I will not allow thee, until thou dost place thy hands upon my head." And while he was thus speaking, he did not allow the man of God to pray. But the blessed saint answered him, saying, "I am a sinful man and least of all men, and my hands are not like those of all the rest of the bishops and monks which they placed upon thee. (p. 553) And one thing I say

to thee, that for a man to heal a man without the will of God is impossible. But I will commit thee to the hands of the living God, he who made the world in his mercy and his grace, he who can heal thee from the terrible affliction which thou hast." Thereupon he left off holding the feet of the Saint. Now it was his custom that at the time when he finished his prayer he knocked with his foot upon the little bench<sup>1</sup> which was placed against the rock on which he was standing. So when he reached the time for the ending of prayer, immediately he struck with his foot, and all of those who had been kneeling before him during the prayer started and stood up. And at once the afflicted one stood up healed from his sickness, his head lifted up from his breast, and he praised God with all the rest of the people who were there, because of the benefit and the healing which he had received. Much gold for the sake of his healing he offered to the man of God. But the Blessed One replied to him, saying, "I have no need of gold or silver. But I ask for thee that the light of truth may lighten thee through holy baptism for the forsaking of thy sins, and that thou shouldst free thy slaves who carried thee, that by their freedom thou mayst free thyself from Satan." When he heard the words of the Blessed One, everything that he commanded him he did, then went home in peace and in health, as he praised God, because by the hand of his holy servant he was healed from his affliction.

(p. 554) And after a long time there was a lack of rain in the land of the east and in this land, such that the earth on account of the drought was near to fail to produce seed. And many people assembled from the east with the inhabitants of the mountain, and came with a request to the man of God, beseeching him and supplicating him that he would ask his God concerning this thing, that he should have compassion, and give hope to creation. He answered them, saying, "Turn to God and bring an offering to the Lord your God; turn away from evil and do good; then, turning, immediately he will have mercy upon you." So they did as he commanded them; whereupon the clouds poured forth rain and filled their cisterns as usual. And the reaper filled his hand, and the poor ate and were satisfied, and they praised and blessed God

<sup>1</sup> *ܠܒܬܐ*, read *ܠܒܬܐ* *selebiar*; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syr.*, p. 505.



their nourisher. Then the man of God made a vow between himself and his God, saying, "Because thou hast received my prayer, which in behalf of the poor and needy I brought to thee, I will appoint a memorial day and will present an offering to thee my Lord." Now it happened that on the first memorial day which he celebrated, people were gathered together without number, so that the mountains were covered with them. And there came seven tormented children who had been paralytics from their mothers' wombs, and they laid them down before him. He gazed on them, and lifting his eyes to heaven prayed, and committed them to the hands of God their Creator. And immediately their limbs became strong, and standing up they leaped for joy before him. (p. 555) Then all the people who were assembled together there offered praise to God, who had given power such as this to men.

Again, there came to him a certain rich man from Sheba, who had an illness severe and serious. For a grievous disease had besieged him in his brain for many years. He had incurred great expense for physicians; yet no one had helped him at all, but the affliction was all the more severe. Four spikes were fixed for him in the wall, and he sat between them and knocked and buffeted his head against this side and that. And when he learned about the saint from the merchants who went down to that place, he gave up and left all that he possessed, that only he might get help for himself. And he took with him five of his servants and five steeds, and furnished himself with food, and set out to come to the Saint. But God, who saw his faith, wrought a great miracle in his case. For they were people who knew not the way, and the country was difficult desert; but thus they narrated, that, as though some one were leading their camels, so they came on without either losing the way or even becoming confused. And no man from the Arab marauding bands harmed them, neither did wild beasts injure them, although lions abounded in all that region. And the disease, after he set out to come, on each succeeding day grew better. And more than all of these things, so they told us, those provisions (p. 556) which they had laid in did not lack anything but thus remained as they were when they set out with them, although they were living upon them until they rested at the mandra of the saint, for a full year. And when he entered

he cast himself before the Holy One, and made known everything just as it was, and how many pains and afflictions he had borne, lo, these many years. He commanded, and they brought water, and when he had prayed and blessed it, he commanded him in the name of Christ, and he drank of it; then he threw some on his head, and as soon as this water touched him, his disease fled from him, and he never felt it again, and all his body was relieved and quieted. Then he praised and blessed God and, receiving baptism, became a Christian. And finally, also, he departed this world with a great testimony.

Again, there came to him a chorepiscopus from the Persians, whom one of the Persian kings had sent. For he (the king) had an only son whom Satan had smitten so that he was paralyzed, and had been laid upon a bed fifteen years. Unless some one turned him over on his side, he did not move. He had given great wealth to the Magians and to the Sorcerers, but they did not help him at all. When he learned about the saint, he persuaded this same chorepiscopus and sent him, that he might beseech of the holy and pious one that he would pray for his son. He sent by him two silk hangings, very costly, ornamented with golden crosses all over them. And when he came and told the saint about the affliction of the boy, and then also (p. 557) showed those hangings, he said to him, "Take them with thee in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ as they are tied up, and go in peace. And when thou hast arrived at the boundary of the city, descend from thy ass, and take them in thy arms, and give no answer to any one. But enter carefully, and put them upon the breast of the boy and say to him, 'The sinner Simeon saith in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'Stand up'.'" And he went and did just as he commanded him, and the moment he placed them upon his heart and said to him as it had been commanded him, his disease departed from him and he sprang to his feet cured. And he rejoiced, and praised and glorified God. And he became a Christian and received baptism, he and his mother and his sister. And after a little while he came and was blessed by Mar Simeon, confessing the goodness which our Lord had shown to him; then he went away to his land in peace.

Another time there came to the Saint a certain governor from Armenia, son of the ruler of all that land, who was



highly esteemed by the king, to whom also the king had sometime given purple garments. He was suddenly attacked with partial paralysis, and his whole right side was withered, and his mouth was twisted, and his eye was fixed; and he had been bedridden for many years with many pains, without being able to turn from one side to the other. And besides, neither did he eat anything, except a spoonful of liquid with great distress. Then when the fame of the saint reached them, (p. 558) they put him in a litter, and took him up that they might bring him. Many people came with him, armed, horsemen, and servants with much baggage. Besides, there also came with him three elders and five deacons, with letters from the bishops of all that country, who had written to Mar Simeon a request that he would pray over him. For they loved him much, because he was a lovable youth, and his father was a believer and one who honored the Christians. When they had brought him in and placed him before the Reverend Sir, and the letters from the bishops had also been read, he sighed and raised his eyes towards heaven and pronounced a prayer over him with all the people. Having finished the prayer, he commanded and they brought water, which he blessed; then at his word they cast some of it upon him, and he cried and said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, sit up." And at once he turned himself and sat up, and his reason returned, and he knew where he was. The saint said to him, "Take some of this water in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and do thou drink some of it with thy own hands, and put some on thy face and upon all thy body." And he took and drank and put some upon all his body. He said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, stand up." And he sprang up cured. Then he ran back and forth in the mandra praising and blessing God, and he, too, a man who had been unable to turn over in his bed. He stayed there (p. 559) one week standing in prayer; and he manumitted three slaves. Then he entered Antioch, and came and prayed and received a blessing, and went away to his land in peace and in tranquillity, praising and blessing God and all his worshippers.

Again, there came some Easterners from a land so distant they were a year and a month in reaching the mandra, as they informed the saint, four men who were full of leprosy,

and three who were possessed of evil spirits. And when they entered, they cast themselves before him and told him of their affliction and the remoteness of their home. And they even opened their purses, and showed in the sight of the people, and said, "These are the provisions with which we furnished ourselves at home and set out. Today, lo, it is thirteen months that we have journeyed, and neither have we lost the way nor been in trouble." And when the Saint heard their words, he said to them, "That God who guarded the way before you, He also will grant that thing for the sake of which you have suffered." Then at his command they brought water, and he blessed it and said to them, "Take this in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the hope of whom ye came, and drink some of it, all of you, and also cast some all over your body." They did as he commanded them; when immediately their diseases vanished, and they were cleansed and recovered of their illnesses. And they praised and blessed God, and renouncing their superstitions they received baptism and became Christians. Then they departed rejoicing and adoring our Lord.

(p. 560) Again, there came there from inner Anazit, which is on the border of Armenia and Persia, in the days of Dionysius the military officer, a youth who had a severe and obstinate affliction. For suddenly a pain seized him in his head, his face swelled, and his sight was taken away, while his whole body became limp and weak, and the mucus which came from his nose and eyes had an extremely offensive odor. When his father heard the report about the Blessed One, he sent his son to Dionysius the military commander, and wrote asking him to use his influence with the Reverend Sir for his sake; he also sent heavy gifts by his hand. And Dionysius himself sent with him Dalmatius his sister's son. When they arrived and entered, they cast him before the Blessed One and told him whence he was, and about his affliction, how severe it was. He commanded, and they loosened the bandages with which his head and face were wrapped about. Then he cried out to him and said, "Stand up, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." And immediately he sprang to his feet. Then he continuing said to him, "Go, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and take for thyself in thy hands some of this water, and cast it upon thy face and all over thy body."



And the very moment that the water touched him in the name of our Lord, his affliction vanished from him and he was recovered and competely restored. And he came in and went out, and was with the Saint three days; then he went home, well and praising God. And when Dionysius the commander heard of it, he was amazed and marvelled and was confirmed in the Faith.

(p. 561) Neither in the case of Dionysius himself was the kindness small which was performed in him by God, by the hand of the Saint. For when he came to Antioch, he received letters from the Emperor that he should go down with an embassy to the Persians. Then suddenly Satan smote him on his face, so that his mouth was distorted and his whole face drawn to one side. The physicians came and gave him roots and salves, but he was not benefited at all. Then he came to the Saint, in distress, and said to him, "I have received letters from the Emperor that I should go down to the Persians. And lo, suddenly, what has happened to me! But I beseech thee, pray for me." And he gave command, and they brought water, and he prayed and blessed it and said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, take it in thy hand and throw some on thy face and on thy head." And when he threw it as he commanded him, his face was restored, and his mouth, as though it had never been injured. And he burst out into exultation and blessed and praised God. The Saint said to him, "Go, and may the Lord God prosper thee on this journey, and thou do all which thou seekest, and go down in peace and come again in safety." The Lord prospered his way, and he was received magnificently and accomplished what he sought, and when he went up with pomp and honor, he came and prostrated himself before the Saint and received a blessing from him. And all the days of his life, whatever the Saint commanded him in behalf of the poor or about any matter, he gladly accepted, did obeisance, and performed his command.

(p. 562) Another time there came to him a certain elder from the region of Samosata, about seven days' journey. He told him about the fountain of his town, which watered all the fields of their town, and from which, after our Lord, was their supply for living. It suddenly failed and went dry, and they were troubled with thirst and for food. And they

had sought workmen, who had digged and delled, and expended much money upon it, but they could not find a drop of water in it. And when the elder came and told him this thing, the Saint said to him, "I have confidence in the Lord Jesus, that even while you are going out of this mandra our Lord will permit it to come to its normal condition. But go keep vigil and celebrate mass and make it known to our Lord." Then that presbyter noted down the time in which the Blessed One said it to him. And he went and found that the fountain had begun to flow and was gushing out and watering all those fields twofold more than it ever had. Then he took out the memorandum which he had made, and it was found that at the very time the saint was blessing the elder the fountain had burst forth in its usual condition. The elder then led out all his constituency, and they came and held divine service before the saint three days; then went back praising and blessing God.

Again, another elder from the region of Dalok: a certain mountain was near their village, about two miles off, and it kept creeping nearer little by little until it touched the border of the village. And from under it was heard the sound of waters, mighty as the abyss, (p. 563) and from their fear all the inhabitants of the village had forsaken it and fled. It was fearful, because they saw the mountain creeping and coming to bury them. And when they saw that calamity was fated for them, and there was no help anywhere, the presbyter arose and brought his whole village, from the greatest even to the smallest, and came to the blessed Mar Simeon. When they entered, they all cast themselves down before him and told him the whole matter. He said to them, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, take three stones, and make three crosses upon them, and go fix them before it, and there keep vigil three days and celebrate the mass. And I have confidence in the Lord that it will not come any nearer." And our Lord did there a great sign. For they went and did as he had commanded them, and on the third day of a sudden was heard from beneath the mountain the sound of a mighty crash like thunder, and the mountain sank away. And there went up from beneath it many waters and covered all that land. Then our Lord dried them up, and after three days the water was all swallowed up, and no damage was



done. The mountain had become level with the earth, and was like a plain. They sowed it that year with vetches, and got from it two hundred cors.<sup>1</sup> They carried loads of them on camels and beasts of burden, and divided among the monks and poor, while they confessed before everyone the kindness which had been wrought for them.

(p. 564) Again: another elder from the region of Mar'ash, whom some business called to go to another village. As he went on the way in the mountain with two brothers of his, and rode on an ass, lo, eleven goats, such as are called mountain-goats, came to pass before him. And from a distance he cried out, to make a test, saying to them: "By the prayer of Mar Simeon, be ye bound, that ye may not pass until I come to you." And they all collected and stood quiet until he came to them. And he dismounted from the ass and caught two or three of them, and put his hand upon their backs and stroked them, and they stood still. And he was astonished and marvelled. Then after a little while he said to them: "By the prayer of the holy Mar Simeon, cross over and go your way;" and thereupon they left him. Then he from fear and distress on account of what he had done felt something seize his heart and choke him. And he did not even enter his village but went back to the Saint, with a color like death, and entering fell down before him, and told all these things publicly, how the thing happened, with tears. Then when the Saint heard it, he said, "Lo, the beasts obey the word of God, but men resist his will." To the elder he said, "Take some of this water and throw it upon thy face and upon thy breast, in the name of Christ, and go fast three days and celebrate mass to God; and do not tempt the spirit of God, lest wrath come upon thee." Then he went away restored from his affliction.

(p. 565) Again, one time a fierce lion was seen on Mt. Ukkama ("Black Mountain") where a lion had never been seen before, and it devoured many people and made bitter havoc among men. For it ate and wounded many people without number, and travel was hindered. For no one dared to go outside the door of his house, nor go out to work, nor go on a journey, from fear. For in one day it was seen in

<sup>1</sup> A cor = 11½ bushels.

many places. And the report of it spread into the cities, and the prefects also heard it. And they sent out many hunters, while the soldiers and Isaurians furnished spears and swords, but no one did him any harm. For he made light of many, and at his roaring a multitude of people trembled in fright. Now when a long time had elapsed, and he did not cease to slaughter many, numerous people assembled from the north and came and told the Saint, saying to him, "He enters among flocks and herds, but leaves the cattle and eats men." And when the holy master learned about his depredations and how many people he had destroyed, he said, "I have confidence in the Lord Jesus Christ that he will never harm the shape of man again. But take in the name of Christ some of this *hnana* and of this ointment, and wherever you see him, whether crouching or standing, make the sign of the cross on all sides of him. And lo, the Angel of the Lord will paralyze him." And our Lord showed his mercy manifestly. For while those men who had told him were going on their journey, he happened to be crouching (p. 566) before them. When he saw them, he sprang up as was his wont; and they on their part trembled as they saw him and were affrighted. But as he made ready to spring upon them, he swayed and tottered and sank down. Then again he arose, and again fell. Thereupon they perceived that he was smitten of the Lord, and one of them took a spear and approaching struck him in his heart and killed him. Then they skinned him, and came to the mandra of the blessed master, who for this thing also greatly praised and blessed our Lord. For the depredation had been severe and grievous.

Again after these things they brought to the Saint a certain elder from the north, who was prostrated with a severe and bitter affliction. For while he was sitting reading the scripture in the court of the church, on a sudden he saw that something was passing before him in the likeness of a mist; and the Evil One, the enemy of mankind, smote him upon his face, and threw him down upon the ground. And his sight left him, his reason fled, he became rigid like wood, all his limbs became impotent, and he could not speak. And they came in and found him stretched out like one dead. They picked him up and put him on a bed, and he was in that affliction nine years, while he uttered not a word, nor



knew any one. Neither could he turn over, unless some one turned him. When they heard about the Saint, they took him up to bring him on the couch to Mar Simeon. And when they arrived at Shih, a village which was distant from Telneshe three miles, they spent the night there, they who were carrying him, because of the great toil and from the weariness (p. 567) of the way, that they might rise early and go up to the Saint. But God who saw the faith and work of those who brought him, and the affliction and trouble of the elder, which had lasted all this long time, did not withhold from him the gift of mercy but performed loving-kindness with him openly. For as the Saint was standing praying, it was revealed to him by the spirit of God about the distress of the afflicted presbyter, and in what manner and by whose agency the disease had come upon him. So at midnight he summoned one of his attendants and said to him, "Take a little water in a vessel, and arise, go down to Shih. And in the court of the church thou wilt find a certain elder who is a paralytic, wasted, and bedridden. Throw some of this water on him and say to him: The sinner Simeon says, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ leave thy couch in the church, and arise, walk, and come on thy feet. Long enough others have carried thee, henceforth the grace of thy Lord will strengthen thee.'" Then the attendant went down and found in the church, as he had said to him, that he was lying on his couch as though dead, in that great anguish. And as they saw the attendant, many people gathered about him, and in their presence he threw the water upon him, and as Mar Simeon had commanded him he said to him, "Mar Simeon the Blessed saith, 'Arise in the name of Christ, and walk thou on thy feet and come to me.'" And as soon as the water touched him, with the blessing by the mouth of the servant of God Mar Simeon, his diseases fled from him, he was recovered (p. 568) of his distress, and he came to his senses and saw the light,<sup>1</sup> and recovered his strength, and all his members grew strong and vigorous. He leapt to his feet from his couch, entirely well, and entering prayed in the church, praising and blessing God, who had shown such grace manifestly through the Saint. Then he went up afoot, accom-

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<sup>1</sup> I. e., recovered his sight.

panied by many people who blessed and praised God for the manifest miracle which their eyes had seen. For they saw him who had been bedridden, like an empty vessel which is useless, that as soon as the water touched him with the blessing of the mouth of the Holy One, he sprang up from his couch as though no injury or disease had ever touched him in his life. And when he went up and entered the mandra and prostrated himself before the Blessed One, he said to him, "Arise and fear not. For even if Satan hath sought to distress thee through his agents and the servants of his will, yet the mercies of God have been manifested upon thee, and he hath shown thee lovingkindness. And as for those through whom came upon thee the trouble, lo, thou art about to find them in affliction and distress, and they will beseech of thee and implore thee to forgive them. As God hath had mercy upon thee, so also do thou forgive the folly of those who wronged thee. Take a little *hnāna* and water, and anoint them, and God will have mercy upon them." Then the elder went, meanwhile rejoicing and praising and blessing our Lord, he and his companions, and found those his enemies in anguish and great trouble, as the Saint had said to him. But (p. 569) when he threw the water on them and anointed them with the *hnāna*, our Lord willed it, and they recovered. Then they arose and came to the Saint's mandra, and before him in a public manner each one confessed his folly. He commanded and warned them, and they too went away recovered, rejoicing and praising God.

Again, there came to him a certain poor man from the region of Halab, weeping in distress and grief of heart. When he entered, he prostrated himself before the Saint and said to him, "Master, I seek thine aid. I hired a field and made a cucumber garden in it, that I might provide from it for myself and the orphans whom I have. But when it began to grow, some men came by night and rooted up the entire field, leaving nothing in it except ten beans." And he brought some of them and threw them down before him. Thereupon the Saint said to him, "Arise and do not be grieved; for the savor of death strikes me from this affair. But take some of this *hnāna* and go make three signs of the cross in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in that field. And I have confidence in our Lord, that if there remains but three sprouts for thee



there, the Lord will bless them, and three times as much as you expected will be produced from them. As for those who did you this damage, quickly the judgment of God will overtake them. Because they dared to treat with contempt the longsuffering of God, therefore quickly his justice will lay them low. For there are three of them, and they have committed great injuries upon churches and monasteries, and caused grief to many. (p. 570) Now punishment is coming upon them which is incurable, and each punishment is distinctly separate from the others." And after three days a fearful judgment overtook them so that their agreement was shattered, they were humiliated, and their stiff necks broken. One of them was stricken with elephantiasis, until he was thoroughly diseased and putrid. Another, again, was swollen suddenly like a wine skin, and could not walk. They took him up to bring him to the Blessed One, and because he was unable to sit on an ass, as they were supporting him and he was creeping slowly along, he stumbled and fell, and his belly burst open, so that he died. And that other one, too, was smitten of an evil spirit, so that his mouth was contorted. He gnawed his tongue and arms and tore his garments. And bound in chains they brought him to the Saint. And after he was a long time in that affliction, they with difficulty persuaded the Blessed One in his behalf. Then he prayed for him, and he was restored a little, and came to himself and recounted before every one his acts of wickedness. When the Saint heard it, he said to him, "According to your deeds has God requited you. Because of this your punishment was without mercy."

Concerning visions and revelations which appeared from God to the Blessed Mar Simeon, no one is capable of telling about them, or speaking of them. He, too, was very careful and fearful lest any one should think of him as though he told them in ostentation. But to those in whom he had confidence from time to time (p. 571) he spoke openly, making it known to them that it was not his wish that they should tell them to the public while he was living.

He saw one time a ladder placed on the earth, whose top reached the heavens. Three men stood upon it, one at its top, one midway of it, and one at its foot. A throne of majesty was set, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself sat there, while the hosts of heaven stood on his right and on his left.

And a voice was heard calling by name that one who stood midway and saying to him, "Come up to me, and I will show thee." He went up until he came to him. And again a voice was heard which said, "This is Moses the great prophet, who received the law from God on Mount Sinai, and by whose hands miracles and signs were done. He became great in the sight of God and honored of all men, and another prophet like him did not arise in Israel after him. Thus also thou, if thou doest well and right, shalt be greater than all thy contemporaries. And as I was with Moses, so also will I be with thee." Then he gave him three keys. And the Blessed Mar Simeon turned around and saw that one who stood at the foot of the ladder, and said, "Lord, who is this?" And he heard a voice which said, "Call him and let him ascend and stand where thou art standing, for after thee he shall fill thy place." Then the saint called him three times, and he went up and stood where he was standing in the middle of the ladder.

Again, after these things, as he stood in prayer at noon, (p. 572) a vision appeared to him, marvellous and fearful. When he saw it he was afraid and trembled, alarmed, and covered his face with his cloak from fear. For he saw a chariot of fire with horses of flame and wheels of flame and reins of flashing rays, and its rug of blazing fire. A man sat upon it who came and stood before the saint as he was in the chariot, and said to him, "Be not afraid and be not affrighted, but be strong and valiant and brave, and of mortal man be not afraid. But rather above everything have care for the poor and the oppressed, and rebuke the oppressors and the rich. For lo, the Lord is thy helper, and there is no one who will harm or hurt thee. For thy name is written in the book of life, and a crown and honor are prepared for thee with all the Fathers, and with thy brethren the Apostles. For I am Elijah, he who in zeal shut up the heavens, and gave Ahab and Jezebel as food to the dogs, and slew the priests of Baal." When he said these things, he departed, mounting to heaven on the chariot. But the Blessed One was greatly astounded at this vision, while he thought and pondered: "Who are those poor about whom command was given? The cripples who go about begging? The oppressed? Or those who live in monasteries, who for the sake of God left their people and their possessions and rest upon the hope of our Lord?"



And when he had been many days thinking and pondering about this vision, while he stood and prayed there appeared to him Mar Elijah (p. 573) a second time in the chariot of fire. And he drew near and stood before the saint and answered and said to him, "On what account is thy mind disquieted? Concerning that which I commanded about the poor? Thou shalt care equally therefore for all men, for the poor, and the injured and the monks who dwell upon the hope of our Lord. Have a care also for the priests, the churches, and the laws of God which are established, and see that no man treat with contempt or despise the commands of the priest. Deliver the oppressed from their oppressors, rescue the burdened from those who crush them, and uphold the rights of orphans and widows. Be not afraid and do not tremble and do not be terrified, neither before kings nor judges. Do not show favoritism to the rich. But openly rebuke them, and be not afraid of them, because they are not able to harm thee, just as were unable to harm me Ahab and Jezebel, when I decreed death upon them and gave their bodies as food to the fowls of the heaven. Let not thy mind therefore be disturbed, but possess thyself in patience and endurance, and do not let bodily afflictions seem irksome to thee." When Mar Elijah had commanded him again these things, he departed from him in his chariot.

Thereupon the holy Mar Simeon, after these visions and commands, was strengthened and encouraged and given resolution and animated; so he added to his former labor tenfold, and made himself a mandra, (p. 574) standing openly day and night while every one gazed at him. He deprived himself of food, so that not even that small amount he had taken would he have allowed himself to take after these visions, had they not persuaded him to take from time to time. For as he thought of those two men who were for a sign in his vision, Moses and Elijah, he said, "Oh that one would teach me and show me by what manner of conduct those two men attained all this greatness and this excellent glory! By faith? or charity? or humility? or chastity? or zeal?" for he was greatly perplexed by that vision and by that dignity. Also he continually questioned those who were versed in Scripture, that he might learn from them about their course of life. Some told him that it was in humility, and some told him, in charity,

and some told him, in zeal. And it was not wearisome to that spiritual wisdom that it should humble itself to inquire even of the least. And when he learned from many about their courses of life, he began to adopt them for himself, immoderate fasting, standing day and night, continual prayer, persistent supplication, godly zeal which burned like a fire in him, bodily chastity with purity of his members. For what tongue is there that dare attempt the narration concerning this man, who while he was in the flesh exhibited among men the deeds and acts of the spirit? (p. 575) For he stood like a strong man, and was valiant like an athlete, and endured with fortitude all sufferings, and held in contempt all diseases, and lightly esteemed the Evil One and defeated Satan and scattered his hosts and put to nought his army, and received the crown of victory. For he publicly fastened his feet upon a pillar, clothed mysteriously with heavenly power. The fleshly body of his feet burst open from standing, but his whole mind was kindled for his Lord. The joints of his vertebræ were dislocated by continued supplication, but he strengthened his mind with love of Christ his Helper.<sup>1</sup>

He did not mind severe diseases of his body, for his mind was kindled towards his Lord all the time. He did not grow weary in distresses, and the billows which rolled over him all the time did not harm him, because his trust was stayed on his God. He was not afraid of his physical afflictions, and gave no enjoyment to his body even for one hour. His eyes were weak from vigils, but his mind was clear in the vision of his Lord. For he chose affliction rather than repose, trouble rather than rest, hunger rather than satiety. For he ardently desired that he might be in affliction in this world, for Christ's sake, that with him he might possess full enjoyment in the Holy City. For he endured such suffering, that neither among the ancients nor the moderns could be found any who had suffered as he did. For what body is there, or what limbs, that could endure with fortitude in such a manner? (p. 576) For he stood forty years upon a pillar which was about a cubit in width. And his feet were bound and fettered as though in the stocks, so that neither to right nor left was he able to shift one of them, until even the bones and sinews of his

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<sup>1</sup> There is a play on words in the Syriac.



feet were visible, from suffering. Also, his belly burst open from standing. And so his disciples used to say that the suffering of his belly was more severe than of his feet. Three of the joints of his spine were dislocated from that constant supplication with which he was bowing and lifting himself up straight again before his Lord, until he had completed his discipline. Also he lost his eye-sight forty days together while he stood upon the pillar, from fasting and vigil beyond measure. But no one knew it except his disciples. For his eyes were open and he talked with everyone, but he could not see. And when our Lord willed, and he completed the forty days, suddenly his sight was restored. And no stranger knew either that it was lost or restored, because he commanded his disciples that they should not tell any one. These sufferings therefore he endured, the brave athlete. For he stood valiantly against the heat of the sun in summer, and against the severity of the cold in winter. Therefore the sun (p. 577) was like a crucible and that saint like gold. The fire therefore lowered its temperature, the furnace of testing grew cool, and the athlete of God came off victorious. For it says in Scripture, "Who can stand before his cold?"<sup>1</sup> For the north wind came with its snow, and the west with its ice, and the east with its gale, and the south with its sultriness; all of them combined together, accompanied also by heavy rain, and joined war with the wise master-builder who had built his house upon the rock. But the wind grew calm, the ice melted, and the rain was absorbed, and the Blessed One came off victor.

Who then is not astonished that he with his feet burst open, and his belly too, stood day and night! Wounded in body like Job, he was revived spiritually like him. For Job lay upon the dung heap, yet his prayer went up on high. Thus also the Blessed Mar Simeon, his feet fastened upon the pillar, but his prayer free and well-pleasing to his God. Then the illustrious Mar Simeon was slandered by Satan, like Job, before God, when he said, "Give me power over him, that I may enter into contest with him as I please." And when he received power over him on one of those days as he stood praying, a severe disease smote him in his left foot. While he was wishing for the evening to come, it was filled with ulcers; and

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. 147, 17.

when the next day dawned, it burst and emitted foul odor and was alive with maggots. Matter and a disgusting smell came from the foot, and maggots (p. 578) fell out of it upon the ground. So powerful and bad was the stench that not even half way up the ladder could one ascend except with distress. Some of his disciples who forced themselves to go up to him could not ascend until after they had put on their noses incense and fragrant ointment. He suffered this way nine months until nothing was left of him except the breath only. And the report of his affliction was heard everywhere, even reaching kings. Bishops and periodeutes and many people came and tried to persuade him either to come down from the pillar until his disease was cured, or to take off one section from it, that it might be easier for a physician to go up to him and apply remedies to him; but he did not yield to persuasion. Even the victorious king Theodosius with his sisters sent bishops to him for the sake of this, that they might persuade him to come down a little while. But the Blessed One, as became him, dismissed the bishops skilfully by saying, "You, indeed, pray for me. And I have confidence in my Lord Jesus Christ whom I serve, that he will not allow his servant to be humiliated to such a degree that he should come down from his position. For he knoweth how his worshipper hath entrusted himself to him, and he will not let me need physicians and herbs and medicines."

(p. 579) When eight months were completed lacking twenty days, and the disease was gaining so much the more strength, and the trouble growing worse, and it was now the beginning of Lent, when he was accustomed to shut the door, the priests of the villages and many people gathered in order to persuade him that he should not close the door of the enclosure, lest he should happen to depart from the world in this trouble and they be deprived of his blessing. But the Saint said to them, "Far be it from me, all the days of my life, that I should break the vow I have made to my God. But what is mine to do I will do, and what rests with him his will shall accomplish. For whether I die or live, I am his."

When the door of the enclosure was shut and he had been in that affliction three days, his disciples thought the time of his departure was at hand, because he had entirely wasted away and nothing remained of him but his skeleton, and he



was not able to speak. Being greatly grieved, they began to beseech and implore of him that he would bless them and commend them to our Lord. Thereupon the Saint, seeing them grieved and weeping, exerted himself and talked with them with much suffering, and comforted and consoled them and said to them, "Be not troubled. For I trust our Lord, whom I serve, that he will shortly give me deliverance."

And when he had been in seclusion thirty eight days, in the night between the third day of the week and the fourth, (p. 580) in that week in which the door of the mandra was opened, at midnight suddenly there was something like lighting, and the whole cell was lighted up by it. And there appeared to him in the likeness of a youth a beautiful one clothed in white, who stood before the Blessed One between earth and heaven. And he answered and said to him, "Fear not, but be strong and of good courage. For, lo, thy discipline is ended, thy slanderer put to shame, and thy crown prepared in heaven." And as he talked with him, he stretched out his hand and touched him on that foot of his from which he was suffering. At once the disease fled from it, his pain ceased, his body was invigorated, his countenance grew radiant, his face shone, he recovered his speech, and that foul disagreeable odor passed away. And when his disciples arose early to go up to him, they found him rejoicing and serene and praising our Lord. As though our Lord had made known to him what was about to happen, he had sent away the two of them when it was evening and had not permitted them to remain with him as usual. When therefore they arose early and saw him in such a radiant condition, and saw that his mind was calm and that the foul odor was turned to sweet fragrance, they begged and implored him to tell them how that disease was cured. And especially John his disciple urged him, because he loved him greatly and was constantly with him. And when he had urged him much, he pledged them not to tell anyone during his life-time. Thereupon he told them how he was healed and what was said to him (p. 581) in that vision. For it was made known to him what was about to happen, and this he revealed to no one. But he was praying and groaning that he might depart from the world before that sign which was manifested to him should be fulfilled.

After the door of the mandra was opened, there assembled

and came to him the bishops and elders and many people, and they saw him well and cheerful and seeking mercies from God. Then the good Mar Domnus,<sup>1</sup> the Bishop of Antioch, went up with the disciple of the Saint and gave him the eucharist. Then every one went away to his own place in peace, and the athlete continued in his ascetic practice, rejoicing and praising God.

But in one of those times a certain man who was a counsellor seized the power that he might govern the city of Antioch. And he was a man evil and wicked, who oppressed and plundered many, but especially those who dyed skins red. He imposed upon them three times as much taxes as they had given in any year. So they came and informed the Saint; now they were about three hundred men; and they fell down before him. And when the Saint knew, he sent word to him, "This evil should not come through thee, that thou shouldst impose this burden upon these poor people and they should be required to bear it for ever. But be merciful to them and tax them as they were formerly accustomed to be taxed." But he in his pride and stubbornness made answer to the one who was sent to him, "Go say to Simeon who sent thee, Give them thyself some of the gold (p. 582) which thou hast collected. For I, if I seize them, will imprison them, and not a thing will be left to them." And when the saint learned these things, he lifted his eyes to heaven and said, "Lord, thou knowest that from the day I became a monk I have not taken for myself a coin,<sup>2</sup> and do not possess a thing except these skins with which I am clad; and lo, before God I am giving an account. But as for those who are thinking these things about me, Lord, forgive them." After three days the appointed judgment overtook the wicked one, and an incurable disease devoured him. His belly swelled up like a wineskin, even while those poor people were in the mandra.

Being in anguish, he wrote letters to the priests of some villages of his, that they should go up to beseech the Blessed One on his behalf. He also spent much money upon drugs and physicians, but no one could give him any help. And when those priests went up, and besought him much in his

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<sup>1</sup> *Ms.*, Domnin.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "the image of a mortal king".



behalf, the Saint said to them, "Take some of this water and go. If God knows that when he is healed he will turn away from his evil deeds, mercy will be shown him and he will recover. But if he would continue in his wickedness, he will never see this water at all."

Taking the water they went, and as they arrived at the door of his dwelling, he asked that he might be turned over in his bed, whereupon on a sudden his belly burst open, and his bowels gushed out so that he died. So he did not see that water at all, according to the word of the Saint. And there was fear (p. 583) upon many, and the oppressed were delivered, and our Lord was glorified through his worshipper.

Again, there was a tribune of the empress in the north in the land of Nicopolis, who lived wickedly. He plundered and oppressed many and robbed orphans and widows of their substance, and the judgment of God was not before his eyes. They came and made it known to the Saint about his evil deeds. He sent a message to him: "Turn away from these deeds of which I hear concerning thee, and do not take by robbery that which is not thine, lest thou lose even that which is thine." But he, impious, in his pride and arrogance was not satisfied to reject the word of the Saint, but seized him who was sent to him and heaped many insults upon him, saying to him, "Go show him who sent thee." That very day he was smitten with disease for which there was no cure, and withered up like wood, and a word never again went out of his mouth, except this which he said, "Mar Simeon, have pity upon me," and immediately he expired. And they brought him and buried him, even while he who had been sent to him from the Saint was there.

One time it was rumored that men were murmuring because he wrote letters of persuasion to them in behalf of the poor and oppressed and orphans and widows who were treated with violence. (p. 584) And the Saint was troubled in his mind and said, "Sufficient for me is God, who knows that for the sake of helping their souls I persuade them to do good works. But henceforth, since this annoys them, I give the affair into the hands of God." So he commanded his disciples, and said to them, "Do not send anything to anyone, nor receive a thing from those who bring gifts, until I see what the will of God is." And after three months, in which the oppressed came

there and no one listened to them, and others brought alms which no one received from them, so that both parties went away grieved, there appeared to the Saint a wonderful and fearful vision. As he prayed at midnight he saw two men whose aspect was very pleasant, and many people were with them. One of them accused the Saint and said to him, "These are the commands which were enjoined upon thee: that thou shouldst be patient and longsuffering<sup>1</sup> towards everyone, and so shouldst prosper and succeed. But thou—instead of this thou hast been impatient, and in the little while that humanity has pressed upon thee, whom I sent to thee, thou hast grown tired of them and hast restrained thyself from sending out a word in behalf of the oppressed and sorrowful and persecuted. Besides thou hast not received thankofferings from those who brought them in recognition of the saving of their lives. But since this is thy choice, I will take away from thee those keys which I gave thee, and another will receive them; and do thou continue as thou art."

(p. 585) But the other one, when he saw how greatly chagrined the Saint was, made entreaty for him and said, "I will pledge for him that he will do everything thou commandest him." And he approached and said to the Blessed One, "It is thine to say, and thy Lord knows what he will do."

Just after this vision there came to the Blessed One two youths, sons of a certain man who was a friend of the Saint, and made known to him that a certain Comes in Antioch, a wicked man, who held the government of the East, was making great misery for them in that he was seeking to bring them into the council, because of the enmity he had against their father, and so was trying to take revenge.<sup>2</sup> When the Saint learned it, he sent word to that wicked one, "Do not harass and vex those boys, because they are mine." But he, vile one, in mockery sent back word to the Blessed One: "If thou dost command me, I will carry filth after them and like a slave will wait on them." When that wicked man heard that the

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 510.

<sup>2</sup> The reason why the young men wished to escape office was because higher municipal officials were so weighted with heavy expenses that it often ruined their fortunes. Hence they represented the governor's act as a piece of vindictiveness. (Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 217.)



door of the mandra was closed for the fast of forty days, he saw the boys as they entered the city, and seized them, taking from them pledges that they would enter and attend upon the council. They then sent their guardians with a certain attendant who was attached to them, who went and told the Saint these things. He sent word to him a second time: "I have said to thee, Keep thyself (p. 586) from those boys and do not harass them, lest harm befall thee, and no one will be able to give thee aid." But that wicked and evil Pharaoh the second, in his pride and arrogance, could not conceal the deceit that lurked in his mind but showed his wickedness openly, and in the presence of his retinue said to the one who was sent to him from the Saint: "Go say to Simeon who sent thee, 'I hear that thou art shutting thyself up for forty days, and no one will enter thy dwelling or bother thee in that time. But take the trouble to curse me roundly during those days, for I do not desire that any of thy prayer should be inflicted on me!'" Which did indeed happen to him. The fool did not know that the justice of the Lord was already standing over him. When the Saint heard this from the one who was sent, he shook his head and laughed softly to himself and said, "The simpleton! he hath sent word that all the forty days we should concern ourselves with him, and desist from the prayer in which we entreat God for our sins and for every creature; before one breath of the justice of the Lord can he stand? As for us, we counseled him that thing which we knew to be for his advantage. Since then he hath chosen for himself the curse rather than the blessing, the thing which he asketh from the Lord he will quickly grant him." The Saint closed the door of his cell on the first day of the week, and one day only remained that vile one at peace; then a destined fearful judgment such as befitted his deeds overtook him. For they accused him before the king and the governor, when he was not aware, because of the wickedness which he did and because he (p. 587) harassed many. So five officers were sent after him, whose minds were more malignantly cruel than his. And on the third day of the week, in that first week of Lent, they seized him publicly in the forum as he was passing along in state. And they dragged him down from his chariot with great violence and unbelted him and, tearing off his toga from him, cast a rope about his feet and dragged him headlong, and so

drew him along in a most unmerciful manner, because his humiliation was from the Lord. Then they threw him into irons, as had been commanded them. Thereupon he sent and had those boys brought, against whom he had stood, and entreated them, saying, "Go beseech the Saint to write to the king in my behalf. For I know that all this has befallen me because I treated his command with contempt." But they replied, "The Blessed One has closed the door of his cell, and is talking with no one except his Lord in prayer. But if the door of his cell were opened and he heard, then he would write to the king and the governor. For Mar Simeon is as compassionate as his Lord." Then they led him away and brought him up with insulting treatment into all the cities on the route, and when they entered the royal city, there also he experienced great insult, all his property was plundered, and he was sent into exile. And as he was going on the way, he died a grievous death. So that curse which he had asked for followed him even to the day of his death.

Again, after the door of the Saint's cell was opened, (p. 588) there came there many people from the region of Aphshon, who made known to him about those large fieldmice and arnogs<sup>1</sup> which were lacerating live sheep and eating their entrails so that they died. They even leaped<sup>2</sup> upon the oxen and cattle, whereupon the animals would run until they were exhausted and fell; then they ate them. They had a way of grunting like swine, and would not flee from the presence of a man. Moreover they ventured up to small children and followed after them like dogs. And when the Saint heard, he was amazed and astounded, and marvelled and said, "No one can stand before the abominable vermin if it is given power; before the justice of the Lord who can stand?" But as they greatly besought him with tears and groans, he said to them, "Take some of this *hnāna* in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and make in every house three crosses, and on the four sides of every village make the sign of the cross; then keep vigil there and observe the eucharist three days and entreat our Lord. I have confidence in God whom I worship, that on the third day not even one will be found there." So they went

<sup>1</sup> A kind of large mouse or rat.

<sup>2</sup> Read *clase* in place of *ajao*.



and did as he said to them, and on the third day no one knew what had happened to them, but it was as though the earth had opened its mouth and swallowed them up. And they turned away and went to their homes, praising our Lord who had shown lovingkindness to them.

(p. 589) Again, there came to the holy Saint many people from Lebanon, who told him about some evil creatures which went out in all Mount Lebanon and were ravaging and attacking men and devouring them. And lamentations and mournings were resounding in all the mountain, for there was not a village there in which there had not been at least two or three people eaten every day. And sometimes, forsooth, they appeared as women whose hair was shaved, wandering about lamenting; and sometimes again as beasts. And they even entered into houses and seized people, and snatched infants from their mothers' breasts, and ate them before them, while they stood and looked on at their sucklings, unable to succour their own children, so that there was mourning and lamentation. Absolutely no one was able to go out to the field unless many went together armed with swords and staves. Not even under those circumstances would they get out of a man's way, except for a little way, and then again they would turn back into their tracks. And when the holy Saint heard these things, he said to them, "God has rewarded you according to your deeds. For ye have forsaken him who made you in his goodness and feeds and cares for you in his mercy, and ye have taken refuge in dumb idols which have no profit in them, which do neither good nor evil. On this account God has delivered you over to the evil animals, which have taken vengeance on you. Go call now on those idols which ye worship; let them be your protectors and drive away from you this wrath which is sent upon you (p. 590) from God." But they entered and prostrated themselves before his pillar with loud outcries; also many people who happened to be present implored him in their behalf. When the Saint saw how they were prostrated and supplicating, and that people besides were weeping and entreating, for their story was fit to bring tears, because their affliction was without mercy (for parents saw their children eaten up before them, and their limbs torn to pieces, and their corpses dragged away, and they could not help them), he said to them: "If indeed ye forsake that error which possesses you,

and turn to God your Creator and make a covenant that ye will be Christians and will receive baptism, then I will entreat the God whom I serve, that he may have mercy upon you and remove from you this rod of wrath which has come upon you." And they all out of the agony of their hearts cried out as though with one mouth and said, "If thou prayest for us and this rod of wrath passeth away from us, we will covenant ourselves and bind ourselves in writing before thy holiness, that we will be Christians and receive baptism, and renounce idols and break down their shrines and smash their images. Only let this scourge pass away from us." And when the holy master saw that they repented with all their heart, he said to them, "Take some of this *hnāna* (p. 591) in the name of Christ, and go, and on the borders of each village set up four stones; and if there are elders there, call them, and upon each stone make three signs of the cross, and keep vigil there three days. Then ye shall see the sign which God will do, because never again will they destroy the likeness of man there." Which thing God did really do. For they went and found that from that very time when the Saint prayed, not one of them ever again entered a village, neither had power to hurt a man; but they went and came in the fields, but did not enter the villages, and were not molesting<sup>1</sup> any one. For as though the command of heaven was upon them, thus they seemed. And after they went and did as the holy master said to them, there was there a great sign and marvellous wonder. For there came from all that region men, women, and children without number, and receiving baptism they became Christians and turned to God from that vain superstition. And they told before him: "After we went and set up those stones and made the sign of the cross upon them, as thy holiness commanded, and those three days of vigil passed away, we saw, forsooth, those animals going and coming and walking around those stones and howling; and their howling was loud upon the mountain. Then some of them fell down and burst open as they stood beside those stones, and some of them, again, went away howling. And, forsooth, by night their howls (p. 592) were heard like the sound of women wailing and crying out and saying, 'Woe upon thee, Simeon, what hast thou done to us!'" And they brought

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<sup>1</sup> Reading *موتوا* instead of *اموتوا*.



with them the pelts of three of them, and they hung on the door of the mandra a long time. And those skins were not like leopards', nor bears', but the colors were various. They continued about ten days in that howling and wailing, and some died, and of the rest not even one could be found by searching. And the people of that region, after they received baptism and became Christians, remained in the mandra of the Saint about one week; then they went away to their houses rejoicing and praising and blessing God, who had shown loving-kindness to them. And from that time they failed not to come and go to the Saint and receive baptism, they and their children. And this was for the advantage and wellbeing of their souls.<sup>1</sup>

Again, there was a large spring in the vicinity of Ganadris in a certain village, which watered many fields. And suddenly it failed and dried up and ceased its flow, so that the trees withered and whatever was sown by them among their water-courses completely failed. And they fetched workmen who digged and delved, but all to no purpose. Then at last they were compelled to come and tell him concerning what they had done. For the Saint had issued an order that on the first day of the week no workman should work until the evening. But one of them dared to go irrigate (p. 593) on the first day of the week, at dawn, and when they saw it, instead of stopping him or hindering him, as though the thing pleased them they all scattered, went out and left the church, and each one of them went to his own quarter to irrigate. And after evening came on they left the fountain full and gushing. Then they arose early in the morning seeking in it at least one drop of water, but there was none. And this from which they had drunk on the first day of the week was hot and dry as though a fire smouldered in it. And when they saw, they smote their faces with their hands, because of what had happened to them in their presumption. So when they had toiled and employed every device, and no help came from any quarter, they were compelled to come and tell the Saint. As soon as he heard their confused stories, he knew and understood and said to them, "This appears to me to be a case of law-breaking."

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<sup>1</sup> The Maronites are probably descendants of these converts who embraced Christianity after Simeon's intercession had, as they believed, freed them from the ravages of wild beasts (Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History* p. 220).

Seeing that they were detected, they told him the affair just as it really was and as it happened. And when the Saint knew, he was exceedingly enraged at them and scolded them severely, and ordered that they drive them out of his presence with violence and blows. For he was blazing like fire with zeal for his Lord. And when they went out from him, they cast themselves down and fell prostrate by the outer door of the mandra, and lay three days beseeching and imploring everyone who entered or went out that he would try to persuade the Saint for them. (p. 594) And their elder went and brought elders and other periodeutes and tried to persuade his Holiness. He learned that they had indeed been at the door three days, and his compassion was manifested upon them, and he gave commandment, and they entered his presence. Then he said to them, "I advise you for your own salvation. For neither gold nor silver am I seeking for you, but your souls, that I may establish them before God in confidence." And when they entered, they confessed their folly and made an agreement in writing that they would never do the like of this again. He said to them, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ take three chips and make upon them crosses and throw them into the fountain where it springs out. And take *īmāna* and make three signs of the cross on this side and on that; then go in, keep vigil in the church. At dawn, arise, see what our Lord has done." So they went and did as he said to them, and arose at dawn and found the fields all overflowed and the fountain full and spouting forth three times as much as formerly. Then they all came in a crowd; and, praising and blessing God who did this lovingkindness for them, they went away in peace rejoicing.

These things, then, and more than these our Lord performed through the saint Mar Simeon. For what mouth can speak or tell about the signs and heroic exploits which our Lord did through him, not only in the neighborhood but also at a distance, both on sea and (p. 595) among the heathen and among Magi who worship fire and water. And really, I think, in the case of the Saint was fulfilled that which our Lord spoke in his Gospel: "Those who believe in me, the works that I do shall they do."<sup>1</sup> For it is written concerning Simon Peter,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jo. 14, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 5, 15.



that his shadow as he passed by overshadowed the sick and they were healed, and it fell upon such as were very ill and they recovered. And again<sup>1</sup> concerning the apostle Paul, that his girdle or his handkerchief they took and, going, put upon such as were smitten by the Enemy, and they recovered; and upon the sick who were ill of obstinate diseases, and they were delivered from their afflictions. But Mar Simeon the Blessed, while he was indeed their spiritual brother and disciple, greatly admiring their labors and following in their footsteps, with his soul exulting every time he heard of their heroic deeds, yet was one whose measure extended very far above that of all other men. For he did not walk upon the earth that his shadow might fall upon any one, nor was aught of his clothing sent to the sick at any place; but only words of prayer proceeded out of his mouth and went to far-away places, and his Lord wrought healing and recovery.

About those things which I said that our Lord did through him and through his prayer in distant places and on the sea and among the heathen, a little from much we will narrate. For they are many; and who is able to speak or tell about them? The treasury of Christians is a great ocean (p. 596) whose breadth is immeasurable and its depth unfathomable. For as one who fills a bottle from the ocean or takes a spoonful out of the Euphrates or lifts up a grain from the sand, without diminishing their quantity or lessening their number; thus also whoever draws out and takes, is satisfied with the gift of the spirit which the servants of God receive from their Lord. For He is rich, and they suffer no poverty. For, few of the many heroic acts of the faithful are written, for the benefit of humanity, and as the ear can receive. For they resemble their Lord in their activities, who follow in the footsteps of their Lord, him of whom said the Evangelist in wonder and astonishment, as he saw the deeds and works of his unnumbered mercies, which can not be reckoned up: "If one by one were written those things which did our Lord Jesus Christ, the world would not contain the books which should be written."<sup>2</sup> As for the holy Mar Simeon, then, since your ear loves to hear of his illustrious deeds, and more sweet to you than honey to those who eat it is the story of the beauti-

<sup>1</sup> Acts 19, 12.<sup>2</sup> Jo. 21, 25.

ful deeds which our Lord did through his athlete; little from much, dear Sir, from the treasury of the splendid acts of the Blessed One we are telling before you—those things which we saw with our eyes and handled with our hands; and these also which happened at a distance, and were written by faithful men to the saint.

For there came to him Antiochus bar Sabinus, made prefect of Damascus, and said to his Holiness before every one (p. 597): "Naaman came up to that desert which is near Damascus, and made a feast and invited me. For at that time there was not yet enmity between him and the Romans. While we were sitting at meat, he introduced the subject of Mar Simeon and said to me, 'This one whom you call Mar Simeon, is he a god?' And I said to him, 'No, he is not a god, but he is the servant of God.' Again Naaman said to me, 'When the report about Mar Simeon was heard among us, and some of our Arabs began to go up to him, some chiefs of my camp came and said to me, "If thou allowest them to go up to him, they are going to be Christians and will follow the Romans and rebel against thee and leave thee." Then I sent and called together all my camp and said to them, 'If any one dares to go up to Mar Simeon, I will take off his head and the heads of all his tribe, with the sword.' When I had spoken and commanded them and had let them go, at midnight as I lay in the tent I saw a certain man of splendid appearance, the like of whom I had not seen; and there were five others with him. When I saw him, my heart failed, and my knees quaked, and I fell down and worshipped him. But he indignantly returned a severe answer to me, saying, "Who art thou, that thou dost restrain the people of God from the house of God's servant?" Then he commanded those four, and they stretched me out by my hands and feet, and that other one (p. 598) gave me a severe and cruel beating. There was no one to rescue me from his hands, until he had compassion upon me and gave command; whereupon they released me. Then he drew the sword which he was carrying and showed it to me and swore to me with solemn oaths, "If again thou darest to hinder even one person from prayer in the house of Mar Simeon, with this sword I will cut off thy limbs and those of all thy tribe." I arose in the morning and assembled all the tribe and said to them, "Whoever wishes to go up to the house of



Mar Simeon and there receive baptism and be a Christian, let him go safely and without fear." And moreover Naaman said to me, "If I were not a subject of the King of Persia, I also would go up to him and would be a Christian. By reason of that fright and beating, for more than a month I was unable to rise and go out of doors. And lo, I commanded, and there are churches, bishops, and elders in my camp. And I said, "Whoever wishes to be a Christian, may be without fear. And whoever desires to be a heathen, this again is his privilege." And everyone who heard as it was told, gave glory to God, who was so enlarging the fame of his worshippers everywhere.

Again, a certain Magian among the Persians, chief of all the Magi, even he who was chief of all that wickedness, entered the presence of that one who was called "King of Kings", and power was given to him over the Christians, whom they called Nazarenes, that he might oppress and beat and imprison and chastise them as (p. 599) he pleased, in order to make them renounce their religion. Those who stood steadfast and did not apostatize, he had power to send out of the world by cruel tortures and painful deaths. And when this wicked and vile one received the power over the flock of Christ, like a shameless wolf without mercy, the enemy of the Lord<sup>1</sup> seized and bound and flogged and beat many people, men and women, elders and monks, and laymen besides, not a few, them and their wives and their children, and inflicted many torments upon them and passed sentences of torments of all kinds, like a man who did not have the judgment of God before his eyes; and the wicked one knew not that the just judgment of the Most High would quickly overtake him. For after he had tortured them as he pleased, with all tortures and torments, he seized and bound about three hundred and fifty of them, and threw on them irons and chains and fetters, and imprisoned them all together in a dark house. Then he set guards over them, so that no one should give them bread or water, but that thus they might die of hunger and thirst. But after they had been in this misery about ten days and there was no one to have compassion on them and deliver them, as they prayed they said in prayer, "O God, to whom all these things are

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "the son of the left hand".

easy, at the prayers of Mar Simeon thy worshipper, according to thy divine pleasure, let there be deliverance to the souls that take refuge in thee. And let not these vile heathen say, 'The Christians have no God.' (p. 600) While they prayed and all together made supplication, at midnight our Lord did a great miracle before them. The Saint appeared to them, standing on the pillar, and stood among them, and a great light was with him, and blazing torches, and he was clothed in white skins, and his face seemed like lightning, and he said to them, "Peace be with you, my brethren. I am Simeon, your brother, he who stands upon the pillar in the land of the Romans." Then he descended and greeted them and said to them, "Be strengthened and of good courage, neither let your minds be affrighted nor your hearts be troubled. For lo, your trial is ended, and your crown is prepared and kept in heaven before your Lord. You have two days more to be here; then on the third day you shall be released and go out in honor and triumph, and persecution shall cease and stop from the people of God, and his church. Even to-day a fearful judgment will overtake your enemy, and an affliction without mercy smite him. As he is exalted so shall he be humbled, and all the East be aware of his stroke." Having spoken thus to them, again he was found standing on the pillar in the same manner in which he entered among them, and he floated away vanishing from their midst. But their great misery was alleviated after they had seen the Blessed One, so that indeed they were thinking that they were not even in prison.

But he, the illustrious Mar Simeon, went to that impious one in fearful apparition (p. 601) and indignant countenance, as he stood on his pillar, and there were with him torches like lightning. And when the wicked one saw him, his heart trembled and his knees shook, and his spinal joints were loosened, and his color turned to pallor, and he was like a dead man. He talked to him indignantly and terribly, and said to him, "Most vile and abominable of all men, art thou trying to oppose thyself to the name of the Lord God, and hast thou received authority over his servants, to oppress and scourge, and compel them to apostatize? Lo, now, quickly will overtake thee the justice of the Almighty; and who will be able to deliver thee or set thee loose from His hands?" When he had spoken to him these angry words, on a sudden



there was something like a flash of lightning, and it smote that evil man so that it threw him down on his face. And a raging fire was kindled in him, and his whole body burned, and the smell of his burning went a great distance. Then Mar Simeon said to him, "These documents which thou hast received from the king, send back to him. And send him word, 'Thus saith Mar Simeon, who standeth on a pillar in the land of the Romans, If thou dost not send and fetch out all the servants of God who are in prison, and let persecution of the church of Christ cease and come to a stop at thy command and through thy written documents'—, then I will bring upon him after three days something more severe than this judgment of thine." And when the holy Saint had said these things to him, he was taken up and ascended from his presence. (p. 602) As for the wicked man, he fell down crying out with shrieks because of that judgment, severe and bitter, which had seized him. At the sound of his howling many people collected, and when they saw him in that severe merciless pain, they quaked and feared. And when they asked him what had happened to him, he said to them, "Simeon, that Christian who stands on a pillar in the land of the Romans, has treated me thus, because I persecuted the adherents of his faith. He said to me, moreover, 'Thou worshippingest the fire, so in the fire will I burn thee; we will see if it will come to thine aid.' He commanded me, too, that those documents which I received from the King concerning the Christians, I should send back to him, and send him word, 'Command that all the Christians who are persecuted and imprisoned be released.' And thus he said to me, 'Unless he shall give orders and they go out inside of two days, and there be peace upon the Christians' church, a judgment more cruel and painful than this of thine I will bring upon him.'" And he who is called "King of Kings", when he received the letters and learned from several people about the suffering and pain, cruel and severe, of that impious one, immediately issued orders, and all the incarcerated Christians were set at liberty, and the churches also that had been closed were opened. A manifesto was issued and posted in villages and cities of the Nazarenes, that no one should say a harmful word to them; but they should practice their worship according to former custom, without let or hindrance.

And bishops and elders who were far away and were not aware of what had happened, (p. 603) when they saw that on a sudden the command had gone forth, were astonished. And when those who had been imprisoned were released and had gone forth with great honor, and they learned from them how the Saint had appeared to them, and how he talked with them, and that all he said to them had proven true and had been realized, and they heard also of the affliction and severe judgment of that vile and wicked man, they praised and blessed God. And being all assembled together, they recorded the facts in writing and sent it to the Saint by three elders from that place; and it was read many times before them. They were with the Saint two weeks; then they returned to their home blessing and praising God. But the wicked man was in that distress, tormented with fire and consumed by worms, about ten days. Thus he died a death evil and distressing, and there was fear and terror upon all who beheld it. On account of it many turned to the fear of God, and becoming Christians received baptism.

And again, on the sea many times the Saint appeared manifestly to many sailors and helped them in their distresses in the time of danger, when storms and tempests arose against them. And they came and told him how they saw him plainly in the time when they were in peril, when immediately, as soon as he appeared, the sea grew calm, the waves were stilled, (p. 604) and the tempests were quieted. The Saint was much concerned, moreover, for the affairs of those who sail on the sea.

Now one time it happened that a certain large ship was going down from Arabia from the upper district, and there were in it many people both men and women who were going down to their homes in Syria. Having embarked, they had gone half the journey, when the waves became stirred up, a violent wind raged, darkness fell upon them, and the ship was near to capsizing. For they would mount up to the sky, as it is written (Ps. 107:2, 3, 6), and would descend into the abyss. And as they cried out and were distressed and supplicated with tears and groans, and there was no help nor deliverance from any quarter, every one covered himself and fell upon his face, that he might not see death approaching. For they felt sure that they should never see dry



land again, especially because they saw a man who was black and looked like an Indian,<sup>1</sup> who came and stood on the top of the mast which stood amidships. For it was said of him that every time he was seen in a ship he sank her. When every one had given up hope of his life and believed he would die, and prostrate and wailing they had covered their faces, there was a man there from the village Aṭma, which is beside Āmēs,<sup>2</sup> who had with him a little of the Saint's *hnāna*. And our Lord willed and put it in his mind that he might show a miracle by his worshipper (p. 605) and give deliverance to those endangered souls by the hand of his believer. So he recollected, and standing up and taking that *hnāna*, he made the sign of the cross with it on the mast which stood amidships, and rubbed handfuls of it on both sides of the ship while all the prostrate people cried out, "Mar Simeon, entreat thy Lord and help us by thy prayers!" Immediately the Saint appeared, holding a scourge in his right hand. And he went up and stood on the top of the mast and seized the Indian<sup>3</sup> by his hair and held him out and whipped him with the scourge, while the sound of his howling echoed over all the sea. And when he had scourged him severely and let him go, he fled still howling, as though many were pursuing him. And as he fled, thus he cried: "Woe to thee, Simeon! It is not enough for thee that thou dost banish me from the land, but lo, from the sea as well thou art driving me. Now where shall I go?" And from the time the Saint appeared to them, the waves were calm, the tempest ceased, the air was clear, and the sea was quiet from its commotion. The Saint said to them, "Fear not, for you shall suffer no harm"; then he vanished from them. And from that time the wind was fair for them, and they proceeded on their voyage quietly without fear, until, our Lord willing, they entered the haven. And many clave to the one from Aṭma and came to the mandra of the Saint, where they recounted those things before him (p. 606) and before everybody. And every one who heard it blessed God, who had shown lovingkindness to them and saved them at the prayer of his believer.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Indian" here means Ethiopian (negro), as often.

<sup>2</sup> Assemani's text has "Amid".

<sup>3</sup> See above.

<sup>4</sup> The old popular superstition about the demon of the storm and the

Again, another ship was in port in Cyprus, loaded and full of much cargo, ready to sail to the west with many passengers and sailors on board, and some who were about to go up for trade; when suddenly a whirlwind came on, it grew dark, and the wind blew a gale, and entering into the ship, like the whirlwind which it was, lifted it from among its fellows, and it went up spinning around as far as the eye could see, like a stone slung by an engine; those who were in it wailing, and those outside of it crying out for help. It was indeed matter for groans and tears. For if it came down in the sea, it would sink and never be seen again. And if, on the other hand, it fell outside on the land, it would be broken to shivers, and all the people who were in it would be killed. When they saw that it was all up with them, and help there was none unless the mercy of God willed it, they began to cry out and pray, saying, "Oh, Saint Simeon, help us by thy prayers!" And lo, once more, immediately the Saint appeared, standing beside the ship and encouraging those who were in it. And stretching out his right hand he seized hold of the ship and thus safely and gently brought her down, and drawing her along brought her and set her upright in the sea just inside the harbor, as one would take hold of a light thing. And the ship received not a particle of damage, (p. 607) and neither did the people in her. And when the ship came down and was standing in her place, those disturbances and whirlwinds became quiet. Many saw the Saint, besides those who were on board the ship. And they told it before everyone, how he encouraged them as he stood by them. And all who saw and heard those things which were told gave glory to God.

And when the master of the ship saw this great miracle which was performed, he took five of the sailors who were on board the ship, and came to the holy Saint, to whom they recounted those things before everyone. He said to him, moreover, "If thy Holiness commands me to journey by sea, at thy command, sir, I will sail. But if not, I will never embark again. But I will go sell the ship and will not seek the wealth of sea-trade." Then the holy Saint said to him, "Take some of this *hnāna* in the name of our Lord Jesus

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heavenly deliverer is here crassly transferred to Simeon. (Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 222.)



Christ, and go make the sign of the cross three times on the ship and set sail. And I have hope in my Lord that he will accompany thee, and thou wilt go in safety and return prosperously." And all as many as heard when it was told were astounded and amazed and praised and blessed our Lord, who did in such wise the will of his worshipper.

Again, there was a certain maiden in the Persian domain, the daughter of a Christian, and she was beautiful to see and of comely appearance. More than her external appearance her mind was beautiful (p. 608) and excellent and charming, and acceptable to God. And one of the accursed fire-worshippers saw her, a basilisk who had the title of Marzevān, and he lusted after her to take her as one of his wives. For the girl, though a Christian, did not belong to any religious order. But when he sent to her parents many times, she neither gave heed to those who came nor gave them answer. For she said, "God forbid that I should go up to the bed of a vile man who worships the fire." Therefore he went and sought to get her by an order from him whom they called "King of Kings". Then seeing that she did not obey it, he seized her by force, with many people, as though by command of the "King of Kings". And when she remained constant to her resolve and said, "Though I die, I will not go up with thee to the bed, for I am the virgin of Christ," he scourged her and shutting her up inflicted severe and bitter tortures upon her. And as she stood by her first resolve and said, "Though I die, with thee to bed I will not go up," and he was ashamed to have her flout him, thereupon he commanded his menials to hang a great stone weight on her neck and throw her into the river at the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris. And as they took her out to throw her in, she raised her eyes to heaven and said, "O God of Saint Simeon, do thou help thy maidservant and see that for thy name's sake I am about to die, because I will not defile myself in the bed of the unclean and abominable man who denies thy name and worships dead idols." They put the weight on her and threw her into the river. At the very moment she fell, the Saint was there standing in the midst of the river, and reaching out his hand grasped her and drew her out and fetched her up out of the river and stood her on the dry land. Then he loosed the weight from her and said to her, "Fear not,

my daughter. The God in whose name thou believest is thy deliverer. As for that vile heathen, lo, the right hand of the Lord will smite him with an incurable disease." And he lead her and brought her as far as the edge of her village holding her by her right hand, while he exhorted her not to fear. When she reached her village he said to her, "My daughter, go in peace, and may the Lord be with thee." Then she entered, and her parents saw her, they who were sitting in great grief and mourning on her account, and they were amazed and trembled and were astonished. And when they asked her by what means she came, she told them everything as it had happened, and how the Saint drew her out and brought her up from the river and conducted her as far as the border of her village, and all he said to her, and how suddenly he vanished from before her eyes when she reached the edge of the village. As she was telling her parents, many gathered at sight of her, and lo, on a sudden the sound of violent weeping went up from the house of that wicked man who had seized her. For as he reclined and dined, and his servants were standing and waiting on him, and he was thinking how he would vent his spite on the parents of the girl (p. 610) as well, a fearful judgment overtook him. For as he reclined he saw a terrible man enter and draw his sword. And when he saw him, he was terrified and affrighted. He leaped to stand in front of him, and struck him on the head with the sword. Immediately his whole right side withered from his head to his toes, and he cried out violently with a loud voice and said, "Because I persecuted the maidservant of the God of the Christians it has happened to me thus; woe to him whoever assails or opposes him!" And he never spoke another sentence, but lay in that great affliction, tortured, suffering, and worn out, prostrate like a dried-up tree, and he became a source of terror to those who beheld him. Because of his experience many of the heathen were afraid and terrified, and refrained from persecuting or harassing the Christians. Then the father of the maid took the trouble to go up with many of the citizens of his place to the mandra of the Saint. And he told these things in the presence of the blessed St. Simeon before everyone. And all those who heard as he recounted, gave praise to God. And the father of the girl and the people of the village stayed with the Saint



a week, when, having received his blessing, they turned back in peace, rejoicing and praising and blessing God.

These things then and many besides our Lord did through his Athlete. Also, rain was restrained many times; whereupon they assembled (p. 611) and coming to him besought him. He then supplicated his Lord, and He did his will so that there was rain, and worn out souls were refreshed and confessed and praised God and went down from his mandra rejoicing.

One time there was a great lack of rain; the whole winter passed, and Lent was now about to begin, yet not a drop of rain had fallen. Everybody prayed and made supplication, for the whole region of Beth Gubbē<sup>1</sup> was exhausted by drought. And to the mandra of the Saint every day came the priests, covered with sackcloth, their heads sprinkled with ashes, and their flocks with them, with tears and groanings. So they continued in that drought, while daily all creation was bowing down in the mandra of the Saint; yet there was no relief from any quarter. The winter now was about past and Lent therefore just commencing, when the Saint closed the door of his mandra. There happened to be there a certain procurator who had been very constantly in the mandra, and he loved, too, the disciples of the Saint. Being a man who had great freedom of speech with them, he said to them jokingly, as they stood talking together, "It is written that Elias prayed and his Lord did his will, so that there was rain. Samuel also prayed in harvest, and his Lord answered, and there was rain in harvest. But today perhaps there is no one whose will his Lord will do as he did for those ancients. For, lo! how long a time all creation is (p. 612) tormented; yet no help comes from anywhere." When prayer was finished, and everyone went to his task, those disciples of the Saint drew near and told these things and said to him, "Thus did *Ḳuriakos* the procurator say to us."

But the Saint, when he heard these things from these his disciples, was confounded greatly and said to them, "I take oath that up to this time I have not prayed before my Lord that there should be rain upon the earth, because I see their rebellious deeds. But now that the Evil One hath sown this

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<sup>1</sup> "House of Wells".

seed in their minds, send men everywhere and summon the priests with their flocks." But the disciples of the blessed Saint Simeon drew near and used entreaty and said to him, "Lo, every day crowds fill the mandra. Now take heed lest any should be offended and they should say, 'Behold, he is sending and gathering together the world for the sake of his aggrandisement.' If thy Holiness knows that anything will happen,—but if not, send them away about their own affairs; lo, they come and go daily of their own accord." But he said to his disciples, "Do you assemble them, and as for that which our Lord will do, it is not for you to worry about it. Do you carry out that which is commanded you, and my Lord knows what he will perform for the honor of his name." Thereupon they sent out and summoned them to come on Friday, and many people gathered there, a countless multitude. The mountains were covered, and the mandra (p. 613) was filled inside and out with men and women. They also brought in small children who were learning the letters and placed them before the Saint, and their teachers sang antiphonally with them in the Greek language "Kyrie eleison", which is interpreted, "Lord, have mercy upon us."

Now the blessed Saint, when he saw the priests with ashes sprinkled on their heads, standing in sorrow and in anxiety, while the cries of men and women within and without ascended on high, and those children, too, like innocent lambs, and moreover the sun as hot as in summer, he was greatly grieved, his soul was moved and his compassion grew fervent. After he had prayed and made supplication before his Lord a long time, he raised his eyes to heaven and sighed and smote upon his heart with his hand three times, inside of his *kasoula*.<sup>1</sup> Then again clasping his hands behind him he bowed himself with his face upon his knees and remained bowed a long time. All the people too were praying that his Lord might do the will of his believer. As he bowed and prayed, everyone also standing in grief and tears, they looked to see what our Lord would do; when, lo, on a sudden there appeared some mist of white cloud. Thunder too, deep-toned, resounded after it and spread to every side, until the whole heavens were filled with it, and the wind blew violently.

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<sup>1</sup> A coarse cloak worn by priests.



Then the rain began to fall heavily, and it was also very cold. And all the people, who a little while before had been running to the shade from the (p. 614) extreme heat, took to flight for shelter from the wind and cold and heavy rain.

And when the blessed Saint heard the sound of the water which was coming down into the cisterns as he bowed in prayer, and the voice of the people who were praising and blessing God for what they had seen, he raised himself up from the position of bowing in prayer, while his face shone like the rays of the sun, and his mind exulted and rejoiced that his Lord had done his will. And when he saw those who huddled together under shelter from the cold and rain, he called them and said to them, "A little while ago ye were weeping for rain, and now, behold, ye run from it." And he encouraged them and comforted them and said to them, "See, the Lord hath given you rain; and I trust in him and his goodness, that if ye walk uprightly, fearing him with all your hearts, keeping his laws and commandments, this year, although the winter is past, and ye have come to the conclusion that no one will reap a harvest, the Lord God will bless, so that its production will be two fold, and ye eat and be satisfied and bless the name of the Lord God." So he sent them away from him rejoicing, confessing and adoring and praising God. And there was rain again and many showers, and the year was blessed, as the Saint told them. And they filled the granaries with twice as much as the usual produce and gathered in large crops and filled their houses with the fruits of the earth. And they ate and were satisfied, and blessed and praised God their Sustainer.

(p. 615) Then after everyone was dismissed in peace from the presence of the Saint to his own place and dwelling, when evening came and the holy man remained with these disciples who ministered to him, they drew near, the two of them prostrating themselves before the Saint, and besought him with entreaty to reveal and show them in what manner he made the petition, or what he said in his prayer when he prayed and made supplication and entreated his Lord. But he was reluctant and declined to reveal or say either what he said or saw and heard. Again they persuaded him very earnestly. Then, solemnly adjuring them to tell no one during his lifetime, he revealed it to them and said, "When I saw these priests

present with their flocks, their heads sprinkled with ashes and all the people crying and these children pleading for help, I was grieved and troubled even to death. And to my Lord in prayer I said this: 'O Lord God, merciful and compassionate, either have mercy and relieve these afflicted souls who cry to thee, who are assembled on account of thy name, or take the life of thy servant and never again let me see the distress of thy people and thy servants.' After this, while I bowed and my tears fell, I saw a beautiful youth who came passing in front of me and said to me, 'Thy prayer is heard, thy petition accepted, thy wish accomplished, and thy request granted.' And at the time he spoke to me and passed before me, I heard the sound of the thunder booming and the sound of the wind blowing and the rain falling. (p. 616) Then I praised and blessed God, that he did not turn away from the prayer of his servant."

These things then, and ten times more than these signs and wonders our Lord did through the blessed Saint Simeon. For we said before that there is no one of mortal men who could enumerate or count the benefits and deliverances which God wrought through him for men. Or who, again, is able to say and recount the wonderful things which were done by his prayers in distant places? And also many visions our Lord revealed and made known to him, a multitude of which he concealed, and did not speak of to any one; because he was careful that no one should think of him that he repeated them for his own glory. About this also a revelation was made to him. For he saw two men standing before him in fair and excellent garments, talking about this matter. One of them said to his companion, "See how many visions and revelations are shown to him, which he has concealed and hidden, and not revealed one of them to any one." Thereupon the other one answered his companion, "He does very rightly. For this also he is to be commended, because he does not reveal and tell that which is shown to him from God for his encouragement. For by this it is evident that he does not seek his own glory, and there is no more any opportunity for others to speak the thing they desire." When they had discussed with each other these things and many more than these, as they were walking (p. 617) to and fro in the mandra, they disappeared. They did not say anything to the Saint



about this. He held his peace and they said nothing to him, but he knew that they said it as a caution. As a result of this he was extremely careful and refrained from repeating or saying anything about that which was revealed to him from God.

As for the monastic life and labor and practice, which he led and endured and suffered before God secretly and openly, this was evident and manifest to all men: that neither among the ancients nor the moderns was there a mortal body that could endure for one hour and withstand the hardships which the body of the blessed Saint Simeon bore and withstood. For we all know and are persuaded that for wonder and marvel the Holy Spirit wrote down the glorious deeds of believers in Holy Scripture for the comfort and encouragement and help and warning of humanity. For Moses, the great prophet, the clear-seeing eye of all Israel, the glorious athlete, the wise master-builder, the profitable servant, the vigilant mariner, the skilful pilot, the practiced scribe, the prince of the believing house, twice alone fasted forty days and forty nights, each time without eating bread or drinking water, while he was on the mount with his Lord, a cloud around, thick darkness encompassing, fire burning, smoke ascending, horns sounding, trumpets blaring, angels in trepidation, the watchers of Heaven alarmed, the holy angels and cherubim shouting, (p. 618) while Moses was talking and God answering him with the voice.<sup>1</sup> And he was refreshed, and his food was the divine vision, and his drink the heavenly splendor. He fared sumptuously in the fast and was purified in prayer. Elijah, too, the zealot, the consuming fire, in the strength of that food which he received from the angel at the command of his Lord, which no one had sown and no one had provided, went forty days and forty nights and came to the mount and entered the cave. By the fast of forty days he was made worthy to hear the divine voice and see that fearful vision at which heavenly beings tremble and earthly beings are terrified; then he was sent to anoint kings and prophets. And he received thence the earnest of his fast, that from the world of sorrows he should be translated and taken up to Eden which is filled with all manner of delights. Daniel,

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<sup>1</sup> Exod. 19, 19.

also, a man to be loved, scion of the household of faith, fasted twenty one days without eating bread or drinking water, and neither washed nor anointed himself; and a watcher from heaven, prince of the angels, was sent to him, and for his fasting and prayer revealed to him secrets and made known to him the future, and brought back the captivity from Babylon. By his fasting and prayer the seed of Abraham, the friend of God, were delivered from subjection to their enemies. And we worship our Lord for his goodness, that his compassion upon the creation of his hands was kindled, and his mercy constrained him, and coming down he wove and clothed himself with the garment of flesh which he in his goodness had formed with his holy hands as seemed good to himself; when he went (p. 619) out to the wilderness that he might be tempted, it is written that for forty days and forty nights he remained in fasting and prayer, not eating bread nor drinking water. As much as his divinity knew that the flesh of mortals can endure, so much it permitted the holy flesh which it had assumed to endure. And after the forty days in which he continued in fasting and prayer, it seemed good to his divinity and he beckoned to hunger and it came; and when he commanded, it approached him, that he might make known and show that truly indeed he had assumed the flesh of Adam, that he might be subject to hunger and thirst and weariness and sleep. And in that flesh he overcame his enemy by fasting, and put Satan to confusion and scattered his hosts, trampled sin under foot, slew death, desolated Sheol, and received the crown of victory.

If then, as we have said, our Lord performed such wonders and signs through these mighty and wonderful men, by their fasting forty days at a time, what should we say about the blessed Saint Simeon, of whom no one can tell his ascetic practices, unless it is God who knows and is acquainted with his toil and his service! For he wearied himself and struggled and toiled before his God in mighty fasts untold, and in mighty prayers unconquerable. In hunger and thirst, in heat and cold, continually, unceasingly, in supplication without interruption, and standing at all times; who gave no sleep to his eyes nor repose to his body fifty six (p. 620) years night and day. For he was in the monastery nine years, in wonderful discipline and severe practices, as we have written down and recorded above.



Then in the mandra besides, in Telneshē, he remained forty-seven years. He stood in a corner in the mandra ten years, some of the time in a cell, in great struggle and in contest and conflict with the Enemy. After these things he stood upon those smaller pillars seven years: on one of eleven cubits, on one of seventeen cubits, and on one of twenty-two cubits. And on that one of forty cubits he stood thirty years, while our Lord gave him strength and endurance so that on this he finished the days of his life in peace and tranquillity, with deeds of beneficence. He had the good end with men of peace,<sup>1</sup> and his end was ten fold greater than his beginning. His Lord did his will and pleasure and granted his request. He asked and received. He knocked at the door of his Lord in truth, and it was opened unto him. For he honored God with a perfect heart, and was honored by God with all these rewards. He loved his Lord with all his heart, more than himself and his life; for he surrendered his soul and put it into the hands of his Lord. So his Lord, who saw his diligence, gave him favor in the eyes of all men and magnified the fame of his exploits from one end of the creation to the other, and granted him besides that thing which his soul earnestly desired. For many times he asked and besought his Lord in prayer, saying thus: (p. 621) "O Lord God of Hosts, Let not thy servant come to stand in need of mortal help, and let me not descend from this place, and men see me on the ground. But upon this stone, on which I have stood at thy command and at thy word, grant me to finish the days of my life. Then from it take the soul of thy worshipper, according to the will of thy Lordship."

But perhaps there is someone who says, "What need did he have, or was this required, that he should stand upon a pillar? For on the ground or in that corner could he not please our Lord?" We all know, indeed, and are aware of the fact that God is everywhere, in Heaven and on earth, in the height and in the depth, in the sea and in the abyss, and underneath the earth and above the heavens. And there is no place devoid of his divinity, except men who do not his will. Wherever a man calls upon him in truth, there he finds him. For Jonah called upon him in the lowest abysses, and

<sup>1</sup> Psalm 37, 37.

he heard his prayer and accepted his petition, and from the inside of Sheol below he drew him forth. Again, Daniel cried unto him from the den, and the companions of Hananiah from the fiery furnace, and he sent an angel with his grace according to his petition and was a deliverer and a savior to them. By each one of his servants, wherever they sought him, there he was found: Elijah on Carmel, Abraham on the top of the mountain, quickly he heard their prayer and granted their wish and answered their petition and exalted them. In the manner that seemed best to his Lordship, in the case of each one of his servants in (p. 622) due season, as was pleasing and good in his eyes, he sent him to preach and to teach. And again, according as he willed, he gave them laws and commandments; the sons of Adam, that they should not eat of the tree; the sons of Seth, that with the daughters of Cain they should not mingle; Noah, the rainbow and the inviolable covenant; Abraham, the sign and seal of circumcision; Moses, the Sabbath and the keeping of the law. Elijah he clothed with zeal, like flaming fire. Isaiah he commanded that he should walk before him naked and barefoot. Jeremiah he commanded to put a yoke and thongs on his neck. To Ezekiel he said, 'Shave thy head and beard with a razor, take thy stuff upon thy shoulder and dig through the wall and go out as though insane.' Hosea, the holy prophet, he commanded, "Take a wife, a harlot." And to each one of his servants in his own season he commanded to live according to his will; because he has authority as Lord in his creation and as God over the work of his hands, and there is none who can find fault with the free will of his Lordship. Everyone who hears and observes and does, is kept and exalted and prospered. For Abraham was counted worthy to be called the friend of God, and Moses too was glorified and made chief and leader, while great exploits and wonderful our Lord performed through him. Elijah, too, was taken up and did not taste death. Thus, in the case of Saint Simeon, too: it pleased his Lord to have him stand on a pillar in these days and last times, because he saw the creation as though it were asleep, (p. 623) that by the distress of his servant he might arouse the world from the heaviness of its lethargy of sleep, and that the name of his

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† Ezekiel 12, 3 ff.



divinity might be praised through the instrumentality of his believer.

That thou mayest know that truly this was from God, I will tell thee the thing as it was and as it happened. Saint Simeon had a window in the mandra, before which a stone was placed which was three cubits high, and incense and a censer were put upon it. Once during the confinement of the forty days, when about three weeks had passed, there appeared to Saint Simeon a certain goodly man whose face was radiant as the light, who was girded as one who goes to war; and he saw him come and pray before the window of the sacred treasury. After the prayer was ended he went up and stood upon the stone, and, folding his hands behind him, he bowed and raised himself up; then looking at the Saint, again he lifted his hands towards Heaven and gazed upward. Three nights, then, he did thus from dusk to dawn. Thereupon the Saint perceived and understood that for his sake he did thus, and had been sent from the Lord to show him and teach him that thus he should be assiduous in his prayer. And when he ceased after three days and had passed out of sight, the Saint himself went and stood upon it three months. After that, he began to make for himself those small pillars, until he made the one twenty cubits high.

(p. 624) And that thou mayest know that in very truth this thing was from the Lord, that he stood upon a pillar, again I will tell thee that which really was. After he had stood upon those small ones seven years, up to that one twenty cubits high, he had the feeling that he should exchange the twenty cubit one and make one of thirty cubits. So when the Lenten fast drew near, he called that disciple of his who was with him, the one who served him many years, who closed his eyes, and on whose shoulder he laid his head as he surrendered his spirit to his Lord. And he commanded him and said to him, "Before the time when our Lord wills and the door of the mandra is opened, make and set up for me a pillar of two sections, which shall be thirty cubits high." He also summoned workmen and commanded them and said to them, "Before the door is opened, let it be made and erected and placed by the door." When the door of the mandra was closed, the workmen went about it to hew it. But it was as though something were opposing them, for whenever they quarried out

a section and struck it, something smote it and shattered it. So they were hewing and the stones were getting broken, until four weeks had passed, and only two weeks remained before the door would be opened. Then that disciple was troubled and the workmen as well, because the forty days were almost gone, and up to this time they had not accomplished anything. So the disciple came to him by night and called and said (p. 625) to the Saint, in distress, "My Lord, I beseech thy holiness, entreat thy Lord on behalf of this matter, that if it is according to his will, he will remove the difficulty and reveal to thy holiness that thus Satan is opposing us. And if it is not his will, why should we labor in vain, we and the workmen, and not accomplish anything?" But the Saint refused even to talk with the disciple, and said to him, "Go away, and come to-morrow." He did as he commanded him. And the next night he came and called and said to him, "My Lord, what does thy holiness command me? Shall we work or stop?" Then the Saint talked with him and encouraged him and said to him, "Be not troubled, for lo! God has corrected it according to his pleasure; and he revealed and made known to me, the sinner, the thing which I sought from him. For there came to me this night a certain man of goodly and pleasant appearance, who said to me, 'Be not discouraged about the matter which thy disciple reported to thee. For thus thy Lord wills, that thou shouldest make for thyself a pillar forty cubits high, and construct it of three sections symbolical of the Trinity, as thou believest.' And he gave me three gifts, pure and white, very beautiful and lovely. And thee also he called by thy name: 'Sacristan So-and-So, take this gift and cry aloud and proclaim and say, 'Sing unto the Lord a new song, all the earth.' But now go and do just as I said to thee; and I trust the Lord God that he will open up the door before thee."

(p. 626) And when that disciple arose in the morning and took the workmen with him, that they should go out and look for a suitable stone to hew out those three sections, the Lord opened the door before them, and they found inside the mandra a suitable stone, over which they had been going out and coming in daily. They set to work at it, and by the help of the Lord in one week they quarried and shaped it and prepared it for a pillar and brought it in and placed it at the



door of the mandra. So when the Saint opened the door, they brought it in, raised it, and put the pillar in place. And he went up and stood upon it thirty years as a single day. And his Lord granted to him that upon it he ended his days, as he requested from God, with great renown, with deeds of beneficence, acts of righteousness, and practices of perfection. And he was of profit to many, and to himself, and the name of his Lord was praised because of him and on his behalf from one end of the creation to the other. And he waxed influential and increased in his honor and exploits in his decrease more than in his life-time. The holy church was exalted by him, the horn of Christianity lifted up, and his end was much greater than his beginning, so that if there was any one of divided opinion, his mind was established and he was confirmed in the faith.

For not as an ordinary man did his Lord give him exit from the world, neither did he hide from him the day of his coronation. He revealed it to him in the manner I will describe. After he had been in the mandra (p. 627) seven years, two men appeared to him standing before him in fair and beautiful clothing. One of them grasped in his right hand a measuring rod with which he measured off forty rods, then turned to his companion and said to him, "Whenever this number forty is completed, the measure will be finished, and he will be taken. But I will make a sign the like of which has not been in these times, and then I will take him." And without the Saint fully understanding him, he repeated the measuring twice, speaking in the same way. To the Saint himself about this thing he did not say anything; only they talked with each other not a little while, then disappeared. But he was sure that it was said about him, and he was always very heedful of it. And when he saw that the number drew near, he was looking for that sign of which he had said, "I will make it, and then I will take him;" and he was reflecting as to what sort of sign this would be.

When he saw that sign<sup>1</sup> of anger which occurred in the city Antioch and its district, and he saw the whole creation which assembled there, thousands and tens of thousands, a countless throng, and saw the priests leading their flocks and

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<sup>1</sup> In June and September, 459 A. D., there were severe earthquakes.

using great diligence and care, with censers and incense and lighted tapers and crosses, and all the people running from every quarter shouting and with tears and bitter groans, and he also saw that the number was completed, he felt disturbed and summoned his first disciple and said to him privately, "As I see the number is completed, and the sign is very solemn, (p. 628) I do not know—has indeed the appointed time arrived, and am I to be taken? But before the day I will say to thee, because thou hast been with me many years and knowest that clothing of any other sort has never touched my flesh, except these skins: Now let God be thy witness if thou allowest clothing of any other kind to touch my limbs!" Thus it was that clothing of any other kind did not touch the flesh of the Saint, besides those skins. And his Lord made his departure such as I think none of those born of women in these times had. For there was an assembly of the people and of all humanity, innumerable and of untold size, for fifty-one days after that last sign which occurred in the district, and no one dared either to enter his house, except in fear, or to go out to the field, except in terror. No one was doing any work at all, but upon everyone a stupor had fallen, and they had all given up in despair, and the mind of every one was confused and distracted. They stood looking to see what the Saint would command them; for as though from the mouth of his Lord they looked to receive the command of his Holiness.

After fifty-one days had passed, as we said, there was also that great commemoration in the month Tammuz. After this the Saint never made another commemoration such as that one, whose congregation no one could (p. 629) describe. For since time began there has not been its like in creation. For God had aroused the whole world that he might bring it to the greeting and reverence of his loved one, and might show him his honor while he lived, as he did to Moses the holy when he took him up to the mountain and showed him the promised land, and then took him away. The blessed Saint Simeon summoned everyone, the priests and their disciples, the nobles and the humble, and exhorted them and comforted them, and gave them commands and admonitions that they should keep the laws and precepts of our Lord. Like a father good and compassionate, who commanded his beloved children, he said to them, "Go in the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ,



and keep vigil in your districts three days. Then go out in the name of our Lord and set to work, and let every one do his task. And I trust the Lord God, that he will be your preserver."

And after he had dismissed every one to his work in peace, thirty days passed, when, on the twenty-ninth day of the month Ab at the eleventh hour of the night between Saturday and Sunday, he suddenly felt ill, as some disciples were present with him; and pain struck him, and he began to suffer, and his whole body was feverish. He felt ill all day Sunday and Monday and Tuesday. Then lovingkindness was shown him by God, which on account of its magnitude is perhaps difficult to believe; (p. 630) but to believers everything is credible, to those who know that to their Lord everything is possible. The sign was this: The heat was severe and so intense that the ground was burned from its glow, in those days during the going out of Ab and the beginning of Elul. And to the Saint this lovingkindness was shown which I will describe; and perhaps for this purpose also that intense heat came to pass, for the sake of a test, and by reason of the sign his Lord ordained to give him an earnest of the reward of his labor, while he was in this world. For the wind blew softly, and it was cool and balmy as though heavenly dew were dropping upon the Saint. And pleasant fragrance exhaled and came from it, the like of which has not been told in the world. There was not one odor of it, but wave on wave came whose several odors were different from one another, so that neither spices nor sweet herbs and pleasant smells which are in the world, can be compared to the fragrance of those waves; because it was by the care and providence of God. For neither were they exhaled in every place, nor even the whole length of that staircase, but from its middle and upward wave on wave went forth, nor in the whole mandra. No one perceived it, because of the incense which was ascending. And when that first disciple saw it, who loved him and stayed with him day and night and did not go away from him, especially in those days when he was ill, he comforted him and encouraged him and said to him, "Behold, my lord, how thy Lord loves thee. For lo, he has done thy will and (p. 631) pleasure in everything, and brought all the world to greet thee and honor thee; and lo, he shows thee thy honor in thine eyes. And this, too,

which has not been the lot of man, he has done in the case of thy Holiness; and even now he has given thee the earnest of the reward of thy labors, for it was never heard nor spoken of in the world that incense exhaled in this manner; from this time thy Lord honors thee as thy labors deserve. But we beseech by thy God whom thou hast loved from thy youth, fill thy holy mouth with blessing and bless thy disciples, because thy perfection knoweth how we honor and worship thy righteousness." So he blessed them, and admonished and commanded them that they should tell no one about this incense. For the Saint himself knew that in very deed it was a divine providence.

On the fourth day of the week, in the second of the month Elul, at the ninth hour, as all his disciples were present with him, he gave command to those two about their companions and committed them all to our Lord. Then he stood up erect, and three times bowed, and again raised himself up, and gazed heavenward, and turned about and looked on all the world. Then all the people who were there cried out, "Bless us, Master." Again he gazed eastward and westward and on every side, then raised his hand from the inside of his cloak and blessed them, thrice committing them to our Lord. As his disciples stood and kept hold of him, as sons a father good and kind, again they said to him, "Master, bless thy servants, we beseech by thy Lord, who has done thy will and is taking thee to himself (p. 632) as thou didst ask him." Thereupon he grasped the hands of both of them and commanded them about one another, that they love one another. He commanded them also about their companions. Then raising his hands to Heaven he committed them to our Lord. Then again he lifted his eyes to Heaven and smote three times upon his heart with his right hand, and bowed and put his head on the shoulder of that first disciple. And the two disciples put their hands upon his eyes, and he surrendered his spirit to his Lord. So he fell asleep, and the labor and weariness and pain were over, when he put his head on the shoulder of that disciple, while they put their hands upon his eyes, and all the people stood and looked at him.

But his disciples, because they feared the people, lest the village should gather and come to snatch him away and there should be bloodshed and murder, made him a coffin and put



him in it on the top of the pillar, until they might secure for it a place of honor. Suddenly this was reported, and the rumor went out and spread in all the world. And astonishment and consternation seized everybody, and amazement fell upon all flesh, because so suddenly they heard this which they had not expected. Everybody's mind fell into blank confusion, their brains grew numb and hands feeble, and mourning and grief fell upon many. There were some, indeed, who mourned and sorrowed, and some again who rejoiced and gave thanks. So that rejoicing was mingled with sadness, consolation with mourning, and cheerfulness (p. 633) with gloom. For some wept and were depressed; and others, again, lifted their hands to heaven, and to God Almighty gave thanks and blessings, that this report and the good news of the coronation of Christ's servant had reached their ears.

This event was one of sadness and of joy; of mourning and of consolation. For it was sad, that such a wise pilot who steered his worldly ship with divine wisdom was taken away from the world. But it was a matter of rejoicing, that the fleshly ship of the watchful mariner had entered and arrived at the port of bliss, laden with a rich cargo, and he had escaped the billows which continually buffeted him. Ceased now the tempests with winds and hurricanes, which had battled with him and against him. His gain in trade was an abiding possession, and his Lord he gladdened with his profits. On the other hand, it was an occasion for lamentation, my brethren, because such a wise master-builder, laden with the petition of the weight of the creation, had been taken away from the world. For like beams in an edifice, his prayers held firm the world. On the other hand, it was matter for cheer, because his Master had stretched out the hand of relief and given him strength and endurance. He began in His Name, and finished in His Goodness. His building went up to the finish and was not shaken by the winds and rain and flood of sin, which throughout forty-seven years surged against it with every sort of trial. Again it was a matter of tears and sorrow, because such a spiritual father, who nourished and (p. 634) brought up his children with heavenly nourishment, had departed from their midst. Again it was a matter of gladness, that even if he did leave his children orphans in the flesh, yet he like a heavenly eagle soared upward in flight and

mounted to the craggy eyrie on high, leaving behind all fears and ascending from all harms. Again, the orphans and widows wept with tears and sighs, saying, "Where shall we seek or where find thee, who sustained and nourished us next to his Lord?" The oppressed remembered and feared, and the down-trodden were disquieted, being depressed and troubled, saying, "Woe to us, because now is opened against us the mouth of ravening and voracious wolves. And whom shall we call to awake him, the strong lion, who slumbers and lies in the death-sleep, from whose roaring they trembled, and from whose terrible voice they hid themselves like foxes in their holes?" The sufferers, too, bewailing him said, "Whither shall we go, or where seek and find a healer like thee or comparable to thee and similar to thee? Before the disease saw thee, it fled, and before the pain had come to thee it vanished; and at thy word more than by all roots and drugs they were cured."

The church, moreover, wept for him with her children, priests and their parishes, and shepherds and their flocks, with grief and with joy, with tears and with supplications, with sighs and prayers, with sorrow and cheer. For in grief they sought him who was to them as a quiet harbor and peaceful asylum. For whenever sprang up any sort of evil, which is always a trouble and disturbance of the good, either (p. 635) winds of sin or hurricane of false doctrine, he stood ready boldly, like a wise master-builder, and like a skilful workman, and like a practical pilot, and like a watchful mariner, and like a trained athlete, and like an instructed scribe, and like an armed warrior clad with the breastplate of righteousness and nerved mightily with the true faith and strengthened spiritually with trust in his Lord. He soared in prayer, and fled for refuge with courage; he raised his eyes to heaven and lifted up his gaze on high, and asked mercy from his Lord, and sought grace and help from his God. He rebuked the winds of sin and they slept, and the whirlwinds of deceit and they became still. For he roared like a lion, and was a smiter of all who stand on the wrong side. They were comforted then and rejoiced, and their gladness was mingled with thanksgiving and blessing. For they rejoiced and blessed God their Lord, who had given to his servant so that he battled and conquered, fought and won, asked and received, sought and found, and knocked and it was opened to him. He began in truth and finished in righteous-



ness. The horn of the holy church was exalted, and all her sons rejoiced with their priests, and their folds with their flocks. All the teachers of false doctrines were ashamed and confounded, who saw one thing instead of another. They were in distress then, and troubled lest at any time a root of evil should produce a plant of bitterness like unto it, and with the taste (p. 636) of its bitterness should harm and injure many. Then where should we find a healer or a burden-bearer like him or equal to him, who before the ulcer appeared cured it, or before the disease or affliction came, healed it by his prayers?

For there was once a tempest of sin and a storm of evil against the Church of Christ, through a certain evil and wicked man, whose name was Asclepiades, an uncle of the empress. He was chief procurator in the days of Theodosius the emperor; and in the days of John, Bishop of Antioch. The mind of this evil man consented with that of heathen and Jews; but he hated the Christians. He sent out an edict that their synagogues and meeting houses which the Christians had taken from the Jews should be returned to them, and that the Christians should build and purchase some for themselves. And the edict of the king and command of the prefect in regard to this was promulgated in many cities and was read to everyone. Then there was great grief and disappointment among all the Christians, especially because they saw the Jews and heathen clothed in white and appearing glad and merry. But they did not know nor understand, the fools, that quickly sadness and regret would overtake them, and it would be in their case as it was in the days of our Lord, when their fathers and priests lost their money but did not bury the truth. So also now again (p. 637) it happened to them, that the great amount of money they had given they lost, and they became a laughing-stock in the world, while their Sabbaths and synagogues remained deserted in their desolation.

For there came to the blessed Saint Simeon bishops grieved and sorrowing, who told him this; also copies of the letters of the king and prefect they brought with them. And when they read them before the Saint, he was grieved and burned with zeal for his Lord like a flaming fire. And he took a courageous stand and boldly wrote words of might filled with rebuke. He did not call Theodosius "Emperor", but he wrote

to him thus: "Since thy heart is exalted and thou hast forgotten the Lord thy God who gave thee the diadem of honor and a royal throne, and thou hast become friend and confederate and abettor of unbelieving Jews, God's just judgment will suddenly overtake thee and all those who are consenting to this business. Then thou wilt lift up thy hands to heaven and say in thy distress, 'In truth, this wrath has come upon me because I played false to the Lord God.'"

When the Emperor read it, his heart trembled and feared, and he was seized with compunction even unto death. He at once commanded, and letters were written to all the cities, that the former letters be annulled, and the Christians and priests of God should be honored. He also dismissed the prefect from his office in deep disgrace. (p. 638) And he wrote letters to the Saint by the hand of princes, in conciliating terms, and asked him to pray for him and bless him and be reconciled to him. So the distress passed away, and there was joy to the church and all its adherents, and the evil one was ashamed with his servants. Thus truth was victorious and God was glorified through his believer.<sup>1</sup>

On account of these and many more things than these they were in grief and sorrow, because had departed from them the blessed father, to whom all the priests of God were like sons; and as a mother her sons, he had cherished them under the wings of his prayers. But they rejoiced and were glad because they saw that the Athlete was garlanded, and that the spiritual warrior, who had stood manfully in the contest and fought bravely, had conquered his enemy and was written down on the side of the conquerors; the diligent husbandman, whose seed brought forth a hundredfold; the wise master-builder, whose building was finished and was not shaken by the violence of the winds and the fury of the tempests and the rush of rivers, all the long time they beat upon it; the skilful sailor, whose ship arrived at the port of bliss and was not injured by the many surging billows and the fiercely raging storms which pounded and beat against it through a stretch of years; it opposed them all, and trampled upon their necks

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<sup>1</sup> On the trustworthiness of this account of Simeon's interference in the matter of the Jewish synagogues, see Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 218, and Torrey, *JAOS*, vol. XX, 1899, pp. 254 ff.



by the great help which was from its Lord, and rejoiced its mariner by the multitude of its gains; the faithful steward, who controlled his fellows in righteousness, and received the promise from his Lord, that he should be appointed over his treasury; (p. 639) the practiced scribe, who wrought and taught, and his teaching and the word of his tongue was acceptable, and they meditated on it night and day, men and women, old and young, young men and maidens. All regions rejoiced in the teaching of the just man, evil was ashamed, and God was glorified in his good and faithful servant, whose talent was doubled, and his Lord rejoiced over his gain in trade. The horn of the Holy Church was exalted in the end of his labor and in the completion of his struggle. Her mouth was opened in praise and in songs of the spirit; she began to say, rejoicing, while her face was glad and her heart exulted, and her soul was joyful, "Now is exalted my head above mine enemies about me." For she saw with all her sons what honor our Lord bestowed upon her lover, the one who had honored her priests and upheld her laws; and she forgot the shame and pain which had always tormented her. So she lifted up her voice in praise and began to say, "Now, Lord, I will praise thee, for thou answeredst me and becamest to me a Saviour."

For not in a simple way did his Lord make the departure for his faithful one, but above all men who lived in his day and generation he magnified his triumphs in his life and death. For while he lived there came from the ends of the earth far distant peoples and barbarian tongues to greet him, to see his radiant and dear face, and to hear his divine teachings, and emperors did him homage in their letters continually by their ambassadors. And again at his death priests came, and so did their parishes and flocks, (p. 640) and the emperor's commander-in-chief with a multitude of soldiers who were under his command. For there was at the time of the Saint's death a generalissimo who held the control of all the East, Ardabur the general, son of Aspar; who were (both) honored like kings in their own dominions. He came bringing with him twenty-one prefects and many tribunes, and an innumerable host of soldiers, and they attended the funeral of the Saint. For the citizens of Antioch entreated the general and besought him with tears and many sighs, that they might bring the Saint in thither, that he might be a defense to

their city, which was ruined because of their sins; that they might be sheltered by his prayers. This was done of the Lord, that he might show how great honor he was bestowing upon him who had loved him and honored him by good works and deeds of righteousness. For he brought him down with very great honor, and in much pomp, priests and chief priests bearing him on their hands, and all the sons of the Holy Church, until they came to the village of Shih, which was about three miles distant from the mandra. And from there, again, he was placed upon a chariot, with generals and chiefs and prefects of the cities, and many soldiers surrounding him, and people innumerable and countless. For the villagers came forth for the celebration, men and women, old and young, youths and maidens, bond and free, to show their respect for him and receive blessing (p. 641) from him, as they burned incense and carried lighted candles.

The Saint's body was conducted in pomp for five days; for on the second day of the week it went out from the mandra, and on Friday it entered the great city of Antioch in great pomp and with such chanting as is beyond description, while they burned incense and lighted candles, and sprinkled sweet perfume before it and upon all the people who accompanied it; psalms and spiritual songs were chanted before it, until into the great and holy church—which Constantine the victorious and just Emperor built, whose memory shall be blessed in both worlds—it entered and was placed, a thing which had happened to none of the saints, neither ancient or modern. For no one was ever put in the cathedral church, neither of the prophets nor of the apostles nor of the martyrs, excepting only the blessed Saint Simeon himself. Also the bishop of Antioch himself and all his clergy, every day as a mark of honor chanted hymns of the spirit before him, and served with great silver censers of incense which they placed before him, continually, burning all the time sweet odors and choice incense such as they burned while he was alive, that God might show how greatly he honored him in his life and in his death.

His Lord also showed in his funeral a great triumph through him, such that all the beholders (p. 642) were amazed, and he made known the gift of healing which was given to him from God, such a thing as his labors merited. For there was a man who was possessed of an unclean spirit of an evil



demon, who had lived among the tombs many years. The burial place was close to the highway, beside a village whose name was Marwa, and all those who went and came by that road saw him. His speech was taken away, and he was bereft of his reason, and roared all the time as he went to and fro at the door of the burial place. He neither knew anyone, nor did anyone dare to approach him from fear and because of the sound of his roaring. Now when he saw that the coffin of the Saint's body was passing by upon the chariot, as though mercy from heaven was shown him, and as though for this, too, he had been kept, he left the sepulchre in which he dwelt, and running at full speed, threw himself upon the coffin in which lay the Saint's body. And just as soon as he reached the coffin his demon fled from him and the evil spirit which tormented him left him. His reason returned, he knew and recognized every one, the bond of his tongue was loosed, his mouth opened, and he praised and glorified God; and astonishment seized everyone. So was fulfilled that which is written, "The power which is in his works he shows to his people."<sup>1</sup> And he followed the Saint (p. 643) and entered the city with him. And there he was many days in the church, rejoicing and confessing and glorifying God. Also the victorious and Christian Emperor Leo<sup>2</sup>, worthy of blessed memory, sent letters with ambassadors, with great pains, and wrote to the military commanders and bishops that they should send him the body of the holy Saint Simeon, that he might honor him there in his abode as his works merited, and that their dominion might be guarded through his prayers. Thereupon all Antioch arose with all its inhabitants, and with tears and sighs wrote and entreated of him, "Because our city has no walls, since it fell in the visitation, we have brought him that he may be a wall for us, and we may be protected by his prayers." And with difficulty he was persuaded by them to accede to this request that they should leave him with them. Even to such a degree as this did God magnify his worshipper, and because he honored God he was honored by God and revered by men.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ps 110, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Leo the First, who became king in the year 457 and died in the year 474. This clause is expunged in Codex Vat. See p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> "Here ends the story of Mar Simeon the Stylite" (Assemani).

So the holy and elect of God, Mar Simeon, was at rest.<sup>1</sup> His struggle was ended, and he received his crown with high renown and with deeds of righteousness, and there was great joy to all (p. 644) who feared God, in the year seven hundred and seventy, at the end of the δωδεκάτη, that is, the twelfth year, and at the beginning of the τρισκαιδεκάτη, that is, the thirteenth year, on the second of the month Elul, on the fourth day of the week. He remained in the mandra, after he was laid at rest in the coffin on the pillar, nineteen days. But in the reckoning of the month it was twenty days, because one day previous must be reckoned to the month for the time of the Saint's death. He was laid at rest on the second of the month, and went out of his mandra on the twenty-first of the month Elul, and entered the city of Antioch on the twenty-fifth of the month, on Friday. For he went out on the second day of the week, and on Friday he entered, that is, after a period of five days, amid rejoicing and in great and magnificent pomp. May his memory be blessed, and his prayers be over the creation forever. Amen!

Here endeth the glorious life of the blessed Mar Simeon.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ["And was crowned the saint Mar Simeon on the second day of the month Elul on the fourth day of the week, at the ninth hour, in the year seven hundred and seventy-one of the Greek Era (i. e. 459 A. D.). Here endeth the excellent story of the course of the life of the perfect saint Mar Simeon of the Pillar. May his prayer aid the sinner who wrote it." (B. M. Add. 12174, fol. 48a)].

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Lent's translation and investigations were completed in the spring of 1906. Since then has appeared (in Harnack und Schmidt, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. 32, Heft 4; Leipzig, 1906) a comprehensive work on the life of the Saint by Lietzmann and Hilgenfeld, to which the latter contributes a German translation of the Bedjan text (pp. 80—180). Hilgenfeld also gives a translation of the *Letters* of Simeon (pp. 168 ff.), of which the Syriac text, with translation and an investigation regarding authenticity etc., was published by Professor Torrey in this *Journal* in 1899; see the reference above, p. 104. Ed.]



*The Tone-Accents of two Chinese Dialects.*—By CORNELIUS  
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A—Cantonese.

The Cantonese words whose "tones" are analyzed on Chart A were spoken by Mr. Sun Yap Shang, of Oakland, a well-known teacher of that dialect. Each word was a typical example of one of the "tones" of the traditional list. The records were made by the Rousselot apparatus. Of each record the wave-lengths (representing the time of each vibration) were carefully measured and plotted, forming the curves or patterns of pitch shown on the chart.<sup>1</sup> Each curve is there identified both by the number—in arabic numerals—and by the name assigned to that particular "tone" in the native list. The hair-line curves shown in the chart are plotted from duplicate records taken for control of results. In all these cases the correspondence between duplicate and original turned out to be so surprisingly close as to give assurance both as to the general accuracy of the method and as to consistency of utterance on the part of the speaker.

From the first it seemed doubtful whether under conditions of actual speech such an unusual number of tonal species could be certainly distinguished either in hearing or in utterance. But when once the figures were plotted, and it was possible to make definite comparison of them, the doubt was greatly strengthened. Few of these figures show any clear-cut distinction of form. Tone 1, to be sure, with its deep curving drop, and Tone 4 with its single short sharp note, are unmistakable. But the other eight seemed at first a mere huddle

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<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the method used see this Journal vol. xxxi, pp. 284—286.

of featureless shapes all crowded into the narrow compass of mid-voice pitch. Nowhere among them was there a rising glide or a circumflex or a low-pitched level note—figures of real individuality and character common in tonal languages. Nevertheless, after further study certain marked resemblances between members of this group of eight began to appear, leading to a rearrangement of them in four groups, each group consisting of two obviously similar figures constituting apparently a single species or type. This would be a simplification of the scheme very much to be wished, but before accepting it even tentatively certain matters must be considered.

1. In all similar studies so far undertaken, the one abiding feature of these "tones" has proved to be the *general* figure or pattern of movement as regards pitch. Considerable differences in detail are freely allowed, and indeed for the most part pass unnoticed, as may be seen in Chart B, where several examples of the same "tone" uttered consecutively by the same person are plotted side by side.

2. The feature least stable is absolute pitch, that is, definite position on the musical scale. Examples of large variation in this feature may be seen in groups IV and VI on Chart A, and under I in Chart B. That this is inevitable becomes plain when we recall that in singing each succeeding note takes its place at a measured interval of pitch from its immediate predecessor, so that each note furnishes a definite cue for the pitch of the next one. In singing, therefore, it is possible for a trained voice guided by a trained ear to approximate that interval so nearly that the ear of the listener is entirely satisfied; though even so it can never be mathematically correct. But in speech there are no measured intervals at all, and no constants of pitch to measure from. In tonal languages no vowel takes its cue of pitch from its neighbor, but only from a general sense of the relation of its "tone" to the general scheme of the voice. Under such conditions it is impossible for the organs of speech to strike accurately and maintain consistently—or for the ear to judge with even approximate accuracy—the definite pitch of any vowel in the flow of words. If proof be needed of this statement, one has only to look at the pairs of duplicates shown on the chart—duplicates which, as has already been said, are remarkable for the accuracy of their reproduction. The words in each case were the same,



and were uttered in close sequence; yet they differ in pitch sometimes as much as three semitones. "Tone" then, in our sense of the word, is not exactly pitch at all, but rather a patterned change or movement within the field of pitch. If the general pattern or figure remain the same, small differences of pitch do not compel the assumption of different species.

3. Vowel-quantity is a thing strictly observed, I believe, in all languages of the Chinese type. If "tone" be a patterned change or movement of pitch, quantity is time elapsed during the movement. Longer time-allowance favors a fuller execution of the pattern. Shorter time compels more or less abridgement. Time—that is quantity—is the horizontal ordinate of the chart, while pitch is the vertical one. Long quantity therefore appears as long reach of the figure across the chart. If a given pattern is found in both long and short forms, the long would naturally be accounted the type or species, since it is the more fully characterized, while the short would be the variety.

Turning now to the chart, we observe that in group II No. 5 is a third longer than No. 2; in group III No. 7 is a third longer than No. 8; in group IV No. 9 is half as long again as No. 10. In all these cases the patterns are strikingly similar, save that No. 9 has made use of its longer time to throw in a preliminary flourish. Unless further investigation should invalidate these results, it would seem that these six "tones" of the Cantonese list should be reduced to three species, each having perhaps a short variety.

The case of group V is not so clear. The resemblance between its members is not so compelling, and the quantity affords no clue. It seems altogether unlikely that within so narrow a compass of pitch two distinct species, each with the same pronounced rising vanish, could be successfully maintained. Determination of the matter can only be accomplished by those who can compare the results of a large series of instrumental records with the reports of a trained ear on the living speech.

4. So far as I know, long quantity "by position" as in Latin and Greek prosody has no place in the Chinese scheme. But in one language of the Chinese type—namely the Siamese—there is the interesting case in which a short vowel followed by either of the nasals, *m*, *n*, or *ng*, in syllabic closure, has its tonal function continued in the nasal, so that its "tone"

invariably has the full pattern of the long vowels.<sup>1</sup> This comes about through the fact that the nasals are vowel-like—if indeed they be not vowels altogether, as some are ready to claim—and sufficiently sonorous to take full intonation. This feature is emphasized by the fact that the only other syllabic closure ever heard in the language is that of the unvoiced stops, *p*, *t*, *k*, and the glottal stop which is not recognized in English. That is, all short vowels in closed syllables are either lengthened by continuation into a nasal, or are abruptly chopped off by the guillotine of an unvoiced stop which is not even exploded. That closure does affect tone is shown not only by the amplification of pattern in the case of the nasals, but by the fact that in the other case the vowels are limited to two special "tones," the one a sharp high-pitched note extremely short (identical with Tone 4 of the Cantonese scheme), and the other a very short variety of the "depressed level tone" of long vowels. All this suggests the need of a careful examination of this field in the Chinese dialects also, if the theory of their "tones" is ever to be placed on a sure basis.

To sum up this part of the discussion—1) In the records of the eight traditional "tones" here in question there seem to be but four real patterns or figures of movement, and this fact strongly suggests the reduction of the eight to four. 2) The slight differences of pitch noted within some of the pairs so grouped offer no valid objection to their association under one species, since the differences are no greater than those often found between consecutive utterances of the very same word. 3) The minor differences of figure or pattern which appear are in some cases fully accounted for by demonstrated difference in vowel-quantity, which, as is well known, does often modify the tonal pattern materially. 4) In other cases the observed facts of a kindred speech suggest an examination of the syllables listed by the natives as of a given "tone" to ascertain whether they are open or closed; and if closed, whether the closure is by sonorous consonants which extend the vowel tone, or by stops which abruptly cut it off.

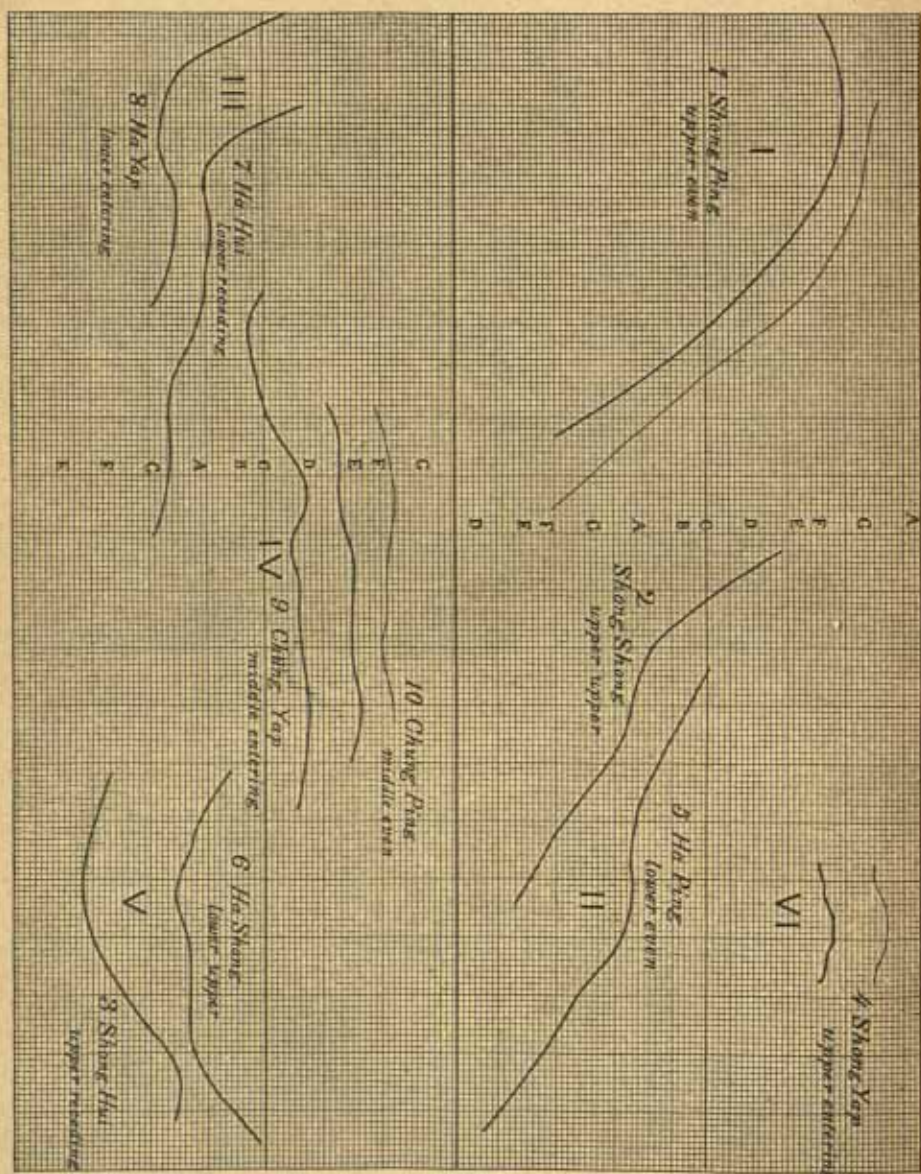
If this tentative combination and reduction is found to be in accord with the facts, the Cantonese scheme of "tones"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxi, pp. 287—88.



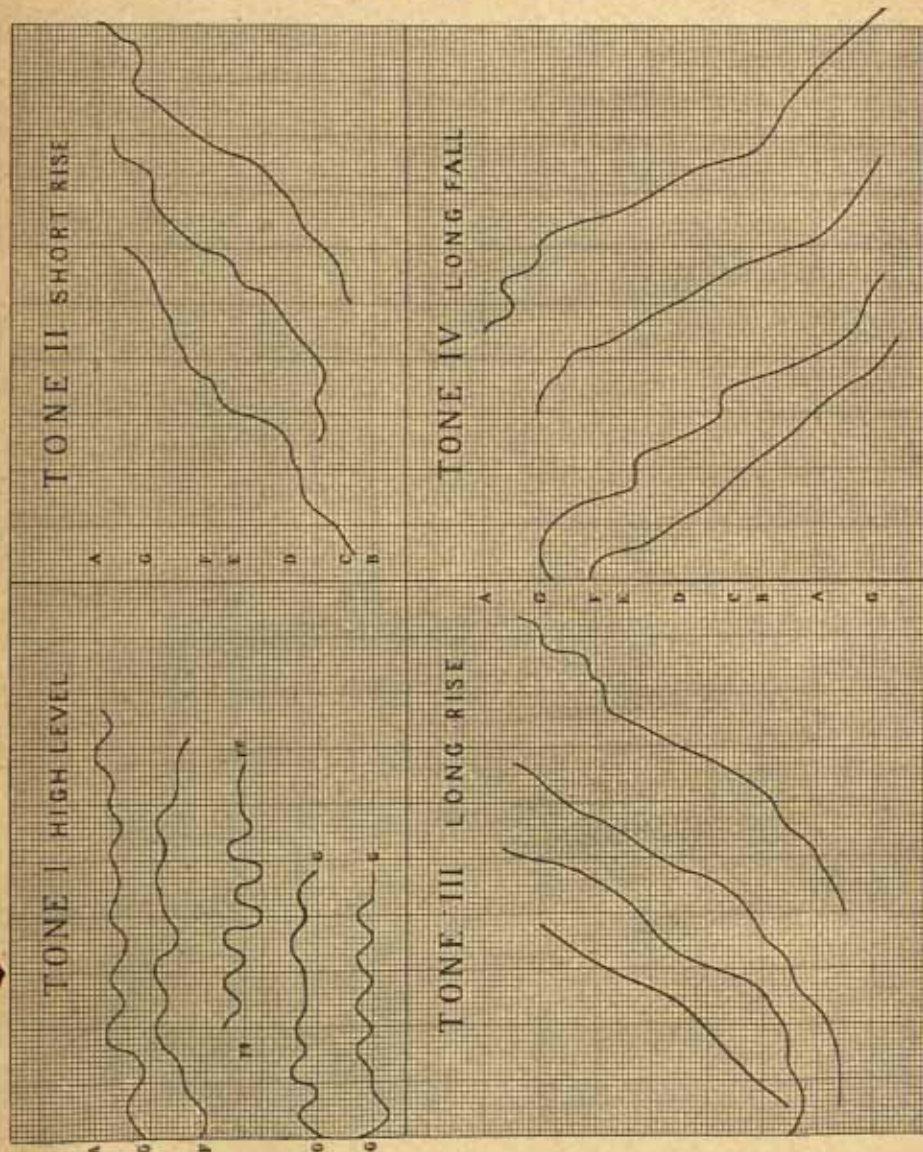


# A-CANTONESE





# B-PEKINGESE







would be brought into workable dimensions, and the "huddle about the mid-voice pitch" would be greatly relieved. But even so it would not entirely amend the lack of bold and unmistakable distinctions in this group of "tones." The approximately level line on IV indeed is ordinarily an unmistakable figure; but here its neighbors on either side are too nearly like it, and too nearly like each other, to make discrimination between the three either very easy or very sure in actual practice. Languages of this type are not only limited to monosyllabic words, but the number of possible monosyllables is in some dialects greatly reduced by allowing very few consonants to take the final place. The result is that there are not monosyllables enough to furnish forth the necessary vocabulary unless difference of tone be added to the possible differences of articulate elements alone. One wonders therefore whether, when they were about it, the founders of the Cantonese dialect failed to develop distinctions which really distinguish, or whether the present situation is the result of a sort of tonal decay which has leveled distinctions that once were valid—distinctions which meticulous Chinese scholarship retains in its scheme, though they now are no longer found in its practice.

I feel sure that the figures on the chart are truthful representations to the eye of the various movements of pitch in the particular words which were spoken into the receiver of the recording instrument. It is possible, of course—though I do not think it actually so in this case—that the speaker's accent was at fault, or that the words he spoke did not properly represent the "tones" indicated. But, barring this possibility, it seems certain that in three, or perhaps four, instances, a given pattern was duplicated under another name. The evidence is there on the chart. A much larger series of records, and records of many different voices, must of course be examined before any general conclusion is reached. But for this voice and for this series of records the following summary and reclassification I think will hold. I offer it only as a starting point for further investigation and comparison by those who are more fully equipped and more fortunately placed for the accomplishment of the task.

### The Tone-patterns of Cantonese Speech—Description and Reclassification.

- I (Tone 1).—A drop of increasing steepness through more than an octave from a level start at high pitch of voice. Long in quantity.
- II (Tones 2 and 5).—A straightaway glide from about mid-voice pitch, dropping gradually through less than an octave. Long, with probably a shorter variety.
- III (Tones 7 and 8).—A short drop from about mid-voice pitch, merging some three tones below into a level run. Long, with well marked short variety.
- IV (Tones 9 and 10).—A level run at a little above mid-voice pitch. Long, with well-marked short variety. (Identical with the "middle tone" of the Siamese.)
- V (Tones 3 and 6).—A preliminary movement of uncertain figure at the depressed level of III, ending with a rising vanish. Possibly meant for the reverse of III.
- VI (Tone 4).—A high note, extremely short, in which the vowel tone is abruptly cut off by the closure of an unvoiced stop *not exploded*. (Identical with the "high abrupt" or "high explosive" of the Siamese.)

### B—Pekingese.

The speech here recorded and analyzed is that of Mr. K. S. C. Kiang, Assistant in Chinese in the University of California, brought up from infancy in Peking, and resident there nearly all his life. The purity of his accent is vouched for by Professor John Fryer.

In plotting the results on Chart B, no attempt was made—as was done in the other case—to soften or generalize the minute inaccuracies or excentricities of execution which seem to be present in every vocal utterance. These are here retained as illustrating the superior delicacy of instrumental analysis as compared with even the trained ear. To the ear the serpentine wanderings of Tone I are absolutely unheard—are all blended into a single level note; and the three glides of Tones II, III, and IV, give not the slightest hint of uncertainty in attack or of hesitation in movement such as appears in the chart. For all ordinary purposes, however, the generalized form is no doubt preferable as less confusing, and as present-



ing more clearly the features which are constant. The small number of tonal patterns found in the Pekingese has permitted the plotting of several examples of each which may serve further to illustrate these points.

The chief features of the Pekingese scheme as here shown are: (a) its simplicity, due to the fewness of its "tones" and to the remarkable consistency of adherence to type; and (b) the high pitch and small compass of voice used in their execution. This last might of course be merely a personal peculiarity of the speaker. But Dr. Fryer is inclined to regard it as a general characteristic of the northern dialect. The only point of doubt which appears is caused by the very close resemblances between Tones II and III, raising the question as to whether they are not really one. This will be considered in the discussion of the individual Tones, to which we now pass.

Tone I is discerned by the ear as a high-pitched level note, near the upper limit of the speaking voice. Instrumental analysis of it, while in general confirming the impression of the ear, discloses a constant wavering or "wobbling" of the voice about a central line of level pitch. This central line seems to be the note which it is intended to strike and hold, but from which in its execution the voice continually sags or wanders, and to which it has to be continually brought back by a series of infinitesimal readjustments in the tension of the vocal chords. As has already been said, the same phenomenon in the form of hesitation and correction, may be traced in nearly all the other lines plotted on this chart.

Tones II and III may be best considered together. They are both rising glides ranging through the greater part of an octave, and reaching the high level of Tone I. Typically, however, III begins at a point about three semitones lower than II, and ranges upward through a whole octave; while II begins at about C, and covers only three-fourths of an octave. III moreover has usually a short preliminary movement before the rise actually begins. This is understood by the ear—if it notes it at all—as a short level run. This preliminary is commonly absent from II, or is much reduced. Yet II sometimes shows it unmistakably, and III sometimes lacks it altogether. Then III typically stretches over a wider horizontal space on the chart, that is, occupies longer time—a natural

result of its double movement and of its longer climb. But it is not so in every case. Indeed, were not the word here spoken known to be of Tone III, the example shown on the extreme left of group III would be taken for an unusually perfect specimen of Tone II.

On none of the lines then which we have been considering can groups II and III be really distinguished. The examples might be so arranged as to form a continuous series. According to all scientific canons they should be considered a single species. Should further examination of vocabulary, syllabication, and current usage discover a division along the line of vowel-quantity, the longer form would naturally be considered the type, while the shorter would be the variety.

Tone IV is simply III reversed. It is a long descending glide, beginning near where III ends, and ending near where III begins. The initial uncertainties, moreover, carry a suggestion of a preliminary run, which may or may not be confirmed by further examination.

Note.—A few weeks ago,<sup>1</sup> when these studies were already under way, the writer learned that a Scandinavian scholar whose name could not be recalled had recently published a study of certain of the Chinese "tones." In the troublous days since then the writer has not been able to get track of the paper, nor to secure any further information regarding it. Under the circumstances it was thought best to complete what was begun and let the results take their chance. Being thus independently obtained, and very likely by independent methods and from different material, they should be of some value, if only for corroboration or as a starting point for further investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> The manuscript of this article was submitted in November, 1914. Ed.



*The Propagation of the Date Palm: Materials for a  
Lexicographical Study in Arabic.*—By PAUL POPENOE,  
Editor of the Journal of Heredity, Washington, D. C.

Date growing in the southwestern United States has been proved by fifteen years or more of careful experiment to be a profitable industry, and is certain, I believe, to become one of the important commercial cultures in those parts of California and Arizona that are suited to it, within a very few years. Already about 32,000 palm offshoots of the choicest sorts known to the Orient have been imported, representing nearly 400 varieties out of probably 5,000 to be found in different parts of the date-palm region, and more than 150,000 seedling palms, in addition, have been planted out by ranchers and by state and federal experimenters. The culture of the palm, which was brought to approximately its present Oriental state of perfection as early at least as the time of Hammurabi, is being subjected to careful tests by occidental scientists, some of the procedures being retained, and others rejected or improved. But in order that the culture of the palm in the United States shall be as nearly perfect as possible, it is quite necessary that we should have a thorough knowledge of what the Arabs have done. To this end, it is necessary that the scattered but fairly copious Arabic notices of the subject be known, and a necessary preliminary to such a study is an understanding of the vocabulary of the date-palm in the Arabic language. The present paper attempts to present some of the material in one limited branch of the culture, and consists largely of observations which I made during two years in Arabic speaking countries, collecting date palm offshoots for the West India Gardens of Altadena, California.

The date palm offshoot, the sucker by which the palm must be reproduced if it is to come true, is designated by a different name in almost every part of the Arabic-speaking world. In

some parts of Egypt, I am informed, it is known as *fasīlah* ("weak"), a word also in use among the Berber population of the Wādī Mzāb in Algeria. The word is also used to some extent in Baghdād, and no doubt also in other regions; it is frequently corrupted to *faṣīlah*, a spelling which, however, can be justified orthographically as meaning "ready to be separated from its mother". It is further corrupted to *faṣlah*, a form which in literary Arabic designates an offshoot removed from the mother-palm. *Naqīl* or *nagīl* is another Egyptian name, according to Schweinfurth<sup>1</sup>; it appears to be from *naqala*, to transplant, and the alternative spelling نجيل which he gives is doubtless to be set down as a vulgar error.

At al-Baṣrah, the shipping point of the world's greatest date-growing region, the offshoot is commonly called *farkh*, a word which properly designates any young animal or plant, and particularly a young chicken. If the offshoot springs from the trunk some distance above the ground, instead of at the base (the usual position), it is called a *rakbah* ("rider"), a word which is also used at Baghdād by the Badawin. The general population of Baghdād calls such an offshoot *naghal* (a bastard), while the Christians, who avoid this word from delicacy, use the term *farkh* or else *jummār*, the latter word properly designating the pith or fibrous interior of the palm. *Rukabah* is the form used at Biskra, the chief shipping point for dates in Algeria. Schweinfurth found *'aqrah* ("twisted") used in this connection at Assiut in upper Egypt; as offshoots of this kind are frequently distorted, the name seems appropriate. He reports the name at Rosetta to be *masāsah*, the root of which seems to carry the idea of "to be in contact with", and at el-Qoren he found still another name, *'alūl*, an appellation which carries the idea of defectiveness.

To return to the ordinary type of offshoot, growing from the base of the palm, the customary name at Baghdād is *tālah*, a word of obscure origin. It has been ascribed to the Sanscrit *tal*, a palm; but as I found it in use (though rarely) at Biskra, Algeria, such a derivation seems extremely unlikely. According to Arab lexicographers, it is from a root *twl*, changed by metathesis to *tlw*; but my friend Father Anastase-Marie of the Carmelite Mission at Baghdād, who has in-

<sup>1</sup> *Arabische Pflanzennamen aus Aegypten, Algerien u. Jemen*, von G. Schweinfurth. Berlin, 1912, Dietrich Reimer.



vestigated the matter with care, thinks the origin is rather to be sought in the Greek *thallos* ("sprig, sprout or sucker"), a conjecture which I willingly adopt.<sup>1</sup>

At Biskra the customary word for the offshoot is *jabbār*, the proper signification of which is "stout" or "sturdy". The word is used more correctly in the Wādī Mzāb to designate a palm high enough so that a horse can pass under its leaves; and at Baghdād, and elsewhere among purists, the word is used only to designate a large, strong palm. In Algeria the word *jabbār* is used particularly when an Arab is conversing with foreigners; the Arabs around Biskra, when talking among themselves, habitually refer to the offshoot as *zumrah*, a word which the lexicographers say means "a small company of persons". But as the phrase *nabt zamir* classically means "a plant having few leaves", the word *zumrah* applied to an offshoot probably has been borrowed from this signification, and is not particularly vicious.

In Tunisia, the word regularly used for an offshoot is *ghars*, while in the Fezzān the allied form *maghrūsah* is current. The latter is classical, but also means "a seedling", in which sense I believe it is sometimes used today. The root *gharasa* means simply "to plant a tree".

In the extreme south of Algeria, below Tuggūrt, the offshoot is always called *hashānah*, certainly a corruption of the classical *hishshān*, plural of *hashsh* signifying an uncared-for palm. *Hishsh* (also found with the vowel *a* or *u*) also designates, in dictionary language, a plantation of palms; whence, it is interesting to note, it has taken on the meaning of water-closet.

At al-Madinah the classical name *ṣinw* ("uterine brother or son") is still in use, while in parts of Najd, Father Anastase-Marie tells me, it is called رَضْعَة (also corrupted to *raṣ'ah*), "the adherent".

In Oman the name *ṣarm* is used, the classical signification of which is "that which is cut off". *Ṣirām* means a crop of dates, but in a *ḥadīth* it is transferred to the palms themselves. As far as I could learn, the Omanis call not only an offshoot, but a seedling palm, *ṣarm*.

<sup>1</sup> I am deeply indebted to Père Anastase-Marie, editor of the monthly journal *Lughat-al-'Arab*, for many other suggestions which have been invaluable to me in the preparation of this paper and in other work.

Finally, in the parts of Algeria bordering on Morocco, the name of an offshoot, I am informed, is *squelem*, a word evidently borrowed from the Berber.

The circle of offshoots around the base of a palm, which imagination might easily liken to a bird's nest, is so designated by the Arabs, *'ushsh*. The same word (spelled *'aush* by Schweinfurth) is in use in Egypt, but in the Sudan it may designate a single offshoot, to judge from labels received by the U. S. Department of Agriculture from Dongola. Classically, *'ishshah* describes a palm the leaves of which are few and the base weak. At Baghdād the name for this circle of offshoots is *أشياء*, plural *أشياء*, for which I can suggest no derivation.

It will be observed that the modern Arab has a considerable latitude in choosing a word to signify "a date-palm offshoot". But the literary language contains many other names which are understood, though not colloquially used, by date-growers at the present day. *Sawāḥ* ("cut off" or "separated"), *ṣaur* ("replica"), *jathīth* ("cut" or "uprooted"), are used in this sense. For the latter, *qathīth* is sometimes written— a dialectal error which can also be justified from the root *qaththa*, to uproot. Richardson's dictionary gives *ḥabalāh* or *ḥablah* as a name for the palm offshoot, but I believe the word means only a sprout of the grapevine. *Zarjūn*, which Richardson cites in the same connection, also belongs to the vine rather than the palm; a fact understood from its derivation in the Persian *zargūn*, "color of gold", i. e. wine.

An offshoot high up on the trunk of the palm is called by the classical language *'āqqah* (the root means "to cut"); or *ṣunbūr*, from a root which means "[the palm] was solitary". An offshoot taken from the mother and planted is, in the classics, a *wādī* ("removed"), or *هَرَامَ* (Persian *هَرَمَ*). After being taken from the mother, but not yet planted, the offshoot is called *qal'ah* or *batīlah* or *rakzah*, the root meaning in each case being "cut off" or "detached".

A palm one year old is called a *khar'ab* (with numerous variations in spelling), but this word is not confined to palms, being common to all trees, and transferred to girls of tender years. *Shakīr* designates a palm offshoot, or any other kind of shoot or sucker. *'Aṭīl* is said to have been used in al-Aḥṣā' (the ancient Hajar) to mean an offshoot, but I have found no



authoritative statement to this effect,<sup>1</sup> and if so used, it must have been a dialectal form. Among the classical names occasional found for the offshoot one may add *rīd* and *ja'lah*.

The offshoot is planted (*gharasa* is the customary verb, but in Arabian 'Irāq they now use *shatala*, a word of Aramean origin) in a hole which is classically called *faqir*, but at present usually *fugrah*. At Baghdād, and also in Egypt, I believe, it is called *hufrah*, both words meaning merely "excavation". At Biskra the regular word is *bīr*, which properly means a cistern, but is sometimes used in the classical period in this connection. I believe the use of *hufrah* in this sense is not classical.

The palm plantation is called *nakhīl* in the Hijāz, and this appears to me to be the most elegant word. At Baghdād *bustān* is the usual term, although this Persian word properly refers to any kind of a garden. Around the Persian gulf the name *nakhlistān*, (Persian, "palm garden") is often heard. In Algeria they usually say *ghābah* "a forest", but the word *janīnah* (vulgar form of the classical *jannah*, a garden in general) is often used. In southern Tunisia, where the palm plantations are in hollows among the sand dunes, they are called *ghā'it*, or more often by the plural *ghūṭān*, "hollowed out". In Oman I was told that the plantation was designated as *maqṣūrah*, which means little more than "enclosure". In al-Baṣrah the Persian *bāghchah*, "little garden", is used for a small plantation.

The literary language is much richer in terms of this sort, many of them figurative. *Hā'it* ("guarded"), *ḥadiqah* ("encircled"), *hishsh*, *'uqdah*, *ṣaur*, *ḥazīrah* ("an enclosure, a prohibited spot"), *أَيْكَة* ("a thicket"), *ṣarimah* (regularly "a group of palms"), *manqabah* ("an enclosure"—rare), *jannah* "a garden", *dirham* (a synonym for *ḥadiqah*) are among the terms found. Richardson gives *baḥah*, but as far as I know this applies only to the courtyard of a house. *'Uljūm* is classical for "a large plantation of palms". *Jirbah*, meaning a cultivated field, is used by poetic license in some verses of 'Imru-l Qais to designate a palm plantation; the words *maghris* and *miz'rah*, with similar meaning, are sometimes similarly applied.

<sup>1</sup> The authority cited by the native lexicographers is al-Azhari; see Lane s. v. نَطْلٌ. ED.

As the two sexes are on different trees in the genus *Phoenix*, to which the date-palm belongs, cross-pollination must take place whenever fruit is produced, and the heredity of every date is therefore so mixed that when seeds are planted they rarely reproduce the desired type. Since the dawn of history, therefore, Arabs have propagated the palm ordinarily by offshoots, and rarely planted seeds. Seedling palms are to be found almost everywhere, but they are usually "volunteers", and Arabs in many districts seem scarcely to have a distinct name for them. Classically the word *daqlah* occupied this place, but nowadays it has been attached to so many good varieties, at present reproduced only through offshoots, that in nearly every district it has lost most of its original meaning. In Algeria *daqlat* [al-] *nūr*, ("the translucent seedling") is the finest date grown, and no one nowadays would think of propagating it from seed. The Algerians do not have any well-defined word for seedling, but in southern Tunisia the word *hishshān* (used in the Algerian Sahara for "offshoot") has that signification. In Arabian Irāq the word *daqal* is still used, but it carries two ideas, as it does also classically: (1) a palm produced from seed; (2) a palm of unknown variety. The Baghdādī usually designates a seedling explicitly as *tālah* *daqlah*. The unequivocal classical word is *jam'*, from the root "to gather together"; *sharbah* is a synonym; while *jathith*, sometimes designating an offshoot, may also designate a seedling. *Khud'ah* is another synonym, because the origin of a seedling is *humble*. The word '*ajamah* or '*ajmah*, from the root "to chew", apparently gets its application because the seed is the part of the fruit which one bites upon. In Egypt Schweinfurth found نقينة الاويدة in use at el-Qoren to designate a seedling, while the natives of Assiut, Luxor and Qené said "*schett*". The poverty of this vocabulary strikingly reflects the state of mind of the oasis dweller, who hardly considers a seedling palm to be entitled to the name of date-palm.



*Tammuz and Osiris.*—By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor  
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The parallel between the Semitic god Tammuz and the Egyptian Osiris is most complete.<sup>1</sup> Both were gods of life, and of vegetation; both cults were of wide popularity in different sections; with both there were connected myths of death and resurrection. Were the two cults connected or were they of independent origin? If of independent origin, why did they present so many points of similarity?

It is a favorite theory of the school of pan-Babylonians that the Osiris cult was borrowed from Babylonia. According to some it is the cult of Tammuz transferred to Egyptian soil;<sup>2</sup> according to others the cult of Marduk.<sup>3</sup> According to certain Sumerologists Tammuz was a deity of Sumerian origin, whose worship was adopted by the Semitic Babylonians, and from them spread to all the Semites.<sup>4</sup>

In 1902 the writer offered proof that the Ishtar-Tammuz cult was the one universal Semitic cult, that it was of Semitic origin, and that in Babylonia it mingled with Sumerian cults and became dominant among them.<sup>5</sup> Since that time this thesis has been strengthened by Eduard Meyer's proof in 1906 of the priority of the Semites in Babylonia,<sup>6</sup> which has since been amplified by the publication of Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 1910, and proof from the Semitic norms of

<sup>1</sup> See Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 2. ed., London, 1914; von Baudissin, *Adonis und Eshmun*, Leipzig, 1911, and Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers*, in BE, XXX, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> So Jeremias, *Altes Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 82; *Alt-orientalische Geisteskultur* 315f.

<sup>4</sup> Langdon, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious*, New York and London, 1902.

<sup>6</sup> *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, Berlin, 1906.

Sumerian proper names.<sup>1</sup> The Semitic nature of Tammuz may therefore be assumed. It may also be assumed that the Ishtar-Tammuz cult originated in a desert-oasis civilization in which the environment led to the deification of life-giving water and the resultant vegetation.<sup>2</sup>

It has been assumed by some writers that the Egyptian race came into existence through the migration of Semites to Africa and the mingling of these immigrants with African tribes.<sup>3</sup> Such writers assume that Osiris was Tammuz carried to Egypt by these Semites and there baptized with a new name. If this theory were true, the brilliant study of Professor Breasted,<sup>4</sup> in which he has traced from the abundant literature, beginning with the material afforded by the Pyramid Texts, the gradual conquest of Egypt by Osiris, would be but the record of the triumphal progress of the Semitic god.

All questions of origins are difficult and obscure, and this is especially true in the case of nations like the Babylonians and Egyptians, who emerged from savagery before the beginning of writing, and whose earliest conceptions can only now be constructed from a few surviving clues. Before, however, the Asiatic origin of Osiris is accepted one ought to be satisfied on two points. 1. Do the linguistic phenomena of Egyptian resemble Semitic linguistic phenomena so much more closely than the linguistic phenomena of the Lybian, Berber, and Somali dialects do, that it is necessary to postulate a prehistoric invasion of Egypt by Semites to account for these phenomena? 2. Are the physical and economic conditions which surrounded these people in north Africa in primitive times so different from those that surrounded the Semites in Arabia that such a pair of deities as Isis and Osiris could not have originated there quite as well as Ishtar and Tammuz in Arabia? It is the purpose of this paper to discuss these two questions, and we address ourselves to the linguistic problem first.

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<sup>1</sup> See the writer's article "Religious Conceptions Underlying Sumerian Proper Names" in *JAOS*, XXXIV, 315f.

<sup>2</sup> See the writer's *Semitic Origins*, ch. III.

<sup>3</sup> So Breasted, *History of Egypt*, New York, 1909, p. 25 and Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, New York, 1909, pp. 8-11.

<sup>4</sup> *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912.



Of all the parts of speech, pronouns are the most characteristic in any language. It is doubtful whether pronouns can be proved ever to have been borrowed bodily by one language from another.<sup>1</sup> The pronouns of the Semitic languages are as follows:—

Assyrian.	Syriac.	Aram.	Hebrew	Arabic	Ethiopic
1 c. <i>anāku</i>	'enā	<sup>a</sup> nā	'ānōkī <sup>a</sup> nī	'ana	'ana
2 m. <i>atta</i>	'ant	'antū	'attū	'anta	'anta
2 f. <i>atti</i>	'anti	'antī	'attī	'anti	'anti
3 m. <i>šū</i>	<i>hū</i>	<i>hū</i>	<i>hū'</i>	<i>hūa</i>	<i>we'etu</i>
3 f. <i>ši</i>	<i>hī</i>	<i>hī</i>	<i>hī'</i>	<i>hīa</i>	<i>ye'eti</i>
Plural					
1 c. <i>anīni</i> <i>nīni</i>	'anaḥnan <i>h'nan</i>	<sup>a</sup> naḥnā	<sup>a</sup> naḥnū <i>naḥnū</i> <sup>a</sup> nū	<i>naḥnu</i>	<i>neḥna</i>
2 m. <i>attunu</i>	'antōn	'antūn	'attem	'antum	'antemmū
2 f. [ <i>attina</i> ]	'antēn	'antēn	'attēn <i>'attēnnā</i>	<i>antunna</i>	'anten
3 m. <i>šunu</i> <i>šun</i>	<i>hennōn</i> 'ennōn	<i>himmō</i> <i>himmōn</i>	<i>hēm mā</i> <i>hēm</i>	<i>hum</i>	'emūntū
3 f. <i>šina</i> <i>šin</i>	<i>hennēn</i> 'ennēn	<i>hennēn</i> 'ennēn	<i>hēnnā</i> <i>hēn</i>	<i>hunna</i>	'emāntū

Object forms in Babylonian Assyrian.

- 1 c. *yātu, yāti, yāši, aiši*  
 2 m. *kātu, kāti, kāša*  
 2 f. *kāti, kāši*  
 3 m. *šāšu*  
 3 f. *šāši*

<sup>1</sup> It is sometimes assumed by Hittitologists that Hittite borrowed from Babylonian-Assyrian the pronominal suffixes *šu* and *ša* (cf. R. C. Thompson in *Archaeologia*, second series, XIV, 59; cf. also Delitzsch, *Sumerisch-akkadisch-hettitische Vokabularfragmente*, Berlin, 1914, p. 40); but, if Hittite was an Indo-European language, as these scholars consider possible, the pronoun in the third person in *s* was not borrowed. Latin has *se*, Greek *ἐ* (where *s* has been thinned to *h*, represented by the rough breathing, in accordance with a well known law), Sanskrit has a third fem. pronoun *sa* (Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Boston, 1879, p. 171), old Persian has a third personal pronoun which in the dative is *he*, the *h* an original *s* (A. V. Williams Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, Stuttgart, 1892, §§ 394, 395). If, then, Hittite belongs to this group of languages, it has no need to borrow the Semitic Babylonian pronoun in *s*.

## Plural.

1 c. *niyati, niyašim, nāši*2 m. *kātunu, kāšunu*

2 f. . . . .

3 m. *šāšunu, šāšun*

3 f. . . . .

If now for the moment we leave Egyptian out of account, the pronouns of the other Hamitic languages are as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

Tamešeq	Schillhisch	R'edamès
1 c. <i>nek, nekku</i>	<i>nki, nkin</i>	<i>nech, nechin</i>
2 m. <i>kai, kaisu</i>	<i>kii, kiin</i>	<i>chek, cheg</i>
2 f. <i>kem, kemmu</i>	<i>kimi, kimin</i>	<i>chem</i>
3 m. <i>enta</i>	<i>nta, ntän</i>	<i>nittou</i>
3 f. <i>entat</i>	<i>ntät</i>	<i>nittat</i>

## Plural

1 m. <i>nekkenid</i>	<i>nkunne</i>	1 c. <i>nakkenin</i>
1 f. <i>nekkenetid</i>	<i>nukenti</i>	
2 m. <i>kauenid</i>	<i>kunne</i>	<i>chekouin</i>
2 f. <i>kametid</i>	<i>kunemti</i>	<i>chekmetin</i>
3 m. <i>entenid</i>	<i>netni</i>	<i>entenin</i>
3 f. <i>entenetid</i>	<i>netenti</i>	<i>nitentin</i>

Bedaue	Somali	Galla	'Afar	Saho	Bilin	Chamir
1 c. <i>ani</i>	<i>an, ani</i> <i>aniya</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>anu</i>	<i>anu</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>an</i>
2 m. <i>barük</i>	<i>ad, adi</i> <i>adiya</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>attu</i>	<i>otu</i>	<i>inti</i>	<i>kut, küt, kit</i>
2 f. <i>batük</i>						
3 m. <i>barus</i>	<i>u, usaga</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>ussuk</i>	<i>ussuk</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ien</i>
3 f. <i>batūs</i>	<i>ai, ayada</i>	<i>išin</i>	<i>issa</i>	<i>issi</i>	<i>niri</i>	<i>nir</i>

<sup>1</sup> This summary is based on the following works: Leo Reinisch, *Die Sprache der Irob-Saho in Abessinien*, Wien, 1878; his *Die 'Afar-Sprache*, Wien, 1887; his *Bedaue-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, Wien, 1893; his *Bilin-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, Wien, 1882; his *Chamir-Sprache in Abessinien*, Wien, 1884; Friedrich Müller, *Grundriß der Sprachwissenschaft*, III, Wien, 1884; H. Stumme, *Handbuch des Schillhischen von Tazercalt*, Leipzig, 1899; A. de C. Motylinski, *Le dialect berbère de R'edamès*, Paris, 1904.



## Plural.

	Bedaue	Somali	Galla	'Afar	Saho	Bilin	Chamir
1 c.	<i>hanan</i> <i>hanin</i> <i>hinin</i>	<i>anno</i> <i>annaya</i>	<i>unu</i> <i>nu</i>	<i>nennu</i>	<i>nānu</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>yinne</i> <i>yin</i>
2 m.	<i>barak</i> <i>barakna</i>	<i>adin</i> <i>adinka</i>	<i>izin</i>	<i>usunni</i>	<i>atin</i>	<i>intin</i>	<i>küten, kiten</i> <i>kütenantag</i>
2 f.	<i>batak</i> <i>batakna</i>						
3 m.	<i>baras</i> <i>barasna</i>	<i>aiyyo</i>	<i>izan</i>		<i>ussun</i>	<i>naû</i>	<i>nay,nay-tay</i>
3 f.	<i>batas</i> <i>batasna</i>	<i>aiyaga</i>		<i>ussun</i>			

The Egyptian has two pronominal systems, an older and a younger, which are as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

	Older Texts	Later Texts	Coptic
1 c.	<i>wy</i>	<i>'ink</i>	<i>anok</i>
2 m.	<i>tw</i>	<i>ntk</i>	<i>ntok</i>
2 f.	<i>tn</i>	<i>ntt</i>	<i>nto</i>
3 m.	<i>sw</i>	<i>ntf</i>	<i>ntof</i>
3 f.	<i>sy</i>	<i>nts</i>	<i>ntos</i>
3 c.	<i>st</i>		
Plural.			
1 c.	<i>n</i>	?	<i>anon</i>
2 c.	<i>tn</i>	<i>nttn</i>	<i>ntōtn</i>
3 c.	<i>sn</i>	<i>ntsn</i>	?

An unprejudiced comparison of the above tables reveals the fact that the older Egyptian pronoun is no more Semitic than the later pronoun. Indeed with one exception the elements of this earlier pronoun all occur in similar positions in the Hamitic dialects. Their presence here argues, therefore, no more strongly for a Semitic than for a Hamitic origin. The one exception is the 1 personal pronoun *wy*, which finds its nearest parallel in the Babylonian *ya* of *yaši* or *ai* of *aīši*. Even if such remote resemblance as these pronouns present could be taken as proof of borrowing, there is no more reason to affirm that the Egyptians rather than the Babylonians were the borrowers. Indeed, if there be any kinship between them,

<sup>1</sup> Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., Berlin, 1911.

it can only be that of a common ancestry in any early Hamito-Semitic stock, such as the writer predicated in his *Semitic Origins*, ch. I.

An examination of the verbs leads to a similar conclusion. It is well known that but two tenses are known to the Semitic languages,<sup>1</sup> one formed by affixing pronominal particles to a verb-stem, to express completed action, and one formed by prefixing pronominal particles, to express incomplete action. In the Arabic five forms of this second or imperfect stem are known, in Ethiopic and Assyrian two, while in Hebrew and Aramaic sporadic instances of a second form survive. In Babylonian-Assyrian the so-called perfect form—that which originally expressed completed action—has been relegated to the expression of states of being, and completed action is expressed by one of the imperfect forms. In other words, the Semitic Babylonian-Assyrian is an example of a language in which the so-called perfect form is in process of elimination.

In the use of these tenses the Hamitic languages differ. The Somali, Afar (Dankali), and Saho have preserved both the perfect made by affirmatives and the imperfect made by preformatives,<sup>2</sup> while the Galla has preserved only the perfect form, modifying it to express different shades of meaning,<sup>3</sup> and the Bedaaye,<sup>4</sup> Shilish<sup>5</sup> and the R'edamès<sup>6</sup> have eliminated the perfect, as the Babylonian-Assyrian was doing, and express the various shades of thought by modifications of the imperfect form. The perfect form has, however, been preserved in certain Berber dialects, as for example, the Kabylee.<sup>7</sup> It would perhaps be more correct to say that those dialects which have lost the imperfect form have made forms for the expression of various shades of continuance and incompleteness by attaching to participles pronominal affixes after the analogy of the formation of the perfect. As the perfect itself was formed in the first place by the combination of pronominal suffixes with a verbal noun, the distinction is not a vital one.

If, now, we turn to Egyptian, we find in no stage of the language a form corresponding to the Hamito-Semitic imperfect.

<sup>1</sup> These tenses may be seen in tabular form in Zimmern's *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 112, 113.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 291 f.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Reinisch, *Bedaaye-Sprache*, 141 f.      <sup>5</sup> Stumme, *op. cit.*, 52 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Motylinski, *op. cit.*, 28 ff.      <sup>7</sup> Stumme, *op. cit.*, p. 55.



Like the Galla, all its verbal conjugations are made on the analogy of the Semitic perfect. One of these, the so-called pseudo-participle, is the survival of a real perfect. Its conjugation is as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

1 sg. <i>šedemkwy</i>	Plural 1 c. <i>šedemwyn</i>	Dual
2 m. <i>šedemty</i>	2 c. <i>šedemtywny</i>	
2 f. <i>šedemty</i>		
3 m. <i>šedemy</i>	3 m. <i>šedemw</i>	3 m. <i>šedemwyy</i>
3 f. <i>šedemty</i>	3 f. <i>šedemty</i>	3 f. <i>šedemtyyyw</i>

This pseudo-participle is employed in the pyramid texts of the old kingdom as a transitive verb like the ordinary Semitic perfect. In the texts of the middle kingdom it has become an intransitive or passive. In the later Egyptian language it is often replaced by other constructions.<sup>2</sup>

The ordinary expression of thought in Egyptian is accomplished by a conjugation of the following norm the first element of which is a verbal noun:—<sup>3</sup>

1 sg. c. <i>šedemi</i>	plural 1 c. <i>šedemn</i>
2 m. <i>šedemk</i>	2 c. <i>šedemtn</i>
2 f. <i>šedemt</i>	
3 m. <i>šedemf</i>	3 c. <i>šedemsen</i>
3 f. <i>šedems</i>	

This conjugation expresses a future idea, "he will hear." By variations of this norm other shades of thought are expressed. *šedemenf* expresses the aoristic or past idea; *šedemwof*, the passive; *šedemynf*, another passive; *šedemharf*, a resultant action; *šedemk'f* expresses wishes. All these forms were, as Erman thinks,<sup>4</sup> formed by a combination of the participle with pronominal affixes and other particles (*n* and *hr* appear to be prepositions), but they are all formed on the analogy of the Hamito-Semitic perfect.

If now we view this verb broadly, it affords no basis for the supposition that the pseudo-participle in Egyptian is due to Semitic influence. Had there been such influence it is difficult to explain why it should not have imparted to the Egyptians the Semitic imperfect as well as the Semitic perfect, for there is no early Semitic dialect from which the imperfect

<sup>1</sup> See Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., § 326.

<sup>2</sup> See K. Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, Leipzig, 1899, II, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Erman, *op. cit.*, §§ 278—324. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 277.

is absent. The presence of the perfect form in other Hamitic dialects and the analogy of the Galla language show that what we see in the Egyptian is a development without parallel in the Semitic languages, but which has a parallel in Hamitic. The imperfect has entirely vanished; the perfect is in process of elimination through the instrumentality of a participial conjugation.

Again, if we turn to the larger question of verbal stems, the result is the same. There are indications in Coptic that certain Egyptian stems formed an intensive by doubling the middle radical after the analogy of the Arabic II<sup>nd</sup> stem and the Hebrew Piel. Instances of this have survived in Coptic.<sup>1</sup> This formation has survived in the Berber dialect of R'edamès, where it is employed to express habitual action,<sup>2</sup> and in Bilin<sup>3</sup> and Chamir<sup>4</sup>, where it expresses intensity as in Hebrew by doubling the middle radical and by forming, in the case of short stems, Pīpels.

Again, Egyptian forms a passive conjugation by prefixing the letter *n* after the manner of the Hebrew Niphal, the Arabic VII<sup>th</sup> stem and the Assyrian IV<sup>th</sup><sup>5</sup> stem, but *n* is similarly employed in Saho<sup>6</sup> and the Shilhish dialect.<sup>7</sup> In Tamesheq<sup>8</sup> and the dialect of R'edamès<sup>9</sup> the *n* is changed into *m* (in most groups of languages the two letters sometimes interchange) as it does also sometimes in Bedauey<sup>10</sup> and in Saho.<sup>11</sup> In Bilin the *n* in such formations changes to the kindred liquid *r*,<sup>12</sup> but the formation is present in that dialect.

The Egyptian also forms a causative in *s* like the Semitic,<sup>13</sup> but this has parallels in Bedauey,<sup>14</sup> Bilin,<sup>15</sup> Chamir,<sup>16</sup> Saho,<sup>17</sup> Tamesheq,<sup>18</sup> R'edamès,<sup>19</sup> and Shilhish.<sup>20</sup> None of these formations, therefore, can be attributed to Semitic influence.

<sup>1</sup> Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 344.

<sup>2</sup> Motylinski, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Reinisch, *Bilin-Sprache*, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Reinisch, *Chamir-Sprache*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Erman, *op. cit.*, § 271, and Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 357.

<sup>6</sup> Reinisch, *Saho-Sprache*, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Stumme, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>9</sup> Motylinski, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> Reinisch, *Bedauey-Sprache*, p. 130.

<sup>11</sup> Reinisch, *Bilin-Sprache*, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup> Erman, *op. cit.*, § 270; Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 350.

<sup>13</sup> Reinisch, *Bedauey-Sprache*, p. 126.

<sup>14</sup> Reinisch, *Bilin-Sprache*, p. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Reinisch, *Chamir-Sprache*, p. 46.

<sup>16</sup> Reinisch, *Saho-Sprache*, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

<sup>18</sup> Motylinski, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>19</sup> Stumme, *op. cit.*, p. 69.



One other line of evidence may be adduced—the evidence of vocabulary. Erman many years ago<sup>1</sup> had collected a list of fifty or more words which were identical in Egyptian and Semitic, and no doubt his later investigations have increased the list.<sup>2</sup> Many of these may be genuine Semitic loan words in Egyptian. At least, so far as the present writer has been able to test them by comparison with the vocabularies of other Hamitic languages, it appears that those languages employed non-Semitic roots in place of most of these words. In employing the evidence of loan words, however, three things should be borne in mind. Some of these Semitic words were introduced into the Egyptian vocabulary as late as the Hyksos period or later, long after the worship of Osiris was well established in Egypt. We have the Egyptian vocabulary of many centuries ago, but the vocabularies of the other Hamitic languages for modern times only. In all languages words become obsolete as time passes and drop out of use. This may explain the absence of some of these words. The borrowing of a word is among all peoples a much more simple process than the borrowing of a deity, and, even if a considerable number of Semitic words were borrowed, it does not follow that Osiris was borrowed, unless there is some other proof.

The linguistic phenomena already considered indicate that there is a real kinship between the Hamitic and the Semitic peoples, and suggest that Osiris may be as original a product of the Egyptian religious genius as Tammuz was of the Semitic religious genius. Wiedemann, de Morgan and Erman hold that Arabia was the original home of the Hamito-Semitic race, from which the Hamites migrated to Africa.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand Palgrave, Bertin, Nöldeke, Jastrow, Keane, N. Schmidt, and the present writer have thought that the cradle land of these peoples was North Africa, from whence the ancestors of the Semites migrated to Arabia.<sup>4</sup> On whichever hypothesis one works, he has a common origin for the two peoples, and in all probability a common origin for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ZDMG*, XLVI, 1892, 107—126.

<sup>2</sup> See Erman, *Ägyptisches Glossar*, Berlin, 1904, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the references cited in *Semitic Origins*, p. 8, see Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., Berlin, 1911, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> See references in *Semitic Origins*, pp. 6—8.

two gods quite apart from any theory of borrowing. In either case both peoples originated in a desert-oasis environment peculiarly favorable for the organization of matriarchal clans. Both peoples were forced by their hard environment from savagery into barbarism at a relatively early stage of the world's history. Similar physical environment would induce both peoples to deify the power of fertility, and the similar social organization of both peoples would lead them in the first instance to regard the deified pair as mother and son, or brother and sister. As the social organization was transformed to the patriarchal the relation would be changed to that of husband and wife. In the myths that have grown about both the Semitic and the Egyptian pair we find evidence of both relationships.

It now seems fairly well made out that Ishtar was a universal Semitic goddess, *i. e.*, that each early Semitic tribe had its Ishtar.<sup>1</sup> It is also probable that her male counterpart was also to be found among all the Semites, although he was not like the goddess universally known among all the Semites in the historical period by the same name. Thus among the Babylonians he was called Dumuzi, corrupted by the Hebrews to Tammuz, by the north Arabians he was called Dhu'l-Sharā, and by the Phoenicians Eshmun and Adonis.<sup>2</sup> Now it might well happen that a pair of deities of fertility was worshipped by each of the Egyptian tribes that resided in each of the forty-two nomes of primitive Egypt, or in a majority of them, and that other epithets displaced in most cases the common name by which the deities in earlier time had been called. Indeed it is possible that among the Hamites there never was, as among the Semites, one universally employed name. The facts for Egypt are these. Osiris was worshipped at two nomes, Dedu, in the Delta, afterward called Busiris, and at Abydos, the capital of the nome of This in Upper Egypt. Egyptologists detect at Abydos the presence of another deity, whom Osiris displaced. This god was Khenti-Amentiu, "First

<sup>1</sup> Paton in the articles "Ashtart" and "Ishtar" in Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vols. II and VII, holds as the writer did in *Semitic Origins* that this is made out.

<sup>2</sup> For the Phoenician deities Graf von Baudissin's fine volume *Adonis und Eshmun* reinforces the earlier arguments of the present writer in *Semitic Origins*, 265 ff.



of the westerners."<sup>1</sup> We also hear of a god Enhōr of This.<sup>2</sup> Must not these gods have been kindred to Osiris? Had that not been the case is it probable that he would have displaced them? Isis was the goddess of Philae,<sup>3</sup> but she was also the mother of Horus, the local god of Edfu,<sup>4</sup> whom she is pictured as suckling in the marshes<sup>5</sup>—a striking parallel to the Semitic myths of Ishtar and Tammuz. Egypt possessed also many other deities of fertility. There was the god Min of Koptos who was so intensely a god of fertility that he is usually pictured, as on the walls of the temple of Hatshepsut at Der el-Bahri, with phallus erect. There were Horus of Edfu, Atum of Heliopolis, and Amon of Thebes, who became sun-gods as expressions of the fact that they were gods of fertility. There was the goddess Opet, who presided over childbirth, and was in some places revered as the mother of Osiris. Hathor of Dendera and Aphroditopolis and Bast of Bubastis were goddesses of love and fertility.<sup>6</sup> They were usually pictured as nude, and lewd ceremonies were celebrated in honor of Bast at her festivals.<sup>7</sup> Hierodouloi existed in connection with the worship of the god Ptah of Memphis. When one takes into consideration all these facts, and remembers that Isis was a water goddess, and that Osiris is sometimes a water god and sometimes a god of vegetation, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that this pair, like the other Egyptian deities named, are developments from primitive Hamitic gods and goddesses of fertility, which in origin and nature were similar to the primitive gods and goddesses of the Semitic peoples. If this be true, Osiris and Tammuz are but special independent survivals and manifestations of a primitive cult once common to both Hamites and Semites. This in our present state of knowledge seems at least a more plausible and historical view than to suppose that the Osiris cult was borrowed from Semites or from Babylonia.

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 38, 143.

<sup>2</sup> Steindorf in Baedeker's *Egypt*, p. cxxvi.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. cxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Steindorf, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 107, and *Egypt*, p. cxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1905, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, 2 ed., pp. 200, 239.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus, II, 60, and *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, VI, 676a.

*The Eastern Iron Trade of The Roman Empire.*—By  
WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Secretary of the Commercial  
Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

In that encyclopedia of the Roman Empire compiled by the elder Pliny under the title of "*Historia Naturalis*", there is a passage about iron in the 39th book which deals with metals and metallurgy, paragraph 15, as follows: "Of all the kinds the palm is to the Seric iron. The Seres send this with their textile fabrics and skins. The second place is to the Parthian, and there are no other kinds of iron which are tempered into the true steel for they are mixed with other elements".<sup>1</sup> Although in Pliny's "*Natural History*" there are several references to the Seres and a very full account of the mining and smelting of iron in all parts of the world that were in communication with Rome, there is no other passage in that work in which the Seres and iron are brought together, nor is there in any other work that survives to us from the Roman and Greek period anything to connect the people known as the Seres with the production of or trade in iron. Yet upon this slender authority rests the assumption that steel was brought overland to imperial Rome from far-away China. It may be worth while to consider this question in some detail, and in so doing it seems clear that we shall be forced to conclude that the exportation of iron and steel by the central Asian caravan routes from China to Rome was most improbable, and that this chance reference in Pliny's text to the Seres involves a double confusion, and refers neither to the silk traders of Chinese Turkestan, nor to the silk trade itself.

The subject is of some present interest because by no less

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<sup>1</sup> Ex omnibus generibus palma Serico ferro est. Seres hoc cum vestibus suis pellibusque mittunt. Secunda Parthico, neque alia genera ferri ex mera acie temperantur, caeteris enim admiscuntur.



an authority than our much-respected fellow-member, Professor Hirth, it has been said: "We know that the iron industry of China assumed important dimensions during the following centuries. Chinese iron must have been of very superior quality, since not only the countries of central Asia drew their supplies from the far East, but even the Roman market, as is known from Pliny, who says that of all kinds of iron coming to Rome, the Chinese (*Sericum Ferrum*) is the best".<sup>1</sup> Again, in Rockhill's introduction to Professor Hirth's splendid edition of the mediaeval Chinese *Chau Ju-Kua*, it is said: "The first accurate information concerning China was supplied by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, writing somewhere about 80 A.D. Although the author of the *Periplus* knew little of China's position, he supplied other reliable information concerning it. We learn from him that already things from there came from a city in the interior of that country, from which silk, both raw and spun into thread and woven into fine stuff, also furs and iron, were brought overland through Bactria, to various points on the western coast of India".<sup>2</sup> So too in *China and the Roman Orient* it is said: "Pliny speaks of iron and skins as articles imported from the Seres". Then follow several references to Chinese records, notably a list of trade products from Ma-Tuan-Lin, with the remark that "This list may give us an idea what goods may be drawn from the Chinese market provided there was demand for them in the West";<sup>3</sup> although it is to be noted that the Ma-Tuan-Lin list as quoted does not include iron.

Swank, in his *Iron in all Ages* quotes the reference from Pliny with the observation that "This early reference to Chinese steel is historically very important".<sup>4</sup> Then in so thorough a reference work as Speck's *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums* it is said: "Ausser Seide kamen noch Felle oder Tierhäute und vortreffliches Eisen aus China nach Indien".<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, in another great monument of Chinese research, Richthofen's *China*, which deals at length with the trade and trade routes between China and Mediterranean lands, the passage in Pliny above quoted receives only passing reference,

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient History of China*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 225-26.

<sup>4</sup> P. 10.

<sup>5</sup> III 2. B., p. 935.

and his mention of iron is entirely ignored, the chapter being devoted mainly to an examination of the silk trade.<sup>1</sup>

It involves no denial of the early development of the iron industry in China to confess a doubt that Chinese iron found its way overland to Rome. The Chinese Annals contain many very important references to this industry. It is notable, however, that while in Professor Hirth's earlier work, *China and the Roman Orient*, he lays some stress on the iron industry of northwestern China,<sup>2</sup> in his more recent work, *Ancient History of China*, he emphasizes rather the iron industry and the extensive government control thereof in the kingdom of Ts'i,<sup>3</sup> which is known to us of this day as the Shantung Peninsula on the eastern coast of China; that is, we should be obliged to assume not only the carriage of that iron across the central Asian desert, but actually across the entire land area of the Celestial Kingdom. We should be compelled also to account for the production of an unusually fine grade of native steel in China, whereas the passages quoted from the Chinese Annals refer to the industry as important because of its producing the household utensils and agricultural implements required by all citizens, and therefore easily taxed and monopolized by the Government. We are certainly led to infer from Professor Hirth's quotations that bronze long remained the metal preferred for edged tools, iron not having been tempered to such a point as to hold the required edge.<sup>4</sup> And it is my impression that fine iron-working in China is of relatively recent development.

Something of the relative value and extent of distribution of Chinese iron may be gathered from Professor Hirth's *Chau Ju-Kua*,<sup>5</sup> in which it appears that traders from Chinese ports to foreign countries took iron to Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Java, the Philippine Islands, Hai-nan and Formosa; but this iron consisted apparently of pots, censers, tripods, coarse needles and utensils, whereas particular reference is made in that very text to the excellence of the iron swords and other weapons produced in India, which apparently found their way to the same markets that took the coarse utensils

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. ch. 10.

<sup>2</sup> P. 226.

<sup>3</sup> P. 204.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient History of China*, p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> *Chau Ju-Kua*, 1, 7, 10, 14, 15, 21, 38, 40, 43, 46.



of Chinese iron.<sup>1</sup> Again we get some idea of the value of Chinese iron in the travels of the Chinese Buddhist I-tsing at the end of the 7th century. In his account of a visit to the Nicobar Islands, which he calls the "country of the naked people", he says: "When the natives saw our vessel coming they hurriedly embarked in little boats, their number being fully a hundred. They brought cocoanuts, bananas and things made of rattan cane and bamboo and wished to exchange them. What they are anxious to get is iron only. For a piece of iron as large as two fingers one gets from five to ten cocoanuts".<sup>2</sup> A similar account we find in Reinaud's compilation of the early Arab voyages: "When a ship passes near, the men come out in boats of various sizes and barter ambergris and cocoanuts for iron".<sup>3</sup>

These are indications merely, but they suggest a manufacture of iron for domestic uses and not of the highest quality, certainly not of value sufficient to carry the cost of the tremendous journey across the Asiatic continent from northeastern China to the Levant, rather more than 5,000 miles.

From the Geography of Ptolemy we have a fairly trustworthy story of the silk caravans which traveled this ancient trade route, quoted from Marinus of Tyre, who gave the personal account of a Macedonian silk merchant named Maes, according to whom the silk traders left the Bay of Issus in Cilicia, crossing Mesopotamia, Assyria and Media to the Caspian Gates, thence through Parthia, Hyrcania, Aria and Bactria; thence through the "mountainous country of the Comedi and through the territory of the Sacae to the Stone Tower, the station of the merchants who trade with the Seres; thence to the Casii and through the country of the Thaguri until after a seven months' journey from the Stone Tower the merchants arrive at Sera metropolis".<sup>4</sup> Under ordinary conditions, therefore, the entire journey between the Mediterranean and the Chinese capital of Singan-fu, (which is about 500 miles further west than the iron country of Shantung), would have

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 15, 21.

<sup>2</sup> I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, Takakusu's ed., page xxx.

<sup>3</sup> *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine, dans le IX<sup>e</sup> Siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, I, 8.

<sup>4</sup> I, 11. 4-7.

taken the better part of a year in either direction. The camels and the drivers and the merchants must all eat, the "great kings of kings" and the lesser potentates through whose dominions they passed must all receive their tribute, and it is self-evident that the iron which to the sea-traders yielded five cocoanuts for two fingers' weight could not stand the cost of that great overland journey to Rome. The greatness of the cost appears in all the contemporary accounts of the silk trade. In the time of the Emperor Aurelian we learn that silk was worth its weight in gold, and that he neither used it himself, nor allowed his wife to possess a garment of it, thereby setting an example against the luxurious tastes that were draining the Roman Empire of its resources.<sup>1</sup> During the reign of Tiberius the Roman Senate had enacted a law "that men should not defile themselves by wearing garments of silk",<sup>2</sup> and Pliny speaks of it as "among the most valuable productions in the world",<sup>3</sup> and vigorously declaims against the great drain on Roman resources by the export of specie in return for these luxuries of the East.<sup>4</sup> The high cost was the natural result of the long overland journey and the systematic manner in which the trade was monopolized.

That the so-called Seres, who forwarded the silk to Rome, were not dealers in iron is clear also from other Roman descriptions of that people. Pliny himself speaks of them as "famous for the wool that is found in their forests", by which mistaken reference he means their silk. "They are", says he, "of inoffensive manners, shun intercourse with the rest of mankind, and wait the approach of those who wish to traffic with them".<sup>5</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus gives us a more trustworthy account.<sup>6</sup> East of Scythia is "a ring of mountains which surround Serica, a country considerable both for its extent and for the fertility of its soil. This tribe on their western side border on the Scythians, on the north and east they look towards snowy deserts, toward the south they extend as far as India and the Ganges . . . . The Seres themselves

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., xxv, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 33.

<sup>3</sup> XXXVII, 67.

<sup>4</sup> VI, 26.

<sup>5</sup> VI, 20. Compare Vergil, *Georgics*, II, 131: "Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres".

<sup>6</sup> XXIII, 6.



live quietly, always avoiding arms and battles; and as ease is pleasant to moderate and quiet men, they give trouble to none of their neighbors. Their climate is agreeable and healthy; the sky serene, the breezes gentle and delicious. They have numbers of shining groves, the trees of which through continued watering produce a crop like the fleece of a sheep, which the natives make into a delicate wool, and spin into a kind of fine cloth, formerly confined to the use of the nobles, but now procurable by the lowest of the people without distinction. The natives themselves are the most frugal of men, cultivating a peaceful life, and shunning the society of other men. And when strangers cross their river to buy their cloth, or any other of their merchandise, they interchange no conversation, but settle the price of the articles wanted by nods and signs; and they are so modest that, while selling their own produce, they never buy any foreign wares".

The location of this land of the silk traders is thoroughly identified with the modern Sarikol in the Chinese Pamirs above Khotan and Kashgar,<sup>1</sup> the Casii of Ptolemy, and it will be observed that there is not the slightest reference to any trade in metals, only in silk.

If now we refer to the *Periplus*, which has been quoted by Mr. Rockhill as authority for a Chinese iron trade, we find that its only references to iron are the following:—in paragraph 6, which contains an account of the import trade of Adulis, the Red Sea port of Abyssinia, we find included: "Iron, which is made into spears used against the elephants and other wild beasts, and in their wars";<sup>2</sup> while in the same paragraph it is said: "Likewise from the inland regions of Ariaca there are imported Indian iron and steel".<sup>3</sup> The same imports are noted at other seaports of the Horn of Africa. Turning now to the exports of India we find in the list of goods shipped from the mouths of the Indus, silk, precious stones, indigo, drugs and aromatics, but no iron; and in its account of the foreign trade from China in paragraph 64 the *Periplus* mentions silk, but has no reference to iron. It

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 67—68.

<sup>2</sup> σιδηρος ὁ βασιανόμενος εἰς τε λόγχας πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ τοὺς πολέμους.

<sup>3</sup> Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσω τόπων τῆς Ἀριακῆς σιδηρος Ἰνδικὸς καὶ στόμωμα.

speaks of the city of Thinae, doubtless the "Sera metropolis" of Ptolemy, the great capital of Singan-fu, "from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through Bactria to Barygaza".<sup>1</sup> That is, in the only references contained in the *Periplus* to the iron and steel trade, it is distinctly referred to India and not to China.

We get the same negative indication from the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who refers, in his 11th book on commercial matters, to China only as "Tzinista which sends silk cloth", no reference being made to iron.<sup>2</sup>

For the importation into the Roman world from some Eastern source of the finest grade of steel then known, there is ample evidence, and it all points toward central India and not China. *Ferrum Indicum* appears in the list of articles subject to duty at Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> Indian iron and steel appears in the *Periplus* among the imports into Abyssinia, and from this text, as I have elsewhere pointed out,<sup>4</sup> we get a curious indication of a long-standing trade monopoly, under which certain products of India in large demand in the Mediterranean world were handled only by South Arabian merchants and were not offered to ships of Roman registry which succeeded in finding their way to India. This was the case notably with cinnamon, which the Romans knew only as a product of the Horn of Africa, whither Arab and Tamil vessels brought it from Malabar, but where it never grew. And in the case of this Indian steel, the author of the *Periplus* locates it at the Red Sea port of destination, but fails entirely to mention it as an export of India. The South Arabian kingdoms seem to have separated the trade according to ports. The Himyarite port for general trade was Muza, but another port, Ocelis, was reserved for the vessels arriving from India, which the *Periplus* tells us was "not a market town, but the first landing for those sailing into the Gulf";<sup>5</sup> and Pliny says that "Ocelis

<sup>1</sup> ἀπ' ἧς τό τε ἔριον καὶ τὸ νῆμα καὶ τὸ ὀξόδιον τὸ Σηραϊκόν εἰς τὰς Βαρυγάζας διὰ Βάκτρων περὶ φέρεται.

<sup>2</sup> *Topographiae Christianae* XI, 337: καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ Τζινίστα τὴν μεταξὺ βαλλουσα· ἥ ἐνδοτέρω, οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα χώρα· ὁ Πλατωνὶς γὰρ αὐτὴν κυκλοῖ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς.

<sup>3</sup> Rescript concerning Eastern Trade in the *Digest of the Roman Law*, XXXIX, 15, 5-7.

<sup>4</sup> Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 88-89, 216-216.

<sup>5</sup> οὐχ οὕτως ἐμπορίον ὡς ἄλλοι καὶ ὄρευμα καὶ πρώτη καταγωγὴ τοῖς ἔσω διαφρονεῖν.



was the most convenient port for those coming from India",<sup>1</sup> and that the other chief ports, Muza and Cana, "were not frequented by Indian travelers, but were only for the merchants dealing in frankincense and Arabian spices". So effective was this trade understanding between the Arab and Dravidian merchants that the Roman vessels reaching the Malabar coast were permitted to trade in the cinnamon *leaf* as a product of that coast, but were not supplied with cinnamon *bark* that came from the same tree. Some indication of this trade we get also from the account of Phoenician commerce in Ezekiel: "Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs; bright iron, cassia and calamus were in thy market".<sup>2</sup> We have here the same combination of Eastern iron and cinnamon as products passing through the hands of South Arabian merchants.

Early metallurgists knew little of artificial alloys, and the quality of their metals depended on the character of the ores they used and the effectiveness of their primitive methods of smelting. In Egypt, for instance, we find that some iron was produced from the native ore by smelting with papyrus, but the industry disappeared at an early date when it met the competition of better metals from Asia Minor derived from magnetic sand and forest timber, and from Elba, Spain and the Alps, where rich ores were also found together with ample timber. The Roman Empire had an abundant supply of ordinary iron from within its own borders, and its imports of that metal were limited to qualities beyond its own ability to produce. This iron which it imported from the East, as has been ascertained from examination of existing specimens, was really a good grade of charcoal steel yielded by native processes jealously held secret and unknown to the Romans.

Herodotus, in his catalogue of the troops of Xerxes, says that "The Indians were clad with garments made of cotton, had bows of cane and arrows of cane tipped with iron".<sup>3</sup> Ctesias mentions two wonderful swords of Indian steel had from the King of Persia,<sup>4</sup> and it is recorded also that the Malli and Oxydracae made a gift to the victorious invader Alexander of 100 talents of Indian steel.<sup>5</sup> Salmasius, in his

<sup>1</sup> VI, 104.

<sup>2</sup> XXVII, 19.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Müller's Ctesias, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Curtius, IX, 24.

notes on Pliny, refers to an early Greek chemical treatise on "The Tempering of Indian Steel",<sup>1</sup> and Colonel Yule, in his notes on Marco Polo, has traced this trade from source to destination.<sup>2</sup> It was this same Indian steel which was used in the manufacture of the famous Damascus blades of the Arabs in the height of their prosperity, and which was regarded as essentially a different metal from ordinary iron, being called by the Arabs *Hundwānīy*, "Indian", whence the curious word "Andanic" or "Ondanique" of the mediaeval writers, the fine steel used for swords and mirrors. Cordier notes that this "Hindi" metal used for mirrors has passed into Spanish in the form of *alhinde* and *alinde*, first with the meaning of steel, then that of steel mirror, and finally with that of any metallic foil for making mirror-glass. From a modern Spanish dictionary I note the erroneous definition, *Alinde*, (obsolete) "quicksilver for mirrors"; meaning, of course, nothing more than "Indian metal". So the word "hint" or "al hint", Cordier notes, is used in modern North African dialects for steel, confirming again the statement of the Periplus that it was Indian steel which found its way to the African ports, and thus passed into their language. The Arab, Edrisi, says: "The Hindus excel in the manufacture of iron. They have also workshops wherein are forged the most famous sabers in the world. It is impossible to find anything to surpass the edge that you get from Indian steel".<sup>3</sup> So Chardin says of the steel of Persia, "They combine it with Indian steel, which is more tractable, and is much more esteemed".<sup>4</sup> Dupré says, "I used to believe that the steel for the famous Persian sabers came from certain mines in Khorasan, but according to all the information I have obtained, I can assert that no mine of steel exists in that province. What is used for these blades comes in the shape of discs from Lahore".<sup>5</sup> Yule quotes an interesting distinction made by Avicenna, who makes a threefold classification of iron:<sup>6</sup> 1st. That which is good for striking or bearing heavy strokes

<sup>1</sup> *Exercitationes Plinianaæ*, II, 763.

<sup>2</sup> Under Book, I, ch. 17.

<sup>3</sup> I, 65-66.

<sup>4</sup> Cordier's Ed. of Yule's Marco Polo, I, 94.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib. id.*

<sup>6</sup> *De Animâ*, book V.



(used for hammers and anvils). 2nd. That which is purer, better adapted to take an edge and to form cutting tools, but not malleable. (Steel). 3rd. Andena. Less known, he says, among Latin nations, the special character of which is that, like silver, it is ductile under a very low degree of heat.

Marco Polo, in his account of Persia, speaks of Kermán as "A kingdom having plenty of veins of steel and *ondanique*; the people are very skillful in making harness of war; their saddles, bridles, spurs, bows and quivers, and arms of every kind are very well made indeed according to the fashion of those parts".<sup>1</sup> Cordier identifies these mines with the Parpa iron mines on the road from Kermán to Shiráz,<sup>2</sup> which are no longer worked, and Pottinger names steel among the imports into Kermán from India,<sup>3</sup> bringing us back again to the statement of Pliny that the first in quality was the "iron of the Seres, and the second that of Parthia", both of which were doubtless used by the armorers of the Levant.

The making of steel in early India has been very fully described, the methods ascertained and the sources of the industry located. A limited quantity was made in the southern Dravidian kingdoms, but the best and most plentiful supply, and that which was in constant demand from the Roman times through the middle ages and down to the British occupation of India, was that produced in Haidarâbâd. The method of smelting was practically the same throughout India. According to Watt's "*Economic Products of India*",<sup>4</sup> there was a furnace built of clay three or four feet in height, more or less conical in form, with an orifice near the bottom, stopped with clay during the blast, and through which the bloom was removed at the end of the operation. Clay tubes inserted near the base conveyed the blast from two skin bellows worked alternately by hand, so as to keep up a continuous stream of air. The fuel used was charcoal from native timbers without flux, and after the furnace had been sufficiently heated, the ore, sometimes in the form of natural magnetic sand gathered from the beds of streams, but more commonly after having been pounded from rock ores to small fragments or coarse powder, was sprinkled in at the top in small quantities

<sup>1</sup> I, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cordier's ed. of Yule's *Marco Polo* I, 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 94.

<sup>4</sup> IV, p. 502.

at frequent intervals, alternating with native charcoal, to keep the charge nearly level with the top of the furnace. From time to time during the operation, which lasted several hours, the slag was removed through a hole which was then stopped with clay. The bloom produced was a pasty mass of malleable iron containing a good deal of slag, which was removed by immediate hammering. The expenditure of charcoal by this method was very great in proportion to the result—as much as fourteen tons of fuel, according to Mr. Ball, having been used to one ton of finished iron, and a large proportion of metal remained in the slag. Recent examination of ores thus used show that a magnetite containing 72% of metal yielded only 15% of its weight in bar iron. The amount of iron produced, as Mr. Ball remarked, “bore but a miserable proportion to the labor, time and material expended”. The bellows varied in form and size, but were usually made from goat skins or bullock hides and worked by hand. This labor, which was tedious and most exacting, apparently required more than one man to the blower, and there are curious pictures of recent steel-making by this primitive process showing the laborer pulling away at the cord, with the necessary extra weight provided, hours at a time, by the laborer's wife standing behind him with her arms thrown around his body.

In the production of Indian steel, which was known in modern times as “wootz”, the iron which was smelted from magnetite, as already described, was refined by repeated heatings and hammerings and formed into bars measuring about  $12' \times 1-1/2'' \times 1/2''$ . These were cut into small pieces, a number of which, aggregating perhaps two pounds in weight, were packed closely in a crucible, together with about a tenth part of dry wood chopped small, the whole being covered over with one or two green leaves, and the mouth of the crucible filled up with tempered clay rammed close. Some two dozen such crucibles were built up in the form of a conical arch in a small furnace which was lighted, the blast kept up for about  $2-1/2$  hours, when the crucibles were removed, cooled and broken and the cakes of steel shaped according to the bottom of the crucible, taken out. These cakes were then heated several hours at a temperature just below their melting point, turned over in the current of air from the bellows, the object being to eliminate excess carbon and



thus to produce the low fusing point already noted by Avicenna. When this operation was completed the cakes were ready for the market in circular form, or else were hammered out into short stout bars and so were sold to the traders.

The crucibles were made of a refractory red loam largely mixed with dry rice husk. The wood used was that of *Cassia auriculata*, and the leaves those of *Asclepias gigantea*, or *Convolvulus laurifolia*.

In some parts of India the ores used contained a small percentage of manganese, and some of the black sand consisted apparently of titaniferous magnetic oxide, either of which would produce a native steel; but those of central India were principally a rock magnetite, and according to the above description, the steel produced was evidently a good grade of charcoal crucible steel ("cement steel"). Dr. Ball quotes a number of recent observers of the Haidarâbâd steel production, who tell of regular visits to the furnaces by Persian traders from Ispahan, who were in the habit of going backwards and forwards with the steel, and who, while making their purchases, personally superintended the operations, weighing the proportions of iron and testing the toughness of the steel. One such trader said that in Persia the same processes had been tried, but that the same quality of steel could not be produced from their ores.<sup>1</sup>

The French gem merchant, Tavernier, who traveled India in the 17th century, mentions this steel industry in the "Kingdom of Golconda", and remarks: "They carry a broad sword like the Swiss, with which they both cut and thrust, and they suspend it from a belt. The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours, and the iron is better and purer. This makes them not liable to burst. As for the cavalry, they have bow and arrow, shield and mace, with helmet and a coat of mail."<sup>2</sup> We are thus carried back by recent travelers both to the iron-tipped Indian arrows of Herodotus, and to the "bright iron" of Ezekiel brought by merchants "going to and fro".

It is sufficiently evident from these references that the fine iron of the Roman trade was Indian steel; and it remains to

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<sup>1</sup> *Manual of the Geology of India.* Part III, ch. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in India.* Ball's ed., I, 157.

examine and interpret the vague references in Pliny to that trade. We must assume a time when all foreigners were considered as barbarians, and the exact location of their countries was a matter of little interest or importance. The silk traders, the people of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs, played an important part in the Eastern trade of Rome, and were correctly located and described as Seres. A totally different people, but of a name reducible to a similar Latin form, was also in active communication with the Roman Empire. These were one of the Tamil kingdoms of southern India—the Chēra, whose kingdom appears in the *Periplus* as Cerobothra, and whose chief port, Muziris, the modern Cranganore, was an active center of shipping from Arabia and Roman Egypt. Much of the Roman knowledge of India came apparently from Ceylon, and in Sinhalese the Tamil Chēra became *Sēri*. Pliny clearly refers to this people in his account of the trade of Ceylon with the "Seres" where he says: "Their accounts agree with the reports of our own merchants, who tell us that the wares which they deposit near those brought for sale by the Seres, on the farther bank of a river of their country, are removed by them if they are satisfied with the exchange".<sup>1</sup> In this passage there is both truth and confusion, the Chēra ports being located along a chain of thoroughfares, some on the beach and some on the mainland side, but the description being confused apparently with the Pamir river valley of the silk merchants.

While some of the Indian steel might have been shipped through the Chēra ports, it is probably true that most of it went through the port of Barygaza on the Gulf of Cambay, being carried thither by the overland trade route that traversed the great dominions of the Andhra dynasty, "the inland regions of Ariaca" of the *Periplus*, thence proceeding westward in native or Arab, and not in Greek or Roman shipping. The product was probably then, as in recent times, bought at the furnaces and the profits of the trade were great enough for the buyers to keep in full for themselves without dealing through third parties. In any case the total amount shipped westward from India must have been small indeed. In the accounts of early 19th century travelers given us by Ball and

<sup>1</sup> VI, 22. Cf. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 209.



Watt, it is indicated that a single furnace might produce no more than a couple of hundred-weight of steel in a year, and 200 tons per year would probably be an outside figure for this export trade.

The various references to the Seres in the Roman writers cannot be harmonized for any one people, and it is certainly an unnecessary interpretation to identify them with the Chinese, or to transfer the "Seric iron" to China. I have already indicated that the Indian steel, although mainly an Andhra product, was attributed by the Romans to the Chēra Tamils, and then confused with the Seres of Turkestan; and I will close with a further identification of one of these ubiquitous Seres, not heretofore made, so far as I am aware. We have the connection through the Greek antiquarian Pausanias, who, after describing the Seres and the silk culture of China and Turkestan, says: "The island of Seria is known to be situated in a recess of the Erythraean Sea. But I have heard that the island is formed, not by the Erythraean Sea, but by a river called the Ser, just as the Delta of Egypt is surrounded by the Nile and not by a sea; such, also, it is said, is the island of Seria. Both the Seres and the inhabitants of the neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacaea are of the Aethiopian race; some say, however, that they are not Aethiopians, but a mixture of Scythians and Indians".<sup>1</sup> These Seres, from Pausanias' own description, we are forced to transfer to the southern coast of Arabia, and to identify their island with that mentioned in the *Periplus* as Sar-apis,<sup>2</sup> and still known as Mo-seir-ah; and the origin of the name we must refer to the ancient Arab tribe of Ausar, Ausal or Ausan, whom some of the writers on Arabian geography would identify with Uzal, son of Joktan of Genesis X, and more certainly at any rate with the port of Ocelis or Cella, already mentioned as the terminus of the Arab trade with India, and with the modern Zeila on the African side of the Straits. The glimpse of this island given by Pausanias is extremely interesting. The word Aethiopian, instead of having the wide significance now given it, seems to have meant,

<sup>1</sup> *Descriptio Graeciae*, VI, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Νῆσος Σαράπιδος λεγόμενη . . . οὐαῖται δὲ κόμμασι γρυσὶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις πονεροῖς Ἰχθυοφάγων· γλώσση δὲ Ἀραβικῇ χρῶνται καὶ περιέωσσι φύλλων κουνίου.

as Glaser showed, no more than "incense gatherer", and referred specifically to the tribes dwelling on either shore of the Gulf of Aden.<sup>1</sup> The "neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacaea" are the modern Kuria Muria, "Abasa" being the same tribe-name as "Abyssinian". The coming of the Scythians and Indians followed the Indian conquests by the Asiatic invaders at the epoch of Kanishka. We have a similar account in the description of the island of Socotra in the *Periplus*, where mention is made of a mixture of Arabs and Hindus and Greeks.<sup>2</sup> This people of Ausar at some period of Arab history, which we may perhaps place not later than the 7th century B. C., apparently dominated not only all south Arabia, but the opposite side of the Gulf of Aden and much of the east African coast. We have a reference to them in the *Periplus* which refers to this coast as far as Zanzibar under the name of "Ausanitic".<sup>3</sup> Glaser, in interpreting South Arabian inscriptions discovered by him, indicates that the power of Ausan, like that of the later South Arabian tribes, was derived from their trade in incense, aromatics and oriental products, for which they found markets in Egypt, Syria and Babylonia, and that the power of Ausan was succeeded in order by those of Kataban, Saba and Himyar;<sup>4</sup> and the *Periplus* gives another interesting glimpse of these struggles in South Arabia, where, describing the present Zanzibar coast, it states that it was governed by Himyarite Arabs "under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that has become first in Arabia".<sup>5</sup>

We therefore gather that the Seres of the Romans were as ubiquitous as Prester John of the mediaeval Europeans, whose kingdom was located anywhere from the mountains of Abyssinia to the wastes of Mongolia; and it is not necessary

<sup>1</sup> *Itiopyavan*, from *atyôb*, incense: *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, pp. 10. 27.

<sup>2</sup> § 30: εἰσι δὲ ἐπίκειροι καὶ ἐπίμικτοι Ἀράβων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν πρὸς ἑργασίαν ἐκπεδύντων.

<sup>3</sup> § 15: μετὰ δύο δρόμοισι νυχθημέροις παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς Αὐσιωτικῆς ἡδονα ἡ Μερουσις ἀπαντᾷ νῆσοι.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, VI—IX. *Punt und die süd-arabischen Reiche*, pp. 16—18.

<sup>5</sup> § 16: Νέμεται δὲ αὐτῇ, κατὰ τι δαίμων ἀρχαῖον ὑποπίστρουσαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ τῆς πρώτης γενομένης Ἀραβίας, ὁ Μαφαιτικῆς τύραννος.



for us to carry the iron-trading Seres of Pliny to far-away China over a difficult, dangerous and expensive land-caravan route, when we know that Indian steel reached the Roman world by ocean-going sailing vessels, and that along that cheap and easy ocean route there dwelt at least two peoples, one in western India and the other in southern Arabia, to whom the name "Seres" was confusedly applied.

*Studies in the Veda*.<sup>1</sup>—By FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

4. Chāndogya Upaniṣad 6. 2.

The first part of this section, whose interpretation is not open to serious question, may be translated as follows:

‘The existent only, my dear, was this universe in the beginning—quite alone and without a second. Now some say: the non-existent only was this universe in the beginning, quite alone and without a second, and from this non-existent the existent was born.

‘But how, in sooth, my dear, could this be? said he, How could the existent be born from the non-existent? No; the existent only, my dear, was this universe in the beginning, quite alone and without a second.

‘It desired: May I become many, may I be propagated. It produced heat (*tejas*). This heat desired: May I become many, may I be propagated. It created waters ...’

Then comes a sentence which I interpret thus, differing from all previous interpretations: ‘Therefore wherever it is hot, there a man sweats, on account of the heat; as a result thereof (i. e. of the heat) waters are produced’.

After this the section closes with another statement whose interpretation is likewise clear enuf in general:

‘These waters desired: May we become many, may we be propagated. They produced (solid) food. Therefore wherever it rains, just there is the most food, on account of the waters; as a result thereof (i. e. of the waters) edible food is produced’.

The point of my new interpretation of the sentence about the production of waters from heat is the perfect parallelism

<sup>1</sup> The first three studies in this series were published in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXXV, 435 ff., under the following titles: 1. The instrumental with verbs of ruling, AV. 4. 27. 4, 5.—2. AV. 4. 5. 7 = RVKh. 7. 55. 1.—3. *Apaskambhā*, AV. 4. 6. 4.



in external form between it and the following one about the production of food from waters. This parallelism has never been noticed by any commentator, and as a result all have totally failed to get the point. It seems to me, however, so obvious that it only needs to be pointed out to be recognized. To make it clear I think I shall only need to quote the Sanskrit of the two sentences, side by side. For convenience I divide them into separate clauses or phrases, lettered a, b, c and d.

- (a) { 1. *tasmād yatra kva ca çocati* —  
 2. *tasmād yatra kva ca varṣati* —  
 (b) { 1. *svedate vā puruṣas* —  
 2. *tad eva bhūyīṣṭham annaṃ bhavaty* —  
 (c) { 1. *tejasa eva* —  
 2. *adbhya eva* —  
 (d) { 1. *tad-adhy āpo jāyante*.  
 2. *tad-adhy annādyam jāyate*.

Observe how perfectly the parallelism works out. Wherever so and so happens (a), then such and such a result is observed (b)—precisely on account of so and so (c, resuming a), for as a result thereof (*tad-adhi*) such and such is produced (d, resuming b). Again I say, I do not see how it is possible to question the parallelism, once it is pointed out. What has thrown the commentators off is the word *vā*, in the phrase *svedate vā puruṣas*. This word ordinarily means 'or', and is so taken here by all interpreters, thus making 'b' a correlative statement to 'a', and throwing out the parallelism completely. But *vā* obviously cannot mean 'or' in this sentence. It would be comparatively simple to emend it to *vāi*, or to *eva* (*svedata eva* becoming corrupted to *svedate vā*), either of which would make perfect sense; and it may be said in favor of the latter suggestion (the reading *svedata eva*) that it would make a more perfect parallel with 'b' of the parallel sentence, which is likewise connected with the preceding by *eva* (*tad eva bhūyīṣṭham* &c.). But no emendation is necessary. The particle *vā* may be used precisely in the sense of *eva*: see the Petersburg lexicon s. v., meaning 4, and the places there quoted. At any rate, whether the reading *vā* be kept or not, it seems to me there can be no doubt whatever of the meaning of the particle which originally stood here: it was simply a particle of emphasis, and did not mean 'or'.

The interpretations of Max Müller, Boehtlingk and Deussen, all of whom were misled by the word *vâ*, are as follows. Müller: 'And therefore whenever anybody anywhere is hot and perspires, water is produced on him from fire alone'. Boehtlingk: 'Deshalb entsteht, so oft ein Mensch Kummer hat oder schwitzt, aus der Glut Wasser'. Deussen: 'Darum wenn ein Mensch die Glut des Schmerzes fühlt oder schwitzt, so entsteht aus der Glut das Wasser (der Thränen, des Schweißes)'. It will be noted that both Boehtlingk and Deussen absolutely ignore the important *tad-adhi*. Max Müller takes it as meaning 'on him', i. e. 'on the man'. All of them ignore the obvious parallelism with the following statement.

### 5. Chândogya Upaniṣad 6. 14.

This section contains the beautiful simile of the man brot to a strange land and left blindfolded to wander about aimlessly, until some one removes his eye-bandage and tells him in which direction to go; then he finds his way home. Just so a man in this world who has not received the true instruction in Upaniṣadic philosophy wanders about aimlessly, his mental eyesight dimmed by the eye-bandages of ignorance, until a teacher removes the bandage of ignorance and tells him in what direction to shape his life's course; then he will arrive at his true goal.

Tho the general sense of the passage has been correctly grasped by all interpreters, so far as I know, it seems to me that all their interpretations are open to objection in certain details.

I render the passage thus:

'As if, my dear, one should bring hither a man from the land of Gandhâra, with eyes bound tight, and should then turn him loose in a desert place; [as he would then drift about, eastward, or northward, or southward, having been brot hither blindfold, and having been turned loose blindfold];

'As if one should free him from the bandage (over his eyes), and should tell him: In this direction is the land of Gandhâra, go in this direction; he would ask (the way) from village to village, being a wise and intelligent man, and would actually arrive at the land of Gandhâra. Just so a man who has an instructor in this world knows. There is delay for



him only for so long a time as he is not freed (from the bonds of ignorance): then he will arrive (at his final goal)'.

*Notes.* (a) The sentence which I hav enclosed in [square brackets] above, in my translation, reads in the Sanskrit thus: *yathā tatra prān vā, udan vā, adharān vā, pra dhmāyīta, abhinaddhākṣa ānitah, abhinaddhākṣo viśṛṣṭah*. No one seems ever to hav explaiend why only three directions—east, north and south—ar mentioned. Why not *west* too? Does it not mean that he would drift in *any and every* direction? So many readers must hav thot, among them one Hindu copyist, who inserts *pratyān vā* 'or westward' after the words *adharān vā* 'or southward', to make it complete; and so likewise Boehtlingk, whose unimaginativ rationalism is carried one step further, for he inserts *pratyān vā* between north and south, so as to hav the four directions in perfect order—east, north, west, south. These insertions simply spoil the sense of the passage. If Boehtlingk and his Hindu predecessor had stopt to think where the land of Gandhāra is, they would never hav made such a blunder. Gandhāra is the farthest *western* limit of Indian civilization, and if the blindfolded Gandhārese went westward, and kept it up long enuf, he would arrive at his own home. That is not contemplated by the simile. There ar of course three chances to one that he would go in some other direction; and it is this probability of error that the passage emfasizes when it says he would go 'eastward, or northward, or southward'.

(b) The verb *pra dhmāyīta* in this connexion certainly means 'be blown about (as by a wind)', 'drift'. Deussen comes closest to being right: he translates it 'verschlagen', that is 'start in the wrong direction'. Max Müller 'shout', so Hillebrandt *Ved. Chr.* 'laut ausrufen'; Boehtlingk 'sich aufmachen', apparently getting pretty close to the idea but not quite grasping it. The meaning seems to be made clear by the use of the activ of the same verb *pra-dham* in AV. 18. 2. 28, *agnīḥ tām asmāt prā dhamāti yajñāt*, 'Agni shal blow them away (scatter them) from this sacrifice', and AV. 3. 2. 2 *prā vo dhamatu sarvātah* 'Let him blow you forth (scatter you) in every direction'. Whether the form *pra dhmāyīta* be taken as middle (as Whitney Gr. 738b takes it) or as passiv (as I should prefer to take it, with reference to the *y*; the ending *-īta* is no more irregular in one case than in the other), it evidently means

something like 'be blown forth, be made to drift helplessly'. Certainly Müller and Hillebrandt are wrong in taking it as a verb of shouting—all the more since the following words, which they regard as a direct quotation depending thereon, are provided with no *iti* or other sign of quotation.

(c) The last sentence of the passage translated is in the Sanskrit: *tasya tavad eva ciram, yāvan na vimokṣye, atha sampatsya iti*. 'Of him so long only is (or, will be) there delay (longness), as he shall not be releast (i. e., until he shall be releast); then he will arrive'. The verb *saṃ-pad* parallels *upa-saṃ-pad*, which is used above of the man from Gandhāra 'arriving' finally at Gandhāra. So here, the enlited man will 'arrive'—the destination being left to be supplied; it means, of course, he will 'arrive' at his true final goal in life, as taught by the Upaniṣadic philosophy. Max Müller translates: 'For him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body); then he will be perfect'. This translation is not very far wrong; only it is from 'the bonds of ignorance', which keep him from seeing clearly, like the blindfolded man in the parable, that he is to be freed, rather than 'the body'; and 'be perfect' for *saṃ-pad* fails to bring out the idea of 'arriving', 'attaining', which as I said is clearly contained in the verb. The other translators are farther from the mark. Deussen, whose filological sense is usually so keen, makes the bad mistake of failing to see that *tasya*, the first word, refers back to *puruṣa* in the preceding sentence (*evam evahacāryavān puruṣo veda*). He makes the whole depend on the preceding *veda*, as a direct quotation of the man's thought, and renders: 'Diesem (Welttreiben) werde ich nur so lange angehören, bis ich erlöst sein werde, darauf werde ich heimgehen'. I do not see how *tasya* could mean 'diesem Welttreiben'; that would be at best *asya*, and rather harsh at that.

That the word *ciram* may be a noun is shown by Pāṇini 6. 2. 6. It appears to mean 'delay', i. e. delay in getting started in the right direction (keeping still in mind the parable of the blindfolded man).

Deussen's 'erlöst werden' for *vimokṣye* (similarly also Boehtlingk) is a little too strong. It does not refer to final salvation, in the usual later sense; that is rather meant by *sampatsye* in this sentence. Instead it refers, as I said, to being 'releast' from the blinding bandage of ignorance, so that one



can hav clear intellectual vision; only after this happens can one *start* in the direction of final salvation or 'attainment'. The parable of the blindfolded man is kept constantly in view, and the parallelism with it is scrupulously close. All translators hav faild to do justis to this circumstance.

## 6. Chāndogya Upaniṣad 6. 16.

The parable containd in this section is that of the trial of a man accused of theft, by the ordeal of the heated ax.

'Also they lead along a man, my dear, with hands tied, saying: He has stolen, he has committed theft, heat the ax for him. If he is the doer of it, then indeed he makes himself false; covering himself with falsehood (*anṛtābhisamdhā*), enwrapping himself in falsehood (*anṛtenātmānam antardhāya*), he takes holds of the heated ax; he is burnt, then he perishes.

'Then if he is not the doer of it, then indeed he makes himself true; covering himself with truth (*satyābhisamdhā*), enwrapping himself in truth (*satyenātmānam antardhāya*), he takes hold of the ax; he is not burnt, then he is releast.'

It seems to me that the term *abhisamdhā*, used as the final member of the compounds *anṛtābhisamdhā* and *satyābhisamdhā*, must mean 'covering', 'that with which one covers'. The frase is thus a synonym for the following *anṛtenā-(satyenā)-tmānam antardhāya*. This expressing of the same idea in juxtaposed doublets is one of the most familiar stylistic tricks of the Upaniṣads; it occurs, for instance, in this same section, in the first sentence: *apāhārṣīt, steyam akārṣīt*—'he has stolen, has committed theft'.

The word is generally taken as meaning 'speech, declaration' or the like: Deussen, 'Unwahres aussagend'; Boehtlingk, 'indem er eine unwahre Aussage macht'. Max Müller says, a little differently: 'the false-minded'. But the picture is of a *covering* by which the man seeks to protect himself from damage by the heated ax. If the covering he uses is falsehood, it is useless; he is burnt. If it is truth, then it protects him from the burning ax. The verb *abhi-dhā* regularly has this meaning, and the derivativ of *abhi-sam-dhā* is here used in the same sense. According to the most usual meaning of *abhi-sam-dhā*, the word ought to mean 'purpose, intent'; but this is a long way from 'pronouncement, declaration', the meaning

assumed by Deussen and Boehtlingk, and not too close to Müller's 'mind'; and while wickedness of intention might have been predicated of the *prospectiv* thief, it is much less natural of the man who is about to submit to the ordeal.

It is interesting to observe that in the Rāmāyaṇa (5. 51. 21 Gorresio) practically the same compound occurs which is found in our Upaniṣad passage, viz. *satyābhidhāna*, 'encased in righteousness'. Very significantly, as it seems to me, it is here also used with reference to virtue as a protection from the heat of fire; namely, it is applied to Sītā, who, it is alleged, will be safe from the devouring flames started by Hanumat to destroy Rāvaṇa's city, because of her spotless virtue—because she is 'enwrapt in righteousness'.—There are two other occurrences in the Rāmāyaṇa (1. 6. 5 and 5. 30. 7, Gorresio) of the compound *satyābhisandha*—this time the very same form as that found in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad; but in both cases the word is a mere colorless epithet of King Daśaratha, and the context furnishes no evidence as to the real meaning.



*Relations of Shah Abbas the Great, of Persia, with the Mogul Emperors, Akbar and Jahangir.*—By CLARA CARY EDWARDS, New York City.

Abbas the Great came to the throne of Persia in 1586. He found his country in that condition of anarchy which in a despotic state is the invariable accompaniment of any weakening of the central power. In the ten years which had passed since the death of his grandfather, Shah Tahmasp, two kings, one a drunkard, the other blind, had seen their great kingdom become an agglomeration of petty principalities which acknowledged no allegiance to the Shah: everywhere khans, tribal chiefs, provincial governors had set themselves up as independent kings and princes.

Not only was Persia riven by internal quarrels; she was attacked by foes from without. A country holding the faith of the Shiah Moslems, she was surrounded by Sunni Mohammedans, who were ever ready to make difference of creed an excuse for aggression. The Uzbeg Tartars on the North-East held the province of Khorasan in constant dread of their fierce raids. They were pensionaries and dependents of the Turks, and were bound to them by an agreement which provided that whenever the Turkish army should be engaged in war in Europe, the Tartars were to harass Persia and prevent the country from feeling the relief of peace<sup>1</sup>. On the North-West, the one-time Persian provinces of Shirvan and Daghestan had been held by the Turks since the days of Suleiman the Magnificent, and Turkish armies were now waging victorious war in Azerbaijan.

Under these circumstances, it required no great political instinct for the king to see the wisdom of keeping in friendly relations with Akbar, the Sunni emperor of India, especially as that emperor had brought India to a height of power and

<sup>1</sup> Sherley, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1390.

prestige never known before. Fortunately, it was not difficult. Akbar had already shown that he had no desire to add Persian provinces to his territory. Only half a dozen years before the accession of Abbas, he had replied to the ruler of Turan, who sent an envoy with a proposal that they should join forces against the King of Persia: "that the Persian royal family and his own had always been on friendly terms, and he did not consider differences of law and religion as sufficient ground for a war of conquest."<sup>1</sup>

Shah Abbas even hoped that the good feeling of his brother emperor would lead him to restore to the Persian king the city and province of Kandahar, in accordance with an old promise.<sup>2</sup> Kandahar, a small city in itself, was by its position a place of real importance. Lying on the main trade-route between India and Persia, it was a focus of all the direct routes converging from the western frontier of India towards Herat and Persia; and the fortress of Kandahar, which in the hands of the Indian king would form an excellent base for an army of invasion, would, in the possession of Persia, lend security from attacks by way of the South. Abbas was not sufficiently powerful in the early years of his reign to press his claim to this stronghold, once the property of his family. He had patched up a temporary peace with the Turks, leaving in their hands all the territory they had conquered, and he was engaged in bringing order out of the chaos in Persia.<sup>3</sup> One by one, the rebellious princelings were being subdued; some to be treated with harsh severity, others with a clemency surprising in a Persian monarch. It must have galled him, when he was thus engaged in civil wars, to hear (1593) that the Persian prince of Kandahar, who had been holding the province as a tributary of Akbar, had definitely made over the place to the Indian emperor, receiving in exchange the Subah of Multan and other dignities.<sup>4</sup> Of such value was Akbar's promise!

<sup>1</sup> *Akbarnama*, v. 3, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> The promise was made by Akbar in 1558. See *Akbarnama*, v. 2, p. 121. He renewed at that time a promise originally given by Humayun, but never carried out.

<sup>3</sup> One curious provision of the treaty of peace with the Turks was that the Persians should no longer have the right to curse the first three Caliphs.

<sup>4</sup> *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 257, note.



There are, unfortunately, very few references in contemporary documents to the relations between Abbas and Akbar. Those which we have show that the relations continued friendly, in spite of the Kandahar incident. Sir Anthony Sherley, writing from Persia in about 1599, mentions that sixteen slaves had been sent as a present by the Great Mogul to Abbas.<sup>1</sup> A little later, he writes:—"The Great Mogul, King of Lahore, sent a great ambassador to desire a marriage between his eldest son's daughter and Cephir Mirza (Safi Mirza), eldest son to the King of Persia, with a mighty present, and as mighty offers, both of ready money, and to pay 30,000 men in any war which the King of Persia should undertake for seven years."<sup>2</sup> Sherley does not tell us how this embassy was received, but it must have been welcome. Shah Abbas would feel that he was receiving a slight and partial return for the loss of Kandahar.<sup>3</sup> The Persian king must have sent return embassies to the Indian court, but all we know of them is that on one occasion he sent Akbar, among other "fitting gifts", a horse so fine that it continued to be the best in the royal stables until Jahangir gave it away as a mark of his special favor, two years after his accession.<sup>4</sup>

Concerning the diplomatic passages between Abbas and Jahangir, who came to the throne of India in 1605, we have more sources of information. The most valuable is Jahangir's diary, kept with his own hand;<sup>5</sup> and for amplification and comment on this, we have the writings of a number of European travellers to India and Persia. Among these, the most notable are Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the court of the Great Mogul, and the letters of that most careful observer and delightful *raconteur*, the Italian Della Valle, who spent ten years in travel in Turkey, Persia and India. From these sources we may acquire a knowledge which, although fragmentary, is sufficient to give us a clear idea of the dealings between the two courts and of the reception and treatment of ambassadors.

<sup>1</sup> Sherley, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1402. These slaves were stopped and held by the Governor of Hormuz.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 2, bk. 1, p. 1406.

<sup>3</sup> In sending this embassy, Akbar followed his usual policy of conciliating a ruler from whom he had taken territory.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> I have used throughout the translation by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge. 2 volumes, London, 1909 and 1914.

At this time, there was constant intercourse between the inhabitants of the two countries. The trade-route from Lahore to Ispahan by way of Kandahar was a well travelled highway, in spite of its difficulties and dangers.<sup>1</sup> Five months were required for the journey, but time counts for little in the East. According to one contemporary estimate, the long track over mountain and desert was paced yearly by from twelve to fourteen hundred camels, carrying loads of indigo, sugar, spices, cotton cloth, and the like.<sup>2</sup> The trade in turbans alone was considerable, for all the turbans used in Persia were imported from India.<sup>3</sup> Della Valle notes that there was a very large number of Hindoo merchants living in Ispahan, many of whom were in business there as permanent residents.<sup>4</sup> In India the Persian language was the speech of the Mogul's court and largely of his army;<sup>5</sup> two of his intimates were the Persian scholars Faizi and Abu-l Fazl; and many of his best soldiers and officers were Persian by birth.<sup>6</sup>

The rulers of two countries so closely bound by ties of language and commerce could not ignore each other. To Jahangir there were only two monarchs who could even pretend to an equality with himself—the Persian Shah and the more

<sup>1</sup> An ambassador of the Shah to India experienced its dangers in 1620. He was robbed by the Afghans and all his suite were taken prisoners. He alone escaped and arrived empty-handed at the Indian court. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 208—209.

<sup>2</sup> See letter from Richard Steele to the East India Company, in *Register of Letters of the East India Company, 1600—1619*, p. 459. De Laet says of Kandahar: "Hic continuo commercia exercentur e Persia, India, Mesopotamia, e reliquis partibus orientis; nam septem aut octo millia camelorum in ambitu aluntur ad merces ultro citroque devehendas." —De Laet: *Persia, seu regni Persici status*, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 833.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 485.

<sup>5</sup> *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Hak. Soc., p. 97; Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile*, p. 36. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Shah's soldiers were many of them Turks, and Turkish was the language of his court and army. Cf. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 507.

<sup>6</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 41; Herbert, p. 36; Terry, *A Voyage to East India*, p. 121. The Persian soldiers had gained by their bravery such a reputation for their king that it became a custom in India, if a man did a very valiant thing, to call out "Shah Abbas!", as much as to say that it was done as well as the Persian king himself could have done it. Terry, p. 152.



distant ruler of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> The Persian, who lived the nearer his own territory, was in his eyes the more important. Indeed, by the time of Jahangir's accession, Shah Abbas had won for himself boundless fear and respect in his own country and fame throughout the civilized world.<sup>2</sup> He had effectually put down rebellion in Persia and had brought that country to a state of order and safety which astonished European travellers.<sup>3</sup> He had renewed the wars with Turkey and had already won back much of the lost territory. He was a personality not to be disregarded by the Indian Emperor. Nevertheless, the kingdom of Persia, strong and united as he had made it, was far inferior in wealth, splendor, and population to that of the Great Mogul. If Jahangir must consider with respect the military preparedness of Persia, Abbas, in his poorer country, could not afford to endanger the immense economic advantages which he derived from Indian trade. In character the two monarchs were so different as to make any sympathy or understanding out of the question. Abbas, the warrior, scorned the effeminate and luxury-loving Indian; while Jahangir, naturalist and patron of the arts, despised the roughness and ignorance of the Persian king. Outwardly they displayed great respect and affection for each other; but with all their protestations of friendship, Jahangir always tried to place the Persian at a disadvantage, and Abbas never forgot the sting of the loss of Kandahar. To more than one European observer the secret enmity between the monarchs was apparent.<sup>5</sup>

Diplomatic representation of each ruler at the court of the other was necessary. And besides the exchange of formal embassies, it was the custom, when a prominent merchant started off with a large caravan, to send by him a letter and

<sup>1</sup> *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Introd. p. XXIX. Jahangir's journal makes frequent mention of Persian ambassadors, but makes absolutely no direct allusion to the English ambassador.

<sup>2</sup> Della Valle and Cartwright both note that the most binding form of an oath for a Persian was to swear by the head of Shah Abbas. And if one man wished well to another, he would say: "May Shah Abbas give you your desires." Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 445; Cartwright, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1433.

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 447-448; Cartwright, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1431.

<sup>4</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 405.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 11.

a present to the sovereign of the country he was visiting.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the merchants would be commissioned to buy some particular object for their masters. Again, the king would send out an agent to buy him curios and rarities, much as museums do now. Jahangir gives an amusing account, recorded below, of the return of one such messenger, who had been sent to Persia and Constantinople to bring back jewels and curiosities.

This agent had paid his respects to the Shah, to whom he had presented a letter from Jahangir. At the Shah's request, he had shown him a list of the things he was to buy for his sovereign. The Shah, seeing that on the list were entered good turquoise, and *mumiya* (bitumen) from the mines in Ispahan, said that these two things were not to be bought. He would send them as presents. He therefore sent six bags of turquoise earth and a little *mumiya*, as well as four horses, and he wrote a letter containing "many, many expressions of friendship," in which he made many apologies for the inferior quality of the turquoise and the small quantity of *mumiya*. The turquoise earth proved indeed to be poor, since not a single stone could be had from it worthy of setting in a ring.<sup>2</sup> The *mumiya*, which was in those days considered a wonderful remedy, proved equally disappointing. Jahangir writes:—

"With regard to the effect of the *mumiya* I had heard much from scientists, but when I tried it no result was apparent. I do not know whether physicians have exaggerated its effect or whether its efficacy had been lessened by its being stale. At any rate, I gave it to a fowl with a broken leg to drink, in larger quantity than they said and in the manner laid down by the physicians, and rubbed it on the place where it was broken, and kept it there for three days, though it was said to be sufficient to keep it from morning to evening. But after I had examined it, no effect was produced and the broken place remained as it was."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jahangir mentions receiving and sending several such messages. See *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 310; v. 2, pp. 2 and 24.

<sup>2</sup> When Jahangir's letter was presented to Abbas, the Persian king was at Meshed, near which are situated the famous turquoise mines of Nishapur. I believe that it would have been easy for the king to send good turquoise from these mines, had he wished to do so. The sending of a very polite letter and of inferior stones was quite consistent with the rest of Abbas's policy towards Jahangir.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 238.



The first mention of the King of Persia in Jahangir's journal has to do with Kandahar. A Persian force under the chief of Seistan had attacked the city, with the aid of the Governor of Herat. Jahangir, when he heard of the attempt, sent out an army to defend the place. The attack, he naïvely relates, was made entirely without the knowledge of the King of Persia, who, when it came to his ears, despatched an envoy to the Persian leader commanding him to withdraw.

"What seeker of occasion and raiser of strife," stormed Abbas, "has come against Kandahar without my order! . . . . If they by chance should have taken the country into their own possession, they should hand it to the friends and servants of my brother Jahangir Pādshah and return to their own abodes."<sup>1</sup>

The Persians obediently retreated, and the envoy went on to Jahangir's court to offer apologies from his master. "He explained that the ill-fated army which had attacked Kandahar had acted without the order of Shah Abbas. God forbid (he said) that any unpleasantness should remain in my (i. e. Jahangir's) mind."

It is a little difficult to explain this incident satisfactorily. The suggestion that Shah Abbas did not know of the expedition against Kandahar may be dismissed at once as most improbable. Perhaps he believed that the Governor of the city would be overawed by the sight of an army and would surrender without delay; in which case he may have thought that Jahangir would not consider the position worth fighting for, once it had passed out of his hands. Or, possibly, he had no intention at that time of taking the city, but merely wished to make a demonstration, in order to call the matter to Jahangir's notice. This would be a typically Persian manner of dealing with the affair. For a Persian, the indirect method is always the best method.<sup>2</sup> Jahangir would understand this, and he can have had no illusions about the love borne him

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., v. 1, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., v. 1, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> If, for instance, a Persian wishes to sell you a piece of land, he does not approach the transaction in the crude, unimaginative way common in Western countries. He sends you word that your horse has trampled down his crops, or he removes the land-marks between his property and yours, or in some other such subtle way brings the matter to your attention.

by Shah Abbas. But he chose to accept the explanation as it was given, and if Abbas had expected him to present him with Kandahar, he was disappointed.

He showed his displeasure at Jahangir's neglect in this matter by refraining for some years from sending an ambassador to his court. Perhaps he thought that the Indian might after all give up Kandahar if he saw that Abbas's mind was really set on having it. At all events, it was not until 1611, six years after Akbar's death and Jahangir's accession, that an ambassador arrived with the Shah's condolences for the one and congratulations for the other. He brought "good horses, cloth stuffs, and every kind of fitting present," together with a letter in which the Shah apologized for not having offered his congratulations earlier, saying that because of his war with the Turks some delay had taken place in the "accomplishment of this important duty." The war with the Turks may have seemed to Jahangir an insufficient excuse for failing to despatch an envoy; but he accepted the letter with much apparent satisfaction and gave its bearer "a superb robe of honour and thirty thousand rupees."<sup>1</sup> He took his revenge for the tardiness of the ambassador's arrival by keeping him a long while at court. Two years later he mentions him as the recipient of a gold mohur on New Year's day.<sup>2</sup> That the ambassador did not willingly make this long stay, in spite of occasional gifts, may be inferred from a letter written by an agent of the East India Company, in September 1613, who says: "Jahangir keepeth here two of the Emperor of Persia's ambassadors<sup>3</sup> and will neither dispeed them nor license their departure, whereupon is likely to be wars between them. The Emperor of Persia demands Sinde (sic) to be given him, which the king will not grant."<sup>4</sup>

The Mogul finally gave the necessary permission, however, and friendly relations were continued between the two countries by means of frequent missions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 193—196.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Only one is mentioned in Jahangir's journal.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, v. 1, p. 278. The writer would seem to refer to the question of Kandahar, not to Sind.

<sup>5</sup> Neither monarch maintained permanent diplomatic representatives at foreign courts.



One of the Shah's ambassadors to India was the Englishman, Robert Sherley, who strangely spent thirty years of his life in the service of the Persian king. He came to Jahangir's court in 1614, on his return from a round of diplomatic visits to the Christian princes of Europe, and was well received and sent on his way with two elephants and eight antelopes as presents to the Shah.<sup>1</sup> Another ambassador came in 1615 bringing horses, camels, stuffs from Aleppo, and nine large European hunting dogs.<sup>2</sup> In the autumn of 1618 an important embassy came from Shah Abbas which was observed and described by Sir Thomas Roe. As it is interesting to compare this with an Indian embassy which arrived in Persia at about the same time and was described by Della Valle, I will examine both in detail.

On the day of the Persian's arrival, Sir Thomas wrote:—

"The Persian ambassador, Mahomett Reza Beag about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe which were partly sent out by the king to meete him with 100 Eliphantes and musique, but no man of greater qualetye then the ordinary receiver of strangers. His owne trayne were about fifty horse, well fitted in Coates of Gould, their bowes, quivers, and Targetes richly garnished, forty shott, and some two hundred ordinary Peons and attenders on baggage." On presentation at court, the Persian made many salaams and even prostrated himself before Jahangir, earning Roe's scorn for his servility. He "presented the Shabas his lettre; which the kinge took with a little motion of his body, asking only: How doth my brother? without title of Maiestie; and after some few woordes hee was Placed in the seuenth rannck, . . . which in my Iudgment was a most inferiour place for his master's Embassador, but that hee well deserved it for dooing that reuerence which his Predecessores refused, to the dishonor of his Prince and the Murmer of many of his Nation. It is said hee had order from the Sophy to give content, and thereby it is gathered his message is for some ayde in mony agaynst the Turke, in which kind hee often findes liberall succour, though it bee pretended hee comes only to treat a peace for the Deccans, whose protection the Shabas taketh to hart, envying the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters received by the East India Company etc.*, v. 2, p. 99, and Coryat, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 1, bk. 4, p. 593.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 282—283.

increase of this Empire. The King, according to Custome, gaue him a handsome turbant, a vest of gould, and a Girdle, for which agayne hee made three Teselims and one Sizeda or ground curtesye. Hee brought for Presentes three tymes nine horses of Persia and Arabia,<sup>1</sup> this beeing a Ceremonious number among them, nine mules very fayre and lardg, seven camells laden with veluett, two sutes of Europe Arras (which I suppose was Venetian hanginges of veluett with Gould, and not Arras), two chestes of Persian hanginges, on cabinett rich, 40 Muskettes, 5 Clockes, one Camell laden with Persian Cloth of Gould, 8 Carpettes of silke, 2 Rubyes ballast, 21 Cammelles of wyne of the Grape, 14 Cammelles of distilled sweet waters, 7 of rose waters, 7 daggers sett with stones, 5 swoordes sett with stones, 7 Venetian looking glasses, but these soe faire, soe rich that I was ashamed of the relation . . . . . His owne furniture was rich, leading nine spare horses trapped in Gould and silver; about his Turbant was wreathed a chayne of Pearles, rubies and Turquesses, and three Pipes of gould answerable for three spriges of feathers."<sup>2</sup> In presenting his gifts, "hee appeared rather a Iester or Iugler then a person of any Grauity, running up and downe, and acting all his woordes like a mimick Player . . . . . Hee deliuered the Presentes with his owne handes, which the king with smiles and Cheerfull Countenance and many woordes of Contentment receiued. His toong was a great aduantage to deliuer his owne business, which hee did with so much flattery and obsequiousness that it Pleased as much as his Guift: euer calling his Maiestie King and Commander of the world, forgetting his owne master had a share in yt; and on euery little occasion of good acceptation hee made his Tezelims. When all was deliuered for that day hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head as if he would enter in."<sup>3</sup>

Mohammed Reza Beg continued at Jahangir's court for some six months, during which time he was favored with many

<sup>1</sup> Roe notes elsewhere: "The horses eyther had lost their flesh or bewty, for exceipt one or two, I Iudged them vnfit for to be sent or taken by Princes. Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 295-297.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 300-301.



presents—20,000 rupees on one occasion,<sup>1</sup> an elephant on another<sup>2</sup>—and entertained most honorably and “in every way valued as befits his place.”<sup>3</sup> In return for all this favor, he displayed a subservience and humility which continued to fill the English Ambassador with scorn. “I would sooner dye,” he writes, “then be subiect to the slaverye the Persian is content with.”<sup>4</sup>

Apparently, however, his business did not progress so well as the gifts showered upon him would lead one to expect; for, at last, believing it impossible to get satisfaction in his affairs, “hee suddenly tooke leave; and hauing given thirty faire horses at his departure, the King gave in recompence three thousand *Rupias*, which hee tooke in great scorn; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassadour had given him at mean rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arriual, even to slaues, Drinke, Mellons, Pines, Plantanes, Hawkes, Plumes, the Eliphant and whatsoever at extremely high rates, and sending both Bils made it up in mony.”<sup>5</sup> The balance, of course, appeared very much in favour of the King. The ambassador was so much upset by the slight put upon him that he made no farewell calls, but gave out that he was ill with fever, and so departed secretly.

Something more than a year later, Shah Abbas was staying in Kazvin when he received word that Khan Alam, ambassador of the Great Mogul had arrived in Teheran and hoped shortly to wait upon him. This embassy had been long and eagerly expected, for it had been several years making the journey from Lahore.<sup>6</sup> The Shah, annoyed that the Indian had not shown greater zeal in hastening to come to him, refused to receive him at once, and ordered him to wait in Kum, while

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<sup>1</sup> Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 300—301. Jahangir gave the ambassador this present at a feast, and the next day made good his liberality by imposing heavy fines on all the nobles who had been present because they had drunk wine. Roe says that Jahangir had given them permission to drink, but had himself got so drunk that he quite forgot this fact.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters received by the East India Company*, v. 4, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 350—351.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 400.

<sup>6</sup> In 1613 Jahangir wrote in his journal that he had summoned Khan Alam to his court with the attention of sending him to Persia. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 248.

he himself went to spend the hot months in the hills near Kazvin.<sup>1</sup>

Kum is a warm place in which to spend the summer, and its holy shrine would not give to a Sunni the compensation of merit to be acquired by living in its shadow; but we can picture Khan Alam, with oriental acceptance of the inevitable, making himself very comfortable and spending long days seated on a rug in his garden, smoking, and drinking innumerable cups of coffee. He had at least the satisfaction of smoking at a time when that pleasant vice was forbidden to all others. Both Jahangir and Shah Abbas, "in consequence of the disturbance that tobacco brings about in most temperaments and constitutions" and "aware of the mischief arising from it," had forbidden smoking in their kingdoms.<sup>2</sup> To Khan Alam, arriving in Persia, the publication of the Shah's edict against tobacco was a blow. But a friend at court<sup>3</sup> represented to the Shah that "Khan Alam could never be a moment without tobacco," and the Shah graciously wrote this couplet in answer:

"The friend's envoy wishes to exhibit tobacco.

With fidelity's lamp I light up the tobacco market."

Whereupon Khan Alam wrote and sent the following:

"I, poor wretch, was miserable at the tobacco notice.

By the just Shah's favour the tobacco market became brisk."<sup>4</sup>

In November the Shah returned to Kazvin and allowed the ambassador to come to him there. This he did, with all his following of from one thousand to fifteen hundred persons.<sup>5</sup> The Shah received him very graciously, and sat all the first night drinking with him,—they two alone in the balcony of a house in the public square, while the courtiers waited wearily below, some eating and drinking to pass the time, others stretching themselves out to sleep on the bare ground. "Not caring for this discomfort, I left promptly," says Della Valle.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 736—737.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert, writing in 1628 says that 30 camel loads of tobacco which arrived from India were publicly burned, and the unfortunate muleteers who had brought it had their ears and noses cut off. He says that the Shah's regulations about tobacco were constantly changing, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Yadgar Ali Khan, who had been ambassador to India.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 370—371.

<sup>5</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 835.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 830.



The ceremony of the presentation of gifts was impressive. An ambassador from Russia had just arrived with gifts from the Czar, and the Shah saw an excellent opportunity to display to the ambassador of each country his importance in the eyes of the other. The chief square of the town was prepared for the spectacle. Soon after noon, on one of those brilliant autumn days which go far in Persia to redeem the discomforts of the rest of the year, the gifts were brought in: first those from the Indian Emperor, which were placed in line along one side of the *meidan*; then those from the Russian king, placed opposite. The Russian ambassadors (two, in accordance with the custom of their country) followed, and dismounted to await the king. When all was in orderly array, the Shah and Khan Alam rode in side by side,<sup>1</sup> followed by a troop of the great men of the court, clothed in silk and brocade, wearing jewels in their turbans; (but the king was clothed simply, as usual, in cloth). They too dismounted, and the Muscovites came forward to present their letter. When the King had received it, with the accustomed words of welcome, he and the ambassadors went to a balcony overlooking the square to review the procession of gifts. First passing the King, the procession filed all around the square and then passed out. When we read the list of gifts brought from India, we cease to wonder that the journey from Lahore took several years to accomplish. With the menagerie which Khan Alam had to conduct, with the thousand followers whom he had to take care of, it is wonderful that he was able to make the journey and present all in order before the King. Della Valle, stationed at one end of the *meidan*, watched the parade and gives a very detailed description of the gifts, which I have abbreviated in the following account:—

"Twenty-nine camels, with loads of I know not what, but I imagine of fine cloths of Indian workmanship; a large and beautiful tent, with gilt poles, carried in many sections by many men; I know not how many jewelled swords and other arms; more than twenty cases (*bacili*) full of turbans, five or six turbans in each case; a great tooth of an animal, which must be the tooth of either an elephant or of a fish. Other

<sup>1</sup> Note that the Indian ambassador was not required to follow behind the Shah, as were the courtiers.

trifles (*bagatelle*) there were which I did not see well. After them, six Indian chariots, each of them with only two wheels, between which the chariot stands, small without seats, with a flat floor, for sitting as on the ground. And these chariots they sit in, leaning back on certain big round cushions which there are at the head, and at the foot too when necessary. All the chariots were covered with silk and gold, and to the pole of each were yoked two white, glistening (*pulitissimi*) bullocks, decked with cloths. After the chariots came a quantity of strange animals, namely:—two *chierghieden*, which I believe to be rhinoceroses, for I was told that they fight with elephants, and on the end of their noses were the marks where the horns will grow (which these, being young, have not yet got); an animal like a buffalo, with horns very large and strange; deer and strange stags of many sorts; wild asses of a fair color; a wild goat with three legs, two of which were in front in their place, and one behind. There were, finally, eight or ten elephants, two or three of the finest of them bearing turrets or palanquins, with men inside, which turrets were covered with silk and gold."<sup>1</sup>

By way of contrast, the Russians had brought sable pelts, a quantity of small pieces of ivory, lanterns, and, especially, a very large quantity of Russian brandy.<sup>2</sup> Della Valle thought the presentation of so much brandy a very tactless proceeding, for the Russians in giving this, treated the Shah as a very hard drinker. And "it is natural," says he, "that everyone dislikes to be reproved for his real faults."<sup>3</sup> The Shah seems to have taken the same view of the matter for he kept only a very little of the brandy and returned the rest to the Russians, saying that he knew they were accustomed to drink it constantly. And when he left Kazvin for Ferhabad, shortly after, he took with him the Indian ambassador, but commanded the others to remain behind.<sup>4</sup>

The following June (1619) the King returned to his capital Ispahan, and arranged for a state entry of the ambassadors

<sup>1</sup> For this description of the gifts, see Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 833—835.

<sup>2</sup> "Non so quanti camelli carichi di barili pieni pur di aqua vita"—Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 836.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 837.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 835.



of India, Russia, and Turkey (the last named having arrived in the meantime). On the day before the ceremony, they all halted with their retinues at Dowlatabad, a village twelve miles outside the city. The next morning they found the road from that place to the capital lined on both sides with sixty thousand men armed with arquebuses, all in strange and brilliant garb. Some played on fifes and castanets, others danced to the music. The Indian ambassador had heard that the Shah would come to Dowlatabad to meet him, and for a long time he refused to start toward the city. He sent messenger after messenger out on the road to see if the king was coming, but at last he was forced to mount and follow the other ambassadors, who, less exacting, had already gone on. While the Russian and Turk rode very simply in the procession, Khan Alam displayed great magnificence and pomp. Following him were ox-chariots like those he had brought for the king, camel litters, great trumpets, huge cymbals, drums so immense that an elephant was required to carry each pair. His retinue stretched out so long that evening had fallen before its last member reached the city gates.

The scene must have been both picturesque and gay. The foreigners in their native dress, riding through the ever-moving lines of armed men, saw and heard nothing but the dancing and music. As they neared the city and the crowds grew larger, the noise of continual applause increased and they heard the shouts of the populace: "Dowlet-i-Shah Abbas ziadé bashad!"—"May the prosperity of Shah Abbas increase!"

The ambassadors were met outside the city by representatives of the different races living in Ispahan. First the Jews, chanting orisons, who carried a volume of the Law, and lighted candles;<sup>1</sup> then the Zoroastrians, also on foot, with many of their women, who danced as they went. The Christians of Julfa were given an honorable place among the arquebusiers. And lastly, as the customary mark of honor to a great ambassador, came a troop of about twenty of the most famous courtesans of the city, their faces uncovered, all in rank on horseback.

The King himself, allowing the other ambassadors to enter

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<sup>1</sup> Della Valle says that they carried "something wrapped up" which he believed to be the Law. *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 17.

the city first, came out by a side gate to meet Khan Alam just before the town. They had a collation together near the gate, and then rode on to the palace, where the others had been awaiting them for an hour and a half. The King felt proud of his sixty thousand arquebusiers, who were not soldiers of the regular army, but artisans and peasants armed for the occasion. But the Indian showed himself so little impressed with their number that he begged to be allowed to give each one a *toman*, to recompense them for the loss of their time.<sup>1</sup> Somewhat offended by this ostentation of liberality, the Shah refused.

That evening there were illuminations in the great square and a grand feast, at which Khan Alam had the place of honor at the King's right. Della Valle, watching him and the King together, felt that the Indian could not have been entirely pleased with the attentions shown him. The King treated him very familiarly, he says, "giving him an infinity of hard slaps on the back, which, since he was fat and wore in the manner of his country only a simple and very thin white robe, doubtless hurt him very much. Again, drawing him close to speak in his ear, the Shah took hold of both his ears and pulled them violently; at other times, laughing, he called him '*Pir ghidi!*'—'old cuckold'—(for his hair was already becoming gray). In fine, he continually gave him such caresses, with the outward appearance of great familiarity, but really, inwardly, out of contempt and to make fun of him. Which perhaps the King did to repay him for his haughtiness and the scorn which he always displays for everything belonging to His Majesty."<sup>2</sup>

The next evening, when the Indian ambassador was summoned to see again the illuminations in the great square, at which the sixty thousand arquebusiers were to appear once more, he sent back a message that to have seen them once was enough, and that it was a pity to keep these poor men longer from their ordinary labors. This he did, says Della Valle, "to show that his eyes were satiated by the greater splendors of his own monarch. And above all, he gave the King to understand, in every way possible, that he thought nothing of the sixty

<sup>1</sup> A *toman* was worth at this time something over three pounds sterling.

<sup>2</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 26—27.



thousand arquebusiers, since they were not soldiers, but all artisans of the city and peasants from the villages. The Shah, on the other hand, brought before him so great a number of armed men, not one of them a soldier of the regular army, the better to display his power, and to demonstrate that such was his country and his strength that even if some disaster were to occur, or his army to be entirely discomfited, in any case the city of Ispahan alone with its villages would be able to furnish sixty thousand men skilled in arms . . . . . The Indian always pretended to esteem lightly everything of the King's, and the King, in exchange, always jokingly, lost no occasion to wound him; . . . . . and although the favors he showed him were apparently great, there was really no good feeling between them either on one side or the other."<sup>1</sup>

Della Valle did not learn what the purpose of the Indian embassy was. Shah Abbas's purpose, however, was known to all. One day, speaking to the Spanish ambassador, he pointed to Khan Alam and said:—

"Do you see the Indian ambassador who stands there? If his King, Shah Selim, does not give me back Kandahar, he will see what I shall do!" And he added that since God had taken him under his protection and had given might to his sword, he (Shah Abbas) did not intend to give up a single hair of his head, much less cities and territories, to any prince in the world!<sup>2</sup>

In August, 1619, Khan Alam took his leave of the Persian court. The Shah, because he knew that the Indian had been making secret arrangements to carry back many recruits for the armies of the Mogul, issued a public *firman*, prohibiting all Persians from going with him.<sup>3</sup> It is not known what private instructions he gave to the ambassador, but Della Valle believed that the King, who had made frequent mention of the question of Kandahar, must have renewed his urgent

<sup>1</sup> For Della Valle's account of the entry and reception of the ambassadors, and of Khan Alam's treatment by the King, see his *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 14—30.

<sup>2</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 34—35.

<sup>3</sup> It seems likely that the hiring of recruits was one of the chief objects of the Indian mission. If so, the great magnificence of the ambassador's retinue and his splendid gifts would have the double purpose of conciliating the Shah, and of showing possible recruits how rich and mighty a monarch they were asked to serve.

demands for the return of that fortress to Persian dominion. At any rate, the Indian ambassador departed little satisfied with the result of his mission, and there did not lack those who prophesied a war in the near future between India and Persia.<sup>1</sup>

War there was not, however, nor any appearance of it for two years. Khan Alam returned to his royal master bearing rich gifts from Persia, and told him of the remarkable affection and favor which had been shown him by the Persian King. So great an impression did his report make on Jahangir that the latter wrote in his journal: "Of the favours and kindnesses conferred by my brother (Abbas) on Khan Alam, if I were to write of them in detail I would be accused of exaggeration."<sup>2</sup> The painter of renown whom Jahangir had sent with the embassy to Persia had brought back portraits of the Shah and of the chief men of Persia which were pronounced excellent likenesses by all the Persians at court. With Khan Alam had returned Zambil Beg as ambassador of the Shah, whose letter and gifts were graciously received.<sup>3</sup>

The journal does not mention that either the Persian or the Indian ambassador made any reference to Kandahar. Zambil Beg continued at court in apparent favor, receiving gifts on the feast days.<sup>4</sup> Missions were evidently sent to Persia, for Jahangir mentions at different times the despatch of a zebra as a rarity for his "brother," and some "golden birds," which the Shah had desired.<sup>5</sup>

Shah Abbas, in the meanwhile, finding that no move was made by Jahangir towards the surrender—or the "return," as he preferred to call it—of Kandahar, grew tired of waiting. He started from Ispahan with a large force and marched towards the Afghan frontier.<sup>6</sup> On the way his troops were increased by reinforcements from Khorassan,<sup>7</sup> so that it was a formidable army which stood before the gates of Kandahar in the early Spring of 1622.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 41—42.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 2, p. 115—117.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 2, p. 198, 201, 211.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* v. 2, p. 211, 221.

<sup>6</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 380.

<sup>7</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 233.

<sup>8</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 404.



A report of the expedition which was brought to Jahangir at Rawalpindi he professed to find incredible. He wrote that "it appeared very unlikely and beyond all calculations that such a great king should entertain such light and crude ideas," but at the same time he set about to prepare "a victorious host" with "elephants of mountainous hugeness," so that the King of Persia might "discover the result of breaking faith and of wrong-doing."<sup>1</sup>

The mobilization of an army to serve in Afghanistan would be difficult at any time. On this occasion it was not nearly completed when definite information arrived of the siege and capture of Kandahar.<sup>2</sup> The capture seems not to have been a difficult matter. The fortress was defended by only a small force, which soon saw the inadvisability of holding out against the Persian troops. The city was evacuated and the army of the Shah marched in. Thereupon, the Shah advertised his capture of Kandahar as a signal victory. He sent a circular letter throughout Persia, to be read aloud in all the chief cities, to the accompaniment of music, in which the prowess of the army was lauded, and it was claimed that they had taken not only Kandahar but many other fortresses as well. "They counted," says Della Valle, "each turret and bastion of the walls as a separate fortress." Popular rumor had it that *Dellala Chizi*, a favorite dancing girl of the Shah, had taken the city in person at the head of a band of camp women; and this, Della Valle thought, was probably true. Since the city was empty, force was not needed for its occupation, and the Shah doubtless sent the women in ahead of the troops so that he might boast that even the women who rode with his army were stronger than the soldiers of the Great Mogul.<sup>3</sup>

It is hardly necessary to say that no reference to the women appears in Jahangir's journal. The King speaks of the immense number of the attacking force and of the few defenders of the place, and tells in detail of the preparations being made to send out an army which would be so furnished with

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 230—231.

<sup>2</sup> Jahangir mentions the siege, but does not actually admit in so many words that the city had been captured. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 403—405.

numbers and arms that there would be "no delay or hesitation until it reached Ispahan!"<sup>1</sup>

But the Shah did not wish to have an Indian army invade his provinces. Having finally got Kandahar into his possession, he had no reason to fight with the Indian King; and he set his astute oriental mind to prepare an explanation of the incident which should prove that there was no cause whatever for unfriendly feeling between him and Jahangir. The resulting letter and its reply form a curious and interesting episode in diplomatic history.<sup>2</sup>

The Shah, in his letter, after many compliments and good wishes for "his brother dear as life," refers to the fact that Kandahar had formerly been the property of his family. He had expected that Jahangir would voluntarily turn over the city to him, and, when he failed to do so, had thought that perhaps "that petty country" was regarded as unworthy of the Indian emperor's notice; and had therefore repeatedly brought the matter to Jahangir's attention. Finally he decided to make a visit to the place and hunt there, so that the agents of his distinguished brother might entertain him. He therefore set off, without apparatus for taking forts, and sent word of his coming to the Governor of Kandahar. Unfortunately, the Governor showed "obstinacy and a rebellious spirit," so that the Shah was compelled to invest and take the fort. Because, however, of the "ties of love" between himself and Jahangir, he spared the garrison. At this point in the letter, Abbas's feelings of affection could find no outlet but poetry, and he wrote:—

"Between you and me there cannot be trouble,  
There can be nought but love and trust."

Begging Jahangir to consider all his (Abbas's) dominions as his own, and to extend his friendship to everyone in Persia, he closed with a request that he should proclaim that Kandahar had been given to the ruler of Persia with no objection whatever, and that it was all a matter of no importance.

Jahangir, in his reply to the "loving letter," regretted that the "glorious Shah, the star of heaven's army, the fruitful

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> For a translation of the two letters, see *Memoirs of Jahangir* v. 2, p. 240—245.



tree of the gardens of sovereignty, the splendid nursling of the parterres of prophecy and saintship" should have disturbed the "rose-garden of love and friendship." He said that there should be no need of physical contact between princes, still less of visiting one another's countries for hunting and sight-seeing. He lamented (in verse):—

"Alas a hundred times for the love passing thought."

He said that until the arrival of Zambil Beg (who had returned with Khan Alam), no mention had ever been made by the Shah of any wish for Kandahar. Zambil mentioned it only verbally, and Jahangir had replied that he made no difficulty about anything his brother wished. Zambil had not yet returned to his own country when news came that Shah Abbas had taken Kandahar. Jahangir was astonished. What could there be in a petty village that the Shah should care to possess it? The relation of brotherhood between them still stood firm, and Jahangir did not value the world in comparison therewith. But when Shah Abbas took such steps, to whom would mankind ascribe the merit of keeping contracts and preserving the capital of humanity and liberality?

Jahangir sent off this affectionate, if somewhat reproachful, letter, and immediately devoted all his energies to urging on a force to attack his "brother" Shah Abbas, in Kandahar. Unfortunately for his warlike intentions, just at this time news was brought of the first insurrection of his son Khurram, on whom he had counted to lead the expedition into Afghanistan. A pathetic entry in his journal contains his last reference to his difficulties with the Shah:—

"That which weighs heavily on my heart, and places my eager temperament in sorrow is this, that at such a time, when my prosperous sons and loyal officers should be vying with each other in the service against Kandahar and Khorassan, which would be to the renown of the sultanate, this inauspicious one (Khurram) has struck with an axe the foot of his own dominion and become a stumbling-block in the path of the enterprise. The momentous affair of Kandahar must now be postponed."<sup>1</sup>

The affair of Kandahar was indeed postponed. The Shah could safely return to his capital to celebrate his victories

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 248.

Jahangir spent the remainder of his reign struggling against his rebellious sons. Abbas continued correspondence with the Deccan kings, supporting them in their opposition to the Mogul;<sup>1</sup> but we hear no more of intercourse between Shah Abbas and Jahangir.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Hak. Soc. 1892, p. 152.



*Lexicographical and Grammatical Notes on the Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa.*—By DR. CHARLES J. OGDEN,  
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The following notes on the language of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* contain the gleanings in the fields of lexicography and grammar obtained in a preliminary reading of this play in preparation for a more thorough study of the recently discovered works of Bhāsa. Included are: (1) all words or significations (marked \*) not contained in either the smaller or the larger St. Petersburg lexicons (cited as pw. and PW. respectively); (2) all words or significations (marked \*) cited only from Sanskrit lexicographers; (3) a few other words or meanings worthy of notice. Words occurring in the Prākṛit portions of the text have been included when the Sanskrit form can be inferred with certainty, since the difference between the Śāurasenī Prākṛit and the Sanskrit in the dialogue of the Indian drama is in the main phonetic and not lexical. A few grammatical peculiarities of the Sanskrit text only have been noted in conclusion, as the more or less corrupt state of the Prākṛit passages requires further and closer examination. References are to the pages and lines of the edition of the play in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XV (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1912).

\**akalyavarta* [Pkt. *akallavatta*] (29, 12): 'without breakfast'. Cf. *kalyavarta*, which is cited, in the sense of 'breakfast', from lexicographers only.

\**akṣetravant* (10, 9): 'uncultivated'. Cf., however, 2. *akṣetra*, and Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1, § 53 b.

\**adākṣiṇya* [Pkt. *adakkhiṇṇa*, v. l. *adidakkhiṇṇa*] (41, 15): 'impolite', 'inconsiderate'. Cf. *adākṣiṇya*, 'incivility', in Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, new ed.

*adhikaraṇa* (74, 10): 'witness to a legal transaction' (collective). Cf. the meaning 'court of justice', cited from *Mṛchakatīkā* and *Kādambarī*.

*anahamkāra* [Pkt. *anahamkāra*] (43, 3): 'without conceit'. Only as substantive in pw., *Schluss der Nachträge*.

\**anirjñāta* [v. l. *aviññāta*] (3, 1): 'unrecognized'. For *jñā + nis*, PW. and pw. cite Vedic examples only. Cf., below, *dhū + ava*, occurring in the same passage.

\**abhilāṣitva* (5, 5): 'desirousness'.

\**avidhavākaraṇa* [Pkt. *avihavākaraṇa*] (27, 3): 'not-widow-making', name of an herb used in the bridal wreath. Cf. *sapatnīmardana*, below.

\**ādeśika* (5, 2; 76, 14): 'soothsayer'. Cf. *ādeśin* 2, 'astrologer', cited only in PW. from Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 482.

\**ālambaka* [Pkt. *ālambaa*] (31, 13): 'string' (of pearls).

\**āsavadattā* (1, 7): 'intoxicated woman'. Regarding the formation of the compound, cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, II, 1, § 116a.

\**ujjayinīya* [Pkt. *ujjainīya*] (20, 4; 21, 8; 72, 11): 'of Ujjain'.

\**rjvāyata* (36, 9; 52, 12): 'stretched straight'.

\**kākodara* [Pkt. *kāo(d)ara*] (52, 10; 53, 1): 'snake'. Also in *Harṣacarita*, p. 125, 2 (Bombay ed., 1892).

\**grāmikṛ* [*grāmikaroti*] (2, 12): 'to make vulgar', 'to profane'.

*ghātay + abhi* [*abhighātayitum*] (60, 8): 'to smite'. Only the past participle *abhighātita* is cited in PW. and pw.

\**jūṣ* [*jūṣitam*, but v. l. *dūṣitam*] (71, 3): 'to injure'. Cited only from *Dhātupāṭha*.

*dāruparvata(ka)* [Pkt. *dārupavvadāa*] (36, 5): name of a pavilion, adorned with frescoes, in the palace gardens. Cited only from *Veṇṣasinhāra*.

*dhar* [*dhārayatu*, and Pkt. *dhāredu*] (69, 5; 44, 3): 'to bear up', 'to endure' (intransitive).

*dhū + ava* [*avadhūyante*] (3, 1): 'to drive away'. According to PW., only the gerund and the past participle are found in classical Sanskrit. Cf., however, *dhū + vyava*. Can this passage, *evam anirjñātāni dāivatāny avadhūyante*, be a Vedic reminiscence?

*pad + abhyava* [*abhyavapattukāma*] (12, 4): 'to rescue'. Cited only in pw., *letzte Nachträge*, from *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay ed.).

*paryavasthāna* [Pkt. *payyavatthāna*, v. l. *payyavatthāvāna*] (22, 10): 'cheerfulness', 'encouragement'. Cf. *sthā + paryava*.

\**purobhāgitā* [Pkt. *purobhāida*, omitted in one Ms.] (40, 15): 'importunateness'. Cf. *purobhāgin*.

*prṣṭham* [v. l. *dhṛṣṭam*] (2, 2): 'backwards' (adverb).

*prāvaraka* [Pkt. *pāvaraa*] (55, 8): 'cloak'. Cf. *prāvāraka*.



*proṣṭabhartṛkā* (7, 14): 'woman whose husband is on a journey'. Generally used as a technical designation of a kind of heroine; cf. PW., s. v., and *Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra*, 22, 205 (ed. Śivadatta and Parab, Bombay, 1894).

\**maṇibhūmi* [Pkt.] (25, 11): 'floor inlaid with precious stones', 'mosaic'.

*yoga* (64, 16): 'stringing', 'tuning' (of a lute), in the compound *navayoga*, 're-strung'.

\**li + pariṇi* [Pkt. *pariṇilīṇa*] (38, 6): 'clung to'.

*vātaṣoṇita* [Pkt. *vādaṣoṇida*] (29, 9): 'rheumatism', 'gout'.

Cited only from medical works.

\**vyapāśrayaṇā* [v. l. *vyapaśrayaṇā*] (8, 3): 'confidence', 'reliance'. Cf. I. *vyapāśraya*.

\**śiropadhāna* (53, 7): 'head-cushion', 'pillow'. For *śira-* instead of *śiraḥ-* as first element of a compound, cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, I, § 268, or II, 1, § 26b.

\**śiṛṣābhighāta* (53, 7): 'headache'.

\**sadaḥśiṇya* [Pkt. *sadaḥkhiṇṇa*] (42, 1, &c.): 'polite', 'considerate'. Cf. *adaḥśiṇya*, above.

\**sapatnīmardana* [Pkt. *savattimaddana*] (27, 6): 'co-wife-destroying', name of an herb used in the bridal wreath. Cf. *avidhavākaraṇa*, above.

\**samudragrha(ka)* [Pkt. *samuddagihaka*] (49, 3, &c.): 'bathroom with shower'.

\**samudvāhana* (64, 8): 'raising'. Cf. *samudvāha* in Monier-Williams, *Skt.-Engl. Dict.*, new ed.

\**saviśrama* (14, 12): 'relaxed'.

*sākṣimant* (74, 9): 'before witnesses'. Cited only from *Yājñavalkya*, 2, 94.

\**sāśrupāta* (46, 11; and Pkt. *sassupāda*, 45, 12): 'wet with tears'.

*sthāpanā* (2, 4): 'induction' (of a drama). The *sthāpaka*, 'assistant to the *sūtradhāra*', appears in the induction of the *Karpūramañjarī* (cf. Konow's comment in the edition by Konow and Lanman, p. 196, Cambridge, Mass., 1901), and is mentioned in the *Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra*, 5, 150—156 (ed. Śivadatta and Parab), and in the *Daśarūpa*, 3, 2 (ed. and tr. Haas, New York, 1912). Cf. also Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, I, pp. 135, 379; II, p. 66.

*svatā* (5, 5; 68, 14): 'loyalty', 'devotion' (construed with locative).

The following nominal forms are also worthy of mention.

*adeśakāla* [*katham adeśakālo nāma*] (62, 10): 'wrong place and time', a masculine singular dvandva, also in Prākṛit in the preceding line, and cf. Pkt. *Govālaa-Vālaa* (69, 15): 'Gopālaka and Pālaka'. Cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, II, 1, § 70.

*pārṣṇī* [nom. *pārṣṇī*] (60, 12): 'rear of an army', rarer form of *pārṣṇi*.

*yudh* [*mahārṇavābhe yudhi*] (61, 4): 'battle', masculine!

In verbal forms the confusion of voices is a noticeable peculiarity. Thus we have the active used for the middle in *āprechāmi* (15, 10): 'I bid farewell'; *utkaṇṭhiṣyati* (16, 3): 'she will desire'; *samarthayāmi* (51, 14): 'I regard'. On the other hand, the middle occurs where the active would be normal in *kathayiṣye* (43, 7): 'I will tell'; and in *śliṣyate* (4, 9): 'it adheres' (perhaps passive). An anomalous middle form *dharate* (58, 13): 'she lives', is found instead of the usual passive *dhriyate* (cf. also Pkt. *dharaṭi*, 13, 6); and a passive *ruhyate* (69, 10): 'it grows', seems to have been formed on the analogy of *chidyate* immediately preceding in the same stanza.



*On the Etymology and Meaning of the Sanskrit Root Varj.*—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

There is scarcely an article in the Sanskrit Lexicons which has been treated more variously than the root *varj*. It has a number of different aspects; among others it frequently occurs in connection with *barhis* (*vrktā-barhis*); for such connection the Pet. Lexs. assume the meaning, 'abdrehen, ausraufen'. Roth seems to me to have been inspired here by the Nighaṇṭu 2. 19 where *vr̥ṇakti* (followed by *vr̥ṇcati* and *kr̥ṇtati*) is counted as one of the thirty *vadhakarmāṇaḥ*. There are a few cases in the Veda in which grammatical forms of *varj* and *vraçc* coincide;<sup>1</sup> this probably accounts for the Nighaṇṭu's grotesque statement. Sāyana at RV. 6. 11. 5, of course, takes up the Nighaṇṭu's idea (*vr̥ṇç chedanārthaḥ*, *chidyate*). This rendering ('trim') appears also in Müller's and Oldenberg's translations in SBE. xxxii. 84, 109; xlv. 155. Monier William's second edition follows the Pet. Lexs. under *varj*, but has, in sheer inconsistency, weaned itself from this translation in *vrktā-barhis*, to wit, 'one who has gathered and

<sup>1</sup> Weak forms of the root *vraçc*, i. e. *vr̥ṇç*, lose their sibilant when followed by inflectional elements beginning with a consonant (t or s). See Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. 270, and from an hermeneutic point of view Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, vol. iv, p. 249 ff.; Oldenberg *RV. Noten* to 1. 27. 13; 10. 87. 2. Resulting sound groups *vr̥kt-* and *vr̥kç-* are formally derivable from either *vraçc* or *varj*. Thus the forms *vr̥ktvī* in 10. 87. 2 (Sāyana, *chittvā*) and *ā vr̥kçi* in 1. 27. 13 (Sāyana, *ovraçcū chedane*), both from *vraçc*, resemble forms from *varj*. They happen at the same time to coincide pretty closely respectively with *varj* in the sense of 'put down' (6. 18. 8; 26. 3) and *ā varj* in the sense of 'appropriate' (1. 31. 1). This is in all probability the fountain-head of the confusion between and the juxtaposition of *varj* and *vraçc* in the Nighaṇṭu and subsequent comments. Occasionally it does not seem possible to decide which root is in action. Thus in RV. 10. 152. 5, *āvr̥kṣam anyāśām vārcaḥ*; see Oldenberg, *RV. Notes*, whose indecision is entirely justified (cf. also AV. 1. 14. 1<sup>a</sup>).

spread the sacrificial grass'. Grassmann, in his *Lexicon*, translates *vrj* 1), which involves *barhis*, by 'die heilige Streu umwenden, umlegen', contrasting this action with the more frequent one of spreading the *barhis*. But what warrant he has found for this unheard of trait in manipulating the *barhis* he does not tell. I am, for my part, totally unacquainted with the act of 'turning the *barhis*'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the same lexicographer renders *vrktā-barhis* by, 'der die opferstreu bereitet'.

The *Rig-Veda* translators do not follow the *Lexicons* at all, but introduce new notes into the interpretation of root *varj*. To illustrate we may start from a pair of parallel passages which require consistent treatment of the root. The translations will show even better how unstable is our information on this subject. In *RV.* 6. 11. 5<sup>a b</sup> we have:

*vrñjé ha yán námasā barhír agnāu áyāmi srúg ghrtávati suvrktīh*. Grassmann translates this, 'da Streu dem Agni demuthsvoll geschmückt ist, gereicht der reine buttermolle Löffel'. He assumes here the meaning 'adorn' both for *vrñje* and *vrkti* in *suvrkti*. The parallel *RV.* 1. 2. 4<sup>a b</sup> reads:

*saparyávo bháramānā abhijñú<sup>2</sup> prá vrñjate námasā barhír agnāu*. This he renders, 'die Andachtsvollen schmücken Streu dem Agni voll Ehrfurcht aus, sie bis ans Knie errichtend'.

Ludwig (377) renders 6. 11. 5<sup>a b</sup>, 'wenn mit anbetung geschnitten wird (*Sāyana*), das *barhis* [am feuer], dem Agni dargereicht ward der ghrtavolle, ser schöne<sup>3</sup> löffel'. But he translates (778) *RV.* 7. 2. 4<sup>a b</sup>, 'die dienstbereiten werfen ganz nah es bringend mit anbetung das *barhis* beim feuer nider'. Surely from 'ornament', to 'cut', to 'throw down' is a far cry. The two passages just mentioned contain a double association, namely with *barhis* and *nāmas*. Both may be followed some distance. *RV.* 1. 116. 1<sup>a b</sup>:

*nāsatyābhyām barhír iva prá vrñje stómān iyarmi abhriyeva vātaḥ*. Grassmann, 'den Treuen treib ich wie der Wind die Wolken die Lieder zu und schmück wie eine Streu sie'. We observe that Grassmann (*pace* his own rendering of *vrktā-*

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., how the *barhis* is treated in the selections from the ritual practices collected by Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* I. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Yasna* 57. 6, *yo paoiryō barəšma frastəreta . . . ākhšnus ca maidyoipaitištānəç ca*. The *barəšman* is here strewn knee-high just as in the *Veda*.

<sup>3</sup> He thus separates wholly *vrñje* and *suvrktīh*.



barhis) holds to 'adorn' consistently. Ludwig (27) abandons his position of 6. 11. 5; 7. 2. 4, and turns to a new translation for *prá vr̥je*, namely 'prepare'. This raises to the number six the renderings for the verb, namely 'pluck', 'gather and spread', 'ornament', 'cut', 'throw', and 'prepare'. To wit, 'wie ein barhis richte ich her den Násatya lieder, treibe [sie empor] wie regenwolken der wind'. We may ask parenthetically, what else than 'prepare' can by any stretch of the imagination be the *tertium comparationis* between song and barhis? Perhaps 'adorn'; but this is impossible for varj; Grassmann himself, the author of this supposition, has entirely abandoned it in his Lexicon.

We have next, RV. 7. 39. 2, *prá vāv̥je suprayá barhír eṣām*. Grassmann, 'der Götter Streu hat schön geschmückt der Ordner'.<sup>1</sup> Ludwig, 'gesondert angewiesen ist [ihnen] das barhis diser [opfernden] mit trefflicher Prayāj'. We have now: 'pluck', 'gather and spread', 'ornament', 'cut', 'throw', 'prepare', and 'assign' for combined varj and pra varj — a grand total of seven interpretations. To this we may add yet one more, namely Whitney's rendering of *barhiḥ . . . vr̥jyate* at AV. 5. 12. 4 (= RV. 10. 110. 4) by 'the barhis is wreathed'. The association of varj with barhis can be seen in several other passages, and we need not follow their renderings any further: RV. 1. 83. 6, *barhír vā yát svapatyáya vr̥jyáte*; RV. 1. 134. 6, *ató vihút-matinām viçám vavarjūṣṇām* (where barhis is certainly to be supplied with *vavarjūṣṇām*, to wit, 'the people who have prepared the barhis');<sup>2</sup> RV. 10. 10. 4, *prācinām barhiḥ pradiçā prthivyā vāstor asyá vr̥jyate āgre áhnām*; MS. 4. 13. 8 : 209, 9; KS. 19. 13; TB. 3. 6. 13. 1 *barhiḥ . . . vāstor vr̥jyeta*. Then comes the standardized bahuvrihi compound *vr̥ktá-barhis* which most interpreters, with fine disregard of their own renderings of finite forms of varj in connection with barhis, translate by,

<sup>1</sup> Both here and in his Lexicon he takes *suprayás* as coming from root *yā* 'go'. Clearly, stem *su-prayás* 'preparing savory feasts'. Cf. *dādhati prāyāsi . . . vr̥ktá-barhiṣaḥ* in 10. 91. 9, and *vr̥ktá-barhiṣo hitāprayasaḥ* in 8. 27. 7; 69. 17.

<sup>2</sup> AV. 7. 50. 2 has the curious formula *viçám ávavarjūṣṇām* which is surely a corrupt echo of the RV. The Páippalāda reads instead *devayatām* (for *devayatām*) which is excellent support of our rendering of *vavarjūṣṇām*. So also Oldenberg, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890 (nr. 10), p. 414; Foy, KZ. xxxiv, p. 243.

'he who has prepared the barhis', or, 'he for whom the barhis has been prepared'.

The root varj meets again both barhis and námas in RV. 10. 131. 2<sup>ed</sup>:

ihéhāṣāṃ kṛnuhi bhójanāni yé barhiṣo námovṛktim ná jag-múḥ. We translate, 'bring hither, aye hither, the food of them that did not come to the pious barhis act!' All at once we find the translators here in a most simple and correct mood with reference to barhiṣo námovṛktim. E. g. Ludwig (652), 'bring hieher die narungsmittel derer, die zu des barhis anbetungsvoller zurüstung nicht gekommen'. Grassmann, similarly. The Pet. Lex., however, explains námovṛkti by, 'die zu Ehren (der Götter) vollzogene Reinigung der Barhis', which, once more, obscures the true meaning of vṛkti, and does not tally with its own renderings of the finite verb.

The word námovṛkti in connection with barhis is pivotal for the interpretation of root varj in 6. 11. 5; 7. 2. 4: vṛñjé námasā barhír agnáu, and prá vṛñjate námasā barhír agnáu, 'prepare the barhis reverently at the (building of) the fire'. The Pet. Lex. quotes 6. 11. 5 under varj 2) 'abdrehen, ausraufen (das Gras zur Streu am Altar)', whereas, as we have just seen, it renders vṛkti in barhiṣo námovṛktim by 'reinigung'. This because the same authority (under varj 1) makes the false start 'wenden, drehen', which has become fateful for the interpretation of the root. I have advised the reader of the inconsistent handling of the same parallel passages on the part of Grassmann (Translation and Lexicon) and Ludwig. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 152ff. assumes two fundamental values for varj, to wit, a) 'fangen', 'packen', &c.; b) 'hereinlegen' (slang), 'zu Fall bringen', 'zu Boden strecken', 'legen'. In this way he secures the meaning 'legen' in a very roundabout way for the type of 6. 11. 5 (vṛñjé ha yán námasā barhíḥ), but he does not mention barhiṣo námovṛktim in his citations, and I do not believe that he would advocate for námovṛkti something 'reverential laying' ('andachtsvolle legung'). Foy, KZ. xxxiv. 242, follows Geldner in interpreting varj in connection with barhis as, "nichts anderes als 'auf die Erde niederlegen, hinlegen' heißt varj and prá-varj in der verbindung mit barhis".

In every case discussed thus far varj means, 'work, do, perform, prepare'. The root in this sense is eclectically moribund



even in earliest Sanskrit; its primary, very broad meaning is restricted to a few turns of expression whose special aspects have enticed the interpreters to special renderings in closer verbal harmony with the situations than the word warrants. It is true (with Geldner and Foy) that the most natural thing to do with *barhis* is to lay it down (*barhiḥ stṛñhi*, and *stṛñahi* in Concordance). But what the texts really say in *vṛñje* (*prā vṛñje*) *barhiḥ*, *barhiḥo nāmōvrktim*, and *vrktābarhis*, is to prepare the *barhis*. Is it not curious that Foy who assumes 'auf die erde niederlegen', 'hinlegen', for *varj* and *pra-varj*, l. c., p. 242, renders on the next page RV. 10. 131. 2, *ihéhāṣāṁ kṛñhi bhōjanāni yē barhiḥo nāmōvrktiṁ nā jagmūh*, by, 'bring hierher die nahrungsmittel derer, die nicht zur verehrungsvollen zubereitung des *barhis* gekommen sind'?

There is yet another compound with *vrkti*, namely *su-vrkti*. Its *vrkti* is the same as that of *nāmo-vrkti*. The Pet. Lex. must here again be charged with a false start which has retarded the elucidation of *varj*. Roth, observing *suv-itā* = *sv-itā* in the sense of 'going happily', explains *su-vrkti* as *suv-rkti* 'beautiful song'. In a report to the Petersburg Academy on the history of the Pet. Lex., printed in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. vii (1876), p. 591ff. (still very interesting reading), he describes (p. 612) this find as a sort of egg of Columbus: 'das zu finden, war wenn man will gar keine Kunst. Aber warum sind so viele daran vorübergegangen?' But even Graßmann, who often follows the Pet. Lex., does not follow Roth, but hits the nail fairly on the head when he starts *su-vrkti* with the meaning, 'schön zugerichtet, schön bereitet'. The word, in fact, means either 'skilful performance', or, 'accompanied by skilful performance', sc. in sacrifice and song.

Foy, l. c., p. 243, who follows others in rejecting Roth's interpretation, and, previously, Bergaigne, *Quarante Hymnes*, p. 18, narrow the meaning of *su-vrkti* too much when they offer 'disposant bien le *barhis*', or '*barhis*-zurüstungen', and 'der schöne *barhis*-zurüstungen genießt oder damit verbunden ist'. The word, like the finite forms of *varj*, inclines to that kind of performance, but for the most part other typical acts of prayer and practises are meant. Thus in 6, 11. 5 *srūḡ ghṛtāvati suvrktīḥ* means 'the ghee-holding, skilfully performing spoon' (preceded by *vṛñjē ha yān nāmasā barhīr agnāu*, which has disposed of the *barhis*).

I have no doubt that the poets included in *suvr̥kti* the *barhis* act and perhaps they sometimes had it specially in mind. We may suspect this in cases where *nāmas* occurs by the side of *suvr̥kti*, because *nāmas* seems to have associated itself technically with the combination *barhis* and *varj* (see above). Thus 3. 61. 5, 12; 5. 41. 2; 7. 94. 4; 10. 63. 5.<sup>1</sup> But even this is not stringent; on the contrary it is important to note that the 45 *suvr̥kti*-passages do not a single time show the word *barhis* by their side. So that Bergaigne's and Foy's essay to hold this word down to this one particular act ('*barhis-zurüstung*') is decidedly subjective, just as Roth's restriction of the word to 'beautiful song' is too eclectic, tho it strikes much more frequently the precise thought of the *Rishis*. Oldenberg, SBE. xlv. 203, is also much impressed with the association of the word with 'song', tho he does not therefore divide as *suvr̥kti*; cf. his remarks, ZDMG. lv. 298, where he hesitatingly suggests '*gute herbeziehung*', an idea which he himself later permits to become submerged.

If the finite verb-forms of *varj* were not moribund and specialized, we may say, I am sure, that no one would ever have regarded *suvr̥kti* in any other light than 'pious work', 'accompanied by pious works (of all sorts)'. Thus 1. 52, 1, *éndraṁ vavṛtyāṁ ávase suvr̥ktibhiḥ*; or 1. 168. 1, *á vo (sc. marutaḥ) . . . vavṛtyāṁ ávase suvr̥ktibhiḥ*, express exactly the same idea as 8. 54 (Vā. 6). 2, *nákṣanta indraṁ ávase sukr̥tyáya*. In the following passages the restriction to *barhis* preparation is too narrow: 7. 36. 2, *imáṁ vāṁ mitrávaruṇā suvr̥ktim iṣam ná kṛṇve asurā náviyaḥ*. Grassmann, '*dies Loblied*' bring ich . . . aufs neue'; Ludwig (221), '*die schöne zurüstung mach ich . . . von neuem*'. Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, vi. 187<sup>b</sup> assumes '*zurüstung*' regularly; Grassmann's translation conflicts with his own, pat, '*schön zugerichtet*', etc. in his *Lexicon*. Of course in this passage *suvr̥ktim* means 'pious act', but it is the pious act of song as shows unmistakably *náviyaḥ*. See stem *náviyas* in Grassmann with *ukthá*, *bráhma*, *gāyatrā*, *sūktá*, *dhití*, *matí*,

<sup>1</sup> See also 3. 14. 2 which contains *nāmaukti* and *barhis*. See the item in the Concordance, *ye barhiṣo* (MS. *oṣā*) *namovr̥ktim* (VS. VSK. MS. ÇB. *namauktim*) *na jagmuḥ* (VS. ÇB. *namauktim yajanti*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. MS. ÇB. TB. Also 6. 1. 6 seems to me to contain allusion to the *barhis*.

<sup>2</sup> Following here apparently Roth's *suvr̥kti*.



giḥ, suṣṭuti, and sumati. Both scholars, it seems to me, if pressed, would have had to resort to a root varj = 'work', in order to explain their final stand on the word: Grassmann in his *Lexicon*; Ludwig at vol. vi. 187<sup>b</sup>.

For the most part the Rishis have in mind the hymnal rather than the ritual suvrktī. Thus 1. 62. 1, suvrktibhi *stuvatā* rgmiyāya; 5. 41. 10, vṛṣṇo *astosi* bhūmyāsyā gārbhaṁ tritō nāpātam apām suvrktī; 3. 51. 1, éndraṁ *giro* brhatīr abhy ānūṣata . . . suvrktibhiḥ; 8. 8. 22, prā vām *stómāḥ* suvrktāyo *giro* vardhantv açvinā; 7. 70. 7, iyām *manīṣā* iyām açvinā *gir* imām suvrktīm vṛṣaṇā juṣethām; 1. 61. 4, asmā id u *stóman* sām hinomi . . . *girāç* ca girvāhase suvrktī; 10. 64. 4, kathā kavis tuvīravān kāyā *girā* bḥaspātīr vāyrdhāte suvrktibhiḥ; 7. 96. 1, sárasvatīm in mahayā suvrktibhi *stómāir* vasiṣṭha ródasī; 7. 97. 9, iyām vām brahmaṇas pate suvrktīr *brāhmēndrāya* vajriṇe akāri; 1. 61. 3, mūñhiṣṭham *āchoktibhir* *matinām* suvrktibhiḥ sūrim vāyrdhādyaī; 1. 61. 16, evā te hāriyojana suvrktīndra *brāhmāṇi* gótamāso akran; 1. 184. 5, eṣā vām *stómo* açvināv akāri mānebhīr maghavānā suvrktī; 6. 61. 2, pārāvataghnīm āvase suvrktibhiḥ sárasvatīm ā vivāsema *dhītibhiḥ*; 7. 24. 2, viṣṛṣṭadhenā bharate suvrktīr iyām indraṁ jóhuvati *manīṣā*; 10. 80. 7, agnáye *brāhma* rbhāvas tataksur agnīm mahām avocāma suvrktīm; 7. 31. 11, uruvyācase mahīne suvrktīm indrāya *brāhma* janayanta viprāḥ. Especially pointed is 8. 89. 7, gharmaṁ ná *sāman* tapatā suvrktibhiḥ, 'do ye heat the ghārma (hot milk), as if at the sāman recital, with beautiful (hymn) performances'.

Three times suvrktī is closely associated with root hū 'call': 7. 83. 9, hāvāmahe vām vṛṣaṇā suvrktibhiḥ; 10. 41. 1, rátham . . . suvrktibhir . . . havāmahe; 2. 4. 1, huvé vaḥ sudyótmanāṁ suvrktīm<sup>1</sup> . . . agnīm. These and the preceding passages show well enough (in Roth's exaggerated sense) the association of the 'pious performance' with the chiefest 'performance of songs'.

It is much less easy to demonstrate the ritualistic aspect of suvrktī. RV. 3. 3. 9 is a good example: tāsya vratāni . . . vayām *ūpa* bhūṣema *dāma ā* suvrktibhiḥ, 'let us tend in the house Agni's holy rites with pious practises!' 6. 10. 1, *pūro* vo mandrām divyām suvrktīm prayati *yajñe* agnīm *adhvarē* dadhidhvam; 8. 40. 10, tām çīçitā suvrktibhis (followed in the parallel stanza

<sup>1</sup> Here Grassmann in his Translation, 'gepriesenen'; in his *Lexicon*, 'schön gefeiert'; Ludwig (296), 'schön bereitet'.

8. 40. 11 by *tām çīçitā svadhvarām*); 1. 61. 2, *asmā id u prāya iva prā yañsi bhārāmy āngūśām bādhe suvrkti*. In the last passage *bādhe* 'I hold', or, infinitive 'to hold' seems perhaps to point to the *barhīs* as the god's seat; there seems to be also intentional antithesis between *bhārāmy āngūśām*, 'I bring song of praise', and *bādhe suvrkti* 'hold with good performance'. The hymn 1. 61 is a veritable nest for *suvrkti* (stanzas 2, 3, 4, 16); its occurrences there illustrate the double aspect of the word, as well as its very formulaic character. Thus especially in the cadences, which favor *suvrkti* at the end of 11 syllable lines (cadence  $\sim - \sim$ ); *suvrktibhis* at the end of 8 and 12 syllable lines (cadence  $\sim - \sim \sim$ ).<sup>1</sup>

A certain amount of light comes from a quarter not altogether unexpected. Geldner and Foy have labored valiantly in their pursuit of all the tricks and turns of the root as they seem to see them. Geldner, l. c., p. 154, observes that *varj* in composition has 'frequently lost its fundamental meanings'. He discusses *āpa-vrj*, *prā-vrj*, *sām-vrj*, and *sva-vrj*. Why not the more common and settled *pāri-vrj*? I miss this also in Foy's treatment. In Avestan *varəz* means 'do'; *pāri-varəz* 'avoid'. Thus, *Višparad* 15. 1: *dāityanaṃ raṇwyaṇaṃ huvarštaṇaṃ šynoṇnaṇaṃ huvarštaṇaṃ varəzāi*, *pāri adaityaṇaṃ araṇwyaṇaṃ dužvarštaṇaṃ varəzāi*, 'to perform lawful, well-ordered, pious deeds; to avoid illegal, disorderly, sinful deeds'. Cf. with this 8. 47. 5, *pāri no vṛaṇjann aghā durgāni rathyō yathā*; or 6. 51. 16, *yēna viçvāḥ pāri dvišo vṛṇākti*. I am not sure but what this parallel points to an etymological relationship between Avestan *varəz* and Vedic *varj*, notwithstanding the difference in the final consonants (we should expect Vedic *\*vṛṇaṣti* etc.)<sup>2</sup> Be this as it may, it secures in this composition a semantic, if not an etymological parallel to *varəz*. Similarly with preposition *ā* root *varəz* means 'get', 'secure' in *Yasna* 45, to wit: *tām nā stāotāiš nēmanhō āvivarešō* (desiderative), 'thou shalt

<sup>1</sup> For the convenience of the reader I cite the remaining occurrences of the word, which seem to me to be indeterminate: 1. 64. 1; 86. 9; 2. 34. 15; 5. 25. 3; 6. 10. 6; 15. 4; 7. 8. 3; 8. 8. 3; 96. 10; 10. 30. 1; 73. 5; TS. 2. 4. 7. 1.

<sup>2</sup> On interchange between I. E. palatals with gutturals see Collitz, *Bezz. Beitr.* iii, 194ff.; Joh. Schmidt, *KZ.* xxv. 114ff.; Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* i, pp. 161, 225; Brugmann, *Grundriß*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 544ff. The difference between *varəz* and *vṛṇākti* is the same as between *bāçara* and *bhiçakti*, or in Sanskrit itself between *mugdhā* and *mūdhā*.



try to secure him with songs of reverence!' Cf. with this RV. 1. 33. 1, anāmṛṇāḥ kuvid ā asya rāyó . . . āvarjate naḥ, 'will uninjurable (Indra) then not secure for us (some) of his wealth?' (Sāyaṇa, āvarjate, adhikam prāpayati).

The meaning 'do', or shades of that meaning, suit very directly the other prepositional compounds with varj, rather better than any other that has been assumed. Thus, pārā-varj 'do away with', 'abandon': RV. 8. 97. 7, mā na indra pārā vṛṇak; 8. 75. 12, mā no asmin mahādhané pārā vark. Next, āpa-varj (very simple): 10. 117. 7, yānn ādhvānam āpa vṛṇkte caritrāiḥ (cf. the German idiom 'einen weg abtun'). Particularly to the point is anapavṛjyān ādhvānaḥ in RV. 1. 146. 3, in relation to ādhvā anantās in 1. 113. 3. In both passages this is the road or the roads which the sisters Day and Night, one or the other must travel by divine command (anyānyā carato devāciṣṭe). In 5. 47. 3 another dual pair, Heaven and Earth, similarly relieve one another in traveling paths which have no end (anantāsaḥ pānthāḥ). What, we may ask, if not 'not to be worked off', does anapavṛjyān mean? The positive to anapavṛjyān ādhvānaḥ is contained in RV. 10. 117. 7, yānn ādhvānam āpa vṛṇkte caritrāiḥ. The endless reciprocal activity of Day and Night gives rise to another figure of speech in AV. 10. 7. 42, where they are said to weave a woof 'which they shall never finish nor come to its end', nāpa vṛñjāte nā gamāto āntam. With another turn, AV. 3. 12. 6, āpa vṛñkṣva ṣatrūn 'do (drive) away the enemy'; AV. 13. 2. 9, āpāvṛk tāmaḥ 'he has driven away darkness'.

The compound āpi-varj always goes with krātum, 'set one's mind upon', (quasi, 'work one's will upon'): 10. 120. 3, tvé krātum āpi vṛñjanti viṣve dvir yād eté trir bhāvānty ūmāḥ, 'upon thee all set their mind, when (tho) twice and thrice the helping gods are available'; see also 10. 48. 3 (equally good), and cf., elliptically, 7. 31. 5, tvé āpi krātur māma; see Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 10, note; Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, to 10. 120. 3. Next, sām-varj 'get together', 'obtain'; Germ. 'zusammenraffen': RV. 2. 12. 3, samvṛk samātsu, 'getting (booty) in battles'; 9. 48. 2, sāmvrktadhṛṣṇam mādam, 'intoxicating (soma) that makes bold for booty'; 10. 61. 17, sām yān mitrāvāruṇā vṛñjā ukthāiḥ, 'when I get Mitra and Varuṇa by means of my songs of praise'. Cf. Kāuṣ. Br. Up. 2. 7, sam tad vṛṇkte. Next, ni-varj 'throw down' is common, easily derivable from the idea of

'work down'. Even tho it is not quite as direct as 'lay down' it furnishes a preferable start, because 'lay' is in any case not the fundamental idea of varj. E. g., ni duryoṇā avṛṇāṇ mṛdhrāvācam (or °vācaḥ) 5. 29. 10; 32. 8; prthivyām ni krivim . . . avṛṇak 2. 17. 6. Finally, úd-varj in RV. 6. 58. 2: āṣṭrām pūṣā ḡthirām udvārivrjat, 'Pūṣan vigorously sticking out his easily moved goad'.

For the history of the root's interpretation svavṛj and svá-vṛkti are very interesting. Sāyaṇa renders svavṛj at 10. 38. 5 by, svayam eva chettāram (after Nighaṇṭu; see above p. 273); but he blunders into something partially correct in glossing svávṛktibhiḥ at 10. 21. 1 by, svayam kṛtābhir doṣavarjitābhiḥ stutibhiḥ. The Pet. Lexs. render by 'sich aneignend', and 'an-eignung'. This reflects the meaning of the root in the middle in the sense of 'obtain', very frequent in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras (see below, p. 286). That Roth was willing to separate so completely vṛkti in svá-vṛkti from vṛkti in su-vṛkti (his su-vṛkti) is one of the curiosa in the history of Vedic interpretation. Grassmann adopts Roth's rendering for sva-vṛj, 'in seine gewalt bringend, an sich reiſend', but his experiences with the root elsewhere induce him to give svá-vṛkti its due by, 'eigene darreichung (an lied und opfer)'; cf. his article su-vṛkti.<sup>1</sup> Ludwig (1023) renders svavṛj in 10. 38. 5 by 'einer selbst sich rettend', but (425) svá-vṛkti in 10. 21. 1 by 'eigene zurüstung'. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* I. 154 deals with svavṛj regardless of svávṛkti; he imports too much into the word when (with a view to the vihavá, 'rival call') he renders svavṛj 'einer der sich hat einfangen lassen'; this could not possibly be harmonized with svá-vṛkti. Foy, KZ. xxvi. 245 treats svávṛkti (without regard to sva-vṛj) as 'mit zurücksetzung der eigenen person'. But on p. 253 he renders svavṛj as 'selbsttätig', and thus joins me for the first and only time among all interpreters in a clear statement that the verb varj means 'perform'. I can not see any way of connecting the two words except by taking svá-vṛkti in the now established sense 'by own (pious) work': RV. 10. 21. 1, ágniṁ ná svávṛktibhir hótāram tvā vṛṇīmahe, yajñāya stīrṇābarhiṣe, 'as is suitable for Agni, we choose thee with our (pious) work as Hotar for the sacrifice with the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he notes, as I do, that the verse in question, RV. 10. 21. 1 contains the word barhiṣ (stīrṇābarhiṣe).



barhis spread'. The parallelism between svávrktibhir and stīrṇābarhiṣe is unmistakable. Hence sva-vřj in 10. 38. 5 does not mean 'der an sich reiřt', nor 'der sich hat einfangen lassen', but, 'he who does for himself'. It is parallel to common Indra epithets like svá-tavas, svá- křatra, sāt-pati, svá-pati, and svarāj. With *svavřjaṁ tvām ęuęráva* cf. turns like, *ékam nú tvā sāt-patiṁ pāñcajanyaṁ . . . ęṇomi*, RV. 5. 12. 11; or, *yuvām indrāgni tavāstamā ęuęrava*, 1. 109. 5. I particularly invite the reader to make any adjustment between sva-vřj and svá-vřkti which will elude the idea of 'work' as their common constituent.

At this stage we return to the simple root varj (without prefixes). We have found it hitherto in the sense 'work', 'do', 'practice' in the sense of the Rishis, 'practice hymns and ritual performance'. As regard the doing of ritual performance, the practice of doing the barhis has obtained a special hold on the word. Now the 'done' barhis lies in order, in line, in a row. This is certainly employed as a figure of speech for 'laying out' or 'destroying' in RV. 1. 63. 7:

tvām ha tyád indra sápta yúdhyan  
púro vajrin purukútsāya dardah,  
barhír ná yát sudāse vřthā vārk,

'Thou, O Indra with thy vajra (club) hast destroyed the seven castles, battling for Purukutsa, when like barhis easily (or, quickly, vřthā) thou didst do them for Sudās.' That 'do them' is in effect here 'fell them' must not be used to argue that varj means primarily 'lay': it simply happens that performing the barhis act is inseparable from laying it on the ground. Foy, KZ. xxvi. 242, note 1, prettily draws attention to the fact that the barhis comparison occurs also with another verb for 'destroy' namely ní ęięāti, RV. 7. 18. 11.

The same figure of speech implying the comparison with barhis is very certainly present in RV. 6. 18. 8, *vřṇák pípruṁ ęāmbaraṁ ęuęṇam indrah*, and in RV. 6. 26. 3, *tvām kútsāya ęuęṇam dāęuęe vark*. I prefer this to regarding varj here as detached from ní varj which occurs in similar connections (see above); or as in a totally primary sense 'to do one' (slang), that is, 'to destroy'.

I have reserved one instance of varj with barhis in the same verse because it shows perhaps better than other case

how difficult it is to operate with other assumptions than ours. RV. 1. 142. 5<sup>1</sup> reads:

strānāso yatāsrūco barhīr yajñē svadhvaré,  
vrñjé devāvyacastamam indrāya çārma sapráthaḥ.

Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 152, claims that varj with barhīs is synonymous with star with barhīs. In a general way that is true, of course, but this passage shows after all that varj adds to or refines the thought. On the other hand Foy, KZ. xxvi. 244, who is well aware of the special kinship that exists between varj and barhīs, disassociates them here, makes vrñjé govern Indra understood, and that in the sense of 'abfangen'.<sup>2</sup> The verse is quite clear: '(Priests) holding forth the sacrificial ladle, spreading the barhīs at the well-arranged sacrifice, there is prepared most ample reception for the gods, broad shelter for Indra.' I take vrñjé as = passive 3d sing., with Ludwig (773); cf. 1. 83. 6; 10. 110. 4; the dubious parsing of vrñjé does not in the least interfere with its lexical sense.<sup>3</sup>

I have said before that uncompounded varj is moribund in the Mantras. Outside of the sphere of the barhīs there are indeed surprisingly few cases. Now the fundamental meaning of the root under any reasonable assumption is so general as to preclude precise definition. In AV. 12. 5. 18 the Brahman's cow when withheld (brahmagavi) performs all sorts of injuries by means of her bodily actions: 'she is a thunderbolt when she runs; razor-edged when she looks'. In st. 22 she is total destruction, kārṇāu varīvarjāyanti. Whitney translates, 'when twisting about her ears'; Henry, p. 211, 'when she shakes her ears'. Neither of these renderings have any basis in the lexicology of varj: 'vigorously working her ears' would do just as well. Again at 7. 24. 4 Roth and others<sup>4</sup> take vārīvrjat as 'turning in'. The passage reads: vārīvrjat sthāvirebhiḥ (sc. āçvāiḥ) suçīprāsmé dādhad vīçaṇam çūsmam indra 'turning in

<sup>1</sup> This is a barhīs āprī; it is well to read the others of the same kind in the RV.: 1. 13. 5; 188. 4; 2. 3. 4; 3. 4. 4; 5. 5. 4; 7. 2. 4; 9. 5. 4; 10. 70. 4; 110. 4. Especially 7. 2. 4, and 10. 110. 4, both of which show varj like the present stanza.

<sup>2</sup> This is Geldner's initial meaning of the root.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* to 1. 142. 5. More convenient would be to take vrñjé as third plur. = vrñjáte, on the analogy perhaps of çére: çérate, and duhré: duhráte (Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* §§ 629, 935).

<sup>4</sup> See Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*.



with his strong (bay horses)' etc. I miss the intensive feature of the word; Ludwig (576), 'ausholend (mit der waffe) in verein mit den starken'; Śaṅkara, *ṣaṭrūṇa bhṛṣaṇa hiṁsaṇa*. I could conveniently make use of Śaṅkara for my proposition, but his is a guess like any other guess. It should be pointed out, however, that *sthāvirebhiḥ* may refer to *vājāḥ* (6. 1. 11; 37. 5), and that *vāja* and *ṣusma* are companions in 4. 22. 3; 6. 32. 4, which makes it more probable that *sthāvirebhiḥ* in our stanza also refers to *vājāḥ*. In that case *vārīṣṭat* may mean 'acting mightily', something like *prā vājebhis tirata* in 7. 57. 5, *vājebhir jigyuḥ* in 8. 19. 18; *kṣāyaṇa vājāḥ* in 3. 25. 3. RV. 4. 7. 10: *yād asya vāto anuvāti ṣocīḥ, vṛṇākti tigmām atasēsu jihvām*. Ludwig (334), 'schlingt seine scharfe zunge er um das reisig'; Grassmann, 'er streckt die spitze zunge in das buschwerk'; Oldenberg, SBE. xvi. 344, 'he turns his sharp tongue among the dry brushwood'; Geldner (p. 152), 'dann klappt er seine zunge um in den hölzern'; Foy (p. 242), 'dann legt er seine spitze zunge in den hölzern nieder'. All renderings are of the general sort—'work his tongue into' would be just as good—except Geldner's who visualizes keenly, but whence does he get his 'umklappen', considering that he has nothing like it in the list of the meanings which he unfolds for *varj* on the same page? In RV. 8. 79. 5 occurs the locution, *vārjyās tṛṣyataḥ kāmam*. Grassmann, 'die begierde des durstigen stillen'; Ludwig, 'mögen sie des durstenden begierde erfüllen (beseitigen)'. Geldner, *ibid.*, p. 144, 'mögen sie das verlangen des durstigen (Indra) einfangen (!)', namely that he may quench his thirst with them; Foy, *ibid.*, p. 244, 'mögen sie das verlangen des durstigen (Indra) hemmen'. But why not, 'may they work the desire of the thirsty one', that is satisfy him? Cf. locutions like RV. 3. 50. 1: *āśya haviṣ tanvāḥ kāmam rdyāḥ*, 'may the haviṣ satisfy the craving of his (Indra's) body'; or, RV. 10. 106. 11: *ā bhūtāṇṇo aṣvīṇo kāmam aprāḥ*, 'Bhūtāṇṇa has satisfied the craving of the Aṣvins'. Ludwig's 'erfüllen' shows that he had *ā pr* in mind. In any case most of the renderings just given are under the influence of 'turn', 'twist', the assumed start values of the lexicons, now generally discredited.

As regards the later uses of the root, *prā-varj*, 'to put a pot on the fire' (already RV. 5. 30. 15), and *ādhi-varj* 'to put over the fire' occasion no difficulty. The chief use of the simple

root in later times is in the Brāhmaṇas. There the middle is used in the sense of 'appropriate something (accusative), usually but not always belonging to somebody else (genitive)'. The appropriation is, of course, advantageous<sup>1</sup> to him that appropriates. Thus TB. 1. 5. 6. 4: *vāiṣvadevena caturō māso 'vr̥njata indrarājānaḥ*, '(the gods) whose king is Indra through the *vāiṣvadeva*-sacrifice appropriated the four months'. TS. 3. 1. 7. 3: *sa etaḥ jamadagnir viḥavyam apaṣyat, tena vāi sa vasiṣṭhasyendriyaṁ vīryam avṛṅkta*, 'Jamadagni saw this viḥavya (rival call) hymn; by its means he appropriated the strength and manhood of Vasiṣṭha'. This use begins in a single instance in RV. 8. 76. 1: *imāṁ nū māyinaṁ huva indram iṣānam ōjasā, marūtantaṁ nā vr̥njāse*, 'I call Indra and the Maruts to secure them'.<sup>2</sup> It is scarcely necessary to say that the idea of 'appropriate for one's self', 'secure for one's self' may be derived from 'work for one's self'.

I would expressly ask the reader to weigh critically the instances of the simple root outside of its occurrences with *barhis*. In the sphere in which *svṛkti* is central there is no escape from the meaning 'work', 'perform'. But the reader should not forget that after this my interpretations are teleological, and that the idea of 'work' is immensely plastic. Among the prefixed forms *pāri varj*: *pāri varəz* is also very significant. But outside of these materials there are often other imaginable starting points. A careful perusal of earlier suggestions shows this, as well as the almost incredible divergence of the interpreters' mental operations. There may be other roots *varj* at the bottom of the variegated connections in which their forms occur. Comparative Etymology has brought in Lat. *vergo* and *urgeo*; Greek *ἐργω*, *παίβος*, and *πέμπομαι*; Goth. *vairpan* and *vraiks*; Middle High German *renken*; and many words of other languages, some one or other of which may be to the point. On the other hand the connection of some occurrences with the idea of work has flitted across the stage, as I found in the course of this investigation after

<sup>1</sup> See Pet. Lexs.; Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, iv. 250 ff.; Delbrück, *Alt-indische Syntax*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig (614) renders *nā vr̥njāse* by 'um ihn nicht mir zu entfremden'; in his commentary, 'ihn ganz gewiß zu gewinnen, zu eigen zu machen'; Grassmann, 'er weiche nicht'; Geldner, *ibid.*, p. 144, 'daß er sich nicht (von andern) abfangen lasse'; Foy, *ibid.* p. 244, 'um ihn abzufangen'.



proceeding with my own idea. J. Darmestetter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 10, thought of the connection of *svrkti* with Avestan *hvaršta* 'well performed'. Roth, in the article cited at the beginning of this paper, mentions that some scholars prior to him had connected *svrkti* with *ἔργον*. Hillebrandt, in his *Vedachrestomathie*, assumes that *vrjana* in 7. 61. 4 and elsewhere means 'activity', being connected with Avestan *varəz*. Foy, *ibid.* p. 253, takes *svavfj* as 'selbsttätig', and *ibid.* p. 247 connects other cases of *vrjana* — Avestan *varəzəna* 'yeomanry', from the same roots. Cf. also Collitz, *Bezz. Beitr.* iii, p. 196; Oldenberg, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1890 (nr. 10), p. 415.

There is one derivation from a root *varj* in Sanskrit which may be easily and safely picked out of the list of its derivatives, namely *úrj* and related words. There is a certain misapprehension concerning the word, existing by the side of a perfectly sound conception of it. The misapprehension consists in associating it *primarily* with the idea of 'strength', 'act of strengthening', and consequent etymologies. From *Pet. Lex.* and Grassmann on the word has been connected with *ὄργα* 'swell' (*úrjā*, 'kraftfülle' = *ὄργή* 'passion', 'wrath' = Old Irish *ferg*, *ferc*, 'wrath').<sup>1</sup> This etymology strikes neither the average nor the fundamental idea of the word, as any lexical treatment of *úrj* must show. The word means 'food'; it represents the act of 'eating'; anything like 'strength', or 'manifestation of strength' is clearly secondary in the lexicology of the word.

In general the word is associated with words for 'eat' and 'drink': *pinv*, *duh*, *arṣ*, *kṣar*; *pitu*, *payas*, *pīvas*, and *ghṛta*. But we must trust most its constant association with *payas*, in the form *úrjas-* which comes from a later time. This stem *úrjās-* is a formal imitation of *payas*<sup>2</sup> with which it runs parallel to such an extent as to have settled finally into a close formulaic companionship: *úrjasvantaḥ payasvantaḥ* AV. 7. 60. 2; HG. 1. 29. 1; *úrjasvatī payasvatī* AV. 9. 3. 16; AÇ. 1. 9. 1; ÇÇ. 1. 14. 5; *úrjasvatī ca payasvatī ca* MS. 4. 13. 9: 212. 3; TB. 3. 5. 10. 2; ÇB. 1. 9. 1. 7; ÇÇ. 8. 19. 1; *úrjasvatī cāsi payasvatī ca* VS. 1. 27; ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 11; *úrjasvatī ca me payasvatī cāidhi* TB. 3. 7. 6. 6; ApÇ. 4. 6. 2; *úrjasvatyaḥ payasvatyaḥ* Nighaṇṭu 1. 13. The

<sup>1</sup> See Brugmann, *Grundriß* I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 474, 554, 690.

<sup>2</sup> Congeneric assimilations of this sort have produced *sāhantama*, to match *vrāhāntama*; and *sāhuri* after *tāturi*.

meaning of ūrj is brought out most clearly in ūrjād, 'eating food' (Nirukta 3. 8 = annāda). The Nighaṇṭu 2.7 and Kāutsavya 88<sup>1</sup> list ūrk among the anna-nāmāni; cf. AB. 8. 8. 5.

Grassmann in his *Lexicon*, but not in his *Translation*, once thought that vrjāna in the refrain RV. 1. 165. 15<sup>4</sup>ff., vidyāmeśāṁ vrjānaṁ jirādānum, was an equivalent of ūrj. I believe that the Nighaṇṭu's (2. 9) inclusion of this word among the words 'strength' (balanāmāni) is based upon the same belief. But the expression iṣo vrjāneṣu in 7. 99. 6 is of itself sufficient to show that vrjāna is not parallel to iṣ, but is something which may contain iṣ 'strength'; cf. most recently Foy, KZ. xxxiv. 248.

If I were better acquainted with the prehistory of Lithuanian valgyti I should derive ūrj and valgyti from an I. E. root ŷelg or ŷelǵ 'eat'.

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<sup>1</sup> By the way, the item in Kāutsavya 115 (Bolling and von Negelein, p. 315, top) for which the MSS. have dhruvadrakṣam, dhuvadrakṣam, and dhruvaikṣam is surely dhruvaṛkṣam, 'the polar and the bear', an interesting dvandva otherwise unknown to the literature.



*Grammatical Notes on the Isinai language (Philippines).—*

By CARLOS EVERETT CONANT, Professor in the University of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

1. Of the many minor idioms of the Philippine Islands that are rapidly becoming extinct owing to the encroachment of their stronger neighbors, the Isinai, also called Inmeas, is one of the least known. It is spoken only in three mountain towns, Aritau (Aritao), Bambang, and Dupax, in the old province of Nueva Vizcaya, central North Luzón, by a people resembling the Igorots of the adjoining province of Benguet.

2. *Bibliography.*

Rocamora, Fr. Francisco, *Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en la lengua de Isinay ó Inmeas, corregido, añadido y redactado en mejor forma del antiguo manuscrito*. Manila, Imprenta de Santo Tomás, 1876, 176 pages.

This catechism is a reprint of an earlier edition whose date is not known, but supposed by Dr. Pardo de Tavera to have been between 1830 and 1840, at which time Padre Rocamora (d. 1851) was vicar of Dupax.

Conant, C. E., *Isinai-English Word List* (MS) compiled from the foregoing at Baguio, Benguet, P. I., 1907.

3. *The Indonesian vowels in Isinai.*

Indonesian *a*, *i*, and *u* regularly remain unchanged in Isinai, e. g., *ama* 'father', *ina* 'mother', *pitu* 'seven', *buña* 'fruit'. The indifferent vowel, *pepet*, regularly becomes *o*, e. g., *opat* (IN *əpat*) 'four', *onom* (IN *ənēm*) 'six', *anon* (Tagalog *kanin*, Bisaya *kan'on*) 'food'. But an unaccented *pepet* vowel of the root word is lost when a formative element is added, e. g., Isn. *napnu* (IN *na-pěnu*) 'full', *atlunar* (= *'a-tlu-n-ar* to IN *katělu*) 'the third', Isn. *anomnar* (= *'a-nom-n-ar* to IN *ka-ənēm*) 'the

sixth'. In the last two examples the final syllable *-ar* is the postpositiv definit article (see 7), and the *-n-* connecting it with the root is taken by analogy from *maunar* (= *ma-una-ar*, cf. Tagalog *nauna*, Bisaya *nahauna*) 'first', where it is radical.

Any unaccented penultimate vowel of a dissyllabic root is regularly lost before *y* (<IE *l* by palatalization, see 4), after which process the *y* tends to vocalization, becoming *i* or *e*, e. g., Isn. *tiu* (IN *tělu*) 'three', Isn. *weu* (IN *walu*) 'eight', Isn. *piu* (IN *pulu*) 'ten'.

#### 4. Indonesian consonants in Isinai.

With the exception of the changes about to be indicated, Indonesian consonants remain unchanged in Isinai.

Indonesian *k* regularly appears as *hamza*, e. g., Isn. 'anon (Tag. *kanin*, Bis. *kan'on*), 'food', Isn. *ana* (IN *anak*) 'son, daughter, young', Isn. 'a (IN *ka*) 'thou', Isn. *a* (IN *ak*) 'I', Isn. *lea'i* (Tag. Bis. *lalaki*) 'male'. But *k* appears in a few sporadic examples, like *kasalanan* 'sinner', doubtless borrowings from neighboring languages. In Arabic loan words both the *k* sounds, ك and ق, become a strong aspirate in Isinai, e. g., Isn. *ohom* (Ar. and Malay حاكم) 'judge', Isn. *alah* (Ar. عرق, Malay اراق) 'arak, wine'.

Original *l*, when intervocalic and folloed by a tonic vowel, is palatalized, passing on to *y* (*l* > *ly* > *y*), which, after loss of the preceding atonic vowel, tends to vocalize, becoming *i* or close *e*, and uniting with the folloing vowel to form a difthong, e. g., Isn. *tiu* (IN *tělu*) 'three', Isn. *weu* (IN *walu*) 'eight', Isn. *piu* (IN *pulu*) 'ten', Isn. *lea'i* (Tag. Bis. *lalaki*) 'male'. This change of *l* to *y* by palatalization folloed by delingualization may be observd in the most diverse fields of speech evolution. Within Austronesian territory it is seen in the Palau language (Caroline Islands), where every *l* becomes *y* with subsequent partial or total vocalization to *i* or close *e*, e. g., Palau *im* (IN *lima* > *lyim* > *yim* > *iim* > *im*) 'five', Palau *búiel* (IN *bulan* > *bulyel* > *buyel* > *búiel*) 'moon'<sup>1</sup>. For the Indo-European family, compare the *l* (*ll*) *mouillée* in French, and the change of Latin *ll* to Spanish *ll*, which is preservd in Castilian, but has become *y* dialectically in Spain

<sup>1</sup> For further examples in Palau, see Conant, *Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language*, JAOS, vol. 35, part i.



and in Spanish America, e. g., Lat. *caballum* > Span. *caballo* > dial. *cabayo*. The same change occurs in certain of the Finno-Ugrian languages<sup>1</sup>.

Isinai preserved the original *l* unchanged except under the conditions above stated, e. g., Isn. *lima* 'five', *tulid* (Tag. Bis. *tu'lid*) 'straight'.

### 5. The *RGH* law.

The Indonesian *RGH* consonant appears in Isinai as *g* initially, as a guttural spirant  $\text{ʒ}$  or  $\text{χ}$  medially (the Spanish orthography employing *g* or *j* interchangeably), and is lost in final position, e. g., Isn. (Span. orthog.) *gaijaya* (Bikol *gayagâya*, Ngaju Dayak *haihai*) 'rejoice, exult'; Isn. *dagat* (Tag. Bis. *dâgat*, Pampanga *dayat*, Ida'an [Borneo] *rahat*) 'sea'; Isn. *done* (Bis. *du'ng*, Tag. *di'ng*, Mal. *denar*) 'hear'.

### 6. The *RLD* law.

The *RLD* consonant appears as *d* initially, as *r* medially, and as *d* or (much more commonly) *r* finally, e. g., Isn. *dua* 'two', but *'aruanar* 'the second', *danum* (IN *ranum*, *lanum*, *danum*) 'water'; Isn. *tulid* or *tulir* (Tag. Bis. *tu'lid*) 'straight'; Isn. *bayar* (Bis. etc. *bayad*) 'pay'.

### 7. The Isinai postpositiv article.

The most striking phenomenon in Isinai speech is its treatment of the definit article. Its forms are *ar*, *ardari* and *war*. Of these, *ar* is both prepositiv and postpositiv, *ardari* postpositiv only, and *war* prepositiv only. All words requiring the definit article take a postpositiv, *ar* for the singular and *ardari* for the plural, e. g., *tahu* 'man (*homo*)', *tahuar* 'the man'; *tahuardari* 'the men'. A prepositiv, *ar* or *war*, accompanies the postpositiv under the following syntactic conditions: *War* is used when the word stands in the relation of subject of a copulative verb, and *ar* when it stands in the relation of predicate. The following example will illustrate both cases: *War Espiritu Santo ar ot ar atlunar personas* 'the Holy Ghost is the third person'. *Ar* and *war* are used for singular and plural alike, e. g., *ar* (or *war*) *babayardari* 'the women', but, as explained

<sup>1</sup> See Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig 1910, p. 43.

above, they must always be accompanied by the postpositiv article. Under al other syntactic conditions, the postpositiv article only is used, e. g., *namalsat biopar on pio'ar* 'made the heven and the erth', *inan di Diosar* 'mother of God', *bendita at babayardarin lom'an* 'blessed among al women'. A noun and its dependent genitiv ar considerd as a unit in the treatment of the article, the postpositiv being appended to the last word of the group, and the prepositiv, if it be required, being placed befor the group, e. g., *benditar* (<*bendita*+*ar*) *buñan di putumar* (<*putu*+*m*+*ar*) 'blessed (is) the fruit of thy womb' (lit. the fruit of womb-thy the).

The postposition of the article is a well-known linguistic fenomenon. Examples of it elsewhere in Indonesia ar the Sangir and Bugis *-e*, as in Sang. *asu-e*, Bugis *asu-w-e* 'the dog'<sup>1</sup>.

For Indo-European compare Old Norse and Mod. Norwegian *land-et* 'the land' where, however, the article is also prepositiv when used with a qualifying adjectiv, e. g., ON *et storra land*, Norw. *det store land* 'the great land'. Moreover ON furnishes sporadic examples of the double article in striking analogy to the Isinai usage, e. g., ON *en litla q-en* 'the little river', *en ofre hús-en* 'the upper house, i. e., story', *enn þriþe maþr-enn* 'the third man'<sup>2</sup>. With the last example compare Isn. *ar athun-ar tahu* 'the third man', where, however, the postpositiv article is appended to the adjectiv insted of to the noun as in ON. The definit article is postpositiv in Bulgarian, e. g., *ayma-ta* 'the word'.

### 8. Conclusion.

This brief study of a few characteristics of a primitiv and moribund idiom spoken in the North Luzón mountains givs us further evidence of the independent development of identical fonologic and syntactic processes in widely diverse linguistic territories.

<sup>1</sup> See Brandstetter, *Sprachvergl. Charakterbild eines Indon. Idioms*, Lucerne 1911, p. 57, and *Der Artikel des Indonesischen*, Lucerne 1913, section 22 *et passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See Heusler, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1913, p. 142.



*Deccan Parallels to the Burj-Namah.* — By Dr. VICCAJI  
DINSHAW, Mahaboobnagar, India.

Recently Dr. Louis H. Gray very kindly sent me a reprint from this Journal (Vol. 33, pp. 281-294), in which the section on Parsi-Persian omen calendars interested me very greatly, because in it I saw a very close parallel to the stanzas consulted by the Muhammadans here in the Deccan, when they see the new moon. On comparing these with the Burj-Namah, I find that out of the twelve omens mentioned in these Deccan stanzas about eight agree with those of the Burj-Namah. I will, however, first quote these Deccan stanzas, and show their parallelism.

ماه محرم زر بهیین — اندر صفر آینه  
ماه ربیع آب روان — آخر غم ای مه نگر  
ماه جمادی نقره بهیین — پیری بهیین در آخرین  
ماه رجب مصحف بهیین — شعبان گیاه سبزتر  
شمشیر در رمضان نگر — شوال جامه سبزتر  
دلخده بینی کودی — دلخجه دختر خوب تر

TRANSLATION.

(In the) month (of) Muharram look on gold, in Šafar look on a mirror,

(In) the (first) Rabi' look on the running waters, in the last (Rabi') look on a lamb, oh! thou the moon-faced!<sup>1</sup>

(In) the first Jumāda look on silver, look on an old man in the last (i. e. the second Jumāda).

<sup>1</sup> If in this line we read ماه for مه, we may translate, 'in the last Rabi' month, o (friend) look on a lamb'.

In Rajab look on the Koran, (in) Sha'bān look on the green (lit. greener) grass.

Look on the scimitar in Ramadān, in Shawwāl look on a green (lit. greener) robe.

(In) Dhu-l-Ḳa'da look on a young lad, (in) Dhu-l-Hijja (look on) a fair maid (lit. a fairer daughter).

### PARALLELISM.

جمادی الثانی — پیر = جوزا — پیر  
 ربیع الاول — آبروان = خرجنگ — آبروان  
 صفر — آینه = میزان — آینه  
 محرم — زر = میزان — زر  
 جمادی الاول — نقره = قوس — سیم  
 ذلحده — بینی کودی = دلو — مبین کودی  
 رجب — مصحف } = جدی — اشیم وهو  
 دلو ایثا اهوویرو }  
 شعبان — سبزه = خرجنگ — سبزه

These stanzas are believed in, and acted upon, by the Muhammadans of Persian descent and by pure Persians; other Muhammadans, such as the Arabs and the descendants of the Turks, who are also plentiful here, neither believe in them nor go by them; indeed, some of the latter think it against Islam to do so. It is true that the Hindus, too, have a superstition as to what articles or things are auspicious to look upon after seeing the new moon, but these are quite different to the Burj-Namah and the Deccan stanzas, and do not vary month by month as in them.

These facts show that the Burj-Namah has not originated from India, and that the Deccan stanzas have followed the Burj-Namah. Moreover, one cannot but feel convinced that Gray is right when he says that these Parsi-Persian calendar omens were incorporated into Zoroastrianism from the Babylonians. To my mind these omens were believed in by the Zoroastrians at the time of the Arab conquest; these and other superstitions formed part and parcel of their lives and were so firmly rooted in their hearts that even Muhammadanism was not able to eradicate them; the beliefs were cherished by the Persians



even after they had left the faith of their ancestors and had adopted that of Islam. On the other hand, the Arabs of that time never cared for them at all, being directly trained by their Prophet to believe in but One Power guiding the destiny of men. Again, the early history of the rise of Islam does not produce any proofs of the prevalence of any such superstitions; there was then only cheerful obedience to the will of Allāh. It is only after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs that we see these superstitions, because, as is well known, the Persians adopted the faith of Islam only outwardly, and in their heart of hearts they ever cherished a tender regard for the religion and customs of their ancestors.

The strongest proof, to my mind, is that had these beliefs been prevalent amongst the Arabs before the conquest of Persia, the present-day Arabs ought to have it still with them (which, as I have said above, is not the case); it is the exclusive belief of the Persian-Muhammadans or their descendants in the Deccan.

As I have said in my book, *The Date and Country of Zarathushtra* (Hyderabad, 1912), it is not the Semites alone (Babylonians) who tried to influence the Iranian mind. Long before the advent of the Semites one branch of the Iranians whom I have styled the Kyanians and who separated early from their brethren, the Medo-Persians, had arrived at the lands round about Urumiah and Van, by quite a separate route, ages before the other two. This branch lived in these parts, struggling with the inhabitants, the Hittites and the Sumero-Accadians, whom the Iranians included under the common appellation of "Turanians" because of a similar form of faith. Traces of this struggle are plentiful in the Yashts; a history unfortunately believed to be legendary, but which, I hope, will prove to be true if further excavations are carried out by experts round about Takht-i-Sulaiman, which was the rallying point, or rather, the haven of refuge for the kings of Iran in times of trouble and when hotly pursued by enemies.

Leaving aside the history of the Yashts, we find vivid earlier pictures of this struggle in the Gathas of Zarathushtra, because, as I have said in my book already mentioned, the deities of the Sumero-Accadians (Ishmu and Akkimu) are found under an evil aspect in the Gathas as Aēshma and Akoman; and

the only form of worship at this period — the worship of the evil spirits alone<sup>1</sup> (with the object of keeping them in good humor) — is vehemently denounced by Zarathushtra because he saw some of his tribes (the Kavis, Karpans, and the Usigs) adopting through fear this worship.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the fact that this part of India (Deccan) is now what western Asia was in ancient times, a congery of nations, who have in most cases preserved the traditions of their ancestors intact. This region is, therefore, peculiarly important for tracing the origin of ancient traditions, etc., and I shall be only too glad to help scholars who may be in doubt as to the origin of any such.

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<sup>1</sup> I say *alone*, because the Sumero-Accadians know nothing about the Benign Spirit or Spirits, this latter conception having originated with the Semites and Aryans.



*Contributions to the History of Greek Philosophy in the Orient, Syriac Texts, IV: A Syriac Version of the λόγος κεφαλαϊώδης περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Τατιανόν of Gregory Thaumaturgus.*—Edited by GIUSEPPE FURLANI, Ph. D., London.

One of the manuscripts of chief importance for the history of Greek philosophy among the Syrians is the Add. 14,658 of the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> It contains the following tracts of philosophical contents.

(1) A work of the archiater Sergius of Rās'ain on the *Categories* of Aristotle (f. 1<sup>a</sup>—61<sup>a</sup>). It is not a work on Logic in general, as has been stated by Renan,<sup>2</sup> Wright,<sup>3</sup> and lastly repeated by Anton Baumstark.<sup>4</sup> As book I. of the tract is completely wanting and in the subscription the title is not repeated we are not able to say what was really the title Sergius had given it. As it is not—as already stated—a work on Logic in general, but only on a small part of it, the *Categories*, the title cannot have been **فقه علم** **مقدم**. It is therefore not identical with the **فقه علم** **مقدم** cited by Ebedjesu in his Catalogue.<sup>5</sup> Besides that it must be emphatically denied that Ebedjesu cites here the title of a work of Sergius. He means only to say that Sergius has written some tracts on logical subjects, some *ὕπο-*

<sup>1</sup> William Wright: *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, acquired since the year 1838*, [London] 1870, 1154—1160.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettre à M. Reinaud, sur quelques manuscrits syriaques du Musée Britannique contenant des traductions d'auteurs grecs profanes et des traités philosophiques*, *Journal Asiatique*, Avril 1852, p. 320; C'est sans doute le traité qu' Ebedjesu, dans son catalogue, désigne sous le titre de **فقه علم** **مقدم**, *Commentaires sur la Dialectique*.

<sup>3</sup> *l. c.* p. 1154.

<sup>4</sup> Baumstark: *Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom V—VIII. Jahrhundert*, *Syrisch-arabische Biographien des Aristoteles*, *Syrische Commentare zur εἰσαγωγή des Porphyrios*, *Erster Band*, Leipzig 1900, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Assemani: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. III, pars 1, p. 87.

μνήματα λογικά. We have the same work in an abridged recension in the manuscript Petermann 9<sup>1</sup> of the Königliche Bibliothek at Berlin.<sup>2</sup> Here the title runs ܡܢܗܡܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܗܡܐ ܕܠܘܓܝܩܐ. I think there is no reason to doubt that the tract ܡܢܗܡܐ ܕܠܘܓܝܩܐ of the manuscript of the British Museum bore the same title.

(2) A Syriac version of the *εἰσαγωγή* of Porphyry (f. 61<sup>a</sup>—75<sup>a</sup>).<sup>3</sup> It has been published by A. Freimann from the Berlin Manuscript Petermann 9.<sup>4</sup> Part of it is preserved also in the Add. 14, 618. In a Syriac manuscript of the Vatican and in one of the Bibliothèque nationale there is another version of the *εἰσαγωγή* due to Athanasius II. of Balad.

(3) A *διαίρεσις* of ܡܠܐܕ (οὐσία). It occurs in nearly all the Syriac manuscripts of philosophical content.

(4) A Syriac version of the *κατηγορίαι* of Aristotle. Renan and Wright thought that it is due probably to Sergius of Ras'ain.<sup>5</sup> R. Gottheil has given in the introduction to his edition of the translation of the *Categories* made by George, Bishop of the Arabic tribes (*Hebraica*, IX, 166—175), a general survey of the Syriac versions of this Aristotelian work. This version is by Sergius of Ras'ain.<sup>6</sup>

(5) A grammatical tract, which has lost its real title, as indicate the two words now prefixed to it: ܡܢܗܡܐ ܕܠܘܓܝܩܐ. It does not go over the same ground as the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* of Aristotle,<sup>7</sup> but is wholly grammatical in its content. Only at the beginning it starts from the concept of *λόγος* as laid down in the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* (f. 92<sup>a</sup>—94<sup>a</sup>). I am not able to say whether Sergius is the author of it or not, but I would rather incline to the second part of the alternative.

<sup>1</sup> The publications concerning the philosophical works of this MS have been cited by me in *Contributi alla storia della filosofia greca in Oriente, testi siriaci*, I. *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. XXIII, pp. 154—159.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, XXIII. Band, Verzeichnis der syrischen Handschriften* von Eduard Sachau, Berlin 1899, Abt. I, 327.

<sup>3</sup> Wright I. c. 1156.

<sup>4</sup> A. Freimann: *Die Isagoge des Porphyrius in der syrischen Übersetzung*, Berlin 1897.

<sup>5</sup> Wright I. c. 1156.

<sup>6</sup> Wright: *A short History of Syriac Literature*, London 1894, p. 91, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Renan, *Journal Asiatique* I. c. 330.



(6) A tract beginning with the words **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ** . . . **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ**. Renan and Wright thought it treats about matters contained in the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*.<sup>1</sup> I have examined it, but I cannot confirm their statement. It is a fragment of a work which deals with the *Analytica Priora* and gives a description of the syllogisms. It is not identical with the treatise "*on the Syllogisms in the Analytica (Priora)*" of Aristotle by Severus Sabocht preserved in the Add. 17, 156.

(7) A treatise by Sergius of Rās'ain on the Causes of the Universe, **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ**. It gives the chief ideas of the Aristotelian *περὶ οὐρανοῦ* (f. 99<sup>b</sup>—107<sup>b</sup>).

(7) A Syriac version of the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *περὶ κόσμου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* made by Sergius, published by A. de Lagarde in *Analecta Syriaca*, Lipsiae-Londinii 1858, pp. 134—158. This translation has been analysed by Victor Ryssel in *Über den textkritischen Werth der syrischen Übersetzungen griechischer Klassiker, I. Teil*, Leipzig 1880, p. 5—48.

(9) A tract on the Soul, ascribed to Aristotle: **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ**. Wright says that it is not the well-known treatise *περὶ ψυχῆς*, but a wholly different work consisting of five short sections.<sup>2</sup> But it has nothing to do with Aristotle, it is a Syriac version of the *λόγος κεφαλαιώδης περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Τατιανόν* by Gregory Thaumaturgus (f. 122<sup>a</sup>—124<sup>b</sup>).

(10) **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ** by Sergius (f. 124<sup>b</sup>—129<sup>a</sup>).

(11) The well-known **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ** by Bar-daišān (f. 129<sup>a</sup>—141<sup>a</sup>).

(12) Sergius of Rās'ain on the influence of the moon; it is an abridgment of Galenos *περὶ κρισίμων ἡμερῶν*. It has been edited by Eduard Sachau on p. 10—11 of the *Inedita Syriaca*, Wien 1870.

(13) On the motion of the sun, by the same author, published also by Sachau, l. c. p. 12—13.

(14) The names of the Signs of the Zodiac, according to the school of Bar-daišān (f. 149<sup>b</sup>), published by Sachau, l. c. p. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Renan, *Journal Asiatique* l. c. 330 and Wright, l. c. p. 1156.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, l. c. p. 1162.

<sup>3</sup> See also Renan, *Journal Asiatique* l. c. p. 330—332, and *De philosophia peripatetica apud Syros commentatio historica*, Parisiis 1852, p. 28.

(15) A dialogue on the Soul entitled ܡܠܟܐܡܐ, edited by de Lagarde in the *Analecta Syriaca*, p. 158—167 (f. 150<sup>a</sup>—155<sup>a</sup>).

(18) Sayings by Menander, published by Land in *Anecdota Syriaca*, t. I., p. 64. Anton Baumstark has analysed them in *Lucubrationes syro-graecae*, p. 473—487 (*Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, XXI. Supplementband, Leipzig 1894).

(19) Some *ὁρίσμοι* and *διαπέσεις* of ܡܠܟܐܡܐ (f. 168<sup>a</sup>—172<sup>a</sup>).<sup>1</sup>

(20) Sentences of Pythagoras (f. 172<sup>a</sup>—176<sup>a</sup>). See Rubens Duval: *La littérature syriaque*<sup>3</sup>, Paris 1907, p. 258.

(23—25) Sentences of Plato and Platonic definitions (f. 185<sup>b</sup>—186<sup>b</sup>).

(26) The Counsel of Theano (f. 186<sup>b</sup>—188<sup>b</sup>), [published by Sachau l. c. ܡܠܟܐܡܐ] see Duval l. c. p. 258, 259 and 260.

This manuscript is on vellum, and is written in a good regular Estrangēla of the VII<sup>th</sup> century. Each page is divided in two columns.<sup>2</sup> The tract we now publish begins on the f. 122<sup>b</sup> in the middle of the column. The title ܡܠܟܐܡܐ ܡܠܟܐܡܐ ܡܠܟܐܡܐ ܡܠܟܐܡܐ is written with red ink. So also the headings of the single sections and the subscription ܡܠܟܐܡܐ ܡܠܟܐܡܐ ܡܠܟܐܡܐ ܡܠܟܐܡܐ (f. 124<sup>c</sup> near the bottom of the column), except sections II and III where only the cipher is red coloured (f. 122<sup>c</sup> at the end and f. 123<sup>a</sup> in the middle).

For our edition of the *λόγος περὶ ψυχῆς* we have kept quite closely to the text of the manuscripts before us, although one cannot say that it is a good text. But we thought that it was our duty to correct at least the most palpable and evident errors of the copyist, but without getting any help from the Greek text. Only in one case we were compelled to do so, and to take advantage also of the text published from a Sinaitic manuscript by Agnes Smith Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica* I, p. 19—26.<sup>3</sup>

We must yet remark that the headings of the sections are not written on separate lines. It seems to us that in the middle of f. 123<sup>b</sup> some lines had been erased owing most probably to a fault in copying; some words had been omitted and there-

<sup>1</sup> They are not "*des remaniements du περὶ ἐμπνεύσεως*", as has been affirmed by Renan (l. c. p. 332).

<sup>2</sup> Wright, l. c. p. 1154.

<sup>3</sup> *Studia Sinaitica No. 1, Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, compiled by Agnes Smith Lewis, London 1894.



fore the copyist was compelled to write there with smaller letters.

L = Add. 14,658 of the British Museum.

S = 16 of the Syriac MSS in the convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai.

۱۵۷ مامونا : انصاف و حق : حلا و عمار :

L 122<sup>b</sup>S 140<sup>a</sup>[illegible]

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[illegible]L 122<sup>o</sup>S 140<sup>b</sup>

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1 اِنْفَلَكْتِ, اِنْفَلَكْتِ, L. 4 L repeats اِنْفَلَكْتِ, it is crossed  
by three strokes, I do not know whether of the same hand or of another.  
7 عَاقِلٌ, عَاقِلٌ L. 9 اَعْلَمْتُكَ, اَعْلَمْتُكَ L. 10 اَعْلَمْتُكَ, اَعْلَمْتُكَ L. |  
11 اَعْلَمْتُكَ, اَعْلَمْتُكَ L. 16 the second اَعْلَمْتُكَ,  
اَعْلَمْتُكَ L. | the second عَاقِلٌ, عَاقِلٌ L. 17 اَعْلَمْتُكَ, اَعْلَمْتُكَ L. 18 the  
first اَعْلَمْتُكَ omits L. | اَعْلَمْتُكَ, اَعْلَمْتُكَ L. | اَعْلَمْتُكَ, اَعْلَمْتُكَ L. 19 اَعْلَمْتُكَ,  
اَعْلَمْتُكَ L.





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 8-9 both 101, 102 L. 10 both 101, 102 L. 17 101, 102 L. 18 101, 102 L.  
 is on the margin, by another (rough) hand.





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علم مدامنا؟ انهمه/حسب؟ حاله؟

19  $\frac{3}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{2}$  L. |  $\frac{3}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{2}$  L. 22  $\frac{3}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{2}$  L. 23  $\frac{3}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{2}$  L. |  $\frac{3}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{2}$  L.  
24  $\frac{3}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{2}$  L. 25  $\frac{3}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{2}$  L. 26  $\frac{3}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{2}$  L.

The edition of the Syriac version of the λόγος περὶ ψυχῆς by Gregory Thaumaturgus has a very curious history. Till this edition of it nobody has seen that the tract "on the soul", of the Add. 14,658, ascribed to Aristotle, is nothing else than the above named λόγος. Renan was the first who pointed to it in the article of the *Journal Asiatique* of the year 1852. But he said only that it is not the version of the περὶ ψυχῆς of Aristotle. De Lagarde printed then in the year 1858 in his *Analecta Syriaca* a very short quotation ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ (sic!) ܡܠܟܐ by Gregory from two manuscripts of the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> but he did not see that the same passage occurred also in our manuscript, although he edited from the same manuscript the version of the περὶ κόσμου. Wright repeated in his *Catalogue* in the year 1870 what Renan had stated some twenty years before. In 1894 finally Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis published the Syriac text she found in the MS. 16 of the Convent of S. Chatharine on Mount Sinai, where our tract is ascribed to "the

<sup>1</sup> P. Lagarlieri *Analecta Syriaca*, Lipsiae-Londinii 1858, p. 31.

philosophers" **فلسوف**. She also did not know who is its author. Victor Ryssel translated the Syriac version already published in German in the *"Rheinisches Museum"*<sup>1</sup> of 1896 and expressed the opinion that it was probably the work of a *"spätere, griechische Schriftsteller"*. In the same year he was able to point to the real author of the tract and gave also, in the same review, some suggestions for corrections both of the Greek and Syriac texts.<sup>2</sup>

What Victor Ryssel has begun we try to accomplish. We regret to be hampered in our task by the lack of a critical edition, on which one could rely, of the Greek text, namely as the text of the edition of Migne (*Patrologia Graeca*, tom. 10, 1137—1146) gives absolutely no variants. But we hope to be even able to correct the Greek text by confronting it with the Syriac translation.

Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis found it in the MS. 16 of the Convent on Mount Sinai. The manuscript dates from the seventh century, is written in Estrangelo and is on vellum. It contains (1) the lives of the Egyptian Fathers, fol. 1—86. (2) The Life of the Holy Nilus the Anchorite, fol. 87—93. (3) The Apology of Aristides on behalf of the Christians, fol. 93—105. (4) A discourse of Plutarch on the advantage to be derived from one's enemies, fol. 105—112. (5) A discourse of the same Plutarch about asceticism, fol. 112—121. (6) A discourse of Pythagoras, fol. 121—126. (7) A discourse of Plutarch about anger, fol. 126—132. (8) A discourse of Lucian that we should not readily believe slander against our friends, fol. 132—140. (9) Discourse of a Philosopher about the Soul, fol. 140—143. [9\*] The discourse of Theano is followed by [10] Sayings of the Philosophers, and these are apparently the same collection as is found in Sachau, *Inedita*, pp. 66; after which follows (11) [another collection of sayings of wise men]. (12) A commentary on Ecclesiastes by Mar John the Anchorite, fol. 151—214. (13) Commentaries of Chrysostom on Matthew, fol. 214 ad finem.

Her edition is apparently an exact copy of the manuscript. We can therefore rely upon it quite confidently.

<sup>1</sup> Neue Folge, Jahrgang 51; Zwei neu aufgefundene Schriften der græco-syrischen Literatur, p. 2—3 and 4—9.

<sup>2</sup> l. c. p. 318—320.



The first difference we remark between the texts is the difference of the title. The MS. of the British Museum ascribes the text to Aristotle, while the Sinaitic speaks vaguely of "philosophers". Mr. Ryssel thought that this inscription comprehends also the immediately following sentences of the philosophers<sup>1</sup> and that one must read therefore: **ܐܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ**. . . . **ܕܡܕܢܚܐ**. But it seems to me that the fact that the other MS. ascribes it to Aristotle points in another direction. To all those who have seen and worked with Syriac MSS. it is a very well known fact that the Syriac copyists were very careless in writing the diacritical points, especially the Seyāmē. It is therefore most probable that one has to read **ܐܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ**, and "the philosopher" in the Orient is nobody else than Aristotle.<sup>2</sup> Therefore I think that the translator of the λόγος did not find it in his Greek manuscript ascribed either to Gregory or to Aristotle, but to "a philosopher" or to nobody; that is to say, it was ἀδόξαστος. At all events it seems to me to be an incontrovertible fact, that the change from **ܐܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ** to **ܐܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ** has taken place on Syriac soil. Some copyist who knew perhaps a bit about Aristotelian psychology—of course, not more than a bit—substituted the name of the Greek philosopher for "a philosopher". There is also an Arabic paraphrase of the λόγος in the MS. Add. 7453: **هذا مختصر من قول الحكيم ارسطوطاليس الفيلسوف في النفس وهو سبعة اقوال**. The same paraphrase we find also in the Add. 23, 403. We shall publish this paraphrase in the *Rendiconti* of the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*.

The quotation from the λόγος published by de Lagarde runs rightly: **ܐܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ**.<sup>3</sup> This fact could perhaps induce somebody to say that therefore there were Syriac manuscripts with the right title. But it must be remarked that this quotation is *not from our Syriac version*, but is a translation,<sup>4</sup> quite independent from our version, of a part of a Greek *catena patrum*. The Syriac

<sup>1</sup> l. c. p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Baumstark l. c. p. 22, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. Add. 12,155 has **ܐܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ**.

<sup>4</sup> Ryssel is wrong in saying: . . . Bruchstück einer alten syrischen Übersetzung, welches de Lagarde aus zwei Handschriften des achten Jahrhunderts veröffentlicht . . . in *Gregorius Thaumaturgus, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Leipzig 1880, p. 35.

translators or compilers of the *Catenae* of the Add. 12, 155 and Add. 14, 532 MSS. have found in their Greek source this very brief excerpt from the λόγος and have translated it. This quotation has therefore nothing to do with the integral version of the λόγος. It alludes to the fourth chapter (in our edition, p. IV, 11). That it has really nothing to do with our version will appear evidently from the following confrontation of the passages alluded to:

Our version, IV, 11-13	DeLagarde's quotation (Analecta 31, 14-16)	The Greek text PG X 1144 A
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	οὐκ οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπλὴ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	οὐσά, καὶ μὴ ἐκ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	διαφόρων συγκειμένη
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	μερῶν, ἀσύνθετος καὶ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	ἀδιάλυτος οὐσα, διὰ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	τοῦτο ἄφθαρτος καὶ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	ἀθάνατος ἔσται.

It is clear that the passage cited has been translated by a person different from the translator of the λόγος and that the translator of the *Catena* was more accurate than the translator of the whole λόγος.

I give now a list of the discrepancies between the texts of L and S, but I exclude all the differences which are due evidently to the carelessness of the copyists or the intentional inaccuracy of the translator.

L	S
I 1 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ	19 a 1-2 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ
	ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ
1 ⲙⲉⲛ	2 ⲙⲉⲛ
2 ⲙⲉⲛ	3 ⲙⲉⲛ
2 ⲙⲉⲛ	4 ⲙⲉⲛ
2 ⲙⲉⲛ	5 ⲙⲉⲛ
2 ⲙⲉⲛ	5-6 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ
3 ⲙⲉⲛ	7 ⲙⲉⲛ
5 ⲙⲉⲛ	12 ⲙⲉⲛ

: Add. 14, 532 has ⲙⲉⲛ.



L

- 6 ١٥٠٠  
7 ١٥٠٠  
9 ١٥٠٠  
10-11 ١٥٠٠  
12 ١٥٠٠  
12 ١٥٠٠  
13 ١٥٠٠  
15 ١٥٠٠  
14-15 ١٥٠٠  
16 ١٥٠٠  
17 ١٥٠٠  
18 ١٥٠٠  
19 ١٥٠٠  
20 ١٥٠٠  
20 ١٥٠٠  
II 1 ١٥٠٠  
2 ١٥٠٠  
2 ١٥٠٠  
2 ١٥٠٠  
3 ١٥٠٠  
5 ١٥٠٠  
5 ١٥٠٠  
9 ١٥٠٠  
9 ١٥٠٠  
14 ١٥٠٠  
15 ١٥٠٠  
17 ١٥٠٠  
19 ١٥٠٠  
19 ١٥٠٠  
19 ١٥٠٠  
III 1 ١٥٠٠  
2 omits  
2 ١٥٠٠  
2 ١٥٠٠

S

- 15 ١٥٠٠  
b 4 ١٥٠٠  
6 ١٥٠٠  
11 ١٥٠٠  
14 ١٥٠٠  
15 omits  
20 a 3 ١٥٠٠  
9 ١٥٠٠  
11-12 ١٥٠٠  
12 ١٥٠٠  
12 omits ١٥٠٠  
17 omits  
20 ١٥٠٠  
23 ١٥٠٠  
25 ١٥٠٠  
25 ١٥٠٠  
b 1 ١٥٠٠  
2 ١٥٠٠  
3 ١٥٠٠  
6 ١٥٠٠  
10 ١٥٠٠  
12 ١٥٠٠  
23 ١٥٠٠  
25 ١٥٠٠  
21 a 13 ١٥٠٠  
18 ١٥٠٠  
22-24 ١٥٠٠  
b 3 ١٥٠٠  
5 ١٥٠٠  
5-6 ١٥٠٠  
7 ١٥٠٠  
9 ١٥٠٠ after ١٥٠٠  
10 ١٥٠٠  
11 ١٥٠٠

L	S
3 <i>أفعل</i>	12 <i>أفعل؟</i>
4 <i>فعل</i>	17 <i>فعل</i>
4 omits	18 after <i>و</i> inserts <i>س</i>
7 <i>فعلتم؟</i>	25 <i>ف؟ فعلتم؟</i>
8 <i>فعل؟</i>	22 a 2 <i>ف؟</i>
8-9 both <i>فعل</i>	4 <i>فعل</i>
13 <i>لا فعل</i>	19-20 <i>لا فعل</i>
13 <i>أفعل</i>	20 <i>ف</i>
14 <i>ح</i>	24 <i>لا</i>
15 <i>لا فعل</i>	b 1-2 <i>لا فعل</i>
16 <i>ف</i>	5 <i>و</i>
17 <i>أفعل</i>	6 <i>فعل؟</i>
18 <i>لا فعل؟</i>	8 <i>لا فعل؟</i>
18 <i>س</i>	9 omits
19 <i>و</i>	11 <i>أ</i>
19 <i>فعلتم</i>	12 <i>فعلتم</i>
19 <i>لا لا فعلتم؟</i>	12 omits
19 <i>لا</i>	13 omits
20 <i>لا فعل</i>	16 <i>لا فعل</i>
21 <i>فعلتم</i>	18 <i>فعلتم</i>
22 <i>أفعلتم؟</i>	17 <i>أفعلتم؟</i>
23 <i>لا فعل</i>	20 <i>لا فعل</i>
IV 1 <i>أ</i>	25 <i>أ؟</i>
2 <i>فعلتم</i>	23 a 1 <i>فعلتم</i>
3 <i>ف؟</i>	4 <i>س</i>
3 <i>لا</i>	4 <i>ح</i>
4 <i>فعلتم</i>	7 <i>فعلتم</i>
5 <i>فعلتم</i>	12 <i>فعلتم</i>
6 <i>فعلتم؟</i>	13 <i>فعلتم؟</i>
8 <i>فعلتم</i>	22 <i>فعلتم</i>
10 <i>أفعلتم؟</i>	b 2 <i>أفعلتم؟</i>
11 <i>فعلتم</i>	4 omits
13 <i>فعلتم؟</i>	8 <i>فعلتم؟</i>
14 <i>ف؟</i>	11 omits



L

S

- 14  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 15 omits  
 16 omits  
 16  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 16  $\text{ملا}$   
 17-18  $\text{سلا} \text{؟} \text{مفع}$   
 18  $\text{مفع}$   
 19  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 20  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 20 omits  
 21  $\text{مفع} \text{؟} \text{مفع} \text{؟} \text{مفع} \text{؟} \text{مفع} \text{؟}$   
 $\text{مفع} \text{؟} \text{مفع} \text{؟} \text{مفع} \text{؟} \text{مفع} \text{؟}$

- 24  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 25  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 26  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 26  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 26  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 27  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 27  $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟}$   
 28  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 28  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 28 omits  
 31  $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا}$   
 31 omits

- 33  $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا}$   
 V 2  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 2  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 2  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 4  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 4  $\text{مفعلا}$

- 13  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 17  $\text{مفعلا}$  after  $\text{مفع}$   
 18  $\text{مفعلا}$  before  $\text{مفع}$   
 19  $\text{مفعلا}$ , and repeats it  
 21  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 24  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 26  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 24 a 3  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 6  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 6  $\text{مفعلا}$  before  $\text{مفع}$   
 7-11  $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟}$   
 $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟}$   
 $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟}$   
 $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟}$

- 19  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 20  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 23  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 23  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 24  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 b 1  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 1-2  $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟}$   
 3  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 4  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 5  $\text{مفعلا}$  after  $\text{مفع}$   
 15  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 16-17  $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟}$   
 $\text{مفعلا} \text{؟} \text{مفعلا} \text{؟}$   
 after  $\text{مفع}$

- 21  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 23  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 25  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 26  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 25 a 4  $\text{مفعلا}$   
 5  $\text{مفعلا}$

## L

- 5 مسمع  
5 مسمع  
6 ؟  
7 حسمع  
7 اسم  
8 مسمع  
10 لا  
11 مسمع  
12 مسمع  
13 مسمع  
13 مسمع  
14 مسمع  
14 مسمع  
14 omits  
14 مسمع  
15 omits  
15 مسمع  
16 مسمع  
16 مسمع  
17 مسمع  
17 مسمع  
18 مسمع  
19 مسمع  
20 مسمع  
20-21 مسمع  
22 مسمع  
22-23 مسمع  
24 مسمع  
24 مسمع  
25 مسمع  
27 علم مسمع  
مسمع  
مسمع

## S

- 7 مسمع  
9 مسمع  
10 omits  
13 مسمع  
14 اسم  
17 مسمع  
24 مسمع  
b 1 مسمع  
3 omits  
4 مسمع  
4 مسمع  
7 مسمع  
8 مسمع  
9 مسمع after  
10 مسمع  
10 مسمع after  
12 مسمع  
14 مسمع  
15 مسمع  
17 مسمع  
18 مسمع  
21 مسمع  
23 مسمع  
26 مسمع  
26 a 2 مسمع  
7 مسمع  
9 مسمع  
b 3 مسمع  
5 مسمع  
6 مسمع  
10-11 علم مسمع  
مسمع  
مسمع



## The Greek and the Syriac Texts.

In the Syriac version the whole preface (col. 1138 and 1140 till A' of the edition of Migne, P. G. X) is wanting. We think with Victor Ryssel the preface was wanting also in the Greek manuscript employed for the version.<sup>1</sup> Also in some Greek manuscripts of our libraries the preface has been omitted.<sup>2</sup>

The Syriac version (Sv) has not the title of the first chapter A'; *Τίτι τὸ καταληπτικὸν κριτήριον τῆς ψυχῆς*. I 2 حنچا, to be read with the Greek text αἰσθήσει and L حنچا. I do not know why S writes ܚܢܝܬܐ ܡܡܡܡܐ for καταλαμβάνεται (I 3). I 2—3 ܚܝ ܐܘܝ, ܐܝ ܡܝܢ. 3 ܚܢܝܬܐ, to be read with Sv and L حنچا. 3 ܐܝܪܝܥܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܥܐ, ἰκανὴν ἀποδείξω ἔχει τὴν αἴσθησιν, the translator has misunderstood this passage. Ryssel gives *giebt vollständig den Nachweis seines Begriffes*.<sup>3</sup> But that is nonsense, imputable, of course, to the Syriac translator. Sv certainly did not read τὴν αἴσθησιν! 3—5 ܐܝܡܝܬܐ . . . ܡܡܡܐ has been rendered very freely and inexactly by the translator. 6 ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ, ἐκ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν, therefore correct ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ. 7 ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ, ἀποτελεσμάτων, corr. with S ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ. 7 before ܚܢܝܬܐ εἰκότως.

The second chapter of the Greek text corresponds to the first of Sv. 9 ܚܢܝܬܐ S = Τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν. 12 ܚܢܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ, ὡς τὰ ἄψυχα. 16 after ܚܢܝܬܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܬܐ. 17—18 ܚܢܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ is an addition of some copyist or reader. 19 ܚܢܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ is not in the Greek text. 20 ܚܢܝܬܐ, corr. ܚܢܝܬܐ. 20 ܚܢܝܬܐ, γνωριζομένη = ܚܢܝܬܐ S. II 1 ܚܢܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ, Εἰ οὐσία = ܚܢܝܬܐ S. 2 ܚܢܝܬܐ = δέκνται, ܚܢܝܬܐ S. 3 ܚܢܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܥܝܬܐ is an addition. 4 ܚܢܝܬܐ, λεχθείη, the translator has read δεχθείη; he omits also εἰκότως before it and Ἔστι δὲ οὕτως after it. 5 ܚܢܝܬܐ

<sup>1</sup> Ryssel in *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. 51 (1896) p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> l. c.

<sup>3</sup> l. c. p. 300.





τῷ βίῳ. 7 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, κατασκευαστόν. 7 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ  
ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, om. 9 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, πρὸς . . . κατάληψιν. 10  
ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ,  
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρκοῦμεθα πρὸς εἶδωσιν τῶν ὄντων τῇ τῆς αἰσθήσεως  
προσβολῇ. 11—13 are also very different from the Greek text.  
The version conserves in few lines (13—20) the section A of  
col. 1145 of the Greek text. 23 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, ins. ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπινοίας  
τὰ ὄντα. 23 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, το πρᾶγμα. 25 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܫܪܬܝܢ, the  
transl. has read διαφέρειν . . . ἐδείχθη and not διαφέρειν . . .  
'Εδείχθη.

אֵלֶּכָּה	ἀτελεύτητον
מִשְׁכָּל	ἐμμέμικται
זֵמָה	ζωτικόν
לֵבִי	ζωοποιούν
לֵבִי לֵבִי אֵלֶּכָּה אֵלֶּכָּה אֵלֶּכָּה	τό ζωοποιούμενον
לֵבִי לֵבִי	λογική
לֵבִי	ὄγκον
לֵבִי לֵבִי	τὰ ὄντα
לֵבִי	γνωρίζεται
לֵבִי	νόησις
לֵבִי	εἰδήσις
לֵבִי	ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
לֵבִי לֵבִי	φύσις
לֵבִי אֵלֶּכָּה	τὸ μὴ ὄν
לֵבִי אֵלֶּכָּה	τὸ ὄν
לֵבִי	ἄξιωμα
לֵבִי	ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
לֵבִי	φυσικῶς
לֵבִי	λογική
לֵבִי	ἐγκέκραται
לֵבִי לֵבִי	πολυμερής
לֵבִי	λόγος
לֵבִי לֵבִי	τὸ ἀθάνατον
לֵבִי	ὄρος
לֵבִי	παρακείσθαι
לֵבִי לֵבִי	ἐμφυχον
לֵבִי	ἀκόλουθον
לֵבִי לֵבִי	τὰ ἄψυχα
לֵבִי	ἀποτελεσμα
לֵבִי	ἐναντία
לֵבִי לֵבִי	ἐνέργεια
לֵבִי	αἷτιον
לֵבִי	ψηφίς
לֵבִי	διαμετόν
לֵבִי לֵבִי	τὸ ἀπλόν







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Ent



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