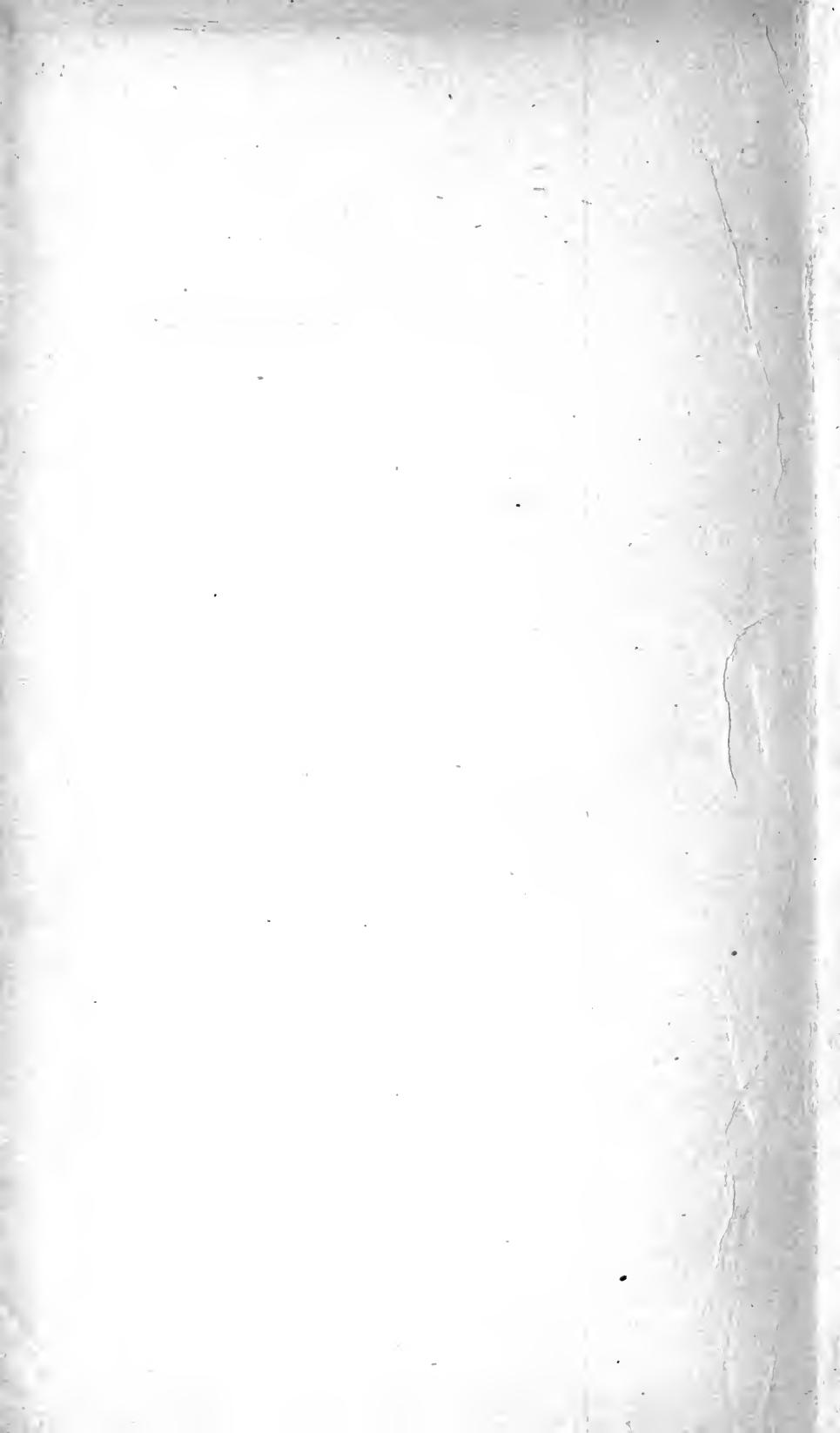
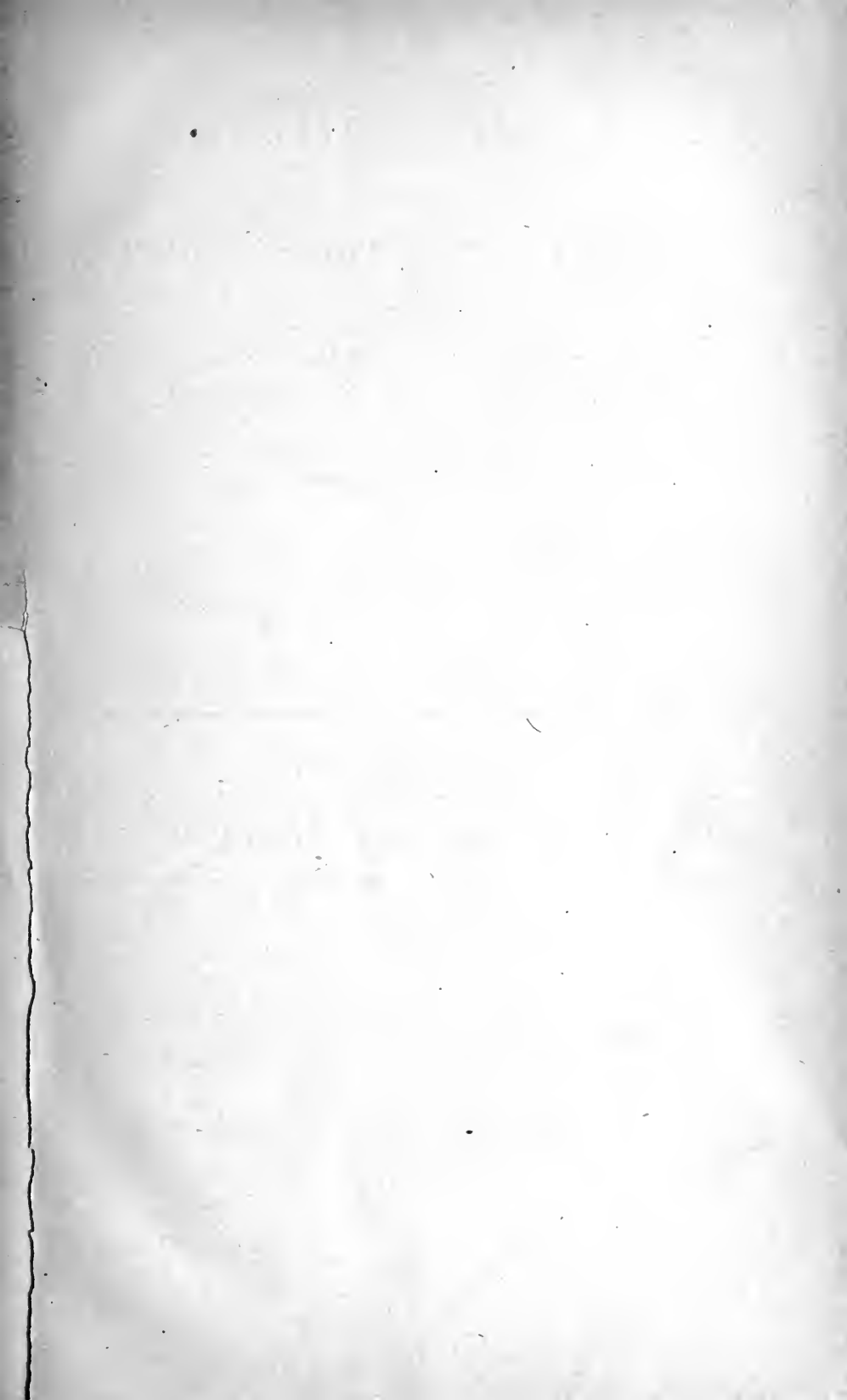


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In Memoriam

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CONTENTS

	Page
ALBRIGHT, W. F.: The Eighth Campaign of Sargon	226
BLAKE, FRANK R.: The Tagalog Verb	396
BLOOMFIELD, MAURICE: On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fie- tion, and the Laugh and Cry Motif	54
CARNOY, ALBERT J.: Iranian Views of Origins in connection with Similar Babylonian Beliefs	300
CASANOWICZ, I. M.: Jewish Amulets in the United States National Museum	154
CONANT, CARLOS EVERETT: Indonesian <i>l</i> in Philippine Languages ...	181
DOMINIAN, LEON: The Geographical Foundation of Turkey's World Relation	168
EDGERTON, FRANKLIN: Sources of the Filosofy of the Upaniṣads	197
GEHMAN, HENRY S.: <i>Adhi√bru</i> and <i>adhi√vao</i> in the Veda	213
HAUPT, PAUL: Christopher Johnston	339
————— <i>Askari</i> , 'soldier,' and <i>Lascar</i> , 'sailor'	417
————— Well and Field = Wife	418
HOPKINS, E. WASHBURN: Indra as God of Fertility	242
HUSSEY, MARY INDA: A Conveyance of Land Dated in the Reign of Ellil-bāni	34
JACKSON, A. V. WILLIAMS: The Allegory of the Moths and the Flame, translated from the Mantīq at-Tair of Farīd ad-Dīn 'Attār	345
JASTROW, MORRIS, JR.: Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurapi	1
————— The Sumerian View of Beginnings	122
————— In Memoriam, William Hayes Ward	233
————— Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings	274
————— The Revolt in Arabia	420
LANGDON, S.: Critical Notes upon the Epic of Paradise	140
LAUFER, BERTHOLD: Burkhan	390
LUCE, STEPHEN BLEECKER, JR.: The Year's Work in Oriental Archæ- ology	348
MERCER, SAMUEL A. B.: 'Emperor'-Worship in Babylonia	360
MICHELSON, TRUMAN: Asokan Notes	205
MORGENSTERN, JULIAN: The Bones of the Paschal Lamb	146
————— The Etymological History of the Three Hebrew Syno- nyms for 'to Dance,' <i>HGG</i> , <i>HLL</i> , and <i>KRR</i> , and their Cultural Significance	321
NIES, JAMES B.: A Net Cylinder of Entemena	137
OEFELE, FELIX VON: Old Babylonian Linen Weaving	415
————— Assyrian <i>kalmat</i> , Arabic <i>kaemlet</i>	416
PRINCE, J. DYNELEY: The So-called Epic of Paradise	90
————— Further Notes on the So-called Epic of Paradise	269

	Page
SCHAPIRO, ISRAEL: The Hebrew Collections of the Library of Congress	355
THAYER, GORDON W.: The John G. White Collection, Cleveland Public Library	421
VANDEBURGH, FREDERICK A.: A Business Letter of Anu-šar-ušur ..	333
WEST, EDWARD W.: A Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Treatise 'Wonders of Sagastān' (Sistān)	115
WORRELL, WILLIAM H.: Ink, Oil, and Mirror Gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt	37
YOHANNAN, ABRAHAM: A Manuscript of the Manāfi' al-Haīawān in the Library of Mr. J. P. Morgan	381
<hr/>	
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY	
Organization and Program for a Meeting of the Western Members	337
Christopher Johnston	339
First Meeting of the Middle West Branch	423
The Annual Meeting	425
MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES	
Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis	341
The Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association	342
The American Historical Association	343
PERSONALIA	426
EDITORIAL NOTICE	427
PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING AT WASHINGTON, 1916	428
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY ..	444
LIST OF MEMBERS, ETC.	447

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Facing Page
A Conveyance of Land Dated in the Reign of Ellil-bāni	36
New Cone of Entemena	136
Jewish Amulets in the U. S. National Museum	161
William Hayes Ward	233

*Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurapi.*¹—By
MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

I.

The discovery in the course of excavations at Susa in December, 1900, of the large diorite stele containing the elaborate code of laws collected and promulgated by King Hammurapi in the early years of his reign (2123-2081 B. C.) furnishes a definite measure for gauging the state of society in Babylonia in the third millennium before this era, and in so far as the execution of justice reflects the stage reached in the process of civilization, it permits also of a comparison with general conditions prevailing in subsequent periods. As a result of the detailed study given to this remarkable monument by many scholars since its discovery,² the interpretation may be said to have been completed, although there still remain quite a number of technical terms and phrases in the code in regard to which agreement has not as yet been reached. In addition to this the general principles guiding the order of subjects treated in the code and the arrangement of subdivisions within larger sections of the code that may be distinguished have been ascertained, thanks largely to the keen researches of one of our own members, Professor Lyon.² There still remains, however, the problem of tracing the process which led to the final codification of the laws, for it is obvious that such a compilation as Hammurapi undertook presupposes a long antecedent process in the perfection of a method of dispensing justice in the course of which, with the growing complications of advancing social conditions, the established practice—and law in its beginning is merely traditional or conventional practice—would be subject to modifications in order to adapt them without abandonment of the underlying

¹ Presidential address before the American Oriental Society, April 9th, 1915, in New York City. See the bibliography in Johns, *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia & the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (London, 1914), pp. 65-76.

² See especially Lyon's paper in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXV, pp. 248-265.

principles to later conditions. It is to this aspect of the code to which I should like to direct attention.

That Hammurapi was not the first to make the attempt at putting the laws of the land together has, of course, been recognized. The expression used by him at the close of the long introduction to the code (col. V. 20-22) "I established law and justice in the language of the land (*ina pî mâtim*)" shows, as was first pointed out by Dr. Lyon,³ that Hammurapi's chief merit lay in promulgating a code in Semitic or Akkadian form as the official language of the new empire founded by him. In confirmation of this, fragments of a Sumerian code have now turned up which represent the prototype, if not the actual original of the laws in the Semitic code.⁴ Furthermore, we have the express testimony of an early ruler of Lagash, Urukagina (c. 2700 B. C.), to the reforms in temple fees and in taxes instituted by him as well as to his endeavors to regulate abuses in commercial transactions and even to abolish polyandry.⁵ His aim in his reforms is, as he expressly states, "that the powerful may not injure the orphan and the widow,"⁶ much as Hammurapi declares the general purport of his code to be to restrain "the strong from oppressing the weak, and to secure justice for the poor and the widow."⁷ The language used by Urukagina in describing his various reforms shows that he put them in the form of laws and we are, therefore, justified in carrying back the codification of laws in the Euphrates Valley to at least five centuries before Hammurapi, and no doubt the period can be moved still further back.

II.

We also have the evidence that legal practice—as is natural—was subject to change in ancient Babylonia. This is shown not only by deviations in the business and legal documents from the stipulations in the Hammurapi code, but by a comparison

³ J.A.O.S., XXV, p. 270.

⁴ See Clay in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1914, pp. 1-3. [The Yale fragment of the Sumerian code now published by Clay in *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts I* (New Haven, 1915). No. 28.]

⁵ de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* Partie Epigraphique p. L and repeated with variations in three other texts, *ib.* pp. L to LII; see also Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerisch-Akkadische Königsinschriften*, pp. 44-56.

⁶ *ib.*, Inscription B-C, col. XII, 22-23.

⁷ Col. XL, 59-62.

for the period before Hammurapi of the so-called "Sumerian family laws" first investigated by our fellow-member Professor Haupt many years ago.⁸ Now, in view of the fact that five columns in the code are missing,⁹ we cannot, of course, be absolutely certain that the code did not contain the laws setting forth—as in the fragment of the "Sumerian Family Laws"—the regulations (a) in case a son cuts himself loose from father or mother, or (b) when a father or mother desires to disinherit a son or (c) when a wife cuts herself loose from her husband or (d) when a husband divorces his wife, or (e) when a hired slave dies or is lost or runs off or is taken, or falls sick, but since we do know from other sources¹⁰ the character of some of the laws set forth in the missing portion, taken in connection with the systematic arrangement of the subjects comprised in the code, it is not likely that any of the cases dealt with in the above enumeration were taken up before § 127 which begins the large subdivision extending to § 194, covering marriage, dowry, divorce, desertion, adoption, disinheritance, adultery, incest and other subjects that may be broadly grouped under "family laws." Moreover, we have within this subdivision at least two legal decisions which furnish a basis of comparison with the "Sumerian" laws and point to a decided variation from the latter. §§ 168-169 read "if a father determines to disinherit his son, and says to the judge 'I disinherit my son', but upon an examination on the part of the judge it appears that the son has not committed a crime to justify the disinheritance, the father may not disinherit his son." If we contrast this with the third paragraph in the 'Sumerian Family Laws,' to wit,¹¹ "if a father says to his son, 'thou art not my son,' he must leave house and wall" (i. e., he has no further share in the estate), we note in the code the advance to a condition in which the paternal authority is definitely curbed as against the absolute control in the other instance. The code

⁸ *Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), appearing as part of a large collection of Sumerian paradigms, phrases, etc. See Rawlinson V, Pl. 25.

⁹ Intentionally erased by the Elamitic conqueror, who carried the precious monument as a trophy to Susa, and who, no doubt, had intended to write his own inscription, glorifying his deeds, on the erased portion.

¹⁰ Meissner, *Altbabylonische Gesetze*, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, III, pp. 493-523.

¹¹ V Rawlinson, Pl. 25, col. II, 34-39.

not only provides a legal procedure for the proposed act of disinheritance by obliging the father to go before a judge, but the court examines into the matter and, if it does not find sufficient cause, restrains the father from carrying out his intention. More than this and by way of further restriction of parental authority, a supplementary stipulation (§ 169), which we may regard as a still later decision, provides that even if a sufficient cause is found, the first offense must be forgiven, and only in case of a repetition of the offense does the court consent to the disinheritance. The conclusion is justified, therefore, that the "Sumerian family laws" reflect an older practice which has passed away, without, however, the abandonment of the underlying principle that the father has the right to disinherit his son,—only that he must show cause for exercising his authority.

The old expressions 'thou art not my father' and 'thou art not my mother' are still retained in the code (§ 192) as formulae to denote the throwing off of parental authority, but only in the case of children of doubtful station¹² who have been adopted. In such a case, the parental authority is absolute and the punishment prescribed for the one who rebels against this authority is the excision of the tongue—which as a punishment is evidently a survival of very early days. The phrases in question, thus restricted to cases where the once generally acknowledged absolute parental authority is still retained, are in themselves further proof of the changes which legal procedure and practice underwent in ancient Babylonia.

¹² Namely the Ner-Se-Ga, rendered by Winckler and Mueller "prostitute" and by Ungnad-Kohler as 'Kaemmerling, but who appears to have been originally a person of low station—perhaps born in the palace and pressed into palace service—rising in the course of time to a higher station as a guard (*manzaz pâni*) Bruennow, *Classified List* No. 9201 or *muzâz êkalli* ("palace guard"), according to the explanatory addition in § 187. (See the passages quoted by Meissner, *Assyrische Studien* IV, p. 12.) In this capacity the Ner-Se-Ga is not infrequently mentioned in legal tablets, e. g., Meissner, *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht* No. 100, 32. That the Ner-Se-Ga in the code is looked upon as occupying a low social grade is indicated by the juxtaposition (§§ 187 and 192) with *mar Sal zikru*, i. e. "the son of a public woman," literally 'the woman belonging to any man.' That the Ner-Se-Ga and the *mar Sal zikru* designate offspring of doubtful origin is further shown by § 193 which stipulates that if either the one or the other finds out his origin, and through a distaste for his foster-parents returns to his father's house, his eye shall be plucked out.

Equally suggestive is the comparison of § 142 of the code, the case in which a woman declines to have sexual relations with her husband, with the fifth paragraph of the Sumerian family laws. The latter reads "If a wife gets a distaste (*izîr*)¹³ for her husband and says 'thou art not my husband,' they shall throw her into the river." This is as simple as well as an absolute procedure, in contrast to the corresponding paragraph in the code (§ 142) which reads:

"If a woman gets a distaste (*izîr*) for her husband and says 'Thou shalt not have me,' (and) if on subsequent inquiry it appears that she has been careful of herself,¹⁴ without sin, whereas her husband has gone about and neglected her, that woman is without blame. She shall receive her dowry¹⁵ and return to her father's house." The old law, however, remains in force, in case it turns out that the woman has not been careful, has gone about and ruined her house and neglected her husband. In that case (§ 143) "they shall throw her into the water." The advance in the social status of the married woman and corresponding legal procedure is indicated by the provision that an inquiry is instituted, which may result in justifying the wife's aversion, whereas the older law gives her no right, whatsoever, against her husband's will. Incidentally, also, the substitution of the phrase of "thou shalt not have me" instead of the older one "thou art not my husband" is an illustration of the change, pointing to her right under the later procedure to actually reject her husband. There is no longer any presumption of her being rebellious in case her

¹³ Professor Haupt (*Zeits. für Assyriol.* XXX, p. 93) has shown that the term has reference to a refusal on the part of the wife to have sexual intercourse with her husband.

¹⁴ i. e., has not given herself to anyone else.

¹⁵ *Šeriktu* "gift," which designates the marriage settlement made by the father of the bride and given to the bridegroom, in contrast to the *tirhatu* which is the gift given by the bridegroom to the bride's father. The latter is a survival of marriage by purchase, the former originally the wages of the daughter for services rendered her father as long as she was unmarried, given on leaving her father's house but turned over to the husband as the owner of his wife. The *šeriktu*, evidently, represents a later practice, belonging to a period when the parental authority over his children was curbed to the extent that he was obliged to compensate his daughter for services rendered. See Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 306. A third term, *nudunnu*, occurring in the later elements of the code (§§ 171-172, see below, p. 28), is the gift or settlement given by the bridegroom directly to the bride.

conduct is justified by the court, but she is entirely within her right in refusing intercourse with him. To be sure, the Babylonian-Assyrian law stopped short of a woman actually divorcing her husband; the privilege of divorce always remained with the husband, but it is a considerable advance for the woman to be permitted with the sanction of the court to leave her husband and have her marriage settlement or dowry returned to her. Now, in legal documents of the Hammurapi period, the old phrases "thou art not my husband" and "thou art not my wife" still occur in marriage contracts, with the stipulation in the former case that she is to be thrown into the river, and in the latter that the husband is to give his wife $\frac{1}{2}$ mana of silver, precisely as in the Sumerian family laws¹⁶; and it is natural to find legal formulae surviving in legal usage after they have lost their original force. The significant feature, however, is that the code itself no longer uses these phrases in the paragraphs dealing with the relationship between husband and wife in case the marriage has resulted in issue. The code thus distinguishes between two conditions, (1) in case a woman has borne children to her husband and (2) in case she has not. In the former case (§ 137), the wife receives the marriage settlement and also an income from her husband's estate,¹⁷ so as to be able to rear her children; and after the latter have reached their majority, the divorced wife receives a share, corresponding to that of one of her children, whereupon she is free to marry again whomsoever she chooses. If there is no issue to the marriage (§ 138), the wife receives her dowry (*tirhatu*) and her marriage settlement (*šeriktu*) and in case there is no marriage settlement then one mana of silver (§ 139).

¹⁶ e. g., *Cun. Texts* VIII, Pl. 7b. The practice, however, is not uniform. In Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht* No. 90, 20, only 10 shekels of silver are given to the wife as the amount of her original dowry (lines 7-8), while *Cun. Texts* II, Pl. 44, 10-11, she is to be thrown from some eminence (An-Zag-Gar = *dimtu* "column," Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme* No. 4676), whereas the husband on divorcing his wife is to give up "house and contents" to his wife. Again in Poebel, *Legal Documents of the First Dynasty*, No. 48, 14-16, the wife stipulates that she is to receive $\frac{1}{2}$ mana of silver in case of divorce by her husband, whereas if she says to her husband "thou art not my husband" she is to be shorn of her hair and sold. Such appears to have been the practice in Nippur.

¹⁷ Literally "field, orchard and house," to indicate the entire real estate.

The social advance over earlier conditions, reflected in such provisions, is considerable. The husband can no longer put his wife away at will. If no blame attaches to her, a fair compensation must be given, not merely the half mana—calculated, presumably, as the average marriage settlement in earlier days,—but in case there are no children, also the dowry; or if there are children, then in lieu of the dowry, sufficient alimony to bring up her children and a share of her husband's estate, after the children shall have reached their majority.

The marital authority thus appears greatly curbed, corresponding to the restrictions put upon the exercise of parental authority. The advance from $\frac{1}{2}$ mana to a whole mana of silver as the amount to be given to the divorced childless wife in case there is no marriage settlement may be taken as representing the growth in material prosperity in Hammurapi's days as against the simpler conditions in earlier days. It is also interesting to note that the provisions in the case of a concubine who has borne children to her master are identical as in the case of the chief wife (§ 137).

The old Sumerian family laws give the power of absolute divorce to the husband, without distinction whether there are children or not, whether the woman has done wrong or is entirely innocent. Hammurapi's code not only makes a distinction between the childless wife and the one who has borne children to her husband, but permits the absolute divorce without compensation only in case of guilt on the part of the wife, or as the phrase runs (§ 141) "if she has determined to go about acting foolishly, destroying her house, (and) neglecting her husband." In that case the husband may simply say, 'I divorce her' and she goes her way empty-handed, while a supplementary provision,—in the form of a comment or an answer to a question raised—states that if he does not divorce her, he may nevertheless take a second wife and reduce the first one to the rank of maid. One cannot help suspecting that this supplement is more of the nature of a hypothetical case to provide for a possible contingency, but one that would not be likely to occur in the days of Hammurapi.

III.

We are fortunate in having, also, the evidence for the continued modification of legal practice after the compilation of the code which is thus shown not to have been the absolute

standard for all times without change or deviation, though to be sure, we must always bear in mind that according to the ancient conception of law as of divine origin, the underlying *principle* of a law once promulgated is never abandoned. A statute was an oracular decision—a *têrtu*, just as the corresponding Hebrew term *tôra* involved the “decree” of a deity. Hebrew theology was necessarily led to assume a divine revelation for its laws, simply because the Hebrews lived at one time on the same plane of thought as did their fellow Semites and their fellows of other ethnic groups in regarding the gods as the source of all law, with the priest or king acting merely as an intermediary or as the representative of the deity. Hence, the principle throughout antiquity and which passed down far beyond the borders of ancient history, was that law is fixed and immutable. As a divine decision it is infallible and in accord with this the Hammurapi code provides that the judge who errs or who alters an opinion once given—it is all one—is removed from office, besides being subjected to a heavy fine, since he thereby reveals himself as unworthy to speak in the name of an infallible god (§ 5). New applications of the law, however, may introduce *modifications*, without affecting the underlying principle. Changes in the status of society may entail even radical departures from an older practice without involving an actual abrogation of the old law itself. Cases must constantly have arisen in Babylonia and Assyria which necessitated an appeal to the court for a decision. That decision was always based on the existing law, but not infrequently the decision might seem to be so contrary to the original purport of the law as to practically overthrow it. So, for example, the principle that a man’s wife and children belonged to him as part of his chattels was maintained in the Code of Hammurapi. According to this principle, he could sell his wife and children for debt, but in accord with what we have seen to have been a steady direction towards a restriction of parental and marital authority, the code provides (§ 117) that he can sell his wife, son or daughter for three years only; in the fourth year they must be given their freedom—a stipulation which changes the sale into an indenture for a limited period. Theoretically, however, the *right* to sell is maintained, despite the significant restriction in the practical execution.

From this point of view we must judge the deviation from the practice prescribed in the code that we encounter in a group

of laws found on a tablet of the British Museum to which Dr. Peiser first called attention.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the tablet is in a very fragmentary condition, so that only a portion of it is intelligible. It belongs to a period far later than Hammurapi, though the imperfectly preserved condition of the fragment makes it impossible to fix an exact date. The tablet itself may have been an extract from a more complete code made for school purposes, though I am inclined to believe that the fragment is part of a complete code. The portion preserved affords an opportunity of instituting a comparison with certain sections in the Hammurapi code, with the result of showing supplementary regulations of considerable interest, as well as actual deviations in practice. A few illustrations must suffice. A paragraph stipulates that if a tablet regarding a field (i. e. a piece of property) exists, duly sealed in the name of some party, but a corresponding duplicate tablet as a document of authorization was not prepared, the one in whose name the one tablet is made out as the owner shall take the field or house. The provision is evidently a supplementary decision to § 7 of the Hammurapi code which states in general terms that any purchase made without witnesses and a formal deed (*riksu*) is invalid, in order specifically to provide that one copy of a regularly drawn up deed of sale or possession should be prepared, but not a duplicate, which must have become so common as to have been regarded as quite obligatory. The supplementary decision is in accord with the spirit of the older law that a *single* document, testifying to the ownership of a piece of property, suffices.

§ 153 of the code provides that in the event of the death of a childless wife, the marriage gift (*tirhatu*) for the wife is returned to the husband, and the dowry given by the father of the wife reverts to the father. The other case of the husband dying before his wife without issue is not covered in the code. In supplementary fashion again the later code ordains¹⁹ that the marriage gift belongs to the wife as well as the dowry to dispose of as she pleases; and in case there was no dowry, then the court fixes on an amount or proportion to the estate of the husband to be given to the widow. Similarly the following

¹⁸ *Jurisprudentiae Babylonicae quae supersunt* (Cöthen, 1890). See also Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 86-91.

¹⁹ Col. IV; 8-24.

paragraph, making provision in the event of the death of a husband whose wife had borne him children supplements § 167 of the code—the case of the wife dying before the husband. The widow receives her dowry and any gift that her husband may have made to her—including, therefore, any special provision in his will; she may remarry and if there are children from the second marriage, the mother's dowry goes to the children of both marriages. According to the code, if the husband marries again and has children through the second marriage, the dowry of the first wife reverts to her children, and the dowry of the second wife to her children on the death of the father.

Such supplements clearly represent decisions in regard to cases as they arose, which were not specifically provided for in the code; and there was comparatively little difficulty in reaching a conclusion through the extension and application of the underlying principles of equity assumed in the code, but we also encounter direct deviations from the older practice in the later code, as e. g., the provision²⁰ that in case a man whose wife has borne him children marries again after his wife's death and has issue also from the second marriage, then upon the father's death, the sons of the first marriage receive two-thirds of the father's estate and those of the second marriage the remaining third, whereas according to the Hammurapi code (§ 167), the father's estate is divided equally between the offspring of both marriages.²¹ Modifications of this nature point, as already suggested, to economic changes as well as to a social advance in the status of woman, whereby the wife becomes more than a mere possession of her husband, and leading to a preference being given to the children of the first marriage.

As a last illustration we may instance § 279 of the code which briefly declares that if a claim is made against a slave—male or female—who has been sold, the seller is made responsible for the claim. The later document (Col. II, 15-23) more specifically

²⁰ Col. IV, 32-43.

²¹ The later code makes special provision for the daughters (Col. IV, 43 seq.), but the tablet is defective at this point; it presumably provided that the sons were to maintain their sisters till marriage and give them a dowry out of the paternal estate. Similarly, in all probabilities in the paragraph dealing with the division of the mother's estate among the children of her two marriages (Col. IV, 45 seq.), where again the tablet breaks off after the mention of the "sisters."

takes up the case of a female slave, and after providing that in the event of a justified claim the seller must return the full amount according to the deed of sale, (though not the interest,) adds that if in the interval between the sale and the claim, the slave has borne children, the latter must be purchased at the rate of $11\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver for each child—apparently a merely nominal sum to establish the right of the claimant to the offspring of his slave, though also a recognition of his obligation to give compensation to the *ad interim* owner for the increased value of the possession restored to him.

IV.

The proof thus furnished for a steady modification in legal procedure and practice in Babylonia, and a modification on the whole in the line of a progress to more equable conditions, accompanying a gradual social advance, justifies us in applying the same method to the Hammurapi code as holds good for the Pentateuchal codes, with a view of differentiating *within* the code itself between older and later elements. The parallel can, I think, be carried further to an identity of the method by which the substratum in the case of the various Pentateuchal codes and of the Hammurapi code is amplified (a) through further specifications to provide for new cases that arise and (b) through amplifications of all kinds, representing in many cases answers to questions raised, in others an interpretation of an older law in a manner to adapt it to later circumstances. Elsewhere, I have shown,²² that we can detect in the Pentateuchal codes the beginnings of that process which was carried out on a large scale in the Babylonian Talmud, to wit, the distinction between the law—the Mishna—and the commentary upon it—the Gemara—with this difference, to be sure, that in the Pentateuchal codes the discussions on the law are not given, but merely the decisions as an outcome of the discussions, or merely the answers to implied questions are set forth. Much in the same way we may by a careful study and analysis of the sections and subdivisions of the Hammurapi code, separate the “Mishna,” as it were, from the “Gemara,” the older statutes from the subsequent additions, the nature of which varies just as the additions do in the Pentateuchal codes. To

²² “The So-called Leprosy Laws” in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, Vol. IV, pp. 357 seq.

carry out the analysis in detail would carry us much too far; nor are we as yet in a position to pick out throughout the code the original substratum which forms the point of departure for the further growth of the code through a complicated process till it reached its final stage. All that can be attempted here is to justify by a number of examples the general thesis maintained that for a proper understanding of the code we must carefully differentiate between older and later elements.

In a general survey of the code we are struck by the fact that after some specific law is registered, special provisions are made for certain classes of the population, more particularly for the *Maš-En-Kak*, or *muškênu*, the general force of which as plebeian may now be regarded as certain.²³ So, for example, after setting forth (§ 139) that in default of a marriage gift to his wife (handed over to the father-in-law in trust), the husband in divorcing a wife who has not borne children to him, gives her one mana of silver, it is added (§ 140) that in case the husband is a *Maš-En-Kak*, or "plebeian," he gives only one-third of a mana. Again, after setting forth the *lex talionis* (§§ 196-197) that if one destroys the eye or bone of a man, the eye or bone of the one who inflicts the injury shall be destroyed, it is said that if it is the eye or bone of a plebeian, one mana of silver shall be paid (§ 198). Upon the law (§ 200)

²³ See Johns, *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (London, 1914), p. 8. There are traces in the code of a period when the *muškênu* as belonging to a lower class was obliged to render service to the palace and possibly to the patricians or free nobles; or at all events he could be pressed into such service. Hence the term is sometimes used with an implication of such service. He is, however, essentially a freeman and if he sometimes appears as a 'free laborer' it is due to the position of a servitor which he formerly held and which naturally led to his being a 'laborer' after he had become entirely independent of both the king and of the *amêlu*, the "man" *par excellence*, who in the code occupies a higher grade than the *muškênu* and who in fact in contradistinction to the latter is originally the "patrician" (Johns, *ib.*, p. 8). It is rather interesting to note that whereas in the feudal system of the Middle Ages, the serf is the "man" of the lord, in ancient Babylonia the "man" is the nobleman. It should be noted, however, that the original force of "patrician" for *amêlu* has given way to a large extent in the code in favor of the more general conception of a free citizen in the full sense and without any restrictions, whereas the *muškênu*, although also a freeman, belongs to a lower class. Ordinarily, therefore, when not specifically contrasted to *muškênu*, the *amêlu* is the citizen and is to be rendered "man."

that if a man's tooth is knocked out, the tooth of the one who inflicts the injury is to be knocked out, we find (§ 201) that in the case of a plebeian, one-third of a mana of silver shall be paid. Here the substitution of a fine for a bodily punishment is in itself an indication pointing to a later decision. Similarly (§ 203) if a man strikes another, he is to pay one mana of silver, but if it is a plebeian (§ 204) only 10 shekels of silver. If the injured person dies (§ 207), the fine is ordinarily one-half of a mana of silver, but in the case of a plebeian one-third of a mana of silver. In the same way, special paragraphs (§§ 211-212, 216, 222²⁴) provide fines for an injury to a pregnant woman who is the daughter of a plebeian, or for her death through a blow, for physician's fees, for an operation on an eye, or for a broken bone, supplementary to the provisions in the case of an *amêlu* being the offending or injured party. In all these cases, the paragraphs referring to the special class of citizens designated as *Maš-En-Kak* may safely be regarded as later elements, supplements to the law itself, embodying special decisions of the court for the class in question.

V.

The code recognizes palace or temple property (§§ 6, 8) including palace slaves (§§ 15, 16, 175, 176) as distinct from other property. Death is the general punishment for stealing temple or palace possessions (§ 6)—though in what again appears to be a later provision a return of thirty fold is stipulated in case the stolen object is an ox, sheep, ass, pig or boat— (§ 8). Death is also to be meted out to the one who aids a palace slave—male or female—to escape or who harbors such a slave in his house (§§ 15-16). We can understand such special provisions in view of the sanctity attaching to the temple as also to the palace because of the sacro-sanct position of the king; and no doubt such laws date from a very early period, but the same reasons do not apply to the *Maš-En-Kak*. If, therefore, we find the latter added in some cases, we are, I think, again justified in looking upon such an addition as a later element in the code, though naturally suggested because the "plebeian" in his capacity as one that could be pressed into

²⁴ In § 219 the term *warad Maš-En-Kak* appears to be an error for *warad amêlim*, as in § 223.

service²⁵ belongs in a manner to the palace. Such an addition appears in § 8 where it is stipulated that the theft of an ox, sheep, etc., from a "plebeian" entails a ten-fold return and, similarly, I have no hesitation in regarding the words "or the male slave of a plebeian or the female slave of a plebeian" in § 15 as a supplemental insertion to place the theft of such a slave on a level with the theft of a palace slave, male or female. The insertion is even more clearly revealed in § 16 which originally must have read as follows:

"If a man harbors in his house, be it a male or female palace slave who has escaped from the palace, and does not bring (the slave) forth at the command of the overseer (*nagiru*), the master of that house shall be put to death."

After the words "of the palace" (*ša ekallim*) the text has *u lu Maš-En-Kak* (literally "or a plebeian") which, to say the least, is awkwardly put. We should expect *lu ša ekallim lu ša Maš-En-Kak*. As they stand the words impress one as a gloss, inserted as a supplement to the text in order to make § 16 conform to § 15.

The two classes 'palace slaves' and "plebeians" (*Maš-En-Kak*) are again placed side by side in supplementary statutes (§§ 175-176, 176a) dealing with the status of the wife and children in case of a marriage between a palace slave or the slave of a plebeian and the daughter of a citizen of higher rank. The status of such slaves was clearly higher than that of ordinary slaves²⁶; they could marry the daughter of free citizens and it is provided (1) that the owner of the slave has no claim on the children born of such a marriage for service, (2) that the dowry brought by the wife belongs to her after her husband's death, (3) that the property acquired in common by the slave and his wife shall on the death of the husband be divided into two equal parts, one-half going to the owner of the slave and the other half to the widow in trust for her children, and (4) that the same procedure, i. e., the division of the estate, is to be followed in case there is no dowry. The supplementary character of these statutes is self-evident; they represent decisions to apply to special circumstances to illustrate the application of the laws of inheritance to a woman who

²⁵ Above, p. 12, note 23.

²⁶ We may conclude from these paragraphs that an ordinary slave could not marry the daughter of a free citizen.

marries a slave of higher rank. The recognition of such a marriage, not only as legal but apparently as entirely normal and proper, is in itself an indication of an advanced status accorded to palace slaves and to the slaves of a plebeian over ordinary slaves. The custom of such marriages must at some time before Hammurapi's days have become sufficiently common to necessitate special legal decisions, regarding the status of the wife and children.

I venture, therefore, to set up the thesis that the introduction of the *Maš-En-Kak* in the code represents in all cases a later element, prompted by economic changes, and that the special provisions for marriages with slaves of the palace or with slaves of plebeians similarly represent supplements to older sections.

VI.

There are two other classes for whom special regulations are introduced into the code,—the son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* (low birth) and the son of a *Sal zikru* (public woman)—and I venture to think that the paragraphs in which these are introduced likewise represent later elements. The *Sal zikru*, as already pointed out,²⁷ can hardly be anything else than a public woman or prostitute, and the juxtaposition suggests that the son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* must also be a child of doubtful parentage or at all events of low origin. The three references in the code to these two classes occur in the subdivision devoted to regulations regarding adopted children (§§ 185-194). The secondary or supplementary character of the three paragraphs (§§ 187, 192 and 193) becomes evident on a closer inspection of their position within the subdivision in question. The first law of the subdivision (§ 185) stipulates that no claim can be brought for a child legally adopted and reared by a foster-father. To this, § 187, declaring that no claim can be brought against the son of *Ner-Se-Ga* who is taken for palace service, or for the son of a public woman is clearly a supplementary decision to include in the original law adopted children of doubtful parentage. Similarly, to § 186 providing that an adopted child may under certain circumstances return to his own father's house—an exception, therefore, allowed against the general law in § 185—there is added as a special and perfectly natural decision § 192

²⁷ See above, p. 4, note 12.

that in the case of the son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* or of a public woman, where no such exception seems reasonable, the bond of adoption cannot be annulled. To express this the code, as will be recalled,²⁸ introduces the language of the old Sumerian 'family laws,' and states that if such a son rejects his foster-parents, his tongue shall be cut out. An additional paragraph (§ 191) embodies the decision that if such a bastard finds out who his father was and, rejecting his foster-parents, goes back to his father's house, i. e., attempts to annul the bond of adoption, his eye shall be plucked out.

Reviewing, now, this subdivision dealing with adoption (§§ 185-194), we can trace the growth of the 10 paragraphs of which it consists without much difficulty.

The basis of the subdivision is formed by §§ 185-186, 190 and 191, setting forth (1) that no claim can be made for a minor legally adopted and reared by the foster-father, (2) that if after the adoption the child is offensive²⁹ to his foster-parents, he is to be returned to his father's house, (3) that if the foster-father does not reckon the adopted minor among his sons (i. e., does not give him an equal status), the child is to be returned to his father's house (i. e., resumes his status as the child of his own father), (4) that if after rearing the adopted child, the foster-father wishes to disinherit him, he cannot send him off empty-handed,³⁰ but must give him one-third of the portion of a son, to which a supplementary decision adds that the portion is not to be taken from the field, orchard or house, i. e., not from real estate, but presumably in cash or goods. After the first two paragraphs, there are three insertions, representing as I believe later elements, §§ 187, 188, 189, to wit, that (1) no claim can be brought for the son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* or of a public woman if legally adopted, (2) nor for a

²⁸ See above p. 4. "Thou art not my father," "Thou art not my mother."

²⁹ *i-ḫi-a-at* which Peiser (*Orient. Literaturzeitung*, 1904, p. 236) wishes to take in the sense of 'prefers' (from *ḫātu*). That, however, would be in direct contradiction to the preceding paragraph. Something more than a mere preference must be assumed before an adopted child must be given up. Despite the difficulty of deriving *iḫiat* from *ḫātu* "sin," we must from the context conclude that the child has committed some offense against his foster-parents.

³⁰ *re-ku-su*, following Delitzsch (*Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XIX, p. 374).

child adopted by an artisan for the purpose of teaching him his trade but, (3) if the artisan does not teach the adopted child his trade, then the child may return to his father's house. Similarly, to the fourth and last paragraph (§ 191) of the original adoption laws, three further decisions are added, §§ 192, 193 and 194, two of these setting forth the law in regard to the adopted son of a *Ner-Se-Ga* or of a public woman who rebels against parental authority, or who finds his parentage and in a spirit of distaste for his foster-parents returns to his father's house, and the third providing that in the case of a nurse who without knowledge of the parents substitutes a child in place of the one given to her to nurse and which has died on her hands, shall have her breasts cut off. This supplemental decision smacks somewhat of the school—like some of the purely theoretical and hypothetical instances in the later additions to the Pentateuchal codes—though it is, of course, possible that cases of substitution may have occurred with sufficient frequency to warrant a special decision; it is placed here because it involves an involuntary adoption through a fraud practiced on the unwilling foster-parents.

VII.

We are in a position by a similar analysis to separate between older and later elements in the code in §§ 195-227 which form a group dealing with the *lex talionis*. A comparison with the various forms of the law in the Pentateuchal codes furnishes an aid in the analysis, as it on the other hand justifies the attempt to separate between older and later elements in the section of the code in question. In the oldest of the Pentateuchal codes (Ex. 21, 23-25) the law reads, "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, blow for blow." The form in the code of Holiness, however, (Lev. 24, 21) "break for break, eye for eye, tooth for tooth" shows that in the Book of the Covenant we have an artificial expansion by a number of additions. Deuteronomy 19, 21 is clearly dependent upon the form in the Covenant code "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." The form in the code of Holiness may, therefore, be regarded as the oldest and presents a clear parallel to §§ 196-201 of the Hammurapi code where in suc-

2 JAOS 36.

cession, eye, bone³¹ and tooth are dealt with. Within these six paragraphs forming a subdivision of the section we can pick out §§ 196, 197 and 200 as older, with the remaining ones as supplements. These three paragraphs read

"If a man destroys the eye of another, they shall destroy his eye.

If one breaks a man's bone, his bone shall be broken.

If one knocks out the tooth of a man,³² his tooth they shall knock out."

Between the paragraphs regarding the bone and the tooth, appear two supplemental decisions (§§ 198-199) in case the man whose eye or bone is injured is a *Maš-En-Kak* ("plebeian") or a slave. In the former case there is a fine of one mana of silver, in the latter one-half of his price. Similarly, after the paragraph about the tooth, another decision is given (§ 201), to wit, if it is the tooth of a *Maš-En-Kak* that is knocked out, the fine is one-third of a mana of silver. In order to be complete, we should have had a further paragraph setting forth the fine in case a slave's tooth is knocked out. We may perhaps assume that the fine was one-half the amount in the case of a *Maš-En-Kak*, or one-sixth of a mana of silver. These additions have suggested in § 200 (as well as in § 203) the addition of the word "of his own rank," (*mehrišu*, or *ša kima šu'āti*), anticipating, as it were, the supplementary decisions. The circumstance that this addition was not consistently added in the other paragraphs, viz. §§ 196 and 197, points to its being an afterthought, and incidentally further justifies the analysis here attempted.

There follows a section consisting of 13 paragraphs regarding blows (§§ 202-214) which would correspond to two of the additions in the code of the Covenant, "wound" (פצע) and "blow" (חכירה). That the entire section in the Hammurapi code represents an amplification of the original paragraphs of the *lex talionis* follows from the punishments detailed which are tortures rather than exact equivalents for the injury done, or fines.³³ For all that, it would be carrying the analysis too far to assume that the amplification may not have formed a

³¹ Ner-Pad-Du "bone" in the Hammurapi Code is the equivalent of *sheber*, "break" or "fracture," in the Code of the Covenant.

³² The text adds, "of his own rank."

³³ An exception, however, is formed by § 210, where it is provided that if through a blow a pregnant woman has a miscarriage and dies, the daughter of the man who committed the assault shall be put to death.

part of the oldest substratum of the code. All that is maintained here is, that the section itself has its origin in an amplification of the *lex talionis* and is not of the same texture as the latter. The arrangement of the section shows a variation from the preceding one in so far as we have a logical sequence of four possible cases (§§ 202-205), (1) a man strikes another of superior rank on the cheek, (2) or one of his own rank,³⁴ (3) one of inferior rank strikes one of inferior rank, (4) a slave strikes a free man, the punishment being corporeal in the first and fourth instance, sixty strokes with an ox-tail and cutting off of the ear respectively, but fines in the second and third instance, one mana and 10 shekels respectively.

The code then passes on to more serious results than mere insult by striking another on the cheek. Here, again, the order is much the same as in the case of the *lex talionis*. Throughout it is assumed that the more serious injury was unintentional. Paragraph 206 deals with the case that the wound inflicted is sufficiently serious to necessitate medical treatment. The one who inflicts the wound swears that he did it without intent and pays the physician's fee. If the injured man dies (§ 207) as a result, the fine is one-half mana of silver to which a subsequent decision adds that if the victim is a plebeian, the fine is only one-third of a mana of silver. Blows inflicted on a married woman with subsequent miscarriage and possible death are then considered in six paragraphs (§§ 209-214), where again we first have two instances of the blow bringing about (a) merely a miscarriage, entailing a fine of ten shekels (§ 209), or (b) resulting in death (§ 210) in which case, since the *lex talionis* comes into play, the daughter of the man who inflicted the blow is put to death. Correspondingly, two paragraphs deal with the case that the victim is the daughter of a plebeian where the fine for a miscarriage is five shekels and for resulting death one-half of a mana. These instances are followed by two others, covering the case of the victim being a female slave with a fine of two shekels for miscarriage, and for resulting death one-third of a mana. The circumstance that the *lex talionis* is introduced in § 210 justifies us in regarding §§ 209-210 as belonging to an earlier period than the subsequent ones, apart from the other considerations already urged in the course of this discussion.

³⁴ The expression here (§ 203) is *kima šu'āti* as against *mehrisu* in § 200—a further indication of an independent origin.

VIII.

The last subdivision, §§ 215-225, deals with physicians' fees for successful operations and with fines (and in one case bodily torture) for unsuccessful ones. The point of view is peculiar; it does not strike one as the outcome of the popular attitude towards the surgeon, but as a theoretical deduction of a legal nature, based on the analogy between a wound inflicted by an assault and the wound that the physician makes in the course of an operation. The same word *zimmu* for "wound" is in fact used in the paragraph (§ 206), forming (as we have seen) an original portion of the subdivision in regard to serious injuries as in the subdivision which we are now considering.³⁵ This term evidently forms the point of departure for adding to the section of the *lex talionis*, one dealing with wounds inflicted by a surgeon. This last subdivision thus turns out to be dependent upon the previous one, and it is fair to presume that the order also represents the chronological sequence. There are only two paragraphs in the subdivision that impress one as in keeping with an early and popular point of view regarding a physician's services, namely, §§ 218-219, the former providing that if a physician inflicts a severe wound with an operating knife which causes the man's death or destroys his eye, the surgeon's fingers shall be cut off; or if the victim be a slave,³⁶ then a slave of equal value must be given as a compensation. Here we have the *lex talionis* in its original vigor, and it may be, therefore, that these two paragraphs belong to the oldest stratum of the code, whereas the other paragraphs setting forth the physician's fees and in two instances money fines for unsuccessful operations are again due to considerations reflecting a later period. Whether the Babylonian state in actual practice went so far as to regulate physicians' fees is open to question at least, though in default of evidence one must be careful not to dogmatize. It is, at all events, interesting to note that in the many thousands of legal documents of all periods, not one has been found dealing with medical jurisprudence.

If the point of view here suggested is correct, §§ 215-217,

³⁵ *zimmu kabtu* (§§ 215, 218, 219, 224, 225).

³⁶ The text, col. XXXIV, 85 reads, *warad Maš-En-Kak*, i. e., "the slave of a plebeian," but this cannot be correct. The general character of the subdivision demands *warad amēlim* as in § 223. See above, p. 12, note 24.

covering successful operations, belong to a later stratum than §§ 218-220. Three instances are as usual given, (1) the patient is an ordinary free citizen in which case the fee is ten shekels, if it is an operation that saves a man's life or his eye, (2) five shekels in the case of a plebeian and (3) two shekels in the case of a slave, to be paid by the slave's master. As a further and subsequent decision we have §§ 221-223 fixing the fee for setting a broken bone or for curing a sick man, five, three and two shekels respectively according as the patient is a free citizen, a plebeian or a slave. Again, § 220, stipulating that if a physician through an operation destroys a slave's eye one-half the value of the slave must be paid by the unhappy surgeon, is obviously a supplemental decision to the preceding paragraph setting forth that in the event of the death of the slave, another slave must be provided. The order here, therefore, is §§ 218, 219, 220, 215, 216, 217, 221, 222, 223.

Coming to §§ 224-225, the former setting forth a fee of one-sixth of the value of the animal³⁷ for a successful operation on an ox or ass, the latter obliging the veterinary to give one-fourth of the value if an unsuccessful operation causes the death of the animal, § 225 would again by analogy come first, but since the two paragraphs are clearly dependent upon the previous subdivision (§§ 215-223), indicated as such by the use of the same catch-phrase, *zimmu kabtu* 'severe wound'—the present order would be the one naturally adopted on this assumption. At all events, the two paragraphs represent supplementary decisions, extending the principle underlying surgical operations,—successful and unsuccessful,—from those performed on human beings to such as are performed on animals.

Finally § 195 reading: "If a son strikes his father, they shall cut off his fingers," now standing at the head of the entire subdivision, introducing the *lex talionis* and its manifold modifications, forms the connecting link between (a) the laws of adoption and of the limitation on parental authority, and (b) the laws of the *lex talionis*. The form of the paragraph

³⁷ Hardly one-sixth of a shekel, as Harper (*Code of Hammurabi*, p. 79) and others assume. The text merely says "one-sixth silver" and the omission of the word shekel suggests that one-sixth of the value of the ox or ass is meant, as against one-fourth of the value (§ 225) in case the operation is unsuccessful and causes death. The sign for *kaspu* "silver" may be a slip for *šimi-šu* as in §§ 199 and 225.

as a *quid pro quo* punishment, the hand that struck the blow being the one to be cut off, suggests that the law itself belongs to the oldest stratum of the code.

Summing up, the subdivision §§ 195-225 may be analyzed as follows. The starting-point is formed by (a) §§ 196-197 and 200, with § 195, as an application of the *lex talionis* to a specific case, and §§ 198-199 and 201 as supplements to §§ 196 and 200 respectively. Then come (b) §§ 202-214 as amplifications to the original *lex talionis*, dealing with slight injuries (§§ 202-205) and such as are serious (§§ 206-214) involving the possibility of death, within which section §§ 209-210 are older than the rest. A third section is formed (c) by §§ 215-225, dealing with physicians' fees for successful operations, and with punishments and fines for unsuccessful ones. In §§ 215-223, dealing with operations on human beings, §§ 218-219 are older with §§ 220, 215, 216, 217, 221, 222, 223 as supplements, while §§ 224-225 dealing with operations on animals represent the further extension of the principles set forth in §§ 215-223 and therefore still later.

IX.

Following the general line of argument here laid down, it is clear that in the next three subdivisions of the code (a) §§ 226-227, dealing with branding slaves illegally, (b) §§ 228-233, the fees for building operations and punishment for defective buildings and (c) §§ 234-240, boat hire with punishments for accidents, the bodily punishments (on the basic principles involved in the *lex talionis*) come first, whereas the substitute of fines and the decisions in specific instances constitute the later elements. From this point of view, the two paragraphs about the branding of slaves illegally, the punishment prescribed being the cutting off of the brander's fingers or even death by impalement^{37a} under aggravated circumstances, bear the earmarks of very ancient laws, whereas the addition to the second paragraph that if the brander can swear³⁸ "I branded unwittingly" (i. e., without knowledge that he was doing or was asked to do an

^{37a} So Johns in the *Amer. Journal of Sem. Lang.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 224-228.

³⁸ See Schorr in the *Wiener Zeits. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. XVII, p. 233 *seq.*

illegal act), he is released, is clearly a later decision in the direction of clemency under extenuating circumstances.

In the building laws, the principle of the *lex talionis* is again our guide in deciding that §§ 229-230, providing that in case a building collapses and causes the death of the owner, that the builder shall be put to death, and that if the son of the owner is the victim, then the builder's son suffers death, form the starting-point of this subdivision, with § 231, setting forth as a modified application of the principle of the *lex talionis* that if a slave is killed by the collapse, the builder must replace the slave,³⁹ as a later decision. Similarly, §§ 232-233, representing further specific cases of the collapse of a house or a wall without loss of life, belong to the later elements of the code, the fine involving merely the rebuilding of the house or wall at the architect's expense. Paragraph 228 at the head of this subdivision and § 234 at the head of the following subdivision (dealing with boat hire) and setting forth the *bonus*⁴⁰ for building a house or a boat are clearly later elements.

Within §§ 235-240 which have the appearance of being due to a more advanced state of society, the starting-point may be made with the first two, setting forth the laws in regard to accidents to a boat. If due to a careless builder the boat must be repaired or rebuilt by him, and if due to the careless handling of the one who hired it, the loss falls on the latter. Decisions in specific instances follow (1) if the boat sinks or the cargo is wrecked, because too heavily laden, the loss to be made good by the boatman, (2) if the boat sinks and is refloated in which case the boatman refunds one-half of the value of the boat as damages, (3) wages to boatmen for carrying cargo fixed at 6 gur of grain per year, (4) in case of collision with another boat, the boat going up stream being regarded as the one responsible because in a better position to avoid the accident. One need only thus summarize the decisions to make it clear that §§ 237-240 represent attempts to regulate applications of an underlying principle, with due concessions to changes in social relations. This would apply, particularly, to the endeavor to

³⁹ Instead of the slave of the builder being put to death, which would be the consistent application of the *lex talionis*, but which is set aside on the ground that a slave is a possession the loss of which must be made good.

⁴⁰ *kīštu* "present."

establish a "minimum" wage (§ 239), reflecting a state of society that has left the age of the *lex talionis* long behind it,⁴¹ retaining as the main trace of that age the principle of *quid pro quo* to fix damages as well as compensation.

X.

As the last illustration of the differentiation to be made between older and later elements in the code, let me take up an analysis of the subdivisions §§ 137-184, dealing with divorce, the status of concubines, the rights and obligations of the wife, incest, breach of promise on the part of the prospective father-in-law, dowries, marriage settlements, disinheritance and adoption of children of maid-servants, besides some miscellaneous though more or less cognate topics. These forty-eight paragraphs might all be grouped under family laws, though to be precise, §§ 127-136, dealing with adultery, slander of wife, wife-desertion,—voluntary or enforced through capture of the husband—ought to be added, as well as the subdivision §§ 185-194, regarding adoption and the like which we have already discussed.⁴²

The general advance in the status of woman over earlier conditions has also been sufficiently emphasized as a feature of the code.⁴³ We may start out, therefore, with the general principle that the marital authority is no longer absolute. The wife who has borne children may still be divorced by her husband at his pleasure, but in addition to her dowry, she must be given a sum sufficient to bring up the children, and after they have reached their majority, she is to receive a portion of her husband's estate, equivalent to the portion of one of the children and after this, she may marry again whomsoever she chooses (§ 137). We may, however, put down as a later element in the code the protection of the wife who has a chronic disease (§ 148) and who may not on that account be divorced. The husband may take an additional wife, but he must support the sick wife as long as she lives and he cannot put her away, to which a supplementary decision adds (§ 149) that the sick

⁴¹ If this view is correct, it would carry with it the later origin of such paragraphs as 228, 234, 242, 257, 258, 261, 268-277—all dealing with a minimum wage or money compensation.

⁴² Above, p. 15 *seq.*

⁴³ Above, pp. 8 and 10 *seq.*

wife, if she so chooses, may take her dowry, and return to her father's house.

We may also regard as one of the later elements in the code the right of the wife to enjoy the use of field, garden, house or goods, i. e., real or personal estate, which her husband deeds to her (§ 150). Her children have no claim upon it after the husband's death, and she may dispose of it to a favorite child. The restriction, however, is added that she may not leave it to her brother, evidently to prevent the property or possession from passing beyond the domain of her husband's family. Such provisions, likewise, as, e. g., that husband and wife shall be conjointly responsible for debts contracted in partnership after marriage, but that neither is responsible (§§ 151-152) for the debts of the other contracted before marriage, reflect an advanced stage of conjugal relationship and are to be reckoned among the latest elements in the code.

On the other hand, the right of the woman to refuse to live with her husband if she has a distaste for him (§ 142), to practically divorce him and to receive her dowry provided no blame attaches to her, may well belong to the stage with which the code starts out. To the older elements we may also reckon such a provision as that a woman who brings about the death of her husband for the sake of another man shall be impaled (§ 153), as well as most of the laws of incest (§§ 154-158), which have all the earmarks of very early enactments, entailing as they do such severe and primitive punishments as expulsion from the city of the man who has known his unmarried daughter (§ 154), strangling for the man who has illicit intercourse with his married daughter (§ 155), the daughter being thrown into the river, and death by burning for the son who commits incest with his mother (§ 157). An exception is to be made, however, for two of the paragraphs. One of these (§ 156) provides a fine of one-half mana of silver for the father who has intercourse with his son's bride, but before the son has known her.⁴⁴ Here the fine as the punishment—an index of later practice—as well as the circumstance that the woman after receiving whatever may have been settled upon her may marry whom she chooses point to

⁴⁴ Note the severer punishment for incest with a married woman in accord with the general view of primitive society, which does not hold the unmarried woman as 'forbidden' to the same degree as the one belonging to a man.

supplementary decisions. The other stipulation (§ 158) that the son who "after his father," i. e., after his father's death,⁴⁵ has illicit intercourse with his father's chief wife (but who is not his mother), who has borne children, is to be disinherited, likewise impresses one as a subsequent decision, modifying the previous paragraph which prescribes burning for both in case of incest between mother and son.

Paragraphs §§ 159-164, dealing with breach of promise cases and with questions affecting the wife's dowry, are all of the nature of judicial decisions of a specific character, introducing complicated situations that are likely to arise only in advanced forms of society. One instance (§ 161) is indeed so complicated as to suggest the "academic" questions and hypothecated cases characteristic of the Jewish "*Gemara*." The situation presupposed in § 159 is that of a man already betrothed, who has given a marriage settlement for his wife to his prospective father-in-law, but who now finds that he prefers another woman. He forfeits the marriage settlement and that is all. The reverse case is taken up in § 160 of the father of the bride changing his mind, in which case the wound of the disappointed lover is salved by receiving back double the amount of the marriage settlement which he handed to his prospective father-in-law. Even these two cases have an 'academic' flavor, and this is certainly so in the following paragraph (§ 161), which assumes the transfer of the marriage settlement of the prospective father-in-law who then because of some slander against the prospective son-in-law, spread by a 'friend,'⁴⁶ changes his mind and says "My daughter thou shalt not have." The court decides as in the preceding paragraph that the rejected suitor is to receive double the amount of the marriage settlement, and also that the "friend" may not marry the girl. The purpose of the statute is clearly to thwart a possible conspiracy between the father of the girl and some rival or more desirable suitor with perhaps an offer of a larger marriage settlement, but the circumstances detailed impress one as a decision based on a hypothecated case rather than on some actual occurrence.

Paragraph 162, on the other hand, is a necessary provision, to wit, that if the wife dies before her husband her dowry belongs

⁴⁵ We find the same use of 'after' in the sense of 'after the death' in §§ 150 and 171.

⁴⁶ *Ibru*, "companion," "associate," etc.

to her children. The stipulation assumes a higher status for the wife, but no higher than the one underlying provisions that belong to the older elements of the code. Closely allied to § 162 is § 167, that in case a woman dies and her husband marries again and has children also from his second wife, after his death the dowries of the two wives are divided respectively among the issue of the two marriages, whereas the father's estate is lumped and divided equally among all the children. We have here again a supplemental decision; and this suggests that the intervening paragraphs §§ 163-166 are likewise supplemental to the main body of the section, based on various cases that might arise. The cases instanced in §§ 163-164 are (1) a woman dying without issue, whereupon the marriage settlement is returned by the father-in-law, whereas the dowry reverts to the latter's estate; (2) in case of failure of the father-in-law to return the marriage gift, the husband is permitted to deduct the amount from the dowry to be returned, which perhaps warrants us in concluding that the dowry was ordinarily larger than the marriage settlement. The following two paragraphs §§ 165-166 introduce entirely new matter without connection with what precedes or follows and likewise in the form of judicial decisions and inserted at this point as the most appropriate place. The resulting break in the context confirms the supposition that the two paragraphs in question are later decisions than §§ 162, 167, 163 and 164. The former (§ 165) assumes the case that the father formally presents real estate to a favorite child. The court decides that after the father's death this special gift is not to be deducted from the share falling to that child. The case has a somewhat 'academic' flavor, as has also the following one (§ 166), providing that if the father dies before his youngest son marries, on the division of the estate a portion shall first be set aside as a marriage settlement to be at the disposal of the youngest son, after which the balance of the estate is to be divided equally.

Paragraphs 168-169, curbing the parental authority in disinheriting a son, have already been discussed,⁴⁷ and we have seen that the former forms part of the original code, while the latter is a supplemental decision.

In the following subdivision, §§ 170-177, we may pick out §§ 173-174 as belonging to the older elements of the code, setting

⁴⁷ Above, p. 3 *seq.*

forth that in case a woman marries twice and has issue from both marriages, her dowry is to be divided among both sets of children but in case there are no children of the second marriage, the children of the first husband receive the entire dowry.

Paragraphs 175-176A introducing special decisions for the palace slaves and for the slave of a plebeian who marries the daughter of an ordinary free citizen have already been considered⁴⁸ and reveal themselves as later elements, while § 177 is clearly a still later decision which has a special interest because we have a legal document of the days of the 1st dynasty of Babylon, illustrating the application of the law.⁴⁹ It is the case of a widow whose children are minors and who wishes to marry again. She must go to court, have the husband's estate formally transferred to herself and to her second husband in trust for her young children. Supplemental decisions, embodied in the paragraph, provide that the estate of the deceased husband may not be disposed of and that he who forecloses the household goods of a widow with minor children forfeits his claim. Similarly, §§ 170-171 may safely be put down as later elements of the code, providing that a man may legitimize the children of a maid-servant, in which case these children share equally with the other children in the ultimate division of the estate. Such a decision points to a further development in the direction of improving the status of those who ordinarily occupy an inferior social rank. In line with this, it is further provided that if the children of the maid-servant are not legitimized by the father, nevertheless upon the latter's death the maid and her children receive their freedom, the children of the main wife having no claim on them.

Then follows in the same paragraph (§ 171) a stipulation which has no direct connection with what precedes. It joins on to § 162, setting forth the law in case the wife dies before her husband. As the complement to that paragraph, it must have read originally as follows:

["If a man takes a wife and she bears him children and that man die], the wife shall receive the marriage settlement and

⁴⁸ Above, p. 14.

⁴⁹ See Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht* No. 100, and Cuq, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, VII, p. 94.

any other gift formally deeded to her by her husband (cf. § 150) and she may remain in her husband's house and enjoy it as long as she lives."

To this a further supplemental decision is added, restraining the wife, however, from disposing of the property which after her death belongs to her children. To be sure, the paragraph in which this law is inserted treats of the case where the husband dies before his wife, but since in its first part, the purpose of the paragraph is to indicate the law in the event of a man not legitimatizing the children borne to him by his maid, the addition points directly to considerable manipulation on the part of the compilers of the code to bring older and later elements into proper connection. On this supposition that the code contains by the side of many old laws, a large number of later enactments and that these are further supplemented by still later decisions, we can account for such a displacement as is here pointed out and which carries with it that § 150—closely allied to the last part of § 171—and in no direct connection with what precedes and follows, was also misplaced in the shuffling incident to the endeavor to combine the old with the new.

Paragraph 172 provides that if the husband dies before his wife and had not given a marriage settlement, the widow receives in addition to her dowry, a portion of her husband's estate, corresponding to that of one of the sons. As a further protection to the widow, it is stipulated in what again appears to be a supplemental decision, somewhat "academic," if not wholly so, that if her children attempt to drive their mother out of the house, the court inquires into the circumstances and if it transpires that she has done no wrong, the children are enjoined from maltreating their mother. If, however, the mother wishes to go, she may do so and, after leaving the marriage settlement to her children, may take the dowry (which came to her from her father) and marry again whom she pleases.

XI.

The last section (§§ 178-184) in this extensive subdivision which we are considering deals with questions of dowry for special classes, namely, (1) for the *Nin An-Sal*, i. e., the *êntu*

or votary of a goddess,⁵⁰ (2) the *Sal zikru* or public woman, (3) the Nu-Gig = *ḫadištu*, (4) Nu-Bar = *zermašitu*,⁵¹ (5) *šugetu* "concubine" and (6) the *Sal Marduk* or votary of Marduk. In accordance with the line of argument above set forth, I have no hesitation in regarding such paragraphs embodying special legislation as later elements, precisely as in the case of paragraphs dealing with the application of a law to the "plebeian" or to the palace slave. The external form of the paragraphs, particularly that of the first very elaborate and cumbersome one, and upon which most of the others depend is a further proof of the later origin of this section; and the nature of the decisions bears out the conclusions to be drawn from the form. It argues for an advanced state of society that not only the rights of daughters are safeguarded, but that special provisions were made for those towards whom in an earlier stage of society no obligations were felt. The differentiation between a woman in the service of a god and one in the service of a goddess, and between these two classes and the woman in the service of Marduk, as the head of the pantheon all point in the same direction, as does the fact that the dowry is looked upon in these paragraphs as the *right* of the daughter, accorded to her even if she does not marry.

The first two paragraphs (§§ 178-179) deal with certain restrictions in regard to this dowry, formally deeded to the 'votary' or to the 'public' woman. The father may or may not add in the deed the words "to be given to whom she pleases on her death." If the clause is not added, then after the father's death, the brothers may take back real estate given to their sister and offer her in exchange "grain, oil and wool," i. e., merchandise corresponding to the value of her share of the estate. The evident purpose of such a provision was to prevent real estate from passing out of the family. In default of her brothers doing this, she may lease the property, supporting

⁵⁰ There are two classes of such votaries, (1) *Nin-An* (or *Nin-Dingir*)—in one instance *Sal Nin-An* (§110)—who is in the service of a god and therefore a sacred prostitute and (2) *Nin-An Sal* in the service of a goddess and therefore allowed to marry.

⁵¹ The Nu-Gig or *ḫadištu* is the one who keeps herself secluded (*Dhorme, Revue d'Assyriologie* XI, p. 106 seq.), more like our conception of a nun; the Nu-Bar, or *zermašitu* ("neglecting seed"), is the woman who vows herself to chastity.

herself thereby, and enjoy anything else that her father has given her as long as she lives, but upon her death the heritage of the unmarried woman belongs to her brothers. If the father, however, specifically gives his daughter the right to dispose of her dowry, her brothers have no claim and she may leave her property to whom she pleases. Special cases are then taken (§§ 180-182), (1) of a father dying without giving a dowry to his daughter—a bride or a public woman—in which case she receives as her share of the estate a son's portion but, in accordance with the principle underlying § 178, after her death the share reverts to her brothers, (2) the Nu-Gig (or *kadištu*) and Nu-Bar (or *zermāšitu*), dedicated by the father to the service of a god who receives only one-third of a son's portion, likewise reverting to the brothers upon her death, (3) an exception, however, in the case of a votary of the god Marduk, who may dispose of the one-third of a son's portion as she pleases. Presumably the sum went to the church.

Of particular interest are the two last paragraphs (§§ 183-184), giving the decisions, on the basis of the same principle as in §§ 179-180, for the daughter who becomes a concubine, receiving or not receiving her dowry during her father's lifetime. It would seem that according to the older practice, the father was not *obliged* to give his daughter a dowry. The later practice aimed to wipe out all distinctions among the daughters and, accordingly, it is stipulated that if the daughter who becomes a concubine does not receive a dowry, then after the father's death, the brothers must give her one proportionate to the father's estate and provide a husband for her; if she receives her dowry she has no further claim on the estate. Clearly these two paragraphs represent later decisions based upon earlier ones as embodied in the preceding paragraphs.

To sum up, in the subdivision §§ 137-184, the following represent older elements,—137, 138, 142-147, 153, 154, 155, 157, 162, 167(?), 168, 173 and 174; the remainder the later elements, with further subdivisions into such as may be looked upon as older supplemental decisions and such as represent still later decisions or illustrations of applications of older elements or supplemental decisions to specific cases, with some of these additions partaking largely or wholly of an 'academic' character—hypothetical instances, rather than actual occurrences.

XII.

It may not be possible for us ever to be able to trace the process involved in a gradual evolution of the code in detail, but the illustrations adduced will suffice, I trust, to show that it is possible to distinguish within the code between (a) older laws carried over from an early period and (b) additions in the form of new laws based on the same ancient principles, but representing adaptations to more advanced conditions, and (c) judicial decisions, setting forth the legislation for special classes or for special circumstances that actually arose or that might arise. In short, we must look upon the code as we do on the Pentateuchal codes and on the smaller subdivisions to be distinguished within the larger ones of these codes, as the result of additions of all kinds made at various times, with further differentiations within these additions between actually new decisions modifying the former practice, and mere interpretations of the older law at times through a consideration of the various complications that might arise. What I have attempted here is merely a beginning, an indication of the point of view from which the code should be considered in order to penetrate beneath the mere surface indications, and a suggestion of the method to be followed.

The older elements in the code are represented by §§ 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7(?), 14, 17, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 33, 34, 42, 43, 53, 55, 59, 60, 65, 103, 104, 108, 109, 110, 113, 117, 119, 121, 122, 124, 127, 128, 129-133A, 137, 138, 142-147, 153-155, 157, 162, 167(?), 168, 173, 174, 185, 186, 190, 191, 195, 196, 197, 200, 209, 210, 218, 219, 226-227, 229, 230, 235, 236, 241, 244, 245, 246, 249, 250, 253, 262(?), 263, 266, 267, 278, 279, 282, i. e., roughly speaking, about one-third of the preserved portion of the code represents earlier elements, while the remainder may with more or less probability be regarded as of later origin, or as decisions and special applications based on the older general laws. Making full allowance for legitimate differences of opinion in regard to some of the paragraphs and for errors in regard to others, enough and more than enough remains, I venture to think, to establish the main thesis for which I am contending, which is probable also on *a priori* grounds, that the code of Hammurapi is the culmination of a long antecedent process of gradual growth, combining, therefore, older with later elements.

Let me, in conclusion, emphasize that the thesis here proposed of differentiating between older and later elements in the code has nothing in common with the theory of a hypothetical *Urgesetz*, as set forth some years ago by the late David Henrich Müller,⁵² from which both the Hammurapi code and the Pentateuchal codes are derived and of which Müller even wanted to see traces in the Twelve Tables of Roman legislation. The hypothesis has not met with acceptance by scholars, and it rests on what appears to be an erroneous view of the development of ancient law and of legal procedure. Law is steadily progressive; it grows by accretions, representing established practice and decisions rendered as new circumstances arise, and it is of the nature of this process that the old is carried over into the new. An *Urgesetz*, however, from which a later code is compiled assumes a sharp break between the old and the new; it replaces the process of steady unfolding by an artificial device for which, moreover, there is not the slightest evidence. The only aspect of Müller's hypothesis which stands is its starting-point that we must look upon the Hammurapi code as representing a culmination. As such we are, I think, justified in the attempt to separate the old from the new, just as on the other hand the code itself, as I have tried to show, forms the point of departure for further growth in both procedure and decisions; and we must assume this process to have gone on as steadily after the time of Hammurapi as in the period before the great compilation of the old and the new, undertaken at the instance of the wise ruler. The significance of the code lies in this fact, that it marks the end of one era and the beginning of another. In so far as old laws are never entirely abrogated and the underlying principles always maintained, the code no doubt formed a norm and standard for future days as Hammurapi had hoped it would, but in so far as conditions were constantly changing and new situations arose through the endless combinations of the particles in the kaleidoscope of human society and of human relationships, the code was subject, also, to constant modifications.

⁵² *Die Gesetze Hammurabis und ihr Verhältniss zur Mosaischen Gesetzgebung sowie zu den xii Tafeln* (Vienna, 1903), p. 210 seq. and 240 seq.

A Conveyance of Land Dated in the Reign of Ellil-bâni.—By
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The tablet here published is a conveyance of land *inter vivos* between one co-owner and the heirs of a deceased(?) co-owner on the one hand, and a purchaser on the other. The seal of one of the co-owners has been run over the entire written surface of the tablet and has left nine impressions on the edges. There is no indication that the seal contained anything more than the name *Lù-dingir-ra dumu Sag-^dEn-lil-lá*.

Ellil-bâni first became known to modern scholarship when V. Scheil published¹ in 1897 the subscription of tablet no. 353 in the Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople, which reads: *mu ^dEn-lil-ba-ni lugal-e . . . gal(?) gal(?) . . . Nin-IB*. Since the publication in 1906 of the chronological list of kings of the dynasties of Ur and Isin by Prof. Hilprecht,² he has been recognized as the eleventh king of the dynasty of Isin (2187-1962 B. C.),³ who reigned twenty-four years (2032-2008 B. C., according to the above chronology). In *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story*, 1910, p. 38, Prof. Hilprecht says that seven tablets dated in the reign of Ellil-bâni are known to him, none of which are published. The first known royal inscription was published by the late Prof. H. W. Hogg⁴ under the title, "Inscribed Nail of Ellil-bâni." A photograph of the tablet here published was used by Prof. Barton in compiling the table of signs in Vol. XXXI, p. 42 of this Journal. It is on account of its paleographic interest that it is deemed worth while to publish a photograph of the tablet as well as an autograph copy.

¹ *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, Vol. XIX, p. 59.

² *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. XX, pt. 1, pp. 39-56b, Pl. 30, XV.

³ See Edward Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2d edition, 1909, Vol. I, § 329. See now also Clay's *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, King's *History of Babylon*, and Chiera's *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur*. This article was delivered to the Editors of this Journal in September, 1915.

⁴ *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, pp. 1-20.

This tablet was purchased from a dealer, and is preserved in the Harvard Semitic Museum under the number 1421. It is unbaked, light brown in color, and measures 8.7 cm. by 4.9 cm.

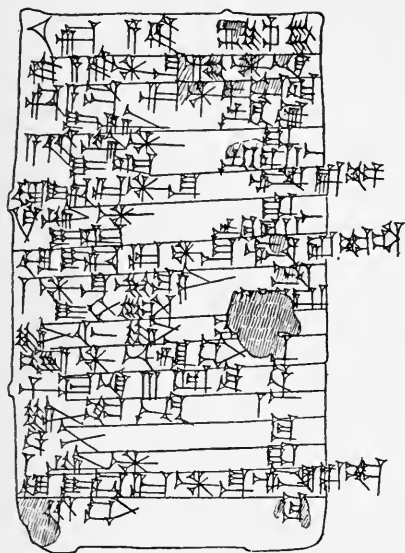
TRANSCRIPTION.

- OBV. 1 *gan a-ša(g) (?) -sar še*
ša(g) a-ša(g) ^dŠu-gi-an-na
uš a-ra Ur-^dPa-gibil-sag dumu Lù-^dEn-zu
a-ša(g) Lù-dingir-ra dumu Sag-^dEn-lil-lá
- (5) *ù ibi-la Ur-^dŠu-mah-ge-ne*
ki Lù-dingir-ra dumu Sag-^dEn-lil-lá
ù ibi-la Ur-^dŠu-mah-ge-ne-ta
1 ^dŠu-mu-ba-li-iš dumu Du(g)-li-[abs]u
in-ši-in-sa(m)
- (10) *sa(m)-àm til-la-bi-šú*
½ ma-na 3 gín kù-babbar
in-ne-en-lá
u-kur-šú
1 Lù-dingir-ra
- (15) *ù ibi-la Ur-^dŠu-mah-ge-ne*
a-ša(g)-bi-šú
- REV. *inim-nu-um-mal-mal-ne-a*
mu lugal-bi in-pa(d)-eš
igi Ur-^dPa-gibil-sag dumu [Lù]-^dEn-zu
igi [. . . .]-dú(g)-^dEn-lil dumu Ir-É-gu-la
- (5) *igi Lù-dingir-ra*
igi Lugal-ibi-la dumu Lù-^dEn-zu
igi Bá-ša-^dDa-mu dumu Ur-^dEn-lil-lá
igi Da-nu-me-a dub-sar
itu Kin-^dInnana
- (10) *mu ^dEn-lil-ba-ni lugal-e*
alam kù-gì ^dNin-IB
mu-un-na-an-dim-dim-a

TRANSLATION.

- OBV. 1 *gan*, a field of (?) (and) barley,
the lower side (adjoining) the field of Šu-gi-an-na,
the upper side (adjoining) the lane of Ur-Pa-gibil-sag,
son of Lù-En-zu;

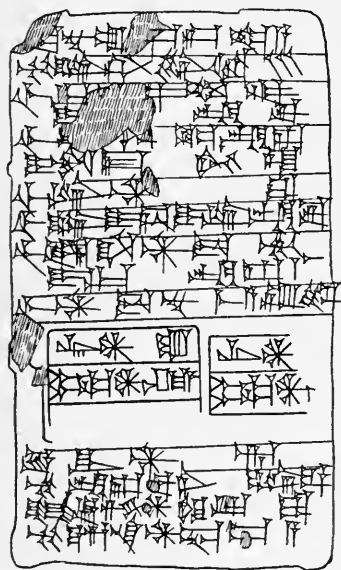
- The field belonging to Lù-dingir-ra, son of Sag-En-ìil-lá,
 (5) and the heirs of Ur-Šu-maḥ,
 from Lù-dingir-ra, son of Sag-En-lil-lá,
 and the heirs of Ur-Šu-maḥ,
 Šu-mu-ba-li-iṭ, son of Du(g)-li-absu,
 has bought;
 (10) for its price in full $\frac{1}{2}$ *mana* 3 *gin* of silver
 he has paid.
 Never
 will Lù-dingir-ra
 (15) and the heirs of Ur-Šu-maḥ
 to this field
- REV. lay claim.
 By the name of their king they have sworn
 before Ur-Pa-gibil-sag, son of [Lù]-En-zu,
 before [.]-dú(g)-En-lil, son of Ìr-É-gu-la,
 (5) before Lù-dingir-ra,
 before Lugal-ibila, son of Lù-En-zu,
 before Bá-ša-Da-mu, son of Ur-En-lil-lá,
 before Da-nu-me-a, scribe.
 The month of Kin-Innana,
 (10) the year that Ellil-ba-ni the king made the golden
 statue of Nin-IB.



OBSERVE



OBSERVE



REVERSE



REVERSE

Ink, Oil and Mirror Gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt.—By
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The practice of gazing at smooth surfaces or into clear depths to produce visions is one of the most ancient and universal which folk-lore has brought to light. It appears to explain a great variety of practices, and to bring them from the cabinet of merely curious superstitions back to the more rational ground of demonstrable though little understood psychic phenomena. The sober monographs of Andrew Lang in the new *Encyclopedia Britannica* (vii, 566) and the Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (iv, 351), his volume on *The Making of Religion*, and his preface to Thomas' *Crystal Gazing*—perhaps the most important single volume on the subject—with Miss Goodrich-Freer's historical sketch in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychic Research* (v, 486f), can be read with profit by any one contemplating the study of magical texts.

From these sources it appears that a certain number of persons—Andrew Lang found many, though the present writer has searched in vain—are able, by gazing at a ball of glass, a polished stone, a glass vessel filled with water, a pool of ink, the surface of standing water out of doors or in a vessel, the large opening of a funnel, a dark picture hanging in the shadow, the palm of the hand, the shining surface of animal viscera, and what not, to perceive visions in the object,¹ or to enter seemingly through it into the vision beyond.²

¹ The sense of penetration seems to be essential. The experiences of the present writer lead him to believe that the element of failure in his own case lies in the inability to create or to maintain the illusion of gazing into a real depth, or through a real vista. The cases cited by Thomas, in which a funnel was used, are instructive in this particular. That the actual shadows on the crystal do play some part, at least at times, in the formation of the picture is shown by the instance cited by Andrew Lang in Thomas' *Crystal Gazing* (xiv), in which the drawing of a curtain produced a change in the vision seen. The large window in the latter disappeared. The Egyptian magician employed by the present writer once refused to sery upon a cloudy day, and attributed his failure on a later occasion to the gradual overcasting of the sky.

² Such an instance is cited by Andrew Lang in *Making of Religion*. Professor Duncan B. Macdonald has kindly called my attention to a similar instance in Seybold's *Geschichte von Sûl und Schumûl* (89 of Arabic text).

This art of "serying," as cultivated in Muslim lands has received frequent incidental treatment. Doutté in his *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* gives specimens and bibliography. For Mesopotamia we have Thompson's report in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* (1906, 84-5). Egypt is well known in this connection through the controversy started by Lane's account in chapter twelve of the *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. He at first believed in the reality of what he had seen, later recanted, and finally, as appears from the note of another to his edition of the *Thousand and One Nights* (i, 60), returned to his original view. The literature of discussion regarding the cases of Lane and of Lord Nugent, Lord Lindsay, Kinglake, Miss Martineau, Laborde, North, Butler, and Wolff, may be found in the work of Thomas cited. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life of Islam* (95-97, 126)—a book conspicuous for its method of applying the results of recent investigations of the sort represented by the English Society for Psychic Research—gives a fresh translation of the classic passus in the Prolegomena of *Ibn Ḥaldūn*,³ which one may find in French in the works of Andrew Lang and Thomas referred to. It represents virtually the modern view on the subject. It is superfluous to repeat what has been said in these easily accessible sources, and I omit also the references which they contain to scattered articles and other literature. But I believe that the seven texts which are collected and here presented in translation are sufficiently important to justify their publication, together with the excursions and discussions which they occasion.

The practice described by Lane was, and is still, called in Egypt *ḍarb ʾal mändāl*, "drawing the circle." The term would seem to be a general one for magical ceremonies, in which the performer begins by drawing a circle on the ground, within which he sits while invoking the demons. Even in this sense it does not seem to be old. Wellhausen in his *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (160) mentions such a circle on the authority of Doughty (2, 103), explaining *mändāl* as a Persian word, and remarking that the word and the practice are unknown to Arabian antiquity. It is not found in the old lexical works. The *Muḥīṭ al Muḥīṭ* (257) gives the definition used above, and

* The Arabic text may be found in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (xix, 221; Beyrūt edition of the *Muqaddama* of *Ibn Ḥaldūn*, p. 105; Bûlâq edition, 1320 A. H., p. 101).

adds the curious alternative form *mandab*. The latter suggests at once Abyssinian origin, in favor of which there is some presumption. *Nadaba*, "to compel," might furnish an instrumental nominal form *mandab*, meaning "a device for compelling" spirits. But the word does not occur in any of the Abyssinian magical texts which the present writer has seen.⁴ There is much more in favor of India as the immediate source of the Arab ceremony. *Mandal*, in Sanskrit and some of its relatives, "circle," "disc," might refer to the drawing of the black round spot in the hand. But I doubt it, since the word is not in India applied to the ceremony, I believe; and its reference is quite clearly to the magic circle of whatever application. The ceremony is now found in India in nearly the form described by Lane, even to the use of the *budûh* magic square (Thomas, 51, 128), and the appearance of the sweeper, king and army. The *Fihrist* (of 378 A. H., p. 309) states that the Hindus were accustomed, as we also know, to perform marvels, especially of the sort called in Arabic *at tawahhum*, or tricks of imagination and suggestion, and that some of their books on the subject had been put into Arabic. These statements, while including probably the *mändäl*, are to be taken as referring mostly to other feats of a well known type. See also p. 312, l. 25. The first indisputable mention of the *mändäl* by that name, in any Arabic author, is, I believe, to be found in Ibn Haldûn (c. 808 A. H.), *Prolegomena*, chapter 54 ("Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Impériale," xvii, 177, l. 14; translated in xx, 205; Beyrût text of 1879, 278; Bûlâq text of 1320 A. H., 313). The *Fihrist* (309) knows similar practices, but not specifically the *mändäl* or its name. It gives (311, l. 12) one realistic description of seeing "in sleep" a "queen" and her "army," and of making speech issue from under a cup. The commentators to the *Qur'ân* (15, 15) also have heard of such practices.

The Egyptians believe that the *mändäl* is accomplished by the aid of the *jinn*. A single figure usually appears, then a large company, and finally their chief (*ra'is*, *mâlik*, *sultân*), of whom the questions are asked, or a further vision sought. As we shall see below, there are many other types of *mändäl*; and the forerunner, troops and *sultân* do not always figure in the directions for performing the feat; but they are nevertheless

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (1909, xxiii, 149f.; 1910, xxiv, 59f.; 1914, xxix, 85f.), *Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen*, by Worrell; to be referred to as Z1, Z2, Z3.

often mentioned. Apropos of the forerunner: The finding-crystal of Nürnberg described (after Sprenger) by Thomas always revealed at first a man plodding through the streets of the city in search of the lost article or of the thief. Such are the beings called *mulûk* in Spitta's *Contes arabes modernes* (102), a word which the editor wrongly amends to *malâ'ike* angels, in spite of its frequent occurrence. Such are the "princes of oil" and "princes of eggs" in the Jewish texts hereafter to be described, and such also the *ra'is* of the present writer's séance. Almost any Arabic book of magic mentions many times over the *mulûk ar rūhânîya* (or '*ulwîya*) and the *a'wân as sufiya*, the spiritual (or supernal) kings and the infernal helpers, or the same in other terms (*Taḍkira* of Al Anṭākî, Cairo, 1324 A. H., p. 83, l. 31). For Abyssinia see Z1, 181, Z2, 78, Z3, index. Cf. the *Fihrist* (309 l. 5 ab. inf.).

The obscure passage in *Sanhedrîn* (101a) mentioned by Blau in his *Altjüdisches Zauberwesen* (11) undoubtedly refers to srying in oil—held in a vessel or in the hand—and srying with eggs, probably broken into a cup. The passage has been discussed in a very valuable recent treatise of Daiches, entitled *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature* (London, 1913).⁵ Unfortunately the writer has never heard of the modern English experiments in which just such "princes" as he described so largely figure, nor of the *mändäl*. The passage in *Sanhedrîn* reads [Daiches]:

One is allowed to ask the princes of oil and the princes of eggs, only (one does not ask because?) they lie. One whispers a charm over oil in the vessel and one does not whisper over oil in the hand; therefore one anoints (oneself) with the oil in the hand and one does not anoint (oneself) with the oil in the vessel.

Later editors, according to Daiches, not understanding שר' "princes," have amended it to שר' "demons"; but Raši (11th century) comments properly that "princes of oil" are "princes of the thumb"—meaning the thumb nail. On Ezekiel xxi, 26 Daiches quotes Qimhî (12-13 centuries):

And all this is the work of divination, and the explanation of קלקל is as that of קלקל פנים (Qoheleth x, 10a; 'and he do not sharpen the edge'), and that is that they sharpen and polish the surface of the iron of the arrow until it is very bright and the diviners look into it just

⁵I am indebted to Professor Macdonald for calling my attention to this work.

as they look in the thumb of the hand into the nail because of the brightness of the nail, so they look in the sword, and so also in the mirror and so they look in the liver because it has brightness.

It is interesting to note that the King James' Version has quite correctly translated "he made his arrows bright," while the Revised Version, Luther, Siegfried-Kautzsch, Nowack (*Archäologie*), Kennedy, Davidson and Whitehouse (*Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*) have all gone astray with the Septuagint in rendering "to wave."

The practices described in the texts of Hunger, *Becherwahr-sagung bei den Babyloniern* (Leipzig, 1903), seem to belong entirely to the systematized divination which we shall agree with Ibn Ḥaldūn in declaring secondary and without the psychic basis of real scrying. There are these two stages in geomancy and card laying also. But in the texts of Zimmern (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, 110b, l. 3; 216, l. 44; 218, l. 2) occur, according to Daiches, phrases which point to nail magic and oil magic. *Bēl supur ubāni annie*, "the master of the nail of this finger"—not "der, von dem dieses Nagelzeichen herrührt," as Zimmern translates—refers to the performer of nail magic, not to "princes" seen in the nail. The latter are nowhere mentioned. Again Daiches sees in the phrase (Zimmern 196-197), "The inquiry I dedicate, in his right [hand] and in his left, be correctness," allusion to a medium. Similarly the words "When the omen and the oil are faultless the great gods come near and judge a judgment of justice and righteousness . . . the diviner shall look upon oil and water"; but he fails to see in what manner the great gods "come near." There is not much in these texts that is found in *Sanhedrîn* (101a), and nothing at all—except that all of it is scrying—peculiar to our present Arabic texts. The late Jewish texts given by Daiches are but slightly related to the Talmudic text referred to, and on the other hand very closely related to our Arabic texts. This latter fact is explained by the observation that the manuscripts in which they occur are all Spanish, Tunisian, Yemenite, otherwise Oriental, or Italian; and that they all date from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. But which way was the borrowing? The following are extracts.

The princes of the thumb . . . Take a young lad . . . and prepare the nail of the right thumb until it becomes thin . . . and anoint

his nail and his forehead with pure olive oil, and the lad shall look well at his nail, and thou shalt whisper into his ear this spell . . . I adjure you, princes of the nail . . . that you should bring the king Mimon in this nail, and the queen shall also come with him, and that his two servants shall come and that they shall bring there two lambs . . . and they shall slaughter them . . . and cook them . . . and that the queen shall come . . . and they shall put the table in the slaughter house . . . and tell them that they shall eat and drink, (and) they will tell thee all that thou desirest.

The princes of the hand. Take a young lad or a young girl or a pregnant woman and besmear his (or her) hand with black soot from under the sauce pan and then anoint the hand of the mentioned lad with olive oil . . . and then shall the lad look constantly into the hand, and he will tell him the name of his master if he sees anything . . . and if he will see the figure of a man dressed in black the lad shall tell him: "Go and put on white garments and return at once," and when he will return he shall tell him: "Go to thy kingdom and bring hither the king and all the sons (people) of his kingdom," and they will slaughter a lamb and they will eat and drink in the presence of the lad . . ."

Take bdellium and write upon it with olive oil . . . and take a boy seven years old and anoint his hand from the top of the thumb to the end of the finger and put the bdellium into his hand in the anointed place . . .

The magical texts of Abyssinia, which are not treatises like the texts under discussion but rather of the amulet type, contain certain references to serying in oil and other liquids, in water in a pot and at the edge of the sea (lake or river?), in the yolk (?) of an egg, or in bright objects (obelisk? ring of polished metal?); and they mention also the cross roads, and the use of perfumes. Cf. Z2, p. 73, p. 91:

Defeat the magic which is murmured with salt and with oil, with a lemon and with a ring, with honey water and with beer, with civet and with perfume . . . Defeat what is murmured with an obelisk and with the . . . (quab: yolk?) of an egg, and with (at) the cross roads . . . in a new pot and at the shore of the sea . . . in curdled milk and with linseed . . . fat without water.

The small collection of translated Arabic texts which follow should be of interest to a wide circle of folk-lorists. The omission of the Arabic originals of such repetitious matter will, I hope, be pardoned readily by the arabists, and by non-arabists for whom also this article is intended. They are preceded by a short account of a séance witnessed by the present writer. The appearance of penny leaflets on the streets of Cairo, designed to make every man his own magician, is only one of the symptoms of the present extraordinary activity of the native press.

Of these six texts I find no mention elsewhere; although their reputed authors are all known to Arabic literature. Ibn Sînâ, like Muhyî d-Dîn, was capable of writing on "occult" subjects; and Hermes Trismegistos is of course, even more than the others, a convenient peg for any unclaimed writing of this kind. Cf. the *Fihrist* (312 and index). But the texts are all in slovenly Arabic with a decided coloring of Egyptian vernacular, and, at least in their present redaction, doubtless very recent. The following are the sources.

- (I) Record of the present writer's séance.
- (II) Ibn Sînâ: *Šifâ' al-Asqâm fî 'Ulûm al-Hurûf wal-Arqâm*, Cairo, 1328.
- (III) Hirmis as Šahîr al-Failasûf ar Rûhânî al-Kabîr: *Kitâb as-Sirr al-Qâtî'*, Cairo, 1330.
- (IV) Muhyî d-Dîn ibn al-'Arabî: *Kitâb al-Asrâr al-Ilâhîya fî Fawâ'id at-Tibb wal-Abwâb ar-Rûhânîya*, Qôm aš Šêh Salâma.
- (V) Muḥammad at-Tûnisî al-Magrabî: *Kitâb Sirr al-Asrâr*, Cairo (?).
- (VI) Aḥmad al-Jazâ'irî ibn Hamdân: *Al Faiḍ ar-Rabbânî, fî Ilm ar-Rûhânî*, Cairo.
- (VII) Muḥammad ar-Ruhâwî: *Kitâb ad-Lu'lu' al-Manẓûm fî 'Ulûm at Ṭalâsim wan-Nujûm*, Cairo.

(I)

The séance took place in the attic of the school of the Šêh as-Šâlih, Cairo, late in March, 1913. The performer was an inconspicuous man, poorly dressed in European coat and vest and oriental *ṭarbûš* and *güllabîya*. He was secured by my obliging acquaintance Muḥammad Farḥât Šâlih, head master of the school. He appeared to believe thoroughly in his art. At the first appointment he refused to attempt the experiment on the ground that the sky was clouded over. At the second meeting he was reluctant to begin as the air was not clear; and when on this occasion he failed utterly he attributed this to the clouds which had gradually covered the sky. He was a *Rifâ'i*. The boy employed was selected from the crowd in the street by the head master of the school. He was a Sudanese, about seven years old, intelligent and able to read. The usual features were present: The magician squatted with the boy in

front of him, shoeless, upon a mat. He wrote *Qur'ân* verses upon a slip of paper and put it under the boy's cap, after holding it in the smoke of the substances which had been thrown on the charcoal fire in the brazier. The room became full of the fumes of resin and coriander. *Qur'ân* verses—mostly from the *Sûrat al-Jinn*—were many times repeated. He knocked repeatedly on the ground.⁶ He repeated many names of *Jinn* ending in *-â'il*. After the seal had been drawn in the hand of the boy he held it palm downward over the smoke until the ink was dry. Then he poured fresh ink into the middle of it. The boy looked a long time. Smoke was fanned into his face. Questions directed to the boy were interrupted by fanning and mumbling. They ran as follows:

(M) "See the ocean! Do you see a ship?"

(B) "Yes."

After questions about the appearance of the ship:

(B) "I see a man sitting upon a chair."

(M) "Salute him."

(B) "*Salâm 'alêkum!*"

after a pause:

(B) "I see a white appearance."⁷

(M) "Say 'Bring coffee, O king!'"

(M) "Has he drunk?"

(B) "Yes."

Conversation follows between the boy and the captain of the ship (*ra'is*).⁸

(B) "He does not want anything else."

The boy was asked by the captain to read a paper (Arabic) which I had previously placed in my pocket. A man clad in an overcoat such as I was then wearing went away to find the answer. The result was a complete failure. The boy also described wrongly two persons thought of by myself.

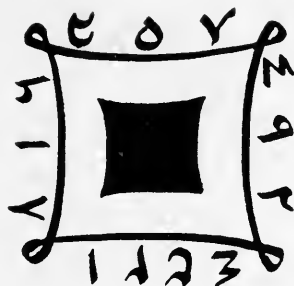
The seal written in the boy's palm was thus:⁹

⁶ A common magical practice. Cf. Z2, 74.

⁷ A phenomenon said by Andrew Lang to occur in the early stages of the condition. It is the veil [*hiġāb*] that must first be removed.

⁸ So called (and not "king" or "*sultân*") because the scene is on board a ship.

⁹ The left side has the numerals 816, the top 357, the right 492, which are equivalent to the bottom, middle and top lines of the magic square called *budûh*. Cf. below, note 16.



[II)

Mändäl.

And that is that you take some ink and put it in the palm of a boy [or girl] who has not yet reached puberty [*bulûg*], and that you fume it with some strong smelling male incense until that which is in the palm is dry. Then place on the surface of the palm some olive oil. Write the unveiling [*kašf*, not *kaf*, palm] and put it upon the forehead of the gazer [*nâzir*], male or female. And this is the unveiling:

Allâh!

But we have removed from thee thy veil [*Qur'ân Sûra* 50, 21].

Allâh!

Q. 2. Lh. 6. 6110. ' . ' . h.

Verily descend!

Then after that let the fumes escape, and say to the gazer: "Do you not see your face?" And he will say to you: "Yes." Read after that [appropriate verses from the *Qur'ân*] and cast the blessed spell [*'azzim al-'azîma al-mubâraka*]; and it consists of the following names:

Saqmûš, twice. *Raskalah*, twice. *'askar* [soldiers], twice.

Say: He is *Allâh*, One, *Allâh* is the Eternal [*Sûra* 112, 1].

Verily it is from *Sulaimân* [*Sûra* 27, 30, to be repeated]

as far as his saying: [That ye do not exalt yourselves above me, but come to me] as Muslims, [adding] in haste.

Say it twenty-one times, and a black slave will appear to the gazer. And that is the sign of the response; and if there appear something other than this it is a deception. Read the spell until [someone] appears in the shape of the slave whom we have mentioned. Say to the gazer: "Sweep." Say to

him: "Sprinkle [the ground]." And when he has sprinkled say to him: "Bring the white carpet." And when he has brought it say to him: "Bring the chair." And speak to him in this wise until the *sultân* [not *bisâtân*] appears; and when he appears then ask him about what is in your mind.

(III)

Section on the knowledge of the *mündâl* and of the summoning of the spiritual servants.

If you wish that, then write the seal about to be mentioned in the palm of anyone you wish, and cast upon it this spell; and it is:

In the name of *Allâh* the Compassionate *Rahmân*!

In the name of *Allâh* the Ingatherer!

The Doer of what He wills!

By whose power the circling constellations turn,

And by whose light the flaming fires do burn!

The First before everything,

The Last after everything,

Clear above everything,

Hidden below everything!

There is no god except Him,

To Him is the issue!

In His hand the spirits He seizes,

Forth He sends the breezes!

I adjure you, ye benign [*rûhânîya*] spirits, kings subservient to the seven constellations:

Answer, by Him who created you from the fire of His throne and made you obedient to His names,

Having authority over what He wills, and as He wills, by His permission and His wish!

I adjure you, servants of these names, that ye come and appear at this my séance [*majlis*] so that the gazer may see you with his eye and address you with his tongue!

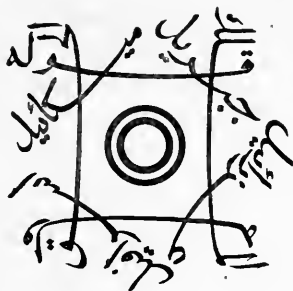
al-Wahâ! [speed] twice.

al-'Ajal! [haste] twice.

as-Sâ'a! [at once] twice.

Allâh bless you!

And place in the middle of the seal some ink and olive oil. You will see what you have been thinking about. But *Allâh* knows best. And this is the blessed seal:



[The circle in the center represents the ink-mirror. Beginning at the top we read: "His word is the truth and to Him is the kingdom (*Sûra* 6, 73)."] The second quadrilateral is composed of the names of the four angels *Mikâ'il*, *Asrâfil*, *'Izrâ'il*, *Jabrîl*.]

(IV^a)

Description of the *mândûl* of the [spirit] *Mahdiyyâ'il*.

If you wish that, then write this seal in the palm of a boy who has not yet reached maturity, whose constellation [*najm*] is airy [*hawâ'i*].¹⁰ And write the seal and enchant with this spell:

Tûš! twice. *Fayûš!* twice. *Tanšal!* twice. *Kamšal!* twice. Answer, *Mahdiyyâ'il*, and give order for the appearance [*taṣwîr*] of the *Jânn*, that they may be present at my

¹⁰ This is explained in the third of our texts as follows. The qualities of the planets are:

Saturn, cold and dry.	Venus, cold and wet.	Mars, hot and very dry.
Sun, hot and dry.	Moon, cold and wet.	Mercury, mixed.
Jupiter, hot and wet.		

The qualities of the constellations are:

Aries	} + ascending }	Mars	} is }	Fiery
Taurus		Venus		Earthy
Gemini		Mercury		Airy
Cancer		Moon		Watery
Leo		Sun		Fiery
Virgo		Mercury		Earthy
Libra		Venus		Airy
Scorpio		Mars		Watery
Sagittarius		Jupiter		Fiery
Capricornus		Saturn		Earthy
Aquarius		Mercury		Airy
Pisces		Jupiter		Watery

mändäl, and may remove the veil between themselves and him who gazes at them, so that he may see them with his eye and address them with his tongue, and may question them about what he wishes.

And ye owe to me a thing that I need, and I owe to you the honors.

Verily it is from *Sulaimân*, and verily it is [headed with the words:] In the name of *Allâh*, the Compassionate *Raḥmân*. [And it reads:] That ye do not exalt yourselves above me, but come to me as Muslims [*Sûra* 27, 30].

And fume him with male incense and coriander.



[The quadrilateral is composed of four meaningless magical names. In the center is written: "Descend, *Mahdiyâ'il!*"]

(IV^b)

A *mändäl* true and tried.

Place [misprint] of good olive oil in a cup [*finjân*] and write upon the forehead of a youth who has not yet reached maturity:

Verily thou wert heedless of this, but we have removed from thee thy veil, and thy sight this day is sharp [*Sûra* 50, 21].¹¹

Then recite this spell while the perfume is being evolved, you being pure of body and raiment and the gazer being thus pure of body and raiment. And command him to gaze into the cup while you are reciting the spell. And you are to be in a place empty of [spiritual] inhabitants, and the perfume pungent. And this is the spell:

¹¹ Cf. traces of this in Z2, 85, n. 5, at that time by me wholly misunderstood.

Taqûl! Taqfûl! Taqfûl! Marqûl! Marqûl! Âh! Âh!
Âh! Âh!

*Şarţâlîb! Baqr! Ahyâ! Ahyâ!*¹²

Answer, ye benign kings, and appear in this my *mändâl*,
 and pierce the veil between yourselves and him, that
 he may gaze upon you with his eye and address you
 with his tongue.

By the truth of *Ahyâ šar ahyâ adônâi ašbâ'ût âl šaddâi!*¹³
 And it is a mighty oath if ye knew it [*Sûra* 56, 75].

al-'Ajal! twice. *al-Wahâ!* twice. *as-Sâ'a!* twice.

And if he appears, seek of him what you wish. And as for his
 dismissal,¹⁴ say:

Get you hence in peace, light [of foot] and heavy [of foot],
 and strive [not with me but rather] with your helpers
 [*mawâlîkum*, not *amwâlkum*] and one another!
 [That] is best for you if ye are wise [*Sûra* 2, 180].

(V)

Chapter of the departure of the [spiritual] inhabitants
 [*'ummâr*] for the sake of the *mändâl* and other [ceremonies].¹⁵

Read this [ceremony of] departure together with the
 [*Sûrat al*] *Fâtiha* and the *Basmala* [in the name of *Allâh* the
 Compassionate *Rahmân*], and at the end [say]:

I adjure thee, *jinnî*, and [ye] inhabitants who are in this
 place, that ye depart, and go away from this place, ye
 and your brothers and your old ones and your young
 ones and your wives. And let there be no mischief
 [*fasâd*], neither in my [magical] practice, nor in my
 writing, nor in my reading, nor in my circles [*dawâ'ir*].

By the king *Târaš* your judge! [repeat] twice.

And by *Tanîta!* twice.

¹² Hebrew: אהיה [אשר] אהיה "I am [that] I am." Cf. Z1, 171, and Goldziher in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (xxi, 244, on xx, 412).

¹³ Hebrew: אהיה אשר אהיה. אל שר "I am that I am, Lord of Hosts, Almighty God."

¹⁴ If anything more than politeness prompted the dismissal formula it must have been the experience that sudden waking of the subject was injurious. It is usual to count ten when waking a hypnotic.

¹⁵ As explained in the seventh text, the local jinn must be sent away before the jinn of the *mändâl* can appear and act, that the performer may suffer no harm. No doubt the magic circle was originally intended to afford this protection.

Mazlaq! twice. *Mâkar!* twice.

So that ye may be present, the kings and their helpers, and ye may help me in the execution of my wish, without harm and without mischief.

And by *Târâs!* twice. *Hâras!* twice. *Marîš barîš!* twice. *Rûš!* twice. *Laṭmaš! Baṭaš!*

And by the Compassionate! *ar-Rahmân! al-Jalîl!*

Lord of the great name!

The earth trembles at you[r presence], and the winds become weak at you[r presence], and the valleys vomit at you[r presence]; but the mighty names of *Allâh* encompass you, and the heavens rain fire above you, and evil.

If ye delay from departing from this place, ye and your helpers, and your old ones and your young ones, and your wives, [I adjure you] that I may accomplish my wish, and ye may return in safety [afterwards]!

Depart in peace! *Bâh!*

By the power of His might! And to Him is power!

al-Wahâ'! twice. *al-'Ajal!* twice. *as-Sâ'a!*

Then read the *Fâtiḥa* [opening *sûra*] of the Book seven times.

[The remainder is here given in synopsis only.]

If you wish "to open the *mändâl*" you are to write the "noble amulet," the well-known magic-square called *Budûh*,¹⁶ as follows:

و	ط	ب
ج	س	ز
ح	ا	ي

in the right hand of the subject, after the departure of the spiritual inhabitants of the place; then write *Sûra* 50, 21 on his forehead and upon a paper to be bound upon his forehead. This is followed by magical words and challenges of the sort already mentioned and by passages from the *Qur'ân*, including many of a general character. The *jinn* are summoned from

¹⁶ See Macdonald's article, *Budûh*, in the new *Encyclopedia of Islâm* and Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chapter xii.

the four cardinal points and from the regions of cold and heat, with their wives and families and companions of all ages. The srying is done in a cup of oil, on the surface of which is a little ink. The sryer is to gaze continuously "until he says to you: 'A phantom [*hayâl*] has appeared in the cup.' " The image is saluted. The sryer is directed to command the phantom to sweep, sprinkle the ground, place a chair, bring sheep and slaughter them, and bring food. If such appear as have been thought of [soldiers], then their *sultân* is to be called. When he has come you bid him sit, and eat, and drink [water], and drink coffee and smoke. Then you are to ask your questions, and you will get a reply, whether in regard to a thief, or one imprisoned, or one bewitched, or luck, or what is distant. After your wish has been obtained, and not before, you are to read the formula of departure, taking care not to be heedless,¹⁵ thus:

Depart! Peace upon you! Bless you! By *Bah*
I have accomplished my desire, so begone in peace!
Amen!

(VI)

Chapter of the spiritual [*nafsî*] *mändâl*.

Without privacy [*halwa*] take a new mirror and write upon its surface the seal of the unveiling. And that is [to be on a] Monday, and you [are to be] pure of raiment and body. And you perform [*tataraiyid*] on that day without fasting. But if it is with fasting it is all the better. And you vaporize the perfume—and it is coriander and incense—and strengthen your spirit and your mind, and you gaze [at the inscribed surface of the mirror, and after a little you will perceive that] a large hole has opened in the mirror. You will see an individual, moving about in accordance with [*yaştah 'ala*] your spell. And cause him to hear the spell three times. And he will say to you: "*as-Salâm 'alêk!*" And say to him: "*Wa 'alêk as-salâm! wa minak as-salâm! Wa fîk as-salâm!*" Then say to him: "Take upon yourself my service and the execution of my desire, and what I command you to do. Bring me the kings." The servants [*huddâm*] will come to you. Then ask them about what you wish. And this is the spell. You say:

I adjure you by obedience, obedience! [*taï'*].

Fazûk. Qât! Qatûf! Wadûd! Şakûr! Gafûr! [loving, grateful, forgiving].

Barûh! 'Aqâfal! Hîdûs! Hamdûš! three times.

Descend tribes of the benign spirits.

Descend O *Aḥmar!* [red].¹⁷

Descend O *Samhûr!*

Descend and remove the veil between me and you, so that I may see you with my eye and address you with my tongue, concerning what I desire from you!

Verily thou wert heedless of this [but we have removed from thee thy veil Read from this, *Sûra* 50, 21] as far as [the word] sharp.

al-Wahâ'! al-'Ajal! as-Sâ'a!

(VII)

This text of 105 lines, badly printed from broken type and almost illegible, contains little that is of interest in the natural substratum of serying, but elaborates the demonology and other details in the manner of one who has merely learned from others, and not experienced in person. It belongs with Hunger's Babylonian texts. A synopsis will suffice:

The writer states that most adepts do not know that the companions [of the *sulṭân*] have a king, and the spiritual inhabitants of the place of performance, a king and a governor. It is of first importance to know about these, their names, appearance and powers; and you must not neglect to drive away the spiritual inhabitants before attempting to perform this or any other ceremony. Most people fail by reason of this. One must know the inauspicious times, and be pure and pious when one is to function. For instance, one should not talk with a fair woman or eat much, especially of strong-smelling food, but vegetables only should be eaten. As to the kings and their names and qualities: *Taqṭaqûš*, *Maharqûš*, *Talûš*, and *Târaš* are brothers.¹⁸ The first two preside over the unveiling and revealing of the *mündûls*, through their power over the earthly, supernal and airy kings of the *jinn* and *jânn*. The third has permanent authority over the *mündûl*, not affected by times

¹⁷ Cf. Lane, op. cit.

¹⁸ *Târaš* (*Tarš*) is mentioned several times in the seventh, and twice in the fifth text. Both *Tarš* and *al-Aḥmar* are found in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ch. xii. In such names the endings -ûš and -aš often appear, as in the Abyssinian texts, where however those in -ôs and -îs greatly pre-

and seasons. The fourth is governor of the spiritual inhabitants. Besides these is *Dibâj ibn 'Amr*, governor of the companions. Another well-known spirit is *Abu Šarâmîṭ*, the "Father of Rags" or "Father of Strumpets." The first of these may be recognized by clothing which is "dark blue of a reddish shade," the second by the fact that his clothing is entirely white, the fourth by his garment, white, having a tail bordered with tassels,¹⁹ the fifth by his white clothes, thin like those of strumpets. One can make them appear by calling them by name and commanding them. One should always deal directly with the chiefs. We are told little of the ceremonies to be employed. The usual, and some unusual, passages from the *Qur'ân* are cited. As subject one may employ a perfect woman of any age, or a man. In the right hand of the latter or the left hand of the former you are to place a "*hindîya*" (plane or concave polished steel mirror), or a glass mirror, if you can find one.

¹⁹ In another place he is said to have appeared in a black garment with three spots between the shoulders.

On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry Motif.—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I am sure that the idea of a complete catalog or clearing-house of story motifs has flitted across the mind of almost every student of Hindu fiction, at some time or another while engaged in this fascinating pursuit. In India, even more than in other countries, entire stories, or particular story traits go on repeating themselves. To begin with, many legends of the ancient Vedic texts reappear, usually much elaborated, in Epic, in Drama, and in story-books. A new and more sweeping current, of fiction sets in with the didactic and parabolic fables and stories of the Pañcatantra-Jātaka type, the latter being reinforced by the stories of Buddhaghōṣa's Commentary on the Dhammapada, and the Avadānas (Divyāvadāna, Avadānaṣataka, Avadānakalpalatā, and Chinese Avadānas). Parallel with these run the Jains' performances of the type of Devendra's stories and the commentators (cūrṇi and ṭikā) to the Avagyaṇa literature.¹ In between come the individualist novelists who handle stories in the most ornate style of rhetoric (kāvyā): Daṇḍin, Bāṇa, and Subandhu. Then sets in the purer, more secular fiction (which, however, never quite abandons the moralities) of the Br̥hat-Kathā books and its congeners and successors. The classical representatives of this class are the three renditions of the Br̥hat-Kathā, namely Kathāsaritsāgara, Br̥hatkathāmañjarī, and Br̥hatkathāḥlokaśaṅgraha; the various recensions of the Vetālapañcaviṇṇatī²; of the Vikrama-Carita³; and of the Ćukasaptati. And they, in turn, are followed as regards type by the well-nigh infinite line of Caritas (or Caritras) or Prabandhas which begin with Brahmanical writers, and swell into a veritable ocean of literary procreation thru the activity of the prolific Jains.

¹ Cf. Leumann, *Transactions of the Xth International Congress of Orientalists*, p. 125; *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. X, Part 2; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xvii. 50 ff.

² Cf. Bettei, *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, vii. 83 ff.; viii. 187 ff.; Benfey, *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. ii, pp. 10 ff.

³ See Professor Edgerton's prospective critical edition with translation.

The Caritas or Prabandhas⁴ of the Jains are primarily quasi-chronicles which are invariably based upon the lives of real historical persons, mostly Jain saints, and emperors (cakravartins) and kings who were, or are said to have been votaries of the Jinistic faith. There is no question that they state some events that actually happened. But their critical habits are of the worst, if indeed we may speak of critical habits in the case of writings in which the most fantastic fairy-tale is put on the same plane with a chronicle that might perchance be true. The Caritas illustrate conspicuously the Hindu inability to discriminate between fact and fancy. They weave into their narrative once more the whole apparatus of Hindu fiction: fairy-tales, apologs, riddles, acrostics, tricks, and pranks. When we consider that the Trisaṣṭicalākā-puruṣa Carita, 'Lives of the sixty-three divine personages,' written by the celebrated monk Hemacandra, contains 36,000 ḡlokas, or stanzas of 32 syllables, we may obtain an idea of the extent of this type of literature. Some of the remaining more accessible Carita or Prabandha texts, such as Hemacandra's Sthavirāvalī Carita (Pariṣiṣṭaparvan), Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi,⁵ Candraprabhasūri's Prabhāvaka Carita,⁶ or Bhavadevasūri's Pārgyanātha Carita⁷ average about 7,000 ḡlokas each. A rough list of a large number of such texts may be easily compiled from the Index (pp. 519 ff.) in Guerinot's *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*. The number and total extent of the Jain Caritas is quite indeterminable; they continue into modern times. The older of them at least should be exploited for their contributions to fiction which are as important as they are extensive.

Not very different and scarcely less numerous are the Jain writings called Kathā (Kahā), or Kathānaka. They seem to differ from the Caritas in that they moralize more directly and obviously (dhammakahā), but they also are intimately connected with the traditional names of saints, emperors and kings. They are written in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, or both. Perhaps the

⁴ Cf. Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra*, pp. 6 ff.; Tawney, in his *Translation of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 6.

⁵ Edited by Rāmachandra Dēvanātha, Bombay, 1888; translated by Tawney, Calcutta, 1901.

⁶ Edited by Hīrānanda M. Sharmā, Bombay, 1909.

⁷ Edited by the Pandits Hargovinddās and Becharadas, Benares, 1912 (Veer-Era 2438).

most familiar of these are the Kathākoṣa in two versions,⁸ and the Prākṛit Samaraicea Kahā (Samarāditya Kathā)⁹ with its Sanskrit epitome, the Samarāditya-Saṁkṣepa¹⁰ by Pradyumna-sūri. Similar works are Kathārṇava,¹¹ Kathāprakāṣa,¹² Kathā-ratnākara,¹³ the numerous Kathānakas, and Nayādhammakahās.¹⁴

Hindu fiction has propagated itself into modern times in the shape of folklore. Within the last forty years Europeans and natives have vied with one another in gathering up stories that go by word of mouth, and yet more will certainly be collected in the future through the length and breadth of India. My pupil, Mr. W. N. Brown, has gathered forty or more such collections in English, and he will in due time publish as complete a bibliography as possible of these interesting books.¹⁵ Quite certainly these books echo largely the old stories of the various Hindu classical literatures. Whether they contain material of independent sort, that is to say, old original stories which propagated themselves orally without ever having been written down in any Hindu language, is very doubtful. But they will be found to figure largely and stimulatingly in connection with almost every type of story or motif of the classical literatures, as may be seen from my published paper¹⁶ 'On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction,' as well as from the subjoined elaboration of the 'Laugh and Cry Motif in Hindu Fiction.' Secondary treatment of Hindu fiction is, moreover, not restricted to the immense continent of India, but has passed largely, tho not entirely, under the Buddhist propaganda, to the greater part of Central and Eastern Asia, so that Hindu narrative is almost synonymous with Asiatic narrative: Tibetan, Mongolian, Farther

⁸ Cf. Leumann's note to Tawney's *Translation*, p. 240.

⁹ Edited by H. Jacobi, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1908 ff.

¹⁰ Edited by H. Jacobi, Ahmedabad, 1906.

¹¹ See *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, ix. 189.

¹² See Tawney's *Translation of the Kathākoṣa*, pp. 50, 164, notes.

¹³ See Weber, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ii. 1104 ff. Here occur the names of Vikrama, Bhoja, Hemacandra, Çṛeṇika, etc.

¹⁴ See Charpentier, *Paccekabuddhageschichten*, pp. vii and 46.

¹⁵ Both Mr. Brown, Fellow in Sanskrit at the Johns Hopkins University; and Dr. E. W. Burlingame, Johnston Scholar at the same institution, have aided me both with materials and advice in the production of this essay. It gives me pleasure to acknowledge gratefully this obligation.

¹⁶ *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp. 349 ff.

Indian, Chinese, and so on. And I am leaving out of account, as no longer directly concerning India or quasi-India, the well-known fact, equally important, but in another way, that the Hindu story collections and individual stories have passed as loans into Western Asia and Europe, as Benfey and his collaborators and successors up to Hertel have shown.

The more significant or salient traits of these stories—motifs as we may call them—are distributed or rearranged anew in every time and clime of India. Everywhere each narrator and recorder takes up, as it were, the whole chain of these motifs, which we may liken to a chain of beads. He tears it apart, so that the beads scatter in every direction, and then he strings them up in a new arrangement. Thus any motif may turn up at any time, in any place, and practically in any connection in Hindu fiction and its tributaries. The task of controlling this great mass of individual traits is one of the prime necessities of this study. I am thinking that the day has come for a systematic clearing-house, if possible, instituted under academic control and subsidized by one or more learned bodies.

I wish here to dwell upon one of the less obvious phases of this study, namely, the different way in which one and the same psychic motif is treated in narration. A given, statable sentiment, or conceit, or experience, or trait of human nature is woven into story, and illustrated in totally different ways. The persons, the things, the happenings, in fact all the real properties of the story differ entirely; yet the mental elements, the logic, the wit, the human experience, or the moral remain precisely the same.

GREY HAIR MOTIF

Let me illustrate, first, by a negative, namely an invariable psychic motif—the grey hair motif.¹⁷ Time and again the first

¹⁷ See Jātakas 9, 411, and 541; Kathāsarit-sāgara 10. 216; 103. 223; Kathākoṣa (Tawney's *Translation*), pp. 125, 146; Paṇḍita-parvan 1. 95. See Morris, JPTS. 1885, p. 62; Jacobi in the introduction to his edition of the Paṇḍita-parvan, p. 14, note 2; Hertel, in his translation of the same work, p. 223; Tawney in his translation of Kathāsarit-sāgara, vol. ii, p. 628 (ad p. 67); Anderson's note to his *Pāli Reader*, p. 121. Especially Nimi-Jātaka (541), a kind of Divina Commedia in which King Nimi is shown both hell and heaven, pivots about the grey hair motif. Cf. also F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 247.

appearance of a grey hair suggests to the Hindu the impermanence of life, and the dread of the evolutionary *karma* with its chain of possible punishments, and degradations in the toils of transmigration. The grey hair is expressly stated to be the messenger of religion or of God, or of Yama (Pluto). The barber discovers it, or, more often, the queen when she combs, or (sit venia verbo) when she intimately picks certain small insects from the head of the king. 'Old age, the harbinger of world-alooof meditation, reaches the root of the ear,' meaning the whitening hairs on the temple. Old age whispers at the root of the ear, 'Since this body is perishable, why do you still remain in your house?' (Kathās. 52. 385). The psyche of the grey hair is memento mori. In religious India which does not curse God, but considers the laws of the universe and human existence as beyond and out of the control of God, this means, moreover, memento bene mori, to die to some purpose, to advance in the scale of beings, or to reach final emancipation from the saṁsāra, the hateful round of sentient being with all its ills in the present and fear of more ills in the future. This story trait never varies a hair's breadth, being almost as consistent as a mathematical formula which may be involved with any number of other factors, but emerges unchanged in the final result.

CAVE CALL MOTIF

The following illustrates exactly the opposite conditions: a certain psychic motif is both expressed differently and employed variously. In the *Pañcatantra*¹⁸ a jackal returning to his cave notices a lion's track leading into the cave, but not returning. Afraid that the lion is within, he shouts, 'Ho, ho, cave!' and, when he gets no answer, he continues, 'Don't you know, O cave, that we have agreed that I must call you when I come from abroad, and that you, in turn, must invite me!' The lion within reflects: 'Surely this cave always does call him when he comes, but to-day it is silent from fear of me; I will therefore call him, that I may make my dinner off him.' Then he roars and the jackal escapes. The inimitable *Vānarinda-Jātaka* (57) tells

¹⁸ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 382; Pūrṇabhadra 3. 15; Fritze, *Der Pañcatantra*, p. 280; Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 138.

of a monkey who lives on the banks of a river, and is in the habit of foraging on an island in the middle of the river. This island he reaches by first jumping on a large rock between the bank and the island. Now a crocodile one evening lies stretched in ambush flat upon this rock, awaiting the monkey's return from the island. The monkey (Bodhisat), however, notices that the stone looms larger than usual, whereas the river's water is no lower than usual. He calls the stone three times (bho paśāṇa), and when there is no answer, he exclaims, 'Why, O rock, do you not answer to-day?' The crocodile, thinking that the stone must be in the habit of conversing with the monkey, finally asks him, 'What is it, Mr. Monkey?' and is discovered. The motif reappears frequently, with changes, in folk-lore.¹⁹

Closely related is an anecdote in Gordon, *Indian Folk-Tales*, p. 61: Mahadeo (Mahādeva) attempts to catch a jackal by assuming the form of a corpse. But the jackal suspects the corpse, and asks him to break wind, as is the habit of corpses. Mahadeo falls into the trap, complies, and the deceit is revealed.

This again is varied in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxix, p. 400: A farmer desires to kill a jackal, goes into the jungle and pretends to be dead. By and by the jackal comes along and begins to sniff the corpse. But he is in doubt about it, and says to himself, 'I wonder if this is really a corpse.' Then he says a little louder, 'If he is really dead he will shake his leg, if he isn't he won't.' The farmer falls into the trap, shakes his leg, on which the jackal calls, 'Sold again,' and bolts off.

It is difficult even to put a label on this motif: 'Discovering the presence of an enemy by making him do something which either he or his environment is alleged to be in the habit of doing,' or the like. It is best, perhaps, to label this motif conventionally as 'Cave-call.'

¹⁹ Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 246; Rouse, *The Talking Thrush*, p. 207; O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, p. 145; Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 283. Cf. *Ind. Antiquary*, iii. 10; x. 369. The story is handled quite differently in H. Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, i. 380: The crocodile, wishing to eat the jackal, persuaded the crab to cover him over with Muruta flowers, as though dead, and to summon the jackal to drink water. When the jackal saw the crocodile he said, 'In our country, indeed, dead crocodiles wag their tails. This crocodile, why doesn't he wag his tail? Maybe he isn't dead.' Then that crocodile, which remained as though dead, wagged his tail.

TORTOISE ON STICK

In *Pañcatantra*, *Hitopadeṣa*, *Jātakas*, etc.,²⁰ there is the fable of the tortoise carried out of danger by two flamingoes who each take a stick by its end, the tortoise holding on to the stick by its mouth. The flamingoes warn the tortoise that he must not speak during the flight. But the shepherds of the fields, beholding the miraculous flight, run after, and suggest that if the tortoise should tumble down what a fine barbecue he would furnish on the banks of a lake, and what good eating he would be. The tortoise, finally enraged, exclaims, 'You shall eat dirt (literally ashes),' tumbles down, and meets his fate. In the *Bharaṭakadvātrīṅikā*, 'Stories of the 32 mendicant Monks,'²¹ the garden of a mendicant monk is visited nightly by the heavenly 'wish-cow' (*kāmadhuk*) to browse therein. One night, just as the cow is about to return to heaven, a mendicant takes hold of her tail, reaches heaven, there feeds on delicious cakes and other dainties, and returns by the same conveyance. The other mendicants, craving the same delights, are advised by him to come along, one taking hold of his foot, the second one of the foot of the first, and so on. The wish-cow, nothing daunted, ascends with its, literally speaking, caudal appendage. In mid-air the last passenger becomes rather sceptical, and asks the first how large were the cakes in heaven. The uppermost monk lets go of the cow's tail and shows him with both hands : 'See, they were so big,' and they all tumble to the ground. A similar story, *Kathās*. 65. 177, substitutes the bull of *Çiva* for the wish-cow. This is followed by another parallel with the same motif, *Kathās*. 65. 200 ff., and Tawney in a note to his translation, vol. ii, p. 112, cites European parallels.²² I am at a loss how to name this motif which is so clearly unitarian despite its many mutations. It would seem best to establish the conventional title 'Tortoise on stick.'

²⁰ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 239; Dubois, *Pañcatantra*, p. 109 ff.; Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 245; Siamese Paksi Pakaranam in Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 348, 353; Chavannes, *Cinque Cents Contes et Apologues*, i. 404; ii. 340, 430; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales*, i. 234.

²¹ Weber, *Indische Streifen*, i. 248; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, iii. 207; W. McCulloch, *Bengali Household Tales*, p. 143.

²² See also the related touch about the carpenter who holds an axe in his mouth while crossing a river, but lets it drop in order to answer a question, Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 32. In the same collection, p. 117, the

BRAHMAN CHEATED OUT OF HIS GOAT BY THREE
CONSPIRING ROGUES

Benfey's almost incredible learning²³ has unearthed the numerous variations on the trick played by three rogues on a Brahman who is carrying a sacrifice goat, in order that they may roast the goat and eat it. The three rogues place themselves at various points some distance apart on the Brahman's road. The first one says: 'Brahman, why are you carrying on your shoulder a dog (unclean animal)?' The Brahman ignores the insinuation. When the second rogue addresses him in like fashion, he takes down the goat, inspects it, sees that it is a perfectly good goat, and proceeds on his journey. Accosted in the same fashion by the third rogue he abandons the goat, takes a bath, and returns home. The three rogues gleefully consume the goat.²⁴ The same motif is worked over in an ironic anecdote which was inaccessible to Benfey in his day, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 136: There was a physician, Līlā by name, very skilful in healing others. Some rogues conspired together, and formed themselves into separate couples, and the first couple said to him on the road to the market, 'Why are you in such feeble bodily health to-day?' The second couple addressed the same question to him on the steps of the temple of Muñjās-vāmin, and the third couple under the arch of the doorway, etc. Owing to the shock to his system, he immediately con-

geese of Uttarakurudvīpa, carrying rice in their bills, cannot refrain from answering the cackle of the geese of Rājagṛha, and drop some of their rice. A touch of the present motif also in Jülg, *Kalmückische Märchen*, p. 64; O'Connor, *Folk Tales from Tibet*, p. 3; and in F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 289.

²³ *Pañcatantra*, i. 355.

²⁴ A touch of the same story survives in Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, p. 283: A foolish boy is sent by his wise brother to buy a bullock, but, as he cannot find one, he buys a buffalo instead. As he was passing thru a certain village some fellows cried out: 'Hi! sir, where did you bring that fighting ram from?' As they all averred that the bullock was a fighting ram, he left it with them, so as not to anger his brother. See also Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, iii. 200: A poor man's three enemies trick him into selling them a bull at a goat's price by this same means. And, G. R. Subramiah Pantalu, *Folk-Tales of the Telegus*, p. 61: Four Āḍras persuade a Brahmin that four of five goats which he is leading are dogs, and induce him to tie them to a tree for fear of the danger of letting the wild animals loose.

tracted a mahendra fever, and died on the thirteenth day.²⁵ Here again it is difficult to find a terse title which either describes the motif, or includes its many variant treatments (Benfey). A brief, entirely conventional title would be, 'Brahmin and goat.' I would repeat that these illustrations show us the motif as a sort of independent entity or mental pith which is surrounded in each case by totally different real properties that do not alter the real sense in the least.

COUNT NOT YOUR CHICKENS BEFORE THEY ARE HATCHED

Rather more easy to group and to label are those story traits which embody the more important universal ideas which are usually stated in proverbs. The idea of, 'Count not your chickens before they are hatched,'²⁶ occurs all over the world—from the story of the Brahman in the potter's shop in *Hitopadeṣa* 4. 8 to Lafontaine's maiden Perrette. Such longer stories are more easily confronted and compared, but they also need to be more definitely located and tabulated, somewhat in the manner of an article in an Encyclopedia, subject to additions and critical readjustments. Thus I find no less than nine Hindu folk-lore versions of this motif all the way from Ceylon and Farther India to Tibet.²⁷ This concerns both the topography and the form of the story, illustrating its persistence and its mutability. Scarcely any two are quite alike, or are applied in the same way. Thus, in Swynnerton's report, a sort of village oaf, Lall by name, is hired by a soldier for three halfpence to carry an earthen-ware jar full of liquid butter: 'How

²⁵ My former pupil, Dr. A. L. T. Starek, points out the same motif in Fritz Reuter's 'De Ganshandel,' § 34b, in 'Läusehen un Rimels,' Erster Theil, Band i, Seite 276 (*Sämmtliche Werke. Volksausgabe*. Wismar, 1898).

²⁶ *Hitopadeṣa*, 4. 8; see Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 499 ff.; Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, iv. 145 ff.; *Selected Essays*, i. 500-576; Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 230.

²⁷ See Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, pp. 182 ff.; O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, pp. 31 ff.; Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 31 ff.; Fleeson, *Laos Folk Tales of Farther India*, p. 83; Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 68; Subramiah Pantalu, *Folk Tales of the Telegus*, p. 48; Bodding, *Folklore of the Santal Pargavas*, p. 140; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 304. There is also a muddled form with forced moral in Dhammapada Commentary, Book iii, story 4 (translated by Burlingame, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. XLV, p. 533). A curious echo of the story also in Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen*, p. 179.

lucky am I,' says Lall to himself. 'This fellow is going to give me three ha'pence, and what shall I do with it? I know. I'll go into the market, and buy a hen with it, and the hen will lay eggs, and I shall have a fine brood of chickens. And I'll sell them all for what they will fetch, and when I have sold them I'll buy a sheep. After a bit the sheep will have young ones, and when I have sold them I'll buy a cow. And when my cow has young ones I'll buy a milch buffalo; and when my milch buffalo has young ones, I'll sell her and buy a mare to ride on. And when I am riding my mare the people will all stare at me, and say "O Lall, Lall!"; and the girls will nudge each other and say, "Look at Lall on his beautiful mare!" And I shall not be long in making a match with some fine girl with a pot of money; and I'll get married, and I shall have four or five nice little children. And when my children look up to me and cry, "Papa, papa!" I'll say to one, "O you little dear," and to another, "O you little darling!" And with my hand I'll pat them on the head, one by one, just like this.' Suiting his action to the word, Lall lowers his hand, and makes several passes in the air as if patting his children's heads; down falls the unlucky jar, breaks into a thousand pieces, and all the precious butter runs about the street.

HASTY INGRATITUDE, OR, STRIKE BUT HEAR

All the stories of the type, 'Count not your chickens before they are hatched, no matter how different the materials, preserve thruout a sort of structural parallelism which shows that not only the moral, but also the gist of the story is the same. There is another treatment of a given psychic motif in which we feel sure that the stories are different in structure, real properties, in everything but moral. The idea is so human and important as to excite the parabolic instinct to express itself quite differently at different times and in different places. We may illustrate this by the proverbial motif, 'Hasty Ingratitude,' or 'Strike but hear.'²⁸ The most familiar Hindu embodiment of

²⁸ Benfey *Pañcatantra*, i. 479; Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1876, p. 746; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 33, 106; Chavannes, *Transactions of the XIVth International Oriental Congress*, vol. i, p. 123; *Cinq Cent Contes et Apologues Chinois*, vol. ii, p. 300; Siamese *Prakaranam* in Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 350; Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 162. One of the tales in 'The Four Paṇḍitayas,' translated by Pandit Nāṭeśa Śāstrī, published at Madras, 1888, as, 'The King and his four Ministers.' An old Indian

this idea is based upon the congenital enmity between the mongoose and the snake. A Brahman, going upon a journey, leaves his infant son in charge of a mongoose. A snake about to attack the child is killed by the mongoose. When the Brahman returns, the mongoose, its snout bloody, greets him. He thinks that the mongoose has slain the child, kills him, and lives to repent his hasty ingratitude. Benfey has followed out both the story and its motif a long distance, but there are really a considerable variety of other stories in which the same idea figures as a more or less controlling element.

Thus in a type whose caption might be 'The Fruit of Immortality.' The notion that a fruit may bestow immortality is familiar; it invites also the opposite conceit, namely, that it may become, after all, deadly, when sprinkled with poison. And this, in turn, opens the door to suspicion and the motif 'Hasty Ingratitude.' I have dealt with this phase in *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, p. 359.²⁹ A third type is that in which a prince slays a cobra which threatens the life of the queen in the royal chamber. A drop of the blood of the cobra falls upon the queen's breast which the prince sucks off in order to save her life. Thereupon the queen wakes up and denounces the prince who is put in jeopardy of his life.³⁰ Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 147 ff., presents a catena of stories that warn against hasty action, under the caption, 'Strike but hear.' Yet another type of the hasty action (without incidental ingratitude) is found in the story of the hermit and the goldsmith.³¹ A hermit goes to the house of a goldsmith to buy food. A heron happens to swallow some grains of gold during the goldsmith's absence. The latter suspects the hermit, tortures him, but cannot extract the truth from him, because he will not endanger

Romance, with notes and introduction by W. A. Clouston. Also in W. A. Clouston's *A Group of Eastern Romances*, Glasgow, 1889. See also *The Orientalist*, vol. i, p. 212; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. iii, p. 27, note. A late echo is Kipling's "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi," in *The Jungle Book*, pp. 175 ff.

²⁹ Cf. also Kathās. 123. 63 ff.; Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachīsī*, p. 176 ff.; Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 171 ff. See also 'The Four Paṇḍitayas,' cited in the preceding note, and cf. Tawney's *Translation of Kathāsarit-sāgara*, ii. 596, note.

³⁰ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 416; Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 46, 148.

³¹ Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammapada (Book IX, Story 10); Kathākoṣa, Tawney's *Translation*, p. 122. Several other citations are given by Leumann in his note to Tawney, on p. 238.

the life of the heron. A servant lets fall a bundle of fagots; that frightens the heron, and makes him bring up the grains. This story again is a variant form of the 'thieving starling,' for which see Benfey, l. c. 172. The story of ingratitude towards a faithful dog which is given by Benfey, l. c. 484, as a version of the serpent and ichneumon story recurs in Knowles, *Folk Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 36 ff. Cf. in general, Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 246, and Pavie, *Contes populaires du Cambodge*, which contains several fables against hasty action, the proposed theme of the fifth book of the Pañcatantra.

HOW TO EVADE SEEMINGLY IMPOSSIBLE (TRICK) CONDITIONS

The lexicon of almost any language finds it hard at times to give the primary or fundamental meaning of a given word. So certain story motifs appear in multiple aspects whose common basis needs to be sought out with almost lexicological circumspection. One of the oldest story motifs in the Indo-European literatures is found in the ancient Vedic Brāhmaṇa texts which furnish the setting for many so-called ākhyānas, or legends. As far as India is concerned the motif in question emerges in full growth at a very early time. We are told in several of these texts that the Demon Namuci once gets the better of the god Indra in a certain fight, yet agrees to release him, if the latter will promise to adhere to the following compact: 'not to slay him (Namuci) by day or by night; with a staff or a bow; with the flat hand or with the fists; with anything wet or dry.' Indra, nevertheless, kills Namuci with the foam of the waters, that being neither dry nor wet; at dawn, that being neither day nor night. The Namuci story itself survives in India in all strata of fiction,³² but what shall we say of the mutability and persistence of the psychic motif at all times in places widely apart. Alexander Macbain, *London Academy*, Nov. 5, 1892, no. 1070 (p. 413), quotes from Kennedy's version of Leubhar-na Feinne (p. 153): 'Grainne fell in love with Diarmaid, and said unto him with enchantment, "Thou must be my husband, and go along with me." He refused to be her husband, saying, "I will not go with you in the day nor in the night, afoot nor on horseback, without or within a house,

³² Cf. Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxii. 311; Muir, OST. iv². 261; Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, V. 145; Bloomfield, JAOS. xv. 143 ff.; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. LX; Kathās. 46. 216 ff.

in light or in darkness, in company or alone." Grainne left her bed about break of day, and found an ass. She brought the ass to the door of the house, and waked Diarmaid, and said, "Thou must now go with me for it is not day nor night, light nor darkness, I am not on horseback nor on foot, I am not in company nor alone, neither am I within or without a house, therefore your enchantment is loosed, and you must be my husband and go with me."'

It would appear from these two phases of what is obviously one and the same idea that the motif is, 'How to break a hide-bound contract.' But Benfey in his essay 'Die Kluge Dirne'³³ has collected from all over the world an astonishing number of instances in which a clever lass obtains a husband by fulfilling apparently impossible conditions in the manner of the last mentioned story. Hence his caption, 'The clever lass,' which is, however, only a particular application of the motif.

The vitality and almost delirious mutability of this motif is evidenced by a fantastic version in the Mahāummagga-Jātaka (546) which is a sort of Epic on the Great Sage Mahosadha (the Bodhisat). King Vedeha who is in need of an extra-good Minister hears of Mahosadha who is at the time only seven years old. Nineteen tests (ekūnavīsati-panho) are devised to try his wisdom. In the fourteenth Mahosadha must contrive to send rice, boiled under the following eight conditions: without rice, without water, without a pot, without an oven, without fire, without firewood, without being sent by a road either by a woman or a man. The sage takes some broken rice, for that is not rice; snow, for that is not water; an earthen bowl, which is no pot; chops up some wood-blocks, which are no oven; kindles fire by rubbing, instead of a proper fire; takes leaves instead of firewood; sends it on the head of a eunuch, who is neither man nor woman; and the gentleman travels by a footpath, which is no road. The Tibetan version³⁴ of the story makes Mahāusadha supply rice which had not been crushed with a pestle, and yet was not uncrushed; which had been cooked neither in the house, nor out of the house; neither with fire, nor yet without fire; he must send it neither along

³³ *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. ii, part 3, pp. 213 ff.; Child, *English and Scotch Ballads*, i. 485. See also Schleicher's *Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache*, ii, p. 117.

³⁴ See Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1876, p. 686; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 139. Cf. also Jülg, *Kalmückische Märchen*, p. 64.

the road, nor yet away from the road; without its being shone upon by the day-light, but yet not in the shade; by a messenger who was neither man nor woman; not riding, but also not on foot. The sage had some women shell the rice with their nails, and cook it in the sun on the threshold of the house. A eunuch with a shoe on one foot and the other bare, walking with one foot on the road and the other by the side of the road carries it in a pot covered with thin cloth—and thus meets the stipulations.

The theme has broadened out, and we are now thinking of some such inclusive caption as 'fulfilling seemingly impossible stipulations,' or the like. But joining on to the eunuch of the Mahāuśadha story, Plato, Republic 479 C, refers to the riddle of the eunuch³⁵ of which the scholiast gives the following version: αἰνός τις ἐστὶν ὡς ἀνὴρ¹ τε κοῦκ ἀνὴρ ὄρνιθα² κοῦκ ὄρνιθ' ἰδών³ τε κοῦκ ἰδών, ἐπὶ ξύλου⁴ τε κοῦκ ξύλου καθημένην λίθω⁵ τε κοῦκ λίθω βάλοι⁶ τε κοῦ βάλοι. 'There is the following fable: a eunuch¹ with eyes asquint³ tried to hit⁶ a bat² perched on a reed⁴ with a piece of pumice-stone.'⁵ We see now what is really at the bottom of all these variegated and widely propagated motifs, namely the riddle of the type, 'when is a man not a man?' or, 'when is a bird not a bird?', and so on, ad infinitum. It is not surprising that this fundamental notion is utilized in connection with the very broad fiction themes: 'how to perform seemingly impossible stunts,'³⁶ and, 'how to evade seemingly hide-bound compacts.'

All these sets of story traits make one grope for fulfilment, but fulfilment is not in sight now, any more than 75 years ago. The comparative study of fiction dates back in the main to a generation which is in the position of grandmother to the present. The names of Benfey, Köhler, Liebrecht, Kuhn, and others show what I mean. The intermediate generation has not brought anything like final fruition of these labors, but rather has continued them desultorily. Along the line which I am

³⁵ I owe this information to the kindness of my colleague, Professor C. W. E. Miller. See Benfey, l. c., p. 216, for further particulars.

³⁶ In my essay, 'The character and adventures of Mūladeva,' *Proc. of the Amer. Philos. Society*, vol. lii, pp. 616 ff., I have drawn attention (p. 636, note 39) to the item 'skill tricks,' as a standard element in stories. See *Aṭṭhāna-Jātaka* (425); also *Jātaka* vi. 127, 130; *Mél. Asiat.* 1876, p. 519; Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 430; Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 143.

considering there has been no real systematic development of these studies, but instead a great deal of uncorrelated labor. There is no repository for these story units, and no bureau of information concerning their homes and characters. 'Where have I heard this before?—I seem to hear a hundred echoes from literature, from fairy-tale, from folk-lore?' That, it seems to me, must be the normal frame of mind of all who busy themselves with this interesting theme. Plagued by a poor memory and, at the same time, by a fatal instinct for completeness, I am gradually groping my way to a program to whose execution I may be able to contribute, tho its fulfilment is perhaps not in the sight of any one living. One thing is certain: it is not sound or systematic philology to go on, as we have gone on, rummaging fragmentarily, painfully garnering 'lesefrüchte,' for which there is no storage place, and which, so to speak, decay on the hands of each harvester. I repeat, emphatically, that it is not only a question of recurring concinnate stories, but of single psychic traits, or conceits, or devices. These hold about the same relation to a story as does a word to a sentence. As a given word may be repeated in totally different sentences in diverse meanings, so motifs are repeated and diversified in different stories. They must be brought together in order to a better understanding of the language of stories.

THE LAUGH AND CRY MOTIF

In the following pages I shall endeavor to give the life history of one psychic motif, the laugh and cry motif, as completely and analytically as is possible in the circumstances indicated. My treatment is limited by my own reading, as indeed, at the present time, must be the treatment of any other author. It is, however, sufficient to establish tentatively one of those rubrics under which I should like to see arranged ultimately the huge stock of ideas current in fiction. It is, as it were, a provisional article in the future Encyclopedia of Fiction, or in the future dictionary of the language of story telling.

Laughing and crying are the two ends of the scale which expresses human mood or emotion. Joy and sorrow punctuate every biography from the time of the Neanderthal and Dordogne man. Until we come to the finikin modern who no longer regards it as good form to advertise emotion, man freely gives vent to laughter and crying; he knows no reason for restraining

himself. Certainly the Hindu story shows in this province no signs of repression, part reason why these motifs are constant and can be readily fructified by the narrators. They make all they can out of them, just as did the prince or princess who dropped rubies or pearls from their mouths every time they laughed or cried.³⁷ They know also that the two extreme emotions touch, and that there is in the contact pathos, humor, mystery, and so forth. When Gargantua's son Pantagrue is born at the sacrifice of his mother's life, Gargantua laments and weeps at the death of his wife, but laughs aloud and glorifies the strapping youngster he now calls his own. In some such way the two acts are brought together, not only in the same story, but at the same moment of the story. The inherent paradox evidently acts as an attraction. Because this paradox is of no one's making, being really one of nerves, it establishes itself firmly in human experience and consciousness, and finally becomes a fixed item in the apparatus of narration.

The story tellers appreciate the various kinds of emotion which produce laughter and crying. Crying expresses grief, pity for self and others, and occasionally is humorous or ironic. Laughter is much more complex. It expresses not only pure joy, but also triumph, scorn, impish mischief, irony, malice, fading out to uncanny, demonic mystery, the well-known German idea of 'hohngelächter der hölle.' It is finally used also to trick and befog.

Accordingly the use of laughter and crying as story motifs takes on a threefold aspect. On the one hand they lock hands in the same story, every time in intentional contrast. On the other hand, either laughter or crying occurs separately. Together or separately they represent an immensely fecund idea, variegated to suit every imaginable mood or emotion which can possibly be indicated in this way.

LAUGHTER AND CRYING TOGETHER³⁸

I begin my illustrations of the duplex motif with the following instance of laugh and cry as exponents of coincident serene

³⁷ See Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 13; Day, *Folk Tales of Bengal*, p. 97; Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i. p. 233.

³⁸ My collections do not concern themselves with literatures that are not Hindu. Cf. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes*, vol. ii, p. 172. He cites the laugh and cry from 1001 Nights and other Arabic literature; from Talmud, Berber, and other sources.

joy and chaste sorrow, elicited by the greatest possible event in Hindu life, the coming of Buddha:

In the Introduction to the Jātaka collection, vol. i, p. 54, an ascetic by the name of Kāladevala, a friend of Suddhodana, the Buddha's father, comes to the king's palace to inspect the Buddha. 'Now the ascetic could look backward into the past for forty world-cycles, and forward into the future for forty world-cycles. And, noting on the person of the future Buddha all the lucky marks and characteristics, he began to reflect and consider whether or not they professed the Buddhaship. And perceiving that undoubtedly he would become a Buddha, he thought to himself, "What a marvelous personage he is!"—and laughed.'

'Next he considered in his mind whether he would live to see him attain the Buddhaship; and he perceived that he was not to have that chance. For he would die before that time, and be reborn in the formless mode of existence, where it would be out of the power of even a hundred or a thousand Buddhas to come and enlighten him. And he thought: "It will not be mine to behold this so marvelous personage when he has become a Buddha. My loss, alas will be great"—and wept.'

The next story contrasts joy for one's self with pity for another. It comes from out of the midst of Buddhist feeling. In Matakabhatta-Jātaka (18) a certain learned and celebrated Brahman, deciding to prepare a feast for the dead (matakabhatta, a sort of *grāddha*), has a goat put in charge of his pupils to be taken to the river for washing, and other sacred preparations. The goat, remembering the events of his last birth (*pubbakammam*), and knowing that he would after his present immolation be freed from such pain, breaks into a great laugh, 'fit to crack a pot' (*ghaṭam bhindanto viya*). But again, realizing pityingly that the Brahman would succeed to his punishment when and because he had slain him, he breaks into a great cry. The disciples ask the reason for this strange conduct, and he promises to tell it in the presence of their teacher (Buddhist cliché). When brought before him he narrates that he himself in a former birth had been a learned Brahman, had performed a matakabhatta, had slain a goat, and had since then suffered at the end of 499 reincarnations the pain of having his own head cut off. Since the present existence was his

500th, he was delighted at the prospect of release from his pain, because his karma involved just 500 such deaths. Therefore he had laughed. On the other hand he had cried at the thought that the Brahman, if he slew him, would, like himself, go thru the pain of having his head cut off at the end of each 500 rebirths. Of course the Brahman releases the goat, who immediately sticks his head into a bush on a rock, to browse. At that very moment lightning strikes the rock, breaks off a chip which strikes the outstretched neck of the goat and cuts off his head for the 500th and last time. Thus the goat meets his destiny, and the Brahman is saved.

The reprehensibleness of goat-sacrifice is described impressively from the Jinistic point of view in Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, pp. 93, 320.

This story is echoed in Buddhaghosa's *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. ii, pp. 17-18: The heir apparent of the King of Benares vows to offer the blood of a hundred kings and a hundred queens to a tree spirit if he comes into the kingdom on the death of his father. Having become king he captures his victims, and prepares to fulfil his vow. One of the captives, Queen Dinnā, consort of King Ugghasena, is great with child, and the king therefore releases her. Queen Dinnā convinces the king of Benares that the tree spirit had nothing to do with his success. As the queen speaks she first weeps and then laughs. When asked to explain she tells that in a previous life she had killed a ewe for food. As a punishment for this wicked deed she was reborn in hell. Afterwards, since the fruit of her wicked deed was not yet exhausted, her own head was cut off just as many times as there were hairs in the ewe's fleece. The thought of the suffering which she had endured made her weep, and the joy she felt over her release made her exult. The king was thus made to realize the enormity of the deed he was minded to commit, and immediately ordered the release of the hundred kings and hundred queens.

Similarly in the *Mahāūmmagga-Jātaka* (546) the Bodhisat is born as a princely youth by the name of Mahosadha. When the time has come for him to marry, he goes, in the guise of a tailor, to test a poor farmer's daughter, Amaradevī by name, to see whether she be fit to be his wife.³⁹ She has stood the test of intelligence by guessing all sorts of riddles and riddlesome

³⁹ Parallel in *Daṣakumāracarita*: Mitragupta's second story.

actions; she has shown devotion and absolute obedience; she has proved herself an excellent house-wifē; she has been tempted vainly with gold. She is finally brought before him, arrayed in his regal splendor. She does not recognize him, but when she looks at him breaks into laughter and crying. And when asked to explain she says: 'My Lord, I laughed when I beheld your great splendor thinking that this is due to your good deeds in a former existence; I cried out of pity for you, thinking that you would go to hell, because you must have robbed others of their well-guarded possessions.' After this supreme test of her purity, she is finally introduced to her splendid station as the Bodhisat's wife.

In Sāma-Jātaka (540) the virtuous boy Suvāṇṇasāma laughs and cries when he hears that his parents have gone blind. When asked to explain he says: 'I wept because your sight is gone while you are still young, but I laughed to think that I shall now take care of you. Do not grieve, I will take care of you!'

F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon* ('Stories from the Saṃsārasāgaramanthanam'), p. 41, narrates how Gaṇapati brings an infidel to woe, through three successive misfortunes, the last culminating in death. Then he laughs and cries. He laughs to think of the folly, blindness, and insolence of the miserable infidel. But he cries from pity when he thinks of the terrible punishment awaiting in the future the foolish fellow and all like him. Bain's stories seem to me spurious.

Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 122 ff., gives an account of a Jinistic version of the Pañcatantra in Old Gujarātī, called the Pañcākhyānavārttika. On p. 130 he summarizes its version of the well known fable of the crocodile and the monkey's heart⁴⁰ which introduces the laugh and cry motif, secondarily, as we may judge from all the classical versions of the story in Sanskrit and Pāli. When the monkey gets scared he asks his pretended friend, the crocodile, to confess where he is carrying him. The crocodile answers that he intends to feed his wife on the monkey's heart, in order to save her life. Thereupon the monkey laughs. When the crocodile asks him for the reason of his laughter the monkey tells him that they must return to fetch his heart which hangs upon a fig-tree. The crocodile

⁴⁰ Pañcatantra, 4. 1; Jātaka, 208; Ćukasaptati, 67; Kathāsaritsāgara, 63. 97 ff.; cf. Benfey, Pañcatantra, i. 420. Innumerable echoes in the folklore books.

turns about, and the monkey escapes to the fig-tree. On the top of the fig-tree the monkey cries. One may gather from the sequel of Hertel's account that the monkey laughed because he knew that he would thus trick the crocodile, but that he cried after he had escaped, because he had been so foolish as to trust with his life the crocodile about whose family and character he knew nothing. The motif by this time is evidently a cliché which the author of this version has added to the story as an extra ornament, that lay ready to his hand, pigeon-holed, as it were—now a familiar and acceptable means for pointing a moral.

At this point the use of the double motif begins to descend a bit from the ethical pinnacle which it has occupied so far. In the vampire-story in Çivadāsa's recension of the Vetāla-pañcaviṅcati, 23; Kathāsaritsāgara 97; Oesterley's Baitāl Pachīsī 22, Vedāla Cadai 22,⁴¹ the vampire narrates how a certain Brahman, realizing that he was getting old, enters, by dint of his supernatural powers, the corpse of a youth.⁴² Thereupon he first cries and then laughs (or dances). The vampire then asks Vikrama (as usual in all the vampire stories) to explain this enigmatic procedure. The king interprets that the ascetic was grieved at abandoning that body which had grown up with him for many years, in which he had enjoyed the love of his mother and the joys of his youth; but that he rejoiced because he was about to enter a new body by whose means he would obtain even greater magic power. Nowhere does the use of the duplex motif illustrate better the contiguity of the two opposite emotions. Similar laughter and crying in 'Thousand nights and a night' (Breslau i, p. 62; cf. Oesterley, p. 212).

In the Hindī version of the Vampire stories (Baitāl Pachīsī, p. 24), but not in the Sanskrit versions, there is an unimportant

⁴¹ Babington in *Miscellaneous Translations from Oriental Languages*, vol. i, Part iv, p. 84.

⁴² For magic inhabitation of corpses, see Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i, p. 122 ff., and see in addition the well-told story of Vikrama's change to a parrot in Pārçvanātha Carita 3. 105-330; Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 13; Lescallier, *Le Trône Enchanté*, p. 130 ff.; Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 102; Anaryan (Pseudonym for F. Arbuthnot), in 'Early Ideas,' *Hindoo Stories*, pp. 131 ff., where the story is ascribed to a Prākṛit poet Hurridas (Haridāsa); Butterworth, *Zig-zag Journeys in India*, p. 167 (The Parrot with the soul of a Rajah). See also the story, presumably spurious, told by F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 84.

and insipid variant of this story: On the death of a charming boy, as he is laid out upon the bier, a Yōgin decides to inhabit the young body. The father of the boy seems to understand the nature of the miracle, and first laughs and then cries. When the vampire asks Vikrama to explain he says: The father laughed when he saw that the Yōgin entered the body, because he thus became acquainted with his magic art; but he cried at the thought that he one day would have to abandon his own body. At this point, we perceive, the motif begins to assume the nature of a mere clothes-line upon which to hang clothes, either new or ragged.

The combined laugh and cry fades into a mere gruesome mystery once more in the introduction to the tales of Vampire: King Vikrama climbs up the aḥoka-tree on which is suspended the corpse inhabited by the vampire, who later on tells the 25 tales. He cuts the rope and flings the body to the ground. The moment it is flung down it cries out, as if in pain. Then the king, supposing it to be alive, comes down, and rubs the body out of compassion; that makes the corpse utter a loud demoniac laugh. Then the king knows that it is possessed by a Vetāla, and says without flinching, 'Why do you laugh? Come, let us be off!' And immediately he misses from the ground the corpse possessed by the Vetāla, and perceives that it is once more suspended on that very tree. Āivādāsa's version, nr. 1; Kathāsāritsāgara 75; Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachīsī*, p. 24. The Vampire again utters a horrible laugh as Vikrama takes him down from the aḥoka-tree in the introduction of Vetāla 4; Kathāsāritsāgara 78.

Once more in the same text, Vetālapañcaviṅcati 14; Kathāsāritsāgara 87; *Baitāl Pachīsī* 13, the laugh and cry motif becomes mere riddle mongery. A wealthy merchant's daughter falls in love with a handsome thief, as he is being led to be impaled on the stake. She sends her father to ransom him, but the king is inexorable, and the thief dies impaled on the stake. Just before his death he hears of the conduct of the girl and breaks out into crying and laughter. When the Vampire has finished this tale he asks King Vikrama to explain the puzzling behavior of the thief. The several versions have various explanations: the thief weeps at the thought of the generosity of the merchant (or his daughter), or, more particularly, because he is no longer able to recompense the merchant; and he laughs because the maiden has fallen in love

with a thief, after having rejected royal suitors, or because she has fallen in love with him in the hour of his death. Or the thief laughs at the entire grotesque occurrence, and cries over the grief which the parents of the maiden must feel. See Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachīsī*, p. 203.

In the famous cycle of stories about Rāja Rasālu, as told in Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Janjāb* (London 1908), p. 116, the cruel Rāja Sirikap has a gateway to his palace which is built of men's skulls. Rasālu, who is coming to trick and overcome Sirikap, is led in by the Gate of Skulls, where he sees piles of heads grim and ghostly, which first laugh and then cry as he passes them. Rasālu asks them to pray that he may have luck:

'For then one yard of cloth I'll bring for every head in turn,
And on a pyre of sandal-wood each one of you shall burn.'

The heads, presumably, first laugh when they see their avenger, Rasālu, and then cry to indicate their woes and their desecration. Skulls' or dead men's laughter has developed into a sub-motif in folklore. See Sirisūk's dead man's laugh in Swynnerton, *ibid.* p. 112; the ghastly laugh of the six skulls who explain to the prince that his own head will also be placed by their side, in Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 194; and the laugh of the jinn's skull in Knowles' *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 3. In Fleeson's *Laos Folklore of Farther India*, p. 134, the skull of a boy who in life had been an arch-rogue, when drawn up from a river by two fishermen, laughs mockingly at them. We may infer that he thinks they too will some day suffer death. Furthermore, related with this sphere of the motif is Prince Thānuji's frenzied laugh and cry when he realizes the misfortunes of his beloved wife Gangabāī, in Naṭesi Sāstrī's *Folklore in Southern India*, p. 179; and the mysteriously dangerous 'Weeper and Laugher,' in Schiefner-Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 63.

Inasmuch as humor hovers on the outskirts of paradox the combined motif passes in due time into the domain of the facetious. The first instance may be entitled 'Ultima Socrus,' or 'the final fruit of the Mother-in-Law.' It is told, again, in the course of the adventures of Rāja Rasālu, in Swynnerton's 'Romantic Tales from the Panjāb,' p. 87. Rasālu has set out to conquer the giants of Gandgarh, and arrives at a large city which, however, is as silent as the grave. Finally in a distant corner of it he discovers a miserable old woman kneading and

baking quantities of bread, and preparing abundance of sweet-meats, but all the time she is either weeping or laughing. Surprised at a spectacle so extraordinary, Rasālu halted and said: 'Mother, in this solitary place who is to eat all that food, and why are you both weeping and laughing?'

'The king of this place,' said the woman, 'is Kashudeo, and he has ordered that a human being, a buffalo, and four hundred pounds of bread shall be sent daily to a certain place for the giants. Once I had seven sons, of whom six have been devoured, and to-day it is the turn of the seventh, and to-morrow it will be the turn of myself. But I am laughing because also to-day my seventh son was to have been married, and because his bride—ha! ha!—will have now to do without a husband.'⁴³

With these words the woman fell to laughing and crying more bitterly than ever.⁴⁴

Mūladeva and his boon companion Çaçin⁴⁵ have arrived at Pātaliputra, the home of polished wits, to try the cleverness of its inhabitants. There Çaçin saw a boy crying at the door of a house with a warm rice-pudding on a plate in front of him. And he said, 'Dear me! this is a foolish child not to eat the pudding in front of him, but to vex himself with useless crying.' When the child heard this he wiped his eyes, and said laughingly, 'You fools do not know the advantages I get by crying. The pudding gradually cools and so becomes nice, and another good comes of it: my phlegm is diminished thereby. These are the advantages I derive from crying; I do not cry out of folly; but you country bumpkins are fools because you do not see what I do it for.' Kathās. 124. 136 ff.

The satirical note is struck once more in Swynnerton, p. 220: One night a camel trespassing in a weaver's field left there the

⁴³ This goes one better the poor minstrel (or peasant) whose house teemed with bugs. He sets the house afire, and sings:

'Wann dat nit jöt för di Wandlūs es
Dann wess der Düwel was besser es.'

See Hertel's *Translation of Pariṣṭaparvan*, p. 249.—The story reminds one of dvesti evaṣrūh, RV. 10. 34, 3; Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen*, p. 224; Kathās. 29. 69 ff.; and Naṭeśa Śāstrī, *Folklore of Southern India*, p. 99 ff.

⁴⁴ In Temple's version of the story, *The Legends of the Panjāb*, vol. I, p. 19, the anecdote is told defectively; the old woman explains her crying, but not her laughter. So also Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, pp. 258, 306. An echo of the story, *ibid.*, p. 143.

⁴⁵ See the author, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, lii, 631.

marks of his feet. In the morning the owner brought there the oldest weaver in the village to explain what manner of animal had trodden down his corn. The old man on seeing the footprints both laughed and cried, and when asked to explain, says, 'I cry because I think to myself, "what will these poor children do for someone to explain things to them when I am dead," and I laugh, because, because, as for those footprints, I know not, no, I know not, what they are.'

Related with the mother-in-law story is the following told in Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 39: A prince was walking along one day when he saw a potter crying and laughing alternately with his wife and children. 'O fool,' said he, 'what is the matter? If you laugh, why do you weep? If you weep, why do you laugh?' The potter, after some urging, replied: 'The king of this country has a daughter whom he is obliged to marry every day, because all her husbands die the first night of their stay with her. Nearly all the young men of the place have thus perished, and our son will be called on soon. We laugh at the absurdity of the thing—a potter's son marrying a princess, and we cry at the terrible consequence of the marriage.' The prince changes places with the potter's son, slays the two shamars that come out of the princess' nostrils, and lives with her happily ever after.

In a vaguely similar way, Steel and Temple, *Legends from the Panjāb*, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxviii, p. 320: A servant is substituted for a princess and sent to a prince, who dislikes and beats her. She laughs and cries. Cries on account of her hurts; laughs on account of the deceit practiced upon the prince.

Finally, there is that contact between crying and laughter which rests upon the close contact between joy and sorrow, or tragedy and comedy in human life. A cuckold husband laughs and cries when his dissolute wife whom he still cherishes returns to his home in abject poverty and full of repentance. She herself laughs from grief at her husband's kindness, and dies from a broken heart. See, F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 79. A wretched, poor, and decrepit old mother, ejected from her home by a heartless daughter-in-law obtains from her village divinity a fruit of immortality, becomes young and strong, and sheds tears of joy and sorrow upon the shoulder of her son who has gone out to find her. See Naṭeśa Sāstrī's *Folklore in Southern India*, p. 101.

In Shaikh Chilli, *Folktales of Hindustan*, p. 165, an usurper kills a king, his adoptive father, but the pregnant queen escapes. When her son grows up, ignorant of his royal parentage, he goes to an archery contest at the court and wins the prize, which consists of 500 gold mohurs, a suit of clothes, arms, and a horse. His royal instinct leads him to select those that belonged to his murdered father. When his mother sees him, she both cries and laughs in the same breath. She explains, 'I laughed when I saw you return in this equipment, which belonged to your father. I wept at the thought of the change of fortune which has brought us to this pass. Now you know the secret of your birth, and the reason of my weeping and laughing.'

In Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 177, a jealous wife transforms a younger wife and her son into a cow and her calf. The husband, unknowingly, sacrifices the cow, but is restrained from sacrificing the calf by a look in its eye. A girl, seeing the calf, laughs and cries, because the calf has been spared, but its mother has been killed.

Princess Panjphūlārānī ('Five-Flower-Queen') smiles and then weeps at the sight of a prince who has come to marry her. When the prince asks why, she answers: 'I smiled first at your beauty, and then I wept, because, when the gardener's wife comes to weigh me to-morrow, I shall weigh more than five flowers, for this reason, that till to-day I have never seen a man, and now I have seen you. My father will kill you when he hears of it.' See Steel and Temple, *Indian Antiquary*, xi. 75.

An old woman weeps with one eye, laughs with the other. She weeps because of the misfortunes that await a prince, from which he can be rescued only by a wazīr on the condition that the wazīr says nothing at all. Why the woman laughs is not explained, probably because of the final happiness of all parties concerned. See Crooke, *Indian Antiquary*, xxi. 188 ff.

In Ram Satya Mukharji's *Indian Folklore*, p. 2 ff., Darraf Khan overhears in the forest a female demon's loud and shrill laugh. She explains that she has reason to be merry because to-morrow she will be married to Bhutu Chandal, one of Darraf Khan's friends. Bhutu Chandal will be gored to death and will then come to the plane of the demon's astral entity, and will be given to her in marriage by her sovereign. Darraf Khan tries to save Bhutu Chandal from his impending fate by locking him in his hut, but a great conflagration breaks out, the neigh-

bors break into his hut, release him, only to be promptly gored by a mad bull. In the evening, again, Darraf Khan hears the demon sob. She explains that all her hopes are blasted. The bull which gored Bhutu Chandal to death had on its horns a few grains of sacred soil from the bed of the holy Ganges, the mere touch of which was sufficient to send Bhutu Chandal to paradise. 'I shall not, therefore, have him for my husband. Alas! I do not know how long I shall have to wait for a husband.'

Most effectively the cross between tragedy and comedy that makes up much of human life is employed as a pivot for Buddhist morality in Culladhanuga-Jātaka (374), and in the corresponding Tibetan story Suçronī, 'Beautiful-hipped,' the doubly unfaithful wife. See *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1876, p. 745 = Schiefner-Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 232 ff.⁴⁶ Suçronī, after having abandoned faithlessly more than one husband, has taken up with a robber who reflects that she is likely to make away with him also. As they travel together they come to a stream; Suçronī takes off her clothes and jewels, and gives them to the robber to carry across: afterwards he is to fetch her. But the robber abandons her naked and destitute—and she wept. A jackal with a piece of meat in his mouth came there and placed himself in front of the woman, and just then a fish jumped out of the water and fell before the jackal. The jackal, dropping the piece of meat, sprang up to catch the fish, but the fish jumped into the water, and a bird seized the piece of meat—then she laughed. The jackal (who is really God Indra) asks why she, that should be crying, was laughing thus boisterously, and she explains, because he, poor fool, had lost both flesh and fish. Easily the jackal turns the tables on her by pointing out that she had lost both spouse and lover, and thus works her repentance.

LAUGHTER BY ITSELF

More frequent than the combined laugh and cry is laugh alone, sometimes born of joy forthright, but more often of irony,

⁴⁶ Cf. also Sussondi-Jātaka (360), and Kākāti-Jātaka (327). See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i, 468, and the Dhūminī stories, J. J. Meyer, *Ḍaṣaku-māracaritam*, pp. 87 ff. (with additional parallels and references).

malice, mystery and trickery.⁴⁷ The steed Kanthaka laughs a great laugh of joy when he notices that the future Buddha, about to start on the Great Retirement (*mahābhinikkhamaṇa*) preparatory to his Buddhahood, girds him tighter than is his custom:

‘It is not at all as on other days, when I am saddled for rides in the park and the like. It must be that to-day my master wishes to issue forth on the Great Retirement.’⁴⁸

In *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 24 ff., King *Çālivāhana*, making the rounds of his city, comes upon a laughing fish which has just been thrown up by the waves of the river. Bewildered with fear, he consults the monk *Jñānasāgara* who explains as follows: ‘In a former life, as a poor wood-carrier, you used to come to eat your humble meal at the bank of this very river. One time you saw walking in front of you a Jaina hermit who had come to break a month’s fast. So you called him and gave him the ball of meat that you had made. From the surpassing merit of that act you have become King *Çālivāhana*.⁴⁹ The hermit has become a god. That god entered into the fish and laughed for joy at beholding the soul of the wood-carrier, which is none other than yourself, born in the rank of a king.’ The story is told somewhat differently in *Prabandhakoṣa*; see Tawney’s note on p. 208 of his translation of *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*.

Amor omnia vincit. Another instance, this time of triumphant laughter, dashed with an element of Puck-like impishness, is told in the same text, p. 96. King *Bhoja*, in the company of the *Paṇḍit Dhanapāla*, leaves a temple. In the passage of its door *Dhanapāla* sees a statue of the God of Love (*Kāma*) clapping hands with his wife *Rati* (Consummation)—and he laughs. This laugh is merely contagious with *Dhanapāla*. He is infected with the hilarity of the God of Love himself, who is made to explain as follows: ‘God *Çiva*, the ascetic, who once

⁴⁷ Rarely from grief. Paradoxically, the sage *Pulastya* laughs out of sorrow over the fate of a *Vidyādhara* king who has become a parrot in consequence of some sin; see *Kathās*. 59. 56, 159. Cf. the enigmatic smile of *Moggallāna* in *Dhammapada Commentary*, below, p. 62. In F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 79, a faithless wife repentant returns home, laughs from grief at her husband’s kindness, and then dies broken-hearted.

⁴⁸ *Nidānakathā*, *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 60, line 20 ff.

⁴⁹ To a similar act *Mūladeva* owes his kingdom; see the author in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. lii, pp. 644 ff.

upon a time in wrath reduced to ashes Kāma by the fire of his eye, afflicted with separation, now bears his beloved in his own body'—alluding to the hermaphrodite Īiva (ardhanārīṇa, ardhanārīṇvara): 'So we are conquered, are we?', saying this, and patting Rati's hand lovingly, triumphs laughingly the victorious God of Love.

Again and again an enigmatic laugh serves as the pivotal point of a story, or is used with rhetorical or dramatic effect to mark its point. In Kathākōṇa, p. 185, King Tāmracūḍa, seated in a typical seven-storied palace, surrounded by sycophant courtiers, asks them by whose favor they enjoy such a fortune of rule, and they answer, 'King, all this springs from your favor.' The Princess Madanamañjarī laughs a little, and then remains silent. On being asked the reason she answers: 'My father, these servants of yours said what is not true, for that reason I laughed.' 'Then, my dear, what is true?' 'Every man fares according to his own action.'⁵⁰ The king, enraged, marries her to a leper, who is, in reality, a magic-skilled Vidyādhara king by the name of Kanakaratha. After putting her wifely devotion to the utmost test, Madanamañjarī enjoys the proper fruit of her *karma* as his resplendent queen, and easily convinces her father Tāmracūḍa, that everyone fares according to his own actions.

The wicked king Duryodhana overcomes Yudhiṣṭhira, and carries him and his family to his own city, where he inters them all in a pit dug in the prison. At the end of each day he furnishes them with food enough to sustain a single man. Then Yudhiṣṭhira says to his son Çakuni: 'Dear son, eat you alone and live, in order that you may wreak vengeance upon Duryodhana. When I am dead make dice of my bones⁵¹; they will bring you success. By the help of these dice you shall surely destroy Duryodhana.'

It happened one day that Duryodhana passed his urine against a fig-tree. A seed of the fig-tree fell in, and bobbed up and down in the urine. Noticing this he had to laugh, thinking that from such a seed had this great tree sprung.

Some women come along and, when they see him laugh, they

⁵⁰ Cf. the stories of Prince Sobur in Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 124 ff.; C. A. Kineaid, *Deccan Nursery Tales*, p. 71 ff.

⁵¹ On victorious dice made of dead men's bones see Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 270 ff.

laugh also. The king becomes angry and sends them to prison. Çakuni sees them there, and asks the reason of their mirth. They answer: 'We saw Duryodhana laughing as he passed his urine near a fig-tree. Then we too laughed; we know nothing else.' Then Çakuni consults the dice, and through their magic power finds out the cause of Duryodhana's mirth. He then tells the women to go to the king and say thus and thus. They obtain permission from the king, appear before him, and explain the cause of his laughter. Duryodhana, astonished and angered at their knowledge of what went on in his soul, by threats makes them reveal the source of their information, the prisoner of the pit, Çakuni. He then induces Çakuni to become his prime minister, a position which gives him the craved opportunity to destroy Duryodhana, thus avenging his father and his family.

The story is found as one of two extras in a couple of Hitopadeça manuscripts, published by Hertel in ZDMG. LV. 489 ff.; translated by the same author on p. 242 of his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hemacandra's Parīṣṭaparvan* (Leipzig 1908).

The following story, from a later time, also concerned with fate and retribution, pivots about a triple mysterious, sardonic laugh. In Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 114 ff., a fakir named Nānakṣā (i. e. Nānak Shāh, the founder of the Sikh religion) is in the habit of visiting a grain merchant who with his wife are glad to see him. One day they saw a goat led away to be killed. The goat escaped from his guard and hid behind the merchant, but was recaptured and marched off to slaughter. At this the fakir laughed. Later they saw an old woman who was being led to execution for some offence; she likewise escaped and took refuge behind the merchant, but she also was recaptured and led away to die. Again the fakir laughed. At this moment the merchant's little daughter woke and began to scream. Her mother took her in her arms; the child was cross and pulled her mother's clothes all awry. Again the fakir laughed.

In the end Nānak explains to the importuning merchant's wife: 'The goat in his former life was your husband's father, and your husband could have saved his life by giving the man who was taking him to be killed four rupees. The old woman who hid herself behind your husband was his grandmother in her former life; he could have bought her release for twenty

rupees. Should a wild beast or a man ever take refuge behind us, it is our duty to save their lives.

‘Well,’ said the merchant’s wife, ‘you have told me why you laughed the first two times. Now tell me why you laughed the third time.’

‘Listen,’ said Nānak. ‘You remember your husband’s sister whom you tormented so much? She died, but then God caused her to be born again as your daughter, that she might torment you and punish you for having been so unkind to her in her former life, when she was your sister-in-law.’

Somewhat similarly, in Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 95, a man dies in pursuit of a mirage in the desert. His relatives censure him. An ascetic laughs that they should censure the madman for pursuing the mirage, while they themselves pursue the world and its appurtenances. The same author, p. 64, reports two more instances of the laugh motif: 1) a princess laughs at a false ascetic’s austerities. 2) An ascetic laughs, after being emasculated by a princess on whom he endeavored to commit rape, thru joy at escaping with his life.

Harsh and incomprehensible fate leads to the anti-climax of laughter in Vedāla Cadai⁵² 21: The king who ruled in the city of Sithirapuram makes love to a certain damsel, when he is espied and arrested by a giant who threatens to devour them. But the giant agrees to spare them if they deliver up the child that is to be born to them. In due time as the giant is in the act of sacrificing it, the child laughs. As usual the Vetāla asks Vikramāditya the reason why, and the latter explains: ‘If any one punish a child, it appeals to its father and mother; if the father and mother punish it, it must appeal to the king; if the king punish it, it must appeal to the deity; but if the deity thus treats it, to whom can it appeal? Reflecting thus, the child laughed.’

Another instance of enigmatic fateful laugh is told in Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 56 (p. 31 of Tawney’s translation): Prince Sindhala, going out to hunt at night, saw a boar roaming near a place where a thief had been impaled, and not noticing that the corpse of the thief had fallen upon the ground, he pressed it down with his knee and proceeded to aim an arrow at the boar. Thereupon the corpse called to him. He prevented it

⁵² Babington’s Tamil version of Vetālapañcaviṅcati, in *Miscellaneous Translations from Oriental languages*, vol. i, Part iv, p. 82. This story does not occur in the other versions.

from touching his hand, and having pierced the boar with an arrow, was drawing it towards him, when the corpse rose up, uttering a great laugh. Sindhala said to it: 'When you called to me, was it better that I should hit the boar, or attend to you, and not hit the boar?' When he had finished this speech, that ghost, which was seeking occasion against him granted him boons of prowess, and advised him to go to the country of Mālava, ruled by king Muñja. Now this Muñja was a foundling who had been adopted by Sindhala's own father, King Sindhadantabhāṭa, and had been given the succession over the head of his own son Sindhala. Sindhala then remained living at the court of his adopted brother, displayed haughtiness and therefore had his eyes put out by Muñja, after which he was confined in a wooden cage. But he begot a son, the far-famed king Bhoja, who in the end succeeded Muñja. The latter, in his turn, came to a cruel end. What the corpse found to laugh at will be construed differently by different readers. It seems to me that, in accord with its demonic (Rākṣasa) nature, its laugh is a mixture of admiration of Sindhala's insouciant coolness in finishing up the boar during its own hair-raising performances, dashed with ironic glee at the tangled fatalities in the sequel: Sindhala's tragic fate, tempered by the fact that his son Bhoja ultimately avenges him and becomes king of Mālava.

The laugh of this satanic corpse seems to be patterned after the cry and laugh of the Vetāla, above p. 74.

An enigmatic laugh with a touch of humor in Kathās. 124. 140 ff.; A young and foolish Brahman by the name of Agni-ṣarman is married to a child wife. When he grows up he starts to fetch his wife, but is warned of danger by omens. He welcomes these omens with the words, 'Hail! Hail!', and the divinity presiding over the omens laughs at him unseen, saying, 'Why this fool welcomes bad luck as if it were good! So I must give him the luck which he welcomes. I must contrive to save his life!' Agni-ṣarman thru the treachery of his wife is condemned to death, but the divinity saves him from execution, and brings punishment upon the guilty. Note also the humorously ironic laugh of the Vetāla Bhūtaketu in Kathās. 124. 41.

In a story or two the mysterious laugh is used to trick or befog. Thus in the story of the astute gambler Thiṇṭhākārāla in Kathāsaritsāgara 121. 160 ff. The gambler has established

himself as a Yogin, so saintly as to induce the king of the country to visit him. In the evening when the king was preparing to depart a female jackal suddenly uttered a yell at a distance. The cunning gambler laughed. And when the king asked him the meaning of the laugh, he said, 'Oh, never mind!' But when the king went on persistently questioning him, the deceitful fellow said: 'In the forest to the east of the city, under a ratan, there is a pitcher full of jewels; so take it.' This as a first step in gaining the king's confidence for his own ulterior purposes: the gambler himself had buried the pitcher in that place.

Still more shrewdly a trick laugh saves the life of a jackal in Çukasaptali 44. In the course of the clever trick-stories about a woman who pretends to be a tiger-killer (vyāghramārī),⁵³ a tiger with a jackal bound to his back flees precipitately from the woman, his supposed pursuer. The jackal's back and paws are torn up cruelly in the course of the flight, and he is near death from loss of blood. Then the jackal notwithstanding his pains breaks into a loud laugh.⁵⁴ Asked by the tiger to explain he says: 'My lord, I have recognized Vyāghramārī, the demon. Thru your mercy I am alive and far away from her. But if she, the wretch, should follow the track of my blood, how can we remain alive? Therefore I laugh.' Of course the tiger then releases the jackal and takes himself off, to the great satisfaction of the jackal.

⁵³ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 506; Stan. Julien, *Les Avadānas*, vol. ii, p. 146; Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen*, p. 181. The story is a favorite of the folk-lore collections: see O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, pp. 36 ff. (the same collection, p. 48, contains another good instance of the trick-laugh); Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, pp. 134 ff.; Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 35; Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 274; Campbell, *Santal Folktales*, pp. 45, 49; Bodding, *Folktales of the Santal Pargavas*, p. 339; Parker, *Village Folktales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 213; Skeat, *Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 45; McCulloch, *Bengal Household Tales*, p. 305; Wood, *In and Out of Chanda*, p. 59; A. R. Busk, *Sagas from the Far East*, pp. 204, 380; *Orientalist*, vol. i, p. 261. In Naṭeṣa Śāstrī's *Folklore in Southern India*, pp. 91 ff. = Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 98, there is a variant of the vyāghramārī motif, executed by a man and his wife against a crowd of goblins (bhūtas). And the story of the barber and the ghost (brahmadaitya), in Ram Satya Mukharji's *Indian Folklore*, pp. 100 ff.; Day, *Folk-Tales*, pp. 257 ff.; Gordon, *Indian Folktales*, p. 58, is built upon the same motif.

⁵⁴ In Benfey's account of this item (*Pañcatantra*, i. 506) the jackal both laughs and cries. Laughter, to trick; crying, because he is pained.

In Shaik Chilli's *Folktales of Hindustan*, p. 124, a disguised robber takes service with an eloped couple, a prince and princess, the latter being disguised as a man. He treacherously kills the prince, but spares the princess on learning her sex. Shortly afterwards she laughs; the robber surlily asks her to keep quiet, and asks why she laughs. She points to the sky, and says, 'Look up, look up, what a beautiful kite!' When he looks up she cuts off his head.

There is one mysterious laugh, and as far as I know only one, that has become universal and classical, the laugh of the dead, or even cooked fish. The story blends mystery and cynicism in equal parts. It is familiar to everybody from 'Thousand nights and a night.'⁵⁵ The story is told most simply in Kathās. 5; rather more elaborately in Çukasaptati 5-9; and still more complicatedly in Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 484 ff. The Kathās. version is about as follows: King Yogananda sees his queen leaning out of the window, and asking questions of a Brahman guest that is looking up. That trivial circumstance throws the king into a passion, and he gives orders that the Brahman be put to death. Then as the Brahman is being led off, a fish in the market laughs aloud, tho it is dead. The king stops the execution of the Brahman, and asks his minister Çakatāla for an explanation of the mystery. On the advice of Sarasvatī the latter takes up a position on the top of a palm-tree, and soon sees a horrible female Rākṣasī coming past with her children. When they ask her for food, she says: 'Wait, and I will give you to-morrow the flesh of a Brahman, he was not killed to-day.' 'Why was he not killed to-day?' 'He was not executed because a fish in the town, tho dead, laughed when it saw him.' 'Why did the fish laugh?' 'The fish said to himself, all the king's wives are dissolute, for in every part of his harem are men dressed up as women. Nevertheless, while these escape, an innocent Brahman is put to death—and this tickled the fish so that he laughed.'

The version of the Çukasaptati goes the Kathāsaritsāgara one or two better in the grimness of its cynicism: King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī dines with his beloved wife Kāmalilā. He

⁵⁵ See also *Indian Antiquary*, xvi. 66; xxii. 321; Bodding, *Folklore of the Santal Pargavas*, p. 70; Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 250. For parallels outside of India, see Tawney's *Translation of the Kathāsaritsāgara*, vol. i. p. 24, note.

offers her roast fish, and she declines: 'My lord, I am unable to look at these men, much less to take hold of them.' When the fish heard that they, fried as they were, broke into peals of laughter, so that the people of the city heard it. Needless to say Queen Kāmalilā is just such another; her exposure by the wise maiden, Bālapaṇḍitā, is worked in a much more intricate fashion than in the version of the Kathāsaritsāgara.

I may mention, finally, the enigmatic smile of Moggallāna in Dhammapada Commentary. His smile (sitam) is at the sight of sundry visionary hell tortures and hell phenomena. What he finds to laugh at is not at all clear: crying were more natural. See Book v, stories 12 and 13; Book x, story 6, and Book xx, story 6. Cf. the Lakkhaṇa-Saṃyutha (*Samyutha Nikāya*, vol. ii, pp. 254-262). We may compare Pulastya's laugh about fate, above p. 80, note.

Similarly Yama smiles mysteriously when a Brahman comes before him believing that he had performed austerities on the banks of the Ganges for fifteen years. He had in fact performed them on the banks of streams he mistakenly thought to be the Ganges. Yama's smile means that right penance, wherever performed, is as good as that performed on the banks of the Ganges. See F. W. Bain, *A Digit of the Moon*, p. 75.

CRYING BY ITSELF

An impressive instance of the cry-motif by itself is contained in Kathāsaritsāgara 53; and in the Vetāla stories (Çivadāsa 4; Kathāsaritsāgara 78; Baitāl Pachīsī 3).⁵⁶ A powerful, generous, and beneficent king has a Rajput servitor and guard by the name of Vīravara. The king has tested him repeatedly, but not yet has come the supreme trial. Once upon a time the king hears a woman weeping in the distance,⁵⁷ a strange thing in his kingdom, where there are no poor, afflicted, or oppressed. He sends Vīravara to find out. When he comes upon the woman she explains that she is Earth, that the king is her righteous

⁵⁶ See Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, i. 414; Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 194. A similar story under the caption, 'King Sadrak and his Dewan,' is told in Thomas Bacon, *The Oriental Annual*, 1839, pp. 138 ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. the cry of grief all around in the city because the Brahman boy Mahipāla has been found bitten by a poisonous snake, Kathās. 56. 123.

lord, that he will die on the third day, and where shall she then obtain another such lord (subtle, flattering, pun on the word *bhūpati*, which means 'Lord of the Earth,' but is construed to mean 'husband of the Earth'). Viravara finds out that he may save the king's life thru the sacrifice of his own son to the goddess Caṇḍī (*Durgā*). The boy gladly consents; Viravara cuts off his head; his daughter and wife from grief also commit suicide, and finally Viravara follows suit. But the king, who has followed them all secretly to the scene of immolation, prays to the goddess to accept his own life as the price for resuscitating the devoted family. The goddess stops him, brings to life the family, and the king out of gratitude shares his kingdom with Viravara. Several parallels to this story are reported by Oesterley, p. 185, and Tawney, ii. 257, and a somewhat similar narrative is given in Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, pp. 144 ff., 182.

In the story of Gul Badshah, told by Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, p. 25 ff., the Princess Senah hears dismal wailings and moanings which no one can explain. They disturb her peace of mind to such an extent that she makes the solution of the riddle part price of her hand. Needless to say a daring prince turns up obligato, and finds that the wails come from the soul of a usurer who had died in a good cause. He together with nine others had escorted a wedding party thru the dark depths of a forest, and all had been massacred by robbers. Rice comes down from heaven for the souls of the nine, but for the soul of the usurer come stones only. The prince redeems the soul of the usurer by finding some of his hidden treasure and distributing it in charity. For wailing souls in hell torments cf., e. g., *Catudvāra-Jātaka* (439), and see Anderson's note to the same, '*A Pāli Reader*,' p. 118.

Swynnerton, p. 157, has a good anecdote which shows the occasional sardonic turn given to these motifs: A priest is holding forth on the torments of the life to come, and observes one of his auditors, a poor farmer, weeping profusely. 'Ah, you sinner!' cried the preacher, interrupting his discourse, 'you are crying, are you? My words have struck home, have they? You begin to think of your sins, do you?'

'No, no,' answered the man, 'I was not thinking of my sins at all. I was thinking of my old he-goat, that grew sick, and died a year ago. Such a loss! Never was a beard so like the beard of my old he-goat as yours.'

The same type is cited from the Tamil *Katāmañcari* by E. Strutt in *The Orientalist*, vol. i, p. 166: A minstrel sings a ballad and waves his head from side to side as he sings. A shepherd in the crowd sobs unceasingly. The people, thinking that he is crying from joy, say: 'Why do you cry? don't do so!' The shepherd replies: 'Alas! one of the sheep in my flock was seized with convulsions causing distortions similar to these (of the minstrel). This child also (evidently one of his own), also of a year old, has suffered from them, and so I weep.'

Occasionally there is a lamentation to trick or mislead: In *Mahājanaka-Jātaka* (539) the chief Queen of King Aritṭha-janaka in Mithilā at the suggestion of a Brahman simulates tears of joy at meeting with the Brahman. They play the rôle of sister and brother in order to ensure the safety of the Queen. In Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, p. 180, a young thief disguises himself as a woman and weeps on the pretense that her son is dying. She begs for a piece of camel's flesh to cure her son, and thus succeeds in ferreting out a theft of stolen treasure. See also the tricky interpretation by the gambler *Thiṇṭhākarāla* of the cry of the statue *Kalāvati* in *Kathās*. 121. 174 ff.

The type of more or less enigmatic weeping is represented by a point in the *Mahānāradakassapa-Jātaka* (544), where the slave *Bījaka* weeps from 'weltschmerz,' believing that his pious life is bearing no fruit. In *Dhammapada Commentary*, Book I, story 2,⁵⁸ *Maṭṭhakunḍalī* pretends to cry for the sun and moon to use as wheels for his chariot, and thus instructs his father to seek the truth thru the Act of Faith in the Buddha. Finally there is some mysterious, undefined weeping in Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, vol. i, p. 14.

⁵⁸ Burlingame, l. c., p. 488.

The So-called Epic of Paradise.—By J. DYNELEY PRINCE, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

The all-Sumerian document entitled by Dr. Stephen Henry Langdon "The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, Flood, and Fall of Man," and published by him in the University of Pennsylvania's *Publications of the Museum Section*, Vol. X, No. 1, shows no evidence of being what Dr. Langdon claims for it.

On pp. 6-7, Dr. Langdon, in his synopsis of the supposed contents of the inscription, states that this is a poem inspired by the Fall of Man, and that the Paradise existed in Dilmun. If we examine, however, Obv. i., 1-30 in the following re-translation of the Epic, it will become apparent that the description of the conditions therein indicated does not refer to a happy and blissful country, but rather to a territory which had been decimated and practically destroyed by drought. It is stated that Dilmun is a purified place and a clean place; but when in lines 13 ff. we find a very clear exposition of desolation: no birds utter their cries, the mother (animal) comes to eat the grain no more, the birds of heaven hatch their young no more, girls are given no more in marriage, etc., while even beasts of prey ravage no longer—because there is evidently nothing to prey upon, it becomes apparent that the expressions "clean" and "purified place" can only refer to the *cleaned out* desolateness of the region. Reference to Obv. i, note 6 in the following Commentary will show that "clean" and "pure" are not infrequently used in an evil sense, a fact which was first pointed out by Professor Paul Haupt in his University lectures. I believe that Dilmun is probably the correct reading of the ideogram thus read by Langdon (see Obv. i, note 2 below).

Furthermore, Obv. i, 31-38 is not, as Langdon states, "a long address (by Ninella) glorifying the land of Dilmun and praising its peace and bliss," but a statement by Ninella to Ea that the existing condition of drought has arisen through the fate set for the territory by Ea, and is a mere preliminary to the following petition for water, Obv. ii., 1-8.

It should be carefully noted that the singer *asks for water* for Dilmun in Obv. ii., 1-8, which could not have been the case if the water in question was to be in the nature of a devastating

inundation. In Obv. ii., 9-19, there is a promise that the prayer for water shall be answered, and that Dilmun shall once more be "a house of assembly of the land," Obv. ii., 17. Then follows the actual promise of safety to man, Obv. ii., 20-32, where Ea expressly states that no man "shall be taken," Obv. ii., 27, and that mankind "may sleep" = "rest," so far as he is concerned, Obv. ii., 30. In the next section, Obv. ii., 33-46, the fields received the beneficent waters, which culminated, as they usually did in this region, in the ninth month. This is certainly not an allusion to the Noachian deluge, for we have in the lines, Obv. ii., 43-44 (repeated twice below), the statement that Nintu the mother of the land made it (the land) "like fat, like fat, like butter." Langdon thinks that this means the dissolving of the corpses of mankind like fat, etc.; but in the first place, there is no indication in the text that men were killed at all, and secondly, fat and butter do not dissolve in water! After a careful study of the language of the text, I can only conclude that in Obv. ii., 27, the line means: "So far as I am concerned, no man shall be taken" (*dib-bi* = *cabātu* 'seize' = 'take'), and that this line indicates the good intention of the god, not evil, as Langdon thinks.

Nintu now proceeds to state to Ea that she wants a special person allotted to her, Obv. iii., 1-8; and in lines 4-8, in a quadruplet of repetitions uttered by the divine herald Isimu, she receives permission to take charge of such a one. Langdon takes this to indicate that Nintu is to care for the Babylonian Noah, who, he thinks, is later mentioned as TAG-TUG. That this *protégé* of the goddess is Tagku (probably not TAG-TUG) is very likely, but there is nothing to show that he is the only surviving man. Ea, having permitted the instruction of Nintu's favorite by the goddess, now, after due preparation, gets into his boat (Obv. iii., 10-12) and apparently goes himself to inundate the fields of the dried-up land (13). It is again repeated that the inundation lasted nine months and that Nintu as mother of the land caused it to be a fruitful country: "like fat, like fat, like butter" (18).

Then follows what may have been an antiphonal restatement of what preceded. Obv. iii., 21-28, again tells us that Nintu, only this time under the sobriquet Ninkurra, asks and receives permission from Ea to care for a particular person. The following section, Obv. iii., 29-38, is a similar antiphony to Obv.

iii., 9-20 (Obv. ii., 33-36), showing how Ea conducted the inundation in person in his own boat.

Tagku now appears for the first time by name, Obv. iii., 39, in the section Obv. iii., 39-45, with a curious phrase: "Tagku accepted," or "agreed," but, as the line is broken, we do not know to what. It is probable that he agreed to accept the charge to be put upon him by Nintu (Ninkurra), as she says to him that she will purify him, apparently by ritual washing, 41 (*ri* = both 'wash' and 'inundate') and she praises him as the only one allotted to her, i. e., not the only one left alive, but the only one whom she chose for her special purpose. This section shows almost beyond a doubt that in the previous passages the one allotted to the goddess was Tagku. I cannot accept Langdon's reading (TAG-TUG) of this name, which he adopted, *op. cit.* pp. 66-69 (although it is only fair to state, with reservations, p. 69), because he wished to connect Tagku with the stem *nāxu* 'to rest,' seen in the Biblical name Noah. It is very far-fetched to attempt to get the meaning 'rest' from the meaning of *tag* 'overthrow' (Delitzsch: *zugrunderichten*), and then to couple *tag* with the *tug*-value of KU, simply because KU means *ašābu* 'sit down'! The combination Tag-ku is a new one, and difficult to explain. It may be similar to *ur-ku* 'big dog,' as opposed to *ur-tur* 'little dog.' In this case, it might mean 'the great overthrower.' The pronunciation of the name was probably Tag-gu, as we find *ku* in *dumu-KU*, II R. 48, 33a, pronounced *dumu-gu*. That Tag-gu(ku) has any significance bearing directly on this document is highly doubtful. It is merely the name of the favorite of Nintu (Ninkurra). He was apparently dignified by the compiler of the inscription with the divine sign, to indicate that in Tag-gu(ku) we have a super-man.

In Rev. i., 18-25, there seems to be an injunction to Tag-gu to go to the temples of Ebaraguldu and Erabgaran and remain there. The streams and canals are to be filled as a result of the previously described inundation. In fact, the text is unclear enough to permit the supposition that this filling with water has been already accomplished. Taggu is now called the gardener, Rev. i., 26, which indicates quite clearly Nintu's purpose in making him her agent: she wished to instruct the people in the art of agriculture and irrigation.

Taggu then goes to the temples mentioned and meets Ea face

to face (Rev. i., 37-38). Ea questions Taggu and receives the reply that he is the gardener. Ea agrees to accept him in this character, and Taggu swears allegiance. Under Taggu's care, vegetation evidently increased, and then Ea's herald gives to the goddess the great god's decree as to the use of the various plants. It must be noted that all these utterances are permissive, with not a single prohibition. Apparently, however, Taggu eats the *amḡaru*, or cassia plant, which, not having been permitted in the preceding list, is therefore forbidden, as a curse is connected with it, Rev. ii., 37: "When he who eats this plant dies, he shall see no more life (38)." This statement appears to indicate that such a transgressor shall enjoy no life after death. Only here do I find a parallel with the narrative in Genesis, and even this may not be a true parallel. This implication as to the cassia plant may merely indicate that it was not to be classed among the edible vegetation. The Anunnaki (earth spirits) are overwhelmed with grief at the curse pronounced against Taggu.

The goddess, who is now called Ninḡarsag (clearly identical here with Nintu-Ninkurra), becomes angry with Ea and asks the great god whether this is to be the reward for her motherhood. Ea then allots to her two shrines in the city where her name shall be honored. The next lines, Rev. ii., 45-47, are very obscure. The sense seems to be that the head, foot and eye, i. e., the entire person, of the goddess's *protégé* shall remain like that of other men. He is to suffer no physical injury from eating the cassia plant, and is to remain as the teacher of agriculture and irrigation, but must die the death of mankind.

In Rev. iii., a council of the gods seems to be alluded to which decides as to the proper treatment of disease. Then follow a series of formulae of worship (really incantation rubrics) to certain deities who control the various human ills. A number of powerful deities are now specified as having been commissioned to control the people with certain distinct functions, and these gods are herein ritually identified with certain other deities (Rev. iii., 45-49). In this list Nintulla is allotted to Magan, and Enṣagme to Dilmun. The entire inscription closes with the usual praise formula, Glory be!

There can be little doubt that this is a purely ritual tendency-writing. The various perfectly evident antiphonies confirm this idea, while the arbitrary rubrics of identification of god

with god at the close, and the constant submission to Ea as the supreme deity, would seem to show that we have here a production of the Ea-cult, possibly drawn from various sources. The compiler has used the annual drought and its subsequent relief by the annual floods as a *staffage*, around which to build a special adoration of Ea, with the lesson contained in the hymn (for it was really a hymn) that the flood must be controlled by a gardener who appears here as a special person, possibly semi-divine, working under the direction of Nintu, the mother of the land, but always with the consent of Ea. This view of the inscription is so different from that held by Dr. Langdon that it has seemed advisable to give a retranslation of the entire text; for, while Dr. Langdon has upheld his reputation as a most expert Assyriologist in his copy of the text, it is impossible for me to agree with him as to his general deductions. The Assyriological world should be grateful to Dr. Langdon for having placed before it so interesting and instructive a document. I am far from believing that my own view as to this problem is the only possible one, and shall be glad to welcome any new light on this complicated question. I have consulted as to this work Dr. F. A. Vanderburgh, and Messrs. Kraeling and Maynard of the Columbia Assyrian Seminar.

The text is divisible into twenty-four sections, according to the sense, generally discussed above, which are indicated as follows: (A.) Obv. i., 1-30; (B.) Obv. i., 31-38; (C.) Obv. ii., 1-8; (D.) Obv. ii., 9-19; (E.) Obv. ii., 20-32; (F.) Obv. ii., 33-46; (G.) Obv. iii., 1-8; (H.) Obv. iii., 9-20; (I.) Obv. iii., 21-28; (J.) Obv. iii., 29-38; (K.) Obv. iii., 39-45; (L.) Rev. i., 1-17; (M.) Rev. i., 18-25; (N.) Rev. i., 26-29; (O.) Rev. i., 35-48; (P.) Rev. ii., 7-15; (Q.) Rev. ii., 16-33; (R.) Rev. ii., 33-39; (S.) Rev. ii., 40-44; (T.) Rev. ii., 45-47; (U.) Rev. iii., 6-23; (V.) Rev. iii., 24-41; (W.) Rev. iii., 42-50; (X.) Rev. iii., 51.

Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., has kindly sent me the following list of emendations made by him as a result of a re-reading of the original. Some of these I have incorporated in the text. Obv. i., 15, 17, 18: *ub* for *te*; 19: add *nu*. Obv. ii., 24: *dirig* for *e-a*; 25, *uš-a-ni* for *ID-a-ni*. Obv. iii., 1: *bi* for *gí*; 1, 5, 8: *^dNin-šar* for *^dNin-tu*; 2, 22: *zuk-ra* for *mà-ra*; 4, 5, 7, 8: *ub* for *te*; 11, 31: the fraction sign $\frac{2}{3}$ for *maškim*; 21: *bi* for *gí*. Rev. i., 18, 19, 35, 36, 46, 47: Jastrow doubts the readings

E-bara and *E-rab*; 42: *šam*, Br. 4681, for *Ur(?)-dingir*; 48: *si-gi* for *zi*. Rev. ii., 34: substitute *lugal-mu* for *ud-bi-a*; 34: *bi* for *te(g)*; 40, 42: *lul-a* 'rebelliously,' for *ğuš-a*. Rev. iii., 7: *Šeš-ki* for *en-zi* and supply *⁴Nin-(ab)*; 25: *ab* (LIT), Br. 8866, for *utul*; 42: *tu-ne-en-na šur-ra-*, for *tu-ne-en-na-aš gar-ra-*.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

OBSERVE I.

- (A.) 1 (*e-ne-ba-*)*ám e-ne-ba-ám me-en-ci-en*
They that are cut off, they that are cut off are ye!
- 2 (*kùr*) *Dilmun-ki-azag-ga-ám*
In the land of Dilmun which is a purified place.
- 3 (*ki-azag-*)*ga e-ne-ba-ám me-en-ci-en*
in the purified place, they that die are ye!
- 4 . . . *kùr Dilmun ki-azag-ga-ám*
. . . the land of Dilmun is (verily) a purified place.
- 5 *kùr Dilmun ki-azag-ga-ám kùr Dilmun el-ám*
The land of Dilmun is a purified place; the land of Dilmun is a clean place.
- 6 *kùr Dilmun el-ám kùr Dilmun lağ-lağ-ga-ám*
The land of Dilmun is clean; the land of Dilmun is cleaned (out).
- 7 *áš-ni-ne Dilmun-ki-a ù-ne-in-na(d)*
Lonely in Dilmun they lie down (now);
- 8 *ki ⁴En-ki dam-a-ni-da ba-an-da-ná-a-ba*
Where Ea with his consort used to lie;
- 9 *ki-bi el-ám ki-bi lağ-lağ-ga-ám*
that place is clean; that place is cleaned (out).
- 10 *áš-ni-ne*
Lonely [in Dilmun they lie down (now)]
- 11 *ki ⁴En-ki ⁴Nin-el-la ba-an-da-ná-a-ba*
where Ea with Ninella used to lie down;
- 12 *ki-bi el-ám (ki-bi lağ-lağ-ga-ám)*
that place is clean (that place is cleaned out)
- 13 *Dilmun-ki-a ú-nag-ga-ğu dúg-dúg (KA-KA) nu-mu-ni-bi*
In Dilmun the raven(?) utters his cry no more;
- 14 *dar-ğu-e gù-dar-ĞU-ri nu-mu-ni-ib-bi*
the cock utters his cock-crow no more;
- 15 *ur-gu-la sag-giš nu-ub-ra-ra*
the lion slays no more;

- 16 *ur-bar-ra-ge sîl nu-ub-kar-ri*
by the wolf the lamb is seized no more.
- 17 *lik-ku mās gam-gam nu-ub-ba*
The dog by the crouching kids is feared no more.
- 18 *tud(?) še-kur-kur-e nu-ub-ba*
The mother (animal) to eat the grain comes no more;
- 19 *nu-mu-un-zu dîm-sûl-ra-bi . -nu- . -ba*
seed of her body(?) for her young lambs (she produces no more?).
- 20 *mušen (ĜU)-e an-na dîm-bi nu . . . -e*
The birds of heaven their young (hatch no more?)
- 21 *tu-ĜU-e sag-nu-mu-un-da-šub-e*
The doves lay no more.
- 22 *igi-gig-e (igi-)gîg me-en nu-mu-un-ni-bi*
"Eye ache thou art eye ache" no longer is said.
- 23 *sag-gîg-gi sag-gîg me-en nu-(mu-un-ni-bi)*
"Headache thou art headache" no longer is said.
- 24 *um-ma-bi um-ma me-en nu-(mu-un-ni-bi)*
"Old woman thou art an old woman" no longer is said.
- 25 *ab-ba-bi ab-ba me-en nu-(mu-un-ni-bi)*
"Old man thou art an old man" no longer is said.
- 26 *ki-el a-nu-tû-a-ni eri-a nu-mu-ni-ib-sig-gi*
The girl in a city where no water is poured they give not (in marriage).
- 27 *galu id-da bal-e-mi-dé nu-mu-ni-bi*
That a man has crossed the canal, no more is said.
- 28 *libir-e X-e nu-mu-nigin*
The temple servant to his office(?) no longer turns.
- 29 *lul-e e-lu-lam nu-mu-ni-bi*
"A lie thou hast lied" no more is said.
- 30 *galam eri-ka i-dûr (KU) nu-mu-(ni-bi)*
"The notable dwells in the city" (no more is said).
- (B.) 31 *^dNin-el-la a-a-ni ^dEn-ki-ra gû-mu-na-de-a*
Ninella to Ea her father spoke:
- 32 *eri mu-e-sig eri mu-e-sig nam mu-sum-ma-za*
A city thou hast given, but a fate thou hast set for it.
- 33 *Dilmun eri mu-e-sig eri(mu-e-sig nam mu-sum-ma-za)*
In Dilmun a city thou hast given, a city (thou hast given, but a fate thou hast set for it).

- 34 (. . . .) *mu-e-sig eri(mu-e-sig nam mu-sum-
ma-za)*
(. . . .) thou hast given a city (thou hast given,
but a fate thou hast set for it).
- 35 *íd-da nu-un-tuk-a*
. . . . no canal it has any longer
- 36 *(eri)mu-e-sig eri(mu-e-sig nam mu-sum-
ma-za)*
. . . . (a city) thou hast given, a city (thou hast
given, but a fate thou hast set for it).
- 37 *-da*
- 38 *a a*

OBVERSE II.

- (c.) 1 *gir-ma-an-gal-la-za a ġe-im-ta-e-de*
Into thy great territory (fields) may the waters flow
(again)
- 2 *eri-zu a ġe-gál-la ġu-mu-ra-nag-nag*
May thy city drink water in abundance
- 3 *Dilmun a ġe-gal-la (ġu-mu-ra-nag-nag)*
May Dilmun drink water in abundance
- 4 *dul a-šeš-a-zu dul a dug-ga ġe-im-(ta-da-du-ne)*
To thy pool of bitter (stagnant) water may a pool
of sweet water flow
- 5 *eri-zu é gú-qar-ra kalam-ma-ka ġe-a*
May thy city be the house of assembly of the land
- 6 *Dilmun-ki é(gú-qar-ra kalam-ma-ka ġe-a)*
May Dilmun be the house (of assembly of the land)
- 7 *ì(NI)-de-šu ^dBabbar ud-dé-a*
Now, O Sungod, shine forth
- 8 *^dBabbar an-na gub-bi-e*
O Sungod in heaven do thou stand (appear)
- (d.) 9 *gir-du-a dù(GABA)-ezen-ki-na-ta*
He that walks in Du-ezen-ki-na
- 10 *suġur (?) -e ^dNanna(r)-a-ta*
. . . . the enclosure(?) with the Moongod
- 11 *ka-a-ki-a-laġ(DU.DU)-ta a-dug-ki-ta mu-na-ra-gub
(DU)*
From the mouth of the earth when he comes, with
sweet waters of the earth he shall stand forth for
thee (give thee; present thee with)

- 12 *gir-ma-an-gal-la-na a im-ta-e* (DUL.DU)-*dé*
To his great territory (fields) the waters shall go
forth
- 13 *eri-ni a ġe-gál-la im-ta-nag-nag*
His city shall drink water in abundance
- 14 *Dilmun-ki a ġe(-gal-la im-ta-nag-nag)*
Dilmun shall drink water in abundance
- 15 *dul a šes-a-ni a-dug-ga na-nam*
His pool of bitter (stagnant) waters shall be a pool
of sweet waters
- 16 *a-šag* (LIB) *qar-ra nam-a-ni še-mu-na-ab-?*
Fields of assembly
- 17 *eri-ni é gú-qar-ra kalam-ma-ka na-nam*
His city a house of assembly of the land shall be
- 18 *Dilmun-ki é gú(-qar-ra kalam-ma-ka na-nam)*
Dilmun shall be a (house of assembly of the land)
- 19 *i(NI)-dē-šu ^dBabbar ud-dē-a ur-ġe na-nam-ma*
Now verily it shall be that the Sungod shall shine
forth
- (E.) 20 *áš-ni* (NI) *GIŠ-KU-PI-GI tuk-a*
The only one, he who possesses knowledge(?)
- 21 *^dNin-tu ama kalam-ma-šú*
to Nin-tu the mother of the land
- 22 *^dEn-ki-ge GIŠ-KU-PI-GI tuk-a*
Ea he who possesses knowledge
- 23 *^dNin-tu (ama kalam-ma-šú)*
even to Nin-tu (the mother of the land)
- 24 *uš-a-ni dirig ba-an-ši-in-dun*
his full counsel in the temple he revealed to her (-ši-)
- 25 *uš-a-ni gi-a X-X-e ba-an-ši-X-X-e*
his counsel
- 26 *uš-a-ni bar-šú maġ-dug ša-ba-ra-an-zi-zi*
his counsel in secret mightily (and) graciously he
imparted to her
- 27 *gú-ne-in-de mà-ra galu nu-mu-un-dīb-bi*
he spake: "for me no man shall be taken"
- 28 *^dEn-ki-ge gú-ne-in-de*
Ea spake
- 29 *zi an-na ni-pad*
in the name of heaven he swore

- 30 *ná-a mà-ra ná-a mà-ra enim-ni*
 "let them sleep for me; let them sleep for me" was
 his word
- 31 *ªEn-ki-ge a ªDam-gal-nun-na enim-ni mi-ni-in-dúg*
 Ea, the father of Damgalnunna, his word he uttered
- 32 *Nin-ġar-sag-gà-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-in-ri*
 The fields of Ninġarsag I will inundate
- (F.) 33 *ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ªEn-ki-ga-ka*
 the fields received the waters of Ea
- 34 *ud-àš-ám iti-àš-a-ni*
 It was the first day of the first month
- 35 *ud-min-ám iti-min-a-ni*
 It was the second day of the second month
- 36 *ud-eš-ám iti-eš-a-ni*
 It was the third day of the third month
- 37 *ud-lim-ám iti-lim-a-ni*
 It was the fourth day of the fourth month
- 38 *ud-ià-ám (iti-ià-a-ni)*
 It was the fifth day (of the fifth month)
- 39 *ud-aš-ám (iti-aš-a-ni)*
 It was the sixth day (of the sixth month)
- 40 *ud-imin-ám (iti-imin-a-ni)*
 It was the seventh day (of the seventh month)
- 41 *ud-ussu-ám (iti-ussu-a-ni)*
 It was the eighth day (of the eighth month)
- 42 *ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti nam-sal-a-ka*
 It was the ninth day of the ninth month, the month
 of the spreading out of the waters
- 43 *ia(NI)-lum-gim ia(NI)-lum-gim ia(NI)-dug-nun-na-*
gim
 Like fat, like fat, like butter
- 44 *(ªNin-tu) ama kalam-ma-ka*
 (Nin-tu), the mother of the land
- 45
- 46 *in-tu-ud*
 made (created) it.

OBVERSE III.

- (G.) 1 *ªNin-tu ġu-id-da-gà-šú mi-ni-ib-bi*
 Nintu on the bank of the river spake (replied) to him

- 2 *^dEn-ki-ge mà-ra im-da-lal e-ne im-da-lal e-ne*
By Ea this one has been allotted for me; this one
has been allotted
- 3 *sukkal-a-ni ^dIsim ne gú mu-na-de-e*
His herald Isimu thus spake to her
- 4 *galu dumu šág-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi*
the son of man, that pious one, as thy seed reverence
him
- 5 *^dNin-tu šág-ga e-(ne nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi)*
O Nin-tu, that pious one (as thy seed reverence him)
- 6 *sukkal-a-ni ^dIsimu (?) ne mu-na-ni-ib-gí-gí*
His herald Isimu thus replies to her
- 7 *galu-dumu šág-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi*
the son of man, that pious one, as thy seed reverence
him
- 8 *^dNin-tu šág(-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi)*
O Nintu, that pious one, as thy seed reverence him
- (H.) 9 *lugal-mu ní(IM)-dirig-ga-ri ní(IM)-dirig-ga-ri*
My king (Ea), who is clothed with awfulness, who
is clothed with awfulness
- 10 *gir-ni áš-a giš má-a ne-in-gub (DU)*
his foot first upon the ship he placed
- 11 *2 gu-ma maškim-ma nam-mi-in-gub (DU)*
Two guards he placed for himself
- 12 *gaba im-ma-an-tab gibil im-ma-an-su-te(g)*
He strengthened the outside fabric (of the ship ?);
with fire he purified it (?)
- 13 *^dEn-ki-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-in-ri*
Ea had inundated the fields
- 14 *ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ^dEn-ki-ga-ka*
the fields had received the waters of Ea
- 15 *ud-àš-ám iti-àš-a-ni*
It was the first day of the first month
- 16 *ud-min-àm iti-min-a-ni*
It was the second day of the second month
- 17 *ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti-nam-sal-a-ka*
It was the ninth day of the ninth month, the month
of the spread of the waters

18 *ia*(NI)-*lum-gim ia*(NI)-*lum-gim ia*(NI)-*dug-nun-na-gim*

like fat like fat like butter

19

20 *^dNin-tu* (*ama kalam-ma-ka*) *in-tu-ud*

Nin-tu, the mother of the land, made (created) it.

(I.) 21 *^dNin-kùr-ra* (*gù-íd-da-gà-šú*) *mi-ni-ib-(bi)*
Ninkurra on the bank of the river spake (replied) to him

22 *^dEn-ki-ge mà-ra im* (-*da-lal e-ne im-da-lal e-ne*)
O Ea, for me this one is allotted, this one is allotted

23 *sukkal-a-ni ^dIsimu ne* (*gù-mu-na-dé-e*)
his herald Isimu thus spake to her

24 *galu-dumu šág-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu te-bi*
the son of man that pious one as thy seed take him

25 *^dNin-kùr-ra šág-ga e-ne nu-mu-un-zu te-bi*
O Ninkurra, that pious one as thy seed take him

26 *sukkal-a-ni ^dIsimu ne mu-na-ni-ib-gí-gí*
his herald Isimu thus replies to her

27 *galu -dumu šág-ga e-ne su-in-X-in*
the son of man, that pious one, (as thy seed take him ?)

28 *^dNin-kùr-ra šág-(ga e-ne su-in-X-ni)*
O Ninkurra, that pious one (as thy seed take him ?)

(J.) 29 *lugal-mu ní*(IM)-*dirig-ga-ri*
My king (Ea), clothed in awfulness, clothed in awfulness

30 *gir-ni áš-a má-a ne-in-gub* (DU)
his foot first upon the ship he placed

31 *2 gu-ma maškim-ma nam-mi-in-gub* (DU)
two guards he placed for himself

32 *gaba in-ma-an-tab gibil im-ma-ni-su-te*
he strengthened the outside fabric (of the ship);
with fire he purified it(?)

33 *^dEn-ki-ge ašag ba-ni-in-ri*
Ea inundated the fields

34 *ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ^dEn-ki-ga-ka*
the fields received the waters of Ea

35 *ud áš-ám iti-áš-a-ni*
The first day of the first month

- 36 *ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti-nam-sal-a-ka*
It was the ninth day of the ninth month, the month
of the spreading of the waters
- 37 *ia(NI)-lum-gim ia(NI)-lum-gim ia(NI)-dug-nun-na-*
gim
Like fat, like fat, like butter
- 38 *^dNin-kur-ra ia(NI)-lum (in-tu-ud)*
Ninkurra made (created) it.
- (K.) 39 *^dTag-ku sal-ni-dím in-*
Tagku accepted, he
- 40 *^dNin-tu(d)-ri ^dTag-ku-ra gú mu-na-dé-e*
Nintu to Tagku spake
- 41 *na-ga-e-ri na-ri-mu*
Verily I will purify thee; my purification
- 42 *gù ga-ra-dúg (?) enim-enim-mu*
I will say to thee my words
- 43 *galu àš-ám mà-ra im-da-lal (e-ne im-da-lal e-ne)*
the only man for me has been allotted that one, has
been allotted that one
- 44 *^dEn-ki-ge mà-ra im(-da-lal e-ne im-da-lal e-ne)*
O Ea for me has been allotted, that one has been
allotted, that one
- 45 *igi-im-?-e-*
.

REVERSE I.

- Twelve lines broken
- (L.) 13 *sal-ni-dím igi im-*
he agreed he saw (or) has been shown
- 14
- 15 *a-na*
- 16 *šag giš-šar a-*
- 17
- (M.) 18 (*é bara gu-ul-dú-*)*ba DU-um*
To Ebaraguldu go
- 19 *é-rab-ga-ra-an-ba DU-um*
To Erabgaran go
- 20 *e-a tú(KU?)-šu-nun-tú (KU?)-tu-mu ġe-dúr(KU)*
In the temple may my guide (?) dwell (or 'sit')
- 21 *^dEn-ki-ge tú(KU)-šu-nun-tu-mu ġe-ne-in-dúr(KU)*
May Ea my guide (?) dwell in it

- 22 *2 gu-ma (maškim-ma) a-si-si-da-ni*
Two attendants who fill with water
- 23 *è a-ne-in-si*
shall fill the streams with water
- 24 *pà a-ne-in-si*
the canals they shall fill with water
- 25 *KI-UD a-ne-in(-de or -si)*
The dried up place they shall irrigate (fill with
water?)
- (N.) 26 *nu-giš-šar a-na NE*
The gardener what
- 27 *gúzal(NI) gú-da im-ši-in-*
.
- 28 *a-ba me-en giš-šar*
Who is it who the garden ?
- 29 *En-ki-ge nu-giš-šar (-ra)*
Ea to the gardener
- Four lines broken
- (O.) 34 *. . . .-im-ma-*
- 35 *É-bara-gu-ul-dú-ba im-ma-an-gen(DU)*
To Ebaraguldu he went
- 36 *É-rab-ga-ra-an-ba im-ma-an-gen(DU) ùr-ra-ni ne-in-
mal-e*
To Erabgaran he went, his seat he took
- 37 *En-ki-ge igi-ni im-ma-an-síg-síg mudur šu-ne-in-gaba*
Ea looked upon him with a sceptre he confronted him
- 38 *En-ki-ge Tag-ku-ra gir im-ma-an-gub (DU)*
Ea before Tag-ku stood up
- 39 *é-na al-de-de-e gál(IK)-kid gál(IK)-kid*
In his temple he commanded: open the door; open
the door
- 40 *a-ba me-en za-e me-en*
Who art thou?
- 41 *mà-e nu-giš-šar ġul-si giš-ma-*
I am a gardener full of joy
- 42 *šam-šu ga-mu-ra-ab-sig*
at a price I will appoint thee
- 43 *Tag-ku šag-ġul-la-ni-ta é-e gál(IK)-ba-an-kid*
Tag-ku with heart full of joy the temple's door he
opened.

- 44 *^dEn-ki-ge ^dTag-ku-ra sal-ni-dím*
Ea unto Tag-ku consented
- 45 *ġul-áš gar-ra-na ba-na-ab-sum-mu*
Joyfully as his gift he gave unto him
- 46 *Ē-bara-gu-ul-dú-ba ba-na-ab-sum-mu*
For Ebaraguldu he gave it to him
- 47 *Ē-rab-ga-ra-an-ba ba-na-ab-sum-mu*
For Erabgaran he gave it to him
- 48 *^dTag-ku sal-ni-dím ġub mu-na-ab-si-gi šu mu-na-sig(PA)-gi*
Tag-ku accepted it his left hand he waved; his hand he waved

REVERSE II.

Several lines illegible

- (P.) 7
- 8 (*ú im-ma-)-an-má (SAR)*
The plant grew
- 9 (*ú im-ma-)-an-má (SAR)*
The plant grew
- 10 (*ù im-ma-)-an-má (SAR)*
The plant grew
- 11 (*ù im-)-ma- an-má (SAR)*
The plant grew
- 12
(The plant grew)
- 13
(The plant grew)
- 14 *ù (. . . .) im-ma-an-má (SAR)*
The plant grew
- 15 *^dEn-ki-ge mà-ra im-da-lal e-ne im-da-lal e-ne*
O Ea for me has been allotted this one, has been allotted this one
- (Q.) 16 *sukkal-a-ni ^dIsimu ne ġù-mu-na-dé-e*
His herald Isimu thus spake to her
- 17 *ú mà-e nam-bi li-ñe-?*
As for the plants their fate I (have determined)
- 18 *a-na-ám ne-e a-na-ám ne-e*
What is this, what is this (said she)

- 19 *sukkal-a-ni* ^d*Isimu ne mu-na-ni-gi-gi*
His messenger Isimu thus replied to her
- 20 (*lugal*)-*mu ú-giš mu-na-ab-bi*
My king (Ea) as to the woody vegetation has decreed
- 21 *mu-na-kud-de ba-kur-e*
He may cut off from it; he may eat it
- 22 *lugal-mu ú-gurun mu-na-ab-bi*
My king as to fruit-bearing plant has decreed
- 23 *mu-na-sir(BU)-ri ba-kur-e*
He may tear off from it; he may eat of it
- 24 *lugal-mu ú. . . .mu*
My king as to the plant (has decreed)
- 25 *mu-na-kud-dé ba-(kur-e)*
He may cut off from it; he may eat of it
- 26 *lugal-mu ú-a-gug (PA.SAR) mu-(na-ab-bi)*
My king as to the plant has decreed
- 27 *mu-na-sir(BU)-ri ba-kur-e*
He may tear off from it; he may eat of it
- 28 (*lugal-mu*) *útu-tu mu-na-ab-bi*
My king as to the has decreed
- 29 (*mu-na-kud-dé*) *ba-(kur-e)*
He may cut off from it; he may eat of it
- 30 (*lugal-mu ú*) *mu-(na-ab-bi)*
My king as to the plant has decreed
- 31 (*mu-na-sir(BU)-ri ba kur-e*)
He may cut off from it; he may eat of it
- 32 (*lugal-mu ú mu-na-ab-bi*)
My king as to the plant has decreed
- 33 (*mu-na-kud-dé*) *ba-(kur-e)*
He may cut off from it; he may eat of it

- (R.) 34 (*lugal-mu*) *ú-am-ġa-ru mu-na-ab-bi*
(My king) as to the cassia plant has decreed
- 35 (*mu-na-sir(BU)-ri ba-kur-e*)
He tore off from it; he ate of it
- 36 *ú nam-bi ne-in-tar šáb-ba ba-ni-in-di*
(Cassia ?) the plant whose fate he had determined,
to it he went
- 37 ^d*Nin-ġar-sag-gà-ge mu* ^d*En-ki nam-erim ba-an-kud*
Ninġarsag, in the name of Ea, a curse uttered

- 38 *i-dé na-am-ti-la en-na ba-ùg(?) -gi-a i-dé ba-ra-an-bar-ri-en*
The face of life, at the time when he dies, he shall not behold
- 39 *^dA-nun-na-ge-ne saġar-ta im-mi-in-dúr-túr (KU-KU)-ru-ne-eš*
The Anunnaki in the dust sat down
- (s.) 40 *lul-a ^dEn-lil-ra mu-na-ra-ab-bi*
Angrily to Enlil she spake
- 41 *mà-e ^dNin-ġar-sag-gà mu-e-ši-du-mu-un a-na-ám nig-ba-mu*
I Ninġarsag have borne thee children; what is my reward?
- 42 *^dEn-lil tu lul-a mu-na-ib-gí-gí*
Enlil the begetter angrily replied to her
- 43 *za-e ^dNin-ġar-sag-gà mu-e-du-mu-un-nam*
Thou Ninġarsag hast borne me children
- 44 *uru-mà 2 giš-mal ga-ri-du (KAK) mu-zu ġe-pad-di*
In my city 2 thrones I will make for thee (and) thy name shall be called on (there)
- (t.) 45 *sag-ni áš-ám im-ma-an-pèš-pèš*
. . . . his head like the others is fashioned
- 46 *(gir)-ni áš-ám im-ma-an-búr-búr*
his foot (?) like the others is designed
- 47 *igi-ni áš-ám gibil ne-in-gar*
his eye like the others is endowed with light

REVERSE III.

About five lines mutilated

- (u.) 6 *ne en ^dEn-lil*
. . . . thus (?) Enlil
- 7 *ne Šeš-ki*
- 8 *-šu ma-du-ne en ^dNin-(ib)*
To they went the lord god
- 9 *-šu mu-du-ne en*
To they went the lord
- 10 ? *ni-me-a zi(?) -mu-mu ? ? mu*
- 11
- 12 *^dNin-ġar-sag-gà-ge ? im*
Lines 13-16 illegible

- 17 *te be-an-*
 18 ^d*Nin-ġar-sag-ġà-ge é ?-im-ma-an-*
 Ninharsag
 19 ^d*En-lil* *šu-ga-ni ba-an-tùb* (KU) *-bi-eš*
 En-lil they rested (?)
 20 *li-im-ra-an-ag-eš*
 They gave attention to it (?); they consulted about
 it (?).
 21 *nam-im-ma-an-tar-eš*
 Fate they declared
 22 *šu-li im-ra-an-búr-ru-uš*
 Destiny they fixed
 23 ^d*Nin-ġar-sag-ġà-ge* *-la-na ba-ni-in-tùb*
 (KU)
 Ninharsag rested (?)
- (v.) 24 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig* (MI)
 My brother in what way art thou distressed?
 25 *ab* (LIT) *-mu ma-gig* (MI)
 my cattle are distressed for me
 26 ^d*Ab-ú im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
 Ab-ú has been created for thee
 27 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig* (MI)
 My brother in what way art thou distressed?
 28 *ú-tul-mu ma-gig* (MI)
 My flocks are distressed for me.
 29 ^d*Nin-tul-la im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
 Nintulla has been created for thee
 30 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig* (MI) *KA-mu ma-gig* (MI)
 My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
 speech is distressed
 31 ^d*Nin-ka-ú-tu im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
 Ninkaútu has been created for thee
 32 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig* (MI) *KA-mu ma-gig* (MI)
 My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
 mouth is distressed
 33 ^d*Nin-ka-si im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
 Ninkasi has been created for thee
 34 *šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig* (MI) *(na-zi-)mu ma-gig* (MI)
 My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
 genitals (?) are distressed

- 35 ^d*Na-zi im-ma-ra(-an-tu-ud)*
Nazi has been created for thee
- 36 ^{šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig}(MI) ^{da-(zi-mu ma-gig} MI)
My brother in what way art thou distressed my
. . . . is distressed
- 37 ^d*Di-zi-ma-a im-ma-ra(-an-tu-ud)*
Dazima has been created for thee
- 38 ^{šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig}(MI) ^{ti-(mu ma-gig} MI)
My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
principle of life is distressed
- 39 ^d*Nin-ti im-ma-ra-an-(tu-ud)*
Nintil has been created for thee
- 40 ^{šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig}(MI) ^{me-mu (ma-gig} MI)
My brother in what way art thou distressed; my
judgment is distressed
- 41 ^d*En-šag-me im-ma-ra-an-(tu-ud)*
Enšagme has been created for thee
- (w.) 42 ^{túr-túr-lal-lal-ba tu-ne-en-na-áš gar-ra-(ne-en-na-áš)}
Great at the time of their birth and in their deeds
- 43 ^d*Ab-ú lugal ú ġe-a*
Let Ab-ú be ruler of vegetation
- 44 ^d*Nin-tul-la en Má-gan-na ġe-a*
Let Nintulla be ruler of Magan
- 45 ^d*Nin-KA-ù-tu* ^d*Nin-a-zu ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk*
Let Nin-KA-ùtu make Ninazu her own (become the
same as)
- 46 ^d*Nin-ka-si* ^d*Nig-šag-si ġe-a*
Let Ninkasi be the same as Nig-šag-si
- 47 ^d*Na-zi ù-mu-un dar-a ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk*
Let Nazi become the same as the lord of the cock (?)
- 48 ^d*Da-zi-ma-a . . . -zi-im ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk*
Let Dazima become the same as . . . -zim
- 49 ^d*Nin-(ti) nin iti-e ġe-a*
Let Nin-ti become the lady of the month
- 50 (^d*En-šag-me*) *en Dilmun-na ġe-a*
Let Enšagme be the ruler of Dilmun
- (x.) 51 *zag-sal*
Glory be!

COMMENTARY.¹

OBSERVE I.

1 *ba* 'divide, give, apportion,' hence here = 'cut off'; never means 'sleep' (L.), a meaning which Langdon probably got from Obv. i., 8: *banda-nába*, where the *-ba* is relative and not a part of the root.

2 *Dilmun* is probably correct. The usual ideogram for Dilmun is NI-TUK, but in Langdon's text, the sign consists of SAL, instead of NI, + TUK. It will be remembered that NI has the value *sal* (*cal*), so that SAL-TUK really may = NI-TUK = Dilmun. Furthermore in Rev. III, 50, the phonetic complement after this ideogram is *-na* = *Dilmun-na*, which helps to confirm the reading.

6 These lines plainly indicate the desolation of Dilmun. Note that 'clean, pure' is frequently used in incantations in the sense of 'desolate.' Cf. my paper *Le Bouc Émissaire*, JA. July, 1903, on ASKT. xix. 19.

7 *áš-ni-ne* 'lonely'; cf. Obv. ii., 20. Langdon's reading *be* for *ne* is not correct, as the prefix is the demonstrative *ne*, not *be*.

11 *banda-ná-ba*, see n. 1 above.

13 *ú-nag-ga-ġu*; is this 'raven'? NAM-CAR = *âribu* = 'raven,' as a rule.

14 *dar-ġu-e* probably 'cock,' seen in *tarnugallu*, rather than 'kite' (L.). Langdon's reference to Muss-Arnolt, Lex. 129a, is not correct. Cf. Rev. iii. 47.

15 *ur-ġu-la* 'lion,' syn. of *ur-maġ*. *Nu-ub-ra-ra* written *te-ub-ra-ra* by scribal error.

16 *kar-ri*, not *qar* (L.). This *kar* = *ekêmu* 'seize.'

17 *gam-gam* 'crouching' = continued action.

18 *tu(d)* 'mother' (animal); *še-kur-kur-e* 'in order to eat,' not 'while eating' (L.).

19 *numun-zu* = *numun* + *zu* = *su* 'body'; probably 'seed'

¹ The following abbreviations have been used:

ASKT. = Paul Haupt, *Akkadische u. Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*; CT. = "Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum"; D.L. = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1914; HT. = ASKT.; JA. = *Journal Asiatique*; L. = Langdon, "Sumerian Epic of Paradise"; M. = Bruno Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, Leipzig, 1910; PSBA. = "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology"; R. = Rawlinson, "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia."

of the body.' *dim-sil(r)-ra-bi* probably 'little lambs'; 'she produces no more seed of her body to create little lambs' (?).

21 *sag-šub* = *nadû* 'place, lay.'

26 *ki-el* clearly means 'girl, virgin,' as seen by the connection with the following lines. *ki-el* means literally 'pure place,' in the sense 'girl,' refers to virginity. *a-nu-tû-a-ni* 'where no water is poured' has probably a sexual meaning = where no generation takes place.

27 *bal* = *ebêru* not necessarily 'changed' (L.). No man has crossed a canal; this also probably has a sexual sense; cf. Obv. i., 35, however, where the allusion to each of canals is clearly direct.

28 The unknown ideogram X probably refers to the office of the *libir* (*ligir*).

29 *lul-e e-lu-lam* = *e-lul-am*. Note *lu-lul* 'liar,' HT. 127, 53.

32 *mu-e-2* p.; but cf. Prince, Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., LIV, p. 42. 'A fate thou hast set' = 'thou hast fixed the time of its end.' *mu-sum-ma-za*; lit. 'when thou hast settled a fate for it' (*za* = oblique case).

OBVERSE II.

1 *gir-ma-an-gal-la* probably for *gir-gan-gal-la* = 'place' (*gir* = *urxu* 'road'; *padanu* 'path') 'of great fields' = 'territory.'

4 The stagnant pools after the desolation.

11 Probably refers to the moongod; the promise of fulfillment of the prayer.

19 *i(NI)-de-šu* 'now'; *ur* (XUR) 'verily.'

20 *áš-ni* 'only one' = 'unique'; cf. Obv. i., 7: *áš-ni-ne* 'lonely.' GIŠ-KU-PI-GI, M. 10779: *uznu* 'ear.' I render 'knowledge, intelligence' here and Obv. ii., 22.

21 *kalam-ma* 'land'; = Sumer throughout.

24 *uš-a-ni* here and Obv. ii., 26, no doubt, to be read *umuš-a-ni*, D. L. 53 = *têmu* (L. ib., n. 4). *dun* = *pitû* 'open, reveal.'

25 I cannot place the ideogram read *kas* here by Langdon. The sign does not seem to be *kas*. Langdon's rendering: 'his revelation in the reedhouse as a decision he rendered unto her' is, to say the least, obscure.

26 *bar-šû* common ideogram for *inā axâti* (*passim*) 'on one side'; probably 'privately, secretly.' *šabaran-zi-zi: zi-zi* 'cause to come'; hence, 'bring to, impart.'

27 *mà-ra* 'so far as I am concerned.' The *dib* here is very obscure. Its primary meaning is seize = *cabātu*. The sense seems to be: 'so far as I am concerned, no person shall be taken,' not necessarily 'rescued, saved' (?), Langdon: 'enters not'; cf. however, PSBA, 1914, 256.

30 *ná-a*; Langdon, I think, is right = *šuni'il* 'cause to lie down.'

32 *ri* = *raxâcu* (*irxic*) 'inundate'; cf. Obv. iii., 13, not especially in a hostile sense.

33-42 I do not understand Langdon's rendering here: 'the first day whose month is the first; the second day whose month is the second,' etc. This phrase must be idiomatic for 'the first day of the first month,' etc. The poet is counting the months of the inundation until its culmination (not cessation, L.; *sal* = *rapâšu* 'spread') in the ninth month.

43 *ia*(NI)-*lu*(*m*) seems to mean fat; *ia*(NI) = 'oil' and *lu*(*m*) = 'plenty' (of oil). *ia*(NI)-*dug-nun-na*; literally 'much (nun) good (dug) oil' (*ia* = NI). The allusion can be only to plenty, and not to corpses, of which the context makes no mention.

OBVERSE III.

1, 5, 8 Jastrow reads *^dNin-šar* for *^dNin-tu*.

2 Langdon is surely right in his revised translation, where he renders this line as above translated instead of: '(for me) they are reckoned.' *E-ne* is the demonstrative 'this one' and not the plural here. Jastrow *zuk-ra* for *mà-ra* here and 22 is hardly possible.

3 *^dIsimu*; thus Langdon in his revised translation instead of *guda*(?). *ne* = 'this thing, thus.'

4 *galu-dumu* = 'man-son' = 'son of man' = 'this human being.' *numun* 'seed.'

11 *gu-ma*; Langdon two "humbles"! What does this mean? *gu-ma* is probably an enumerative; 2 *gu-ma maškim-ma* simply 'two guards' (*maškim* = *râbicu* 'watcher' is, of course, a supernatural guard). Note that *gu* = 'entirely' + *ma* = *mar*; cf. D. L. 105: *gu-mar* = *gu-gar* = *napxaru* 'entirety.' Here 2 *gu-ma* merely means *zwei Stück*! Jastrow notes that the sign for *maškim* = 2/3, but it is intended for *maškim* here.

12 An obscure phrase; it cannot mean 'caulked the ship' (L.); *tab* only means 'to double'; 'he strengthened the front'

(*gaba*) = 'strengthened the outside.' *gibil imman-te(g)* 'he purified(?) with fire'; probably a ritual observance.

15-17 The remaining months (cf. Obv. ii., 34; 43; iii., 14) are omitted for brevity.

27 These lines should duplicate Obv. iii., 4-5: *nu-mu-un-zu te-bi*, but here we find *su in-X-ni* perhaps 'make him the continuation (?) of thy body' (SU for ZU). The necessity of a synonym is apparent.

39 This passage begins a new theme; *sal-ni-dim* (PAP-PAP) may mean 'accept, agree,' regarding *sal-dim* as a compound strengthener of *dim* = *rakâsu* 'bind.' Tag-ku is probably better than Tag-tug (see above, Introduction).

40 ^d*Nin-tu-ri*, subject with apparently indicative *ri* like the Georgian *man*-case.

41 *na-ga-e-ri*; here *ri* may = 'wash.' *ri* = 'inundate' (Obv. iii., 13), but the context requires here that Nin-tu should take care of Tag-ku. Her inundation (*ri*) is to be a beneficent one and he is to be sacred, and immune from harm.

43 'This is the only man (*galu âš-âm*) who has been allotted for me.'

REVERSE I.

18, 19, 35, 36, 46, 47 Jastrow doubts the readings *E-bara* and *E-rab*.

20 KU-*šu-nun*-KU-*tu-mu* 'my guide' (L.). According to Langdon, a title of Girra, the god of flocks = *ša si-ma-ni*, CT. xxiv. 42; 95. This ideogram usually = *šummanu* 'hobble-ropes' (Muss-Arnolt, 1060). "Guide" is an uncertain translation here.

21 *gu-ma*; supply *maškim-ma*, as in Obv. iii., 11.

25 KI.UD; (L.) *kislağ* 'place of the sun'; hence 'dried up.'

27 *gû-zal*(NI); is this *pirištu* L, n. 4?

37 *mudur* 'sceptre,' D. L. 191: 'with a sceptre he confronts him' (*gaba*).

41 Tag-ku now appears as the new cultivator.

44 *sal-ni-dim*(PAP.PAP) here and in Reverse I. 48 in the sense 'accept'; cf. Obv. iii., 39.

45 *gar-ra-na* 'as his gift'; *gar* = *šarâqu*, D. L. 80.

48 *sal-ni-dim* (PAP.PAP); cf. Rev. I. 44 and Obv. iii., 39.

REVERSE II.

18 Langdon: 'something it is'; better in his revised translation: 'what is that?'

20-22 *ú-giš* may refer to vegetation with edible leaves. It certainly does not mean 'fruit' (L. n. 1), as Rev. ii., 22 gives *ù-gurun* (= *inbu*), which is clearly fruit.

26 *ú-a-gug* (PA.SAR). Langdon: 'prickly plants.' Why?

34-38 *ú am-ġa-ru*, M. 3073: *kasû*, CT. xiv. 18; 26 probably = *ka-si* PSBA, 1914, 192, which is generally considered to be cassia (*κασία*). Langdon presupposes here a prohibition as to this plant, but none appears in the text unless we see an implicit prohibition in 36: the plant whose fate he (the Moongod) had determined, or in the fact that the *amġaru* did not belong to any of the permitted plants indicated. It is certain that a curse (*nam-eṛim*) falls on it in Rev. i., 37.

38 Langdon: 'until he dies' is wrong; it must be: 'at the time when he dies' = *ba-ug(?)-gì-a*, the time when being expressed by the overhanging *-a*. The value *ug(?)* is better than *dig(!L.)*. Possibly *bag* is correct(?).

40 *ġuš-a*; D. L. 218: 'terribly, angrily.'

41 and 43 Langdon does not seem to know that in English "beget" can be used only of a male: The goddess is speaking.

44 *giš-mal* may = *giš-gal* 'thrones,' not 'creatures' (L. n. 1: *šiknati*).

45-47 Probably a description of the similarity of the favourite Tagku to the rest of mankind. Tagku is to appear as the teacher of agriculture, but not in divine guise. *áš-ám* = *diš-ám* = *mazârîš* 'similarly'; like other men.

REVERSE III.

20 *li-ag* may = *li* in *li-tar* = 'Acht haben,' D. L. 170. Langdon leaves this line untranslated.

24 *a-ra-gig*; the *-ra-* is no doubt 2 p.

25ff. *ma-gig*; *ma* probably contains the idea 'for me' = 1 p.

26 *Ab-ú*, probably Tammuz (L.).

30 and 32 KA here and in Rev. iii., 32 = 'speech' or 'mouth.' Probably 'mouth' in 32, as Ninkasi (33) = 'lady of the full mouth' or 'she who fills the mouth.' The allusion must be to hunger; cf., however, Rev. iii., 40.

34 *na-zi* 'the thing of life' = 'genitals'(?).

36 *da-zi*; I cannot translate.

38 *ti* = principle of life; 'semen'(?). L: 'health.'

40 *mê-mu*; *me* can mean 'power of speech,' but here prob-

ably 'command,' i. e., it is difficult for him to understand the divine command; hence 'judgment.' L: 'understanding.'

41 *En-šag-me* 'lord who makes good the *me*' (command). Jastrow doubts this reading.

42 Jastrow reads *tu-ne-en-na šur-ra-* for *tu-ne-en-na-aš gar-ra*, but it is probably *-aš gar-*.

45-50 These lines are very unclear. They seem to contain the prayer that certain gods shall be merged into others, so far as their qualities are concerned. In 47, *umun-dar-a* (L, no translation) appears to mean 'lord of the cock' (cf. Obv. i., 14). There must be paronomastie association in the following equations:

^dNin-KA-ù-tu; *^dNin-a-za*, 45

^dNin-ka-si; *^dNin-šag-si*, 46

^dDa-zi-ma; *zim*, 48

^dNin-(ti); *^dNin-iti-a*, 49

51 *zag-sal* = *tanittu*, D. L. 22 'loftiness'; the final doxology, 'Glory be'!

A Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Treatise 'Wonders of Sagastān' (Sīstān), by Dr. EDWARD W. WEST (deceased).—Presented by Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York City.

The accompanying transliteration and translation of the Pahlavi Treatise *Afđiā va-Sāyakīh-ī Damīg-ī Sagastān*, 'Wonders of the Land of Sagastān' (mod. Sīstān) was made in 1898 by the distinguished Pahlavi scholar, Dr. Edward W. West, who received election to the Society in 1899, in its Honorary List, as Corresponding Member, and who died in 1905. The communication, here reproduced, he sent to me in the form of a personal letter, dated January 7, 1898, at the time when I was engaged in special researches with regard to the life and legend of Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, afterwards published in book form and dedicated to Dr. West.

As he and I had talked together so often on Iranian subjects and had interchanged so many letters on matters relating to Zoroastrianism, it seems appropriate that I should be permitted to make available to scholars the main contents of this letter from him among those which passed in our correspondence. It must be borne in mind, however, that he sent it merely incidentally, in answer to an inquiry, as bearing on certain other problems in regard to which we were corresponding with each other (for his readiness ever to help fellow-workers in the field was far-known); and it must equally be remembered that the letter was written seventeen years ago, or some seven years before his death. It is quite possible, therefore, if his great activity had been longer spared to scholarship, that he would have modified or changed this or that point in his interpretation of certain difficult or obscure passages in the Pahlavi text involved. Yet I believe that a scholar so profound and accurate, so cautious and well-balanced would have allowed his version to stand in the main, as contributing something toward the elucidation of several matters connected with Zoroastrian tradition.

In his enclosure, under date mentioned above, Dr. West wrote as follows:

"My dear Professor: Thanks for your reference to the 'Wonders of Sagastān,' which had slipped out of my memory.—As the writer of this

short text seems to have fully adopted the idea that Sagastân was an important scene of Vishtâsp's propagation of the religion, I have thought it best to send you a complete transliteration and translation of this text enclosed.—It is somewhat difficult and obscure in places, as you will see; and its date is uncertain, but say from A. D. 900 to 1200, so it is only a reminiscence of old traditions; but more of this after other matters."

At this point in his letter Dr. West turned aside to devote a page to answering several inquiries of mine with regard to the text and interpretation of three or four passages in other Pahlavi works (Dēnkart 7. 4. 31, cf. *SBE.* xlvii. 57; Dk. 7. 4. 66; Dk. 7. 3. 51; and Zsp. 21. 2).

He then returned to a discussion of the age of the Pahlavi manuscript (Codex J), that belonged to Dastur Jamaspji, which contains the 'Wonders' and is apparently an early copy of a still older transcript, and traceable ultimately back to the original text. This important codex (J) comprises also the well-known Pahlavi treatises 'Memoir of Zarīrān' and the 'Cities of Irān,' besides the work under consideration. The three were edited and published together in 1897 by its owner, the late Parsi High Priest Jamaspji, under the title: *Pahlavi Texts I, edited by Jamaspji Dastur Minochaherji Jamasp-Azana*, Bombay, 1897. On the subject of the date of the copy and its contents Dr. West expressed himself as follows:

"Regarding the age of the texts in Codex J. The colophon at the end of the Codex was written by Mitrô-âpân-i Kai-Khusrô in 1322, but (as in the case of K 20) J may be a very early copy of M K's transcript whose colophon is lost.—The first text, the Yâḡkâr-i Zarīrān, was copied by M K from his great-uncle Rûstam's transcript of Dênô-panâh's MS. mentioned below.—The second text, Founders of the cities of Irān, must have been composed long after the time of the latest founder, Abû-Jâfar, called Abû-davânîg, who founded Bagdâd in 764. The Wonders of Sagastân is the third text, whose writer is not named, and the following 14 texts (see 'Pahl. Liter.' in [Geiger and Kuhn's] *Grundriss*, §§ 97-100 [69] 70-75) also supply no names or dates.—Then come two colophons referring to all these Yâḡkârân, or Memoranda (see *Grundriss* § 76); the first is Dênô-panâh's, the imperfect date of which seems to be equivalent to A. D. 1255, written at Broach; the second is M K's of 1322, written 3 months and 8 days before his final colophon. The dates of Rûstam's copies are not mentioned, but he copied others in 1269 in Irān and in 1278 in India.—The compiler of the Wonders of Sagastân was probably the priest who reports the simplicity of ritual there in § 9, and he may have been very recent, even as late as the original Sagastân Pahl. Vend. of Hô-mâst, from which a copy was made in 1205 for transmission to Aûchak in the Panjâb, which was copied by Rûstam, and M K's transcript of this copy is now K₁."

Thus far the preliminary part of Dr. West's letter as prefacing his transcription and translation of the Pahlavi text. But before reproducing these it may be well to quote his earlier description of the treatise, as found in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2. 118 (Strassburg, 1904), which runs as follows:

"A short text of 290 words about the Wonders of Sagastān, or Sistān, among which it mentions the river Aētumend [i. e. Hetumand], the lake Frazdān, the sea Kyānsih, the mountain Aūshdāštār, and the birth of the religion, and of his conferences with Zaratūst; also of the proceed-Aīrich, son of Frēdūn, and the scene of Vishtāsp's first propagation of the religion, and of his conferences with Zaratūst; also of the proceedings of Sēnō-i Ahūmstān of Būst (*būstīg*) and his disciples, who issued various Nasks, for religious instruction."

Those who knew well Dr. West's scholarly acumen, his critical method, and his conscientious manner of work, will best appreciate having an exact reproduction, by autotype process, of the most important part of his letter of January 7, 1898—the transliteration and translation of the 'Wonders,' especially as this reproduction served likewise to recall the fine minuscule handwriting of the distinguished savant.

By way of supplement it is important here to draw attention to the wholly independent translation of the 'Wonders' into English and Gujarati by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi of Bombay, which was published a year later than the time when Dr. West's letter was written to me, and its preface is dated April 30th, 1899. It was the first rendering actually to appear in print and has remained the only one available until the West translation of a year earlier (1898) is now reproduced in autograph facsimile as above. It was issued together with the other two Pahlavi treatises, already referred to, under the combined title *Aiyādgār-i-Zarīrān, Shatrōihā-i-Airān, and Afdiyā-ve-Sahigiya-i-Sistān, Translated with Notes*, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Bombay, 1899. I feel sure that my friend Dr. Modi, like other Iranists, will welcome the opportunity of consulting the deceased scholar's transcription and interpretation of the text.

From Codex J. (letters underlined with red are missing in original). 1.
Pavan sham-i garzdân.

1. Afdîn va-sâyakîh-î damîg-î Sagarstân min
avârîg shatrôihâ hanâ râi arkîtar va-shapîr.
2. Âêvak denâ, âêgh rûd-î Êtûmand² va-var-î
Frazdân² va-zarêh-î Kayânîk³ va-gar-î Âûsh-
dâstâr⁴ bîn damîg-î Sagarstân; zerkhûnîshn
va-parvarîshn-î Âûshêdar va-Âûshêdar-mâh
f. 266. va-Pâyôshâns-î Zarâtûstîân-î Spîtâmân,
afîsh ristâkhez kardân. 3. Âêvak denâ, âêgh
padvand tîkhmak-î Kayân⁵ dahyûpatân-î pavan
denâ kêshvar. 4. Vâzand âûbash mad min farzandân
-î Frêdûn: Salm mûn kêshvar-î Ârûm, va Tîj
mûn Tûrkîstân pavan khûdâih dâst: Âîrîc Âîrân
dahyûpat bûd, afash barâ zagtâlînt, va-min
farzandân-i Âîrîc, barâ kanîk-1, hânô âîsh.

In the name of the sacred beings.

1. The wonderfulness and protectiveness, on account of
which the land of Sagarstân is superior and better than
other provinces. 2. One reason is this, that the river
Êtûmand², the lake Frazdân², the sea Kayânîk³, and
the mountain Âûshdâstâr⁴ are in the land of
Sagarstân; also the birth and education of Âûshêdar,
Âûshêdar-mâh, and of Pâyôshâns, descendant of
Zarâtûst of the Spîtâmas, likewise his production of
the resurrection. 3. One reason is this, that it is the
lineal race of the Kayân⁵ rulers which is in this region.
4. Disaster came to it from the sons of Frêdûn: Salm
who held the region of Ârûm, and Tîj who held
Tûrkîstân as dominion: Âîrîc was ruler of Îrân,
and they slew him; of the children of Âîrîc, except
one girl, no one else

2.

barâ lâ ketrînt; va-akhar Frêdûm val var-i
Frazdân yezberûnân va-pavan nîhân dâst vad
dahûm padvand⁶. 5. Amat min zag kanîk berâ
zerkhûnâd, akhar Frêdûm val var-i Frazdân
vazlînt, afash min Ardvisûr Anâhît ayâft
bavîhûnt; va-pavan lakhvâr ârâstânô-i Airân

§.27a. shatrô va-gadê[†] i Kayân, avârîg yezdân, min lôn
Sagastân gâs mâhmânîh, avartar ayâft vîndâd,
levatâ Mânushcîhar³ va-valôshân Airân âfrînô.

6. Âevak denâ, aêgh Vishtâsp shah dênô pavan var-
i Frazdân kard rûbâkîh, avlô pavan Sagastân,
va-akhar pavan avârîg shatrôîhâ; va-Vishtâsp
shah, pavan ham-pûrsagîh-i Zaratûst, va-Pênô⁹ i
Ahûmstûtân-i Bûstîg¹⁰, êgûnash hâvîstân-i

remained; and Frêdûm then conveyed her to lake
Frazdân, and kept ~~her~~ in concealment till the tenth
generation⁶. 5. When a son had been born from that
girl, Frêdûm then went to lake Frazdân, and he
begged a boon from Ardvisûr Anâhît, also, on the
restoration of the country of Irân and the kingly
glory, he obtained the higher boon of the other sacred
beings, owing to hospitality on the Sagastân throne,
together with Mânushcîhar³ and their blessing of Irân.

6. One reason is this, that king Vishtâsp produced
the progress of religion on lake Frazdân, first in
Sagastân, and afterwards in the other provinces;
also king Vishtâsp, in conference with Zaratûst,
and Pênô⁹, son of Ahûmstût of Bûst¹⁰, because his
disciples of

Zaratusht avlâ pavan dêr - hâvishtânîh - i valâ
 yehvîunt havâd, dênô - i Sagastân val câshtô rûbâk
 dâshtanô râi, nask nask pavan dîdâk - i shapîrân
 frâz sagîtîunt. 7. Nasg - 1 Guvah - Pên - icô¹¹ karîtîund,
 cîgûn Pênô Bîrîz - Mitrô¹² - i Zaratushtân, pavan vî-
 f. 27¹ - râstakîh¹ - i zag, yehvîunt - i âyâkân¹³. 8. Amat
 gujastak Aleksandar - i Arîmâ val Arîrân shatrô
 mad, valâshân mûn pavan barîshrî Mîg - mardîh
 sagîtîunt girift zagtîlîunt, gabrâ va - rîdâk âe - cand
 val Sagastân yâtîunt havâd. 9. Nasg - 1 yehvîunt - i
 nêshâân, bîd - i apornâyîg - 1 nasg - 1; Guvah - Pên -
 icô¹¹ angîdanô narm kard yegavîmînâd; pavan
 - mâ zag râh dênô bân Sagastân lakhvâr sagîtîunt,
 ârîst va - vîrîst navak navak barâ pavan Sagastân,

Zaratusht have been first in his long discipleship,
 made the various Nasks proceed in a family of the good,
 for the purpose of keeping the religion of Sagastân
 progressive for being taught. 7. One Nask they call
 Guvah - Pên - icô ["the witness is even Pên"], because
 Pênô and Bîrîz - Mitrô¹², son of Zaratusht, through the
 restoration of that, became of the coming ones¹³.
 8. When the accursed Alexander of Arîm came
 to the country of Irân, he seized and slew those who
 walked in the splendour of Magicianism; but several
 men and youths have come to Sagastân. 9. There
 was one Nask of the women, and it was the one
 Nask of a child; the production of the Guvah - Pên - icô¹¹
 was made easy (i.e. learnt by heart); even in that way
 the ritual travelled back into Sagastân, arranged and
 restored even anew in Sagastân only,

4. aclīnash avârīg dīvāk lā narm; li mūn pavan
zag dīvīg hamāk-dēnō-1 yazbekhūnd, shādih-ē
gōharikānīh rāē, Hādōkht-ē farmāyēnd: Sagistān!

f. 28a. 10. [Kolophon]. Frajaft pavan shnom, ^{shēd}shādih,
rāmishn; ^{va}va-farukhō va-dēr-zivishn va-pūrtishn
va-aharūtō-kāmak-anjām yehwīnēd, mūn nīpīst,
mūn nafshā, va-mūn karitūnēd; Ashem.

in another place it was then not easy (i.e. not learnt)
in that place whoever celebrate all the religious rites
through me, for the pleasure of the generous, after
one Hādōkht they bid me go.

10. [Kolophon]. Completed with satisfaction, pleasure
and joy; may he be happy and fortunate, long living
and triumphant, and accomplishing his righteous desire,
who wrote it, who owns it, and who reads it. Righteousness
is perfect excellence.

1 Bd. XX, 17. 2 Bd. XXII, 5. 3 Bd. XIII, 16. 4 Bd. XII, 15.

5 Bd. XXI, 7. 6 Bd. XXXI, 9-11. 7 Compare Yt. V, 34, 103.

8 Bd. XXXI, 12. 9 Yt. XIII, 97. 10 Described by the

pseudo-Ibn-Haukal as on the river Hērmand,
between Ghōr and the lake (see Ouseley's Oriental Geography
p. 206).

11 This name, which is written 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌, has
some resemblance to 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 Ganabā-sar-nijad,
'the thief's head downstricken'; the name of the sixteenth
Nask; and references to women and children will be
found in its contents, as stated in S.B.E. XXXVII, xxi 8,
xxii, 1, 2, 4, 5, 21; but the reason for the name, given in this
text, though vague, has no reference to thieves.

12 Not yet identified; but this son of a priest named Zardōst,
probably lived some time after Šnō who died A.R. 200.

13. Can also be read Ashkām, as if referring to the Parthian
dynasty. The whole sentence is very obscure.
January 7th 1898. E.M. West

The Sumerian View of Beginnings.—By MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,
Professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

As the result of an independent study of an important and unusually interesting Sumerian text recently published by Dr. Stephen Langdon, of Oxford,¹ I have reached an interpretation differing entirely from that proposed by the industrious editor. As indicated by the title of his publication, Dr. Langdon believes that the text contains a Sumerian account of Paradise, of the Flood, and of the Fall of Man. According to my interpretation, the text is an incantation, incidental to which Sumerian myths are introduced which set forth the Sumerian view of the beginnings of things, but there is no description of Paradise in this text nor any reference to a Flood, nor does it touch in any way on such a problem as the Fall of Man. Since some time may elapse before I shall have the opportunity of publishing my paper on the subject in full, I wish to set forth the results at once in a brief summary, both because of the importance of the text itself and of the widespread interest that it has aroused, and also in the hope that my suggestions may lead other scholars to take up the text without delay and help in the solution of the many difficulties which it presents. Let me add, that I have no personal controversy with the first interpreter of the text, the discovery and publication of which entitle him to the gratitude of his colleagues. I have merely reached different conclusions as a result of my study. My readings of the text, I should add, involving quite a number of important corrections of Dr. Langdon's publication, are based on a collation of the tablet made with the coöperation of my student, Dr. Edward Chiera, of the University of Pennsylvania. In the complete paper all these new readings will be fully indicated.

¹ *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man* (University of Pennsylvania Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. X, No. 1, Philadelphia, 1915). See also two preliminary articles on the tablet by Dr. Langdon: (1) "Preliminary Account of a Sumerian Version of the Flood and the Fall of Man" (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1914, pages 188-198. (2) "An Account of the Pre-Semitic Version of the Fall of Man," *ib.* pp. 253-263.

1. The text, as Langdon himself recognized in a general way, stands in close relation to the fragment published by Dr. Poebel about two years ago in his volume of *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (Publications of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. V, Philadelphia, 1914, plate 1). According to Poebel's interpretation this tablet contains an account of Creation and then passes on to a description of the Flood. A comparison of Poebel's fragment with Langdon's text shows that both consist of three columns on the obverse and on the reverse, and, what is particularly striking, the width of the two tablets is exactly the same. Both texts are in Sumerian and the character of the writing is identical. Besides some analogous expressions common to both tablets, the name of the place which Dr. Langdon reads as Dilmun occurs in Dr. Poebel's text (column 6, line 12) written with what may be a phonetic complement *na*, precisely as at the close of Langdon's text (column 6, line 50). The two texts evidently belong to a series, and if this be admitted, the fact that in Poebel's text a full account of the flood is given, with Ziugiddu as the hero who escapes, makes it unlikely that Langdon's text should also contain, as he believes, an account of the Deluge. Of the two texts, Langdon's comes first, and I believe Poebel's represents a direct successor. If, therefore, Langdon's tablet is the first of a series, Poebel's would be the second. Let us hope that a further search among the Nippur collection of the University of Pennsylvania fragments will result in completing Poebel's tablet.

2. Langdon's text, according to my interpretation, begins with a description of a time when the earth existed, with mountains and even cities, to be eventually inhabited, but before there was any animal or human life in the world. The gods are in existence in a particular place, described as "holy" and designated as a "mountain," with "country" and "city" used apparently as synonyms. The god Enki (identified with Ea, the great god of the waters) and his consort are represented as dwelling in the place "alone."

3. The name of the mountain in which the god and goddess dwell is read by Langdon "Dilmun," but he himself admits (page 8, note 1) that the sign used is not the one ordinarily read as Dilmun. Poebel is more cautious, and while suggesting the possibility of Dilmun, does not accept it as a certainty

(page 61 of his translation and discussion of 'Historical and Grammatical Texts'). I doubt very much whether Dilmun is intended, the only point in favor of this interpretation being the use of the syllable *na* after the compound ideograph in Poebel's text and in *one* instance in Langdon's text. (See above under 1.) This, however, in itself cannot be regarded as conclusive. Langdon's view (following Jensen) that Dilmun is not, as is supposed by the majority of Assyriologists, an island in the Persian Gulf, but to be sought for on the eastern shore, will be fully discussed in my paper.

4. The text being a poem, we must be prepared for poetic language. What Langdon takes for a description of Paradise, where animals lived in peaceful tranquility, where there were no diseases and where people did not grow old (column 1, lines 13-25), I take as a poetical description of the time when no animals and no human beings existed. When it is said that "the raven did not croak, and the kite did not shriek," that "the lion did not kill and the wolf did not plunder," it is simply a poetic way of saying that neither birds of prey nor animals of prey existed in the place where a god and goddess dwelt, as the text specifically says "alone," (lines 7 and 10). The same applies to the domestic animals enumerated in the following lines, and similarly when the text tells us that "one did not say 'eye disease,' " nor "headache," the conclusion to be drawn is that no demons of disease existed, because there were no people to catch the disease; or to put it in the Sumerian way, there were no people into whose bodies demons could enter. People "did not say 'Father' and 'Mother'" (not necessarily "old man" and "old woman," as Langdon renders the Sumerian terms), because there were neither parents to address nor children to address them—a poetical way, again, of saying that there were no people in the world. This is the reverse of what we find in Sumerian lamentation hymns where, in order to contrast the present desolation with former joys, it is said that in former times the wife said "My husband," the maiden said "My brother," the mother said "My child," the young girl said "My father," etc. (see Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. 292), to indicate that there were husbands, brothers, children and fathers in those days.

5. The reason for the absence of animals and human life is indicated in column 1, line 26, where it is specifically said

that "in the holy place no water flowed," and that "no water was poured out in the city." In substantiation of this we find (lines 31 to end of column 1) Ninella, who appears to be both daughter and consort of Enki, complaining to her father that he has founded a city, but that the city (line 35) "has no canal." She appeals to him (column 2, lines 1-6) to give the city sweet or drinking water in abundance, and in accord with this we find (column 2, lines 12-19) Enki changing the gathering of "bitter waters" into "sweet waters."

6. There follows what is perhaps the most interesting feature of the tablet (column 2, lines 21-32), the scene, described with primitive frankness, of the copulation of the god Enki and his consort Nintu or Nintud (whose name means 'goddess of birth'), as a result of which (line 33) the fields are "inundated." This point of view, according to which fertility arises as a result of the union, or the marriage, between a god and a goddess, is familiar to us in primitive myths, and it is sufficient in this summary to refer for many such examples to J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. II, chapter XI ("The Influence of the Sexes on Vegetation") and chapter XII § 2 ("The Marriage of the Gods").

7. Dr. Langdon, having failed to understand the passage just referred to, takes the description following, in lines 34 to the end of column 2, as an account of the Deluge. All, however, that is actually indicated in these lines is that the fields were inundated, or, as the text says, "received the waters of Enki," for one day in each of nine months. This ninth month is described (line 42) by two signs indicating "productiveness" and "water." It looks to me as though there were suggested here in the myth an analogy between the duration of the rainy season and the nine months of pregnancy. Line 43 of this column, reading, "Like fat, like fat, like rich (or 'good') cream" (not "tallow," as Dr. Langdon proposes), has reference to the abundant vegetation that follows upon the rainy season²; and to place the matter beyond all doubt, it is expressly said that it is Nintu ("the goddess of birth") who has "brought forth."

² Dr. Langdon (p. 6) interprets this single line to mean that all mankind, after the deluge of nine months, "dissolved in the waters like tallow and fat." Apart from the improbability of such an explanation of the metaphor, the comparison is somewhat unfortunate; the one thing that fat and tallow do *not* do is to dissolve in water.

8. In column 3 the same description of the "fields receiving the waters of Enki," with the inundation extending over a period of nine months (only one day in each month being specifically named), occurs twice, and it is evident that there is also associated with it a symbolism connecting this inundation with the resultant fertility. The goddess Ninshar³ calls upon Enki to show favor to her, whereupon Usmû,⁴ the messenger to Enki, is directed to perform apparently some purification rite both for the goddess and for the "son of man," here used in a generic sense for mankind. It is in connection with this somewhat obscure "purification ceremony" that Enki, addressed by his messenger as "my king," makes for a boat which is described as sinking two-thirds of its bulk as it floats on the waters, after which we have the passage of Enki, inundating the fields. The boat, I take it, is the one in which the god, as the genius presiding over the waters, sails, and to which there are numerous references in Cuneiform texts, e. g., in the Syllabary K. 4378 (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3d ed., p. 88, col. V, 31).

9. At the close of column 3, the goddess Nintu and a god whose name may be read either Tag-Tug or Shum-tug or Tag-tush, or Tak-Ku⁵ are introduced, but in a passage too obscure to be briefly treated in this summary. Suffice it to say, however, that there is no reason to assume that Takku is anything but a god. His name is written with the usual determinative for deity, and in order to convert him into a human being Langdon translates the determinative and thus obtains "the divine Tag-Tug." In this way any god can be transformed into a human being.⁶

³ So the reading is, clearly, throughout col. III (except line 40) in lines 1, 5, 8, and not Nintu (or Nintud), as Langdon reads. Ninshar may, however, be merely a variant name for Nintu, just as Nin-Kur (col. III, lines 21, 25, 28), "Lady of the Mountain," appears to be.

⁴ Or Isimu—written Kur-Igi-gunu-Nun-Me. The signs in lines 3, 6, 23, 26, as well as col. V, lines 16 and 19, clearly give the name of the god Usmû or Isimu (Cuneiform Texts 24, Pl. 16, 45, where Kur Igi-gunu-Nun-Me = Usmû is specifically named as the "Messenger of Enki"). See also Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, No. 688 and the passages quoted by Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspalmen*, p. 49 seq.

⁵ This, I think, is the correct reading.

⁶ All that Langdon says on this point (p. 55, Note 1) is beside the mark; and the same applies to his note 2 on p. 51. In col. V, as in col.

10. Column 4, though badly mutilated at the beginning, clearly contains further references to the irrigation and inundation of the fields, as a result of which the earth is in bloom. The significance of the scene described in the closing portion of this column, in which the god Enki is represented as coming to the god Takku (or however his name is to be read) and knocking at the door of the latter's temple, and, upon its being opened, announcing himself as a gardener offering his fruits for sale(?) (line 42), I confess is not clear to me, but there is evidently here again some symbolism suggesting the rich return of fruits that comes as a result of the filling of the canals and water courses. I am inclined to believe that the harvest rejoicing is more or less symbolically described, but I am not at all sure of this.

11. Column 5 gives a most interesting account of the way in which Usmû, the messenger of Enki, instructs some one—presumably the first man or mankind—in the use of plants and trees. Usmû assigns names to the various plants, which, according to the Sumerian as well as the Babylonian idea, is equivalent to fixing their fate, or, as we should say, determining their character. Eight plants and trees are named, divided into two groups: such as grow above the ground, the fruits of which are, therefore, "cut," and such as grow below the ground, which are "plucked out." The scene suggests the famous passage in Berosus,⁷ embodying the ancient Babylonian tradition of the mythical being Oannes (the water god Enki or Ea) coming out of the water and giving instruction to mankind in all kinds of things, *including agriculture*.⁸ The last of the plants named is Am-Ha-Ru, which, on the basis of Cuneiform Texts 14, Pl. 18, Obv. 26,⁹ Langdon correctly identifies as "cassia"; but all that he says about this being, "the forbidden fruit" is

III, "my king" always refers to Enki. This Tag-tug (assuming this to be the reading) has no connection whatsoever with Langdon's supposed deluge, for he is not mentioned at all till the close of col. III. To connect him with the "deluge," Langdon has to assume that he is referred to as "my king" (col. 3, 9 and 29).

⁷ Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 21 seq.

⁸ The Greek text says, "sowing and harvesting of fruits."

⁹ Am-Ha-Ra = *ka-su-u*. See also *Cuneiform Texts* 14, Pl. 33 (K. 9182, 5) and Pl. 27, (S. 1846, 7) and Kùchler, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Medizin*, KK 71, etc. III, 50 (p. 32) where Am-Ha-Ra occurs as an ingredient in a concoction prescribed for the consequence of a "jag."

erroneous. There is no question of any forbidden fruit in the passage (column 5, lines 20-36). In regard to *all* eight plants it is said that they may be eaten, being either "cut off" or "plucked out." As long as Langdon had merely the lower fragment of the reverse before him (when he wrote his preliminary article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, June 1914), containing the reference to the single plant, cassia, there was some justification for his guess that the tablet contained an account of the eating of some forbidden fruit, but he should at once have abandoned this idea upon seeing that the other part of column 5 spoke of seven other plants in exactly the same way as of the cassia.¹⁰ Quite apart from everything else, it is unlikely that of all plants the cassia should have been set down in any myth as a forbidden fruit. For the Oriental cassia, which has made its way in the form of senna leaves to all parts of the world, is one of the oldest as well as one of the most useful of ancient drugs; and fortunately is one of the few mentioned in the Babylonian-Assyrian medical texts that can be identified with certainty.¹¹ No people would even make an indispensable drug a forbidden plant.

The cassia is mentioned in this list of eight plants just because of its great importance and usefulness; and this, no doubt, holds good also of the other seven enumerated, which, so far as they are intelligible, will be discussed in my paper.

11. At the close of column 5, the doom of man, that he must die, appears to be announced, but not as a result of any act of disobedience. Both in the story of Adapa and in the Gilgamesh account, we find the Sumerian and Babylonian view clearly set forth, that when the gods created man "they decreed death for him, and kept life in their own hands."¹² Some of

¹⁰ Even the verb in line 34, in connection with Am-Ha-Ru or cassia, is the same as in lines 20, 22 (and to be supplied, lines 24, 26, 28, 32), namely, *mu-na-ab-bi*, "spoke" or "commanded." Langdon's reading of the last syllable "teg," in line 34, is an error. The text shows plainly "bi."

¹¹ See Jastrow, "Medicine of the Babylonians and Assyrians" (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, Section of the History of Medicine*, March, 1914), p. 133. Our term "cassia" is the Babylonian term *kasû*, coming down to us through the Greek form. The *kasû* occurs constantly in these Babylonian-Assyrian medical texts.

¹² Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, p. 300 (col. III, 3-5); Ungnad-Gressman, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 72. The Adapa

the gods are occasionally represented as regretting this decision, and in Langdon's text the goddess Ninharsag and the group of Anunnaki are so pictured, but there is not the slightest suggestion of death having come to man through his own fault. That idea is foreign to the Sumerian-Babylonian point of view.

12. The first part of column 6, containing references to the gods Enlil, Nannar (the Moon-god—so to be read in line 7), Ninib (so to be read perhaps in line 8), and Ninharsag, is too broken to be intelligible.

Beginning with line 23 and extending to line 41, we have a series of gods (or divine beings) enumerated, who are created in order to furnish relief from the various diseases to which flocks and men are heir. This part of the tablet is perhaps also to be brought into connection with the tradition, reported by Berosus,¹³ of Oannes or Enki giving instruction to man how to protect himself against disease and suffering.

The tablet closes with an incantation invoking the names of the various deities enumerated in connection with diseases. This incantation is the goal of the text to which the several myths of the beginnings of things lead up. Further examples of such incantations in which myths are introduced to strengthen and justify the incantation itself will be given in the fuller paper on Langdon's text. An interesting point, which will also be more fully discussed in the complete paper, is the play of words in column 6 between the name of the part of the body diseased and the name of the deity created for the purpose of relieving the disease in question. Thus, for the disease of the mouth (Ka) the goddess Nin-Ka-Si is created. For distress of the flocks (U-tul) the goddess Nin-Tul-la, etc.

13. It will be seen that the tablet deals in the first part with a description of the time before the world was populated, and presents in the form of a number of myths a picture of vegetation and fertility arising, first, from the copulation of the god Enki and his consort, who is represented at the same time as his daughter; and, second, from the inundation of the fields, viewed apparently under the aspect of a purification ceremony,

myth says that man was given wisdom (i. e., knowledge) but not "eternal life" (Fragment I, 4). Dhorme l. c. p. 148; Ungnad-Gressman, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, I, p. 35.

¹³ Berosus says that Oannes transmitted to men "writing, science and the arts of all kinds," which would, therefore, include also the healing art.

based upon the current views of the sanctity attaching to water as a purifying element.

The second part of the tablet appears to be taken up largely with instructions given to man through various deities. Leaving the details for discussion in my full paper on the subject, let me here call attention to two points of a more general character.

14. The picture of the god forcing the goddess, who declares that "no man has ever entered into her," throws an interesting light on the custom vouched for as late as the days of Herodotus, of the symbolical union between the god and goddess carried out as part of the religious rites in the city of Babylon. Herodotus, as will be recalled (Book I, § 181), describes the sacred chamber on the top of the stage tower at Babylon, which contained as its sole furniture a couch on which the woman lay who is to be visited by the god. The god is, of course, represented by the priest, and there is little doubt that Herodotus is describing a rite based upon the scene so naïvely and frankly described in Langdon's tablet.

15. The view taken in Langdon's text of the beginning of things is precisely the one that we find in a Sumerian version of Creation (*Cuneiform Texts*, 13, plates 35-38) which has been known to scholars for a long time, and which presents a striking contrast to the main Babylonian version in which the principal scene is the conflict between Marduk and Tiamat. In this Babylonian version the beginning of time is pictured as chaotic, with a monster, symbolical of the raging waters, in sole control. Until the lawlessness symbolized by these monsters can be overcome through some god, who, under one name or another, marks the conquest of the winter rains through the sun of the spring, earth, vegetation and mankind cannot make their appearance. Law and order must be established before the world can become habitable. This appears to have been the view developed under later Akkadian or Semitic influences, whereas the earlier Sumerian view, as set forth in the text above referred to, does not conceive of a time when the world did not exist, but merely before it was populated by men and animals and before vegetation appeared. There is no conflict in this version. Therefore, in this Sumerian text the first step in Creation was the founding of cities, and, naturally, the oldest cities known to the Sumerians are enumerated, beginning with Eridu. It is a fair inference

that in the earliest form of this Sumerian myth only one city, the oldest of all, was mentioned.¹⁴ After the "city" has been established, mankind, animals and vegetation appear.

Now, this is exactly the point of view set forth in Langdon's text. The world is in existence, a "mountain," a "country," and even a "city" are there, but the world is empty. The god Enki and his consort "alone" inhabit it, though no doubt it is assumed that other gods produced through Enki, either by himself or with the help of his consort, are also in existence; but no animals, no men, and no vegetation. The difference, then, between the early Sumerian and the later Babylonian view may be summed up in the statement that in the Sumerian view the chief factor in the Creation myth is the bringing about of vegetation and fertility, whereas in the Babylonian or Akkadian tale the main stress is laid upon the substitution of law and order for primitive chaos and lawlessness. It is interesting to note that in the two versions of Creation in the Book of Genesis we have a parallel to the Babylonian and Sumerian points of view respectively. The P document, or the Priestly Code (Gen. 1, 1 to 2, 4^a), represents water as the primeval element and its main idea is the establishment of order in the world, with a sequence of creation brought about by the word of Elohim. In the J, or Jahwistic, version (Gen. 2, 4^b *seq.*), the earth is represented as in existence, but without any vegetation and without any one to till the soil. It has long been recognized that of the two versions the J version represents the more primitive point of view as is indicated also in the manner of the creation of man; while P belongs to a much more advanced period of thought, and, moreover, has been adapted to a purified monotheistic conception of divine government. Similarly, the Babylonian or Akkadian point of view evidently represents an advance upon the Sumerian, and it is interesting as well as important to find in Cuneiform documents a parallel to the two views embodied in the Book of Genesis. The bearings of this parallel upon the possible relationship between Babylonian and Biblical traditions will be discussed more fully in a special forthcoming paper.

¹⁴ The text itself shows evidence of having been worked over in order to adapt it to later conditions, as I shall endeavor to prove in a separate paper on "Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings." See, meanwhile, King's translation in his *Seven Tablets of Creation*, Vol. I, pp. 130-139.

Postscript. After this article had been typewritten and was about to be sent off, the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for January, 1916, appeared, with some corrections by Dr. Langdon to his text (pp. 40-43), embodied also in an article in the *Expository Times* for January, 1916, pp. 165-168. In this latter article Dr. Langdon also republishes his translation with some changes, and maintains his three main theses, that his text contains an account (a) of the Sumerian Paradise, (b) of the Deluge, and (c) of the Fall of Man. In reply to the article of Professor Sayce (*Expository Times*, November, 1915, who rejected Langdon's second thesis, Dr. Langdon sets up the claim that, in view of the relationship between his tablet and Dr. Poebel's text (see above, under 1), the occurrence of an account of the Deluge in *Poebel's* text proves the correctness of interpreting columns 2 and 3 in *Langdon's* text as referring to a deluge. Just the contrary is the case. If the two tablets belong, as I believe—and as Dr. Langdon now appears to believe,—to the same series, then the fact that we have an account of a Deluge in Poebel's text, with Zingiddu as the hero, certainly makes it highly improbable, if not impossible, that we should also have an account of a Deluge in Langdon's text. The assumption that Tag-Tug (if this be the reading) "is the same person under another name," namely, the same as Zingiddu, is purely arbitrary. Equally arbitrary is the insertion by Langdon of the words "at that time" at the beginning of line 34 of column 5 (see above, under 11, and particularly the note on this line). The line in question forms, as I have indicated, a complete parallel to lines 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, except that in each one of these lines a different plant is named. Langdon's first restoration, therefore, at the beginning of this line, of the words "my king," was obvious and correct, since each one of these lines begins with this word. At the time that Dr. Langdon made the correct restoration he assumed that "my king" referred to his hypothetical Tag-Tug. Having now found out (p. 167 of E. T. for Jan., 1916) that he was mistaken in this, and that "my king" refers throughout the text to the god Enki, as I have also shown above in the note to § 9, it would, of course, not fit in with his interpretation to supply "my king" at the beginning of line 34, and he therefore conjectures the words "at that time," suggesting further, in a footnote, that possibly the name Tag-Tug is to be restored here. I have shown above

that the verb at the end of line 34 is precisely the same as at the close of lines 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, namely, "has commanded." Langdon, not recognizing that his reading of the sign at the close of line 34 is incorrect, retains his erroneous translation "approached." If we substitute for this the correct reading "has commanded," it is of course obvious that at the beginning of the line we *must* read "my king." Tag-Tug not being even mentioned in column 5 (so far as preserved), it is, as will be admitted, a most arbitrary procedure to introduce him by a conjectural restoration at the beginning of a line for the purpose of maintaining a theory. Such a method cannot commend itself to scholars.

I am glad to see that Dr. Langdon has now recognized the occurrence of the name of the god Isimu or Usmû, in column 3, line 3, and that he has thus got rid of the erroneous translation "divine anointed ones" for this and the five other parallel lines. Recognizing now that in line 9 of column 3 "my king" refers to the god Enki, and not to the hypothetical Tag-Tug, who is never mentioned until the end of this column, it follows that the boat (line 10 and line 30),—the *only* clear reference to any ship in the whole tablet,—*must* be the boat of the god. (See above, under 8.) To save his theory, however, that Tag-Tug takes refuge on the boat, Langdon now translates the crucial line (line 10 = line 30) "alone upon the boat *awaited him*;" that is, the god Enki had an appointment to meet or to wait for Tag-Tug on the boat. Is it conceivable that any writer would refer by a suffix to a verb to a personage who has not been mentioned before, and who in fact is never mentioned till 30 lines later? Here again we have an illustration of Dr. Langdon's curious method of changing a translation in order to save a theory. His former translation, "his foot alone upon the boat set," making this refer to Tag-Tug, was much nearer the mark. The verb at the end of the line, "Gub," means "to place," "to stand," etc., and, together with the word "foot" at the beginning, is evidently intended to indicate that some one is "making for the boat," or ready to step on board the boat; and, of course, the subject of the verb is the "king" or the god Enki mentioned in the preceding line.

Lastly, let me say that Langdon's revised translation of line 32, column 2, "Oh, Ninĥarsag, I will destroy the fields with a

deluge," is neither an improvement nor is it justified by the text. All that can safely be concluded from this line that is after Enki had uttered "his word" (as indicated in line 30) the inundation of the fields follows, and this is expressed by saying that "the fields of Ninḥarsag were inundated," or possibly, "the field was inundated by Ninḥarsag." The word "deluge" is Dr. Langdon's addition. The line contains merely the following words: (1) Ninḥarsag, with genitive ending, (2) field, and (3) a verb *Ri* or *Rig*, the common meaning of which is *raḥāṣu* "inundate."

Otherwise, there are few changes which Dr. Langdon introduces, and since he retains his erroneous translation of lines 24-26, of column 2, he naturally misses the purpose of what I think is the chief and certainly the most interesting episode in the tablet, the irrigation of the fields and the resultant fertility, coming as a consequence of the union of the god with the goddess.

Perhaps it is just as well that by way of further explanation I should justify my interpretation of these three important lines. At the beginning of all three lines¹⁵ is the sign *Uš*, the common value of which is the 'male member.' Added to *Uš* is the suffix of the third person, i. e., therefore, "his member." The verb at the end of line 24 is "expose," at the end of line 25 "sink" or "insert," at the end of line 26 "did not (or "would not") draw out." There can therefore be no doubt that the sexual act is here described. Besides in line 25 we have the sign also for the female organ into which the god Enki "inserts his *Uš*," and in line 27 the goddess Nintu cries, "No man has come to me," the verb used, it is interesting to note, being precisely the same as in Hebrew usage, to denote the sexual act. The full commentary to these three lines, as to the entire passage, will be found in the forthcoming paper.¹⁶

¹⁵ Langdon misread the first sign in l. 25; it is clearly *Uš* on the original, precisely as at the beginning of lines 24 and 26.

¹⁶ Let me also add, for the immediate convenience of those desiring to make an independent study of the important text, my chief corrections to Langdon's readings, based on a collation of the tablet in the University Museum, kindly placed at my disposal by the Director, Dr. G. B. Gordon:

Col. 1, 15-16, the 7th sign is in both cases *ub*.

Col. 2, 24. The 4th and 5th signs are to be taken as one—*Dirig* (Brünnow No. 3739), though *Kalagga* (Brünnow No. 6194) is also possible.

Col. 2, 25. The first sign is *Uš*, as in lines 24 and 26.

Col. 3, 1. The name of the goddess here as well as in lines 5 and 8 is *Nin-šar*—not *Nin-tu*.

Col. 3, 2. The 3d sign appears to be *zūk* (Brünnnow No. 10300). So also in lines 43, 44 and Col. 5, 15.

Col. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8—Sign before last is *ub*. Read therefore in all these instances, as well as lines 24 and 25, *nu-mu-un-su-ub-bi*. The verb is *su-ub* in the sense of “purifying, cleansing.” See Delitzsch, *Sumerisches glossar*, p. 148.

Col. 3, 11. After the third sign read the notation for 2/3, followed by *Rim* (Brünnnow No. 4815) and the phonetic complement *ma*. So also in line 31.

Col. 3, 12. Last sign is *ub*; so also l. 32.

Col. 4, lines 18, 19, 20, 35, 36, 46 and 47, first sign is probably *giš*, not *e*.

Col. 4, 42. First sign is *šam* (Brünnnow No. 4681) “price.”

Col. 4, 45. Instead of *aš* and *gar*, read together as one sign *šur*; so also col. 6, 42.

Col. 4, 48. Langdon has omitted *si* after *ab*.

Col. 5, 34. Last sign is *bi* (not *teg*) just as in lines 20 and 22, etc.

Col. 5, 40. First sign is quite clearly *Lul* (Brünnnow No. 7265); so also 4th sign of line 42, and first sign of l. 45.

Col. 5, 44. Third sign is *a*, not the notation for two; 6th sign is *bi*; 8th sign is probably *ni*.

Col. 6, 30. Eighth sign is *gig* (not *zu*), just as in lines 24, 27, 32, etc., etc.

Col. 6, 46. Omitted in Langdon's copy, though included in his transliteration.

The full list of corrections and suggested new readings will be given in the complete paper.

I



136

II



III



NEW CONE OF ENTEMENA

I THE NET. II THE SIX NEW CASES IN COL. II.

A Net Cylinder of Entemena.—By JAMES B. NIES, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Owing to the war now raging, a remarkable object of Babylonian antiquity which, in normal times, would have gone to Europe, was brought to the United States and now forms part of the Nies collection in Brooklyn, N. Y.

According to the dealer from whom it was bought, it was found by an Arab belonging to a tribe located between Jokha and Tello. The same man in 1895 is said to have found the famous cone of Entemena published by Thureau-Dangin in 1898.¹ If the word of the dealer is to be accepted, neither the cone nor the net cylinder was found at Tello, but between that site and Jokha. The ancient names for those places were Lagash and Umma. The inscription tells us that a canal named Lummagirnunta, probably the modern Shatt el Hai, formed a boundary between their territories, separating the fields of the god Ningirsu of Lagash from those of the god Shara of Umma, and that on the banks of this canal were set up inscriptions, presumably in the nature of boundary stones, whose purpose it was not only to clearly delimit the territories and to state the conditions upon which peace existed, but also to call down curses of the gods on the invader. In the absence of more definite knowledge, we may, therefore, say that it is not only possible, but probable, that the two inscriptions of Entemena were found on, or near, one of the banks of this canal, where 5000 years ago they surmounted pillars of brick or stone and constituted the NARUA frequently mentioned in the text.²

The American cone or cylinder is light terra-cotta in color, egg-shaped, and hollow, with an opening at one end forming a lip or short neck, and a rounded surface at the other, covered by a design of a net in relief. Its dimensions are: height 20 cm., circumference at widest part 48.5 cm., at narrowest part, round

¹ *Déc. en Chaldée*, p. xlvii; *Rev. d'Assyr.* 4. 37 ff., *Königsinschriften*, 36 ff.

² L. W. King, in his *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 164, rightly conjectures that more than one of the so-called cones was written. He thinks they were copies of a boundary stone like the 'Stele of Vultures,' and were in the nature of 'foundation memorials.'

the neck, 19 cm., diameter 15.2 cm., opening at neck 4 cm. It consists of a rather granular baked clay and is surrounded by a, for the most part, deeply incised, archaic inscription in six columns.

When bought the interior was filled with earth and the exterior was covered by an incrustation of salt under which was red earth that filled the signs and case-divisions. These were removed by soaking in water a few days. Some of the salts still remain in the deep numerical signs of col. ii, case 16, and cause the uneven appearance of those signs seen in the photograph.

The similarity of this object to a closed net is very striking, and the inference that it is meant to represent a mythological net is further substantiated by the fact that the SA-SHUSH-GAL of the god Enlil is mentioned in col. i, 28-29, and of the god Ningirsu toward the end of col. vi. Now SA-SHUSH-GAL means 'a great covering net' such as the gods were said to throw over their enemies so as, presumably by drawing the cord strung through the edges, to enclose them. Such a net, filled with the enemies of Lagash being clubbed to death by Ningirsu, may be seen on the 'Stele of Vultures,' *Déc. pl. 4 bis*, which mentions no less than five deities who wield this formidable covering net, Enlil, Enki, Enzu, Babbar and Ninharsag.³

If it is conceded that this cylinder represents a drawn, divine net, then the interesting conclusions follow: 1st, that it was the intention of Entemena to write the inscription round a formidable weapon of divine punishment as a warning to his foes that a transgression of the treaty would bring down the wrath of the god, and as an assurance of divine protection to his followers. 2d. As this is the oldest cylinder known the symbolism involved offers an explanation for the adoption by the Babylonians of so remarkable a form as a cylinder upon which to record important documents of history. In later times when the significance of the form was lost, the traditional use still persisted and gave rise to a great variety of shapes, such as octagons, hexagons, squares and barrels.

Perhaps the most interesting fact about this cylinder is that it adds to the well known text of Thureau-Dangin six new

³ On the metaphor of the net among the primitive Sumerians, see L. W. King, *Sumer and Akkad*, 132.

cases, containing ten lines, in the second column of the inscription (see cut), where it treats events in the reign of Eannatum; GĀN ^dNIN-GIR-SU-KA ÊŠ + UŠU + MAŠ ŠŪ-GAR GUB ID-GIŠ-ŪH^{ki}-ŠŪ MU-KID GĀN LUGAL NU-TUK NI-GIN: 'The field of the God Ningirsu, containing 33½ (BUR), he left on the side of Umma; he ordered that the royal field be not taken.' ŠŪ-GAR GUB could be transliterated ŠŪ-NÍG-GIN with some such meaning as 'surround' or 'comprise,' in which case BUR must be supplied after the numeral.

The new matter given above will be better understood by a brief review of the context. Entemena, before recording his own achievements, briefly reviews the earlier history of the relations of Lagash and Umma. It seems that, before the time of his uncle Eannatum, there had been strife between the cities, both of which acknowledged, as their overlord, Mesilim, the King of Kish. That monarch apparently intervened and set up a boundary-stone to delimit the fields of the two cities.

During the patesiat of Eannatum, a patesi of Umma, named Ush, insolently removed the boundary-stone and invaded the territory of Lagash. Upon this Lagash made war on Umma and was victorious. Ush was killed, or fled, and a new patesi of Umma, Enakalli, took his place. With him Eannatum made a treaty in which the boundary was defined. It was to be a canal extending from the Euphrates to Guedin. Then follows the new part of the inscription given above. Several variants also are to be noted, as follows:

After col. iv, case 34 (corresponding to SAKI, col. iv, case 5) GŪ ^{id}IDIGNA-ŠŪ GĀL-LA GŪ-GŪ GIR-SU^{ki}-KA is omitted; but after col. iv, case 35 (corresponding to SAKI, col. iv, case 8) insert ^dEN-LIL-LĀ ^dEN-KI-KA before ^dNIN-ĤAR-SAG-KA. The only other variant is found in col. vi, last case, where we read ĤA-NI-GAZ-E instead of ĤA-NI-GAZ-LID + ŠA(G)-GI.

In conclusion it should be said that in addition to these variants a number of signs which Thureau-Dangin restored in his text have been verified and found correct by means of this much better preserved cylinder.

Critical Notes Upon the Epic of Paradise.—By S. LANGDON,
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Earlier pages of this volume of the JOURNAL contain articles by Professors Prince and Jastrow upon my recent volume, 'The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man,' in which they put forward many criticisms that deserve a detailed examination. A discussion of a document of such fundamental importance, to be of definite value, must be based upon a correct text and I shall first of all give the corrections to the *editio princeps* which I have been able to make. A French edition containing my final text and translation should be issued from the press of E. Leroux, Paris, very soon. But the unfortunate state of affairs in Europe may delay this volume many months. In the meantime hasty conclusions and other misunderstandings based upon the long silence of the author are certain to continue until that volume appears. This article is, therefore, issued as the forerunner of my completed studies.

First of all let us establish our text, which I have now done from the tablet itself. In the first edition the author was forced to depend for more than three-fourths of the tablet upon photographs and this was a labour which tried the eyes in a way which he will not soon forget. Signs which appeared faintly on the photograph are now perfectly legible on the tablet. The signs appear 'warmer' on the clay tablet and their identifications are soon the result of mental suggestions in the mind of the Assyriologist. With the tablet itself in my hand most of the epigraphical difficulties vanished and with them many of the false interpretations.

Col. I 17; the last sign is *zu* not *ba*. *Zu* 'to know' has here the obscene sense of 'cohabit,' and the line is clear.

Col. I 18; the first sign is *DUN*, *ŠUL*, which denotes an animal of the bovine class and is rendered *zebu* by the author for reasons given in his *Archives of Drehem*. The line should be rendered, 'The *zebu* as it fed on grain (the dog) did not . . .' The last sign of this line is not *ba* and probably not *zu*.

Col. I 19; *nu-mu-un su dīm úr-ra* . . . *su* is here the root *su-g* = 'increase,' see *Sum. Gr.* 241 *su* 2) and 243 *sug* 10).

Also *Babyloniaca* VI 46. The word occurs in *nu-mu-un-su-ga-mu*, 'My grown-up offspring,' a title of Tammuz, CT. 15, 19, ll. 4, 6, 8, 10, 12. Note also ŠE (*su-ug*) = *rabû*, 'to grow up,' *tarbûtu* 'education,' and the form *sud* = in *Sum. Gr.* 242, *sud* 4).

The line should be rendered, 'The growing offspring, the fondling of the lap . . .'

Col. I 28; the third sign has no gunification; what I took for gunification are only scratches after the sign. The sign is *zag* and recurs in I 30 and Rev. III 51, where it has the same form; also Rev. III 40 contains this sign. *Zag* = *pirištu*, *nîmeku*, 'wisdom,' see II R. 54 G 66 and VR. 29 No. 2. 23. A derived sense is *zag* = *rêmu* 'mercy,' and that is most likely the sense here. The line should be rendered, 'A prince his mercy withheld not.'

Col. I 30; *zag eri-ka i-lu¹ nu-mu-ni-bi*, 'In the sanctuary of the city "alas!" they said not.' The line refers to the mournful lamentations so characteristic of Sumerian religion.

Col. I 32; at the end, *zu*.

Col. II 10; read *si* for *e*. The line is obscure.

Col. II 16; read *a-šag a-gar ab-sim-a-ni še-mu-na . . .*, 'The fields and meadows their vegetation (yielded in abundance).'

Col. II 31; the sign after *ge* is *za*, which simplifies matters and avoids the difficulty which I had laboured with in explaining the statement that Enki is the father of Damgalnunna. The line means, 'Enki at the side of (*za* < *zag*) Damgalnunna uttered his command.'

Col. III 4; at the end read *nu-mu-un su-ub-bi*, 'the sinless seed.' Same correction in III 5, 7, 8, 24, 25.

Col. III 12; read *gibil* (or *izi*)-*im-ma-an-su-ub*. The passage is obscure. Same correction, line 32.

Col. III 27; at end read *su-ub-bu-ma-ni*. Also line 28.

These two lines should be rendered:

'This pious son of man whom he has declared pure,

O Ninkurra, this pious son of man whom he has declared pure.'

III 42; read *gù-ga-ra-ab-dûg*.

¹ So read, not *KU*.

REVERSE

I have been able to read more signs in the damaged spot at the beginning, but they are of no consequence to the interpretation.

I 36; at the end read *si-si* for *mal-e*. This fortunately proves my rendering to be correct. *si-si* is one of the ordinary roots (reduplicated) for 'to fix, stand.' See *Sum. Gr.* 238 *si* 9).

I 39; read *sukkal-na*, 'To his messenger he said, "Open the door, open the door."' Enki's attendant is here represented as opening the door for Tagtug.

I 41; the sign after *HUL* is *RIM* and *HUL-RIM* is probably the Sumerian word for a plant, as in *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, 23. 39. 1; *Maḫlu* V 13. 19 etc.

I 42; the first sign is certainly not *ŠAM* as my critics read. It has not the least resemblance to this sign in the epigraphy of the period. The most likely identification is *il* (Thureau-Dangin, REC. 314). The line remains obscure.

I 48; read *si-gi* for *zi*. The rendering is correct.

II 17. After *LI* the signs have now entirely disappeared. *li-bé-sá* is perhaps correct but the photograph remains the only evidence.

II 20; read *ú-RIM* not *ú-giš*. The text has the ideogram for the plant *supalu*, *suplu*, which has not been explained.¹

III 34; read [*lugal-mu*] (*ú*)-*am-ga-ru mu-na-ab-bi*. 'My king as to the cassia commanded, "He shall pluck, he shall eat."' "

The sign *bi* is doubtful and faint but *bi* is demanded by the sense, for the forbidden plant is first mentioned in line 36. I misread the last sign of line 36 and hence erroneously identified the cassia with the plant which caused the Fall of Man. In fact the text mentions eight plants which man may eat from in the garden and curiously enough there are also eight divine genii sent to aid mankind after his loss of Paradise.

Line 36 of Rev. II should be read; *d-en-ki ú nam-bi bé-in-tar šab-ba ba-ni-in-sig*, 'Enki the plant, whose fate he had determined, therein placed.' The last sign is *sig* = *šakānu*,

¹ *supalu* is a synonym of *lardu* and *arantu*, 'nard,' an aromatic and medicinal plant, Meissner, *Supplement*, pl. 8, l. 24. The word appears as *suplu* in CT. 11. 45 a. 24, and is probably connected with Syriac *šebbelethā* 'nard.'

Meissner, SAI. 29, 59 and *Sum. Gr.* 238 sig 9). The same root appears as *sîg* = *banû*, IV R. 5 a 3; SBP. 300, 18; II R. 23 k 9; Ebeling, KTA. No. 4, 2 and Rev. 20. Also Clay, *Miscel.* 4 II 7 *si-si* = *banû*, 'build.'

Thus it is Enki who brought about the loss of eternal life by placing a tree in the garden. The text does not mention his having forbidden it and that is precisely the point of the theologians who attributed the Fall of Man to the jealousy of Enki as in the Adapa myth. Tagtug was not to know that loss of eternal life would follow upon his eating from this unnamed tree. But Ninharsag foresees the result at once and hence pronounces the curse. The text also does not state that Tagtug ate of this plant but that is the obvious inference. Unfortunately texts of this kind are so abbreviated in detail that the succession of ideas baffles the decipherer for many hours. This account of the Fall of Man, through his innocently eating from the fated and unnamed plant placed in the garden by the jealous water god, is purposely abbreviated by the schoolmen; that indescribable disaster of humanity formed a subject whose details were apparently too painful to be dwelt upon. In any case the curse by the mother goddess follows:

'The face of life until² he dies not shall he see.'

Man loses here the longevity and perfect health of the pre-diluvian age. That is the plain statement of our text, and it is apparently the result of eating from a plant.³ My previous error

² Professor Prince asserts that *en-na* means 'at the time when.' The only known meaning of *en-na*, *en-e*, *en*, is 'until,' see *Sum. Gr.* § 236. It never has the meaning assigned to it in Prince's translation. The word for 'when' is *uð*, *uð-da*, see *Sum. Gr.* § 221. The same sense always adheres to *en-na* even when it is employed as a preposition. Note *en-še*, 'until when,' Zimmern, *Kultlieder* 179, 1; *en-na iti ab-è-a*, 'Until the month Abea,' unpublished Larsa tablet. Note *ena*, *una* = *šattu*, 'duration,' in *gig-ù-na* = *ina šat mûši*, 'during the night'; *uð-ù-ne* = *ina šat ûmi*, 'during the day'; *Gudea*, Cyl. A. 8. 2. *c-ne-ra* = *ana šatti*, 'until the fulness,' i. e., 'forever,' VR. 62 a 60.

³ The Fall might also be the final penalty for the sin which brought on the Flood, mentioned in Obv. II 27. If we place that construction upon the contents of the passage then the sin of mankind in failing to show the proper respect to the gods brought about not only the end of Paradise by the Flood but also the loss of perfect health and longevity. In view of the fact that the curse of Ninharsag bringing about the Fall follows

lay not in my main inference. The legend of the Fall of Man was obvious from the time when I first gave out my interpretation. The error consisted in failing to see traces of the name of the god Enki at the beginning of line 36 and hence I missed the true *motif* behind the Nippurian version. Here again Enki's jealousy is the theme of the theologians but they treat it almost as a mystic doctrine, too disagreeable to be discussed at length. The legend passes now to the more agreeable task of relating the creation of the eight divine patrons of fallen humanity.

II 40, 42 read *lul-a*, 'with woeful cry.'

II 44. The sign after *mā* may possibly be *a* and not the two strokes for 'two.' Repeated examination fails to decide the matter. *a* makes better sense for there is no previous mention of a female companion of Tagtug. The remainder of the line is correctly copied and the interpretation is correct. Read perhaps *uru-mā-a* 'in my city.' The reading 'two creatures' is, however, more probable.

At the top of Col. III I have deciphered more signs but the interpretation is not advanced.

III 20; read *ma* for *ra*. Also l. 22.

III 25; the signs before *mu* are extremely uncertain.

III 40; read *zag-mu*, 'my intelligence.' Line 41 is now clear. The god who sends wisdom is *En-zag* = *Nebo ša nîmeki*, and line 41 has the variant and longer epithet *En-zág-aga*, 'Lord who exercises intelligence,' a title of Nebo.

III 42; read *tu-ne-en-na-áš gar-ra* [*en-na-aš*]. My rendering is correct.

These textual criticisms ensure my original interpretation. The tablet contains a description of Paradise, the ejection of mankind by a Flood, the deliverance of a pious man *Tagtug* who became a gardener and receives instructions as to which plants he shall eat. Enki out of jealousy plans to deprive him of immortality by placing a fated plant in the garden. After the ejection from Paradise and the loss of perpetual good health the gods send eight divine patrons to aid man in his struggle for existence.

upon a list of medicinal plants which he is permitted to eat and one fateful plant of which there is no further description makes the inference wellnigh certain that the Fall is to be attributed to the eating of this plant purposely placed in the garden by the jealous god Enki.

The revised text of Rev. III 40 f. contains a clear reference to the moral degeneration of man. Here the gods send a divine patron Enzagaga to aid the weakened intelligence of mankind. Scheil in his brilliant critique of the passage before the French Academy (*Comptes rendus* for December, 1915) divined a reference to the moral fall of man in this line. This confirms my interpretation of Obv. II 27 and proves that my critics were entirely in error in their attempts to place an unnatural exegesis upon this line. The deity created to protect mankind against his moral and intellectual depravity is a form of Nebo, patron deity of Dilmun.

The text is not an incantation. The scribe himself adds the note *zag-sal*, the standard description of epical poetry. Nor do the contents suggest any magical rites. It is also not a 'ritual tendency' composition. The ritualistic liturgies are marked by refrains and successions of melodies, and these are entirely absent here. The tablet is epical in nature and its contents are not so obscure as to leave any doubt about the major facts. We have here the Sumerian epic of Paradise and the theological explanation of the Fall of Man.

I should like to dispute with my critics at greater length but other work is pressing. Only on one point will I enter a vigorous objection to Prince's interpretation of the opening line. He has misunderstood me and neglected to read my note on page 70 n. 1. *e-ne-ba-am* contains the verb *e-ne* = *šalūu* 'to lie down.' *ba-am* is the postfixed element *ba* to denote a relative phrase, strengthened by the emphatic *am*. I never said that *ba* means 'to lie down, to sleep.' Prince's rendering, which sees in *ba* the verb, is hardly correct. I also call my critic's attention to his statement about *Tag-túg*. The sign here is *túg* not *ku*; *ku* has only one interior stroke not two as in this text. *Tag-tug* or *tag-dúr* are the only probabilities. My critics also adhere to the false reading of the name of the Sumerian survivor of the Flood. The new text published by myself has clearly *Zi-ud-sud-du* and the name which has survived in Lucian shows also that this was the original pronunciation.

The Bones of the Paschal Lamb.—By JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
Professor in Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

‘A bone in it ye shall not break.’¹ The Priestly legislation in Exod. 12 makes this provision for the Paschal lamb. Num. 9. 12 repeats the prescription. This paper will discuss the probable origin and significance of this rite.

Various hypotheses have been advanced, by Robertson Smith and others. None, however, has the slightest probability or is supported by valid evidence, other than that presented by Kohler.² Comparing the statement of John 19. 33-36, that none of the bones of Jesus were broken, with two modern instances, recorded by Curtiss, of the bones of the sacrifice remaining unbroken, and then citing several cases from comparative mythology of animals being eaten, but their bones being carefully preserved, flesh being then brought back upon them and the animal thus restored to life, Kohler has suggested that the prohibition of breaking the bones of the Paschal lamb points to the belief in its subsequent resurrection and reincarnation.

That this belief and practice are cherished by primitive peoples in all parts of the world, particularly those still living upon the hunting and fishing planes of civilization, is abundantly attested. Manifold evidence proves this belief and practice current in early Semitic life, particularly in the nomad state, and thereby confirms Kohler’s hypothesis.

The Testament of Abraham makes Sarah say,³ ‘When you slaughtered the perfect calf and served up a meal to them (the three angels), the flesh having been eaten, the calf rose again and sucked its mother in joy.’ Kohler has compared this tradition with that of Ezra’s ass, recorded in Sura 2. 261, the bones of which, after having lain for one hundred years, were reclothed with flesh and restored to life. Damîri gives this tradition in full.⁴ ‘When ‘Uzair was freed from Babylon he journeyed on

¹ Exod. 12. 46.

² *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 13. 153f.; cf. JQR (old series), 5. 419.

³ Recension A, 6 (ed. Barnes, 1892), 83.

⁴ *Ḥayât al-Ḥayawân*, under *Al-Ḥimâr al-Ahlî*, near end of first half; translated by Jayakar, 1. 550f.

his ass. . . . He passed by a village in which he saw no person. . . . He said, "How will God revive this after its death?", out of wonder and not from any doubt of the resurrection. As-Suddî states that God revived 'Uzair and said to him, "Look at your ass; it is dead and its bones have become old and worn out." God next sent a wind which brought the bones of the ass from every plain and mountain whither the birds and beasts had carried them; they became united and joined with one another while he was looking on; it thus became an ass of bones without flesh or blood; the bones were then covered with flesh and blood, and it became an ass without life; an angel then came and blew into the nostril of the ass, upon which it rose up and brayed.'

Practically the same tradition, applied however to Jeremiah and his ass, is also recorded by Damîrî.⁵ The conclusion gives a slightly varying account of the reincarnation of the ass. 'When a hundred years had passed, God revived of Jeremiah his eyes, while the rest of his body remained dead; after that he revived his body while he was looking at it. Jeremiah then looked at his ass and found its bones lying separate and scattered, white and shining; he next heard a voice from heaven saying, "O ye old bones, God orders you to collect together," whereupon they united one with another and joined one with another. The voice was then heard to say, "God orders you to clothe yourselves with flesh and skin," which happened accordingly. Then the voice said, "God orders you to become alive," upon which the ass arose and brayed.'

A rather late Midrash⁶ recounts the following narrative: 'They went a little further along the road. God appointed for them two stags. Moses said to the old man, "Go, fetch us one of the stags." The old man said to Moses, "Am I a fool that I should go to the stags? Is there anything swifter than the stag?" Moses said to him, "Take the staff in thy hand and point it towards them." He took the staff and showed it to them, and they were not able to move from their place. Immediately Moses took and slaughtered them and prepared a roast. Moses said to the old man, "Be careful not to break any of the bones." When they had eaten and drunk and put aside some of the

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ma'aseh 'al Dor Ha'asiri*, ed. Kraus, in *Haggoren*, 8. 22.

flesh, Moses placed bone to its bone. Then he took the staff and laid it upon them and prayed a complete prayer before his Maker. Thereupon God made the stags live and they stood upon their feet. Moses said to the old man, "I adjure thee by Him who revived the stags when they had neither flesh nor sinews," etc.'

Likewise one of the stories collected by Prym and Socin⁷ tells that after the hero had been dead for ten years, his widely-scattered bones were collected by the wolves and sprinkled with the water of life by Simer, the great bird, that understood all the secrets of resurrection and eternal life, and he stood up once more as if from a sleep.

All these instances, and particularly those of the asses of Jeremiah and 'Uzair, remind us strongly of Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, which, at the word of God, came together, bone to its bone, and flesh came upon them and the spirit entered into them and they stood upon their feet alive.⁸ Unquestionably the same conception of the possibility of restoration of life so long as the bones are preserved, underlies Ezekiel's vision, and proves conclusively the existence of this belief in ancient Israel. Certainly Ezekiel did not invent the picture nor was he the first to conceive the idea. Possibly the same thought is implied in Psalm 34. 21, 'He guardeth all his bones; not one of them is broken.' Certainly it is implied in the imprecation frequently applied in Rabbinic literature to such arch-enemies of Israel as Nebuchadnezzar, Titus and Hadrian, *s'hiq tamya*, 'May his bones be crushed,'⁹ in other words, may he be denied all possibility of resurrection. Possibly we may also find here the explanation of the extreme care with which in ancient Israel the bones of the dead were guarded and given proper burial.¹⁰ This would also explain why burning was the extreme punishment for crime,¹¹ and also why burning the bones of the dead,

⁷ *Der neuaramäische Dialekt des Tur 'Abdin*, 1. 45; 2. 65.

⁸ Ezek. 37.

⁹ Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 539b.

¹⁰ Cf. the stories of the burial of Jacob and Joseph (Gen. 50. 1-14, 25; Exod. 13. 19; Josh. 24. 32) and of Saul and his sons (1 Sam. 31. 13; 2 Sam. 21. 12-14).

¹¹ Lev. 20. 14; 21. 9; Josh. 7. 25. In this connection it may be noted that the Sadducees, who denied future life, carried out the penalty of burning literally, whereas the Pharisees, who believed in future life and would not deprive even a criminal of the hope of resurrection, poured molten

and thus depriving them of all possibility of resurrection, was the extreme of indignity,¹² and regarded by Yahwe as an unforgiveable crime.¹³ At the bottom of all these practices lies the thought of the possibility of resurrection so long as the bones were preserved. There can be little doubt that among the early Semites this was a generally accepted belief, and that it continued to survive in a manner in ancient Israel until in the post-exilic period the developing conception of future life and reward and punishment in the hereafter gradually moulded it into the theological dogma of bodily resurrection.

A number of additional instances may be cited in which the prohibition of breaking the bones of the sacrificial animal occurs. Lane, commenting upon the peculiar 'aqîqah-ceremony, says,¹⁴ 'The person should say on slaying the victim, "O God, verily this 'aqîqah is a ransom for my son, such a one; its blood for his blood and its flesh for his flesh and its bone for his bone and its skin for his skin and its hair for his hair. O God, make it a ransom for my son from hell-fire.'" A bone of the victim should not be broken.' Similarly Curtiss states,¹⁵ 'In Nebk they offer sacrifice for a boy when seven days old, without breaking any bones, lest the child's bones also be broken.' Elsewhere¹⁶ he describes a festival of the Ismaïliyah as follows, 'There is an annual festival at the shrine. They vow vows. All who desire go. They wash and put on clean clothes. They dance and sing. . . . The sacrifice must be male and a sheep, must be perfect, nothing broken, nothing wanting, must be at least a year old.' Likewise Hess¹⁷ compares the Paschal lamb with the sacrifice offered by the 'Otäbe-tribe in honor of a member of the tribe on the seventh day after death. He says, 'On this day an old, toothless sheep or goat is sacrificed in order to avert evil. The relatives and all present eat the sacrifice. The bones may not

lead down the throat in order to spare the body, or at least the bones (Mish. Sanhedrin 7. 2). Cf. also the tradition that just before his death Titus ordered his body burned and his ashes scattered, in order that God might not be able to restore him to life and judge him (B. Gittin 56b.).

¹² 2 Ki. 23. 14-20; Jer. 8. 1.

¹³ Amos 2. 1.

¹⁴ *Arabian Nights*, 4, note 24.

¹⁵ *Primitive Semitic Religion of To-Day*, 178.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 215.

¹⁷ *Beduinisches zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, ZATW. 1915, 130.

be broken, but are laid whole in the grave, or, if this be too distant, are hidden under a stone, in order that the deceased may ride upon the animal.' In all these cases the intimate connection between the sacrificial animal and either the form which it will possess in its future state, or the person for whom it is the substitute sacrifice, is obvious.

Time does not permit detailed consideration of the interesting question of the origin of the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb. It suffices merely to state that it is generally agreed that the Paschal lamb evolved out of the even more primitive practice of firstling-sacrifices. The evidence is ample that the ancient Semites, particularly in the early stages of civilization, sacrificed all firstling animals and firstborn children in order to redeem the remainder of their group or species from the taboo, considered as naturally resting upon all members thereof, by virtue of the fact that they all belonged primarily and naturally to the deity that had created them. The underlying principle of such taboo-sacrifices was that the sacrifice of a part of the tabooed object, usually the first and best part, redeemed the remainder and rendered it fit for profane use. Correspondingly the taboo-sacrifices themselves were doubly taboo; hence were given over entirely to the deity, or in later stages of religious evolution, to his representatives, priests, men of god, poor, etc. Under no condition, in the early stages of the religion, might the sacrificer partake of his own taboo-sacrifice. Outwardly this was the feature of the taboo-sacrifice that distinguished it most positively from the covenant-sacrifice.

There is abundant evidence, the presentation of which here, however, lack of time forbids, that these taboo-sacrifices were conceived of as not actually, or at least not completely, dying. True, the flesh was consumed. But, particularly if the bones were preserved, the deity might easily create new flesh, and thus restore life. In the desert the animals thus sacrificed were neither eaten nor burned. Their carcasses were left lying where they fell, to be consumed by birds and beasts of prey. Burning represents a second stage in the evolution of the taboo-sacrifice. And in later Israel the thought still obtained that these firstling and firstborn sacrifices were not actually killed; they were made to merely 'pass through the fire.' In this process, true, the body, and probably too, even the bones were consumed. Yet none the

less, it was felt, the life itself was not extinguished, and could be made once more to re-enter the old frame or even a new frame of the same species.

The basis of this idea must naturally be sought in the earliest Semitic conception of the animal world. It would seem that, in common with so many other primitive peoples, the early Semites, dwelling upon the hunting or pastoral plane of civilization, conceived of the number of individual animals of each species as definitely limited. Hence their fundamental problem of existence was to maintain the number of these individual animals undiminished. Still today the nomad in the desert lives primarily from the milk products of his sheep and goats. And as still today, so too in ancient times, animals were killed only exceptionally, and generally, it would seem, with proper precaution, such as the preservation of the bones, to ensure eventual rebirth or reincarnation and the consequent maintenance of the original number of individual animals.

Here we have the explanation of that other prohibition, so frequently recorded in the Bible, of eating the blood. For the soul and the life were one; the soul was in the blood. To have eaten the blood would have meant to consume the soul, and this in turn would have meant the reduction of the number of individuals of the species by one. Ultimately the entire species might thus be made extinct. This was prevented by allowing the blood, with the soul, to flow upon the ground, whence the soul could easily at the proper moment enter its next body. This was greatly facilitated if the bones of some previous body were preserved and a frame were thus ready to hand. For this reason animals improperly killed or dying natural deaths, whose blood therefore had not been poured out, might not be eaten, lest the soul be consumed with the blood. This custom still persists among the modern Beduin. Musil writes,¹⁸ 'The blood should not be eaten, because the soul, *nefs*, dwells in it. This would thereby pass into the eater. Likewise the flesh of animals that die natural deaths should not be eaten.' That this practice of letting the blood flow out upon the ground was in no wise sacrificial in character, as is so frequently claimed, is best evidenced by the fact that the procedure is prescribed for all animals, even such as could under no condition be sacrificed, such as the deer and

¹⁸ *Arabia Petraea*, 4. 150.

the antelope, and by the additional fact that although Deut. 12 strips the slaughtering of animals for food of its original sacrificial character, it still insists upon the pouring out of the blood.¹⁹ The only possible explanation of the origin of this peculiar rite is that given above. It is corroborated by abundant evidence from the practice of other primitive peoples.

In this connection the etymology of the common Semitic word for 'blood,' דם, is illuminating. Barth²⁰ classes this among the common and original Semitic biliterals. Yet for many, if not most of these biliterals he admits the possibility of a trilateral, *tertia* "ל stem.²¹ Granting the possibility of the relationship of the noun דם to the stem דמה, 'to be like,' it is more probable that the noun was derived from the verbal stem than vice versa. In other words this would imply that דם etymologically designates the blood as that which is like or, secondarily, contains the likeness of, the soul. This would, of course, indicate, what is quite probable, that the conception of the soul and the life as resident within, and in a sense identical with the blood, is a fundamental, primitive Semitic concept, and that, in general, ceremonies centering about the blood have also a certain relation to the thought of the soul and the life. Thus, for example, the blood of the Paschal lamb, smeared upon the doorposts of the houses of Israel, symbolized that the life of the lamb had been given as the substitute to redeem the lives of those within. Curtiss attests the general observance of this custom in Palestine still today.

Accordingly we need no longer doubt that the practice of not eating the blood, but instead, of carefully letting it flow forth upon the ground, had its origin in the aversion to eating the soul and thus reducing the number of the individual members of the particular species of animals. But the necessary corollary to this

¹⁹ Also Deut. 15. 21-23.

²⁰ *Nominalbildung*, 2c.

²¹ For a number of these words a considerably stronger case for a trilateral, *tertia* "ל stem can be made out than Barth presents. For example the parallelism of the Hebrew בן, Arabic ابن, to the stem בנה, and of the Aramaic בר, Assyrian *māru* (even though Delitzsch, HWB, 390, derives it from a stem כאר) to the corresponding stem ברא, is in all likelihood quite indicative. Similarly the relation of the common Semitic חם, 'father-in-law', to the stem חמה, 'to protect', would parallel the relation of its common synonym חהן, to the stem חתן, likewise 'to protect'.

belief is resurrection and reincarnation. And, as we have seen, this process was thought to be greatly facilitated by the preservation of the bones unbroken.²²

This discussion may well shed light upon the otherwise rather obscure incident of the well-known account of creation from Berossus, that mankind was created out of earth mixed with the blood of a deity who had, at the command of Bel, sacrificed himself by cutting off his head for this purpose. In consequence thereof mankind possesses reason and divine understanding. The incident presumably by no means implies that the self-immolating deity permanently lost his life. Rather, in the light of our present investigation, it may be reasonably inferred that after the deity in question had thus benignly given his blood in order to call human life into existence, new, divine life was restored to his former bodily frame, still completely intact, and he lived once more. Meanwhile out of his blood, teeming with the germs of life and reason and understanding, mankind came into being. In other words, the story implies that human life is the direct continuation of the divine life originally resident in the blood of the self-immolating deity, just as it clearly states that human reason and understanding are the result of the divine reason and understanding likewise originally contained in the divine blood.

²² Among most primitive peoples the soul is conceived of as the inner image of the outer form of man or animal, as the case may be. It is localized in various parts of the body, in the heart (Frazer, *History of the Belief in Immortality*, 1. 267), the eye (*ibid.* 267), the breath (*ibid.* 129f.), and is frequently associated with the shadow (*ibid.* 130, 173, 245, 267), with the reflection in the water (*ibid.* 245), and even with the name (*ibid.* 195). It is certain that the Semites early associated the soul with the breath, as the Hebrew *nefeš*, *nešama* and *ruah* and their equivalents in other Semitic languages, indicate. Whether this identification be as primitive as that of the soul and the blood can not be determined with certainty.

That in ancient Israel the soul was occasionally conceived as dwelling in the eye, or at least as dwelling inside the body and visible to the outer world through the eye, may be inferred from the name, עֵינַן, 'the little man' (cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 212 c), for the pupil of the eye. The term would hardly imply consciousness that the image seen in the pupil is actually the reflection of the form of the beholder, but can best be explained as the product of the popular conception that the soul looked out through the eye upon the world without, and thus was visible to others. However, this does not at all affect the general conception of the soul as residing in the blood.

Jewish Amulets in the United States National Museum.—By
I. M. CASANOWICZ, National Museum, Washington, D. C.

The Museum's collection of Jewish amulets, some thirty-five in number, includes manuscripts on paper and parchment, prints on paper and cloth, and metal disks, plaques and medallions. Part of the collection was acquired by the Museum in 1902 from a dealer who obtained it in Tunis, North Africa; the rest belongs to the Benguiat deposit of objects of Jewish religious ceremonial in the Museum, and presumably originated in the Near East.

The language of the amulets is what goes under the name of post-Biblical Hebrew, which often exhibits a disregard of the niceties of grammar and syntax, with an admixture of Aramaic phrases and words. Judging from the character of the writing, they are of modern make, though their contents no doubt go back to remoter times.

Besides these specifically Jewish amulets, the National Museum is in possession of five magic bowls, four in Hebrew script, one in Syriac Estrangelo, supposed to have been found at Hillah, Mesopotamia.

GENERAL CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE AMULETS

The basis or efficacious portion of Jewish amulets consists in the use of the names of God and angels¹ and in the application of Biblical verses² unchanged or in permutation of the words and letters. Thus the metallic amulets are frequently merely engraved or stamped with 'שׂד', with or without some device, such as the 'shield of David,' or the hexagonal star, the seven-branched candlestick (*menorah*), the tablets of the Decalogue;

¹ For the significance and importance of the knowledge and use of names in Assyrian and Egyptian incantations comp. Morris Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1905, 1. 112, 132, 327; E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, London, 1901, ch. 5; A. Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1905, 31, 154; and in general, James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (University of Pennsylvania Publications. Babylonian Section, vol. 3), Philadelphia, 1913, 58 and 56 n. 35, where further references are given.

² Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 62f.

two plaques have the names of the four rivers of paradise (Gen. 2. 10 ff.) in all possible transpositions and permutations of the words and letters. To the names of God familiar from the Old Testament the Kabbalists added numerous divine names constructed from passages of the Bible or some prayer by means of the *gematria*,³ and *notarikon*,⁴ the various systems of alphabets, as the אֶבֶן, אֶבֶן, אֶבֶן, or by combinations and transpositions of the words and letters. Thus, for instance, from Ex. 14. 19-21, by reading v. 19 and 21 forward and v. 20 backward, seventy-two names, each of three letters, are formed.⁶

The Biblical passages applied in amulets either contain references to God's help and succour in distress, or his promise of delivery from danger, so, for instance, Ps. 34. 7; 46. 12; 71. 2, 12; others to incidents of Biblical history of a symbolical character, as the healing of the water through Elisha (2 K. 2. 19), or delivery of Daniel from the lions' den (Dan. 6. 23). Others have come to be considered as incantations in themselves. So Ex. 22. 18; Gen. 49. 22 (against the evil eye); Nu. 6. 24-26 (the Aaronite blessing); Deut. 6. 4-9 (the *Shema*); Ex. 15. 26; Deut. 7. 15; Psalm 67 inscribed in form of the candlestick; Psalm 91 (with the last verse of the preceding Psalm), which is particularly considered as effective against evil spirits, and is termed in rabbinical literature שִׁיר שֶׁל פְּנֵעִים or נִנְעִים, 'a song against plagues,' here meaning, attacks of evil spirits, as in the Targum as well as in Midrash the whole Psalm is given a demonistic interpretation.⁷ Others were found a place in the amulets on the strength of Kabbalistic interpretation that they contained some mystical names of God. So Ex. 14. 19-21 referred to above, Deut. 28. 12.

³ *Gematria* is an arithmetical equation. It assumes for two words, the letters of which yield the same numerical value, an identical meaning, or a mystical connection between their meanings.

⁴ *Notarikon* is the combination of the initials or end-letters of several words or verses to one word, or the forming a new word of each letter of a word.

⁵ Changing the position of proximate letters (ב for כ), or placing the letters in reversed order (ת for כ).

⁶ So Rashi to Suk. 45a. For other Biblical passages transposed into mystical names cf. M. Moïse Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie*, Paris, 1878, 60f, 80, 89, 110, 118, 204, 248, 316f.

⁷ Cf. Shebu. 15b; Nu. Midr. Rab. 12. 3.

Another element entering the composition of amulets are astrological conceptions and notions. Of the ten circles, of which the Kabbalah conceived the universe to consist (corresponding to the same number of *Sefiroth*), the seven planets were believed to be of the greatest importance to man. For each planet presided over a certain department of human affairs. They were provided with seven angelic regents, who ruled over them, each having under him several angelic servitors. So likewise the twelve constellations of the zodiac, the four cycles (*tekufoth*), or seasons of the year, the days of the week and hours of the day, *etc.*, had each their particular ruling angel or genius, who were the direct agents and cause of the influence they were supposed to exercise over the life of nature and of man. So in addition to God and the angels these guardian spirits of the heavenly bodies and seasons are appealed to in the amulets.⁸

Gathering up these elements, it may be stated that a full and elaborate amulet usually begins with an invocation of God and the angels set over the various departments of nature and life. Then follows a long string of ills of body and soul from which the bearer of the amulet is to be freed or protected by the amulet. Next comes the adjuration of the various classes of evil spirits, followed by an enumeration of a series of vicissitudes and mishaps which may befall the body or mind of the patient. To these tripartite, negative elements of the invocation, noted by Professor Montgomery, in a modified way, in the Aramaic bowl incantations,⁹ is frequently added a positive element, the prayer that the bearer of the amulet may obtain grace and favor in the eyes of God and man. Interwoven with the invocation and surrounding it like a frame are Scriptural passages mentioned above. Mixed up with all this, or set up in some figure, as the 'shield of David,' the magic square or circle, is a medley of names of God and angels, some of them 'wonderful and fearful' forms, defying any attempt at a rational philological and etymological explanation, written forward and backward and crosswise in all possible permutations and trans-

⁸ Cf. PSBA. 28 (1906). 110 ff; Shabb. 156a; B. Mes. (Rashi), 106b; *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, ed. Gaster, 12 f.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 69.

positions of the letters. Even some pagan deities have been smuggled in, much transformed, or deformed in their passage from pagan godhood to Jewish angelhood. So that from the amulets quite a respectable little international and interreligious pantheon (and also pandemonium) might be brought together.

The amulet selected for reproduction, while not adorned with some of the devices mentioned above, is, as regards the contents,



the most complete and elaborate in the collection. It is a parchment manuscript, seven and a half inches square, and comes from Tunis. It is written in minute but, with the exception of a few worn off-places, clear and fully legible script; in fact, the writing exhibits a skilful and practised hand, perhaps that of a professional scribe (*sofer*) of the Torah scrolls. The main part, that is the invocation, is composed of three figures: a kind of portal formed of intersecting semicircles, closed at the top with a sort of crown; round it inside runs a scroll, symmetrically disposed; while in the center is a pear-shaped figure, inclosing a circle or wheel, with intersecting semicircles between them, and a star or six spokes within the wheel or circle.—The numbers on the subjoined guide or plan show in a measure the

devious and maze-like path the scribe followed, and there is room for difference of opinion as to the correct sequence of the several parts; the dove-tailing of them presented here is to be taken as tentative.—The rendering of the terms in the long catalogue of diseases contained in this amulet is for the most part based on the definitions and explanations of them given in the following Hebr. medical works in the Library of Congress: קאנון, by Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Naples, 1492; מעשי טוביה, by Tobiah ben-Moses, Venice, 1705; פרקי משה, by Maimonides, Wilna, 1887; אוצר החיים, by Jacob ben-Isaac Zahalon, Venice, 1663.

To first dispose of the 'trimmings' or accessories, the inscription which frames the amulet begins at the right top corner with the Aaronite blessing (Nu. 6. 24-26). Between the first and second members of the blessing are inserted the words, 'for Hannah, blessed above women, daughter of Rachel, bearer of this amulet upon her,' and the last six words are repeated between the second and third members. Then follows a series of mystical names, viz., אנקתם פסתם פספסים דיונסים, which are usually taken to represent, ἀνακτες Ἡφαιστος παμφάσους Διδόντος¹⁰; כוּו כּוּו כּוּו כּוּו כּוּו כּוּו (also inscribed on the back of the *mezuzah*) which by the ab-gad alphabet are = יהוה אלהינו, סנוי סנסנוי סמנגלף, which in Pseudo-Sirach are said 'to have brought Lilith back to Adam, and when she turned child-murderess like Lamia they were set over her';¹¹ אדירירון, elsewhere with repetition, אדיר אדירים, perhaps = אדיר אדירים, very mighty, mightiest;¹² 'But thou, O JHVH, art a shield about me' (Ps. 3. 4), closing with לקי and its anagram, which is the acrostic of Gen. 49. 18: 'I wait for thy help, O JHVH.

In the corners are the four letters of the Tetragrammaton spelled out in a way so as to yield the numerical sum of seventy-two, the number of the most solemn and potent divine name of

¹⁰ For a different explanation of these words, as being the acrostics of certain short invocations, cf. Schwab, *Vocabulaire*, 65. They also occur in the prayers which accompany the blessing of the priests (ריבן).

¹¹ Cf. *Jewish Encyclop.* 1. 295 and 4. 30; Montgomery, *op. cit.* 260.

¹² Cf. *Mitteilungen d. Ges. f. jüd. Volksk.*, Hamburg, 5 (1900). 71, s. v. אבירירון. Schwab, *op. cit.* 42: *puissantes du chant*, deriving the last part from רבן.

the Kabbalists, found by them in the three verses of Ex. 14. 19-21, each of which counts seventy-two letters. Underneath are the names of the four archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Rafael and Uriel.—Along the lower sides of the scroll and forming above a sort of arch is a series of three-lettered names of uncertain derivation. Under the point of the arch, יהוה .יה, while in the lower corners, to the right: מַצְמִצִּית, of which the first four letters, by reducing the decades to units (the 'minor counting'), yield the same sum as יהוה = 26, while the last two letters, retaining their full numerical value, 410 = קְרוֹשׁ; to the left, יוהך כלך which are formed of the end letters of Ps. 91.11: 'For he will command his angels to guard thee on all thy ways.'—Following the line of the 'portal' are again scriptural passages interwoven with mystical names. Beginning at the bottom on the right side: 'Know thou therefore this day, and lay it to thine heart, that JHVH he is God, in heaven above and upon the earth beneath, there is none beside' (Deut. 4. 39); יה; שרי; צִמְרֹכר, which is constructed of the last letters of each verse in Gen. 1. 1-5; and repetition of לְקִי with two permutations; 'O JHVH, God of hosts, hear my prayer, give ear, God of Jacob, Selah' (Ps. 84. 9); 'O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will make known thy praise' (Ps. 51. 17); 'I am that I am' (Ex. 3. 14).—Dispersed through the figures are, on the right side of the 'portal,' a number of mystical names of uncertain derivation, on the left side, the fourteen triads of the acrostic of the prayer ascribed to Nehunya ben ha-Kanah, a rabbi of the first and second centuries, representing the forty-two-lettered name of God assumed by the Kabbalah¹³; in the center figure are

¹³ As the acrostics of the prayer of Nehunya occur in full or in part almost on any and every Jewish amulet, and the prayer itself is more or less of the nature of an incantation (though it found entrance into the daily prayers of the orthodox Jews), it may not be amiss to give it a place here:

אנא בכח גדולת ימין תתיר צרורה. קבל רנת עמך. שנבינו טהרינו גורא. נא
גבור דורשי יחודך כנבת שמרם: ברכם טהרם רחמם צדקתך תמיד גמלם. חסין
קדוש ברוב טובך נהל ערתך: יחד גאה לעמך פנה זכרי קדושתך. שועתנו קבל
ושמע צעקת: יודע תעלומות.

It closes with the doxology:

בִּשְׂכִימָי: in acrostics: בִּרְיֹן שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד.

Translation:

Oh, pray, by the power of thy great right hand, loosen her who is bound (cf. Luke 13. 16). Receive the song of thy people. Exalt us, cleanse us,

seen **ישי** in its six permutations and some of the mystical names, closing with **מצפץ**, while in the 'crown' above is appropriately set **אכתריאל**.¹⁴

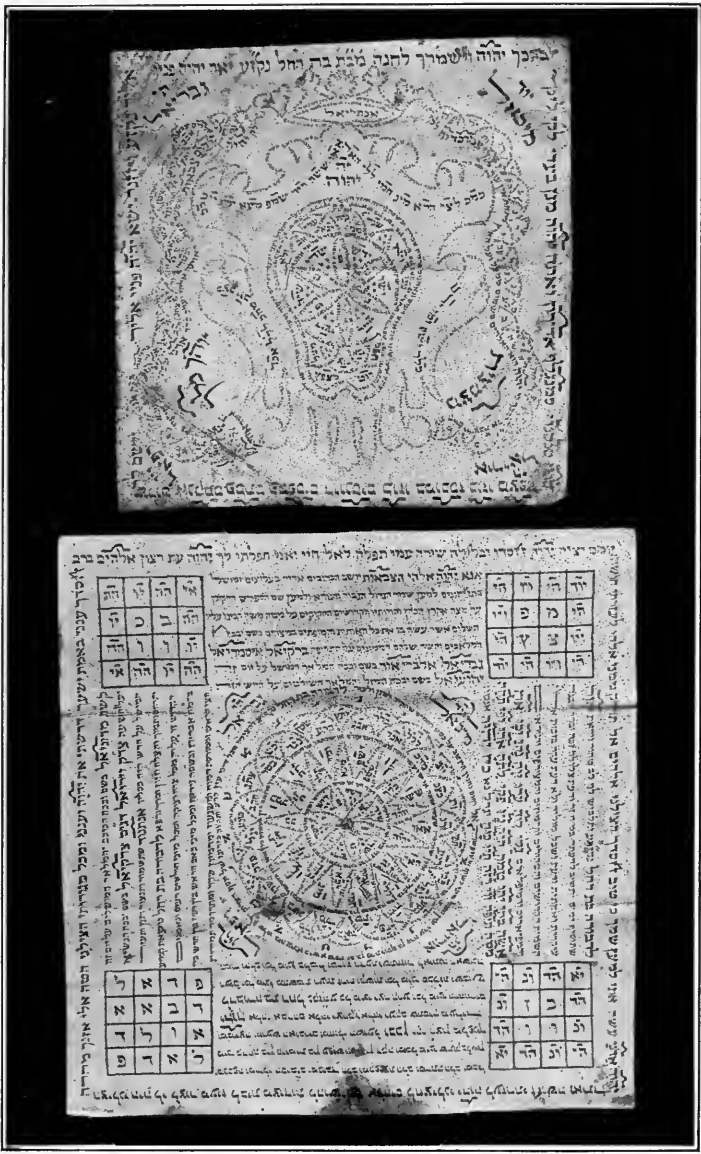
THE INVOCATION

The numbers on the margin refer to the corresponding numbers on the key plan.

- 1 **אנא יהוה אלהי הצבאות יושב הכרובים אדיר בעליונים**
- 2 **ומושל בתחתונים**¹⁵ **למען שמך הגדול הגבור והנורא ולמען**
שם המפורש¹⁶ **החקוק על מצח אהרן הכהן**¹⁷ **והויותיו**¹⁸
הקדושים החקוקים על מטה משה רבינו עליו השלום אשר
עשה בו כל האותות והמופתים
- 3 **במצרים**¹⁹ **ולמען שמות המלאכים ובכחם הממונים על**
התקופה²⁰ **ושמם שריהם**²¹ **גבריאֵל אוריאל ברכיאל רביאל**
....²² **בשם ובכח המלאך הממונה על יום זה יהויעאל**
- 4 **בשם ובכח המזל**²³ **והמלאך הממונה על חדש זה דגים**
רומיאל בשם ובכח הכוכב והמלאך הממונים על יום זה
צדק וירואל²⁴ **בשם ובכח המזל והמלאך הממונים**
על השעה²⁵
- 5 **שתשמור ותנצור ותציל ותגן ותעזר ותרחם**²⁶ **ותמוך והצלח**
וחון וברך ורפא לחנה מב'ת²⁷ **בת רחל**²⁸ **מכל צרה וצוקה**
ומכל מיני חולאים רעים ונאמנים ברמ'ח אבריה ובשם'ה
גידיה²⁹ **ומכל מיני**
- 7 **כאב הראש בין ישן בין חדש בין כאב חצי הראש וממורסת**
המוח³⁰ **ומישגעון ומדמיון שקר ומתרדמה תמידית ומנכפה**
ומחולי הסיבוב ומכובר הלב³¹ **ומשתוק**³² **ומכויעה**³³

awful one. O mighty one, guard those who seek thy unity as the pupil of the eye; bless them, cleanse them, have compassion upon them, bestow always thy righteousness on them. Strong one, holy one, in the abundance of thy bounty lead thy congregation; single one, exalted one, turn to thy people, those who are mindful of thy holiness. Receive our entreaty, and hear our cry, thou who knowest the hidden things. Blessed be the name of his glorious Kingdom forever.

¹⁴ 'Crown of God,' or 'crown of God,' with prosthetic א. One of the 'princes of the face,' vice-regent of God. In Berak. 7^a he is identified with JHVH; cf. *Jewish Enc.* 1. 594.



JEWISH AMULETS IN THE U. S. NATIONAL MUSEUM

- 1 (above). The amulet described on pages 157-167.
- 2 (below). Another amulet in the collection.

- 8 ומרעש האברים³⁴ ומחולי השועל³⁵ ומסובין³⁶ וזוחלת הראש והשחין רע ומקליער השערות³⁷ ומרבוי הכנים ומכל מיני קדחת בין היומית בין עפושת בין דקה³⁸ ומקדחת טוג'ה³⁹ ומכל מיני חולי הבא מחמת ומסיבת רתיחת הדם ומאדמית הגוף ומכל מיני אבעבועות הנולדים מסיבת זועה⁴⁰ ומחולי השיקוי⁴¹ ומשיעול⁴² ומאידיס רעים וגסים העולים מאסכומוקא אל המוח⁴³ ומסמור⁴⁴ ומכל מיני עין הרע ותהיה כזרעו של יוסף דלא שלט ביה עינא בישא כדכתיב בן פרת יוסף בן פרת עלי עין⁴⁵ ומכל מיני כשוף ושרין ולילין ולילית ומזקין ומשחית ורוחין בישין⁴⁶ ומנעמה⁴⁷ וממחלת ומאגרת בת מחלת⁴⁸ וכת דילה ומכל מיני שריפת אש או תולדותיו כגון דבר חס או מים רותחים ומכל מיני הזיק המים ומשקיעת המים בין בים בין בגומות בכל מקום שיהיה בהם סכנה ויקיים בה מקרא שכתוב כי תעבר במים אתך אני ונהרות לא ישטפוך כי תלך כמו אש לא תכוה ולהבה לא תבער כך⁴⁹ וממפולת כותל וממפולת אבנים
- 9 ומכל מיני נפילה בין בבית בין בשוק בין בים בין ביבשה בין מסלמות בכל מקום שיהיה ויקיים בה מקרא שכתוב כי יפול לא יוטל כי יהיה סמך ידו⁵⁰ ומכל מיני פחד ויראה ורתת וזיעה ורעדה ומתמהון לבב ומחלומות ומדמיונות בישין⁵¹ ומליין⁵²
- 11 בישין ומבלבול וטרוף הדעת
- 12 ומדבר וממנפה ב'מ ומנכפה⁵³ ומנזילה⁵⁴
- 13 ומכל מיני סכנה אמן נצח סלה ועד
- 14 ותצוה למלאך אהביאל הממונה על האהבה והחבה שתתן לחן ולחסר ולרחמים
- 15 בעיניך ובעיני כל הבריות בענין
- 16 שיבקשו כלם אהבתה ותהיה
- 17 אהובה
- 18 בעיניהם
- 19 כתמר בעיני אמן
- 20 בראשונה⁵⁶ וכאהבת יהונתן
- 21 ורוד⁵⁷
- 22 ותהיה

23 מכוברת בעיניהם כמלך בעיני עבדיו האוהבים אותו
 והסרים למשמעתו והיה נצולת מכל גזירות⁵⁸ קשות ורעות
 24 המתרגשות ובאות לעולם
 25 אנסו⁵⁹ לא תירא ולא תיחת כי עמך יהוה אלהיך בכל אשר
 תלך⁶⁰ לקי

TRANSLATION

- 1 .O JHVH, God of hosts, who dwellest among the Cherubim, mighty among the upper ones
- 2 and ruler over the lower ones,¹⁵ for the sake of thy great, mighty and awful name; and for the sake of the Shem ha-Meforash¹⁶ which was engraved upon the brow of Aaron the priest,¹⁷ and its holy attributes¹⁸ which were engraved upon the staff of Moses our Teacher, peace be upon him, with which he performed the signs and wonders
- 3 in Egypt;¹⁹ and for the sake and by the power of the angels who are appointed over the *Tekufah*²⁰ and their . . . princes,²¹ Gabriel, Uriel, Barakiel, Raniel . . .,²² and in the name and by the power of the angel who is appointed over this day, Jehu'iel;
- 4 in the name and by the power of the constellation²³ and of the angel who are appointed over this month, *Pisces*, Rumiel; in the name and by the power of the planets and of the angel who are appointed over this day, Jupiter, Wiruel; in the name and by the power of the constellation and of the angel who are appointed
- 5 over the hour—²⁵
- 6 Mayest thou guard, preserve, deliver, shield and help, and have compassion upon, and sustain, prosper, favor, bless and heal Hannah—blessed be she above women—daughter of Rachel,²⁸ from all trouble and distress, and from all kinds of evil and enduring diseases in her two-hundred and forty-eight members and three-hundred and sixty-five ligaments.²⁹ And from all kinds of
- 7 headache, be it old (chronic, *cephalaea*), be it recent (intermittent, *cephalgia periodica*), be it pain of the half-head (*migraine*, *hemicrania*) and of lesion of the brain (boil or abscess?)³⁰, and of madness, and illusion (melancholy), and lasting sleep (*coma*, *lethargy*), and epilepsy, and vertigo, and incubus,³¹ and loss of speech (*aphasia*),³² and cramps,³³

- 8 and convulsions,³⁴ and baldness,³⁵ and dandruff,³⁶ and creeping of the head (*formicatio?*), and malignant eruption (*eczema* or *favus?*), and the *plica*,³⁷ and *pediculosis*. And from all kinds of fever, be it ephemeral, be it putrid, be it hectic,³⁸ and of the fever of . . .,³⁹ and from all kinds of disease caused by the overheating (literally, boiling) of the blood, and of redness of the body (*erythema*, *erysipelas?*), and from all kinds of boils which are engendered from sweat,⁴⁰ and dropsy,⁴¹ and coughing,⁴² and the bad and heavy exhalations which mount from the stomach to the brain,⁴³ and shivers (or rigidity⁴⁴). And from all kinds of the evil eye, so that she be like the seed of Joseph over whom the evil eye had no dominion as it is written: 'A fruitful bough is Joseph, a fruitful bough by a spring.'⁴⁵ And from all kinds of sorcery, and Shedim Lilin and Liliths, and injurious spirits, and destroyers and evil spirits,⁴⁶ and Na'amah,⁴⁷ and Mahlath, and Agrath (or Igrath), daughter of Mahlath,⁴⁸ and her train. And from all kinds of burning by fire, or its products, as a hot object or boiling water. And from all kinds of injury by water, and sinking in water (drowning), be it in the sea or in ditches, wherever there may be a danger in them. So that there may be fulfilled in her the verse of Scriptures: 'When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.'⁴⁹
- 9 And from the falling in of a wall, and the falling of stones,
- 10 and from all kinds of falling, be it in the house, be it in the street, be it on sea, be it on land, be it from ladders, wherever it may be. So that may be fulfilled in her the verse of the Scriptures: 'Though he fall, he shall not be cast down, for JHVH upholdeth his hand.'⁵⁰ And from all kinds of dread, fear, trembling and shock and horror, and stupor of the heart, and evil dreams, imaginings and visions⁵¹ and evil things (or words)⁵²;
- 11 and confusion and distraction of the mind.
- 12 And from pestilence and plague, wherever it may be, and epilepsy,⁵³ and running catarrh of the head.⁵⁴
- 13 And from all kinds of danger. Amen. Enduring for ever.

- 14 And mayest thou command the angel Ahabiel, who presides
over love and desire,⁵⁵ that he render her an object of favor
and grace and compassion
15 in thine eyes and in the eyes of all people, to the end,
16 that they all desire her love, so that she shall be
17 loved (or lovable)
18 in their eyes
19 as Tamar was in the eyes of Amnon
20 at the beginning,⁵⁶ and as the love between Jonathan
21 and David.⁵⁷
22 And may she be
23 honored in their eyes as a King is in the eyes of his serv-
ants, who love him and render him obedience. And may
she be delivered from all severe and evil decrees,⁵⁸
24 which come in upheaval upon the world.
25 Amen. Enduring for ever. Fear not nor be dismayed,
for with thee is JHVH thy God wherever thou goest.⁶⁰ I
wait for thy help, O JHVH.

⁵⁵ That is, the angels as the denizens of heaven, and mankind, living upon earth, constituting the two domains of JHVH's rule. Cf. the antithesis of אַרְאִלִּים (angels) and כְּצוּקִים (the oppressed צַרִּיקִים) in Kethub. 104a and of יָג and הָ, applied to the reign of Solomon in Sanh. 20b. Parallel to it is the distinction between the כְּלִיאָ שֶׁל מַעֲרָה (*familia superior*) and כְּלִיאָ שֶׁל מַטָּה (*familia inferior*) in Berak. 17a; Sanh. 38b, 99b.

⁵⁶ That is, the Tetragrammaton, the separated and distinguished from all other names, cf. *Jewish Enc.*, 11. 262.

⁵⁷ Referring to the golden frontlet (צִיץ), engraved with the words קָרָשׁ לַיהוָה, which Aaron wore on his forehead, Ex. 28. 36.

⁵⁸ הַיּוֹת, from הָיָה, the various modes and manifestations of God's being, so that it may be rendered, the attributes, as in God substance and accident are identical. They probably refer to the attributes of JHVH enumerated in Ex. 34. 6f.

⁵⁹ Ex. chs. 4-14 *passim*.—It is interesting to compare with this form of invocation that of an Aramaic amulet published by Professor Montgomery in JAOS. 31 (1911). 273ff., where the appeal is made by the objects themselves: 'with the wand of Moses and the shining plate (צִיץ) of Aaron the high priest . . .', which seems to imply the conception of a magic potency inherent in these paraphernalia which is still active after the things themselves have vanished (something like the *wakonda* or *orenda* of the Indians). The present amulet keeps on a higher, more spiritual, plane; in fact, it endeavors to remain within the fold of monotheism, though the very *raison d'être* of amulets, presupposing as they do the existence of a number of spirits, endowed with great power and enjoying a large measure of independence in their actions, constitutes a breach in the unity of God.

²⁰ הקופה, properly, turn, cycle, then season. On the superstition connected with the changes of the seasons s. *Jewish Enc.* 12. 77.

²¹ Possibly of a corruption of וְשִׁרְתֵּם, 'and their servants,' or 'servitors,' i. e., the angels who serve under the archons of the heavenly bodies.

²² Worn off so as to be illegible.

²³ כּוּל is used rather loosely in rabb. literature for constellation, planet, then fate, fortune. It would seem that the scribe of this amulet had simply accumulated names and terms without much regard to the niceties of the astrological definitions and distinctions.

²⁴ The first two angels named in 3 and 4 are familiar from the Biblical literature. בְּרַכְיָא, praise of God; רַב, greatness of God; יְהוֹנָיָא is considered by Schwab, *op. cit.*, 142 as a corruption of יְהוֹיָאֵל, one of the names of Metatron, and name of the angel ruling over Thursday; רִיכּ, exaltation of God, is according to Schwab (*ib.* 245), name of the angel who watches over the month of Adar (March-April), while יִיר (*ib.* 118) is the name for Mars on Tuesday and for Jupiter on Thursday.

²⁵ For a detailed assignment of the rule of the planets to the days and hours and their changes in the four *tekufoth* cf. Rashi to Shabb. 129^b and Schwab, *Vocabulaire*, etc. under the names of the angels enumerated here; for the general belief in the appointment of angels 'for an hour, day, month, year,' cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, etc., 55, 56 and n. 31.

²⁶ Passes over from Imperf. to Imper. or Inf.

²⁷ Initials of כְּנָשִׁים בְּאֵהָל תִּכְרֹךְ, Jud. 5. 24.

²⁸ In amulets and prayers for the sick in general descent is reckoned by the mother, cf. Shabb. 66^b: כָּל כְּנִינִי בְּשֵׁמָהּ רִאִיָּה, 'All incantations (properly, countings, because the incantations were for efficaciousness repeated several times and therefore counted) are in the name of the mother.' If there be in this practice a lingering reminiscence of a matriarchal organization of society, cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 49, n. 1, the Jews have no thought of it, but base it on Ps. 86. 16 and Ps. 116. 16: 'I am thy servant, the son of thy maid servant.'

²⁹ For a detailed enumeration of the parts of the human body s. Mishnah Ohal. 1. 8. The 248 members correspond to the same number of precepts (מצוות עשה) of the Torah, while the 365 ligaments (properly, veins, under which vague term the Talmud comprises the arteries, nerves, muscles, etc.) stand for the 365 prohibitions of the Torah (כִּי לֹא תַעַן) as codified by the rabbis, cf. Yoma 75^b; Berak. 45^a.

³⁰ מוּרְכָה, Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. WB.*, s. v.: Blatter-pustula, blister, papula. Targ. of Prov. 26. 26 renders כִּשְׂאִין (destruction) by מוּרְכָה; the verb מָרַס, means to bruise, crush, and to stir, mix.

³¹ Properly, heaviness of, or pressure upon, the heart, the symptoms of the nightmare.

³² Literally, silence.

³³ כּוּיָה in the original doubtless a mistake for כּוּיָה, from כּוּץ, to compress, contract, squeeze.

³⁴ Properly, shaking, disturbance, of the limbs.

³⁵ 'Disease of the fox' (*alopecia*), from the resemblance of baldness to the mange in this animal.

³⁶ Literally, bran. The Greek word *πύτυρον* (or plur. *πύτυρα*) from which the medical term for this ailment, *pityriasis*, is derived, has the same meaning, on account of the resemblance of the thin scales, which exfoliate from the skin of the head, with the husks of grain which constitute the bran.

³⁷ קלִיעֵת הַשׁ most likely an error or a *lapsus calami* for קלִיעֵת, properly, braiding, plaiting of the hair, then, matting, clotting, the designation of the *plica polonica* in Hebr. medical works.

³⁸ Properly, thin; it is the fever which consumes the tissues and causes emaciation.

³⁹ טוּגִיה, unknown.

⁴⁰ Only the first two letters in the original are distinct; וועִיָּה ('ו') fits into the context. S. the translation.

⁴¹ Arab. سَفِي.

⁴² Arab. سَعَال.

⁴³ Dr. C. C. McCulloh, Curator of the Army Medical Museum in Washington, was first to suggest that אַכְוִיכּוֹן might be a corrupted transcription of Spanish *estomago*. The whole phrase occurs in several of the Hebr. medical works with the spelling: אַצִּיטְהַכְכָּה, confirming Dr. McC.'s guess. אַדִּים is the *scriptio plena*, so frequent in post-Bibl. writers of אֶר, Gen. 2. 6; cf. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaur. Totius Hebraicitatis*, i, 52 s. v. אֶר.

⁴⁴ Cf. סִכַּר Ps. 119. 120: 'My flesh trembles,' and Piel, Job 4. 15: 'My hair stood.'

⁴⁵ Gen. 49. 22. Amulets for children often consist of this verse only, either inscribed and hung on their body or embroidered in some piece of their dress.—In explaining the immunity of the descendants of Joseph from the evil eye R. Abuha said: 'Read not עֵין עָלַי but עֵלַי עֵין, i. e., rising above the power of the (evil) eye,' while R. Jose b. Hanina derives it from וַיִּגְנו in Gen. 48. 16: 'As the fishes (דגים, denom. from דגה) in the sea are covered by the waters so that the evil eye has no power over them, so also it has no power over the seed of Joseph,' Berak. 20^a and 56^b.

⁴⁶ For a detailed definition of the names of the several categories of demons and the distinction between them s. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, § 12, p. 67ff. Rashi to Sanh. 109^a gives the following characterization of the Shedim, Ruḥin and Lilin: The Shedim have the form (צורה) of man and eat and drink like men; the Ruḥin have neither body nor form; while the Lilin have form of man but also wings, cf. also Nid. 24^b. In Hag. 16^a the possession of wings is also ascribed to the Shedim. It is said there of them that they share three qualities with men and three with angels: they eat and drink, and propagate, and die like men, but have wings, foreknowledge of the future, and can traverse the world from end to end like angels.

⁴⁷ Na'amah, daughter of Lamech and sister of Tubal-Cain (Gen. 4. 22), is in the demoniac hierachy of the Kabbalah (alongside of Agrath and Lilith) queen of the demons, wife of Samael and mother of Ashmodai (Asmodeus), cf. *Jewish Enc.*, 4. 518.

⁴⁸ In rabb. literature, Pes. 112^b, Numb. Midr. R. 12. 3, a she-demon who roams through the streets on Wednesday and Saturday nights at the head of eighteen myriads of angels of destruction everyone of whom has by himself power to destroy.

⁴⁹ Is. 43. 2.

⁵⁰ Ps. 37. 24.

⁵¹ For the references to dreams and apparitions in incantations s. Montgomery, *op. cit.* 82f.

⁵² כִּלְיִן means both.

⁵³ Already enumerated above under 7.

⁵⁴ Arab. نَزَلَ and نَزَلَةٌ.

⁵⁵ For the angels of love see Montgomery, *op. cit.* 178ff.

⁵⁶ That is, before the love turned into hatred, cf. 2 S. 13. 1 with v. 15.

⁵⁷ Cf. 1 S. 18. 1; 20. 17; 2 S. 1. 26.

⁵⁸ גִּזְרָה from גָּזַר, to cut, split, turn, to decide, pass a sentence (cf. Latin *decidere*), Job 22. 28, hence גִּזְרֵה decision, decree, Dan. 4. 14; 5. 21. In Jewish usage the word has the specific meaning of unfavorable decrees against the Jews by the (non-Jewish) governments.

⁵⁹ Initials of אֶחָד כָּלָה וְעַר.

⁶⁰ Cf. Deut. 31. 8.

The Geographical Foundation of Turkey's World Relation.—

By LEON DOMINIAN, American Geographical Society, New York, N. Y.

The region to which I am here inviting attention has occupied a conspicuous position on the stage of world events since the earliest known times. Faint rays of prehistoric light reveal it as the bridge over which the race of round-headed men crossed into Europe from Asia. During antiquity we find it to be the original seat of civilizations which radiate outward in every direction. In medieval times it is the great half-way station of the main artery of world trade. We know of it in modern days as the center of a mighty international struggle familiarly known as the Eastern Question for the past hundred years.

A world relation of such an enduring character must obviously rest on exceedingly firm foundations. A search for its causes leads us straight into the field of geography, where we find the three elements of position, form, and natural resources to be primarily responsible for the extraordinary interest which has always been coupled to the various names by which the region has been known. An investigation of these three phases of the country's geography is therefore in order. Before proceeding further I shall define this region as the Asiatic extension of Mediterranean lands nestling against the great central mountain mass of Asia. It is sharply separated from the rest of the continent by a mountain wall which extends continuously from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf and is made up of the Armenian and Zagros ranges. It is a peninsula itself formed by two distinct peninsulas. The region is one of the unit divisions of the Asiatic continent in the sense that it is the only part of the entire Asiatic continent subject to Mediterranean climatic influences. It is interesting, in this connection, because it is also endowed with political unity, as all of the Ottoman state falls at present inside these limits.

By position, first at the junction of three continents and, therefore, on the main field of history, secondly as the site of convergence of the great avenues of continental travel, and thirdly by its situation in one of the two regions in which climatic conditions proved most favorable for the early develop-

ment of humanity, Turkey at first scrutiny appears to have been eminently favored by nature. These advantages converted it into the meeting-place of societies which are generally associated with the three continents which the country unites. Aryan, Tatar, and Semitic peoples are well represented in the land.

In considering Turkey as the meeting-place of continental cultures it is necessary that we should confine our conception of the fact to the strictly literal sense of the term. The country is a meeting-place and nothing more. It has never been a transition zone physically and as a consequence there has been very little mingling of the different elements in its population. The very structure of the land deters fusion of the inhabitants into a single people. The interior upland rises abruptly above a narrow fringe of coastal lowland. Its surface features, consisting partly of deserts and of saline lakes, recall the typical aspect of Central Asia. On the other hand, the luxuriant vegetation of the maritime fringe reflects European characteristics. No better relic of Asia Minor's former land connection with Europe exists than this strip of the west soldered on the eastern continent. But the physical union is clean-cut and as a result the change from the low-lying garniture of green scenery to the bare tracts of the uplands is sharp. These features make of Turkey a land of strange contrasts. Its coasts are admirably washed by the waters of half a dozen seas and yet, in places, a journey of a bare twenty-five miles from the shore lands the traveler squarely in the midst of a continental district.

So diversified a country could not be the land of patriotism. And as we pick up the thread of its troubled history we find a woful absence of this spirit among its citizens. In Byzantine times as in Ottoman, a selfish bias towards local interests, a parochial attachment of the sordid type, pervades its population. A medley of peoples, each filling its particular geographical frame and animated by widely divergent ideals is constantly engaged in looking abroad rather than in the land for the attainment of their hopes. Nature fostered this condition. Communications between the different regions have always been arduous. From the narrow fringe of coastland to the interior plateau the ascent is steep. More than that, the maritime dweller of the lowland shunned the total lack of comfort which he knew awaited him on the arid highland of the core. Conversely the

indolent inhabitant of this elevated district realized that were he to settle near the marshes he could not compete successfully with the more active seafarers. As time went on the coastal peoples—mainly Greeks—accustomed themselves to look beyond the sea for intercourse with the outside world while the Turkish tenants of the interior land still kept in their mind's eye the vast Asiatic background out of which they had emerged.

In the same way the imposing barrier of the Taurus prevented contact between the occupants of the districts lying north and south of the mountain. The significance of this range to Europeans cannot be overestimated. The mountain has proved to be the chief obstacle to the northward spread of Semitic peoples and their civilizations. Successive waves of southern invaders, invariably of Semitic descent, whether highly civilized or drawn from tribes of savages, spent their fury in vain lashings against the rocky slopes. The past is verified historically whether we consider the failure of Assyrians in antiquity, of the Saracens during Middle Ages, or of the Egyptians and Arabs led by Mahomet Ali in modern days. The linguistic boundary between Turkish and Arabic occurs in this mountain chain at present and Hogarth has expressed the fact in a realistic phrase by stating that at an elevation of about 2,000 feet Arabic speech is chilled to silence.

To come back once more to position, we find that while this feature has generated an attracting force the shape of the land, on the other hand, promoted a constantly repellent action. We have in this situation a remarkable conflict which has exerted itself to the detriment of the inhabitants. The centripetal action of position was always reduced to a minimum by the centrifugal effects of form. The mountainous core formed by the Anatolian tableland and the western highland of Armenia could only be a center of dispersal of waters, and hence to a large degree of peoples. Accordingly throughout history we have a continuous spectacle of peoples swarming into the region only to be scattered immediately into new directions. Furthermore, however much the land partook of the character of a single unit with reference to the broad divisions of Asia, the fact remains that it was greatly subdivided within itself. The six main compartments into which it may be laid off have fostered totally divergent civilizations. I have dwelt on this in the last November Bulletin of the American Geographical Society.

All of these conditions were fundamentally fatal to the formation of nationality. They favored only intercontinental travel and trade.

In only one respect did position and structure operate harmoniously. Both agencies combined to create Turkey's relations with the world beyond its borders. This was facilitated by the admirable set of natural routes which led in and out of the country. Beginning with the broad band of the Mediterranean sea, land and water routes succeed each other in close sequence. The inland sea itself is prolonged through the *Ægean* and the Turkish straits into the Black Sea, the shores of which are dotted in swift succession by the terminals of great avenues from northeastern Europe, as well as all of northern and central Asia. On the European mainland the far-reaching Danube had an outlet into Turkey through the Morava-Maritza valleys in addition to its own natural termination. The Dnieper valley played an exceedingly important share in connecting Turkey with northern lands. To the east the trough-like recesses in the folds of the mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan led to the great Tabriz gate beyond which the way as far as China lay open. A somewhat more winding course through these same mountains extended into the Mesopotamian valley, beyond which the Persian Gulf opened sea travel to centers of civilization of the monsoon lands or westward to the African coast. Land connection with the continent also existed by means of the rift valley of Syria where the beginning of the African rift system is found. Through the occurrence of all these channels of penetration the history of Turkey finds place as a special chapter in the history of the world's great nations. A greater share of responsibility falls on Turkey for this relation than on the Turks themselves.

The appearance and establishment of this people in a land which was not that of their origin follows their life as nomad tribesmen of the vast steppeland of Central Asia. They were men at large upon the world's largest continent, the northerners of the east, who naturally and unconsciously went forth in quest of the greater comforts afforded by southern regions. The vast flatland which gave birth to their race lies open to the frozen gales of the north. Its continental climate in turn icy cold or of burning heat was cut off from the tempering influences prevailing behind the folds of Tertiary mountain piles to the

south. And as the steppe-men migrated southward their gradually swelling numbers imparted density to the human mass they formed because expansion on the east or west was denied them. China and Chinese, admirably sheltered by barriers of deserts and mountains, stopped their easterly spread. So did Christianity in Russia, on the west, though at a heavy cost to the country for no obstacle had been raised by nature to meet their advance. The open plain of Central Asia merges insensibly into that of north Europe. That is why incidentally Russia is half Tatar to-day. The Asiatic was forced upon her. She sacrificed herself by absorbing him into her bosom, saving north-central Europe thereby from eastern invasions but forfeiting the advantages of progress.

Cut off from East and West in this manner the only alternative left to the Turk was to scale the plateau region of western Asia and to swarm into the avenues that led him to conquered territory where he succeeded in attaining power and organizing his undisciplined hosts into the semblance of a state. The presence of the Turk upon the land on which he conferred his Mongolian name and the very foundation of the Turkish state can in this manner be attributed to outward causes rather than to local development. It was essentially a process of transplantation. The consolidation and rise to power of the Ottoman Empire between the close of the 13th century and the 16th were in themselves largely due to foreign conditions, for during that interval Europe was busily engaged in extirpating feudalism and objectionable phases of medieval clerical influences from its soil.

The world relation of Turkish lands antedates, however, the coming of the Turks by many a century. Problems summarized in the familiar appellation of the 'Eastern Question' have their origin in the existence of the narrow waterways consisting of the Dardanelles, Marmora, and Bosphorus. This watery gap has exerted profound influence in shaping the relation of Turkish territory to the outside world. The Eastern Question is as old as the history of civilization on this particular spot of the inhabited world. It could not be otherwise because fundamentally this momentous international problem is merely that of determining which people or nation shall control the strait. Who shall gather toll from the enormous transit trade of the region? This is the economic problem which has always

passionately agitated the leading commercial nations of the world. Its continuity is a proof of its geographical character. As long as these straits will exist at the point of nearest convergence of the Balkan and Anatolian peninsulas, identical problems are bound to recur on their site. Beneath the shifting scenes of human events the abiding stage persists in directing them into its own channels.

Accordingly as early as in late Minoan times and surely in full Mycenaean period, some fifteen hundred or two thousand years before our era, we find the Eastern Question already vexing the world. It centers first around Troy, because the city commanded the southwestern outlet of the straits and played the same leading part in the history of its day as Constantinople has done since then. The shifting of the site to the northeastern end of the waterway represents the gradual spread of Hellenic influence in northeastern maritime territory.

We can only come to an adequate conception of the rôle of Troy in history by a clear understanding of the value of its site. The city was a toll-station. Its citizens accumulated wealth in the manner in which the burghers of Byzantium laid the foundations of their vast fortunes. Schliemann's excavations, although conducted with an unfortunate disregard of modern archeological methods, nevertheless are conclusive on the revelation of the existence of immense treasures represented by precious metals and jewelry. These riches may well be regarded as value paid for the right of the free passage of vessels and their freight in the straits. Nor is it strange to find that coeval with the decline of the Homeric city, the earliest mentions of Byzantium, its successor, appear. Consistently with this method of enlightening Trojan history it becomes possible to reach a rational understanding of Homer's classic epic, as Leaf has done in England, and regard it as the account of a secular struggle for the possession of an eminently profitable site. The testimony of history on the number of sieges which Constantinople has undergone is at least precise, although no literary masterpiece sheds lustre on the events. It is impossible to escape from the parallelism in the histories of Byzantium and Troy simply because the geographical background of both sites is similar in every respect. In the case of Troy, it meant convenient access to the Pontine rearland, probably the first El Dorado recorded by history—the land of

fabulous treasures in search of which the Argonautic expeditions were equipped. With Byzantium it meant drawing on the luxuries which Asia could supply from as far as the Pacific.

So much for the antiquity of the Eastern Question. I am now going to pass to another phase of Turkey's world relation, namely, that of the land's influence on the discovery of America. We now stand on the threshold of modern history in order to deal with a broad economic problem which affected late Medieval commerce and which was an ever recurrent theme in that splendid period of active human enterprise known as the Age of Discovery. The dominant idea of the day was to find means of facilitating east-west trade in the eastern hemisphere. I propose to review some of the facts bearing on this subject.

From the earliest times the commercial relations between the land of Cathay and Europe had been one-sided. The east sold and the west purchased. There was very little exchange. The products which came from the east could all be classed as luxuries. They constituted freight of small volume, but the value of which ran high. Precious stones, fine woods, essences, and spices composed the freight. These commodities had been shipped to Europe for about two millennia prior to the fourteenth century of our era. Overland, the caravans ploughed their way across the southern expanse of Russia's interminable steppe-land and penetrated finally into the plateaus of Iran and Anatolia. Their home-stretch lay in Turkey. By sea the traders were accustomed to end their journeys at the head of the Persian Gulf, whence the valuable wares would be shipped farther west via Mesopotamia. In this case again the home-stretch is found on Turkish soil. It was not until about the end of the 4th century B. C., when the Egyptian hamlet of Rhaecotis changed its name into that of Alexandria, that this sea route was extended into the Red Sea and Mediterranean. At this time the vision of acquiring wealth through the eastern trade began to dawn on the minds of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean seaboard. Many centuries were to elapse, however, before westerners realized that fortunes could be made by venturing into eastern fields. The profits and the splendor of the eastern trade were popularized by Christendom when the accounts of Marco Polo and the friar travelers of his time became available.

Then the ambition of every adventurous merchant was to act as middleman in the trade of Cathay.

The bulk of the east-west trade in Medieval time flowed through the same two main arteries. The northern land route from China through Central Asia passed through the Tabriz and Erzerum gates and ended at Trebizond, the balance of the journey being made by sea through the Bosphorus-Dardanelles way. The southerly course was an all-water route from the sea of China to the Mediterranean.

The incentive to reduce cost of transportation was as strong in those days as it is at present. The northern route being mainly over land was a source of incessant worry to the trader. The unrest which followed the appearance of Mohammedanism, the reluctance of the adherents of Islam to deal with infidels rendered commerce more and more risky. Transportation by land was slower and less profitable than by sea, as it is now. Caravans could not avoid brigandage as easily as ships could run the gauntlet of piratical depredation. It was not only a case of argosies reaching port but also of camels escaping highwaymen. In addition, duties had to be paid at four or five different points of transshipment. If we examine the pepper and ginger trade alone—the supply of both of which came from the east—we find that from Calicut, the great emporium of trade on the Malabar coast, these spices were carried by the Arabs to Jiddah and thence to Tor in the Sinaitic peninsula. Overland journeys began at the last point and extended to Cairo. From this city a river journey on the Nile to Rosetta followed, after which the freight was packed on camels and sent to Alexandria. All these conditions made for the increase of cost of the eastern wares which were supplied to Europe.

With the cost of eastern commodities rising higher and higher as land transportation became more and more hazardous the minds of navigators naturally turned to the possibility of discovering a seaway to India and Cathay. The incident of the discovery of America in the course of this attempt to lower prevailing freight rates was an inevitable consequence of economic conditions. The chief point of interest to us resides in the fact that the discovery which immortalized Columbus' name was accelerated through the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Turks in 1453.

The capture of the Byzantine capital came as the deathblow to an already declining commercial intercourse. Henceforth the Moslem was to stand guard at the western gate through which east-to-west intercontinental trade had passed. And there seemed to be no doubt that he was firmly resolved to prevent the Christian from traveling back and forth through his dominions. It meant the definite closing of the western gate to eastern commerce. The first evil effects of the Turkish conquest were felt by the Venetians and Genoese. The Venetians especially incurred the wrath of Mohammed the Conqueror on account of the aid they had rendered to the beleaguered capital. Greater leniency was shown by the Turks to the Genoese who had refrained from overt acts of sympathy toward the Byzantines.

The Sultans themselves as well as their ministers were willing to maintain the trade which traversed their lands. It left a share of its proceeds in the Turkish treasury. As a matter of fact the only commerce between Turkish lands under Mohammedan rule and the west has existed because of the income it brought to the Turkish government. But the barrier of religious divergences proved insurmountable to commerce. The great significance of the Turkish conquest of the Byzantine Empire must be sought in its practically cutting off land communications between Western Europe and Eastern Asia. The impetus to westerly exploration was intensified. Before the fall of Constantinople the discovery of the western sea route to the east was regarded as highly desirable. It now became a necessity.

The possibility of reaching the Far East by a voyage through the pillars of Hercules had not been foreign to the active intellect of the Greeks and Romans, yet the incentive to undertake exploration did not acquire intensity until the latter half of the 15th century. The Turkish advance to western Asia came, therefore, as a shock, the impact of which forced trade out of the Mediterranean through the straits of Gibraltar into the wide Atlantic.

Another important result of the Turk's conquests in the Balkan and Anatolian peninsulas was the diversion of the Eastern trade from European land routes into sea lanes. The change in the direction of intercontinental traffic impoverished the German-speaking inhabitants depending on the Danube artery of con-

tinental life to such an extent that their economic prosperity was lost. This state of things occurred at a time when the natural wealth of this central region was steadily drained by the all-powerful Vatican. The Reformation, which was as much a political move as it was religious, was therefore welcomed by the rulers of little states who grasped the opportunity of despoiling the Roman church of its landed property. The loss caused by the Turkish curtailment of trade was temporarily offset in this manner.

One of the effects of the extension of the Asiatic steppe to within sight of Mediterranean waters has been to carry the art of China from its Far Eastern seclusion to the very door of Europe. But as distance imparts faintness to the westerly migration of Chinese taste it is only in a stage of waning influence that we find it in Turkey. It is a result of the trickling of the Turkish element through the passes that connect the plateaus of Iran and Anatolia, for Persia has always been swayed by China in matters of elegance and art. At various stages of Persian history have entire colonies of Chinese artists been induced by the Shahs to take up residence in Persia. Many of the patterns on Oriental rugs bear traces of this Chinese influence and this influence in a way extends much farther west, for both in Europe and the New World the standards of taste in rugs and carpets have been raised conspicuously by the endeavor to reproduce the beauty of Oriental coloring and designing.

Turkish art is modelled on Chinese in the sense that its products had to conform to conventional patterns instead of imitating nature. It destroyed initiative and prevented the artist's imagination from soaring beyond defined limits, but powerfully realistic effects were nevertheless obtained. One has only to take up an illuminated manuscript to ascertain this. Persian manuscripts show Chinese characteristics to a large extent chiefly because the Persian school of art covered a wide range. It is the only one in Mohammedan countries to allow the representation of the human figure. But contiguity with Turkey had to make itself felt, so that occasionally, though very seldom, Turkish manuscripts with illuminations in which personages in various attitudes are portrayed can be met. The distinctly Mongoloid features of the faces delineated in these instances bespeak the origin of the art. The slit eye is gen-

erally present. It is mainly, however, in the ornamental borders devoid of human representation that Chinese features are found mingled with Arabic. The conventionalized representation of the cypress tree so common in Turkish decoration is an instance of the Far Eastern influence. Again in mosque interiors richly ornamented by displays of superb tiling the hand of Persian artists trained in Chinese methods can be discerned.

The introduction of Chinese decoration in Turkey is an innovation which follows Arabian influences by four or five centuries. It serves as a reminder of the Mongolian element in the Turk. Through contact with the Chinese the Mongols had attained a higher intellectual level than the Turks. Hulaku, the grandson of Jenghiz Khan, had included Chinese artists among the retainers he had brought into Western Asia. The tales of his period reveal Far Eastern fashions, and this is likewise true of the ogives found in the buildings of this time. But apart from these effects of the Turkish conquest China was known to the inhabitants of Anatolia through the overland silk trade, as is attested by Armenian records of the middle fifth century.¹

In literature also Turkey has taken lessons from the east and through the avenues created by the East-West troughs of the Armenian highland which debouch on the Persian plateau. A Turkish poet is not entitled to the qualification without having given proof of a required amount of deftness on the Persian lyre. Turkish poetry is in fact perhaps more indebted to Persian than to Arabic, the latter language being the mainstay of prose composition.

As to the present world relations of Turkey, I have outlined them in the April, 1916, issue of the *Geographical Review*. I shall summarize them briefly by stating that by its position the country lies squarely in the path of both Teutonic and Slavic advance. A natural course of expansion is leading Germany to the southeast across the Balkan peninsula into Turkey. The extension of frontiers required by Russia likewise determines Slavic conquest of Turkey. Overpopulation in the one case and the need of access to ice-free waters in the other make the contest inevitable. In both the problem is mainly economic.

¹ Yule, H.: *Cathay and the way thither*, Hakluyt Soc., London, 1915, pp. 93-94.

At bottom it is the modern phase of the Homeric struggle idealized in the Iliad. To-day the Teuton is merely heeding the call of the land, whereas the Slav is responding to the call of climate. These are geographical factors which underlie the contest.

Turkey, lying at Europe's very door, is a virgin field of exploitation. The undeveloped resources of this country are varied as they are immense. If properly exploited they will undoubtedly afford a splendid opportunity for the investment of capital. They have been neglected for more than 2,000 years. At the very dawn of the Christian era we find Strabo bewailing Roman indifference to Anatolian colonization and urging his countrymen to go forth and embark in commercial ventures in Asia Minor. The noted geographer dwells with particular insistence on the variety of the land's resources but we know that his foresight and exhortations were unheeded. The Byzantines barely scratched the land to supply their needs and the Turks who succeeded them did not even attempt as much. Turkey therefore awaits its conversion into European colonies in order to become productive. This condition adds its own attractiveness to the advantages of its position.

Although practically unexploited, the products of the country enjoy fame all over the world for their excellence. I shall only mention a few to recall the familiarity of the subject. Long before Australian mohair was known mohair came from the plateau regions between Angora and Konia. The raw silk of the Lebanon and of the Brussa district, famous for its mulberry trees, commands high prices in Europe to-day. And this is true of the past thousand years. The rugs which adorn western homes in Europe and America come principally from Asia Minor. The Persian Gulf yields an annual harvest of pearls. The tobacco of Anatolia, especially from the valleys debouching into the Black Sea, ranks among the choicest in the world. The dried figs of Smyrna, the oranges of Jaffa, and the olives of Palestine yield in excellence to none of their kind grown elsewhere. Arabia is a household name for good coffee and savory dates.

By means of irrigation Asia Minor and Mesopotamia can be converted into thriving agricultural districts. Experiments in cereal and cotton cultivation have already yielded excellent results, both on the Anatolian tableland and in the Cilician plains. The chief source of wealth of Turkey lies, however, in its

undeveloped mineral deposits. Practically every variety of ores is known to occur. The area of transition between the plateau of Iran and the Mesopotamian depression is characterized by the existence of oil fields. The fuel is known along the entire western border of the Turkish natural region. The mountainous core of the country is a natural store of metal. It is an area of land constriction due to the pressure exerted by the weight of part of the Siberian steppeland pressing against the Arabian tableland. In the folding brought about by the application of these forces, numerous channels tapping deep into the earth's interior were created. These openings became the areas of circulation for heavily mineralized waters. The rich contents of the core were brought up and deposited at the surface not only within the area of folding but beyond, as far as the effects of the disturbance were felt. To judge from the distribution of minerals, all of Turkey has been affected by these crustal movements. The deposits that have been found are generally known to be of considerable size. Their contents would probably have been exhausted had not capital abstained from taking risks in the presence of Turkish lawlessness and misrule. The partition of Turkey into European colonies will create a swift change in this attitude on the part of European investors.

Summing up, we find that we have dealt with a connecting region which may appropriately be considered as the classical case of its type in geography. A land which by its position was everyman's land, and which because of its geography was of greater interest to the foreigner than to its own inhabitants, being a part of three continents, was part of the life which grew on each. A nation formed on such a site belongs more to its neighbors than to itself. In this respect its future will resemble its past.

Indonesian l in Philippine Languages.—By CARLOS EVERETT CONANT, Professor in the University of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

1. *Stability of original l.*—Indonesian *l* (not to be confused with the *l* of the RLD or RGH series) is one of the most stable of the original consonantal sounds of Austronesia. It remains unchanged in most languages of both Indonesian and Polynesian territory. Examples for initial and medial *l* are Indonesian *lima* 'five' and *walu* 'eight,' which retain the *l* unchanged, not only in a great majority of the Indonesian languages, but also in nearly all the Polynesian speech territory, e. g., Samoan, Fijian, and Hawaiian *lima*, Fij., Haw. *walu*, Sam. *valu*. A conspicuous exception to the general rule in Indonesia is the case of Malagasi, where, in certain dialects, notably the Merina, Betsimisaraka, and Antemuru, an original *l* quite regularly becomes *d* under certain conditions, chiefly before an original *i*, e. g., Merina *dimi* < IN *lima* 'five,' *fidi* < IN *pili* 'choose,'¹ but also initially before *a* and *u*, e. g., Merina *dahilahi* : Malay *laki-laki* 'male'; Merina *dumutrâ* : Malay *lumut* 'moss.'²

In Philippine territory there are a few languages showing a sufficient variety of treatment of original *l* to justify special study of the phenomena as classified below.

2. *An l 'cockneyism' in Bisaya.*—The Bisaya language, spoken by three and a half millions of the Malayan population of the southern islands of the archipelago, has a number of dialects, chief of which are three, the Panayan, spoken in Panay and Occidental Negros; the Cebuan, spoken in Cebú, Oriental Negros, Bohol, and northern Mindanao; and the Bisaya of Sámar and Leyte, spoken in these two islands. In certain parts

¹ Cf. Brandstetter, *Die Beziehungen des Malagasy zum Malaiischen*, Lucerne, 1893, p. 26, and *Die Lauterscheinungen in den indonesischen Sprachen*, Lucerne, 1915, p. 32; also Ferrand, *Essai de phonétique comparée du malais et des dialects malgaches*, Paris, 1909, p. X, footnote: (Merina) 'Improprement appelés Hova.' Brandstetter, in his monographs, continues the use of the traditional name, Hova, of the people and language called Merina by Ferrand.

² Cf. Ferrand, *Essai*, p. 119 f., and, for the examples here given, p. 36, 41.

of the Cebuan territory, notably in Cebú city and the surrounding towns, an intervocalic *l* of any origin is habitually dropt in colloquial pronunciation, e. g., *baái* (without hiatus) for *balái* 'house,' *saúpi* for *salápi* 'money,' in both of which cases the *l* is original, and *waá* for *walá*, Fr. *il n'y a pas*, where, as shown by Bikol *wará*, the *l* is the RLD consonant. Compare also *gáab* for *gálab* 'sickle' : Bikol *garáb*. So also *dī* for *dīli*, 'not,' *gúa* (or *gúwa*) for *gúla* 'play' (noun and verb), *gúan* (or *gúwañ*) for *gulañ* 'ripe.' On the other hand, just as in the English cockney speech *h* is pronounst where it does not belong, e. g., 'owhever' for 'however,' so in Cebú and vicinity the insertion of a superfluous *l* is fully as common as the loss of *l* illustrated above, e. g., *galamitón* 'utensil' for *gamitón* from the root *gámit* 'use,' *saláusau* for *sáusau* 'splash,' *kalán'on* for *kán'on* 'food,' *ilímnon* for *ímnon* 'drink' from the root *inóm* (or *inúm*). But the Cebuan *l* cockney differs from the English *h* cockney in that the former has not become so fixt and regular as has the latter. The Cebuan's use of *l* where it does not belong is more comparable to the straining for correctness observd in the rustic 'killing chickens in the gardeng on Thanksgiving morning.'

3. *Loss of intervocalic l in Sulu.*³—In Sulu, the speech of the Sulu (Spanish orthograpy Joló) archipelago, which lies to the southwest of Mindanao, original *l* is lost with great regularity between like vowels, with resulting contraction to a single long vowel, e. g., Sula *sā* < IN *sala* 'fault, sin,' Sulu *hās* : Bikol, Bisaya *halas* 'snake,' Sulu *bī* < **bīli* < IN *bēli* 'buy,' Sulu *pī* < IN *pīli* 'choose,' Sulu *ō* (close *o*) < IN *ulu* 'hed,' Sulu *tō* < **tolo* < IN *tēlu* 'three.' Between two dissimilar vowels the *l* is retaind in some words and lost in others without any apparent rule, e. g., Sulu *balik* : Malay *balik* 'return,' *tuli* : Malay *tūli* 'def,' *bulan* : IN *bulan* 'moon,' *walu* < IN *walu* 'eight,' with retention of *l*, but Sulu *ūi* < IN *uli* 'turn,' *tāīna* < IN *talīna* 'ear.' An intervocalic *l* from RLD is also lost in not a few cases, e. g., Sulu *tōg* : Bikol *turóg*, Bisaya (Cebuan) *túlog*, Bagobo *tódog* 'sleep'; Sulu *kauhan* < **ka-luha-an* (Bis. Ceb. *kaluha'án*) 'twenty'

³ Blake, *Contributions to Philippine Grammar*, JAOS. 27 (1906), p. 333, 334, noted the loss of original intervocalic *l* in Tagalog and Sulu: 'An original intervocalic *l* is lost in Tagalog and Sulu,' without any reference to its retention in both languages in cases too numerous to be regarded exceptional.

from *duha*, IN *rua*, *lua*, *dua*, 'two'; but retained in others, e. g., Sulu *tālu* : Bikol *táro*, Bagobo *tádo* 'beeswax.' It is retained in Sulu *walá* 'not yet' (cf. Bikol *wará* 'there is not') but lost in this same word when the suffix *i* is added, Sulu *wāi* < **waai* < **wala-i* 'there is not' (cf. Cebuan *walái*, Samar-Leyte *wardí*). Further examples of retention of the RLD *l* are such common words as Sulu *iloñ* : Malay *hidoñ* 'nose' and Sulu *kāloh* : Malay *gādoh* 'make a noise.'

The loss of intervocalic *l* is much more extensive in Sulu than in any other language of the Philippines, but there is here no cockney use of *l* where it does not belong, as is found in the Cebuan dialect of Bisaya.

4. *Loss of intervocalic l in Tagalog.*—Tagalog loss of intervocalic (original) *l*, while very common, is far from universal, even between like vowels. Many words showing loss of *l* in Sulu retain it in Tagalog, e. g., Tagalog *sála* : Sulu *sā* 'fault, sin,' Tag. *úlo* : Sulu *ō* 'hed,' Tag. *píli* : Sulu *pī* 'choose,' Tag. *bíli* : Sulu *bī* 'barter,' Tag. *suló* : Sulu *sō* 'torch,' Tag. *ulí* : Sulu *ūi* 'turn, repeat.' A few lose in Tagalog an original *l* that is retained in Sulu, e. g., Tag. *búan* : Sulu *búlan* 'moon,' Tag. *túid* (or *túwid*) : Sulu *túlíd* 'straight.' Tagalog does not, like Sulu, contract two like vowels brought together by syncopation of *l*,⁴ but either leaves a hiatus, represented by *hamza*, as in Tag. *da'an* : Bis. *dalan* : Sulu *dān* 'way'; or inserts a secondary *h*, as in Tag. *báhai* : IN *balai* : Sulu *bāi* 'house'; or, in the case of a labial vowel, *u* (*o*), the labial glide *w*, as in Tag. *púwo* : IN *pulu* : Sulu *pō* 'ten.' Sometimes *h* takes the place of the lost *l*, even between *u*-vowels, as in Tag. *úhod* : Bisaya *úlod* : Sulu *ūd* 'worm,' which, however, is in Tagalog more commonly pronounced *úod* or *úwod*.

Tagalog and Sulu agree in retaining *l* between *a* and *i* in *bálik* 'return' and in dropping it between the same two vowels in Tag., Sulu *taíña* < IN *talíña* 'ear.' They also agree in retaining it in *walí* 'eight' and *díla* 'tung.' IN *balu* 'widowed' retains its *l* in Sulu *bālū* and formerly did in Tagalog *bálo*, which, however, has lost the *l* within the last two hundred years, becoming *bāo*. Tag. *walá* 'left (hand)' retains an original *l* between two *a*'s as in Tag. *sála*. In the corresponding

⁴ Cf. Blake, *op. cit.*, p. 333, 334, and Conant, *The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages*, in *Anthropos* 7 (1912), p. 924.

Sulu *lāwa* < *walā* by metathesis, the *l* is retained, as regularly in initial position, the metathesis antedating the Sulu loss of intervocalic *l*.

In the material examined for this study there has been found no example of intervocalic loss of Tagalog *l* of the RLD series. Here again, Tagalog differs from Sulu and the Cebuan 'cockney' in that it seems to preserve a clearer distinction in pronunciation between the *l*'s of different origin.

Tagalog loses final *l* after *i* in a considerable number of root words, e. g., Tag. *biní* : Bis., Bkl. *buñíl* 'def,' where Tag. has *i* regularly for original pepet in both syllables; Tag. *hábi* : Iloko, Pang. *abél*, Pamp. *abál*, Bkl., Bis., Bagobo *hábul* 'weave'; Tag. *katí* : Tir. *katel*, Batán *katex*, Ibk. *katál*, Bis., Bagobo *katúl* 'itch.' Malagasi *hati* 'itch' agrees with Tag. in the loss of final *l*.⁵ In all the above examples the vowel of the final syllable is from pepet. Final *l* is lost after an original *i* in Tag. *tapí* : Phil. *tapil* 'flatten.' But Tag. final *l* is retained in reduplicated bases of the type Tag. *sil-síl* : Phil. *sělsěl* 'repent,' and frequently in other roots, e. g., Tag. *gítíl* 'pluck,' *kípíl* 'pellet.' The Tag. development is doubtless the same as in Fr. *gentil*.

5. *Loss of intervocalic l in Bontok*.⁶—The Bontok Igorots, celebrated for their cultivation of rice by the terracing of their mountainous province in North Luzón, are representatives of the most primitive of the Philippine Malays. Bontok shows loss of intervocalic *l* in a number of words, e. g., Bont. *fúan* < IN *bulan* 'moon,' *fāñi* < IN *balai* 'house,' *ūweg* : Pangasinan *ulég* : Malay *ular* 'snake,' the last example inserting the labial glide *w*, as does Tagalog *puwo* < IN *pulu* 'ten.' In Bontok, 'ten' is generally pronounced *pōo*, but *pōlo* is also heard. The loss is, however, less common in Bontok than in Tagalog. The *l* is retained in Bontok *čálan* : Tag. *dá'an* : Sulu *dān* < Philip. *dalan* 'way'; *tólo* 'three'; *ólo* 'head'; *ili* : Iloko *ili* 'town'; *pīli* 'choose'; *wálo* 'eight'; *čila* : Tag. *díla* 'tung'; *pīlai* < IN *pīlai* 'lame.'

⁵ Cf. Ferrand, *Essai*, p. 121, 122, who also gives examples of loss of final *l* after other vowels in Mlg.

⁶ Authorities consulted for Bontok: Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, in *Ethnological Survey Publications*, vol. 1, Manila, 1905; Clapp, *Vocabulary of the Igorot Language as Spoken by the Bontoc Igorots*, in *Div. of Eth. Pub.*, vol. 5, part 3, Manila, 1908; Seidenadel, *The Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot*, Chicago, 1909.

The *l* that regularly represents the RGH consonant in Bontok⁷ is lost in Bontok *wát* < **uwát* < **uát* < **ulát* : Tag. *ugát* 'vein,' but retained in Bontok *falá* : Tag. *bagá* : Iloko *bará* 'lung.'

Bontok changes final *l* to *i* in *aföi* : Pang. *abel* 'weave'; *kätöi* : Ibk. *katál* 'itch.'

6. *Loss of intervocalic l in Kankanai.*⁸ The language of the Kankanai Igorots of the sub-province of Benguet, North Luzón, drops intervocalic *l* in Kankanai (*sim*)*pó* < IN *pulu* 'ten'; *búwan* : IN *bulan* 'moon'; *waó* < IN *walu* 'eight'; but retains it in *dila* 'tung,' and in *toló* 'three.' The RGH consonant regularly becomes *l* in Kankanai.⁹ This *l* is lost in Kankanai *uwat* : IN *urat*, *ugat*, *uhat* 'vein,' which, like Kankanai *búwan*, has the labial glide *w*.

7. *Loss of intervocalic l in Samal.*¹⁰ The language of Samal Island, Gulf of Davao, South Mindanao, quite regularly drops intervocalic *l*, e. g., Samal *toó* < **tolo* < IN *tělu* 'three'; *makasasaá* : Phil. *makasala* 'sinner,' without contraction of the concurrent like vowels, but *po* < **polo* < IN *pulu* 'ten' with contraction; *waó* : IN *walu* 'eight.'

Loss of original *l* is rather rare elsewhere in Indonesia and Polynesia. In Indonesian territory, the Vonum¹¹ dialect of Formosa regularly loses intervocalic *l*, and may lose it initially also, e. g., Vonum *ima* 'hand' beside *hima* 'five,' both from IN *lima* (see below, par. 12). Botel Tobago (the speech of an island of that name S. of Formosa) loses intervocalic *l* in some words and changes it to *r* in others. Initially it is *l* or *r*. In Polynesian territory there is one language, that of the Marquesas Islands, which loses original *l* in all positions.

⁷ See my *RGH Law in Philippine Languages*, JAOS. 31 (1910), p. 78.

⁸ Scheerer, *The Batán Dialect as a Member of the Philippine Group of Languages*, in *Div. of Ethnol. Pub., Bu. of Science*, vol. 5, part 1, Manila, 1908, was furnisht a Kankanai word list by Mariano Lagasca of Kapangan village. In 1903 I collected a list of fifty words from eight Kankanai boys at Baguio, Benguet.

⁹ Cf. Conant, *RGH Law*, p. 73, 74.

¹⁰ Material from Montano, *Rapport à M. le ministre de l'instruction publique sur une mission aux îles Philippines et en Malaisie* (1879-1881), Paris, 1885.

¹¹ Material for Vonum and Botel Tobago from Scheerer, *Batán Dialect*. Brandstetter, *Lauterscheiningen*, p. 32, cites Boano *bae* (IN *balai*) 'house.'

VONUM	BOTEL TOBAGO	MARQUESAS ¹²	INDONESIAN	
vão	wao	vau	walu	eight
	pou or po	huu	pulu	ten
tão	a turu	tou	tělu	three
ima or hima	lima or rima	iima	lima	five
taiña		puaina	taliña	ear

The Melanesian languages of British New Guinea¹³ quite regularly lose an original *l* in all positions, e. g., *toi*, *koi*, *oi* (IN *tělu*); *ima*, *imaima* (IN *lima*); *taia*, *kaia*, *haia* (IN *taliña*) 'ear.'

An Indo-European parallel is the regular loss of intervocalic *l* in Portuguese, e. g., *ceo* < *caelu*, *só* < *solu*, *voar* < *volare*, where like vowels contract as in Sulu.

8. *Original l in Mandaya.*¹⁴ The Mandaya speech of East Mindanao loses *l* in Mandaya *óo* < IN *ulu* 'hed'; *dan* < Phil. *dalan* 'way'; *buahan* : Bisaya *bulahan* 'fortunate'; *kawá* : Banuáon *kawalá* (*ka*+*wala*, cf. Tag., Bis., Bkl. *walá*) 'left (hand),' but retains it in *atúli* : Bkl., Iloko *tulí* 'earwax' and *taliña* 'lug, projection' : Bkl. *taliña* 'ear, lug.' Final *l* regularly becomes *i* in Mandaya, e. g., *buibúi* : Tag., Bis., etc. *bulbúl* 'pubic hair'; *ábui* : Bis., Bkl. *hábol* 'weave.' Furthermore, this tendency to palatalize *l* to *i* or *y* is seen even in intervocalic position, where, in some words *l* may be either lost or changed to *y*, e. g., Mandaya *sáup* or *sáyup* : Bis *sálop* 'set (of heavenly bodies)'; *páyad* or *pái'ad* : Tag., Bis., Pampanga *pálad* 'palm (of hand),' another example of Tag. retention of *l* between like vowels. The change of *l* to *i* or *y* is regular in Palau (Caroline Islands),¹⁵ e. g., Palau *búiel* < IN *bulan* 'moon' and Palau *púi* < IN *bulu* 'pubic hair,' which is exactly parallel with Mandaya *buibúi* given above, this being the reduplicated IN *bul(u)bul(u)*.

¹² Examples from Mosblech, *Vocabulaire océanien-français et français-océanien des dialectes parlés aux îles Marquises, Sandwich, Gambier, etc.*, Paris, 1843.

¹³ Ray, *The Languages of British New Guinea*, in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 24 (1894) p. 15-39, and *Polynesian Linguistics: Past and Future*, in *Journ. Polyn. Soc.*, 21, no. 2, p. 65-76.

¹⁴ Material furnished by Mr. J. M. Garvan to Mr. E. E. Schneider for his *Notes on the Mangyan Language*, in *Phil. Journ. of Sci.*, vol. 7, no. 3, sec. D, Manila, 1912.

¹⁵ Cf. Conant, *Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language*, JAOS. 35 (1915), p. 8, 9.

For *l* > *i* or *y* in Isinai, see 9. Brandstetter¹⁶ has pointed out the change of intervocalic *l* to *y* in Bare'e (Central Celebes), e. g., Bare'e *jaya* : Malay *jalan*, Bis. *dalan* 'way.' For Indo-European analogies, compare the French *l* (*ll*) *moûillé* and the change of Latin *ll* to American Spanish *y* as in *caballo*, American pronunciation *cabayo*. The same change occurs in certain of the Finno-Ugrian languages.¹⁷

9. *Original l in Isinai*.¹⁸ The speech of the Isinai mountaineers of central North Luzón retains original *l* unchanged except when brot into contact with an initial consonant thru loss of an intervening atonic vowel, in which case the *l* becomes *i* (*y*), e. g. Isinai *tiu* < **tlu* < IN *tělu* 'three'; *piu* < IN *pulu* 'ten'; *lia'i* < **lla'i* < *lalaki* reduplicated form of IN *laki* 'male'; *wiu* (or *weu*) < IN *walu* 'eight.'

10. *Original l in Sambali*. Sambali, spoken in the province of Zambales, West coast of North Luzón, is divided into several dialects. One of these, that spoken in and around the village of Bolinao, regularly changes original *l* to *r*. It also regularly has *r* in all cases where the other Sambali dialects hav a non-original *l*. The words in the following table ar taken from Reed.¹⁹

SAMBALI OF BOLINAO SAMBALI OF IBA SAMBALI-AETA

óro	ólo	ólo	hed
díra	díla	díla	tung
ráñit	lánit	lánit	sky
búran	búlan	búan	moon
táro	tólo	tátlo	three
káro	kálo	kálo	eight
ríma	líma	líma	five
púro	pólo	po	ten

The above examples show original *l*; the following the *l* of the RLD series.

¹⁶ *Lauterscheinungen*, p. 32.

¹⁷ Cf. Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 43.

¹⁸ Cf. Conant, *Grammatical Notes on the Isinai Language*, JAOS. 35 (1915), p. 290.

¹⁹ W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, in *Ethnol. Surv. Pub.*, 2 (1904), part 1.

SAMBALI OF

BOLINAO

rúa

sára

báker

ránom

SAMBALI OF IBA

lúa

ríla

bákil

lánom

SAMBALI-AETA

lúa

híla

bákil

lánom

two

they

mountain

water

In the Sambali-Aeta we have again sporadic loss of intervocalic *l*, as seen in *búan* and *po* of the above table.

In several Indonesian languages original *l* becomes *r* by assimilation to an *r* of the same word. Languages regularly showing this assimilation are Toba, Ngaju (Dayak), Malagasi, Iloko, Bikol, Tirurai, and Bagobo, the last four of which are Philippine languages. Examples are Toba, Ngaju *rayar* beside Malay *layar*, Tag. *layag* 'sail'; Toba *rarat*, Malagasi *raratrâ* beside Malay *larat* 'scatter'; Iloko, Toba, Ngaju *ruar* beside Sundanese *luar* 'outside, except'; Bikol *râra* beside Samar Bisaya *lâra* 'weave matting'; Tirurai *rebur* beside Malay *lebur* 'roil, disturb' (where final *r* in both Tirurai and Malay is the RGH consonant); Bagobo, Tirurai *roros* beside Samar Bisaya *loros* 'lower (sail, etc.).' In all these languages *l* becomes *r* only under assimilative influence, the change not being spontaneous as in the cases under special consideration in this paper.

In the Gayo²⁰ language of Sumatra, *r* often stands in the place of Indonesian *l* as the result of metathesis according to the following rule: In Gayo words having both *l* and *r*, the order of the two liquids must be *rl*, never *lr*. If the liquids stand in the order *lr* in other languages, metathesis takes place in Gayo.

Arabic, Malay *lahir*Gayo *rahil* evidentMalay *larat*Gayo *ralat* extend, spreadMalay *luruh*, Toba *ruru*Gayo *ruluh* fall (as leaves)

In a large number of Formosan dialects *l* quite regularly becomes *r* in all positions. In a smaller number it sometimes remains and is sometimes changed to *r*. A dialect in which the change is regular is the Favorlang, e. g., Favorlang *rima* 'hand' (IN *lima*); *tarran*²¹ (Bisaya *dâlan*) 'way'; *torroa* (IN *têlu*) 'three'; *čarrina* (IN *talina*) 'ear'; *tazirra* (Bis. *dila*) 'tung.'

²⁰ Hazen, *Gajösch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Batavia, 1907.

²¹ The Favorlang words here given are copied from Rev. Wm. Campbell's edition of Happart's *Favorlang Vocabulary*, London, 1896. For further examples of *l* > *r* in Formosan dialects, see Scheerer's comparative list of Philippine and Formosan numerals in his *Batán Dialect*, table I, opp. p. 89.

Among the scores of Borneo languages and dialects compared in Ray's monumental work²² there are a dozen dialects of the so-called Land Dayaks of the south-western corner of Sarawak, West Borneo, that, with varying regularity, change original *l* to *r*. Only one of the Land Dayak dialects given by Ray, the Milikin, retains the *l* in all positions.

DIALECT	<i>five</i>	<i>sky</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>bone</i>	<i>skin</i>	<i>tung</i>
Lara	rima	lañit	taru	turañ	kurit	—
Lundu	rimo	—	taru	tulañ	kulit	jera
Krokong	—	loñit	—	turañ	kurit	jora
Singhi	rimüch	röñit	taruch	turañ	kurit	jorah
Grogo	limo	lañit	taru	tulañ	kulit	jora
Sennah	—	rañgit (rañit)	—	turach'n (turañ)	kurit	jěrah
Quop	rimüh	rañit	taru	turañ	kurit	jura
Sentah	rimüch	lañit	taruch	tulañ	kurit	jura
Beta	rimüh	rañit	taruh	turañ	kurit	jura
Sau	limo	loñit	taru	—	—	jurah
Sadong	rimöch	rañit	taru	turañ	—	jeli
Milikin	—	lañit	—	tulon	kulit	delah
Bunau	—	riñit	—	—	kurid	—

Of the Polynesian languages, the Tahitian and the Rapanui (Easter Island)²³ regularly change *l* to *r*, e. g., Tah., Rap. *rima* 'five'; Tah. *fare*, Rap. *hare* : IN *balai* 'house'; Tah., Rap. *varu* : IN *walu* 'eight.'

For Indo-European changes of original *l* to *r*, compare the Indo-Iranian *r* < I. E. *l*, e. g., Sansk. *rócate* 'shines' : Avestan *raocah* 'light' : O. Persian *rauča*^h 'day' : Armenian *lois* 'light' : Gr. *λευκός* 'white' : Lat. *lūx* : Gothic *liuhap*, 'light' : Lithuanian *laũkas* 'pale light.' Compare especially the Sanskrit confusion of *l* and *r*, even in the same root, e. g., Sansk. *rócate* 'shines,' but *locana* 'eye.' For Romance, compare the Rumanian and Portuguese change of Latin *l* to *r* under certain conditions, e. g., Rum. *care* < Lat. *quale*; Port. *prazo* : Span. *plazo* < Lat. *placitum*.

²² Ray, Sidney H., *The Languages of Borneo*, in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, vol. 1, no. 4 (November, 1913).

²³ Cf. Jaussen, *Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue maorie, dialecte tahitien*, Paris, 1860, and Churchill, *The Rapanui Speech and the Peopling of Southeast Polynesia*, Washington, 1912.

The non-existence of *l* in the Japanese is well known. All Chinese loan words having the sound *l* change this to *r* in Japanese.

The reverse is the case in Chinese, which, in most dialects of importance, has only *l*.

In Korean, the same character is used for *l* and *r*, showing that the two sounds were originally not sufficiently distinct to require different symbols.

11. *Original l in Inibaloi*.²⁴ The Ibaloi Igorots of the sub-province of Benguet, North Luzón, regularly change an initial *l* to *d*. In this Inibaloi agrees with Merina and other *dialectes à dentale*²⁵ of Madagascar.

	INIBALOI	MERINA	
IN laki	daɣi	dahi	male
IN lima	dima	dimi	five
IN lahit	dañit	dañitrã	sky

Other examples for IN initial *l* in Inibaloi are *dana* : Phil. *lana* 'oil'; *daman* : Tag., Pamp. *laman* 'flesh'; *duson* : Tag. *luson* 'mortar.'

Inibaloi is very closely related to the Pangasinan, its next-door neighbor to the South. A Pangasinan *l* of any origin is treated like original *l* in Inibaloi, e. g., Inib. *dúpa* : Pang. *lúpa* : Malay, Toba *rupa* < Sansk. *rūpa* 'face.' This is, of course, not the RLD consonant, which would become *d* initially in Pangasinan, as in *duá* 'two,' but is the RL consonant seen in *ribu*, *libu* 'thousand,' *surat*, *sulat* 'write' and in many words borrowed from Sanskrit and Arabic.

Any Pangasinan *l*, original or otherwise, becomes *d* in Inibaloi when in contact with *i*, except after *či* < *dī* (*d* of RLD), e. g., Inibaloi *idóko* : Pang., Iloko *ilóko* 'Iloko'; *Manida* : Pang. *Manila* 'Manila'; *tañida* < IN *talina* 'ear' by metathesis, cf. Magindanao *tañila*; *sadí* : Pang. *salí* 'foot'; but *čilá* : Pang. etc. *dílá* 'tung.' Evidently, the Inibaloi change of initial *d* (RLD) to *č* was later than that of *l* > *d*, the retention of the original *l* in Inibaloi speech being at first to avoid the repetition of the dental in such a form as **dida*. The *l* thus remained long

²⁴ Scheerer, *The Nabaloi Dialect*, in *Ethnol. Surv. Pub.*, vol. 2, part 2, Manila 1905, p. 102, has called attention to the Inibaloi change of *l* to *d*.

²⁵ See Ferrand, *op. cit.*, *Introduction*, p. xlii.

enuf to establish itself permanently before the change $d > \check{c}$ had taken place. The same change of *l* to *d* in contact with *i* is regular in Batán. (See below, 12.)

But a large number of cases of Inibaloi change of *l* to *d* in non-initial position are found alongside a smaller number in which the *l* remains unchanged.

INIBALOI	NON-INIBALOI	
badat	Tag., Pamp. balat	skin
eɣduk	Tag. itlog	egg
Igúdut	Pang. Igólot	Igorot
takdai	Pang. taklai	arm
sudat	Pang. surat, Tag., Malay surat	write
bado	Pang. balo, Tag. bago	new
abada	Pang. abala, Ilk. abaga	shoulder

With *l* unchanged:

INIBALOI	NON-INIBALOI	
bulan	IN bulan	moon
gualo	IN walu	eight
pulo	IN pulu	ten
balo	IN balu	widowed
čala	Pang. dala, Ilk. daga	blood

12. *Original l in Batán.*²⁶ The Batán language, spoken on the three islands, Batán, Sabtang, and Ivuho, lying off the North coast of Luzón, changes original *l* to χ at the end of a syllable, to *h* before vowels except when preceded or followed by *i*, and to *d* in contact with *i* when a vowel follows.

Examples of Batán $\chi < \text{IN } l$:

²⁶ Sources: Scheerer, *Batán Dialect*; Dominican missionaries (not named), *Nu Mapia Amigo anmana Devocioanrio du chirin nu Ibatán*, Manila, 1901; *Visitas du Santísimo caní Santa María*, Manila, 1901; Franco de Paula and Nicolás Castaño, *Diccionario Español y Batán* (Date and place uncertain. About two hundred items of this work have been copied by Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, Vol. 2, Madrid, 1896, (Prólogo, p. xiii-xix); José Rodríguez, *Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana*, Manila, 1834 (reprinted by Retana, *op. cit.*, p. 260-306); *Diccionario Español-Ibatán por Varios PP. Dominicos Misioneros de las Islas Batanes*, ed. by Scheerer, Manila, 1914; Conant, a list of two hundred words compiled at Aparri and Clavería, North coast of Luzón, 1904, 1905. The Batán change of *l* to *h* or χ was pointed out in my *RGH Law*, p. 82, and *Pepet*

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
akteχ	Mgd. katcl, Ib. katal, Bis. katul	itch
seχseχ	Pang. selsel, Bis. sulsul, Ib. tattal	repent
tuχtuχ	Ib. *tuttul (<tultul)	forge
aχpet	Ilk. lipit	cover
iχtau	Tag. litau	float

The first example and the last two show secondary metathesis in the first syllable, a very common trait of Batán, in which respect it closely resembles Pampanga.²⁷

Examples of Batán *h* < IN *l*:

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
hañít	IN lañit	sky
hakái	IN laki	male
husuñ	Tag. lusoñ	mortar
vahái (bahái)	IN balai	house
wahó	IN walu	eight
uhó	IN ulu	hed
tuhai	IN tulai	bone

Examples of Batán *ɖ* < IN *l* in contact with *i*:

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
dima	IN lima, cf. Inib. dima, Mlg. dimi	five
disaa	Tag. lisá, Ilk. lis'á	nit
dičod	Tag. likód	back
divun	Bis. libón	surround
tadiña	IN taliña	ear
padit	IN palit	sell
rida	Tag., Bis. dila	tung

Law in Philippine Languages, in *Anthropos*, vol. 7 (1912), p. 940. Batán *h* and *χ* are both represented in Span. orthography by *j* in all the works given above except the two printed by Retana, where *g* is everywhere employed. It was on the basis of these two sources that Blake, *op. cit.*, p. 334, speaks of the change of *l* to *g*. Brandstetter, *Lauterscheinnungen*, p. 32, also still quotes Batán as one of the several languages changing *l* to *g*, doubtless on the basis of the same material. Scheerer, in his *Notas sobre la fonología del Batán* introducing his edition of the *Diccionario Español-Ibatán*, has stated the rule (pp. xv, xvi) as to Batán *h* and *χ*, but makes no reference to the *l* > *ɖ* change, tho he has accidentally given an example of it under another hed (*tadiña* par. ii).

²⁷ Cf. my *Monosyllabic Roots in Pampanga*, JAOS. 31 (1911), p. 390.

BATAN	NON-BATAN	
pidai	Tag., Ibk. pilai	lame
idi	Ilk. ili	town
vidi	Tag. bili	buy
pidi	IN pili	choose

Original *l* also appears to become *d* in the combination *tl* before any vowel, cf. Batán *tatdú* < **tatlu* < **tetlu* 'three' and *atden* < **atlen* < Phil. *těln* 'swallow.' The same root *těln* appears in Batán *tetexnan* 'gullet' with reduplication of the first syllable and the locativ suffix *-an* : *te-texn-an* < **te-teln-an*, lit. 'place of swallowing,' in which form the *l* becomes *x* according to rule.

The *l* > *h*(*χ*) development is quite rare in Indonesian.* Brandstetter²⁸ says *l* becomes *h* in Formosan dialects in certain cases and gives as example 'Fm. *uho*' (IN *ulu*) without naming any dialect. Scheerer²⁹ gives the same word, *uho*, as the word for 'hed' in the dialect cald Pei Po Kuvarawan. But all the other words of that dialect cited by Scheerer show *r* for original *l*, e. g. *vūran* (IN *bulan*), *waru* (IN *walu*), *rima* (IN *lima*), except *tusu* (IN *tělu*) 'three' whose *s* is doubtless due to analogy, the *s* of PPK *isa* 'one' being first extended to *dusa* (IN *rua*, *lua dua*) 'two,' a thing which has taken place in sixteen other Formosan dialects, according to the examples given by Scheerer, and one step farther in this particular dialect, giving *tusu* insted of **туру* which we should expect. A glance at Scheerer's table of the cardinal numerals in Formosan dialects shows so great a prevalence of the *l* > *r* change as to make it well-nigh a characteristic of Formosan speech. In looking over the entire Formosan material of Scheerer's remarkable collation, I find only one other example of *h* in the place of IN *l*, that of Vonum *hima* (IN *lima*), in which dialect *l* is regularly lost, e. g., *ima* 'hand,' *voan* (IN *bulan*) 'moon,' *tāo* (IN *tělu*) 'three,' *vāo* (IN *walu*) 'eight' (cf. 7, above).

In view, therefore, of the isolated *h* of PPK *uho* (IN *ulu*), which is possibly erroneously written for *uro*, and of Vonum *ima* beside *hima* (IN *lima*) 'five' or 'hand,' showing that, even initially, *l* does not always become *h* in Vonum, it would appear that a Formosan *l* > *h* change is too uncertain to justify its citation as an example. On the other hand these same dialects

²⁸ *Lauterscheiningen*, p. 32.

²⁹ *Batán Dialect*, p. 44.

might well have been used by Brandstetter to exemplify the $l > r$ change instead of Toba, where the change is not spontaneous, but due to assimilation, e. g., Toba *rapar* (Mal. *lapar*), and hence occurring only in words having an assimilating *r*.

13. *Original l in Ilongot (Egongot).*³⁰ In Ilongot, the speech of a very primitive tribe of the North Luzón mountains, Indonesian *l* regularly becomes *g*, as indicated in the native pronunciation of the tribal name itself, *Igongot* or *Egongot*.

ILONGOT	NON-ILONGOT	
tego	IN tēlu	three
gema 'hand'	IN lima	five
gake	IN laki	male
üge	IN uli	again, back
degin	Pang. dālin	earth
tegteg	Pang., Ilk. selsél,	crush, squeeze,
	Tag. silsil, Bis. sulsúl,	make penitent
	Pamp. salsál, Ib. tattál,	
	Batan sexsex	

In the last example, *tegteg*, where the vowel is from IN *pepet*, Ilongot changes IN *s* to *t*, as in Ilongot *ta-m-poo* (Pang. *sam-polo*) lit. 'one ten,' where *ta* < IN *sa*, the accentless by-form of IN *ěsa* 'one,' and as in Ilongot *ta-m-bian* 'five,' lit. 'one portion,' where *bian* is identical with Pang. *bian* 'to apportion.' Ilongot *poo* (IN *pulu*) points to a sporadic loss of intervocalic *l*, presumably only between like vowels.

14. *Recapitulation.*—(a) Original *l* remains unchanged in the majority of Austronesian languages and also in the majority of Philippine idioms, notwithstanding the considerable number in which it is lost or changed (1).

³⁰ The Ilongot words are taken from a MS copy in my possession of an old manuscript *Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana en Egongot* revised at Bantangan, Principe (now Tayabas) Province, 1792, by three friars, Casimiro de Tembleque, Tomás Martí, and Francisco de la Zarza. This catechism has been published by Blumentritt, *Katechismus der katholischen Glaubenslehre in der Ilongoten-Sprache verfasst von P. Fray Francisco de la Zarza, in Druck gelegt und mit Aequivalenten des Ilongot-Textes in spanischer, beziehungsweise tagalischer und maguindanauischer Sprache*, Vienna, 1893. Scheerer, in an interesting article *On a Quinary Notation among the Ilongot of Northern Luzón*, in *Phil. Journ. of Sci.*, 6 (1911), p. 47-49, has called attention to the Ilongot change $l > g$.

(b) Loss of intervocalic *l* occurs in the *l*-cockney speech of the Bisaya of Cebú city and vicinity (2), in the Sulu language, with resulting contraction of like vowels (3), in Tagalog, but without resulting contraction of like vowels, the lost *l* being replaced in some words by a breathing (*h*) or by a labial semi-vowel (*w*) as a glide (4), in Bontok with varied treatment of the concurrent vowels (5), as also in Kankanai (6), Samal (7), and Mandaya (8). In non-Philippine Austronesian territory the same loss is observed in the Formosan dialects Vonum and Botel Tobago, in Boano, in the speech of the Marquesas islanders (7), and in a number of Melanesian languages of New Guinea (7). For Indo-European, the same loss is regular in Portuguese (7).

(c) Final *l* is often lost after *i* in Tagalog, with which is compared the Malagasi loss of final *l* and the French final *l-mouillé* of *gentil* (4). This development is of the same nature as the change of *l* to *i* (*y*) summarized in the following paragraph.

(d) Original *l* becomes *i* (*y*) in Bontok, when final (5), in Mandaya regularly in final position and frequently between vowels (8), and under certain conditions in Isinai (9). Beyond Philippine territory, the same change is regular in intervocalic position in Bare'e, and in all positions in Palau (Caroline Is.) except in the combination *bl*. Indo-European parallels to this change are the French *l* (*ll*)-*mouillé* and the American *y* pronunciation of Spanish *ll*. Certain Finno-Ugrian languages show the same change.

(e) Original *l* becomes *r* in the Bolinao dialect of Sambali (10). Where *r* appears in place of *l* in the Philippine languages Iloko, Bikol, Tirurai, and Bagobo, the change is due to assimilation with an *r* of the same word, as is the case in Toba, Ngaju, and Malagasi. In non-Philippine Austronesian territory, *l* becomes *r* in a number of Formosan and Borneo languages and in two Polynesian languages, Tahitian and Rapanui. Indo-European parallels to the *l* > *r* change are found in Sanskrit, Avestan, Persian, Rumanian, and Portuguese. In Japanese all *l*'s become *r*, and in Korean the same character is used for both liquids (10).

(f) Original *l* becomes *d* in Inibaloi, regularly in initial position and frequently in other positions (11), and in Batán when in contact with *i* and when followed by a vowel (12). In extra-Philippine territory the same change takes place in the *dialec-*

tes à dentale of Madagascar (1, 11). Batán changes *tl* to *td* before any vowel (12).

(g) Original *l* becomes *χ* at the end of a syllable in Batán (12).

(h) Original *l* becomes *h* in Batán before a vowel, except when preceded or followed by *i* (12).

(i) Original *l* becomes *g* in Ilongot (13).

15. *Conclusion*.—It has been the object in the preparation of this paper, merely to trace and classify the various sounds evolved from original *l* within Philippine territory, with some reference to similar changes elsewhere in Austronesia and in other families of speech. The treatment of any non-original *l* (from RLD, RGH, or RL) has been purposely avoided except in those cases where all *l*'s have fallen together and suffered the same later development.

Sources of the Philosophy of the Upaniṣads.—By FRANKLIN EDGERTON, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

The more I study the Upaniṣads, the more I become impressed with two things:

1. The Upaniṣads as a whole proclaim no philosophical system, nor anything that even remotely resembles a single, unified philosophical system. And:

2. Every idea contained in at least the older Upaniṣads, with almost no exceptions, is not new to the Upaniṣads, but can be found set forth, or at least *very* clearly foreshadowed, in the older Vedic texts.

Neither of these propositions is new. Probably most occidental scholars would subscribe to both. Yet—to speak of the first proposition first—there is noticeable in our standard authorities an almost irresistible tendency to systematize and correlate the things that are said in the Upaniṣads—things which, as I hold, are to a very large extent incapable of being systematized and correlated. This tendency appears not only in such Hindu philosophers as Čaṃkara, who assumes in advance that the Upaniṣads are school-texts of the Vedānta philosophy, and, Procrustes-like, makes them fit that pattern, frequently in defiance of the plain meaning of the passages. It is only somewhat less prominent in Deussen, who must needs construct for the Upaniṣads a system centering about the *Brāhman-Ātmán*, interpreted in terms of Schopenhauer. I have a great admiration for the work of Deussen, which in fact I consider almost the only existing careful and detailed treatment of Upaniṣadic thought which is worthy of serious consideration. But valuable as the work is, it suffers severely from this over-systematization, and especially from the introduction of Schopenhauerian ideas which are wholly foreign to the originals. Among these I am constrained to count Deussen's monstrous (no other word will suffice) definition of the *original* meaning of the word *brāhman*—'the Will of Man as it strives upward to the Holy, the Divine' ('der zum Heiligen, Göttlichen emporstrebende Wille des Menschen').¹ Deussen is not so blind as to maintain that this is the universal meaning of the word when used philosophically, nor is he so philologically

¹ Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, 1. 1, p. 241.

foolish as to try to explain away the passages where it does not mean that (*à la* Çamkara); but he holds that in such passages the Hindus have fallen from grace, have proved untrue to the originally lofty concept of the *bráhman*. And this is characteristic of his general interpretation of the Upaniṣads. In so far as they do not fit into his assumption of what their 'original' or 'primary' doctrine is, he thinks they have fallen from grace, departed from a previously occupied loftier position.

Now as to *bráhman*, while I should not wish to be first to define its original meaning, I am certain that it was not 'der zum Heiligen, Göttlichen emporstrebende Wille des Menschen,' nor anything remotely suggested by such words. If, in the course of the development of Indian thought, it finally comes to have a connotation not so very far removed from Deussen's definition, that can only be a late and secondary development; and it is certainly not (as it seems to me) characteristic of the older Upaniṣads.

And as with the meaning of the individual word *bráhman*, just so it is with the thought of the Upaniṣads as a whole. Deussen finds 'den eigentlichen Geist der Upaniṣadlehre' in the Vedāntic Idealism, which he sees fully developed in the oldest Upaniṣads—inclusively of the doctrine of the unreality of the empiric world (*māyā*), which, he insists, characterizes the oldest and purest form of Upaniṣad teachings.² Of course he recognizes—and sets forth very fully, and with all his customary sharpness of insight and depth of erudition—that it is only comparatively seldom that this 'Idealism' is clearly and consistently set forth. But all the passages which are inconsistent with it—and whose doctrines he pigeonholes under the convenient tags of 'Pantheism,' 'Cosmogonism,' 'Theism,' 'Atheism,' and 'Deism'—all these he regards as degenerations of the original and fundamental idea, or rather instances of falling-away from it, due to the feebleness and frailty of the human intellect, which was frequently unable to hold fast to that lofty summit of idealistic philosophy.

I may say in passing that I cannot agree with Deussen in finding this Vedāntic Idealism, fully developed, at all in the older Upaniṣads. I mean specifically in the *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka* or the *Chāndogya*, which are usually (and without any question rightly) regarded as the oldest. I do not believe that the doctrine of *māyā*—of the unreality of the empiric universe—appears in

² Op. cit. 148 ff., 206 ff.

them at all, except in one or two verses now imbedded in the Brhad-Āraṇyaka, which all scholars, including Deussen himself, agree in considering later interpolations. When the Brhad-Āraṇyaka and the Chāndogya say that 'there is really only One that is, in very truth,' or words to that effect, they do not mean that the Many have no existence; that was a further step that was taken only later. What they do mean it would take too long to discuss in this paper. It is the less necessary to dwell on this question, whether the *māyā*-doctrin is found in the oldest Upaniṣads, for the reason that it has been fully and ably discussed, and to my mind conclusively decided in the negative, by Professor Oldenberg, in his latest book.³

Anyhow, this is a digression. What I am now discussing is not whether Deussen is right or wrong as to the exact age of some particular doctrin. It is rather the general point of view which he sets forth, that the Upaniṣads contain fundamentally a System—from which they frequently fall away, to be sure, but which is always more or less present in the background or as a starting-point. Reading Deussen on the Upaniṣads you never are allowed to forget the doctrin which to him is 'der eigentliche Geist der Upaniṣadlehre'—namely, that the one and only reality is the individual human soul.

Now to my mind there is no such definite doctrin of which it could be said that it is 'der eigentliche Geist der Upaniṣaden.' The genuine spirit of the Upaniṣads as a whole may be said to express itself in a general tendency—rather an unconscious and blind urging than a settled fact or a deliberate argument—to search for some one single unitary principle, on the basis of which, in some way or other, the multifariousness of the world as it presents itself to us may be explained—or at least which may, by its very existence, constitute a sort of bond of union between the individual parts of that multifariousness. But is not this 'der eigentliche Geist' of almost all philosophy? Genuinely dualistic or pluralistic systems of philosophy are hard to find; the classical Indian Sāṃkhya may perhaps be regarded as an almost isolated example. To say, then, that the Upaniṣads generally seem to be seeking for a unitary principle of reality, is scarcely more than to say that they are interested in philosophic problems. And any narrower or more exact definition of the 'genuine spirit of the

³ *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, 1915 (p. 89 ff.).

Upaniṣads' would fail to describe properly the attitude of the Upaniṣads as a whole. In short, as soon as we ask how the Upaniṣads conceive this One Principle or Thing, and what its relations are to the empiric universe, we find the most varied answers. The Upaniṣads have no permanent point of view in regard to these questions, but on the contrary are constantly shifting the viewpoint—constantly reconsidering and attacking from new angles the same old problem. They are tentative and experimental, not fixed and final. They are philosophy in the making. They never seem to feel that they have found the ultimate truth. Or if they seem momentarily to feel so from time to time, one only needs to read on to the next paragraph to find that the position assumed with a semblance of satisfaction and finality is given up, and another position, wholly inconsistent with the former, is assumed with regard to the same problem. And this fluidity or fluctuation is the essential thing about them. It is not to be regarded as departure from a norm. There is no norm to depart from.

The names for the One found in the Upaniṣads—which is another way of saying the ways in which the authors try to formulate It and its relation to the world and to themselves—are numerous. We are told in all the books—latest of all in Oldenberg⁴—that the two names *brāhman* and *ātmán* are so predominantly the favorites that other expressions are negligible in comparison. I cannot find that this is so, at least in the older Upaniṣads. It is true that *brāhman* and *ātmán* are both common expressions for the One. Perhaps no other single expression is as common as either *brāhman* or *ātmán*. Nevertheless, the idea is expressed in a large variety of other ways, the collective number of whose occurrences would perhaps considerably exceed the combined number of occurrences of *brāhman* and *ātmán*. I have collected no statistics on this point, as yet; I am here stating my own impression merely. But take a single instance—the very famous Sixth Prapāṭhaka of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad—famous perhaps principally because it contains the always-quoted *tat tvam asi* (a phrase, by the way, which is often mistranslated, and whose importance I think is overrated).⁵ This is a passage of

⁴ Op. cit., p. 44 ff.

⁵ The entire phrase is: *sa ya eṣa aṇimā, āitadātmyam idaṃ sarvaṃ, tat satyam, sa ātmā, tat tvam asi gvetaketo*, 'what that subtle essence is, a state-of-having-that (-*aṇimā*)-as-its-essence is this universe, that is the Real, that is the Soul (Self, human soul), that (*aṇimā*, subtle essence) art

some length, and is all about the One, its nature, and its relation to the world and to man. The word *brāhman* does not once occur in its entire length, and tho the word *ātman* occurs, it can hardly be said to occur as a name for the One. As used in this passage *ātman* means rather the human soul, simply—the self, in the old original sense of the word. The favorite—and I may fairly say exclusive—name for the One in this passage is *Sat*—the Existent (also described as *sa aṇimā*, ‘that subtle essence’).

Much is made of the equation *brāhman* = *ātman*, interpreted as meaning world-soul = individual soul, and usually said to constitute the corner-stone of Upaniṣad teachings. Without denying the importance of this equation, I think it should be remembered that an equation of this or any other kind is by no means such a serious and important matter to the Vedic Hindus as it is to us. In the Brāhmaṇas, as Deussen says, ‘alles mögliche wird mit allem möglichen gleichgesetzt.’ And this tendency to endless—and usually very shallow—identifications of everything possible with everything else possible is quite as prominent in what we call the filosofic passages as anywhere else—from the filosofic hymns of the Atharva Veda, clear thru to the Upaniṣads. In particular, names which are intended to be applied to the One are constantly identified with all other known names that had previously been suggested for the same concept. Thus, to mention one early example, in the Rohita hymn, AV. 13. 2, vs. 39, we are told—

rōhitāḥ kālō abhavad rōhitō 'gre prajāpatiḥ

‘Rohita was Time, Rohita was Prajāpati in the beginning’; and in adjacent verses of this hymn, as in the other Rohita hymns, Rohita—here the Supreme One—is identified with numerous other things and concepts, some filosofical, some not. In short, for a Hindu to say that one thing equals another doesn’t in itself mean much; and as far as the early Upaniṣads are concerned, I do not find that the equation of *brāhman* with *ātman* is so common or so pointed as to justify any other inference than that both these words are familiar expressions for the One—along with many others.

thou, Ç.’ The phrase is frequently represented as meaning ‘thou art (the) That,’ as if *Tat* were itself (as it sometimes is) a name for the One; but here *tat* is simply an ordinary demonstrative pronoun, referring back to *aṇimā*.

The fact is, I believ, that no one would hav thot of giving this all-surpassing prominence to the *bráhman* and the *ātmán*—as individual expressions—in the older Upaniṣads, at any rate, were it not for the fact that later Hindu filosofy—the Vedānta especially—makes so much of them. Now this fact undoubtedly makes the erly history of these two words exceptionally interesting from the point of view of the developement of Hindu filosofy as a whole. But if our object is to get an accurate idea of the thot of the *Upaniṣads*, we ought, it seems to me, to invoke the aid mainly of erlier—rather than later—stages of thot, in supplementing and interpreting the Upaniṣads themselvs.

Which brings me to my second proposition—that ther is scarcely anything in the older Upaniṣads which is not also found—sometimes in a more primitiv form—in the filosofic texts of the older Vedic literature. To show how extensivly this is tru, I am preparing a sort of card-index of the filosofic ideas and expressions in the Vedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, and older Upaniṣads. When finisht this wil, I believ, be a definitiv collection of sources for the filosofic ideas of erly India. It is alredy sufficiently advanst that I feel safe in predicting that it wil completely establish the truth of my proposition of the close dependence of the Upaniṣads on the older Vedic filosofy. This proposition, if once firmly establisht, should, it seems to me, hav at least one immediate and practical result of prime importance; it should put a definit end to the strange theory advanst by Garbe and accepted by Deussen, that the filosofic thot of the Upaniṣads is a product of the warrior caste and is genetically unrelated to the old ritualistic speculations of the Brahmanas. I think my collection wil sho that there would be as much reason for ascribing *kṣatriya* authorship to many hymns of the Rig and Atharva Vedas, and to many passages in the Yajur Vedas and Brāhmaṇas.

More than this could of course be said against the theory of the *kṣatriya* origin of the Upaniṣads. But perhaps it may seem like slaying the ded to dwel on it further at present, especially in view of the fact that it seems now to be rejected by practically evryone.⁶

Let me then illustrate very briefly how such a complete and comprehensiv survey of erly Vedic filosofy wil illuminate the subject in other ways.

⁶ Most lately by Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 166 ff.

The general plan of the work, in so far as it deals with attempts to get at the concept of the One, will be this. I shall first enumerate and quote attempts to formulate the One Being *in relation to the empiric world*—with subdivisions such as these: Temporal relations (First, Most Ancient; including in itself Past, Present, and Future; Time itself; concrete units of time, as Year, Day and Night, etc.); Spatial relations (Supreme, Highest; Foundation, Support, Bottommost; All-inclusiv, extending beyond all; Boundless, Infinit); Causal relations (Causa Efficiens or Creator; Causa Materialis or All-stuff; Uncaused, Unborn, Self-existent, etc.); relations as of Rulership (Ruler, Controller, Lord, etc.); Theological or Deistic relations (Sole God; Giver of Life, Strength, and other Boons); Intellectual relations (Knower of evrything; All-wise; Seer, etc.); and finally, the relation of Identity, or Strict Monism (the One *is* All).—Secondly, the collection will take up the attempts to formulate the One as Absolute *Ding an Sich*—to get at its own nature *in terms of itself*, and not in relation to other things. Here we shall find the subdivisions along such lines as these: Fysical concepts as First Principles (Water, Fire [with Sun, Heat], Wind or Air, Ether—and finally combinations of more than one fysical element as component parts of the universe); Psychological or quasi-psychological concepts (Man, *Puruṣa*; Desire; Mind, etc.; *Prāṇa*; and others, leading up to *Ātmán*); Ritualistic concepts (Holy Speech, *Vāc*; *Bṛhaspati*; *tapas*; Sacrifice; sacrificial animals and other offerings; *Brahmacārin*, and others, leading up to *Brāhman*); Metafysical and Mystical Concepts (Existent and Non-existent; the One; That (*Tat*); *Idam* and *Sarvam*, This, All; *Yakṣa*, 'Wonder'; Secret, etc.).

Such, in a very brief and general way, is the plan of my Index of Ideas of Vedic Philosophy. I have already indicated what I hope will be the general result of it—a broadening and deepening of the current stock of knowledge of early Indian philosophy as a whole, and especially a clear and final demonstration of the intimate relation between the Upaniṣads and their predecessors. I will close with one concrete instance. In the outline plan here presented I refer to fysical concepts as tentative First Principles. We saw for instance that of the five later elements, earth, air, fire, water, and ether, all but the first, earth, are more or less clearly suggested as First Principles in the early Vedic texts. At least two of these elements, namely wind, or air, and

ether, as so used in the Upaniṣads. Thus, Brh U. 3. 7. 6: 'Wind, in sooth, O Gāutama, is that thred, for by wind as by a thred this world and the other world and all creatures are knit together.' Ch U. 1. 8: after a conversation between three Brahmans, in which various Ultimates are suggested and rejected, the Ether (*ākāṣa*) is declared to be the true Ultimate; (9) 'for all these beings arise out of the ether and return unto the ether again; for the ether is older than they, and the ether is their final resort (goal).'

In view of such passages—which are by no means isolated—how can Oldenberg⁷ maintain that 'none of the powers which tend towards the All-being belongs to the realm of physical nature'? Oldenberg in this case seems to have simply accepted the traditional statement, that the great distinction between early Greek and early Hindu philosophy is that the Greeks started with physical elements, and the Hindus never did. Even Deussen, who collects a number of passages from the Upaniṣads in which physical expressions for the One occur, cannot believe that they are meant literally, but holds that they are 'symbolic' expressions,⁸ whatever that may mean. I hold—and I think I can prove—that they are to be understood quite literally, and that they are precisely analogous to the speculations of the early Ionic philosophers. It is indeed a curious coincidence that the earliest physical element to be used in this way is, in both Greece and India, water. In the philosophical hymns of the Rig Veda, already, water is more or less clearly conceived as the primal principle. It continues to crop out in the same way occasionally throughout the Brāhmaṇa period. By the time of the Upaniṣads, to be sure, it seems to have been practically eliminated from philosophical discussion. But in Greece, too, it is only Thales, the first of the Ionic school, who teaches that water is the original element; his successor Anaximander already sets up a much more abstract principle, 'the Infinite.' And as Anaximenes, the third of the Ionic school, found in Air a more subtle element, and so a more suitable one for use as the first principle, so the Hindus of later times, while not entirely giving up the idea of a physical element, preferred Air or Wind (*Vāyu*, *Vāta*), or the still more subtle Ether (*ākāṣa*), to the grosser water.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 45.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 91 ff.

Asokan notes.—By TRUMAN MICHELSON, Ethnologist in the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.¹

1: *nāsaṃtaṃ*.

Lüders, in his 'Epigraphische Beiträge' (*Sitzb. d. kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1913, p. 988-1028), considers *nāsaṃtaṃ* on the Delhi-Sivalik, Deli-Mirat, Allahabad, Radhia, and Mathia versions of Asoka's Pillar-Edicts to be a participle to *nathī*, and to be divided into *nā* and *saṃtaṃ*. This is impossible because *nā* 'not' never occurs in these dialects, while *no* (as Lüders remarks) is common; and furthermore we can be confident a participle to *nathī* (Skt. *nāstī*) would have a formation similar to Sanskrit *asant-*, Pāli *asanto*, Amg. Prākṛit *asantie*, Māhārāṣṭri Prākṛit *asaī*. For these last two see Pischel, *Gramm.* § 560.

2: *asvatha-saṃtaṃ*.

I treated the difficult phrase *abhītā| asvatha-saṃtaṃ*, DS. 4. 12, 13 (*abhītā| asvatha-saṃ* . . , DM. 12, 13; *abhīta-asvathā-saṃtaṃ*, R. 4. 19, M. 4, 23; *abhīta-asvathā* . . , Rā. 4. 17) in IF. 23. 232-234. There can be no doubt that DS. and DM. *abhītā* is a nom. pl. as is *abhīta* of R.M.Rā. in accordance with the law of shortening in the dialects of these versions of the Pillar-Edicts: see IF. 23. 228f. DS. and DM. *asvatha-saṃtaṃ* I considered a copulative compound 'confidently and quietly'², and held that the *asvathā* of R.M.Rā. was a simple lengthening of *asvatha*.³ Lüders, l. c., 1010, 1011, rejected this and went back to the old view that *asvatha* and *saṃtaṃ*, and similarly *asvathā-saṃtaṃ*, were nominative plurals, because he did not think my translation suitable and because he could find no exact parallel for the lengthening of the *ā* of *asvathā* in Wackernagel, *AiGr.* 2. 1 § 56. At the same time he acknowledged he could not explain away the phonetic difficulties which, as I pointed out, such a translation involves. Leaving *saṃtaṃ* aside we would have DS.DM. **asvathā* and R.M.Rā. **asvatha* if the texts were to be translated the old way; and it will be observed

¹ Printed by permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

² See Whitney, *Skt. Gr.*³ §§ 1247j, 1311.

³ See Whitney, l. c., § 247.

that this is just the opposite to the actual texts. If any one is rash enough to make five emendations to make the texts agree with his preconceived notion of what they ought to mean, he may do so, but he can not expect others to follow him. Let us now turn to *saṃtaṃ*. Lüders, probably seeing that Kern's and Senart's attempts to justify this as a nom. pl. were untenable as I have shown, op. cit., brings forward Kālsī *saṃtaṃ* at 8. 22 as support to the old interpretation of *saṃtaṃ* of the Pillar-Edicts. Certainly Kālsī *saṃtaṃ* is a participle (Girnār *saṃto*, Shb. *sato*, Mans. *saṃtaṃ*, Dh. no correspondent, J. a lacuna), but it is a nom. singular masculine, not plural, as is shown by the preceding *lājā* (Girnār *rājā*, Shb. Mans. *raja*, Dh. *lājā*). Hence it is no support at all.⁴

I grant that there is no exact parallel for the lengthening of the *ā* of *asvathā* cited by Wackernagel, l. c.; but we do find near-parallels, and these occur in Pāli and Prākṛit also. And on the inscriptions of Asoka we find partial parallels such as DS. *anūpaṭipamne*, *abhīhāle*, even if they apparently do not chance to occur on R.M.Rā.: it will be remembered that even DS. has only one instance in edicts 1-6, and there are no correspondents to DS. 7 to enable us to determine whether this is a feature of DS. only or whether it occurs also in other dialects of the Pillar-Edicts. In spite of Lüders I can not see that the translation I have given to *asvatha-saṃtaṃ* is unsuitable.⁵ Phonetically it at least satisfies the requirements of DS. and DM.; nor do I think I am over-bold in my interpretation of the final *-ā* of *asvathā*. But if Professor Lüders or any one else will make a suggestion that has no phonetic uncertainties, and can justify *saṃtaṃ* as a nom. pl. of a participle, without involving violent textual emendations—I will be ready to accept it. Till then I shall adhere to my interpretation. Incidentally I add that Lüders' explanation of DS. *asvatha* at 4. 4 and *viyatadhāti* at DS. 4. 11 may be right, but my explanations are fully as probable. For the principle of Lüders' solution see Michelson, IF. 23. 238, 239.

⁴It can hardly be denied that Māgadhan *kalamtaṃ* is pl. as well as sing. But only on the 'Detached Edicts' is it pl., and there it does not occur as sing. On the Rock-Edicts it is singular only. Hence it is not a good parallel. Shb. and Mans. *-mtaṃ* are Māgadhisms (so Lüders).

⁵My interpretation of *saṃtaṃ* is the same as that of Burnouf: see *Lotus*, 746.

3: Gīrnār *athā*.

Lüders, l. c., 1018 considers Gīrnār *athā* at 12. 8 a simple mistake for *athāya* which is found quite often. He says 'das *ya* ist vor dem folgenden *ya* von *yvāpatā* ausgelassen.' This is simple nonsense. Lüders should have generously acknowledged that Senart, Konow, and Pischel⁶ anticipated him in this. If it is an error, it is surely due to the preceding *etāya*. Formerly I accepted *athā* as genuine, but explained it as being due to haplology: see JAOS. 31. 240. As it can equally well be explained as a case of haplography, and since datives of *a*-stems in *ā* do not occur in this dialect, even if they do in other dialects,⁷ I think this last explanation is to be preferred. Lüders is quite right in continuing 'für unsern Dialekt [DS.] kann es natürlich auf keinen Fall etwas beweisen' for the dative sing. of Gīrnār and Pāli *a*-stems is in *-āya*, that of the dialects of the Pillar-Edicts in *-āye*: see JAOS. 31. 241.

4: On the gender of *pālanā*, *sukhīyanā*, and *dasaṇā*.

Lüders, l. c., 999 takes *pālanā* as a nom. sing. feminine while I took it as a nom. pl. neuter: see IF. 23. 249. Lüders completely ignores the evidence of the Delhi-Mirat correspondent, namely, [*pāla*]*naṃ* which can be nothing else than a nom. sing. neuter. In the face of Sanskrit *pālanam*, Pāli *pālanam*, both of which are neuter, we cannot resort to such desperate shifting of gender. However, it is not necessary to consider the *-ā* a Vedic survival: *-nā* may be for *-nāni* to avoid two successive syllables with *n*. Similar instances of haplology will at once be recalled. The loss of final *ni* of course would have to be early to account for the *-na* (not *-nā*) of the Radhia, Mathia, and Rāmpūrvā correspondent: see IF. 23. 228f.

Lüders, *ibidem*, takes as a nom. sing. fem. also *sukhīyanā*, which I took as a nom. pl. neuter. Lüders apparently is unaware that the compound *sukhīyana dukhīyanam* (so) at DS. 4. 6 and its correspondents *sukhīyanadukhīyanam* at R. 4. 16, M. 4. 19 with *-na-*, not *-nā-*, compel us to consider *sukhīyana-* as neuter in gender. The Rā. correspondent at 4. 14 is damaged

⁶ On revision I note that Kern, *Jaartelling*, 66, also made the same correction. The other early writings on things Asokan are not accessible to me as I write these lines.

⁷ Gīrnār *nicā*, which Bühler takes as standing for *nicāya*, is too weak a support to sustain such a belief: see JAOS. 31. 239.

at the end but points in the same direction: *sukhīyanadu*-. We can not assume a desperate shift of gender in the case of *sukhīyanā*; the explanation is as above; in any case Lüders himself allows a few cases of nom. plurals of neuters in *-ā*.

Similarly Lüders holds *-dasaṇā* of the Gīrnār redaction of the Rock-Edicts in the compounds *vimānadasaṇā* and *hastidasaṇā*, both at 4. 3, also to be a nom. sing. feminine, as likewise Kālsī *vimānadasaṇā* at 4. 9. That both are neuter pl. is shown by Dhauli *vimānadasaṇam* (4. 13), Shāhbāzgarhi *vimānanam draṣaṇam* (4. 8). The Mansehra correspondent is indecisive. Sanskrit *darśanam* and Pāli *dassanam*, both of which are neuter, also guarantee that Gīrnār *-dasaṇā*, Kālsī *-dasaṇā* are neuter.⁸

Gīrnār *paṭivedanā* at 6. 2 as a nom. sing. feminine is adduced by Lüders to show that *pālanā*, *sukhīyanā*, and *-dasaṇā* are also nom. sing. feminine. First it should be noted that the correspondents in the other versions, to wit, K. [*paṭ*]ivedanā, Dh. (*p*)aṭivedanā, J. *paṭivedanā* (so), Shb. and Mans. *paṭivedana*, support the Gīrnār form. Secondly Sanskrit *vedanā* is a decisive proof that *paṭivedanā* (and its variants) is a nom. sing. feminine. Now the correspondents in other versions (see above) and internal evidence show that *pālanā*, *sukhīyanā*, and *-dasaṇā* are neuter; and Sanskrit *pālanam*, Pāli *pālanam*, Sanskrit *darśanam*, Pāli *dassanam* (which are all neuter) verify this conclusion for *pālanā* and *-dasaṇā*; while Pāli neuters in *ana*

⁸ Kern, *Jaartelling*, 51f, saw the difficulty; Senart, IA. 21. 102, pronounced Kālsī *-dasaṇā* a neuter pl., which of course implies that Gīrnār *-dasaṇā* is likewise one. See also Johansson, *Shb.* 2. 69, 70. Lüders' list of neuter plurals in *-ā* is incomplete. Hence it is possible that Gīrnār *-dasaṇā* may be a Vedic survival. Observe also *vimāna-darśana* in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā*, 46. 90 as cited by Hultzsch in his observations on Asoka's Fourth Rock-Edict in JRAS. Hultzsch himself does not touch on the gender of Gīrnār *-dasaṇā*. Additional proof that Gīrnār *-dasaṇā* is neuter is to be found in Gīrnār *dasaṇam* at 8. 5 (Shb. *draṣaṇam* with Māgadhan dental *n* for *ṇ* (see IF. 24. 53) exactly as Gīrnār *dasane* at 8. 3 (twice), Shb. *draṣane* (8. 17 [twice]), and Mans. *draṣane* (8. 35 [twice], 8. 36) have Māgadhan final *-e* as shown by Kālsī, Jaugada, Dhauli *dasane* (see K. 8. 23, J. 8. 11, Dh. 8. 4, 8. 5). Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 106, 152, also holds there are a few cases of neuter plurals of *a*-stems in *-ā*. Konow's essay on the Gīrnār dialect (in *Akad. Afhand. til S. Bugge*) is not accessible to me. Senart, *Les inscriptions*, 1, p. 100 held that *-dasaṇā* had final *-ā* for *-am* or that it was neuter pl. The first hypothesis naturally is excluded: see JAOS. 31. 239, 240.

from secondary roots confirm us in holding *sukhīyanā* to be also neuter: see IF. 23. 249. Hence *paṭivedanā* is not pertinent evidence regarding the gender of the words under discussion.

Jaugaḍa *-saṃtūlanā* at 6. 5 is also brought forward by Lüders to show *pālanā*, *sukhīyanā*, and *-dasaṇā* are feminines. But it is not germane at all, for the concordance of all versions, and the internal evidence of each separate redaction, both show that it is feminine; whereas all the evidence of this nature points diametrically against this in the case of the three words *pālanā*, *sukhīyanā*, and *-dasaṇā*, as I have shown above.

Delhi-Sivalik *sukhāyanāyā* at 7². 3, an undoubted feminine, is also used by Lüders to back his case. But *sukhāyanāyā* has not the same formation as *sukhīyanā*, and is supported as a feminine by the preceding *vividhāyā*, whereas internal evidence shows *sunhīyanā* is neuter (note the compound *sukhīyana dukhīyanam*, *sukhīyanadukhīyanam*). Moreover we have no correspondents to control DS. 7. For these reasons we shall not be guided by *sukhāyanāyā*.

If I have spent much space on the discussion of the gender of the words in question, it is because Lüders has simply ignored the evidence on the first two presented in IF. 23. 249.

5 : Delhi-Sivalik *lāja*, *siya*.

Lüders, l. c., 1010, overlooks the fact that I anticipated his explanation of Delhi-Sivalik *lāja*, *siya* by some years: see IF. 23. 226, 238, 239.

6: Girnār *karu*.

I am glad to see that Lüders, l. c., 1016, rejects Franke's explanation of Girnār *karu*, as I had done some years ago: see JAOS. 31. 244.

7: Gerunds in *tu*, *tī*.

Lüders, l. c., 1024, completely passes over the fact that some years ago I showed that gerunds in *tu* in the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions of the Rock-Edicts are 'Māgadhisms,' and that the one in *tī* is proper to their dialect: see JAOS. 30. 80, 86, 91; AJP. 31. 60. His explanation of *apahaṭā*, which, as he states, was formerly held by Kern, as a nomen agentis, and not a gerund, is certainly correct. Lüders shows the views of both Senart and Bühler are untenable.

8: The locative singular of *a*-stems.

Lüders, l. c., 989, 990 treats the locative singular of *a*-stems in

various Asokan dialects in the elucidation of a single passage. He rightly holds that the true native forms in the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions are *-e* and *-aspi*, and that *-asi* in them is a 'Māgadhism.' This last is hardly news, as Senart and Franke both recognized it, even if Johansson apparently was unaware of this. But I think I was the first to point out that *-aspi* was actually a true native form of the dialect of Shb. and Mans.: see AJP. 30. 285, 286, JAOS. 30. 83. Lüders is quite right in denying an *-e* locative to the Māgadhan dialects. But I think it a little venturesome to emend *Nābhake* of the Kālsī version, because in some respects the true native dialect of this redaction agrees with the dialects of the Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mansehra texts as opposed to the Māgadhan dialects: see JAOS. 30. 90; 31. 247.

9: On the etymology of Shb. *nirathriyam*, Mans. *nirathriya*.

Lüders, l. c., 991, quite overlooks the fact that his etymology of these words was anticipated by Johansson years ago: see Johansson, *Der dialekt d. Shb.*, 151 (37 of the reprint); and compare Michelson, AJP. 30. 294, 295.

10: Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra phonetics.

Grierson, JRAS. 1913, p. 682, 683, from the fact that in the modern Piśāca languages of India such forms as *grām* (Sanskrit *grāma*) and *krom* (Sanskrit *karman*) occur, thinks that such forms as *dhrama-* on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions may represent the actual pronunciation with as much probability as that they are merely graphical representations of *dharma-*, etc. I am sure all will appreciate Grierson's attempt to correlate modern vernaculars with the Asokan ones. But I am not convinced by his argument. First, two thousand years have to be bridged over; secondly, the modern Piśāca languages of India are not linear descendants of the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions, even if in certain phonetic points there are resemblances between all; thirdly—and this is the fundamental objection—the evidence of the inscriptions themselves distinctly is opposed to such a view. That the manner in which *r* appears in conjoint consonants on these inscriptions is a mere matter of graphical convenience is shown by *patri*, *praṭi* (Skt. *prati*); *viyapraṭa*, *viyapaṭra* (Skt. *vyāpṛtās*); *srava-*, *savra-* (Skt. *sarva-*); *vagreṇa* (Skt. *vargeṇa*); *grabhagaraspi* (Skt. *garbhāgāra-*); *mrugo* (Skt.

mṛgas); *vudhrana* (Skt. *vr̥ddhānām*); *-vrudhi* (Skt. *vr̥ddhi-*); etc. I have exhaustively treated this point in AJP. 30. 289, 290, 423, 424, 426; 31. 56, 57, 62. Moreover if *thr* is not graphical for *rth*, then *tn* can not be for *nt*. So with the best will in the world, I fear we are not justified in following Grierson.

There is another point of view also to be considered. In point of time the inscriptions are nearer Sanskrit or Vedic than modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars; so we should expect the first two to shed more light on the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts than the latter; and as a matter of fact both Johansson and myself have made it clear that this dialect, though it has certain Middle Indic features, yet as a whole is far closer to Sanskrit than to other Middle Indic dialects. Hence I shall continue to consider *dhrama-* of the Asokan inscriptions as merely graphical for *dharma-*; etc.

11: Gīrnār *likhāpayisaṃ*.

Wackernagel, *Z. verg. Sp.* 43. 290-291, discusses the origin of the Middle Indic future termination *-ssaṃ* in the first person singular. Gīrnār *likhāpayisaṃ* is cited in this connection. Wackernagel's explanation is that the form in *-ssaṃ* (the Gīrnār word has *s* graphically for *ss*) must be ancient, and he accordingly derives it from *-syā* because apparently in some Middle Indic dialects final *ā* and *aṃ* interchange. This *-syā* would then be an archaism, cf. Avestan *vaxšyā*. I think every one will want very substantial proof to admit such an extraordinary archaism; and as a matter of fact Wackernagel's explanation is untenable as *-ā* and *-aṃ* do not interchange in the Gīrnār dialect whether they do or not in other Middle Indic dialects: JAOS. 31. 239, 240. Incidentally I remark that both Johansson and myself have tried to show that in many cases where *-ā* and *-aṃ* apparently interchange it is due to analogy, and is not phonetic. If we are both wrong in this, it will not affect the evidence of the Gīrnār dialect.

12: Māgadhan *kachati*.

The meaning of Māgadhan *kachati* is absolutely certain; as shown by Gīrnār *kāsati*, Shb. Mans. *kaṣati* (both from **karṣyati*) we have a word that in meaning corresponds to Sanskrit *karṣyati*. As Johansson, Shb. 2. 24, saw, any attempt to

derive *kachati* from **karṣyati* must fail. Accordingly he suggested that it was a future from a present stem *kajj* (from **karyati*, cf. Prākṛit *kajjai*), thus **kajjsyati* > *kacchati* (written *kachati*). This fails because *ry* does not become *jj* in a single Asokan dialect. Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, 99, went back to the older view, but seeing the difficulty queried if we might not have an 'überleitendes *t*,' that is *rtsy* from *rṣy*. For *rtsy* would inevitably result in *cch* (written *ch*). See also Franke, l. c., p. 100, 119, 132. This unfortunately will not answer, for *rṣ* and *rṣy* are treated alike in all Middle Indic dialects: as we have *ss* (written *s*) in the Māgadhan dialects from *rṣ* (e. g. *vasa-*, Skt. *varṣa-*), we should expect **kassati* from **karṣyati*. And Delhi-Sivalik *isyā*, etc. (Skt. *īṣyā*) is opposed to such a theory. Accordingly I venture to give a new solution to our problem, and hope it will prove more satisfactory. I wish to acknowledge that Franke's suggestion gave me the clue. In Sanskrit the roots *kṛ* and *kṛt* coincide in certain forms. Thus the gerund *-kṛtya* can be either *-kṛ-tya* or *kṛt-ya*; similarly the root word *kṛt* can go back to either *kṛ* or *kṛt*. The infinitives *kartum* and **karttum* would phonetically fall together in Middle languages as would probably the gerunds *kṛtvā* and **kṛttvā*. And in Sanskrit there is one root *kṛ* 'do, make,' another one 'cut.' In a word I believe that *kacchati* (written *kachati*) is simply the phonetic correspondent to Skt. *kartsyati* 'he will cut,' and is due to the confusion of the roots *kṛ* and *kṛt* outlined above. References to the phonetic and morphological phenomena in my discussion are left out, because the facts are well known.

13: Shb. *śruṇeyu*, etc.

Some time ago I pointed out in KZ. 43. 351 that Pāli *suṇōti* was derived from **śruṇōti* not **śṛṇōti* (Sanskrit *śṛṇōti*) as shown by Shāhbāzgarhi *śruṇeyu*, Mansehra *śruṇey[u]*, Gīrnār *srūnāru*, and not from either one as Keller held. Amg. Prākṛit *padissuṇe* (cited by Pischel, *Gramm.*, § 503) with *ss* distinctly points also to a present **śruṇōti*, not **śṛṇōti*. Accordingly we must consider such Prākṛit and Pāli forms as have *s* (*Mg.ś*) in compounds as instances of re-composition from the simple uncompounded ones which phonetically would have but one initial sibilant. This is quite aside from the question as to which formation is most original.

Adhi√brū and adhi√vac in the Veda.—By DR. HENRY S. GEHMAN, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

In the Petersburg Lexicon Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhi√brū* as 'segnen, trösten, Muth einsprechen, fürsprechen für.' Geldner in his *Rigveda in Auswahl* defines the same word as 'zugunsten von jemandem (dat.) sprechen, in Schutz nehmen, Partei nehmen für, Recht geben.' He cites the following passages: RV. 1. 35. 11; 6. 75. 12; AV. 4. 28. 7. Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhi√vac* as 'sprechen—, hilfreich eintreten'; Geldner, *op. cit.*, 'fürsprechen, Fürbitte einlegen, Partei ergreifen für, verteidigen.' In support of these meanings he cites RV. 8. 48. 14; 7. 83. 2.

We also find the nouns *adhivaktar* and *adhivāka*. Böhtlingk and Roth define the former as 'Fürsprecher, Tröster,' while Geldner gives the meanings 'Fürsprecher, Verteidiger,' citing RV. 8. 96. 20. *Adhivāka* is defined in the Petersburg Lexicon as 'Fürsprache, Schutz.'

I suggest the following line of development and meaning. *Adhi√vac*, *-√brū* originally perhaps meant 'to speak upon' or 'over,' 'to pronounce words (of blessing) over (*ādhi*),' with simple ellipsis of the cognate or inner accusative. They then come to mean, quite simply, 'bless,' 'grant a benediction.' This is the only meaning they ever have in the Veda. It is a simple ameliorative specialization of the etymological meaning.

We have seen that the two interpretations usually given for these words (either in addition to the meaning 'bless' or without it) are: (1) 'to encourage, to speak (cheerfully) unto'; and so (2) 'to speak in favor of, to defend (in speech as an advocate),' and then by extension 'to defend, protect' in general.

Against (1) we may say first, that it is very doubtful if *ādhi* can ever mean 'unto.' Secondly, there is no definite support for the thesis that the word means 'encourage'—the postulated secondary or developed meaning. Though the vagueness and lack of definition which naturally characterize the passages leave it possible to apply this meaning frequently, there is no passage where 'bless' does not fit just as well. Against (2);

first, it seems that the preposition *ádhi* does not, at least in verbal composition, have the meaning 'in favor of.' Secondly, the interpretation postulates a very concrete and definite usage as an intermediate term in the development of the meaning, viz., 'to speak for, to be an advocate for, to intercede for.' There is a total lack of evidence to show that the verb ever had this meaning. In other words, Geldner and others assume a secondarily developed meaning for which the primary step is wanting.—The assumed meaning 'protect' is based on the frequent association of the verbs with words of protection; but 'bless' fits equally well all such passages.—*Brū* means the same as *vac*, and it is strange that Böhtlingk and Roth do not recognize the meaning 'segnen' for *adhi-√vac*, since they do recognize it for *adhi-√brū*.

In AV. 6. 13. 2 is what I consider the crucial passage. Here we have a contrast between *adhi-vāká* 'speaking over, benediction' and *parā-vāká*, 'speaking away from, averting one's speech (blessing) from.' *Adhivāká* in this passage is defined in the Petersburg Lexicon as 'Fürsprache, Schutz,' but the contrast clearly shows that it means 'blessing' or 'benediction':

námas te adhivākāya parāvākāya te námaḥ
sumatyāi mṛtyo te námo durmatyāi ta idám námaḥ

'Hail to thy benediction, hail to thy malediction. To thy goodwill, O Death, be homage; to thy malevolence here is homage.'

Parāvāká is very clearly the opposite of *adhivāka*. If Geldner and Böhtlingk and Roth were right about *adhivāká*, that it means 'defending speech,' *parāvāká* ought to mean 'attacking speech,' which *parā* does not fit.

The warlike Vedic Aryans wanted blessing most especially in *battle*. We shall first quote our examples from hymns referring to battle scenes:

RV. 6. 75. 12:

íjīte pári vr̥ndhi nó 'ṣmā bhavatu nas tanūḥ
sóma ádhi bravītu nó 'ditiḥ śarma yachatu

'O thou glowing one, avoid us. May our bodies be stone. May Soma bless us; may Aditi grant us protection.'

Where could Soma *speak in behalf* of the warriors? The soldiers want victory, and if they have the *blessing* of Soma, success will be assured.

AV. 4. 28. 7:

*ádhi no brūtaṁ pṛtanāsūgrāu sām vājreṇa sṛjataṁ yāḥ kimīdī
stāumi bhavāṇarvāu nāthitō johavīmi tāu no muñcatam āṇhasaḥ*
'Ye two strong gods, bless us in battles; bring into contact
with your thunderbolt him who is the Kimīdin. I praise Bhava
and Ṣarva. I call upon you when I am in need of help. Deliver
us from calamity.'

Here the warrior calls for a blessing when he prays unto
Bhava and Ṣarva. On account of the natural hostility of these
deities, the suppliant needs their good will. If the soldiers have
the blessing of these gods, courage, help, and protection will
follow.

RV. 7. 83. 2:

*yātrā nāraḥ samāyante kṛtādhvajo yāsmīnn ājā bhāvati kīm
canā priyām*
*yātrā bhāyante bhūvanā swardīṣas tātrā na indrāvaruṇādhi
vocatam*

'Where the heroes, provided with standards, go together, in the
battle where nothing pleasant happens, where the light-behold-
ing creatures are afraid, there, O Indra and Varuṇa, you
blessed us.'

The idea of the advocate does not fit this passage. The magic
force of the gods' blessing gave their worshipers courage, pro-
tection, and success. 'Muth zusprechen' (Grassmann's trans-
lation) is not sufficient; that is only one of the results of the
blessing. *Adhi√vac* here means the same as *adhi√brū*. In
RV. 6. 75. 12 *adhi√brū* had been used for blessing in battle.

AV. 4. 27. 1:

*marūtāṁ manve ádhi me bruvantu prémām vājam vājasāte
avantu*
āṇśān iva suyāmān ahva ūtāye té no muñcantv āṇhasaḥ

'I think with devotion upon the Maruts; may they bless me.
May they help this strength in battle. Like tractable horses
I have called upon them for aid. May they free us from
trouble.'

We have seen before that *adhi√vac* means 'to bless' in spite
of the fact that Böhtlingk and Roth do not give that meaning.

Let us consider the rest of the occurrences of these verbs in the warriors' hymns in the Rig-Veda.

RV. 1. 100. 19 a & b:

viçvâhéndro adhivaktā no astv āparihvrtāḥ sanuyāma vājam
'Every day may Indra be the one who blesses us. Unharméd
may we win booty.'

Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhivaktar* as 'Fürsprecher, Beschützer, Tröster.' 'Beschützer' is too narrow a meaning, since it does not contain the idea of \sqrt{vac} . The warrior does not want legal defense, vindication, or comfort. He needs help, and if the god blesses him, he is protected and achieves success.

RV. 1. 132. 1:

tvāyā vayām maghavan pūrveye dhāna índratvotāḥ sāsahyāma
prtanyatō vanuyāma vanuṣyatāḥ
nēdiṣṭhe asmīnn āhany ādhi vocā nū sunvatē
asmīn yajñē ví cayemā bhāre kṛtām vājayānto bhāre kṛtām
'By you, O Maghavan, in the former battle, by you, O Indra,
supported, may we conquer the enemies; may we overcome
those who attack us. On this present day bless the Soma-
presser.'

RV. 8. 16. 5:

tām id dhāneṣu hitēṣv adhivākāya havante
yēṣām índras té jayanti

'Him alone where it concerns booty do they invoke for a blessing. On whose side Indra is, they conquer.'

Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhivāka* here again as 'Fürsprache, Schutz.' Let us imagine a band of warriors, who have some booty in view, as we see in this hymn to Indra. Why should they pray for a legal defense, counsel, or vindication? They are the aggressors. They want the aid of the god to push them on. If they have his blessing, his favor will give them confidence, and his power will give them success.

In connection with the battle stanzas, we may quote RV. 2. 23. 8. Böhtlingk and Roth define *adhivaktar* as 'Fürsprecher, Beschützer, Tröster.' 'The one who blesses,' seems better.

trātāram tvā tanūnām havāmahé 'vaspartar adhivaktāram
asmayūm

*bṛhaspate devanīdo nī barhaya mā durévā úttaram sumnám
ín naçan*

'Thee, the protector of bodies, O Savior, we invoke, the one who blesses and loves us. O Bṛhaspati, overthrow thou those that hate the gods. May the evil doers not attain the highest bliss.'

In RV. 8. 96. 20 we have a stanza to Indra, the war god. Although war is not definitely referred to, very likely war is uppermost in the mind. Here is the noun *adhivaktar*, which Geldner defines as 'Fürsprecher, Verteidiger.' 'Hüter' or 'Beschützer' would be nearer the mark, although they are not sufficiently comprehensive to express the meaning of *adhi√vac*. Indra is our protector, inasmuch as he blesses us. The passage reads as follows:

*sá vṛtrahéndraç carṣaṇādhṛt tám suṣṭutyā hávyaṁ huvema
sá prāvitā maghāvā no 'dhivaktā sá vājasya çravasyāsyā dātā*

'This Indra is the killer of Vṛtra, the supporter of people; with beautiful praise we call upon him, who is worthy to be invoked. Maghavan is our helper, he is the one who blesses us; he is the giver of praiseworthy strength.'

In these passages a suppliant prays to a god. The man wants protection and success. In case of loss or sorrow, he might look for comfort, but he does not expect any mishap and consequently does not ask the god for comfort. Nor are the divinities asked to speak in his behalf as advocates. The context forbids that. Should the gods simply inspire him with courage ('Muth einsprechen')? That would not insure success. Courage unwisely or recklessly employed might lead to destruction. What the suppliant wants, is a blessing, and the favor of the god. If the man has that, he feels that protection, success, and comfort will follow. All these meanings are simply dependent on 'bless.' We need a word that contains the idea of speaking, but the idea of the advocate is inconsistent with the meaning of the passages. 'Bless' is the only word that fits the passages and at the same time suggests the idea of *√brū* and *√vac*. For the moment, in the mind of the poet, the powers invoked are the supreme gods, and they have the power to bless the man who needs their help.

An examination of the other occurrences of *adhi√brū* and
15 JAOS 36.

adhi√*vac* will show that in the Rig- and Atharva-Veda the meaning 'bless' makes at least as good sense as any other in every case.

In close connection with the martial stanzas, let us consider the charms for kingly power.

Blessings were invoked at the Rājastuti. In this connection *adhi*√*brū* is used, RV. 10. 173. 3 = AV. 6. 87. 3 (Cf. also AV. 6. 5. 3 = VS. 17. 52, below) :

imām indro aāidharad dhruvām dhruvéṇa haviṣā
tāsmāi sómo údhi bravat tasmā u bráhmanas pátiḥ

'This one has Indra established, firm by means of the firm *havis*. Him may Soma bless, him also Brahmanaspati.'

Cf. AV. 6. 87. 3:

indra etām adīdharaddhruvām dhruvéṇa haviṣā
tāsmāi sómo údhi bravat ayām ca bráhmanas pátiḥ

'Indra has established this man by a fixed oblation. May Soma bless him and this Brahmanaspati.'

AV. 4. 8. 2:

abhi prēhi māpa vena ugrācettā sapatnahā
ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana túbhyaṁ devā údhi bruvan

'Come hither, do not turn away, as a mighty guardian, slayer of rivals! Step hither, thou who prosperest thy friends; the gods shall bless thee.'

We find, however, that the words under consideration are also used in non-warlike situations. We shall first quote the prayers for general well-being, which are addressed to the beneficent gods. We find one addressed to Savitar who is to protect and bless us with his happy paths.

RV. 1. 35. 11:

yé te pánthāḥ savitaḥ pūrvyāso 'reṇávaḥ súkṛtā antárikṣe
tébhir no adyá pathíbhiḥ sugébhī rákṣā ca no údhi ca brūhi
deva

'What, O Savitar, in the atmosphere are thy ancient paths, free from dust, well-made, by (with) these which afford an easy passage, protect us to-day and bless us, O God.' (Cf. below, p. 225.)

In this hymn the suppliant asks the god for protection and then closes our stanza with *adhi-brūhi*. Where shall the god speak in his behalf? We cannot conceive that the god shall be his advocate or make a plea for him before any other god. What the poet wants, is protection. If he has the blessing and favor of the god, protection will naturally follow.

In RV. 8. 48. 14, the poet prays for good sense:

*trūtāro devū ādhi vocatā no mā no nidrā iṣata mótā jālpīh
vayām sómasya viçváha priyāsah suvīrāso vidátham á vadema*
'Protecting gods, bless us. May neither sleep nor babbling speech seize hold of us. Always as friends of Soma, possessing heroic sons, may we address the *vidatha* (assembly?)'

The context does not favor the meaning of defending through an advocate. The speaker wants help, but that does not imply all that is contained in *adhi√vac*. 'Bless' retains the idea of *√vac* and at the same time implies divine aid. 'Muth ein-sprechen' (Grassmann's translation) is not sufficient. Again *adhi√vac* means the same as *adhi√brū*.

RV. 2. 27. 6:

*sugó hí vo aryaman mitra pánthā anṛksaró varuṇa sādhuṛ ásti
ténādityā ādhi vocatā no yáchatā no duṣparihántu çarma*
'For your road, O Aryaman and Mitra, is easy to go; it is without thorns, O Varuṇa, and excellent. With this, O Ādityas, bless us, offer us imperishable protection.'

AV. 6. 5. 3 (cf. VS. 17. 52 and RV. 10. 173. 3 = AV. 6. 87. 3, above):

*yásya kṛṇmó havír grhé tám agne vardhayā tvám
tásmāi sómo ādhi bravād ayám ca bráhmaṇaspátīh*
'In whose house we make oblation, him, O Agni, do thou increase. Him may Soma bless and this Brahmanaspati.'

VS. 17. 52:

*yásya kurmó grhé havís tám agne vardhayā tvám
tásmāi devā ādhibravann ayám ca bráhmaṇaspátīh*
'In whose house we make oblation, him, O Agni, do thou increase. Him may the gods bless and this Brahmanaspati.'

With the marking of cattle's ears, blessings were invoked, AV. 6. 141. 1:

*vāyúr enāḥ samākarat tvāṣṭā pōṣāya dhriyatām
índra ābhyaś ádhi bravat rudró bhūmné cikitsatu*

'May Vāyu collect them (the cattle). Let Tvaṣṭr be kept for their prosperity. May Indra bless them. May Rudra care for their abundance.'

The earth was invoked for a blessing, AV. 12. 1. 59:

*śantivā surabhīḥ syonā kilālodhnī páyasvatī
bhūmir ádhi bravitu me prthivī páyasā sahā*

'Kind, fragrant, mild, with the sweet drink (*kilāla*) in her udder, rich in milk, let earth bless me, the broad earth together with milk.'

To the Viṣve Devās, RV. 10. 63. 1:

*parāvāto yé dídhisanta āpyam mánuprītāso jánimā vivāsvataḥ
yayāter yé nahuṣyāśya barhīśi devāś áśate té ádhi bruvantu naḥ*

'The gods, whose friendship is striven for from a distance, well beloved by men, the generations of Vivasvant, who sit upon the *barhis* of Yayāti Nahuṣya, they shall bless us.'

To the Viṣve Devās, RV. 8. 30. 3:

*té nas trādhvam tē 'vata tá u no ádhi vocata
mā naḥ pathāḥ pítiryān mānavād ádhi dūrām nāīṣṭa parāvātaḥ*

'Being such, preserve us, help us, bless us too; do not lead us from the path of the fathers and of mankind (*Manu*?).'

To the Viṣve Devās, RV. 10. 128. 4:

*māhyam yajantu máma yāni havyākūtiḥ satyā mánaso me astu
éno mā ní gām katamác canāhām víṣve devāso ádhi vocatā naḥ*

'To me may they offer all the oblations that I have. May the intention of my mind remain pure. May I not fall into any sin whatever. All ye gods bless us.'

To Indra, RV. 1. 84. 17:

*kā īśate tujyáte kó bíbhāya kó mānsate sántam índram kó ánti
kás tokāya ká íbhāyotá rāyē 'dhi bravat tanvè kó jánāya*

The following translation follows Ludwig's interpretation:
'Who flees, is injured, who fears? (The evil one.) Who believes in Indra? Who believes that he is nigh? (The pious

one.) Who blesses offspring and the servants (the family?), wealth, himself, and the people? (Indra.)'

To the Fathers, RV. 10. 15. 5:

úpahūtāḥ pitáraḥ somyāso barhiṣyēṣu nidhīsu priyēṣu
tā ā gamantu tā ihā cṛvantu ádhi bruvantu tè 'vantv asmān

Cf. AV. 18. 3. 45:

úpahūtā nah pitáraḥ somyāso barhiṣyēṣu nidhīsu priyēṣu
tā ā gamantu tā ihā cṛvantu ádhi bruvantu tè 'vantasmān

'The fathers, who are worthy of the Soma, have been summoned to their own offerings upon the *barhis*. They shall come hither; here they shall hear, shall bless, and aid us.'

To Soma, VS. 6. 33:

yát te soma divi jyotír yát pṛthivyām yád urāv antárikṣe
ténāsmāi yájamānāyorú rāyē kṛdhyádhi dātré vocaḥ

'What light, O Soma, thou hast in heaven, what on earth, what in the wide atmosphere, with that widely make wealth for this one sacrificing; mayest thou bless the giver.'

Secondly, the Hindu orator needed the blessing of Indra to overcome his opponents, AV. 2. 27. 7:

tásya prācam tvám jahi yó na indrābhīdāsati
ádhi no brūhi cāktibhiḥ prācī mām úttaram kṛdhi

'Smite thou the debate of him that is hostile to us, O Indra. Bless us with ability, make me superior in the debate.'

It seems more logical to assume that the orator wants ability bestowed upon him than that the god should encourage him with an outside force, the god's might.

In the third place under non-warlike situations, we shall place a prayer for health. In the following stanza, the poet asks the Maruts to be blessed with *bheṣajam*, RV. 8. 20. 26:

viçvam páçyanto bibhrthā tanūṣv á tēnā no ádhi vocata
kṣamā rápo maruta āturasya na īṣkartā víhrutam púnah

'Seeing all (the *bheṣajam*), bear it on your bodies. Therewith bless us. O Maruts, banish into the earth the disease of the sick man. For us replace the dislocated limb.'

In the fourth place, Death and other malevolent deities had to be conciliated. These passages are of special importance on

account of the naturally hostile character of the deities. We have already considered AV. 6. 13. 2, which we treated first in view of the importance of the passage in establishing the meaning of the words under consideration.

We have a prayer to Death in AV. 8. 2. 8:

*asmāi mṛtyo údhi brūhimám dayasvód itòṣ 'yám etu
āriṣṭaḥ sárvaṅgaḥ suçrúj jarásā çatáhāyana ātmánā bhújam
aṇutām*

'Bless him, O Death; pity him. May he from here arise; unharmed, perfect in his limbs, hearing well, by old age a hundred years old, may he attain enjoyment with himself.'

We find charms addressed to malignant powers, as Bhava and Çarva. One of these, AV. 4. 28. 7, has been treated above, p. 215.

AV. 8. 2. 7:

*údhi brūhi mǎ rabhathāḥ sṛjémám távāivá sánt sárvaḥāyā ihāstu
bhávāçarvāu mṛḍátam çárma yachatam apasídhya duritám
dhattam āyuh*

'Bless thou (him); do not seize him; let him go. Though he be thy very own, let him abide here, having all his strength. O Bhava and Çarva, be ye gracious; yield protection; driving away difficulty, bestow ye (long?) life.'

In AV. 11. 2. 20 we have a prayer to Rudra, especially as Bhava and Çarva:

*mǎ no hinsīr údhi no brūhi pári no vṛndhi mǎ krudhaḥ
mǎ tváyā sámaraṁmahi*

'Do not harm us; bless us, spare us, do not be angry; let us not come into collision with thee.'

Another stanza addressed to Rudra is found in RV. 1. 114. 10:

*āré te goghnám utá pūruṣaghnám kṣáyadvīra sumnám asmé te
astu*

*mṛlǎ ca no údhi ca brūhi devādhā ca naḥ çárma yacha dvibár-
hāḥ*

'Far away be thy killing of cattle and thy killing of men; may thy favor be with us, O ruler of heroes. Be gracious unto us and bless us, O God. Thou who art doubly strong, grant us protection.'

Rudra, the malignant deity, is called the blesser in VS. 16. 5 :

ādhy avocad adhivaktā prathamó dāivyo bhiṣák
áhñiṣ ca sárvañ jambháyant sárvaṣ ca yātudhānyò 'dharācīḥ
pārā suva

'The blesser, the first divine physician, blessed. Destroying them, frighten away both all the snakes and all the female demons.'

In AV. 3. 26. 1-6 homage is paid to malignant deities (snakes?) in the various quarters :

yēṣ 'syām sthá prācyām diçí hetáyo náma devās téṣām vo agnir
īṣavaḥ | té no mṛdata té nó 'dhi brūta tébhyo vo námas
tébhyo vaḥ svāhā (1)

yēṣ 'syām sthá dākṣīṇāyām diçy àviṣyávo náma devās téṣām
vaḥ kāma īṣavaḥ | té no ° (2)

And so on, with other directions, in v. 3-6.

'Ye gods that are in the eastern quarter, missiles by name—of you there the arrows are fire. Be gracious to us, bless us. To you there homage, to you there hail!' &c.

In the fifth place under non-warlike situations, we shall consider blessing desired as protection from demons and from other injury (excluding war and disease).

Agni, the demon-slayer, blesses his devotees, AV. 1. 16. 1 :

yē 'māvāsyāmṣ rātrim udāsthur vrājám atrīṇaḥ
agnis turīyo yātuhā só asmábhyam ādhi bravat

'What devouring demons have arisen in troops on the night of the new moon—; the fourth Agni is the demon-slayer; he shall bless us.'

A blessing is invoked in AV. 6. 7. 2 :

yéna soma sāhanty āsurān randháyāsi naḥ
tēnā no ādhi vocata

'With what, O Soma, conquering one, thou makest the Asuras subject to us, with that bless us.'

The favor of the Ādityas is desired in RV. 8. 67. 6 :

yád vaḥ çrāntīya sunvaté várūtham āsti yác chardīḥ
tēnā no ādhi vocata

'What shattering defense you have for him who toils in pouring oblations, therewith bless us.'

The suppliant prays for a blessing and help unto the Viṣve Devās, RV. 10. 63. 11:

*viṣve yajatrā ādhi vocatotāye trāyadhvaṃ no durévāyā abhi-
hrútaḥ*

satyāyā vo deváhūtyā huvema ṣṇvató devā ávase svastāye

‘All you holy ones, bless us that we may have your help; protect us from malignant injury. With effective invocation of the gods we would call upon you, O Gods, for help, for prosperity (and find you) willing to listen.’

In a prayer for long life, the amulet of *darbha* is called a blessing, AV. 19. 32. 9:

*yó jáyamānaḥ prthivīm ádrñhaḍ yó ástabhnāḍ antárikṣaṃ
dívaṃ ca*

*yám bíbhrataṃ nanú pāpmā viveda sá no ’yám darbhoḥ dharuṇo¹
'dhivākaḥ*

‘He that, being born, made firm the earth and propped the atmosphere and the heaven, whose wearer evil never finds, that *darbha* here is our supporter and blessing.’

Finally in VS. 15. 1 Agni is besought for a blessing:

*ágne jātān prānuda naḥ sapátnān práty ájātān nuda jātavedaḥ
ādhi no brūhi sumānā áhedaṃs táva syāma ṣármaṃs trivárūtha
udbhāu*

‘O Agni, drive away the men that are hostile to us; ward off, O Jātavedas, our unborn enemies. Bless us, thou well-disposed one; may we not be angry with thee, in thy sufficient shelter, which protects threefold.’

Now as regards the syntax of *adhi*√*bru* and *adhi*√*vac*, we find that they always govern the dative of the person blessed. Numerous examples occur in the passages quoted above. Latin *benedicere*, meaning ‘to bless,’ regularly governs the accusative of the person, but it also takes the dative, e. g.: Plaut. *Rud.* 640, bene equidem tibi dico, qui te digna ut eveniat precer; Vulg. *Gen.* 9. 1, benedixit . . . deus Noe et filiis eius; *Iob* 31. 20, si non benedixerunt mihi latera eius.

In our examples we have one instance of the dative of the thing to which the blessing leads, the dative of purpose: RV.

¹ Read thus with Pāippalāda; see Whitney’s note *ad loc.*

10. 63. 11, *ūtāye* 'unto aid.' This is essentially equivalent in ultimate meaning, to the usual *instrumental*.

In the following passages we have the *instrumental of the thing*.

The suppliant prays to be blessed *with*:

śáktiḥ, 'with powers' (in debate), AV. 2. 27. 7;

ténā (= *bheṣajéna*) 'with that (remedy),' RV. 8. 20. 26;

ténā (= *yéna soma . . . āsurān randháyāsi*), 'with that (power by which thou betrayest the demons),' AV. 6. 7. 2;

ténā (= *várūthena chardīṣā*), 'with that (sheltering defense),' RV. 8. 67. 6;

ténā (*pathā*), 'with that (path which is easy and free from thorns)' RV. 2. 27. 6; [cf. RV. 8. 30. 3: *mā naḥ pathāḥ pītryān mānavād ādhi dūrām nāṣṭa parāvataḥ*, 'bless us, and do not lead us astray from the path of the fathers, of mankind (Manu?)']];

tébhir . . . pathíbhīḥ . . . rúksā ca no ādhi ca brūhi deva (savitaḥ), 'with these paths of thine (ancient, free from dust, well-made) do thou protect and bless us,' RV. 1. 35.

11. Here we have a kind of zeugma; the meaning is 'protect us *by means of* the paths and bless us *with* them (= afford them to us, lead us upon them).'

We also find in three examples the locative of situation. All these instances refer to battle.

The suppliant asks to be blessed *in*:

pṛtanāsu, 'battles,' AV. 4. 28. 7;

tátrā = *ājā*, 'battle,' RV. 7. 83. 2;

dhāneṣu hitéṣu, 'where (or when) wealth is at stake, i. e. in battle,' RV. 8. 16. 5.

From this examination of all the passages in the Rig- and Atharva-Veda that contain *adhi√vac* and *adhi√brū*, we conclude that the only meaning they have is 'to bless.' This view, indeed, is strengthened by the fact that in all the above quotations some deity or other is invoked. A blessing is the thing that is most frequently sought in all prayers. They universally govern the *dative of the person blessed*, and may be used with the *instrumental of the thing* or the *locative of situation*.

The Eighth Campaign of Sargon.—By W. F. ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Several years ago the Louvre came into possession of a clay tablet some fifteen inches long by ten wide, containing 430 long lines in four columns. Fortunately, the text is in a very fair state of preservation. On examination it proved to be a description of the eighth campaign of Sargon III (714 B. C.), against Armenia, couched in the form of a letter from the king to Aššûr,¹ the head of the Assyrian pantheon. This unique document gives us an entirely new idea of the true character of Assyrian historiography, which was by no means limited to bare annals and enumerations. Aside from such purple spots as Sennacherib's account of the battle of Xalûle and sections of the Rassam Prism of Sardanapalus, the royal inscriptions were a literary wilderness. Our text, however, is written in a highly rhythmical style, interspersed with flashes of pure poetry, and striking descriptions of natural scenery, mountains, forests, glaciers, and cataracts.

Here we have a product of the early years of the great literary renaissance which set in with the Sargonid dynasty. Young enthusiasm had not yet degenerated into scholasticism, such as we find under Esarhaddon and Aššûrbânîpal. We would expect to find reminiscences of the great literary masterpieces at a time when they were being freshly cultivated. Nor are we mistaken; for instance, lines 16, 19 (NE. 9. 39 f.), 52, 193, are adorned with spoil from the Gilgamesh-epos, which may well be called the Assyrian national epic.

¹ Delitzsch has probably gone too far in attempting to make a distinction between the orthography of the city and the god. The writing *Aššûr* for the divine name is found in the earliest period (see Holma, OLZ. 15. 446). Aššûr is the patron of his city Aššûr. At an early date he was identified with the god Ašir (form like 𐎶𐎵, for **kabîd*), consort of Aširat, who was introduced into the north by the Amorites (under Ilusumma?), toward the close of the third millennium. The distinctive features of Ašir survived to the end of the empire in Amûru, consort of Aširat = Bêlit-çêri, and chariot-driver of Aššûr. The writing *Ašûr* for the latter is very possibly due to contamination with Ašir.

Of first-rate importance is the archaeological information strewn thru the inscription. The account of Armenian horse-breeding does not suffer by comparison with classical statements in regard to Iranian methods. To our sorrow, however, the invaluable account of Rusas' extensive reclamation projects and (apparently) attempts at agrarian reform is badly mutilated. Curiously enough, the Assyrian, who condemns Rusas' arrogance so severely, is willing to describe at length the statesman-like achievements of the Chaldian. Nor does he lessen our respect for Rusas by the disdainful tone in which he quotes the epigraph on a statue representing the king in his chariot: 'With my two horses and my charioteer I conquered the kingdom of Ararat.'

The text has been treated in a masterly manner by the distinguished French Assyriologist, François Thureau-Dangin. His excellent treatment (*Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris, 1912) has been supplemented by his reviewers: Bezold (ZA. 28. 400-406), Langdon (PSBA. 36. 24-34), Pinches (JRAS. 1913. 581-612), and Ungnad (ZDMG. 67. 175-177). I wish to give briefly the results of my gleanings, with a few philological notes on difficult passages and unusual words.

Line 9. Langdon is probably correct (RA. 12. 79, n. 11) in combining *qarâtamu* with קרטם and قراط, tho قرضم had better be left out of consideration. The word may have meant originally 'the cutter,' 'slanderer' (cf. *qarçê akâlu*, etc.).

Line 21. Langdon observes (in his review) that Th.-D.'s correction of *xududû* to *iqdudû* is unnecessary. Moreover, we should expect a permansive here. Th.-D. would read the close of the line *ana itaplussa* (text *ni*) *ina inê šitpurat puluxtu*, which Ungnad corrects to *ana itaplus niñil inê šitpurat puluxtu*, which might mean 'in beholding the glance of the eyes fear is sent forth'—incomprehensible. Moreover, the infinitive is left without an object.

Line 23. Ungnad's reading *šadâl karši* ('expanding of the mind') in place of *šâri karši*, 'le souffle intérieur,' is unquestionably right.

Line 50. The words *imêr udrê ilitti mâtišunu* (Media) furnish additional proof that *udru* is 'Bactrian camel,' the Avestan *uštra*, from which *udru* (for **ušdru*) is derived.

Line 54. The passage *ana kunni šarrûtišu ipqâda* (rythmical accent) *narâšu* must be rendered 'for the maintenance of his sovereignty he set up his stele.' The verb, *paqâdu*, here exhibits the same nuance of meaning as the Hebrew שִׁים in such a passage as האבן הזאת אשר שמתי מצבה (Gen. 28. 22). *Paqâdu ana*, appoint over, is employed precisely like שִׁים על; cf. also Gen. 27. 37, הן גביר אשר שמתי לך. After giving Sargon valuable gifts, together with his eldest son, to be trained under Assyrian auspices, Ullusunû set up his stele to symbolize the permanence of his dynasty and his own position as viceroy of the Assyrian, perhaps portraying himself as Bêl-axxê-erîba does on the so-called Merodach-Baladan stone. Royal stelae frequently received divine honors.

Line 90. The verb *kummuru* is used here in its proper sense, 'heap up,' whence we have *karmu*, 'ruin.' In l. 183 *kamru* = *karmu*. Cf. also 101, *kitmuru-ma* = 'heaped up.' The original meaning of the stem is 'pour out' (see *Haupt*, *AJSL*. 32. 64 ff.), hence 'heap up' (like *šapâku*), 'overwhelm' (*kamâru* also = 'cover, overpower with a net').

Line 111. Th.-D. now (RA. 11. 86 f.) renders *šutêlup ananti* as 'joining battle,' instead of 'multiplication des (préparatifs) guerriers.' He still, however, maintains the existence of a verb *elêpu*, 'pousser, croître.' I am inclined to think that all supposed occurrences of this stem really belong to *elêpu* (or *alâpu*) 'bind' (whence *itlupu*, *alpu*, *elippu*, etc.), and *elêbu*, 'be fruitful, flourishing.' *Elêbu* may possibly be combined with חָלַב (חָלַב, 'milk'; cf. אָרֶץ זֶבֶת חֶלֶב וְדָבָשׁ), in view of the fact that *duš-šupu* (*dīšpu* = דִּישׁ) and *ṭuxxudu* are used in the same metaphorical sense as *ullubu*. This comparison must, nevertheless, be considered as problematical. At all events, *šutêlup* = *šutê-ulu* (stem אָל and not שָׂא, as Th.-D. seems to think), and *bullulu*, clearly means 'bind.' Accordingly, we may perhaps render AO. 4135, Rev. 5-6: *Šar-ur-ra an-ta lugal-bi-ir ugu-bi šu-ba-an-si-ib-ri-ri* = *Šarur eliš ana bêlišu elišu qâtîšu uštêtê'il*, as 'Šarur clasped his hands (!) above (his head) before his lord (in admiration of his prowess).'

Line 117. The close of this line seems to have baffled the ingenuity of scholars, owing to the fact that the scribe has miswritten *ši* for *pi*. We must read *bêl Aššûr dandânu ša ina uzzat tégimtišu rabîti malkê ša kiššati êtinû-ma uštapiûla lânâti*,

'The mighty lord of Aššûr, who by the glowing of his great wrath dazes the princes of the world and strikes them with terror.' Langdon (PSBA. 36. 27) understood *êtinû*, which he compared with *e-te-ni* (*Kudurru Melišipak*, 5. 8), from *enû*, 'change.' However, this meaning does not seem to be particularly appropriate in our passage, where *enû* seems, rather, to correspond to *šanû* (*têma*), חלף, 'be insane, silly,' etc. As *enû* is usually transitive, we may translate it by אָמַם, 'daze, deprive of reason.'

Uštapîla must be derived, of course, from *šupêlu*, synonym of *enû*. For the reflexive cf. SBH. 5. 17, *Ellil ša ġit pîšu lâ uš-te-pîl-lum*, 'Ellil, the word of whose mouth is not altered' (here passive). Cf. also the cases cited AG.² 304, HW. 514b. For the meaning of *šupêlu lānāti* (on the etymology of *lānu* = لَوْن, 'color,' לֵין, 'spend the night,' i. e. 'be enclosed'—cf. Latin *complectio*—see Haupt, BA. 10. 2), cf. Dan. 5. 9, חִיּוּהִי שָׁנִין עִלּוּהִי, from terror. The Aramaic idiom is paralleled still more closely in l. 128, *ikkira zîmušin*, 'their color was altered (from excessive fatigue)'; cf. also Job 14. 20, מִשְׁנָה פָּנָיו. In Myhrman's *Labartu*, p. 18, l. 3, we have *zîmi turraqî bunnanê tušpêlî*, 'thou dost make the complexion sallow (of a pregnant woman), and dost alter the bodily form.' Since *enû* probably meant primarily (like עָנָה) 'suppress,' it is quite possible that *šupêlu* is a causative of *bêlu*, 'to master, overrule.' *Šupêlu* may also be an Akkadian modification of Sum. *šu-bal*, 'alter.'

Line 121. Th.-D.'s reading *mêšar* is decidedly preferable to Ungnad's *šiptî*.

Line 126. The form *i-miš-šû* is extremely hard to explain; Th.-D.'s conjectural rendering, 's'enfuent,' is unlikely, because we should in this case expect *scriptio plena* with the relative. Nor can it be derived from *amâšu*, as Langdon suggests. I am inclined to read the line, *kakkêšu ezzûti ša ina aġîšunu ištu ġit Šamsi adî erêb Šamši lâ-mâgirê ilâqat[û]idû'a umâ'er-ma*, 'his raging weapons, which, as they issue forth from the east to the west, annihilate the rebellious, to my side he entrusted.'

Line 135. In connection with *kîdu*, 'field,' I wish to point out that *kîdânu*, 'outside' (see Meissner, MVAG. 18. 2, 51 ff.), a form like *šaplânu*, *elênu*, תִּיכּוֹן חִיצוֹן, etc., shows a development precisely like בִּרְאָה, 'field,' 'outdoors.' Its antonym,

bîtānu, is naturally to be compared to מִבִּית. *Kîdu* may stand for **kiddu* (cf. *ṣîru* = صَلَّ, etc.); at all events it is probably connected with كَدِيد and its synonym كَدَّة. The *Lisân*, 4. 381, gives a number of elucidations of *kadîd*: e. g. *walkadîdu 'l'ardu 'lmakdûdatu bilḥawâfiri*. After some ground has been well trodden by the hoofs of animals, nothing will grow on it. As a further illustration we are told: *walkadîdu mâ ḡáluza mina 'l'ardi* (= *eqil namraṣi*) *waqâla 'Abu 'Ubaid alkadîdu mina 'l'ardi 'lbaṭnu 'lwâsi'u xuliqa xalqa 'l'audiati 'au 'ausa'a minhâ*. This wide depression, shaped like an arroyo, or wider than it, would seem to describe a sink, which is, of course, arid. *Kadîd* in the sense *alturâbu 'lnâ'imû fa'idâ wuṭi'a ṭâra ḡubâruhu* is privative, 'the dust which is worn off by much trampling.' While these meanings are all specialized, we are safe in concluding that *kîdu* meant primarily 'rough, waste land,' hence 'open, uncultivated land,' in general.

Line 147. The similarity between this line and Jos. 10. 11a, is most striking. Here we assist at the very birth of a miracle. A hailstorm occurred soon after the battle; with a touch of poetic hyperbole, this might in each case be interpreted as a special interpretation of Adad, or conversely JHWH. 11a sounds like a contemporary description; 11b, however, introduces us into the realm of legendary embellishment.

Line 172. So far as I know, the word *litku* (*litikšun*), which Th.-D. renders conjecturally by 'troupe,' is found only in this passage. The context agrees with this translation very well; moreover, it seems to be supported by philological considerations. There was unquestionably a stem *latâku* = *natâku*, 'pour,' in Assyrian, corresponding to the לַתֵּךְ of Zinjirli (cf. Nöldeke, ZDMG. 47. 98). Haupt has pointed out that לִתְךָ (Hos. 3. 2), a measure of capacity, must have been originally a liquid measure (לַתֵּךְ = נֵתֵךְ cf. צֶלֶם = صَم, etc.). In a vocabulary published by Weidner (see RA. 11. 126), we have *litiktu*, syn. of *xummu*, tho the word seems to puzzle Weidner. *Xummu* is explained as *maltû ṣixru*, 'small drinking-cup' (HW. 695b). *Litku*, 'troop, squadron,' seems, therefore, to present a development like صَبَّة, 'troop,' from صَب, 'pour' (cf. صَبَّأً عَلَى, 'lead a

band against'). Similarly, **افاض**, 'pour out,' also means 'walk in procession' (cf. German *wallen*). To the same stem belongs unquestionably *maltaktu*, *maštaktu* (HW. 696a), 'casting' (molten metal, as the ideogram *GIŠ-LU-LU* also indicates). The *l* is more original than the *š*, as in *manzaltu*, *manzaštu* (**نزل**; see Clay in OLZ. 18). The same phenomenon is found in such Assyrian (in its local sense) forms as *iséqî* = *istéqî* = *iltéqî*. The opposite process is secondary; *l* became primarily *š*, just as *r* became *š* before dentals (*martuku* = *maštuku*, etc.). It is not impossible that *maštaku* was originally the room in which the wine-jars were kept (cf. German *Schenke*), hence 'store-room' (cf. **מלתחה**), 'room.'

Line 173. *pitxallu* (lit. 'opening of the crotch') is an expression like *pit-puridu*. This explanation, proposed by Th.-D., seems to exclude the very plausible comparisons made with *puxálu*, 'male' (also 'stallion'), and Ar. *fahl*, 'stallion.'

Line 175. As Ungnad observes, we must read *ikrubu* instead of *iqrubu*. The chiefs of Rusas' defeated army, fleeing before Sargon, came to the troops in the garrisons, who had given way to their fear and lay groveling on the ground. Stooping over them, the heralds of defeat related the story of the disastrous rout, which so affected them that they fainted away (*iksúdû mîtûtîš*). This, of course, is only a stereotyped motif of the Assyrian historiographers.

Line 209. The word *saxxu* is clearly connected with **سَخاخ**, 'good ground,' and means 'productive, meadow land,' not barren, or alkaline.

Line 223. Nearly two-thirds of this line is wanting. What remains may be read [*nâdâtî*] *qaranê ça'nâ-ma kîma tîq šamê inâqâ*, 'the skins, which were filled with wine, dripped like the downpour of heaven.' No doubt they had been slashed open by the Assyrian soldiers, à la Don Quixote. *Nâqu* means ordinarily 'weep,' but the ideas 'weep, drip, leak,' are very closely allied (cf. **بكى**, 'weep,' and **بكا**, 'drip.' **ناق** 'clarify grease,' naturally means 'drip (grease)'; grease is clarified by straining it over a slow fire. *Naqû*, 'pour out, spill,' is ultimately to be connected with *nâqu*.)

Line 228. Th.-D. renders *ana mušši teçîti lâ êziba šubultu*, 'pour réparer la ruine je ne laissai pas un épi.' *Mašû*, however,

means 'be dark' (see Weidner BA. 9. 1. 82, n. 1, and esp. RA. 11. 127, *mi-šal*[!] = *šumšû*, 'darken'; Weidner thinks *NI* = *namâru* and *mašû* is an example of antiphrasis), 'cover' (cf. *ḫa* = *eḫû*). Accordingly, we may render the passage 'to cover the ruin I did not leave a stalk.'

Line 253. Ungnad is undoubtedly correct in reading *A-KAL* = *mîlu*, 'flood,' instead of *arîb*, 'locust.'

Line 270. Here we have a veritable *crux interpretum*, upon which I am unable to throw any light.

Line 343. Ungnad's reading *galtu*, for Th.-D.'s *rabîtu*, is again obviously correct.

Line 362. Much to my surprise, I have been unable to find anyone who has combined *kiuru*, 'basin,' with כִּיּוֹר. Doubtless there are others in the same perplexity. The word is probably Sumerian, with no kinship to כִּיּוֹר. At all events the כִּיּוֹר נְחִשֶׁת (2 Chr. 6. 13), 5 cubits x 5 x 3, upon which Solomon knelt at the dedication of the temple, is clearly Sum. *ki-úr*, or *ki-ùr* (SGL. 49) = *duruššu* (syn. of *išdu*), and *nêrîb erçitîm*, 'entrance to Hades.' Cf. Langdon *Bab. Liturgies*, p. 138, whose statements, however, must be taken with caution. *Duruššu* does not mean 'dwelling.' While I do not care to venture upon such a treacherous surface at present, perhaps some other scholar, gifted with a keener vision, may be able to show the way.



WILLIAM HAYES WARD

In Memoriam

WILLIAM HAYES WARD

(1835-1916)

By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., University of Pennsylvania

At the meeting of the American Oriental Society held during Easter week, 1916, in Washington, D. C., it was decided to dedicate a volume of the JOURNAL to William Hayes Ward, a former president of the Society and for many years an active member, in order to mark by this tribute the eightieth anniversary of his birth. Before the volume was issued Dr. Ward passed away, and it now appears as a memorial to him in grateful recognition of his valuable services in furthering Oriental research in this country. It seems fitting to add a biographical sketch of his career, so as to have a permanent record of one who had endeared himself to his associates and colleagues during an intercourse extending over many years and who well deserves to be remembered.

William Hayes Ward was born in Abington, Mass., on June 25, 1835. He came from a family in which the clerical life had become almost a tradition. His great-grandfather and grandfather were ministers of the first church of Plymouth, N. H., and his father, James Wilson Ward, was for twenty-one years pastor of the First Congregational Church at Abington. His mother was Hetta Lord Hayes, oldest daughter of Judge William Allen Hayes and Susan Lord of South Berwick, Maine. There was a close intimacy between the Ward and Hayes families, and all the children of both were at some time pupils of the Berwick Academy, adjoining the Hayes house. Mrs. Ward died when William was seven years old, so that the care and education of the five children devolved largely on the father, from whom William received his first instruction at a very early age in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. After a subsequent training at various schools, including a term at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., William entered Amherst College, from which he graduated with distinction in 1856. After teaching for a short time,

he entered Union Theological Seminary, New York, whence after a short stay he went to the Theological School of Yale College; and then after a brief interval of teaching at Beloit College, Wisconsin, he entered the Senior class at the Andover Theological Seminary in July, 1858, and graduated in 1859. In thus passing from one seminary to the other, he was following his father's advice to get the "cream" of all three institutions. He was licensed to preach in January, 1859, by the Middlesex South Association, and on August 6th of the same year married Ellen Maria Dickinson, whom he had met during his stay in Beloit. The American Board of Missions having rejected an offer of his services because of the delicate health of his wife, he applied to the Congregational Home Missionary Society and was sent to Oskaloosa, Kans., where he and his wife spent two years amidst many hardships and privations. He again took to teaching for his livelihood, first at an Academy in Utica and subsequently till 1868 at Ripon College in Wisconsin. During all these years he carried on his studies in various fields, read widely, and we may assume laid the foundations for the profound interest in Oriental research which became the main inspiration of his later career. He also maintained his interest in church affairs, preaching frequently and becoming active on various church and missionary Boards. An offer from Mr. Henry C. Bowen, the proprietor of *The Independent*, to take a position on the editorial staff was the immediate occasion of his moving to New York. That post he retained until his death—during a period of almost half a century. His wife died in 1873, and in 1875 he moved to Newark, thereafter making the trip daily to New York. Retiring from active service on *The Independent* in 1914, though still continuing to write for it, he passed the two closing years of his long life at the old home of the Hayes family in South Berwick—thus returning to the associations of his early boyhood. A carriage accident in the summer of 1915 brought on paralysis of the arms from which he never fully recovered. His strength began to fail, and for five months before the end he was quite helpless. He passed away peacefully on August 28, 1916, and was buried at Berwick.

These skeleton outlines of his life convey little idea of how usefully this life was spent, and how full it was of varied activities. His active participation in church and missionary work continued throughout his life and occupied much of his time.

He served on the American Committee for Bible Revision and on the Simplified Spelling Board. He was for many years a Trustee of Amherst College, was deeply interested in negro colleges in the South, and was a regular attendant at the Mohonk conferences, charged for many years with preparing the platform. His editorial duties on *The Independent* increased as the years went on and consumed his working hours during the day-time. Despite all this, he found time to carry on his studies in the Old and New Testament and in Oriental archæology, gradually extending his sphere to include the Hittites and the civilization of Babylonia and Assyria, in which during the last thirty years of his life he became deeply versed. How he managed to keep himself abreast with the researches of European and American scholars in these various fields was a source of amazement to his friends. His evenings, spent at his home in Newark, were given to these favorite studies, and such was his diligence, steadily maintained, that little of any moment ever escaped his notice. Becoming a member of the American Oriental Society in 1869, he rarely failed to attend the meetings, held semi-annually until 1890 and after that annually; and he generally came prepared to lay the results of his researches before his fellow workers. He became one of the most active workers, was for many years a Director of the Society, and was twice honored by election to the Presidency, first in 1890 and again in 1909. His first paper before the Society was published in the Proceedings in 1870. He was also an active member of the Society of Biblical Literature, attending the annual meetings regularly. The breadth of his knowledge was particularly manifest in his discussions of the papers read, which were always fertile in suggestion. His strong wish to see this country take a share in the excavations of Babylonian and Assyrian cities led him to accept the Directorship of the Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia in 1884. Several months were spent in examining a number of mounds in the region with a view to further excavations, and it was the stimulus given by this expedition that ultimately led to the organization of a committee of Philadelphians under the leadership of Dr. William Pepper, then Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and of the Rev. John P. Peters, then Professor of Hebrew at the same institution. This movement culminated in the expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur from 1888 to 1900, first under

the direction of Dr. Peters and then under the leadership of the late John Henry Haynes, whose service to the cause of Babylonian archæology should not be forgotten. Dr. Ward had the satisfaction of seeing a second American expedition sent to Babylonia with Dr. E. J. Banks as Director, under the auspices of the University of Chicago.

Dr. Ward's chief interest in the field of Oriental research became more and more concentrated on the study of the Seal Cylinders of Babylonia and Assyria, of which large numbers had turned up in the course of the excavations and private diggings of native Arabs. While the importance of these cylinders, both because of the designs on them and because of the short descriptions which frequently accompanied the design, had been recognized, chiefly through the work of the French Assyriologist, Joachim Ménant, Dr. Ward was the first to systematize the study by a determination of the groups into which they fell. He also established, by careful investigation of the workmanship on the seals and the character of the designs, more definite criteria for their division into periods. Hittite seals became sharply differentiated from Babylonian cylinders, and these again from Assyrian cylinders and from still later specimens of the Persian period. His eye became sharpened to distinguish many details on the objects which had escaped the attention of others. He showed the importance of the designs as illustrations of Babylonian-Assyrian myths and popular tales, and also utilized them in elucidating the views held of the gods and goddesses. These results, first communicated in a series of papers appearing in various journals, led to two fundamental works on the subject: (1) 'Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan,' (New York, 1909); and (2) 'Seal Cylinders of Western Asia,' published under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution (Washington, 1910). The former work contains detailed descriptions of 323 Seal Cylinders with a most valuable introduction, in which the results of his study of Mr. Morgan's splendid collection are summed up, while the latter is recognized in every sense of the word as covering the entire period. In the preparation of this *magnum opus*, Dr. Ward ransacked the museums and private collections of Europe and this country. Realizing that for a detailed study no process of photographic reproduction could bring out all the features of the designs, which were often so faint and worn as to be

scarcely distinguishable, he had careful drawings made of the 1315 specimens included in the volume. With a broad division of the Seal Cylinders into Babylonian, Assyrian, Syro-Hittite, and Persian, he grouped together the specimens that showed the same designs, traced the development and modifications of these designs, and thus gave scholars for the first time a comprehensive and thoroughly scholarly view of the large and steadily increasing field. His work laid down the canons to be followed in the study of the Seal Cylinders, and it is safe to predict that his contribution will retain for a long time to come the position that it now holds of being *the source* for the subject, and a monument at the same time to Dr. Ward's industry, acumen, and learning in many fields. Dr. Ward's extensive readings in many fields, as well as his knowledge of botany—a favorite study with him ever since boyhood days—and other natural sciences appear throughout his work, and enabled him to propose satisfactory solutions for some of the designs on the seals that had baffled others before him.

Outside of the Oriental field his contributions in the form of articles, editorials, and reports of all kinds, published chiefly in *The Independent*, were in the nature of things of a fleeting character, but mention should be made here of his share in calling attention to the poetry of Sidney Lanier. Many of Lanier's poems first saw the light of day in *The Independent*. After the poet's early death it was through the exertions of Dr. Ward that Scribners issued, in 1884, a volume of Lanier's verse, to which Dr. Ward contributed a biographical memoir. Dr. Ward's last large work was an exceedingly interesting and finely written 'confession of faith,' published in 1915 under the title of "What I Believe, and Why." He had lived through a period marked by discoveries in the realms of natural science and by researches in the field of Old and New Testament studies and the bearings of archæology on Palestinian customs and beliefs, that had largely changed the point of view of thinkers towards religious doctrines and beliefs. As a genuine scholar, Dr. Ward faced the conflict thus aroused between established tradition and the postulates of scientific activity boldly and frankly. He solved the problem for himself, and in the autobiography of his own intellectual and spiritual life sets down the solution for others. The book is a reflection of the man as he appeared to those who were brought into association with him—intensely

sympathetic with all earnest efforts, whether in the field of scholarship or public service, excessively modest in the estimate of his own achievements, while generous towards those of his colleagues, always ready to give his time and strength to any good cause, having a broad grasp of any subject in which he became interested, keen in his interpretation of scientific material and always fertile in thought.

Material for this sketch was kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Ward's sister, Miss Susan Hayes Ward, to whom I beg to express my deep obligation.

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* Abbreviations:

AJA = American Journal of Archæology.

AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages.

BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.

H = Hebraica.

JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.

PAOS = Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.

SST = Sunday School Times.

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

First notation after abbreviation indicates vól.; the second notation, the page or pages.

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[The very large number of editorials, notices and unsigned short articles on Oriental subjects that appeared in *The Independent* during the long period of Dr. Ward's association with its editorial department, are not included in the Bibliography. Dr. Ward also completed the MS. of his critical text of Habakkuk for *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, edited by Prof. Paul Haupt; this has not yet been published.]

Indra as God of Fertility.—By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University.

During the drought and famine which accompanied the outbreak of plague in India in 1896-1897 the peasants of the Ganges valley lived in the hope that 'Indra would send rain,' and further west, at Ahmedabad, the local priests circumambulated the city hymning the same desire in more orthodox form. For to the peasant Indra has lost his ancient personality and is vaguely conceived as a god somehow connected with Śiva, but his essential character persists and as a divinity of rain and fertility he is even to-day potent in the imagination of the Hindu.

There is something that appeals to our imagination also in the realization that this god, who is older than Brahman, Vishnu, and Śiva, still has his worshipers. No other god, unless it be the rather impersonal Heaven of the Chinese, has been revered with uninterrupted devotion for so many centuries. The gods of Egypt and Babylon were born earlier perhaps, but they all died long ago. Indra, worshiped to-day, was already a notable god fourteen hundred years before the Christian era. His contemporaries, Varuṇa, Mitra, and the 'healing' Twins, who correspond to the Dioskouroi, have long since vanished from the mind of the people. But Indra perdures, at least as giver of rain.

Outside of India, this god, under the name Indra or Andra (possibly connected with Anglo-Saxon *ent*, 'giant') was recognized as a demon so important that he stands third in the list of evil spirits opposed to the good powers of the Zoroastrian, his only superiors being the Evil One himself and the Corpse-demon.

In my *Epic Mythology* I have pointed out that Indra in epic literature is a god of fertility as well as a god of battles. The feast of Indra, which comes at the end of the wet season (cf. BS. 43), is a stated festival, not, as later, a celebration of a victory, in which a pole gaudily decked is set up as the central object of a popular merry-making. Indra is the 'crop-controller,' *pākaśāsana* (misunderstood of course as 'controller of Pāka' and interpreted in terms of war as conqueror). All grain that springs up without cultivation is called grain raised by

Indra. He is 'lord of the water-givers (clouds).' The expression 'when it rains' is indifferently 'when the god rains' or 'when Vāsava (Indra) rains.' When a categorical answer is demanded to the question 'What is the especial business of Indra?', the answer is not 'to lead the gods to battle' but 'to bestow energy, children, and happiness' (*op. cit.* p. 123 f.).

The bestowal of energy and of children is a function of Indra, noticed as early as the Rig-Veda, to which I called attention in this JOURNAL twenty-one years ago; but its importance has been practically ignored since then, as it was in previous discussions of the god's character. Ludwig, for example, in his *résumé* did not even allude to it. Nevertheless, if we consider the persistence of this trait through the native literature, it cannot be relegated to a subsidiary place, as if fertility-giving were a late-developed attribute of a panergetes or *viśvakarman* god, though this title is given him in the Rig-Veda.

To resume the study of Indra in post-Vedic works, it is significant that the law-book of Manu recognizes him only as a god of power who 'rains for four months.' His wife, according to Pāraskara (2. 17. 9), is Sītā, that is, the personified furrow (not Sāvitrī, as native tradition has it). The sacrifice to Indra is here conjoined with that to (the fertile field) Urvarā, also called Sītā, and to Bhūti, personified Prosperity, the offerings being of rice and barley. Baudhāyana (3. 3) agrees with the epic in recognizing all wild plant life as produced by Indra. Several plants are called especially by his name. An early example is that of the *ādāra*-plants known as 'Indra's might' (ŚB. 14. 1. 2. 12). In the Sautrāmaṇī (ib. 12. 7. 1) the meaning of the legend that plants and virile forces come from his body is that he produces the plants and animals mentioned. He is here the 'giver of life.' The he-goat and barley, with jujubes, the ram and 'Indra-grain' were the first products of his *vīrya* (virile or vital power); afterwards came the bull, horse, mule, ass, etc., till Indra lay exhausted and the gods said, 'He was the best of us; let us cure him.' Here too the bull is represented as the one animal especially sacred to Indra. These peculiarly virile animals, goat, ram, and bull reflect best the *vīrya* of the god, whose virtue to be sure is bravery but more essentially is virility. 'The Earth, whose bull is Indra' (AV. 12. 1. 6), is a distinct allusion to the fructification of earth through the god. That the god is the rain-god may be surmised even from the fact that

both in epic and legal literature the rainbow is called the 'bow of Indra.' Also the 'net of Indra,' which in the epic is regarded as a kind of magic weapon, is perhaps in its earlier appearance, where it encircles all men with darkness (AV. 8. 8. 8), nothing more than fog or mist. Indra's 'arrows' or darts are rain (e. g. Pār. GS. 3. 15. 18).

The appeal, 'Do not forsake us, Indra,' is one offered at the ceremony of first-fruits and is followed by the marking of the cattle, also associated with the same god (ŚGS. 3. 8). But more than this, in sympathy with the whole conception of the Indra of every-day life, the sky is said to become pregnant with Indra and (at a certain time) the householder's wife is addressed with the words, '(As) Indra puts the embryo in the cow, (so) do thou conceive' (Hiraṇ. GS. 1. 7. 5). He is one of the gods who assure the birth of a male child (ŚGS. 1. 17). Indra granted to women the boon of having children (elaboration of the story that they assumed his guilt when he slew the son of Tvaṣṭr, Vās. 5. 7). As was to be expected from a god of fertility, Indra shows his power in the human race as well as in the vegetable world. He gives children and crops. When others are associated with him, for he is by no means unique in this regard, it is profitable to study the group. For example, when the plow is first started, there is a group of spirits to whom sacrifice should be made to insure a good harvest. The group consists first of all of Indra; then of his companion spirits, the Maruts; then of his epic double, Parjanya; then of the Aśani, the personified lightning-bolt of Indra; and finally of the genius of getting (and begetting), Bhaga, who in the Rig-Veda is synonymous with Indra (see below). At the same time sacrifice is made to other rural deities, such as the Furrow (Sītā; Gobh. GS. 4. 4. 28). In short, it is no exaggeration to say that, to the householder of the age immediately following that called Vedic, Indra is virtually a god of fertility and nothing more.

The Vedic period differs only in this, that while it presents Indra as god of fertility it dwells also upon his warlike, crushing power, so that he is invoked not only to give fertility and virility, but to destroy it in the case of enemies (e. g. AV. 6. 138. 2). Instances of the former abound. Thus in the magic-mongering Atharva, to back up a charm magically potent to produce virility through an herb, Indra is invoked with the words, 'O Indra, controller of bodies, put virility into him'

(AV. 4. 4. 4). Or, to get a wife, a man entreats Indra, to procure a wife for him with his golden hook, which drags in all sorts of good things (as in the Rig-Veda), while, conversely, Indra is also invoked to provide a husband for a girl (ib. 2. 36. 6.). He is entreated as giver of virility to bestow the power of the goat, the ram, and the bull; and as giver of power he also bestows long life and puts power into the plants (e. g. AV. 4. 19. 8). It is reasonable to suppose that all this hangs together with the fact that Indra is regent of the early spring (Indranakṣatra is Phalguni, ŚB. 2. 1. 2. 11), when weddings are in order (AV. 14. 1. 13; possibly, as Hillebrandt suggests, with the belief that Indra is son of the New Year, ib. 3. 10. 13).

In the Rig-Veda, Indra is the close companion of the rain-gods who cannot represent the occasional showers of winter but, with accompaniment of lightning and storm, portray or are the storms of summer, as their sire, the later Śiva, Vedic Rudra, is also god of summer-time. Several books call him especially *marutvat* and *marudgana*, even when Indra is not particularly invoked along with the Maruts. It is only the inner similarity which has united these originally separate elements. Indra had at first nothing to do with the Maruts, who belong to Rudra; but they and their acts are so Indra-like that even the phraseology employed to describe them is that employed to describe the god who has adopted them.

As *dhúnir múnir va(iva)* describes them (7. 56. 8), so Indra is addressed, 'A storm god, thou (*dhúnir Indra*) hast let out the stormy waters which are like rivers' (*sirā*, as in 4. 19. 8; 10. 49. 9). Indra here expressly lets out stormy waters which are (not rivers but) 'like rivers' (1. 174. 9). These are the waters referred to as *devīs*, *svarvatīs*, 'heavenly' (1. 173. 8; 3. 32. 6; 5. 2. 11; 8. 40. 10 f.; cf. 10. 63. 15). In the last passage, Indra and the Maruts together are invoked for weal in respect to the waters in the heavenly, *svarvati*, place, and for weal in begetting sons. He is the virile one (or ram, *vṛṣṇi*) who leads this herd of Maruts and wins the waters for man and storms out the 'cows' for them. When he gets excited not even heaven and earth together can overpower him (1. 10. 2, 8). He goes between them in the atmosphere what time he seizes the wealth of the hills (1. 51. 2). Now the Maruts themselves fly over the ridges of the hills and are evidently givers of cloud-water, since they darken the sky and flood the earth along with 'water-bring-

ing Parjanya' (1. 38. 8 f.; 5. 58. 3; 8. 46. 18, *vr̥ṣṭīm junanti*, etc.). In these passages they are said to urge on and let out the rain. They are themselves the 'bulls of the sky' and they let the water stream from the sky as they are entreated, in the very words addressed to Indra, for seed and children (*tokám puṣyema tánayam* (1. 64. 6 and 14; see below). Like Indra, the Maruts in the first passage are like lions and elephants in their roaring and fury, and they are said to bring out, as it were, a strong horse *mihé*, to let out water, an expression we shall meet again used of Indra.

It is by no means a negligible fact that, on the other hand, Indra is entreated to let out the waters, 'life-giving, Marut-accompanied' (1. 80. 4). The poet who says this was thinking of the waters just described given by the Maruts and says at the same time that Indra blows the dragon from the sky as well as from the earth, *vr̥trám jaghantha nír diváh: marútvatir apáh*. It is impossible to maintain that Indra in the Rig-Veda is not a giver of rain or to confine the possible cases where he gives rain to the passages where rain is mentioned by its prose name. 'Marut-accompanied water' is rain, as a dozen passages prove. Like Indra, the Maruts also 'split the rock' (*parvatam*, 1. 85. 10) and pierce the demons with lightning (1. 86. 9). The sustenance which they stream to man is called *iṣ* (as is that of Indra). They rend the hills; they dance and sing (2. 34. 8; 5. 52. 9, 12); he and they bestow cattle, horses, cars, heroes, perhaps gold (3. 30. 20; 5. 57. 7). As bulls they make tremble mountains, earth, and trees, yet bring healing waters as medicine for ills (8. 20. 5 f.). They are said to be 'in close connection with Indra' (*sámmiślā índre*, 1. 166. 11). The sap or sustenance, *iṣ*, which Indra 'found in the endless stone' is identical with the 'treasure of the sky' (1. 130. 3) and is one with the *iṣ* distributed by the Maruts (above). This treasure, *nidhi*, is then again the *diváh kósah* ('treasure of the sky') mentioned as having been found by the Maruts, when they 'loosen Parjanya' and send the treasure of rain to earth (5. 53. 6). Thus at all points the activity of the Maruts agrees with that of Indra. The treasure is rain,¹ rain is the sap or sustenance, the sustenance is sent by Indra and by the Maruts. Moreover, the dragon 'stems the sky' before being slain by Indra, whose bolt

¹ In 10. 42. 2, 7, Indra himself as treasure gives grain and cows.

makes the two worlds shudder with its loud sound (2. 11. 9), where the same word is used to describe the sound as is used of Parjanya when thundering (*kánikradat stanáyan*, 5. 83. 9). So of Indra it is said, as of the Maruts (above), that he sends gifts of horses and cows when he thunders (*stanáyan*, 6. 44. 12). Compare (8. 6. 40), 'The bull with the bolt has roared in the sky,' of Indra thundering. For, though an atmospheric god, as is shown by his thunder and the bluster which 'makes the woods roar' (1. 54. 5), he yet 'touches the sky' (1. 23. 2), as he rushes along with the Wind-god, whose close companion he is. Thus it is with Wind that Indra conquers (4. 21. 4) and hence he shares the morning-sacrifice with Wind (4. 46-48; cf. 7. 90. 6). The two are invoked together (1. 2. 4; 135. 7), and it is with the horses of Wind that Indra brings death to Śuśṇa (1. 175. 4). Indra 'yokes the two horses of the Wind-god,' as if to imply that Indra's two steeds were identical with the winds (10. 22. 4), as is actually stated in Vāl. 2. 8: 'With the horses of the Wind thou puttest to silence the demons and goest about the bright sky.' Hence it is that Indra is said to 'extend the rain as if from the sky' (8. 12. 6). The frequent adverb 'down' is also to be noticed in connection with his sending, though this might apply to the downward course of rivers as well as of rain. Yet 8. 54. 8 is significant: 'Let thy constant favor drip down' (*ní tośaya*), alluding to the sap (rain) mentioned in the preceding verse. Indra climbs on the back of the tottering demon and hews downward at him with his bolt, and this too may be more than the downward stroke of any bestriding victor. It seems to imply, with the many parallel cases of 'smiting down' (1. 80. 5; 2. 17. 5; 5. 29. 4; etc.), what is explicitly said in 3. 31. 8: 'From the sky shining' he frees his friends from shame. For such explicit statements are not isolated: 'High in air he stood and then cast his bolt at Vṛtra; clothed in mist he attacked him and sharp was his weapon,' followed by the invocation, 'Cast down from the sky above, O Indra, the stone wherewith thou joying wilt burn the foe; for the getting of seed and many children and cows make us thy party' (2. 30. 3, 5; 6. 44. 18). Indra is the 'celestial giver of cows,' *divákṣas* (3. 30. 21), and it is probable that the (virtually identical) word *dyukṣá* is to be taken in the same sense in 5. 39. 2, 'Bring us, O Indra, whatever thou thinkest desirable in heaven' (alternative, 'brilliant'). Like the Maruts (above)

Indra is frequently described as the 'dancer' or dancing god (1. 130. 7; 2. 22. 4; etc.), who 'joys in the seat of the sun' and drinks Soma as soon as he is born, in the highest heaven (3. 32. 10; 34. 7; 51. 3 f.). A more than usually brilliant description of him, which accords ill with the interpretation that he is a giant of the mountains of earth, says that Indra 'is the dancing god who, clothed in perfumed garments, golden-cheeked rides on his golden car' (6. 29. 2 f.), as the Maruts are clothed (5. 55. 6) and otherwise appear in the same golden glory.

It is now time to make the application of these data. Professor Hillebrandt, whose thesis is that Indra's sphere of activity is diametrically opposed to that of the Maruts, the latter operating in summer and Indra in spring or when the winter begins to pass, has endeavored to offset the community of Indra and the Maruts by showing that some families do not invoke the Maruts and Indra together (as one group) so often as do other families. But this is no adequate explanation of the phenomena, which show that in all the points enumerated above the field of activity and process of accomplishment are identical. It is quite impossible to separate Indra and the Maruts as representing activities belonging to different times of the year. The only point which could be proved by the fact that one clan does not besing Indra and the Maruts conjointly (though there is no such clan) is that some clans have seen that the two divinities (Marut and Indra) are practically one in their performances and some have refused to see it or have refused to bend to the syncretistic tendency. As a matter of fact, no clan omits to conjoin them; only some clans join them more closely and speak of the union more often, either in action or at sacrifice. If, as Hillebrandt thinks, the Maruts are in origin Manes, there may have been good reason for the unwillingness of some and the willingness of others to associate Indra with them or them with Indra. More important than the relative frequency with which clans more or less adverse to the Indra-cult admitted him and the Maruts to a joint sacrifice is the fact that Indra's own home clan, the Kuśikas, fully endorse the intimacy. They who know him best, whose pet god Indra is, are the very ones who group the Maruts with him. Still more important is the fact that apart from clan-predilection the description of even the clans which do not favor this grouping shows (as explained above) that it is idle to sunder the Maruts as summer-gods from Indra as late-winter

or spring-god. Even the Bharadvājas, who Hillebrandt shows do not favor the sacrificial community of the two, speak several times of Indra as accompanied by the Maruts (6. 19. 11; 40. 5; 47. 5). They admit also that the Maruts strengthen Indra (6. 17. 11), and their identification of the *deva ratha* with Indra's bolt and the Maruts' van also connects them closely (6. 47. 28), especially in view of the fact that the 'Maruts' van' is elsewhere apparently identified with Indra's 'sharp weapon,' the bolt (8. 96. 9).

Similarly, the Vasiṣṭhas, though rarely uniting Indra and the Maruts, yet show full acquaintance with the fact that if one has 'Indra and the Maruts' as his helpers, he will become rich in cows (7. 32. 10), and they pray that the 'accompanying roar of the Maruts' shall encompass Indra as he comes with his lightning (7. 31. 8, *sahá dyúbhiḥ*; for the roar, cf. 2. 11. 7 f.). Even the Atris speak of Indra as the wise seer of the Maruts (5. 29. 1) and the Gr̥tsamadas at least group the Maruts with Indra and Vāyu as common benefactors (2. 11. 14). Evidently Indra, however apart or shared be his victory, is recognized everywhere as coming at the same time with the Maruts, whose 'friend' he is (8. 36. 2, as *apsujit*; cf. ib. 76. 1 f.). The *sárdho marútām* rejoice in Indra (ib. 15. 9), whether they fight with him or not, and the prevailing opinion of the Rig-Veda, no one opposing, is that they are his band, *gana*, that Indra gave them a share of Soma (3. 35. 9), and that all beings have bent before (*yemire*) Indra since the Marut clans have bent down (*niyemiré*) before him (8. 12. 29).² There is certainly not the slightest indication that they are active in different seasons, and since Hillebrandt admits that the Rudra-Maruts are summer-time gods, it follows that Indra is a god of the same season, even if the phenomena accompanying both, driving winds, rending lightning, loosening the waters and 'cows,' shaking the hills, and roaring 'music,' were not identical.

As Indra stands in the air, so he is represented as 'blowing the great snake (the dragon) out of the air' (atmosphere, *nīr antáriḥṣāt*, 8. 3. 20) and as 'shooting from the sky' (10. 89. 12). Rain is his herd (10. 23. 4). The waters which he lets out come up 'from the south day after day, going without cessation to their goal,' and it is these monsoon-waters which

² Compare 8. 89. 2; 98. 3.

Indra collects and gives as his unceasing gift (6. 32. 5). His bolt is variously represented as a stone or a club of a hundred knots or an arrow or a spear or simply as a missile. It lightens, it burns, it smashes down, it gleams as a hot bolt—and yet the modern mythologist believes that it is ‘only a club’ and a club does not imply a bolt of lightning!³ As a clinching argument we are reminded that Mithra also carries a club and Jupiter with his bolt is not a rain-god! Surely ‘Zeus rains,’ and Jupiter Pluvialis, also Elicius (cf. *aquaelicium*), gives rain. As for Mithra, his own hymn says that he ‘makes the waters flow and the plants grow.’ Mithra too has a club with a hundred edges and with it he ‘smites the Daevas,’ while with his arrows he lets out water. So Mithra and Jupiter both show what a club as a bolt may do.⁴

Before Fire became a mere sacrificial horse, burdened with a load of offerings, he was an avorter of demons, a function still retained in the Rig-Veda: ‘Burn, O Agni, all the demons; protect us from the curse’ (1. 76. 3). In the same way Indra is ‘begotten as demon-slayer’; he smites the demons or burns them with his missile (1. 129. 11; 6. 18. 10, *heti*), as he burns the foe or ‘burns down on high the *dasyus* out of heaven’ (6. 22. 8; 1. 33. 4, 7), so that he appears to be lightning itself (*divyévāśānir jahi*, 1. 176. 3). Of course, Indra is not lightning, but when he is asked to ‘burn demons as fire burns wood’ (6. 18. 10), there is no doubt that the poet is right in saying that he is like lightning. The use of stone and metal as synonymous with missile and arrow seems to bar out the suggestion that Indra’s normal weapon might be burning sun-beams, though he may employ them (8. 12. 9)⁵ when he becomes so great

³ *āśānim tāpisthām . . tāpuṣim hetim* (3. 30. 16 f.); *śārvā* (2. 12. 10); *tanyatām = vājram* (1. 52. 6); *āśānim* (1. 54. 4); ‘thou who begottest gleaming lightnings from the sky,’ *ḍidyūto divāh*, (2. 13. 7), etc., etc. Compare 1. 52. 15, the edged club, *bhr̥ṣṭimātā vadhēna*; of metal (1. 80. 12); *śrkām pavim* (10. 180. 2).

⁴ When Tibullus says *arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Iovi* (1. 7), he means that in Italy the dry vegetation begs Jupiter for rain. Apropos of this, Pausanias says that there was an (Attic) ‘statue of Earth beseeching Zeus to rain.’

⁵ In the same hymn (8. 12. 30) Indra is said to ‘hold the sun in the sky,’ which opposes the idea that the poet regards him as one with the sun. In 10. 171. 4, Indra even transports the sun across the sky. Yet the

that he is regarded as like Agni or the sun, or even as begetting the sun. In 1. 133, a priest is employed in 'burning away' the various 'un-Indra demons' and invokes Indra as 'stone-holder' to 'smash' them, obviously not with sun-beams but with that bolt, 'like a sharp knife,' with which 'as with an axe' he breaks down trees (1. 130. 4; cf. 10. 73. 8, 'upturns the trees').

Indra indubitably lets out rivers, but this is no argument against his letting out rain. Varuṇa also 'goes over earth' (10. 75. 2) when he 'lets out the rivers.' Varuṇa too 'let out the floods of rivers' (7. 87. 1), though he and Mitra also let out rain (5. 63. 1 f.). When therefore Indra is said to let out rivers and to dig a path for them (10. 89. 7, etc.), it no more implies that he is not a giver of rain also than, when Varuṇa is said to let out rivers, this god by implication is restricted to river-freeing. Indra's strength is collected 'in the sky' (1. 80. 13) and his 'metal stone' (bolt) is hurled 'from the sky' (1. 121. 9).

That food is implicit in the rain and sap appears to be the case from the way in which the 'swelling of the sap' is connected with invocation for food. Thus Indra is besought to 'make visible the sun, penetrate to the cows (or food-strength) and (at this time) to make the sap swell' (6. 17. 2-3; cf. 8. 103. 5 and 10. 74. 4, of worshipers who wish to pierce to the cows or cow-stall). The swelling is obviously of the cloud-sap when it is said that the bull of the Aśvins, the cloud (*megha*), swelled (1. 181. 8) and apparently of Indra's waters when the god is represented as rushing like the wind, and the (his) waters swell and he is then described as 'the only one among the gods who divides with mortals' (*dayase*, 7. 23. 4-5; cf. 10. 147. 5, as 'distributor'). So Indra is 'distributor of food, lord of people, king of the world' (6. 36. 1-4). The full expression 'let swell the sap' is peculiarly Indra's (1. 63. 8), 'let the sundry kinds of strength-giving sap swell like water' (perhaps, with Ludwig, of earthly food); so of Indra or of his Maruts is used the phrase

explanation of 8. 12. 9, though it is here said that he has grown great when he burns with the sun's rays, may be that Indra operates in general with the sun's rays on the principle of the śruti given by Sāyaṇa at 7. 36. 1: 'Parjanya rains with the sun's rays' (see below). For Indra as one with the sun, compare 4. 23. 6 and 8. 93. 4. Such cases appear to belong to the later not to the earlier part of the Rīg-Veda, new creations, not remnants of an older belief, as they should be, were Indra first the sun.

dhukṣásva pipyúṣīm iṣam (8. 13. 25); *iṣam jaritré nadyò ná pīpēḥ* (Indra, 4. 16. 21; cf. 6. 35. 4); of Maruts, *dhukṣánta pipyúṣīm iṣam*, 'milk out the rich sap' (8. 7. 3).⁶

Indra in 1. 57. 6 shatters the 'great rock' when he lets out the waters, and in 6. 17. 5 he moves from its place the 'great rock which surrounds the cows.' In this parallel, not to speak of the neighboring 1. 56. 6, in which Indra rends apart the *pāṣyā* of Vṛtra (which, *pace* Oldenberg, seems to be stone-work), the cows appear to be the waters for which men long to break open 'the stall full of cows' (10. 74. 4; but cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. 55. 316 f.). At any rate, we have here an example of the interpretation of Indra as still a physical phenomenon operating with metaphorical cows as contrasted with a spiritual victor-god who, as in the 'cow-getting' of 10. 38. 1, is virtually a god of battles assisting a cow-raider (cf. *goṣuyúdh*) to carry off his neighbor's cattle. That 'cows' always are bossies in the Rig-Veda is impossible. In whatever way such remarks as that above concerning Indra's activity in removing the rock round the cows may be interpreted, the cows are not domestic cattle, as they are when a real cow-stall is mentioned (1. 191. 4, etc.). In 5. 30. 4, for example, the cows found by Indra are not cattle and the rock he rends is probably the same rock as that above, or that of ib. 45. 1. In the light of the constant statement that the dragon encompasses *waters*, how can the expression, 'I am Indra; I brought out *cows* from the dragon' (10. 48. 2) be set aside in favor of the literal interpretation?

Through persistent weakening of the original meaning the translators of Vedic passages ignore some significant words in connection with Indra. The etymology of *megha*, 'cloud,' as water-giver is known to be from *mih* ('mingo'; cf. *mihé* above). The verb in its later form *mih* is common enough, but in its older form, and thereby conserving its earlier meaning of letting out water, it is used only of the raining-down Maruts and of raining-down Indra (*niméghamāna*, 'day by day as thou pourest down rain thou assumest strength,' 8. 4. 10; of the Maruts, 2. 34. 13, 'raining down with power'). The weaker root appears in

⁶ In 2. 27. 14 f., following an invocation to Indra it is said: 'for him two worlds swell the rain from heaven . . . both worlds he goes conquering.' On account of 5. 37. 4, it is doubtful what the original construction and reference may have been (Ludwig omits 'Indra').

the standing sense of 'spending,' and so 'generous,' 'merciful,' and in this weaker sense applies to sundry gods. Again it is significant that the word *mehánā*, translated 'in a stream' and so 'abundantly,' may really be taken literally, 'with rain.' So 5. 38. 3, Indra's powers (Maruts?) 'follow his wish with rain'; ib. 39. 1, 'give us the two hands full of that blessing which you bestow with rain' (i. e. in streams). The gift or blessing here can be no other blessing than that usually expected of Indra. In 8. 63. 12, the companions of Indra, the Rudras, are said to be present with rain, *mehánā*. Only in the *dānastuti* of 8. 4. 21 is it probable that the weaker sense, 'abundantly,' is to be accepted. Indra is *mehánāvat* in 3. 49. 3, 'der reichlich regen strömende,' as Ludwig rightly translates (PW. 'reichlich spendend'; 2. 24. 10, of Bṛhaspati, the priestly form of Indra). It is at least curious that, if the word is rightly rendered only in its secondary sense of 'giving freely,' it should be confined, among all the freely giving gods, to Indra and his associates.

A word here also regarding another derivative of this root, *mih*, 'rain' or 'mist.' When the Maruts in 8. 7. 4-5, are said to make the mountain and the rivers bow to their power, they 'cast rain and make the hills totter,' *vāpanti Marúto mīham, prā vepayanti párvatān*. When Indra attacks his foe he is said to 'cast forth dark *mīhaḥ* and darkness' (10. 73. 5). Veiled in *mīh* Indra attacks Vṛtra. (2. 30. 3). The same use occurs in 1. 79. 2, *pātanti mīhaḥ*, perhaps 'rains fall, clouds thunder' ('es fliegen die dunstmassen,' Ludwig). The Maruts may make mist (*mīham kṛṇvanti*, 1. 38. 7, 'windless' in this instance). Sāyaṇa, probably correctly, interprets 'the child of *mīh*, long and broad, the Maruts urge forth' as rain (1. 37. 11). The verb used here is that employed to indicate the urging or stirring forth of Indra himself when metaphorically called the 'treasure' and to indicate the activity of the Maruts in sending out the treasure of the sky, or rain (5. 53. 6; 83. 8; 10. 42. 2). The same phrase used of Indra's activity, *kósam acucyavīt* (8. 72. 8), especially as filled out with *diváh*, means that Indra has sent rain from the sky (poured out the treasure-pot).

Indra's 'fiery rain' (or mist) may be dangerous and so it is not strange when a hymnist begs to be kept safe from it (3. 31. 20). Here we come to the explanation of what has puzzled the commentators, how Indra can be said to slay the serpentine (undulating) demon Arbuda with coolness, *hiména*. The foes

of Indra include not only the dragon or great snake Vṛtra, but also Śuṣṇa and Arbuda. The former is called a child of the mist, as Vṛtra is veiled in mist as well as Indra (1. 32. 13; 5. 32. 4) and as his regular epithet is *aśúṣa*, 'devouring,' Śuṣṇa is most reasonably interpreted (*pace* the euhemerists) as devouring drought. Another epithet, *kúyava*, 'bad harvest' (barley), the meaning of which is tolerably certain from its use in VS. 18. 10 f., is an appellation of Śuṣṇa or at times an independent personality. Indra 'tears the encircling well-knotted power of the drought-demon (Śuṣṇa) from the sky' (*divás pári*, 1. 121. 10), after the demon had left the people no food (caused a famine) and so slays him, the great demon, Druh, as he is expressly called, or, as elsewhere stated, the 'not human' adversary (6. 20. 4 f.; cf. 4. 28. 2 and 10. 22. 7, 14), as Indra slays all who are born of him. Another passage says expressly that Indra 'made flow the springs restrained by the season through killing Śuṣṇa, the child of mist' (5. 32. 2 f.). That Indra is said to have killed this demon for the sake of his devotee Kutsa Ārjuneṃya is on a par with the fact that he slays the eclipse-demon for the sake of his devotee Atri. Śuṣṇa's 'fortress' is the same 'movable city,' *púram carisṇvām* . . . *sám piṇak* (8. 1. 28), which the later Hindus ascribe to the Gandharvas. In some passages Śuṣṇa even exchanges with Vṛtra.⁷ There can be as little doubt in regard to the demoniac nature of one as of the other. What we learn from Śuṣṇa is that Indra's foe is not only the demon that restrains the water but also drought itself. Now drought or dryness (as *śúṣṇa* is) is slain rather by rain than by lightning. Lightning may pierce the cloud and split it, so that it disgorges water, but the water itself destroys the dryness, though the processes are not always distinguished. But the fact that what is cool and wet may be used or spoken of as a weapon is of importance because it explains how Indra 'wounds Arbuda with coolness' (8. 32. 26, *himénā 'vidhyad Arbudam*). Hillebrandt's interpretation, 'in the winter,' is a desperate attempt

⁷ Compare Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* 3, p. 290. *Kúyava* as epithet of Śuṣṇa may become a separate demon by a well-established mythological tendency. The human aspect given to *Kúyava* in 1. 104 is quite illusive. His two wives 'bathe in milk' while the devout mortal cannot even get water and is hungry. The mortal prays that the wives of the demon may be destroyed in the depth of his local river, that is, that Indra may send water enough to drown the demon crew.

to annul the absurdity of a sun-god killing with cold weather. But the use of *hiména* elsewhere shows that it is not winter but coolness. The Ásvins regularly employ this means to alleviate the extreme heat, *gharmá*, with which Atri was encompassed (e. g. 8. 73. 3). Consequently Indra may well be said to destroy with the coolness of the mist and darkness and rain (above) of his approach the serpent of drought and dryness.⁸

But we are not left to induction in regard to the Vedic view of Indra. One would think from the utterances of those who, like Gruppe, knowing the less of the subject, are the more forward in expressing their opinion, that it was actually open to question whether Indra to the Vedic poets themselves was a deity who gave rain. Even Bergaigne, who, despite his bias, knew his Rîg-Veda, adjudges worthy of only a negligent note the important passage in 4. 26. 2, because forsooth not Indra but a poet is speaking (Bergaigne 2. 185). Yet here we have an impersonator who poses so palpably as Indra that all the rest of the description but echoes Vedic expressions: 'I gave the earth to the Aryan; I (gave) rain to the devout mortal; I fetched the sounding waters; the gods followed my will; with joy I split apart the nine and ninety forts of Śambara.' Very emphatic this *ahám*, no other than I (Indra) gave rain. Compare (above), Indra 'extends the rain abroad as from the sky,' *vr̥stím pratháyan* (8. 12. 6).⁹ Indra is not, like Parjanya, personified rain-cloud; he gives rain, Parjanya is rain. The Maruts rain also, as servants or companions of Indra, or independently, themselves pouring down rain. He who is a general fertility-dæmon gives rain as one of his functions.

⁸ The undulations of intense heat actually appear visible in the air. Arbuda is *arṇavá*, 'billowy.' Indra stamps on him and cuts off his head in other passages (*árbuda* = *arbudá*; 1. 51. 6; 10. 67. 12). There is no one manner of slaying demons. Even Vṛtra, who swallows the waters, is represented as swallowed by Indra, perhaps when the demon is 'asleep' (3. 45. 2; 4. 17. 1; 19. 3; 10. 111. 9). Vṛtra like Indra is so huge that he embraces heaven and earth (8. 6. 16 f.). The foes of Indra use his own weapons occasionally (e. g. 1. 80. 12 f.).

⁹ Śambara's overthrow is invariably attributed to Indra, who slays him in the fortieth autumn in the mountains, as also Indra disperses Rāhuṇa with his bolt as he climbs the sky and the mountains fear his power (2. 12. 11 f.), here as 'the bull of seven rays,' an epithet that has worked back to him from the 'lord of power' (4. 50. 4) conception, originally Agni's.

Indra is a growing god in the Rig-Veda. Belonging originally to the Kuśika and Gotama clans,¹⁰ he was rather reluctantly accepted by others, but chiefly as by the Bharadvājas as a battle-god. He is not a giant of the mountains, as represented by some scholars, but a cosmic giant, whose greatness surpasses the sky-greatness of Varuṇa, the favorite inherited god of the Vasiṣṭhas. He not only encompasses Varuṇa as sky, but embraces earth and sky and stretches beyond (1. 61. 9; 6. 30. 1 f.), the first crude conception of an all-god expressed materialistically as an all-embracing god, whose rule or will (as declared in the verse above) the gods follow, or, as said elsewhere, even Varuṇa and the sun follow (1. 101. 3).¹¹ The 'fist of Indra' is a term applied to a drum, obviously because its sound resembles Indra's thunder, not because it indicates size. It is used to frighten away demons (6. 47. 30).

In these different aspects of fertility Indra as giver of rain comes nearest to the Maruts and Parjanya ('like rainfull Parjanya,' 8. 6. 1). He thunders, gives rain, casts the dragon from the air, sends a sharp and gleaming bolt to earth. His waters are heavenly, and as such they are seven, or nine and ninety streams, which are let loose not only for man's sake but for the gods (10. 104. 8). At the same time he indubitably lets out the streams of earth from the mountain, as no mere sun-god does. His relation to Soma is not merely that of the god drinking an intoxicant which rouses his strength. The Soma-drops pouring through the sieve are utilized by a kind of sympathetic magic to induce Indra to rain: 'Enter into thy friend (Indra), O Soma, and let rain come from the sky' (9. 8. 7). Indra and Soma are thus identified,¹² as (9. 5. 9) Indra is identified with the lord of progeny and the creative Tvaṣṭṛ, who like Indra creates all things and gives children (2. 3. 9; 3. 55. 19).

As giver of rain 'from the sky' Indra is united with Pūṣan, the god of fertility and general prosperity, who, like other Vedic

¹⁰ 1. 10. 11; 3. 30. 20; 42. 9; 50. 4; 4. 32. 9. Compare 10. 43. 6, (Indra) 'embraced one clan after another.'

¹¹ For Indra's size compare e. g. 1. 52. 14. In 3. 32. 11 and 8. 4. 8 f., Indra is so great that he covers earth with one hip, perhaps thought of here as a god enveloping earth with rain, after his angry or raging form has passed: 'his gift no longer rages' (*nā dānó asya roṣati*); in the following verse (10) he is *nimēghamānaḥ*, 'raining down.'

¹² In 6. 39. 3 the poet gives Soma the credit for Indra's acts.

gods, has been interpreted as sun and as moon with equal success. But a more intimate relationship than that of rain-giver (3. 57. 2) is revealed in that aspect of Indra which arrests the attention in the ritual and in the Rig-Veda alike. It will be remembered that in later literature Indra is the husband, *pati*, of the furrow, *Sitā*, or of the fallow field, *urvarā-pati*, and as such (as *gōd* of fertility) receives most of the homage of later times. But in the Rig-Veda also Indra is *urvarāpati* (lord or husband of the fallow field). He wins tilth, is lord of tilth, as he is lord of cattle (2. 21. 1; 6. 20. 1; 8. 21. 3). And as such he is begged to 'sink the furrow,' as Pūṣan guides it (4. 57. 7). No other Vedic god is so intimately connected with this form of fertility. Indra is lord of plants and of grain as he lightens from the sky, *didyūto diváh*, and extends the streams. He lets out the tender shoots; spreads blossoms over the fields; he bestows plants and trees (2. 13. 7; 3. 34. 10); he lets the trees grow (10. 138. 2). For this reason more than for his prowess against foes he is said to be the god who distributes 'enjoyments and growths'; he extracts 'dry sweet from wet'; he lays his treasure in the sun (compare the waters in the sun, 1. 23. 17) and as master of life is called the only owner of all (2. 13. 6). The treasure laid in the sun must be the treasure of the sky, which, as shown above, is Indra's rain. It is the idea familiar to the epic writers. Indra sends down rain; it is drawn up by the sun and kept as a treasure in the sky from circa October till June and then Indra pours it down again for four months. It is the Maruts who 'bring the seed-corn' (5. 53. 13). According to 1. 52. 9, the 'man-helping Maruts' go with Indra, though they belong also to another fertilizer, Viṣṇu (5. 87. 8; 8. 20. 3), who is 'the guardian of the seed' (embryo, 7. 36. 9), and 'they give strength to beget.'

Indra's food, though eventually the Soma, which he drinks at first once a day, then thrice, as his power grows, was clearly in the first instance a more bucolic diet of grain. The completed ritual pours him full of intoxicants, though even then he is 'like a granary (filled) with barley' (2. 14. 11); but the Soma, which he is expressly said to have stolen, is always mixed with milk or (and) barley, while occasionally his food is honey, the 'sweet of bees,' and milk (2. 22. 1; 3. 42. 7; 8. 4. 8). Moreover, although the official explanation says that corn is presented to him 'for his horses,' he himself (3. 35. 3) eats corn

every day (1. 16. 2). As the companion of the R̥bhus and Maruts, *ságano Marúdbhih*, and of Pūṣan, the god of bucolic prosperity (fertility), whose laud is united with his own, Indra receives a kind of mush, as well as cakes and corn (3. 52. 3; 4. 32. 16).¹³ In 8. 91. 2 (like 3. 52. 1), a girl desiring maturity propitiates Indra with mush and corn-cake and drink. This mixture of corn probably preceded the Soma-drink of which Indra gradually assumed ownership, extending his share from the mid-day feast to the other two, till 'his became all Somas' (4. 17. 6; more insistently, 'thine are all the Somas, first and last,' 3. 36. 3). The corn-brew is Indra's (3. 43. 4) and his only, except as his companions share. As god of fertility also he is the giver of food and of strength, a veritable 'Bhaga for giving' (Vāl. 6. 5; 3. 36. 5; 3. 49. 3). He won the fields (above) and also won for himself the plants and trees (3. 34. 10), albeit as incidental to winning the 'heavenly waters' and earth and sky, the cow 'much nourishing,' an epithet used by implication of Indra himself (*īndraṃ navāmahe . . girīm ná purubhójasam*, 'we praise Indra—like a much-nourishing hill,' 8. 88. 2, that is, on account of its streams, ib. 49. 2). The 'nourishment' coming from Indra is revealed clearly enough, if playfully, in the punning ode, 3. 44. 3, where *hari*, 'yellow and green,' is applied to all Indra's phenomena including heaven and earth,¹⁴ and the god is said to go between heaven and earth and hold the nourishment of heaven and of earth. For earth also 'brings him much wealth, and the sky and the plants and the trees and waters guard wealth for him'

¹³ In 8. 17. 12, *ākhaṇḍala*, *śācigu*, *śācipūjana*, *śāci*, according to VS. 23. 8, would be groats (cf. *puṣṭigu*, as name). Indra also eats oxen and buffaloes (5. 29. 7; 8. 12. 8, etc.), not to speak of dogs and wolves (4. 18. 13; 10. 73. 3; for 'many are the foods of the rite,' 4. 23. 8). Viṣṇu is sent off like a servant and fetches to Indra, apparently as food, a boar and a cake and a hundred buffaloes (8. 77. 10). With Viṣṇu Indra enjoys the barley-mixture (2. 22. 1; cf. 6. 17. 11; 8. 3. 7). Indra drinks also with Pūṣan and his wife (1. 82. 6) and is apparently identified with Pūṣan (8. 4. 15). He represents Varuṇa and Pūṣan (? 6. 24. 5): 'Indra performs this to-day and that to-morrow; he realizes the non-existent; he is here the overpower of hostile wishes, Mitra to us, Varuṇa, Pūṣan.'

¹⁴ Hence a certain resemblance of Indra and the Sun, both of whom are 'yellow-haired.' So Indra's yellow steeds are, *quā* yellow, 'two banners of the sun' (2. 11. 6).

(3. 51. 5), so that he is entreated to shake down this saving wealth for the worshiper (3. 45. 4). He makes his worshiper wealthy because he is a god who, 'shattering, like Dyaus with the thunderbolt,' gives his gift of life-strength (4. 17. 13, 18), or, as expressed elsewhere, gives virility to him who roasts corn for the god as well as presses Soma or cooks for him (4. 24. 7; cf. 5). So repeatedly Indra is said to be the sole master of strength and as such is begged to give much sap, strength as food (4. 32. 7).

But the varied benefits bestowed by Indra and the Maruts alike are not confined to rain. As we saw above, the Maruts are invoked with the prayer 'May we live long and prosper in children and posterity,' *tokām puṣyema tánayaṃ śatām hīmāḥ* (1. 64. 14). So Indra is invoked (1. 100. 11 = 6. 44. 18; cf. 6. 18. 6 and 19. 12) for 'children, cows, and water.' To these, as in the last passage, is added 'land,' or more particularly 'fallow fields' (cf. 6. 25. 4); since the Bharadvājas accept Indra more as a war-lord and their petition is extended to all that they desire, even including a place in the sun, as in 6. 31. 1, where the usual cows of this formula are replaced by 'sun.'¹⁵ In sundry variations the *toké tánaye* formula is usually employed in connection with Indra, though not confined to him. But it is interesting to see that another rain-god, Varuṇa, is invoked for the same purpose, withal together with Indra, 'for children and fields' (and 'the sight of the sun,' 4. 41. 6); but especially does the hymn to them ask 'help to children' (*toké tánaye*, 7. 84. 5). Other gods who are asked for children are begged to send the impulse (Savitr, 4. 53. 7; 5. 82. 4) or to 'rouse' or 'impel' a man to the getting of fields and children (e. g. the Aśvins, 1. 112. 22; Brhaspati, 2. 23. 9); but the particular prayer for water, children, cows, and fields is addressed only to Indra or to Indra's inspiring Soma (9. 91. 6); as the finding of cows, horses, plants, water, and trees is attributed to Indra alone (1. 103. 5; cf. 6. 39. 5). 'Earth and water he got for man' (2. 20. 7); 'he won the field, the sun, the waters,' when he slew the enemy with his arrow (1. 100. 18).

¹⁵ The verse with its striking *carṣaṇāyo vivācaḥ* is virtually repeated in 6. 33. 2, with *śūrasātau* for *sūre*. The temptation to read *śūre*, for *sūre*, is met, however, by 1. 104. 6, where Indra is begged for a 'share of water and sun' (ib. 7, 'give strength and life to us who are hungry').

In all this there is a mixture of the earlier and persistent element, Indra as god of fertility, and the secondary, Indra as Mars. He causes the production of children and he wins fields and wealth as victor in battle, the leader, path-maker, *gópati*, lord of cows, who even guards the cows from the missile, *heti*, of Rudra (6. 21. 12, *pathikṛt*; 6. 28. 3, 5, where the cows are even identified with Indra by a poet who says that his pecunia is his god). He guards from Rudra because he now governs the Rudriyas (identified with the Maruts, 3. 32. 2; 35. 9) and they are 'like his own sons' (1. 100. 5). The thought is that when Indra lets out water he 'sends forth life and food' (as strength and sustenance, *iṣ*). He thus becomes lord of life and gradually sends, in his worshipers' opinion, not only sustenance but all good things. As contrasted with Agni, the latter is more the guardian of children and of cows (*tokāśya tánaye gávām*, 1. 31. 12), fire as deterrent to demons, wild beasts, etc. But also, as heat, Agni, for obvious reasons, is said to set the embryo in all beings, vegetable and animal (10. 183. 3), while Indra grants 'the luck of progeny' (3. 30. 18) as a concomitant of his gift of food and virile power (8. 6. 23). Thus Indra and Varuṇa together are besought for 'progeny and prosperity' (Vāl. 11. 7). Yet of Indra also is it said, 'thou didst set the liquid in cows and plants' (10. 73. 9, *páyo góṣv ádadhā óśadhīṣu*), the liquid being both milk and rain (sent by the Maruts, 5. 63. 5; cf. 4. 57. 5, *yád diví páyah*, 'sky-liquid,' rain). The fear of the poet is poverty. He cries to Agni, 'Deliver us not to poverty, nor to lack of heroes and cows,' invoking the Maruts, however, at the same time (3. 16. 5; cf. 2). Substantially the same prayer (7. 1. 19) adds 'hunger' and 'poor clothes,' to explain the concept of *ámati* (poverty); while two other prayers to the same god entreat him to keep away poverty, oppression, and ill-will (*ámati*, *durmatí*) and conjoin poverty on the part of the poet with 'curse' and evil (4. 11. 6; 8. 19. 26). Destruction and poverty, opposed to 'wealth,' are also deprecated in a prayer to the sacred tree (of sacrifice, 3. 8. 2) and in one to the press-stones (10. 76. 4), and the Ādityas in general are besought (8. 18. 11) to keep off 'the arrow, and poverty and hatred.' A prayer to Agni and Indra together begs the two gods to save from evil, the curse, and blame, and to give wealth of horses, cows, and gold (7. 94. 3, 9). Wealth of children, men, horses, and food is also besought of the Dawns (7. 75. 8); but these

sporadic prayers, in part offered by those not inclined to the Indra-cult, are few in comparison with the prayers offered to Indra to save from poverty, sometimes united with hunger (10. 42. 10, 'may we escape poverty through cows and hunger through barley'; cf. 1. 53. 5, 'keep off poverty through cows and horse-hold, having food, *is*, O Indra').¹⁶ 'Be merciful, like a father, O Indra, for poverty, nakedness, exhaustion oppress me,' cries another poet (10. 33. 2). How this poverty is to be relieved is explained in 5. 36. 3: 'My mind fears poverty . . (5) may the sky, *vr̥ṣā*, increase thee, *vr̥ṣaṇam*; as such a *vr̥ṣā*, O thou of *vr̥ṣa*-power, O thou who holdest the bolt, hold us in the foray.' Here the virility of power interchanges with the more literal meaning. It is as fructifying power that Dyaus aids fructifying Indra. The curse so often alluded to in connection with the god is the curse of poverty and hunger, from which Indra frees men and the gentle Ásvins free a woman (10. 39. 6). Compare the allusion to the actual famine existing at the time the poet of 8. 66. 14 cries to Indra, 'Free us from this present poverty and hunger,' adding 'and (this) curse.' This is clearly the curse already referred to in 10. 104. 9, where Indra frees the water from the curse by letting out the streams (cf. 8. 89. 2). In the hymn referred to above (8. 91. 5) Indra is begged to induce fertility in field and woman both; he makes all things grow, even hair; he ripens the girl and makes the fallow field, *urvārā*, blossom forth. He extracts the swelling sap for the people; in him, in fact, 'is the life of the people' (8. 54. 7).

Hence the festival of Indra (which appears to be a public rejoicing wherein even little children take part, and Indra himself appears as a child) with the invocation, 'Sing, O ye children; let harp and lute and *piṅgā* sound loudly; ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott' (*púraṃ ná dhṛṣṇv ārcata*, 8. 69. 8; cf. 8. 80. 7)¹⁷—this festival is probably that of a god of fertility, not that of a war-god. It certainly is not as a war-god but as a god of fertility that Indra is addressed by the worshiper in 8. 78. 10: 'In hope of thee (Indra) I take in hand the sickle; with a handful of barley fill thou me.' His associates, the Ásvins,

¹⁶ In 10. 43. 3, 'Indra is averse from poverty and hunger.'

¹⁷ So Indra is called 'a hill broad on all sides, lord of the sky' (8. 98. 4). He is represented as in the sky, in the seat of the gods, lord of the sky (8. 13. 2, 8); cf. *padām yād diví* (8. 13. 29). The Kanvas extol him thus especially (cf. his *kṣáyo diví*, 8. 64. 4, and cf. 69. 7).

'sow the barley and extract sap' (sustenance, 1. 117. 21). Again, they 'plough barley,' but this is 'the old barley in the sky' (8. 22. 6, *pūrvyām divī yāvam*). But it is Indra who 'gives the barley' (as well as cows and horses, 1. 16. 9; 53. 2, *duró yāvasya vāsuna indās pātīh*), as harvester.

Not less important is the converse fact, that with the exception of Soma, who merely induces Indra to act, no other god is mentioned as giving barley at all. Thus in 9. 69. 8 and 55. 1, Soma is begged to 'stream barley-barley' and give gold, horse, cow, barley, and heroes to the worshiper. On the other hand, Indra gives horse, cattle, and barley, or plenty of barley and cattle in four passages; and nowhere else does any god do likewise.¹⁸

The generalized translation of virility as strength tends to shade down the aspect of Indra as giver of fertility to man. He is, so to speak, the seed-god in every respect, *divó ná yāsya rétaso dūghānāḥ pānthāsaḥ . . marútvan indraḥ* (1. 100. 1-3; *vīryeṇa sámokāḥ*, 6. 18. 7), the bull with bull-strength, whose paths exude, as it were, the seed of the sky. When he roused the sleeping dragon, wives and the birds (Maruts? so S.) rejoiced (1. 103. 7). Indra, here explicitly as 'heavenly ruler,' *divyāḥ sāsāḥ* (cf. 6. 37. 2), is invoked to bestow 'all the brilliant virile powers of men' that the worshipers may rejoice with that mad rejoicing 'whereby we may be reckoned victorious in getting children' (6. 19. 6 f., 11; cf. 3. 47. 5). But despite the literal meaning of the words, it may be doubtful whether the bull-power is meant in just this sense. In other cases, however, there is hardly a doubt that Indra is appealed to as a productive begetting power. Thus in 3. 30. 18: 'Luck in children, O Indra, be with us.' So in 5. 31. 2, Indra gives wives to those who have none. And in a following hymn, 5. 37. 3: '(May his car come);

¹⁸ 'Barley and cattle' in 10. 42. 7 is repeated ib. 10, 'may we stifle our hunger with barley.' The list 'horses, cows, and barley' (begged of Indra in 8. 93. 3) follows the order of 1. 53. 2, and may reflect the historical gradation of petition, as barley is not begged for at all in the family-books. Probably it follows cattle as object of petition, Indra's spirit of fertility being employed first for live-stock, agriculture being more a haphazard matter. Whether *yāva* is really barley, or best translated more generally as corn, makes no great difference. It seems to be grain even in the word *yāvasa*, in which cows rejoice, and later it is unquestionably barley. When *yāva* is mentioned in the family-books it is only by way of a simile. It is a specific form of the general 'corn' already spoken of as alternative to barley in Indra's corn-cake.

here a woman seeks a husband who wants to carry off a strong wife.' In 2. 16. 8, 'May we with thy good-will like bulls unite with our wives' is doubtful (perhaps, 'may we come to thy good-will, as bulls unite with their wives'). Indra is here the ever-youthful god 'without whom is nothing, in whom all virile power is collected' (ib. 1). It is apparently in the capacity of a virile bull that the poet speaks of Indra at 6. 28. 8 (*upapārcanam*): *úpa* (*prcyatām*) *ṛṣabhāsya rētasý*, *úpe* 'ndra *táva vīryè* (in 5, the cows appear as incorporate Bhaga and Indra; cf. AV. 9. 4. 23); the impregnating bull is a form of Indra. As such a god perhaps he is described as having a thousand testicles (6. 46. 3) when invoked as god of strength (cf. 10. 102. 4). Yet as the weaker or generalized meaning applies also to Agni (8. 19. 32), it may so limit Indra also, even if originally intended in a more pregnant sense. Only Indra can make a barren cow give milk (4. 19. 7).

There are various indications that Indra is a more intimate god than would be a war-god or general god of rain-giving and storm. He has a peculiar interest in the welfare of the children of unmarried girls, an interest more particular than that which gives him the Marutic reputation of healer.¹⁹ He is the 'house-friend,' *dāmūnas*, but this title is applied to Savitṛ also as energizing god, as well as to Agni, and presents him rather as friend because he 'let the shining waters flow' (3. 31. 16).²⁰ Yet in both capacities, as domestic aider and as particularly interested in girls not yet married he appears in the form of the 'little man' invoked by Apālā, who chews Soma-plant and prepares grain for him that he may make her fruitful (8. 91). Indra is especially the god who wanders about 'in many forms,' the well-known characteristic of all fertility-gods (6. 47. 18), and one shared by Agni and Rudra (*puruvārpas* only of Indra, 10. 120. 6), but only Indra makes use of it to further his love-affairs, as he alone of Vedic gods is tempted by a beautiful wife (3. 53. 6). This is the traditional interpretation of his form as a ram, and

¹⁹ In 2. 15. 7, he finds the girls' offspring hidden away (4. 19. 9, etc.). As a healer of the lame and blind he appears in 2. 13. 11; 15. 7, etc., especially as healer of hurts, wrenches, etc., *vīhṛutam*, the same word as is used of the Maruts, 8. 1. 12, *īskartā vīhṛutam pūnah*; 8. 20. 26, of the Maruts, who bring all healing medicines from waters and mountains (25).

²⁰ 'He stands in the houses' (10. 73. 10) appears to be said of Indra, who 'alone knows his origin' (also like the Maruts, 7. 56. 2).

there is no reason to doubt that Indra's reputation as a gay Lothario was not established long before the Brahmanic explanation of his amours. His wife is the most lascivious of women, and he is a fit mate for her (10. 86). In the wedding verses it is he who gives many children (10. 85. 25, 45). The obscene allusion in 8. 1. 34 is fittingly added to an Indra hymn (cf. 8. 2. 42). In ŚB. 3. 3. 4. 18, Indra is invoked as 'ram of Medhati-thi, wife of Vṛṣanaśva, lover of Ahalyā.' Indra as ram is besung by the priests (1. 51. 1; 8. 97. 12) and comes to Medhyātithi as ram (8. 2. 40), while the Vṛṣanaśva story is recognized in the same circle (1. 51. 13). Ahalyā was wife of Kauśika or Gautama, the special worshiper of Indra, who is called Gautama (ŚB. ib. 19). She is explicable best as an anthropomorphized form like Sītā, *halya* meaning the land fit for plowing and *ahalyā* the as yet unplowed land. Compare *dvi-halya* = *dvi-sitya*. It is worth noting also that the later 'wonder-cow' is clearly the earth in the Rig-Veda (as was to be expected) and that she is a possession of Indra (7. 27. 4; cf. 10. 133. 7). Besides being a ram, Indra, who is usually a bull (e. g. 1. 55. 4; bull and lord in 1. 9. 4), is likened to a goat with its foot as he reaches goods to his worshiper with his long hook (8. 17. 10; 10. 134. 6). Food and children are his constant gifts (8. 6. 23 and above). Gold (4. 32. 19) and treasure-trove seem to be later additions to his store of gifts (8. 32. 9; 66. 4; 10. 48. 4). In the conception of him as a storm-god sharpening his weapon against the foe, Indra is also like a 'fearful wild beast of the mountain,' words employed as well to describe Viṣṇu (1. 154. 2; 10. 180. 2).²¹

²¹ The phrase *urú krāmista jivāse* also is used of Indra as well as of Viṣṇu (1. 155. 4; 8. 63. 9, 12). Apropos of the suggested derivation of Viṣṇu from *sānu*, as if the word meant 'through the mountain ridges,' it should be remembered that *viṣṇu* is a perfectly ordinary formation, like *jiṣṇu* in RV., *danṣṇu* in VS., *bhūṣṇu* in AB., *sthāṣṇu* in the epic, and similar formations, *deṣṇu*, *giṣṇu*, common to all the literature. The accent is no more irregular than in *Dānu*. These forms are not all accented alike, and a proper name is always apt to make a shift (*arbudā*, *Ārbuda*). Like *jēṣi jiṣṇo hitām dhānam* (6. 45. 15) we may imagine a *vēṣi Viṣṇo* more easily than the abnormal formation of *vī* with a quasi-object. The *vi-tarām*, *vī-kram* accompaniment is much more likely to have come from *Vi-ṣṇu* than vice versa. In any case, it is only Indra and never Viṣṇu who climbs the ridges (1. 10. 2). On the other hand, Viṣṇu is peculiarly the god of movement. Perhaps splendor is implicit, as in many

Yet the animals with which Indra is merely compared indicate only his strength or fury. Thus he is 'like an elephant' and 'like a lion' in the same verse (4. 16. 14). Metaphorically he is a steed devouring people (2. 21. 3) and winning fields, *urvarājít*, as he wins everything else, *viśvajít*, while at the same time he is the bull that does not yield and of unequalled wisdom (*ásamaṣṭakāvyah*, 2. 21. 1-4). All these differ from the animality expressed by his becoming a ram for the sake of a love-affair and by his being addressed directly as the ram, 'Sing to the ram' (1. 51. 1). Indra is hymned as bull or buffalo elsewhere without special allusion to the stream of life sent out by him (compare 1. 177, etc.).²²

To Indra is ascribed the only general verdict on women's mind: *asāsýám mánah; utó áha krátum raghúm* (8. 33. 17), that is, according to Ludwig, women's 'sinn fügt der zucht sich nicht, auch ihre einsicht its gering,' but, in the more courteous version of Grassmann, women's sense is 'untadelig' and she possesses 'rüstige Thätigkeit'! It really means that a woman is a light-minded creature whose thoughts are not to be controlled, the passage being late and to be interpreted accordingly. The only significance it has here lies in its being attributed to Indra at all, as a general proverb is attributed to the one who ought to have said it. In other words, Indra was already an expert in female lore.

A relic of the gradual rise of Indra at the expense of other gods may be seen in the statement of 7. 21. 5-7, that phallic gods are not admitted to the rite of the Vasiṣṭhas and that former gods have yielded their power to the spiritual lordship of Indra. Many passages point to the same fact. Compare 6. 36. 1, 'When thou didst take to thyself the spirit-power of the gods'; 2. 16. 4, 'All have brought their power to him the revered, *yajatá*, as to one who is the bull' among gods; 4. 17. 1, 'Earth yielded her power (matriarchal?) to thee and Dyaus admitted

words of swift motion (IF. 2. 43); but the radical idea is movement and the root *vi* or *vī*, meaning 'go, hasten, be active,' is in accord with the conception of the god who is especially called 'swift' and 'hastening,' *eśá*, etc. It is said of the Aśvins that they go through the back of the hill (1. 117. 16), but the only connection Viṣṇu has with the *sānu* is to 'stand on the back of the hill' with Indra (1. 155. 1).

²² 'When they say "he is born of a horse," I think it means that "he is born of strength"' (10. 73. 10).

it'; 4. 19. 2, 'As if weak with age (cf. 8. 45. 20) the gods succumbed; thou hast become (*bhúvāḥ*) the universal lord'; 6. 22. 9, 'Thou hast become (*bhúvāḥ*) king of divine and earthly people.' As thus exalted Indra becomes *pátir divāḥ* (10. 111. 3, and above), lord of the sky; and the Vasiṣṭhas 'do not forget to praise him as an Asura' (7. 22. 5). He even becomes the god of the thirty-four heavenly lights (10. 55. 3) or gods (he divides the sky, astronomically, 10. 138. 6), the all-maker, all-god (*viśvákarmā viśvadevaḥ*, 8. 98. 2), the universal father and mother (ib. 11), begetter of earth and sky (ib. 36. 4-5; 96. 4-6). Such exaltation in no wise lessens the aspect presented above, any more than does the occasionally exclusive laudation of Indra as a war-god and victor. The Vedic Aryans do not all yield to him at once. The worshipers of Indra are 'blamed' (1. 4. 5); they even 'endure the people's curse,' *títikṣante abhísastiṃ jánānām* (3. 30. 1), but Indra 'satisfies even those that blame' him (8. 70. 10). The *tvānīdas*, 'they that blame thee,' are of the first importance in estimating the godship of Indra in the Rig-Veda.²³ It is only gradually that he becomes so great that even among the Vasiṣṭhas he is a 'savior from sin' as well as 'leader of the army' (7. 20. 1, 5). His 'magic' becomes 'wisdom,' and he is extolled by Varuṇa as well as by Viṣṇu and the bowing Maruts (8. 12. 29; 15. 9; 10. 113. 2). As supreme god Indra 'does not oppose the laws' of other gods (10. 48. 11); he even avenges the wrong done to Varuṇa (10. 89. 8 f.). Yet this is he who shrinks neither from the vendetta waged by those he has wronged, nor from any crime, *ná kúlbiṣād īṣate* (5. 34. 4). His every act becomes famous because he is now so great (8. 45. 32). As his two steeds become a hundred (8. 6. 42) and then a thousand (6. 47. 18), adorned with peacock-tails and white backs (3. 45. 1; 8. 1. 25), so has he himself been multiplied and magnified. 'Dyaus Asura bowed to great Indra, Earth also bowed, and all the gods placed him first' (1. 131. 1). He is the 'young' god to whom other gods have yielded their strength; but he is *śívā*, 'kind,' to his worshiper, though a relentless victor and usurper (2. 20. 3 f.). As usurper Indra

²³ In 10. 48. 7 Indra himself asks, 'Why do (my) un-Indra enemies blame me?' The Maruts too are not without their scoffer (5. 42. 10; cf. 6. 52. 2). Viṣṇu as 'friend' of Indra may also be blamed (10. 27. 6, Ludwig). In 2. 23. 14 some blame Brhaspati (Indra).

is extolled; he is the great thief among the gods. It is he who stole (1. 131. 4) not only earth and water and Soma, but the dawns with the sun (2. 20. 5, *muṣṇānn uśasaḥ*). 'Being lord because of thy physical power thou hast stolen the sun's disk' (1. 175. 4; cf. 1. 11. 4, 'of unlimited power, the youthful wise one'). Thus truly the Viśvāmitras, one of his triumphant clans, may say of him that 'he is the only king of the whole world,' and the Kaṇvas cry, 'the gods have bowed themselves to thy friendship, O Marudgaṇa' (3. 46. 2; 8. 89. 2; 8. 98. 3).

On the whole, of former interpretations of Indra, that offered by Hillebrandt best agrees with what has here been unfolded. His idea is that Indra was originally the sun, but in the Rig-Veda is no longer the sun-god, while not yet a rain-god. This, to be sure, leaves the Vedic Indra suspended like an epic sage in mid-air, so to speak, but it is a helpful explanation, and the only one that resolves, in a measure, the many elements of fertility; unless indeed one adopts the older attitude of Roth and Perry and holds that as universal god Indra is explicable in any function,²⁴ which seems to me impossible, as Indra's gradual growth is unmistakable. Yet I cannot accept Indra as originally a sun-god when he slays Arbuda with cold (nor translate *hiména* with Hillebrandt as 'in winter') and assumes (steals) solar powers and only in the latest hymns is 'like the sun' or is the sun. Nor can I see why a god of light should have become obnoxious to the treatment Indra received from Zoroaster or Zoroastrianism. If originally the sun, he should have become a favorite, not the third-worst devil. Vṛtra too as winter cold opposes all tradition. If we imagine Indra first as a demon of fertility, his rise to chief war-god among two or three clans is on a par with similar development elsewhere, and his rise from war-god to greatest god of the larger group of clans is like that of most successful war-gods, for example those of Babylon and Assyria. Even his aspect as healer is consonant with his origin as here depicted.²⁵ Witness the healing qualities of the Food-spirit in Shintoism, now curer of ills as well as genius of fertility and food.

²⁴ Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, 3. 251; Perry, JAOS. 11. 69. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 143, points out that Indra is a rain-god also in Pāli literature.

²⁵ Health and water 'as medicine' are connected. See 5. 53. 14, where all three come from the Maruts.

If the development of Mars, as some think, were certainly from a fertility-spirit, we should have in him a good parallel to Indra. Apollo, too, who begins as spirit of herds and flocks, is identified with the Ram (-god, Karneios), has his love-affairs with nymphs and shepherdesses, becomes identified with the sun, and then appears as a healer (he came to Rome first as Apollo Medicus), which seems to have been very nearly the career of Indra, though I should ascribe to the latter god a more general productivity than that evinced by Apollo's care for cattle. Perhaps, however, we are too prone to make specialists of the ancient clan-gods. Departmental spirits have their place, but the chief god of any clan has from the first more to attend to than have they. *Juppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri*, long after he becomes the national god, Stator, Victor, Invictus, Maximus, Optimus; not because he assumes universal guardianship and then *inter alia* sees to rain, but because, despite his later greatness, he retains his primitive duty of caring for his clan in all ways.

Further Notes on the So-Called Epic of Paradise.—By J. DYNELEY PRINCE, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

In JAOS 36, pp. 140-145, Dr. Stephen H. Langdon has criticised my review (*ibid.* pp. 90-114) of his 'Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and Fall of Man,' and seeks by means of text corrections to maintain his thesis that his document contains a description of Paradise, the ejection of mankind by a flood, and the deliverance of a certain pious person who became an agriculturist and was eventually cursed by the god Enki.

Accepting many of Dr. Langdon's textual emendations—it is still impossible to see how he has altered my interpretation of the text as a whole. He may show that the cassia plant was not the death-plant and, as will appear from the following review of his criticisms, he may have improved the lucidity of the text in places, but he has certainly not broken down the interpretation of the crucial Obv. i., describing the condition of the land as a waste place desolated by drought instead of, as he believes, a Paradise on earth. Upon this first column the correct understanding of the entire poem depends.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Jastrow, I have been able to comment on some of his and Dr. Chiera's emendations, based upon their recent collation of the text.

OBVERSE

I.

1) *e-ne-ba-ám* I rendered 'they that are cut off,' understanding the verb-root to be *ba* + the suffix *ám*. This seems to me a still possible translation, but, even if we regard *e-ne* as the verb-stem = *calálu* and *ba-ám* as the suffix, the interpretation remains the same; viz., 'they that have ceased, they that have ceased are ye'; note IV. R. 13 b, 39: *ú-ba-ra-e-ne* = *la aclalu* 'I shall not cease.' The people of the land have ceased to exist.

17) Langdon: *nu-ub-zu* (vice *-ba*). If accepted, I render: 'the dog knows no longer the crouching kids,' i. e. does not recognize them, because there are neither dogs nor kids!

18) L. reads DUN = some sort of bovine animal, 'zebu (?)'. Render: 'the DUN (?) knows no longer how to eat the grain.' It is not necessary to assume the idea 'cohabit' for *zu*, a sense, which, by the bye, need not be regarded as 'obscene' (L). On the other hand if L.'s original *ba* (for *zu*) be retained, *ba* = *našâru*, 'tear': 'the dog no longer tears the kids' (Jastrow). I prefer *zu*, as this makes better sense in connection with the cattle eating grain.

19) Obscure, but in the general sense showing the absence of life: *nu-mu-un-su* (L. *su*, better than *zu*) *dim-ur-ra* can hardly mean 'grown-up offspring,' but merely 'offspring'; *nu-mu-un-su* means 'seed of the body' (*su*). L.: 'fondling of the lap' (?) = *dim-ur-ra* (?).

28) *libir-e X-e nu-mu-nigin*. L. reads the unknown sign X as *zag* = *pirištu*, *nîmequ* 'wisdom,' or = *rêmu* 'mercy.' It cannot possibly mean 'mercy' here. If this be admitted, the line may be rendered: 'the *libir* no longer turns (*nigin*) to wisdom,' i. e. officials no longer perform their function, because they do not exist.

30) L.: *zag eri-ka i-lu* (DIB vice KU) *nu-mu-ni-bi*, and translates: 'in the sanctuary of the city, alas (*i-lu*) they said not,' but this really means: 'the decree (*zag*) of the city is accepted no longer, they say'; DIB = *cabâtu* which can mean 'accept.' That is, city ordinances have no longer any weight, as there are no more cities. All government has ceased. Jastrow denies the *zag*-sign here, and reads *i-lu* as *i-dur* (KU) = *nubbû* 'they lament' (?).

31) Chiera states *a-a-ni* is correct.

OBVERSE

II.

16) Untranslated before. L.: *a-šag a-gar ab-sim-a-ni še-mu-na*, 'the fields and meadows their vegetation (yielded in abundance).' Accepting this and reading 'shall yield,' it is in harmony with the rest of the passage, showing the beneficent nature of the flood.

31) L.: *En-ki-ge za* (vice *a*) *Dam-gal-nun-na*, 'Enki by the side of (= with) Damgalnunna.' Jastrow thinks *a* is certain, and objects to *za* as a preposition before the noun, but preposi-

tions exist in Sumerian (cp. HT. p. 141); in fact \hat{a} ($a-a$) = 'by the side of.'

OBVERSE

III.

4, 5, 7, 8, 24, 25 L. reads: *nu-mu-un-su-ub-bi* 'the sinless seed,' vice *nu-mu-un-zu ub-bi* 'as thy seed revere him.' This makes no essential change.

12, 32 L.: *gibil im-ma-an-su-ub*, vice *-te(g)*. This can mean 'with fire he purified (the ship).'

27, 28 L.: *su-ub-bu-ma-ni*, '(the son of man, that pious one) whom he has declared pure'; perhaps better: 'whom he has purified.' This is in harmony with my general rendering, indicating the divine approbation of the favorite.

39) Langdon objects to my reading *Tag-gu* (KU) for the name of the favorite on the ground that the second sign in the name has two internal horizontals, which he claims must always indicate a *tug*-value. This theory is not substantiated by Barton, Thureau-Dangin, or Friedr. Delitzsch, all of whom make no phonetic difference between the square enclosure with one, two or three internal horizontals. It is not probable that the sign with two horizontals could not have the value *ku*. At the same time, it must be admitted that the phonetic value of this name is very obscure, but Langdon's association of his value *Tag-tug* with the *nâxu*-stem 'rest,' in order to connect the word with the Biblical Noah, is too far-fetched to seem possible. Jastrow denies the possibility of a name *Tag-tug* at all. It would have to be *Tag-tag* or *Tug-tug*. This is very probable.

42) L.: *gu ga-ra-ab-dûg* (vice *-ra-dûg*); render: 'I will say it (*-b*) to thee (*ra*).'

REVERSE

I.

36) L.: *ne-in-si-si* (vice *mal-e*); render: 'in his seat (*úr-ra-ni*) he took his place (*si-si*).'

39) L.: *sukkal-na* (vice *é-na*); render: 'to his messenger he gave order.' Jastrow reads *sukkal-a-na*, a much better rendering grammatically but Chiera says *e* = BIT is sure!

41) L.: *ġul-RIM* (vice *ġul-si*), indicating some sort of plant; render: 'I, as gardener, planted (?) the *ġul-RIM* plant.'

42) L. objects to *šam-*, substituting probably *il*; render: 'I will appoint thee as *il*' (obscure). Note that *il* = *Ka-ka-si-ga*, perhaps 'mouth-giver' = 'agent, attorney' (?). Jastrow says *šam* is certain; if so, a better version.

48) L.: *si-gi* (vice his original *zi*). I also read *si-gi* (JAOS 36, p. 104).

REVERSE

II.

20) L.: *u-RIM* (vice *u-giš*); render: 'my king as to the *u-RIM* plant has decreed.' According to L. = *supalu*, *suplu* = *lardu*; *arantu* 'nard,' n. 1, p. 142.

35) L. corrects his translation regarding the cassia-plant which is apparently not the herb of death. Render: 'he may pluck it; he may eat it.'

37) L. inserts *^dEn-ki* and reads *sig* (vice *di*); render: '*Enki* placed therein the plant whose fate he had determined.' This seems correct. Then follows the curse, but there is no statement that any forbidden plant has been eaten! In fact, the reason of the curse is not given at all, which materially interferes with Langdon's idea as to the meaning of the text, and this by his own more recent reading, inserting the god-name *^dEn-ki*.

37 and 38). Note the passage *i-de nam-ti-la en-na ba-ug-gi-a i-de ba-ra-an-bar-ri-en*, which L. renders: 'the face of life, until he dies, shall he not see.' If the word 'until' be retained, this makes no clear sense in English. Until he dies, he would be living and hence would be 'seeing the face of life,' which can only mean 'live.' This passage must, therefore, point to the time of the favorite's death. I still render *en-na ba-ug-gi-a*, 'when he dies,' indicating that at the time of his death he shall not see life, i. e. have no eternal life (JAOS 36, p. 93). The form *ba-ug-gi-a* with overhanging *-a* can mean only 'when he dies.' *En-na* undoubtedly means 'until' (Del., *Sum. Gr.*, p. 58), but it must be used here in the sense of an anticipative durative. It should be noted that, when *en-na* clearly means 'until,' it must be followed by *-š* in the verb-form (Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 58). We find a similar usage to this in the Slavonic languages, as in Russian *na būdushchi god*, lit., 'unto (until) next year,' which is commonly used in the simple sense 'next year,' by anticipation. It should be observed, however, that, even if

Langdon is right, this still does not change the general meaning of the text, which plainly prescribes a punishment for the favorite.

40) L.: *lul-a*, 'with woful cry'; better 'rebelliously' (= *sar-aru*).

44) L. strikes out the numeral two and reads *-a*, which was originally suggested by Jastrow; i. e. *uru-ma-a giš-mal ga-ri-du* (KAK) *mu-zu ġe-pad-da*. He is probably right in thinking that *giš-mal* = 'creature' and not 'throne' and, therefore, the lines should read: 'in my city a being I shall create for thee, and she shall call upon thy name.' Of course, this rendering depends on the correctness of *-a*, instead of 'two,' which is doubtful.

45) Render: . . . 'her head like the others is fashioned.'

46) Render: 'her foot like the others is designed.'

47) Render: 'her eye like the others is endowed with light.'

All this seems to refer to a female companion for the favorite, but the passage is very obscure.

These textual criticisms in no way insure the original interpretation of Dr. Langdon. The sense of Obv. Col. i., as already pointed out by me in JAOS 36, p. 90, still refers to a territory which had been practically destroyed by drought. This desolation is even more vividly described in lines 17 ff. by Langdon's recent corrections of the text! In Obv. ii., the prayer for water is answered more plainly in 16, translated for the first time by Langdon: showing how the fields and meadows yield richly. In Obv. iii., the special favorite is allotted to the goddess. As Langdon now has it, he is 'the pure seed; the purified one,' fit for divine service. Dr. Langdon's textual changes make no difference whatever in favor of a 'Paradise'-interpretation. He states that this is not a 'tendency' composition, as it has no refrains, yet an impartial student, reading the text in JAOS 36, pp. 95 ff., cannot fail to observe the evident antiphonies confirming the stereotyped character of the poem. This is further substantiated by the clearly deliberate arbitrary identification of god with god at the close and the constant submission to Enki (Ea) as supreme.

Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings.—By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

I

Until a comparatively short time ago it was quite impossible to differentiate in the religions that developed thousands of years ago in the Euphrates Valley between elements that could be set down as Sumerian or non-Semitic and such as were Akkadian or Semitic. Even now it would be hazardous to dogmatize on the subject. Such attempts as were formerly made by some scholars, bolder than the rest, were entirely premature, as, for example, the view that the incantations and magical texts embodied Sumerian points of view, while hymns of a higher order and lamentation psalms were the contributions of Akkadians to the mixed Sumero-Akkadian culture. As a result, however, of the progress made during the past decade and the elucidation of the mysteries of Sumerian texts—a progress due chiefly to the researches of Thureau-Dangin, Delitzsch, and Poebel—we are in a far better position to interpret also the religious views revealed in these texts. The publication during recent years of many Sumerian religious texts of older periods, or late copies of unquestionably genuine and very old Sumerian originals, has added to the material now at our disposal for distinguishing Sumerian beliefs and points of view from such as are due to later accretions, reflecting Semitic thought and Semitic conceptions. To be sure, we must proceed cautiously in such attempted differentiation, both because of the uncertainty still prevailing in renderings of Sumerian texts and because of the mixed character of the Babylonian religion—composed of Sumerian and Semitic elements even in the earliest period to which our material carries us back.

Barring short votive inscriptions and the ordinary types of legal documents, which because of the occurrence of stereotyped formulas no longer offer any serious difficulties, the first translation of a Sumerian text is still necessarily tentative, and the cautious scholar intersperses his first rendering liberally with interrogation marks or asterisks as an indication of his doubt or his confession of ignorance. Our knowledge of Sumerian

is at present in the position in which Babylonian-Assyrian or, to use the more correct form, Akkadian, was some four decades ago—the general features pretty clearly ascertained, but with much uncertainty as to details. Until two decades ago, considerable doubt existed in the minds of many Assyriologists whether what was called Sumerian really represented a genuine language or was merely an ideographic method of writing Akkadian with all kinds of artificial semi-cryptic devices—a doubt justified by the vagaries of many Sumerologists and by the many strange phenomena presented by Sumerian that gave to it a surface appearance of artificiality. It is, therefore, no small achievement to find ourselves at present able to indicate many of the details of the verb formation, of the combinations of nouns with suffixes, and of the general features of the syntax. We are, furthermore, able in the case of long unilingual texts to furnish at least a general interpretation on which reliance can be placed. Moreover, after a tentative translation of a text has been given, it is possible through the combined efforts of scholars to reach out to more definite results in many matters of detail, albeit that the work of such decipherment is a slow and painful one—a step-by-step process with many pitfalls, to be avoided only by conscientious and unsparing self-criticism, together with a frequent revision of one's results.

With these precautions well in mind, let me put our present knowledge of Sumerian to a test by an endeavor to differentiate between Sumerian and Akkadian views of Beginnings on the basis of the material now at hand.

II

We may take as our starting-point the assumption, probable on *a priori* grounds, that when the Sumerians came to the Euphrates Valley as conquerors¹ they brought with them their traditions regarding the beginnings of things. Such traditions take their rise at an early stage of culture, and the Sumerians must have passed far beyond this stage before commingling with Akkadians. If, therefore, we find in the cuneiform literature

¹ I am leaving to one side the difficult question whether the Sumerians or the Akkadians were the first to settle in the Euphrates Valley, though my own inclination is to adopt Eduard Meyer's view (*Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, p. 107 seq.) that the Semites were the first on the ground and that the Sumerians represent newcomers.

various views of such beginnings set forth, the attempt to explain such divergent conceptions through an apportionment among Sumerians and Akkadians respectively is at least justified, particularly when the variations point to divergent climatic conditions as their background.

A people dwelling in a valley and in a region where there is water in plenty, and where in fact the overflow of streams during a portion of the year becomes a menace to life and property, will develop different traditions of beginnings from those arising among a people whose home is in mountainous regions where water is less abundant and where there is no danger of inundations. What may be called the main version in cuneiform literature of the beginnings of things is the one familiar to us, since the discovery by George Smith² over forty years ago of a fragment in the library of Ashurbanapal, giving an account of a time when neither heaven nor earth 'had a name,' i. e. did not exist, and detailing the order in which at the beginning of time the gods were produced or evolved in pairs. This fragment proved to be the first tablet of a series of seven, dealing with the work of creation, in which the chief part was played by the god Marduk, who dispatched a monster Tiamat—the symbol and personification of the raging waters—after which the regular order of nature is established in place of the chaos and confusion prevailing while Tiamat and her army of monsters were in control. The circumstance that the hero of the myth is Marduk, the patron deity of the city of Babylon and the head of the pantheon after Babylon had become the capital of an empire, uniting the states or sections into which the Euphrates Valley had been divided, is sufficient evidence that this version of the Creation myth reflects the views and traditions of the Akkadians, who established the empire of which Babylon was the center. This conclusion is confirmed by a more detailed consideration of the contents of the portions of the seven tablets preserved.³ The entire series has been properly designated as a pæan in honor of Marduk, since his overthrow of Tiamat is the central deed. This overthrow forms the starting-point of creation, so

² See the first account of this discovery in TSBA. 2. 213-234, read at the meeting of December 3, 1872.

³ The standard edition is by L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation* (London, 1902, 2 vols.) in connection with *Cuneiform Texts*, etc., Part 13 (London, 1901).

far as a genuine conception of creation is involved. It might be more accurate perhaps to speak of a process of evolution, since it is not related that the universe is actually created, but merely that the regular order of the phenomena of nature is established after chaotic conditions had been overcome. The earth is assumed to be submerged beneath the waters that cover everything; it has 'no name,' because it was not visible, and therefore to all practical purposes did not exist. The earth meant is the verdure-covered soil, producing plants and trees, and swarming with life, just as by 'heavens' are meant the regular phenomena to be observed in the heavens. Tiamat and her brood represent the fury of the elements, rain and storms. The symbolism is unmistakable, for the name Tiamat means the 'sea' as the conglomeration of all waters. Tiamat and her brood, pictured as cruel and merciless and as destructive forces, symbolize the rainy and stormy season which in a region like the Euphrates Valley submerges large districts, produces havoc and chokes off manifestations of life on the earth till in the spring the sun triumphs over the rains and storms. The earth appears, and through the sun's rays vegetation is brought forth. The period of vegetation represents law and order established in the universe. Marduk is the sun-god, more particularly the youthful hero, identified with the sun of the springtime. The nature-myth underlying the story of Marduk's conquest of Tiamat is, therefore, the change of season from the winter or rainy season to the spring. We are not concerned here with earlier versions which may be discerned beneath the present one, or with the composite elements⁴ to be discerned in the seven tablets, but merely with its final form as clearly embodying the view of beginnings as it shaped itself during the period of Akkadian control in the Euphrates Valley, and received its final form as we have it. The main feature of the myth is that the world, conceived as law and order, began at the beginning of time in the spring. In accord with this we find the New Year's festival celebrated in Babylonia as in Assyria in the spring, and, therefore, the calendar, when perfected, beginning with the first spring month. Such a conception, with water as the primeval

⁴I have discussed these elements in a paper on 'The Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story' in the *Nöldeke Festschrift* (1906), 2. 969-982.

element that needs to be controlled before vegetation can arise, life endure, and sun, moon and planets move in their courses, is natural to a region marked by two large rivers emptying into a large body of water like the Persian Gulf. An astrological motif enters into the tale, assuming a close relationship between heaven and earth, and leading to a correspondence between events above to occurrences below, which is a feature of Babylonian-Assyrian 'theology.' The story in its present form belongs to the period when the seats of the gods, who as representatives of law and order are opposed by Tiamat and her army, have been transferred to the heavens.⁵ In accordance with this astrological setting, Marduk's first task after overcoming Tiamat is to pass across the heavens, assigning fixed positions to the stars—i. e. to the gods—and regulating the calendar through the phases of the moon. With the sun in control of the universe, the movements of the heavenly bodies are regulated, vegetation springs up below, and the earth is thus prepared to support life—animals and mankind. Heaven, accordingly, just as the earth, is assumed to be in existence, but the latter is not visible and the former does not manifest the regular phenomena of the heavenly bodies. The view here maintained is in keeping with the character of primitive creation tales or myths elsewhere, for the thought of a genuine creation out of nothing—a *creatio ex nihilo*—lies beyond the mental horizon of man in early and even in comparatively advanced stages of culture. As a trace of this limitation in the conception of beginnings, we find the keynote of the Akkadian creation-myth to be order rather than creation—order in place of the preceding lawlessness. The tale remains, despite the introduction of more advanced ideas, on a level with a genuine nature myth—picturing the world as beginning in the spring. It was suggested by the manner in which, because of the climatic conditions prevailing in the Euphrates Valley, there is repeated each spring on a small scale the process of the conquest of the waters, with new life in nature springing up as a consequence of the recession of the waters. The world begins in the spring after the winter rains and storms have ceased.

⁵ See Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 207 seq., and *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2. 420 seq.

III

Now by the side of this distinctively Akkadian version—there is no reason to assume that it reverts to a Sumerian original—we have another partially preserved version of creation, written in Sumerian, though fortunately accompanied by an Akkadian translation. While agreeing with the Marduk pæan in not passing back to any real period of a *creatio ex nihilo*, it unfolds in other respects an entirely different picture.

The text, imperfectly preserved,⁶ is an incantation to which as an introduction a narrative of the beginnings of things is attached.⁷ It betrays evidence of having been edited and modified in order to adapt it to later political conditions than those in existence at the time when the composition first arose. This is shown by the introduction of the city of Babylon and its temple as among the first cities to be established (line 14), whereas in an earlier section Nippur, Uruk, and Eridu are named, but not Babylon. Now, Babylon does not come into prominence till after the establishment of a Semitic dynasty

⁶ *Cuneiform Texts*, 13, pl. 35-38. See King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1. 130-139.

⁷ This attachment of myths to incantations is characteristic of both Sumerian and Akkadian compositions. Thus, to give a few examples, we have a tale of a tooth-worm as the supposed cause of toothache introduced in connection with an incantation (*Cuneiform Texts*, 17, pl. 50)—the story forming, as it were, the justification for confidence in the incantation against toothache. The conflict between the moon and hostile powers, the story of the seven evil powers, etc., is part of an incantation series (*Cuneiform Texts* 16, pl. 13, col. iii; pl. 15, col. v, 28-58). An address to the 'River of Creation,' the remnant of some myth dealing with the beginnings of things, forms the introduction to two incantations (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1. 200-201). Langdon's recent publication of a Sumerian text, which will be discussed below (p. 290), likewise terminates in an incantation. In fact it would seem that to incantations we owe the preservation of most of our Babylonian-Assyrian myths. We encounter the same combination among other peoples. So, e. g., in ancient Germanic literary fragments as in the Merseburger charms, the introduction is a snatch of some myth to justify and strengthen the charm itself that follows. It is interesting to note that we also find bits of myths introduced into astrological texts. So, e. g., in Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, Sin, no. i, and King, *Seven Tablets*, 2, pl. 49-50, the creation of the moon and sun by the triad, Ann, Enlil, and Ea. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2. 544.

with Babylon as its center, the sixth member of which is Hammurapi (2123-2081 B. C.), who succeeds in uniting the Euphrates states into a great empire. The introduction of Babylon and its juxtaposition with such far older and genuine Sumerian centres as Nippur, Uruk, and Eridu belongs therefore to the post-Hammurapi age. There are other indications of considerable modification that this text has undergone, and by a careful analysis we can with some degree of certainty lop off the later additions from the original stock. To make this clear I will first give a translation of the text as it stands and then endeavor to restore the older form.

- 1 A holy house, a house of the gods (in) a
holy place⁸ had not been made.
Reed had not sprouted, tree had not been made.
Brick had not been laid, brick structure had not
been built.
'No house made, no city built.

- 5 A city had not been made, living creature⁹ not
yet installed.
Nippur was not made, E-Kur not built.¹⁰
Uruk not made, E-Anna not built.
The Deep¹¹ had not been made, Eridu not built.
A holy house, a house of the gods—as its
dwelling was not made.¹²

⁸ The Sumerian original has merely 'the holy place' which is better, for the 'holy house' is the 'holy place.' The line aims to describe a time before the gods had any dwelling-place, i. e. therefore, before they existed.

⁹ A-Dam = *nam-maš-šu-u* with the verb *ša-kin* ('place') to convey the idea of filling a place with life. We might render it 'life had not swarmed.'

¹⁰ The city and its temples are inseparable, because the city is primarily the dwelling of the god of the place.

¹¹ Zu-Ab = *ap-su-u*.

¹² Ki-Ku-bi Nu Dim = *šu-bat-su ul ip-ši-it*, literally 'its dwelling was not built,' where *ip-ši-it* is the third person feminine of the Permansive of *epêšu*. The line is again intended, like line 1, to convey the thought that the gods were not yet. It is hardly likely that in the original Sumerian text the heaven as the dwelling-place of the gods was meant, though the later Akkadian translator may have had this in mind.

- 10 All lands were sea.
At a time when there was a ditch (?)¹³ in the
midst of the sea,
At that time, Eridu was made, Esagila was built.
Esagila where in the midst of the Deep
Lugal Du-Azagga dwells.
Babylon he made, Esagila was completed.¹⁴
- 15 The Anunnaki altogether he made.¹⁵
A holy city, the dwelling of their choice, with
a lofty name they proclaimed.¹⁶
Marduk¹⁷ constructed an expanse¹⁸ on the surface
of the water.
Dust he made and on the expanse he poured out.
That the gods might be brought to dwell in
their chosen dwelling,
- 20 Mankind he created.
Aruru created the seed of mankind with him.
Beasts of the field, living creatures in the field¹⁹
he created.
The Tigris and Euphrates he made and put in
their place.
Their names in goodly fashion he proclaimed.

¹³ *ra-tu-um-ma*, where the emphatic addition *um-ma* conveys the force of 'there was,' corresponding to the Sumerian *nam* = 'indeed.' See Delitzsch, *Sumer. Grammatik*, p. 68. The Sumerian term corresponding to *ra-tu* is *šita*. *Rātu* has been compared with the Hebrew *rahať* (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 961), 'ditch' or 'gutter,' and since among the synonyms of *šita* we find *šita-na* = *bêratim* 'wells' (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 10. 75), we are safe in taking our word to indicate a 'ditch' or 'canal'—perhaps of sweet water in contrast to the *apsû*, 'salt ocean.'

¹⁴ *Šu-du = šuk-lul*. Note the different verb from the one (*banû*) used in the other portion of the text.

¹⁵ So the Sumerian text, though perhaps an impersonal sense is intended.

¹⁶ The Sumerian text says 'the houses (i. e. the temples of the gods) they named with a lofty name.'

¹⁷ *Gi-lim-ma*, equated with Marduk in the Akkadian translation.

¹⁸ *a-ma-am* (line 17) and *a-mi* in line 18, i. e. *amu*, of which *ammatu*, used in the Akkadian creation story (I, 2.) appears to be a feminine form. *Ammatu* is generally rendered 'ground' or land, but some such more general term like a solid 'expanse' comes nearer to the real meaning.

¹⁹ That is, large and small animals.

- 25 Verdure, the marsh plant, reed, and sprout
 he created.
 The green of the field he created.
 Lands, marsh,²⁰ and swamp,
 Cow with her young, mother-sheep with her lambkin,
 lamb of the fold,
 Groves and forests,
- 30 He-goat, mountain goat he placed.
 The lord Marduk at the edge of the sea an
 embankment shut off.
 reed, marsh (?) he placed.
 he brought forth.
 [Reed] he created, tree he created.
- 35 in the place he created.
 [Brick he laid], brick structure he built.
 [House he made], city he built.
 [City he made], living creature he installed.
 [Nippur he made], E-Kur he built.
- 40 [Uruk] he made, [E-Anna he built.²¹]

Line 5 taken in connection with line 12 points to Eridu lying at the Persian Gulf as the first 'city' to be established. The hero of this myth would, therefore, be the god of Eridu, known to the Sumerians as Enki and appearing in Akkadian texts as Ea. One of the most common designations of this deity is 'King of the Deep' and it is evident, therefore, that Lugal-Du-Azagga, 'King of the holy habitation', is a descriptive title of Enki,²² 'the holy habitation' being either Eridu or the temple at Eridu, or the Apsû or 'Deep' within which Enki dwells. The term was probably applied originally to the great body of water on which Eridu lay and was afterwards extended to both the city

²⁰ *Sug* = *apparû* occurring also in line 25 and, therefore, an indication of a second version of the creation of vegetation.

²¹ At this point there is a break in the tablet, and when (pl. 38) it becomes intelligible again, we are in the midst of an incantation. Perhaps two lines corresponding to lines 8 and 9 are to be added as follows:

'The Deep he made, Eridu he built.

A holy house, the house of the gods—as its dwelling he made.'

²² See further below (p. 298, note 63) on Du-Azagga as the Sumerian name of the 7th month (Tašritu) and perhaps originally the beginning of the year. Tašritu, the Akkadian equivalent, means 'beginning.'

and temple sacred to him. Since Eridu by virtue of its position must have been one of the oldest settlements in the region, if not indeed the oldest, it would be natural to find a 'creation' myth centering around this place as the first bit of *terra firma* to be created. A 'city,' which here simply means an inhabited place, is inconceivable from the Sumerian-Akkadian point of view without the temple as the 'house' of the god to whom the city is sacred. The 'holy house' is therefore in the first line, according to the Sumerian text,²³ equated with the 'holy place,' just as in line 4 'house' and 'city' are equated. The first four lines describe in a general fashion a time before anything that we associate with this earth of ours—temples, plants, trees, structures, and cities—existed. It is not, however, said, as in the Akkadian version, that neither heaven nor earth 'had a name.' Apparently the world exists, not even submerged—but it is empty.

With the repetition of the reference to the 'city' in line 5, we reach a more specific stage of the description of the beginnings of things and I venture to suggest that line 8,

The Deep had not been made, Eridu not built,

forms the parallel to line 5. Lines 6-7, mentioning two other old 'cities,' Nippur and Uruk, would then be later additions, introduced as illustrations of the time when nothing at all existed in this world. We may go a step further and take these two lines as belonging to another version which has been dovetailed into the one associated more particularly with Eridu. This view would carry with it the assumption that lines 9-11 belong to this 'Nippur' version, as we might call it, in contradistinction to the 'Eridu' version. An assumption of this nature would explain the repetition in line 9 of what has been already said, in line 1. Moreover the conception of 'all lands being sea' is in contradiction to line 8 where it is said that Apsû or the watery deep had not yet been made. The conception in the 'Nippur' version agrees with the one in the above discussed 'Akkadian' myth, according to which water covered everything at the beginning of time. Line 11 would also belong to the 'Nippur' version, beginning the description of the manner in which *terra firma* appeared or was brought into existence, the description being continued in line 18. The Eridu ver-

²³ See above, note 8.

sion, on the other hand, beginning with lines 1-5 and 8, continues in lines 12-13 with the description of Eridu and its temple as the first to be created. Line 14

Babylon he made, Esagila was completed,

is clearly a later insertion *ad maiorem gloriam* of the later capital of the Babylonian empire, the temple of which derived its name from the far older sanctuary of Eridu.²⁴ The use of an entirely different verb in this line—*Šu-dū* = *kalâlu*, 'complete,' in place of *Dū* = *epêšu* or *Dim* = *banû*, 'make' and 'build'—points likewise to a different source for this line.

In the Eridu version the creator is naturally the god of Eridu, introduced as Lugal-Du-Azagga in line 13. It is he, therefore, who is to be regarded as the subject of lines 15 and 20, specifying the creation of the Anunnaki and mankind. Anunnaki is here a collective name used either for the gods in general or more probably for a group of deities under the tutelage of Lugal-Du-Azagga, constituting his court and who are created at one time by him. These Anunnaki assign a 'lofty name' for the holy city chosen by them, that is, for Eridu.²⁵ In order to provide a dwelling place, i. e. a temple in the city thus chosen, Lugal-Du-Azagga, it is said, (line 20) 'creates mankind.'²⁶

That humanity exists for the sake of the gods is the philosophy underlying this version. The gods wish to be worshiped; they need dwelling-places where the worshipers can gather. Men are therefore created to build temples as the essential feature of 'cities.'

Line 21 represents again a gloss to line 14, in part to conform to the later view which associates a female consort with every deity, in part to combine the version with another one which made the female divine element—here designated as

²⁴ The transfer is part of the general process, assigning to Marduk the attributes and distinction belonging to Ea of Eridu, who becomes the father of Marduk. See Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 92, *seq.*

²⁵ The Sumerian form of the city is designated as *Dug*, 'the good city,' whereas in the Akkadian translation, it is likewise written ideographically but as *Nun-Ki*, 'the great' or 'royal' place.

²⁶ The conception is similar to what we find in the sixth tablet of the Akkadian version (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1. 86 *seq.*), where it is implied that mankind is created because the gods are lonely and want followers to pay them worship.

Aruru—the 'mother' of mankind. Aruru is merely one of many designations given to this element, which in the systematized pantheon of the Akkadians is symbolized under the generic designation of Ishtar.

There follows (lines 22-35) a description of the creation of animals and of plants and trees. The repetition points to a combination of two versions, since it is unlikely that in a unit text we would have double descriptions of (a) creation of animals (line 22 and again in line 28 and 30), (b) the springing up of verdure and plants (lines 25-27 and again lines 32-35), while (c) line 29 again impresses one as a gloss added to either the one or the other version. In fact it is possible that we have three versions of the creation of animals and plants dovetailed into one another, to be analyzed as follows: (a) lines 22-26, animals, Tigris and Euphrates, verdure and plants²⁷; (b) lines 27-28 and 30, verdure, plants, and animals (with line 29 as an interrupting gloss); and (c) lines 32-35, verdure, animals,²⁸ and trees. At all events, there can be little question that lines 22-26 belong to the Eridu version, as is indicated by the mention of the two great rivers which empty their waters into the great 'deep'—the domain of Lugal-Du-Azagga. It is this god, therefore, who creates the animals of the field, assigns courses to the two rivers, gives them their names (by which is meant his control of them, since he calls them into existence), and finally it is Lugal-Du-Azagga who causes vegetation to spring up. Lines 27-28 and 30 may belong to the Nippur version, while lines 31 and those following may represent a later addition in order to ascribe the honor of creation to Marduk.²⁹ If we are to assume a third independent version embodied in our text it would be the Marduk or Babylon version of which, therefore, line 14 would form a part.

This brings us to the last point to be considered in our analysis—the occurrence of the name Marduk in line 17 as the equiva-

²⁷ Line 26 would represent a general summary to indicate all kinds of vegetation.

²⁸ To be supplied in line 33, which would, therefore, read '[beasts of the field and living creatures of the field] he brought forth,' or similar words supplied at the beginning. Lines 31-32 would then form part of the 'Marduk' or 'Babylon' version together with lines 14 and 21.

²⁹ Or this, as an alternative, may form part of a second Nippur version, modified by the substitution of Marduk for Enlil. See below, p. 287.

lent of a Sumerian deity written Gi-Lim-ma. As the sole instance of such an equation, it is open to question whether the Akkadian translator is not revealing here his preference for Marduk rather than following a genuine tradition. If the line belongs to the 'Nippur' version, we should expect Gi-Lim-ma to be a designation of Enlil. The circumstance that in line 31, where the Sumerian portion is broken off, we have *be-lum Marduk*, 'lord Marduk,' points likewise to the substitution here of the god Marduk for the old patron deity of Nippur, who in the Akkadian myth of creation is obliged to yield his headship of the pantheon which he so long enjoyed to Marduk. The 'Nippur' version, consisting of lines 6-7; 9-11, 17, 18, 27-28, 30, and possibly also 33 and 35 (but hardly 31 and 32), would thus furnish us with an account of creation, beginning with a description of a chaotic condition when the waters prevailed everywhere, as in the Akkadian version, followed by an account of *terra firma* brought about by a foundation of some kind stretched on the waters on which a deity pours dust so as to secure soil. After this land and marsh appear in which animal life is placed and reeds and trees spring up. If line 21 belongs to this version,³⁰ we would also have a reference to the creation of mankind by a deity in association with a goddess.

The other version, forming, according to the thesis above set forth, the account of the beginnings of things, belonging to the old Sumerian center of Eridu, and consisting of lines 1-5, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 22-26, reads as follows:

- 1 A holy house, a house of the gods (in) a
holy place had not been made.
- 2 Reed had not sprouted, tree had not been made.
- 3 Brick had not been laid, brick structure had not
been built.
- 4 No house made, no city built.
- 5 A city had not been made, living creature not yet
installed.
- 8 The Deep had not been made, Eridu³¹ not built.
- 12 At that time Eridu was made, Esagila was built.
- 13 Esagila where in the midst of the Deep, Lugal-Du-
Azagga dwells.

³⁰ See, however, above, p. 284.

³¹ Written Dug-(ga), the 'good' city. See above, note 25.

- 15 The Anunnaki altogether he made.
- 16 A holy city, the dwelling of their choice, with
a lofty name they proclaimed.
- 19 That the gods might be brought to dwell in
their chosen dwelling,
- 20 Mankind he created.
- 22 Beasts of the field, living creatures in the field
he created.
- 23 The Tigris and Euphrates he made and put in
their place.
- 24 Their names in goodly fashion he proclaimed.
- 25 Verdure, the marsh plant, reed, and sprout he
created.
- 26 The green of the field he created.

This portion of our text I regard as the original stock which has been enlarged by the dovetailing into it of another version, probably originating in Nippur, which has been modified so as to make Marduk the hero; he replaces Enlil, the god of Nippur, who is described by one of his epithets as Gi-Lim-ma. Taking up now the 'Eridu' version, we note in the first place the absence of any conflict. There is no assumption of a chaotic condition at the beginning of time with the watery element in control. A city as the dwelling of the god Lugal-Du-Azagga and the production of the Anunnaki are the first steps in the work of creation, after which mankind and animals are created, and vegetation springs up. The version, therefore, assumes the earth to be in existence but empty. There is no life in it. The god of Eridu, Enki, described as 'king of the holy habitation,' is also in existence, and in a naïve way it is assumed that his dwelling place represents the starting-point of the world. There is implied here, as already suggested, a synonymy between the 'deep' as the dwelling of Enki and the 'city' of Enki which is Eridu. Both fall within the category of a 'holy place' (line 1) which the Akkadian translation, it will be recalled, modifies somewhat.³² The 'city' is also associated with the 'temple' in the 'city.' Both 'city' and 'temple' are copies of the 'Deep' as the prototype of Enki's dwelling, but the 'Deep' too must be created. This is significant by way of contrast to the Akka-

³² By adding 'in,' see above, note 8.

dian version which assumes the 'Deep' as the watery element in complete control and, therefore, of course, existing at the beginning of time. The underlying conception of the Eridu version is that the watery element must be created before the empty earth can be filled with human life and with animals, and before vegetation can be produced. Such a conception could hardly have arisen in the same climatic region as the one which gave rise to the 'Akkadian' version, emphasizing the superabundance of the watery element to such an extent as to assume the earth to be submerged beneath the surging mass, and necessitating a conflict to subdue the lawless element. The reflection of this view is also to be seen in the 'Nippur' version, dovetailed into the 'Eridu' version, and if we are to assume the existence of a third version in the text just analyzed, that too—a 'Babylon' or a second 'Nippur' version—would be in accord with the 'Akkadian' conception. The substratum of the text, on the other hand, points to an origin of the conception evolved in a region where water is not abundant, where instead of water being the element to be overcome it is the condition necessary to bring about all life and vegetation. The world begins according to this version with the coming of the watery element, not with its being placed under control. Creation was pictured as ensuing at the time of the beginning of the rainy season, not with the cessation of the rains and storms. The 'Eridu' version, therefore, directs us to some mountainous region where there are no streams that overflow and submerge entire districts, where water is not abundant, or at least not so abundant as to give rise to the view that it was the primeval element. If, therefore, the 'Akkadian' version represents the world as beginning in the spring, with the triumph of the sun over the rains and storms of winter, the 'Eridu' version would point to such a beginning in the fall of the year, when the winter rains set in. Now to be sure, Eridu is situated on the Persian Gulf, and therefore we would not expect any version to arise in that center which would represent the beginnings of things otherwise than in the 'Akkadian' story. We must, therefore, assume the 'Eridu' version to have been brought to this region by the Sumerians from their original homes. Where this home was, it is impossible at present to determine with any degree of certainty, but several indications point to its having been in a mountainous district. One

of these indications is the *zikkurat* or stage-tower, attached to temples of Babylonia in the old Sumerian centers. These stage-towers, consisting of a series of stories one above the other with either a winding ascent to the top or a direct ascent from one stage to the other, are clearly intended to represent a mountain and the circumstance that the seat of the deity to whom the tower is sacred was at the top points to a belief which placed the seats of the gods on the tops of mountains. Such a belief is common among peoples dwelling in a mountainous region, and the inference is justified that the people who introduced the *zikkurat*³³ into the Euphrates Valley came from such a region and by a natural impulse were led to reproduce a mountain in miniature to symbolize their old manner of worship. That the *zikkurat* is always attached to the temple proper, which is modeled after the pattern of a house with a court or two courts and with chambers around the courts, indicates that in this combination of two *motifs* in the religious architecture the 'house' comes first, and the *zikkurat*, as a supplement, second. The altar is in connection with the 'house,' and the main cult is carried on before the image of the god in the innermost part of the house, not on the top of the *zikkurat*.³⁴ We may, therefore, set down the temple or house *motif* as due to the Semites among whom, as among the Egyptians, the temple is patterned upon the dwelling-house, and the tower *motif* as the one introduced into the Euphrates Valley by the Sumerians. Again, the fact that the word for 'country' (*Kur*) in Sumerian means primarily 'mountain,' leads us likewise to a mountainous region as the home of the Sumerians. The sign reverts to the picture of a mountain. As against one word for both 'mountain' and 'country' in Sumerian, we have in Akkadian two separate words (*šadû*, 'mountain,' and *mātu*, 'country' or 'land'). The name E-Kur, 'mountain house,' as the designation of the temple of the Sumerian deity En-lil in Nippur, known to be one of the oldest of the Sumerian centers in the Euphrates Valley, may be instanced as a further proof, and in accord with this we find Enlil addressed

³³ The Sumerian term for *zikkurat* is *U-Nir*, to be explained perhaps as 'visible far and wide.'

³⁴ See for further details Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 374 seq.; and *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 280 seq.

in hymns as the 'great mountain,'³⁵ and his consort Ninlil is also known as Nin-har-sag, i. e. 'lady of the mountain.' Perhaps a name like E-sagila, 'high house', for Enki's temple at Eridu,³⁶ another exceedingly ancient, if not indeed the oldest, Sumerian settlement, is to be accounted for in the same way as E-Kur. Until some decisive evidence is forthcoming, the further question whether the Sumerians came from the mountainous districts of southern and central Asia Minor must be left in abeyance, with much in favor of Brünnow's view³⁷ that the Sumerians came to the Valley from the northwest rather than the northeast.

IV

We are fortunate in having another very ancient Sumerian text affording us a view of beginnings, and which upon analysis turns out to be in agreement with the above discussed 'Eridu' version, picturing the world at the beginning of time to be in existence, but empty through lack of water. With the coming of the rain, vegetation appears and the world is prepared to sustain life—animal and human. I refer to the text which Langdon has published under the title of *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man* (Philadelphia, 1915). Langdon is entirely wrong in seeing in the beginning of the text a description of a primeval Paradise, as well as in his view that mankind was ejected from this fictitious Paradise with the coming of a flood from which a favored individual is said to have escaped, and that this favored individual, whom Langdon calls Tagtug, then forfeits the boon of immortality by eating of a forbidden fruit. I have tried to show this in a brief article on 'The Sumerian View of Beginnings' (JAOS 36. 122), which will be followed by a full analysis of Langdon's text in vol. 33 no. 2 of

³⁵ Rawlinson IV², pl. 27, no. 2, obv. 15-16; Gudea Cyl. A, col. viii, 16, etc. Meyer's view (*Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, p. 33) that the seat of the gods on the tops of mountains is a Semitic conception is correct, but this does not exclude it also as a Sumerian belief.

³⁶ Then transferred to Marduk's temple at Babylon. See Jastrow, *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, 1. 130 seq., and *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 93.

³⁷ ZA. 28. 387. See Eduard Meyer's remarks in *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, p. 114, who leaves the question open. See further, Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 121, and King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 53 seq. and Appendix I.

the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. Professor Sayce agrees with my view that there is no account of a flood in Langdon's text (*Expository Times*, November 1915), while Barton (*Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 283 note) as well as Prince (*JAOS* 36: 90) and finally Peters in a review of Langdon's publication, also agree with me in rejecting *all* of Langdon's theses. Langdon's rendering of the text or rather his two renderings³⁸ are full of false translations due to his faulty method and lack of attention to philological niceties, as his text is full of errors, some of which he has now himself recognized, though by no means all.³⁹ We are concerned here merely with the first two columns of the text.

The text opens with a description of the god Enki and his consort Nin-ella who dwell alone in a mountain, described as a 'holy place,' Ki Azagga,⁴⁰ corresponding to E Azagga, 'holy house' and Ki Azagga in the Eridu version of the beginnings of things above analyzed.

The name of the mountain is written with a sign the reading of which is doubtful. Langdon's proposal to identify it with Dilmun, written invariably Ni-Tuk, is good enough as a guess but on examination turns out to be indefensible.⁴¹ Let us call the place X for the present. Emphasis is laid upon the fact that Enki and his consort are 'alone' (lines 7 and 10). If, therefore, the 'holy place' in the mountain X is further described in a description comprising lines 13-21, as a spot where animals did not carry on their usual activities associated with them, it is reasonable to conclude that such a description is merely a poetic manner of emphasizing that no animals were found there. In other words Enki and Ninella are in a world in which there is not as yet any animal life. The raven, it is said in this description, did not croak, the kite (?) did not shriek, the lion

³⁸ What he calls a revised translation is given by him in the *Expository Times* for January, 1916, pp. 165-168, and we are now promised a third to be issued in French, which he announces will be the 'final' one.

³⁹ See his 'Critical Notes upon the Epic of Paradise,' *JAOS* 36. 140-145, the 'uncritical' character of which will be shown by me in my article in *AJSL*.

⁴⁰ The epithet occurs three times, lines 2, 4, 5, and is to be supplied in line 3 and probably also in line 1; it alternates with *El* 'pure' in lines 6, 9, and 12.

⁴¹ See the discussion of this reading in my article in *AJSL*.

did not slay, the wolf did not plunder the lambs, the dog did not tear the kids, and the unidentified animal (now read *zebu* by Langdon) did not graze, the young did not graze (?) with the mother, the bird of heaven did not do something, the dove did not hatch (?).⁴² To assume these lines to be a description of a primeval Paradise where all was 'peace and bliss,' as Langdon proposed, is clearly out of the question. If we had merely the lines about the lion, wolf, and dog, the interpretation would be possible, but a difficulty arises with the 'raven' and 'kite.' Why should ravens not croak or kites not shriek? That surely would not seriously disturb the bliss of Paradise, unless we assume that Enki and his consort were 'nervous,' sensitive to unpleasant noises. Line 18, where it is said that the *zebu* (?) did not 'graze,' is fatal to Langdon's thesis.⁴³ But human life is also non-existent in the 'holy place.' This is indicated in lines 22-25, again in poetic fashion, by saying that there were no diseases, that no one said 'mother' or 'father.' Since diseases were believed to be due to demons that had found their way into the body and which had to be exorcised in order that the sufferer might be relieved, the absence of disease was due to the fact that there were no demons, and this again because there were no people whom they could plague. 'Father' and 'Mother' was not said because there were no parents to be addressed and no children to address them.⁴⁴

The description in col. i of our text is, therefore, that of a world in existence but empty, and the reason for this absence of animal and human life is clearly indicated in line 26 where it is said:

In the pure place, no water flowed,
In the city no water was poured out.

Without water, life cannot exist, vegetation cannot spring up. The total absence of human activity is again indicated in the following lines in poetical fashion, after which the goddess Ninella—represented at once as the daughter and consort of Enki—appeals to the latter to supply the 'city' which he has

⁴² So Prince suggests (JAOS 36. 96). The verbs at the ends of the lines 19-21 are broken off or doubtful.

⁴³ See for a full discussion the article in AJSL.

⁴⁴ Parallel poetic phrases in Sumerian productions will be found in my article in AJSL.

founded with drinking water in abundance.⁴⁵ The 'city' is equated with the locality X in which Enki and Ninella dwell and the wish is expressed that the 'city' and 'place may drink water in abundance' and become the 'house of the gathering place of the land.' The 'city' as in the 'Eridu' version is conceived merely as a place to be inhabited. Wherever a god dwells there is a 'city,' of which the god is the patron, and where he is worshiped. The 'house' is the temple, as at once the home of the god and the sanctuary to which worshipers come to pay their homage. 'Land,' 'city,' and 'temple' are thus regarded as synonymous terms, as in the 'Eridu' version. The request of Ninella is granted, and in further sequence the coming of the waters is pictured as the result of a union between the god and the goddess, designated in this episode as Nintu 'the mother of the land,' her name signifying the 'lady of birth.'⁴⁶ The result is a rich vegetation, poetically described as⁴⁷

Like fat, like fat, like rich cream,
Nintu, the mother of the land, brought forth.

With the further episodes in this interesting text in which the drenching of the fields is twice again described we are not concerned, but merely with the view of Beginnings as set forth in the first two columns. This view has such points in common with the 'Eridu' version as to make it evident that the two belong to the same order and reflect the same climatic conditions. They must have originated in a region where water was not plentiful and where as a consequence vegetation and life are associated with the coming on of the rainy season. The world, therefore, is pictured as beginning in the fall when the rains set in, and

⁴⁵ Lines 31 to Col. ii, 10. The closing lines of Col. i are broken off. On this double relationship of Ninella (elsewhere designated as Damgalnunna (col. ii, 31) and Nintu (col. ii, 21), see my article in AJSL. The conception is met with elsewhere. If a male deity is pictured as the starting-point of the universe, the first goddess is produced by him and becomes his consort; she is, therefore, daughter and wife. If a female deity is the starting-point, she produces a son who becomes her husband. So, e. g., Ishtar and Tammuz.

⁴⁶ On the significance of this symbolism, the rain as the seed of the god poured into the womb of the goddess as 'Mother Earth,' see the article in AJSL, where parallels from other sources are adduced.

⁴⁷ Col. ii, 43-46.

not in the spring when the storms and rains cease. Such a condition is apt to prevail in mountainous districts where the streams are low or entirely dried up in the dry season and depend upon the rains to fill them again, in contrast to a mountainless plain like the Euphrates Valley, where the streams, fed from their sources, flow in abundance during the entire year and during the rainy season overflow and cause inundations.

Enki and his consort are described as dwelling in a mountain. Naturally, the old Sumerian tales of Beginnings were modified when the Sumerians left their mountain homes to come to the Euphrates Valley. Instead of the locality X in the mountains, the old cities in which the Sumerians established themselves, and more particularly Eridu at the head of the great body of water, became the scene of action. Enki, himself, whose name signifying 'The lord of the land' (or more vaguely 'place') becomes a water-deity and is identified with Ea whose home is the 'great deep,' i. e. the *Apsû*. A contrast is set up between the 'bitter waters' of the *Apsû*, and the sweet, drinkable waters of the streams; and in other ways the old myth is modified, indications of which are to be seen in Langdon's text and become more pronounced in the 'Eridu' version. The final upshot of the process is the grafting of the 'Akkadian' view of Beginnings upon the 'Sumerian' conception as we find it in the composite production, *Cuneiform Texts*, 13, pl. 35-38. In thus distinguishing between Sumerian and Akkadian views of Beginnings, many passages in the somewhat mixed conceptions held of Enki-Ea become clearer. It has always been puzzling to find him addressed by two names, conveying such contradictory points of view as 'a god of the land' and a god whose 'house,' i. e. his dwelling-place, is the 'water,'⁴⁸ and which leads to making him the *Lugal-zu-ab* or *Šar apsî*, 'king of the deep,' or the 'Lugal-Du-Azagga,' 'king of the holy habitation'—a synonym of the 'deep.' In long lists of the names and attributes of Ea, e. g., *Cuneiform Texts*, 24, pl. 14-15, we find designations that belong to a water-god such as *Lugal-id-da*, 'king of streams' (line 23), by the side of others like *Dug-gä-bur*, 'potter' (line 41 and 43), which point to a land deity. The frequent association of Enki-Ea

⁴⁸ Conveyed by the two signs *E* = 'house' and *a* 'water,' whether this be the correct etymology or merely a play on the name.

with the working of metals⁴⁹ likewise is more appropriate to a god whose home is in the mountains where metals are found, than to a god who dwells in the waters. The symbolism on Boundary Stones where Enki-Ea is represented as a ram's head, alternating or combined with a goat-fish,⁵⁰ may perhaps be explained in the same way as due to a combination of two different conceptions. However the combination of Enki with Ea is to be accounted for, so much at least is clear that Enki represents originally the Sumerian 'land' deity, who as the earliest god is naturally viewed as the creator of the universe. He becomes in this capacity the En-An-Ki, 'the lord of heaven and earth' (*Cuneiform Texts*, 24, pl. 14, 18), and the Nu-Dim-Mut, the general 'artificer' (line 19), whereas Ea is distinctively a conception that reflects conditions as they existed in the Euphrates Valley and must have originated in that region. We cannot go so far as to assert that the name is of 'Akkadian' origin (in which case the writing *E-a*, 'house of water,' would be an etymological 'play'), but we may say that the Sumerians did not know of Ea till they settled in the land of the 'Akkadians.' They added to the 'land' and mountain 'deity' the distinction of being also the lord of the Deep, and in that capacity called him Ea.

V

There is another aspect of the contrast between the Sumerian and Akkadian views of Beginnings that should be here considered, namely, the bearings of the thesis here brought forth on the remarkably similar contrast between the two accounts of creation in the Book of Genesis, the so-called P document, Gen. 1-2. 4^a and the J account Gen. 2. 4^b-25. The P document pictures the beginning of things as a time when the Tehôm, i. e. the watery element. (Tiamat) covered everything—a time of lawlessness expressed by the famous phrase *Tohû Wa-Bohû*. The

⁴⁹ See Jastrow, *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, 1. 176 and 293, where other designations of Ea in his capacity as the patron of the metal workers will be found, including Nin-Kur, lord of the mountains. In this capacity he is called Nin-igi-lamga-gid (*Cuneiform Texts*, 24, pl. 14, 38).

⁵⁰ See the list in Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I*, p. 241.

earth is submerged beneath the waters, and when these are gathered into one place the earth appears covered with verdure, whereupon vegetation follows. Then order is established in the universe by placing the sun and moon in control of the regulation of time and seasons—very much as in the Akkadian version,⁵¹ though with the modifications called for to adapt the old nature myth to an advanced monotheistic conception of creation and of Divine government. The world begins with the drying up of the waters and the cessation of storms and rain in the spring. In the J Document—the older of the two—the picture is just the reverse. The earth exists, but it is empty. There is no life in it—‘no one to till the ground,’ because no rain had fallen upon it. It is only after the earth is drenched⁵² that vegetation appears, preparing the earth to sustain human and animal life. The world, therefore, begins with the coming of the rainy season, i. e. in the fall, precisely as in the Sumerian view of Beginnings.⁵³ As between the two Biblical versions, the one in the J document fits in with climatic conditions in the interior of Palestine—a mountainous region with only one large river and with smaller streams and brooks that are very low or entirely empty in the dry season. The welfare of the population is dependent upon the fall and winter rains—the early and the late rains. Hence in the Jewish ritual, as developed in post-exilic days, the prayer is inserted at the time of the harvest festival that the early and late rains may fall in abundance.⁵⁴ The P version, on the other hand, reflects so unmistakably the conditions in Babylonia that there can be no doubt of its being an importation, superimposed through the sojourn of large bodies of Jews in that region after the fall of the Southern Hebrew monarchy. It follows that the traditional celebration of the

⁵¹ Tablet V.

⁵² The puzzling *ed* of Gen. 2. 6 conveys in some way the notion of a thorough drenching of the soil.

⁵³ It is only proper to add that Professor Sayce was the first to suggest an analogy between this Biblical version and the Sumerian point of view (*Expository Times*, November, 1915), though I had reached my conclusions independently before Sayce's article came into my hands. Note the curious resemblance in construction between Gen. 2. 5 ‘plant of the field had not yet sprouted, herb of the field had not yet grown’ and the opening lines of the ‘Eridu’ version (p. 286, above).

⁵⁴ Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home*, p. 123 *seq.* and p. 130 *seq.*

Jewish New Year in the fall of the year, still maintained in the orthodox ritual of today, is older than the Jewish calendar which begins the official year with the first spring month. The calendar is due to direct borrowing from Babylonia, as is recognized in the Talmud.⁵⁵ Therefore, such a statement as that the month of the Exodus from Egypt is to be reckoned as the first of the months⁵⁶ even though the older name of the month is given,⁵⁷ along with the specific designation of the seventh month as the New Year's time,⁵⁸ is to be found in the P document and reflects the same influences that are betrayed in P's version of creation. To avoid the inconsistency of celebrating a 'New Year's day' at the beginning of the seventh month, P avoids the designation New Year (ראש השנה) and calls the festival זכרון תרועה 'Memorial of the Trumpet Sound,'⁵⁹ or יום תרועה, 'Day of the Trumpet Sound.' He clearly has a purpose in doing so,⁶⁰ but popular tradition, which is always stronger than official doctrine, maintained the designation ראש השנה for the established celebration of the New Year in the fall.⁶¹ Does it follow that, because the P version of creation betrays direct evidence of having been introduced into Genesis under influences emanating from Babylonia, the older J version is to be brought into direct connection with the Sumerian View of Beginnings? Hardly, for in view of the wide-spread tendency to evolve creation myths and tales among people everywhere after a certain stage of culture had been reached, when man's sense of curiosity is aroused as to how this world in which he lives, and how the larger universe above him came into being, it would be natural for the inhabitants of Palestine to produce a conception of Beginnings that would reflect climatic conditions prevailing in that country. The J version would, therefore, be the

⁵⁵ Talmud Yerushalmi, Rosh ha-Shana 1. 1.

⁵⁶ Exodus 12. 2.

⁵⁷ Ex. 13. 4; 23. 15; 34. 18; also Deut. 16. 1, which appears to be the source for the last two passages in Exodus.

⁵⁸ Lev. 23. 24.

⁵⁹ Num. 29. 1.

⁶⁰ Ezekiel 40. 1, however, uses the phrase—the only occurrence in the O. T., but even here the Greek text has 'first month.'

⁶¹ See further on this point Paul Volz, *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes*, p. 10 seq.

indigenous one;⁶² the P, the borrowed one. The analogies presented by the former with the Sumerian view would be due to similar climatic conditions in the districts in which they arose. The theory of direct borrowing in the case of the J version is also excluded by the predominance of the Akkadian version in Babylonian literature, leading as we have seen to attempts to adapt the old Sumerian myths to the Akkadian point of view and of which some illustrations have been given.

Traces of the Sumerian view, however, survived in Babylonian Literature,⁶³ and if the above endeavor to differentiate between

⁶² According to the fragment of the old Canaanitish 'agricultural' calendar found in Gezer (*Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1909, p. 31) the year began in the fall. The old Persian year likewise began in the fall but was afterwards—so in the Avesta—transferred to the spring, no doubt again under Babylonian influence. See Jackson, 'Iranische Religion,' in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 2. 677. Similarly, the ancient Arabs, who under foreign influences transferred the older New Year's period from the fall to the spring (Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, p. 99).

⁶³ There are, in fact, some indications that the seventh month was at one time regarded in Babylonia like Nisan as 'the beginning of the year.' See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* 2. 462, in the discussion of an explanatory comment to an official report of the appearance of the new moon. The Babylonians may have had, like the Jews, two 'calendars,' an official one beginning in the spring and a 'religious' one beginning in the fall. If so, the latter would be a trace of the older Sumerian view which, as we have seen, would have led to beginning the year in the fall. The name for the seventh month *tašritu* which has the force of 'beginning' (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 1201b) likewise points in this direction. The Sumerian designation of this month Du-Azagga = 'holy habitation' is a direct reference to the place where Enki and his consort at the beginning of things dwell; and it is interesting to note as a further trace of the Sumerian view localizing this holy place in a 'mountain,' (and not in the Euphrates Valley), that in a bilingual hymn (Rawlinson V., pl. 50, 5a) Du-Azagga is equated with *šadû*, 'mountain,' further described as Ki Nam-tar-tar-ri-e-ne = *ašar simâtum*, 'place of fates.' The name Du-Azagga thus appears to be a direct allusion to a 'Sumerian' myth, such as we have in the two Sumerian versions of Beginnings above analyzed. The designation of Nabu as the god of the Du-Azagga, 'holy habitation,' (Brünnow, no. 9609) is of course a late transfer of the attributes of Enki-Ea at a time when Enki had become a 'water-god,' and the Du-Azagga had been identified with the *apsû* or 'deep.'

The assumption of 'two' calendars is nothing unusual. The Rabbis, in fact, recognize 'four' New Year periods: (1) 1st of Nisan as 'civil,' for dating reigns of rulers and for festivals; (2) 1st of Tishri for reckon-

the Sumerian and Akkadian views of Beginnings is correct, we would have also a valuable criterion for distinguishing, in the conceptions connected with Enki-Ea, as in the case of other distinctly Sumerian deities like Enlil, and in the transfer of the attributes of such gods as Enki and Enlil to the later head of the Babylonian pantheon Marduk, between traits that reflect the original nature of these deities, and such as are due to the natural process in transferring conceptions of gods belonging to a mountainous people with the climatic and economic conditions appertaining thereto, to become the protective Powers of an agricultural population, dwelling in a region in which water was plentiful.

ing time and as the agricultural New Year; (3) 1st of Elul (sixth month) for tithing cattle; and (4) 1st (or 15th) of Shebat (eleventh month), the New Year for trees (Talmud Babli, Rosh ha-Shana, 1 a).

Finally, the order of the months in the older Babylonian calendar, in force during the Sargon period and in the Ur dynasty, points to a year beginning in August-September. See Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, 2. 174 seq. This would reflect the Sumerian point of view, whereas the change during the Hammurapi period to a calendar beginning the year with the first spring month would be due to the assertion of Akkadian influence. It may be that as a consequence of the mixture of two different points of view 'two' calendars continued to be recognized, at least for a time, the older one surviving in the cult and the later one becoming the official calendar for dated documents and the like. The relationship between the older and later Babylonian calendars is, however, a subject that requires further investigation.

Iranian Views of Origins in connection with Similar Babylonian Beliefs.—By ALBERT J. CARNOY, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

In his notable article 'Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings' Professor Jastrow calls attention to the marked contrast between the cosmologies of the two races that met in Chaldea. In the view of the Sumerians there is not even an approach to a creation. The existence of the earth, of rivers, mountains, and even cities, is assumed, as cities are above all the dwelling-places of the gods and a god is not conceivable without a dwelling. Life then comes on Earth through the introduction of water and irrigation. Man also results from a union between the water-gods. According to the conception of the Akkadians, on the other hand, the watery deep is disorder, and the cosmos, the order of the world, is due to the victory of a god of light and spring over the monster of winter and water; man is directly made by the gods.

Myths have an essentially migratory existence. They are very easily transferred from one nation to its neighbors. When they are not taken over as a whole, they often exert an influence on the original traditions of the other peoples. It may therefore prove of value to examine the ideas of the Iranians regarding the beginnings of things, to endeavor to disentangle the original myths from the intricacies of Mazdean tradition, and to compare the Iranian accounts with both Sumerian and Akkadian stories, in order to establish to how great an extent Chaldean beliefs have influenced, in this respect, the views of the neighboring Aryans of Persia. The necessity of such an inquiry seemed to me the more urgent because, according to the views that I laid out in an article published in the *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1917, the ideas of Chaldeans concerning gods and morality exerted a decisive influence on the religion of the Indo-Iranians at a very early period.

I

SUMERIAN VIEWS ON BEGINNINGS

The Sumerian account of Beginnings centers around the production by the gods of water, Enki and his consort Nin-ella (or

Dangal), of a great number of canals bringing rain to the desolate fields of a dry continent. Life both of vegetables and animals follows the profusion of the vivifying waters. There is a central sea into which the channels and rivers converge. This sea is, of course, the Persian Gulf, which was considered to be the 'confluence of streams'¹ and was the object of a special reverence as sacred to Enki.² In that process, a mountain also seems to have played a part, judging from the efforts made by Sumerians in the Chaldean plain to make up for the absence of mountains by erecting staged towers. The legend appears thus to have originated not in the watery valley of the Euphrates but on the shore of the Persian Gulf in a dry country in the vicinity of mountains. In the process of life's production besides Enki, the personality of his consort is very conspicuous. She is called *Nin-Ella*, 'the pure Lady,' *Damgal-Nunna*, the 'great Lady of the Waters,' *Nin-Tu*, 'the Lady of birth.' She is both daughter and wife to Enki and it would appear that from their union, a child was born who was to be the ancestor of mankind, according to Prof. Jastrow's interpretation of a recently discovered tablet published by Langdon under the title *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man*. In later traditions, the personality of that Great Lady seems to have been overshadowed by that of Ishtar, who absorbed several of her functions.

It is most natural to compare the Sumerian story of the introduction of water on Earth with the Iranian account of the creation of waters. The fifth Yasht tells us that Mazdāh has created the waters. They converge into the sea Vourukasha, 'ocean with large gulfs,' that covers one-third of the earth, in the direction of the southern limit of the mythical mountain Hara Berezaity, 'the high Hara,' later identified with Mt. Alburz, but in reality merely mythical. So wide it is that it contains the water of a thousand gulfs. It has a thousand outlets. Those outlets are of various sizes. Some are great, some are small, some are so large that a man with a horse should compass them around in forty days (Yt. 5. 1, 4).

All waters continuously flow from the source Ardvī Sūra Anāhita. There are a hundred thousand golden channels and

¹ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 577.

² *Ib.* p. 597.

the water, warm and clear, goes through the channels towards mount Hūgar, the lofty. On the summit of that mountain is lake Urvis, 'the turmoil'; into that lake the water flows, becomes quite purified and comes back through a different golden channel. At the height of a thousand men an open golden branch from that channel is connected with the sea Vourukasha, from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, and another portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of the earth and all the creatures of Mazda acquire health from it and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere. And there are three large salt seas and twenty-three small. Of the three, Pūitika (Persian Gulf) is the largest, in which there is a flow and ebb.

The great spring Ardvī Sūra Anāhita is the life-increasing, the herd-increasing, the fold-increasing who makes prosperity for all countries (Yt. 5. 1). It runs powerfully down to the sea Vourukasha. All the shores of that sea are boiling over when it plunges foaming down there, with its thousand gulfs and its thousand channels.

Now, it is very interesting to note that that precious spring is worshiped as a goddess, and, in contrast with the other deities of Iran, is personified under the appearance of a handsome and stately woman. She is a fair maid, most strong, tall of form, high-girded. Her arms are white and thick as a horse's shoulder or still thicker. She is full of gracefulness. She wears shoes up to the ankle with all sorts of ornaments and radiants (Yt. 5. 7, 64, 78).

This seems to point to the existence of material representations of the goddess, something very un-Aryan and the borrowing of that goddess from Chaldean people has been suggested. Prof. Cumont³ thinks that Anāhita is Ishtar and this is indeed the view of several scholars. This view is not unfounded, since much emphasis is laid on the part of Anāhita as a goddess of fecundation and birth.⁴ Moreover in Achæmenian inscriptions Anāhita is associated with Ahura Mazdāh and Mithra, a triad corresponding to the Chaldean triad: Sin—Shamash—Ishtar. 'Ανάιτις in Strabo⁵ and other Greek writers is treated as an Ἀφροδίτη.

³ *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, p. 217.

⁴ Yt. 5. 2, 5, etc.

⁵ Strabo 15. 3, 15. Cf. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 100.

And indeed the identification of Anāhita with Ishtar in the minds of both Chaldeans and Persians seems unquestionable. One may, however, wonder whether the great importance taken in Chaldea by Ishtar at the expense of other deities has not contributed in connecting with that goddess a story that resembles closely the Sumerian account of the production of life through the expansion of waters in which the acting female deity is Enki's consort, Damgal. It is indeed striking to compare the name of the Iranian goddess with that of the Sumerian Lady: the pure Lady, the Great Lady of Waters, the Lady of birth. *Arđvī Sūra Anāhita* means indeed the Great (or tall) pure (spotless) Lady. She presides over the production of life just in the same way as Damgal: 'I, Ahura Mazdāh, I have created Anāhita to secure prosperity to house, village, district and the whole country.'⁶ Anāhita secures abundance of cattle, joy, and success. Moreover Anāhita is also the Lady of birth because she secures fecundation: '(Anāhita) who purifies the sperm of males, who purifies the wombs of females to bring forth, who makes childbirth easy to women, who gives to mothers milk as required by time and circumstances.'⁷

Thus, when the Iranians borrowed from neighboring people that story which plays an important part in their myths, it was still very close to its Sumerian form.

There is among Iranians another legend in which waters and rain appear as blessings and help in the constitution of the world. It is that the victory of Tishtrya (Sirius) over Apaosha (demon of drought) brought about a deluge that purified creation from all kinds of evil germs deposited by Ahriman; but that story is connected with other groups of myths: the Akkadian story of the deluge and the storm-night of the Indo-Iranians.

The connection of water with plants is also exemplified by the good rain of Ameretatāt (immortality) in which the germs of plants were mixed with water so that after that rain, plants grew up like hair upon the heads of men. This, however, is a late story, but older is the myth of the tree Gaokerena, containing the seeds of all plants, with their disease-killing properties, a tree of immortality and growing in the midst of the sea Vourukasha. That tree is attacked by a water-lizard of Ahriman. This legend preserves traces both of the Indo-European drink of

⁶ Yt. 5. 6.

⁷ Yt. 5. 2.

immortality (the celestial *haoma* or *soma*), and of the belief of Semites about the tree of life and the dragon of the deep. It is more desirable to consider this in connection with the myths treated in the next chapter.

II

AKKADIAN VIEWS ON BEGINNINGS

The Akkadian account of the origins of things centers, as we have said, around the myth of the struggle of a god of light against a monster living in the watery and chaotic Deep, called Tiāmat in Babylonian records. The meaning of the story is that the world was produced by a victory of order over chaos. The part of the great gods was to introduce order. The victory of order is symbolized in the conquest of the tablets of fate, by which gods preside over order.

Tiāmat had many associates, great serpents and furious vipers (Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 414). In the form of the narrative that is found in cuneiform tablets, Marduk assails the monster with a most powerful weapon that seems to be the thunderbolt. He is also helped by winds. This cosmologic myth is indeed in its origin a storm myth (Jastrow, p. 429). Anyhow, for Akkadians, life cannot be produced until a dry land emerges from a watery deep or a sun god conquers a cloud monster or causes a rain or a winter to cease. Man comes last into the world. He is made by gods, by Ea or more often by Bel. He is made by a deliberate act of the gods. Bel is 'said' for example, to have taken blood from his head to make man.

There are, however, traces of a man being generated from a union between a sun-god, e. g. Tammuz, and Ishtar as the Great Mother (Mother Earth), though originally this seems to have been a vegetation myth.

Though one hardly finds among Iranian myths any direct and wholesale borrowing from those Akkadian legends, as seems to have been the case with the Sumerian story of the Great Lady of the Waters, it is a fact that all the typical features of that second layer of Chaldean traditions is discoverable in Iranian mythology, and in many cases it seems undeniable that the primitive traditions of that Indo-European people have been seriously modified and enriched by borrowings or syncretisms under the influence of the abundant store of Chaldean myths.

The fact that one does not find exact equivalents of the stories does not in the least diminish the importance of the coincidences in the main features. It is indeed a well-known tendency of tales both to repeat themselves with other names and to assimilate features belonging originally to other stories. The durable element is to be found in typical incidents. The mere internal development of Persian traditions provides a decisive demonstration of that statement. The story of Keresaspa, for instance, takes a very important place in Middle Persian times. In the Avesta, it is only occasionally alluded to. One reports the slaying of dragons by Keresaspa, the son of Thrīta Athwya, while Thraetaona (Farīdūn), who is also a son of Thrīta Athwya, is the hero of the typical story of the slaying of a dragon, the myth of Azhi Dahāka. Keresaspa appears therefore to be a mere doublet of the other hero. In Pahlavi books an extensive literature is devoted to the exploits of Gurshisp (Keresaspa), the hero with the club. His epic has accrued from several episodes of various origin, most of them stories of contests with monsters and elements. In the Shāh Nāmāh, Gurshisp has again faded away and his mere name is preserved in the person of a very inconspicuous king, while his exploits are attributed to heroes who are mere duplicates of his own person. His club is now in the hands of Rustam, who has replaced him as a fiend-slayer. His epithet *Sāma* has been detached so as to become a grandfather of Rustam, Sām; while his other name *Nariman* has been made the great-grandfather of the same warrior. Moreover, the Babylonian story of the marvelous birth of Etana's son and of an eagle who takes him to a mountain has now been introduced into that cycle of legends and given to them another aspect. That eagle itself is a feature inherited from the time when those legends of fiend-slaying heroes, both Aryan and Semitic, were mere storm-myths. Thus the actors of the drama and the disposition of the dramatic machinery vary continually but the essential elements remain: a hero engaged in fights against terrific monsters, who slays them with a club.

The idea pervading all Akkadian stories connected with the production of the world is that there cannot be any world nor any life unless it be submitted to a rule, a law of order. The blind and dark tendencies of the unrestrained elements toward disorder personified in the form of shapeless and devour-

ing monsters have thus to be conquered by the gods of light and order. The same conception is at the basis of Mazdean cosmogony and philosophy.

In both Chaldean and Iranian accounts of creation, one finds a successive introduction of order. The various elements of the world and the living creatures appear in succession. In the narrative of the *Būndahishn*,⁸ Ormazd first produces the celestial sphere and the stars, then provides the earth with fertilizing waters running from the central sea Vourukasha, and next to that divides the earth into various countries separated by mountains that center around Hara Berezaiti. Then appear the plants, healing and feeding. They receive their properties from the famous Gaokerena-tree, that presides over the development of vegetation. Then fire comes, which in the ideas of that time was supposed to come from wood because it was produced by rubbing sticks against one another. The king of fires is the Bahrām fire, or sacred fire. Then the animal world is produced in the form of a bull, the prototype of animal life out of which all other animals are brought forth. In the same way the first man Gaya in dying becomes the father of the human race, as will be explained below. In such a way the whole creation is realized and each part of it springs forth from a prototype. The idea seems to have been carried out in artificial systematization. That same philosophical conception has generated the theory of the ideal prototypes (*fravashi*) of things, that are supposed to have first emanated from Mazdāh, so as to be realized later in the actual creation, a conception pretty near to that of Plato's *idéai*.

Mazdāh is considered primarily as the one who regulated the order of the world. In a fine passage of the *Gāthās* (Ys. 44. 3), for example, we read: 'This I ask thee, says Zoroaster, tell me in truth O Lord: (1) Who was the first originator and the father of Justice? Who gave to the sun and the stars their path, who made the moon to wax and to wane; . . . (2) Who gave a foundation to the Earth and to the Clouds so that they would not fall, who created water and plants, who gave swiftness to clouds and wind, who is the creator of the Good-Spirit (Vohu-Manah) . . . (3) Who is the benefactor who made light and darkness, who is the benefactor who made sleep and waking? Who made morning, mid-day, and night, that remind the wise of their duties?'

⁸ *Būndahishn* 1. 21 ff. and the following chapters.

This passage is very typical of Mazdean conceptions. The separation of light from darkness, the association of water with plants are essential features of their cosmology. Besides, one finds here the continuous association of the material order with the moral one: the same law that presides over the movement of sun and moon provides for justice among men.

The good order in the elements is reflected in mind by a well-ordained soul (*Vohu-Manah*) and the recurrence of night and day must be matched by the regularity of man in his religious duties. The same ideas are found in the Vedas, and both for Iranians and Indians there corresponds to the path of the sun the path that man has to follow if he is to reach a successful end.

The same word (Skr. *ṛta*, Iran. *arta* or *asha*) expresses both cosmic and moral order, and that conception is absolutely essential both in the Vedas and in Mazdeism. The great gods who preside over human life and conduct, *Varuṇa-Mitra* and *Mazdāh-Mithra*, are the enhancers of that essential law. It does not exclude human freedom, but in its general aspect it resembles very much the *moira* of the Greeks. What is *κατὰ μοῖραν* for Homer is not so much ordained by fate but in conformity with the right order of things. But the resemblance, so it seems, is greater still with the Babylonian idea of the order to be introduced into the world by the gods of light through the conquest of the tablets of fate, symbolizing the great law presiding over cosmic and human events, a law that cannot fall into unworthy hands—as was the case with *Zu*—without imperiling the existence of the world and of men. *Shamash*, like *Mithra*, is the maintainer of Justice and Law and at the same time produces order and stability in the world.

That law for the Aryans is often identified with the will, the command of *Varuṇa* or of *Mazdāh*. *Varuṇa* is the god of indefectible commands, and for Semites *Sin* plays the same part, as appears particularly in a hymn quoted by Prof. Jastrow (*op. cit.* p. 303): 'Lord, who directs destinies for distant days, strong chief, who from the foundation of Heaven till the zenith passes along in brilliancy opening the door of Heaven, preparing the fate of humanity, Lord, proclaiming the decision of Heaven and Earth, whose command is not set aside . . . When thy strong command is established on the earth, vegetation

sprouts forth. Thy strong command produces right and proclaims justice to mankind . . .'

The admirable conception of the *ṛta* is probably superior to all that is to be found in Babylonian religion and philosophy, and gives proof of an exalted mentality among the Indo-Iranians. This does not, however, preclude the fecundation of Aryan thought on this point by the contact with their neighbors at a very early period. But this is beyond the scope of the present study. What interests us more particularly is the association in Iran of the *arta* with the *hvarenah*, or 'glory' that enables kings to rule according to order and justice (cf. the Persian name 'Αρταφέρνης, 'the man who has the *hvarenah* [Pers. *farna*] of Justice'). This *hvarenah* may not fall into wicked hands, or the world is disturbed and desolated. It is thanks to the *hvarenah* that Yima maintained order and peace in the world during the Golden Age. He was robbed of it by the dragon Azhi Dahāka, who brought the world into confusion and distress until Farīdūn (Av. Thraētaona) conquered that fiend and restored order and prosperity by taking hold of the *hvarenah*. Other struggles are recorded as having taken place for the possession of the *hvarenah*, the most typical being the great effort made by the Ahrimanian Afrasyāb (Av. Frangrasyan) to seize that miraculous power.

In his fight with Uzava, that fiend is supposed to have detained the rivers and desolated Iran by drought. He is thus a water or cloud-dragon detaining the waters of the great sea (Vourukasha). He is supposed to live in an iron stronghold in the depths of the earth. There he conceived the desire of seizing the *hvarenah* of Yima that had escaped Zahhak and had taken refuge in the midst of the sea Vourukasha.⁹ He stripped himself naked and swam to catch it, but the Glory fled away and an arm of the sea, called Lake Haosravah, resulted from the movement of the water. He renewed his effort, but each time a new gulf was formed and all was in vain. Then the crafty Turanian rushed out of the sea, with evil words on his lips. He uttered a curse and said: 'Since I have not been able to conquer that Glory of the Aryan beings, I will defile all that is solid and fluid, all that is great, good, and fair, and Ahura Mazdāh will be afraid at the evil that I will produce.' But he was made a prisoner by

⁹ Yt. 9. 56.

Haoma and finally killed by Haosravah (Kaï Khosrū) in his cave. The wars between Afrasyāb and the Iranians occupy an important portion of the Shāh Nāmah, where they have assumed a completely epic character.

It is difficult not to compare such a story with the efforts of Zu in Babylonian myths to secure the so-called tablets of fate, that would give him full power over the world. There ensues a great struggle between Zu and Marduk, who finally takes hold of the tablets and reintroduces order into the world.

Like all fundamental ideas in a creed, the notion of order was apt to be repeated under several forms, and it is not surprising, therefore, that in Zoroastrian ethics we find in Ārmaiti another aspect of good conduct and order. It is 'practical wisdom' (Plutarch translates it by σοφία), ethical as well as religious, keeping man from all abuses, from presumption (ὑβρις), and from idleness and disorder. It is the spirit of settled and active life, bringing prosperity in honesty, the spirit of civilization and wisdom against barbarism, disorder, and ignorance. The *aramati* of the Vedas, that was merely 'piety, accuracy in the observance of the ritual,' has thus assumed in Iran quite a new character. Moreover, she is there also an earth-goddess. She is both agriculture as the occupation of civilized people and the fruit-bearing earth. As will be shown below, she has therefore embodied the conceptions connected with the Earth as a mother of creatures, but besides, she appears in Armenia as Sandarmatk (Spenta Ārmaiti), a collective designating the abysses (γῆ κάτω, Ezech. 31. 16; see Hübschmann, *Armen. Grammatik*, 1. 73). At the same time she is protector of agriculture, so that her name in the singular (*Spandaramet*) is used to translate Διώνυσος. This shows that into all those ideas there have slipped conceptions connected with the Chaldean god Ea and his associates. Ea inhabits the subterranean deep and is, at the same time, the source of wisdom and culture. He is more properly the personification of wisdom while his intimate associate Bel, more properly god of earth, impersonates practical wisdom.¹⁰ Berosus alludes to those conceptions when he speaks of Oannes, a mythical being coming out of the waters of the abyss to give instruction to the people until then steeped in barbarism.¹¹

¹⁰ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 104.

¹¹ Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 137.

In contrast with the deities of order and brilliance, disorder for Babylonians was impersonated in the monstrous *Tiāmat*. To establish order, *Marduk* struck the serpent with a weapon which apparently was a thunderbolt. Prof. Jastrow shows with much probability that the primeval contest is a storm-myth transferred to the origins of the world. It is a fact that there is almost a replica of *Tiāmat*'s story in the storm-myth of *Zu*. In this tale birds and bulls play a part as symbols of storm and clouds. *Zu* himself is a bird. He is a kind of arch-Satan, worker of evil. One day he endeavored to break loose from the control of the sun. A storm, indeed, was viewed as a conflict between the clouds and the sun. In one form of the myth the contest takes place between *En-lil* and *Zu*. *En-lil* holds in his possession the tablets of fate by means of which he enjoys supreme authority over men and gods. *Zu* is jealous and he plans to take the tablets from the gods. The same tablets, as we have said, play an important part in the *Tiāmat-Marduk* contest. The monster *Kingu*, symbol of Chaos, was wearing them on his breast, but was obliged to yield them to the god of light who replaced Chaos by order. In the contest with *Zu*, the forces of disorder are let loose to such an extent that the tablets fall, for a moment, into *Zu*'s hands.

There are in the *Veda* a good many descriptions of fights on high. They are essentially storm-myths describing the phenomena of the storm. It is an old myth, common to all Indo-European people, and there is no reason to believe that it has been borrowed from Semites. Storm-myths arise all over the world. In Indo-European myths, the object of the contest is generally the conquest of the waters, which are imprisoned by a dragon and which after the conquest of the monster, flow over the earth. Sometimes the waters are compared to cows imprisoned in a mountain. Also the fire of heaven is represented as produced on high and brought to earth by a bird or by a daring human being.

Thus the production of water is the end of the crisis with the Indo-Europeans who in India and Iran lived in countries where rain is rare. In Chaldaea, on the contrary, as Prof. Jastrow observes, there is plenty of water and storms are violent and destructive so that the victory of light and order over darkness and disorder is especially emphasized in the myth and is operated by the conquest of the tablets. In Iran a contamination of both

conceptions has taken place. The relation to demons of Yima the brilliant, the king of the golden age, is very much that of order to disorder and of light to darkness. Yima has subjugated the *daēvas* and their imps. He has taken from them all glory (Yt. 19. 31). He has trained them for his service (Shāh Nāmāh 5. 26). As long as Yima is a king with the kingly glory (*hwarenah*), so long do order, virtue, and prosperity prevail.

Also the cosmogony of the Mazdeans begins with a struggle between Mazdāh, the god of light and order, and the Evil Spirit, the god of darkness, *Angra Mainyu*. The latter rushed from the abyss like a snake¹² to destroy Mazdāh's good creation. A conflict ensued during which the Evil Spirit was struck by Mazdāh and fell back into darkness. Theological speculation has transformed that dragon story inasmuch as the weapon of Mazdāh has been said to have been the all-powerful prayer of the Ahuna Vairya (Honover) and the one great conflict has been made into a series of onrushes of Ahriman against Ormazd's successive creations. Also, the issue of the fight is supposed to remain undecided until the end of the world.

Among the innumerable replicas of that dragon story is the attack on the tree of life: 'From all the germs of plants the tree of all seeds was given forth and grew up in the middle of the sea Vourukasha and it caused all species of plants to increase. Near to that tree of all seeds, the Gaokerena tree was produced to keep away decrepitude. It is to bring about the renovation of the universe and the immortality that will follow. Every one who eats it becomes immortal. It is the chief of plants.'¹³ The evil spirit formed a lizard in the deep water of Vourukasha, so that it might injure the Gaokerena.¹⁴

That story of a plant of life in a sea and of a serpent in the abyss savors, of course, very much of Semitism, at least in the data of the tale. A very similar form of that legend is to be found in the myth of Gandarewa and Keresaspa. The latter, the greatest slayer of dragons in Iranian mythology, as we have seen, slays the golden-heeled fiend on the sea-shore. This Iranian Gandarewa obviously is the same being as the Vedic

¹² This particular is to be found in the Būndahishn description (Būnd. 3. 11). In Būnd. 3. 9 the Evil Spirit is said to be a log-like lizard's body.

¹³ Būnd. 1. 1. 5.

¹⁴ Būnd. 18. 2.

Gandharva, a lord of the abyss who dwells in the waters or in the deep regions of the sky, where he is hovering like a bright meteor. In the depth of the waters, he is courting the aqueous nymphs (Apsarases). He is a jealous guardian of the Soma and detains it so that Indra must fight against him for Soma as against Vṛtra for water. That Gandharva-myth possibly arose from a contamination between the Semitic story of the monster of the abyss and some Indo-European storm-myth.

It is curious to observe how that one theme of the contest between a strong (and luminous) hero and an all-devouring serpent has been repeated under various names in an endless series of Iranian stories.

The contest between the healing and beneficent god Thraētaona and the serpent Azhi Dahāka, that later became the victory of Faridūn over Zohhak, the usurper of the kingly glory (*hvarenah*), is the classical form of that dragon story. In Yasht 19. 47-79 one has a long account of a similar fight between Ātar, the genius of fire, and that same Azhi Dahāka. Ātar aspires to the conquest of the *hvarenah* so that he might rule in the world, but Azhi, the three-mouthed dragon, rushes upon him and plans to secure that glory for himself so that fire might no more blaze upon the earth and protect the world of the faithful. A victory of Keresaspa over Sruvara is marked with the same essential features. Sruvara is a yellow and poisonous snake devouring men and houses. Keresaspa jumps on the dragon's back and finally slays it outright with his club.

That victory over the forces of disorder and destruction is expressed by the abstract noun *Verethraghna*, 'victory over aggression (*verethra*).' While the latter word is materialized in India in the person of Vṛtra, 'the adversary,' properly 'the aggression,' the name of the serpent conquered by Indra, the noun *verethraghna* has become in Iran the name of one more dragon slayer (*Vṛtra-han*, 'the killer of Vṛtra,' is in the Vedas an epithet of Indra) who in Armenia was raised to the dignity of the great national hero under the name of Vahakan. He is born in the ocean, masters Azhi and Vishapa¹⁵ (an epithet of the former in the Avesta), and fetters them on Mount Demavand. *Verethraghna*, being a generic name for any fiend-slayer, is said in Yt. 14 to appear under the most various forms: wind, bull,

¹⁵ Properly 'he whose saliva is poisonous.'

horse, boar, youth, bird, etc., all very well-known personifications of the storm-god.¹⁶

The myth of Tishtrya and Apaosha occupies a special position in this series. In this case, the storm-myth has been allied with a solar myth. Tishtrya is Sirius, the star of the dog-days. It is supposed to produce the long-wished-for summer rains after a period of drought during which the demon Apaosha, 'the concealer,' detains water. Tishtrya assumes the form of a white horse with golden ears and meets Apaosha, a black horse with bald ears. At first the victory belongs to Apaosha, but Tishtrya resumes the battle and finally conquers, so that water falls in abundance on the earth.

Mazdaism knows even of a deluge of Tishtrya, which is but the transfer into primeval times of the rain-myth. That deluge is supposed to have purified the world from all creatures produced by Ahriman prior to the coming of man. It is thus a beneficent deluge, in conformity with the spirit of the myth in which rain is considered to be a blessing, because it removes the awful scourge of drought in the countries of the Persian plateau.¹⁷

As to the origin of man, one also finds in Iranian tradition, beside Aryan myths, some stories and some features which recall either Sumerian or Akkadian ideas and though in some cases they may be mere coincidences, it is hardly disputable that Chaldean conceptions have crept into that chapter of Mazdean cosmogony.

The idea of a primitive man directly made by a god is Akkadian and happens to be also the prevalent conception in Zoroastrianism. Gaya Maretan, 'Human life,' is the name of that first man created from the sweat of Ormazd in the same way as, according to Berosus, Bel cut off his head and made man from his blood. Ahriman obstinately attacked Gaya in various ways, as he was a creature of Ormazd, and finally put him to death. From his body arose all minerals: gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, etc. Gold was Gaya's seed that was entrusted to the earth and precious kept by Spenta Ārmaiti, as the genius of Earth and

¹⁶ Cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 537.

¹⁷ The resemblance between Tishtrya, a name unexplained in Iranian, and the names of the summer-months in Babylonia—*Ishtar* (July), *Tishri* or *Tashritum* (August)—is probably merely fortuitous.

the mother of all creatures, and after forty years it brought forth the first human couple.

This myth is in close parallelism with the story of the primeval ox, killed by Mithra, from which sprang all herbs and all species of animals. The conception of the production of various beings out of the body of a primeval gigantic creature is fairly common in the mythology of various nations and is probably of Indo-European origin, since it is reproduced in the Scandinavian myth of the giant Ymir born from the icy chaos and from whose arm sprang both a man and a woman. He was then slain by Odin and his companions, and of the flesh of Ymir was formed the earth, of his blood the sea and the waters, of his bones the mountains, of his teeth the rocks and stones, of his hair all manner of plants.

To come back to the first pair, it is according to the myths either fallen from the moon or sprung out of a tree. The first conception seems to be Indo-European. The Slavs, indeed, say that the moon, wife of the sun, parted from him and fell in love with the morning star. She was then cut in two by the sword of Perkunas (storm-god) and thus gave birth to the primeval pair. With the Iranians, the seed of the primeval ox was also preserved in the moon and since Gaya's story is but a doublet of that of the ox, it is very likely that the human pair originally also sprang from the moon. In the actual story, the pair, as has been said, is born from the earth, fructified by Gaya's seed, and in this tale, there is evidently an influence of conceptions concerning Mother Earth.

But the prevalent opinion for Mazdeans is that the human pair was produced by a tree. Mashya and Mashyōi were united in a *rīvās*-plant in such a manner that their arms rested behind their shoulders. The tree grew up and brought forth fruits that were the ten varieties of men. The myth is certainly old and traces of it are discoverable in the myth of Yima, the first man (in Iran, the king of the Golden Age) who was sawn asunder in a tree.

In India, that same Yama revels with the gods in a tree. The traditions of various nations know of similar stories. In Greece, for example, the Corybants were born as trees, while Atthis sprang out of an almond tree and Adonis out of a myrtle. It is also to be compared with the myth of the tree of life of the Iranians, the Gaokerena.

With the production of mankind is connected the story of an incest. Yama and Yamī,¹⁸ the first human beings, according to the Indians, after some hesitation had intercourse and became the ancestors of the human race. To the Vedic Yama-Yamī twins, corresponds in Persia the couple Yima-Yimāk. Yimāk is a sister of Yima. There is some remembrance of a sexual perversion in Yimāk inasmuch as she has intercourse with demons, but the real story has been transferred to the Zoroastrian human twins, Mashya and Mashyōi. They also have a long hesitation before they agree to have sexual intercourse. Only after fifty years and when they had become hateful to Mazdāh did they remember their duty and after nine months begot children.

Stories of irregular sexual intercourse and especially of incest have arisen in Iran from conditions special to the first man or the first human pair. Either the marriage that generates mankind takes place between brother and sister (Yama-Yamī) or between father and daughter. The relationship of the primeval female to the primeval male of course varies according to the mythical conceptions in which they are involved and is often ambiguous. The Sumerians, for instance, who admit that the first human child results from a union between a god and a goddess, represent the mother-deity (Nin-Ella) both as a wife and as a daughter of Enki. Mythical or even mystical conceptions lead to these representations. The Iranians, for instance, see in Ārmaiti, 'piety, wisdom,' a daughter of Ahura Mazdāh. 'Mazdāh is the father of the active Vohu Manah, whereas his daughter is Ārmaiti (good mind, wisdom, piety) with her excellent works' (Ys. 45. 4). But often also Ārmaiti is the mother. So, e. g., in Yt. 17. 16 it is said of Ashi, 'recompense of the faithful': 'Thy Father is Ahura Mazdāh, the greatest and the best of all Yazatas. Thy mother is Holy Ārmaiti. Thy brother is *Sraosha* (Discipline), the good, faithful to Asha, and the high and powerful Rashnu (Law, Right), as well as Mithra (god of Justice) . . . Thy sister is the Mazdean religion.' Ārmaiti here is practically a wife to Ormazd and is, in fact, called so in Visp. 3. 4, where she is mentioned with Religious Activity and Decision as Ormazd's wife (*ghenā*).

The symbolic meaning of those generations is clear enough, but that the people were conscious of some abnormality in them

¹⁸ Būd. 23. 1.

is shown by a passage quoted by West (SBE. 18. 415, App.): Spendarmat is said to be a female. She was sitting by the side of Auhrmazd and she had laid a hand on his neck and Zarthusht asked Auhrmazd about it, thus: 'Who is this that sits beside thee and thou wouldst be such a friend to her and she also would be such a friend to thee? Thou who art Auhrmazd turnest not thy eyes away from her and she not from thee. Thou who art Auhrmazd dost not release her from thy hand, and she does not release thee from her hand.' And Auhrmazd said: 'This is Spendarmat *who is my daughter, the house mistress of my Heaven and mother of the creatures.*' The fact is invoked in that book as a justification of *khvetukhdāh* or the next-of-kin (even incestuous) marriage as was recommended by late Mazdeism, probably under the influence of customs prevalent in kingly and aristocratic families.

It is to be observed not only that the mystical conception has been materialized but that a contamination evidently has taken place with the myth of the great Mother of Earth, that we have seen to be discoverable in some details of Iranian cosmogony and especially in the fact that Gaya's seed is entrusted to Ārmaiti, who is currently called the Mother of all creatures (SBE. 18. 415).

Finally, we find in Iran the traces of another conception, fairly common among men, by which man is supposed to be a god that has become mortal. The first man is the first god who died. This is the case, e. g., with the Indian Yama, the king of the *pitaras*, 'fathers,' assembling the flocks of the departed in a marvelous kingdom where there is neither cold nor suffering. That dwelling is in a remote part of the sky. He is the king of the people (*viś-pati*) and the father. He has found a way for many and along that path, he leads men into their last abode.

In Iran, that myth is well preserved as a whole but Yima (= Yama), having been replaced by Gaya Maretan as the first man, has become the king of the Golden Age. He also is an assembler of flocks. He has a recess (*vara*) in some remote part, where he is said to have assembled men in order to shelter them from cold during a dreadful and all-destroying winter inflicted on the world by the demon Mahrkusha. He also has followed a path towards the sun and so doing has found new countries for men. During his kingdom perfect happiness was man's lot, order and justice ruled, and the demons were held in

subjection. Unfortunately Yima, having committed a fault, was deprived of his kingly prestige and power (*hvarēnah*) and of his radiant glory, so that he was put to flight by the monstrous dragon Azhi Dahāka (later semitized into Zahhāk) and finally killed.

Ehni¹⁹ has done much to show that Yama originally was a god. He is treated as such in the Veda, where he is a friend of Agni and sometimes is identified with him. Moreover, everything tends to make us believe that Yama is the setting sun. He is the son of Vivasvant, 'whose light spreads afar,' who according to Macdonell (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 43) is the rising sun. He follows the path of the sun to go to a remote recess. The path of the sun was a symbol of the path of human life and, as a matter of fact, the same words were used in Sanskrit for the death of men and for the sunset.²⁰ Of the sun, it is said in Indian literature that it is the sure retreat. The sun is a bird and has birds as its messengers, like Yama and Yima. Like a sun-god Yama has two steeds, golden-eyed and iron-hooped. In Iran, the solar nature of Yima is rather more emphasized than in India. He is commonly called *khshaēta*, 'the brilliant,' (Pers. Jamshēd), a set epithet which happens to be also the current epithet of the sun, *hvare khshaēta* (Pers. *khoshēd*). Moreover, he is *hvarēnānhastema*, 'the most glorious,' and *hvaredaresa*, 'the sun-like one.' These epithets are very natural if Yima was originally a sun-god but are not to be accounted for if he simply was the first man. In the same way as Yama assembles the flock of men, Yima is *hvanthwa*, 'with fine herds,' an adjective that very possibly refers to stars appearing with the setting sun. Stars are said in the Vedic literature to be the lights of victorious men going to the heavenly abodes.²¹ Yima has a golden arrow which reminds us strikingly of a similar arrow in the hands of his father Vivasvant in the Veda, by means of which he sends men to the kingdom of the dead (RV. 8. 56. 20). Other solar gods show the same features. Are these arrows rays of the sun? Even Firdausi, for whom Jamshēd is no more than a good king, speaks of his radiance, under the influence of tradition and

¹⁹ Ehni, *Ursprüngliche Gottheit des Vedischen Yama*, p. 8.

²⁰ Ehni, *op. cit.* p. 8.

²¹ Macdonell, *op. cit.* 167. Cf. RV. 10. 68: 'The Manes have adorned the sky with pearls, like a black horse with pearls.'

older sources. Jamshēd, he says, sits like the sun in mid-air (5. 23) ; his fortune and his throne are resplendent; the royal grace (the Avestic *hvarenah*) shines brightly from the Shāh. That this dates back to ancient sources is proved by the fact that Firdausi has a very curious sentence about Yima, a sentence that is not at all in agreement with the nature of Jamshēd as a worldly king. The king says (5. 23) : 'I will make for souls a path toward the light.' The opening of a path towards the sun, typical of Yima's activity in the Avesta, was thus meant for the dead, and the path of Yima was the path of the sun. Yima's end also is typical. When his brilliancy quits him, the world turns black to him and he disappears. When he appears again it is in the far East, where the sun rises.

Thus in Yima's story is to be found a myth of the daily death of the sun, but it is mixed with a season-myth of the death of the sun during winter. Yima's Golden Age is the kingdom of spring, when everything is radiant and luxuriant and therefore the Nāurōz-feast, the New Year's Day of the Persians occurring in March at the beginning of spring, is said to have been instituted by Yima. That season is destroyed by the demon of cold and frost, but the sun and life do not disappear for ever from the world. They are kept in reserve for the next spring like the beings in Yima's Vara. It is said literally in the Vendidad's account that in that Vara one year is one day. The disappearance of the sun in winter is thus assimilated to its daily departure to the remote recess in the world of darkness. The story of Yima's hundred years of concealment before his reappearance in the East is very much in the same spirit.

The loss of Yima's glory and his death are an allegory of the disappearance and the darkening of the sun, but are no explanation for that very decline and fall of a brilliant deity. The origin of death had to be accounted for by some accident, some defilement, some guilt. No wonder, then, that there are traces of a fault committed by the first men. There are hints that Yima lost his good fortune and sanctity by giving to men a food of life reserved to gods. In the Gāthās of Zoroaster there is a prayer to Mazdāh in order to avoid faults such as Yima's, who gave men meat to eat in small pieces,²² as it is offered to the gods in sacrifice. Another form of the legend is preserved in

²² Ys. 31. 8.

Saddar 94, where it is reported that Yima unawares gave meat, the godly food, to a demon. This story, of course, savors of the Semitic tradition by which God cautions the first man against eating of the food of life²³ or by which Ea practices a deception in order to prevent man from doing so. An Iranian colorless replica of that story of Yima is, of course, the legend of the first pair Mashya-Mashyōi who take to eating the creatures of Ormazd and, e. g., milk a goat in the wilderness. That lack of respect for Ormazd's creatures makes them the prey of Ahriman.

According to Zoroaster's conception, lie, falsehood, and disorder being the sins *par excellence*, Yima later came to be considered as having lost his glory by a sin of presumption and deceit. He told men that Ormazd's benefits were his and he wanted to be adored as a god.²⁴ But it was unavoidable that the stories of incest should mix with the tradition of a sin depriving man of immortality and brilliancy and therefore Yima's sin in Iran is sometimes said to have been intercourse with demonesses while his sister Yimāk was by him given to a demon,²⁵ a modification of the story of incestuous union between the two primeval twins preserved in the Vedic story of Yama and Yamī.

The very interesting but also very intricate myth of Yima as we find it in Iran seems also to have combined with the story of the dying sun, the well-known old myth by which men and other creatures are the product of a fecundation of earth by sun.

We have seen that Yima's arrow was typical of a sun-god and was also found as Vivasvant's weapon, who made use of it so as to kill men. Yima applies his arrow to quite another performance described somewhat mysteriously, in Vend. 2. 18: 'At mid-day, Yima stepped forward towards the way of the sun. He scratched the earth with the golden arrow and touched it with the scourge, speaking thus: "O Spenta Ārmaiti, thou beloved, open asunder and stretch thyself afar to bear flocks, herds and men."' Does that curious operation not appear to our minds as the modification of a fecundation of Mother Earth by the sun-god?

Let us finally point out the influence of the Chaldean deluge-stories on the conception of Yima's winter. A season-myth

²³ Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 551.

²⁴ Yt. 19. 34.

²⁵ Bünd. 23. 1.

accounting for the disappearance of vegetation in the severe winters of Iran has become a destruction of mankind but for those who are assembled in the Vara, the construction of which is entrusted to Yima by Ahura Mazdāh. Instead of occurring every year, that destruction is supposed to have occurred in primeval times or—according to later books—some time before the end of things. The identification of Mahrkusha's Winter with *Malkōsh*, or 'autumnal rain,' is late. Mahrkusha is an Iranian name, akin to *mahrka*, 'death, destruction.'

We have seen how another deluge-story, that of Tishtrya, a rain-myth connected with the beneficent storm-rains of the dog-days, has been made into a primeval deluge of a beneficent nature. It seems therefore that the Iranian deluge-stories have developed, in striking parallelism with similar Chaldean stories, from nature-myths of the same kind but have assumed a widely differing character. It does not seem probable that we have here to do with any borrowing, though mutual influence is hardly deniable.

We have reached a similar conclusion concerning the storm-myths, though here the Chaldean influence seems more important and is discoverable in the borrowings of several details, such as the struggle for the kingly power represented by a *hvarenah*, the part played by birds or bulls, the contest between order and disorder²⁶; all this has enriched the old Indo-European myth of the storm and the captive waters. The making of man out of some part of a god's body is a Semitic idea which has modified the Indo-European myth of the primeval giant, but the trace of Akkadian influence on Iranian cosmogony is discoverable especially in the conception of the gradual producing of order in the world in spite of the forces of disorder personified in dragons living in the deep.

²⁶ The idea of a bringing of order into the world at the origin of things is, it is true, found in most mythologies, and similar beliefs existed among Indo-Europeans. What is meant here is that the special aspect which that conception assumes in Iran is so near to Chaldean ideas that interrelations are probable.

The Etymological History of the Three Hebrew Synonyms for 'to Dance,' HGG, HLL and KRR, and their Cultural Significance.—By JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Professor in the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

There are several words in Hebrew for 'to dance.' They may be divided into two groups according to the motion they connote. פזז, רקד¹, and possibly also פסח², seem to connote a dance with a hopping or jumping motion, while חוגג, יחול³ and כרר⁴ describe a whirling, circular dance. Only the last three words concern us here.

According to Gesenius the fundamental meaning of the stem חול is 'to revolve in a circle,' 'to turn,' while in Hebrew 'to dance' is the simplest meaning of the word. However it is questionable whether 'to revolve in a circle,' or even 'to turn' are absolutely simple and fundamental concepts. In all likelihood, as we shall see, the original meaning of this stem was 'to be round,' and from this the secondary meanings, 'to revolve in a circle,' 'to turn' and 'to dance,' evolved.

It is interesting that of the various words in Hebrew and other Semitic languages for 'to be round,' two, חוגג and כור, are strikingly similar to the two words for 'to dance,' חוגג and כרר. We may infer that חוגג and כרר are both secondary formations from חוגג and כור respectively, and that consequently the fundamental concept of these three words for 'to dance' was 'to be round.'

It is somewhat surprising that inasmuch as from the two ע"ו verbs, חוגג and כור, 'to be round,' the ע"ע verbs, חוגג and כרר developed, the same process did not take place with the other ע"ו verb, 'to be round,' חול, and that it itself came to connote 'to dance,' without developing a corresponding ע"ע form, חלל, with this connotation. However it is not unlikely that some

¹ Gesenius¹⁴, 707.

² Ibid. 581.

³ Ibid. 593.

⁴ Ibid. 195.

⁵ Ibid. 191f.

⁶ Ibid. 328.

such evolution did take place. For on the one hand the forms *מחללות*⁷ and *מחללים*⁸ could quite as well be from *חלל* as from *חול*. And on the other hand we need not doubt that *חלל*, 'to pierce,' 'to wound,' in other words 'to make a round hole,' which all modern lexicographers⁹ distinguish most carefully from *חלל*, 'to profane,' is a secondary formation from *חול*, 'to be round.' This would account for the following derivatives:

*חליל*¹⁰, a flute, i. e. an instrument through which a round hole (or holes) has (have) been pierced¹¹;

*חלה*¹², probably not 'a pierced cake,' as Gesenius suggests, but rather 'a round cake.' *חלת לחם* would then, both in origin and development, closely parallel *כנר לחם*, from *כור*, 'to be round';

*חלון*¹³, 'a window,' i. e. 'a round opening';

*מחלה*¹⁴, 'a cave,' i. e. 'a round hole in the earth.'

But are the words which the lexicographers distinguish as *חלל* I and *חלל* II related? At first glance this differentiation seems correct, since *חלל* I, 'to profane,' is equivalent to the Arabic *حَلَّ*, while *חלל* II, 'to pierce,' is equivalent to *خَلَّ*¹⁵. However the connection of *خَلَّ*, 'to pierce,' and *خِلَّة*, 'a hole,' 'an opening,' *خِلَال* 'an instrument for boring,' 'around' (in a semi-prepositional sense), *خَلِيل*, 'pierced,' and, singularly enough *خَوَّل* (from *خال*), 'a dancer'¹⁶ with the other meanings of this same stem, is not at all clear. But since in Arabic *حال*, and not *خال*, means 'to become crooked,' 'to change,' apparently in the simplest meaning also 'to be round,'¹⁷ it follows in spite of the above seeming contradiction that the relation-

⁷ Jud. 21. 23.

⁸ Ps. 87. 7. Usually amended to *מחללים*.

⁹ Gesenius¹⁴ 212 (but cf. Thes. 1. 477); Siegfried-Stade, 204f.; König, 110 and Brown-Driver-Briggs, 319ff.

¹⁰ Gesenius¹⁴, 209.

¹¹ Cf. also *נחילות*, Ps. 5. 1.

¹² Ibid. 208.

¹³ Ibid. 208.

¹⁴ Ibid. 374.

¹⁵ Lane, 1. 777ff.

¹⁶ Dozy, *Supplément*, 1. 413.

¹⁷ Lane, 1. 673ff.

ship of **חַל** and **חָל** is more fundamental and certain than it seemed at first sight. Therefore there may still be some relationship between **חַל** I and **חַל** II, and they may even be one word, as in fact Merx¹⁸ and Gunkel¹⁹ hold. And granting that **חַל** II, 'to pierce,' is derived from **חול**, the question arises whether **חַל** I, 'to profane,' in Arabic **حَلَّ**²⁰, be in any way related to **חול**.

However, before discussing this question let us briefly consider the other common word for 'to dance,' **חַנּוּג**. We have seen that in all likelihood it was derived from **חונג**, 'to be round.'²¹ From it we have **חַנּוּג**, originally 'a round dance,' secondarily 'a festival.'²² The word is used in its original sense in Exod. 13. 6 and undoubtedly also in Ps. 118. 27.²³ The Targumic and Talmudic word **חִנּוּגָא** connotes (a) 'a circle,' 'dancing,' 'chorus,' 'feast,' (b) 'a dancing-place in a vineyard' (= **מַחּוּל**), (c) the name of a musical instrument (= **חֲלִיל**), and (d) 'a fair,' 'a cattle market' (= Arabic **حَج**)²⁴.

It is apparent that the words **חַנּוּג** - **חונג** went through much the same evolution as **חול** - **חַל**, and this independently of the latter words.²⁵ In this connection it may also be noted that in Syriac the secondary meaning of **ܚܘܠ** 'to grieve,' 'to bewail,'

¹⁸ *Chrestomathia Targumica*, 201.

¹⁹ *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 31.

²⁰ Lane 1. 619ff.

²¹ That this was the original meaning of this word may be inferred from the other Hebrew derivatives, **חֹזֶן**, 'the horizon' (Gesenius²⁴, 194) and **מַחְוֶה**, 'a circle' (instrument; *ibid.* 373), and from the Aramaic **חֻנְתָּא**, 'a circle' (Jastrow, 430a), **חַנּוּג**, 'to turn', 'to describe a circle' (*ib.* 424a), and **חִנּוּגָא**, 'a circle' (*ibid.* 424a). (Cf. also Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 41. 719, and Wellhausen, *Reste*², 110). Note also the Syriac **ܚܘܠ** and **ܚܘܠܐ** and their derivatives (Payne-Smith, 1190f. and 1217f.) and also **ܚܘܠܐ**, 'a cave' (Brockelmann, 103a); 'an idol shrine' (Payne-Smith, 1190).

²² Gesenius²⁴, 191.

²³ Cf. Baethgen, 356.

²⁴ Jastrow, 458a. Cf. also **חִנּוּגָא**, **חִנּוּגָא**, and the derivative **חַנּוּג**, 'to play the **חִנּוּגָא**', 'to dance' (Jastrow, 481b).

²⁵ It is therefore not at all surprising that almost invariably the Targum renders the Biblical **מַחּוּל** or **מַחּוּלָא** by **חִנּוּגָא** (cf. Exod. 15. 20; Jud. 21. 21; 1 Ki. 1. 40; Ps. 87. 7; Lam. 5. 15 **חִנּוּגָא**). Note also that in Am. 8. 10 **חַנּוּג** is used exactly as **מַחּוּל** in Ps. 30. 12 and Lam. 5. 15.

parallels the secondary meaning of the other word for 'to dance,' **נָסַח**, 'to grieve,' 'to lament.'²⁶

That this evolution took place independently with both stems, **חול-חלל** and **חוג-חגג**, and apparently, in part also with **רקד**, shows that not the words themselves gave rise to and furthered this evolution, but rather the significance attached by the primitive Semitic mind to dancing as a peculiar and purposed ceremony. Or, to be more specific, the word **חִנָּנָה**, 'a dancing-place in the vineyard,' could never have developed from **חוג** (חוג) 'to dance,' paralleling precisely the development of **מחול** from **חול**, had not some deep meaning and purpose attached to the general rite of dancing, and particularly of dancing in the vineyards.

As a rule every vineyard in ancient Israel had a **מחול**, etymologically 'a dancing-place,' an open space from twelve to sixteen cubits in width, surrounding the entire vineyard between fence and vines.²⁷ Bertinoro²⁸ states that in this **מחול** the maidens of Israel used to celebrate their vineyard dances. Jud. 21. 21 implies that regularly at the celebration of the annual *hag* the maidens of Shiloh came forth to dance in the vineyards. A more detailed statement is given in the Mishna.²⁹ 'Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said, "Israel had no festivals like the 15th of Ab and Yom Kippur, for on them the maidens of Jerusalem used to go out, clad in white garments, that had been borrowed, in order not to put to shame those who had none. All these garments had to be previously dipped in water. And the maidens of Jerusalem would go out and dance in the vineyards. And what would they say? 'Young man, lift thine eyes and see whom thou wilt choose. Set not thine eyes upon beauty, but upon the family, etc.' '" To this a Boraitha adds the note that whatever man had no wife would have recourse to these dances, in order to procure for himself a mate.³⁰ The Gemara identifies the dances upon the 15th of Ab with those

²⁶ Payne-Smith, 3976ff.; also **חִנָּנָה**, 'lamentation', and **חִנָּנָה**, 'lamentable'.

²⁷ Kila'im 4. 1-2.

²⁸ Ad loc.

²⁹ Ta'anith 4. 8.

³⁰ B. Ta'anith 30b.

of the maidens of Shiloh.³¹ The Mishna states very clearly that these dances were celebrated twice each year; Josephus,³² that they were celebrated thrice annually. Jer. 31. 3f. is final proof that these vineyard dances were a common rite: 'Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be rebuilt, O virgin, Zion; again shalt thou adorn thyself with thy tambourines and go forth in the dances of the merry-makers.³³ Again shalt thou plant vineyards upon the mountains of Samaria; the planters shall plant and shall profane.'³⁴

That this was no mere idle sport is certain. The detailed account of the Mishna, coupled with the picture in Jud. 21. 21 and other evidence, which lack of time forbids presenting here, indicate that in the ancient Israelite or pre-Israelite form of the ceremony the young men regularly stood by, openly or concealed in the vineyards, as were the Benjaminites, and at the proper moment stepped forth and seized, each the maiden of his choice, to become his partner in sacred sexual intercourse for the night, and his wife and the mother of his children for the future.

An interesting modern Beduin parallel to this entire ceremony is described by Doughty.³⁵ 'Now in the mild summer is the season of *muzzayins*, the nomad children's circumcision feasts: the mother's booth is set out with beggarly fringes of scarlet shreds, tufts of mewed ostrich feathers and such gay gauds as they may borrow or find. Hither a chorus assembles of slender daughters of their neighbours, that should chant at this festival in their best array. A fresh kerchief binds about every damsel's forehead with a feather; she has earrings great as bracelets, and wears to-day her nose-ring, *zmèyem*: they are jewels in silver: and a few, as said, from old time, are fine gold metal, *thahab-el-asfar*. These are ornaments of the Beduin women, hardly seen at other times (in the pierced nostril they

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ant. 5. 2. 12.

³³ For נשחקים as meaning 'dancers', cf. Wetzstein, ZDMG. 22 (1868). 105, n. 45. Cf. also 1 Sam. 18. 7 and 2 Sam. 6. 21, and also the undoubtedly kindred stem, צחק, Exod. 32. 6.

³⁴ וחללי, cf. Cornill, *Jeremia*, 332f. and also below.

³⁵ *Arabia Deserta*, 1. 168f. Cf. also Wetzstein in ZDMG. 22 (1868). 105f., note 45; Euting, *Tagebuch*, 140; Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion*, 48; Jaussen, *Les coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 364.

wear for every day, a head of cloves) and she has bracelets of beads and metal finger-rings. The thin black tresses loosed to-day and not long, hang down upon their slight shoulders, and shine in the sun, freshly combed out with camel urine. The lasses have borrowed new cloaks, which are the same for man or woman. Making a fairy ring apart, they begin clapping the palms of their little hands, to trip it around together, chanting ever the same cadence of a few words, which is a single verse. Hungered young faces, you might take them for some gypsy daughters; wayward not seldom in their mothers' households, now they go playing before men's eyes with a downcast look and virginal timidity. But the Aarab raillery is never long silent, and often young men, in this daylight feast, stand jesting about them. Some even pluck roughly at the feathers of the lasses, their own near cousins in the dance, which durst answer them nothing, but only with reproachful eyes: or laughing loud the weleds have bye and bye divided this gentle bevy among them for their wives: and if a stranger be there, they will bid him choose which one he will marry among them. 'Heigh-ho! what thinkest thou of these maidens of ours, and her, and her, and be they not fair-faced?' But the virgins smile not, and if any look up, their wild eyes are seen estranged and pensive. They are like children under the rod, they should keep here a studied demeanor; and for all this they are not sirens. In that male tyranny of the Mohammedan religion, regard is had to distant, maidenly behavior of the young daughters; and here they dance as tender candidates for happy marriage and blessed motherhood of sons.' This festival, as observed by Doughty, took place shortly, probably only a day or two, before April 15th.

Furthermore these dances were integral parts of the celebration of ancient festivals. Jud. 21. 21 states explicitly that the dances in the vineyards were a part of the celebration of the annual *ḥag*, while Josephus states that they were celebrated thrice annually, i. e. presumably at the three annual harvest-festivals. The intimate connection of these dances with the annual *ḥag* is also implied in Jer. 31. 3ff. Finally it can be shown that the 15th of Ab, the first day upon which, the Mishna states, the vineyard dances were held, marked the close of an ancient, seven-day, agricultural festival, beginning on the 9th of Ab, as usual with mourning, fasting and bewailing the dead

Adonis, and culminating in rejoicing, merry-making, feasting, dancing in the vineyards, sacred sexual intercourse and marriage of the participating youths and maidens on the 15th. Likewise the dances celebrated according to the Mishna on Yom Kippur constituted one of the closing rites of the great annual *hag* or Succoth-festival, which, as could be shown did time permit, in the period just before the Babylonian Captivity began on the 3d of the seventh month, likewise with mourning, fasting and bodily affliction in honor of the dead Adonis,³⁶ and culminated in the celebration of the beginning of the new year on the 10th of the seventh month.³⁷ Invariably these dances were held on the last day or night of the festival.

These dances, together with the attendant sexual intercourse, were in origin undoubtedly homeopathic magical rites, celebrated in the worship of the ancient Semitic mother-goddess, and were designed to promote the fertility of vineyards and fields. But in all likelihood they served another, equally important purpose. The ancient Semites, both in the pastoral and agricultural stages of civilization, strictly observed the principle of taboo, the recognition of the deity's prior right as creator to human and animal offspring and crops. Yet the tabooed object had somehow to be redeemed and rendered fit for profane use in order that the people might live. The fundamental principle of the removal of taboo, apparently among almost all primitive peoples, was that the sacrifice of a part of the tabooed object, and particularly the first and best part, redeemed the remainder. These taboo-sacrifices, first sheaves, first fruits, firstlings, and in the early stages of Semitic religion, first born, were regularly offered as part of the celebration of the great festivals, in the desert at the early spring festival, the forerunner of the Biblical Pesach,³⁸ and among the agricultural Semites at the great harvest-festivals. The first sheaves of the new grain were naturally

³⁶ Cf. Jeremiah 41. 4ff.

³⁷ Cf. Ezek. 40. 1; Lev. 25. 9. In addition to these dances on the new year's day, various appropriate rites of purification, such as sending forth the scapegoat and kindling new fires in all sanctuaries and houses of the land, were performed. These later developed in part into the peculiar ritual of the Day of Atonement, and in part into the ritual of the so-called *simhath beth hašo'ebah*, a part of the celebration of the post-exilic Succoth-festival.

³⁸ Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*⁶, 85f.

offered each year. The taboo-sacrifice of fruit trees, and presumably also of vines, was the entire crop of the fourth year. Before the taboo-sacrifice was offered the object was קִרְשׁ, Arabic حَرَم. The offering of the taboo-sacrifice rendered it חָלָל Arabic حَلَل. The corresponding verbs are חָלַל and חָלַל or חָלַל. Possibly because the offering of the taboo-sacrifice marked the beginning of the profane, and therefore real, use of the tabooed object, חָלַל came to mean in the Hiphil, 'to begin.'

Dent. 20. 6 and 28. 30 and Jer. 31. 4³⁹ imply that the 'profanation' of the vineyard was an important ceremony, of which the offering of the taboo-sacrifice of the vineyards was undoubtedly the central feature. But inasmuch as these first fruits of the vines were offered at the fall harvest-festival, probably the entire festival celebration was correlated with the ceremony of 'profanation' of the vineyard. Certainly this is implied in Jer. 31. 3ff. We know from abundant evidence that the first fruit sacrifices were offered at the close of these harvest-festivals. In consequence we may safely posit some intimate connection between the dances, מְחֻלוֹת, in the vineyards on the night of the last day of the festival, and the sacrifice of the first fruits the next morning, and the other rites implied in the term, חָלַל כֶּרֶם. Similarly the חֲנֻכָּה, undoubtedly the sacred dance, was celebrated on the last night of the ancient Mazzoth-festival.⁴⁰ The first sheaf of barley was sacrificed the next morning, the day after the Sabbath or close of the festival.⁴¹

Accordingly we need no longer doubt that חָלַל, 'to profane,' i. e. by the offering of the proper taboo-sacrifice and the other attendant ceremonies, including the festival dances, is likewise

³⁹ Cf. also Jud. 9. 27 and the remarks on חֻלוֹים below.

⁴⁰ Exod. 13. 6.

⁴¹ Elsewhere (in a paper as yet unpublished) I have shown that the traditional Pharisee interpretation of the expression 'the morrow of the Sabbath' (Lev. 23. 11), viz. the second day of the Passover-festival, was less in accord with the earliest practice than the common Samaritan, Sadducee, Boethusian and Falasha interpretation, viz. Sunday, the day after the Sabbath of the festival. I have shown also, that in all likelihood the Mazzoth-festival began regularly upon Sunday; hence the 'morrow of the Sabbath' was also the day after the close of the festival.

derived from חול, 'to be round,' 'to dance,' and is therefore practically one word with חלל, 'to pierce.'

Further derivatives of חול-הלל in various related meanings are:

חל⁴², 'profane.'

חללה⁴³, not so much 'a woman who has been profaned' (in a moral sense), as one who has participated in the sacred sexual intercourse attendant originally upon the dances. Probably חללה was primarily the technical term for a woman who had participated in these dances and in the attendant sexual intercourse; hence the Arabic حَلِيلَة, حَلِيل, 'husband,' 'wife,'⁴⁴ and the Syriac سَحْبَا, 'wedding feast.'⁴⁵

חלולים, 'the first-fruit sacrifice of trees and vines.'⁴⁶ That this word should be read with ח instead of ה, as in both Biblical passages, is certain. The offering of these חלולים constituted the characteristic rite of the ceremony described by the technical term חלל כרם. The Pešitta renders חלולים of Jud. 9. 27 by سَحْبَا⁴⁷, while the Targum renders it חִנְנִין. Clearly both versions read חלולים in the original text. Further proof of this confusion of the original ח of this stem with ה, and the consequent confusion with the stem חלל, is seen from the LXX rendering αἰνέσαστε for the וחללו of Jer. 31. 4.⁴⁸

In Arabic we find a practically parallel etymological development. حَال (= חול) means 'to be round' or 'curved.'⁴⁹ From this we have, corresponding to various Hebrew words from חלל, 'to pierce,' حَلَاة, 'a large basket' or 'a copper cooking-pot,'⁵⁰ presumably so named from its round shape, and إِحْلِيل

⁴² Gesenius¹⁴, 207.

⁴³ Ibid. 210.

⁴⁴ Lane 1. 621. Lane remarks, 'According to some they are so-called because the husband is lawful to the wife and the wife to the husband: but the word (or rather each word) thus applied is ancient: not a law term.'

⁴⁵ Brockelmann, 111.

⁴⁶ Lev. 19. 24; Jud. 9. 27.

⁴⁷ All the more significant since it renders the same word in Lev. 19. 24 חלולים = سَحْبَا.

⁴⁸ Similarly the Syriac سَحْبَا, 'wedding-feast', is rendered in Mandaean (cf. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 118), Targum and Talmud (Jastrow, 346a), with ה and not ח.

⁴⁹ Lane, 1. 673ff.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 1. 621.

and **تَحْلِيل**, 'the orifice in the penis, breast or udder.'⁵¹ On the other hand corresponding to **חָלַל** 'to profane,' we have **حَلَّ**, 'to be permitted (for profane use)' and **حَلَّ** (= **חָלַל**), 'that which is permitted' (opposite of **حَرَّمَ**, 'sacred, taboo'). We have also **حَلَّل** and **احلَّ**, 'to profane,'⁵² and **حَلَّ**, inf. **حَلَّة**, 'to pass from out the state of ritual uncleanness (of a woman in her courses or after childbirth), or ritual holiness,' as **حَلَّ الحُجَم من إحصاءه**, 'to remove the sacred mantle worn during the pilgrimage to Mecca.'⁵³ Finally we have **حَلِيل**, 'that which is permitted,' also 'husband,' 'wife,' and **حَلِيلَة** and **حَلَال**, 'wife.'⁵⁴ It is particularly significant that according to Wetzstein⁵⁵ **حَلِيل** is the term applied to the female participant in the Beduin dance, and means 'wife and children.' Certainly the evolution of these various terms in Arabic proceeded independently of the corresponding evolution in Hebrew. This, together with the fact already noted, that a parallel evolution took place with the stem **חגג-חוגג** rounds out our chain of argument. The connection of the dances with the rites of mourning for Adonis, also an integral part of the celebration of these festivals, likewise accounts for the secondary meaning in Syriac of **ܚܥܡ**, 'to grieve,' 'to lament.'

In Assyrian, too, a number of words may possibly be correlated with the stem **חלל**. In addition to *halālu*, with **ח**, 'to pierce,' 'to conceal oneself in holes,'⁵⁶ and its immediate derivatives, there are also *malīlu*, 'flute,'⁵⁷ *elēlu*, 'to play the flute,'⁵⁸ and *mutahlīlu*, 'a flute-player,'⁵⁹ with an apparently free interchange of the aspirated and unaspirated guttural. This is not so very surprising in Assyrian. There is also possibly, *alallu*,

⁵¹ Lane, 1. 622.

⁵² Ibid. 1. 619ff.

⁵³ Ibid. 1. 620.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 1. 622.

⁵⁵ ZDMG. 22 (1868). 105, note 45.

⁵⁶ Delitzsch, HWB. 276f.; Meissner, *Supplement*, 38.

⁵⁷ Delitzsch, HWB. 414a.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 73a.

⁵⁹ Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 314.

elallu, 'a water-pipe of wood, reed or clay.'⁶⁰ Another interesting and possibly significant parallel suggests itself between the two common verbs for 'to be clean,' 'to purify,' *elēlu*⁶¹ and *ebēbu*⁶² on the one hand and the two words for 'flute,' in Assyrian *malīlu* and *imbūbu*,⁶³ in Hebrew חליל and אבוב, Syriac ܐܒܒܐ⁶⁴ on the other hand. The latter word is generally derived from the stem נבב, 'to be hollow,'⁶⁵ a meaning closely related to 'to be round' of חלל-חול. Not improbably both words, *elēlu* and *ebēbu*, are secondary formations from the nouns *malīlu* and *imbūbu*, or rather from the stems אלל and אנב implied in these two nouns. This meaning, 'to be clean,' 'to purify,' may well have developed out of the ritual significance of the festivals, in the celebration of which, not only in Palestine, but as ample evidence shows, in Assyria also, both playing the חליל or אבוב as well as the dances of the maidens were important rites. Hence the secondary name of Adonis, Abo-bas.⁶⁷ Parallel to the Assyrian *elēlu* and *ebēbu* are the secondary meanings of חלל, in Aramaic, 'to wash,'⁶⁸ in Syriac, 'to purge,' 'to purify,'⁶⁹ and of the Arabic حَلَّ already noted, 'to pass from out the state of ritual uncleanness or holiness.' Possibly, too, the name of the sixth month, *Ulūlu*, may be correlated with this stem. As its common ideogram,⁷⁰ 'the month of the sending of Ištar,' indicates, in all likelihood an important Ištar-Tammuz festival was once celebrated in it, undoubtedly with playing the *malīlu* and dances of the maidens as well as other rites. With this same stem must also be correlated *ellu* and *ellitu*, 'bread' or 'cake,' identified by Jensen⁷¹ with the

⁶⁰ Delitzsch, HWB. 73a.

⁶¹ Ibid. 71ff.

⁶² Ibid. 4f.

⁶³ Ibid. 443a.

⁶⁴ Jastrow, 3b.

⁶⁵ Brockelmann, 1a.

⁶⁶ Gesenius¹⁴, 424.

⁶⁷ Movers, *Die Phönizier*, 1. 202. Cf. also the names Giggras and Kinyras, both related to גִּיגֹר, (ibid. 239ff.), also apparently played at these festivals.

⁶⁸ Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica*, 201.

⁶⁹ Brockelmann, 111a.

⁷⁰ Brünnow, *List*, 10759.

⁷¹ KB. 6'. 511.

Hebrew חלה, and together with חלה, regarded by him as a synonym of the Assyrian *kamānu*, Hebrew כֶּן, the peculiar cake or loaf used in the worship, not only of the Assyrian Ištar, but also of the western Semitic forms of the mother-goddess. It can be shown that the eating of these cakes likewise constituted an important feature of the celebration of these great annual festivals in honor of the Semitic mother-goddess and the divine child, Adonis-Tammuz. Finally, since rites of mourning for Adonis-Tammuz were also integral parts of the celebration of these annual festivals, probably *hillu*, 'sorrow'⁷² and *elēlu*, 'lamentation?'⁷³ are also related to the original stem חלל.

This investigation might be carried further, did time permit. It would lead to the consideration of the full significance of dancing and attendant rites in early Semitic religion, of the principle of taboo and its removal, of the various Semitic shepherd and agricultural festivals and the deities in whose honor they were celebrated. In short it would mean a systematic presentation of what might well be called primitive Semitic religion. It is indeed a large and fascinating subject. It suffices, however, here, merely to have briefly indicated its possibilities.

⁷² Delitzsch, HWB. 277a.

⁷³ Ibid. 73a.

A Business Letter of Anu-šar-ušur.—By FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH, of Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

This was purchased as a tablet from Senkereh, the present seat of ancient Larsa. Judging from the character of the writing and the nature of the subject-matter, it may be said that it was probably written later than the time of Nabonidus, who, as well as Nebuchadnezzar, had rebuilt the Sun-god temple of this one-time capital city.

The writer of this letter, Anu-šar-ušur, seems to be an officer of a body of men who may be doing military service. His communication is addressed to his commissariat, consisting of the Šatam and Nabu-aḥ-iddin. Food supplies, which are to come from a distance by boat for 200 men, are to be provided at an expense of six mina of silver per month. Provisions must also be secured to avert the impending famine. The proposed commission must be entrusted to a certain experienced officer and the transport by boat to the command of a second officer. These orders must be executed on the eleventh of Nisan and efficiently carried out to the end.

Description of the tablet: a well preserved brown baked clay tablet; length $6\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters; breadth $3\frac{1}{4}$ centimeters; thickness $1\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters; 36 lines, 15 on the obverse, 15 on the reverse, 2 on the lower edge, 3 on the upper edge, and 1 on the right edge.

Duppi ^m *il*^u *A-nu-šar-ušur a-na*

Letter from Anu-šar-ušur unto

am^{ša}-*ta*m *u* ^m *il*^u *Nabu-aḥ-iddin*

the Šatam and Nabu-aḥ-iddin

aḥ^{pl}-*e-a* ^{il}^u *Bêl u il*^u *Nabu*

my brothers. May Bêl and Nebo

šu-lum u balâṭu *ša aḥ*^{pl}-*e-a*

for the peace and life of my brothers

5 *lik-bu-u a-na-ku a-mur*

speak. I, for sooth,

ina ni-is-ḫi aṭ-ṭi-bi

with the copy of the contract am satisfied,

u ana šâb-e-a ina pa-ni-ku-nu

and for my workmen, who are under your supervision,

- ina kurummati-ia im-ma-il-li*
 with my food supplies it is to be filled.
išt-en amardu wa-kal-tum
 One steward
- 10 *ina muḫ-ḫi-šu pi-ki-da-a-an*
 for this do ye appoint.
šeatum u suluppi-ia
 My corn and dates
ma-la ina pa-ni-šu liš-ša-de
 for as many as there are before him, let him provide.
ina ielippi a-na pu-u-tum
 In a ship according to the agreement
lu-še-bi-la ul-tu
 let him bring them. After
- 15 *arbu Du'uzi VI ma-na kaspi*
 the month of Tammuz 6 mina of silver
a-na kurummati^{pl}
 for the food
ša CC amṣâbê^{pl}
 of 200 workmen
tu-ul-te-bi-la-a-an
 ye shall bring.
a-na ša-a-šu i-kul-lu-u'
 With this it is to cease.
- 20 *en-na VI ma-na kaspi*
 Behold 6 mina of silver
pi-i šammi aš-bi-la-nim-ma
 for the vegetable food I have brought,
amṣâbê^{pl} aš-bu ma-a-ta
 that the workmen who dwell in the land
la i-mu-tu-u'
 may not die.
lib-bu-u ša amṣâbê^{pl}
 Among these workmen
- 25 *a-ga-a u dul-lu a-ga-a*
 and for that task,
la-at-tu-ku-nu
 there is your servant,
šu-u amṣâbê^{pl}
 the master of the workmen,

5
 10
 15
 20
 25
 30
 35

- ša ta-bu-ka-a'*
 whom ye shall take with you.
a-na ^{am}rabi še-ni-e
 To the second overseer
 30 *tir-ša-a' elippi an-tim*
 ye shall entrust that ship,
ša i-na muḥ-ḥi mu-du
 he being expert in such matters.
liš-ni-din na-bi-e še du id
 May he give orders for the grain (to go forward)
a-na umi XI^{kam} arḫu Nisannu
 on the 11th day of the month of Nisan
a-na dul-lu ša-du-nu
 for the work.
 35 *kap-du ḥarrânâⁱⁱ a-na šêpâⁱⁱ-šu-nu*
 Do ye a well ordered road for their feet
šu-kun-na-a'
 prepare.

This tablet, which is the property of the writer, is clearly from the archives of Warka, which has never been satisfactorily excavated, the tablet having found its way to this country, like many others, by means of Arab traders. Hardly any other place in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates has produced a tablet with a name in which Anu plays a part. But in the tablets coming from Warka personal names with Anu as a component are not unusual. Indeed some tablets, aside from this, known to be from Warka have this very name Anu-šar-ušur. The influence of the Anu worship, which was founded in the days of Sumerian supremacy in the temple E-ana built by Ur-gur and often rebuilt in the city of Erech, could scarcely have come to an end with the close of the Neo-Babylonian period to which our tablet doubtless belongs. The latest tests at Wuswas show that the building E-ana was in use during the Seleucid reign.

P. S. Since the preparation of this paper it has been discovered, as shown by a tablet now in the Museum of Yale University, that Anu-šar-ušur was the overseer of the temple E-ana in Warka (*^{am}Ki-i-pi ša E-ana*) in the seventh year of the reign of Cyrus.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAM FOR A MEETING OF THE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

At a meeting of the Directors of the American Oriental Society held in conjunction with the Annual Meeting last April, a resolution was unanimously passed looking toward the establishment of a Western Branch of the Society. It was voted that a committee be appointed to consider the advisability of forming such a branch and to report thereon to the Directors. The committee was constituted as follows: Professors BREASTED, of Chicago (chairman); OLMSTEAD, of Columbia, Mo.; MORGENSTERN, of Cincinnati; and CLAY, as Treasurer of the Society.

A meeting of the Chicago members interested in the undertaking was held at Chicago in August, Professors Olmstead and Montgomery also being present, and tentative plans were discussed. The Western Committee subsequently made arrangements for a meeting of the Western members at the University of Chicago on January 27, 1917, the program for which is subjoined in preliminary form.

It is hoped that all Western members of the Society will take an interest in this meeting. The movement should lead to the establishment by the Society of a Western Branch, and so contribute to the enlargement of the Society's membership and to its good fellowship. The proceedings of the meeting will be reported promptly in the JOURNAL.

PARTIAL PROGRAM

FOR THE MEETING OF

THE ORIENTALISTS OF THE WEST AT CHICAGO,
JANUARY TWENTY-SEVENTH, 1917

MORNING SESSION AT NINE O'CLOCK

Address of Welcome by Dean JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL.
Temporary Organization.

Papers:

Recent Archæological Discovery in China (illustrated),
by Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Curator of Anthropology at
the Field Museum of Natural History.

Assyrian Government of Dependencies,
by Prof. A. T. OLMSTEAD, University of Missouri.

The Ship-building Papyrus from Elephantine,
by Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago.

The Travels of Evliya Effendi,
by Prof. ALBERT H. LYBYER, University of Illinois.

Other papers in course of arrangement.

Inspection of Haskell Museum collections conducted by
Director.

MIDDAY SESSION AT ONE O'CLOCK

Luncheon tendered the visiting Orientalists by the Uni-
versity of Chicago at the Quadrangle Club.

AFTERNOON SESSION AT HALF PAST TWO O'CLOCK

Business meeting to decide upon the advisability of
organizing a permanent Western Branch of the
American Oriental Society.

Papers:

The Byzantine Land System,
by Prof. J. E. WRENCH, University of Missouri.

The Elephantine Aramaic Papyri and Hebrew Religion,
by Prof. J. M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago.

If time permits there will be a visit to the Oriental collec-
tions of the Field Museum under guidance of Dr.
LAUFER.

EVENING SESSION AT SEVEN O'CLOCK

Dinner at the Quadrangle Club.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON¹

Christopher Johnston, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental History and Archæology in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., died of heart disease, in his fifty-eighth year, on June 26, 1914. He was a member of the American Oriental Society since 1889, and a member of the Faculty of the Johns Hopkins University for nearly twenty-five years, having been appointed instructor in 1890. Although he was confined to his bed for the last four years and never free from pain, his mind remained clear and active, and he continued to take great interest in the University and his work. At the beginning of the second year of his illness he even tried to conduct an advanced class in Cuneiform Letters, a subject to which he had devoted his dissertation, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, which was published in vols. 18 and 19 of our JOURNAL, and which is recognized at home and abroad as one of the most valuable contributions to this difficult field of research (cf. BA 4. 501. 25). He completed this work at Camp Wilmer where he was serving as First Lieutenant in the Fifth Regiment of the Maryland National Guard at the beginning of the Spanish-American War (May, 1898).

When the late Professor Winckler, of Berlin, inaugurated, in conjunction with Dr. Alfred Jeremias, of Leipzig, the *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, the editors invited Professor Johnston to contribute a volume of translations of selected Assyro-Babylonian letters. The late Professor R. F. Harper, of Chicago, submitted to Professor Johnston the manuscript of his translation of the Code of Hammurapi which appeared in 1904. Professor Johnston also prepared a revised American edition of Professor Sayce's *Ancient Empires of the East*, and contributed a *History of Israel* to this work. At the suggestion of President Gilman, who was Editor-in-Chief of the *New International Encyclopedia*, published by Dodd, Mead & Co. of New York, Professor Johnston completed all the Egyptological articles which had been prepared by the distinguished Egyptologist Professor W. M. Müller of Philadelphia.

Professor Johnston had quite a number of students in his

¹ Presented at the first session of the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, New York, April 8, 1915.

Egyptian courses at the Johns Hopkins University including Professor Ember whose researches on the relations between Egyptian and Semitic bid fair to inaugurate a new era in comparative Egyptian philology (*cf.* OLZ 17. 424).² He was, however, chiefly interested in Assyriology, especially in cuneiform lexicography. A list of his papers on Assyrian and Egyptian history, archæology, and philology was given in No. 257 of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (July, 1913). He continued to publish valuable Oriental papers almost to the time of his death. He was also an authority on genealogy and was often consulted in that capacity; in fact, he was the genealogical arbiter of the Colonial Dames of Maryland and Virginia.

He had a remarkable linguistic equipment for his work. He was not only acquainted with Egyptian and Assyrian, as well as the other Semitic languages, especially Arabic and Hebrew, but was also a good classical scholar, and could read French, German, Italian and Spanish. He was a graduate of the University of Virginia where he had studied Greek under Professor Gildersleeve.

In 1880 he received the degree of M.D. at the University of Maryland, and in 1911 this institution conferred on him the degree of LL.D. He was also a Corresponding Member of the *Société Archéologique* of France, and there is an exceptionally full biography of him in the German *Who's Who?* known as Degener's *Unsere Zeitgenossen*.

He had practised medicine for nearly ten years before he began the systematic study of Oriental Languages at the Johns Hopkins University, and this stood him in good stead when he interpreted the cuneiform reports of ancient Assyrian physicians (*cf.* JAOS 18. 161-163). His father was one of the leading surgeons of Baltimore.

Professor Johnston's work gave evidence of unusual general culture and was always characterized by uncommon sense. Yet he was a most modest and gentle man. He never asked anything for himself. Nor did I ever see him angry. I never heard him utter an unkind word. Nor did he complain during his long illness.

² It might be well to add in this connection that Lagarde remarked in his *Mitteilungen* 4. 373 (1891): *Ich kann mich von dem Glauben nicht losmachen, dass das älteste Ägyptische mit dem Semitischen näher zusammenhängt als jetzt angenommen wird.*

Whenever I think of him I am reminded of the passage in the Book of Numbers (12. 3) where a later writer says of Moses: *The man was very meek above all the men that were upon the face of the earth.* Gentleness and modesty were Professor Johnston's chief characteristics. But he was not only a gentle man and a gentleman, he was also a fine scholar of broad culture, sound judgment, original ideas, and exceptional linguistic attainments. We shall always hold him in grateful remembrance. Nor will his name be forgotten in future generations inasmuch as he requested Mrs. Johnston before his death to present his valuable library to the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

The annual meeting was held at Haverford College, Pa., on Dec. 27-28. There was a large attendance of members and 30 new members were elected. Dr. Jastrow gave the Presidential Address on 'Constructive Elements in the Critical Study of the Old Testament.' Several papers of general Oriental interest were presented, among them 'Alcohol in the Bible,' by Dr. Haupt; 'The Worship of Tammuz,' by Dr. Peters, holding that its origin was connected with the planting and so the burial of the seed; 'The Evolution of the Ashera,' by Dr. Barton, who maintained that the symbol was a development of the palm tree; 'Two Babylonian Religious Texts from the Time of the Dynasty of Agade,' by the same scholar, on texts in the University of Pennsylvania, regarded by him as the earliest extensive religious texts known from Babylonia; 'A Palestinian Mortuary Amulet on Silver Foil,' by Dr. Montgomery; 'Rhabdomancy and Belomancy in the Old Testament,' by Dr. Haupt, who held that the supposed references to these arts are not valid.

Several important archæological papers were presented by Prof. W. J. Moulton, one time Director of the Jerusalem School. He gave a fresh study of an inscription at Cæsarea, which had been only inadequately interpreted by Germer-Durand, Clermont-Ganneau, and others. His careful study shows that the text belongs to the age of Justinian, probably almost exactly to the date 538; it is of importance to the study of the Palestinian paganism of the time, as the text refers to a temple of Hadrian as existing then in Casarea. His interpretation of a fragmentary inscription at Petra naming a certain Harith, inclined him to view it as the epitaph on the tomb of Aretas IV. Illustrated lecture talks on Palestine and Syria by Professors Moulton, Benzinger, Fullerton, and Dr. Sartell Prentice, gave added interest to the meeting. The latter presented unique pictures of his own taking of the Sik or gorge leading into Petra.

The following officers were elected: President, W. J. Moulton; Vice-President, J. A. Montgomery; Secretary, M. L. Margolis; Corr. Secretary, H. J. Cadbury; Treasurer, J. D. Prince; Associates in Council, J. A. Bewer, H. Hyvernat, M. Jastrow, Miss Kendrick, C. C. Torrey.

The meeting of the Managers of the School at Jerusalem was held in connection with this Society. Much interest was expressed in the necessity of making a forward move to take advantage of the opportunity upon close of the war. Prof. C. C. Torrey was elected President, Dr. J. B. Nies, Secretary, Prof. J. H. Ropes, Treasurer.

J. A. M.

MEETINGS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA AND THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

These two societies met at Washington University, St. Louis, December 27-30. The meetings were a rare success, showing admirable planning and execution and characterized by the finest hospitality. Among the papers presented of orientalist interest were: "Specimens of Arabic Poetry in English Translation," by Dr. Sprengling; "The Marriage of Hosea," by Dr. Water-

man; "The Sources of the History of Alexander the Great," by Dr. R. B. Steele; "The Studio of an Egyptian Portrait Painter," by Dr. Breasted.

In the Archæological Institute Prof. F. W. Shipley was re-elected President, and Prof. J. M. Paton Editor-in-chief of the Journal.

Elections in the Philological Association were as follows: President, Kirby F. Smith; Vice-President, James R. Wheeler; Secretary and Treasurer, C. P. Bill; Executive Committee, Campbell Bonner, R. W. Husband, W. B. McDaniel, Grace H. Macurdy, A. L. Wheeler.

Both societies will meet at the University of Pennsylvania next year.

W. B. McD.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Oriental studies and members of our Society played an unusually large part in the meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Cincinnati, December 27-30. Easily first in interest was the program devoted to China and Japan. Our fellow member, Professor Asakawa of Yale University, gave a most illuminating paper detailing the life of a Monastic Sho, a quasi-feudal manor, in Mediæval Japan, and Professor Munro of Princeton, in discussing it, pointed out how necessary such studies were before we could understand the parallel development in Europe. Mr. E. T. Williams, of our Department of State, told of the Chinese social institutions as a foundation for republican government, and illustrated present conditions by copious references to the past. Modern conditions were further discussed by Professor Latourette of Denison University and by Professor Hornbeck of the University of Wisconsin.

Another program of interest was devoted to Constantinople. A paper of Professor van den Ven, of Louvain, showed that the Byzantine Empire begins with Constantine. Our associate, Professor Lybyer of the University of Illinois, described Constantinople as the capital of the Ottoman Empire with a facility

which could not conceal the unusually wide knowledge demanded. Professor Coolidge, of Harvard University, closed the meeting with a brilliant paper on the various claims, national, geographical, and historic, upon Constantinople.

Finally, in the ancient history section, a third member of our Society, Professor Olmstead, of the University of Missouri, in a paper entitled 'Mesopotamian Politics and Scholarship,' showed how close has been the relation between research and governmental activities in the Near East. Not the least worthy of remark was the enthusiasm displayed at the news of a prospective Western Branch of our Society.

A. T. O.

The Allegory of the Moths and the Flame, translated from the Mantiq at-Tair of Farīd ad-Dīn 'Attār.—By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.¹

Persian poetry has had in its voice a mystic note for more than a thousand years, and one can hardly touch on the theme of Persian literature without ringing changes on the major key of mysticism, because the Šūfī note of veiled allegory and masked symbolism is a dominant chord in much of its verse. To appreciate the spirit of Persian poesy's very being, one must understand the fundamental elements of its harmony, its emblematic nature, the delicate interchange of sign and thing signified, subtle play of disguised meanings, esoteric allusions, phraseology with hidden implications that were understood of the elect, and all the refined spiritualization of physical and material images, pseudo-erotic in their nature. This literary species requires that same delicate method of interpretation which may be illustrated by our own understanding of the 'Song of Solomon' or measured by our appreciation of the seventeenth-century English poets Donne, Vaughan, the Fletchers, and Crashaw. Concerning these British bards, our American poet and critic George Edward Woodberry once said: 'The language is that of love-passion, but directed to supersensual objects of sense.' This sentiment may be employed equally to describe most of the Persian Šūfī writers.

The paragon of Persian mystic poets in the twelfth century was 'Attār; in the thirteenth it was Rūmī. These two mystics overtop all the rest, even Jāmī in the early fifteenth century. By way of illustration I shall have to content myself here with a few lines from the masterpiece of Farīd ad-Dīn 'Attār, of Nīshāpūr, a composition that gives an allegorical portrayal of the longing of the human soul for union with the Divine.

The birds, assembled, start out on a quest to find the mysterious Sīmurgh-bird, the embodiment of an ideal, under the guid-

¹ This translation, with its introduction, is an extract from the Presidential Address delivered at the meeting of the Society in Washington, April 24, 1916.

ance of their leader, the hoopoo (*hudhud*). To beguile the time on their pilgrimage they narrate stories with a metaphysical bearing. The story narrated in the seventh valley, that of annihilation and death, brings in the idea of merging into the divine essence and finding annihilation in God (*fanā fi'llāh*).²

The poem is filled with the symbolic language of Sūfism. FitzGerald admirably caught its spirit in his free version of the 'Bird-Parliament,' with its catchwords of devotion, hidden under seemingly commonplace terms, and its spiritual ecstasy concealed beneath what appear to be mere offhand allusions. The allegory here presented is given, however, in a version prepared by myself, which adheres more closely to the original text.

THE MOTHS AND THE FLAME

[SEVENTH VALLEY, OR THE VALE OF SELF-RESIGNATION AND
ANNIHILATION (*Faqr u Fanā*)]³

ONE night the Moths into grave Conclave came,
Eager to find the *Taper-lamp*, their aim.
The Conclave voiced: ' 'Tis fit that *one*, a-wing,
Should find the *Goal*, some certain tidings bring.'

A *Moth* flew forth, out toward that Castle far,
Saw in the Castle's court the *Lamp's* bright star,
Flew back, and his report all open threw;
Explained—but without knowledge real—his view.

Then spake the Moth-chief, sage of the Conclave grave:
'No knowledge true of the *Lamp* our envoy gave.'

So went a Second, passed a-close the *Light*,
But only struck the *Taper's* edge in flight.
His wings were singed by the rays of the sought-for Flame;
Yet won the *Lamp*; the *Moth* returned a-lame.
He too, when back, some secrets could reveal,
But naught of *Union* with the *Lamp* unseal.

The Master spake: 'Loved Liege, naught is thy sign!
Thy proffered proof much as thy Mate's, in fine.'

² Cf. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1. 438-442; 2. 514.

³ Farīd ad-Dīn 'Attār, ed. de Tassy, p. 159 (l. 3958-3971); tr. p. 222-223.

Then flew a Third—drunken with Love's desire,
Folded his wings completely in the *Fire*,
Holding them all the while amidst the *Flame*,
Till, lost in Joy, he One with *It* became.
He grasped the Fire outright from top to toe,
His body like the Fire, one single glow.

The Chief exclaimed—who saw afar, amaze,
His Color, Substance, all in One, i' the Blaze—
'*That* Moth alone, who thus within *It* burned,
The *Mystery* knows—but ne'er to tell returned.'

The Year's Work in Oriental Archaeology.—By STEPHEN BLEECKER LUCE, JR., Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

I have been asked by the Editors to write a résumé of the year's work in the archaeology of the Orient. As one whose interest in archaeology, and knowledge of the subject, is confined primarily to the Classical branch, I feel a certain diffidence in trying to tell Orientalists about a subject in which they know so much more than I. I trust, therefore, that they will pardon any errors (of which there will undoubtedly be many) and forgive also the intrusion of a Greek archaeologist into the *sanctum sanctorum* of the East.

It is to Egypt that the student of the Orient should look at present for active archaeological investigation. The Babylonian field was covered by European workers prior to the war; and of course the war has put an end to the bulk of their researches. Save for the expedition of the University Museum in Philadelphia to Nippur, an exploration conducted many years ago, but of which the fruits have not yet been exhausted, American interest has not been in Babylonian archaeology. On the other hand, Egypt has always cast a spell over our people, and American expeditions have been sent time and again to excavate Egyptian sites. There are to-day in Egypt two of these expeditions, whose work has been in no wise hindered by the war. A third, that of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, has practically completed its work; but the objects allotted to that Museum are still in storage in Egypt. The Museum has just announced, however, the publication of *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, by Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock, Assistant Curators of its Department of Egyptian Art. A short summary of this book will be found in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*.¹ This is the tomb of a noble lady who lived in the reign of King Amenemhêt I, or between 2000 and 1950 B. C. The writer commends the readers of this Journal to the summary in the Bulletin, or, better still, to the book itself, and will pass on to other news in the Egyptian field.

¹ 11 (1916), p. 257-259.

As is well known, Harvard University and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston have for some time supported an expedition in Egypt. It started in 1911, under the direction of Professor G. A. Reisner, and it has been able to continue its work in spite of the war. The principal site excavated by this expedition is Gizeh, but recent reports show that there has been discovered, in the neighborhood of Gebel Barkal, material of great importance bearing on the period between 1600 B. C. and 100 A. D. Among the discoveries were ten large statues of kings of Ethiopia.²

Reports from the Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., Egyptian Expedition of the University Museum in Philadelphia, though brief, continue to be encouraging, and to show good results. This expedition is under the leadership of Dr. Clarence Stanley Fisher, formerly of the staff of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, who had before that taken part in the University of Pennsylvania's exploration of Nippur. He is assisted by Mr. Ashton Sanborn, who was also with the Museum of Fine Arts, and before that had been Secretary of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. An article on the expedition appeared in the *Museum Journal* of the University Museum, for 1915.³ Excavations have been made for the Museum at Gizeh, Memphis, and Denderah, with excellent results. At Denderah, a cemetery was unearthed, extending from the earliest dynasties to Roman times. At Memphis, the expedition uncovered the palace of Merneptah, and many important discoveries were made, which will be announced in due season by the Museum. In June, 1916, work for the season was discontinued; but it has been resumed once more. Among the finds made are the earliest inscribed beads ever found in Egypt, dating about 3500 B. C. It is pleasant to record that the Egyptian government has been unusually generous in the number and quality of the objects that will be allowed to come to America; and, moreover, so important does it consider this work that it is going to keep many of the sites cleared, a proceeding not always done, and involving considerable expense. It is possible, though not likely, that Mr. Ashton Sanborn will return to America in the near future with some of the finds.

² See *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 25 (1916), p. 284.

³ Pages 63-84 and figs. 46-64.

Another important discovery, which antedates the European War, but which is only beginning to be known by the general public, was made in the excavations at Tell-el-Amarna, conducted by Professor Ludwig Borchardt, the Director of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute at Cairo, under the auspices of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. This was the discovery of a series of sculptors' studios, the last of which to be found was identified by an inscription as that of the 'Chief sculptor, Thutmose.' These studios date from the reign of Amenhotep IV, or in the first half of the fourteenth century. B. C. Professor Breasted of the University of Chicago has recently published an article dealing with the art of this sculptor, Thutmose, and the discovery of his studio,⁴ in which he shows, among other things, that the ancient Egyptian sculptors were familiar with the method employed to-day of taking their models from plaster casts. This technique was unknown to the Greeks. Many of the statues found in this studio are of surpassing beauty.

In this connection, it is with great sorrow that we must mention a number of losses by death that the field of Egyptology has sustained. One thinks at once of the Masperos, father and son—the father at the time of his death perhaps the greatest of living Egyptologists, the son a young man of great promise, who had made a name for himself in the field of Byzantine Egypt. They both died in harness; the father, at a meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, of a sudden stroke, a most fitting and dramatic climax to a scholar's life; the son, on the field of honor, as an officer in the French army. Their lives were examples to scholar and patriot alike, and their ends were noble.^{4a}

In America, students of Egyptology will mourn the loss of Mr. Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr., the founder of the University Museum's expedition to Egypt that bears his name. A man of wealth, he ever considered how most to serve the community in which he lived, and how best to advance the cause of archae-

⁴In *Art and Archaeology*, 4 (1916), p. 233-242, with many illustrations.

^{4a}An appreciation of the elder Maspero by Professor Jastrow has appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Am. Philosophical Society, 55 (1916), no. 8.

ology, in which lay his principal interest. To him Egypt was an absorbing passion, and his knowledge and devotion was profound and sincere. For many years he was President of the University Museum, and took the keenest delight in its work, not only in Egypt, but in every other branch of its activity; he was also President of the Pennsylvania Society of the Archaeological Institute of America. Orientalists and other archaeologists alike will mourn the loss of this great patron of learning, who by his generous donations, bestowed without stint, made possible some of the most important work that has ever been done in Egyptology, especially from an archaeological point of view.

In the field of Assyriology, there is little to report in the way of actual excavating. The investigations of Koldewey are said to be continuing in spite of the war; for, being a German, he can go on with his work. In America, we must notice the appointment of Dr. Stephen Langdon to the Curatorship of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum in Philadelphia, and the publication by that Museum of a *List of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur*, by Dr. Edward Chiera, the promising young Philadelphia scholar. This is vol. 11, nos. 1 and 2 of the Publications of the same Section, New Series. Shortly to appear is *Miscellaneous Religious Texts*, by Professor George A. Barton of Bryn Mawr. This will be vol. 1, part 2, of the same series. Dr. Langdon is also preparing a volume of *Liturgical Texts* for the same series of publications.

A notice of the death of the noted Assyriologist, William Hayes Ward, has already appeared in this Journal (pages 233-241 of this volume), so I shall not do more than mention it here.

In Palestinian archaeology, work has been completely stopped by the war. The American School at Jerusalem, maintained under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America, closed its doors in 1915, when Professor Montgomery, its Director for that year, acting under the advice of the American Consul, left Jerusalem and returned to the United States by way of Athens and Rome. However, the managers of the school are taking active steps towards properly financing and organizing the School in anticipation of the possibilities after the war.

In this connection, I should like to call attention to a very interesting article which has just appeared in the *American*

Journal of Archaeology,⁵ on a great chalice of silver from Antioch, dating in the first century A. D. This chalice is made in three parts: (1) an inner bowl; (2) a series of 'chased-applied' ornaments, soldered to the outside of this bowl; and (3) the stand and foot. The writer of the article, Mr. Gustavus A. Eisen, considers the portraits of Christ and the Apostles, which are included in the decoration, to be the earliest known, and declares them of great beauty. This chalice, with six other silver objects, which include another chalice, three bookcovers, and a large ceremonial cross, are in the possession of Messrs. Kouchakji Frères of New York. They originally formed part of the treasure of the Constantinian cathedral in Antioch.

Two fine books on Palestinian archaeology have appeared in the past year; Hancock's *Archaeology of the Holy Land*, and *The Archaeology of the Bible* by Professor Barton of Bryn Mawr.

In addition, we are fortunate in having in this country, as professor at the Meadville Theological Seminary, Professor I. Benzinger, the noted German Palestinian scholar and archaeologist, who is perhaps more commonly known as the editor of Baedeker's *Guide to Palestine and Syria*. It gives us great pleasure to welcome to America such a distinguished figure in scholarship, and to wish him a long and pleasant sojourn with us.

Excavations on the Asia Minor coast have been stopped, but it has been announced that on the cessation of hostilities the American exploration of Sardis will continue. The results have been most gratifying, and the site will be completely cleared and the material handsomely published.^{5a}

To touch for a moment on the Classical field, it should be a source of pride to Americans that our School of Classical Studies at Athens has never closed its doors, but has continued its work. In Old Corinth its excavators have discovered a number of sites of the Mycenaean period, perhaps the most important discovery

⁵ 20 (1916), p. 426-437 and plate xix.

^{5a} Since writing this article, I have learned that two volumes have recently appeared on Sardis, one on the site by H. W. Bell, and one on the Lydian inscriptions (the first volume) by Littmann. These volumes are published by the Brill Co. of Leyden. I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor David M. Robinson, of the Johns Hopkins University, for this information.

at that place in the history of the 'dig.' The credit for this belongs to Mr. C. W. Blegen, the Secretary of the School.

Turning now from the Near East and the Mediterranean Basin, to the Far East, we note that in India the British Government has continued the archaeological investigation of that country, despite war conditions. Copies of the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* from various parts of the country, that are before me as I write, show the continuation, not only of the excavation of ancient sites, but of the preservation of extant monuments of the past. From many items of interest, I select one to call to the reader's attention. There has been deposited in the Government Museum at Madras a Roman gold coin, found in the village of Kalikinayakanpalaiyam in the Coimbatore district. To quote the report⁶: 'It is a solidus of the Emperor Justinian (527-565 A. D.), and is of special interest because there do not appear to be any previous records of the discovery of coins of this emperor in India.'

A fair amount has been done in the past year in the study of the archaeology of China and Japan. The foundation of the proposed American Archaeological School at Peking, although, as the writer understands it, authorized, has been postponed till after the war. In the meantime, the newly-founded Museum in Cleveland has been fortunate enough to secure the services of Mr. Langdon Warner, the proposed Director of the School, to take charge of their Far Eastern Department; and he is now in the field, making purchases, and authorized by his Museum to excavate, if he can secure the necessary concessions. It need hardly be said that the Cleveland Museum should obtain, through his knowledge and taste, a very fine collection.

The University Museum in Philadelphia has taken a noteworthy part in the study of Chinese and Japanese art and archaeology. It has had on exhibition during the last year a large number of the finest of the Morgan collection of Chinese porcelains, and a notable group of Chinese sculptures and paintings. Besides this exhibit, Mr. C. W. Bishop, Assistant Curator of the Oriental Section, has returned to Philadelphia, after a fifteen months' trip in the Museum's interests through the interior of China and Japan. He brought with him some

⁶ Government of Madras, educational department, G. O. no. 785, 18th July 1916: Government Museums, p. 4, section 6 (Numismatics), and p. 5, no. 2.

unusual objects of the early art of these countries. An account of his trip, with beautiful illustrations, written by himself, has appeared in the *Museum Journal*.⁷ In addition, Mr. Bishop has consented to write for me the following short summary of archaeological work done on this trip:

‘Among the objects of the University Museum’s recent expedition to Eastern Asia was the study of the possibilities of that region from an archaeological standpoint. In Japan, particular attention was paid to the earlier sites, both those of the neolithic aborigines, and those of the primitive Japanese themselves. Korea was next visited, and some study made of the work done there by Japanese archaeologists. Their results have been published hitherto almost exclusively in Japanese, but are important enough to deserve early translation. Owing to disturbed conditions along the upper Yellow River, the seat of the earliest Chinese civilization, it was decided to go to Szech’uan instead. In the soft red sandstone cliffs overlooking the river valleys of that province, are numerous artificial caves, which, though regarded by some as prehistoric dwelling-places, are almost certainly tombs; already they have yielded most interesting remains, and merit careful study. Speaking generally, the Far East as a whole has enjoyed a continuity of culture unequalled in any other part of the world, and before many years investigators will be throwing light upon the earlier phases of a civilization, which, so far from being dead, is destined to play a steadily increasing part in the shaping of the world civilization of the future.’

It is pleasant to know that Mr. Bishop has already returned to the East for an extended stay, and it is hoped that great results will come from this work.

This represents a few of the most significant items of interest in the Oriental field of archaeology; there are, doubtless, many more that I have omitted.

⁷ Vol. 7 (1916), p. 97-124 and figs. 119-154.

The Hebrew Collections of the Library of Congress.—By ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Curator of the Division of Semitic and Oriental Literature in the Library of Congress.

The Library of Congress is now practically the National Library of the United States. Owing to its marvelous growth in the last 15 years under the direction of the present Librarian, it is said already to have taken third place numerically among the great National Libraries of the world. Since the main purpose of such an institution is to supply scholars and students by national service with material necessary for their research work, it was a natural development for the Library to acquire also Collections of Semitic and Oriental literature, the more so as the number of students of Semitica and Orientalia in this country is increasing and the interest in this oldest and richest literature is continuously growing.

However, it was not until July 1, 1913, that a Division of Semitic and Oriental Literature was, by act of Congress, established in the Library of Congress. But this Division had so fine a start and the progress made in the increase of material during the three years of its existence has been so rapid that its future seems assured. Students of Semitics, who had to rely entirely on European resources, will find in the National Library abundant material for their purposes. While many branches of Semitica and Orientalia, it is true, are not at present as rich as could be desired, Hebrew literature is comprehensively as well as substantially represented, and because of the fact that the Hebrew Collections at present 'lead' the others, I shall proceed to give a survey of their material. Let me state at the outset that the collection of printed Hebrew books in the Library of Congress may already be considered the largest in this country, and that it already ranks well with the collections of the great libraries of Europe.

The large representation of Hebrew books in the Library of Congress is due chiefly to the munificence of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff of New York. The notable gift, consisting of about ten thousand books and pamphlets, which he presented to the Library in 1912, laid practically the cornerstone of the Semitic Division. This

collection was followed by another one presented by Mr. Schiff in 1914, consisting of more than 4,000 volumes. With the exception of a few hundred items of Judaica both collections consist mainly of Hebraica. A great number of Hebrew books had been in the possession of the Library, while many have been added during the last three years by purchase, copyright, gift, and exchange. Together, the number of all the Hebrew books now exceeds 18,000 volumes. Moreover, the Library possesses a few hundred Hebrew manuscripts, chiefly biblical, cabalistic, and liturgical, many of which bear a very early date and may be traced to various countries.

The importance of these Hebrew Collections is not, however, merely quantitative, but also qualitative. They cover all fields of Jewish learning and thought, religious and secular, from hoary antiquity to the present day, from the Bible to modern Hebrew literature. A great many of the books are first prints and rare specimens.

As for printed Hebrew books, the first rank, of course, is held by those printed in the 15th century, i. e. the incunabula. Bibliographical authorities do not agree as to the exact number of Hebrew books printed before 1500. But if Jacob's statement that only 101 can be traced is correct, the Library's Hebrew incunabula number now almost one-third of all incunabula known to be in existence. Among them are found the most important ones, such as: The Pentateuch with Onkelos and Rashi, Bologna, 1482; The Pentateuch, Lisbon, 1491; Nachmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch, Naples, 1490, and Levi ben Gershon's, Mantua, printed before 1482; Later Prophets with Kimchi's commentary, Guadalajara, 1482; Psalms with Kimchi, Bologna, 1477; Naples, 1487; Avicenna's Canon, Naples, 1491; Bachya ibn Pakuda's *Hoboth ha-Lebabo*, Naples, 1489; Albo's *Ikkarim*, Soncino, 1485; Kimchi's *Shorashim*, Naples, 1491; The *Machzor*, Roman Rite, Casal Maggiore, 1486; Solomon ben Abraham Adret's *Responsa*, printed before 1480, etc.

The number of Hebrew books printed during the 15th century was small, the places of Hebrew printing in that century being confined to the Iberian and Italian peninsulas. But with the beginning of the 16th century, when printing spread into other countries and the Hebrew press increased, the production of works in Hebrew literature became prolific and vigorous.

The subject matter of the works selected for print was on the whole what might have been anticipated. First came the Bible. There is in the Hebrew Collections of the Library of Congress a long series of editions of the Bible and of parts of it, with and without commentaries, beginning with the 16th century and ending with those of recent date. Besides the well known Rabbinic Bible editions of Venice, Basle, and Amsterdam, Polyglot and Hexaglot Bibles as well as the so-called 'parallel Bibles' which give variants of the Samaritan, Septuagint and Vulgate versions, there are the notable early editions of Frobenius, Stephanus, Giustiniani, Plantin, Hutterus, etc. Very numerous are the Bibles accompanied by translation in ancient and modern languages. The commentaries of Rashi, Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Nachmanides, Gersonides, Abravanel and others are found in first print and subsequent editions. The great number of supercommentaries, culminating in Elijah Mizrachi's commentaries on Rashi, and the limitless literature of Exegetics and Homiletics of different times and lands, place the Bible section of the Hebrew Collections in first rank.

Next in volume and value is what is known as the 'Rabbinical literature.' The Mishnah is represented by quite a series of editions, containing the text only or the text with commentaries and translations, from the very first ones up to the latest Wilna edition, the text of which is accompanied by 37 commentaries. Of the Talmud there are 25 editions, including the editio prima of the Jerusalem Talmud (Venice, 1523?), the first print of the Babylonian Talmud by Bomberg (Venice, 1520-23) and the rare parts of the Constantinople edition which is supposed to have been printed about 1582. The Midrash as well is covered in all its various phases. The books relating to the Talmud fill a very large and important space in the Hebrew Collections, and include not only the commentaries, or the commentaries on the commentaries, but also the various Novellae which have been continued in an endless chain to the present day. To the Rabbinical literature belongs also the Halakah. This comprises the entire civil and ritual law and extends also to all the usages, customs, ordinances, and decrees for which there is no authority in Scripture. The works on these subjects, including the most prominent codes, as those of Alfasi, Maimonides, Jacob ben Asher, Joseph Caro, as well as the extensive Shulchan Aruch literature,

are a well cultivated branch of Rabbinical literature. In this connection may be mentioned the great body of the Responsa written by Sephardic and Ashkenazic Talmudists. The Responsa, originating in various lands during many centuries, offer a great field for research, particularly in regard to Jewish History. Indeed, the Responsa have not as yet found the appreciation they deserve.

The Hebrew Collections show an equally voluminous representation of books bearing on liturgy, ritual, religious ceremonies and practices, apologetics and polemics, and on Jewish sects. The number of various subsequent editions of the Passover Haggadah, texts, commentaries, illustrations, and translations amounts to 400, beginning with the Haggadah accompanied by Abravanel's commentary, 'Zebach Pesach,' Constantinople, 1505.

Of special note are the literary products of the 'golden renaissance' of Jewish letters under the Arab rule in the Middle Ages. They comprise the monumental theologico-philosophical works of a Saadia, Maimonides, Crescas, Albo, and the inspiring poetry of Halevy, Gabirol, Aben Ezra. The Kabbala, or Jewish mystical philosophy, is not less extensively represented.

Not taking into consideration certain other branches of Hebrew literature, whose products, although numerous, are not of particular significance, special attention is called to the very extensive store of Modern Hebrew Literature. This branch, generally known as 'Haskalah,' had its beginning and development during the period in which the Jews were allowed to participate in the life and culture of European nations. This literature has since flourished in several countries. It is mostly written in an elegant Modern Hebrew, and embraces the various subjects that are covered by the Western culture of to-day. During the last thirty years, the Hebrew language having been revived as a living tongue, particularly in the colonies and cities of Palestine, the Belles Lettres of the Modern Hebrew literature have reached the height that justly entitles them to take an honored place among the great literatures of the modern world. Many of the essayists, poets, and novelists writing Modern Hebrew have been translated into modern languages, and a great many of the modern poets and prosaists have been translated into Hebrew. Emerson, James, and Mark Twain, for instance, may be read in that language.

As individual features and characteristics of the Hebrew Collections of the Library of Congress may be quoted an excellent collection of Hebrew melodies and songs, accompanied by music, a noteworthy group of books and periodicals printed in Palestine within the last half century, and last but not least, the collection of Hebrew poetry. Almost all that has been written in Hebrew blank verse, by ancient and modern poets, is contained therein, and in view of its bulk it is highly probable that this collection is not now exceeded by any other. It also includes many Hebrew translations from modern literature. The masterly translations into Hebrew of Shakespeare, Byron, and Milton may have special mention.

The Hebraica of the Library of Congress have thus increased to a marvelous degree. The Hebrew Collections three years ago really formed a promising foundation of a Semitic Division. Taking into consideration the unprecedented development of the Library of Congress there is no doubt that the Division of Semitic and Oriental literature will expand in all of its other branches and become worthy of the great National Library of the United States.

*'Emperor'-Worship in Babylonia.*¹—By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER,
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This subject has never been systematically discussed. Most writers on ancient religions repeat the assertion that the practice was common in ancient Babylonia, but unknown in Assyria. Their assertion is based upon conclusions arrived at chiefly by Sayce, Radau, Scheil, and Thureau-Dangin.² As none of these Assyriologists, however, has pretended to treat the subject with any degree of completeness, the object of this paper will be to examine the sources and attempt an estimate, so far as our present knowledge will permit.

The subject under consideration is a difficult one to estimate, chiefly because the translation of ancient terms into what are considered modern equivalents often leaves the impression that the ancient term had the same connotation as the modern one, and we are apt to read ideas into the former which are peculiar to the latter. It will be well, therefore, to begin by defining our terms. It will also be well to keep in mind, during the discussion, the fact that we are compelled to use modern phraseology to express ancient ideas.

¹ Abbreviations of less common use employed in this article are: AB = *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1881 ff.; AO = *Antiquités Orientales*, Louvre; BE = *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series A and D, Philadelphia, 1893 ff.; Bu = Budge (British Museum); EAH = E. A. Hoffman Collection in EBH; EBH = Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, New York, 1900; OBI = Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Philadelphia, 1893; RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Paris, 1884 ff.; RT = *Récueil de Travaux*, Paris, 1870 ff.; RTC = Thureau-Dangin, *Récueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, Paris, 1903; RTllh = Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh*, Berlin, 1901; SAK = Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1907; TSA = Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques*, Paris, 1909; UPBS = *University of Pennsylvania, Babylonian Section*, Philadelphia, 1911 ff.

² The chief discussions of the subject are to be found in: Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, New York, 1900; Scheil, RT. 18. 64-74, *Le culte de Gudea sous la IIe dynastie d'Ur*; Thureau-Dangin, RT. 19. 185-187, *Le culte des Rois dans la période prébabylonienne*; Huber, *Die Personennamen* (AB. 21), Leipzig, 1907; Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Münster, 1909; Janneau, *Une dynastie chaldéenne des Rois d'Ur*, Paris, 1911; Legrain, *Les Temps des Rois d'Ur*, Paris, 1912.

Among modern Western peoples it is usual to define 'worship' as the act of paying divine honor, reverence, and adoration to the one Supreme Being. But ancient peoples paid divine honor, reverence, and adoration to one or more gods. We think of 'god' as a being who, though personal, is not limited by time or space as we are. But primitive peoples think of 'god' as a being different from themselves only in size and power. He is endowed with body, parts, and passions, and lives and acts just like any man. The worship which a primitive man pays to his god is practically that of a modern monotheist, the difference consisting in the worshiper's idea of the god and of his character.

The ancient Babylonians, as well as most primitive peoples, considered the relationship between the gods and man to be very close indeed. His idea of god did not necessitate an impassable gulf between the two. The gods were very near to him; and he was certain that not only was the first man the son of god, but also that his own chief or king, so much more powerful than himself, was related to the god, and had been nurtured by the gods. The difference between the king and the gods was very small indeed. Yet there was a real difference—the king was visible at any time, but the gods could be seen only occasionally, and even then only by the elect. Moreover, the king was subject to death, but the gods were not. There was, then, in the mind of the ancient Babylonians an undoubted difference between them.

It can easily be conceived that the ancient Babylonian honored his god with extravagant love and extreme submission, that he adored him and 'idolized' him, just as any modern may adore and honor a king, hero, or lover with an equal extravagance of love and submission. But just as the modern would not identify the object of his love with the Supreme Being, so it must be concluded that primitive man would be conscious at least of a certain amount of difference between the mortal king and the immortal god.

The ancient Babylonian believed that each man had a spirit which would outlive the body. He believed that the spirit was still more closely related to the gods. In fact, the lack of tangible acquaintance with the spirit and its capacities paved the way for the tendency which would easily develop into divine reverence. At any rate, it would be less difficult for us to believe that the Babylonians really worshiped certain of their dead,

especially their dead heroes and kings, than it is to believe that they paid really divine honors to the living king. It will be necessary, therefore, in the present study to keep clearly in mind the two sides of our problem, namely the question of the worship of the dead king and that of the living king.

Professor Sayce of Oxford was the first to assert that the early Babylonian kings were deified.³ In his article, *The Babylonian Cylinders found by General di Cesnola in the Treasury of the Temple at Kurium* in Cyprus, it is clear that a certain Abil-Ištar is called the 'servant of ^{ilu}Naram-^{ilu}Sin.' Now the word *ilu* before Sin is translated 'god,' and it is almost always used with the name of a deity, as in the case of Sin. But the *ilu* before *Naram*, since *Naram* is not known to be the name of a deity, was considered by Sayce, and has generally been thought since, to show that the well-known king Naram-Sin was deified. Since then, whenever a proper name has been found containing an element, not the name of a deity, preceded by *ilu*, it has been taken as an indication of deification. The same is true of the Sumerian word *dingir*, 'god.'

In our discussion of names with *dingir*, or *ilu*, we shall take no notice of the names of mythological kings and heroes, such as *dingir Ga-tum-dug*;⁴ nor of the Babylonian Noah, *Tagtug* (?), which name has the divine determinative, *dingir*;⁵ nor of the hero's name in the Assyrian fragments of the Etana epic, which is also preceded by the divine determinative.⁶

The use of *dingir* or *ilu* in the names of living men, which contain a divine name, is very common. In fact, whenever a divine name is found, with very few exceptions, e. g. *Anu-um-pî-ilu-Šamaš*,⁷ the divine determinative is used. From the earliest to the latest times, and in inscriptions representing all classes of literature, names of persons are found compounded with a divine name preceded by the divine determinative. This is a rule which has very few—although some—exceptions. The

³ TSBA. 5 (1877), p. 441 ff.

⁴ Paffrath, *Zur Götterlehre in den altbabylonischen Königsinschriften*, Paderborn, 1913, p. 130 ff.

⁵ Langdon, *An Account of the Pre-Semitic Version of the Fall of Man*, PBSA. 36. 258.

⁶ Poebel, *Historical Texts*, UPBS. 4. 1, p. 113.

⁷ Ungnad, *Babyl. Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurabi Dynastie*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 409. This is in contradiction to Pinches in PSBA. 1915, p. 87.

old king *Ur d.Ninâ*,⁸ the Cassite ruler *d.Ka-daš-man-d.Bel*,⁹ the Assyrian king *iluSin-ahê-irba*,¹⁰ and the late Babylonian king *iluNabunaid*¹¹ are a few examples of royal names which contain the divine determinative *ilu* or *dingir* because of the presence of a divine name, such, e. g., as Ninâ, Ka, Bel, Sin, and Nabu.

Nor is the practice confined to royal names. There are numerous names of men in various walks of life which contain the divine determinative because of the presence of a divine name. Such, for example, is the name of the scribe *Gal-d.Nin-sah*,¹² or the name of a man which begins with a divine name, e. g., *d.Marduk-na-si-ir*.¹³ The use is extended to any name containing the name of a deity. A canal is called *a-d.nin-tu(id)*,¹⁴ a door is called *bâb-ilu-si-it-iluŠamši*,¹⁵ a wall is called *im-gur-iluellil*,¹⁶ a place is called *mātu-iluAššur*.¹⁷

From this it would appear that the word for 'god' used by the Sumerians and Babylonians, who were really polytheists, was almost always prefixed to the individual or proper name of the deity, no matter where that name appeared. It is partly illustrated by the use which we make of the word 'Saint.' We speak of William St. George Tucker, or Cape St. John, or St. Mary's Bay, the 'Saint' remaining as part of the personal or place name.

In the instances so far discussed, there can, however, be no proof of deification. The personal or place name has the divine determinative solely because of the presence of a divine name, and not at all because the person or place is deified.

The case of the use of *dingir* or *ilu* in personal names, which are, let it be noted, always royal names, and are not thought to contain a divine name, is rather different. Such names must now be examined.

⁸ SAK. 3, a.

⁹ BE. A. 14. 46.

¹⁰ Scheil, *Le Prisme S d'Assarhaddon*, Paris, 1914, p. 10.

¹¹ KB. 3. 2, p. 96.

¹² Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, Philadelphia, 1909, 2. 9.

¹³ Pinches, *Berens Collection*, London, 1915, p. 119.

¹⁴ Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 242.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 825.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 826.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 773.

Janneau¹⁸ thinks that long before the time of Sargon I⁹ and Naram-Sin there is to be found a royal name, which has the divine determinative and which does not contain the name of a deity. He refers to the uncertain name *d.Dun-ušbar*(?) found in an inscription published by Hilprecht in his OBI. 48. Hilprecht dates the inscription in the reign of Entemena. The brevity of the inscription leaves the exact identity of the king uncertain. But there is no question that the reason for the use of *dingir* is because *Dun* is a divine name, equivalent to *Bau*.²⁰ The same is true of the use of the divine determinative with the name of the patesi Urukagina, as it occurs on some seals discussed by de la Fuye²¹—the word *Uru* is a divine name.

The first royal name which appears to have the divine determinative without the presence of the name of a deity is Sargon of the dynasty of Akkad. In OBI. 2. 1 it reads *d.Šar-ga-lí-šār-rí*. Inscription *h* of SAK. 164 shows that the title *ilu* was prefixed to the name during his lifetime. Now, if it were certain that *Šar* is not the name of a deity, we should have a genuine example of a royal name with the divine title. Of this, however, we are not certain. Our knowledge of early Babylonian deities has its limitations; and from the positive standpoint we know that *d.Šar-gaz* is a divine name.²² Moreover *d.Šar* (Deimel, *op. cit.* 3083) is equivalent to *An-šar*, which is a variant for *ilu Ašur*. If the element *šar* of this and similar names ever stood alone as the name of a deity, there would be no question of the reason for the *dingir* with Sargon, but *šar* has never been so found, and the question must be left somewhat in doubt, though it seems most likely that the *dingir* is used with *šar* because it is equivalent to *An-šar*, a variant of *ilu Ašur*.

The case of Naram-Sin of the same dynasty is similar. For the *dingir* with *Naram*²³ may be due to the divine element *na* = *an-na* = *ilu Anum*, just as we find *dingir* with the element *En* in the royal name *Ur-d.Engur*, the *dingir* being due not to *Engur*,

¹⁸ Janneau, *Une dynastie Chaldéenne des Rois d'Ur*, Paris, 1911.

¹⁹ I shall use this form of the name rather than the more correct *šar-gani-šarri* or *šar-ga-lí-šār-rí*.

²⁰ Br. 9867/73.

²¹ RA. 6. 107, *Les sceaux de Lougalanda*.

²² Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, Rome, 1914, 3084.

²³ The name occurs as *d.Na-ra-am-d.Sin*.

which is not known to be a divine name, but to the divine element *En*.

The royal name Naram-sin is almost always found with the divine determinative not only in the reign of the king himself, but in later times. The phrase '*d*.Naram-Sin in the seventh year wast thou named,'²⁴ has nothing to do with the question of the time when the king may have been deified.

All the kings of the third dynasty of Ur, except Ur-*d*.Engur, the first king, prefixed the divine determinative to their names. Dungi, the second king, was the first to assume the divine title.²⁵ The same question arises here as above, namely, is not the *dingir*, with Dungi, due to the divine name *Dun* (= *Bau*)? Such was Winckler's opinion.²⁶ At any rate, no theory of the deification of Dungi, during his lifetime, can be built upon an uncertainty such as this.

The name of Bur-Sin²⁷ is almost always found preceded by the divine determinative, but this element *Bur* (= *Amar*)²⁸ may evidently be a divine name.

Nothing of more definiteness can be said, on the basis of the use of *dingir*, about the other kings of the third dynasty of Ur, during their lifetime, namely, of *d*.Gimil-*d*.Sin (or perhaps better, *d*.Šu-*d*.Sin), and *d*.I-bi-*d*.Sin. In fact, *d*.Šu = Marduk,²⁹ and *d*.I occurs in personal names as the name of a deity.³⁰

All the extant names of the kings of the Isin dynasty,^{30a} except one, have the prefixed *dingir*. In the case of the names *d*.En-lil-ba-ni and *d*.Sin-ma-gir there is no doubt that the *dingir* occurs because of the divine names Enlil and Sin. It is likely that the *dingir* in the names *d*.Ur-*d*.Nin-IB, *d*.Bur-*d*.Sin, *d*.Ir-ra (*Nergal*)-i-mi-ti, and *d*.Za-an-bi-a is due to the presence of a divine name, e. g., Ur, Bur, Irra, and Za. It is possible that the *dingir* in the remaining names, namely, *d*.Iš-bi-ir-ra, *d*.I-din-*d*.Da-

²⁴ Langdon, BE. 31, no. 1, in a hymn to Ninlil (Dungi?).

²⁵ CT. 7. 47:17775; RTlh. 173; Genouillae, *Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello*, Paris, 1911, 2. 970, 3508.

²⁶ KB. 3. 1, 80, n. 3.

²⁷ Otherwise Pûr-Sin or Amar-Sin.

²⁸ Deimel, *op. cit.* 384-386 and 392.

²⁹ Br. 10535, 10661.

³⁰ Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, Philadelphia, 1905, p. 199.

^{30a} See Poebel, *op. cit.* p. 94.

gan, *^dIš-me-^dDa-gan*, *^dLi-bi-it-ištar*, *^dI-te-ir-pi-ša*, and *^dDa-mi-ik_i-li-šu*, can be explained in the same way.

The name *^dI-bi-ik_i-^dAdad* occurs with³¹ and without³² the divine determinative before *Ibik*. The name is not otherwise identified, but the same remark applies to this name as to the element *Ibi* in *Ibi-Sin* of the dynasty of Ur.

The name of the famous king Hammurabi is also found with the divine determinative, e. g., *^{ilu}Ha-am-mu-ra-bi*.³³ *Hammu* may be the name of a god, though it has never so far been found as such; or the *Ha* may be a divine element, like *En* in *Engur*.³⁴

Of the dynasty of Larsa we find the following royal names with the divine determinative: *^dNu-ur-^{ilu}Adad* (or *Immer*), *^dSin-i-din-nam*, *^dSin-i-ki-ša-am*, *^dWarad-^dSin*, and *^dRi-im-^dSin*. *Nu-ur* is probably a divine name;³⁵ *Sin* is a divine name; but neither *Warad* (*Arad*) nor *Rîm* occurs as the name of a deity, although *^dRI* = *lštar*.³⁶

Hilprecht³⁷ finds six Cassite kings with names preceded by *ilu*, namely, Kurigalzu, Nazi-Maruttaš, Kadašman-Turgu, Kadašman-Bel (Enlil), Kudur-Bel, Šagarakti-Šuriaš. We know so little about the Cassite god-names that it is precarious to attempt any decision as to the nature of the use of *ilu* here.

Huber holds that female rulers were deified, e. g., *^dNin-^da-ú*,³⁸ but the divine element *Nin* would sufficiently account for the use of the divine determinative.

The use of the divine determinative, in the lifetime of these early kings, can be accounted for, very often, by the presence of a divine name, or a divine element as the royal name; and where the element having the divine determinative has not been identified as the name of a deity there is no certainty that it is not such.

Almost all the royal names containing the divine determinative, which we have reviewed, were often used after the death of their bearers, with the divine determinative, sometimes alone,

³¹ *Rev. Sémi.* 1911, p. 338-9 (*Ibiq-Adad, prince divinisé*).

³² *Catal. des Cyl. de la Bib. Nationale*, no. 198.

³³ Strassm., *Warka*, 28, ll. 16, 36 (BM. 33212).

³⁴ See Deimel, *op. cit.* 1377-1396.

³⁵ *Op. cit.* 2336.

³⁶ Br. 2561.

³⁷ BE. A. 20. 52; cf. 14. 46.

³⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 38.

and often in combination with another element to form a proper name. The occurrence of the divine determinative with the former can be explained as above, but the latter use is different, and very interesting. For example, *Dungi* is found in the name ^d*Dungi-ili*, 'Dungi is my god.' Such a name may indicate nothing more than that its first user wished to honor the king by employing such an expression as a proper name, just as in the case of the Hebrew name, אֱלֹהֵי מֶלֶךְ, 'my god is king,' or 'the king is my god.' In like manner Samuel was referred to as אֱלֹהִים, after his death. An especially interesting name, in this connection, is ^d*Dungi-uru*, 'Dungi is Uru (a god).' Here it is quite possible that the person who first used the name ^d*Dungi-uru* believed that the old king Dungi was the same as the god Uru, although he may only have intended to honor the memory of Dungi by the identification. A similar explanation may be offered for the name ^d*Dungi-ba-ni*, 'Dungi is my creator.' It must be remembered that we do not know exactly how such compound names came to be used, nor do we know how much or how little significance was attached to their meaning. The number of royal names which seems to take the place of divine names is very large.³⁹ It is, however, certain that the use of a royal name, together with a divine element, in a personal name is no proof that the king mentioned was deified during his lifetime. For example, in an unpublished tablet from Tello, preserved in the Museum at Constantinople,⁴⁰ there occurs the proper name *Ili-Urumuš* (or *Rimuš*). Now *Urumuš*, as the name of a king of the dynasty of Akkad previous to Sargon I, is never found with the divine determinative. *Ili-Urumuš*, 'my god is *Urumuš*,' found after the lifetime of *Urumuš*, is best explained as in the case of ^d*Dungi-ili*.

In one of the cylinders found at Kurium, referred to above, *Abil-Ištar* is called the 'servant of ^{ilu}*Naram-iluSin*.' It is not, however, certain that the cylinder does not belong to the reign of *Naram-Sin* himself.

No inscription of the lifetime of Gudea contains his name with the prefixed divine determinative.⁴¹ But as early as the reign of *Dungi*, Gudea's name is frequently found with the

³⁹ Huber, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁴⁰ Janneau, *op. cit.* p. 34, fig. x, etc.

⁴¹ The *dūngir* in SAK. Statue, C, 1, 2, refers not to Gudea but to *Nin-giš-zī-da*.

divine determinative,⁴² and there are personal names found, such as *Gin-d-Gudea*, *Lu-ilu-Gudea*. It must not be forgotten, however, that there is a god by the name *d-Gu*,⁴³ which may be an explanation of the use of the *dingir* with Gudea.

We have now examined every royal name not usually thought to contain the name of a deity prefixed by the divine determinative during the lifetime of the king. We have also noted that these same royal names were often used with the divine determinative after the death of the king, and in one case, namely, Gudea, we found that the divine determinative was used, but never till after his death. What did the divine determinative mean? Are we to take it in its literal sense as 'god' or are we to consider it honorific, like our word 'lord'? Was it ever used as we do the word 'divine' or as Isaiah did the word אֱלֹהִים?⁴⁴

Hehn has shown⁴⁵ that the Hebrew word for 'god,' אֱלֹהִים, is often equivalent to מֶלֶךְ, 'king,' or to בַּעַל, 'lord.' The same, it seems, can be said for *ilu* or *dingir*. Hammurabi in his code, 3. 16, calls himself *ilu šarri*, 'god of the kings.' This evidently is to be taken as 'king of the kings,' and is equivalent to 3. 70, *etel šarri*, 'lord of the kings,' or 4. 23, *ašarid šarri*, 'prince of the kings.' Have we not a parallel in Ex. 4. 16, Ps. 45. 7, Is. 9. 6? In India the Brahmans and kings are regularly called *dēva*. The expression *ma-ḥar-i-lim* which occurs so often in the Code of Hammurabi, e. g., 7. 36; 9. 35, etc., is literally translated 'before the god,' but freely 'before the judge,' as in Ex. 21. 6; 22. 8 ff.; cf. Ps. 82. 1 f., 58. 2. The honorific title 'god' is applied to judges both in Israel and Babylonia, and likewise to kings. Hence the name *Hammurabi-ilu* does not necessarily mean in the literal sense 'Hammurabi is god,' but is an honorific title equivalent to 'Hammurabi is king' or 'king of kings.' Of course, no title would be considered too great for a humble and grateful subject to confer upon his king; so we have such names as *Hammurabi-šamši*, 'Hammurabi is Šamaš,' *Hammurabi-bani*, 'Hammurabi is my creator.' Further, in the *Gilg. Epos*, Col. 2, IIIB, 30f. (KB. 6. 1. 138) *ilātu*, 'godhead,'

⁴² Janneau, *op. cit.* p. 34, fig. x, etc.

⁴³ Deimel, *op. cit.* 540.

⁴⁴ Is. 9. 6.

⁴⁵ *Biblische u. Babyl. Gottesidee*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 205 ff.

is parallel to *šarrûtu*, 'kingship,' and in Bu. 88-5-12, 75 and 76, 21 we have *Kussû ilûti*, 'throne of deity,' which seems to mean 'throne of royalty.' Moreover, we have very definite evidence that *dingir* does not always refer to a deity, for in Gudea, Cyl. A, 6. 21 we read *dingir kar-á*, 'divine sword.' It seems, therefore, that the words *dingir* and *ilu* are not always to be taken in their literal meaning of 'god,' in reference to a real superhuman divine being. Accordingly in the Obelisk of Maniš-tusu the phrase *šarru-ili*, 'the king is god,' is most likely honorific, as is the title *šarru-Gi-ili*, 'Šarru-Gi is my god.'⁴⁶

Such expressions as ^{ilu}*Na-ra-am-ilu Sin ilu A-ga-de^{ki}*, 'Naram-Sin, the god of Akkad,'⁴⁷ have been taken as conclusive proof of the deification of Naram-Sin. The title, however, may be merely honorific. Moreover, Heuzey⁴⁸ considered the phrase ^{ilu}*A-ga-de^{ki}* a deification of the city, but Thureau-Dangin is probably right in thinking it the title of the king; although there is no genitive sign after *A-ga-de^{ki}*, which, however, is not always represented in such sentences.

Dungi calls himself *dingir kalam-ma-na*, 'god of his country.'⁴⁹ The phrase does not necessarily mean more than 'king of his country.' Bur-Sin styles himself *dingir-zi(d) Kalam-ma-na*⁵⁰ 'the righteous god of his country,' and *dingir-zi(d) dingir bab-bar kalam-ma-na*, 'the righteous god, the sun of his country.'⁵¹ The phrase *a-šag d-Bur-d-Sin dungir-ni ki-ag*, 'the field of Bur-Sin, his beloved god,'⁵² has the same title applied to the king; and the same remark may be applied here and to the two previous examples as above. Similarly, Gimil-Sin is called 'his god' by *Lugal-má-gúr-ri*,⁵³ and Ibi-Sin is called *dingir Kalam-ma-na*,⁵⁴ 'god of his country.' These also may be considered honorific titles.

⁴⁶ See also above.

⁴⁷ RA. 4. no. iii, pl. vii, nos. 22, 23, and perhaps 26; RT. 19. 187; SAK. 168, k; RTC. nos. 165, 166.

⁴⁸ RA. 4. 10-12, *Sceaux inédits des rois d'Agadé*.

⁴⁹ Janneau, *op. cit.* fig. xiii.

⁵⁰ SAK. 201, i.

⁵¹ SAK. 198, e.

⁵² CT. 94-10-16, 4, rev. iii.

⁵³ SAK. 202, c.

⁵⁴ RA. 7, no. 1, p. 49.

The expression *E-d.Dungi*, 'temple of Dungi,'⁵⁵ which occurs many times, has been taken to indicate the existence of a cult of Dungi. But of the many temples erected by him⁵⁶ there is no indication that any one was erected as a place for the worship of himself as god. Moreover, the fact that Dungi erected a temple for his father, *Ur-d.Engur*,⁵⁷ whose name never begins with the divine determinative, would seem to show that the temple was not necessarily erected for the worship of *Ur-d.Engur*, but only to his memory or in his name, for the worship of a god.

Lugal-má-gúr-ri, an officer of king Gimil-Sin, erected a temple for the king.⁵⁸ But there is nothing here to show that the temple was built to Gimil-Sin. The text reads: *d.gimil-^{iu}Sin ki-ág d.en-lil-lá lugal d.en-lil-li ki-ág ša(g)-ga-na in-pa(d) lugal kal-ga lugal urí^{ki}-ma lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba d-ra-ni-ir lugal-má-gúr-ri nu-ban(da) en-nu-gà pa-te-si urí^{ki}-ma arad-da-ni é-ki-ág-gà-ni mu-na-an-dū*, 'for Gimil-Sin beloved of Enlil, the king, whom Enlil has chosen as his beloved, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters of the world, his god, Lugal-má-gúr-ri, captain of the fortress, patesi of Ur, his servant, built his beloved temple.' In fact there is an inscription⁵⁹ which would seem to indicate that all such temples were built for the worship of current gods and not for deified kings; but were in honor of, or as memorials of, the kings or other important personages. The inscription alluded to shows that Eannatum, son of king Išme-Dagan, of the dynasty of Isin, and priests of Ur, dedicated a temple to the sun-god: 'for the life of Gungunu, king of Ur.' Eannatum calls himself 'son of *d*Išme-^{iu}Dagan,' but he does not add the divine determinative to Gungunu, who, in fact, *never claims the title*, but who calls himself king of Larsa and of Sumer and Akkad. The temple is obviously in honor of Gungunu and was built in order to gain the sun-god's favor for the king. In any case, there is nothing to show that it was for the purpose of worshiping Gungunu. The cult of a Babylonian king is never mentioned. The passage which has been taken to refer

⁵⁵ RTlh. 119, XI, 15; cf. RTC. 417 and 418; SAK. 231, notes i and n.

⁵⁶ SAK. 190-197.

⁵⁷ CT. 7. 47:17775; RTlh. 173; *Inv. d. tab. d. Tello*, 2. 970, 3508.

⁵⁸ SAK. 200, c.

⁵⁹ SAK. 206, b.

to the cult of Dungi reads: *mu en-nam-x dingir dun-gi-ra-ge ba-gub ba-šú*, 'year in which the chief priest of Dungi was invested and appointed.'⁶⁰ There is no reference to a cult here, but to the king's high priest.

As early as the time of Lugal-anda of Lagaš, we find that there was erected a statue of Ur-Ninâ, a former king of Lagaš, in connection with which offerings were made.⁶¹ But Ur-Ninâ never laid claim to deity. The same is true of Šagšag, wife of Urukagina, who made offerings in connection with her own statue,⁶² as well as of other early rulers.⁶³ Gudea, patesi of Lagaš, set up a statue of himself in the temple of Ningirsu, and ordered offerings to be made in connection with it.⁶⁴ Bur-Sin erected his statue (*šalam-ba*) and built a temple for it.⁶⁵ The context does not make it clear whether the statue was of himself or not. In connection also with a statue of Gimil-Sin offerings were made.⁶⁶

While most of these statues seem to have represented the king or patesi, there is no proof that sacrifices were offered to them; and even if the proof were forthcoming it would not demonstrate that the represented king was considered a god, as such an example as that found in Dan. 2. 46-47 would prove. In fact, King,⁶⁷ who believes in the deification of Babylonian kings, says that the statues of Gudea were merely votive in character, and not a sign that he made any claim to divinity. He further says that such a statue was intended to represent the worshiper vicariously before his god, and the offerings were placed near the statue to represent symbolically the owner's offerings to his god.⁶⁸

In the reign of Urukagina, king of Lagaš, offerings were made before the statue of his queen Šagšag while she was still living.⁶⁹ This certainly seems to represent symbolically the queen's offer-

⁶⁰ SAK. 235, h.

⁶¹ RA. 6. 107; Genouillac, TSA. p. lvii.

⁶² King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 273.

⁶³ Genouillac, TSA. p. lvii, and note 1.

⁶⁴ SAK. Gudea B, col. i. 3-11; cf. RT. 18. 64 ff.; RA. 3. 135 ff.

⁶⁵ CT. 21. 25-26.

⁶⁶ RT. 19. 185 ff.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 272.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 273.

⁶⁹ Genouillac, TSA. no. 34, vi, and Rev. vi; no. 35, v, and Rev. iv.

ing to her god. There is no indication that Šagšag was ever deified. We have reason to believe that offerings were made before the statue of Gudea;⁷⁰ and Scheil in RT. 1896, p. 70-71, in his article *Le culte de Gudea*, quotes an offering in connection with Gudea; but the inscriptions do not make it clear whether it is *for* or *to* Gudea. The fact that Gudea has the divine determinative is no proof that we have an offering to him as to a god.

An interesting account is found in CT. 7, pl. 47⁷¹ of 'one (servant) (for?) the mortuary sacrifice (*ki-a-nag*) of *d*.Dungi.' Parallel to the phrase in the same account is 'one (for?) the mortuary sacrifice of *Ma-d*.Engur,' who does not seem to be a deity, and this would show that the offering was made to Dungi not as to a god, but most likely was made *for* or *in behalf of* Dungi.

In PSBA. 1915, p. 126 ff., Pinches has published some tablets belonging to Mrs. T. G. Pinches. Tablets iv, v, vi, and vii, of the reign of Bur-Sin, mention periodical offerings (*sa-duga*) connected with Dungi and Bur-Sin, as well as with the god Agara. The association of Dungi and Bur-Sin with a god in the same tablets would seem to indicate that the offerings were made *to* Dungi and Bur-Sin as gods. In the case of Dungi, who is dead, the offering may be a memorial one; and, of course, it is possible that the offering to the living Bur-Sin may be merely *in his behalf*. In tablet iii an offering is made, in the reign of Gimil-Sin, in connection with the throne of Bur-Sin, Dungi, and Ur-Engur. Now Ur-Engur had never been considered a deified king; and in the same tablet an offering is made in connection with the king's son Enim-Nannar who was not considered a deified person, and in fact who was not even a king. The throne referred to in the case of Ur-Engur, Dungi, and Bur-Sin would indicate that the offerings were made either *at* the throne or *for the support* of the throne. However, no preposition is used, and the exact translation is doubtful. There is nothing to forbid one seeing in the same account both an offering *to* the god Agara, and likewise offerings *in behalf of* or *in memory of* a king or king's son. The fact that all these offerings were brought *to the house of the god Agara* would make it reasonable to conclude that the offering in connection with Agara would be *to*

⁷⁰ Statue B, i. 3-11; cf. vii. 45-48.

⁷¹ Cf. RTC. no. 46, obv. ii; RTllh. no. 173, obv. 7.

him, and the offerings in connection with the kings would be *in their behalf* or *in their memory*. Offerings were also made in connection with the statue of Gimil-Sin.⁷²

The earliest extant mention of the institution of a feast and a month named in honor of a king is found in Reisner (RTllh. no. 3, iii. 15), dated in the year 5 + x of Dungi. The feast month is named *itu ezen* ^{d.}*Dungi*.⁷³ This is the seventh month, and was formally called *itu Ur*, a name employed for this month as late as the 24 + x year of Dungi;⁷⁴ or perhaps it was 'otherwise called' *itu Ur*.⁷⁵ In the reign of Gimil-Sin, *ezen* ^{d.}*Dungi* was replaced by *ezen* ^{d.}*Gimil-d.Sin*.⁷⁶ According to the Calendar at Drehem, the same month was called *ezen* ^{d.}*Gimil-d.Sin*.⁷⁷ The naming of a month, however, in honor of a king is in itself no proof of deification.

The sacred grove of Gudea (*giš-sar ša* ^{d.}*Gu-de-a*)⁷⁸ can no more be taken as a proof of the deification of Gudea than can the 'palm tree of Deborah' be taken as a proof of her deification.

The mere mention of a priest of Dungi⁷⁹ is absolutely no indication that he was intended for the cult of Dungi; for, as remarked above, there is no word for cult in the text.

It has been stated that the picture of Gudea as a god has been found on two cylinders published by Scheil.⁸⁰ Gudea is represented as seated with a baton in his hand, and before him stands a priest. But the baton distinguishes a king or prince and not a god. Naram-Sin is represented on a seal cylinder⁸¹ with horns on his head. This has been taken as a representation of his deification. But Naram-Sin stands in an attitude of supplication and is led by a priest into the presence of a seated deity. The

⁷² RT. 19. 185 ff.

⁷³ EAH. 134, rev. 2, AO. 4680; cf. RTC. 417, 418; RA. 7. 186 ff.; RT. 18. 64 ff.; PSBA. 1915, p. 126 ff.

⁷⁴ RTllh. 256.

⁷⁵ ZA. 15. 410; RTllh. 256.

⁷⁶ Kugler, *op. cit.* 2. 145; AO. 4682, 4683.

⁷⁷ Keiser, *Cuneiform Bullae (Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan)*, 3. 18 (1914).

⁷⁸ RTllh. 115, iii. 6.

⁷⁹ SAK. 235, h.

⁸⁰ RT. 18, *Le culte de Gudea*; cf. Scheil, *Notes d'épigraphie*, RT. 21. 26 ff.

⁸¹ Sarzec-Heuzey, *Déc. en Chaldée*, 1 (1893). 287, G.

horns need only be taken to indicate might and authority as is often the case in the Old Testament.⁸²

In addition to the use of the *dingir* or *ilu* in connection with the names of certain kings, or the mention of a temple, statue, offerings, festivals, or priests, there are other expressions which have been taken to show that old Babylonian kings were deified. If it were established beyond doubt that these kings were really deified, the points would serve as accumulative confirmation, but in themselves alone they can not be taken as proof. They are as follows:—

(a) Certain kings call themselves the son of a deity. This is found as early as the time of Lugalzaggisi who calls himself 'a son begotten by Nidaba, nourished with the milk of life by Ninḫarsag, a slave brought up by Ninagidḫadu.'⁸³ But it is very important to note that Lugalzaggisi is not otherwise considered a deity. Other kings are called the children of gods, such as, for example, Naram-Sin,⁸⁴ Sargon I,⁸⁵ Ur-Bau,⁸⁶ and Gudea.⁸⁷ Hammurabi calls himself a son of Sin,⁸⁸ and so does his son Samsuiluna.⁸⁹ As late as Nebuchadnezzar II a similar expression is found.⁹⁰ The practice is of course not to be taken seriously as indicating real divine son-ship, for any ordinary man may be called the child of his god.⁹¹ The king of Moab on the Mesha Stone calls himself son of Chemosh, and the name of Ben-Hadad of Damascus means 'son of Hadad,' which he would most likely consider himself honorifically to be.⁹²

(b) Some of the Babylonian kings referred to themselves as consort of a goddess; thus, Gimil-Sin called Anunit his wife,⁹³

⁸² Compare, especially, Ex. 34. 29.

⁸³ OBI. pl. 87, col. i. 26-34.

⁸⁴ RA. 4. 3, pl. vii, nos. 22, 23.

⁸⁵ OBI. 1. 1, pl. 2.

⁸⁶ Statue I, 7 f.

⁸⁷ Statue B, ii. 16; D, i. 17 f.; Cyl. A, iii. 6.

⁸⁸ Code, 2. 14 ff.

⁸⁹ King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, London, 1898, pl. 191, no. 97, col. ii.

⁹⁰ KB. 3. 2, 11, 23 ff.

⁹¹ Jeremias, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 91.

⁹² See further on Semitic kings: Frazer, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*,² p. 12-13.

⁹³ SAK. 200, b.

and the kings of Isin spoke of themselves as 'the beloved consort of Innina.'⁹⁴ The title is, of course, honorific.

(c) Other honorific phrases are found at an early date. Eannatum says that he 'was nourished with the milk of life by Ninharsag, was endowed with power by Ningirsu, was given intelligence by Enki.'⁹⁵ Similar expressions were used by Entemena⁹⁶ and Lugalzaggisi.⁹⁷ Naram-Sin is called 'lord of the heavenly disk',⁹⁸ Bur-Sin is called the moon-god's 'young steer',⁹⁹ and Gimil-Sin is called 'the priest of heaven, the anointed, the bright one of Enlil, of Ninlil, and of the great gods; the king, whom Enlil, for the beloved of his heart, had chosen, for the shepherd of the land, the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of the four quarters.'¹⁰⁰ All such titles are, of course, merely honorific.

(d) Esarhaddon's declaration that he ascended the divine throne (*kussû ilûti*) instead of the (*kussû šarrûti*) royal throne;¹⁰¹ and the use of the royal name side by side with divine names in oaths¹⁰² do not prove anything in the way of 'emperor'-worship. Neither do such poetical expressions as 'the glorification of the king I made like unto that of a god.'¹⁰³

Frazer in his *Magic Art*, Farnell in his *Greece and Babylon*, and many other writers¹⁰⁴ find 'emperor'-worship among almost all ancient peoples, except among the Assyrians.¹⁰⁵ They all claim it for ancient Babylonia. Such an array of opinion ought

⁹⁴ SAK. 206.

⁹⁵ SAK. 20, b.

⁹⁶ SAK. 34, k.

⁹⁷ BE. 1, 2. 52.

⁹⁸ RT. 19. 187.

⁹⁹ PSBA. 1915, p. 88 f.

¹⁰⁰ Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Bab. Collection*, New Haven, 1915, p. 16.

¹⁰¹ Winckler, *Ex Oriente Lux*, 2. 109.

¹⁰² Mercer, *The Oath in the Sumerian Inscriptions*, JAOS. 33. 33-50; Mercer, *The Oath in the Babylonian Inscriptions of the time of the Hammurabi Dynasty*, AJSL. 29.

¹⁰³ Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 478.

¹⁰⁴ For example, Barnett, *Antiquities of India*; Sykes, *History of Persia*; Róheim, in *Man*, 1915, no. 13; Grimme, *Mohammed*; Iverach, 'Caesarism,' in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

¹⁰⁵ See esp. Kugler, *Sternkunde u. Sterndienst*, 2. 1. 144 ff.

to have some weight.¹⁰⁶ But an impartial examination of this material shows that so far, at least, we are unable to acquiesce in their opinion.

Let us now review and summarize what the Babylonian sources have taught us. While savages appear to put no limit to the possible power of man, reverencing him, and honoring him, the reverence and honor are due to fear of the mysterious and do not in themselves reach the height of what we call worship, though they may go far towards preparing the way for it. The most that we can certainly say of 'emperor'-worship of Babylonian kings during their lifetime is that they were honored by being called *dingir* or *ilu*, which may mean nothing more than 'lord' or 'king'; and they were honorifically recognized by memorials and other signs of regard, even as Nebuchadrezzar honored Daniel by bowing to him and presenting him with offerings usually offered only to a god. It would be easier to believe in the worship of ancient Babylonian kings *after* their death, since the worship of the dead seems to have been rather common among Semitic peoples,¹⁰⁷ and is quite a natural procedure. Josephus says in his *Antiquities*, 9. 4. 6, that Ben-Hadad and Hazael were known in his time as gods by reason of their benefactions. Already in the lifetime of Dungi a town was called *d-Dun-gi-d-Babbar^{ki}*,¹⁰⁸ and it would be natural to conclude that such a compliment would be increased after his lifetime, and that a quasi-divine power would be ascribed to such a king, and that even prayers might be addressed to him.¹⁰⁹ But such would not necessarily be deification. There is, however, an interesting text which contains an explanatory list of gods drawn up for Ašur-bani-pal's library at Nineveh.¹¹⁰ The name *Bur-Sin* is given as that of an attendant deity in the service of the moon-god. If this name be the same as that of the ancient

¹⁰⁶ See, however, Toy in his *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 140-147 where he says that Frazer's collection in this respect is not reliable (*Golden Bough*,² 1. 139 ff.). Toy is also of the opinion that 'as far as the known evidence goes, the king (of Babylonia) seems never to have been approached with divine worship' (p. 143).

¹⁰⁷ Compare Eze. 43. 7-9. and Wisdom 14. 16-20.

¹⁰⁸ SAK. 196, d.

¹⁰⁹ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 605.

¹¹⁰ CT. 25. pl. 7 (cf. King, *op. cit.* p. 299).

Babylonian king (1650 years before), we would apparently have a real deification. But the god and the king, although having the same name, may not be identical, for the text is too brief to allow of certainty. However, the name of the ancient king, with time, may have become famous and hence may have been attached to a minor deity in the time of Ašur-bani-pal as a convenient name. Or there may have been a conscious attempt to honor the ancient king by paying him divine respect, and making him a god. But this would be 'emperor'-worship in Assyria and not in Babylonia; and would, moreover, be merely an isolated example in Assyria. (Ašur-bani-pal himself was considered a god in Asia Minor and Cilicia long after his death. Streck, *op. cit.* p. 763.)

The tablet at Mosul discussed by Scheil in ZA. 12. 265-266, which contains the name ^dBur-^dSin-mul-amar-ud, does not prove an astral cult for Bur-Sin, for the name, like ^dDungi-Uru, is a compound of the royal name and a divine name, and merely identifies Bur-Sin with the planet or constellation of Marduk (*mul-Marduk*) in an honorific way.¹¹¹ Besides Bur-Sin, there is not one instance of a Babylonian king who can be considered as having been certainly deified *even after his death*. And the deification of Bur-Sin itself may have been merely formal, for there is no evidence that a regular cult with followers existed. What recognition was accorded to early Babylonian kings after their death can be considered either honorific or political, even as the imperial cult in Rome was mostly political.¹¹²

Moreover, Babylonians were always conscious of the humanity of their rulers, and though the distance between a god and a man was not great, yet they never seem to have mistaken one for the other. Such kings as Gimil-Sin were always referred to as 'king' (*lugal*), and such phrases as 'the mighty man' were used consistently of those very kings who took the title *dingir*.¹¹³ These kings were often called 'priests,'¹¹⁴ and, as Fowler¹¹⁵ remarks about Augustus, the office of a king as priest

¹¹¹ See, however, Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 115, n. 3, and p. 121.

¹¹² Beurlier, *Le cult rendu aux empereurs romains*, Paris, 1891; cf. Kugler, *op. cit.* p. 144-149.

¹¹³ E.g. SAK. 190, b, d, h.

¹¹⁴ E.g. Gimil-Sin, Clay, *op. cit.* p. 16.

¹¹⁵ *Roman Ideas of Deity*, p. 124.

or chief priest 'is a position absolutely incompatible with god-head.' Nor did Babylonian deification, if it ever existed, affect in any way the cultus. There does not seem to have been any place in the regular cultus for the worship of such deities, nor can there be found any expressions of worship and adoration such as are found in Egyptian texts.

Early Semitic thought represented gods, men, animals, and even plants as forming a single society;¹¹⁶ they claimed human descent from the gods; their rulers and kings believed that their wisdom and power came from the gods, and even represented themselves as sons of deities; in fact any Babylonian child may be called the *zêr-ili* or 'seed of god';¹¹⁷ and so it was not strange that the custom arose of giving the ruler or king the title *dingir* or *ilu*. Yet it can be shown that the Babylonian rulers and kings always thought that they were quite distinct from the gods, especially during their lifetime, and most likely also after their death, though the Babylonians did conceive of the possibility of a favored being becoming immortal after death,¹¹⁸ but this was not considered the lot of all mankind nor even of kings. And thus, although the gods and men were closely related, yet they were never confused even in the days of those ancient kings of Akkad and Ur who used the title *dingir* or *ilu* or to whose name these titles were added after their death. The temples, statues, offerings, festivals, groves, priests, and pictures, referred to in connection with various kings of early Babylonia, do not prove the deification of these kings, but merely show the esteem in which they or their memories were held. The use of the divine determinative in the case of royal names may be explained, in many cases, as due to the presence of a divine element in the royal name, and in all other cases as an honorific title. Likewise the use of such names as *d.Dungi-ba-ni*, 'Dungi is my creator,' or *d.Dungi-d-Babbar*, 'Dungi is the sun-god,' after the death of the king, can also be easily explained as honorific names. The only possible exception to all this is the case of Bur-Sin who may have been considered

¹¹⁶ Cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, *passim*.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Gen. 4. 1. It is interesting to note in this connection that the ideogram for AMA, which means primarily 'house of deity,' has a figurative meaning 'womb' (*rimu*), and hence means 'mother' (*ummu*).

¹¹⁸ E.g. Ut-napištim and his wife.

a god in the time of Ašur-bani-pal, but an absolutely final decision cannot be rendered even in this instance. In any case, it would not apply to Babylonian 'emperor'-worship.

Those scholars who find a real deification of the kings in ancient Babylonia have tried to determine the source of the usage, but no unanimity of opinion has been attained. Meyer,¹¹⁹ Barton,¹²⁰ and King¹²¹ favor a Sumerian origin, and Toy¹²² follows them in holding that the custom is not a native Semitic one, but found among some Asiatic non-Semitic peoples, and was probably adopted by the Semitic Babylonians from the non-Semitic Asiatic Sumerians. He holds that the custom ceased with the first great Semitic dynasty of Babylon. Thureau-Dangin claims Egypt as its source,¹²³ because of the contact between Egypt and Sargon I in Palestine and Syria. But Lugalzaggisi in still earlier days, and Ašurbanipal and Nebuchadrezzar II in later times, also came into close contact with Egypt. Radau¹²⁴ is the champion of a Semitic origin, specially Arabia, and explains the supposed presence of the custom among the Sumerians, such as Dungi, etc., as due to close contact with the Semitic Babylonians. There is no proof that the Sumerian strain of the dynasty of Ur was any weaker than the Semitic.

The explanations of the origin of such a custom have been various. It has been contended that this claim to deification made by Babylonian kings was due to their allegiance to the mighty god of Nippur, but the fact that Ur-Engur seems to have been as closely related to Nippur as his successors of the dynasty of Ur, would disprove this contention. The title 'king of the four quarters of the world' has been considered the source of the custom, but the earliest inscriptions of Sargon I have the divine determinative, yet contain no mention of the title 'king of the four quarters of the world.'¹²⁵

If 'emperor'-worship in Babylonia be proved when more literature is at hand, it will not be necessary to go outside of

¹¹⁹ *Geschichte des Altertums*, i, § 402, Berlin, 1902-1909.

¹²⁰ Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 168 ff., New York, 1902.

¹²¹ King, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹²² Toy, *op. cit.*, § 342.

¹²³ RT. 19, etc.

¹²⁴ EBH. pp. 307 ff.

¹²⁵ SAK. 162 ff.; Cf. King, *Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings*, 2. 27 ff.

Babylonia itself either among the Sumerians or among the Semitic-Babylonians to look for such an idea. For the development of 'emperor'-worship out of the early Babylonian doctrine of the close relation between gods and men would be a logical one. It must, however, be said that such a development cannot as yet, in our present state of knowledge, be certainly proved to have actually taken place.

A Manuscript of the Manāfi' al-Haiawān in the Library of Mr. J. P. Morgan.—By ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York.

This magnificent codex of supreme interest and importance, and indeed one of the most precious of Oriental manuscripts, dates from the close of the thirteenth century. The treatise which it contains, entitled *Manāfi' al-Haiawān*,¹ was written in Arabic by Abū Sa'id 'Ubaid-allāh bin Būkh-tīshū in the eleventh century and later translated into Persian by 'Abd al-Hādī at the direction of Ghāzān Khān (see below).

NATURE OF THE WORK

The work deals with the structure, form, and habits of animals, birds, reptiles, and insects, and with the medicinal properties of the various parts of their bodies. It also explains the composition of medicines, their therapeutic use, and the treatment of the parts affected. That part of the manuscript which is descriptive of animals is probably an abridged form of the work designated as *Na't al-Haiawān*, 'Description of the Nature of Animals,' which is ascribed to Aristotle. The Natural History of Aristotle was accepted without question by medieval authorities and imitated in the queer Herbals and Bestiaries of the Middle Ages. That part of the text, however, that deals with the medicinal properties of animals, to which the name '*Manāfi' al-Haiawān*' properly applies, is the work of Būkh-tīshū himself.

A very important feature of this work is the series of prescriptions found in it; these number about one thousand. Some of them are attributed to Galen, and many are of Persian and Indian origin. Most of them are of an extraordinary and superstitious character. Notwithstanding his thoro knowledge of medicine, the eminent physician Būkh-tīshū could not free himself from the trammels of the beliefs that were cherished by his contemporaries. He occasionally has recourse to omens, portents, spells, divinations, and planetary forecasts. These

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 1. 236, Weimar, 1898.

have, however, some value, for they illustrate the folklore of his time and place, and preserve many popular beliefs and legends about birds, animals, reptiles, insects, etc., to which many parallels are found in the medieval Bestiaries.

According to the Koran actual medical treatment, as well as the study of medicine, was simply tolerated, while by the most devout believers it was regarded an infringement upon the sphere of Allāh. Even from the able physicians of the rulers miraculous cures were expected, rather than regular medical treatment. And whenever the physician is not quite sure of the treatment he prescribes, he exclaims, 'God knows best.'

Cold, heat, dryness, and moisture are assumed in this manuscript as component forces. Heat and moisture united maintain health; heat and dryness cause acute diseases; cold and dryness cause mental depression; and at death there are both dryness and coldness. And health is dependent on the proper proportion and action in the body of the four elements—earth, water, air, and fire—and the four cardinal humors—blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile.

The prescriptions in the manuscript prove that the physicians of that period were well acquainted with the medicinal properties of animals, birds, and plants, and the range of medicines employed by them was very great.

Many of the ingredients are loathsome according to modern ideas.² On folio 47a, for example, is found the following prescription: 'The size of a filbertnut of the earth over which a dog has urinated, taken on a Wednesday, and tied on the body, destroys fever and eradicates warts. When taken by a woman after menstruation, it prevents pregnancy. His dung is applied to the throat for diphtheria. When dried and blown into the throat, it removes the inflammation called quinsy. When pounded and kneaded in the juice of the coriander, it is applied to a painful swelling. If it is burned and mixed with the oil of myrtle and bile, it restores the hair. If it is dried in the sun and applied to the eye in a tonic, it will cure the white speck.

² Objectionable remedies of similar nature were in use in Europe as late as the 17th century. Cf., for example, Nicholas Culpeper, *Last Legacy*, London, 1668, p. 95, 217; *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther*, London, 1911, p. 312. See also Budge, *The Syriac Book of Medicines*, London, 1913, p. 135-138.

It is taken for dysentery and old sores of the bowels, after it has been burned and powdered.'

The manuscript treats also of the many traits of animals and birds, and of hunting. The hunting of an elephant, for instance, is described in this manner: 'A pond is made large enough for the elephant to enter and remain there. A passage leading to it is dug on an incline. The elephant walks in till he reaches the water at the end of the passage, and stays there as he cannot turn back. Then men surround the elephant and beat him. At this instant the man who intends to keep him comes forward wearing a red garment; he fights the men, beats and disperses them. This the elephant sees. Then the man clothed in red fetches hay and lays it on the side of the passage for the elephant to eat. He caresses him and goes away. The men come again and beat the elephant; again the man clothed in red comes along, striking them and putting them to flight. Again he gives hay to the elephant and caresses him. This is repeated several times, until the time comes when, while the man in red is sleeping by the side of the pond, the men who strike the elephant appear. He then arouses the man with his trunk, and they know that the elephant has been conquered and made friendly to him. They now open the way to the pond, and the man in red clothes mounts him and brings him out to keep.'

THE AUTHOR AND HIS FAMILY

Būkhtīshū³ was the name of a Nestorian family of the most distinguished physicians and famous translators under the rule of the Khalīfas (750-1050 A. D.).

George bin Būkhtīshū', the great-grandfather of the author of this work, was the director of the famous medical college at Gundishāpūr, which had kept up its medical traditions till the time of the 'Abbasid Khalīfas. Gundishāpūr, or Beth Lapat, was situated to the south of Hamadān, in the Persian province Khūzistān. In 772, George bin Būkhtīshū' was called to Bagh-

³ Cf. August Hirsch, *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Aerzte aller Zeiten und Völker*, Leipzig, 1884, 2. 165; John Herman Bass, *Outlines of the History of Medicine*, tr. Henderson, p. 225, 226; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte*, p. 17, no. 30; Nöldeke, 'Geschichte des Artachšīr-i Pāpākān,' BB. 4. 49, n. 4; E. G. Browne, JRAS. 1899, p. 818.

dād to be the body-physician of Khalifah al-Manšūr. He had translated several Greek works into Arabic.

His son, the grandfather of the author, was private physician of the Khalifah Hārūn ar-Rashīd, who cured him once of a severe attack of headache by bleeding.

The father of the author in question, Jabra'īl, or Gabriel, was also private physician to the Khalifah Hārūn ar-Rashīd, who saved his life in an apoplectic attack. He was a successful physician, but like many other Oriental physicians, his success was the cause of his misfortune. He died in 828 A. D.

Of the later descendants of this family were: the son of Jabra'īl (died 870); Yaḥyā, or John (died about 900); 'Ubaid-allāh the son of Jabra'īl (died 940); Jabra'īl the son of 'Ubaid-allāh, who was the body-physician to Khalifah 'Aḏūd ad-Daulah, a teacher of the medical college and director of the hospital at Baghdād (died 1006).

Our author, Abū Sa'īd 'Ubaid-allāh bin Jabra'īl bin 'Ubaid-allāh bin Būkhtishū',⁴ the body-physician of the Khalifah al-Muttaqī, lived in Maifarqat and died some time after 450 A. H. = 1058 A. D. He left, among other works, one entitled *Kitāb-i Ṭabāyī'-i al-Ḥaiawān wa Khawāṣihā wa Manāfi'-i A'ḏāihā* 'Book of the Description of Animals and their [Medicinal] Properties,' which must be the same as the work contained in this manuscript. Ibn Abū 'Uṣaibi'ah (vol. 1, p. 69, 148) refers to this work under the title *Kitāb-i Na't al-Ḥaiawān al-Ghair Nāṭiqah wa Mā Fihā min al-Manāfi'*. It is also mentioned by Ḥājī Khalifah under the title *Nu'ūt al-Ḥaiawān*.⁵

The following incident about Būkhtishū' is mentioned in the *Chahār Maqāla*. Once the son of the Khalifah was attacked with dysentery. He was going to stool fifty or sixty times a day and the Khalifah, being greatly attached to him, asked Būkhtishū' to treat him, which he did in various ways, but to no purpose, for the case passed beyond his power. Būkhtishū' was ashamed before the Khalifah, but the latter said: 'Be not ashamed; thou hast done thy utmost, but God Almighty doth not wish that it should succeed. Acquiesce in fate as we have acquiesced.'

⁴ Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte*, p. 17, no. 165; Noldeke, 'Geschichte des Artachšīr-i Pāpākān,' BB. 4. 49, n. 4.

⁵ Ḥājī Khalifah, 3. 121; 4. 125; 6. 362. Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte*, no. 35; *British Museum Suppl.*, 778; *Paris Catalogue*, no. 2782.

Būkhtīshū', seeing the Khalifah thus hopeless, replied: 'One other remedy remains, and it is a dangerous one; if it is withheld, only the death of the patient is to be expected, but if it is administered, there is a possibility of either life or death; and trusting to the fortune of the Prince of Believers, I will attempt it, and perchance God Most High may cause it to succeed.' So Būkhtīshū' prepared and administered a purgative to him, which increased the diarrhea on the day whereon he took it; but next day it stopped. When the physicians asked him of the secret of the treatment, he said: 'The *materies morbi* of this diarrhea was from the brain, and unless it was dislodged from the brain the flux would not cease. My medicine was prepared to have that effect.'

GHĀZAN KHAN, THE PATRON OF THE TRANSLATOR

Ghāzān Khān, the son of Argun Khān, was the seventh and greatest of the Ilkhāns. He ascended the Mongol throne in 1294. Ghāzān had been brought up as a Buddhist, had erected several temples in Khūrāsān, and took pleasure in the company of the Buddhist priests who had come into Persia during the Mongol rule in that country. Towards the end of his life, however, he embraced the faith of Islam, and erected several mosques; one of these was the beautiful mosque at Tabriz, which was destroyed by an earthquake in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

His conversion to Islam was due, it is said, to the solicitations of some Amīrs. The Muhammadans, seeing him to be naturally of a religious turn of mind, persuaded him to change his faith. The considerations that urged him to do so were that he would deliver the Musulmans from the grievous yoke of the pagan Mongols, that he would protect the faith of Islam and restore it to its former splendor, and that the Persians would thus espouse his cause and God would recognize him as the savior of Islam and give him victory. After hesitating a little, Ghāzān made a public profession of the faith, and his people followed his example. His conversion certainly won over to his side the hearts of the Persians.⁶

Ghāzān had intercourse with several European princes. He sent an envoy to Pope Boniface VII, and to King Edward I,

⁶ See C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 4. 128, 132, 148, 354, 365; Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 195, 196.

promising his aid if he would send a crusade. King Edward replied in 1303, acknowledging the receipt of his letter and regretting that he could not undertake another crusade. The letter was sent by the Ambassador Geoffrey de Langley.⁷

Ghāzān cultivated literature; he caused the writing of a History of the Mongols. He abolished the lunar year of Hijrah, and introduced a solar year.⁸ The introduction to the Manāfi' al-Haiawān informs us that he was a patron of science and learning, and that he collected scientific books from all parts of the world.

The original design of Ghāzān Khān, according to 'Abd al-Hādī, the translator, was to make a contribution to the knowledge of art, science, and civilization in general. When he saw that literature was becoming scarce and the manuscripts worn away, he set himself to collecting and rewriting them and translating certain works into the vernacular of his time—Persian.

Ghāzān died in 1303, and was succeeded by his brother, Muḥammad Khudā Bandah.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is dated A. H. 690 = A. D. 1291, but is remarkably well preserved. It is written in a handsome style of Naskhī characters, quite large in size, 15 lines to a page in one column, with marginal rulings of red ink. The writing on both sides of folio 82 is of a later date and rather poor. The codex consists of 86 folios. The pages are $13\frac{3}{8}$ in. high and $9\frac{5}{8}$ in. wide; the written surface measures $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The titles of the subjects are in Naskhī writing in red ink, while the captions, or chapter-titles, are in elegant Kufic script, and a few alternating with Naskhī, inscribed in the ornate panels.

The paper is of remarkable quality, strong in texture tho of light weight, with a dull finish, slightly resembling parchment; it still retains considerable of its sheen, and shows the mellowing influence of age.

CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

I (folio 1b-3a). Preface and Introduction.—The preface is introduced by invocation of God in an ornate 'unwān, in these words: 'In the

⁷ See *Archaeological Journal*, 1851, p. 50; Markham, *History of Persia*, p. 171-172; Ayīn-i Akbarī, p. 344.

⁸ Ayīn-i Akbarī, p. 344.

Name of God, the Compassionate and Bountiful.' The first three lines of the preface are written in gold. It starts with an attempt to prove that the creation of man was much higher than that of other creatures, in endowing him with a nobler form and with intellectual and spiritual capacity. This is followed by a statement of the lack of literature at the time and of the efforts of Ghāzān Khān to revive the desire of learning among the people by collecting and copying the worn-out manuscripts and translating them. Among the collection was found this valuable treasure, *Manāfi' al-Haiawān*. Its translation from Arabic into Persian by order of Ghāzān Khān was intrusted to 'Abd al-Hādī bin Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd bin Ibrāhīm of Marāgha. He confesses his unfitness for the task, but hopes that his generous master, Ghāzān Khān, will not reject his humble service. The manuscript is divided into four general parts: 1. The nature and medicinal properties of man. 2. The nature and medicinal properties of animals, domestic and wild. 3. Birds and their uses. 4. Reptiles and insects of land and water, and their uses. Then the writer proceeds to show that all the characters and traits of animals are found in man, whether good or bad.

II (folio 3^b-9^a). Man.—The processes of the development of the child under the rulership of the stars, during pregnancy; and the medicinal properties of man.

III (folio 9^a-53^b). Animals.—Their nature and medicinal properties.

IV (folio 53^b-71^a). Birds.—Their nature, habits, and medicinal properties.

V (folio 71^a-82^a). Reptiles, insects, and aquatic animals, and their uses.

MEMORANDUM AND SEAL

At the top of the front fly-leaf there is an incidental jotting by a later hand. It gives the title of the manuscript as 'The Wonders of Creation.'

On folios 1^a and 83^b there are impressions of the same small oval seal, bearing the name of the first owner, 'Hasan bin Muṣṭafā, Maulānā.'

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

The end of the Caliphate at the fall of Baghdād in 1285 A. D. marked the death of Arabic and the birth of genuine Persian art. The Khalifas, being Sunnites, abhorred all imagery. The Mongolian princes, however, who now became the rulers of Persia, being under Chinese influence, were too thoroly accustomed to their rich imagery to forsake it. Thus with the advent of Mongol art the supremacy of the graceful line was once more established in Persia.

The manuscript is introduced by a large ornamental medallion in the center of the first page (folio 1^a). It is decorated with

interlineation of gold and blue. In the center of the medallion is inscribed the name of the artist: 'The design of Shams ad-Dīn ibn Dīa ad-Dīn of Rushak.'

The 'unwān at the opening of the manuscript has a background of blue or sapphire, the emblem of eternity. The tone of the blue is heightened by the interwoven gilded traceries spread over it. The 'unwān contains the opening verse of invocation and doxology, written in white ink. Such unerring alternation in colors and so harmonious a blending require mastery of the art.

The text of the manuscript is handsomely illustrated by ninety-four miniatures. Eighty-three masterpieces are specimens of the finest workmanship of the Mongolian school and seem to be from the brush of a single artist. The other eleven have been painted on separate paper and so skilfully inset into the border as almost to defy detection. These eleven represent various scenes in the Shāh-nāmah of Firdausī and in the works of Nizāmī, and have no connection with the subject of the manuscript. They were set in, apparently, merely to fill up the spots which were left blank to be filled later with some sort of miniatures. Every one of the eighty-four miniatures is so perfect that it seems one more touch would detract from its charm.

The outlines of the animals are drawn with scrupulous exactitude. In coloring the grayish tone is pervading. The animals and trees are in the same style as those of the earlier period; the animals, however, are not drawn in an altogether realistic manner.

Sixteen of the miniatures have been reproduced by F. R. Martin in *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912 (pl. 21-26). They are found in this manuscript on the following folios: 2^b, 3^b, 5^b, 10^a, 12^a, 17^a, 22^a, 23^a, 27^a, 25^b, 35^b, 48^b, 50^b, 55^a, 58^a, 81^b. The miniatures representing scenes from the Shāh-nāmah and the works of Nizāmī, and inset in this manuscript, are found on folios 2^b, 22^b, 24^b, 35^a, 46^b, 57^b, 71^b, 77^a, 77^b, 83^a, 83^b.

The stories connected with some of the pictures are very interesting, others rather amusing. Their main details are as follows:—

Fol. 2^a. The marvelous figures of the two intertwined elephants, with emphasized curves and the original and graceful design, are unique. The supremacy of motifs, with such an artistic touch, reflects the

creator of it. He expressed his conception not only correctly, but in an artistic way.

- Fol. 2^b. The king and his son seated upon the pavilion throne beneath trees overlooking a garden, and served by two attendants. They are listening to women musicians.
- Fol. 3^b. Adam and Eve, or man and woman, crowned with halo, and partly clothed.
- Fol. 5^b. Cain killing Abel. On the branch of the tree above them a black bird is fighting with a white one.
- Fol. 23^a. The young of the bear being harassed by ants, the mother carries them in her arms from place to place to avoid the ants.
- Fol. 30^a. The stupid driver, having lost his way, lets the asses go ahead, and follows them. And, in order to stop the braying of one of them, he has tied down its ear.
- Fol. 35^a. Bāhrām Gūr shows his skill in archery by transfixing the gazelle's hoof to its ear; his mistress Azādah (elsewhere called Fitnah, 'Mischief') is playing on the harp (illustrating the well-known episode, told by Firdausi as well as by Nizāmi, on 'practice makes perfect.').
- Fol. 36^a. A mountain goat leaps down from a height of a hundred spears and lands on its horns.
- Fol. 46^a. Bahrām learns a lesson about his unfaithful vizīr from the action of an old shepherd who punished his sheep-dog that was unfaithful to the charge of the flocks.
- Fol. 52^a. A mouse, lying on its back, holds an egg with its feet; another pulls it by the tail to their hole.
- Fol. 53^a. A woman intoxicates a wild animal by nursing him. It is the only way to trap him.
- Fol. 54^a. Representation of the fabulous bird, Sīmurgh, its shape and colors, and the inaccessible regions in which it dwells. On the margin of the same page there is an inscription by a later hand which reads: 'Thou foolish son of the burned father, if nobody has seen the Sīmurgh then how didst thou portray it?'
- Fol. 57^b. Anūshirwān the Just (King Khusrāu I) and his vizīr were convinced that their oppressive administration was ruining the country when they overheard one owl promising a large number of ruined cities, as dowry, to another.
- Fol. 77^a. Khusrāu and Shīrīn playing polo—he on his famous steed Shabdīz, 'Black as Night,' she on her palfrey 'Rose-roan.' 'He chases his beloved like a polo ball.' The third person is a guest.
- Fol. 83^a. Khusrāu and his consort Shīrīn, seated on the throne, are enjoying the music and dance (illustrating Nizāmi's passage on that romance).
- Fol. 83^b. King Solomon seated upon his throne, which is upheld by divs or demons, with animals and birds like servants awaiting his orders.

Burkhan.—By BERTHOLD LAUFER, Curator at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill.

As is well known, the word 'Burkhan' serves in the Buddhist literature of the Mongols for the designation of the Buddha. It has likewise been traced in Buddhist texts of the Uigur language,¹ and in Manichæan literature is the name given to the incarnate messengers of the God of Light to man.² The etymology proposed in 1866 by A. Schiefner³ to the effect that the Turkish form Purkan, as noted by Radloff, has been derived from Mongol Burkhan, and in its origin seems to be a corruption of Indian Brahman, may now be dismissed without discussion. A more tempting explanation has been advanced by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein,⁴ who believes himself to be justified in tracing Uigur *purkhan* (read *burkhan*) to Chinese 佛 **pur* (read **bur*) + Turkish *khan*. At first sight this hypothesis would seem convincing to the uninitiated, nevertheless it is fallacious and indefensible. As will be shown, the term *burkhan* does not represent a transcription, but is an ancient and indigenous word of the Altaic languages. The proposition of Baron von Staël-Holstein is by no means novel, but has been forestalled by his countryman P. Schmidt,⁵ who has already given in substance the same etymology for the 'mysterious' Mongol word Burkhan. 'A similar root does not exist in the allied languages,' he remarks, 'and since the present notion conveyed by it is not of Mongol origin, I am inclined to regard it as a loan-word. This being the case, it must be derived either from Chinese or Tibetan. As regards the period when the loan took place, Buddha may have been known in Mongolia long before the introduction of Buddhism. In literary documents I have been able to trace it back to Marco Polo.⁶ The Tibetan name of Buddha is

¹ F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* 2, p. 77.

² Chavannes and Pelliot, *Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, p. 76; F. Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2, p. 336.

³ In the introduction to W. Radloff's *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, 2, p. xi.

⁴ In Radloff's *Tiśastvustik*, p. 142 (*Bibl. Buddhica* 12, 1910).

⁵ 'Der Lautwandel im Mandschu und Mongolischen,' *J. Peking Or. Soc.* 4. 63.

⁶ Polo's spelling is *borcan* or *borcam*.

said to resemble neither the Indian nor the Mongol one. We do not either get much farther with the present Chinese 佛 *Fo*. We may therefore presuppose as the root of Burkhan either the syllable *bud* in accordance with the Indian name, or the Old-Chinese **Fut*. The latter hypothesis seems to be the more probable one. The Mongol syllable *bur* contradicts neither of these suppositions. The second syllable *khan* is here either a suffix (cf. Manchu *Fucich'i* [Buddha], from **Futich'i*), or even the well-known word *khan* (*Chan*), accordingly *Buddha Chan* = *Bud (Fut) chan* = *Burchan*.'

A serious objection must be raised to this dissection of the word. There is no analogy to such a hybrid combination of a Chinese and Turkish element; and if the second component *khan* really were this alleged Turkish word, why do we never meet the fuller form *Bur-khagan*? In order to anticipate this objection, Baron von Staël-Holstein assures us that according to an oral communication of Radloff the word *khan* is frequently attached to Turkish names of gods and idols but hastens to add that he knows of no examples for this phenomenon in Turkish-Buddhistic documents. For phonetic reasons the conception of the ending *-khan* in *burkhan* as the word for 'king, sovereign' is out of the question. As is well known, the vowel of *khān*, being contracted from *khagān*, is long, whereas the *a* in *burkhan* is short. This is clearly evidenced by the writing of Kal-muk in which the long vowels are marked by the addition of a small dash: while *burkhan* (plural *burkhat*) is written in Kal-muk with a short *a*, the word *khān* (plural *khāt*) is expressly fixed with a long *a*.⁷ In the Tungusian, Mongol, and Turkish languages we find a suffix *-khan*, *-kan*, *-gan*, with such vowel changes as are conditioned by the laws of vowel-harmony, usually having the meaning of a diminutive.⁸ Whether this suffix may be recognized in *burkhan* cannot be decided. Further, we are entitled to raise the question, what authority could have induced the Uigur to style Buddha (either the one Buddha or any other Buddhas) a king or sovereign? Every one knows that Buddha never was a king, and is not so designated in any passage of Sanskrit or Chinese literature of Buddhism⁹; he was, however,

⁷ See A. Popov, *Grammar of the Kalmuk Language* (in Russian), § 62, 66.

⁸ See particularly W. Schott, *Altäische Studien I* (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1860), p. 591-594; *IV* (*ibid.* 1870), p. 275 *et seq.*

⁹ The epithet *dharmarāja* ('king of the law'), in Mongol *nom-un khagān*, is of course a seeming exception only, being a metaphorical expression.

the son of a king, and is therefore styled the 'crown-prince' (*kumārārāja*, *rājaputra*). The insinuation that the Uigur should have been guilty of such a gross violation of sacred tradition, as would crop out of this fantastic dismemberment *burkhan*, is an absurdity on the very face of it. That the element *khan* bears no relation to the word for 'king' becomes clear also from the compound *purkan kân* ('the king purkan') noted by Radloff¹⁰ with the meaning 'a spirit worshiped by the shamans.' Among the Turkmen of Khiwa, according to Radloff, the word *porkhan* even designates the shaman.¹¹ In fact, *burkhan* is a term peculiar to the ancient shamanism of Siberia, and was diffused there over an extensive area long before the introduction of Buddhism.

Among the Tungusians of Nerčinsk, M. A. Castrén¹² noted a word *burkan* with the significance 'God,' and derived it from Buryat *burkhan*. The same word he recorded also among the Karagas in the Altai, who speak a Turkish dialect, and there also concluded that it was adopted by them from the Buryat.¹³ True it is that the two Tungusian dialects studied by Castrén, as emphasized by Schiefner in the introduction to his work, have been strongly affected by Buryat influence both lexical and grammatical; but the word *burkan* can prove nothing along this line, as it occurs also in other Tungusian languages, particularly in that of the Gold on the lower Amur. As I spent a whole summer among this people, particularly studying its religious concepts, the word *burkhan*, as used by the Gold, is deeply stamped on my mind, for my conversations with them turned on this subject frequently, and I had a large collection of *burkhans* made for me. The best study of this subject thus far is contained in the book of P. P. Shimkevič,¹⁴ where we read as follows (p. 38): 'With their notions concerning the life beyond

¹⁰ *Wörterbuch*, 4, col. 1368.

¹¹ As regards this double significance, compare the observation of Hubert and Mauss (*L'Année sociologique*, 7. 87): 'L'esprit que possède le sorcier, ou qui possède le sorcier, se confond avec son âme et sa force magique: sorcier et esprit portent souvent le même nom.'

¹² *Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprachlehre*, p. 95.

¹³ M. A. Castrén, *Koibalische und karagassische Sprachlehre*, p. xiii, 144.

¹⁴ 'Materials for the Study of Shamanism among the Gold (Materialy dlia izucheniya šamanstva u Goldov),' in the *Zapiski of the Amur Section of the Imp. Russian Geogr. Soc.* 2. 1 (Chabarovsk, 1896). L. Sternberg will deal with the same subject in the Publications of the Jesup Expedition.

and the existence of various spirits bringing to man luck or calamity the Gold combine a great number of most diverse gods (*burkhan*) personifying a certain spirit. Whatever work a Gold may commence, it is incumbent upon him to resort to the *burkhan* for help. The shaman appears as the mediator between him and the spirit, and has supernatural power to communicate with the spirits. According to the circumstances, the shaman orders the people to make such and such a *burkhan* and to appeal to him in accordance with established precepts, but occasionally when the *burkhan* thus made does not bring the expected advantage, he is destroyed by the shaman or exchanged for another *burkhan*. For every kind of disease, on every special occasion of life, the *burkhans* are invariably made after the direction of the shaman in a strictly prescribed order. They consist of representations of men, animals, birds, fish, and reptiles; sometimes also amulets are made in the shape of joints, palms, soles, heart, etc. As to material, they are made of wood, metal, fish-skin, paper, cloth, grass, or clods from marshes. *Burkhans* are delineated on wood, cloth, or paper, or are carved from wood, cast from tin or silver, and skilfully forged from iron.' The author then proceeds to give a classification and detailed description of the *burkhans* (p. 39-60), and in the following chapter records some legends concerned with them, many of which are figured on the plates attached to the volume. Every one will recognize that this sort of *burkhan* has not a flavor of Buddhism, but is a genuine and original shamanistic element. In fact, I did not discover among the Gold any trace of Buddhism, which has never reached the Amur. The word *burkhan* is foreign to the Manchu language. Buddha is called in Manchu *Fučihī*, *Fu*-being a transcription of the corresponding Chinese designation of Buddha, the second element *-čihī* being as yet unexplained.

The word *burkhan* may be traced also in ancient Chinese records; at least, this is the opinion of the Japanese scholar K. Shiratori.¹⁵ In discussing the name of the mountain T'u-t'ai 徒太 in the country of the Mo-ho or Wu-ki, Shiratori states that this mountain is also styled Pu-hien 不憲 (anciently Butkan). He refers to a passage in the *Shan hai king* (*Ta huang pei king* 大荒北經) to the effect that 'in the desert there is

¹⁵ *Über die Sprache des Hiung-nu Stammes und der Tung-hu Stämme*, p. 60 (Tokyo, 1900).

a mountain Pu-hien, where there is also a country styled Su-shen 肅慎; and further to *Tsin shu* (Ch. 97, p. 2 b), where it is said: 'The Su-shen tribe is also called Yi-lou, and its habitat is north of Mount Pu-hien.' Shiratori adds: 'In Mongol God is styled *tägri* or *burkhan*. Pu-hien is assumed to be a transcription of the word *burkhan*.' From a phonetic viewpoint this identification is possible, and it is equally possible that the said mountain was personified as a deity and worshiped under the title Burkhan. As is known, mountains and rivers were (and partially still are) the object of worship among all Tungusian, Mongol, and Turkish tribes (as well as in ancient China). One of the sacred mountains revered by the Mongols is the Burkhan-khaldun in northern Mongolia, on which Tchinggis Khan is said to have been interred.¹⁶ A Mongol book, dealing with sacrifices to the deity of fire, and according to the well-founded testimony of Banzarov, devoid of any Buddhistic influence, begins thus: 'Mother Ut, mistress of the fire, created from the elm-tree, growing on the summits of the mountains Khangai-khan and Burkhatu-khan!'¹⁷ These mountains are entitled 'sovereigns' (*khan*), and *burkhatu* is apparently a derivation from *burkhan* by means of the possessive suffix *-tu*, meaning as much as 'having a deity' or 'deified.' Potanin¹⁸ mentions a pass under the name Burkhan-boksin-daban, and argues that this name presumably designated a pre-Buddhistic Mongol deity, while at present it is referred to Buddha.

In the same manner as among the Gold, so also among the Mongol, *burkhan* is a fixed term of their ancient shamanistic religion which still flourishes among the Buryat. Generally speaking, *burkhan* is a synonym of *tengeri* (or *tengerin*) or *zayan*, the chief deities of the Buryat, to the number of ninety-nine, each known under his proper name.¹⁹ A special group

¹⁶ Dordji Banzarov, *The Black Faith* (in Russian), p. 21; I. J. Schmidt, *Sanang Setsen*, p. 57, 59; H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1. 247; G. N. Potanin, *Tanguto-Tibetan Borderland* (in Russian), 2. 303.

¹⁷ Banzarov, *op. cit.* p. 25.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* 2. 337.

¹⁹ M. N. Khangalov, 'New Materials Relating to the Shamanism among the Buryat,' p. 1, in *Zapiski East-Sib. Section of the Russian Geogr. Soc.* vol. 2, no. 1, Irkutsk, 1890. *Burkun* and *burkhan* are dialectic variations of the word in Buryat (M. A. Castrén, *Burjätische Sprachlehre*, p. 171); *burkhyn* also occurs.

among these is formed by the *satini burkhat* (*burkha-t* being the plural of *burkhan*), who belong to the western, white gods, especially worshiped by the Buryat of Kudinsk.²⁰ Likewise in the tales and traditions of the Buryat the term *burkhan* is referred to their own gods.²¹ In several Mongol dialects the Dipper is styled *Dolon burkhyn*, in Kalmuk *Dolon burkhut*.²² Among the Turkish tribes of the Altai, as previously stated, *purkan kân* denotes a spirit worshiped by the shamans; and among the Turkmen of Khiwa the word (in the form *porkhan*) designates the shaman himself.

Burkhan in Mongol by no means conveys exclusively the limited notion of Buddha, but, first of all, signifies 'deity, god, gods,' and secondly 'representation or image of a god.' This general significance neither inheres in the term Buddha nor in Chinese Fo; neither do the latter signify 'image of Buddha'; only Mongol *burkhan* has this force, because originally it conveyed the meaning of a shamanistic image. From what has been observed on the use of the word *burkhan* in the shamanistic or pre-Buddhistic religions of the Tungusians, Mongols, and Turks, it is manifest that the word well existed there before the arrival of Buddhism, fixed in its form and meaning, and was but subsequently transferred to the name of Buddha. This being the case, it cannot represent a transcription, and the theories of P. Schmidt and Baron von Staël-Holstein should be discarded. A single concession may be made, and this is that the indigenous word *burkhan* for the designation of Buddha may have been chosen as a more or less conscious adaptation in sound to the latter.

²⁰ Khangalov, *op. cit.* p. 30.

²¹ See for instance the collection of Tales of the Buryat edited by D. G. Gomboev, p. 24, 63, 69 (*l. c.*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1890); A. D. Rudnev, *The Khor-Buryat Dialect* (in Russian), pt. 3, p. 039.

²² Potanin, *Tanguto-Tibetan Borderland*, 2. 318, 319.

The Tagalog Verb.—By FRANK R. BLAKE, Associate in Johns Hopkins University.

ROOTS AND PARTICLES

The words¹ of the Tagalog language, as of the other languages of the Philippine group, are in the last analysis made up of two distinct kinds of material, namely roots and particles.

Roots are regularly dissyllabic, and form either in their unchanged form or with additions, in the first instance nouns and verbs, and also secondarily other parts of speech, e. g. *káin* 'to eat'; *báhay* 'house'; *pára* 'likeness, like.'

Particles are regularly monosyllabic, or extensions or combinations of monosyllabic elements, and are used either to form pronouns or adverbs, or in the various processes of the derivation of a root, e. g. *ko* 'mine'; *na* 'now'; *um* (*um-inúm* 'to drink')—verbal particle; *taga* 'inhabitant of' (*taga-may-níla*)—nominal particle (probably an extension of *tag*); *ka-pag* 'as soon as'—verbal particle.

The Tagalog verb is regularly formed by combining certain particles with the root, the use of the simple root as verb being comparatively rare except in colloquial speech. These particles, however, besides making roots into verbs, usually indicate at the same time the kind or manner of the verbal action, e. g. *g-um-alíng* (<*galíng*) 'become good'; *mag-larô* (<*larô*) 'play'; *maka-tákot* (<*tákot*) 'cause to fear'; *ma-túwa* (<*túwa*) 'be joyful'; *pa-tólong*² (<*tólong*) 'ask for help.'

These particles may be grouped into a number of classes:—

a) those which form what may be called the active stem, e. g. *g-um-alíng*, *mag-larô*, etc.

¹ The accent marks on Tagalog words are employed with the following meanings: acute denotes place of stress, grave on a final syllable denotes that the vowel is followed by the glottal catch, circumflex on a final syllable denotes final stress and final glottal catch.

² The combination *ng* is pronounced like the guttural nasal *ng* in *sing*. At the beginning of a word, and when it stands between two vowels, i. e. at the beginning of a syllable, the usual spelling is with a tilde over the *g*. This tilde has been omitted thruout in this article. The sound of *ng* in *finger*, i. e. guttural nasal + *g*, which is usually written *ng* without tilde, will be written *ngg* to avoid confusion.

b) those which form what may be called the passive stem, e. g. *pag-larô*, *ka-tákot*, etc.

c) those which make passive verbs from roots and passive stems, e. g. *s-in-úlat*, *in-áral*, *sulát-in*, *i-pag-larô*, *paglarô-an*, *i-katákot*, etc.

d) those which indicate some modification of the verbal idea, but lie outside of the regular tense-formation of the verb, e. g. *ka-rarating* 'to have just arrived'; *kapag-alís* 'as soon as (he) went'; *pagka-tapús* 'having finished'; *pinaka-magúlang* 'supplying the place of a parent.'

e) those which, tho indicating a kind of action like the other particles, are employed only in connection with those of the first three classes, e. g. *ma-nga-g-tángis* 'weep (of many)' from *mag-tángis* 'weep'; *mag-tolong-an* 'help one another' from *mag-tolong* 'help.'

The particles of the first three classes, with various modifications to express mode and tense, are employed by the language to make up its regular verbal formation, and will be spoken of collectively as Verbalizing particles, or separately as Active, Special Passive, and Essential Passive, particles respectively. The other two classes will be spoken of as Primary and Secondary Subsidiary particles.

The great majority of these particles are prefixes; three, viz. the essential passive particles *in* and *an*, and the secondary subsidiary particle *an*, are suffixes; two, viz. the active particle *um* and its modification *ungm*, and the essential passive tense particle *in*, are prefixed to roots with vocalic initial, and infixes after an initial root consonant; one, viz. the secondary subsidiary particle *nga*, is always infixes. A particle *i*, perhaps identical with the prefix *i*, occurs as suffix in certain imperative forms; cf. page 406.

VERBS MADE WITH VERBALIZING PARTICLES

Verbal Classes

The active particles are seventeen in number, and every one except the particle *um* has a corresponding special passive particle which takes the place of the active particle when the verb is passive. The seventeen verbal classes thus formed fall into five groups, which are usually named according to the active particle. The active and special passive particles of these groups are shown in TABLE A.

Generally speaking, the meaning of these particles is the following, viz. :—

I and II *a*—action, e. g. *s-um-úlat* 'write'; *mag-larô* 'play.'

II *b*—plurality of agents, e. g. *magsi-alís* 'go (of many).'

TABLE A
ACTIVE AND SPECIAL PASSIVE PARTICLES

	I		II		III		IV		V	
	<i>act.</i>	<i>pass.</i>	<i>act.</i>	<i>pass.</i>	<i>act.</i>	<i>pass.</i>	<i>act.</i>	<i>pass.</i>	<i>act.</i>	<i>pass.</i>
<i>a</i>	um	—	mag	pag	mau	pan	ma	{ ka, ma maka	pa	pa
<i>b</i>			magsi	pagsi	mauhi	{ panhi hi	maka	ka, ma	magpa	pa, pagpa
<i>c</i>			magsa	{ pagsa sa				ka, ma	magpaka	{ paka pagpaka
<i>d</i>			magka	pagka						
<i>e</i>			maki	paki						
<i>f</i>			magin(g) ¹	pagin(g)						
<i>g</i>			magkan	pagkan						
<i>h</i>			magkapa	pagkapa						
<i>i</i>			magpati	pagpati						

¹Ending either in dental nasal *n* or in guttural nasal *ng*.

- II *c*—be or act like, e. g. *magsa-tagalog* 'act like a Tagalog.'
 II *d*—to have, get, e. g. *magka-sakit* 'get sick.'
 II *e*—action in company with someone, e. g. *maki-sakáy* 'embark with';
 or to ask what the root indicates, e. g. *maki-písang* 'ask for a piece.'
 II *f*—to become, e. g. *magin(g)-bató* 'become stone.'
 II *g*—to emit involuntarily from the body, e. g. *magkan-lulúhà* 'weep uncontrollably.'
 II *h*—remain or be in a certain position, e. g. *makapa-ngisi* 'have teeth showing.'
 II *i*—put oneself suddenly in a certain position, e. g. *magpati-luhód* 'throw oneself on the knees.'
 III *a*—frequentative action, e. g. *mangúha* (< *kúha*) 'take much or often.'
 III *b*—search out, clean from, e. g. *manhiningá* (< *tingá*) 'clean teeth of what gets between them.'
 IV *a*—state or condition, e. g. *ma-gútum* 'be hungry.'
 IV *b*—causative action, e. g. *maka-tákot* 'cause to fear'; potential action 'be able,' e. g. *maka-súlat* 'be able to write.'
 V *a*—ask for oneself, allow to be done to oneself, e. g. *pa-hípò* 'allow to touch'; motion towards, e. g. *pa-rító* 'come here.'
 V *b*—let, order, e. g. *magpa-súlat* 'order to write.'
 V *c*—voluntary action, e. g. *magpaka-matáy* 'commit suicide.'

Each of the active and passive stems formed by combining these particles with a root distinguish four tense and mode forms, called for the sake of brevity tense forms, viz. a modal, which expresses the subjunctive, imperative, and infinitive, a future, a preterite, and a present. The modal and preterite are the basic forms, the future being usually based on the modal, and the present on the preterite.

The active stem is used as the active modal, but the passive stems, with the exception of certain forms of group IV with the particles *ma* or *maka*, must be still further combined with the essential passive particles in order to form passive verbs. In group I these particles are applied to the root, which serves as passive stem. The essential passive particles are four in number, viz. the prefix-suffix *i*, and the suffixes *in* and *an*, which make different kinds of passive; and the prefix-infix *in* which is used in the preterite and present of all three kinds of passive. The passive stems combined respectively with the prefix *i* and the suffixes *in* and *an*, as, e. g. *i-pag-laró*, *pag-laró-in*, *pag-laró-an*, form what may be called the three passive themes. These three themes are used as the modal of the three kinds of passive.

The preterite active, except in groups I and Va, is formed by changing the *m* of the modal to *n*, e. g. *naglaró* from *maglaró*;

in group I *ng* is inserted within the *um* of the modal, e. g. *u-ng-m-íbig*, *s-u-ng-m-úlat*; in group Va, *na* is prefixed to the modal, e. g. *na-paríto*; the preterite passive, except in group IV with special particles *ma* or *maka*, is made by combining the passive stem of the *in* passive, and the passive themes of the *i* and *an* passives with the infix-prefix *in*, e. g. *p-in-ag-laró*, *i-p-in-ag-laró*, *p-in-ag-laró-an*; in group IV, the *m* of the modal is changed to *n*, e. g. *nakúha*, *namatayán*, *nakalimótan*. The future and present of both voices are formed, except in group I, from the modal and preterite respectively by partial reduplication^{2a}; in general the first syllable of the root is reduplicated when the active or special passive particle is monosyllabic, some syllable of the particle itself, when the particle is of more than one syllable:—

future	<i>mag-lalaró</i>	from	<i>mag-laró</i>
	<i>magsisi-alís</i>	“	<i>magsi-alís</i>
present	<i>ipinag-lalaró</i>	“	<i>ipinag-laró</i>
	etc., etc.		

In group I the present is made according to rule except that the infix *ungm* is not repeated in the reduplication, e. g. *s-ungm-u-súlat*; the future is made from the root by partial reduplication and not from the modal, e. g. *susúlat*.

The tense forms are invariable for person, gender, and number. The chief forms of all the verbal classes are exemplified in TABLE B.

In verbs of group I with vocalic initial the particles *um*, *ungm*, and *in* are prefixed instead of infixed, e. g. *ungmíbig* (present active of *íbig* ‘wish’), *inaáral* (present *in* passive of *áral* ‘teach’); the preterite and present of the *i* passive are made by prefixing *ini* or *ina* to the simple and partially reduplicated roots respectively, e. g. *ini-áral*, *ina-áral*; *ini-aáral*, *ina-aáral*.

Verbs of group IIc-*i*, follow in general the model of *mag-sialis*. *Sa* is used instead of *pagsa* as special passive particle in the *in* passive of the *magsa* class, e. g. *sakastiláhin*, etc., from *magsakastíla* ‘be like a Spaniard.’ Some verbs of the *magka*

^{2a} Reduplication in Tagalog is usually of one syllable (partial reduplication) or of two syllables, usually the first two (full reduplication). If the syllable or combination of syllables to be reduplicated ends in a consonant, this consonant does not appear in the reduplication unless it is the final consonant of a root.

TABLE B

Class	I	IIa	IIb	IVb (potential)	Va
Root	sulat 'write'	larô 'play'	alis 'go'	kûha 'take'	âto 'here', tulong 'help'
Active					
Mod.	sumulat	maglarô	magisalis	makakûha	parito
Fut.	susulat	maglalarô	magsisalisin	makakukûha	paririto, paparito
Pret.	sungmulat	naglarô	nagsialis	nakakûha	naparito
Pres.	sungmusulat	naglalarô	nagsisialis	nakakukûha	naparirito, napaparito
In-Passive					
Mod.	sulatín	paglarôin	pagsialisin	makûha	patolôgin
Fut.	susulatín	paglalarôin	pagsisialisin	makukûha	patotolôgin
Pret.	sinulat	pinaglarô	pinagsialis	nakûha	etc.
Pres.	sinusulat	pinaglalarô	pinagsisialis	nakukûha	(as in mag class).
I-Passive					
Mod.	isulat	ipaglarô	ipagsialis	maisulat	iparito
Fut.	isusulat	ipaglalarô	ipagsisialis	maisusulat	iparirito, ipaparito
Pret.	isinulat	ipinaglarô	ipinagsialis	naisulat	ipinaririto
Pres.	isinusulat	ipinaglalarô	ipinagsisialis	naisusulat	ipinaririto, ipinaparito
An-Passive					
Mod.	sulatán	paglarôan	pagsisalan	masulatán	paritôan (reduplication
Fut.	susulatán	paglalarôan	pagsisalsalan	masusulatán	as in i-passive)
Pret.	sinulatán	pinaglarôan	pinagsisalan	nasulatán	
Pres.	sinusulatán	pinaglalarôan	pinagsisalsalan	nasusulatán	

class reduplicate the first syllable of the root instead of the *ka* of the particle, e. g. present active *nagkasisíya* from *magkasiya* 'come to terms.'

In the *magin(g)* and *magkan* classes, according to the regular rule, the final consonant of the particle is not repeated in the reduplication; in the *magkan* class the root is always partially reduplicated in all tense stems, e. g. present, *nagigin(g)banál* 'become righteous,' *nagkakanlulúhà* 'weep uncontrollably.'

In the *magkapa* and *magpati* classes, the syllable *pa* is always the one that is repeated in the reduplication, e. g. present, *nagkapapangísi* 'show the teeth,' *nagpapatiluhód* 'fall on knees.'

Verbs of group IIIa in which the particle retains its form *man*, e. g. *manlibák* 'scoff,' or in which it is assimilated to *mang* before roots beginning in *h* or *y*, e. g. *manghúli* 'live by rapine,' *mangyári* 'be able,' follow the model of *maglarô*. In most verbs of this class, however, the combination of *n* with the initial of the root gives rise to a series of phonetic changes, *nb*, *np* becoming *m*; *ns*, *nt* and sometimes *nd* becoming *n*; *nk* and sometimes *nh* becoming *ng*; *n* before initial vowel becoming *ng*. These changes are to be explained as follows:—

$$\begin{array}{l} nb, np > mb, mp > mm > m \\ ns, nt, nd > nn > n \\ nk, nh > ngk, ngh > ngng > ng \end{array}$$

In the case of an initial vowel, *n* is changed to *ng* probably on account of the glottal catch which preceded the vowel, viz. *n + ' > ng + ' > ngng > ng*. In the first, third, and last of these processes we have first partial assimilation of the *n* to the following consonant, then complete assimilation of the initial consonant of the root to this sound resulting from *n*, then simplification of the double consonant thus formed. In the second of these processes the juxtaposed consonants are already related as the other groups are after the first assimilation has taken place, so only the last two changes are necessary. The syllable which is reduplicated in present and future is the one beginning with the *m*, *n* or *ng* resulting from this series of changes, otherwise they follow the model of *maglarô*, e. g.:—

root	<i>bigáy</i> 'give'	<i>sumpâ</i> 'curse'	<i>kúha</i> 'take'	<i>isdâ</i> 'fish'
act. mod.	<i>mamigáy</i>	<i>manumpâ</i>	<i>mangúha</i>	<i>mangisdâ</i>
act. pres.	<i>namimigáy</i>	<i>nananumpâ</i>	<i>nangungúha</i>	<i>nangingisdâ</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

In verbs of the *manhi* class the initial consonant is modified as in the *man* class, just as if the particle were *manhin*, e. g. :—

<i>manhimálay</i>	(< <i>pálay</i> 'rice')	'glean'
<i>manhiningâ</i>	(< <i>tingâ</i>)	'clean the teeth'
<i>manhingokó</i>	(< <i>kokó</i>)	'cut the nails'

These verbs follow the model of *magsialís* except in the *in* and *an* passives when *hí* is employed as special passive particle (*panhi* is employed in all three passives, *hi* only in *in* and *an* passives). In these cases *hi* is repeated in present and future just as if it were preceded by *pan*, e. g. future *hihimaláyin*, present *hinihimaláyan*.

In group IVa only the *an* passive is made; when the special passive particle is *ma* it follows the model of *masulátan*; when it is *maka* it follows *masulátan* except that in future and present *ka* of *maka* is reduplicated, e. g. present *nakakalimótan*; when it is *ka* it follows the model of *paglaróan*.

In group IVb the first syllable of the root is regularly repeated in future and present as in *makakúha*; in some districts, however, the *ka* of *maka* is reduplicated instead. Verbs with *maka* causative have only an *i* passive made with special particle *ka*, which follows the model of *ipaglarô*. Verbs with *maka* potential follow the model given under IVb.

In group Va the model is that under Va. The syllable that is regularly reduplicated in future and present is the first syllable of the root as in the *mag* class; in verbs of motion, however, like *paríto* 'come here' the *pa* may also be reduplicated. In group Vb in the active, and in the passive with special passive particle *pagpa*, the verbs follow the model of *magsialís*; when the passive has the special particle *pa*, it follows like group Va the model of *maglarô*. In group Vc, as in groups IIh and *i*, the verbs follow in the active, and in the passive with special passive particle *pagpaka*, the model of *magsialís*, except that *pa* is always the syllable repeated in future and present; in passives with special particle *paka* the model of *maglarô* is followed, e. g. present *pinakatatandáan* 'pay attention to.'

Secondary and Tertiary Derivation

The verbal particles of two or more classes are often combined in the same verb. The secondary or tertiary particle is regu-

larly prefixed to the passive theme of the primary or secondary verb, which is treated just as the root is in primary derivation, e. g. *magsi-pagáral* 'study (of many),' *magsi-paki-paglarô* 'play together (of many).'

The active stem is used as a basis for secondary derivation in some verbs of group I, which have no special passive theme, and occasionally when *maka* potential is combined with *maka* causative, e. g. *magsumakít* (root *sakít*) 'exert oneself,' *maka-maka-ginháwa* 'be able to cause alleviation.'

The active modal of these secondary and tertiary verbs is identical with the active stem; the preterite is made according to the rule for the particle that stands first. In future and present, when this particle is one that is reduplicated in primary derivation, it is reduplicated here, tho sometimes the form has in addition the reduplication of the primary verb; otherwise the reduplication is regularly in the primary verbal stem according to the rule for the primary particle. In those verbs made on the basis of the active stem of group I, however, the stem is treated just like a simple root. In applying the essential passive particles, the whole secondary verbal stem is treated like a verbal stem with only one particle, e. g.:—

pres. act.	<i>nakikipaglarô</i>	from <i>maki-pag-larô</i> 'play with.'
" "	<i>nagsisiparoroón</i>	" <i>magsi-pa-roón</i> 'go there (of many).'
" "	<i>nakapagaáral</i>	" <i>maka-pag-áral</i> 'be able to learn.'
" "	<i>nakapagpapapanhík</i>	" <i>maka-pagpa-panhík</i> 'be able to make come up.'
" "	<i>nagsusumakít</i>	" <i>mag-s-um-akít</i> 'exert oneself.'
pres. pass.	<i>pinakikipaglaróan</i>	" <i>maki-pag-larô</i> 'play with.'
" "	<i>ipinagkakasumunód</i>	" <i>magka-s-um-unód</i> 'follow.'
" "	<i>ipinagpapahindi</i>	" <i>mag-pa-hindi</i> 'say no often.'

Verbs with fully^{2b} Reduplicated Roots

The fully reduplicated root is often used as the basis for verbal derivation in the various classes, the reduplicated root being regularly treated just like the simple root. The *n* of the particle *man*, however, apparently remains unchanged before the initial of the root, the operation of the regular phonetic law being prevented by the analogical influence of the initial which appears in the second part of the reduplicated root. Moreover, when the form of the verb made from the simple root consists of only

^{2b} Cf. note 2a, above.

two syllables, as in certain irregular actives of verbs of the *um* class, and in syncopated passives, the whole verbal form is repeated to make the fully reduplicated form. The reduplicated forms have sometimes an emphatic, sometimes a diminutive meaning, sometimes either, according as they are pronounced with more or less emphasis, e. g.:—

pres.	<i>s-um-u-sulatsulat</i> 'writes a little.'
pret.	<i>nagka-sirasirà</i> 'was destroyed completely.'
pres. pass.	<i>d-in-adaladalá</i> 'is carried a little.'
mod.	<i>man-bagyobagyó</i> 'be something like a hurricane.'
"	<i>muli-múli</i> (< <i>áli</i>) 'keep repeating.'
"	<i>dalhin-dalhin</i> (< <i>dalá</i>) 'be carried a little.'

Verbal Nouns and Adjectives

Any verbal form of the various classes may be used without change as a participle and take all the constructions of noun or adjective, e. g.:—

ang nagbibili ay hindi dápat magdáya sa bumibili 'the seller should not deceive the buyer.'

ang táwo-ng iniibig nang Diós 'the man beloved by God.'

ang mangá isusulat 'the things to be written.'

From the active future, and sometimes from the active present stem of all the verbal classes except the *um* class, are formed frequentatives or nouns of occupation, e. g. *magbabaká*, *nagbabaká*, 'warrior'; *mananáhi* (*táhi*) 'tailor'; *makahihiyá* 'causing shame, shameful.'

From the passive future or modal stem of the *maka* causative class are made frequentative adjectives like those which end in English in '-able, -ible,' e. g. *makakáin*, *makáin*, 'eatable'; *magagawá*, *magawá*, 'feasible.'

All the verbal classes make abstract nouns of action. In group I they are made by prefixing *pag* to the root, e. g. *pag-sulat* 'act of writing' from *s-um-ulat*; in group IV, by prefixing *pag* to the passive stem with special passive particle *ka*, e. g. *pag-kalumbáy* 'condition of being sad' from *ma-lumbáy* 'be sad,' *pag-katákot* 'act of causing fear' from *maka-tákot* 'cause to fear,' *pag-kalakad* 'condition of being able to go' from *maka-lakad* 'be able to go'; in group Va, by prefixing *pag* to the passive stem with special passive particle *pa*, e. g. *pag-paálam* 'act of asking permission' from *pa-álam* 'ask permission.'

All the other verbal classes (groups II, III and Vb, c) make

these nouns from the passive stem with partial reduplication as in future and present, or stated empirically, by changing the initial *m* or *n* of the active future or present respectively to *p*; in the *magka* class, the reduplicated syllable is always *ka*, even when it is not the reduplicated syllable in the verb, e. g. :—

II *a*—*pagaáral* ‘act of learning’ from *mag-áral* ‘learn.’

d—*pagkakasála* ‘act of sinning’ from *magka-sála* ‘sin.’

f—*pagigin(g)banál* ‘act of becoming virtuous’ from *magin(g)-banál* ‘become virtuous.’

III *a*—*pandidíri* ‘act of becoming nauseated’ from *man-díri* ‘become nauseated.’

pamimilí ‘act of buying much’ from *mamili(bíli)* ‘buy much.’

V *b*—*pagpapagawâ* ‘act of causing to make’ from *magpa-gawâ* ‘cause to make.’

The particle *pag* which is used to form the verbal nouns of groups I, IV, and Va, is probably derived from the *mag* class. It is to be noted that the verbal nouns of these classes lack the reduplication which is usually a characteristic of the formation.

The passive stems of a number of verbs are used without change as nouns, e. g. *paki-nábang* ‘advantage,’ *pa-álam* ‘permission,’ *pangálan* (*pan-gálan*) ‘name.’

Irregularities and Peculiarities

In general

Certain roots and passive stems may be used without change as active imperatives, e. g. *lákad* ‘go,’ *kúha* ‘take,’ *pagáral* ‘study,’ *pakilarô* ‘play together.’

Besides the regular modal forms, each of the three passives possesses a special impersonal imperative form used without expressed agent. In the *in* passive the root is employed in its original form without suffix *in*; in the *i* passive, suffixed *an* is used instead of prefixed *i*; in the *an* passive a suffix *i* is used instead of suffixed *an*, the root usually standing in its original form without syncopation. These imperatives are made principally from roots, but also occasionally from passive stems, e. g. *ábut* for *abútin* ‘get’; *hígit* for *higtín* ‘stretch out’; *tapónan* for *itápon* ‘throw’; *bukasí* for *buksán* ‘open’; *pá-buksí* for *pá-buksán* ‘open still more quickly.’

The forms of the passive verbs made with the suffixes *in* and *an* present many irregularities. Roots ending in a simple vowel^{2c}

^{2c} That is, a vowel without following glottal catch.

insert *h* before the suffixes, e. g. *sabí-h-in*, *sabí-h-an* from *sábi* 'say.' Many roots syncopate the vowel of the final syllable before the suffixes, e. g. *sakt-ín*, *sakt-án* from *sakít* 'sick.' Others suffer metathesis as well as syncope, e. g. *apt-ín*, *apt-án* from *átip* 'thatch'; others, loss of intervocalic *h* as well as syncope, e. g. *bís-in*, *bís-an*, from *bíhis* 'change clothes.' About ten present sporadic irregularities. The uncontracted form of these passives is sometimes used, especially when the root has a verbal particle prefixed, e. g. *pagka-sakítan* 'labor incessantly' from *sakít* (syn. *sakt-án*).

The *i* passive denoting cause may be made in any class by *ika* instead of *i*, that is, instead of the simple root, the passive stem of the *maka* causative class is used as the basis of the passive formation.

Special emphatic or frequentative forms are made in many classes by reduplicating an additional syllable of the root in all tense forms, by shifting the accent from penult to ultima, or by both means combined; the simple verbs corresponding to *mag* verbs of this type are of the *um*, not of the *mag* class: e. g. mod. *magbibílí* 'buy much' (*bumílí* 'buy'), pres. *nagbibibílí* 'buys much'; mod. *magarál* 'teach much' (*umáral* 'teach'); mod. *magkakagotóm* 'prevail' (of famine) from *gótóm* 'hunger'. Sometimes this reduplication is taken by forms made from fully reduplicated roots, e. g. *magkasisírasíra* 'be utterly destroyed.'

Um-Class

In preterite and present the simple particle *um* may be used instead of *ungm*, the preterite thus being identical with the modal, e. g. *sumúlat*, *sumusúlat*. The present may also be formed by prefixing *na* to the root, e. g. *na-súlat*.

In roots with *i* in the first syllable, the *u* of the particle *um* may be assimilated to *i*, giving *im*, e. g. *l-im-ínaw* from *línaw* 'clear'; *im-inúm* from *inúm* 'drink.'

The *i* passive of roots with initial *h*, *l*, and *w*, tho sometimes made according to the rule for roots with initial consonant, regularly follows the norm of the *i* passive of roots with initial vowel; roots beginning with other consonants have sometimes the same formation, e. g. :—

root *hólog* 'fall'
 pret. *ini-hólog*, *ina-hólog*
 pres. *ini-hohólog*, *ina-hohólog*

pások 'enter'
ini-pások, *ina-pások*
ini-papások, *ina-papások*

Some roots beginning with vowels or with *l* or *y*, take the prefix *ni* in preterite and present of the *in* and *an* passives instead of the prefix-infix *in*, e. g. pret. *ni-unáhan* (*una* 'first') 'was preceded by'; *ni-yákap* 'was embraced'; pres. *ni-lolóto* 'is cooked.'

Dissyllabic roots beginning with the labials *b* or *p*, besides having the regular active forms, may change *b* or *p* to *m* for the modal, to *n* for the preterite, and reduplicate the first syllable of the preterite for the present. A small group of roots with other initials, both consonant and vocalic, may also take this formation in addition to the regular one, in the case of vocalic initial the *m* and *n* being prefixed. The future of these verbs is always regular, e. g. :—

root	<i>bása</i> 'read'	<i>toksó</i> 'tempt'	<i>alís</i> 'go'
mod.	<i>mása</i>	<i>moksó</i>	<i>malís</i>
pret.	<i>nása</i>	<i>noksó</i>	<i>nalís</i>
pres.	<i>nanása</i>	<i>nonoksó</i>	<i>nanalís</i>

A large number of polysyllabic roots beginning with *pa*, which are in most cases simply passive stems of the different verbal classes,^{2d} form their active tense stems by changing *p* to *m* in modal and future, to *n* in preterite and present, and reduplicating the second syllable of the root in future and present; in the passive these roots are treated like dissyllabic roots except that in future and present the second syllable, and not the first, is reduplicated; the verbal noun of action is made from the present or future according to the usual rule, e. g. :—

root	<i>pakinábang</i>	
mod.	<i>makinábang</i>	<i>pakinabángan</i>
fut.	<i>makikinábang</i>	<i>pakikinabángan</i>
pret.	<i>nakinábang</i>	<i>pinakinabángan</i>
pres.	<i>nakikinábang</i>	<i>pinakikinabángan</i>
vb. noun	<i>pakikinábang</i>	

Certain of these polysyllabic roots with initial *p* follow the model of dissyllabic roots like *bása* above.

Other Classes

Some fully reduplicated roots combined with *mag* and the subsidiary particle *an* (cf. below) may take the infix *in* in the

^{2d} Cf. W. G. Seiple, *Polysyllabic roots with initial P in Tagalog*, JAOS. 25 (1904), p. 287-301.

first syllable of the root with a distributive meaning, e. g. *mag-h-in-anaphanap-án* 'to seek each his own.'

Certain verbs of the *maki* class modify the initial of the root in the same way as verbs of the *manhi* class, just as if the particle were *makin*, e. g. *makimalíta* (*balíta*) 'ask for news,' *makinóso* (*sóso*) 'ask to be suckled.'

Verbs of the *ma* class, especially those that denote destruction, are used in the root form to indicate a present state, usually one in which the action indicated by the root has reached its completion, e. g. *patáy* 'is dead,' from *ma-patáy*, *sírà* 'is destroyed' from *ma-sírà*.

The combination of the quasi-verb *na* 'is' and its following oblique case is sometimes treated as if it were an active verb of the *ma* class, and a present and future are made on this basis, e. g. pres. *nariríto* from *naríto* 'is here,' fut. *masasaán* from *nasaán* 'where is.'

The *an* passive of *álam* 'know' in the *maka* potential class has, besides the regular preterite and present of the *an* passive, the forms pret. *naláman*, pres. *nalaláman*.

The passive stem of many verbs of the *magpa* class may be used as a sort of verbal noun to indicate a thing ordered to be done, or a thing given as something, e. g. *padalá* 'thing ordered to be brought,' *parúsa* 'thing given as punishment, penance.'

The passive stem of verbs of this class denoting to put in a certain position, are used as adverbs indicating the manner or position in which anything is done, e. g. *paupô* 'seated,' *paluhód* 'kneeling.'

VERBS MADE WITH SUBSIDIARY PARTICLES

With Primary Particles

The primary subsidiary particles are *ka*; *kapag*, *kapagka*, *pagka*, *pag*; *ka-an*; *paka*; *pá*.

Ka is used as a prefix as follows:—

a) with partially reduplicated roots to form emphatic active imperatives, e. g. *kalalakad* 'go quickly.'

b) with partially reduplicated roots or passive verbal stems reduplicated as in future and present, in the sense of 'have just,' e. g. *kararatíng* (*dating*) 'have just arrived,' *kapangangáral* (*pangáral*) 'have just preached.'

c) with fully reduplicated roots or passive stems to which it imparts the idea of 'as soon as'; the passive stems may be reduplicated as if they were simple roots, or the reduplication may begin with the same syllable

as in the reduplicated forms of the same verb, e. g. *katakbotakbó* 'as soon as—began to run'; *kapangupangúsap* or *kapangusapngúsap* 'as soon as—began to speak.'

Kapag, *kapagka*, *pagka*, *pag* are used as prefixes to roots and passive stems in a sense very similar to that of *ka* with fully reduplicated roots; *kapag* is also prefixed to nouns in the sense of 'being, inasmuch as is,' e. g. *kapagalís* 'as soon as—went'; *kapagkasábi* 'as soon as—had said'; *kapagpáre* 'inasmuch as he is a priest.'

The combined prefix and suffix *ka—an* is used as follows:—

a) with roots in the sense of 'to be about to,' e. g. *kamatáyan* 'being about to die.'

b) with roots indicating the reason why, e. g. *katakótan* 'because of fear.'

c) with roots and passive verbal stems to denote that the action indicated falls to the lot of the agent, e. g. *katanóran* 'turn to be shepherd,' *kapugmisahán* 'turn to say mass.'

Paka is prefixed to any word in the sense of 'to be like, fill the place of.' These compound words are treated as passive stems, and are used in the *in* passive, ordinarily in the preterite with the meaning of a present, sometimes in the imperative, e. g. *pinaka-tinápay* 'takes the place of bread,' *paka-pilák-in* 'take instead of silver.'

The prefix *pá* pronounced with separate accent forms emphatic imperatives indicating to perform with greater energy than before; *pá* is treated like a special passive particle, making passive imperatives according to rule, and also impersonal imperatives like those on p. 406, e. g. *pá-hampas-in* 'be beaten still more severely'; *i-pá-táas* 'raise still more'; *pá-bigyán* 'be presented with still more'; *pá-buksí* 'open still more quickly.'

With Secondary Particles

The chief secondary subsidiary particles are *nga*, *-an*, and *ga*. The particle *nga* is inserted after the first vowel of the active verbal forms beginning with *mag*, *ma* or their derived forms *nag*, *na*, to indicate plurality of agents. The principal verbal classes that take this particle are the *mag*, *magsi*, *magka*, *magpati*, and *ma* classes, e. g. *na-nga-gtatángis* 'are weeping' from *magtangís*, *na-nga-mamatáy* 'are dying' from *mamatáy*.

The particle *an* is suffixed to the active forms of certain of

the verbal classes, the most important of which are the *mag*, *magka*, *maki*, and *manhi* classes. It usually imparts a reciprocal meaning, or emphasizes that meaning when the verb is already reciprocal; with intransitive verbs it indicates to perform the action in competition with others; certain transitive verbs double the suffix to indicate competition, e. g. *magtulóng-an* 'help one another,' *makitaním-an* 'hate one another,' *magtakbó-han* 'run in competition with others,' *magtolak-ánan* 'push one another to see which will push the hardest.'

The particle *ga* is prefixed to a verbal form in the sense of to feign to be or do what the root indicates, e. g. *ga-nagbibili* 'he feigns to be selling,' *ga-bungmibili* 'he feigns to be buying.'

CONSTRUCTION OF VERBS

Verbs with Tense Particles

Use of Active and Passive

The use of the active and passive is not optional as in English. In any given sentence the voice of the verb depends upon the relative importance of the various elements, the most important or most emphatic idea being made the subject of the sentence. If this is the agent of the action expressed by the verb, the active voice is used; if it is any other element of the sentence, then one of the three passives is employed. In general the *in* passive is used when the object of an action towards the agent (e. g. to take) is made the subject; the *i* passive when the subject is the object of an action away from the agent (e. g. to give), or the instrument or cause of the action; the *an* passive, when a place or anything regarded as place stands as subject.³ A definite object is usually more emphatic than the agent of the action, hence the passive is regularly employed when the object is definite. Passive constructions are far more frequent than active, in fact they may be said to be the rule, and active constructions the exception.

Active Verbs

The subject may stand either before or after the verb. In the first case the two are joined by the particle *ay* ('y after a vowel); in the second the two are simply juxtaposed. The

³ Cf. my article *Expression of Case by the Verb in Tagalog*, JAOS. 26 (1906), p. 183-189.

object of the verb may stand in the genitive or oblique case⁴; generally speaking the genitive corresponds to the direct object in English, the oblique, to the indirect. The genitive and oblique objects regularly stand after the verb and its subject, e. g.:—

<i>akó'y sungmusúlat</i>	}	<i>nang libro</i> 'I am writing a book.'
<i>sungmusúlatakó</i>		
<i>ikáw ay gumúlang</i>	}	<i>sa mangá matatandâ</i> 'respect the aged.'
<i>gumúlang ka</i>		

In some idioms the object stands directly after the verb without case sign; or the two are connected by the ligature, especially when the verb ends in a vowel, e. g. *magbalík lóob sa Diós* 'turn (your) heart to God'; *kumúha-ng hátol* 'take counsel.'

Passive Verbs

The subject of the passive verbs has the same construction as that of the active verbs. The agent of the passive may stand before or after the verb: after the verb a noun agent takes the genitive, and a pronominal agent the postpositive form of the genitive; before the verb, a noun agent stands in the oblique, a pronominal agent in the prepositive genitive, both taking the ligature before the verb. A passive verb may also be accompanied by one or more indirect objects which correspond to English prepositional phrases. When the indirect object of the *i* and *an* passives corresponds to the direct object of the active in English, it stands in the genitive; 'with' (of means and instrument) and 'with respect to' are expressed by the genitive; 'to,' 'for,' 'in,' 'from,' by the oblique. A pronominal agent stands next to the verb, and can be separated from it only by certain adverbs: the order of nominal genitive agent, indirect objects, and the subject when it follows the verb is not fixed, but in general pronouns precede nouns, e. g.:—

⁴ There are three cases in Tagalog, nominative, genitive, and oblique. The case of nouns is ordinarily indicated by the forms of the articles or demonstratives—viz. article with common nouns, *ang*, *nang*, *sa*; article with personal names *si*, *ni*, *kay*; demonstratives, nom. with initial *i*- or *y*-, gen. with *n*-, oblique with *d*-, e. g., *itó*, *nitó*, *ditó*. The personal pronouns have special forms. Cf. in my article *Contributions to comparative Philippine grammar*, JAOS. 27 (1906), the section on 'Pronouns derived from particles,' p. 337-396, esp. p. 386 ff.

- ang libro'y binása ko*
binása ko ang libro } 'I read the book'
ang libro'y áking binása } (the book was read by me).
áking binása ang libro }
si Maria ay iníbig ni Luis 'Luis loves Maria.'
itó'y kay Pedro-ng ginawá 'Pedro made this.'
ang libro'y hanápin mo nang ilaw 'look for the book with the light (let
the book be sought by you with the light).'
ipanhík mo sa báhay itó-ng mangá ságing 'bring these bananas up into
the house.'
panhíkan mo akó niyáng mangá ságing 'bring those bananas up to me
(let me be brought to by you with these bananas).'
ibili mo ang bátà nang kánin 'buy the boy some food.'
ipagbili mo sa ámin iyáng mangá manúk 'sell us these chickens.'
binigyán siyá nang bulaklák nang kapatíd mo 'your brother gave him
some flowers.'
ilabás mo ang áking salawál sa kabán 'take my trousers out of the chest.'
ang súlat ay hinánap niyá nitó-ng ilaw sa silíd 'he looked for the letter
in the room with this light.'

An indirect object that would ordinarily stand in the genitive is sometimes simply joined to the preceding verb by the ligature, e. g.:—

- ikáw ay binigyáng panahón* (= *nang panahón*) 'you were given time.'
akó'y itinágwag na kompisióh (= *nang kompisióh*) 'a priest was called to
confess me (I was the cause of calling for confession).'

Verbs with Primary Subsidiary Particles

With the exception of the emphatic imperatives with *ka*, which have the construction of active verbs, and the imperatives with *pá* which sometimes have the active construction, all the verbal forms with primary subsidiary particles have the construction of passive verbs; forms with prefixed *ka*, *kapag*, *kapagka*, *pagka*, *pag*, usually stand at the beginning of the sentence, e. g. *kara-rating ko pa* 'I have just arrived'; *kapagalís nang áking amá'y akó'y ungmális din* 'as soon as my father departed, I went also'; *kaalisan ko na* 'I am about to go'; *kayó po'y pinakamagúlang námin* 'you, sir, are like a father to us'; *pá-hampasín mo siyá* 'beat him still more severely.'

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to give a brief outline of all the principal features of the Tagalog verb in as clear and concise a form as possible. No attempt has been made to be exhaustive, no lists of irregular forms and no long discussion of the various uses of the different verbal forms being given. It is believed, however, that the information here made available will enable any student of Tagalog to understand the make-up and construction of practically any Tagalog verbal form much better than is at present possible on the basis of any of the grammars so far published. A similar brief comparative study of the verbal systems of all the principal Philippine languages is much to be desired, and such a study I hope to have time to prepare in the near future.

BRIEF NOTES

Old Babylonian Linen Weaving

Messayeh from Bagdad sold me a small so-called contract tablet. It is $1 \frac{3}{16}$ inches high, 1 inch broad and $\frac{9}{16}$ inch thick. It consists of light reddish incompletely burned clay and was excavated at Warka. The character of writing belongs to the time of the Ur Dynasty.

The obverse bears five lines. Four lines read: 6 *immere*, 3 *bule*, 1 *uniku*, 1 *shipatu*. The fifth line is the date: 18th of Duzum. The reverse bears 6 lines incrustated with nitre (Calcium nitrate). The tablet is well preserved and on the edges shows the thumb and finger prints of the gyri impressions of the old Babylonian dupsarru in such good condition that a modern detective bureau could easily identify the personality.

The occasional impressions of the obverse are most interesting. During the time that the reverse was written, the wet clay must have rested on a wet cloth, especially when one considers the hot weather of the above midsummer date. This cloth left well preserved impressions between the mentioned figures and the counted things. It is seen that this cloth was somewhat pulled down on the left side curving the lower 'picks' downward. I showed the tablet to the German Artistic Weaving Company of New York (A. C. Kluge). They were easily able to determine the character of this cloth. The construction of cloth is Taffeta binding. The probable material was Linen; it was surely neither woolen nor cotton. The Warp or Number of ends (threads) per inch was 68; number of picks per inch was 50.

The contract tablet is of about 2500 to 2200 B. C. The analysis of the reverse may give the exact year. The tablet shows that the cloth used was really woven and not braided, as Mrs. Schnirer showed some decades ago for the Egyptian cloth. It is an evidence that the old Babylonians of the third millenium B. C. knew and used the technique of weaving linen.

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Assyrian 'kalmat,' Arabic 'kaemlet'

Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, part 14 publishes on Plate 1 and 2 the original text of K 71a of the Kouyunjik Collection. The obverse contains a systematic enumeration of vertebrate animals in Sumerian and Akkadian languages, and the reverse principally insects. The subdivision is evidently the old arrangement by 2, 4, 8 &c. classes and subclasses which can be traced from the oldest Egyptian time down into the 8 zoological classes of Linné. The fourth principal subdivision of the insects of K 71a are the parasites. Two short introductory arrangements of eight lines explain the Sumerian pronunciation of different common caterpillars and parasites. More than 23 lines follow explaining parasitic insects as far as the old Babylonians were able to come to a correct zoological classification. And they were abler in this than the classic Greeks. The ideogram for 'parasite' is phonetically explained as *kal-ma-tu(m)*. This *kalmatu* is evidently the same as Arabian *kaemlet* meaning the louse. In the Arabian language the root forms different words meaning parasite, louse, tick, ant, scolopendra, curculio &c. and also parvenu (usurer?). The root includes as verb the idea of becoming swollen or fat. It includes the idea of thistle as the lexicographers tell. It seems to me that burdock, thistle and *Bidens* as very closely connected genera of the *Composita* are confounded and must be included. Their fruits or seeds stick to the fur and clothes as the tick to the skin. *Echeneis Remora* and *Echeneis Naucratis* are species of *kaemlet* for the Arabian language. They are fishes of one foot and six feet length respectively. They have a sucking disk on the head; this can be attached to larger fishes or ships like a tick. The original idea of the root in this case cannot be the general small parasite. It is only the idea of adherence. The original idea of the root of *kalmatu* and *kaemlet* is the adherent tick. *Kamal* originally meant to be like a tick or to have ticks. This leads to the comparative idea for plants and plant seeds which adhere for seed propagation like ticks to the hair of animals and it leads again to the idea of a parasitic or other engrossment like ticks. This primary idea of the Babylonian-Arabian root must be kept in mind for the explanation of the *kalmatu*-chapter of K 71a.

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Askari, 'soldier,' and Lascar, 'sailor'¹

In my paper on Adar and Elul (ZDMG. 64. 714; cf. JBL. 32. 274) I pointed out that Assyr. *ašagu* (= *uāšagu*) appeared in Arabic as '*āṣaj*, 'brier.' My etymology has been adopted in AkF. 55 (see also MVAG. 18. 2, p. 41, below). Heb. *hissîg*, 'to reach' (lit. 'to make connection'; cf. Arab. *uācala*, 'to connect' and 'to arrive') must be derived from the same stem (see Gesenius-Buhl,¹⁶ 525^a; cf. *ibid.* p. xiv, ad p. 58). In Ethiopic we have *našāga*, 'to bar, bolt'; this may be added to the list in NBSS. 200.

The initial '*Ain* instead of *Aleph* in Arab. '*āṣaj* (for '*āṣaj*) is not exceptional. Similarly we have '*ātjal* for '*ātjal*, 'big-bellied' (Lat. *ventriosus*) from *tājila* (cf. my paper on Heb. *šegāl* = Arab. *tajlā*' in JBL., volume 35). Hess (ZAT. 35. 129) states that the gecko is called in Aden '*ālzaq* = '*ālzaq*, 'adhesive,' from *lāziqa*, 'to adhere' (cf. my paper on Arab. *samm*, 'poison' = Sumer. *šem*, *špoma*, in BA. 10. 2). For this '*Ain* instead of *Aleph* in the form '*af'al* Hess refers to VG. 372. β. The initial '*Ain* in Arab. '*uṣfūr* (VG. 374) = Assyr. *iṣṣūru* (for *iṣpūru*; BAL. 94) = Heb. *ṣippôr* must be explained in the same way; the stem is *ṣapar*, 'to pipe, cheep, whistle' (see my note on Assyr. *lām iṣṣūri ṣabâri*, 'before the birds cheep,' in AJSL. 32. 144; contrast ZDMG. 68. 374). Arab. '*uṣfūr* is a form like '*utkâl* = '*itkâl* = '*itkâl* = Heb. *eškôl*; contrast Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 226. Arab. '*āṣaj* means originally 'tangled,' Heb. *sîr šabûk* (see my *Book of Micah*, 74; cf. JBL. 34. 186). The genuine Arabic form would be *āṣaj* with š (cf. *uāšij*).

Arab. '*āskar*, 'army, camp,' which is generally derived from the Persian *laškar*,² may be the form '*af'al* of the stem of Heb. *šakâr*, 'reward, wages.' Arab. *šākara* means not only 'to thank,' but also 'to reward' (said of God; cf. Ezek. 29. 19; Ps. 127. 3; Gen. 30. 18). In addition to *šākara*, with š, we find also *sākara*, with s, e. g. in *sākarah*, 'hired laborer,' and *sakârah*, 'land plowed for hire' (GB¹⁶. 786^b). Even in OT. this stem is spelled with s in Ezra 4. 5. Ethiop. *šêkûr* means 'hired.' In

¹ For the abbreviations see vol. 34 of this JOURNAL, p. 425, n. 6; cf. AJSL. 32. 64.

² Cf. Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, vol. 2, pp. 1088 and 571^a.

Assyrian this stem appears in the transposed form *šarāku*, 'to reward, endow, bestow, grant,' which Del. HWB. 691 gives as *šarāqu*, although it is generally spelled with *k*; the spelling *šarāqu* (in ASKT. 109. 36) may be due to the *u*-vowel; cf. *isqur* = *izkur* (JBL. 19. 68, n. 40). Moreover, *šarāqu* may be synonymous with *nasāxu*, 'to pull out, carry off,' in the following line, so that *šarāqu* would be the infinitive of *išriq*, 'he stole,' not of *išruk*, 'he granted,' cf. Arab. *sāraqa*, *īasraqa*, 'to steal'; Syr. *sarrīq*, 'to empty, deprive, spoil, strip,' which is a causative stem derived from Assy. *rāqu*, *irīqu*, 'to be empty' (Heb. *herīq*, Arab. *arāqa* or *harāqa*). For Sumer. *gar*, 'to make,' in the sense of 'to endow' cf. our 'to make over' and German *vermachen*, and for *gar* = *šarāqu*, 'to steal,' cf. our phrase 'to make away with' = 'to carry off' (contrast SGL. 80).

Our 'soldier' is etymologically identical with German *Söldner*, 'mercenary'; cf. Heb. *šēkīrīm*, 'hired men' = 'mercenaries, soldiers,' Jer. 46. 21 (see also 2 Chr. 25. 6). German *Sold* (which is derived from Lat. *solidus*; cf. French *sou*, Ital. *soldo*) is the pay for military service. The official German term for *Sold* is now *Löhnung*. On the east coast of Africa *askari* is the name of a native soldier (in Swahili: *asikāri*). The term *lascar* is used now especially of East-Indian sailors, but formerly it denoted in the East Indies a native tent-pitcher, camp-follower, sutler, regimental servant, also an artillery man of an inferior class (EB.¹¹ 16. 232^a). The Turks call the minister of war *seraskier* (سرعسكر) which is a compound of Pers. *sar*, 'head,' and Arab. 'áskar, 'army.' *Sirdar* (Pers. *sardār*, a compound of *sar*, 'head,' and *dār*, 'holding') is the official title of the British commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army.

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Well and Field = Wife

In my *Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910), p. 27 I have pointed out that in modern Palestinian songs a maiden is often called a 'well' or a 'fountain.' Ecclesiastes' admonition 'Remember thy well in thy youth' (Ecl. 12. 1) means 'Do not neglect thy lawful spouse'; have 'sons of youth,' not 'sons of old age' (Ps. 127. 4; Gen. 37. 3). The first lines of the two triplets in

Prov. 5. 15-20, 'Drink water from thine own cistern and the flow from thine own well!' and 'Let thy fountain be unpolluted, enjoy the wife of thy youth!' must be interpreted in the same way. For *barûk*, 'blessed' (see my *Biblische Liebeslieder*, 88) in Prov. 5. 18 we must read *barûr*, 'pure'; cf. n. 78 to my paper on *Micah's Capucinade* (JBL. 29. 105) and the quotation from Gerhard Hauptmann's *Elga* in my note on Heb. *šegâl*, 'queen' = Arab. *ṭajlâ*' (JBL. vol. 35).

In *Mic.* p. 62, n. 9 (cf. ZDMG. 65. 562; also *Biblische Liebeslieder*, 96, n. 3; 126, *ad* 97. 5) I have called attention to the phrase in the Amarna Tablets, 'My field is like a woman without a husband, because it is untilled.' Greek *χέρσος*, 'untilled land,' means also 'unmarried, childless'; cf. Eurip. *Phæn.* 18: *μῆ σπείρε τέκνων ἄλοκα* and Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 1209: *πῶς ποθ' αἱ πατρῷαι σ' ἄλοκες φέρειν, τάλας, σίγ'* ἐδυνάσθησαν ἐς τοσόνδε; (JBL. 34. 74).

A striking illustration of this usage, which survives in our 'seed' = 'progeny,' is found in the Syriac version of the tale of Sindban (Syntipas) and The Seven Wise Masters (cf. Rödiger, *Chrest. Syr.*³ 91; EB.¹¹ 26. 295; 24. 715^a) which was edited by Bæthgen in 1878. In the story related by the first vizir (p. 14 of Bæthgen's translation, p. 4 of his edition of the Syriac text) we read that once upon a time there was a king who saw a beautiful woman and fell in love with her. He sent her husband away and went to her; but she gave him a book to read, which denounced adultery; so the king left her, but he accidentally dropped his ring. When the husband returned he saw the royal ring under the couch and refrained from approaching his wife. She told her father that her husband had estranged himself from her. The father went to the king and said, I had a field which I gave to that man to till; he did so for some time, but now he has estranged himself from it¹: he does not till it,¹ but forsakes it.¹ Then the king said to the husband of the woman, What dost thou say? He answered, Certes, Sir, he gave me a field, and I did not neglect its¹ tillage to the best of my ability; but when I visited it¹ one day, I noticed there the tracks of a lion, and for fear of the lion I did not go there

¹ The Syriac text uses the feminine pronoun, because *âr'â* (= Assyr. *erçitu*, 'earth, land') is feminine.

again. The king replied, Certes, the lion was there, but did no harm. Go into your field and till it¹ well without fear (*Zil 'ol lē-'ar'â uē-fēlohēh tábā'it uē-lâ tidhāl*; see p. 5, l. 3 of the Syriac text).

In his review of Bæthgen's dissertation (ZDMG. 33. 523) Nöldeke referred to a similar story related of Khusrau Parwēz (*Biblische Liebeslieder*, 120). One of the foremost Persian dignitaries (Nakhwergân) had a beautiful wife who became intimate with Khusrau (Chosroes). The husband, therefore, did not approach his wife. Thereupon the king said to him, I hear you have a spring with sweet water, but you do not drink therefrom. The husband answered, O King, I hear that a lion goes to that spring; so I keep away from it for fear of the lion; cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leyden, 1879), p. 353, n. 2.

PAUL HAUPT.

Johns Hopkins University.

The Revolt in Arabia

Professor Snouck Hurgronje has followed up his little book on *The Holy War Made in Germany* (Putnam's, New York, 1915) by an account of *The Revolt in Arabia* (Putnam's 1917). The two volumes in a measure complement one another, the former dealing with the part taken by Germany in bringing about the *Jihād*, the latter showing how as a counter move England backed the endeavor of the Sherif of Mecca to throw off his allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey. With that thorough knowledge of Mohammedan conditions which distinguishes all his writings, Professor Snouck Hurgronje has given a most interesting picture of the actual conditions existing in Arabia and the curious relationship in which for many centuries the Sherif of Mecca, nominally independent, has stood to the Caliphate as represented by the Sultan of Turkey. It is a strange instance of an *imperium in imperio*. What will happen to Arabia after the war is a subject on which it is perhaps idle to speculate, but in the meanwhile the two little volumes by the eminent Dutch scholar are indispensable to those who are interested in obtaining a glimpse of what is going on behind the scenes.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

University of Pennsylvania.

The John G. White Collection, Cleveland Public Library

The John G. White Collection of Folk-lore, Oriental and Mediaeval Literature, and Archaeology, now owned by the Cleveland Public Library, comprises 30,000 volumes and pamphlets, with additions at the rate of 2000 or 3000 annually, and is available for loan to those interested, whether residents of Cleveland or not. The material is now in order, and a librarian in charge.

The Oriental literature collection is one of the most extensive in the country, the Indic languages, Arabic, and Persian being particularly notable. Hebrew is not abundant, nor are there native editions of Chinese and Japanese texts; but in the major Semitic languages, in Western editions of Chinese and Japanese works, and in the other chief Asiatic tongues the amount of material is very large. Periodicals are an important feature.

Much in other portions of the collection will also be of interest. Folk-lore is to be found here as strongly represented as almost anywhere in the country. Fables, proverbs, and gypsy lore are notable features, while there are several thousand ballads. For catalogues of manuscripts in European and Oriental libraries, the White collection ranks among the first three or four of the United States. Egyptology, Assyriology, archaeology (especially Oriental, that of India deserving particular remark), and Oriental history, witchcraft, voyages and travels, and ethnology are all strong features, especially Egyptology. Mediaeval literature is also a highly important feature. Besides the collections of standard publishing societies, most of the individual authors of the period are to be found in nearly all editions. The critical material on hand is chiefly on the literary side, purely linguistic treatises and the philological journals not falling, as a rule, within the scope of the collection. But for Old French, Old and Middle High German, Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, Middle Dutch, etc., and mediaeval romances and legends, the material is very large. Lastly, over 140 different languages are represented, besides many dialects.

While no printed lists are in existence, any desired book can be found readily, and loans will be gladly made. Applications should be made if possible through the library of the institution with which the applicant is connected; those not in a position

to comply with this requirement should state their case. The period for which books are loaned is ordinarily two weeks, with the privilege of renewal for two weeks more; but other arrangements may be made if need warrants. All communications should be addressed to the Librarian, Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio.

GORDON W. THAYER.

Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

• FIRST MEETING OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY

At its annual meeting in 1916, the Society appointed a committee of its members, Professors Breasted (chairman), Clay, Olmstead, Morgenstern, to consider the organization of a Western Branch of the Society. A meeting was decided upon and Western members accordingly came together on January 27th at the Haskell Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago.

The following were present at one or more of the sessions, those newly pledging themselves to membership in the Society being indicated by the asterisk: *Allen, Miss Beers, *Block, *Brauchitsch, Breasted, *Miss Breyfogle, *Bull, *Buttenwieser, *Carrier, Carus, Clark, *Cohen, Dorf, *Edgerton, Eiselen, Fuller, *Henry, *Gaenssle, *Hirsch, *Hornbeck, *Kelly, Laufer, *Levi, Levy, Luckenbill, *Lybyer, *Markowitz, *Meek, Mercer, Morgenstern, Ohan, Olmstead, Price, *Pyatt, *Richardson, Robinson, *Sellers, *Sharman, Smith, Sprengling, *Stolz, *Wearing, *Willett, Wolfenson, *Wrench. In addition, there was a considerable attendance of advanced students from the various Chicago institutions of learning, with a total of over seventy-five.

The first session was held in the Haskell Assembly Room, beginning at 10 A. M., Professor Breasted, Chairman of the Organization Committee, in the chair. Dean James Rowland Angell of Chicago University warmly welcomed the members. Professor Breasted stated the object of the meeting and read a telegram conveying good wishes, from Professors Jastrow, Kent, Edgerton, and Montgomery, of Philadelphia, and a letter of the same tenor from Professor Clay of New Haven. Temporary organization was secured by the election of Professor Breasted as temporary chairman and of Professor Olmstead as secretary. Papers were then read as follows:—

Professor Albert H. LYBYER, of the University of Illinois: The travels of Evliya Effendi.—Discussion by Dr. Laufer and Professor Sprengling.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Missouri: The Assyrian Government of Dependencies.—Discussion by Professor Mercer.

Professor Moses BUTTENWIESER, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati: Have we any Maccabaeian Psalms?

Professor George L. ROBINSON, McCormick Theological Seminary: State of Archaeological Research in Palestine at the Opening of the War (illustrated).

Professor Lybyer took the chair. The matter of signing cards for membership in the new Branch was taken up, and a large number signed. (The total was forty-five, of whom twenty-six were not previously members.)

The reading of papers was resumed, Professor Breasted in the chair.

Professor D. D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago: A Newly Found Babylonian Syllabary.

Professor Martin SPREGLING, of the University of Chicago: The Ship Building Edict in the Elephantine Aramaic Papyri.

There followed an inspection of the Haskell Museum Collections, conducted by the Director, Professor Breasted.

The meeting then adjourned to a luncheon tendered the visiting Orientalists by the University of Chicago at the Quadrangle Club.

The meeting reconvened at three o'clock, Professor Breasted in the chair. Professor Willett moved that it was the sense of the meeting that we proceed to organize a Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society, and the motion was carried. The organization committee, previously appointed, consisting of Professor Morgenstern (chairman), and Professors Breasted, Lybyer, Olmstead, and Wrench, submitted a draft of the Constitution (to be submitted to the Society at its annual meeting). On motion of Professor Eiselen, the report was adopted. On nomination from the floor, the following were elected by unanimous vote cast by the secretary as members of the nominating committee: Professors Wolfenson, Smith, Eiselen, Morgenstern, Mercer.

The society listened to the following communication:—

Dr. Berthold LAUFER, Curator of Anthropology at the Field Museum of Natural History: Recent Archaeological Discovery in China (illustrated).

Professor Eiselen reported for the committee on nominations, as follows: For President, Professor BREASTED; for Vice President, Dr. LAUFER; for Secretary-Treasurer, Professor OLM-

STEAD; for members of the Executive Committee, Professors MORGENSTERN and CLARK. Professor Lybyer took the chair. On motion of Professor Wolfenson, the secretary cast the unanimous ballot of the society for the members thus nominated. The President took the chair. The following papers were read:—

Professor Stanley K. HORNBECK of the University of Wisconsin: The Problem of Republic-Making in China.

Professor J. E. WRENCH of the University of Missouri: The Byzantine Land System.—Discussion by Professor Thompson.

Professor Walter E. CLARK, University of Chicago: Indo-European Names in Cuneiform Documents.—Some Queries.—Discussion by Professors Breasted and Luckenbill.

Professor J. M. Powis SMITH, University of Chicago: The Elephantine Aramaic Papyri and Hebrew Religion.

Professor Julian MORGENSTERN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati: The Origin of the Biblical Massoth Festival.

The meeting then adjourned to reassemble at the Quadrangle Club at seven o'clock. Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch presided as toastmaster, and the following toasts were responded to:—

The Orientalist and the Near East: Professor LYBYER.

The Orientalist and the Far East: Professor HORNBECK.

The Orientalist and Ancient History: Professor OLMSTEAD.

The Orientalist and Religion: Professor FOSTER.

The meeting was adjourned to meet subject to the call of the Executive Committee.

A. T. OLMSTEAD, *Secretary-Treasurer*.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

The one hundred twenty-ninth meeting of the Society will be held in Boston and Cambridge on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, April 10, 11, and 12, 1917. The sessions will be held in the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston, except the session of Thursday, which will probably be held in Cambridge. The first session will open on Tuesday at 11 A. M. The directors will meet at 9:15 A. M.

The headquarters will be the Hotel Brunswick, Copley Square. The Harvard Club and the College Club of Boston courteously

offer the facilities of their club-houses to the men and the women of the Society, respectively, during their stay in Boston. The dinner of the Society will be held on Wednesday evening at the Hotel Brunswick.

The Corresponding Secretary wishes to hear as soon as possible from all members who expect to be present. Every member who intends to present a paper is especially requested to note the announcement made in the Preliminary Circular with regard to papers to be read at the meeting.

PERSONALIA

The Rev. HERVEY B. VANDERBOGART, B.D., Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages at the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., died January 30, 1917. He was a member of this Society since 1911.

JOSEPH HALEVY, a *Directeur* in the École des Hautes Études, Paris, editor of the *Revue des Études Juives*, etc., died in Paris February 2, 1917. He was born in Adrianople in 1827, and was probably the Nestor of Semitic and Jewish scholars.

The Rev. SAMUEL HART, D.D., Dean of the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., and Professor of Doctrinal Theology, died February 25, 1917. He was a member of the Society since 1879.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, who has been spending the winter in California, has sailed to Japan, where he is to deliver some lectures. His address is c/o Thos. Cook & Son, Yokohama.

PROF. ELIHU GRANT, of Smith College, has been appointed Professor of Biblical Literature in Bryn Mawr College.

EDITORIAL NOTICE

The Editors are considering the advisability of publishing the JOURNAL in five parts, namely in October, December, February, April, June, that is, bi-monthly for the academic season. This proposition they will submit to the Directors at the Annual Meeting for approval.

They also desire to develop the following 'departments' in the pages of the JOURNAL, which will serve as channels of communication and information among the members. The cutting off of the foreign journals in consequence of the War has made the need of such features more sensible. Their value will depend however upon the interested co-operation of the members, which is warmly solicited by the Editors.

(1) BRIEF NOTES. These would be short communications on fresh notes of interest, scientific queries, discoveries, references to outlying works of interest, brief criticisms and discussions. These should be composed in a simple and readable form. Also important data of current Oriental history and doings should be chronicled, in regard to which point the Editors believe that the JOURNAL should concern itself more with the contemporary Orient.

(2) PERSONALIA. Personal notes concerning members of the Society and other Orientalists: their movements and professional appointments: obituary notices.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

at the meeting in Washington, D. C., 1916

The annual meeting of the Society, being the hundred twenty-eighth regular meeting since its founding, was held in Washington, D. C., on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Easter Week, April 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1916.

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

Abbott	Chiera	Hussey, Miss	Popenoe
Abbott, Mrs.	Clay	Hyvernatt	Rabinowitz
Albright	Currier	Jackson	Rosenau
Archer	Dennis, J. T.	Jackson, Mrs.	Rudolph, Miss
Barton	Dickins, Mrs.	Jastrow	Russell
Bates, Mrs.	Dominian	Johnson	Schapiro
Ben Yehuda	Dorf	Kent, R. G.	Schoff
Bloomfield	Edgerton	Kyle	Snyder
Bloomhardt	Ember	Michelson	Steinbach
Brown, W. N.	Fenlon	Montgomery	Swingle
Burlingame	Georgelin	Morgenstern	Vanderburgh
Butin	Grant	Müller	Williams, E. T.
Carnoy	Haas	Nies, J. B.	
Casanowicz	Haupt	Notz	[Total: 54]

The first session was held in Rooms 42, 43, and 44 of the United States National Museum, beginning at 3:10 P. M., the President, Professor Jackson, being in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read in abstract the Proceedings of the meeting in New York, April 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1915, which were then approved as read.

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, thru Dr. Fenlon, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday morning at half past nine,

Tuesday afternoon at half past two, Wednesday morning at half past nine, and Wednesday afternoon at two. It was announced that the members were invited by Mrs. Francis W. Dickins to attend an informal reception at her home after the session on Monday afternoon; that there would be an informal gathering of the members on Monday evening at the University Club; that the members of the Society were invited by the Rector and Faculty of the Catholic University of America to a luncheon at the University on Tuesday at a quarter past one; that the session on Tuesday afternoon, at the Catholic University, would be devoted to papers dealing with the historical study of religion in its widest scope and to those of a more general character; and that the annual subscription dinner would take place on Tuesday at half past seven at the University Club.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Franklin Edgerton, presented the following report:—

The present international situation has reduced the foreign correspondence of the Society to a minimum, and the Corresponding Secretary's duties have been practically restricted to routine matters this year.

During the year the Secretary has received information of the death of two members of the Society.

The Very Reverend WILLIAM MANSFIELD GROTON, S.T.D., died at Philadelphia on May 25th, 1915. He was a graduate of Harvard College (1873) and of the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia (1876). For many years he was rector of Christ Church, Westbury, R. I. He became Professor of Systematic Divinity in the Philadelphia Divinity School in 1898, and Dean of the same institution in 1900; both of these positions he continued to fill until his death. Throughout his long career as pastor and administrator he kept up an active interest in scholarship, especially along the lines of the history of theology and of mysteries in religion. He was the author of 'The Christian Eucharist and Pagan Cults' (the Bohlen Lectures, Longmans, New York, 1914), and of the article on 'Mystery Religions' in Hastings's Dictionary of Apostolic Christianity. He was an active and valuable member of the Philadelphia Oriental Club.

The Reverend JOHN MILLER, M.A., of Coudersport, Pa., died on November 30th, 1915, in Philadelphia, Pa. Though an old man and not in direct touch with academic circles, he continued to prosecute his Semitic studies with the zeal of youth up to the time of his last illness.

The Society has also lost twelve members by resignation during the current year. Special mention must be made of Professor Crawford H. Toy,

Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages in Harvard since 1880 and Professor Emeritus since 1909, a Past President of this Society, and one of the foremost leaders of Oriental scholarship in this country. Professor Toy's standing makes it superfluous to comment on the loss which the Society sustains thru his withdrawal from its active membership.

The program of the Society's meetings this year has been arranged in accordance with a rule which was drawn up by the Corresponding Secretary and sent by mail to the Directors on March 3d, 1915, for their approval or rejection. The Directors approved the proposed rule by a vote of eleven to one, with one not voting. The text of the rule thus adopted is as follows:—

VOTED, that the Corresponding Secretary is hereby authorized and instructed to arrange the program of the Society's meetings at Washington, April 24-26, 1916, in the following manner:

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall secure in advance from each member who intends to present communications the following information:

1. What sessions of the Society's meetings, if any, such member expects *not* to be able to attend;
2. In case he announces more than one communication, which one he wishes to read first;
3. At which session he would prefer to read the same, if he has any choice;
4. The approximate time (not to exceed 20 minutes) which the reading of his paper will require.

II. On the basis of the information thus obtained, the Corresponding Secretary shall prepare a schedule of papers to be presented at each separate session of the Society's meetings. In doing so the Secretary shall respect the preferences of all members so far as possible. In particular he shall invariably see to it that members who are unable to attend all the sessions shall be scheduled to read at some session which they expect to attend. He shall also, so far as possible, endeavor to vary the program at each session by having papers on all the principal departments of Oriental studies presented at each, except that, as heretofore, papers dealing with the historical study of religions, together with papers of more popular interest, shall be reserved for one special session. The Secretary shall endeavor to arrange the schedule for each session so that there will be reasonable time allowed for the discussion of papers presented.

III. All communications shall then be presented in the order of the printed program as arranged and published by the Corresponding Secretary, and no deviation from this order shall be permitted except by unanimous consent of the members present. It is the sense of the Directors that no deviation from the program should ever be allowed in favor of any member who may plead inability to be present.

at the time for which his paper is scheduled. Members should be required to state such circumstances to the Secretary in advance, in which case they will be accommodated as provided under Section II of this rule.

IV. No member shall under any circumstances read a second communication until all members present at the meetings have had an opportunity to read one communication.

The reasons which led the Corresponding Secretary to propose this change of system are contained in a circular letter which accompanied the proposal to the Directors, and a part of which is here quoted:—

All members who have attended recent meetings of the Society will, I think, agree that as the programs have heretofore been arranged, it has been wholly impossible for anyone not gifted with omniscience to guess even approximately the time when he or any other member will be called upon to read his paper. Any member is liable to be called to the platform at any time. Though some variation on the alphabetical order is supposed to be followed, the order is always departed from very freely to suit the convenience of individual members. But even if the alphabetical order were strictly followed, the same confusion would ensue, since no one knows how many of the members scheduled to read will be present at any given session, or at all. I remember a meeting at which, during the very first hour, the president went down the list alphabetically from A to P, calling for papers whose readers were either not present at that particular session or not present at all.

It seems to me desirable that members should be enabled to know approximately when they themselves and other members will read. No member is physically capable of remaining in the room all the time for two or three days; and if he leaves it for a single minute, under the system heretofore in vogue, he is liable to miss a paper which he would very much have liked to hear. I have suffered in this way repeatedly myself, and know that others have.

The crowded condition of the program at some recent meetings has made it necessary to cut down very seriously the reading of papers, and especially the discussion of them, towards the end of the session. Under the proposed plan the program could always be made to fit the papers offered; if necessary an extra half-day could be added, or the time allotted to all papers could be cut down, if it seemed advisable, and if it appeared evidently impossible to hear all papers in the allotted time. It is certainly not fair to allow some members full time and others only 5 or 10 minutes, as has been done at least once in the past. Under the present system it is the faithful members who attend all the sessions who suffer most through this shortening at the end. Any member who comes only to one session is always permitted to read at that session, out of his turn; and as that session is usually an early one, he is allowed ample time. Those who stay to the end are then often compelled to cut their papers short.

The Corresponding Secretary ventures to hope that the Society will agree with him as to the advantages of this manner of arranging the program.

In conclusion he wishes to express his very heart-felt appreciation of the invaluable assistance rendered to his unpractised hands by various of his associates, but especially by his predecessor, Professor Jackson, now President, and by the Recording Secretary, Dr. Haas.

Tribute was paid to the two members whose death was reported; Professor Jastrow spoke of the Rev. Dr. Groton, and Professor Jackson referred to his correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Miller.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

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

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1915

Receipts

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1914		\$1,379.88
Annual dues	\$1,385.20	
Sales of the Journal	202.90	
Savings Bank accounts closed, with accrued interest ..	2,594.20	
State National Bank, final dividend	37.70	
Interest on bonds	300.00	4,520.00
		<hr/>
		\$5,899.88

Expenditures

Printing of the Journal	\$1,616.10	
Subvention to Oriental Bibliography	83.25	
Subvention to the Dictionary of Islam	50.00	
Editor's honorarium	200.00	
Stationery and printing	82.11	
Clerical work, postage, etc.	9.85	
Expenditures in connection with the Library	663.21	2,704.52
		<hr/>
Balance to new account		3,195.36
		<hr/>
		\$5,899.88

Besides the balance deposited with Yale University, \$3,195.36, the Treasurer holds the following bonds:—

2 Lackawanna Steel Company	\$2,000.00
1 Minneapolis General Electric Co.	1,000.00
1 Virginian Railway Company	1,000.00
2 Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Ry.	2,000.00

The status of the Bradley Type Fund, which in 1914 was \$3,503.11, including the two Lackawanna bonds and the Minneapolis bond at par value, is \$3,676.15.

The status of the Cotheal Fund, which in 1914 was \$1,494.12, is now \$1,558.29.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the account book with the vouchers and with the statement of funds deposited with the Treasurer of Yale University, and have found all correct.

CHARLES C. TORREY }
F. W. WILLIAMS } *Auditors.*

NEW HAVEN, CONN., April 22, 1916.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

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

During the past year considerable work has been done in the preparation of a catalog of the Library. The Librarian is pleased to be able to report that only about one thousand volumes still remain to be catalogued, these including Turkish, Arabic, and Chinese books. The titles of the Chinese works must, of course, be translated by persons familiar with the language. A Japanese student has worked on the titles of the literature in his native tongue. Including the oversight of another, the Library had the continuous service of a catalog-worker. The Library is indebted to Professor Torrey, who has rendered valuable assistance in connection with some of the foreign languages.

This undertaking should be completed and the catalog prepared for the printer in about six months. There will be work, however, for several additional months in labels on the books and bookplates in them, besides other minor details.

The amount appropriated for the work by the Society during the past five years (since 1911) is \$900. Through the generosity of Professor James R. Jewett, of Harvard University, the sum of \$700 additional was made available in the course of these years for the same purpose. On January 1st of this year there was a balance of \$150.47 unexpended, nearly all of which has now been used. The Librarian has asked the Directors for an appropriation of \$300 for the year, and he will endeavor to raise any additional sums needed to complete the catalog.

The following books were received during the past year and a portion of the previous year:—

- Anandaraiga Pillai. The private diary of . . . , v. 3. Madras, 1914.
- Brandstetter, R. Monographien zur indonesischen Sprachforschung. V. 12. Luzern, 1915.
- Buffet, E. P. The layman Revato. [New York], 1914.
- The Burney papers, v. 4, pt. 2; v. 5, pt. 1. Bangkok, 1913-14.
- Collection of works on prosody, in Siamese. 1914.
- The Crawford papers. Bangkok, 1915.
- Deimel. Pantheon Babylonicum. Rome, 1914.
- Delaporte, L. Les monuments du Cambodge. Paris, 1914.
- Dutt, S. A., Compulsory sales in British India. Calcutta, 1915.
- Festschrift Eduard Sachau. Berlin, 1915.
- Gangoly, O. C., South Indian bronzes. Calcutta, 1915.
- Guesdon, J. Dictionnaire cambodgien-français. Paris, 1914.
- Jensen, P. C. A. Texte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Religion. Berlin, 1915.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. Dante papers. Bombay, 1914.
- Moral extracts from Zoroastrian books. Bombay, 1914.
- Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa jubileo volume. Bombay, 1914.
- Lake Mohonk conference on the Indian and other dependent peoples. Report of the 32d-33d annual conference. [Poughkeepsie], 1914-15.
- Mercer, S. A. B. The Ethiopic liturgy. Milwaukee, 1915.
- Mills, L. H. Yasna XXIX in its Sanskrit equivalents. Louvain, 1912.
- Yasna XXXI in its Sanskrit equivalents. Oxford, 1914.
- Miyaoka, T. Growth of internationalism in Japan. Washington, D. C., 1915.
- Paton, D. Early Egyptian records of travel, v. 1. Princeton, 1915.
- Pennsylvania, Museum of the University of, Babylonian section. Publications, v. 4, nos. 1-2; v. 5; v. 6, no. 1; v. 7; v. 8, no. 1; v. 9, no. 1; v. 10.
- Pick, R. F. On the historical identification of Osiris. MS. (1910).
- On the historical identification of Seb. MS.
- The origin of the Osirian cult. New York, 1911.
- Transliteration and translation of Recitals 2-40 of the Book of the Dead. MS.
- Pithawalla, M. The coming and the passing of Zoroaster, by Ruby. Poona, 1914.
- The poetry of ancient Persia. Surat, 1915.
- Rawlinson, H. G. Shivaaji the Márátha, his life and times. Oxford, 1915.
- Ross, E. D. Three Turki MS. from Kashghar.
- Royal names given to royal palaces, residences, etc. In Siamese. 1914.
- Russell, R. V. The tribes and castes of the Central Provinces of India, v. 3. London, 1916.
- Sapir, E. A sketch of the social organization of the Nass River Indians. Ottawa, 1915.
- Siam. Royal Historical Research Society. Collection of histories. In Siamese. 1914. 3 v.
- Evidence given by Aparakamani, a Burmese prisoner of war. B. E. 2305. In Siamese. 1915.

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- The History of Nang Nobamās. In Siamese. 1914.
Sohrab Jamshedjee Bulsara, tr. Aêrpatastân and Nirangastân. Bombay, 1915.
Udumborraj, Evidence regarding Ayuddhya. In Siamese. Bangkok, 1914.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professors Oertel and Torrey, was read by the Recording Secretary, as follows:—

Because of the absence of Professor Oertel in Europe, since the early summer of 1914, the work of issuing the Journal has been carried on by a single editor. The first three parts of Vol. 35 have been brought out at about the usual intervals, though considerably behind time, Part 3 reaching this country in February. Many parcels containing copies of the Journal, or offprints, shipped from Leipsic, have been lost or detained on the way. Part 4 of Vol. 35 is presumably all in type. Proofs of about one-half of its contents have already been corrected and returned; the remainder probably has gone astray somewhere in transit. Our printers in Leipsic, of the firm of W. Drugulin, have done their utmost in our behalf. It would not be easy to estimate the difficulties under which they have labored, nor to speak in too high praise of their unfailing readiness to co-operate with the Editors and of the uniformly excellent quality of their work.

Under the present conditions brought about by the European war, the mails are greatly delayed and increasingly unsafe. It has therefore been found necessary to print Vol. 36 in this country. The whole of Part 1 (about 100 pages) has already been put in type by The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company, of New Haven, who were chosen to do the work after estimates had been obtained from several publishing houses. The cost of printing in this country is much greater than in Europe, and contributors to the Journal are invited to co-operate with the Editors in reducing the expense as much as possible, by preparing their manuscripts carefully and having them typewritten before sending them in.

The present editor is satisfied that it is very desirable to print the Journal in this country, even under normal conditions, and believes that it will be found feasible to do so. Publishing abroad involves at best a considerable loss of time, and some loss of accuracy, since but one proof can be sent. There are many details in the make-up of such a periodical and in the complicated press-work, which the editors and publishers need to discuss together. But discussion at such long range is reduced to almost nothing. It is important, moreover, that more than one American printing establishment should be able to set Oriental types. As matters are progressing at present, it is not difficult to foresee the time when this will become a lost art in the United States.

The present editor in charge, who has served continuously from 1901 until the present time (though not always mentioned on the title-page), is now compelled by pressure of other duties to resign his office and ask

the Society to appoint a successor. He takes this opportunity to thank the contributors to the Journal for their co-operation.

All of the foregoing reports were severally accepted as presented.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

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

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Dr. Oswald T. Allis,	Mr. Leeds C. Kerr,
Prof. J. C. Archer,	Mr. T. Y. Leo,
Mr. Charles Chaney Baker,	Dr. Stephen B. Luce,
Mr. E. Ben Yehuda,	Dr. Henry F. Lutz,
Prof. C. Theodore Benze,	Mrs. Eugene Meyer,
Mr. Paul F. Bloomhardt,	Dr. Riley D. Moore,
Major George B. Bowers,	Rev. Dr. William M. Nesbit,
Mr. William Norman Brown,	Mrs. James B. Nies,
Prof. Albert J. Carnoy,	Rev. Francis J. Purtell,
Mr. Arthur R. Chaffee,	Mr. Elias N. Rabinowitz,
Prof. Irwin H. DeLong,	Rev. Charles Wellington Robinson,
Mr. Louis Alexander Dole,	Mr. Elbert Russell,
Mr. Leon Dominian,	Rev. Dr. Henry Schaeffer,
Rev. A. T. Dorf,	Prof. H. Schumacher,
Prof. Henry Lane Eno,	Rev. Joseph Edward Snyder,
Prof. Leslie Elmer Fuller,	Mr. Reuben Steinbach,
Prof. Kemper Fullerton,	Mr. Walter T. Swingle,
Dr. Henry Snyder Gehman,	Rabbi Sidney Tedeshe,
Rev. F. Georgelin,	Mr. Henry S. Van Dyke,
Dr. Isaac Husik,	Mr. Paul R. Verzosa,
Mr. Frank Edward Johnson,	Rev. Dr. Royden K. Yerkes.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1916-1917, consisting of Professor E. Washburn Hopkins (appointed by the President to serve in place of President Francis Brown, deceased), Professor M. L. Margolis, and Mr. J. T. Dennis, presented their report. It was voted to amend the list of nominations by substituting the name of Professor James A. Montgomery for that of Professor C. C. Torrey, who had asked to be relieved of his duties as Editor of the Journal. As it was pointed out that the list of nominations presented did not con-

form to the provisions of the Constitution relating to officers, the report was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Dennis, Professor Kent, and Professor Clay, with instructions to present a revised list of nominations at a subsequent session.

After a number of announcements by the Corresponding Secretary and a brief recess, the President delivered the annual address, the subject being 'Persian Mystic Poetry.' At five o'clock the Society adjourned for the day.

SECOND SESSION

The second session was opened on Tuesday morning at 9:32 A. M., with the President, Professor Jackson, in the chair. According to the first program prepared by the Corresponding Secretary, the Society proceeded at once to the reading of communications, in the following order:—

Dr. I. SCHAPIRO, of the Library of Congress: The Hebrew collections in the Library of Congress. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 355-359.]

Dr. T. MICHELSON, of the Bureau of American Ethnology: Asokan notes. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 205-212.] Remarks by Professor Edgerton and reply by the author.

Dr. E. GRANT, of Smith College: A new archive from Old Larsa.—Remarks by Professors Haupt, Kent, and Jastrow.

Thirty-four First Dynasty business documents, now in the Yale collection, were discussed. Most of the documents are concerned with the slave-traders and throw new light on that branch of law.

Dr. W. ROSENAU, of Johns Hopkins University: Some notes on Akathriel.—Remarks by Professors Haupt, Bloomfield, Jastrow, Montgomery, and Barton.

A discussion of the passage in the Talmudic tract Berachoth 7a: 'Rabbi Ishmael said: I once entered the Holy of Holies to burn incense, and I saw Akathriel, Yah, the Lord of Hosts, who was sitting upon a high and lofty throne.' 'Akathriel' is another name for God and means 'the crowned God.'

In the discussion Prof. Haupt contended that the first element is an elative form; Prof. Bloomfield suggested that the word might be explained from the Persian angelology.

Rev. J. E. SNYDER, of Johns Hopkins University: The Cromlech of Bethel.

Mr. E. RUSSELL, of Johns Hopkins University: Biblical paronomasia.

A discussion of the use of paronomasia in the New Testament in comparison with the Old Testament. The Pauline writings show a considerable number of cases of homoeoteleuton and of plays on the similarity of words in sound.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: Vedic cruces in grammar, text, and interpretation.—Remarks by Professors Jackson and Edgerton.

Dr. H. S. GEHMAN, of the University of Pennsylvania: *Adhi-vac* and *adhi-brū*, 'to bless,' in the Veda. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 213-225.]—Remarks by Professors Carnoy, Bloomfield, and Haupt.

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of Johns Hopkins University: Pali *anama-tagga*.—Remarks by Dr. Michelson.

The Society then took a recess until the afternoon.

THIRD SESSION

The afternoon session was held in McMahon Hall, Catholic University of America, beginning at 3:22 P. M., with the President in the chair. The following communications were presented:—

Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, of the United States National Museum: Jewish amulets in the National Museum. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 154-167.]

Professor M. JASTROW, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania: Sumerian and Akkadian views of beginnings. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 274-299.]—Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor A. J. CARNOY, of the University of Pennsylvania: Iranian traditions of the origin of man, in connection with similar Babylonian traditions. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 300-320.]

Mr. F. E. JOHNSON, of Washington: The Troglodytes of Southern Tunisia. (Illustrated with photographic projections.)—Remarks by Professor Müller.

Mr. L. DOMINIAN, of the American Geographical Society: The geographical foundations of Turkey's world relation. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 168-180.]

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The plant of life; (b) Shalmon and Beth-Arbel; (c) Tones in Sumerian; (d) Open Sesame.

Dr. J. E. ABBOTT, of New York: Rāmdās, the Mahārāshtra saint and poet.

An account of the life and teachings of this revered poet, who lived in the times of King Sivaji of Maratha (1608-1681).

At a quarter before six the Society adjourned for the day.

FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session began at 9:40 A. M. on Wednesday morning in the National Museum, with the President in the chair.

It was announced for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at Boston and Cambridge on Tuesday, Wednesday,

and Thursday of Easter Week, April 10th, 11th, and 12th, 1917, beginning on Tuesday morning.

On recommendation of the Directors it was voted that a Publication Committee be appointed, to take charge of the publishing of important works in the field of Oriental scholarship under the auspices of the Society, if it should prove feasible to do so. The chair appointed Professor Jastrow, Professor Hopkins, and the President *ex officio*.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1916-1917

After the election to corporate membership of five additional persons recommended by the Directors (the names are included in the list above), the supplementary committee on nomination of officers, appointed at the first session, reported as follows:—

President—Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr.

Vice Presidents—Professor James H. Breasted, of Chicago; Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, of New York; Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor Franklin Edgerton, of Philadelphia.

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

Treasurer—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

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

Editors of the Journal—Professors James A. Montgomery, of Philadelphia; Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

Directors—The officers above named, *ex officio*, and:—

Class of 1919: Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Professor Charles R. Lanman, Dr. James B. Nies.

Class of 1918: Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., Professor W. Max Müller.

Class of 1917: Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Professor Henry Hyvernat, Dr. Mary I. Hussey.

The officers thus nominated were thereupon duly elected.

The President then announst the following appointments:—

Committee of Arrangements for 1917: Professor Charles R. Lanman, Professor George F. Moore, Dr. Louis H. Gray, Mr. Charles Dana Burrage, and the Corresponding Secretary.

Committee on Nominations: Dr. Charles J. Ogden, Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, Dr. James B. Nies.

Auditors: Professor Charles C. Torrey, Professor F. W. Williams.

The reading of communications was then resumed, as follows:—

Mr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Some misinterpreted passages in the cuneiform Flood tablet; (b) The eighth campaign of Sargon. [Paper *b* has been printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 226-232.]—Remarks by Professors Haupt, Morgenstern, and Jastrow.

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: Remarks on the phonetic values of several Egyptian alphabetic signs.—Remarks by Professors Haupt, Jastrow, and Kyle, and reply by Dr. Ember.

Professor E. W. FAY, of the University of Texas: Current defects in Indo-European grammar. (Presented by Professor Kent.)—Question by Professor Edgerton.

An attempt to show that the primitive Indo-European speech did not have *Schwa*, the obscure vowel, distinct from short *a*, and that the *th*-spirants have no place in the list of Indo-European sounds. The *i* in Indo-Iranian, corresponding to *a* of the European languages, is really a zero-grade of a long *i*-diphthong (many roots having both long vowel and diphthongal forms), extended schematically to roots containing the long vowel only. The word for 'father' is *pappa*, remade to **pa-ter-* after other words of relationship, and this was itself in Indo-Iranian assimilated to **pi-tar-* 'protector,' agency-noun from the root *pō[i]* 'protect.'

Mr. E. N. RABINOWITZ, of Johns Hopkins University: The original sequence of the Songs of the Return.—Remarks by Professors Haupt and Jastrow.

Mr. R. STEINBACH, of Johns Hopkins University: Arabic *thamtham*, 'to stop.'

Miss A. RUDOLPH, of New York: The Hindu woman's achievements: a note of appreciation.—Supplementary remarks by Dr. Abbott.

A brief review of the modern Hindu woman's activities along educational, social, and literary lines, with quotations from current literature. Among the prominent Hindu women mentioned were Mrs. Ghosal (sister of Rabindranath Tagore), who is a philanthropist, author, and editor, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who, for her distinction in poetry, was in 1914 elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature.

Dr. F. A. VANDERBURGH, of Columbia University: A business letter of Anu-šar-ušur. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 333-336.]—Remarks by Professor Clay.

Dr. J. B. NIES, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: An addition to the earliest treaty on record. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 137-139, under the title 'A net cylinder of Entemena.']—Remarks by Professor Clay.

Professor J. MORGENSTERN, of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati: The bones of the Paschal lamb. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 146-153.]—Remarks by Professor Haupt, Dr. Chiera, Professors Jastrow and Edgerton, and Mr. E. T. Williams.

Mr. E. BEN YEHUDA, of New York: Some lexicographic notes in regard to the Hebrew language.—Remarks by Professor Haupt.

At 12:50 P. M. the Society took a recess until the time appointed for the afternoon session.

FIFTH SESSION

The last session was opened at 2:05 P. M., with the Recording Secretary in the chair. The following paper was presented:—

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Sources of the Filosopy of the Upaniṣads. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 197-204.]—Remarks by Dr. Haas, Professor Carnoy, and Dr. Michelson.

The President, Professor Jackson, entered and took the chair. The following resolution, offered by Professor Montgomery, was unanimously adopted:—

The American Oriental Society desires to place on record its appreciation of the faithful and scholarly service of Professor CHARLES C. TORREY as an Editor of its Journal for the past fifteen years.

The reading of communications was resumed, in the following order:—

Mr. P. F. BLOOMHARDT, of Johns Hopkins University: The poems of Haggai.

The Book of Haggai, usually regarded as prose, contains four poems, the last of which originally stood at the end of the first chapter. To these are to be added two Haggaianic poems in the book of Zechariah. The metrical composition of the poems was discust.

Dr. A. YOHANNAN, of Columbia University, and Miss B. da C. GREENE, of New York: A description of [a manuscript of the] *Manāfi' al-Haiawān*, in Mr. J. P. Morgan's Library. (Presented in abstract by Professor Jackson.) [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 381-389.]

Mr. W. N. BROWN, of Johns Hopkins University: Introductory remarks to a Bibliography of Indian Folklore.—Remarks by Professor Edgerton.

Modern Indian folklore, the collecting and publishing of which began in 1868, is of interest not only in itself, but specially because of the relation it bears to the vast literary fiction of India, more than half of it being borrowed from literature. An undoubted instance of this borrowing is the occurrence among the Santālis in Bengāl of the story of 'Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp'; many of the Pāñcātānta stories also appear in the folklore. The Bibliography to which these remarks are introductory is the first collection of titles relating to Indian folklore that aims at completeness.

Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, of the National Museum: A Korean sorcerer's outfit in the National Museum. [Cf. *Proceedings of the United States National Museum*, 51. 591-597, with plates 108-112.]

On motion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote:—

The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks to the authorities of the United States National Museum, to the Rector and Faculty of the Catholic University of America, to Mrs. Francis W. Dickens, to the Directors of the University Club, and to the local Committee of Arrangements, for their hospitable welcome and for the thoughtful provision made for the comfort and entertainment of the members of the Society.

The reading of papers was thereupon continued, as follows:—

Professor J. MORGENSTERN, of Hebrew Union College: The etymological history of the three Hebrew synonyms for 'to dance,' *HGG*, *HLL*, and *KRR*, and their cultural significance. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 321-332.]

Dr. J. B. NIES, of Brooklyn: An early *pa-te-si* of Babylon.—Question by Dr. Chiera and reply by the author.

Mr. WALTER T. SWINGLE, of the Department of Agriculture: An early Chinese illustrated work on natural history, *Chêng lei pen ts'ao*, in the Chinese collections of the Library of Congress.

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum: Roman sea trade with the Far East.

There is no proof of the dispatch of shipping from Roman Egypt to ports further east than Ceylon or Dravidian India. Kaveripaddinam at the mouth of the Kaviri River on the SE. coast of India may be taken as the limit of Roman shipping eastward. An active trade across the Bay of Bengal was carried on in the first two centuries of the Christian era by native shipping from the Chola and Andhra parts and from the Ganges delta. At the Straits of Malacca there was no doubt an interchange with shipping from Further India and Southern China. Explanation of the use of the term 'right-hand' in referring to a point of the compass gives a key to the strange error in Ptolemy's geography whereby the Indian Ocean was made an enclosed sea, with a southern continent reaching from the 'furthest east' back to Africa.

At the conclusion of the program the Corresponding Secretary called attention to the helpful activity of Dr. Butin in making the necessary arrangements for the sessions and for the entertainment of the members.

The Society adjourned at four o'clock, to meet again in Boston and Cambridge on April 10th, 1917.

The following communications were presented by title:—

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Five.

Dr. F. R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The glottal catch in Tagalog; (b) The expression of indefinite pronominal ideas in Ethiopic; (c) The Hebrew vowel Seghol.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: On the art of entering another's body: a Hindu fiction motif.

Dr. E. CHIERA, of the University of Pennsylvania: A peculiar division document of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

Prof. C. E. CONANT, of the University of Chattanooga: Indonesian *l* in Philippine languages. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 181-196.]

Dr. V. DINSHAW, of Nirmal, India: The cult of the Chthonic deities and their bearing on the date and country of Zarathushtra.

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) New Semito-Egyptian words; (b) Obsolete Semitic words in Old Egyptian.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: Indra as god of fertility. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 242-268.]

Dr. C. E. KEISER, of Yale University: (a) Kimash in the land of Amurru; (b) Khu-ba-mer-si-ni, patesi of Khumurti.

Dr. M. G. Kyle, of Philadelphia: Is Moses mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions?

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

With Amendments of 1897, 1911, and 1915.

CONSTITUTION

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

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

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

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

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

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

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

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

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, two Editors of the Journal, and nine Directors. The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting, by ballot, for a term of one year. The Directors shall consist of three groups of three members each, one group to be elected each year at the annual meeting for a term of three years. No Director shall be eligible for immediate re-election as Director, tho he may be chosen as an officer of the Society.

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

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

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

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

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

BY-LAWS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

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

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

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS

I. FOR THE LIBRARY

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

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

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

LIST OF MEMBERS

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

† designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Dr. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.
- †JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.
- Prof. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Cotterstock, Chipstead, Surrey, England. 1907.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, vii Holló-Uteza 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.
- Prof. HENDRIK KERN, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7.) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kaiser-Friedrichstr. 32.) 1878.
- Prof. HERMANN OLDENBERG, University of Göttingen, Germany. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.) 1910.
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François I^{er}, Paris, France. 1908.
- Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Witte Singel 84a.) 1914.
- Prof. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weberstrasse 18a.) 1902.
- Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstrasse 15.) 1890.

[Total: 22]

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with * are those of life members.

- Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
 Mrs. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.
 JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, Bridgehampton, Long Island, N. Y. 1915.
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1915.
 Dr. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
 Prof. MASAHARU ANESAKI, Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan. 1914.
 SHIGERI ARAKI, 102 West 123d St., New York. 1915.
 Prof. J. C. ARCHER, 571 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1916.
 Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD (Andover Theol. Seminary), 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
 Prof. KANICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
 CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, P. O. Box 182, Watts, California. 1916.
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York. 1915.
 Prof. LEROY CARR BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
 Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 418 West 20th St., New York. 1894.
 Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Miss ETHEL BEERS, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
 *SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR, Deccan College, Poona, via Bombay, India. 1914.
 Miss EFFIE BENDANN, 420 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
 E. BEN YEHUDA, 6 West 107th St., New York, N. Y. 1916.
 Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, 5 Seminary Place, New Brunswick, N. J. 1893.
 PIERRE A. BERNARD, 662 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
 Dr. GEORGE F. BLACK, Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 7 Carroll Road, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria. 1898.
 Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.

- Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, Lutherville, Md. 1916.
- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
- Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, 93 N. Ohio Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
- Prof. CORNELIUS B. BRADLEY, 2639 Durant Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1910.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- †Pres. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1881.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Jubbulpore, C.P., India. 1909.
- Dr. WILLIAM NORMAN BROWN, 227 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. RUDOLPH E. BRÜNNOW (Princeton Univ.) 49 Library Place, Princeton, N. J. 1911.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- Dr. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1914.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- J. DUDLEY CARROLL, 1032 Forest Ave., Memphis, Tenn. 1915.
- Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, LL.D., Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
- Dr. PAUL CARUS, Care of Open Court, La Salle, Ill. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, Sunnyside, Rayapettah, Madras, Southern India. 1899.
- Miss EVA CHANNING, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Dr. EDWARD CHIERA (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 5340 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
- HWANG CHUNG-HUEI, 395 Manhattan Ave., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- WALTER E. CLARK, 24 North Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- *ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, Ritz-Carlton, 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- *GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
- Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, Univ. of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1905.
- †ECKLEY B. COXE, JR., 1604 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
- FRANCIS A. CUNNINGHAM, 508 W. Maple Ave., Merchantville, N. J. 1910.

- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. IRWIN H. DE LONG, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
- JAMES T. DENNIS, Woodbrook, Md. 1900.
- Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
- Dr. VICCAJI DINSHAW, Mahabubnagar, Haidarabad, India. 1915.
- Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
- LOUIS A. DOLE, 48 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1916.
- LEON DOMINIAN, American Geographical Society, New York City. 1916.
- Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 N. Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Rev. WALTER DRUM, S.J., Woodstock, Md. 1915.
- Rev. WM. HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
- Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- Mrs. ARTHUR C. EDWARDS, 309 West 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.
- WILLIAM T. ELLIS, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.
- †Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL (Amherst College), 5 Lincoln Ave., Amherst, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
- Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Prof. C. P. FAGNANI (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
- Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
- Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- †Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, 123 Vernon St., Hartford, Conn. 1876.
- Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, 91 Arlington St., Newton, Mass. 1900.
- Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.
- CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- Rev. Dr. FONCK, Instituto Biblico Pontifico, Via del Archelto, Roma, Italia. 1913.
- Prof. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
- Dr. WM. HENRY FURNESS, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Miss MAUDE H. GAECKLER, Edinboro, Pa. 1915.
- ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
- Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, So. Philadelphia High School, Broad and Jackson Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.

- Miss MARIE GELBACH, Prospect Terrace, Park Hill, Yonkers, N. Y. 1909.
 EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 1911.
 Rev. F. GEORGELIN, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D. C. 1916.
 Miss ALICE GETTY, 75 ave. des Champs Elysées, Paris, France. 1915.
 Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1858.
 Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.
 Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
 KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.
 Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 25 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1897.
 Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 25 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1907.
 Miss BELLE DA COSTA GREENE, 33 East 36th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Miss ETTALENE M. GRICE, Care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
 Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 50 Heck Ave., Ocean Grove, N. J. 1894.
 Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.
 *Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 518 W. 140th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
 Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
 Mrs. IDA M. HANCHETT, Care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebr. 1912.
 †Prof. SAMUEL HART, D.D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1879.
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.
 PHILIP S. HENRY, 1402 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C. 1914.
 Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, Leopoldstr. 8, München, Germany. 1887.
 Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
 PHILIP K. HITT (Columbia University), 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1915.
 *Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
 †Rev. Dr. HUGO W. HOFFMANN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
 *Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
 Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
 HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
 Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
 Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 *Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 S. T. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.

- Prof. ISAAC HUSIK, 408 S. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1913.
- *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
- Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 12th St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
- Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
- Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
- Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 3038 N St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1908.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 415 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- LEEDS C. KERR, Easton, Md. 1916.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- WALTER S. KUPFER, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
- *Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Rev. Dr. FREDERICK LENT, 195 Livingston St., New Haven, Conn. 1915.
- T. Y. LEO, Chinese Consulate, 18 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1916.
- Rev. H. LINFIELD, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMAN, Hainholzweg 44, Göttingen, Germany. 1912.
- †Prof. PERCIVAL LOWELL, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
- Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, University of Pa. Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Dr. HENRY F. LUTZ, 4314 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- *BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.

- ALBERT MORTON LYTHERG, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. J. F. MCCURDY, 255 Fort Washington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 6501 Wayne Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Seminary), 2738 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Rev. FREDERIC C. MEREDITH, 32 Kita-kuruwa Cho, Maebashi, Jochu, Japan. 1914.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
- MARTIN A. MEYER, 2109 Baker St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
- Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS, 218 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- BENJAMIN BURGESS MOORE, 109 East 38th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- *Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Dr. RILEY D. MOORE, Div. of Physical Anthropology, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Prof. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 863 Hutchins Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Jefferson, Wis. 1906.
- Prof. W. MAX MUELLER (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 4325 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
- Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, 477 Main St., Orange, N. J. 1916.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, Box 321, Madison Square P. O., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Rev. Dr. JAMES B. NIES, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- *Mrs. JAMES B. NIES, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1916.
- Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, Y. M. C. A., Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFELE, 326 E. 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.

- Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD (Univ. of Missouri), 817 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1909.
- Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
- *ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
- Mrs. CHARLES F. OSTRANDER, 50 West 53d St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan. 1909.
- Dr. PAUL BOWMAN POPENOE, 511 Eleventh St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
- Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
- Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, S.T.L., Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, Thottakkadu House, Madras, India. 1913.
- Dr. GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, Colonial Heights, Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
- E. N. RABINOWITZ, 125 Aisquith St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
- Dr. CAROLINE L. RANSOM, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- G. A. REICHLING, 466 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
- Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Rt. Rev. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER, Church House, 12th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1908.
- ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.
- J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Canada. 1913.
- Rev. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Haverford, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

- Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
 Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 417 West 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 ELBERT RUSSELL, 725 Euclid Ave., Roland Park, Md. 1916.
 P. D. SAKLATVALA, 354 4th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Mrs. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
 Rev. Dr. FRANK K. SANDERS, 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
 Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Rev. Dr. HENRY SCHAEFFER, 19 Southampton St., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
 Dr. JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, Care of Messrs. Kerhoven & Co., 115 Heeren-gracht, Amsterdam, Holland. 1906.
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
 WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
 Prof. H. SCHUMACHER, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1916.
 MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., Care of *New York Times*, Times Square, New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Dr. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.
 Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.
 *Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi-machi, Sendai, Japan. 1902.
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
 CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.
 *JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
 Major C. C. SMITH, Fourth Cavalry, Ft. Leavenworth, Kan. 1907.
 Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.
 Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
 Rev. JOSEPH E. SNYDER, Ellicott City, Md. 1916.
 ELY BANNISTER SOANE, Care of H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, England. 1911.
 Prof. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
 Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.
 REUBEN STEINBACH, 114 S. Chester St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
 Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
 Hon. MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
 Prof. GEORGE SVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
 Rev. HENRY SWIFT, Plymouth, Conn. 1914.
 WALTER T. SWINGLE, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C. 1916.
 Rabbi SIDNEY TEDESHE, 461 Elmwood Ave., Providence, R. I. 1916.

- Miss MARGARET THOMAS, 20 Gloucester St., Boston, Mass. 1915.
- EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
- Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
- *Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
- Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
- Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, St. Bartholomew's Church, 44th St. & Madison Ave., N. Y. 1909.
- †Rev. HERVEY BOARDMAN VANDERBOGART, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1911.
- Rev. Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH (Columbia Univ.), 55 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
- Dr. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- †Rev. Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, South Berwick, Me. 1869.
- Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
- Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD, 30 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1903.
- ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 100 Lenox Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
- Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
- JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
- *Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1901.
- Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
- Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, Xenia, Ohio. 1911.
- HENRY B. WITTON, 290 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
- Dr. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 1113 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
- Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
- Prof. WILLIAM H. WORRELL (Hartford Theol. Seminary), 152 Whitney St., Hartford, Conn. 1910.
- Rev. Dr. ROYDEN K. YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), 3437 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Dr. S. C. YLVISAKER, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1913.

Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
1894.

Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road,
Bombay, India. 1911. [Total: 301]

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École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille,
2.)

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Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.

Revue Biblique Internationale. (Librairie V. Lecoffre,
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H. Welter, 4, rue Bernard-Palissy.

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- Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)
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- Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.
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- ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
- Istituto Biblico Pontificio.
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- Vereeniging "Koloniaal Instituut."
- LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.
- S'GRAVENHAGE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië.
- Martinus Nijhoff.
- RUSSIA, HELSINGFORS: Société Finno-Ougrienne.
- Akademiska Bokhandeln.
- ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
- Archeologiji Institut.
- Bibliotheca Buddhica.
- SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

ASIA

- CHINA, SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 TONKIN: École Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton),
 Hanoi.
- INDIA, ALLAHABAD: Allahabad Public Library.
 BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)
 BENARES: Benares Sanskrit College, "The Pandit."
 CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)
 The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)
 Sanskrit College.
 DELHI: Secretary to the Government of India, Department of
 Education.
 LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.
- INDIA, MADRAS: Manuscripts Library.
 Presidency College.
 SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Ben-
 more, Simla, Punjab.)
 Secretary to the Government of India, Department of
 Education, Simla.
- SIAM, BANGKOK: Siam Society.
 Vagirañana National Library.
- CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.
- JAPAN, TOKYO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.
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AFRICA

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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

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CONTENTS

PAGE

BARRET, LEROY CARR: The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Book Five, Edited with Critical Notes	257
BARTON, GEORGE A.: Ancient Babylonian Expressions of the Religious Spirit	23
— A Word with reference to 'Emperor'-worship in Baby- lonia	162
— Takku	163
BENDER, HAROLD H.: On the Naturalistic Background of the 'Frog- hymn,' Rig-Veda 7. 103	186
BEN YEHUDA, E.: Three Notes in Hebrew Lexicography	324
CASANOWICZ, I. M.: Two Jewish Amulets in the U. S. National Museum	43
CLAY, A. T.: Name of the so-called Deity Za-mal-mal	328
DOMINIAN, LEON: The Site of Constantinople: a Factor of Histori- cal Value	57
HAUPT, PAUL: Assyrian <i>lānu</i> 'aspect'—Arabic <i>lāṣn</i> 'color'	253
— Tones in Sumerian	309
HIETH, FRIEDRICH: The Story of Chang K'ién, China's Pioneer in Western Asia	89
HOPKINS, E. WASHBURN: Indic and Indian Religious Parallels	72
— Indra and other Gods of War and Fertility combined	85
KOHLER, K.: The Sabbath and Festivals in Pre-exilic and Exilic Times	209
LAUFER, BERTHOLD: Burkhan	167
— The Vigesimal and Decimal Systems in the Ainu Numerals, with some Remarks on Ainu Phonology	192
LUCE, STEPHEN BLEECKER, JR.: A Note on 'The Year's Work in Oriental Archaeology'	86
LUCKENBILL, D. D.: The Name Hammurabi	250
LUTZ, H. F.: On the Reading of the Date-formula of the Fourth Year of Gimil-Sin	330
LYBYER, ALBERT HOWE: The Travels of Evliya Effendi	224
MERCER, SAMUEL A. B.: 'Emperor'-worship in Babylonia—a Reply	331
MONTGOMERY, JAMES A.: Babylonian <i>niš</i> 'oath' in West-Semitic Postage Stamps of the Hijāz	329
— The Words 'law' and 'witness' in the South Arabic	87
NIES, JAMES B.: The Reading of <i>GIŠ-Úḫki</i>	164
DEFELE, FELIX VON: The Assyrian Veterinary Physician	255
— Babylonian Titles of Medical Textbooks	331
OGDEN, CHARLES J.: Note on Kathāsarisāgara 9. 7	250
OLMSTEAD, A. T.: Tiglath-Pileser I and his Wars	328
	169

	PAGE
SCHELTEMA, J. F.: Arabs and Turks	153
SCHOFF, WILFRED H.: Navigation to the Far East under the Roman Empire	240*
SEIDEL, M.: <i>Ū</i> as an Old Plural Ending of the Hebrew Noun	165

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING AT BOSTON, 1917	1
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY	333
NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES	333
PERSONALIA	88, 168, 336
LIST OF MEMBERS AND OF RECIPIENTS OF THE JOURNAL	338

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Amulet on Vellum for the Protection of Daniel, Son of Berakah (Tunis, North Africa)	44
Double Amulet on Parchment with Blanks for Insertion of the Name of a Client (Tunis, North Africa)	52
Postage Stamps of the Hijâz	87
Tablet from Drehem Dated in the Reign of Dungi, King of Ur	257
Reverse of Tablet K259 of the Kuyounjik Collection, British Museum	257

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT THE MEETING IN BOSTON, MASS., 1917

The annual meeting of the Society, being the hundred twenty-ninth regular meeting since its establishment, was held in Boston, Mass., in the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, on Tuesday and Wednesday of Easter Week, April 10th and 11th, 1917.

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

Abbott	DeLong	Jastrow	Ogden, Miss
Abbott, Mrs.	Edgerton	Jewett	Sanders
Albright	Ellis	Kellner	Schmidt
Arnold	Fullerton	Kyle	Schoff
Barret	Gavin	Lanman	Steele
Barton	Gellot	Magoun	Tedeshe
Bates, Mrs.	Gottheil	Martin	Torrey
Breasted	Grant	Montgomery	Vaschalde
Burrage	Gray	Moore, G. F.	Warren
Cadbury	Gray, Mrs.	Moore, Mrs. G. F.	Werren
Carnoy	Haas	Morgenstern	Westermayr
Chester	Hanchett, Mrs.	Muss-Arnolt	Winslow
Clay	Haupt	Nies, J. B.	Wolfson
Coomaraswamy	Hopkins	Ogden	Worrell
Crandon	Huskey, Miss		

[Total: 58]

The first session was held on Tuesday morning, beginning at 11:15 A. M., the President, Professor Barton, being in the chair.

The reading of the Proceedings of the meeting in Washington, April 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1916, was dispensed with, as they had been published in the JOURNAL (36. 428-443). There being no corrections, they were approved as printed.

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, thru Professor Lanman, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday afternoon at two, Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at two. A fifth session, if it should be found desirable to hold one, was appointed for Thursday morning at half past nine. It was announst that there would be an informal gathering of the members on Tuesday evening in the Reading Room of the House of the American Academy; that the session on Wednesday morning would be devoted to papers dealing with the historical study of religion and to those of a more general character; that the members of the Society were invited to be the guests of the local members at luncheon—the ladies at the College Club, the men at the Harvard Club—on Wednesday at one o'clock; that the annual dinner, at which the local members would entertain the visiting members, would take place at the Hotel Brunswick on Wednesday evening at half past seven; and that a committee of local members would be glad to show visitors over the Widener Library of Harvard University, the Semitic Museum, the University Museum, and other points of interest in Cambridge, at the close of the meeting.

It was voted to send a telegram of greeting to the Society's oldest member, Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, and likewise to Professor Crawford H. Toy.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Franklin Edgerton, presented the following report:

On account of the continuance of the war in Europe, the international correspondence of the Society continues to be at a low ebb, and the Secretary's duties during the past year have been concerned mainly with our internal and domestic affairs.

This year has been marked by one event of prime importance in the history of our Society—the formation of a Middle West Branch. At last year's meeting the Directors appointed a committee, consisting of Professors Breasted, Olmstead, Morgenstern, and Clay, to consider the founding of such a branch. This committee called a meeting of Orientalists of the Middle West, to convene at Chicago on January 27th, 1917. An excellent program was arranged and successfully carried out. An account of the proceedings has been published in the JOURNAL (36. 423-425). The attendance at the meeting, the interest shown, and the number of new members pledged to our Society have already justified the formation of this branch,

which wil, I believ, be of the greatest benefit to the work of the Society as a whole.

The program of the meetings this year has been arranged according to the plan adopted last year, which seemd to prove successful and satisfactory. In order to facilitate and encourage general discussion, the authors of the papers to be presented wer askt this year to submit in advance brief abstracts of their communications, these abstracts to be sent to all members indicating their intention to be present. The same abstracts hav also been sent to the press of Boston, in the hope of calling attention to the work of the Society by facilitating the publication of accurat newspaper reports.

Deth has been unusually severe on the membership of the Society during the past twelvmonth. It has deprived us of twelv members, nine activ and three honorary, som of them of great distinction in the field of Oriental studies and activ in the work of our Society.

AUGUSTE BARTH, easily the dean of French Indologists, died at Paris on the 15th of April, 1916, in his 83d year. He had been an honorary member of the Society since 1898. He was also an honorary member of the British Royal Asiatic Society, a corresponding member of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, and a member of numerus other lerned societies. M. Barth never held any academic post, and indeed had little academic training; he was a self-made scolar. His *Religions de l'Inde* (Paris, 1879) was not only the first work of its kind cronologically, but was remarkable in other respects. Few books hav ever been written on so large a field which wer so thoroly original, and few books so original hav been at the same time so lucid, so sane, and so comprehensiv. It is these characteristics that hav combined to make the book one of prime value even to this day. And these ar the characteristics of all of Barth's later work, which has consisted mostly of critiques and reviews, somtimes dealing with single publications, somtimes summing up the general progress of knoledge on a more or less wide field. It may fairly be said that many of Barth's brief articles hav been worth more than stout books, and that many of his reviews hav been more valuable than the works which occasiond them.

JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., who had been an honorary member of this Society since 1899, died at his home in Edinburgh on Oct. 3d, 1916, at the age of 84. Because of the fact that he establisht both the *Indian Antiquary* (in 1872) and the *Epigraphia Indica* (first volume publisht in 1892) and because of his numerus monumental publications he may rightfully be designated as in large mesure the founder of the modern science of Indian archeology and epigraphy. He became hed of the Archaeological Survey of Western India in 1873, of the Archaeological Survey of Southern India in 1881, and of the united Archaeological Surveys of India in 1886. Among his most important works ar: *The Cave Temples of India* (with J. Fergusson, 1880); *Buddhist Caves and their Inscriptions* (1883); and *Cave Temples of Elurā* (1887).

Professor Sir GASTON MASPERO died on June 30th, 1916, at the age of 70. By his deth our Society lost one of its most eminent honorary mem-

bers (he was elected in 1898) and the world one of its most distinguished scholars. His life was marked by extraordinary activity and usefulness and was crowned with almost every honor that a man of learning could covet, from the time when he was made Professor of Egyptology in the *École des Hautes Études* at the age of twenty-three, and in the *Collège de France* at the age of twenty-seven, to the year 1909, when he received the distinction (rare for a foreigner) of an English knighthood in recognition of his achievements as Director of the Service of Antiquities in Egypt. The value of his contributions to Egyptology is held to be enormous. He was, moreover, one of that never too common type of scholars who know how to combine scientific industry and accuracy with lucid and skilful popular presentation. His *Ancient History of the Peoples of the Classical Orient* has made those early times alive and real for those who could not follow his scientific investigations.

We all feel not only professionally but also personally the deepest sense of bereavement in the loss of Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, whose long life of usefulness ended on August 28th, 1916. He was one of our oldest members, having joined the Society in 1869; and for many years he was one of the leaders in the Society's work. He was President from 1890 to 1894 and again in 1909-1910. No few sentences could adequately express what Dr. Ward has been to our Society. Rather than attempt such a task, I refer to Professor Jastrow's able memorial sketch recently printed in the *JOURNAL* (36. 233-241).

Another of our most active and distinguished members, the Rev. Dr. FRANCIS BROWN, died in New York on October 15th, 1916. He had been connected since 1879 with Union Theological Seminary, where he became Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages in 1890 and President in 1908. He was not only one of the most noted theologians of the country, but also an eminent Orientalist and productive scholar, especially in the field of Hebrew lexicography. He was actively interested in the work of the Society, of which he had been a loyal and devoted member since 1881.

Oriental studies generally and Egyptological researches in particular have lost a generous supporter in Mr. ECKLEY BRINTON COXE, JR., of Philadelphia, who died on September 20th, 1916. Though not a scholar by training, he took an active and intelligent interest in the antiquities of Egypt from an early period of his life, and repeatedly visited that country. Later he fitted out two expeditions to Nubia and Egypt, which were conducted by the University of Pennsylvania Museum, in 1907 and again in 1915. The latter expedition was still engaged in fruitful research at the time of its patron's death. Mr. Coxe was president of the Board of Managers of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and was a life member of our Society, which he joined in 1913.

Professor LEVI H. ELWELL, a member of the Society since 1883, died on December 27th, 1916. He had been on the staff of Amherst College since 1877, as instructor and professor in the departments of Latin and Greek. His claim to distinction as an Orientalist rests on the fact that he prepared the first Pāli book ever issued in America—the *Nine Jātakas* (1886), a most convenient little volume, which has been useful to many a

student beginning the study of Pāli. Among his avocations wer botany and genealogy, on both of which subjects he wrote many minor articles and som books.

Professor HENRY FERGUSON, who became a member of the Society in 1876, died at his home in Hartford, Conn., on March 30th, 1917, in his 70th year. He was a man of varied interests and manifold activities—a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, a professor of History and Political Science, an educator (he was for som years hed of St. Paul's School at Concord, N. H.), and an author of books and monographs on historical subjects.

Dean SAMUEL HART, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., died February 25th, 1917. He, too, had a wide range of interests, and he attaind markt distinction in several fields. For many years he was professor—first of Mathematics, then of Latin—in Trinity College. He became professor and vice-dean in Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., in 1899, and dean in 1908. This last position he held at the time of his deth. He was also secretary of the House of Bishops of his Church since 1886; president of the Connecticut Historical Society since 1900; and a senator of Phi Beta Kappa since 1892. He was a classicist of distinction; edited the Satires of Persius and of Juvenal; and was at one time secretary and later president (1892) of the American Philological Association. He was also activly interested in Oriental, especially Hebrew, studies, and edited the Mozarabic liturgy. He was a member of the Society since 1879.

The Rev. HUGO W. HOFFMANN, Ph.D., for twenty-two years pastor of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., died very suddenly on February 3d, 1917. He was formerly a student of Semitic languages at New York University, under Professor Prince, and had been a member of the Society since 1899.

Professor PERCIVAL LOWELL, the celebrated astronomer, died on November 13th, 1916, at Flagstaff, Arizona. His scientific and scolarly activities wer confined to the field of astronomy, in which he was not only an able scolar but also a brilliant popularizer. But his activ interest in the Orient is attested by his authorship of such books as *The Soul of the Far East*, *Occult Japan*, etc., as wel as by his membership in our Society (since 1893) and in the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Rev. HERVEY BOARDMAN VANDERBOGART, a member of the Society since 1911, died on January 30th, 1917. He was a graduate of Trinity College (1903), and had been a member of the faculty of Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., since 1910.

In concluding this report the Corresponding Secretary desires to express his very grateful appreciation of the cordial and helpful co-operation accorded him by his fello members and especially by the Recording Secretary, Dr. Haas.

Tribute was paid to some of the members whose death was reported: Professor Hopkins spoke on M. Barth and Mr. Burgess; Professor Lanman made appreciative remarks concern-

ing Professor Hart, Professor Elwell, Mr. Burgess, and M. Barth; Professor Jastrow spoke on Mr. Coxe; Professors Gottheil and Barton and Mr. Steele referred to the character and achievements of President Brown.

Professor Lanman then read a letter from Ceylon regarding the publication of commentaries on the Buddhist Tripitaka and their gratuitous distribution to libraries in this country.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

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

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1916

Receipts

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1915		\$3195.36
Annual dues	\$1518.15	
Life membership fee	75.00	
Sales of publications	273.59	
Interest on bonds: Virginian Railway Co.	50.00	
Lackawanna Steel Co.	100.00	
Minn. General Electric Co.	50.00	
Interest on balances, to June 30, 1916	164.96	2231.70
		<u>\$5427.06</u>

Expenditures

Printing of the Journal, vol. 36, part 1	\$528.11	
Editors' honorarium	200.00	
Printing, postage, and clerical work for the Corresponding Secretary	92.61	
Printing of notices concerning the Journal	14.02	
Printing bills, etc., and mailing for the Treasurer	19.80	
Library account: postage, war tax on shipments, etc.	8.74	
clerical work	472.00	
classification of Japanese books	12.50	1347.78
Balance to new account		<u>4079.28</u>
		<u>\$5427.06</u>

In addition to the balance of \$4079.28 deposited with Yale University, the Treasurer of that institution holds the following bonds for the Treasurer of the Society:

2 Lackawanna Steel Company	\$2000
1 Minneapolis General Electric Company	1000
1 Virginian Railway Company	1000
2 Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway	2000
	<u>\$6000</u>

At the last meeting the Treasurer requested the permission of the Society to make a readjustment of the funds, so as to create a Life Membership Fund and to re-establish a fund to be known as the Whitney Fund. He also asked for permission to fix a stated sum as principal for the Bradley and Cotheal Funds, so that the interest accruing could be used for publication and other purposes. The Directors authorized him, provided there be no legal obstacles, to use the surplus of all funds above the original amount, and the interest annually accruing thereon, for the re-establishment of such funds as may have been allowed to lapse, and for the publication of the Journal and other works.

Subsequently, in examining the minutes of the Society, the Treasurer found that practically everything that he had asked permission to do had years ago been ordered by the Society.

The minutes for May, 1890, state that 'the Treasurer reported a gift from Mr. A. I. Cotheal of New York, one of the oldest members of the Society; and long a director, of one thousand dollars intended by the donor as a nucleus of a Publication Fund and prescribed by him to be invested that its interest may be used to help in defraying the cost of the Journal and Proceedings' (*PAOS* 15. ii).

Two years later we find it recorded that 'the Treasurer further received, April 4, 1892, from an anonymous giver, the sum of one thousand dollars (not included in the foregoing statement) to be added to the Society's Publication Fund; the principal of said sum to be left intact, and its interest to be used towards defraying the Society's expenses of publication. The gift was made as "a help to the Society" and in the hope that the gift—along with the gift of the like sum from Mr. Cotheal—might serve as a "suggestion and encouragement to others to do likewise"' (*PAOS* 15. cxlii). The Treasurer wishes to add that the anonymous benefactor was the late William Dwight Whitney.

In April, 1892, it was voted 'that henceforth the fees received in composition for annual assessments to constitute Life Members be treated by the Treasurer as part of the Capital Fund of the Society' (*PAOS* 15. cxliii).

In going back to the minutes of May, 1865, nearly thirty years earlier, shortly after the death of the Hon. Charles W. Bradley, LL.D., of New Haven, we find it recorded that his donations to the Society's collections of books and MSS. had been vastly greater than those of any other person, and that, by means of personal solicitation he had brought to the treasury more than a thousand dollars, a part of it for the specific object of the purchase of a font of Chinese type (*PAOS* 8. lxii).

After careful consideration of all matters connected with these foundations and the present financial status of the Society, the Treasurer wishes to present the following list of capitalized funds, the interest of which can be used for publication purposes, at the same time expressing the hope that the reports of Treasurers in future will annually record them for the benefit of the members, as a 'suggestion and encouragement to others to do likewise.'

CAPITALIZED FUNDS

Charles W. Bradley Fund	\$3000
Alexander I. Cotheal Fund	1500
William Dwight Whitney Fund	1000
Life Membership Fund	2075
	<hr/>
	\$7575

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

We hereby certify that we have examined the account of the Treasurer of the Society, and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries with the vouchers and the account book as held for the Society by the Treasurer of Yale University, and have found all correct.

F. W. WILLIAMS }
CHARLES C. TORREY } *Auditors*

NEW HAVEN, CONN., April 4, 1917.

It was voted to postpone consideration of the remaining items of business to the next business session on Wednesday afternoon. The President then delivered the annual address, the subject being 'Ancient Babylonian Expressions of the Religious Spirit.'

In view of the length of the morning session it was decided to reconvene at 2:30 P. M. instead of at 2 P. M. Thereupon, at 1:15 P. M., the Society took a recess until the time set.

SECOND SESSION

The second session began at 2:36 P. M., with the President in the chair. According to the first program prepared by the Corresponding Secretary, the Society proceeded at once to the hearing of communications, in the following order:

Professor E. GRANT, of Smith College: Smith College tablets of the period of the First Babylonian Dynasty.

Nearly a score of tablets from the collection at Smith College, presented in facsimile, transliteration, and translation. They comprise court agreements, sales, loans, leases, receipts, and lists from the reigns of Samsuiluna, Abi-eshua, Ammiditana, etc. One especially interesting tablet is a legal document concerning the family status of a sacred woman of the god Ramman.

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: Added etymological notes on the Old Persian Inscriptions. (Presented in brief abstract by the Corresponding Secretary.)

- (1) Etymological support of the interpretation of OP. *am'utha* as a verbal form, meaning 'he fled.' (2) A possible additional item

of testimony from the Baluchi that the adjective OP. *wāmršiyuṣ* means 'by a natural death.' (3) Brief etymological comments on some other OP. words.

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: Hindu sculpture and architecture.

If the conclusions of the modern psychology of beauty be accepted, there appear reasons why later Hindu sculpture falls far short of high attainment: the effort to portray the spiritual by violating the laws of matter and by misrepresenting its organized forms is an illogical proceeding, as might be expected from artists who handled a material whose very existence was held to be an illusion. The aims of architecture seem to hold it back from the greatest faults of Hindu sculpture.

Professor J. H. BREASTED, of the University of Chicago: The earliest boats on the Nile. (Illustrated with photographic projections.)—Remarks by Mr. Schoff and Dr. Nies.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: Indic and Indian religious parallels. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 37. 72-84.]—Remarks by Professors Carnoy and Jastrow.

Dr. J. B. NIES, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: Is *UMMA^{ki}* the correct reading for the ideogram *GIŠ-Ú^{ki}*?—Remarks by Professor Clay.

The author has in his collection a tablet in which the city Umma is mentioned written not *GIŠ-Ú^{ki}* as usual, but *UMMA^{ki}*. This does not prove that the latter is the same as the former, but it points in that direction, and it does prove that there was a city named Umma in Babylonia.

Professor K. FULLERTON, of the Oberlin School of Theology: Does Isaiah teach the inviolability of Jerusalem at Is. 10. 5-15?—Remarks by Professor Arnold.

The chief problem of anti-Assyrian prophecies is whether Isaiah taught the inviolability of Zion. Is. 10. 5-15 is the key to these prophecies. Vs. 13-15 and vs. 5-7a indicate a contrast between Jahweh's and Assyria's theories of Assyria's conquests. Jahweh's theory: Assyria is his instrument of punishment; Assyria's theory: Assyria conquers in its own power. Vs. 7b-12 indicate a contrast between Jahweh's and Assyria's plans. Jahweh's plan: chastisement, Jerusalem to be ultimately saved; Assyria's plan: destruction. Vs. 7b-12 in their present form are secondary. Conclusion: Isaiah does not teach the inviolability of Jerusalem.

Professor J. A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: A Christian incantation bowl in the 'Manichaean' script.

An example of a well-known class of charms from Babylonia, written on the inside of clay bowls, in an Aramaic dialect. This case is unique, as the charm includes, along with the invocation of pagan and Jewish deities and angels, also the Trinitarian formula.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: Three passages from the Koran: 1. The *shahādat al-bain* (5. 105). 2. 'The dog *Raqīm*' (18. 8, 17). 3. An emendation of the text (64. 14).

The Corresponding Secretary then presented in abstract papers submitted by members unable to be present at the sessions, in the following order:

Dr. F. R. BLAKE and Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: A new Hebrew Grammar.

The authors have felt the need of a practical Hebrew grammar, and the present work is an attempt to supply that want. It is believed that the combined labors of two scholars, one especially interested in linguistic science and one with a native command of Hebrew, will produce a work better adapted to the needs of students than any yet published.

The grammar will consist of two volumes, the first containing all the most essential facts, and the second enlarging on and supplementing the first. The chief features of the work will be: scientific accuracy, practical arrangement, simplification of difficult points, conversation, chrestomathy.

Dr. F. R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The etymology of the Semitic particle *ka*, 'like'; (b) The compound particle *ki-im* in Hebrew.—Remarks by Professor Haupt.

(a) The Semitic particle *ka* is supposed by many to be a noun meaning 'likeness' standing in the construct state before a genitive. It seems, however, to be identical with the demonstrative element *k* which occurs in many demonstrative pronouns, e. g. Arabic *dhalika*, Aramaic *dek*, Ethiopic *zeku*, etc. That such is the case seems to be shown by the fact that comparative particles meaning 'as, so,' in other languages are often derived from pronominal elements; e. g. English *so* and *as* (originally *al-so*) are connected with the Indo-European pronominal root *sva* (Skt. *sva*, Lat. *suus*, 'his, her'), etc.

(b) The compound particle *ki-im* has a variety of meanings depending on the various meanings of *ki* and *im*. Its most important meaning is 'but' after a negative, German *sondern*. In this meaning it referred originally to what preceded, the adversative idea referring to what follows being developed as the result of the collocation. In such a sentence in Hebrew as 'the horse is not white *but* black' the original meaning was either 'the horse is not white, *if not* (so, then) black' or '... not white, *verily not*, (it is) black.' Both conceptions are supported by parallels in other languages.

Professor E. W. FAY, of the University of Texas: Indo-Iranian direction adjectives.

Notes on the etymology of several such adjectives: *ji-h-má*, posterior *añc*, etc.

Dr. B. LAUFER, of the Field Museum of Natural History: The vigesimal and decimal systems in the Ainu numerals, and some remarks on Ainu phonology.

In the first part of this paper an analysis is given of the numerals common to the three principal dialects of Ainu, those of Yezo, Sag-

halin, and Kuril. This system is thoroly vigesimal, the number 5 being exprest by the word for 'hand' and the highest unit being 20. Years ago the writer found in the southeastern part of Saghalin also a decimal system of counting, hitherto unknown. It is shown that this progress was made under the influence of the Manchu, who establisht some kind of suzerainty over Saghalin in the 18th century. The second part of the investigation is devoted to a discussion of the phonetics of the Ainu speech with special reference to the Saghalin dialect, the writer comparing his own data and conclusions with the observations recently made by a Polish scholar, Piłsudski, and Abbé Rousselot. An attempt is made at reconstructing the ancient consonantal system of the language, which bears no resemblance to any language with which Ainu has erroneously been compared, that is, Altaic, Indo-European, Semitic, or Bask. Ainu is at present an isolated language, its congeners, if they ever existed, being extinct long ago.

Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, of the U. S. National Museum: Jewish amulets in the United States National Museum. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 37. 43-56.]

Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, of Johns Hopkins University: *û* as an old plural ending of the Hebrew noun.

The schedule of papers for the session being thus completed, the Society proceeded to the consideration of items of business not taken up at the morning session.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

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

The work of cataloguing the Library, which was made possible by generous gifts from Professor J. R. Jewett and appropriations from the Society's treasury, is now practically completed. Besides the regular catalog, there has been prepared a shelf-list, which will be used in the printing of the catalog for distribution to the members.

Professor Torrey has very kindly rendered valuable services in connection with the Turkish books in Arabic characters, as well as the Turkish and Arabic manuscripts; and Professor Hopkins has been helpful in the listing of the Sanskrit works. The Librarian wishes to express here his gratitude to these scholars. The books in Chinese and Japanese have been classified by students acquainted with these languages. There remain about 50 Arabic books and 50 Turkish books in Armenian characters, which the Librarian hopes to see catalogued without delay.

It is hoped that the printed list may be in the hands of the members before the next meeting. The cost of publishing it, estimated to be between five and six hundred dollars, will be covered, if at all possible.

without recourse to the funds of the Society. A gift of \$100 for this purpose has been received from Mrs. James B. Nies; other gifts that the Librarian hoped to be able to announce have not yet materialized.

The Librarian takes this occasion to repeat that he is ready to lend the books of the Society to the members. In this way the Library can be of service especially to those far removed from the large libraries of the land.

The following is a list of the principal accessions during the past year:
 The Dinkard, ed. by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, vol. 15.
 An Expression of the Lore of the Avesta, by Lawrence H. Mills.
 A List of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur, by Edward Chiera.

Public Administration in Ancient India, by Pramathanath Banerjea.
 South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses, by H. Krishna Sastri.
 Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore, no. 1, by R. Narasimhachar.
 Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire, by Cl. Huart.
 Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā of Juwayni, by Mīrzā Muḥammad of Qazwīn.
 Āerpatastān and Nirangastān . . . tr. by Sohrab Jamshedjee Bulsara.
 The Coming and Passing of Zoroaster, by Ruby.
 The Poetry of Ancient Persia, by M. Pithawalla.
 The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, by R. V. Russell, vols. 1, 2, 4.
 The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulub, by Hamd Allāh Mustaufi al-Qazvīnī.
 The Origins of the Islamic State, by Aḥmad ibn Yahyā, called al-Baladhuri, tr. P. K. Hitti, vol. 1.
 The Shans, by W. W. Cochrane, vol. 1.
 Some Principles of Algonquin Word-formation, by W. Jones.
 An Account of the Different Existing Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, by S. K. Belvalkar.
 Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics, by R. Brandstetter.
 The Educational Directory of India, 1916.

ELECTION OF HONORARY MEMBERS

The Corresponding Secretary then presented the report of the Directors regarding new members, recommending the election of 72 corporate and 2 honorary members. In order to give the Directors opportunity for further consideration, it was voted to postpone the election of corporate members to a subsequent session. The honorary members were elected by unanimous vote, as follows:

Professor ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES
 Professor SYLVAIN LÉVI

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1917-1918

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1917-1918, consisting of Dr. Charles J. Ogden, Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, and Dr. James B. Nies, presented its report thru Dr. Ogden, as follows:

President—Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven.

Vice Presidents—Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, of New York; Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; Professor Henry Preserved Smith, of New York.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor Franklin Edgerton, of Philadelphia.

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

Treasurer—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

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

Editors of the Journal—Professor James A. Montgomery, of Philadelphia; Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

Directors, Class of 1920—Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor James Richard Jewett, of Cambridge; Professor Roland G. Kent, of Philadelphia.

The officers thus nominated were thereupon duly elected.

The Society then adjourned for the day.

THIRD SESSION

The third session began at 9:32 A. M. on Wednesday morning, in the House of the Academy, with the President in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary read a telegram from Professor Gildersleeve in which he thanked the Society for its message of greeting and sent best wishes for the success of the meeting.

The following communication was then presented:

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: The need of an American Oriental Review.—Remarks by Professors Lanman, Clay, and Barton.

After the discussion it was voted to refer the question of the establishment of an American Oriental Review to the Publication Committee with power to take action, if feasible.

The reading of communications was continued, as follows:

Mr. L. DOMINIAN, of the American Geographical Society: The site of Constantinople: a factor of historical value. (Presented in abstract by the Corresponding Secretary.) [Printed in the JOURNAL, 37. 57-71.]

Professor C. R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: The Harvard Oriental Series: its purpose and setbacks and progress.—Remarks by Mr. Westermayr, Professor Fullerton, Dr. Coomaraswamy, and Professor Barton.

This series, founded about twenty-five years ago by Professor Lanman with the aid of the late Henry Clarke Warren, consists of texts and translations of the literary monuments of ancient India, and of investigations concerning the history and religious antiquities of India. The war is hampering the whole undertaking in the gravest manner, in part because the contributors are scholars of Europe and India, in part because the Oriental printing is done at Oxford and Bombay. In spite of all this, however, 21 volumes are out, 3 nearly finished volumes are held up by the war, and 8 are in press and should be ready in a few weeks—32 in all—while yet others are far advanced in preparation or nearly ready in manuscript.

The Society voted to extend its congratulations to Professor Lanman on the splendid results of his labors in conducting this great enterprise.

Further communications were then presented, in the following order:

Professor J. MORGENSTERN, of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati: Semitic birth ceremonies and the rite of circumcision.—Remarks by Professor Jastrow and Dr. Kyle.

Various peculiar rites were performed by Semitic peoples at childbirth, such as offering a tabu-sacrifice, cutting the child's first hair, rubbing the child with salt, etc. At birth and for seven days thereafter a child was thought to be under the influence of evil spirits and therefore tabu. It was freed by the performance of these rites, usually on the eighth day after birth. Similar rites were performed at other critical moments of life (puberty, marriage, etc.), when danger from evil spirits threatened.

Professor A. J. CARNOY, of the University of Pennsylvania: Healing gods and storm-gods in Iran.

The relation between storm, fertility, and healing powers found by Professor Hopkins in the Vedic god Indra is present in other Indian deities and in the religions of other peoples. It is especially clear in the Persian healing hero Faridūn, and one can demonstrate that it existed also in Irmān (Aryaman), in the sacred tree *gōkard*, etc.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: The Son of Man.—Remarks by Professors Schmidt, Breasted, Werren, Montgomery, and Morgenstern, and reply by Professor Haupt.

'Son of man' is the common Aramaic term for 'man.' The original meaning is 'son of a man,' not a 'son of a nobody' (Assyr. *mār lā-māman*). In the Code of Hammurapi *mār amīli*, 'son of a man,' denotes a 'full-born man,' while *muškīnu* is a 'free-born man.' The primary connotation of the term 'son of man' was 'gentleman'; afterwards it was employed for 'man' in general, and 'man' may be used for 'one' and 'I': 'A man cannot do it' may mean 'One cannot do it' or 'I cannot do it.' This was the original meaning of the phrase in the Gospels (cf. Matthew 7. 20; 11. 19).

Dr. J. E. ABBOTT, of Summit, N. J.: Dnyāneshwar, the Mahārāshtra saint and poet.—Remarks by Professor Hopkins.

The tradition in Western India that Dnyāneshwar was the first in the line of Marathi poets has strong corroboration. He lived during the reign of Rāmechandra, and a short note at the end of his commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā gives the date of the completion of that work as 1290 A. D. His purpose in composing in Marathi was that the common people might understand their own scriptures and profit thereby. His writings are not now easily understood by the people because of their obsolete form and vocabulary, but they are highly and justly honored. Thousands of pilgrims visit his shrine each year.

Professor M. JASTROW, JR., of the University of Pennsylvania: The Sumerian and Akkadian calendar.—Remarks by Professors Haupt and Barton.

A study of the various calendars in use in Babylonia and Assyria at different periods, on the basis of a renewed study of the text 5 Rawlinson, pl. 43, supplemented by the nomenclature in early business documents, in Cappadocian and Elamitic texts, and in the historical and astrological literature of Babylonia and Assyria. The Sumerian calendar is based on a year beginning in the fall; the Akkadian, on one beginning in the spring.

It was voted to reconvene at 2:30 P. M. (instead of at 2 P. M., as planned), and the Society then, at 12:43 P. M., took a recess until the time set.

FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was opened at 2:50 P. M., with the President in the chair, and the presentation of papers was resumed, as follows:

Dr. M. G. KYLE, of Philadelphia, Pa.: A new solution of the Pentateuchal problem.—Remarks by Professor Morgenstern and additional observations by the author.

A brief and popular statement of a very extended study based on the use of words in the Hebrew original and upon a technical classification of the Pentateuchal laws. The results furnish a very simple and satisfactory explanation of the peculiarities of style in different parts of the Pentateuch and afford an interesting and somewhat surprising comparison with the divisions of the Pentateuch suggested by the current Documentary Hypothesis.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Kashmirian Pañcatantra, and its position among versions of the Pañcatantra.

There are 5 streams of tradition of the Pañcatantra. 1. The Kashmirian Pañcatantra, or Tantrākhyāyika (discovered about 1903;

imperfectly ed. by J. Hertel): the closest of the extant versions to the original, but still *very* far from it (esp. in numerous additions). 2. Pahlavi (Syriac, Arabic): based on an old Skt. text probably superior to the Tantrākhyāyika. 3. 'N-W' (whence the Southern and Nepalese versions, Hitopadeśa): abbreviated; otherwise original. 4. Brhatkathā: greatly abbreviated; poetic, hence unoriginal in details. 5. Simplicior: generally speaking farthest from the original; expanded.—All these five are derived ultimately from one lost 'Urtext': no closer relationship between any of them is demonstrable.

Professor N. SCHMIDT, of Cornell University: The two recensions of Slavonic Enoch.

It is generally recognized that we possess two different recensions of Slavonic Enoch, one longer than the other. Charles and Bonwetsch regard the longer recension as the more original, and the shorter as an incomplete edition. The difficulty with this view is that the latter would then by accident, since intention is inconceivable, have left out just those passages and turns of expression that have been relied upon to prove that the work was written in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew. The two recensions are most naturally explained on the supposition that the shorter text represents the first Slavonic translation made from a Greek version of a Hebrew or Aramaic original, while the other is a later Slavonic version made from a different Greek manuscript which had been amplified by some Alexandrian copyist.

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum: Navigation to the Far East under the Roman Empire.

Professor H. J. CADBURY, of Haverford College: An English version of the word-play in Amos 8. 1, 2.—Remarks by Professor Haupt and Dr. Kyle.

Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, of Johns Hopkins University: Gilgames and Engidu, Babylonian genii of fertility.

Engidu is identical with Gira-šakan, a god of fecundity and specifically of animal husbandry. Apparently there are two principal šakan types: a native one, associated with the gazelle, and an exotic, perhaps Gutean, ass-divinity. The heroic figure on archaic cylinders, impregnating a gazelle, is šakan. Gilgames, primarily a god of sprouting vegetation, also represents the sun as the power causing growth. The oldest forms of his name, (*d*)*Giš-gibil-ga-mes* and (*d*)*Giš-gibil-gin-mes*, both stand for *(*d*)*Giš-gibil-gan-mes*, 'the torch [elsewhere an epithet of Gilgames as sun-god] of Gan-mes [the hero of fecundity, cf. *ukkin-mes* 'senator'],' which is thus, like Engidu, a secondary theophorous name.

Professor Breasted gave a brief account of the inception and publication of his book 'Ancient Times: A History of the Early

World,' which, altho a high-school textbook, contains fully 220 pages devoted to Oriental history.

The Corresponding Secretary then presented the following paper in abstract, the author being unable to be present at the sessions:

Miss M. H. GAECKLER, of Edinboro, Pa.: A study of the aorist, imperfect, and perfect tenses in the Rig-Veda, early and late.

In the earliest period of the Rig-Veda, the aorist and imperfect are used without difference; the aorist expresses duration of time, or is used historically or in narration, in conjunction with and equivalent to the imperfect and the perfect. But in the latest Rig-Veda period only the imperfect and perfect tenses are used narratively, and the aorist has the value that it has in the later classical Skt.—that is, it expresses an event which happened in the immediate past. Especially in the early period, all the past tenses may be used for the present also, since it is impossible to establish a definite boundary between what is and what has been.

The Society then proceeded to the consideration of items of business postponed from previous sessions and those appointed for this session.

MIDDLE WEST BRANCH OF THE SOCIETY

It was reported that, in pursuance of action taken by the Directors at the meeting in Washington in 1916, steps had been taken toward the formation of a Middle West Branch of the Society, and that a meeting of Orientalists of the West had been held at Chicago on January 27th, 1917 (see the report of the Proceedings printed in the JOURNAL, 36. 423-425). Professor Jastrow reported that the Directors recommended the adoption of four additional articles of the By-Laws, to provide for the organization of branches of the Society. The first three of the articles submitted were adopted without a single dissenting vote, as follows:

ARTICLE X. To provide for scientific meetings of groups of members living at too great a distance to attend the annual sessions of the Society, branches may be organized with the approval of the Directors. The details of organization are to be left to those forming a branch thus authorized, subject to formal ratification by the Directors.

ARTICLE XI. Upon the formation of a branch, the officers chosen shall have the right to propose for corporate membership in the Society such persons as may seem eligible to them, and, pending ratification according

to Article IV of the Constitution, these candidates shall receive the Journal and all notices issued by the Society.

ARTICLE XII. The annual fee of the members of a branch shall be collected by the Treasurer of the Society in the usual manner, and in order to defray the current expenses of a branch the Directors shall authorize the Treasurer of the Society to forward from time to time to the duly authorized officer of the branch such sums as may seem proper to the Treasurer. The accounts of the Treasurer of the branch shall be audited annually and a statement of the audit shall be sent to the Treasurer of the Society to be included in his annual report.

After discussion of the final article to provide for representation of a branch on the Board of Directors, it was voted to refer it back to the Directors for further consideration.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

The report of the Editors of the Journal was presented by Professor Montgomery, as follows:

The Editors beg to report the completion of Volume 36 of the Journal, consisting of 460 pages, in the usual four parts, the first of which was edited by their very esteemed predecessor, Professor Torrey. The volume, which was to have been dedicated to Dr. William Hayes Ward in commemoration of his 80th birthday, now bears his name on the title-page *In Memoriam*.

The size of the volume has not been decreased; altho the cost of printing is considerably greater here than abroad and the price of paper is rapidly rising. We suggest that contributors practise the greatest economy in the use of unusual types and assist in keeping down the expense by the most careful preparation of their copy.

In addition to the longer papers, which must constitute the permanent value of the Journal, we desire to encourage the contribution of Brief Notes, on subjects of fresh and original interest, which will probably be read by a wider circle of our constituency than the long papers. A department of Personalalia, which we have established, will also serve for the exchange of personal news in the Oriental world.

We expect hereafter to publish the Journal in five parts, and at the same time to make its year coincide with the calendar year. To accomplish this, volume 37 (for 1917) will appear in four parts, in May, July, October, and December. Volume 38 (for 1918) will appear in February, April, June, October, and December. It will be noticed that the last digit of the volume number thus becomes the same as that of the year of publication—a coincidence of decided practical value.

Arrangements are being completed with the Yale University Press for that corporation to act as our publisher. It will handle all the business of circulation and sale of copies, and we shall have the advantage of having the Journal included in its trade-lists.

In conclusion we welcome the increase of the scholarly assets of the Society furnished by the recently organized Middle West Branch, the profits of which are already accruing to the Journal.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society:

HONORARY MEMBER

Mr. Leonard W. King

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Mr. T. George Allen,	Mrs. Fletcher Ladd,
Mr. Lamont Barbour,	Prof. G. Landstrom,
Mr. Carl W. Bishop,	Dr. Kenneth S. Latourette,
Mr. Maurice Block,	Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron,
Prof. Leonard Bloomfield,	Mr. Gerson B. Levi,
Mr. Gustav von Brauchitsch,	Rabbi Felix A. Levy,
Miss Caroline May Breyfogle,	Prof. Albert Howe Lybyer,
Rev. Chas. D. Brokenshire,	Mr. Walter A. Maier,
Mr. Ludlow S. Bull,	Mr. Shiphy E. Malouf,
Prof. Moses Bittenwieser,	Rabbi Louis L. Mann,
Mr. E. H. Byrne,	Mr. S. H. Markowitz,
Mr. Augustus Stiles Carrier,	Mr. John Martin,
Mr. Arthur H. Clark,	Rev. John A. Maynard,
Rabbi Samuel S. Cohen,	Mr. Frederick McCormick,
Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy,	Mr. J. F. McLaughlin,
Mr. Edwin Sanford Crandon,	Mr. Theophile J. Meek,
Hon. Alexander DelMar,	Mr. Walter Miller,
Mr. Gotthard Deutsch,	Hon. William Phillips,
Dr. George S. Duncan,	Rabbi Julius J. Price,
Mr. William F. Edgerton,	Prof. Eduard Prokosch,
Mr. Granville D. Edwards,	Mr. Charles Lynn Pyatt,
Mr. Albert W. Ellis,	Mr. George H. Richardson,
Mr. Eugene Fair,	Dr. J. G. Rosengarten,
Rev. Dr. Hughell E. W. Fosbroke,	Dr. Moses Seidel,
Prof. John Fryer,	Mr. O. R. Sellers,
Mr. Carl Gaenssle,	Mr. H. B. Sharman,
Mr. Alexander B. Galt,	Mr. Joseph Stolz,
Rev. Raymond F. Gavin,	Prof. Herbert Cushing Tolman,
Rev. A. H. Godbey,	Rev. Samuel W. Wass,
Mr. Edward A. Henry,	Mr. Thomas Wearing,
Mr. Emil G. Hirsch,	Mr. Herbert L. Willett,
Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck,	Dr. Henry A. Wolfson,
Mr. Fred T. Kelly,	Prof. William H. Wood,
Mr. J. L. Kingsbury,	Miss Marguerite Woodward,
Dr. K. Kohler,	Dr. J. E. Wrench,
Mr. George S. S. Kukhi,	Mr. J. Hubert Zimmerman.

It was announst for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at New Haven on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, April 2d, 3d, and 4th, 1918.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Directors had considered the possibility of obtaining the removal of the restriction as to place of meeting, and that they recommended, after careful investigation and report on the part of a special committee, the adoption of a resolution to present the following petition to the General Court of the State of Massachusetts:

To the Honorable,

The General Court of the State of Massachusetts:

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, a corporation incorporated by the laws of Massachusetts, hereby respectfully petitions your honorable body to enact an amendment to the act of the year 1891, entitled 'An Act to authorize the American Oriental Society to hold its meetings without the Commonwealth' (Stat. Mass. 1891, C 335), by striking out of Section 1 of the aforesaid Act the words: '*provided, however, that said society shall meet within this Commonwealth at least once in three years.*'

The purpose of the proposed amendment is to afford the Society greater liberty in the choice of places of meeting. While the Society would, in case the petition is granted, expect to continue to meet occasionally in Massachusetts, nevertheless present-day conditions, and the rapid growth of the Society, render it essential to its welfare and the furtherance of its objects that it be allowed this greater liberty. Complete freedom of action in regard to place of meeting is allowed to the American Folk-Lore Society, under a provision of its charter (Stat. Mass. 1893, C 389), which permits it to hold meetings without the Commonwealth, absolutely. The American Oriental Society is therefore encouraged to hope that your honorable body will see fit to accord the same privilege to this Society.

Respectfully submitted,

_____, *President,*

_____, *Recording Secretary,*

_____, *Corresponding Secretary,*

for the American Oriental Society.

It was unanimously voted, 26 members being present, to present this petition to the General Court of the State of Massachusetts.

Professor Jastrow, as chairman of a committee of the Directors to consider a number of projects suggested for a proposed American Oriental Series, reported that the Directors askt the Society to give its endorsement to the three projects considered and approved by the committee, so that steps could be taken for their publication if funds were obtained for the purpose. The projects recommended for endorsement were:

1. A Tagalog Grammar, by Dr. Frank R. Blake, which is ready for the press.
2. A Pāli Dictionary, which is urgently needed and would form a most valuable contribution to Indology.
3. A new Assyrian Dictionary to supplement those hitherto published.

It was voted to give the approval of the Society to the three projects of publication.

On motion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for welcoming the Society to its House, to the Harvard Club and the College Club for extending courtesies to the members, and to the Committee of Arrangements and the local members for the thoughtful and generous provision made for the comfort and entertainment of those attending the meeting.

The President then announced the following appointments:

Committee of Arrangements for 1918: Professors Clay, Hopkins, and F. W. Williams, and the Corresponding Secretary.

Committee on Nominations: Professors Schmidt, R. G. Kent, and Worrell.

Auditors: Professor F. W. Williams and Professor Hopkins.

The Corresponding Secretary then read abstracts of three papers, as follows:

Professor A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) New Semito-Egyptian words; (b) Some African words in Old Egyptian.

(a) *Ḥnm* 'ram' (preserved only in the name of the god Khnum): Arab. *ḥamal* 'lamb, ram'; *ḥpā* 'thigh'; Arab. *faḥīd* 'thigh'; *sm* 'plant' (Pyramid Texts): Assy. *šammu* 'plant'; *tpnn* 'cumin': Assy. *tappinu* 'cumin' (?); *ḥdb* 'slay': Arab. *ḥadaba* 'slay'; *mnt* 'the god Montl': Heb. *mēlekh* 'king'; *mnw* 'Min': Arab. *Manāt*; etc.

(b) Eg. *nfr* 'be good, beautiful': Bedanye *enfer* 'be sweet'; Eg. *hḳ* 'husband': Bedanye *hiḳ* 'husband'; Eg. *mr* 'chisel' (preserved only in the sign value of the chisel): Amharic *mārō* 'chisel'; Eg. *dng* 'dwarf': Amharic *denk* 'dwarf'; Eg. *fnḏ* 'nose': Amharic *afenḳā* 'nose'; etc.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The last words from the cross; (b) The Babylonian origin of the term 'naphtha.'

(a) The first 2 lines of Ps. 22 are corrupt; instead of *eli, eli* we must read *elē-eli*, 'to my God,' and this should stand at the beginning of the second line, while 'my God' at the beginning of the second line should be prefix to the first.

(b) The term 'naphtha' must be derived from Assy. *nabātu* (or *napātu*) 'to shine.'

Professor J. A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) The Babylonian *nishu*, 'oath,' in the Hadad Inscription, lines 28, 29; (b) Last lines of the South-Arabic text, Glaser 282.

(b) Interpretation on the basis of PTH = 'law' and SM = 'witness' (see Hommel, *Südarabische Chrestomathie*, p. 115).

The Society adjourned at 5:47 P. M., to meet for a few minutes in the evening at the call of the President.

SPECIAL SESSION

A brief session was held at the Hotel Brunswick, on Wednesday evening, in the course of the annual dinner, beginning at 8:43 P. M., with the President in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Directors submitted the following revised form of the proposed Article XIII of the By-laws, with their recommendation for its adoption:

ARTICLE XIII. The President and Secretary of any branch duly authorized as provided under Article X shall have the right to sit *ex officio* with the Directors at their meetings and to take part in their deliberations.

On motion, this addition to the By-laws was adopted by a unanimous vote, and the formal session for the consideration of business was adjourned at 8:45 P. M.

The following communications were presented by title:

Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT: Mesopotamian vine-goddesses.

Professor L. C. BARRET: An objection to the group-theory of religion.

Professor C. E. CONANT: Analogic changes in Indonesian numerals.

Professor K. FULLERTON: Extracts from a Kodak journal in Syria and Palestine, 1914.

Professor P. HAUPT: Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, Jews.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS: Indra and other gods of war and fertility combined.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS: The origin of the ablative case.

ANCIENT BABYLONIAN EXPRESSIONS OF THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS FOR 1917*

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

There is no more fascinating field of study than the attempts of men to come into relationship with the unseen powers of the universe. These attempts vary with intellectual development all the way from the materialistic attempts of the savage to the spiritual and ethical conceptions of the highest religious systems. The most interesting phases of religious expression are those found at the two extremes of the evolutionary curve. Naturally no early system of religious thought can equal in interest that which stands at the verge of present knowledge and seeks to interpret the eternal mystery to the needs of present-day life. Next in interest, however, to this is the study of religious beginnings. There is about them something of the freshness of childhood, and we delight in following their thought as we delight in the expressions of children. It is because the Babylonian expressions of the religious spirit are expressions from the childhood of our race, that they become fascinating and important. It is true that they do not belong to the earliest childhood—they do not come from the period of savage life—but they express the religious conceptions, emotions, and aspirations of a great nation, composed by the amalgamation of two great races, just after the threshold between savage and civilized life had been passed. Ancient Babylonia had, in the whole course of its history, no great prophet to transform its religion. So far as we know no one attempted to do even what Amenophis IV tried unsuccessfully to do in Egypt. No prophet or reformer, like Amos, or Zarathushtra, or Gautama, or Vardhamāna, or Lao-tse, transformed religious thought and created in Babylonia a positive religion. No philosophers like the authors of the Upanishads and the projectors of the later systems of India, or like Socrates

* Delivered before the American Oriental Society in Boston, April 10, 1917.

and Plato, subordinated the comparatively primitive conceptions of the universe to a more intellectual system of thought, and no great teacher like Confucius made these conceptions subordinate to an ethical system. Ethical conceptions were not lacking. For example in the *Maqlu* incantation-texts (2.81-84) we come upon this protestation of lofty conduct—a passage that reveals the Babylonian ideal of personal life:—

Those who were dying, I made to live;
Those who were cursed, I guided aright;
Those who were perishing, I rehabilitated;
Those who were weak, I strengthened.

This bit of ethical perception is, however, buried in a mass of ritual intended for exorcism. The compiler of the text betrays no conception that it was more important than the statements about spooks and vampires and the charmed words for their control by which it is surrounded.

If then, we would make a fair estimate of ancient Babylonian expressions of the religious spirit, we must compare them not with the sayings of Hebrew prophets, or the Gāthās of Zoroaster, or the utterances of India's philosophers and reformers, or the teachings of Lao-tse or Confucius, but with the religious utterances of Egypt, of Vedic India, and of China before the rise of her sages.

In Chinese literature some primitive religious expression has survived in the Shu King, or ancient book of history, the Shih King, or book of poetry, and the Li Ki, or book of rites. The revelation made by these books is reinforced by the survival in Chinese life of the belief in spirits, and the perpetuation in the state religion of an ancient ritual that finds many parallels in Babylonian ceremonial.

The Babylonian liturgies afford us glimpses of stately ceremonies on which great reliance was placed in maintaining friendly relations with the supernatural powers, and the one fact that stands out most prominently is that to the ancient Babylonians as to the Chinese the universe was peopled with myriads of invisible spirits. In Babylonia, China, and Egypt charms against spirits, exorcisms, and magic abounded. As yet, however, no Babylonian parallels have been discovered to parts of the Chinese Shih King, or book of poetry, or to the

love-poetry of the ancient Egyptians. The Babylonians shared with other peoples the tender passion. From Egypt love poems have come in which one finds such stanzas as this:—

New wine it is to hear thy voice;
I live for hearing it.
To see thee with each look,
Is better than eating and drinking.¹

Similarly in the pre-Confucian Shih King, or Book of Odes, there come to us from China, among poems that have more or less connection with the ritual, stanzas like this:—

If you will love me dear, my lord,
I'll pick up my skirts and cross the ford;
But if from your heart you turn me out . . .
Well you're not the only man about,
You silly, silly, silliest lout!²

If, however, any of the ancient Babylonians committed such sentiments as these to a clay tablet, it has not been discovered. If one of them ever directed a sonnet to his lady's eyebrow, he would seem to have been of too frugal a turn of mind to waste good clay in giving it permanence. Some few chronicles have come down to us from early times, but for the rest the literature consists of endless commercial transactions and religious epics, hymns, liturgies, and incantations.

The poetry of the Sumerians of Babylonia was in form of the simplest sort. Most of it consists of lines of similar length which make rude parallelisms. At times the length of these lines is very unequal. In some of the compositions a rhythm is apparent as one passes from line to line, but at times this also fails us. Sometimes as in some of the Hebrew Psalms a refrain is brought in at intervals, but such occurrences are not frequent. In parts of some of the penitential psalms a refrain occurs in every alternate line, as in Psalm 136 of the Psalter. These points may be briefly illustrated by quotations from a hymn to the mother goddess translated by Radau in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*. The following passage illustrates both the rhythm and the refrain:—

¹ Cf. G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, Philadelphia, 1916, p. 416.

² From H. A. Giles, *History of Chinese Literature*, New York, 1901, p. 14.

To the king's holy foundation || with uplifted head I will go;
 To the foundation of the goddess || with uplifted head I will go;
 To the foundation of Idin-Dagan || with uplifted head I will go;
 For Dagal-Ushumgal-Anna || the bedchamber I will prepare.

Although there is in the Babylonian religious poetry nothing as beautiful as some of the hymns of the Veda, many passages have a dignified beauty of their own. Thus in the hymn just quoted we read:—

The abode of the holy one I will sanctify;
 Songs of praise I will sing to her;
 The glory of my princess in heaven and upon earth
 Aloud I will proclaim
 Unto my holy goddess;
 Before her I will rejoice:
 "Princess exalted to the heavens,
 Goddess, thou art sublime!
 Maiden goddess, thee must one reverence!
 Princess exalted to the heavens,
 Like Anu thou art sublime."

One who approaches the study of the ancient poetry of the Babylonians is met by an initial difficulty. The interpretation of the Sumerian language is still in its initial stages. The late Professor William James once said that he would not be so bold as to say that he knew what the teaching of Hegel was; that, if one thought he had an idea of what the great idealist meant, when he announced it, some ardent disciple of the German master would arise to say that that was all wrong; Hegel never meant that, but something quite different. It is still somewhat thus in the interpretation of Sumerian texts. We are never sure that we have caught the real meaning of a unilingual Sumerian text until its interpretation is established at the mouth of two or three witnesses; and sometimes the testimony of the witnesses is quite divergent. Nevertheless we do know enough of the form and content of ancient Babylonian religious expression, even in its Sumerian dress, to enable us to appraise its value and to compare it with other national expressions of the religious consciousness in the ancient Oriental world. If, however, I cite in the remarks that follow examples from unpublished texts that I alone have as yet had opportunity to study, you are duly warned to take the translations *cum grano salis* until others have had opportunity to study them also.

The earliest extant religious text from Babylonia—a text from the dynasty of Agade—is in many respects an excellent example of the whole. This is the text which I had the honor of bringing to the notice of this Society three years ago, and it will, I hope, be given to scholars within the next year in a volume now in preparation. It is an incantation. Those who composed it believed the air as full of demons as the Chinese do. A portion of the text consists of magic words which were believed to have power to ward off these spirits. Some of these words are:—

The light of the city—to the light of the city
Fly not!
The darkness of the city—to the darkness of the city
Fly not!
The people of the city—to the people of the city
Fly not!
(Col. x.)

The haunting terror expressed here is characteristic of much of ancient Babylonian life. A later text describes these spirits as follows:—

Destructive storms and evil winds are they,
An evil blast that heraldeth the baneful storm,
An evil blast forerunner of the baneful storm.
They are mighty children, mighty
Heralds of Pestilence,
Throne-bearers of Ninkigal (goddess of the Underworld)
They are the flood which rusheth through the land.
(Thompson, *Devils*, 1. 63.)

Another text speaks of them thus:—

From the Underworld have they gone forth:
.
The evil spirit that in the desert smiteth the living man,
The evil demon that like a cloak enshroudeth the man,
The evil ghost, the evil demon that seize upon the body,
The hag-demon and ghoul that smite the body with sickness,
The phantom of night that in the desert roameth abroad,
Unto the side of the wanderer have drawn nigh,
Casting a woful fever upon his body.

(*Ibid.*, p. 7.)

From the haunting terror of this fear the Babylonians, like others, found from the earliest times some refuge in their belief

in favoring gods. Thus the cylinder from the Dynasty of Agade already cited makes the following appeal:—

O lord of darkness, protect man!
 O lord of light, protect man!
 O lord of the feast, protect man!
 O lord of the sanctuary, protect man!
 The grain for thy animals raise up!
 O god, be favorable to man!

(Col. iii.)

The faith that helpful spirits will protect is, however, universal among men and is the basis of all religion.

Even when friendly relations with such spirits had been established, misfortune and trouble still came. It was consequently supposed that the friendly spirits had been offended by some misdeed of the sufferer. Thus arose the so-called penitential psalms, which have been known and studied longer than any other kind of Babylonian religious literature. These psalms abound in such cries as that in a prayer to Ishtar³:—

O lady, in sadness of heart I raise to thee my piteous cry, 'How long?'
 O lady, to thy servant speak pardon, let thy heart be appeased!
 To thy servant who suffers pain, grant favor!
 Turn thy gaze upon him, receive his entreaty!
 To thy servant with whom thou art angry, be favorable!
 O lady, my hands are bound, I turn to thee!
 For the sake of the exalted warrior, Shamash, thy beloved husband, take
 away my bonds!
 Through a long life let me walk before thee!

Such plaints as this have often been compared to some of the plaintive cries in the Hebrew Psalter. Nothing is known to me in the hymns of Egypt or in the Veda that possesses this penitential quality in like degree, although a few of the Vedic hymns to Varuṇa closely approach it. The conception of the spirits that prevailed in China rendered such expression unthinkable. Closely connected with the penitential literature are the dirges. Those that have come down to us are dirges for Tammuz, the god of vegetation, whose death was bewailed each year. Some of these have been made known, at least to scholars, through the translations of Professor Zimmern and others. There is in them much plaintive iteration, as, for example, in that published in *CT* 15. 18:—

³ From Haupt, *ASKT* 122.

The lord of vegetation no longer lives;
 The lord of vegetation no longer lives [repeated six times; then:]
 . . . my husband no longer lives;
 My god Damu no longer lives;
 The god Ama-sunumgalanna no longer lives;
 The lord of Arallu (Sheol) no longer lives;
 The lord of Dur-gurgurri no longer lives;
 The bright lord Tammuz no longer lives;
 The lord of the dwelling no longer lives;
 The spouse of the lady of heaven no longer lives;
 The lord of Eturra no longer lives;
 The brother of the mother of the vine no longer lives.

In a similar vein the dirge continues through many lines. It is, doubtless, a sample of the iteration with which human dead were bewailed.

From Egypt, where similar beliefs were held concerning the death and resurrection of Osiris, no such dirges have, so far as I know, come down to us. The Egyptian belief in the life beyond the grave led them to lay the emphasis on the resurrection of Osiris, a resurrection in which, in course of time, it was believed that all Egyptians might share, rather than upon his death. In Egyptian texts relating to Osiris there is accordingly a note of triumph and praise. In Babylonia, where no such vivid hope of a bright after-life was entertained, the emphasis was rather on the pathos of parting; hence such dirges as that quoted.

The heart of all religious worship is prayer, and from Babylonia not a few prayers have come to us. In these prayers the Babylonian deities are conceived in quite an anthropomorphic fashion. The prayers begin with words of praise which set forth in an impressive way the majesty and glory of the god. Such recognition of a deity's greatness predisposed him to be gracious to a suppliant that held such accurate views of the divine majesty. While this motive doubtless was present in the minds of those who composed the prayers, there was combined with it another motive. If a worshiper is to gain from the experience of prayer the psychological effect upon himself that is desirable, he must have a sense of the majesty, awe, and mystery of the divine being whom he approaches. In Egyptian temples—and the same is true (*mutatis mutandis*) of the temples of many other peoples—one approached the temple through avenues of

impressive sphinxes, he entered it through a majestic pylon, he approached the holy of holies through awe-inspiring courts and shadowy hypostyle halls. The approach suggested the majesty of the divinity that dwelt within. The suppliant was thrown by his approach into a devout frame of mind, so that he uttered his prayer in due humility and awe. Our Calvinistic forefathers, who worshiped in plain meeting-houses, accomplished the same psychological result by the use of majestic words, addressing God as the All-wise, Omnipotent Ruler, who dwells in the light that no man can approach unto, who is above cherubim and seraphim, who, himself holy, reads the inmost thought of sinful man, etc. In other words, by the employment of majestic phrases they created a psychological avenue of sphinxes and pylons through which the mind of the suppliant should pass, that it might be thrown into the proper spirit of prayer. In Babylonia both methods of creating the proper spirit were employed. The Babylonian temples, though apparently as a rule not so beautiful as the Egyptian temples of the days of the empire, were not lacking in the qualities that suggested to the mind of the worshiper the majesty of the indwelling divinity. But, as though this were not enough, their prayers, like those of the Puritans, began with expressions of the majesty of the god, which, couched in sonorous language, formed a psychological pylon as well. As an example we may take a prayer to Nergal published by L. W. King in his *Magic* (no. 27)⁴:—

O mighty, exalted lord, first-born of Nunamir,
 Prince of the Anunnaki, lord of battle,
 Offspring of Kutushar, the mighty queen,
 O Nergal, mighty one of the gods, darling of Ninmenna,
 Thou art in the brilliant heavens, lofty is thy station,
 Thou art great in the Under-world, thou hast no rival,
 With Ea among all the gods is thy counsel inscribed,
 With Sin in the heavens thou searchest through all things,
 Enlil thy father has granted thee the black-headed race, all living creatures,
 The cattle of the field, the animals, for thy hand to rule.

After this impressive approach comes the prayer:—

⁴ Translated also in Böllenrücher's *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 14 f. The above translation is independently made.

I, so and so, the son of so and so, am thy servant;
The wrath of a god and a goddess rests upon me;
Uprooting and destruction dwell in my house;
Calling without answer prostrates me.
Because thou savest, O lord, I turn to thy divinity!
Because thou art compassionate, I seek thee!
Because thou appearest compassionate, I look to thee!
Because thou art merciful, I stand before thee!
Really look upon me! Hearken to my cry!

This is but one example out of many that might be given.

The gods to whom such appeals were made were of complex origin. The tribal deity of an ancient clan was often supposed to express itself through many natural phenomena and to do whatever needed to be done for the tribe. The mingling of various tribes in the melting-pot of the lower Mesopotamian plain had created polytheism and led to some distribution of functions to different gods, but many of the deities even then retained their complex character. As time passed certain men were deified. It is well known that Naram-Sin, Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin were deified while still living. This process seems to have gone on in the case of other men. In the University Museum in Philadelphia there is a ritual to Ur-Engur, recently published by Dr. Langdon. In another text, which I have had the privilege of studying (an incantation), Entemena appears as a deity under the name Entemen. The passage runs:—

With the god Entemen, the mighty prince, are thy first-fruits,
His grain is the brilliance of the broad land;
With weighty kernels its heads grow.
Like a gardener with fruit he comes,
to his people who are disobedient.
The mountain of Entemen eagerly(?) he ascends;
to the houses of men bowed down he comes;
The houses my protector establishes, he makes bright.

Further on in the next column a broken line runs:—

Favorable is Entemen. . . .

While the Babylonian deities were complex in character, after some of them had been identified with the sun and moon, the hymns addressed to them tend to attribute to these deities the characteristics of their respective heavenly bodies. Much of the

imagery by which the majesty of Utu or Shamash, and of Nannar, En-zu, or Sin is depicted is borrowed from the appearance, the course, and the functions of these orbs of light. The deeds of Adda, too, the storm-god, are portrayed in descriptions of storms. It thus comes about that in some Babylonian hymns we find descriptions of nature, or certain phases of nature. As an example of these we may take the hymn to the moon-god, Nannar, published in *CT* 15. 16, 17:—

O brilliant bark of the heavens, ruler in thy own right,

 Thou standest, thou standest
 Before thy father Enlil. Thou art ruler,
 Father Nannar; thou art ruler, thou art guide.
 O bark, when standing in the midst of heaven, thou art ruler,
 Father Nannar, thou ridest to the brilliant temple.
 Father Nannar, when like a ship thou goest in the midst of the deep,
 Thou goest, thou goest, thou goest,
 Thou goest, thou shinest anew, thou goest,
 Thou shinest anew, thou livest again, thou goest.

In these lines the sky is conceived as an ocean across which the moon sails as a ship sails across the sea. The Babylonians, like each of us, had watched the clouds flit across the moon's face, when it seemed as though the moon, not the clouds, were moving. If a cloud was especially thick, the moon disappeared for a time. All this is described in the words:—

Thou goest, thou goest, thou goest,
 Thou goest, thou shinest anew, thou goest.

The moon waxes and wanes. It seems to die and then is born again. This is depicted in the line:—

Thou shinest anew, thou livest again, thou goest.

The earlier of the moon's phases are alluded to in a later line:—

When thy father looketh on thee with joy, he commandeth thy waxing.

Similarly the destructive storms which sometimes sweep over Babylonia are graphically described in some of the hymns to Enlil. Apparently the original Babylonian conception attributed these storms to Enlil, the lord of spirits. At all events at a later period the effects of the word of Enlil are described under the figure of a storm. A passage from Reisner's *Sumerische Hymnen*, no. 7, will serve as an illustration.

The word of the lord, his word,
 The word of the lord works disaster.
 The word of Gula, her word,
 The word of Enlil, the hero, lord of the great city,
 Of him who comes from Meslam, great warrior with the dagger,
 The word on high makes the heavens howl,
 The word below makes the earth shudder,
 The word brings destruction to the Anunnaki;
 No seer receives it; no enchanter receives it.
 It is an on-rushing whirlwind before which none can stand;
 It makes the heavens roar, it makes the earth tremble.
 The bond between mother and child it breaks,
 It makes the luxuriant reeds to tremble, it shatters them.
 The wheat-harvest it takes as spoil,
 The on-rushing waters obliterate divisions,
 It is a flood which breaks the dyke.
 It rends asunder huge trees,
 With a roar they are hurled to the ground.
 When the hero, the lord of the great city makes a thunder-storm, no eye
 beholds it.

No one can read descriptions of Babylonian thunderstorms, such, for example, as that by Dr. Peters in his *Nippur*, 1. 258-259, without realizing how true to experience this old Babylonian portrayal is. The passage not only gives us a vigorous description of a natural phenomenon, but reveals a point of view familiar to readers of the Old Testament. Just as the Hebrews thought thunder the 'voice of Yahweh,' so the Babylonians regarded it as the 'word' or 'utterance' of Enlil.

In one of the hymns in which the thunder of Enlil is described there is revealed an appreciation of a very different side of nature. This is the hymn published in *CT* 15.15, 16. Lines 13 and 14 read:—

The lightning of thy thunder shatters the head of the great mountain, O
 father Enlil;
 Thy thunder fills the great mother Ninlil with fear!

This touch reveals the masculine Babylonian bully of a husband blustering about and his wife crouching in fear. Possibly it is the full-grown Babylonian boy making his sister jump by the startling and incongruous noises which he suddenly produces. In whatever way one looks at it, the passage is a touch of nature that reveals the kinship of the whole world.

When all is said, however, it must be confessed that the appreciation of nature expressed in the Babylonian hymns does not equal that manifested in the Vedic hymns, either in depth of insight or in beauty of expression. There is, for example, nothing to compare in beauty with Hymn 50 of the first book of the Rig-Veda. (I quote from Dr. John Muir's translation.)

By lustrous heralds led on high,
The fire sun ascends the sky;
His glory draweth every eye.

The stars which gleamed throughout the night,
Now scared, like thieves slink fast away,
Quenched by the splendor of thy ray.

Thy beams to men thy presence show;
Like blazing fires they seem to glow.

Conspicuous, rapid, source of light,
Thou makest all the welkin bright.

In sight of gods and mortal eyes,
In sight of heaven thou scalest the skies.

This Vedic poet embraced the whole scope of the sky in his view; Babylonian poets as a rule limit their view to one aspect closely connected with the god.

The Babylonians, as already noted, developed no such belief in a future life as was entertained by the ancient Egyptians. Perhaps at the beginning the conceptions of the two peoples concerning it were nearly parallel, but the Osiris myth gave the Egyptians a belief in a bright and happy immortality for that god—an immortality that was then believed to be shared by deceased kings and finally by all the people. In Babylonia the conception of the conditions of life after death are clearly set forth in the poem which describes Ishtar's descent to the lower world,

Where dust is their food, their sustenance, clay,
Light they do not see, in darkness they dwell.

The wistful longing of the Babylonians for a more cheerful immortality is touchingly revealed in the Gilgamesh epic through the attempt of Gilgamesh to attain a reunion with his friend Engidu, as well as in the closing lines of Ishtar's Descent. Both texts are well known. All such attempts seemed to the Baby-

lonians of no avail. Their attitude is summed up in two lines in the twelfth tablet of the epic:—

I will sit all day and weep!
I will sit all day and weep!

The well known myth of Adapa shows that, to the Babylonian mind, a cheerful immortality had been denied them by the gods through jealousy.

Mention of the Gilgamesh epic is a reminder that one important form of expression of the Babylonian religious spirit has not been mentioned: I refer to the epic. As India had her Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana and Greece her Iliad and Odyssey, so Babylonia had her Gilgamesh epic and her epics of creation. The Gilgamesh epic is of a miscellaneous character. It contains both a patriotic and a mythological element. The strands of the two are woven together in a fashion as delightfully confusing as one need desire in a document coming from such an early date.

The Babylonian genius delighted especially in endeavoring to trace origins, especially the origin of the gods, the world, man, and the institutions of settled, civilized life. The best known of these productions is the epic of Creation, a part of which was discovered by George Smith more than forty years ago—an epic divided into seven tablets or cantos. So much has been written of it, and it is so often quoted that it may be supposed to be familiar to all members of the Oriental Society, even those that are not professional scholars. The older poem on the origin of civilization, found in 1882 by Rassam at Abu Habba and afterward published by Dr. T. G. Pinches, is also well known.⁵ Still another creation-poem ascribed the creation to Ashur.⁶ This, of course, had its origin in Assyria and circulated there. Three years ago Dr. Poebel published an early poem on the creation found among the tablets from Nippur—a briefer account than the later ones, as befits a poem written before 2000 B. C.⁷ Still more recently Dr. Langdon published another text which

⁵ See L. W. King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, London, 1902; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, New York, 1912, p. 3 ff. and 47 ff.; G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 255 ff.

⁶ See King, *op. cit.* l. 197 ff.; Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 54 ff.

⁷ See A. Poebel, *Historical Texts*, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 9 ff.; Barton, *op. cit.* p. 278 ff.

portrays the origin of a city and the beginning of agriculture. Dr. Langdon saw in the text an account of the flood and the fall of man, which other scholars are unable to find in it, but the discussion to which this difference of interpretation has given rise has served to make scholars familiar with the existence of this interesting text.⁸

Perhaps I may be pardoned, if, in order to illustrate the kind of religious expression found in these poems and epics on crea-

OBVERSE

- The mountain of heaven and earth
 The assembly of heaven, the great gods, entered. After-
 wards
 Because Ashnan¹⁰ had not come forth, they conversed
 together.
 The land Tikku had not created;
 5 For Tikku a temple platform had not been filled in,
 A lofty dwelling had not been built,
 The arable land was without any seed;
 A well or a canal (?) had not been dug;
 Horses (?) and cattle had not been brought forth,
 10 So that Ashnan could shepherd a corral;
 The Anunna, the great gods, had made no plan;
 There was no šes-grain of thirtyfold;
 There was no šes-grain of fiftyfold;
 Small grain, mountain grain, and large *asal*-grain there was
 not;
 15 A possession and house there was not;
 Tikku had neither entered a gate nor gone out;
 Together with Nintu the lord had not brought forth men.
 The god Ug as leader came; as leader he came forth to plan;
 Mankind he planned; many men were brought forth.
 20 Food and sleep he planned for them;
 Clothing and dwellings he did not plan for them.
 The people with rushes and rope came,

⁸ See S. Langdon, *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man*, Philadelphia, 1915; Prince, *JAOS* 36. 90-114, 269-273; Sayce, *Expository Times*, May, 1916; Jastrow, *JAOS* 36. 122-135 and *AJSL* 33. 91 ff.; Barton, *op. cit.* p. 283 ff. and Langdon, *JAOS* 36. 140-145.

⁹ The tablet has since been catalogued as no. 14005. It will be published in a forthcoming volume, *Miscellaneous Religious Texts*.

¹⁰ A god of vegetation; Brünnow's *List*, 7484.

tion, I quote from an unpublished tablet a poetical account of the creation of man and the beginnings of civilization which I have recently had the good fortune to discover among uncatalogued tablets from Nippur in the University Museum in Philadelphia.⁹ It was, as a colophon states, a tablet of sixty lines, and though somewhat broken at one end, not more than five whole lines are lost, though parts of several are fragmentary. The language of the tablet is Sumerian. It reads as follows:—

OBVERSE

ḥar-sag-an-ki-bi-da-ge
erim-an-ni dingir-dingir a-nun-na im-tur-ne-eš a-ba

mu ^aezinu nu-in-da-má-da ub-še-da-an-dug-ga

kalam-mu ^atik-ku nu-in-da-an-dim-ma-aš

5 *^atik-ku-ra temen nu-mu-na-sig-ga-aš*

tuš-up-pi-a ra¹¹-ub-šar-ra

ar nu-mê-a-am numun šar-ra

pu-e-x¹²-a-bi nu-in-tu-ud

anše-ra¹³ bir-eš-bi nu-in-tu-ud

10 *mu ^aezinu utul-umuna-bi apin*

^aa-nun-na dingir gal-gal e-ne nu-mu-un-zu-ta-am

še-šes erim-usu-am nu-gál-la-am

še-šes erim-eninnu-am nu-gál-la-am

še-tur-tur še-kur-ra še-à-sal-gal-la nu-gál-la-am

15 *šu-gar tuš-tuš-bi nu-gál-la-am*

^atik-ku nu-še-tur kà nu-íl

en ^anin-tu en kal-kal nu-in-tu-ud

^aug¹⁴ maš tum-ma maš dú-da ê

nam-lù un-zu erim-nun-a gâ-e-ne

20 *gar-kù-šà-bi mu-un-zu-uš-am*

tug-gi-tuš-tuš-bi nu-mu-un-zu-uš-am

uku ^{gi}gi-a-na-dur-bi mu-ê

¹¹ *ra* = *la*, 'not'; cf. *Origin of Babylonian Writing*, no. 287^a. It is often employed in the Stele of Vultures in this sense; see for example col. xxi, 2, 3, *na-rú-a-bi ba-ra-pad-du*, 'this stele one shall not break.'

¹² The sign *x* is no. 606 in *The Origin of Babylonian Writing*. Its values are undetermined.

¹³ *anše-ra*, for *anše-kur-ra*. *kur* was omitted by the scribe.

¹⁴ In Semitic Shamash, the sun-god.

- By making a dwelling a kindred was formed.
 To the gardens they brought irrigation;
 25 On that day their [gardens] sprouted(?).
 Trees mountain and country. . . .

REVERSE

- Father Enlil(?)
 standing grain(?)
 for mankind
 creation of Entu
 5 Father Enlil,
 Duazagga, the way of the gods
 Duazagga, the brilliant, for my god I guard(?)
 Entu and Enlil with an incantation
 A dwelling for Ashnan from out of Duazagga I will [make
 for thee(?)].
 10 Two thirds of the fold perished(?);
 His plants for food he created for them;
 Ashnan rained on the field for them;
 The moist(?) wind and the fiery storm-cloud he created for
 them.
 Two thirds of the fold stood;
 15 For the shepherd of the fold joy was disturbed.
 The house of rushes did not stand;
 From Duazagga(?) joy departed.
 From his dwelling, a lofty height, his boat
 Descended; from heaven he came
 20 To the dwelling of Ashnan; the scepter he brought forth to
 them;
 His brilliant city he raised up, he appointed for them;
 The reed-country he planted; he appointed for them;
 The falling rain the hollows caught for them;
 A dwelling-place was their land; food made men multiply;
 25 Prosperity entered the land; it caused them to become a
 multitude.
 He brought to the hand of man the scepter of command.

¹⁵ *du-el-azag-ga* is doubtless a variant spelling of *du-azag-ga*. The sign *el* introduces an additional word for brightness, thus emphasizing *azag*.

- tuš-gim-ka ba-[ni]-in-ib ušbar
a-šar-šar-ra im-gú-gú-ne
25 ud-ba-ki dar-. . . . r]a-e-n[e . . .
giš-bi dul bi-kur-gar
gub(?) dul(?) bi
. . . . nu

REVERSE

- a-a ^ae]n-[lil
. . . . nà-ši-a
nam-lù-ge
. . . . ba ^aen-tu-ge
5 a-a ^aen-lil
dù-azag-ga šid-da dingir
dù-azag-ga laḥ-ga-a dingir-ma-da-ra ab-u[ru
^aen-tu ^aen-lil-bi dù-azag-ga-ra n[e
du ^aezinu-bi dù-azag-ta im-ma-da-r[a-ru
10 šanabi-e amaš-a im-ma-ab-ḥab-.
ú-bi e-gar-ra-ra mu-un-a-ba-e-ne
^aezinu gan-e mu-un-imi-am-ne
lil-apin uraš-laḥ-bi mu-un-a-ba-e-ne
šanabi amaš-a-na gub-ba-ni
15 siḥ-amaš-a ḥi-li dú-dú-a
gi-li-eš nam-na-gub-ba-ni
dù-el¹⁵-azag-ga ḥi-li-il šub-am
ga-ni-ta sag-gi-il mà-ni
ib-gál an-na-ta tum-tum-a-ne
20 dù ^aezinu-bi ḥat-tu ši-še-e-eš
uru-azag-na ib-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš
kalam-ma-gi-šag¹⁶-gál mu-gub an-gál-li-eš
še-q-eš e-ka-sig im-sá-sá-e-ne
gišgal-ma kalam-ma-ne gar mu-ni-ab-rug-rug kal-mê
25 x¹⁷ kalam-ma ne-gig mu-un-ne-gál meš
ab-a-tum-ra da-ki uš-ir a-ḥat-mê

¹⁶ kalam-ma-gi-šag-gal, literally 'the land, reeds are in the midst,' a very appropriate description of Babylonia.

¹⁷ The sign transcribed x is no. 241 in *The Origin of Babylonian Writing*. It has the meaning 'favor.' I have rendered it somewhat freely 'prosperity.'

The lord caused them to be and they came into existence.

Companions calling them, with a man his wife he made them dwell.

At night as fitting companions they are together.

30 (sixty lines).

This text clearly gives us a new myth of the creation of man and the origin of civilization. It tells how the assembly of gods entered the mountain of heaven and earth, and how, because there was no vegetation on the earth, the gods held a consultation. At this point a relatively long statement of the non-existence of the chief features of agricultural civilization is introduced. In such statements Babylonian poets took especial delight. Three of the accounts of creation previously known contain such statements, and two of them are of considerable extent. At the end of this statement, you will remember, it is said that 'with Nintu the lord had not brought forth men.' Ug, the lion god, who was, as a later syllabary explains, Shamash, first came forth to plan. It is then sententiously stated:

Mankind he planned; many men were brought forth.

The verb for 'planned' is *zu*, which also means 'to know,' as in Genesis 4.1. Taken in connection with the previous statement that 'with Nintu the lord had not brought forth men' and with the following statement that 'many men were brought forth,' it means that Ug and Nintu became the divine parents of men.

It is further stated that

Food and sleep he planned for them;

Clothing and dwellings he did not plan for them.

The lines that follow describe how men made reed huts such as are still found in the Babylonian marsh-lands, and how agriculture was begun. Here the obverse is concluded.

At the beginning of the reverse several lines are fragmentary. From the parts that remain it appears that some god is addressing Enlil. In this fragmentary address Duazagga, the heavenly ocean, is described as 'the way of the gods'—perhaps an allusion to the Milky Way. It would seem that all was not going well with men on the earth, so the god that is speaking proposes to form a dwelling for Ashnan, the god of Agriculture, outside of Duazagga. Apparently from what follows this new dwelling was upon the earth. The conditions were such that two-thirds

u-mu-un mu-ne-eš-ib-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš
man-na gu-ne za¹⁸-ki dam-ne ne-ba-an-gub-eš-a

gig-bi-ir¹⁹ bar-a-gar hat-mê-eš

30 LX šu-ši LX.

of the fold perished; whereupon Ashnan created plants and in addition caused it to rain on the earth. He created the moist cloud and the storm cloud. But after that the violent rains were destructive. His measures were helpful, but not sufficiently helpful; still one-third of the fold perished and the houses of rushes were swept away. The point of view of the text here is similar to the account of the creation discovered by Dr. Poebel; it mingles with the story of creation, not indeed the story of a flood, but one of destructive storms. Then a god (Enlil?) came down from his heavenly to his earthly dwelling and inaugurated city-civilization—cities as the elevated and fortified dwellings of an agricultural people. Conditions were thus made secure, and men could then multiply.

Several expressions toward the end of the document remind one of expressions in the early chapters of the Book of Genesis. Thus

The lord caused them to be and they came into existence
(umun mu-ne-eš-ib-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš)

reminds us of Gen. 1.3: 'God said, Let there be light and there was light.' Again: 'Companions calling them, with a man his wife he made them dwell,' recalls Gen. 2.18: 'It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make a helpmeet for him,' and Gen. 2.24: 'Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife.' 'At night as fitting companions they are together,' is another way of saying as Gen. 2.23 does, 'they shall be one flesh.' The statements: 'The scepter he brought forth to them,' and 'He brought to the hand of man the scepter of command,' recall Gen. 1.28, where God gives man dominion over all lower orders of life.

The discovery of this text, which, as the palaeography shows,

¹⁸ *za* = *amêlu*, see *Origin of Babylonian Writing*, no. 523², and Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 218.

¹⁹ *gig-bi-ir*, literally 'in their night.'

belongs to the Cassite period or the First Dynasty of Babylon, adds emphasis to the fondness of the Babylonians for giving expression to their religious ideas through myths of creation, which they employed to a greater degree and in a greater variety of ways than any other people of the ancient East.

I have hitherto spoken only of literary expressions of the Babylonian religious spirit, because at this distance it is upon these that we must mainly depend for our knowledge. It should however be noted in conclusion that, as in all the rest of the ancient world, the whole organized life of Babylonia was an expression of its religious spirit. Kings consulted the gods before entering upon any great undertaking. At the dawn of Babylonian history Eanatum sought the will of Ningirsu before undertaking his war with Umma, and during the last reigns of the Assyrian kingdom Esarhaddon sought his oracles, and the seers of Ashurbanapal had their dreams such as that in which the goddess Ishtar revealed herself and her will at the river Ididi. The Bronze Gates of Balawat show us that an army did not cross a river without first propitiating its god by sacrifice. In the code of Hammurapi it is taken for granted that an oath in the presence of a god is sufficient to render a man's word trustworthy, even when it cannot be corroborated by witnesses. Evil spirits as well as good left their impress on life and institutions. Demons of sickness and misfortune were driven away by incantations and ceremonies. It is quite evident that men lived in a vivid consciousness of the supernatural. The type of religion that Babylonian life expressed was vigorous and natural, if sometimes crude. That revealed in Babylonia was gentler and more humane than that in Assyria, but both partook of those human frailties that are prominent in early men and are not altogether absent from our modern Christian world. If the code of Hammurapi betrays a particular fondness for the death penalty, so did English law in the days of Cromwell. If Assyrian wars make us shudder with the tales of frightfulness over which her monarchs gloated, there are at least some in our own time who could scarcely cast a stone at her. Through both the literature and life of Babylonia and Assyria we behold one of the most important of the ancient nations feeling after God, and giving us a most instructive expression, if not one of the most important, of the religious spirit.

TWO JEWISH AMULETS IN THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM*

I. M. CASANOWICZ

UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM

I

An amulet for the protection of Daniel, son of Berakah, against evil spirits, sickness, the evil eye and magic. Manuscript written on vellum, measuring $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From Tunis, North Africa. The amulet is a sort of palimpsest, written upon the erasures of what was likewise an amulet, to judge from the traces of the script and figures still discernible. But the present text also seems subsequently to have been used by, or intended for, another person, as the name of the present client and a few other words are written in a different hand from the rest of the writing on erased places. The larger part of the manuscript is fitted out with various devices and figures, scriptural passages and mystical names; the invocation or conjuration proper, written in smaller script than the rest, occupies a comparatively small space at the bottom.

On top סני וסנסני וסמגלף for which see *JAOS* 36. 158. Underneath in the center, a square inscribed with יהוה and אהיה, each written in the regular and reversed order. On the sides of the square are four of the 72 three-lettered names of God, derived from Ex. 14. 19-21 (*ib.* p. 155). To the right of the square, 'Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live' (Ex. 22. 18) in six permutations; to the left, 22 (corresponding to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet?) three-lettered mystical names, followed by Gen. 49. 18, 'I wait for thy help, O JHVH,' and the initials of the doxology, 'Blessed be the name of his glorious Kingdom for ever.'

The second division is marked off on each of the four corners by the words אנקתם פסתם פספסים ריונסים for which see *JAOS* 36. 158. In the center, Psalm 67, written in form of the seven-branched candlestick (*menorah*), with the divine names

* For a general survey of the collection of Jewish amulets in the National Museum see *JAOS* 36. 154 ff.

שְׂרִי, יְהוֹה, אֱהִיָּה, and אֲרָנִי, each preceded by אֵל, on the sides of the shaft. To both sides of the *menorah*, Ps. 90. 17-91. 5 and Deut. 6. 4-9 intertwined, i. e., alternating word by word from either passage. On the left side is read underneath, 'And blue and purple and scarlet and fine linen and goats' hair' (Ex. 25. 5), quoted on account of אֲרָנָן, which is written in larger letters than the rest and marked as an acrostic, namely of the angelic names, Uriel, Rafael, Gabriel, Michael and Nuriel, followed by the words, 'O living God, deliver!' Under the *menorah* is read, 'And all the people of the earth will see that thou art called by the name of JHVH and will fear thee' (Deut. 28. 10), and under it, 'Thou Daniel, son of Berakah, mayest be blessed . . . and be preserved from all evil accidents.'

The third division consists of a square which encloses other smaller squares and other figures, and is divided into two compartments by the word אֱהִיָּה לִדְרָה, an amalgamation of אֱהִיָּה and אֵלֶּךְ, one of the 72 three-lettered names of God. The square is surrounded by an inscription which begins at the top of the right side with a repetition of Deut. 28. 10; 'Thou Daniel, son of Berakah'; 'And JHVH will take away from thee all sickness, and he will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt, which thou knowest, upon thee, but will lay them upon all them that hate thee' (Deut. 7. 15); לִקְי (initials of Gen. 49. 18); אֲמֵן נִצַּח סֶלַח וְעַד אֲנִי־סִי (Amen, enduring for ever). Within the square there are in the upper part three small squares. Those in the two corners are inscribed with אֱהִיָּה, אֲרָנִי, יְהוֹה, and בְּרוּה in various permutations. The middle one encloses a sort of rhomboid which again holds a small square. This triple figure contains the words, יְהוֹה הוֹשִׁיעַ ('O JHVH help!'); יוֹהֵךְ פֶּלֶפ (doubtless erroneously for יִבְלַךְ, for which see JAOS 36. 159); יְהִי שִׁנָּה ('Yah exalt!'); שְׂרִי יְהוֹה. In the corners of the 'rhomboid,' אֲזוּ, אִוָּא, לִיב, and around its sides the angelic names, Duriel, Gadiel, Berakiel and Akathriel, with יְהִי above each. In the lower part there are on either side squares of three by thirteen lines each. The first and third oblong lines contain Ex. 15. 11, 'Who is like unto thee, JHVH, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders.' The middle line has a series of disconnected letters, probably intended to form in combination with the letters above and below 26 three-lettered mystical names corresponding to the numerical value of יְהוֹה.

In the middle is an awkwardly drawn 'Shield of David,' inscribed, **מִן שְׁמַיָּא דְּעֻלְמִין לְהַצִּלָּה מֵעָה (מַעֲיִן הָרַע)** 'Salvation, or healing, from God of the world,¹ for the delivery from the evil eyes, and from magic, and from every evil disease. Amen. Selah.' In the angles **טַט, טַט, רַב, רַב, and רִי**; between the angles,² **סִיסָא סִיסָא** in changed positions.

The invocation is again enclosed in an inscription. The first six words of the upper line seem to be deformations of foreign words; the next two are two of the 72 three-lettered names; the rest are amalgamations of **יְהוָה** with the 14 triads of the acrostics of the prayer of Nehunya ben Ha-Kanah (for which see *JAOS* 36. 159, n. 13).

THE INVOCATION

- 1 בבקשה מכם אתון מלאכיא קדישא³ דקימין קדם אלהא
רבא יהוה מברך בשם מיכאל נוריאל צדקיאל פואל
קדרניאל שמשאיל
- 2 רפאל ובשם שנגלה למשה בסניי ובשם שקרע את הים
לי"ב קרעים⁵ ובשם שנתן תורה לישראל ובשם שנגלה
לאליהו בכרמל⁶ ובשם
- 3 שריפא המים על ידי אלישע⁷ ובשם שהציל את דניאל
מגוב אריות ולא חבלוהו⁸ כן תצילו ותרפאו ותגינו ותשמרו
לדניאל בר
- 4 ברכה הנקע (הנושא קמיע עליו) ממיני תותין⁹ דפרחין בין
רקיעא לארעא ומרוחין בישין ומלילית וממזיקין ומפחד
לילה¹⁰ ומחלאים רעים ומכל פגעים
- 5 רעים ומכל מיני פורעניות בשם יוהך כי מלאכיו יצוה לך¹¹
ותשמרהו מכל מקורות מיאורין¹² ומכל מיני כישופים בשם
מאני שמיאל
- 6 סוסיא בניה¹³ ותצילו ותשמרו ותשרו ותפרו מעינא בישא
ומכל מרעין בישין אלא תגוהו לחן ולחסד ולרחמים
בעיניכם
- 7 ובעיני כל רואיו בשם חניאל חסדיאל רחמיאל ובכח השם
היוצא מפסוק ונח מצא חן בעיני יהוה ואתם המלאכים
הממונים

- 8 על אוצרות השמים והברכה תפתחו את אוצרותיכם
 ותשביעו ותשפיעו שפע משובתכם בשם כח השם היוצא
 9 מפסוק יפתח יהוה לך את אוצרו הטוב את השמים בשם
 תג'עש תע'צש א'א'א' ס'ס'ס' אנדש כו'זו צ'מ'רכר'¹⁴
 10 קדש הקדשים במוכסו כו'זו¹⁵ בר .

TRANSLATION

- 1 I pray of you, ye holy angels,³ who stand before the great God,⁴ JHVH, who is blessed, in the name of Michael, Nuriel, Sadkīel, Puel, Kādarniel, Shamshiel,
- 2 Rafael. And in the name by which he was revealed to Moses on Sinai; and in the name by which he cut the sea into twelve pieces⁵; and in the name by which he gave the Torah to Israel; and in the name by which he was revealed to Elijah on Carmel⁶; and in the name
- 3 by which he healed the water through Elisha⁷; and in the name by which he rescued Daniel from the den of lions so that they did not destroy him⁸—so may you deliver and heal and shield and preserve Daniel, son
- 4 of Berakah, the bearer of the amulet upon him, from the kinds of . . .⁹ that flit about between heaven and earth; and from evil spirits; and from Liliths; and from injurious spirits; and from the terror of the night¹⁰; and from evil diseases; and from all evil plagues;
- 5 and from all kinds of visitations, in the name of YUHK, 'For he shall give his angels charge over thee.'¹¹ And ye may guard him against all sinister¹² accidents, and all kinds of magic, in the name of Ma'ni Shamiel
- 6 So(u)sya, Banyah.¹³ And may you deliver and preserve and loosen and free him from the evil eye and from all evil afflictions; but render him an object of favor and grace and compassion in your eyes
- 7 and in the eyes of all who see him, in the name of Ḥanniel, Ḥasdiel, Raḥamiel; and by the power of the name which issues from the verse, 'And Noah found favor in the eyes of JHVH.' And ye the angels, who are set
- 8 over the treasures of heaven and blessing, may you open your treasures and sate and lavish abundance from your bounty in the name of the power of the name which issues

9 from the verse, 'JHVH will open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven.' In the name of TG'Š, T'SŠ. Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah, Selah, Selah. ANDŠ. JHVH. ŠMARKD.¹⁴

10 Most Holy. Our God JHVH.¹⁵ BD.

NOTES

¹ שְׁמִי' on account of the following דְּעֵלְמִין here = God. Comp. for this meaning of heaven *Jewish Enc.* s. v., 6. 298, and James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913, 11. 2 (p. 170); 18. 1 (p. 193). For the combination, 'God of the worlds' comp. Is. 26. 4: צֹר עוֹלָמִים and כָּל הָעוֹלָם in the Jewish liturgy.

² Cf. מִרְיָן Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 7. 11 (p. 146) and glossary, s. v.

³ Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.* 8. 14 (p. 154) and (*in malam partem* = 'sacri') 4. 1 (p. 132).

⁴ Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.* 7. 4 (p. 145).

⁵ Corresponding to the Twelve Tribes, cf. Rashi to Ps. 136. 13; Ex. Midr. R. 24. 1, and Deut. Midr. R. 11. 9.

⁶ 1 K. 18. 19.

⁷ 2 K. 2. 19.

⁸ Dan. 6. 23.—The appeal by the manifestations of God's power and wondrous help in critical events through Israel's history is also found in the prayers recited on fast days and during the penitential seasons. Montgomery, *op. cit.* p. 64, quotes parallels from Babylonian and Egyptian magical practices.

⁹ תִּוְתִין unknown. Etymologically it might be explained to mean 'lower ones,' from תוֹת, but the context points to some kind of winged beings who traverse the spaces between heaven and earth. Wings, however, are also attributed to the Shedim and Lilin, cf. *JAOS* 36. 166, n. 46.

¹⁰ Ps. 91. 5. Targ. *ad loc.* gives this passage (as the rest of the psalm) a demonistic meaning: רְלוּחָא דְּמִזְיָא דְּאֵלִיָּא בְּלִילִיָּא.

¹¹ Ps. 91. 11^a; יוֹחַךְ is formed of the end letters of the four words.

¹² מִקְרוֹת מִיֹּאֲרִין. מִקְרוֹת is doubtless = מִקְרִים, from קִרָּה. קִרָּה 'accidents,' but מִיָּא is difficult to explain. Can it be a formation from אִיר, 'cursed, pernicious, sinister'?

¹³ Perhaps names of 'master magicians' or 'master conjurers,' like Abbahu, Joshua b. Peraḥya, Bar Mesosia, etc., in the incantation bowls, cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.* p. 24, 99, 112 f., etc.

¹⁴ See *JAOS* 36. 159.

¹⁵ See *JAOS* 36. 158.

Underneath the invocation is a small crudely drawn 'shield of David' inscribed with יְהוָה, אֶכְתְּרִיָּא, and צִנְאוֹת, and a sort of tree or branch, placed upside down. The latter may represent the 'magic bough' depicted on one of the Nippur

bowls and referred to by Montgomery, *op. cit.* p. 55.—It may be remarked in general that this amulet contains many echoes of the Nippur incantation texts published by Professor Montgomery. To the cases noticed in the notes above may be added **אסותא מן שמיא**, found only on this amulet of the Museum collection and one of the stock ejaculations on the Nippur bowls. Another noticeable feature of this amulet is that the appeal in the invocation is not addressed to God, enumerating his names and then those of some angels, but to the 'holy angels' and reversing the order of the names, giving to those of the angels the precedence over those of JHVH. May not this amulet represent one of the earlier stages of the transition from the predominantly eclectic and syncretistic use of magic to the more pronouncedly Judaic form?

II

The second amulet, likewise a sort of parchment palimpsest, measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and coming from Tunis, has two invocations, which are separated by the candlestick formed of Psalm 67. Both have blanks for insertion of the name of the client or patient, and the one to the right lacks the usual conclusion. The whole is framed by two lines of inscription. The outer one, beginning at the top on the left side, consists of forty-two repetitions of the name of **כתריאל**, prefixed with the forty-two acrostics of the prayer of Nehunya, while above is the quotation from Deut. 28. 10, closing with the names **שרי** and **סנרלפון**. The latter is explained as = *Συνάδελφος*, 'co-brother' or 'twin-brother,' namely of Metatron. In Hag. 13^b Sandalfon is spoken of as taller than his fellow angels by a distance of 500 years' journey, and when standing on earth reaching with his head the Hayyoth of the Merkabah-throne where he binds wreaths for his master. The inner inscription starts on the right side beneath the enclosure of the zigzag figure and is composed of Biblical passages, namely, Deut. 7. 15; Ps. 46. 12: 'JHVH Sebaoth is with us, a high tower is the God of Jacob. Selah'; Ps. 20. 10: 'JHVH help the king, he may answer us on the day we call,' and the Aaronite blessing, Num. 6. 24-27, interspersed with the mystical words **אנקתם**, **פסתם**, etc.

The zigzag lines above and the parallel lines which enclose them contain Exod. 14. 19-21, the three verses which constitute

the great 72-lettered name of God and from which the 72 three-lettered names of God are constructed: 'And the angel of God, that went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of cloud removed from before them, and stood behind them. And it came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; and there was the cloud and the darkness, yet gave it light by night; and the one came not near the other all the night. And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and JHVVH caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all the night, and made the sea dry land and the waters were divided.' Further, Exod. 13. 21: 'And JHVVH went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them by the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light, that they might go by day and by night'; Ps. 124. 8: 'Our help is in the name of JHVVH who made heaven and earth,' and a repetition of the priestly blessing, Num. 6. 24-26.—Between the zigzag lines are the first fourteen (to correspond to the fourteen triads of the acrostics of the prayer of Nehunya?) three-lettered names of God derived from Exod. 14. 19-21, closing on the left side with **מצפן** which by the at-bsh alphabet is = **יהוה**.

Below, in the middle, in two concentric circles are arranged the fourteen triads of the forty-two acrostics of the prayer of Nehunya with **יהוה** between each and **יהוה שרי צבאות** at the end. To either side are squares. In the one to the right the upper three rows are filled out with **יהוה** and its permutations, while the fourth row has **יה**, **בטר**, **זהג**, and **ואה**; the square to the left has nine three-lettered names out of ten derived from Gen. 46. 4: **אנכי ארר עמך מצרימה ואנכי אעלך**: **גם עלה** 'I will go down with thee into Egypt and I will surely bring thee up again,' which, according to Schwab, *Vocabulaire*, p. 61, are recited to avoid danger; the empty eighth cell should have **עאע**. The six last cells are inscribed with **שרי** in six permutations. Under the square, **ארירירון**, for which see *JAOS* 36. 158.

THE INVOCATION TO THE RIGHT

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| בשם יהוה אלקי ישראל יושב | 1 |
| הכרובים אשר מפחדו יגורו | 2 |
| אלים וירעשו אופנים וכל שרי | 3 |

- 4 מרכבה¹ לפניו כרעים ומשתחווים
 5 כותב אני קמיע זה לשם שמירה
 6 ורפואה והצלה נ'ק'זע [נושא קמיע זה עליו]
 7 בכח מלאך זה היום שמזלו אריה
 8 ומלאכו רפאל ומשרתו צדק² שיהיה
 9 נשמר נ'ק'זע מכל חלאים רעים
 10 ונאמנים ומכל מאורעות קשות ורעות
 11 ומכל פחד ואימה וצער וגזק וריפיון
 12 ובהלה והרגזה והרעשה וכבוד רוח
 13 רעה ומשדין לילין צפרירין וטהרירין³
 14 רוחניים ארציים ומימיים⁴ הרעים
 15 בסתר ובגלוי ביום ובלילה ומכל
 16 שר ושדה השוכנים בבתים ובחצרות ובאפיקים
 17 ובמרחצאות ובאגמים ובכארות ובבחלים
 18 ובמעונות ובאילנות ובפנות הבית וברפש
 19 ובטיט ובפרשת דרכים⁵ על הכל אני
 20 משביע בכח סגוי וסנסגוי וסמנגלף ובשם
 21 יואחצצבירון ועליך לילית ועל כל כת דילך
 22 ועליך זומזמית ועל כל כת דילך ועליך אגרת
 23 בת מחלת⁶ ועל כל כת דילך ועליך קפקפוע⁷
 24 מלכא דשדי ועל כל חייליה ועל כל רוחין
 25 בישין ומזיקין ומרוח אברי⁸ ומרוח קטולי⁹ ומרוח
 26 קברי¹⁰ ומרוח מעיא ושלייטא¹² ועל כל שדין דדכרין
 27 שמיחון ודלא ד'ש¹³ שאני יודע שמיחין ושאין איש¹⁴
 28 שלא תזיקו ולא תפחידו ולא תזיעו ולא
 29 תרעידו ולא תרעישו ולא תשחיתו ולא תפסידו
 30 נ'ק'זע בשום אבר מרמ'ח¹⁵
 31 איבריו לא בראשו ולא במראית עיניו...¹⁶

TRANSLATION

- 1 In the name of JHVH, the God of Israel, who dwelleth
 2 among the Cherubim, before whose awfulness the angels (or
 gods) fear,
 3 and the Ofanim (wheels) tremble, and all the princes

- 4 of the Merkabah (chariot)² kneel down and prostrate themselves before him—
- 5 I write this amulet for the protection
- 6 and healing and delivery of the bearer of this amulet upon him.
- 7 By the power of the angel of this day, whose constellation is Leo,
- 8 and his [ruling] angel is Rafael, and his servitor is Jupiter,³ that
- 9 the bearer of this amulet be guarded against all evil and
- 10 enduring diseases, and against all severe and evil vicissitudes
- 11 and against any fear, terror, anguish, injury, and feebleness,
- 12 and panic, and upsetting, and trembling, and depression of an evil
- 13 spirit, and against Shedim, Lilin, morning demons, and mid-day demons,⁴
- 14 whether they be evil [demons] of the winds, the earth, or the waters,⁵
- 15 hidden or revealed, by day or by night; and
- 16 against any male Shed and female Shed who dwell in houses, and in courtyards, and in channels,
- 17 and in bath-houses, and in pools, and in wells, and in brooks,
- 18 and in springs, and in trees, and in the corners of the house, and in mire
- 19 and dirt, and on the cross-roads.⁶—All of them
- 20 I adjure by the power of Sanuy and Sansanuy and Saman-galuf, and in the name
- 21 of Yu'aḥaṣṣbirun, and thee Lilith and thy entire band,
- 22 and thee Zumzamith and thy entire band, and thee Agrath,
- 23 daughter of Maḥlath,⁷ and thy entire band, and thee Kaḥ-ḥapu'a,⁸
- 24 king of the Shedim, and his entire host, and all evil
- 25 spirits, and injuring spirits. And against the spirit of . . .,⁹ and the spirit of a slain man¹⁰ (?), and the spirit
- 26 of the grave,¹¹ and the spirit of . . . and of . . .,¹² and all the Shedim whose names
- 27 are remembered or whose names are not remembered,¹³ whose names I know or no man [knows]¹⁴—

- 28 that ye shall not injure, and not frighten, and not disturb,
and not
29 terrorize, and not upset, and not destroy, and not harm
30 the bearer of this amulet upon him in any member
of his two hundred forty-eight¹⁵
31 members, neither in his head nor in his eyesight . . .¹⁶

NOTES

¹ The ק (or ר) is often substituted for the ה in the name of God in later Jewish writings; cf. *Jewish Enc.* 9. 164.

² The mystical interpretation of the description of the chariot with its constituent parts, the wheels (*ofanim*), beasts (*hayyoth*), in Ezek. 1 and 10, forms under the name of 'Ma'aseh Merkabah' a very important part of the secret lore in both the Talmud and the Kabbalah.

³ On astrological elements in Jewish amulets see *JAOS* 36. 156.

⁴ טהריין from טהר. 'to cleanse,' then 'to brighten' (as a result of cleansing); hence Targ. to Ps. 91. 6 renders צהרים by טיהרא, 'the day being at noontime at its brightest.' Both צפריי (from צפרא 'morning') and טיהר, for morning and midday demons, respectively, are found in Targ. to Cant. 4. 6; cf. also Berak. 2^a and Yoma 59^a.

⁵ Spirits who cause storms, earthquakes, and floods; see *Jewish Enc.* 4. 516. Cf. בנתא רבא, לילית רב, in Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, p. 78; 17. 3 (p. 190); 29. 7 (p. 218).

⁶ On the abodes of demons see *Jewish Enc.* 4. 516.—Among the trees the palm tree seems to have been considered as a favorite rendezvous of spirits, Pes. 111^a. So also are the cross-roads 'a resort of spirits'; Hecate is often found there, and in the Testament of Solomon . . . the demon Envy says, 'In the cross-ways also I have my services to render,' R. Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic, its Origin and Development*, p. 200, n. 4; cf. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3^d. 80, and *Enc. Bibl.* s. v. 'Medicine,' 3. 3006.

⁷ See *JAOS* 36. 167, n. 48.

⁸ Elsewhere Ashmodai (Asmodeus) or Samael is named as prince of the demonic hosts.

⁹ אבריי, whether derived from אבר, 'limb,' or from אברא, 'led,' it does not fit into the context.

¹⁰ The immediately following רוח קברי would suggest the taking of קטילי in the passive sense, the spirit of a murdered man who finds no rest and annoys people on earth, a belief widely spread. But perhaps it is more correct to take the word in the active sense, a murderous spirit, for which cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.* 36. 2 (p. 238), קטולתא ברת ק, 'murderess, daughter of a murderess.'

¹¹ For the conception of graveyards as abode of spirits cf. Hag. 3^b and Sanh. 65^b.

¹² כעיא...שלייטא which cannot in this connection be connected with קעיט, 'intestines' and שליטא, 'ruler.'

The image shows a page from a manuscript, likely a Kabbalistic or mystical text, featuring a large triangular diagram at the top and a circular diagram at the bottom. The text is written in Hebrew and Arabic script.

Triangular Diagram (Top): The diagram is a large triangle with vertices labeled with letters. The top vertex is labeled 'ה' (Heh), the bottom-left vertex is 'א' (Aleph), and the bottom-right vertex is 'ס' (Sadeh). Inside the triangle, there are several lines and smaller text, including the words 'היה' (Hah) and 'היה' (Hah) repeated. The diagram is surrounded by handwritten text in Hebrew and Arabic.

Circular Diagram (Bottom): The diagram is a complex geometric figure with concentric circles and radial lines. It contains text in Hebrew and Arabic, including the words 'היה' (Hah) and 'היה' (Hah) repeated. The diagram is surrounded by handwritten text in Hebrew and Arabic.

Handwritten Text: The text is dense and fills the spaces around the diagrams. It is written in Hebrew and Arabic script. The Hebrew text is on the left side of the page, and the Arabic text is on the right side. The text appears to be a commentary or explanation of the diagrams.

אֶבֶן	וְנֶאֱמָר	בְּרֵעִי	יֵלֶךְ
אֶבֶן	רֶהוּ	דָּוִם	
לֵב	בְּכָה	שִׁדִּי	שִׁדִּי
דִּשְׁ	דְּשִׁי	יֵשֶׁד	יֵשֶׁד



II. DOUBLE AMULET ON PARCHMENT WITH BLANKS FOR INSERTION
OF THE NAME OF A CLIENT. TUNIS, NORTH AFRICA

¹³ What Montgomery terms 'blanket formulas,' so as not to omit any agency, cf. *op. cit.* 14. 6 (p. 183); 29. 9 (p. 218); etc.

¹⁴ Supply 'ורע ש'.

¹⁵ See *JAOS* 36. 165, n. 24.

¹⁶ The scribe apparently broke off in the middle of his copy, which probably continued the enumeration of the other bodily parts which were to be protected from attack, closing with a prayer that the patient might find grace and favor in the eyes of God and men.

THE INVOCATION TO THE LEFT

- | | |
|---|----|
| יהי רצון מלפניך יהוה אלהי ואלהי | 1 |
| אבתי למענך ולמען שמך הגדול | 2 |
| המוכתר באלו שמות הקדושים | 3 |
| והנוראים יוהוה ייהוה יסהיוטה | 4 |
| יעהלומה ימהושה ילהלוא יאהבואה | 5 |
| יכהותה ייהוה יאהלורה ילהאווה | 6 |
| ייהוה ייהוה ימהבהוה ולמען | 7 |
| שמותך הקדושים אלו אגלא | 8 |
| אזבוגה יוהך כלך כוזו במוכסו כוזו | 9 |
| שתשמור ותציל | 10 |
| נ'ק'ז'ע מכל עין הרע ומלישון הרע | 11 |
| ומכל דבור רע ומכל מראים בישין | 12 |
| ומנכפה ומאסכרה ומנוילה ומחולי | 13 |
| שחורה ולבנה ואדומה וירוקה ומכל | 14 |
| תרדמת אברים וממיתה משונה | 15 |
| וממיתה פתאומית ומשטות ומבלבול מוח | 16 |
| ומתמהון לבב ומעילוף ורתת וזיע ומדמיונות | 17 |
| רעות וממצוקות לב ומראבון לב ומדוחק | 18 |
| לב ומציד לב ומעצבון לב בשם ובכח | 19 |
| לטבלא ונחב שתשמור ותציל לנ'ק'ז'ע מכאב | 20 |
| ראש ומחלי עין וממצוקות לב ומקטב ומריר | 21 |
| ומדבר ומגפה בשם צדנלבש קהסמגת | 22 |
| קסטיאל קטסיאל ומכל מיני קישור וכישוף | 23 |
| שבעולם כדכתיב מכשפה לא תחיה בשם | 24 |
| היה וימצא חן ושכל טוב בעיניך ובעיני כל | 25 |
| רואיו כדכתיב ונח מצא חן בעיני יהוה וכתב | 26 |

- 27 ומצא חן ושכל טוב בעיני אלהים ואדם¹³ ותהיה (sic)
 28 לאהבה לחן ולחסד ולרחמים בעיניך ובעיני
 29 כל רואיו בשם אהביאל חניאל חסדיאל
 30 רחמיאל אמן נצח סלה ועד אוריאל רפאל
 31 גבריאל מיכאל סמכיאל עזריאל צדקיאל
 32 שעשיאל.

TRANSLATION

- 1 May it please thee, O JHVH, my God and the God
 2 of my fathers, for thy sake and for the sake of thy great
 name
 3 which is crowned with these holy
 4 and awful names _____
 5 _____
 6 _____
 7 _____,¹ and for the sake
 8 of these thy holy names 'AGLA'²
 9 AZBUGAH YUHK KLK³ KUZU BMUKSZ KUZU.⁴
 10 That thou mayest guard and deliver
 11 the bearer of this amulet upon him from any evil eye and
 from an evil tongue,⁵
 12 and from all evil speech, and from all evil sights,
 13 and from epilepsy, and from croup, and from a running
 catarrh,
 14 and from the black sickness (*melancholy*, or *melanaemia*),
 and the white sickness (*leukaemia*), and the red sickness
 (*jaundice*), and the green sickness (*biliousness*, or Egyptian
chlorosis),
 15 and from any torpor of the limbs (*paralysis*, or *narcosis*),
 and from a strange death,
 16 and a sudden death,⁶ and from folly and confusion of the
 brain,
 17 and from stupor of the heart, and from faintness, trembling,
 and shock, and from evil
 18 fancies and distress of the heart, and languor of the heart,
 and pressure
 19 of the heart, and . . .⁷ of the heart, and sadness of the
 heart. In the name and by the power
 20 of LTBLA' WNHB mayest thou guard and protect the
 bearer of this amulet upon him from head-

- 21 ache, and from eye-sore, and from distresses of the heart,⁸
and from Kēṭeb and Meriri,⁹
22 and from pestilence and plague: in the name of SDNLBSH
KHSMGT
23 Kāṣṭiel Kāṣṭiel. And from any bond¹⁰ and magic [that
exist]
24 in the world, as it is written, 'Thou shalt not suffer a sor-
ceress to live,'¹¹ in
25 the name of HYH. And may he find favor and good under-
standing in thine eyes and in the eyes of all
26 who see him, as it is written, 'And Noah found favor in the
eyes of JHVH'¹²; and is written,
27 'And thou wilt find favor and good understanding in the
eyes of God and man.'¹³ And may he be an object
28 of love, favor and grace and compassion in thine eyes and
in the eyes
29 of all who see him; in the name of Ahabiel, Hānniel, Ḥasdiel,
30 Raḥamiel. Amen, enduring forever. Uriel, Rafael,
31 Gabriel, Michael, Samkiel, 'Azriel, Ṣadkiel,
32 Sha'ashiel.

NOTES

¹ The names in lines 4 to 7 are composed of the fourteen three-lettered names scattered between the zigzag figure on top of the amulet, inter-linked each with יהוה.

² The initial letters of אַתָּה גִבּוֹר לְעוֹלָם אֲדֹנָי, 'Thou art mighty for ever O Lord,' the first words of the second prayer of the 'Eighteen Benedictions' (*Shemoneh 'Esreh*, or '*Amidah*'); also the acrostic of the first words of Gen. 49. 8-11 (Judah of v. 8, as the address, not being counted).

³ Combined of the end letters of Ps. 91. 11.

⁴ By ab-gd = יהוה אלהינו ל'.

⁵ In the Talmud the technical term for calumny or slander; here probably of casting an evil spell by some magical formula.

⁶ Cf. the petition, 'from sudden death, good Lord deliver us,' in the Litany of the Common Prayer Book.

⁷ צִיר. The word is found in plural, Jud. 2. 3, rendered by LXX στροχάς = צִירוֹת (?), by Targ. כְּעִיקָן = צִירִים, but is most probably to be amended after the parallels in Num. 33. 55 and Josh. 23. 13, into צִנִּינִים, 'thorns.'

⁸ Already mentioned in line 18.

⁹ Both words, without copula, are found in Deut. 32. 24, English versions, 'bitter destruction'; קֶטֶב alone, in parallel to רֶבֶר, occurs Is. 28. 2; Hos. 13. 14; and Ps. 91. 6. In the last passage both Targ. and Rashi render both words by 'demon' (שֵׁד). In rabbinical literature (Pes. 111b, Num.

R. 12. 3) קִמִּי is depicted as a demon calf-headed with revolving goat's horn, an eye in the breast, and body covered with scales, hair, and eyes, who reigns from the seventeenth of Tammuz to the ninth of Ab (the season of national mourning). For a similar monster in Assyrian incantations see Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 63 f.

¹⁰ קִישׁוֹר. It may mean a psychical or spiritual bond, i. e. the duress caused by a demon or sorcerer (cf. Luke 13. 16), which the juxtaposition of כִּישׁוֹף would suggest; or it may refer to bewitchment by tying knots, cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.* קִישְׁרֵי 7. 13 (p. 146), and עֵיקָרָא 34. 10 (p. 231). On the wide-spread practice of sorcery by tying knots see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1st. 392, 397; Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 168 ff.

¹¹ Exod. 22. 18.

¹² Gen. 6. 8.

¹³ Prov. 3. 4.

THE SITE OF CONSTANTINOPLE A FACTOR OF HISTORICAL VALUE

LEON DOMINIAN

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, NEW YORK

For more than 2000 years the leading minds of the world have dreamt of Constantinople. Dreamt of it in visions of splendor as did the Russians of Kief and Smolensk in mid-medieval days when they thought of Tsarigrad—the city of Emperors. Dreamt of it in golden dreams as did the bankers of Venice and Genoa in the twelfth century when they figured that the annual income of Byzantine Emperors exceeded one hundred million dollars. Dreamt of it as did the minstrels of western Europe when they sang of the beauty of Byzantine palaces and the pleasures of life in Byzantium. To account for the magic of the name and for the strength and permanence of the impression it created requires a thorough understanding of the value of its site, and I am attempting to show in the following lines that a large share of Constantinople's greatness and fame was the result of its geographical position. This paper will therefore be confined to a presentation of what might correctly be called a background study.

Were we to liken the world of ancient history to a gigantic spider's web, Constantinople would occupy the center, and the threads radiating outward would represent the far-reaching system of roads leading in every direction from the capital. How different is the relation of Rome and Constantinople to systems of world routes! We are so accustomed to the saying that all roads led to Rome that we forget the truth which was that all roads were made to lead artificially to Rome for a stated period of history, whereas they have always led naturally to Constantinople. Rome was the convenient center for a Mediterranean power. Constantinople on the other hand was the indicated headquarters of authority in the western half of the eastern hemisphere.

It was the hub of a set of land and sea roads which, spoke-like, linked it to the outermost fringe of the inhabited world. The Baltic was reached on the north through the long rivers

flowing on the great plains of Russia. Out of Thrace and its cold mountains the valleys of the Maritsa and Isker led into the Danube furrow which provided a connecting link with the Atlantic on the west. In the east the roads extended as far as the Pacific while to the south they attained the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

The eastern land routes crossed Asia Minor on the north and south. The southern road made use of the winding valley of the Sakaria river to climb upon the tableland. The descent was made at the celebrated Cilician gate, whence a fan of roads led to Egypt and India. This last goal could be reached by land south of the great central salt deserts of Persia, by following the old Median way between Baghdad and Kermanshah and proceeding by Kirman to northwestern India. The northern road usually comprised a watery stretch between Constantinople and Trebizond. East of this city it passed by Tabriz and Teheran and penetrated Turan, Central Asia, and China or else lost itself by way of Meshed into the mountain tangle of Afghanistan.

To the east Constantinople has always been in touch with the heart of Slavic Russia through the Dnieper valley. The river and its affluents drain an extensive plain which connects the central plateau of Russia with the Podolian upland. Baltic ridges form its natural bulwark on the north. But the easiest outlet leads southwards toward the Black Sea. Hence Varangian adventurers leading flotillas of war galleys drifted inevitably towards the capital. In time these fair-complexioned northerners were drafted by Byzantine emperors into regiments whose boast of being Constantinople's stoutest defenders has never been controverted.

The importance of the penetration of this long river into Russian territory can never be overestimated in the history of civilization. Its head-waters attain the eastern edge of Russia's industrial zone. Its lower course waters the western end of the celebrated Black Soil or Chernozom belt. These facts mean that the river valley is the main artery of communication in Russia's most densely populated sections. There the purest type of Russians known as Little Russians are found. These Slavs are probably the only members of the Russian family whose blood is free from Teutonic or Tatar mingling. Nor is

it strange to find that this very region is gradually receiving recognition as the original seat of the entire Slav family.

Into this very heart of Slavdom and of Russian nationality, the winding channel of the Dnieper provided the convenient road along which the Christian ideals of Byzantium traveled northward. Russia, barred on land by interminable plains and lofty mountains from receiving the Vatican's form of Christianity, lay nevertheless open to the influence of the Eastern Church, thanks to the Dnieper furrow. This conversion of pagan Russia to Christianity by Byzantine monks is an event of the utmost historical significance in the history of European progress. It enabled Russia to play the part of warden of Europe's eastern marches. Between the rushing tide of Tatar barbarism and the immature civilization of Western Europe, Russia proved the bulwark that stemmed the flood. But this historical fact was a direct outcome of the ease with which Byzantines could travel to Russian cities by sailing on the Black Sea and up Russian rivers.

To understand better how Constantinople found itself on the great highroads which men have used in preference to others throughout the ages, it is necessary to bear in mind the Eurasian migrations. Probably the most important prehistoric migration between Europe and Asia was the advance of the Alpines, men of the race of roundheads, who traveled westward from Asia bringing the knowledge of metals to the Europeans of the Stone Age. It was the introduction of a superior civilization from Asia, and Constantinople lay directly in the path of this advance. In the north where the great steppes of Asia pass into the lowlands of Russia and Germany, humanity was less civilized than in the rugged regions of mountains rising to the south. The intercourse between these northerners did not affect Constantinople directly. The main body of the bronze-bearing Alpines crossed from Asia Minor into the Balkan peninsula. They must have forded the Bosphorus. The plains of Thrace and of northwestern Anatolia will yield the secrets of these migrations around the shores of the Golden Horn as soon as exploration will become possible.

In the early times before 3000 B. C. travel was slow and confined largely to the mainland. But the admirable site of Constantinople must have attracted the attention of the bronze-

bearing wanderers who were trickling into Europe. With the growth of maritime travel following human ability to build boats after man had accustomed himself to use metal tools, the water lanes became frequented, and the water route connecting the Pontic shores with the Hellenic seats of civilization was widely traveled. Constantinople's greatness was assured as soon as this route was established. No wonder, then, that the records to which we can turn ascribe the founding of Byzantium to the Megarans in 657 B. C. The date is significant because we know that colonization was carried on by the Greeks at that time. The 7th century was one in which trade between the Greek cities and the harbors of the Black Sea basin was in a flourishing condition. Through this commerce the products of inner Asia were beginning to be known in Europe. Nevertheless we cannot accept this date as that of the founding of Byzantium. The discovery of tumuli and mounds containing stone implements in the suburbs of Constantinople, at Erenkeuy and Maltepe, as well as beyond in the Thracian rearlands and on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus bears evidence of the occupation of the site before the coming of the Megarans.

The main advantage of Constantinople's site is derived from its position at the junction of two highways which connect Europe and Asia. As long as trade intercourse between the steppes of southwestern Russia and the Mediterranean basin was maintained and as long as Asia communicated with Europe through Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula, a share of the profits accruing from that trade would naturally revert to Constantinople. From the 5th century B. C. to the beginning of the 15th century A. D.—a period of 2000 years—an extensive interchange of commodities was carried on between the harbors of the Black Sea and the cities of the Greek peninsula. The Pontic shore was a granary to which hardy Greek sailors repaired year after year, for the supplies of wheat needed by their countrymen. Besides wheat, the steppes of southern Russia provided hides, skins, wool, and lumber. All these cargoes passed through the Bosphorus, stopping at the far-famed city which to the sailor and the trader was both a resting-station and an outfitting-base.

At the height of Rome's power a temporary change in the direction of travel occurred, and a part of the Asiatic traffic

was diverted to Ephesus, whence it was loaded on vessels sailing for Rome. Constantine's choice of a capital in 330, however, re-established the natural order. Ramsay notes that by the time of Justinian the southern route of Asia Minor was abandoned in favor of the northern.¹ Students of modern economic conditions in the Near East will not be surprised by these changes of traffic lanes, for to-day Smyrna is Constantinople's rival as a port of shipment for Southern Europe.

From 400 A. D. to 1000 A. D. Constantinople was the chief trading-center of the world. The Byzantine flag was not unknown in English ports where the galleys of Constantinople were often to be seen. And in the 6th century every important commercial center of the eastern Mediterranean lands had been superseded by Constantinople. The trade routes of antiquity had been extended deviously so as to cross the Bosphorus. Constantinople had become the city in which commercial privileges and trade monopolies flourished to an extent unknown elsewhere. The commerce of the world was made to leave a share of its profits to the small band of merchant-princes who controlled its routing.

The Byzantine's trade with Slavs was not merely confined to purchases of raw material from Russia. The luxury which prevailed at all Slavic courts during medieval times forced courtiers to spend lavishly on their dress. One could appear at court only arrayed in one's best. Ornaments especially were essential. An ordinary fur coat would not satisfy the upper social circles. It needs must have all the trimmings of pomp imaginable, such as gold braid and surcharges of value. High-priced ornaments were also in demand for the decoration of Slavic palaces. To supply all these wants was Byzantium's specialty. The Slav purchaser in need of silk cloth or velvet did not need to travel beyond Constantinople. The city's markets contained ample stocks at his disposal. Its goldsmiths and silversmiths were famed for their skill in converting precious metals into jewelry. This was the trade which excited the jealousy and envy of Italian cities, for it was only by the advantage of position that Byzantium was reached before the Italian cities whose favored rival it had become.

¹ *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 74.

It is therefore natural to find Italian merchants congregating in flourishing colonies in Constantinople. The merchant-managers of the Italian city-states, notably at Venice, Genoa, Amalfi, and Pisa, realized that the economic control of the Byzantine Empire at which they aimed could be secured only by establishing themselves solidly in the Byzantine city.

Constantinople was a city of active trade long before it became a capital. Its prosperity depended on the convergence of land and water traffic toward the Golden Horn. Its situation made it both a European and an Asiatic city, and events which brought disasters to other parts of Europe only served to strengthen the importance of the capital. Thus when Western Europe was cast into intellectual gloom by the invasion of northern barbarians, Constantinople remained the seat of the highest civilization of its time. Later when the Mediterranean was infested by pirates—Norsemens or Africans—trade was diverted to land routes which met at Constantinople. Even the loss of Syria and Egypt by the Roman Empire raised the fame of Constantinople as a commercial center, for the trade between Europe and the East which had passed into the famous centers of these two provinces now flowed naturally towards Constantinople.

The transfer of the Roman capital to the shores of the Bosphorus by Constantine was significant. It implied that Asia was acquiring greater importance than Africa in the Roman world. The ties that bound the two continents to the great European Empire were economic. By the 4th century Africa had been drained of its resources. Commerce and the technical knowledge of the day were unable to continue dealing at a profit with the Black Continent. New fields of exploitation were sought, and Asia began to occupy the chief place in the minds of Roman leaders.

Prior to the occupation of Constantinople as imperial residence the Roman Empire had been a political entity which symbolized the unity of the Mediterranean region. Rome, admirably situated at equal distance from the eastern and western ends of the inland sea, had become mistress of the world by virtue of the advantage of geographical position. The wealth of Africa was the foundation on which the power of the Roman capital rested. The foundation was undermined by the activi-

ties of the empire's fiscal agents, men who acted merely as the agents of masters in Rome. Constantine realized the tottering condition which the mainstay of the empire had attained. His determination to keep closer watch on the revenues from Asia was practically forced upon him by existing conditions.

The value of Constantinople's site asserted itself soon after the foundation of the new city of Constantinople. This event had a disastrous effect on Alexandria and Rome. The difference of language saved the Latin city, but Alexandria, which hitherto had occupied the first place in the Greek intellectual and religious world, lost its rank as soon as the supremacy of the Byzantine capital was established. The Bishop of Alexandria, who was the recognized head of the Greek Church, saw his prestige and authority transferred to the Patriarch of Constantinople. With the decline of Greek life in Alexandria, the city was abandoned by the scholars and students who had been accustomed to gather in its learned institutions. Their studies were resumed in new reunions along the banks of the Golden Horn. Likewise all the Hellenistic tendencies and ideals of Asia Minor were abandoned in their famous centers—Antioch and Ephesus—only to be replaced by the revival of thought and active life which by the 5th century marked Byzantine life.

A history of Constantinople is therefore fundamentally the account of the results of a convergence of roads. The wealth of continents poured into the city placed at the junction of world highways. Constantinople became a community of merchant princes and of captains of industry of various nationalities. This is the spectacle afforded by an intimate insight into its society during Byzantine times. For a time the city's triple wall swept around the world's best-supplied warehouses. The harvests and products of great plains north of the Black Sea, consisting chiefly of wheat and other cereals, were collected and stored in Constantinople. Thither also were sent Asia Minor's varied products. From Spain and Italy, from Germany and Russia, from India and Cathay, merchandise commanding high prices reached Constantinople partly for consumption, but mainly for redistribution. The northern lanes of traffic drew the furs, the slaves, the honey, and the wax of Scandinavia and Russia. With the currents of the Black Sea flowed a steady stream of spices, dyes, and gems found in remote corners of

Asia. Caffa, Tana, and Trebizond were the Black Sea harbors where caravan goods were transshipped to Constantinople. Arabs, Armenians, and Persians acted as gathering middlemen for the merchants of Byzantium, while the Slavs and Teutons of the wide Danube lane played the part of the distributing agents.

Gradually after Constantine's time, the silks, gums, and dye-stuffs of India were supplied to all of Northern Europe, as well as to a great part of the western districts of that continent by Byzantine merchants. The history of adventurous Byzantine navigators remains to be told. We know at any rate that by the 11th century, the Byzantine merchant navy occupied the first rank in numbers. The fact is that Byzantine emperors had always shown great interest in the Empire's navy. This explains why Scandinavian, Teuton, or Anglo-Saxon adventurers could always rely on finding employment as sailors in Byzantium.

Society in Byzantine Constantinople reflected the peculiar geographical situation which affected the destiny of the city. The ease with which commerce and industry could be undertaken at this center accounts for the creation of a wealthy and powerful Byzantine 'bourgeoisie.' This element was the mainstay of the Byzantine treasury. It was possible to tax its revenues and Byzantine government officials never neglected this opportunity of increasing state receipts. Finlay reminds us that taxation yields little where nobles and serfs constitute the only strata in the population.² In such a state opposition above and poverty below will thwart the revenue-collector's efforts. A trading community, however, is the very foundation of power. Much of the civil and military superiority of the Byzantine Empire as well as its prestige depended on the tireless activity of the merchant class in Byzantium.

Of the great fortunes accumulated in the days of active trading not a vestige has survived. Constantinople, buffeted by the strongest gales of history because of its site, is unlike other capitals situated more fortunately away from the highway of world casualty. In these many wealthy residents trace the origin of their riches to medieval times. We must therefore seek a more tangible manifestation of the influence of this site.

² *History of the Byzantine Empire, 717-867*, p. 422.

This we find in the art which graces the city's monuments. To follow the evolution of Byzantine architecture is to trace the growth of a style which has culled from East and West alike and which, while finally reaching the distinctive stage which we call Byzantine, nevertheless resumes in itself a blend of splendid conceptions originating in Asia and Europe.

The single example of St. Sophia, where radiant glory and pious fervor are joined, will illustrate my thought. The basilica of Greek-Roman origin here underlies the cupola transplanted from Asia. Not only does the union of the two produce a characteristic Byzantine style, but each of these features have undergone modifications suggested by the creative genius of Byzantine architects. Thus the straight line of Roman basilicas is changed into a polygonal or curved outline, while the dome is eventually made to rest on the famous pendentive of Byzantine architecture. Through this combination the pomp of Asia and the piety of Europe's Christianity were first brought together upon a site eminently indicated by nature for this union. It was no accident, but the unfolding of natural progress. In St. Sophia there is more than a concrete edifice of stone and marble. The noble sanctuary is the symbol of an idea suggested by the site over which it rises. By its dominating position Constantinople had become the capital of Eastern Christianity. Its mission was to replace pagan by Christian ideals in Eastern lands. With this end in view it was customary to exact attendance of princes and ambassadors at the divine celebrations held in the cathedrals of the Byzantine capital. All the beauty that fancy could create was requisitioned in order to impress foreigners with the greatness of a religion whose recognized head was the Byzantine Emperor. In this sense St. Sophia as well as the marvelous beauty of its interior decoration are products of the site we are investigating.

One effect of the convergence of natural routes at Constantinople is illustrated by some of the conditions which marked the trade intercourse between Russians and Byzantines. In the 10th and 11th centuries trading between Russia and Byzantium had acquired importance. But let us not forget that the transactions were almost always ratified at Constantinople. Thither came the Russians to settle particulars regarding their trading. The Greeks rarely went to Russia. In other words, owing to

its splendid position Constantinople had conferred upon its residents the inestimable advantage of being able to wait for customers in their own shops without having to resort to the fatigues of travel in search of new markets. What was true for Russian traders was equally customary with merchants of other nationalities. But without such a privileged position the great city could never have attained the position of world emporium and clearing-house which made it so conspicuous in medieval history.

To call Constantinople a European city is a misnomer. The ties that link the capital to Asia have at all times been firmer than any bond with Europe. Having emerged from the period of provincialism which narrowed the outlook and interests of its inhabitants to their immediate neighborhood, and having become mistress of the Eastern Empire, the city at once assumed the position of leadership which was the appanage of its splendid situation. It was on Asia, however, that she drew for the maintenance of her splendor and prestige. Asia Minor and the shorelands of the Black Sea abounded in natural wealth which was transferred in time to the capital city. Without Asia, Constantinople could never have played the glorious part which is hers in history. Asia's claim on her is as great as that of Europe.

The number of Asiatics at large in the city's streets suffices to betray the strength of Asia's hold over Constantinople. To-day, as in the past, there are more Asiatic residents of Constantinople than European. Garments of varied hues and patterns, everyone a memento of the past, predominate over the severe and less attractive attire of Western style. But the West is coming into its own, unfortunately for the artist perhaps, for year by year one sees more Asiatics discarding the clothes copied from models handed down by their fathers.

Perhaps the chief reason of Asia's attraction for Constantinople will be found in the fact that back in the early years of the city's existence the highest civilization flourished on the Asiatic mainland, whereas a vaguely known barbarian world occupied the territory north and east of the Balkan ranges. This Asiatic influence has been unfortunate for the mentality of Constantinople's citizens. It made the Byzantine mind partial to the ideals of Asia. And the world seen through Asiatic

eyes, be it Anatolian, Chinese, or of any intervening type, never was reality. It is fancy's creation robed in the garment of desire or hope. It brought the spirit of fatalism, that is to say of laziness, within the triple circle of walls raised by Theodosius. It has kept the matter-of-fact and logical mind of the West from obtaining the ascendancy in the city and hence throughout the length and breadth of territory which acknowledged the capital's rule.

A closer view of the site of the great city reveals the natural strength of the position. The city spreads in the shape of a triangle whose base on the west extends from the Golden Horn to the Sea of Marmora. Both the northern and southern sides contain numerous small bays which were utilized as harbors in Byzantine times. The apex of this triangle, a hump of pleasant green, is known as Seraglio Point and is the oldest section of the city. It was the site on which the Akropolis of pre-Roman days was built. Here the onlooker's sweeping gaze embraces the splendid sight of the Bosphorus, Golden Horn, and Sea of Marmora seen together.

As a harbor the Golden Horn has ancient fame. A chain across its mouth along the line of the first of the modern bridges closed it at will in medieval times. By its depth and the large area it covers it affords to-day a harbor in which the navies of the world can gather together. For beauty and practical advantages the site can be compared to no other, for it is at once city and country, river and sea, valley and hill, garden and grove.

Constantinople, like Rome, had its seven hills. And the ancients who had a keen eye for majesty and dignity made good use of these eminences and crowned their summits with notable edifices. Proceeding from east to west, we observe that the easternmost hill was converted into a pedestal to support the seraglio, St. Sophia, and the mosque of Sultan Ahmed. The Hippodrome also ran lengthwise across its ridge. The valley which separates it from the next hill is the winding uphill road which runs from the outer Golden Horn shores past the Sublime Porte to St. Sophia. The mosque of Nouri-Osmanieh is built at the top of this second hill. Close by and still on the same eminence rises the porphyry column of Constantine the Great, better known as the Burnt Column.

From this second hill the height of land continues to the third through a ridge which overlooks the valley dividing them. The valley may be remembered as the one in which access is had to the Grand Bazaar. The third hill is crowned by the imposing mosque of Suleyman the Magnificent. Here also rises the ancient palace of the sultans which later became the Seraskerat, or War Office.

The aqueduct built by Valens crosses the next valley. Then comes the fourth hill with the mosque of Sultan Mohammed the Conqueror at its top. The fifth contains the mosque of Sultan Selim. The sixth hill is associated with the names of Byzantine Emperors rather than of Turkish Sultans. It was once known as the hill of the Blachernae from the name of the palace which occupied the spot. The seventh is the Xerolophos, or Dry Hill. On it are found to-day the quarters known as the Alti Mermer and Psamathia.

But if the site was open to the traffic of the world, it was also one of singularly difficult access in the last stretches of the roads which ended at its city gates. I must lay stress on this geographical combination, for it is the very foundation of the strength and influence of Constantinople. The triangular area which I have just described was partly encircled by a natural moat which proved more than once impassable to attackers. The enemy coming from Asia found that the width of this moat had often caused the failure of the city's foes. If they advanced from the landward side, a short line of formidable walls extending in a triple row from sea to sea arrested their progress. Beyond the sea and land walls nature had provided a series of advanced outposts of defence which have proved their worth to this very day. On land in Europe, the Balkans formed a mighty bulwark open here and there along defiles which could be conveniently defended. In Asia Minor, the hills of Bithynia and of the Trojan district dominated the approaches to the city. What such a site has meant for the city may be gathered from the fact that even the Turks, splendid soldiers as they were, failed to conquer the city during their westerly spread in the fourteenth century. Fully one hundred years were to elapse after their conquest of Eastern Balkan territory before they were able to become masters of the city.

By water the entrance of the Dardanelles and the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus—both narrow, winding, and swept by

currents—seemed ideally devised for the protection of Constantinople. The whole world has witnessed the failure of a splendidly equipped modern army to turn the Dardanelles by land. Why? Because of the line of hills rising in steps above the exceedingly narrow strip of shore which surrounded it. This narrow strip and the step-like hills explain why casualties passed the hundred thousand figure at this point in the recent Dardanelles campaign. Courage was of no avail, for the defenders merely waited with their death-dealing machines and killed their assailants by the thousand. On the Black Sea side conditions are even worse, for the rocky hills there rise precipitously out of the sea. Neither was landing attempted here.

Thus even in the gasps of Turkey's death has Constantinople's position added a short lease of life to the empire. The city, without which the entire edifice of Turkish imperialism would crumble to dust, cannot be approached by sea. A short defile, narrow and tortuous, the Bosphorus forbids access to hostile ships at one end. A longer strait, the Dardanelles, equally impassable (as events have shown), guards the other end. Currents here favor the besieged, and floating mines scattered over the flowing waters become a deadly menace to attacking invaders.

Besides its advantages as a trading-center Constantinople was therefore the ideal site from a military standpoint for an empire which was constantly engaged in border fighting. As rulers whose dominions extended over Europe and Asia the Byzantine Emperors could not find a better location from which they could march out at the head of their armies or to which they could retire with greater convenience. To-day in European general staff colleges it is customary to teach that Constantinople is the apex of two triangles whose bases lie in Europe and Asia respectively. The base of the European triangle is the line drawn from Monastir to Pirot. In Asia the base line extends between Erzerum and the Cilician Gates.

A remarkable and persistent influence of the site is presented by the cosmopolitan character of the city's population. That representatives of both continents were fated to meet and live side by side at the border zone was inevitable. And society through the ages in Constantinople has been made up of elements drawn from Europe and Asia. Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Arabs, or Slavs of different nationalities all descended from ancestors that settled within the imperial precincts in times

immemorial elbow each other to-day with no less variety than at the time of Constantine, Justinian, or Basil. The city is a meeting-place of men and ideas which have never blended to produce a uniform type because on such a site the individuality of each element was maintained by a constant flow of new arrivals. The Londoner or Parisian of our day is an Englishman or a Frenchman. A Washingtonian is an American. But in Constantinople, the scion of a very old family may be an Armenian, a Greek, a Turk, a Russian, or an Italian.

Of the influence of that site in the history of the world much may be said. The achievement of Byzantine Emperors for the cause of civilization—no mean contribution—was made possible because the site of their imperial residence afforded them protection against the destructive forces of barbarism which constantly threatened to arrest the march of progress. In the shelter of that site Constantine broke loose from the nefarious conservatism of pagan Rome and consecrated the city and empire to the cause of Christian ideals with which the cause of progress was at that time one. There also Justinian laid the foundations of a legal organization which has stood the test of time. Later the Iconoclast Emperors stayed the conquering march of Mohammedan soldiers in the East at the time when the Christians of the West were saved at Poitiers. The line of Macedonian sovereigns broke the power of the wild eastern hosts in the pay of the powerful Bulgarian kings. Even the Commeni, who had to fight against western and eastern barbarians, owe much to the site. And if the Paleologi fell at last, history has recorded the odds against which they fought and the indifference of Western nations to their fate.

In estimating the future importance of this remarkable site it is necessary to remember that the tide of western civilization is now flowing eastward. Overland traffic between Europe and Asia, that is to say between European centers of industry and the Asiatic markets of consumption situated in the densely populated regions of the eastern continent, is bound to pass through Constantinople because the city lies on the path of shortest distance between the two centers. Even the air line which we must henceforth take into account passes over Constantinople in its shortest stretch between populous India and industrial Europe.

As in the past, the future political status of Constantinople is bound to be affected by such relations. To discuss this theme beyond the geographical problem in this paper is not my purpose. I shall therefore confine myself to pointing to the natural boundaries available in case Constantinople should be turned into a neutral city under international control, as has been suggested on various occasions.

To internationalize the site of Constantinople implies internationalization of the elongated belt of waterways comprising the Bosphorus, Marmora, and Dardanelles. It is of the utmost interest to note that this region is a well-defined unit which, on the European mainland, extends westward so as to include the valley of the Erghene. In Asia its boundary is even better laid off by the valley of the Sakaria river and a long fault line which may be distinguished on a map by a string of lakes. Advantage could be taken of these geographical features for the establishment of a neutral zone with Constantinople as headquarters.

But whatever the fate in store for Constantinople, the fact remains that from the time of Constantine's selection of the city as imperial residence to our day, the history of Constantinople has more than once been a summary of world history. It is safe to predict an equally momentous future for the city as long as the value of its site to the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere shall remain unimpaired.

INDIC AND INDIAN RELIGIOUS PARALLELS

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The word 'Indian' in my title is intended as an equivalent of the uncouth 'Amerindian,' a monstrosity which I find it impossible to pronounce with equanimity. It is not my intention to point out what is common to all or to much of the savage world, such as belief in ghosts, in another world, in the mana of the inanimate, in the Hindu forms of Squantum and Tantum as shared under different names with sundry peoples, but to indicate closer resemblances between the Indians of the East and of the West. Not often do we find religious groups so isolated. All the religions of antiquity were more or less fused. Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Celtic, the general foundation of European superstition, even the animal-gods of Africa and the Western origin of Japanese and also of Chinese culture—these are debatable topics bristling with queries. And now too we find even India invaded and the Persian conquest anticipated by the Assyrian; nay, even the Seven Stars that used to shine so naturally above the Panjab are at present marked 'made in Babylon.' But thus far the genuineness of Indic invention has not yet been impugned to such an extent as to make it probable that our Redskins ever provided India with its religious beliefs, while only a few daring souls have ventured to urge that the primitive culture of America derives from the reckless merchants of Egypt or from the devoted missionaries of the Buddhist church. We have then an unusually fair field or two fair fields in which to study religious flora and fauna presumably of independent creation. That no sane historian believes in a common root or seed of the growths found therein, this fact makes what in itself would be merely an interesting collection of parallels a valuable exhibit, in that it demonstrates how near and yet how far may be religious phenomena alike in form yet diverse in origin.

A parallel which elucidates a custom may well serve as a beginning. In Sanskrit literature we have numerous references to the vermilion line traced on a woman's head at the parting of the hair. In epic and drama it is always spoken of as a mere

adornment. As such it figures in the poetical description of dark clouds parted for a moment by a vivid streak of lightning 'like the vermilion line between a woman's cloudy hair.' In America, as an introduction to the parallel I would remind you that among the Siouan tribes it was customary at certain stages of a girl's life to paint red dots upon various parts of her body and that a dance with prayer was performed at each dot. In other words, this equivalent of tattooing¹ was a religious act, performed obviously with the intent of guarding the girl by means of the red paint. Now, however, the perfect parallel is found among the Blackfeet and Crow Indians, whose women were all adorned (note that it is here an adornment only) with a vermilion line drawn from the forehead to the crown at the parting of the hair. When we consider the religious significance of red paint as applied to village idols in India it is almost inevitable to conclude that the Indic and Indian means of beautifying women had a similar religious origin and that the thing of beauty was originally intended as a safeguard forever. Yet even without any explanation it is rather interesting to find the Rani and the squaw adorned in the same way.

Speaking of hair, I am tempted to violate my own rule and touch on one belief not confined to Indic and Indian thought. Nothing in religion is so curious as the persistence with which old ideas, quite outworn and yet potent, survive. You all know how savages believe in a hair-soul, that is in a hair-power, a spiritual vigor implicit in hair, to express it in terms slightly in advance of the hair-soul belief. Many traces of this remain in India. The ritual use of hair, the prayer over the first hairs cut from a child's head, the hiding of hair, etc., all hark back to this superstition. In America the same superstition takes many well-known forms. The Indians of Mexico and Peru offered the eyebrow-hairs in casual sacrifice to the Sun-god. Hair burned upon the mountain-top was offered to the sun in divination. In the North, the scalping of a foe was primarily to control the hair-soul and it was believed that the scalped Indian remained in the next world subject to him who held the scalp. That is the reason that the scalper not only took the scalp, but wore it. It was not a decoration but a deed of ownership; whoever held it possessed the soul of the scalpee. Now

¹ Regular tattooing was practised on the Peruvian littoral.

this belief in hair-power was still strong enough among some of the Northern tribes to give the chieftainship to the man with the longest hair. Some of the Mandan Indians grew hair six feet long and when an election took place this hair sometimes grew a foot longer. It was suspected that horse-hair was often deftly interwoven with a hero's locks and on several occasions it was charged that a chief owed his election to his pony rather than to his own spiritual superiority. I think it is most probable that an unadulterated form of this belief lies at the root of the rule which prohibited an Aztec priest of the Sun-god from ever cutting his hair. As with Samson's hair, there is here a clear connection with sun-strength; in fact in Mexico sun-beams are called sun-hair and Uitzilopochtli as sun-representative appears as 'hair of the sun.' One parallel at least may be pointed out here. The different clans in the Peruvian state were distinguished by the way in which their hair was dressed, tressed, parted, top-knotted, tufted, etc., which is just the way the Indic clans were distinguished.²

Speaking of clans I would remind you of the decimal system of organization recommended in the Hindu law-books, in accordance with which a group of ten families or villages forms part of a larger group of a hundred, this of a thousand, and a general overseer is over all. So the Peruvian state is based on ten families, part of a larger group of one hundred, and this of a thousand. The priestly caste at the head has the privilege of not being obnoxious to capital punishment, just like a Brahman. But among the Chibchas or Muisceans of Colombia there is a more remarkable resemblance. The high-priest is like a Buddhist Lama, secluded and too holy to touch earth; he belongs to an inherited hierarchy, though individually elected. The whole Chibcha constitution divides the people into four castes, priests, warriors, agriculturists (including traders and craftsmen), and helots or tributary nomads, almost an exact duplication of the Hindu caste-system. The priests are hereditary in the female line and act as shamans, judges, and executioners.

² In Peru, the first cutting of a child's hair was done by an elder relative, who used a stone knife. The Inca crown-prince's lock was first cut by the high-priest. In some South American states a hair-cut was a privilege and long hair was a mark of servitude, religious belief yielding to convenience.

The soul-problem touched on above raises the question whether the Indic and Indian views agree in any marked way. Besides hair-soul, as all students of lower religions know, there is a soul or power inherent in various parts of the body, notably in the saliva or spittle. Thus in the Rig-Veda a girl preparing food for a god chews the grain first. The subject has been adequately discussed by L. von Schroeder. Now this chewing of grain in divine rites is found among our Indians. Among the Hopi, for example, there is a sacrifice of chewed grain and the Peruvian *acca* is prepared by women who first chew and then boil and ferment it, because, as is expressly said in both cases, saliva is medicinal. Another point in regard to the soul. The Northern Indian believes in metempsychosis in life, that is, a wizard becomes a wolf (were-wolf), but seldom believes that a dead man is reborn as an animal. Yet the dead are reborn as men, finding their growth-soul among the bones preserved for that purpose. Moreover the Dakotas believed that to become a wizard one must be born again four times in the same body, dreaming of gods between the times of reincarnation, and this seems to be a true theory of metempsychosis. I would say that though in theory according to Brahman belief a man may be reborn as anything, yet it is generally assumed that the reincarnation will be in human form. In regard to the dead, they are not buried among some of the Plain Indians but hung upon trees or raised on primitive towers of silence, as were the dead Parsi and some Hindus (thus the Mandans and Siouan tribes generally). Mummification is not Indic, so I will not stop to explain the mummies of Peru, but I should like to compare the killing of objects put into the grave in Peru and India. The warrior's bow is broken in the Vedic burial hymn because it must be dead like its master; so in Peru all objects for the next life are killed or broken. The Peruvian widow also like the Hindu is expected but not formally required to commit suttee. Death is called the Shade in Peru, *Supay*, and this Shadow as god (to whom sacrifice is made) is like *Chāyā*, Shadow, as a name of Śiva (but cf. also Celtic *Scath* as a giant as well as Shade). Instead of gods carried into battle (this is common; they were wrapped-up images) such as *Mextli*, the Chibchas sometimes carried the mummified corpses of great warriors, as the Peruvian *Chanu* carried the body of *Uscovilca*, a former

hero. This seems to imply that the warrior was still potent, but it may have been merely to inspire courage. Sacrifice to the Manes is common to all tribes and requires no comment, but the Digger sacrificed to a dog as ancestor; he was a Dog-man, such as is also found in India. Of dogs in hell or leading to hell, there are two, but not of the same race. The Aztec dog is black and the Peruvian is red.

A word may be said here of creation-myths. The Eskimos believe that woman was created from man's thumb, as Dakṣa in India is created from Brahman's toe, but there is no close resemblance. The creator and cosmic egg may appear in the story of Manco Capac, Great Man (cf. Puruṣa), and Mama Ocello, but Ocello is also understood as the moon. On the other hand the paired gods of the Hopi are like the androgynous deity of India. These pairs are usually the male and his female counterpart, like Indra Indrāṇī, but sometimes, as in Mexico, two brother suns are found. One of the most interesting parallels is that on the higher plane of speculation found in Mexico. As is well known, Brahman in India receives as creator little homage because he is no longer active. So in Mexico in the higher realm of theology there was a creator-god, but he received no sacrifice and generally he was identified with the national Uitzilopochtli or regarded as a god of medicinal power who sent and cured diseases. But children's diseases were caused by hags, who were in fact the ghosts of women dying in childbirth, and were associated with the god of war and lightning, so that these mothers appeared in the form of lightning-flashes. Now this is a perfect parallel to the Mothers accompanying Śiva. Their main function was to send diseases to children, just as in India, and they too were attendants of the god of battle and storm. Before leaving this Aztec pantheon I must mention Tezcatlipoca, who is the stern god of law and justice. He spies upon men and wanders about looking for those who disregard his laws. As good a parallel to Varuṇa as could be found, and no need to go to Babylon to find him!

To touch again upon the subject of personal markings, which I introduced above by accident apropos of the hair-parting, I would call attention to the resemblance between the sectarian markings of the devotees of Viṣṇu and Śiva, the one vertical and the other horizontal, and the markings on the figures of

Mexican gods, the agricultural gods having vertical and the hunting-gods having horizontal stripes. There seems, however, to be no inner connection in these practices, though there is a striking likeness, for Viṣṇu and agriculture and vertical lines may be said to make one group, as Śiva and hunting and horizontal lines make another. But apropos of women there is another curious coincidence. According to Hindu law a girl is married at 11 or 12 or younger and a man at 24 or 30. In North America the girl was married at 11 or 12 (in Peru at eighteen to twenty) and the man at twenty-four. At his initiation the Siouan boy had to stand on a stone while the priest prayed for his welfare to the four quarters as divine beings, Winds or Directions. Now the stone in this ritual is distinctly said to represent earth, and this reminds us that at her wedding a girl in India has to stand on a stone, which also as an emblem of firmness represents the earth.

The four divine Winds or Directions just mentioned are a perfect parallel to the Hindu four gods of the quarters, in regard to whom I have written elsewhere. The gods of the quarters or directions in India are of course subsidiary gods; they have been subdued by the greater gods of a higher cult. But they are old and in antiquity are very lofty gods, to whom are sometimes added two more, the god of the zenith and the god of the nadir. Now in America these gods were almost the only real gods acknowledged by the Northern tribes. For example, in the seventeenth century the Algonkins themselves said that they had only these four gods and him above. In some of the rituals again, the Hopi Indians added to the four the one below and the one above, just as the Hindus did. I need not remind you that the number four is interwoven with the whole religious ritual of America from Maine to Cuzco in Peru. The tree of life was a four-fold cross in Mexico, for example, which betokened weal in four directions, a svastika, and all the religious ceremonial turned about this number, circumambulations of the temple, the dishes to receive the sacrificial blood, the number of priests, etc., were fours or multiples of four. There can be no question but that the four chief Hindu gods of the old pantheon, Agni, Yama, Varuna, Indra, are really names given to the same four divine quarters as those of the American Indians. May I add an inconsequent note, on the subject of the tree of life? As

emblem of weal and hence of health, it was itself, this Aztec svastika, a quasi-divine thing, a sort of Aesculapius, and to it was made a sacrifice—of what? You will not be surprised to hear that it was a cock, almost the ‘cock of Aesculapius’ in Mexican form. The cock is the bird that announces the sun (as in the Avesta) and hence the bird of health; consequently a sacrifice to health is the cock. This association is reflected, very dimly I admit, in the association of the health-giving rain with the peacock in India. The direct parallel here fails, for the Hindu cock is the bird of the god of battles, obviously as a fighting bird.

I have intimated that whereas the Hindus gave gods to their four quarters, the Redskins simply deified the quarters without giving them divine names. But the impact of the higher faith has had an effect in Yucatan not unlike that in India. For in Yucatan the four direction-deities have not been rejected by the Catholic Church but adroitly incorporated into it as ministers of the Trinity and here not only are the four directions represented by four colors (this is general, though the colors are not always identical), but they have been named; the god of the east (red) is now St. Dominic; of the north (white), St. Gabriel; of the west (black), St. James; and of the south (yellow), Mary Magdalene. After this fashion has many an ancient deity been preserved beyond his natural retiring-age. You will remember that it was in the nineteenth century that Grecian peasants were still praying to the image of Demeter and perhaps at this very moment the girls of Sicily are singing that exquisite hymn to Venus recorded but lately by Professor Ridgeway’s friend:—

O santa Venera,
Sì bella, sì tenera,
Che in Paradiso
Tripa avanti Gesù!

There is to me something very alluring in this conversion of Venus into a saint dancing before Gesu and in turning the gods to whom our Indians used to pray into such saints as Gabriel and Mary Magdalene. Just so, we may be sure, four gods of direction, functioning as such or as winds, were worshiped first in India, until later they renounced their anonymity in favor of Agni, Indra, and the other gods who had names but were originally without relation to the four points or winds. You

may ask, perhaps in jest, whether the intrusion of Mary Magdalene is not something quite without parallel, a feminine element not recognized in India. But I shall point to Bhartṛhari, who sings of a Dikkanyā, or feminine guardian of direction.

This is as good a place as any to compare the gods themselves. There is no doubt that the Aztecs are merely a southern wave of Shoshonean Indians and their gods are in fact only gigantic figures already known in smaller shape in the North. But I shall not go into details here, nor point out the closer similarity between Indra and Tlaloc, Yama and the god of Mictlan, Varuṇa and Viracocha (in Peru), and Agni and the 'old old' god of fire, since these nature-gods are in part not unlike other foreign gods having similar functions. Yet there are a few points in respect of the gods which I cannot leave unnoticed. Tlaloc as god of war and fertility has priests dressed as frogs who to induce rain have to imitate frogs and quack like them. The Hopi have a frog-drama of fertility, where reproduction is drastically represented. In Peru the summer solstice (December) is introduced by a purificatory flogging and a tug of war on a varicolored rope of four colors. The Eskimos have a similar tug by men representing two kinds of birds, the issue of the strife being prophetic of the year. Finally there is the Tunja year-end feast, in which twelve men in red dramatize a dirge around one man in black, obviously an American lament for Adonis, as the year-contest is a drama of magical content for the assurance of a good year, probably of the same sort as the Bogota harvest-festival in which men appear in masks and animal-skins. In the Hopi performance the vegetation-god, Mûyinwu, is actually decked with corn and has the signs of sun and rain, and the dance around this figure is almost a maypole-dance.³ Some of

³ In the Oraibi Soyal ceremony (of nine days at the winter solstice) the mask is decorated with figures of frogs, imitation ears of corn-husks, red horse-hair, and eagle feathers. A sort of svastika-fringe runs around the top. The performing Katchinas talk in a disguised voice, imitate cohabitation, and make constant use of saliva and honey (spat from the mouth). One man represents a (sun-)hawk. A special figure images Mûyinwu (spirit of generation). The Star priest revolves the Sun-image, being baptized by the (representative of the) war-god, while a song is sung in honor of the feathered-serpent, Lölökon, and the Sun-priest dances. The sacred *baḥos* are sticks, marked as male and female, symbols and causers of all good luck but chiefly of fertility, which are finally deposited

these elements appear in the Hindu drama of Kṛṣṇa and Kāṁsa. To mention briefly a few points in connection with the other gods. The Hades of Mictlan is reached by traversing underground deserts, rough hills, winds that cut like knives, and four or nine streams. One passes to the next world over a log or a bridge made of spider-thread (Northern and Southern, respectively) and some of the Algonkins believe that the parting of the ways to good and evil worlds is revealed by a lightning-flash, while a spirit guides the good on farther to paradise, which, I admit, is rather Persian than Indic. Persian too, or Zoroastrian, is the fervent conviction of the Peruvian sun-worshipers expressed in the phrase, 'the army of the Incas is the army of the Lord (Sun-god),' though the spirit of the utterance infuses Indic thought as well. Of the fire-god I will say only that he is represented as black-green-yellow, that he hid in water (also in stone), and that the fire is solemnly renewed each year by all Indians, from the Sioux to the Peruvians, who had a solemn fire-renewal at Rimac every June. All these are Hindu Agni-traits. Further it is interesting to note the sacred character of the sacrificial straw. On the Plains this is usually of sage. Thus in the Cheyenne Fifth Paint the priest carefully spreads the sacrificial sage-bushes in four heaps for the four gods of direction and one more for the sun, on which the priest dances and others sing to the sun. Here, too, I must refer to the swinging-ceremony still retained by the Plain-Indians and called 'looking at the sun,' which I cannot doubt is identical with the sun-swinging ceremony of India.⁴ In America the Indian has hooks placed

in the Sun-house, after being first consecrated with meal and honey-saliva. They are usually made for cloud-deities; but sometimes for the dead who, gratified by this attention, will send good crops to the Hopi. The ritual smoking is chiefly for 'cloud-making.' Fasting, bathing, and prayer make part of the rite, in which the powdered hearts and intestines of slain enemies are used as magical fertility-powers. The number four is conspicuous in the ritual though the altar-stones are arranged for six directions (in color they are here yellow-north, green-west, red-south, white-east, black-zenith, variegated-nadir).

See Dorsey and Voth, *FCM Pub.* 53 (1901).

⁴ The 'freeing of the horse' by the Pawnees is a sacrifice 'to the spirit,' possibly to the sun. The rite itself reminds one of the horse of conquest in India, but the animal is set free as a sacrifice and remains a sacred animal.

under the muscles of his back and swings all day or till he is exhausted. The idea of a sun-boat also appears in America (Algonkin) and it is tempting to see in this a survival of the swing, perhaps to connect it even with the Vedic sage's excursion in the boat or swing of the heaven-god.

It will not be necessary to refer to fertility-charms of the heart's blood (Aztec) nor to the fertility-goddess Mayauel, who rides upon a tortoise, as does Ayopechtli, the birth-goddess; but, in passing by other aspects of serpent-cult as vegetation-deity (the relation between serpent and fertility is too common to be useful), I would call attention to the thoroughly Indic notion connected with the winged-serpent Quetzalcoatl, who, 'coiled up as a snake, waits for the beginning of the new era,' exactly as Viṣṇu sleeps on his coiled-up Nāga. There is in Quetzalcoatl a Messianic idea that he will return bringing a new age, although, as god of the east and so of the east wind he sometimes descends so low as to be nothing more than wind or breeze, and as a breeze he lulls to sleep and so is invoked by thieves to put to sleep the persons who are to be robbed, as the Vedic thief has a little prayer lulling his victims to sleep. This leads me to remark that the Indian conception of the divine voice is always that of a low indistinct murmur, an unintelligible voice of sacred character understood only by the priest. In India the voice of gods reflects their natural phenomenal character and is always a loud roar, unless indeed the god goes disguised. And the unintelligible murmur is rather that of the unintelligible ancient dialect. Before parting from the sun I may add that the primitive Aztec oath is one taken by sun and earth, and that the one who swears does so by touching earth and putting it to his lips. In India the one who swears also touches earth but I do not know that he 'eats earth.'

Only remotely connected with the gods is the teaching in regard to the five ages found in Mayan and Mexican cosmology but in a fragmentary condition. By comparing the different accounts it seems that there was a theory of five ages called suns. The fifth age or sun has no name; it is the present age. The four ages preceding this are called the ages of Earth, Fire, Air, and Water, but the Aztecs have incorporated their own gods as regents of these ages. The pre-Aztec conception appears to be that the first age was destroyed by beasts, who devoured the

men and giants of that Earth-age. Then came the Fire-age, destroyed by storms, when men became monkeys. Then followed the Air-age, when Tlaloc sent rain and lightning out of the air. This was followed by the Water-age of Chalahuitleuc, when a deluge destroyed the earth and men became fishes. Here again the five ages are rather Greek than Indic, but the conception of the final deluge (the deluge idea being pan-American) is that of the end of the aeon familiar to Indic thought. Also the idea that the gods are swept away with the end of the age is reflected in the anxiety with which the end of the calendar cycle is looked upon. At the close of this (fifty-two years) there is the greatest fear lest the sun may not rise and services are held, directed to the continuation of his existence. By the way, it may be mentioned also that the Hindus believe that the gods go away every year and for a season the world is god-less. So too in Peru there is an anxious moment called 'Return of the gods,' when the gods, who all have been away somewhere, are returning. In September there is a mark discovered on a heap of maize put there for this purpose, and when the priest discovers the 'foot-step of the god' great joy follows with a drunken orgy, for the gods may end with the age and no man knows when that shall be.

This drunken orgy is, as in India, part of a divine service. Communion with the Indian god was obtained through intoxication, as it was obtained also through eating the victim identified with the god. The intoxicating oetli was itself a divinity like Soma, and when in Colombia, for example, on a pilgrimage (for pilgrimages to holy watering places were as common as in India) a man got so drunk as to die, he was regarded as having sacrificed himself and became a sainted character. Only in one respect the Mexican differed from the Hindu, for in Mexican Tarascan we are told that divine intoxication was also induced by smoking!

Speaking of communion with divinity I should like to call attention also to the proxy gods of Mexico and Peru in the shape of dough-images like those eaten in lieu of the animal victim by the Visnuite. At certain divine festivals images of the Aztec gods, for example, were made of dough, and when the image had been shot to pieces the dough-fragments were devoured as pieces of the god. The communion by intoxication

seems to be rather that of the supposedly divine exaltation than by drinking of the divine blood, and this is substantiated by the parallel use of tobacco, the 'communion' here being necessarily that of ecstasy implicitly understood as of divine origin.

In Peru religion was rather more elevated than in the North. Thus the baptism of the Northern Indians (like that of the Hindus) became total immersion and so the intoxicant itself became a divinity. Here too we have the only approach to a trinity, not like ours but quite like that of India, for just as Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Śiva represent only different sectarian and eventually different geographical conceptions of one highest god, each highest being then equated with its sectarian-geographical rival, so in Peru the great god was really a combination of the Incas' Sun-god as highest god, with the highest god of the littoral, Panchacamac, and the highest inland god of the Quichuas, overcome by the Incas, the lake-god Viracocha. It is to this Viracocha-Panchacamac as at once creation-, water-, and sun-god that the most intellectual Peruvians prayed as to the Supreme Deity, generally invoked by the Peruvian Inca as Viracocha. May I close with citing some of the verses addressed to this god, not without an implicit question as to whether, if they were found in India, we should not think it necessary to refer them to a Babylonian origin?

'O Viracocha, Lord of the universe, whether thou art male or female, lord of reproduction, whatsoever thou mayest be, Lord of divination, where art thou? God above, god below, god all around, thy throne and scepter splendid! Oh hear me, whether from the sky above, or from the sea beneath, or wherever thou mayest be. Creator of all the world, maker of all men, lord of all lords, my eyes fail me, longing to see thee; for the sole longing to know thee. O might I behold thee, might I but know thee, might I understand thee! But do thou look upon me, for thou knowest me. The sun and the moon, the day and the night, the summer and winter—verily thou hast not ordained them for naught; but they travel in order to their places, as thou, O my god, hast assigned them; they come to the end that thou hast determined, going whithersoever thou pleasest. Thou holdest the royal scepter (thou art my lord); hear thou me; choose me; keep me from weariness, save me from death.'

So also cries the Vedic poet, 'O would that I might see my

god!' and he, too, admires the unceasing procession of the days and seasons.

A bit from another hymn: 'Wilt thou make known to me who thou really art? Art thou what I thought thee, or art thou a phantom, a thing that makes fear? O could I know it, O could it be shown me! Thou who hast made me of earth and of clay, look thou upon me; old am I, dying; but thou art my maker.'⁵

Here the parallel is not verbal, but this and the first extract express the tone of those Vedic hymns which are now referred to the West with the idea that they are too lofty for India's thought. I too would refer to the West, but much farther West than Babylon, and refer not the Vedic hymns, but those who think that an Indian (or Hindu) may not also have ideas and emotions and the use of language similar to that of other people when religiously exalted.

This does not imply that it is not quite legitimate to make comparisons when connection is otherwise probable; only that it is temerarious to base connection even on a close similarity.

⁵ Sir Clements R. Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, 1910, p. 100 (from the translation of Miguel Mossi of Bolivia, 1892).

BRIEF NOTES

Indra and other Gods of War and Fertility combined

As a note to my article 'Indra as God of Fertility,' *JAOS* 36. 242-268, I should like to add an example or two of similar deities and at the same time complement the matter of Indra with an account kindly furnished me by Sir George Grierson, of the modern position in Hindu folklore of this husband of 'Indra-rānī.'

In American mythology there are numerous examples of gods of thunder and lightning functioning as fertility-gods. Indeed this may be said to be the normal rôle of such deities. The peculiar war-god of the Aztecs is, to be sure, interpreted as a sun-god, Uitzilopochtli, but an older god than this Aztec was the Nahuatl Xipe, the yellow god later regarded (because yellow) as the god of goldsmiths. Before his office was so restricted he was the god of the yellow grain, but at the same time he was a god of war. For this reason his sacrificial victims were made to perish by a kind of gladiatorial combat; but when dead their hearts were spread on the ground as fertility-charms. Then again the Nahuatl Tlaloc is both god of thunder and lightning and fertility-god and the Mayan Chac, who almost duplicates Tlaloc, is god of thunder and fertility and also war-god, whose feasts however remain fertility-festivals, in which a dog's heart, sacrificed to the god, is magically treated for rain.

In Peru, Inti-allapa or Illapa, as thunder and lightning, carries a club, a sling, and a stone, and his fertility-stones are found all over the country. Like other gods of this sort he is a mountain-god. The raging storm with the hissing lightning easily develops the idea of a war-god, but the rain and the hissing snake, which regularly represents lightning, as easily connect this war-god with fertility. Or rather, the god of fertility appears in the form of a war-god from the beginning. Hence Mars is both at once. It has occurred to me that the Irish Fomorach might owe their doubtful nature to this fact. One school interprets the Fomorach as gods of storm and death; another insists upon it that they are not death-gods but fer-

tility-gods. Why not both in one, as in Germany Woden was god of death and of fertility?

Under date of February 12, 1917, Sir George Grierson writes that, in Behār, village folklore associates Durgā with 'the seven Indras' as their sister. In the cycle of ballads about Lōrik, the hero-son of Durgā, she is represented as making them impotent, that is, depriving them of their natural function as fertility-powers. Durgā in this tale and elsewhere is the goddess who causes impotence. The Indras appear always as a group and are not individualized; their wife is 'Indra-rāni, evidently a corruption of Indrānī.' It is pleasant to learn from the same communication that Sir George Grierson hopes some day to edit and translate this Lōrik cycle.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS

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A Note on 'The Year's Work in Oriental Archaeology'

In this JOURNAL, vol. 36, page 348, I made the misstatement that the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum in New York had completed its work. This is not the fact; it has continued its work without interruption since the beginning of the war, and will so continue until further notice. The only change in the work is that the staff has been somewhat reduced. It was this fact, together with having heard that Mr. Lythgoe, in charge of the expedition, had returned to America, that made me believe that the work had been concluded, and that the publication of the results had begun. The following statement, coming from the Museum itself, should therefore be borne in mind in this connection:

'The Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition has prosecuted its main programme in Egypt without interruption since the war began, and is still at work, with its regular appropriation without any disposition to relax its activities. The only change that has been effected in the programme of the expedition since the war began was a slight reduction in the scale of the field work, owing chiefly to the fact that three members of the staff are in the British Army. As is well known, the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum has been engaged upon an extensive installation of its new Egyptian galleries, and has also embarked upon a very extensive publication programme, of which the first volume of one series has appeared. Thus the enlarged activities of the Egyptian Department of the Museum have been undergoing readjustment to keep pace with the field work.'

Since the publication of my article, an article has appeared to which I would call attention. In Part 1 of the *Museum Journal* of the University Museum in Philadelphia for 1917, there is published a paper by Mr. Clarence Stanley Fisher, called 'Excavations at Gizeh' and describing part of the work of the Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., Expedition to Egypt.

On page 352, footnote 5a, I make the mistake of saying that the volume by Bell is on the *site* of Sardis. This should be changed, of course, to a volume on the coins found there. In the series of the publications on Sardis it is Volume 11, part I. A review of this book will be found in the *Revue Archéologique*, Series V, vol. 4 (1916), p. 323.

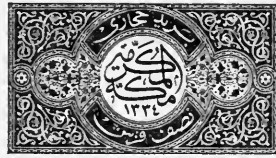
STEPHEN BLEECKER LUCE, JR.

Museum, University of Pennsylvania

Postage Stamps of the Hijâz



$\frac{1}{4}$ QURSH



$\frac{1}{2}$ QURSH



1 QURSH

Only the briefest reports have percolated into this country of the newly formed independent state of the Hijâz, covering the Holy Territory of Mecca and Medina, the sacred cities of

Islam. That the new state is an accomplished fact is proved documentarily by postage stamps, cuts of which are here reproduced.

The legend at the top of each reads: *barīd ḥijāzī*, 'Hijāz Post': in the center field is read *makkat al-mukarramat*, 'Mecca the Honorable.' At the bottom is given the denomination, quarter-qursh, half-qursh, and full qursh (*ṣāgh*, 'at par'). Qursh is the native Arabic word for the Turkish piastre. Further the Hijra date 1334 is given. The respective colors are green, red, and blue. The stamps are beautifully designed and executed.

J. A. M.

PERSONALIA

The death is reported of Dr. ROBERT GAUTHIER, Adjunct Director in the École des Hautes Études, Paris, at the age of 40 years. He died Sept. 11, 1916, from wounds received in action as a captain of infantry. An Iranian philologist, he was particularly known for his labors in the decipherment of the Soghdian dialect. He has left his family in distress, and a committee has been formed to aid them, the American section of which is presided over by Mr. Martin A. Ryerson, Chicago.

Prof. RUDOLPH E. BRUENNOW, Assyriologist and Arabist, Professor at Princeton University, died April 14, 1917. He became a member of this Society in 1911.

Prof. A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Missouri and Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Branch of this Society, has accepted a professorship in History at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., the appointment to go into effect with the next academic year.

THE STORY OF CHANG K'ÏÉN, CHINA'S PIONEER IN WESTERN ASIA

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER 123 OF SSÏ-MA
TS'ÏÉN'S SHÏ-KI

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INTRODUCTION

The only complete translation of this Chinese text, which is as difficult as it is important, is the French version published by M. Brosset in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* (tome 2, Paris, 1828, p. 418-450) under the title 'Relation du pays de Ta-ouan.' Like Abel Rémusat's works on cognate subjects, it was an undertaking of great merit and quite a revelation to the scientific world of its time, ninety years ago; but a comparison with the original Chinese text will convince Sinologues that a new translation, incorporating the greatly modified identifications and interpretations of later research, is an absolute necessity.

In Brosset's translation, misconceptions of the author's statements are unfortunately so frequent that readers anxious for correct historical or geographical information must be warned not to take facts for granted without a thorough scrutiny of the original. To illustrate the dangers besetting scholars unfamiliar with the spirit of the Chinese language, there is perhaps no more instructive example than the first sentence in § 12. There it is said of Chang K'ïén, after his visit to Bactria, that, 'having sojourned there fully a year, he returned, skirting the Nan-shan' (cf. § 61: 'all along the Nan-shan'). Not grasping the meaning of the character *píng* (Giles, no. 9282), which, according to Chang Shóu-ts'íé's commentary of 737 A. D., is in this case to be read *pang* and has the sense of *lién* (Giles, no. 7109), 'to connect, to adjoin,' the very words of our *pang Nan-shan* passage being quoted in K'ang-hi (Rad. 117: 5, 12) from the *ShÏ-ki* as an example, M. Brosset translates: 'Après un an de delai, revenant au mont *Píng-nan*,' and adds in a footnote: 'Montagne dans le Tibet.' To guess the meaning of Chinese words from the

mere sound of a transcription without having seen the Chinese characters themselves is a dangerous experiment. Under the sound *ping*, Giles's Dictionary has no less than twenty characters with as many, or more, different meanings; and about as many characters are found under the sound *p'ing* with the aspirated initial. Among the latter we find *p'ing*, 'a plain' (no. 9311). This had apparently induced Baron von Richthofen (*China*, 1. 449, 454) to reproduce Brosset's translation with an additional note saying that 'der Name Ping-nan zeigt, dass das Gebirge im Süden eines ebenen Landstrichs lag.' The *Ts'ién-han-shu* in its biography of Chang K'ién (chap. 61, p. 2) contains a parallel passage, rendered correctly by 'following the southern mountains' in Wylie's version ('Notes on the Western Regions,' in *Journal of the Anthropol. Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 10, Feb. 10, 1880, p. 67).

Wylie's timely and highly meritorious contribution toward a much neglected field of study, however, also contains a great many mistranslations, and should in important cases never be used without consulting the original Chinese text. Alexander Wylie, whose name, as Henry Howorth appropriately remarks (*op. cit.* 9. 53), 'is a household word wherever the study of China and its borders is prosecuted,' had been afflicted with a serious breakdown in health, ending in total blindness, just at the time when he yielded to Howorth's persuasion to take in hand his translation from the *Ts'ién-han-shu* for the Anthropological Institute. On the whole his work gives a fair idea of the subject; but a revision of it will, sooner or later, have to be undertaken.

It is necessary to use the greatest caution in consulting the late T. W. Kingsmill's paper, first published in the *Journal of the China Branch of the R. A. S.*, new ser. 14. 1-29, under the title 'The Intercourse of China with Central and Western Asia in the 2d Century B. c.,' and reprinted in *JRAS*, new ser. 14. 74-104, under the title 'The Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan and the Adjacent Countries.'

I have prepared the present new translation primarily in order to get a clear idea of the material which will have to serve as an introduction to renewed studies required for a second edition of my book *China and the Roman Orient*, published in 1885; and I now place it before students of Oriental history and

Chinese literature with the hope that they may improve my rendering and interpretation by their criticisms. Of Professor Édouard Chavannes' gigantic work, the translation of the *Shi-ki* (*Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien traduits et annotés*, Paris, Leroux, tomes 1-5, 1895-1905), only five volumes have appeared, carrying us to Ssü-ma Ts'ien's chapter 47; and some considerable time may elapse before the publication of chapter 123 (cf. Chavannes' Synoptic Table of chapters in the *Shi-ki* and the *T'ung-kiên-kang-mu*, vol. 1, pages cexliv-cexlix of his Introduction). In the meantime I would refer readers to this scholar's admirable critical essay on the Chinese historian's work, in his Introduction, pages i-cexlix. It will be seen from Chavannes that we are not able to fix the exact year of the death of Ssü-ma Ts'ien; but, in all probability, the great work which has earned for him the title of 'the Herodotus of China' must have been completed about the year 99 B. C. (p. xlv), perhaps even a few years later, to give him time for the despatch of ten embassies to the Far West after the appointment, in 100 B. C., of Ch'an-föng as King of Ta-yüan. His father, Ssü-ma T'an, who, like himself, held the post of court astrologer, and who, besides having conceived the plan of writing the *Shi-ki*, may be responsible for certain portions of that work, had died in 110 B. C. (p. xxxiv, note). It follows, therefore, that he cannot have had any connection with that part of our Ta-yüan chapter which deals with facts lying beyond that date; and if Ssü-ma, the father, has been at all concerned in drafting portions of our text, his co-operation is not likely to have extended beyond its first half—say paragraphs 1 to 79 of the present translation—which I am inclined to look upon as being based chiefly on Chang K'ien's original report to the Emperor.

The Imperial Library of the Sui dynasty, to judge from its Catalogue (*Sui-shu*, chap. 33, p. 23 B), contained a book in one chapter entitled *Chang-k'ien-ch'u-kuan-chi*, i. e. 'Account of Chang K'ien's Expeditions Abroad,' which has apparently not been handed down to later periods, since it is not mentioned in the Catalogues of the T'ang and Sung dynasties, though Chang Tsung-yüan, in his *Sui-king-tsi-chi-k'au-chöng*, chap. 6, p. 46, says that the title is quoted in the chapter on foreign coins in Hung Tsun's work, the *Ts'üan-chi*, published in 1149 A. D. But this may be a secondhand quotation. I place greater confidence

in a reference to it in the *Ku-kin-chu* (chap. 3, p. 3), where the grape is referred to as having been introduced into China by Chang K'ién. From what the critics in the great Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Peking (*Tsung-mu*, 118, p. 4) say in connection with an analysis of the *Ku-kin-chu* text, this paragraph must have been written during the Tsin dynasty, about 300 A. D., when Tsui Pau, the compiler of the older and original text now known as the *Ku-kin-chu*, apparently preferred the *Chang-k'ién-ch'u-kuan-chü* to the *Shü-ki* as an authority. Since no author's name is mentioned in connection with the title, this *chü*, or memoir, may go back to Chang K'ién's own Report. It is, however, not quoted in the *Tsi-min-yau-shu* (about 500 B. C.; see my notice of it in *T'oung Pao*, 6. 436-440, and Bretschneider, *Botanicon Sinicum*, 1. 77 ff.), where a number of foreign plants not referred to in our *Shü-ki* account, such as the pomegranate (*t'u-lin* = *Ind. darim*), *sesamum orientale*, garlic, and *coriandrum sativum*, are distinctly stated to have been introduced into China by Chang K'ién. These and other cultural wanderings are there quoted from various older works, partly lost. Altogether Chinese literature throws considerable light on such subjects as have been treated for Europe in Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*. A great many plants and animals were brought to China, either by Chang K'ién himself or by later expeditions sent by Wu-ti and his successors. Of these, certain breeds of the horse, also the vine and the lucerne, are the only ones referred to in the *Shü-ki*. Nevertheless, the one hero who must be looked upon as the pioneer of all that came from the West was Chang K'ién, whose return to China in 126 B. C. opened a new epoch in the development of Chinese civilization. Another work which, I am led to believe from Bretschneider's *Botanicon Sinicum* (1. 25), was at some time or other ascribed to Chang K'ién himself, is the *Hai-wai-i-wu-ki*, i. e. 'Record of Remarkable Things beyond the Seas.' The title does not, however, seem very descriptive of the account of an overland expedition like Chang K'ién's.

I have in the present translation and in the accompanying Index rendered the several geographical terms occurring in the Chinese text by their Western equivalents, as accepted by most present-day Sinologues, without entering upon the arguments which have in the course of a century brought about so many

important changes since the time of Deguignes and Rémusat. Readers may, however, consult with advantage two papers closely related to our subject: S. K. Shiratori, 'Ueber den Wu-sun-Stamm in Centralasien' in *Keleti Szemle*, 3 (1902), p. 103-140, and O. Franke, 'Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens' in *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissensch.*, 1904, Anhang.

The Chinese text reproduced is that of the K'ien-lung edition of 1739. It has been compared with the original by Mr. T. Y. Leo, late Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Washington, D. C., a son of Liu Si-hung, the first Chinese envoy appointed to Germany (Giles, *Chinese Biogr. Dict.*, no. 1299), and one of the few native scholars taking real interest in Western research in Chinese literature, to whom I am also indebted for many valuable suggestions in connection with my translation.

TRANSLATION*

(1) Our first knowledge of Ta-yüan [Ferghana] dates from Chang K'ien. (2) Chang K'ien was a native of Han-chung [in the south of Shen-si province]; during the period of K'ien-yüan [140-134 B. C.] he was a *lang* [a titular officer of the imperial household; a yeoman]. (3) At that time the Son of Heaven made inquiries among those Hiung-nu who had surrendered [as prisoners] and they all reported that the Hiung-nu had overcome the king of the Yüé-chi and made a drinking-vessel out of his skull. The Yüé-chi had decamped and were hiding somewhere, all the time scheming how to take revenge on the Hiung-nu, but had no ally to join them in striking a blow. (4) The Chinese, wishing to declare war on and wipe out the Tartars, upon hearing this report, desired to communicate with the Yüé-chi; but, the road having to pass through the territory of the Hiung-nu, the Emperor sought out men whom he could send. Chang K'ien, being a *lang* [cf. § 2], responded to the call and enlisted in a mission to the Yüé-chi; he took with him one

* The numbers in parentheses indicate the sections similarly numbered in the text as reproduced herewith.

Kan Fu, a Tartar, formerly a slave of the T'ang-i family, and set out from Lung-si [Kan-su], crossing the territory of the Hiung-nu. (5) The Hiung-nu made him a prisoner and sent him to the *Shan-yü* [Great Khan, or King], who detained him, saying: 'The Yüé-chi are to the north of us; how can China send ambassadors to them? If I wished to send ambassadors to Yüé [Kiangsi and Ch'ökiang], would China be willing to submit to us?' He held Chang K'ién for more than ten years, and gave him a wife, by whom he had a son. (6) All this time Chang K'ién had kept possession of the Emperor's token of authority, and, when in the course of time he was allowed greater liberty, he, watching his opportunity, succeeded in making his escape with his men in the direction of the Yüé-chi. (7) Having marched several tens of days to the west, he arrived in Ta-yüan. The people of this country, having heard of the wealth and fertility of China, had tried in vain to communicate with it. (8) When, therefore, they saw Chang K'ién, they asked joyfully: 'Where do you wish to go?' Chang K'ién replied: 'I was sent by [the Emperor of] China to the Yüé-chi, and was made prisoner by the Hiung-nu. I have now escaped them and would ask that your king have some one conduct me to the country of the Yüé-chi; and if I should succeed in reaching that country, on my return to China, my king will reward yours with untold treasures. (9) The Ta-yüan believed his account and gave him safe-conduct on postal roads to K'ang-kü [Soghdiana], and K'ang-kü sent him on to the Ta-yüé-chi. (10) The king of the Ta-yüé-chi having been killed by the Hu ['Tartars'; in this case the Hiung-nu], the people had set up the crown prince in his stead [in the *Ts'ién-han-shu* it is the queen who is appointed his successor]. They had since conquered Ta-hia [Bactria] and occupied that country. The latter being rich and fertile and little troubled with robbers, they had determined to enjoy a peaceful life; moreover, since they considered themselves too far away from China, they had no longer the intention to take revenge on the Hu [Hiung-nu]. (11) Chang K'ién went through the country of the Yüé-chi to Ta-hia [Bactria], yet, after all, he did not carry his point with the Yüé-chi. (12) After having remained there fully a year, he returned, skirting the Nan-shan. He wished to return through the country of the K'iang [Tangutans], but was again made a prisoner by the Hiung-nu, who detained him for more than a year, when the

Shan-yü died and the 'left' Luk-li [possibly Turk. *Ulugla*, 'highly honored'] prince attacked the rightful heir and usurped the throne, thus throwing the country into a state of confusion. At this time Chang K'ien, with his Tartar wife and T'ang-i Fu [i. e. Kan Fu, see above, § 4], escaped and returned to China.

(13) [The Emperor of] China appointed Chang K'ien a *T'ai-chung-ta-fu* ['Imperial Chamberlain'] and gave T'ang-i Fu the title *Föng-shü-kün* ['The Gentleman attending the Embassy'].

(14) Chang K'ien was a man of strong physique, magnanimous and trustful, and popular with the foreign tribes in the south and west. (15) T'ang-i Fu was formerly a Hu [Tartar; Hiung-nu?]. Being an excellent bowman, he would, when supplies were exhausted, provide food by shooting game. (16) When Chang K'ien started on his journey, his caravan consisted of more than a hundred men; thirteen years later, only two lived to return. (17) The following countries were visited by Chang K'ien in person: Ta-yüan [Ferghana], Ta-yüé-chi [Indoscythians], Ta-hia [Bactria], and K'ang-kü [Soghdiana]; there were besides, five or six other large adjacent countries concerning which he gained information and on which he reported to the Emperor in the following terms.

(18) *Ta-yüan* [Ferghana] is to the southwest of the Hiung-nu and due west of China, at a distance of about 10,000 *li*. (19) The people are permanent dwellers and given to agriculture; and in their fields they grow rice and wheat. They have wine made of grapes (*p'u-t'au*) and many good horses. The horses sweat blood and come from the stock of the *t'ien-ma* [heavenly horse, perhaps the wild horse]. (20) They have walled cities and houses; the large and small cities belonging to them, fully seventy in number, contain an aggregate population of several hundreds of thousands. (21) Their arms consist of bows and halberds, and they shoot arrows while on horseback. (22) North of this country is K'ang-kü [Soghdiana]; in the west are the Ta-yüé-chi; in the southwest is Ta-hia [Bactria]; in the northeast are the Wu-sun; and in the east Han-mi and Yü-tién [Khotan]. (23) All the rivers west of Yü-tién flow in a westerly direction and feed the Western Sea; all the rivers east of it flow east and feed the Salt Lake [Lopnor]. The Salt Lake flows underground. To the south of it [Yü-tién] is the source from which the Ho [the Yellow River] arises. The country contains much jadestone.

The river flows through China; and the towns of Lóu-lan and Ku-shī with their city walls closely border on the Salt Lake. The Salt Lake is possibly 5000 *li* distant from Chang-an. (24) The right [i. e. western] part of the Hiung-nu live to the east of the Salt Lake as far as the great wall in Lung-si. To the south they are bounded by the K'iang [Tangutans], where they bar the road [to China].

(25) *Wu-sun* may be 2000 *li* northeast of Ta-yüan; its people are nomads [following their flocks of cattle], and have the same customs as the Hiung-nu. Of archers they have several tens of thousands, all daring warriors. (26) Formerly they were subject to the Hiung-nu, but they became so strong that, while maintaining nominal vassalage, they refused to attend the meetings of the court.

(27) *K'ang-kü* [Soghdiana] is to the northwest of Ta-yüan, perhaps 2000 *li* distant. It also is a country of nomads with manners and customs very much the same as those of the Yüé-chī. They have eighty or ninety thousand archers. The country is coterminous with Ta-yüan. It is small. In the south it is under the political influence of the Yüé-chī; in the east, under that of the Hiung-nu.

(28) *An-ts'ai* [Aorsi] lies to the northwest of K'ang-kü, perhaps at a distance of 2000 *li*. It is a nomad state, and its manners and customs are in the main identical with those of K'ang-kü. It has fully a hundred thousand archers. The country lies close to a great sea [*ta-tsö*, lit. 'great marsh,' the Palus Maeotis, i. e. the Sea of Azov] which has no limit, for it is the Northern Sea.

(29) The *Ta-yüé-chī* [Indoscythians] are perhaps two or three thousand *li* to the west of Ta-yüan. They live to the north of the K'ui-shui [Oxus]. South of them is Ta-hia [Bactria]; in the west is An-si [Parthia]; in the north, K'ang-kü [Soghdiana]. They are a nomad nation, following their flocks and changing their abodes. Their customs are the same as those of the Hiung-nu. They may have from one to two hundred thousand archers. In olden times they relied on their strength, and thought lightly of the Hiung-nu; but when Mau-tun ascended the throne he attacked and defeated the Yüé-chī. Up to the time when Lau-shang, *Shan-yü* of the Hiung-nu, killed the king of the Yüé-chī and made a drinking vessel out of his skull, the

Yüé-chi had lived between Tun-huang [now Sha-chóu] and the K'i-lién [a hill southwest of Kan-chóu-fu], but when they were beaten by the Hiung-nu, they fled to a distant country and crossed to the west of Yüan [Ta-yüan], attacked Ta-hia [Bactria], and conquered it. Subsequently they had their capital in the north of the K'ui-shui [Oxus] and made it the court of their king. The minority which were left behind and were not able to follow them, took refuge among the K'iang [Tangutans] of the Nan-shan, and were called *Siau-Yüé-chi* (Small Yüé-chi).

(30) *An-si* [Parthia] may be several thousand *li* west of the Ta-yüé-chi. (31) The people live in fixed abodes and are given to agriculture; their fields yield rice and wheat; and they make wine of grapes. (32) Their cities and towns are like those of Ta-yüan. (33) Several hundred small and large cities belong to it. (34) The territory is several thousand *li* square; it is a very large country and is close to the K'ui-shui [Oxus]. (35) Their market folk and merchants travel in carts and boats to the neighboring countries, perhaps several thousand *li* distant. (36) They make coins of silver; the coins resemble their king's face. Upon the death of a king the coins are changed for others on which the new king's face is represented. (37) They paint [rows of characters] running sideways on [stiff] leather, to serve as records. (38) West of this country is T'iau-chi; north, is An-ts'ai.

(39) *Li-kan* [Syria] and *T'iau-chi* [Chaldea] are several thousand *li* west of An-si and close to the Western Sea. (40) It [referring to T'iau-chi] is hot and damp. (41) The inhabitants plow their fields, in which they grow rice. (42) There is a big bird with eggs like jars. (43) The number of its inhabitants is very large, and they have in many places their own petty chiefs; but An-si [Parthia], while having added it to its dependencies, considers it a foreign country. (44) They have clever jugglers. (45) Although the old people in An-si maintain the tradition that the Jo-shui and the Si-wang-mu are in T'iau-chi, they have not been seen there.

(46) *Ta-hia* [Bactria] is more than 2000 *li* to the southwest of Ta-yüan, on the south bank of the K'ui-shui [Oxus]. (47) The people have fixed abodes and live in walled cities and regular houses like the people of Ta-yüan. (48) They have no great

king or chief, but everywhere the cities and towns have their own petty chiefs. (49) While the people are shrewd traders, their soldiers are weak and afraid to fight, so that, when the Ta-yüé-chī migrated westward, they made war on the Ta-hia, who became subject to them. (50) The population of Ta-hia may amount to more than a million. (51) Their capital is called Lan-shī, and it has markets for the sale of all sorts of merchandise. (52) To the southeast of it is the country of *Shōn-tu* [India]. (53) Chang K'ién says [in his report to the Emperor]: 'When I was in Ta-hia, I saw there a stick of bamboo of Kiung [Kiung-chóu in Ssī-ch'uan] and some cloth of Shu [Ssī-ch'uan]. When I asked the inhabitants of Ta-hia how they had obtained possession of these, they replied: "The inhabitants of our country buy them in Shōn-tu [India]." Shōn-tu may be several thousand *li* to the southeast of Ta-hia. The people there have fixed abodes, and their customs are very much like those of Ta-hia; but the country is low, damp, and hot. The people ride on elephants to fight in battle. The country is close to a great river. According to my calculation, Ta-hia must be 12,000 *li* distant from China and to the southwest of the latter. Now the country of Shōn-tu being several thousand *li* to the southeast of Ta-hia, and the produce of Shu [Ssī-ch'uan] being found there, that country cannot be far from Shu. Suppose we send ambassadors to Ta-hia through the country of the K'iang [Tan-gutans], there is the danger that the K'iang will object; if we send them but slightly farther north, they will be captured by the Hiung-nu; but by going by way of Shu [Ssī-ch'uan] they may proceed direct and will be unmolested by robbers.'

(54) The Son of Heaven on hearing all this reasoned thus: Ta-yüan and the possessions of Ta-hia and An-si are large countries, full of rare things, with a population living in fixed abodes and given to occupations somewhat identical with those of the Chinese people, but with weak armies, and placing great value on the rich produce of China; in the north the possessions of the Ta-yüé-chī and K'ang-kü, being of military strength, might be made subservient to the interests of the court by bribes and thus gained over by the mere force of persuasion. In this way a territory 10,000 *li* in extent would be available for the spread among the four seas of Chinese superior civilization by communicating through many interpreters with the nations holding

widely different customs. As a result the Son of Heaven was pleased to approve Chang K'ien's proposal. (55) He thereupon gave orders that, in accordance with Chang K'ien's suggestions, exploring expeditions be sent out from Kiên-weï of the Shu kingdom [the present Sŭ-chóu-fu on the Upper Yangtzi] by four different routes at the same time: one to start by way of Mang; one by way of Jan [both names referring to barbarous hill tribes on the southwestern frontier; cf. *Shŭ-ki*, chap. 116, p. 2]; one by way of Ssi [or Si]; and one by way of Kiung [Kiung-chóu in Ssi-ch'uan] and P'o [the present Ya-chóu]. (56) These several missions had each traveled but one or two thousand *li* when those in the north were prevented from proceeding farther by the Ti and Tsö tribes, and those in the south by the Sui and K'un-ming tribes [placed by the commentators in the southwest of Sŭ-chóu-fu], who had no chiefs and, being given to robbery, would have killed or captured the Chinese envoys. (57) The result was that the expeditions could not proceed farther. They heard, however, that about a thousand *li* or more to the west there was the 'elephant-riding country' called *Tiën-yüé* [possibly meaning 'the Tiën,' or Yünnan, part of Yüé or South China], whither the traders of Shu [Ssi-ch'uan] were wont to proceed, exporting produce surreptitiously. Thus it was that by trying to find the road to Ta-hia [Bactria] the Chinese obtained their first knowledge of the Tiën country (Yün-nan).

(58) The original idea to penetrate from China through the country of the southwestern barbarians was abandoned, because, in spite of the heavy expense incurred, the passage could not be effected; but it was in pursuance of Chang K'ien's report regarding the possibility of finding a road to Ta-hia [Bactria] that attention had again been drawn to these barbarians. It had been due to Chang K'ien's knowledge of their pasture-grounds, when following, in the capacity of a subcommander, the general-in-chief sent out against the Hiung-nu, that the army did not fall short of provisions. For this the Emperor invested him with the title 'Marquis of Po-wang.' This was in the year 123 B. C. (59) When, in the following year, Chang K'ien took part in the Yu-peï-p'ing [about 80 miles east of Peking] campaign against the Hiung-nu in the capacity of a commander of the Guards under General Li [Li Kuang, according to *Ts'ien-han-shu*, chap. 61, p. 4] as commander-in-chief and the latter was blocked

by the enemy with considerable losses to his army, Chang K'ién failed to come soon enough to the rescue. For this he was liable to the penalty of death; but, on payment of a ransom, his punishment was reduced to degradation to the rank of a private. (60) In the same year China sent the Piau-ki general (Ho K'ü-ping) to conquer the western *ordu* [capital] of the Hiung-nu. He took several tens of thousands [of troops] and pushed forward as far as the K'i-lién-shan [a hill in the south of the present Kan-chóu-fu]. (61) In the following year (121 B. C.) the Hun-shö prince with all his people tendered his allegiance to China, and in the west of Kin-ch'öng [Lan-chóu-fu] and in Ho-si [in the west of Kan-su] all along the Nan-shan as far as the Salt Lake [the Lopnor] there remained no Hiung-nu. The Hiung-nu would from time to time come there to waylay travelers, but such visitations were of rare occurrence indeed, and two years later the Chinese forced their khan to retreat into the north of the desert. The Son of Heaven thereupon consulted Chang K'ién several times about Ta-hia and other countries, and since K'ién had lost his marquissate he submitted the following report:

(62) 'When your servant was living among the Hiung-nu, he heard that the king of the Wu-sun was styled *K'un-mo*, and that the K'un-mo's father was [chief of] a petty state on the western borders of the Hiung-nu. The Hiung-nu attacked and killed his father, and the K'un-mo, at his birth, was cast away in the wilderness, where meat was brought to him by a blackbird and a she-wolf nursed him with her milk. (63) The Shan-yü [khan of the Hiung-nu] regarded this as a wonder and, having raised the child to manhood, made him a military leader, in which capacity he distinguished himself on several occasions. (64) The Shan-yü restored to him the people of his father and made him governor of the western *ordu* [city, or fortified camp]. On receiving charge of his people, the K'un-mo attacked the neighboring small states with tens of thousands of bowmen, gained experience in warfare, and, after the Shan-yü's death, withdrew his forces to a distant retreat, declining to appear at the court of the Hiung-nu. (65) The latter dispatched a force of picked troops to attack him, but, being unable to conquer him, regarded him as a spirit whom they had better keep at a distance and whom they would not seriously attack, though they con-

tinued to claim [nominal] jurisdiction of the Shan-yü over the K'un-mo. (66) Now the Shan-yü has recently been defeated by China, in consequence of which the Hun-shö prince's former territory has become deserted; and since the barbarians covet the rich products of China, this is an opportune time to bribe the Wu-sun with liberal presents, and to invite them to settle farther east in the old Hun-shö territory. Should they become attached to the Chinese as a brother nation by intermarriage, the situation would be in favor of their listening to our proposition, and if they do this, it would be tantamount to the cutting off of the right [i. e. western] arm of the Hiung-nu nation. Once we are connected with the Wu-sun, the countries to the west of them might be invited to come to us as outer subjects.'

(67) The Son of Heaven approved of Chang K'ién's proposal and appointed him a commander in his bodyguard as well as leader of an expedition consisting of 300 men, each with two horses, and oxen and sheep in myriads. He also provided him with gifts of gold and silk stuffs worth millions, and with assistant envoys, holding credentials, whom he might send to and leave behind in other nearby countries. (68) When Chang K'ién arrived at Wu-sun, he keenly resented the humiliation offered to him, the ambassador of China, by a mere king of the Wu-sun, K'un-mo, in receiving him in audience with court ceremonial like that adopted with the Shan-yü of the Hiung-nu. Knowing the greed of these barbarians, he said: 'If the king does not pay due respect to these gifts, which have come from the Son of Heaven, they will be withdrawn.' The K'un-mo rose and offered obeisance before the gifts, but all other ceremonies passed off as of old. (69) Chang K'ién explained the Emperor's ideas as follows: 'If the Wu-sun are able to move eastward to the country of the Hun-shö, China will send a princess to become the K'un-mo's consort.' (70) The Wu-sun country was divided, for the King was old and, considering China very distant and being unaware of its greatness, had heretofore submitted to the Hiung-nu, and this for a long time indeed. Moreover, his own country was also nearer them, so that his ministers, who were afraid of the Tartars, did not wish to move away, and, since the king was not free to arrive at a decision of his own choice, Chang K'ién was unsuccessful in inducing him to adopt his suggestion.

(71) The K'un-mo had more than ten sons, the second of whom, called Ta-lu, was an energetic leader of the masses. In this capacity he set himself up in a separate part of the country with more than ten thousand horsemen. Ta-lu's elder brother, the crownprince, had a son called the *Ts'ön-ts'ü* [according to *Ts'ién-han-shu*, chap. 96 B, p. 3, a title]. When the crownprince met with an early death, his last words to his father, the K'un-mo, were: 'Let the *Ts'ön-ts'ü* become crownprince, and do not allow any other man to take his place.' The K'un-mo, in his grief, consented; and so on the death of his father the *Ts'ön-ts'ü* became crownprince. Ta-lu was angry at being prevented from acting as crownprince and, having imprisoned his brothers, rose with his people in rebellion against the *Ts'ön-ts'ü* and the K'un-mo. The latter, being old, was in constant fear that Ta-lu might kill the *Ts'ön-ts'ü*; he therefore gave the latter more than ten thousand horsemen to settle elsewhere, while retaining the same number of horsemen for his own protection.

The population was thus divided into three parts; and, notwithstanding that the majority were under his authority, the K'un-mo did not dare to take it upon himself to conclude that treaty with Chang K'ién. (72) Chang K'ién, therefore, sent assistant ambassadors in several directions to the countries of Ta-yüan [Ferghana], K'ang-kü [Soghdiana], Ta-yüé-chi [Indo-scythians], Ta-hia [Bactria], An-si [Parthia], Shön-tu [India], Yü-tién [Khotan], Han-mi [?] and the adjacent territories. (73) Wu-sun furnished guides and interpreters to accompany Chang K'ién on his return, and the latter, traveling with several dozen natives and as many horses sent by the people of Wu-sun in acknowledgment [of the Emperor's gifts], thereby afforded them the opportunity to see China with their own eyes and thus to realize her extent and greatness. (74) On his return to China, Chang K'ién was appointed *Ta-hing* ['Great Traveler,' or head of the office of foreign affairs] with rank as one of the nine ministers of state. (75) More than a year after this he died.

(76) The envoys of Wu-sun, having seen that China was a very populous and wealthy country, reported to this effect on their return home, and this increased the estimation in which she was held there. (77) More than a year later, some of the envoys whom Chang K'ién had sent to the Ta-hia countries

returned with natives of those countries, and after this the countries of the Northwest began to have intercourse with China. Since Chang K'ien had been the pioneer in such intercourse, envoys proceeding to the West after him always referred to the Marquis of Po-wang as an introduction in foreign countries, the mention of his name being regarded as a guaranty of good faith.

(78) After the death of K'ien, the Hiung-nu heard of China's relations with Wu-sun, at which they became angry and wished to make war on it. When China sent missions to Wu-sun, her ambassadors continually passed through the south of that country to Ta-yüan [Ferghana] and Ta-yüé-chi [Indoscythians], and since the people of Wu-sun were afraid, they sent ambassadors and tribute horses, expressing their wish to bring about family relations by marriage with a Chinese imperial princess. The Son of Heaven consulted his ministers, who all said: 'Let them first offer marriage gifts and we shall then send the maiden.'

(79) At first the Son of Heaven consulted an oracle in the 'Book of Changes,' which said that 'the divine horse will come from the northwest.' The horses received from Wu-sun were termed 'heavenly horses,' but when the 'blood-sweating [*han-hüé*] horses' obtained from Ta-yüan [Ferghana] were found much stronger, the name 'Wu-sun horses' was changed to '[horses of the] extreme west,' and the Ta-yüan horses were called 'heavenly horses.'

At this time China began to build the great wall to the west of Ling-kü [near the present Liang-chou-fu in Kan-su], and first established the district of Tsiu-ts'üan, through which one could reach the countries of the Northwest. Thus more embassies were despatched to An-si [Parthia], An-ts'ai [the Aorsi, or Alans], Li-kan [Syria under the Seleucids], T'iau-chi [Chaldea], and Shön-tu [India], and as the Son of Heaven had such a fancy for the horses of Ta-yüan, ambassadors [sent to procure these horses] followed upon one another's heels all along the route. Such missions would be attended by several hundred men, or by a hundred men, according to their importance. The gifts carried by them emulated in the main those sent in the time of the Marquis of Po-wang; but later on, when they had ceased to be a novelty, they were made on a smaller scale. As a rule, rather more than ten such missions went forward in the course of a year, and at the least five or six.

Those sent to distant countries would return home after eight or nine years, those to nearer ones, within a few years.

(80) This was the time when China had extinguished Yüé,¹ in consequence of which the barbarians in the southwest of Shu (Ssü-ch'uan) became alarmed and asked that Chinese officers be appointed, and attended court. Thus were created the districts of I-chóu, Yüé-sui, Tsang-ko, Shön-li, and Wön-shan, [the government] being guided by the wish that these territories should form a link in the development of the route to Ta-hia [Bactria].

(81) And so the envoys Pai Shü-ch'ang and Lü Yüé-jön were sent out in more than ten parties in a single year from these newly founded districts for Ta-hia [Bactria], but again and again they were held up by the K'un-ming tribes, who killed them and robbed them of the presents they carried, so that they were never able to reach Ta-hia.

(82) Thereupon China raised an army from the convicts of the metropolitan district (*san-fu*; cf. *Ts'ien-han-shu*, chap. 76, p. 18, and other quotations in *Pien-tzi-lei-pien*, chap. 91, p. 9 B) and sent the two generals Kuo Ch'ang and Weï Kuang in command of tens of thousands of soldiers of Pa and Shu [Ssü-ch'uan], to fight the K'un-mings who had intercepted the Chinese ambassadors,² when several tens of thousands of the tribesmen were beheaded or made prisoners by the Chinese army before it withdrew. (83) After this ambassadors sent to the K'un-ming were again robbed, and a passage through this country was still found to be impracticable. (84) On the other hand, missions to Ta-hia [Bactria] by the northern route, viâ Tsiu-ts'üan, had by their frequency caused the foreign countries to be less and less interested in the Chinese ambassadorial gifts, which they no longer appreciated. (85) Since the work of the Marquis of Po-wang in preparing the way for intercourse with foreign countries had earned for him rank and position, officials and attendants who had accompanied him vied with one another in presenting to the

¹ Clearly referring to Nan-yüé, South China, conquered by General Lu Po-tö in 112 B. C., Hirth, *Chines. Ansichten über Bronzetrommeln*, p. 30. Cf. Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 138, and Giles, *Chinese Biog. Dict.*, p. 548, who both give the year as 120 B. C.

² A footnote by the scholiast Sü Kuang, who died 425 A. D., refers this expedition to the year 109 B. C.

throne memorials in which they discussed the wonders, advantages, and disadvantages of certain foreign countries; and when the memorialists asked to be nominated as envoys, the Son of Heaven, on account of the extreme distance of the countries to be visited and owing to the scarcity of men expressing a willingness to go, would comply with such requests and would even provide credentials to candidates for ambassadorial posts without asking any questions as to whence they had come. In order to encourage enterprise in this direction numbers of embassies were fitted out and sent forward, though among those who returned there were bound to be some who had either purloined the presents entrusted to them or failed to carry out the imperial instructions.

The Son of Heaven on account of the experience of these quasi-envoys, would merely investigate cases as being highly criminal and punishable in order to stir up a feeling of resentment. By causing them to atone for their guilt [by payments?] they were led to apply again for ambassadorial appointments. Chances for such appointments now becoming numerous, those concerned in them made light of infringements of the law, and the lower officials connected with them would also give exaggerated accounts of the conditions of the foreign countries in question. Those who reported on some great projects in connection with foreign countries would be given plenipotentiary posts, whereas reports on less important ones would be rewarded with mere assistantships, for which reason reckless and unprincipled men became eager to follow examples thus set. The ambassadors, being mostly sons of poor families, appropriated the gifts sent by the government, and would undersell them for their private benefit. Foreign countries, in their turn, got tired of the Chinese ambassadors, whose tales consisted of conflicting accounts.^{2a} They

^{2a} Mr. T. Y. Leo remarks in connection with the above sentence: 'This is the interpretation by Fu' K'ien [2d century A. D.]. According to Ju Shun [as quoted in a scholium to our passage] the passage would read: "The foreign countries in their turn got tired of the Chinese ambassadors, for many men [of the foreign countries] had complained that each had been more or less cheated and insulted several times by the Chinese." Judging by what follows, I am inclined to think the latter interpretation is the more logical. Ju Shun was a scholar of the Wei Kingdom of the San-kuo period [3d century A. D.].'

imagined that a Chinese army would not be near enough to reach them, and that they were free to annoy the Chinese ambassadors by cutting off their food supplies. The ambassadors were thus reduced to a state of starvation, and their exasperation took the form of actual hostilities. Lóu-lan and Ku-shī, which, though merely small countries, were thoroughfares to the West, attacked and robbed the Chinese ambassadors [Wang K'ui and others] more than ever, and unexpected troops of the Hiung-nu would at all times intercept westbound envoys. Ambassadors would therefore strive to outvie one another in spreading reports of the calamities threatening China from those foreign countries, which had walled cities and towns, but whose armies were weak and could easily be vanquished.

(86) On this account the Son of Heaven sent the Tsung-piau marquis [*Chau*] Po-nu to lead some tens of thousands of cavalry of the feudal states and regular troops toward the Hiung-nu River, wishing to engage the Tartars, but the latter retreated without giving battle. (87) In the following year Po-nu attacked Ku-shī. He took the lead with more than seven hundred light cavalry, captured the king of Lóu-lan, and defeated Ku-shī. He then displayed the prestige of his army in order to 'corner' Wu-sun, Ta-yüan, and other countries. On his return, he was raised to the rank of a marquis of Tso-yé.³ (88) Wang K'ui, who had been repeatedly ill-treated as an ambassador by Lóu-lan, had reported this to the Son of Heaven, who raised an army and ordered him to assist Po-nu in bringing Lóu-lan to terms. For this, Wang K'ui was made Marquis of Hau.⁴ (89) A line of military stations was now established between Tsiu-ts'üan and the Yü-mön Gate. (90) Wu-sun now presented a marriage gift of a thousand horses, upon which China sent a relative of the emperor's, the Princess of Kiang-tu, as a consort for the king of the Wu-sun. The latter, the K'un-mo, appointed her his right [i. e. less-honored] consort. The Hiung-nu, on their part, also sent a daughter in marriage to the K'un-mo, who appointed her his left [i. e. most-honored] consort. The K'un-mo said 'I am old,' and he induced his grandson, the Ts'ön-ts'ü, to marry the [Chinese] princess.

³ A footnote says that this happened in the year 108 B. c.

⁴ According to a footnote, in 107 B. c.

(91) The Wu-sun had great store of horses; rich men had as many as four or five thousand each.

(92) Once, when a Chinese ambassador had come to An-si [Parthia], the king of that country caused twenty thousand horsemen to welcome him at the eastern frontier, which was several thousand *li* distant from the royal capital. When he reached the capital he found that he had passed some dozens of walled cities, densely populated. When the ambassador returned to China they, in their turn, sent envoys to accompany the mission back to China, in order that they might see China's greatness with their own eyes. They offered as tribute big birds' eggs [ostrich eggs] and jugglers from Li-kan [Syria, etc.]. And the small countries to the west of Yüan, namely Huan, Ts'ién, and Ta-i [?], and those to the east of Yüan, namely, Ku-shi, Han-mi, Su-hié, and others, followed the Chinese ambassadors with tribute and had audience with the Son of Heaven, who was thereby highly gratified. (93) Also, a Chinese ambassador traced the source of the Ho River, which had its rise in Yü-tién [Khotan]. The hills there yielded great quantities of jadestone, picked up and brought to China [by the ambassadors]. (94) The Son of Heaven, in accordance with old maps and books, gave the name of K'un-lun to the hill in which the Ho River had its source.

(95) At this time the Emperor often made tours of inspection to the seaside, when he was generally accompanied by numbers of foreign guests, upon whom he would bestow abundant provisions, in order to impress them with the wealth of China. On such occasions crowds of onlookers were attracted by the performances of wrestlers, mummers, and all such wonderful entertainments, and by lavish feasts of wine and meat, by which the foreign guests were made to realize China's astounding greatness. They were also made to inspect the several granaries, stores, and treasuries, with a view to showing them the greatness of China and to inspiring them with awe. Later on the skill of these jugglers, wrestlers, mummers, and similar performers was further developed, their efficiency was increased from year to year. (96) It was from this period that the coming and going of ambassadors of the foreign countries of the northwest became more and more frequent. (97) The countries west of Yüan [Ferghana], which, being of the opinion that they were too far away from

China, had as yet calmly stood upon their national pride, could not be won over by our polite civilization into a state of vassalage. (98) Westward from Wu-sun as far as An-si [Parthia], the Hiung-nu lived nearby, and since they had [once] been a source of trouble to the Yüé-chi [Indoscythians], it was still a fact that if an envoy of the Hiung-nu, armed with a letter of the Shan-yü, were sent abroad, all the countries *en route* would give him safe-conduct and provisions without daring to make trouble of any kind, whereas the ambassadors of China could not obtain provisions without a money payment, nor could they continue their journeys on horseback without buying the necessary beasts. The reason for this was that the people of these countries thought that, China being far off and wealthy, the Chinese must buy what they wished to get; indeed they were more afraid of the Hiung-nu than of the Chinese ambassadors. (99) In the neighborhood of Yüan [Ferghana] wine was made from grapes. Rich people stored ten thousand stones and more of it without its spoiling. (100) The people liked to drink wine, and their horses liked lucerne (*mu-su* = *medicago sativa*). The Chinese envoys imported their seeds into China. The Son of Heaven thereupon first planted lucerne and vines on rich tracts of ground, and by the time that he had large numbers of 'heavenly' horses, and when many ambassadors from foreign countries arrived, by the side of Imperial summer palaces and other retreats one might see wide tracts covered with vineyards and lucerne fields.

(101) The people occupying the tracts from Ta-yüan [Ferghana] westward as far as the country of An-si talked different dialects, but their manners and customs being in the main identical, they understood each other. (102) They had deep-set eyes, most of them wore beards, and as shrewd merchants they would haggle about the merest trifles. They placed high value on women, and husbands were guided in their decisions by the advice of their wives. (103) These countries produced no silk and varnish, and they did not know the casting of coins and utensils.⁵ When some deserters from the retinue of a Chinese embassy had settled there as subjects they taught them

⁵ According to Sū Kuang, A. D. 352-425, some texts have *t'ie*, 'iron,' for *ts'ien*, 'coins.'

how to cast weapons and utensils other than those that they already had. Having secured Chinese yellow and white metal [i. e. gold and silver],⁶ they used this for making utensils; they did not use it for money. (104) And since Chinese ambassadors became numerous, the young men who had been attached to those missions would generally approach the Son of Heaven with [what seemed] a well worked-out project. (105) Thus they reported: 'The superior horses found in Ta-yüan are concealed [kept out of sight] in the city of Īr-shī, which is unwilling to give them to the Chinese ambassadors.' (106) Now, since the Son of Heaven was fond of the horses of Ta-yüan, he was pleased with this report and sent certain strong men [sportsmen, turfmen?], Ch'ö Ling and others, with a thousand pieces of gold and a golden horse in order to ask the king of Ta-yüan for the superior horses in the city of Īr-shī. (107) The Yüan country being overstocked with Chinese produce, the people held counsel among themselves, saying: 'China is far away from us, and in the Salt Lake [region] numbers of travelers have met with destruction. To the north of it one falls into the hands of Hu [Tartar] robbers; in the south there is dearth of water and vegetation; moreover, they are everywhere cut off from cities without any chance of foraging in many cases. Chinese missions, consisting of merely a few hundred members, have quite commonly lost more than half their staff by starvation. If this be so, how much less could the Chinese send a big army? What harm can they do to us? The horses in Īr-shī are the most precious horses of Yüan.' (108) And they refused to deliver the horses to the Chinese ambassadors. The latter became very angry and with scathing words smashed the golden horse and returned. (109) The notables, in their turn, were incensed and said: 'The Chinese ambassadors have treated us with extreme contempt.' They ordered the envoys out of the country, and caused them to be intercepted at Yü-ch'öng on the eastern

⁶ Wu Jön-kié, of the 12th century A. D., in his critical work *Liang-han-k'an-wu-p'u-i*, chap. 8, p. 8 B, quotes K'ung Ying-ta, one of the authors of the *Sui-shu* and one of the best-known commentators of the classics, 574-648 A. D., as saying that to the ancients *huang-kin*, 'yellow metal,' and *huang-t'ieh*, 'yellow iron,' were identical with the *t'ung*, 'copper,' of his time. He also thinks that *pai-kin* means both 'silver' and 'tin,' the latter yielding bronze in combination with copper.

frontier, where the ambassadors were killed and robbed of their belongings.

(110) Upon hearing this the Son of Heaven was very wroth. The ambassadors previously sent to Yüan, namely Yau Ting-han and others, reported: 'The army of Yüan is weak; if we attack it with no more than three thousand Chinese soldiers using crossbows, we shall be sure to vanquish it completely.' The Son of Heaven, having previously sent the Marquis of Tso-yé with seven hundred cavalry to attack Lóu-lan, with the result that the king of that country was captured, approved of the plan suggested by Yau Ting-han and others, and, wishing to bestow a marquissate on his favorite concubine, Madam Li, appointed Li Kuang-li leader of the campaign, with the title *Īr-shī tsiang-kün* [i. e. General Īr-shī] and ordered him to set out with six thousand cavalry of the feudal states and several hundred thousand men, being recruits selected from the riffraff of the provinces, and to march upon Yüan with the intent of advancing on the city of Īr-shī and taking possession of its superior horses, for which reason he was styled 'General Īr-shī.' Chau Shī-ch'öng was appointed *kün-chöng* [adjutant-general?], the late Marquis of Hau, Wang K'ui, was sent as a guide to the army, and Li Ch'ö was appointed a governor in charge of the army regulations. This happened in the year 104 B. C. (111) And great swarms of locusts arose to the east of the great wall and traveled west as far as Tun-huang. When the army of General Īr-shī had crossed the Salt Lake [Lopnor], the small states on the road were alarmed; they strengthened their city defenses and refused the issue of provisions. Sieges were of no effect. If the cities surrendered, the army would secure provisions; if they did not, it would in the course of a few days retire. When it came to Yü-ch'öng, the Chinese army consisted of not more than a few thousand men, and these were exhausted from lack of food. At the siege of Yü-ch'öng the Chinese troops were utterly routed with great losses in killed and wounded. General Īr-shī with Li Ch'ö, Chau Shī-ch'öng, and others reasoned thus: 'If our drive on Yü-ch'öng ended in failure to take the city, how much less can we advance on the king's capital?' Consequently, after a campaign of two years the army was led back. When it reached Tun-huang only one or two out of every ten soldiers were left. (112) The

general sent a message to the Emperor in which he said: 'Owing to the distance of the expedition we often were short of provisions and our soldiers were troubled not so much by battles as by starvation; their numbers were not sufficient to conquer Yüan.' He proposed for the time being to stop the war and to set out again when better prepared. (113) When the Son of Heaven heard this report he was much incensed and ordered the Yü-mön [Gate] to be closed, saying: 'If any members of the army dare to enter, they shall lose their heads.' Īr-shī was afraid and remained at Tun-huang. (114) That summer [103 B. C.] China had lost more than twenty thousand men of Tso-yé's army against the Hiung-nu. The dukes, ministers, and councils called upon to deliberate all wished to give up the expedition against the army of Yüan and to direct special efforts to attacking the Tartars. (115) The Son of Heaven [thought that] having sent a punitive expedition against Yüan, a small country, without bringing it to terms would cause Ta-hia [Bactria] and the like countries to feel contempt for China, and the superior horses of Yüan would never be forthcoming; also Wu-sun and Lun-t'ou would make light of harassing the Chinese ambassadors, [and China] would thus become the laughing-stock of foreign countries. (116) The Emperor therefore preferred an indictment against Töng Kuang and others who had reported that making war on Yüan was particularly inopportune, [and an army consisting of] ticket-of-leave men and sharpshooters, to whom were added the young riffraff and roughriders of the boundary, was organized within rather more than a year. When it left Tun-huang this army consisted of sixty thousand men, not counting those who followed as carriers of secret supplies of extra provisions; a hundred thousand oxen; more than thirty thousand horses; donkeys, mules, and camels numbering myriads, and a commissariat well stocked with provisions, besides arms and crossbows. All parts of the Empire had to bestir themselves in contributing offerings. (117) In this campaign against Yüan no less than fifty military governors were appointed. In the city of the king of Yüan there were no wells, and the people had to obtain water from a river outside the city, whereupon experts in hydraulics were sent to divert the course of the river, thus depriving the city of water, besides effecting an opening through which the city might be laid open to access. (118) In order to pro-

teet Tsiu-ts'üan, an additional contingent of a hundred eighty thousand frontier troops was stationed in the newly established districts of Kü-yen and Hiu-chu in the north of Tsiu-ts'üan and Chang-yé. (119) There were further sent the offenders under the seven clauses of the law on minor offenses from the whole empire, as carriers of provisions for the Īr-shī expedition force; wagoners with their carts went in endless lines to Tun-huang; and in anticipation of the defeat of Yüan, two horse-breakers were appointed as equerries [with the rank of] military governors to handle the superior horses to be selected. (120) Thereupon [General] Īr-shī had to march out again, and since he had now more soldiers, the smaller countries he passed through did not fail to welcome him with provisions for his army. When he came to Lun-t'óu, however, that city would not submit, so, after a siege of a few days, it was laid in ruins. After this event the march to the west proceeded without impediment as far as the [outskirts of the] city of Yüan. (121) On its arrival there the Chinese army consisted of thirty thousand men. An army of Yüan gave battle, the victory being gained by the efficiency of the Chinese archery; and this caused the Yüan army to take refuge in their bulwarks and mount the city walls. (122) General Īr-shī wished to attack Yü-ch'öng, but was afraid his detention thereby would allow Yüan to resort to additional stratagems. He therefore went direct to Yüan, cut off the source of its water-supply by diverting the course of the river upon which it depended, and the city was in great straits. Yüan was invested by the Chinese for more than forty days. On battering the outer city wall they captured one of the notables of Yüan, a prominent leader named Tsién-mi.

The people of Yüan became panic-stricken and withdrew into the inner city, where their notables held counsel among themselves, saying: 'The reason why the Chinese make war on us is that our king, Mu-kua,⁷ held back the superior horses and killed the Chinese ambassadors. If we now kill our king, Mu-kua, and surrender the superior horses, the Chinese army will raise the siege; on the other hand, if they do not raise the siege

⁷ According to *Ts'ién-han-shu*, chap. 17, p. 14, Mu-ku, which, according to Yen Shī-ku, appears to be similar in sound to the original western name.

there will be war to the death. It is not yet too late.' The notables of Yüan were all of this opinion. They therefore assassinated their king, Mu-kua, and sent his head to General Īr-shī by their notables, saying: 'If the Chinese will cease making war on us, we will let you have all the superior horses you desire and will supply the Chinese army with provisions; but, if you do not accept our terms, we will kill all the superior horses, and help will soon come from K'ang-kü [Soghdiana]. In that case we should keep within the city, while K'ang-kü would keep outside, fighting against the Chinese army, which ought carefully to consider as to the course it will adopt.' In the meantime K'ang-kü kept watch on the Chinese army, and, this being still numerous, did not dare to attack. General Īr-shī consulted with Chau Shī-ch'öng and Li Ch'ö. It was reported that Yüan had recently secured the services of a Chinese [lit. 'a man of Ts'in'] who knew how to bore wells, and that the city was still well supplied with provisions; that the chief malefactor whom they had come to punish, was Mu-kua, whose head had already come to hand; and that, if under the circumstances they did not raise the siege, Ta-yüan would make strenuous efforts to defend the city, while K'ang-kü would lie in wait until the Chinese were worn out, and then come to the rescue of Yüan, which would mean certain defeat to the Chinese army. The officers of the army agreed with these views. (123) Yüan was allowed to make a treaty. They delivered up their superior horses and permitted the Chinese to make a selection from them, besides furnishing great quantities of provisions for the commissariat. The Chinese army took away several dozens [*shu-shi*, 'several times ten'] of superior horses, besides more than three thousand stallions and mares of inferior quality. (124) They also appointed a notable of Yüan, named Meï-ts'ai, who had formerly treated the Chinese ambassadors well, as king of Yüan, with whose swearing-in the campaign ended. After all, the Chinese were unable to enter the inner city, and, abandoning further action, the army was led back.

(125) When General Īr-shī first started to the west from Tun-huang, the countries *en route* were unable to furnish provisions, owing to the size of his army. He therefore divided it now into several sections, which took the southern and northern routes respectively. The military governor, Wang Shön-shöng,

and the former superintendent of the Colonial Office, Hu Ch'ung-kuo, with more than a thousand men, marched by another route to Yü-ch'öng, whose city head refused the issue of provisions to the army. Wang Shön-shöng, though he was two hundred *li* distant from the main body of the army, reconnoitered, but made light of the situation, while upbraiding the people of Yü-ch'öng. The latter persisted in refusing the issue of provisions and, having ascertained by spies that Wang Shön-shöng's army was becoming reduced in numbers day by day, they one morning attacked the latter with three thousand men, killed Wang Shön-shöng and the other leaders, and routed his army, of which only a few men escaped with their lives to rejoin General Īr-shī and the main army. (126) General Īr-shī now entrusted Special Commissioner of Government Grain Shang-kuan Kié with the investment of Yü-ch'öng, whose king fled to K'ang-kü, pursued thither by Shang-kuan Kié. K'ang-kü had received the news of China's victory over Ta-yüan and delivered the fugitive king to Shang-kuan Kié, who sent him well bound and guarded by four horsemen to the commander-in-chief. On their way these men said to one another: 'The king of Yü-ch'öng is China's bitterest enemy. If we now let him live, he will escape, and then we shall have failed in an important undertaking.' Although wishing to kill him, none of the four dared to strike the first blow, when a cavalry officer of Shang-kui, named Chau Ti, the youngest among them, drew his sword and cut off the king's head. He and Shang-kuan Kié with the king's head then rejoined the commander-in-chief.

(127) When General Īr-shī set out for the second time, the Son of Heaven had sent ambassadors to call upon Wu-sun to send big forces for a joint attack on Ta-yüan. Wu-sun sent only two thousand men, cavalry, wavering between two courses of action and being unwilling to proceed. (128) When the smaller countries through which General Īr-shī passed on his return march to the east heard of the defeat of Ta-yüan, they all sent sons and younger brothers [of their kings] to follow the Chinese army in order to be presented to the Son of Heaven and to be offered as hostages to China. (129) In the campaign under General Īr-shī against Ta-yüan the *Kün-chöng* [Adjutant General?] Chau Shī-ch'öng's chief merit had consisted in vigorous fight-

ing; Shang-kuan Kié had distinguished himself by daring to break into the enemy's lines; Li Ch'ö had acted as adviser in strategical schemes; and when the army passed the Yü-mön Gate there were left of it scarcely more than ten thousand men and a thousand horses. In the second campaign the army had not suffered so much from the scarcity of provisions, nor from losses in battle, as from graft practised by leaders and officers, many of whom filled their pockets without any regard for the welfare of the rank and file, numbers of whom had under these conditions lost their lives. (130) In consideration of the fact that the campaign had to be conducted at a distance of ten thousand *li* from home, the Son of Heaven overlooked these offenses and created Li Kuang-li Marquis of Hai-si; further, he gave the title of Marquis of Sin-ch'ï to Chau Ti, the horseman who had beheaded the king of Yü-ch'öng; the *Kün-chöng* [Adjutant General?] Chau Shï-ch'öng was honored by being created a *kuang-lu-ta-fu* [noble of the first grade]; Shang-kuan Kié was made a *shau-fu* [director in the Imperial Household]; Li Ch'ö was appointed prefect of Shang-tang; three of the officers of the army received ministerial posts; and more than a hundred men received appointments as ministers to the feudal states, or as prefects, or [positions with salaries corresponding to] two thousand stones [of rice]. [Positions yielding incomes corresponding to] one thousand stones, or less, were given to a thousand men each; and all acts of bravery were rewarded by official positions exceeding the expectations of the recipients. Former convicts who had gone with the army received no rewards. Soldiers of the rank and file were presented with gifts of the value of forty thousand *kin* [pieces of gold]. (131) Four years were required to finish the entire campaign against Yüan, from its beginning to the second return of the armies.

(132) Rather more than a year after the conquest of Ta-yüan by China, when Meï-ts'ai was invested as king of Ta-yüan, the notables of that country, attributing the reverses of their country to his method of flattering the ambassadors, conspired against Meï-ts'ai, assassinated him, and installed Ch'an-föng, a younger brother of Mu-kua, as king of Yüan. (133) They sent his son as a hostage to China, and China returned a conciliatory mission with presents. (134) China subsequently sent more than ten embassies to the foreign countries west of Ta-yüan,

to collect curiosities and at the same time to impress upon such countries the importance of the victory over Ta-yüan and the establishment of a *tu-yü* [military governor?] at Tsiu-ts'üan in the Tun-huang region.⁸ (135) Westward from here to the Salt Lake [Lopnor] the road at many points was protected by military stations, and in Lun-t'ou there were several hundred soldiers stationed as farmers, the special commissioners in charge of the farms being required to guard the cultivated land and to store the crops of grain for the use of embassies sent abroad.

(136) Concluding remarks of the historian.—It is said in the *Yü-pön-ki*⁹: 'The Ho [i. e. the Yellow River] rises in the K'un-lun, the ascent of which occupies more than two thousand five hundred *li*. [This hill is so high that] the light of sun and moon may be obscured by its shadow. Its summit contains the spring of sweet wine and the pool of jade.' Now, since by the expedition of Chang K'ien to Ta-hia [Bactria] the source of the Yellow River has been traced, we ask, Where do we see the K'un-lun mentioned in the 'Life of Yü'? Indeed, the account of the nine Provinces of the Emperor Yü, with their hills and water-courses, as described in the *Shu-king*, is much nearer the truth. As regards the wonderful tales contained in the 'Life of Yü' and the *Shan-hai-king*, I do not dare to say anything about them.

TEXT

The Chinese text reproduced on the following pages is that of the K'ien-lung edition of 1739 (see page 93).

⁸ The scholiast Sū Kuang here assumes another name (Yüan-ts'üan) to be the correct reading for Tsiu-ts'üan. Yüan-ts'üan, Mr. Leo points out, belonged to the jurisdiction of Tun-huang.

⁹ 'Life of the Emperor Yü,' a work not now otherwise known in Chinese literature, and not mentioned in the Catalogue of the Imperial Library of the Han Dynasty.

史記第一百二十三卷大宛列傳第六十三

大宛之跡見自張騫¹張騫²漢中人建元中為郎³是時天子問匈奴降者皆言匈奴破月氏
 王以其頭為飲器月氏遁逃而常怨仇匈奴無與共擊之漢方欲事滅胡聞此言因欲通
 使道必更匈奴中乃募能使者騫以郎應募使月氏與堂邑氏故胡奴甘父俱出隴西經
 匈奴⁵匈奴得之傳詣單于單于留之曰月氏在吾北漢何以得往使吾欲使越漢肯聽我
 乎留騫十餘歲與妻有子然騫持漢節不失居匈奴中益寬騫因與其屬亡鄉月氏西走⁷
 數十日至大宛大宛聞漢之饒財欲通不得見騫喜問曰若欲何之騫曰為漢使月氏而
 為匈奴所閉道今亡唯王使人導送我誠得至反漢漢之賂遺王財物不可勝言大宛以⁹
 為然遣騫為發導驛抵康居康居傳致大月氏大月氏王已為胡所殺立其太子為王既¹⁰
 臣大夏而居地肥饒少寇志安樂又自以遠漢殊無報胡之心騫從月氏至大夏竟不能¹¹
 得月氏要領留歲餘還並南山欲從羌中歸復為匈奴所得留歲餘單于死左谷蠡王攻¹²

其太子自立國內亂騫與胡婁及堂邑父俱亡歸漢漢拜騫為太中大夫堂邑父為奉使
 君騫為人彊力寬大信人蠻夷愛之堂邑父故胡人善射窮急射禽獸給食初騫行時百
 餘人去十三歲唯二人得還騫身所至者大宛大月氏大夏康居而傳聞其旁大國五六
 具為天子言之曰大宛在匈奴西南在漢正西去漢可萬里其俗土著耕田田稻麥有蒲
 陶酒多善馬馬汗血其先天馬子也有城郭屋室其屬邑大小七十餘城衆可數十萬其
 兵弓矛騎射其北則康居西則大月氏西南則大夏東北則烏孫東則扞耆于寘于寘之
 西則水皆西流注西海其東水東流注鹽澤鹽澤潛行地下其南則河源出焉多玉石河
 注中國而樓蘭姑師邑有城郭臨鹽澤鹽澤去長安可五千里匈奴右方居鹽澤以東至
 隴西長城南接羌南漢道焉
 烏孫在大宛東北可二千里行國隨畜與匈奴同俗控弦者數萬敢戰故服匈奴及盛取
 其羈屬不肯往朝會焉

康居在大宛西北可二千里行國與月氏大同俗控弦者八九萬人與大宛鄰國國小南
 羈事月氏東羈事匈奴

奄蔡在康居西北可二千里行國與康居大同俗控弦者十餘萬臨大澤無崖蓋乃北海

云

大月氏在大宛西可二千里居媯水北其南則大夏西則安息北則康居行國也隨畜

移徙與匈奴同俗控弦者可一二十萬故時彊輕匈奴及冒頓立攻破月氏至匈奴老上

單于殺月氏王以其頭為飲器始月氏居敦煌祁連間及為匈奴所敗乃遠去過宛西擊

大夏而臣之遂都媯水北為王庭其餘小眾不能去者保南山羌號小月氏

安息在大月氏西可數千里其俗土著耕田田稻麥蒲陶酒城邑如大宛其屬小大數百

城地方數千里最為大國臨媯水有市民商費用車及船行旁國或數千里以銀為錢錢

如其王面王死輒更錢效王面焉畫革旁行以為書記其西則條枝北有奄蔡黎軒

條枝在安息西數千里臨西海暑濕耕田田稻有大鳥卵如甕人衆甚多往往有小君長
 而安息役屬之以為外國國善眩安息長老傳聞條枝有弱水西王母而未嘗見大夏在
 大宛西南二千餘里媯水南其俗土著有城屋與大宛同俗無大王長往往城邑置小長
 其兵弱畏戰善賈市及大月氏西徙攻敗之皆臣畜大夏大夏民多可百餘萬其都曰藍
 市城有市販賈諸物其東南有身毒國竊曰臣在大夏時見印竹杖蜀布問曰安得此大
 夏國人曰吾國人往市之身毒身毒在大夏東南可數千里其俗土著大與大夏同而卑
 濕暑熱云其人民乘象以戰其國臨大水焉以竊度之大夏去漢萬二千里居漢西南今
 身毒國又居大夏東南數千里有蜀物此其去蜀不遠矣今使大夏從羌中險羌人惡之
 少北則為匈奴所得從蜀宜徑又無寇天子既聞大宛及大夏安息之屬皆大國多奇物
 土著頗與中國同業而兵弱貴漢財物其北有大月氏康居之屬兵彊可以賂遺設利朝
 也且誠得而以義屬之則廣地萬里重九譯致殊俗威德徧於四海天子欣然以爲言為

然乃令騫因蜀犍為發間使四道並出出駟出冉出徙出卬楚皆各行一二千里其北方⁵⁵
 閉氏徠南方閉雋昆明昆明之屬無君長善寇盜輒殺畧漢使終莫得通然聞其西可千
 餘里有乘象國名曰滇越而蜀賈姦出物者或至焉於是漢以求大夏道始通滇國初漢⁵⁸
 欲通西南夷費多道不通罷之及張騫言可以通大夏乃復事西南夷騫以校尉從大將
 軍擊匈奴知水草處軍得以不乏乃封騫為博望侯是歲元朔六年也其明年騫為衛尉⁵⁹
 與李將軍俱出右北平擊匈奴匈奴圍李將軍軍軍失亡多而騫後期當斬贖為庶人是歲⁶⁰
 漢遣驃騎破匈奴西城數萬人至祁連山其明年⁶¹渾邪王率其民降漢而金城河西西並
 南山至鹽澤空無匈奴匈奴時有候者到而希矣其後二年漢擊走單于於幕北是後天
 子數問騫大夏之屬騫既失侯因言曰臣居匈奴中聞烏孫王好昆莫昆莫之父匈奴西⁶²
 邊小國也匈奴攻殺其父而昆莫生棄於野烏噉肉蜚其上狼往乳之單于怪以為神而⁶³
 收長之及壯使將兵數有功單于復以其父之民予昆莫令長守於西城昆莫收養其民⁶⁴

攻旁小邑控弦數萬習攻戰單于死昆莫乃率其衆遠徙中立不肯朝會匈奴⁶⁵遣奇兵擊不勝以為神而遠之因羈屬之不大攻⁶⁶今單于新困於漢而故渾邪地空無人蠻夷俗貪漢財物今誠以此時而厚幣賂烏孫⁶⁷格以益東居故渾邪之地與漢結昆弟其勢宜聽聽則是斷匈奴右臂也既連烏孫自其西大夏之屬皆可招來而為外臣天子以為然拜騫為中郎將將三百人馬各二匹牛羊以萬數齎金幣帛直數千巨萬多持節副使道可使使遣之他旁國騫既至烏孫烏孫王昆莫見漢使如單于禮騫大慙知蠻夷貪乃曰天子致賜王不拜則還賜昆莫起拜賜其他如故騫⁶⁹諭使指曰烏孫能東居渾邪地則漢遣翁主為昆莫夫人烏孫⁷⁰國分王老而遠漢未知其大小素服屬匈奴日久矣且又近之其大臣皆畏胡不欲移徙王不能專制騫不得其要領昆莫⁷¹有十餘子其中子曰大祿彊善將衆將衆別居萬餘騎大祿兄為太子太子有子曰岑娶而太子蚤死臨死謂其父昆莫曰必以岑娶為太子無令他人代之昆莫哀而許之卒以岑娶為太子大祿怒其不得

代太子也乃收其諸昆弟將其衆畔謀攻岑娶及昆莫昆莫老常恐大祿殺岑娶予岑娶
 萬餘騎別居而昆莫有萬餘騎自備國衆分為三而其大總取羈屬昆莫昆莫亦以此不
 敢專約於騫騫因分遣副使使大宛康居大月氏大夏安息身毒于真扞罽及諸旁國烏⁷²
 孫發導譯送騫還騫與烏孫遣使數十人馬數十匹報謝因令窺漢知其廣大騫還到拜⁷⁴
 為大行列於九卿歲餘卒烏孫使既見漢人衆富厚歸報其國其國乃益重漢其後歲餘⁷⁶
 騫所遣使通大夏之屬者皆頗與其人俱來於是西北國始通於漢矣然張騫鑿空其後⁷⁷
 使往者皆稱博望侯以為質於外國外國由此信之自博望侯騫死後匈奴聞漢通烏孫⁷⁸
 怒欲擊之及漢使烏孫若出其南抵大宛大月氏相屬烏孫乃恐使使獻馬願得尚漢女⁷⁹
 翁主為昆弟天子問羣臣議計皆曰必先納聘然後乃遣女初天子發書易云神馬當從
 西北來得烏孫馬好名曰天馬及得大宛汗血馬益壯更名烏孫馬曰西極名大宛馬曰
 天馬云而漢始築令居以西初置酒泉郡以通西北國因益發使抵安息奄蔡黎軒條枝

身毒國而天子好宛馬使者相望於道諸使外國一輩大者數百少者百餘人人所齎持
 大放博望侯時其後益習而衰少焉漢率一歲中使多者十餘少者五六輩遠者八九歲
 近者數歲而反是時漢既滅越而蜀西南夷皆震請吏入朝於是置益州越雋牂牁沈黎
 汶山郡欲地接以前通大夏⁸¹乃遣使柏始昌呂越人等歲十餘輩出此初郡抵大夏皆復
 閉昆明為所殺奪幣財終莫能通至大夏焉於是漢發三輔罪人因巴蜀士數萬人遣兩
 將軍郭昌衛廣等往擊昆明之遮漢使者斬首虜數萬人而去其後遣使昆明復為寇竟
 莫能得通而北道⁸⁴酒泉抵大夏使者既多而外國益厭漢幣不貴其物自博望侯開外國
 道以尊貴其後從吏卒皆爭上書言外國奇怪利害求使天子為其絕遠非人所樂往聽
 其言予節募吏民毋問所從來為具備人衆遣之以廣其道來還不能毋侵盜幣物及使
 失指天子為其習之輒覆案致重罪以激怒令贖復求使使端無窮而輕犯法其吏卒亦
 輒復盛推外國所有言大者予節言小者為副故妄言無行之徒皆爭效之其使皆貧人

子私縣官齎物欲賤市以私其利外國外國亦厭漢使人人有言輕重度漢兵遠不能至而禁其食物以苦漢使漢使乏絕積怨至相攻擊而樓蘭姑師小國耳當空道攻劫漢使王恢等尤甚而匈奴奇兵時時遮擊使西國者使者爭徧言外國災害皆有城邑兵弱易擊於是天子以故遣從驃侯破奴將屬國騎及郡兵數萬至匈奴水欲以擊胡胡皆去其⁸⁶明年擊姑師破奴與輕騎七百餘先至虜樓蘭王遂破姑師因舉兵威以困烏孫大宛之屬還封破奴為浞野侯王恢數使為樓蘭所苦言天子天子發兵令恢佐破奴擊破之封恢為浩侯於是酒泉列亭鄣至玉門矣烏孫以千匹馬聘漢女漢遣宗室女江都翁主往妻烏孫烏孫王昆莫以為右夫人匈奴亦遣女妻昆莫昆莫以為左夫人昆莫曰我老乃令其孫岑娶妻翁主烏孫多馬其富人至有四五千匹馬初漢使至安息安息王令將二萬騎迎於東界東界去王都數千里行比至過數十城人民相屬甚多漢使還而後發使隨漢使來觀漢廣人以大鳥卵及黎軒善眩人獻於漢及宛西小國驩潛大益宛東姑師

杆罽蘇薤之屬皆隨漢使獻見天子天子大悅而漢使窮河源河源出于冥其山多玉石
 采來天子案古圖書名河所出山曰崑崙云是時上方數巡狩海上乃悉從外國客大都
 多人則過之散財帛以賞賜厚具以饒給之以覽示漢富厚焉於是大觥抵出奇戲諸怪
 物多聚觀者行賞賜酒池肉林令外國客徧觀各倉庫府藏之積見漢之廣大傾駭之及
 加其眩者之工而觥抵奇戲歲增變甚盛益興自此始西北外國使更來更去宛以西皆
 自以遠尚驕恣晏然未可詘以禮羈縻而使也自烏孫以西至安息以近匈奴匈奴困月
 氏也匈奴使持單于一信則國國傳送食不敢留苦及至漢使非出幣帛不得食不市畜
 不得騎用所以然者遠漢而漢多財物故必市乃得所欲然以畏匈奴於漢使焉宛左右
 以蒲陶為酒富人藏酒至萬餘石久者數十歲不敗俗嗜酒馬嗜苜蓿漢使取其實來於
 是天子始種苜蓿蒲陶肥饒地及天馬多外國使來衆則離宮別觀旁盡種蒲陶苜蓿極
 望自大宛¹⁰¹以西至安息國雖頗異言然大同俗相知言其人皆深眼多鬚頗善市賈爭分¹⁰²

銖俗貴女子女子所言而丈夫乃決正其地¹⁰³皆無絲漆不知鑄錢器及漢使亡卒降教鑄作他兵器得漢黃白金輒以為器不用為幣而漢使者往既多其少從率多進熟於天子言曰宛有善馬在貳師城匿不肯與漢使¹⁰⁵天子既好宛馬聞之甘心使壯士車令等持千金及金馬以請宛王貳師城善馬宛國饒漢物相與謀曰漢去我遠而鹽水中數敗出其北有胡寇出其南乏水草又且往往而絕邑乏食者多漢使數百人為輩來而常乏食死者過半是安能致大軍乎無奈我何且貳師馬宛寶馬也遂不肯與漢使漢使怒妄言椎金馬而去宛¹⁰⁹貴人怒曰漢使至輕我遣漢使去令其東邊郁成遮攻殺漢使取其財物於是天子大怒諸嘗使宛姚定漢等言宛兵弱誠以漢兵不過三千人彊弩射之即盡虜破宛矣天子已嘗使浞野侯攻樓蘭以七百騎先至虜其王以定漢等言為然而欲侯寵姬李氏拜李廣利為貳師將軍發屬國六千騎及郡國惡少年數萬人以往伐宛期至貳師城取善馬故號貳師將軍趙始成為軍正故浩侯王恢使導軍而李哆為校尉制軍事是

歲太初元年也而關東蝗大起蜚西至敦煌貳師將軍軍既西過鹽水當道小國恐各堅¹¹¹
 城守不肯給食攻之不能下下者得食不下者數日則去比至郁成士至者不過數千皆
 饑罷攻郁成郁成大破之所殺傷甚衆貳師將軍與哆始成等計至郁成尚不能舉況至
 其王都乎引兵而還往來二歲還至敦煌士不過什一二使使上書言道遠多乏食且士¹¹²
 卒不患戰患饑人少不足以拔宛願且罷兵益發而復往天子聞之大怒而使使遮王門¹¹³
 曰軍有敢入者輒斬之貳師恐因留敦煌其夏漢亡浞野之兵二萬餘於匈奴公卿及議¹¹⁴
 者皆願罷擊宛軍專力攻胡天子已業誅宛宛小國而不能下則大夏之屬輕漢而宛善¹¹⁵
 馬絕不來烏孫命頭易苦漢使矣為外國笑乃案言伐宛尤不便者鄧光等赦囚徒材官¹¹⁶
 益發惡少年及邊騎歲餘而出燉煌者六萬人負私從者不與牛十萬馬三萬餘匹驢騾¹¹⁷
 橐駝以萬數多齎糧兵弩甚設天下騷動傳相奉伐宛凡五十餘校尉宛王城中無井皆¹¹⁸
 汲城外流水於是乃遣水工徙其城下水空以空其城益發戍甲卒十八萬酒泉張掖北

置居延休屠以衛酒泉而發天下七科適及載糒給貳師轉車人徒相連屬至燉煌而拜
習馬者二人為執驅校尉備破宛擇取其善馬云於是貳師後復行兵多而所至小國莫
不迎出食給軍至命頭命頭不下攻數日屠之自此而西平行至宛城漢兵到者三萬人
宛兵迎擊漢兵漢兵射敗之宛走入葆乘其城貳師兵欲行攻郁成恐留行而令宛益生
詐乃先至宛決其水源移之則宛固已憂困圍其城攻之四十餘日其外城壞虜宛貴人
勇將煎靡宛大恐走入中城宛貴人相與謀曰漢所為攻宛以王母寡匿善馬而殺漢使
今殺王母寡而出善馬漢兵宜解即不解乃力戰而死未晚也宛貴人皆以為然共殺其
王母寡持其頭遣貴人使貳師約曰漢毋攻我我盡出善馬恣所取而給漢軍食即不聽
我盡殺善馬而康居之救且至至我居內康居居外與漢軍戰漢軍熟計之何從是時康
居候視漢兵漢兵尚盛不敢進貳師與趙始成李哆等計聞宛城中新得秦人知穿井而
其內食尚多所為來誅首惡者王母寡王母寡頭已至如此而不許解兵則堅守而康居候漢

罷而來救宛破漢軍必矣軍吏皆以為然許宛之約宛乃出其善馬令漢自擇之而多出¹²³
 食食給漢軍漢軍取其善馬數十匹中馬以下牝牡三千餘匹而立宛貴人之故待遇漢¹²⁴
 使善者名昧蔡以為宛王與盟而罷兵終不得入中城乃罷而引歸初貳師起燉煌西以¹²⁵
 為人多道上國不能食乃分為數軍從南北道校尉王申生故鴻臚壺充國等千餘人別
 到郁成郁成城守不肯給食其軍王申生去大軍二百里偵而輕之責郁成郁成食不肯
 出窺知申生軍日少晨用三千人攻戮殺申生等軍破數人脫亡走貳師貳師令搜粟都¹²⁶
 尉上官桀往攻破郁成郁成王亡走康居桀追至康居康居聞漢已破宛乃出郁成王予
 桀桀令四騎士縛守詣大將軍四人相謂曰郁成王漢國所毒今生將去卒失大事欲殺
 莫敢先擊上邽騎士趙弟最少拔劍擊之斬郁成王齋頭弟桀等遂及大將軍初貳師後¹²⁷
 行天子使使告烏孫大發兵并力擊宛烏孫發二千騎往持兩端不肯前貳師將軍之東¹²⁸
 諸所過小國聞宛破皆使其子弟從軍入獻見天子因為質焉貳師之伐宛也而軍正¹²⁹

趙始成力戰功最多及上官桀敢深入李哆為謀計軍入玉門者萬餘人軍馬千餘匹貳師後行軍非乏食戰死不能多而將吏貪多不愛士卒侵爭之以此物故衆天子為萬里而伐宛不錄過封廣利為海西侯又封身斬郁成王者騎士趙弟為新時侯軍正趙始成為光祿大夫上官桀為少府李哆為上黨太守軍官吏為九卿者三人諸侯相郡守二千石者百餘人千石以下千餘人奮行者官過其望以適過行者皆絀其勞士卒賜直四萬金伐宛再反凡四歲而得罷焉漢已伐宛立昧蔡為宛王而去歲餘宛貴人以為昧蔡善諛使我國過屠乃相與殺昧蔡立母寡昆弟曰蟬封為宛王而遣其子入質於漢漢因使使賂賜以鎮撫之而漢發使十餘輩至宛西諸外國求奇物因風覽以伐宛之威德而燉煌置酒泉都尉西至鹽水往往有亭而命頭有田卒數百人因置使者護田積粟以給使

外國者

太史公曰焉本紀言河出崑崙崑崙其高二千五百餘里日月所相避隱為光明也其上

有醴泉瑤池今自張騫使大夏之後也窮河源惡睹本紀所謂崑崙者乎故言九州山川尚書近之矣至禹本紀山海經所有怪物余不敢言之也

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS

B. C.

- 176 Mau-tun, Great Khan (Shan-yü) of the Hiung-nu, defeats the Yüé-chi for the second time (*Shi-ki*, chap. 110, p. 13; cf. Shiratori, p. 115, and Franke, p. 13).
- 165 (according to Klaproth; but doubtful, according to Shiratori, p. 115). Lau-shang, Mau-tun's successor, annihilates the Yüé-chi, kills their king, and makes a drinking-cup out of his skull. The Yüé-chi flee to the west, and first
- 164 (?) settle down near Lake Issyk-kul, driving out the Sak-wang (Saka princes?), called also Sak-chung (Saka tribes? the character for *Sak* being modern *Sai*; see Giles, no. 9541¹⁰). The Sak-wang, according to *Ts'ién-han-shu* (chap. 96 A, p. 10 B), migrated south and became rulers in Ki-pin (Kashmir), and the Sak-chung were scattered about and settled in several other states. The scholiast Yen Shih-ku (7th cent. A. D.) identified these Sak-chung with the Shak-chung (*Shak* = modern *shü*, the character used in the transcription for *Sakya-muni Buddha*, Giles, no. 9983) of the Buddhists. My present personal view, which however may ultimately prove quite untenable, is that the Sak princes and the Sak tribes driven away by the Yüé-chi near Lake Issyk-kul may have been an eastern branch of that great Saka family of whom Herodotus (7. 64) says: *οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλοῦσι Σάκας*; in other words, that they were eastern Scyths, the term 'Scyth' being explainable as having originated from an old plural *sak-ut*, 'the Sakas.' However, this may be all wrong. There was at least one Chinese scholar in the sixth century who held quite different views, though my Chinese friend, Mr. T. Y. Leo, does not regard him highly

¹⁰ The Cantonese and, therefore, probable ancient sound of this character is *sak*, and not *sök*, as Franke, p. 47, transcribes it, apparently on the strength of Parker's adoption, in Giles's Dictionary, of Wade's *ê* (= *ö*) in lieu of *a*, in many of his renderings of Cantonese sounds. The character for our *sai* is correctly described as *sak* on p. 795 of Eitel-Genähr's *Dictionary of the Cantonese Dialect*, as well as in Williams's and all other Cantonese dictionaries.

as an authority; still his theory, of which I distinctly disclaim any indorsement, deserves to be mentioned. Sün Tsi, whose biography has been preserved in *Peï-shü* (chap. 83, p. 10), offended the religious feelings of Wu-ti of the Liang dynasty (502-549 A. D.) by his criticisms of the Emperor's lavish devotion to Buddhist ceremonial, and fled to the Wei dominions in order to save his head. In his 'Memorial on Buddhism' (*Lun-fo-kiau-piau*) he discusses the term 'Sak-chung' of the *Ts'ién-han-shu*. These Sak tribes, he says, were originally the barbarians of the Yün clan (Giles, no. 13,844), who at the time lived in Tun-huang, were driven out by the Yüé-chi, and on their flight came to the south of the Tsung-ling (see Sü Sung's commentary on the Saka passage in the *Ts'ién-han-shu*).

In tracing this Yün clan back to its origin, as represented in Chinese literature, we have to refer them to those non-Chinese races who, according to legendary tradition, once lived within the dominions of the model emperors Yau and Shun (about the 23d century B. C.) and were banished to the distant border as being unfit to live with the more civilized Chinese. According to the *Tso-chuan* (9th year of Duke Ch'au = 533 B. C.), the Yün clan is connected with T'au-wu, one of the 'Four Wicked Ones' banished by Shun (cf. Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, p. 85 f.). For 'the ancient kings located T'aou-wuh in (one of) the four distant regions to encounter the sprites and other evil things, and so it was that the villains of the surname Yun dwelt in Kwa-chow' (Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso-chuen*, p. 625; cf. also *T'ung-tién*, chap. 189, p. 3, and Sü Sung's *Si-yü-shui-tau-ki*, chap. 3, p. 8 B seq.). If this tradition were more than a mere prehistorical legend, we might be led to assume that Sü Sung's commentary considered the Sak tribes expelled by the Yüé-chi near Lake Issyk-kul as belonging to the stock of Tangut or Tibetan nations, rather than to the Scythians of Herodotus.

- 160 (approximately; see Shiratori, p. 117, and Franke, p. 15). The Wu-sun, formerly under Hiung-nu rule near Kua-chóu, move to the west, drive out the Yüé-chi, and occupy their territory near Lake Issyk-kul, shaking off allegiance to the Hiung-nu.

- 145 (?) Ssī-ma Ts'ién born (Chavannes, l. xxiv).
140 Wu-ti becomes Emperor of China.
138 Chang K'ien leaves China on a mission to the Yüé-chi and is made a prisoner by the Hiung-nu.
128 Chang K'ien escapes, reaches the court of the Yüé-chi via Ta-yüan and K'ang-kü, and spends a year in Ta-hia (Bactria).
127 Chang K'ien returns and, traveling along the northern slope of the Nan-shan, is again detained by the Hiung-nu near Lake Lopnor.
126 Chang K'ien again escapes and arrives in China with a report of his discoveries, acquainting the Chinese of the existence of powerful countries in western Asia, including India, and the alleged source of the Yellow River near Khotan.
123 Chang K'ien created Marquis of Po-wang.
122 Chang K'ien degraded.
121 The young general Ho K'ü-ping defeats the Hiung-nu (see Chavannes, l. lxvii).
115 Chang K'ien's mission to Wu-sun, whence he details sub-ambassadors to various countries including India (?). About a year after his return
114 Chang K'ien dies.
113 Chang K'ien's sub-ambassadors return to China with natives of Western Asia.
112 War against Yüé (South China). Attempts made to reach India by a direct route.
111-110 Ssī-ma Ts'ien's sojourn in the southwest, where he may have become familiar with the K'un-ming and other tribes.
110 Death of Ssī-ma T'an, Ssī-ma Ts'ien's father.
108 Chau Po-nu defeats the hitherto refractory kingdoms of Lóu-lan and Ku-shi.
106 A line of military stations established west of the Great Wall at Yü-mön. The road to Ta-yüan opened to traffic. The Son of Heaven seeks to procure from Ta-yüan the superior horses kept at the city of Īr-shi (Nish, Uratube). The sale of them is refused, and the Chinese ambassador is killed at Yü-ch'öng, east of Ta-yüan.

- 104 Li Kuang-li appointed leader of a campaign against Ta-yüan to enforce the sale of the Īr-shī horses.
- 103 Li Kuang-li, returning without having reached Ta-yüan, is forbidden to enter China and ordered to form a new army at the Great Wall.
- 102 Li Kuang-li's second campaign against Ta-yüan.
- 101 Ta-yüan, defeated, becomes a tributary state of China.
- 100 Meï-ts'ai superseded as king of Ta-yüan by Mu-kua's brother, Ch'an-föng. Since *after* this time the *Shi-ki* speaks of 'more than ten embassies' having been sent to the west (§ 134), it seems as though a number of years at least elapsed before Ssi-ma Ts'ién ceased to work on it.
- 98 Ssi-ma Ts'ién disgraced (see Chavannes, l. xxxvi-xl).
- 87 Death of Wu-ti, whose posthumous title (Wu-ti) is not used by Ssi-ma Ts'ién. The latter must, therefore, have died (or abandoned work?) before that year (Chavannes, l. xliv).

INDEX

(The numbers refer to the sections of both the Translation and the Chinese Text.)

- AGRICULTURE, in Ta-yüan, 19; in An-si, 31; in T'iau-chi, 40, 41; in military colony at Lun-t'ou, 135.
- AN-SI (Canton Dial. *On-sak* = Arsak, Parthia, first suggested by Kingsmill, *The Intercourse of China*, p. 8, n. 11), in the east of Yüé-chi, 29; described, 30-38; its cities like those of Ta-yüan, 32; a large country near the Oxus, 34; its people shrewd traders, 35; coins, 36; its relation to T'iau-chi, 43; Chinese legendary traditions maintained by old people in, 45; great, rich, and civilized like China, 54; assistant envoy sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; regular missions to, 79; Chinese embassy welcomed by cavalry on eastern boundary, 92; royal capital several thousand *li* distant from boundary, 92; Parthians visit China with gifts, 92.
- AN-TS'AI (= Aorsi, called *A-lan* in later Chinese records, the Alans of history, see Hirth, 'Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu,' *JAOS* 30.37 ff.), a nomad nation on the banks of a great marsh (the *Palus Maeotis*), 28; in the north of Parthia, 38; regular missions to, 79.
- ARCHERS, mounted, in Ta-yüan, 21; number of, with the Wu-sun, 25, 64; in K'ang-kü, 27; in An-ts'ai, 28; with the Yüé-chi, 29; to attack Ta-yüan, 110, 116; win battle, 121; *see also* KAN FU.
- ARMY, reported as weak in Ta-hia, 49, 54; in An-si, 54; in Ta-yüan, 54, 110; as strong with Yüé-chi and K'ang-kü, 54; supposed difficulties a Chinese army marching to the west would meet, 107; Li Kuang-li's first, against Ta-yüan, 110; routed, returns with great losses, 111; failure due to starvation rather than to poor fighting, 112; forbidden to return home, 113; second, against Ta-yüan organized, 116-117; frontier troops stationed in Tsiu-ts'üan, 118; loses half its men *en route* to Ta-yüan, 116, 121; fails to enter the inner city of Ta-yüan, 124; on way back to China divided into sections, 125; suffers enormous losses during its second campaign, 129; *see also* ARCHERS; CONVICT REGIMENTS; ENGINEERS; GENERALS; GRAFT; HORSES; MILITARY GOVERNORS; PROVISIONS; REWARDS; WAGONS.
- BAMBOO stick brought from Ssi-ch'uan to Bactria via India, 53.
- BIRD, feeds child exposed by king of Wu-sun in wilderness, 62; in T'iau-chi, *see* OSTRICH.
- BOATS used for distant journeys in An-si, 35.
- 'BOOK OF CHANGES' consulted by Wu-ti, 79.
- BOWS AND ARROWS, *see* ARCHERS.
- BRONZE, Wu Jön-kié's reference to, 103 (footnote).
- CARAVANS through Central Asia developed by the Emperor's demand for horses, 79; size and frequency of, 79; frequency causes Chinese articles

to be less cared for in the west, 84; lose half their members *en route*, 107.
CARTS, used for distant journeys in An-si, 35.

CATTLE BREEDING, *see* NOMAD NATIONS.

CHALDEA, *see* T'IAU-CH'Ī.

CH'AN-FÖNG, Mu-kua's brother, King of Ta-yüan, 132; his son sent as a hostage to China, 133. (Chavannes, I. lxxviii, calls him *Chan*, connecting *fōng* with the following verb *wei*; but the occurrence of the name in *Ts'ien-han-shu*, chap. 96 A, p. 18 B, in a different connection seems to show that P'an Ku did not share that view.)

CHANG-AN, capital of China, 23.

CHANG K'ÏEN, where born, 2; his mission to find the Yüé-ch'ī and captivity among the Hiung-nu, 4, 5; escapes, 6; arrives in Ta-yüan, 7; reaches Ta-hia (Bactria) by way of K'ang-kü (Soghdiana) and the Yüé-ch'ī (Indoscythians), 9, 10, 11; fails in his mission, 11; spends a year in Bactria and returns, skirting the Nan-shan, 12; his second captivity among the Hiung-nu, 12; his Tartar wife, 5, 12; on his return to China is given a court title, 13; his personality, 14; nearly all his attendants lost during his first journey, 16; countries visited by him, 17; his report on geographical discoveries as submitted to emperor, 18-53; his plan to discover India, 53; suggests creation of Chinese sphere of influence in Western Asia, 54; his familiarity with their pasture grounds in a campaign against the Hiung-nu gains for him the title 'Marquis of Po-wang,' i. e. 'the Wide Outlook,' in 123 B. C., 58; degraded for mistake as a leader in 122 B. C., 59; to regain his position submits scheme to invite Wu-sun to remove east to vacant territory near boundary of China, 61-66; proposes marriage of Chinese princess to king of Wu-sun, 66; appointed commander of imperial bodyguard and sent on diplomatic mission to Wu-sun as proposed by himself, 67-74; returns to China with natives of Wu-sun, 73; appointed chief of Foreign Office, 74; his death (in 114 B. C.), 75; his name referred to by later travelers to the west as a guarantee of good faith, 77; trade with west conformed to precedent created by, 79; his (supposed) discovery of the source of the Yellow River confirms legendary accounts of the *Shu-king*, 136.

(It appears that about a hundred years ago a dilapidated monument existed among the hills on the south shore of Lake Issyk-kul. When Sung-yün (died in 1835, cf. Giles, *Biogr. Dict.* no. 1843), as Governor of Ili, heard of its existence, he ordered one of his military officers to have a rubbing made of the inscription on it. This shows a number of characters which, as they are taken out of their context and placed on record in Sū Sung's *Si-yü-shui-tau-ki*, chap. 5, p. 8 B, give no sense whatever. The natives were said to call the monument 'Chang K'ien's Tablet.' Sū Sung, in spite of repeated inquiries, did not find a trace of it.)

CHANG-YĒ, district on western boundary, 118.

CHAU PO-NU, general, sent against the Hiung-nu, 86; captures King of Lóu-lan and defeats Ku-shī, 87; created Marquis of Tso-yé, 87, 114; losses against the Hiung-nu, 114.

- CHAU SHI-CH'ÖNG, general, appointed to serve under Li Kuang-li, 110, 111; consulted by Li Kuang-li at siege of city of Ta-yüan, 122; distinguished by vigorous fighting, 129; ennobled as *kuang-lu-ta-fu*, 130.
- CHAU TI, a cavalry officer who beheaded the king of Yü-ch'öng, 126; created Marquis of Sin-ch'ü, 130.
- CHIEFS, petty, *see* GOVERNMENT, FORM OF.
- CHINA, not unknown by reputation to countries of Western Asia (Ta-yüan), 7; Bactria and Parthia compared with, in point of greatness, wealth, and civilization, 54; sphere of influence of, in Western Asia suggested by Chang K'ien, 54; did not extend west of Ta-yüan, 97; produce of, coveted by Western Asiatics, 54; slackened demand for produce of, 84, 85; deserters from, settle in countries between Ta-yüan and An-si, 103.
- CH'Ö LING, a turfman (?), sent to buy horses in Ta-yüan, 106.
- CITY DWELLERS, in Ta-yüan, 19, 20; in An-si, 31, 54; in Ta-hia, 47, 53; in Shön-tu, 53; in China, 54; *see also* NOMAD NATIONS.
- COINS, Parthian, 36; none between Ta-yüan and An-si (doubtful, *see* IRON), 103.
- COMMISSARIAT, *see* PROVISIONS; MILITARY GOVERNORS.
- CONSORT, right and left, the latter being superior in rank [cf. the left Lukli prince, 12], 90.
- CONVICT REGIMENTS formed in dangerous campaigns, 82; in second campaign against Ta-yüan, 116, 119.
- CURIOSITIES collected in the Far West by ambassadors, 134.
- DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, demoralized, 85; for missions to the West *see* CHANG K'ien; ENVOYS; PO-WANG.
- DISTANCES from the Hiung-nu to Ta-yüan several tens of days, 7; Chang-an to Salt Lake 5000 *li*, 23; Wu-sun 2000 *li* northeast of Ta-yüan, 25; K'ang-kü 2000 *li* northwest of Ta-yüan, 27; An-ts'ai 2000 *li* northwest of K'ang-kü, 28; Yüé-chi 2000 or 3000 *li* west of Ta-yüan, 29; An-si several thousand *li* west of Yüé-chi, 30; Li-kan and T'iau-chi several thousand *li* west of An-si, 39; Ta-hia more than 2000 *li* southwest of Ta-yüan, 46; Shön-tu several thousand *li* southeast of Ta-hia, 53; Ta-hia 12,000 *li* southwest of China, 53. (Note that the *li* in countries west of Ta-yüan should be held to correspond to a stadium.)
- ELEPHANTS, used in war, 53; used in a country southwest of China, 57.
- ENGINEERS, hydraulic, attached to the army against Ta-yüan to cut off water supply of city, 117; Chinese, able to bore wells, 122.
- ENVOYS, assistant, to accompany Chang K'ien to Wu-sun, 67; sent by Chang K'ien to the several countries of the west, 72, some of whom return with natives of the west, 77; regular missions to An-si, An-ts'ai, Li-kan, T'iau-chi, and Shön-tu, 79; sent by way of Yünnan, intercepted, robbed and killed by K'un-ming tribes, 81-83; cheated and ill-treated in foreign countries, incite government to take action, 85; coming and going of, more and more frequent, 96; failed to make impression on the proud nations of the west, 97; Chinese, at a disadvantage as compared with Hiung-nu, 98; inexperienced, make false reports, 104; intercepted and killed at Yü-ch'öng, 109; deserving army officers

appointed as, to feudal states, 130; sent to Ta-yüan acknowledging election of new king, 133; to collect curiosities, 134; *see also* CHANG K'ÏÉN. EXPEDITIONS, exploring, to Western Asia, *see* CHANG K'ÏÉN; in the direction of India, 55; to Wu-sun, 67, *see also* WU-SUN; CARAVANS; ENVOYS.

FERGHANA, *see* TA-YÜAN.

FÜNG-SHÏ-KÜN, title given to Kan Fu, 13.

GENERALS serving in campaign against Ta-yüan, relative merits of, 129; rewards bestowed on, 130.

GOLD sent to Wu-sun as a gift, 67; to Ta-yüan for purchase of horses, 106; *see also* METALS.

GOVERNMENT, form of:—

Kings: Hiung-nu, *see* SHAN-YÜ; Ta-yüan, 8, 106 *et passim*; Yüé-chï, 10, 29; Wu-sun, *see* K'UN-MO; An-si, 36.

Petty chiefs (city government): T'iau-chï, 43; Ta-hia, 48.

*Satrap*s: *see* HUN-SHÖ.

Barbarians: 55-58.

GRAFT, in army administration, 129; rewards bestowed in spite of, 130.

GRAPES, *see* WINE.

GREAT WALL, in Lung-si, 24; at Ling-kü, built to protect trade to the west, 79.

GUIDES, 8, 73.

HAI TRIBES, prevent expedition to India, 56.

HAI-SI, Marquis of, *see* LI KUANG-LI.

HALBERDS in Ta-yüan, 21.

HAN-CHUNG, Chang K'ien born in, 2.

HAN-HÜE, 'sweating blood,' said of a superior breed of horses (possibly a transcription of some foreign sound), 19, 79.

HAN-MI, small country east of Ta-yüan, 22; assistant envoys sent to, 72; sends tribute, 92.

HIU-CHU, district, 118.

HIUNG-NU (Huns) living under Chinese rule as prisoners (?) furnish information about the Yüé-chï (Indoscythians), 3; territory of, between China and Yüé-chï, 4; Great Khan of, tries to mislead Chang K'ien as to whereabouts of the Yüé-chï, 5; their 'Luk-li' prince occupies throne, 12; western division of, between Salt Lake and the Great Wall, 24; politically influence K'ang-kü, 27; impediment to northern road to India, 53; Chang K'ien familiar with their pasture grounds in campaign against, 58; campaign against, under Li Kuang in 122 B. C., 59; under Ho K'ü-ping, 60; a prince of the western, tenders his allegiance to China in 121 B. C., 61; his population forced to retreat to the north in 119 B. C., 61, 66; kill chief of Wu-sun and expose heir to throne in wilderness, 62; the prince, on attaining maturity, frees himself from allegiance to, and withdraws with his Wu-sun people to the distant west, 64; intercept westbound envoys, 85; driven away by Chau Po-nu, 86; give one of their princesses in marriage to King of Wu-sun, 90; harass the Yüé-chï as far as An-si, 98; their ambassadors to the west treated

better en route than those of the Chinese, 98; would threaten a Chinese army marching to the west, 107; Chau Po-nu beaten by, 114; *see also* CHANG K'ien; HUNS; SHAN-YÜ; YÜE-CH'.

HIUNG-NU RIVER, 86.

HO K'Ü-PING (leader against the Hiung-nu), his campaign of 122 B. C., 60. (He died at the age of 24 in 117 B. C., and his tomb, ornamented by the oldest specimen of stone sculpture of a horse we possess on Chinese soil, was recently discovered by the French archeological mission of 1914. *See Journal Asiatique*, 11. sér. 5. 471 ff.)

HO RIVER, supposed to pass through Lopnor, 23; its imaginary source near Khotan, 93; legendary accounts of *Shu-king* regarding, confirmed by Chang K'ien's discovery, 136.

HORSES in Ta-yüan (Ferghana), 19; sent as gift to China from Wu-sun, 73, 78; importation of, from the west led to regular caravan trade, 79; classification and nomenclature, 79; a thousand, sent as a marriage gift by Wu-sun, 90; rich men in Wu-sun own four or five thousand, 91; kept at the city of Ir-shi, 105-108; horse-breakers appointed to accompany army against Ta-yüan, 119; two breeds of, being taken away by the victorious Chinese from the capital of Ta-yüan indicates that the more precious animals had been imported there from some other place, 123; *see also* IR-SHI.

HO-SI (in modern Kan-su), 61.

HOSTAGES to Chinese court, small countries send princes as, with the returning victorious army, 128; son of king of Ta-yüan one of the, 133.

HU, *see* TARTARS.

HUAN, small country west of Ta-yüan, 92.

HUANG-HO, *see* Ho RIVER.

HU CH'UNG-KUO, leader in an expedition against Yü-ch'öng, 125.

HUNS, identified with the Hiung-nu. (See Hirth, "Ueber Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu," *Sb. d. philos.-philol. Kl. d. Kgl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. München*, 1900, pp. 245-278.)

HUN-SHÖ (thus transcribed on the strength of a *tsi-lan* scholium in *T'ung-kién-kang-mu*, 4, p. 124; = Chavannes' *hoen-sié*), prince, chief of the western Hiung-nu, tenders his allegiance to China, 61; his territory deserted, 66, 69.

I-CHÖU, modern Yün-nan-fu, 80. (This is Marco Polo's *Yachi*, which name Yule, 3d ed., 2. 67, connects with this *I-chóu* of the Han dynasty. He should have noted, however, that the second syllable *chóu* in all probability did not form part of the aboriginal name, and that the old sound of the first syllable must have been *yik*.)

I-KING, *see* 'BOOK OF CHANGES.'

INDIA, *see* SHÖN-TU.

INDOSCYTHIANS, *see* YÜE-CH'.

INDUS, river of Shön-tu, 53.

INTERPRETERS, 54, 73.

IRON, none between Ta-yüan and An-si (?), 103.

IR-SHI. The old sound of these two syllables was most probably either

ish or nish. The modern sound of the character for the first syllable, now pronounced *ir*, is *ni* in five of its combinations with certain radicals according to Chalmers, *K'ang-hi*, p. 28 f., the best authority as regards the correct description of sounds by the Chinese method, and, since the omission of radicals in ancient texts is by no means unknown (see the examples, to which I may add others referred to by me in *JAOS* 30. 27), I do not hesitate to look upon *nish* as a possible equivalent in its ancient sound for modern *ir-shī*. I am, therefore, inclined to fall in with de Lacouperie's proposition (*Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*, pp. 220 and 224; cf. also K. Shiratori, quoted in Dr. T. Fujita's paper 'The Castle Kwei-shan in Ta-yuan kuo and the Royal Court of Yüeh shih' in the *Journal of the Japanese Oriental Society*, 6. 194 f.) to connect this name *Nish* with the home of the celebrated Nisean horses of classical lore. Though located by Herodotus on 'a large plain in Media territory,' later classical authors (see Heinrich Stein in a footnote to the Nisean horse passage in his edition of *Herodotus*, 7. 40) name different localities much farther east. Pliny (6. 113) speaks of 'regio Nisiaea Parthyenes,' and Stein continues in his footnote: 'Noch östlicher haftete der Name an den Hochthälern des Murghāb (Margos), dem in Vendid. 1. 26 erwähnten "Niçāya welches zwischen Mōuru (Merv) und Bāksdī (Balkh) liegt"'; während nach einer unsicheren Notiz bei Hesych. V. Νησαίας ἵππους und Suid. ἵππος νησαῖος jene Pferde in der zwischen Sogdiana und Baktriana gelegenen Landschaft Καραστριγώνα (ὅπερ Ἑλλάδι γλώσση νήσος) heimisch waren. Ritter, Erdk. 9. 364, findet sie in der turkomannischen Zucht der Atak, die noch heute durch ganz Persien wegen ihrer Grösse, Ausdauer und Schnelligkeit selbst vor der arabischen Race ausgezeichnet ist, und deren edle Zucht wohl zum Teil in einigen Stutereien der Perser-Monarchen in den medischen Hochebenen eingeführt werden konnte.' Could not this be the *ir-shī* of the *Shī-ki*? It looks almost as if the multiplicity of regions which, like the cities claiming the privilege of being the birthplace of Homer, are named as producers of the best horses the world could boast of at the time, can be easily explained, if we allow some Persian, Parthian, or Soghdian proper name like *Nish*, Grecianized into *Νησαῖα*, etc., had in the course of centuries grown into a technical term, designating at different periods the chief claimant for horse breeding *par excellence*. Modern dictionaries furnish what may be almost looked upon as an analogy to this process in the term 'Tattersall's,' once the famous horse-market in London, which has since become a designation of large horse-markets in all countries. It seems that by following up Ritter's proposition we may be allowed to locate the "Tattersall's" of the *Shī-ki* pretty near the city of Ta-yüan, possibly on Ta-yüan territory itself. We may thus arrive at a compromise between de Lacouperie's view, rejected by Chavannes, and that of Chavannes, who refers us (p. xlv, note) to the Chinese identification, made in the 7th century A. D., when tradition may still have been alive, of the city of *ir-shī* with the Osrushna of Buddhist travelers, i. e. the present city of Uratube, about a hundred miles east of Samarkand.

- 'ÏR-SHI, GENERAL,' title bestowed on Li Kuang-li, q. v.
- JADESTONE found on hills near Khotan, 23, 93.
- JAN, hill tribe, 55.
- JO-SHUI (the 'weak water,' ὥδωρ ἀσθενές, a legendary river or lake, placed by the Chinese near the supposed western terminus of the world), 45.
- JUGGLERS, in T'iau-chi, 44; of Li-kan brought as tribute by Parthians to China, 92; become popular in China, 95.
- KAN FU, Chang K'ien's Tartar (Hiung-nu?) companion, 4; returned with Chang K'ien, 12; given a title, 13; his personality, 15; an excellent bowman, 15.
- K'ANG-KÜ (Soghdiana), connected by postal roads with Ta-yüan (Fergana), conveys Chang K'ien to the Yüé-chi, 9; visited by Chang K'ien in person, 17; in the north of Ta-yüan, 22; northwest of, and continuous with, Ta-yüan, 27; nomads, under political influence of Yüé-chi and Hiung-nu, 27; in the north of Yüé-chi, 29; small, 27, but strong in military, 54; assistant envoy sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; an ally of Ta-yüan, 122; Chinese troops advance as far as, when the fugitive king of Yü-ch'öng is delivered to them, 126.
- KHOTAN, see YÜ-TIEN.
- K'ANG (Tangutans), 12; southern neighbors of western Hiung-nu; cut off road to China, 24; remnants of Yüé-chi take refuge with, 29; on way to India, 53.
- KIANG-TU, Princess of, given in marriage to old king of Wu-sun, who marries her to his grandson, 90.
- KIEN-WEI (= Sū-chóu-fu), starting-point of exploring expedition to find India, 55.
- K'U-LIEN-SHAN, hill near old seats of Yüé-chi, 29, 60. (The tomb, recently discovered, of the young general Ho K'ü-ping is supposed to resemble this hill in shape. See illustration in *Journal Asiatique*, 11. sér. 5. 472. Regarding the location of this hill see Shiratori, p. 103 f.)
- KIN, lit. gold, money, 130.
- KIN-CH'ÖNG (Lan-chóu-fu), 61.
- KIUNG, district in Ssi-ch'uan (= Kiung-chóu), bamboo from, 53; a starting-point on the road to India, 55.
- KUANG-LU-TA-FU, title of nobility, 130.
- K'UI-SHUI = the Oxus, 29, 34, 46.
- KÜN-CHÖNG = adjutant general (?), 110, 129, 130.
- K'UN-LUN, name of a hill occurring in old books as that where the Ho, or Yellow River, rises, given to hills near Khotan by Chinese ambassadors, 93, 94, 136. (See Franke, p. 33 f.)
- K'UN-MING TRIBES (in south-west of Sū-chóu-fu), given to robbery, 56; prevent expedition to India, 56; to Bactria, 81-83.
- K'UN-MO, title of the King of Wu-sun, 62; see also WU-SUN. (Regarding the many attempts at the etymology of the term, see Shiratori, p. 136.)
- KUO CH'ANG, general sent against the K'un-ming tribes in 109 B. C., 82.

- KU-SHI, a city on the banks of the Salt Lake, 23; as a thoroughfare to the West interferes with Chinese missions, 85; battle of, in 108 B. C. raises the prestige of the Chinese in Wu-sun and the farther West, 87; sends tribute to China, 92.
- KÜ-YEN, district, 118.
- LAN-CHÓU-FU = Kin-ch'öng, 61.
- LANG, title of an officer in the imperial household, a yeoman (?), 2, 4. (See Chavannes, *Les Mémoires*, 2. 201, n. 1; it seems that the holder of this otherwise indefinable title was exempt from taxes, cf. Chavannes, 3. 552, n. 4; but cf. also an essay under *lang-kün* in *Liang-han-k'an-wu-p'u-i*, chap. 10, p. 12 f. Perhaps a term like the German *Junker* in *Kammer-junker*.)
- LANGUAGES and dialects between Ta-yüan and An-si, 101.
- LAN-SHI, capital of Ta-hia, 51.
- LAU-SHANG, Great Khan of the Hiung-nu, 29.
- LI, the Chinese mile (equivalent to about 3 stadia, but corresponding in Western Asia to the stadium of classical authors; see *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 222 ff.), 18, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 39, 46, 53.
- LIANG-CHÓU-FU, see LING-KÜ.
- LI CH'Ö, general under Li Kuang-li in the campaign against Ta-yüan, 110, 111; consulted by Li Kuang-li at siege of city of Ta-yüan, 122; strategical adviser, 129; appointed prefect of Shang-tang, 130.
- LI FU-JÖN, Madam Li, favorite concubine of the Emperor Wu-ti, sister of the general Li Kuang-li, 110.
- LI-KAN (called Ta-ts'in in later records), 39; regular traffic with, 79, 92. (A designation of Syria under Antiochus VI, whose army had invaded Parthia with ill success in 129 B. C., not long before the arrival at the court of the Yüé-chi of Chang K'ien and who may have merely transmitted the information on countries not visited by him in person; I am in doubt as to the identity of the name and abandon the idea of Rekem, or Petra.)
- LI KUANG (a general in many campaigns against the Hiung-nu), Chang K'ien's chief in 122 B. C., 59.
- LI KUANG-LI, appointed generalissimo in the campaign against Ta-yüan, receives the title 'General ĩr-shi,' in anticipation of his forcing the city of ĩr-shi (Nish?) to deliver the celebrated horses named after it and said by Ta-yüan to be withheld there, 110; despite great hardships reaches eastern frontier of Ta-yüan and returns, having lost the greater part of his army, 111; reports his failure, 112; forbidden to return home, remains at Tun-huang, 113; his second campaign, 120-131; created Marquis of Hai-si, 130.
- LING-KÜ (Liang-chóu-fu), great wall at, 79.
- LOCUSTS devastate country when Chinese army starts against Ta-yüan, 111.
- LOPNOR, see SALT LAKE.
- LÓU-LAN, a city on the banks of the Salt Lake, 23; a thoroughfare to the West, interferes with Chinese missions, 85; king of, captured in 108 B. C., 87, 110.

LUCERNE, *see* MU-SU.

LUK-LI (= perhaps some derivative of Uigur. *uluk*, 'erhaben, gross,' Radloff, *Wb.* 1693?), title of a Hiung-nu prince, 12. The first character, usually standing for *ku*, 'valley,' is to be read *luk* ad hoc. Chalmers, *K'ang-hi*, p. 441 B; *K'ang-hi*, Rad. 150, 1.

LUNG-SI (= modern Kan-su), 4, 24.

LUN-T'ÓU, a city on the road to the West, able to harass Chinese expeditions, 115; laid in ruins for refusing provisions to Chinese army, 120; soldier farmers stationed at, to hoard up provisions for embassies, 135. (Cf. Éd. Biot. 'Mémoire sur les colonies militaires et agricoles des Chinois,' in *Journ. Asiatique*, 4. sér. 15. 341 f.)

LU-YÜE-JÖN, unsuccessful leader of caravans to Bactria, 81.

MAEOTIS, Palus, *see* AN-TS'AI.

MANG, hill tribe, 55.

MARKETS, in An-si, 35; in Ta-hia, 51.

MAU-TUN, Great Khan of the Hiung-nu, 29.

MEDICAGO SATIVA, *see* MU-SU.

MEI-TS'AI (possibly some such name as *Moas*, or *Mauas*, which appears on Saka coins in India, cf. A. Cunningham, 'Coins of the Sakas' in *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 10, 3d ser., p. 103 ff., of whom the man called Mei-ts'ai may be a namesake, though certainly not the identical king, whose coins were found chiefly in the neighborhood of Taxila), king of Ta-yüan, succeeding Mu-kua, 124; killed by his people for being too friendly to China, 132.

METALS, melting of, taught by Chinese deserters in countries between Ta-yüan and An-si, 103. (Cf. an essay on the technicalities of this passage in *Liang-han-k'an-wu-p'u-i*, chap. 8, pp. 8 and 9.)

MIGRATIONS of the Wu-sun from original seats among Hiung-nu east of Lopnor to distant west, 62-65; *see also* YÜE-CH'.

MILITARY GOVERNORS, special (*kiau-yü*), appointed for the army against Ta-yüan, 117; appointed as horse-breakers to conduct horses from Ta-yüan, 119; (*tu-yü*) appointed after the war to reside in Tsiu-ts'üan, 134.

MINISTERS, of State, high rank in civil service, 74; appointed for army service, 130.

MU-KUA (or Mu-ku), King of Ta-yüan, responsible for trouble with China, sacrificed by his people and succeeded by Mei-ts'ai, who was friendly to the Chinese, 122; his younger brother made king by his people, 132.

MUMMERS, 95.

MU-SU, the Emperor Wu-ti covers large tracts of land with *mu-su* as fodder for his horses, 100. (Canton dial. *muk-suk*, i. e. the lucerne, *medicago sativa*, probably the transcription of some foreign word, like Turkish *burchak*, if we allow for a change the word may have undergone from the original meaning within the last two thousand years. For *burchak*, of which the old Chinese sound *muk-suk* would be quite possible as a transcription, now denotes another seed plant used for fodder, the vetch, according to Radloff, *Wörterbuch der Türk-Dialecte*, 4, col. 1832: *Kara burchak*, 'die Wicke (vicia).')

NAN-SHAN, a range of hills separating Tibet from Eastern Turkestan, and its continuation towards the east, 12, 29, 61.

NISH, *see* IR-SHĪ.

NOMAD NATIONS: Wu-sun, 25; K'ang-kü, 27; An-ts'ai, 28; Yüé-chī, 29. Cf. CITY DWELLERS.

'NORTHERN SEA,' term applied to the Great Marsh (*Palus Maeotis*), 28. NOTABLES (*Kui-jön*), the real power in Ta-yüan, 109 *et passim*.

ORACLE consulted, *see* 'BOOK OF CHANGES.'

ORDU, Western, of the Hiung-nu, the Wu-sun leader (K'un-mo) made governor of, 64; conquered by the Chinese, 60; *see also* Ho K'Ü-PING.

OSTRICH, the, in T'iau-chī, 42; eggs of the, brought to China by Parthians, 92.

OXUS RIVER, *see* K'UI-SHUI.

PA, part of modern Ssi-ch'uan, 82.

PAI SHI-CH'ANG, unsuccessful leader of caravans to Bactria, 81.

PARCHMENT, writing material in Parthia, 37.

PARTHIA, *see* AN-SI.

PIAU-KI, general, *see* Ho K'Ü-PING.

P'O (= Ya-chóu in Ssi-ch'uan), a starting point on the road to India, 55.

PO-NU, *see* CHAU PO-NU.

POPULAR CUSTOMS, between Ta-yüan and An-si, 101, 102; like those of the Hiung-nu, *see* WU-SUN; YÜÉ-CHĪ; like those of the Yüé-chī, *see* K'ANG-KÜ; AN-TS'AI; like those of Ta-hia, *see* SHÖN-TU.

POPULATION, in Ta-yüan, 20; in T'iau-chī, 43; in Ta-hia, 50.

POSTAL ROADS in Ta-yüan to K'ang-kü, 9.

PO-WANG, Marquis of, title bestowed on Chang K'ien in 123 B. C., 58; name commands respect in western countries, 77; trade conformed to precedent created by, 79; successors to, as ambassadors to the West men without distinction, 85.

PREFECTS, posts of, given as rewards to army officers, 130.

PROVISIONS given to Hiung-nu, but refused to Chinese envoys to the West, 98; difficulties in procuring, from cities *en route* by Chinese army, 111; drawn from all parts of the empire for second army against Ta-yüan, 116; carriers of, selected from offenders against the law, 119; readily granted *en route*, 120; Ta-yüan grants, to the Chinese army, 123; difficulty of procuring, causes Chinese army to proceed in sections by different routes, 125; city of Yü-ch'öng refuses issue of, 125; shortness of, due to graft, 129; station for the supply of, for embassies to the West established at Lun-t'ou, 135.

P'U-T'AU = *βότρυς*. *See* Kingsmill in *JRAS*, new ser. 14. 85 n. *See also* VINE and WINE. The Chinese term *p'u-t'au* for 'grape' occurs for the first time in Chinese literature in our text.

REWARDS to army officers, 130.

RICE, grown in Ta-yüan, 19; in An-si, 31; in T'iau-chī, 41; *see also* STONES OF RICE.

RIVERS flowing east and west in Central Asia, 23.

ROBBERS, few, in Ta-hia, 10; obstruct road in Salt Lake region, 107; *see also* K'UN-MING TRIBES.

SALT LAKE (Lopnor), believed to receive the headwaters of the Yellow River, which is said to flow underground to the south of it, 23; Western Hiung-nu east of, 24; country east of, became clear of Hiung-nu in 121 B. C., 61; proposal to invite Wu-sun to fill vacant territory, 66; Chinese victories near, 87; region near, dangerous to travelers, 107; Chinese army against Ta-yüan crosses, 111; road to 'the West as far as, lined with military stations, 135.

SAN-FU, the metropolitan district, 82.

SEA, WESTERN = Caspian or Aral, 23; = Persian Gulf, Red Sea, or Mediterranean, 39; NORTHERN, term applied to the *Palus Maeotis*, 28. (Regarding the terminology of such names as *si-hai* and *pei-hai*, cf. *Liang-han-k'an-wu-p'u-i*, chap. 8, p. 7.)

SHA-CH'U, original home of Yüé-ch'ü nation, 29.

SHANG-KUAN KIÉ invests city of Yü-ch'öng and captures its fugitive king in K'ang-kü, 126; as a leader distinguished by breaking into the enemy's lines, 129; receives a court title, 130.

SHANG-KUI, a prefectural city in the present Kan-su province, birthplace (or, garrison?) of Chau Ti, 126.

SHANG-TANG, a prefecture, 130.

SHAN-HAI-KING (the 'Hill and Sea Classic'), Ssü-ma Ts'ien refrains from saying anything about its (probably much too wonderful) tales, 136.

SHAN-YÜ (cf. the legend *Sanaob* on coins of Saka kings referred to the Chinese term by Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* 3d ser. 8 and 12; the term is explained as corresponding to Turkish *tängri kudu*, or the Chinese *t'ien-t'ü*, i. e. 'Son of Heaven,' Schott in *Sb. der Ak. der Wiss.* Berlin, 1. Dec. 1887, p. 7 of reprint), title of the Great Khan, or King, of the Hiung-nu, 5, 29, 63, 64, 66 *et passim*; death of, 12; envoys armed with letters from, respected more than those from China in countries west of Wu-sun, 98.

SHAUFU, a court title, 130.

SHÖN-LI, a district near modern Ya-ch'ou-fu in Ssü-ch'üan, 80.

SHÖN-TU (= Sindh, India) southeast of Ta-hia, 52; unrecorded early trade of, with Ssü-ch'üan, 53; popular customs of, like those of Ta-hia, 53; Chang K'ien's plan to discover, 53; fruitless attempts to open direct communication with, 55-58; assistant envoys sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; missions to (via Bactria?), 79.

SHU (Ssü-ch'üan), bamboo and cloth from, 53; easiest thoroughfare to India, 53, 55; traders of, surreptitiously export produce to Tién-yüé on the road to India, 57; territories in the southwest of, added to Chinese dominion, to serve as thoroughfares to Far West, 80, 82.

SHU-KING, legendary accounts regarding the source of the Yellow River referred to in, seem to be confirmed by Chang K'ien's discovery, 136.

SIAU-YÜE-CH'Ü, 29.

SILK, sent to Wu-sun, 67; none in Ta-yüan and countries west of it, 103.

SILVER, *see* METALS.

SIN-CH'Ü, Marquis of, *see* CHAU TI.

SINDH = India, *see* SHÖN-TU.

SI-WANG-MU (lit. 'Western King's Mother,' a legendary being in the extreme west), 45.

SOGHDIANA, *see* K'ANG-KÜ.

SOLDIERS, *see* ARMY.

SON OF HEAVEN, *see* WU-TI.

SSI, a station on the supposed road to India, 55.

SSI-CH'UAN, *see* SHU.

STONES OF RICE, an annual income in kind, as a reward to army officers, 130.

SU-HIÉ, small country east of Ta-yüan, 92.

SUI TRIBES, 56.

SÜ KUANG, scholiast, 82 n.

'SWEATING BLOOD,' said of horses, *see* HAN-HÜÉ.

SYRIA, *see* LI-KAN.

TA-HIA (Bactria), occupied by the Yüé-chi (Indoscythians), 10, 11, 29; visited by Chang K'ien in person, 17; in the southwest of Ta-yüan, 22; south of Yüé-chi, 29; described, 46-53; people bad warriors, but good traders, 49; great, rich, and civilized like China, 54; Wu-ti consults Chang K'ien about, 61; assistant envoys sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; attempts to reach by the southern route (Yün-nan, Ssi-ch'uan, etc.) interfered with by K'un-ming tribes, 81; northern route via Tsiu-ts'üan, 84.

TA-HING, 'Chief of Foreign Office,' title bestowed on Chang K'ien, 74.

TA-I, small country in the west of Ta-yüan, 92.

T'AI-CHUNG-TA-FU, title bestowed on Chang K'ien, 13.

TA-LU, a son of the King of Wu-sun, 71.

T'ANG-I, family owning a Tartar (Hiung-nu?) slave, 4.

T'ANG-I FU, so called because he must be held to have been adopted by the T'ang-i family, *see* KAN FU.

TANGUTANS, *see* K'ANG.

TARTARS (*hu*), generally designating the Hiung-nu (Huns) with the several nomadic Turkish, Mongolic, and Tungusic tribes forming their empire, 4, 10, 86, 107.

TA-TSÖ, 'the Great Marsh' = *Palus Macotis*, or Sea of Azov, near the country of the Alans, *see* AN-TS'AI.

TA-YÜAN, i. e. Great Yüan, in opposition to Siau-yüan, i. e. Little Yüan, a small country east of it and probably named after it. I am now inclined to look upon Yüan as the real name of the country, *ta* being an epithet placed before it as in the case of Ta-ts'in and Ta-yüé-chi. For, although our chapter is entitled 'Ta-yüan' and the country is so styled especially in Chang K'ien's own report to the emperor, Yüan without the prefix *ta* is, in our text, often used for it, not merely in combinations as in *yüan-ma*, 'horses of Yüan,' or *yüan kuei-jön*, 'the notables of Yüan,' but also in phrases where it could not well be interpreted as a mere abbreviation, e. g. *po yüan*, 'to defeat Yüan.' From paragraphs 101 to 103 it would appear that the population of Ta-yüan had many characteristics in common with the nations adjoining it in the west as far as An-si (Parthia). This seems to justify us in looking

upon Ta-yüan as a northeastern portion of the former Bactrian empire which, for some reason or other, may have escaped conquest by the Yüé-chi. The people grow rice, the cultivation of which must have come to them from India by way of Bactria (Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustihere*, 8th ed., 1911, p. 504 ff.), and store wine from the grape, in which respect they may have adopted the practice of Greek settlers in Bactria. It seems quite possible that the name by which such a semi-Greek population became known to the surrounding Tartar tribes, especially the Hiung-nu or the Wu-sun, from whom Chang K'ien may have obtained his first notice of the country, was Yavan, of which Yüan is a fair linguistic equivalent. For, 'the Yavanas are the Greeks of the Asiatic dominions and especially the Bactrians, situated just beyond the borders of India.' Cf. C. C. Torrey, 'Yawan and Hellas,' *JAOS* 25. 304; Dr. Edkins, in his paper 'What did the ancient Chinese know of the Greeks and Romans?' *J. China Branch, R. A. S.*, vol. 18, 1883, p. 5; E. Bournouf, *JA* 10. 238 f.; T. de Lacouperie, *Western Origin of Early Chinese Civilization*, p. 221.

TA-YÜAN (Ferghana), first known through Chang K'ien, 1; reached by Chang K'ien, 7; connected by postal roads with K'ang-kü (Soghdiana), 9; visited by Chang K'ien in person, 17; Chang K'ien's account of, 18-22; great, rich and civilized like China, 54; assistant envoy sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; horses from, stronger than those from Wu-sun, 79; restrained by reputation of Chinese victories near Lake Lopnor, 87; small countries east and west of, 92; best horses of, kept at the city of Ir-shi, 105; not afraid of an attack by the Chinese, 107; refuses to deliver the horses of Ir-shi, 108; first army sent against, fails, 110-113; second campaign decided upon, 114-116; its organization, 117-119; city of the king of, has no wells, 117; Chinese army reaches, 120; battle won by Chinese archers; Ta-yüan army takes refuge in city, 121; water supply cut off and city invested, negotiations for peace resulting in the delivery of horses and the establishment of Chinese supremacy, 122-124; campaign against, occupies four years, 131; kings of, see MU-KUA; MEI-TS'AI; CH'AN-FÖNG.

TA-YÜAN AND AN-SI, countries between: language, 101; appearance and character of the people, 102; position of women, 102; have no silk or varnish, 103; taught melting and casting of metals by Chinese, 103.

TA-YÜÉ-CHI, see YÜÉ-CHI.

TI tribes, prevent expedition to India, 56.

T'IAU-CHI (Chaldea), in the west of Parthia, 38, 39; described, 40-45; governed by petty chiefs, considered a foreign country by Parthia, 43; legends of Jo-shui and Si-wang-mu, 45; regular missions to, 79.

T'IENT-MA, 'heavenly horse' (the wild horse?), 19, 79. (Regarding the legendary origin of the 'heavenly horse,' see SHI-KI, Chavannes, 3. 236 f.)

TIEN-YÜÉ, country on the supposed road to India, 57.

TÖNG KUANG reproved for advising discontinuance of war against Ta-yüan, 116.

TRADE, in An-si, 35; in Ta-hia, 49, 51; from China to Bactria via India,

53; smugglers from Shu (Ssī-ch'uan) send goods to Tién-yüé on the road to India, 57; between China and western countries dates from Chang K'ién's mission, 77; by caravans to and from Western Asia stimulated by demand for good horses, 79; *see also* CARAVANS; EXPEDITIONS; TRIBUTE.

TRANSCRIPTIONS (of foreign sounds): (Ta-) Yüan = Yavan; Luk-li = derivative of *uluk*, great (?), 12; p'u-t'au = *βόρυς*, 19; An-ts'ai = Aorsi, 28; An-si = Arsak, 30; Shön-tu = Sindh, 52; muk-suk = burchak (?), 100; Ir-shī = Nish, *Νησαία* (?), 105. (Note that final *r* may be represented by final *t* or final *n* in old Chinese not later than the 13th century, cf. Hirth, 'Chinese Equivalents of the letter R in Foreign Names,' in *Journ. China Branch, R. A. S.*, vol. 21, 1886, p. 214 ff., or by final *k*, cf. T. de Lacouperie, 'The Djurtchen of Manchuria,' *JRAS* 21. 436.)

TRIBUTE brought by Parthia and small countries on the way to China, 92. TSANG-KO, a district comprising parts of modern Ssī-ch'uan, Hu-nan, Kui-chóu and Kuang-si, 80.

TS'ËN, a small country in the west of Ta-yüan, 92.

TSIEN-MI, a notable of Ta-yüan, captured at the siege of the city, 122.

TS'IN, a man of, i. e. a Chinese, 122.

TSIU-TS'ÜAN, district near the Great Wall, established to facilitate trade with Far West, 79; military stations near, 89, 135; army to protect boundary in, 118; resident military governor appointed for, 134.

TS'ÖN-TS'Ü, title of the son of the crown prince of Wu-sun, 71; given Chinese princess in marriage by his grandfather, the K'un-mo king, 90.

TSO-YE, MARQUIS OF, *see* CHAU PO-NU.

TSUNG-P'IAU, *see* CHAU PO-NU.

TUN-HUANG, near old seats of Yüé-chī, 29; locusts near, 111; Chinese army returns to, 111, 113; second army leaves, 116, 119, 125.

TU-YÜ, title of a resident military governor, 134.

VARNISH, 103.

VINE, seeds of the, (seedlings?) imported from Ta-yüan and planted near the Imperial summer palaces, 100; *see also* WINE.

WAGONS and carts with army against Ta-yüan, 119.

WALL, *see* GREAT WALL.

WANG K'UI, leader of caravans to the west, 85; created Marquis of Hau, 88; attached to the army against Ta-yüan, 110.

WANG SHÖN-SHÖNG, military governor, defeated and killed on an expedition to Yü-ch'öng, 124.

WEI KUANG, general sent against the K'un-ming tribes in 109 B. C., 82.

WESTERN SEA (*si-hai*), *see* SEA, WESTERN.

WHEAT (barley?), grown in Ta-yüan, 19; in An-si, 31.

WINE, grape, in Ta-yüan, 19, 99, 100; in An-si, 31; *see also* VINE.

WOLF, a She-, becomes legendary wet-nurse of king of Wu-sun exposed in wilderness, 62. (Note that a she-wolf is mythologically connected with the origin of many Turkish tribes, which may also account for 'the symbolic use by them of a wolf's head at particular functions,' cf.

E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, p. 178; Kingsmill, *JRAS* 14. 85 n.

WOMEN influence husbands in countries between Ta-yüan and An-si, 102. WÖN-SHAN, a district corresponding to modern Mōu-chōu in Ssi-ch'uan, 80.

WRESTLERS, 95.

WRITING, in Parthia, 37.

WU-SUN (a nation in the neighborhood of Lake Issyk-kul, on the southern slope of the T'ien-shan, according to Sū Sung, *Si-yü-shui-tau-ki*, chap. 4, p. 11, whither they had migrated from Kua-chōu, their former homes at the time of the Contending States during the fifth and fourth centuries B. C., according to the scholiast in *Shi-ki*, 110, p. 12; cf. *Ts'ien-han-shu*, chap. 96 B, p. 1 B, and other passages; cf. also Shiratori, p. 103 ff.; probably of Turkish stock like the Hiung-nu; cf. note under WOLF, Shiratori, *op. cit.*, and Franke, pp. 17-21), in the northeast of Ta-yüan, 22; a nomad nation like the Hiung-nu, 25; formerly subject to Hiung-nu, 26; legendary origin of their King K'un-mo, 62; retreat from their original territory among the western Hiung-nu to the more distant west, 64; maintain their independence, 65; Chang K'ien proposes their filling vacant territory near western boundary of China and bribing them by presents and the marriage of their king with a Chinese princess to become friends of China, 66; Chang K'ien's expedition to, 67-74; court ceremonial of, corrected by Chang K'ien, 68; declines to move to the east, 69, 70, 71; guides, interpreters, and other natives accompany Chang K'ien back to China, 73; and return to their homes full of the impressions they have received of China's greatness, 76; missions to China interfered with by Hiung-nu, so that Wu-sun asks for a Chinese princess in marriage, 78; horses from, compared with those from Ta-yüan, 79; restrained by reports of Chinese victories near Lake Lopnor, 87; a Chinese princess sent for marriage to, 90; rich in horses, 91; China's prestige with, depends on success in far-western warfare, 115; not very quick in complying with Wu-ti's wish to attack Ta-yüan, 127.

WU-TI, the emperor (generally referred to as the Son of Heaven, Wu-ti being his posthumous designation), informed of their flight to the west, anxious to find the Yüé-chi as allies against the Hiung-nu, 3, 4; falls in with Chang K'ien's plan of extending Chinese sphere of influence to Western Asia, 54; approves of Chang K'ien's scheme of befriending the Wu-sun nation, 67; consults 'Book of Changes' about horses; his craze for western horses develops caravan trade, 79; highly pleased by results of mission to Parthia, 92; likes company of foreigners, 95; feasts given to them lay the foundation for the popular taste among the Chinese for the performances of jugglers, wrestlers, mummers, etc., 95; creates vineyards and lucerne fields, 100; his fondness for the horses of Nish (ir-shi) becomes the source of a campaign against Ta-yüan, 106-110; angry at Li Kuang-li's failure to punish Ta-yüan, 113; his ambition about China's reputation in western Asia, 115; tries to engage Wu-sun

to fight Ta-yüan, 127; foreign princes anxious to be presented to, 128; bestows rewards on generals, 130.

YAU TING-HAN, former ambassador to Ta-yüan, proposes war, 110.

YELLOW RIVER, *see* Ho RIVER.

YÜ-CH'ÜNG, city on the eastern frontier of Ta-yüan, Chinese envoys intercepted and killed at, 109; first Chinese army against Ta-yüan routed at the siege of, 111; Li Kuang-li avoids, 122; reconnoitering body of Chinese troops defeated by, 125; invested by the Chinese, 126; its king pursued to K'ang-kü, delivered, and killed, 126.

YÜÉ (= Nan-yüé), 5, 57; wars against, in 112 B. C. referred to (?), 80.

YÜÉ-CHI (Indoseythians; for an exhaustive digest removing many prejudices entertained by European scholars, cf. Franke, p. 21 ff.), their disappearance from the neighborhood of China reported to the Emperor Wu-ti by Hiung-nu (Hun) prisoners, 3; desired by the Chinese as allies against the Hiung-nu, 3, 4; Chang K'ien conducted to, 9; defeated by the Hiung-nu, conquer Ta-hia (Bactria), 10, 29, 49; visited by Chang K'ien in person, 17; in the west of Ta-yüan, 22; politically influence K'ang-kü, 27; described, 29; popular customs of, like those of Hiung-nu (of An-si according to *Ts'ien-han-shu*), 29; old seats and migration to the west, 29; capital and court north of the Oxus (somewhere about Bukhara), 29; strong in military, 54; assistant ambassadors sent to, 72; ambassadors to, passed south of Wu-sun, 78; population on the road to, beyond Wu-sun help Hiung-nu rather than Chinese envoys by supplying provisions, 98.

YÜÉ-SUI, a district on the boundary of Yün-nan and Ssi-ch'uan, 80.

YÜ-MÖN GATE, in the Great Wall, line of military stations near, 89; closed up, 113; Chinese second army returns to, 129.

YÜ-PÖN-KI, 'Life of the Emperor Yü,' Ssi-ma Ts'ien's view of its wonderful tales, 136. (This is not one of the chapters styled *pön-ki* and devoted to the lives of emperors by Ssi-ma Ts'ien himself, but a work not preserved in our days, cf. Chavannes, I. clxxii f.)

YÜ-TIÊN (Khotan), east (*sic*) of Ta-yüan, 22; the watershed of rivers in Central Asia, 23; produces jadestone, 23; assistant envoys sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; quarries near, yield jadestone brought to China, 93; Yellow River supposed to rise near, 93.

ARABS AND TURKS

J. F. SCHELTEMA

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

The unpleasantness between the Arabs and Turks, now thrust upon the attention of the world by one of its latest developments, the rebellion of the Grand Sharif of Mecca against his suzerain at Constantinople, is not at all of such recent growth as some appear to think. Ever since the Abbasid Khalifs of Baghdad became puppets in the hands of their Turkish praetorians, and the effective assistance which Erto-grul and his four hundred of the Ottoman clan gave to the Seljuq Prince 'Alī ad-Dīn established their military ascendancy, no love has been lost between those usurpers of power in Islām and the children of the land of its birth, its Holy Land. From the moment Turkey began to dominate or rather to try dominating Arabia, Arabian revolts against Turkish rule were therefore a matter of course, and all along hardly a year elapsed without one or more being in progress here or there between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, the Syrian Desert and the Indian Ocean. Far from imitating the Romans, who had overrun Asia Minor and adjacent territories from the West, always studious to obliterate racial differences, the new conquerors from the East, disdaining even the prudent policy of the earlier warrior statesmen of their own creed, did not care for the amalgamation of their subject races; in fact there was no homogeneity among themselves. The Turks despised the Arabs for their excitable temperament and the Arabs found food for ridicule in Turkish indolence, in the sluggish workings of the Turkish mind. Between Arab and Turk, physically and mentally in marked contrast, no attraction or accord was possible. Hence the sons of the shadowless desert under a cloudless sky, refractory already in their allegiance to the chiefs appointed by their common consent, proved superlatively troublesome to their intrusive Khalifs of the house of Othman.

Excepting those who had private reasons to put up with it, the Arabs did not acknowledge the Ottoman Khalifate as an institution decreed by God. For them the claims to suzerainty

of the Ottoman Sultan did not rest on any spiritual right which might be conceded to one of the Quraish, the elect among their own tribes, but on the right of might, provided that it could compel obedience. We do not intend to discuss here the significance of the Khalifate in general or the legitimacy of the Ottoman Khalifate in particular: suffice it to say that whatever authority it wished to exercise in the Arabian Peninsula had to be supported by main force. And so the Ottoman Sultan's mailed fist constituted his title to control over the Hijāz with the rest, pre-eminently over Mecca, the honored, and Medina, the lustrous, from the guardianship of which *de facto*, if not *de jure*, conversely his title to the Khalifate was partly derived,¹ notwithstanding the circumstance that at various times in the history of Islām its Holy Places and the Khalifate managed to do very well without each other. The mailed fist of the Osmanly 'Servants of the Sacred Cities,' like that of the Umayyads, Abbasids, Fatimids, or whatever other name the absent *soi-disant* rulers of Arabia went by, wielded no sword of the Dzū'l-Faqār type, invincible, coercing and constraining every one. The descendants of 'Alī, son-in-law to the Prophet and that famous blade's famous owner, were among those who most strenuously objected to and resisted interference from outsiders in their country's affairs, which they preferred to run at their own sweet will, a feature of the situation which gave higher zest to the Arabs' intertribal animosity and resulted in the birth of several quasi-independent, everlastingly quarreling principalities.

In the Hijāz the principality of Mecca, risen from such beginnings, made no exception to the rule of endless warfare prompted by vendetta and the exigencies of retaliation, which pleasantly occupied the first families of the land striving to extend their influence with the extension of their ancestral estates. Between

¹ The five titles on which the Ottoman Sultan's right to the Khalifate rests with sufficient strength, according to the learned expounders of the law who support his claims, to overrule the requirement implied in the seventh condition of capacity, namely that of lineage, are (1) the title conferred by the sword; (2) the title conferred by election; (3) the title conferred by homage or the promise of allegiance; (4) the guardianship of the Holy Places; (5) the possession of the sacred relics, among which are especially venerated one of the Prophet's teeth, a few hairs of his beard, his mantle, and his standard, the 'majestic cypress of the garden of victory.'

raids on tribes and clans beyond the pale of close relationship, the members of the same family fought one another for a lion's share in the division of their plunder, especially when the death of their leader caused disagreements over his succession engendering armed conflicts among his kith and kin in the course of its constant redistribution. Abū Muḥammad Ja'far of the Mūsawī, a branch of the Ḥasanids, seized Mecca at a date between 951 and 968. As the first Grand Sharif, i. e., chief of the sharifs in the proper sense of the word, he restored comparative order in the chaos born of the destructive inroad of the sectarians who, following the doctrine of Ḥamdān Qarmat, had violated the sanctuary and carried off to their capital the Ka'bah's hallowed black stone, which they kept for ten years. The Grand Sharifate did not inaugurate unbroken tranquillity for a country the unending feuds of whose inhabitants meant incessant turbulence with the passing of authority from one hand to the other until the Ḥashimites contrived to make themselves felt in the greater part of the Hijāz and kept it in some degree subservient to their will during the latter half of the twelfth century. Yet, their lordship, even over Mecca, neither acquiesced in nor disputed by the Abbasid Khalifs, did not remain uncontested by the robber-knights swarming round, least of all by the bellicose princelings who ruled in Medina. Consequently their Meccan domain, increasing or decreasing as luck of war decided, waxed and waned like the moon going through its phases. More often than not Tāif belonged to it on the East and Jeddah on the West side, the possession of the harbor adding to the townspeople's facilities for fleecing the pilgrims, 'Allah's guests,' whose entertainment was, and still is, the vocation of 'Allah's neighbors.'²

At the opening of the thirteenth century an enterprising chieftain, named Qatāda, made an end to the Ḥashimite dynasty. Also left practically alone by their overlords, he and his successors of his family had no less hard a struggle with enemies of their own kindred to retain their grip on the Grand Sharifate of Mecca. Nevertheless they succeeded in holding it without interruption for six hundred years. About the middle of that

² At Medina the pilgrims become 'guests of the Prophet,' subject to the tender mercies of the vicarious hospitality dispensed by *his* 'neighbors,' the inhabitants of *that* town.

period of their tenure, in 1517, the Hijāz shared the fate of Syria and Egypt, becoming a province of the Ottoman Empire. The Grand Sharif Muḥammad Abū'l-Bārakāt paid homage to Sultan Salīm I, sending him on a silver platter the keys of the Ka'bah. Submitting to the military autocracy of the house of Othman, which borrowed higher luster from a moribund theocratic despotism molded on the orthodox Muhammadan last, the Grand Sharifs gradually divested themselves of the Shī'itic tendencies whose now unserviceable political drift had made them live on terms of intimacy with the Zaidites of Southern Arabia. Starting, as Sunnites of the Shāfi'ite denomination, a persecution of their former friends, their orthodoxy was, however, tainted with the laxity and abuses which human weakness had introduced into Islām, tarnishing its original precepts.

In 1770 a comet, traversing the heavens in the manner predicted by the poet al-Fāsī, portended great events. The teachings of the Sheikh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (born in the Najd at some time between 1691 and 1703) had begun to incite a puritanic movement which was destined to stir Islām profoundly, growing in strength with the adherence, in 1742, of the Amir Muḥammad of the Banū Sa'ūd at Dar'iyah. Not less fanatical than the Qarmatians, the Wahhābites, those protestants of Islām, as they have been called,³ marched up to the Holy Cities for their work of purification at the center of corruption. Surrendered to them in 1803 and evacuated and beleaguered again, Mecca, like Medina, experienced bad days and the Grand Sharifate, then held by Ghālib, son of Masā'id, received a blow that nearly smashed its power. Sultan Mahmūd II, whose Turkish troops had been unable to reduce the insurgent reformers to obedience, charged Muḥammad 'Alī, his Egyptian vassal, with the task of stemming the tide of their invasion. Muḥammad 'Alī confided the command of the expeditionary force of ten thousand men he despatched for that purpose in October 1811, to his favorite son Tussūn, a youth of sixteen, whose indifferent generalship, though Medina was recovered after initial reverses, obliged him in 1813 to take the field himself. But it was only after Tussūn's death that Ibrāhīm, another son of

³ As enthusiastic advocates of unadulterated monotheism, they call themselves unitarians.

Muḥammad 'Alī, threw the Wahnābites definitely back, entering Dar'iyah, September 9, 1818, and conquering the Najd, where he left a division of his army under Ismā'il Pasha to keep them quiet. Their Amir 'Abd Allāh, great grandson of Muḥammad, grandson of 'Abd al-Azīz, who had led them in their first successful campaigns, and son of Sa'ūd who had 'cleansed' the Holy Places, was deported to Constantinople and beheaded. The Sultan's dependence on aid from Egypt did not enhance Turkish prestige in Arabia which, until 1840, was governed, in so far as an orderly government existed, rather by his contumacious Viceroy in Cairo than by his Sublime Porte. But the Qatāda family profited by this state of affairs, reigning once more supreme in Mecca and domineering, as of old, a never clearly defined portion of the Hijāz and sometimes of the Yaman too, down to Hail.

The Amir Turkī of the Banū Sa'ūd, son of the ill-starred 'Abd Allāh, effected about 1824 a reorganization of the Wahnābite community in the Southern Najd, choosing Riadh for his capital. Meanwhile, with the co-operation of Khālid Pasha, Ismā'il Pasha's successor, a rival tribe was coming to the front in the Northern Najd. They were the Banū Rashīd who, driven into exile as the result of a feud with the Banū 'Alī, had cleverly turned the tables on that leading clan of the Jabal Shammār with the aid of the Banū Sa'ūd themselves, establishing their capital at Hail. The expedition to Riadh, undertaken in 1836 by order of Muḥammad 'Alī, heightened the importance of the chiefs of the Banū Rashīd. These, unscrupulous in their methods, while enjoying Egyptian and, after 1840, Turkish protection, repaid with base ingratitude the assistance they had been fain to accept from the Banū Sa'ūd. But the Wahnābite zealots did not lose heart, confident in the righteousness of their cause, giving tit for tat. Constant friction with their upstart betrayers was the result until the latter, having settled once for all with the Banū 'Alī in the North, resolved to break, too, the vexatious obstruction their forays and encroachments met in the South. So, in the beginning of the present century, under a Bin Rashīd who arrogated the dignity of King of Arabia, they girded themselves to a grand effort and smote the Banū Sa'ūd hip and thigh, storming Riadh, which they made their southern capital. Encouraged by the success of their arms, the Banū Rashīd

marched also East to expand their Arabian kingdom still farther at the expense of the Shaikh Mubārak of Kuwait.

This ambitious design wrought in the end their ruin, highly beneficial as it proved to the Wahnābites for, though the Sheikh Mubārak's men, reinforced by the Muntafiq Arabs of the lower Euphrates, after a victory which opened to them the gates of Hail, were surprised on their way back and badly beaten, the sly old fox of Kuwait persuaded the Amir of the Banū Sa'ūd to conclude an alliance with him for the overthrow of the common foe. Then there were many encounters full of the savagely daring feats of ancient Arabian warfare. Sometimes the Banū Rashīd and sometimes the Banū Sa'ūd had the best of it, the theater of their strife and principal bone of contention being the border district of Kasim with the important towns of 'Anaiza and Buraida, centers of the lucrative trade in camels, horses and Indian merchandise that enriched the inhabitants, the Salaib, since the most remote times. At last the Wahnābites regained not only Riadh, by means of a bold stratagem, but almost the whole of the Najd. In the decisive battle, which took place in 1904, near the caravan route between Kuwait and Mecca, the 'King of Arabia' of the Banū Rashīd was slain, his body and that of his horse falling, pinned together by an arrow, and being trampled underfoot by his followers in headlong flight before the onslaught of the Banū Sa'ūd 'whose spears sought lodgment in the breasts of their enemies so that when they went in with the naked sword, they found the field already cleared and small resistance offered.' This is in outline the history of the rehabilitation in their fastnesses of the Wahnābites, whose present Amir of the Banū Sa'ūd lives at peace, for the time it will last, with the Banū Rashīd, notwithstanding the latter's Amir maintaining his claim, with the assent of the Porte on the *divide et impera* principle, to so much of the Northern Najd as goes by the name of Shammār. Concerning the rigid tenets and austere habits of the Wahnābites we have the word of a recent traveler in those parts⁴ that most of them have been dropped or relaxed. Smoking, for instance, is privately indulged in, and during his stay at Riadh as a guest of the Amir, seldom a night passed without one of the palace underlings visiting him to beg a little of the 'shameful,'

⁴ Captain G. Leachman of the Royal Sussex Regiment in the *Geographical Journal* of May, 1914.

as they call tobacco. Attendance at the five daily prayers was however enforced with the rod.

So much for Central Arabia, which is no more the Padisha's or anybody else's now than it ever was in its troublous past. Turning to the Yaman we see the same conditions of tribal animosity and armed conflict prevailing, although the Turks have nominally been in control (hardly even that in Hadhramaut) since they occupied that territory in 1872, thanks rather to the wily policy of General Mukhtar Pasha and Colonel Ashraf Bey than to their military exploits. It is true that the Yamanites forgot for a while their rivalries to support the Amir Muḥammad Yahyā, son of the eminent Imām of Sanā, Sayyid Ḥamīd ad-Dīn, but the strain on their natural pugnacity was too great and soon their internal dissensions again handicapped them sadly in their passive resistance to the Turks. Even when in 1904 this passive resistance began to flame up in an open revolt which taxed the gallantry and discipline of the seventh Turkish army corps to its utmost, throughout the vicissitudes of the Turco-Arabic collision in the Yaman from the memorable siege and fall of Sanā to the recovery of that stronghold by Aḥmad Faizī, August 3, 1905, lack of cohesion remained the worst obstacle that confronted the Arabs in their exertions to free themselves from the Turkish yoke. That yoke sat otherwise lightly enough, witness the possibility of violent antagonism which culminated in bloody affrays between contending factions of the theoretically subject population, practically at liberty to found quasi-independent kingdoms in the Sultan's domains for the pleasure of fighting over them to their heart's content. And as it was in Central Arabia and in the Yaman it was in the Hijāz where the 'Asir tribes rose in rebellion under the leadership of their principal Shaikh al-Idrīsī, where the Badawī, esteeming themselves the genuine lords of the soil, cared neither for foreign rulers nor for self-constituted kings of their own race and made a very profitable business out of their pretended right to levy a toll from merchants and pilgrims for the privilege of using the caravan tracks; attacked the Hijāz railway and broke it up whenever they thought fit, because they considered it an infringement on that right, utterly unmindful of the Turkish officials, obeying or defying the Grand Sharif according to the changing character of their relations with Mecca.

Since the days of Sultan Salim I, the Grand Sharifs or, as the official Turkish nomenclature styles them, Amirs of Mecca, have been formally appointed by the Porte. In most cases their appointment was, however, really decided in a conclave of the chief members of the Qatāda family, whose nominee, duly confirmed, knew how to uphold his virtual independence, and the Padisha had to resign himself to a predicament which kept the Hijāz from being incorporated with the Ottoman Empire on the footing of an ordinary vilayat: very exalted personages, as they say in the Maghrib, are sometimes severely harassed by insects of altogether inferior size. Though, after the Egyptian interregnum as before, a Turkish governor was provided for the express purpose of keeping within bounds the Meccan insect of the 'Alid genus and Qatāda species, its persistent activity occasioned a good deal of distress, especially in his Khalifal capacity, to the Sick Man at the Golden Horn, a sufferer already from too many too officious physicians on European thrones. In 1840 the Grand Sharif Muḥammad Ibn 'Aun⁵ was restored to the Hijāz after a four years' residence in Cairo as the unwilling guest of Muḥammad 'Alī. Intrigues of plotting kinsmen at home and in Constantinople compelled him in 1851 to resign in favor of the intriguant-in-chief 'Abd al-Muttalib. Yet in 1856 he was on top again to be succeeded in 1858 by his chivalrous son 'Abd Allāh, who with 'Alī, another son, had been in charge of the daily routine of the Sharifate during the ultimate term of their aged sire's exercise of authority. Husain, still another of his sons, succeeded 'Abd Allāh in 1877, but three years later, in 1880, we find 'Abd al-Muttalib installed once more.

At 'Abd al-Muttalib's final removal in 1882 (he died in 1886), 'Aun ar-Rafīq, a fourth son of Muḥammad Ibn 'Aun, was appointed notwithstanding the opposition of his younger brother Abdīlah, countenanced by the Turkish governor Othman Pasha. The discord between this strong, capable deputy guardian of the

⁵ During Muḥammad Ibn 'Aun's first term of office the influential Sharifs of Mecca in touch with the government, began to desert the Shafī'ite for the Hanīfite camp. By the end of the nineteenth century they were all Hanīfites, which did not prevent their supporting the wishes of the Shafī'ite population in ritualistic matters against the occasionally excessive sectarian zeal of the Turks. See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 1, which gives a comprehensive history of the Grand Sharifate.

Holiest and the new Grand Sharif coming to a head, the latter petitioned the Porte for the obnoxious Wali's recall and moved to Medina. Commanded to change places with Jamīl Pasha, governor of Aleppo, Othman Pasha left, and 'Aun ar-Rafīq returned in December 1886 to his post. Jamīl Pasha and Safwat Pasha and a few more officials of that stamp were no match for the energetic, wilful Prince of Mecca whose imperious temper they had to curb. One after another failed ignominiously, until the tactful, adroit Aḥmad Rātīb effected a sort of compromise. 'Aun ar-Rafīq was gathered to his fathers in 1905, and his aforementioned brother Abdīlah, nominated as his successor, died shortly afterwards when under way from Constantinople to the full realization of a life-long hope. 'Aun ar-Rafīq's nephew 'Alī, appointed in Abdīlah's place, hastily departed from Mecca, following the example set by his Turkish supervisor Aḥmad Rātīb, when the news of the revolution of 1908 reached him, and took refuge in Cairo. Thereupon Ḥusain Ibn 'Alī, another nephew of 'Aun ar-Rafīq, stepped in without concerning himself about the Porte's approval. His assumption of the title of Grand Sharif of Mecca already being a challenge to Turkish suzerainty, he went still farther by proclaiming on June 27, 1916, his complete independence as King of the Hijāz, chasing away the Turkish garrisons first of his capital, of Medina, and Jeddah, then those of Tāif and Yambu'. This epoch-making event, combined with the recent developments in the Near and Middle Eastern theater of the war, may have a far-reaching effect on the consequences of its final outcome.

BRIEF NOTES

A Word with reference to 'Emperor'-Worship in Babylonia

Professor Mercer has rendered a distinct service to his colleagues by massing in his article '*Emperor'-Worship in Babylonia* (*JAOS* 36. 360-380) many widely scattered bits of evidence on the subject. The writer regrets, however, that he is obliged to dissent from the main thesis of that article—a thesis which, stated in Professor Mercer's own words, is that 'Babylonians were always conscious of the humanity of their rulers, and though the distance between a god and a man was not great, yet they never seem to have mistaken the one for the other' (p. 377). In other words, he seeks to prove that there was no such thing as emperor-worship.

Professor Mercer's treatment of the material which he cites does not impress the reader as altogether unbiased. At every step of the argument effort is made to minimize the force of the facts which are cited. The writer is inclined to think that a fair-minded reader who knew nothing of the subject would be led to think that there must have been some real worship of emperors or kings, when the determinative for god is so often prefixed to their names. If, however, we were to grant that the evidence accumulated by Professor Mercer is not decisive, and that it is fairly capable of being interpreted as he has interpreted it, it must be noted that he has overlooked some very important evidence, and that the facts thus overlooked are fatal to his theory. I refer to the proper names contained in the *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, Parts I-III, Philadelphia, 1905-1914. Part III contains a list of nearly 3,300 persons, while Huber's list, the only one for the Ur-dynasty that Professor Mercer seems to have consulted, contains but about 5,100.

In Part II of this work, pl. 53, there is published a tablet (no. 10), which is dated in 'the year after the *E-bà-ša-iš* [read by some *E-kù-ša-iš*] of Dagan was built.' This was certainly during Dungi's lifetime. Thureau-Dangin thought in 1907 that it was the 39th year of his reign, while Myhrman in 1910 thought it his fiftieth year. The exact year is for our present

purpose irrelevant; it is enough that it was during the lifetime of the king. The tablet is a pay-roll, and the following men received stipends: *Lù-^dDun-gi* (Man of the god Dungi), *^dDun-gi-^{he}-gál* (May the god Dungi protect), *^dDun-gi-ra-kalam-ma* (For the god Dungi is the land), *^dDun-gi-kalam-ma-^{hi}-li-bi* (The god Dungi—the land is his delight), *^dDun-gi-à-uru* (The god Dungi is the reward of the slave), *^dDun-gi-a-du-kalam-ma* (The god Dungi is the counselor of the land), *^dDun-gi-ki-^{har}-šag* (With the god Dungi is great favor), *Ka-^dDun-gi-ib-ta-ê* (The word of the god Dungi goes forth), *Ama-^dDun-gi-e-^dUr-ru* (The mother of the god Dungi is the goddess Urru), and *^dDun-gi-ú-nam-ti* (The god Dungi is the food of life). Can any one read these proper names¹ borne by men in Dungi's own lifetime, and doubt that real 'emperor'-worship existed in Babylonia?

The tablet which contains these names does not stand alone, but I will take time to cite but one other. *HLC* 52 (Part I, pl. 12) contains (obv. l. 9) the name *Tab-^dDun-gi-^dNannar* (The god Dungi is the twin² of the god Nannar). This tablet is dated in the year Urbillum was destroyed, which was, according to Thureau-Dangin, Dungi's 43d year, but according to Myhrman, his 55th. The tablet was in any case written while Dungi was still living, and the name cited is alone sufficient to overthrow Professor Mercer's whole thesis.

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Takku

In publishing a preliminary translation of a new account of the creation of man (in this *JOURNAL*, 37. 36—40), the writer warned readers (p. 26) not to regard the rendering as final. The tablet is carelessly written and in parts has suffered from breaking. In working over the text again I have reached the conclusion that the divine name read *Tikku* should be read *Takku*, and that it is identical with the name that Langdon read

¹ The writer called attention to these and many other names which throw light on Sumerian religious conceptions in this *JOURNAL*, 34. 315-320.

² See the writer's *Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, No. 144¹³.

Tagtug in his so-called Epic of Paradise. The new text accordingly affords another welcome source of information concerning an enigmatical character that has been the cause of earnest discussion.

The volume in which the cuneiform text is to be published will, I hope, be in the hands of scholars before the end of the year. The readings of one or two other passages will be improved. The new readings will, however, only bring out more clearly the character of the document as already set forth in the JOURNAL.

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The Words 'law' and 'witness' in the South Arabic

The South Arabic פתח is to be interpreted from the Ethiopic *feth* and translated 'law.' This gives a satisfactory explanation of the opening phrase in Halévy's text 374 (also in Hommel, *Südarabische Chrestomathie*, p. 109), שכנ פתח, 'he established a law' (where Hommel has 'he instituted a canal'), interpreting the verb as a loan from the Assyrian *šakānu*. Then in Glaser 282 (Hommel, p. 115), line 7 contains the word twice, once in the context, לגז דן פתח, which may be translated 'to engrave this law.' This translation of פתח is corroborated by the succeeding part of the inscription.

There follows a date formula in the usual terms of an eponym. Then comes the word סמעס followed by two personal names, 'WS-Ili du-GND and Y'WS-Ili du-RPZN. I assume that סמעס means 'witness' (*sāmi'*), as in the Ethiopic, and that the word introduces the attestation of two witnesses (in the singular, as in the Elephantine papyri). This explanation is borne out by what follows, in which now for the first time we can get a consecutive reading for a good line of the inscription: וולו ועתהדר וסתוקה סמעי דן פתח דגנר ורפזן בצחפה אסמעסמ. This is to be translated: 'And assisted [in the French sense] and recorded and gave hearing the two witnesses of this law he-of-RPZN and he-of-GND in their witness books' (*biṣuhufi asmâ'isumân, ṣuhuf* being the plural of the good Arabic *saḥîfat*). This last phrase occurs also in Halévy, 199 (Hommel,

p. 102), and 51, lines 8 and 19; also in 244, 'the witness is in the gods of Mā'an.'

The illumination of these terms throws light upon the legal processes of the South-Arabians. A law was published in stone and also attested by witnesses in their 'books' (of palm-leaves?). One thinks involuntarily of the episode in Isaiah 8. 1-2, which may have been an imitation of public usage.

P. S. Since writing the above I note באמר וצחפת CIS 314. 8, which Halévy (*R. Sém.* 4 (1896), p. 83 ff.) correctly translates *verbo et scripto*, rejected by the editor Derenbourg. The passage has to do with written orders, which are dated, from the kings concerning the presentation of certain votive offerings. In line 9 I would interpret לצחה gerundively, *scribendo*.

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û as an Old Plural Ending of the Hebrew Noun

The ך, û, as a plural ending is recognized in Hebrew in the verb only. But the Arabic, the Assyrian of the First Dynasty age, as well as the Old Egyptian (cf. Erman, *Äg. Gr.* § 189) use it also as a plural ending in the noun.

But traces of the old û in stat. constr. are still found in some passages of the Bible. It is in the first place found in the Ketib, which very often preserves older forms, but sometimes the old plural ending is preserved even without being modified by the Qere. Its true character as a plural ending can then be recognized either by the context of the passage in question, or by the testimony of the old versions.

The following are the passages in which the û as a plural ending has been preserved in the Ketib only: Jos. 6. 9: תקעו השופרות, Qere: תִּקְעִי; Is. 47. 13: הברו שמים, Qere: הִבְרִי; Ps. 119. 79: וירעו עדתך, Qere: וִירְעִי; 1 Chr. 2.55: ישבו יעבץ, Qere: יִשְׁבִּי.

The plural ending û is employed not only in the nominative, but also in the genitive and the accusative. Just as the plural

¹ Here perhaps belongs also 1 Chr. 6. 11: בנו אלקנה, Qere: בְּנֵי.

ending *îm*, (*ê*), originally used for the genitive and accusative, has supplanted the original nominative ending *ûn*, (*û*), so also the *û* is found as plural ending in the genitive: 2 Kings 17. 13: **בִּיר כָּל נְבִיאֵי כָל חוּזָה**. Qere: **נְבִיאֵי**; and in the accusative: Hos. 8. 12: **אֶתְּנוּב לִרְבוֹת תּוֹרָתִי**. Qere: **רְבִי**. It occurs also in the part. pass. 2 Sam. 5. 8: **שָׁנְאוּ נֶפֶשׁ דָּוִד**. Qere: **שָׁנוּאֵי**; and in the dual, Eze. 1. 8: **וַיְדוּ אָדָם**. Qere: **וַיְדִי**.

There are also passages in which, as already mentioned, the plural ending *û* in the construct state is not indicated as such owing to its being changed in the Qere to the regular plural constr. ending *ê*. In such cases we have to look for other evidence to prove its plural character:—

Gen. 32. 32: **פְּנִיאל = פְּנוּאֵל**. *ibid.* 31 from the plural **פְּנִים** (1 Chr. 8. 25: **פְּנִיאל**. Qere: **פְּנוּאֵל**). Lev. 6. 3: **מִדּוֹ בָר**. Onq. and Jon. render it as **מִדִּי לְבוּשֵׁן רְבוּן**.⁴ Perhaps also in 2 Sam. 20. 8: **מִדִּי = מִדּוֹ**. **וַיּוֹאֵב חֲגוֹר מִדּוֹ לִבְשׁוֹ**. Jer. 31. 24: **אֲכָרִים וְנִסְעוּ בְעָרָר**. Aq. Sym. Jon. and Vulg. render **וְנִסְעוּ** as a participle = **וְנִסְעִי**. Ps. 107. 4: **תַּעֲנִי בַמִּדְבָּר**. The parallels of verse 10, **יִשְׁבִּי חֶשֶׁךְ** and 23, **יִוְרְדִי הַיָּם**, make it probable that **תַּעֲנִי** is also a participle = **תַּעֲנִי** (which reading has already been proposed; cf. Kittel ad. loc.).⁵

A plural ending *û* was already recognized by S. D. Luzzatto

² Targ. Jonathan, ed. Lagarde, and the Syriac version read: **כָּל נְבִיא וְכָל חוּזָה**.

³ The endings of the casus have frequently been disregarded, cf. e. g. Tuch, 'Sinaitische Inschriften,' *ZDMG* 3 (1849), p. 138: 'Rücksichtlich des Plurals lässt der Status constr. **בְּנִי** (Beer 133 ff.) = **בְּנִי** nur soviel erkennen, dass man **בְּנִי** u. **בְּנִי** dem casus nach nicht unterschied.'

⁴ The Samaritan reads: **כִּרִי**.—To Onqelos cf. Nachmanides ad. loc. who thinks that Onq. considered **כִּר** as a collective; but then we would expect **לְבוּשָׁה**.

⁵ So perhaps we have to explain the rendering of the LXX of **יִשְׁבֵּנוּ בְּצִלּוֹ** Eze. 31. 17, as **יִשְׁבֵּנוּ**, and of Ps. 76. 7: **נִרְדָּם וַיִּכָּבֵד וַיִּכָּס** as **נִרְדָּמוּ וַיִּכָּבֵדוּ כֹס** (so also the Syriac version) in which case we shall have only the transposition of the **ו** and **כָּס** = **כָּכֵבֵד**; and the rendering of the Syriac version of Ps. 97. 10: **שָׁנְאוּ רַע** as **שָׁנְאוּ** (as also a few Mss.).

in the much discussed כלה מקללני, Jer. 15. 10. In a letter dated December 9, 1836, he writes:

“כלה מקללני. נראה לי לקרוא מקללני. מקללים אותי. כמו בתלמוד ירושלמי (דמאי פ”ז) דאין מחדשונך “שהוא כמו מחדשין יתך.”

In the Aramaic parts of the Talmud *û* as plural ending of the participle occurs very often, cf. Margolis, *Lehrb. d. Aram. Spr. d. Talmuds*, p. 40 ff. Margolis, it is true, considers it as a later form developed by analogy of the perf., but may we not assume that it represents the old plural ending *û*?

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Burkhan

With reference to my note on the word *Burkhan* (in the JOURNAL, 36. 390—395) I now note that R. Gauthiot (*Mélanges Sylvain Lévi*, Paris, 1911, p. 112) had already opposed the theory of Baron A. von Staël-Holstein of Petrograd. Gauthiot regarded that etymology as ‘very doubtful,’ and remarked (in the same manner as I did) that compounds of this kind do not exist in Turkish. Moreover, he justly emphasized that the historical facts run counter to such a conception of the term, and that the history of the expansion of Buddhism in the Iranian regions toward the northwest of India and the fluctuations of Chinese influence in Central Asia render that theory rather improbable. While regretting that I overlooked Gauthiot’s comment, I am glad to find myself in full accord with the opinion of that eminent philologist, whose premature death we have every reason to deplore.

In regard to the Manchu term *Fučihi*, Professor P. Schmidt, now president of the Oriental Institute of Vladivostok, has been good enough to write me that he regards *-ihi* as a suffix added to

מערב' p. 361. So also Steinberg in his Hebrew Grammar פלגם לשון עבר p. 142, but in his lexicon משפטי האורים he suggests to read פלגם (Baer reads פלגם) but we would rather expect the imperfect instead of the perfect, cf. also Kittel *ad loc.*—The use of the participle with the plural ending *û* when combined with a suffix occurs also in the פיוט for Shebu'oth: הכמלישם אותך = הפלבישוך לבוש ערנים.

the stem *Fut*, pointing to such analogous formations as *guč-i-hi*, *ginč-i-hi*, *sol-o-hi*, *tarb-a-hi*, *tarb-i-hi*. This explanation is quite satisfactory.

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PERSONALIA

Professor JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, of Harvard University, died May 9, 1917. He was professor of Greek at Harvard from 1884 to 1909, and was one of the founders of the American School at Athens. He became a member of the American Oriental Society in 1877.

MORTON WILLIAM EASTON, Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of English and Comparative Philology at the University of Pennsylvania, died Aug. 21, 1917. He was born in 1841 in Hartford, Conn., and completed the course in medicine at Columbia in 1865, but returned to philology, taking his degree in Sanskrit at Yale.

He was called to the classical chair at the University of Tennessee in 1873, and came to the University of Pennsylvania in 1880. His subjects ranged from Sanskrit to English, in all of which he was a profound student and a most distinguished teacher. He directed the presentation of the first Greek comedy to be given in this country, the *Acharnians*, presented in 1886 by students of the University of Pennsylvania.

TIGLATH-PILESER I AND HIS WARS

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Early Assyrian history is by no means attractive to the student who most enjoys historical problems. The annalistic form of inscription has not yet developed and the narrative tends to thin out into bare lists of rulers or records of building operations, broken here and there by a few high-sounding titles which speak of not far distant conquests or of equal struggles with the former suzerain Babylon. Careful study may give a certain amount of life to the picture, but, when all has been said, true history begins only with the first Tiglath-Pileser. For the first time we have true annals, and from these annals we can construct a picture with the details necessary to make the account live.¹

At his accession, Tiglath-Pileser found a small enough country. The days of Tukulti-Ninib were past and Assyria had since seen serious losses on all sides. Least dangerous were those on the south for Babylon too had suffered decay, though still strong enough for an occasional raid. The boundary was back again at the Lower Zab and all the debatable ground was in Babylonian hands. On the west, Assyrian control ended with the steppe across which Arabs from south of the Euphrates roamed at will. To the north, the frontier was dangerously near, the first line of the foothills, and to the east it is not clear that all the Assyrian triangle had yet come into his hands. Raids there might be into the mountains to north and to east, but of conquests there was as yet none to boast.

The half century of decline had given opportunity for various Asianic peoples to work their way into the regions which had once owed at least nominal allegiance to the Assyrian monarchs.

¹ The present paper has two main purposes: to interpret the wars in the light of the broader considerations of a political nature and to study the topography. The former is the natural development of the preliminary source study already published in the author's *Assyrian Historiography*. The latter incorporates investigations made in connection with the Cornell Expedition which in 1908 visited many of the sites here discussed.

Among these were the Mushki, fated to give their name to the great eastern Asia Minor city of Mazaka, long after they themselves as the Moschoi of the classical authors had been forced into the mountains far to the north.² They had 'come down,' probably from the vicinity of the modern Harput, whence another branch seems to have proceeded up the valley of the Tokhma Su to settle Mazaka, and had occupied the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzi, the level and fertile triangle stretching down from near the source of the West Tigris to the great bend at Amedi. It was bad enough to lose this rich agricultural plain, not to speak of the copper mines in the hills just to the north, but when to the loss of this region which 'paid the tribute and tax of the god Ashur' was added that of Qummuh, the even more fertile country between the Tigris and Mt. Kashiari, it was clearly time to act.³

At the very 'beginning of the reign,' Tiglath-Pileser 'collected his chariots and his foot soldiers' and marched forth from his capital of Ashur. Straight across the steppe he went to Mount Kashiari, the first range of hills which stretched from east to west along the northern rim of the plain.⁴ Through this he hastened, in spite of the difficulty of the country, and engaged with their five kings and their twenty thousand troops in Qummuh. 'The bodies of their warriors like the Storm God I hurled down. Their blood in the ravines and on the heights of the mountains I made to flow down. Their heads I cut off, by the side of their cities like grain heaps I piled up. Their spoil, their property, their possessions to an unnumbered quantity I brought out.'

² A trace of this eastern branch of the Moschoi is found in the Biblical table of nations, Gen. 10. 23, where the Greek Mosoch and the Meshek of the parallel 1 Chron. 1. 17 show that here too we must read Meshek for the unique Mash of the traditional text. The context proves that it is in Mesopotamia, that is, not far from the location postulated by the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser.

³ Reached by passing through Kashiari, the modern Tūr 'Abdīn, and then crossing the Tigris, Qummuh must be the level country south of the east-west course of the western Tigris between Diarbekr and Ḥassān Kēf; cf. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, 2. 64, n. 8. It should not be confused with the later Commagene to which it gave its name.

⁴ Maspero, *Hist. Class.* 2. 643, n. 3, has seen that the route must have been to Sinjār and around the western end of the range.

While Tiglath-Pileser thus marched through the Qummuh region, plundering and burning, the wretched inhabitants fled across the Tigris to the fortress of Shereshe. But the Assyrians pursued them 'through the difficult mountains and the blocked paths,' hewing a way for the passage of the troops with bronze axes, crossed the Tigris, and took the stronghold.⁵ Then, still on the north of the river, he was forced to fight with the hordes of the Qurhi who had advanced to the aid of the people of Qummuh. These too were defeated and the river Name carried their dead bodies to the Tigris.⁶ The chief of the Qurhi, who bears the very 'Hittite' name of Kili-Teshub, the son of Kali-Teshub, who was also known as Irrupi,⁷ was captured in the battle, and with him his wives, his sons, and his retainers, a family group such as we still find to-day among the Kurds of this very region. Perhaps as much interest attaches to the booty, 180 bronze vessels for unguents, five copper jugs, gods of gold and silver—further proof, if proof were needed, that we are not far from the mines. The fort Urraṭinash, situated in Mount Panari, was in the hands of another chieftain with the equally Asianic name of Shadi Teshub, the son of Hattuhi. When Tiglath-Pileser crossed again to the south side of the Tigris, Shadi Teshub came into the Assyrian camp and without further hesitation embraced the feet

⁵ Sachau, *ZA* 12. 51, identifies Shereshe with the Sareisa of Strabo 16. 1. 24, which may be the Shurishidash of the Menuash inscription, Sayce no. 32, as well as the Hittite city of Sayce, *PSBA* 21. 196, but the context in Strabo speaks for a city more to the north. Sayce sees in it also the Sarisu of the Hittite treaty. It has nothing to do with the Sirishai of Shalmaneser III, Mon. 1. 18, which is in Kirruri and so east of the East Tigris.

⁶ The earlier identification of Name with *Nimme* must be given up, as the Tigris Tunnel Inscription, Lehmann, *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1900, p. 625, gives this as *Tu-um-me*.

⁷ Cf. Jensen, *ZDMG* 48. 475.—In the Scheil fragment, *RT* 22. 157, 'Hatte completely tribute, tax, and ¹¹Teshub king of Hat [te]' comes immediately after mention of Arvad and before an expedition against the Ahlame or Aramaean nomads. Streck, *ZA* 18. 186, n. 2, restores the name as Kali Teshub and Winckler, *OLZ* 4. 296, would then be justified in taking it as proved that Qummuh and Hatte are equivalent. Unfortunately, the contexts of the two passages are entirely different and the passage in the Scheil fragment follows an event which cannot refer to any of the first six years. Therefore the theory fails.

of the conqueror. His sons and the members of his clan were taken as hostages and we hear again of the bronze unguent holders, of the copper jugs, and of the great copper sacrificial bowls, some of which were considered valuable enough to be presented to the Assyrian deities.⁸

The accession of Tiglath-Pileser must have taken place early in the year, for he was enabled to carry on a second campaign in this 'beginning of the reign' against the land of Ishdish, which in this century was located in the rough country forming the eastern part of Mount Kashiari.⁹ With his foot-soldiers and thirty chariots—no commentary is needed to show how small this terrible army really was—he marched through mighty mountains and rough country until he reached Mount Aruma.¹⁰ 'I abandoned my chariots, the head of my warriors I took, like a shepherd I was bold, on the peaks of the high mountains triumphantly I advanced. The land of Ishdish like the deluge ruins I overthrew.'¹¹

The second year, or rather, to use the Assyrian method of reckoning, the first of the reign, saw Tiglath-Pileser again on the northwest frontier. Qummuh had been sufficiently tamed the preceding year to allow an advance into the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzi which were now formally added to the Assyrian

⁸ For the earlier events, we have two nearly parallel accounts, Ann. 1. 70-88 and 1. 89-2. 16. Pancritius, *Kriegführung*, 51, works out a *Dreibund* of tribes which must be met by three Assyrian divisions, but what she takes as signs of separate armies are in reality indications of incomplete joining of sources, still further confused by the hazy idea the scribe had of the whole operation and by the desire to pad it out as much as possible for the greater glory of the king. The country does not permit, much less demand, such a scheme of separate armies as Pancritius, following Billerbeck, has devised. Pancritius, 54, is right in making the crossing south of Amedi. It may well have been at Battal Tepe near the bend where we found a deep ford.

⁹ Usually read Mil-dish, but for Ishdish and Uishdish cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 105, n. 12. The location there given, naturally, is correct only for the days of Sargon, when, as in so many other cases, the names had wandered far.

¹⁰ Not to be connected with the Urume or Arime, the Aramaeans, with the Kirhu mountain Arua of Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 60, which was north of the Tigris, or with the classical Urima, as Schrader, cf. *ZA* 14. 168.

¹¹ Ann. 2. 63 ff.

domain. Then came the winning back of Shubarti, which had been occupied by another group of Asianic peoples, the Kaski, the Urumi, and the men of the land of the Hatte, in the last of whom we are probably to see a remnant of the men from the great Hittite empire, driven out of Asia Minor by the pressure of fresh hordes of Indo-Europeans. Shubarti was won back with a booty of 120 chariots and of 'yoked teams,' another trace, no doubt, of Hittite influence, since we know what part the chariot played in their warfare. To end the campaign, Qummuḥ was once more ravaged and then added to the borders of Assyria.¹²

The third year, the war was carried on somewhat more to the east but still among the Qurhi. The first attack was on Haria, the army passing between Mount Idni and Mount Aia. When the mountains were reached, 'sharp as the point of a dagger,' the chariots were again left behind and the march continued on foot. A battle with the Qurhi took place on Mount Azu and then the king could attack the cities on the mountain-tops and those of Haria at the foot of the mountains. The campaign was a mere raid, for we have no decisive results mentioned and we may be sure that none were secured.¹³

The other campaigns of the year are equally unimportant. First was one against the mountain land of Adaush on the north-

¹² Ann. 2. 89 ff.—The Kaski occur again in 738, Tiglath-Pileser IV, Ann. 153, where Dad-ilu of the city Kasku pays tribute. He is mentioned between the rulers of Meliddu, the classical Melitene, and Tabal. There can therefore be no doubt as to the correctness of the identification of Kasku with the classical Ciscisus and the modern Kisken. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishopricks*, 1. xiv, n., had already identified this last with the Egyptian Keshkesh. A still earlier appearance is found in the Aleppo tablet of the Hammurapi period, Sayce, *PSBA* 29. 91 ff.

¹³ Ann. 3. 35 ff.—Haria is on the eastern border of Qurhi as is shown by the identity of Mt. Idni with the Mt. Matni of Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 2. 113, where the *shad-mat* seems to have lost one of its signs by dittography; of Aia with Iaia of Ann. 2. 116; as well as by the survival of Azu in Ise'ir Özü north of the Ashyt Dagħ. Perhaps it is the Azoni of Plin. 6. 118. The other mountains are Shuira, Shezu, Shelgu, Arzanibiu, Urusu, Aniktu. We may compare the Arzamon River, on which is the town Bibas, Theophyl. 1. 15. 15; 2. 1. 5 ff.; 5. 4; and for Aniktu the Anice of the Ravenna Geographer.

eastern boundary.¹⁴ Then came the subjugation of the lands of Saraush and Ammaush, located near Mount Aruma. Another of these brief mentions is of the conquest of the lands of Isua and Daria, perhaps to the east of the last.¹⁵ If any are to be attributed to our monarch himself, it should be the one into Median territory. The Lower Zab was crossed well up in the mountains, the lands of Murattash and Saradaush which lay within the mountains of Asaniu and Atuma were ravaged, the city of Murattash was taken at sunrise in the third part of a day, and the booty included sixty bronze unguent vessels and thirty talents of the same metal.¹⁶ Finally, we have a campaign against the land of Sugi, a part of Kirhu, which we may also admit with some probability to have been a personal expedition of the monarch. Six thousand troops from here and from Hime, Luhi, Arirgi, Alamun, Tumni, and 'all the wide extending Qurhi,' were defeated in a battle where only foot-soldiers could be brought into action. Sugi was plundered and twenty-five of its gods carried off to grace the temple of Belit and the other gods of Ashur.¹⁷

In the king's own words, the objective of the next campaign is thus described: 'To the lands of the distant kings who were on the shore of the Upper Sea, who had never known subjection,

¹⁴ Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 15, places Adaush in the mountains south of Khoi, comparing Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 55, where tribute of Adaush is received in Kurruri. Streck, *ZA* 14. 162, thinks the geographical order demands a site near Haria, but we have here no geographical order at all.

¹⁵ We may compare the Surra of Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 46, and the Dirria of 3. 100.

¹⁶ Saradaush has been well identified by Maspero, *op. cit.* 2. 646, n. 3, with Surtash, a side valley of the Lower Zab.

¹⁷ Ann. 4. 7 ff.—Sugi is the Saqa of Kirhi in Tabl. 4 and the Sakka of Tiglath-Pileser IV. Hime seems to be the Himua of the Nairi list, Ann. 4. 77; Tabl. 1. Luhi is the Halsi-Luha of Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 103, according to Streck, *ZA* 13. 89. As Halsi Luha is the key position for this section of the country, the other sites are located approximately. Alamun must be compared with Mt. Elamuni, Ann. 5. 68, in Musri, and the land Ulmunia, Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 55, cf. also the Mt. Elama on the road to Nairi, Ann. 4. 58, and 'the Upper Zab which the men of Nairi and Kirhi call Elamunia,' Sargon, Tabl. 323. Only a situation east of the Tigris between Sert and Jezire will satisfy all three passages. *Tumni* is read instead of the usual *Nimni* to identify it with Tumme, generally read as *Nimme*, cf. above.

Ashur my lord sent me and I went. By difficult roads and steep passes which no former king had known in their recesses, by blocked roads and paths which were not open, I traversed sixteen mighty mountains, in good country in my chariots, in difficult with axes of bronze I opened a way. Plane trees, the wood of the mountains, I cut down and I made pontoons for the advance of my troops.' The line of march was up the East Tigris to the south shore of Lake Van¹⁸ and then west through the fertile plain to the north of the mountain rim. Crossing the East Euphrates, Tiglath-Pileser fell upon a confederacy of twenty-three princes, whose territory extended from Tumme to Daiaeni. Pursuit was continued to Lake Van, the country was ravaged, and cattle, for which the country has always been famous, were carried off.¹⁹ The captured chiefs were returned at once to their lands, all but Seni of Daiaeni, apparently the leader, who was

¹⁸ Unless, comparing the location of Tumme in Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 46, we assume that he went due east into the mountains and thus to Van.

¹⁹ Ann. 4. 49 ff.—Actual count of the name lists gives twenty-three princes. In 4. 96, this is increased to the round number sixty and scholars have as usual accepted the higher number. For example, Pancritius, *Kriegführung*, 63, thinks the thirty-seven princelets not accounted for in the list of twenty-three were defeated in detail later on. The sixty should be accounted for on the ground of the higher, not the military criticism. An intermediate stage in the development is shown in Tablet 2, where we have thirty, half of the unit round number. The list in 4. 71 ff. is as follows: Tumme, Tunube, Tuali, Qindari, Uzula, Unzamuni, Andiahe, Pilaqinni, Aturgini, Kulibarzini, Shinibirni, Himua, Paiteri, Uiram, Shururua, Abaeni, Adaeni, Kirini, Albaia, Ugina, Nazabia, Abarsiuni, Daiaeni. It seems to follow geographical order, as the briefer documents all say 'the broad lands of Nairi from Tumme to Daiaeni.' The Melazgerd inscription says the expedition was made to Daiaeni, which would indicate it was set up in the country last reached. Daiaeni also occurs in Shalmaneser III, Mon. 2. 46, and as Daie, without the ending, in Sennacherib, Prism, 4. 3, which show it near Mannai. As Diaush, it is frequently mentioned in the Haldian inscriptions, which show it north of Lake Van and not far from Melazgerd. Tumme was reached by Ashur-nasir-apal before Kirruri, Ann. 1. 46. With Paiteri, Sayce, *RP*² 1. 106, compares the land of Puteriash of the Haldian records, in the Palu region, and Kulibarzine with the Haldian *barzine*, 'chapel.' Shu-ru-ri-a may be read Shu-shup-ri-a, and looks like a sort of dittographic error for Shupria. Abaeni may be the Abai of H. 509, a letter of Sargon's time, with references to Shupria, Kulimmeri, Bulum (Palu), cf. Toffteen *AJSL* 23. 323, and the Abunish of Sayce no. 27. 12; Hommel, *Gesch.* 528. Adaeni seems a form of Adaush.

taken to Ashur, shown the Assyrian might, and sent home a more or less fervent worshiper of the Assyrian gods. Hostages were demanded of all and a regular tribute of horses and cattle was fixed. At the farthest point of advance, at Melazgerd north of Lake Van, Tiglath-Pileser caused to be carved on the rocks an inscription which has survived to our own day.²⁰ That such an expedition could be so successfully carried out was a most impressive proof of the Assyrian strength, a proof not to be again given until the last monarch of the name of Tiglath-Pileser should ascend the throne three and a half centuries later and then perhaps in direct imitation of his older namesake.²¹ To the same period must be attributed the expedition which was made against Milidia, located in Hani-Galbat. The city itself was not taken, for its ruler came out to embrace the conqueror's feet and Tiglath-Pileser was satisfied with a yearly tribute of one homer of a mineral which seems to have been magnesite.²²

So long continued an expedition must have caused a great strain on the Assyrian resources and we are not surprised to find that the fifth year has little of war to report. The booty brought back home was utilized in completing the new temple of Anu and Adad which was dedicated in June of this year.²³ Not until winter was a new campaign undertaken and then it was against the Ahlame, the Aramaeans in the steppe south of Harran, who

Kirini may be the Kuremi north-east of Dohuk, Layard, *Niniveh*, 1. 192, and connected with the Armenian province of Karin. The mountains on the way to Nairi are Elama, Amadana, Elhish, Sherabeli, Tarhuna, Tarkahuli, Kisra, Tarhanabe, Elula, Hashtare, Shahishara, Ubara, Miliadruni, Shulianzi, Nubanashe, Sheshe.

²⁰ Lehmann, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.* 1898, p. 574; *Sb. Berl. Akad.* 1900, p. 627.

²¹ Broken Obl. 2 gives campaigns for this year which cannot be connected with any given in the Annals. The 'four thousand' of 1. 2 cannot be connected with the same number of the Kaski, as in Budge-King, *Annals*, 1. 132, n., for that belongs to an earlier expedition. Perhaps the campaign in July against Mush[ki] is the same as ours against Milidia.

²² Cf. Bertholet, *Comptes Rendus*, 1897, 472. Whether we identify Milidia with Melitene-Malatia depends on whether we believe Hani-Galbat extended so far north.

²³ Eponymy of Ashur . . . , Obl. 2. 13 ff.

were clearly the aggressors.²⁴ From Suhi, which seems to have been on the Habur river, and the land of Harki, he raided in one day, or so he says, to Carchemish in Hatte-land. The fugitives fled across the Euphrates, and Tiglath-Pileser pursued them on the same sort of rafts laid upon inflated skins that are used by the natives to-day. Six of their cities at the foot of Mount Beshri were taken and plundered, but, after all, this was a mere raid and had no effect in stopping the constant infiltration. Soon the Aramaean question was to become the most serious the Assyrian government had to face.²⁵

To the same time and place, we must ascribe the well-known hunting exploits of our monarch. In the region of Harran and of the Habur, he slaughtered ten mighty male elephants and took alive four. When we compare this with the one hundred and twenty that Thutmose hunted in this same section,²⁶ we may argue that the number of elephants had decreased in the inter-

²⁴ Tiele, *ZA* 4. 91, cf. Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 122, would correct the ethnic of the 'false prophet' Shemaiah of Jer. 29. 24, 31, from Nehelemite to Ahlemite. The change from Nun to Aleph is not difficult and the Greek Ailameites or Elamites might seem confirmation. But the Enlamite of the original 'Septuagint' of the Jeroboam story shows that we have here an En-Halom, a 'well of oracular dreams,' with which was connected a family of seers, including the Shemaiahs who opposed Solomon and Jeremiah certainly, the one who opposed Nehemiah probably, and to the same Levitical family seem also to have belonged high officials who escorted the ark with David, assisted Jehoshaphat with his legal reforms, and took part in the revivals under Hezekiah and Josiah.

²⁵ Ann. 5. 44 ff.; Obl. 2. 19 ff.—The location of the Suhi is fixed at the lower Khabur by Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 2. 100 ff.; 3. 17. The identification with the Shubi of Job 2. 11 is due to G. Rawlinson, Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, s. v., cf. *Monarchies* 2. 66, n. 12. Curtis, *Chronicles*, 73, does not see how a 'district on the Euphrates near Haran' can be connected with the clearly Central Arabian Shuah of Gen. 25. 2; 1 Chron. 1. 32. But we have an exact parallel in the modern Shammar and 'Anêze who actually occupy this region today, though Jebel Shammar and the city of Aneze are in Central Arabia. The Sohene of the Peutinger Table is probably an error for Sophene and cannot be connected with Suhi. Harki may be an error for Harran. For Ahlame, cf. Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 15 ff., and for Beshri, Olmstead, *AJSL*. 33. 319.

²⁶ Amenemheb Biography, Breasted, *Records*, 2. 233; W. M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches* 1, pl. 35.

val—or that the earlier scribe was the less truthful. Killed, too, were four wild bulls in the desert of Mitani-land and in the city of Araziqui, and it is no more remarkable to find these now extinct monsters than it is to observe Tiglath-Pileser casually remarking that he killed them with a spear of iron, for that metal was just coming into general use. After this, it is an anti-climax to tell of the one hundred and twenty lions killed on foot or the eight hundred from the chariot.²⁷

The last campaigns given us by the annals date from the sixth year. Once more it was necessary to march against the north-west frontier and here we meet a new enemy, the men of the land of Musri, who occupied the land about the east branch of the Tigris.²⁸ The king advanced between the mountains of Elamuni,

²⁷ Ann. 6. 61 ff.; Obl. 4. 6.—Araziqui, 'which is opposite Hatte-land,' is to be identified with the Eragiza of Ptol. 6. 4. 10, in the eparchy of Euphratensia; corrupt in Hierocles, 713; with the Eraciza of the Peutinger Table and the Eraiza of the Ravenna Geographer; Oragizon, a bishopric under Sergiopolis, in the Notitia, Gelzer, *Byz. Zts.* 1. 249; cf. Müller, *Asien*, 284, 291; Sachau, *Reise*, 284, n. 1; Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Nöldeke and Winckler, *Forsch.* 1. 87, doubt this identification and place it near Samosata, but without reason. As regards this Ahlame campaign, Pancritius, *Kriegführung*, 64, writes, 'Eine solche radikale Plünderung war nur möglich wenn das ganze Gebiet systematisch von einer grossen Zahl von Stiefkolonnen abgesucht wurde'—a true *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole column idea.

²⁸ The first reference to Musri, Adad-nirari, *KTA* 4, merely shows it northwest of Assyria, as it is mentioned after Shubari. Shalmaneser I mentions it after Uruadri (or Urartu) and Arina and before Hani, Taidi, Carchemish, Quti, and Kutmuhi or Qummuh, *KTA* 13. This would indicate its location in the region just west of the East Tigris, not far from Jezire, and the references by Tiglath-Pileser roughly agree. The Musri which Winckler, *Kämpfer*, 31, would find in Adad-nirari I, 1. 22, is merely the well-known phrase *murapish mesri u kuduri*, 'who enlarged boundary and frontier,' and the Musri of the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III is certainly Egypt, cf. W. M. Müller, *ZA* 1893, p. 209 ff. Whether our Musri is the same as the one of Sargon, Ann. 415, where Dur-Sharrukin is said to be 'at the foot of Mt. Musri, a mountain above Niniveh,' may be left an open question. This is clearly located to the long line of hills a bare hour north of Khorsabad which form the first outliers of the Jebel Maqlûb or the hills east of Döhûk which are still inhabited by the Missuri Kurds, cf. Sayce, *EP*² 1. 109, n. 7. We have absolutely no proof whatever for a Musri on the border of Syria and Asia Minor such as was assumed by Tiele, *Gesch.* 201, n. 1, and which has played so large a part in Biblical commentary!

Tala, and Harusa, and ravaged the country. But Musri was not destined to be conquered, for it was a center of resistance later in the reign. This seems to have been due to the entrance upon the scene as allies of Musri of a new people, the Qumani, whose name is commemorated in the two sacred Comanas of Asia Minor. Siege was laid to the city of Arini at the foot of Mount Aisa, but this was abandoned when the inhabitants promised hostages and tribute. The Qumani were defeated in a battle on Mount Tala and were pursued as far as Mount Harusa which is over against Musri. One of their strongholds, Hunusa by name, fortified by a triple wall of burnt brick, was taken and utterly destroyed. Salt was sown on the site and a chapel erected in which was placed a bronze thunderbolt and written on it the decree that the city should never be rebuilt. Next was besieged the royal city of Kibshuna. The king of the Qumani was now forced to submit and as punishment was ordered to destroy the great wall with its piers of burnt brick. The three hundred families which had supported the revolt were handed over to the tender mercies of the pro-Assyrian party and the tribute was increased.²⁹

²⁹ Ann. 5. 67 ff.—Pancritius, *Kriegführung*, 67, thinks that Musri was between the Tigris and the Euphrates because the Euphrates was not crossed. But this is shown to be incorrect by the identity of the names of places in Musri with those in Kirhi, proving that it is west of the Bitlis Chai. Mt. Elamuni is the Mt. Alamun in or near Kirhi, Ann. 4. 11, and perhaps, with Streck, *ZA* 13. 63, also the Mt. Elama of Ann. 4. 58. With Mt. Tela we must compare the city Tela of Kirhi, Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 60. Mt. Asia equals Mt. Usu of the same passage. There is also here a Mišrīn in Arzanene, letter of Mar Aba, Chabot, *Int. Congr. Or.* 11. 4. 303, cf. 323. Harusa must be the Shēkh Huṣēn Dagħ. With Kibshuna, Sayce, *PSBA* 23. 98, identifies the Qibsu of Ramses II and the Kibshu of Sennacherib, Prism 3. 67. Arini is the Arina of Shalmaneser I, *KTA* 13, 2. 6, between Urartu and Musri; the Aruni of Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 47, in Tumme; the Arinna, mentioned with the city of Batilaza, to whose king we have a letter, Thompson, *PSBA* 32. 191 ff.; the Araina before which Thutmose defeated Naharin, Breasted, *Records*, 2. 207, and of the Hittite treaty, cf. Sayce, *PSBA* 23. 98, Luckenbill, *AJSL* 28. 162. Qumani was west of Musri, as Tabl. 2. 1. 13 adds 'Qumani up to Mt. Mehri.' Clearly the Musri campaign of Obl. 3. 4 cannot be the same, for the Obl. gives very brief recitals and there is at the very least a break of fifteen lines between col. 2 and col. 3. Note also how the 'twenty thousand fought with' in Ann. 5. 87, has become the twenty thousand 'added to my land' of the later Tabl. 2.

Here end our annalistic data and our exact chronology as well. Soon after the events just detailed, Tiglath-Pileser made a trip still farther to the west which had in it the elements of the spectacular. Crossing the Euphrates and establishing on its right bank the Assyrian settlement of Mutkinu, he swept across North Syria to the sea, first of Assyrian monarchs to behold the Mediterranean. The citizens of Arvad, secure on their island 'in the midst of the sea,' gave him a ride in their ships and assisted him in killing a whale. The king of Egypt, too, sent him a great crocodile which he proudly exhibited to his people. One desires to know what he sent in return and whether the Pharaoh followed his example in calling this gift a 'tribute.'³⁰

Not for long could Tiglath-Pileser enjoy himself on the blue Mediterranean. The Aramaeans were pouring like a flood across the Euphrates, and unless he beat a hurried retreat there was grave danger of his being cut off. The very same year, so it would seem, there was need of an attack on the city of Shaširi and in July, in spite of the intense heat which reigned over the now barren steppe, the Assyrians were again forced to proceed against the Aramaeans. In May of the next year, we find Tiglath-Pileser attacking Pauša at the foot of Mount Kashiari, for the Aramaeans were by this time settled in the extreme north of Mesopotamia under the first ridge of the mountains. The same month, we have an attempt against the 'entrance of Nabula,' a pass not far from Amedi, and in the next we find the Assyrian armies attacking Aramaeans settled in a city on the Tigris. In August, advance was necessary to save the cities in the province of Shinamu, now held by the Assyrian Lishur-šala-Ashur. In September, the Assyrians were fighting the Aramaeans in the city of Murarrir in Shupre-land, that is, in the country directly under the main Armenian range. In November, there is reported an Assyrian raid from the land of Mahiriani to the city of Shuppa which is in the land of Harran.

³⁰ Obl. 4. 3 ff.; Scheil Tablet, *RT* 22. 157.—For Mutkinu, cf. Shalmaneser III, Mon. 2. 37. Translation of animal names still uncertain, cf. Hommel, *Gesch.* 532 ff.; Haupt, *OLZ* 1907, p. 263; *AJSL* 23. 253 ff.; Meissner, *Alte Orient*, 13. 2. 16; Budge-King, *Annals*, 1, p. liii; Boscawen, *TSBA* 7. 335, thinks the second sculpture at Nahr-el-Kelb belongs to Tiglath-Pileser.

So Harran was already lost to the Aramaeans and with it, no doubt, the whole Mesopotamian country. At any rate, the road to the Mediterranean was effectively closed. In December we find three armies in the field, carrying on three separate campaigns, against Makrisi in Mount Iari, against Dur-Katlimu, and against the Sangarite region on the Euphrates.³¹

But the tale of this year of many campaigns is not yet complete. Already in midwinter there had been another attack on Musri which had ended in the deportation of the inhabitants in June. Two months later, the men of Shura in Hani Galbat were likewise deported, and in the same month we have recorded the conquest of an unknown fortress in Kashiari and of Erisha which the Kirhu people had fortified.³² It was inevitable that

³¹ Obl. 3. 1 ff.—Pausa is compared by Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 147, n. 3, with the Penza of the letters, H. 138 f., under the governor of Tushhan, and with Pan[za] of Tukulti-Ninib, Ann. 1. 11 f. Nabula, Adad-nirari, *KTA* 5. 10, not far from Kashiari, revolted under Shamshi-Adad, 1. 47. The Tigris city is . . . tibua. Murarrir, badly damaged here, is proved by the Mariru of Nirbu, Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 111. Mahirani is the Mehranu of Esarhaddon, Prism A. 2. 25; the Mehri of Tukulti-Ninib I, 1. 11, cf. Peiser, *OLZ* 8. 57; of Tiglath-Pileser I, Tabl. 2. 1. 13; of Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 3. 91; the name is preserved in the Meherani castle above Fis, Taylor, *JEGS* 35. 40, cf. also Mehram south of Attākḥ and Muhri south of Haini. Makrisi is the Magarisi of Tukulti-Ninib, 2. 30; of Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 3. 3, cf. Streck, *ZA* 18. 190; the Makrisu of the Harran Census, Johns, *Doomsday Book*, 2. 2. 13. Its location is thus fixed to the junction of the Jaghjāḥa and Khabūr, not far from Tell Kaukab. This position is still further confirmed by the location of the Magrus of the Peutinger Table and the Ravenna Geographer, 2. 13, cf. Sachau, *ZA* 12. 44, n. 1. For Iauri, conquered by Arik-den-ilu, see Adad-nirari, *KTA* 3. 1. 22; still in Kirhu in time of Sargon, H. 173. For Sangarite on west bank of Euphrates, cf. Pitru 'which is on the river Sagura which is on that side of the Euphrates,' Shalmaneser III, Mon. 2. 36. Dur Katlimu in Laqe, Tukulti-Ninib, 2. 15; Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 3. 6.

³² Obl. 3. 4 ff.; cf. Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 8 ff.; 158 ff.—Col. 2 of Obl. deals with years 4 and 5. Then comes a break of at least 19 lines. In this break were the events of year 6 at least. The first campaign of col. 3 must be at least in year 7 and the great year of campaigns, in the eponymy of Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu, would be year 8 or later.—The city taken in the Musri raid was Tur...ta. (Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 8, prefers 'Tur... in the land of Musri.') Budge-King make one sign to be wanting before Shura, but the completeness of the reading is proved by the Shura of Hani-Galbat which Ashur-nasir-apal, Kurkh, 2. 53, conquered on his return

so strenuous a year should be followed by one of exhaustion, and indeed the Assyrians did not take the field until November and then only to chastise once more the Aramaeans. But it was a losing fight, as the official records themselves show, and to this Aramaean invasion, more than to any other one cause, must we ascribe the downfall of this first Assyrian empire.

Not alone in the steppe were there tribal movements which marked danger to the Assyrian power. On the northwest frontier, there were wars of the same sort with Lulume, with Kirhu, with the city of Gulguli in the region of Mount Hani, and to the same period belong other wars with Matqia, Andaria, and Adaush, for of these campaigns we learn from a tablet which must be placed not far from the tenth year.³³

from Damdamusa. In the Kashiari campaign, the scribe took *halša* as a proper name and in this he is followed by Streck, *ZA* 18. 189, who compares Halši-Luha, but in both cases we have simply the word for 'fort.'

³³ Tablet 4.—Andaria may be the Anzaria of Sargon, Ann. 87, and the Andiritum of the Ravenna Geographer, 2. 9, with Streck, *ZA* 18. 184; Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. It is assumed in this study that what are usually differentiated as *Qurte* and *Kirhi* are identical. No objection can be found in the difference of the initial letters as the Assyrian was notoriously weak in distinguishing *q* and *k* and he also had the usual Semitic indifference to short vowels. The lengthening of the first by an added *-e* or *-i* proves nothing, as this is often added, even when the *i* is clearly the sign of the genitive. Identity is concealed from the non-Assyriologist by the fact that editors have read the first *Qur-te* and the second *Kir-hi*, though the second sign is the same in both and the common value is *hi*. The form *Qurhe* is found in the records of Tukulti-Ninib and Tiglath-Pileser, *Kirhi* in the later inscriptions. The exception proves the rule. In the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser, 4. 8 ff., we read 'I marched against the land of Sugi which is in the land of Kirhi. . . . I fought with the lands of Hime, etc. . . . and all the extensive Qurhi.' The cities of the tablet clearly belong to Kirhi. Matqiu is the Mitqia of Kirhi, Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 60, cf. Streck *ZA* 18. 183, and the Motki west of Bitlis, Belck, *ZDMG* 51. 561; Saqa is the Sugi of Kirhu of our own Annals, 4. 8; Saqama is the same word with the common ending *ma*, cf. especially the numerous cases of Ashur-bani-apal, Rassam Cyl. 5. 43 ff.; Nisht[un] is in Ashur-nasir-apal, Ann. 1. 62; Shuria is the Shura of Obl. 3. 15 and of Ashur-nasir-apal, Mon. 2. 8; Na[la] is the Nala at whose foot was Kirhi, Tiglath-Pileser IV, 2. 41; Hirdi of Kir[hi] may be the . . .irdi of Qu[rhi] with which Tabl. 4 begins. Other cities mentioned here are Sudrun, Arruhundu, Inishti, Lua, Hirsihitu. That these belong to Kirhi was seen by Winckler, *OLZ* 1. 108. Rawlinson, *Mon.* 2. 84, had already compared the modern Kurkh, the site of the later provincial capital of Tushhan.

Already in the third year of his reign, Tiglath-Pileser suffered a severe loss, of prestige even more than of territory, when the Babylonian Marduk-nadin-ahe fell upon an Assyrian city by the name of Ekallate or the 'Palaces,' and carried away the gods Adad and Shula (1107 B. C.).³⁴ Yet in spite of this loss, we find Tiglath-Pileser in the very next year giving himself the title 'King of the Four World Regions,' which should mean that he held at least a small part of North Babylonia. Whatever his possessions—in the fifth year he can boast only the Lower Zab for his boundary—it is still his boundary in the tenth, and when, somewhat later, he begins his invasion of Babylonia, it is again at the crossing of the Lower Zab that he makes his first conquests.³⁵

Marduk-nadin-ahe, then, had sufficient time to consolidate his possessions in the debatable land. We have the hint of some sort of internal organization when we find him granting to his faithful servant Adad-zer-iqisha a plot of land in return for the aid which he had given in the first battle.³⁶ Yet when Tiglath-Pileser turned from the bootless wars with the Aramaeans to seek an easier and a more profitable victory, the Babylonians were not ready. In the first year's campaign, we hear of a skirmish between the chariotry of the contending parties above the city of the Lower Zaban opposite the city of Arzuhina.³⁷ Victory declared for the Assyrians and in the following year their king anticipated the terrible summer heat by leaving Ashur in February and marched down the west bank of the Tigris. No resistance was met until the army arrived at Marriti on the border of Akkad, when a battle was fought, the cities of the Dur Kurigalzu region³⁸ were captured, and their governor Kadash-man-Buriash made prisoner. The advance continued southward, taking over Dur-Kurigalzu itself, the Sippars of the god

³⁴ For the year 3, cf. Obl. 1. 16; Sennacherib, Bavian 48 ff., dates the event 418 years before the taking of Babylon, which gives 1107 B. C. In the list 2 R. 60. 10, Ekallati comes immediately after Susa.

³⁵ Tabl. 1; Ann. 6. 40; Tabl. 5; Synchr. Hist. 2. 31.

³⁶ 3 R. 43.

³⁷ Arzuhina, later a most important provincial capital, must be placed at the huge Gök Tepe south of Altyn Köprü, on the basis of the present passage.

³⁸ Named . . . indishula and . . . sande.

Shamash and the goddess Annunitum, Babylon, and Upe. Here was stayed the advance but in the meantime another army had been ravaging the region which extended from the city of Akarsallu to Lupdi, and the Suhi land as far to the northwest as Rapihi on the Euphrates was brought under Assyrian control. Such conquests need no interpretation. All the Babylonian possessions north of the alluvium and practically all the cities of North Babylonia had felt the hand of the invader. Babylon itself might hope soon to be freed, but its imperial position was gone forever. It is not a far conjecture that this defeat resulted also in the deposition of Marduk-nadin-ahe and in the accession of Marduk-shapik-zer-mati.³⁹

Rarely do the Assyrian kings allow us any insight into their internal affairs, and Tiglath-Pileser is no exception. Of his buildings alone do we hear, but we can learn something from even this. On his own admission, the decline in Assyrian power under his fathers had brought about decay and desertion. There was much work needed to restore palaces and many of the cities were no longer protected from the nomad enemy by their ruined town walls. The first building taken in hand was the 'Palace of the King of the Four World Regions' which was completed in the fourth year and the great temple of Anu and Adad, whose description fills so great a space in the Annals, followed soon after. The treasure house of Adad was rebuilt, and so were the temples of Amurru, of the elder Bel, and of Ishtar of Assyria.⁴⁰ Nor was Tiglath-Pileser without due care for the welfare of his country, if we are to believe his own words. The water-wheels in all Assyria were repaired, and there was a resultant increase in taxes paid in kind. The captured horses, cattle, and asses were collected together, and the deer, stags, ibexes and wild goats, which he had taken in the chase, were

³⁹ The account here given is based on a combination of Synchr. Hist. 2. 30 ff. and Obl. 3. 4 ff. We may also see a reference to these events in the chronicle given by King, *Chron.* 2. 57 ff., 'heavy [booty] he captured,' cf. further Olmstead, *Amer. Jour. Theology*, 20. 280 ff. The kudurru 3 R. 43, mentioning the Babylonian victory, is dated in year 10, which is year 3 of Tiglath-Pileser. A war not earlier than year 10 of the Assyrian ruler would bring it to year 17 of Marduk-nadin-ahe. His year 13 is the last known.

⁴⁰ Ann. 6. 94 ff.; Obl. 2. 13; Tabl. 4.

reared for sacrifices. Cedars and other trees, together with all sorts of garden truck, were carried away and planted in the gardens of Assyria. The picture is idyllic.

In summing up his reign, Tiglath-Pileser boasts: 'I have made good the condition of my people; in peaceful habitations have I made them to dwell.' It is the irony of fate that to us Tiglath-Pileser is known almost exclusively by his conquests, while the later history was to show that war and decline were the destined lot of his people.

ON THE NATURALISTIC BACKGROUND OF THE
'FROG-HYMN,' RIG-VEDA 7. 103

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The so-called 'frog-hymn,' RV. 7. 103, has been frequently and variously discussed, but since Professor Bloomfield's article in *JAOS* 17. 173 ff. there has been no reason to doubt that it is a serious, practical, sacerdotal rain-charm.¹ It may be possible, however, to add a point or two by way of corroboration of Bloomfield's view, and by way of exegesis of the hymn itself.

The relationship between the frogs of the hymn and the frogs of nature has been rather vaguely assumed, but nowhere sufficiently insisted upon. For example, altho it is of course taken for granted, no Vedist, so far as I am aware, has made even the definite statement that in India the frogs actually do croak at the beginning of the rainy season. But there is somewhat more of a zoogeographical background to the hymn, and incidentally more evidence for the rain-charm theory, than appears in Macdonell's statement (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 121) that 'the awakening of the frogs at the beginning of the rainy season is here described with a graphic power which will doubt-

¹ The chief argument against this view and in behalf of the once widely held, but now obsolete interpretation of the hymn as a satire on the Brahmins has been based upon the conception that the frog is a grotesque and even repulsive animal. But to many people and peoples he is very far from being either. The respectful comparison of Brahmins with frogs is no more violent than the assignment by the Greeks of the little horned owl of southern Europe to Pallas Athena as an emblem of her wisdom. Notice, e. g., *Brehms Tierleben*, 4. 283: '[Flower] erzählt, dass während der Regenzeit, als jeden Abend Schwärme von Insekten, vom Lichte angezogen, ins Haus kamen und zur Essenszeit sehr lästig wurden, ein oder zwei solcher Frösche [Indian bullfrogs] auf den Esstisch gesetzt wurden. Sie schienen zu verstehen, was von ihnen verlangt wurde, denn anstatt wegzuspringen oder sich von den Gästen oder Dienern beunruhigen zu lassen, fingen und verzehrten sie die fliegenden Insekten nacheinander, wenn diese auf den Tisch landeten.' See also Waddell, 'Frog-worship' (in Nepal), *Indian Antiquary*, 22. 293 ff.

less be appreciated best by those who have lived in India'; or than appears in the key-note of Bloomfield's article (p. 178): 'The frog in his character of water-animal par excellence quenches fire, produces water where previously there was none, is the proper repository for fever, and finally is associated with the annual appearance of rain in the rainy season.'

It is an almost universal superstition, if not a fact, that the croaking of frogs is a sign of rain. It is well established that the tree-frog, 'the prophet of the summer showers,' is apt to croak when the barometer is low and rain is impending. It is quite possible that the more aquatic species do likewise. An army captain tells of their suddenly appearing at the first sign of rain and croaking by the thousands on the sandy drilling grounds of a fort in Arizona. This frequently occurs after months of drouth and of silence on the part of the frogs. If the Vedic Indians observed that the coming of the rains was preceded by the croaking of frogs, or even if the croaking and the rain were simultaneous, it would have been natural, yea inevitable, for them to conclude that the frogs were responsible for the breaking of the rains. There is, in fact, more than a bit of native evidence that the Hindus viewed the frogs as 'rain-callers.'

In America, as in Europe and temperate latitudes in general, frogs hibernate in winter. In India, as in other tropical countries, they estivate during the dry season, i. e. they bury themselves deep in the sand or soil and silently await the coming of the rains. They emerge by the thousands from their places of estivation at the beginning of the rainy season; they breed when they thus emerge in the tropical spring from their retreats; they croak chiefly during the breeding period, the croak being the sexual cry of the male. When a large number of individuals join in the performance, as is usually the case, the concert at the beginning of the rains is simply deafening and is audible miles away.² Thus, in a very real sense, the croaking of the frogs

² Cf. in general *Brehms Tierleben*, 4th ed., edited by Otto zur Strassen, Leipzig and Wien, 1911-1915, vol. 4: *Die Lurche und Kriechtiere* von Alfred Brehm, neubearbeitet von Franz Werner, 1912; *Cambridge Natural History*, vol. 8: *Amphibia and Reptiles* by H. Gadow; Mary C. Dickerson, *The Frog Book*, New York, 1913; E. G. Boulenger, *Reptiles and Batrachians*, New

ushers in the Indian rainy season, and by an easy *causa causata* is considered responsible for it.

The texts make it plain that the croaking of the frogs is preceded by a period of silence. In the *Harivaṃśa*, *Viṣṇuparvan* 95. 23 = 8803, the frogs croak after having slept eight months. In RV. 7. 103. 1, 8, and 9 the frogs raise their voices after having lain silent for twelve months. The silence of the frogs is, of course, that of estivation. The longer period would count from the first appearance of the frogs in one year to their first appearance in the next year, or from the beginning of one rainy season to the beginning of the following one. The shorter period would reckon from the end of the rains one year to their beginning in the next year. In the Panjab the rainy season lasts four months—June, July, August, and September.

In many cases when the texts especially designate the sex of the frog, it is the female (*maṇḍūkī*, *maṇḍūkikā*) that croaks (cf. AV. 4. 15. 14, and Bloomfield, p. 179 and note). Biologically, however, the female frog has little or no voice and only the male croaks. But as frogs have no external organs of copulation, the Hindus could not have distinguished male and female. Even a frog itself cannot determine by sight the sex of another. At the breeding period a male frog approaches another frog and embraces it; if the latter croaks it is recognized as a male and is released. Doubtless this breeding is described in our hymn: '[Stanza 3] When, the rainy season having arrived, it has rained upon them longing and thirsting, then crying *akhkhala*, as a son to his father one approaches the other (who is) croaking.³ [Stanza 4] One of them seizes the other when they have both delighted in the pouring forth of the waters⁴; when the

York, 1914; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s. v. *Batrachia*, *Hibernation*. See also G. A. Boulenger, *The Tailless Batrachians of Europe* (in publications of the Ray Society), 1897-8, vol. 1, especially p. 62 ff.; E. Massat, 'Les Cris des Batraciens,' *Cosmos*, Paris, 1911, vol. 64; J. Gal, 'Chant de la Rainette,' *Bull. Soc. Étud. Sc. Nat.*, Nîmes, vol. 35.

³ The seer should not be blamed for failing to observe that it is only the approaching (male) frog that is croaking; it is admittedly difficult to detect a frog in the act of croaking.

⁴ The sexual 'seizing' lasts often for hours and even days and would certainly be noticed frequently by the rishi-naturalist.

frog sprinkled by the rain hopped about,⁵ the speckled joins voice with the green.' Here we have together and in proper sequence the beginning of the rains, the croaking, and the breeding—in the hymn as in nature.

The emphatic distinction in stanzas 4, 6, and 10 between the speckled and the green frogs attracts attention. This classification of frogs into two kinds, the speckled and the green, apparently goes by parallel straight thru the hymn. The one approaches the other, *anyó anyám* (stanza 3); the one seizes the other, *anyó anyám* (stanza 4); both kinds rejoice in the waters (4); the speckled joins voice with the green (4); the one repeats the cry of the other, *anyó anyásya* (5)^{5a}; the one bellows like an ox, the other bleats like a goat (6 and 10); the one is speckled, the other is green (6 and 10). In stanzas 4 and 10 dual verbs are used—with subjects in the sense of 'both kinds, the speckled and the green.' It is more than possible that the colorings were considered an indication of sex. If the parallel holds, and it seems to hold perfectly, the male frog, speckled and deep-voiced, approached, seized, and bred with the female, who was green and had less voice.⁶

It is quite certain, however, that in the hymn different genera are indicated, either consciously or unconsciously—and in the case of the speckled frog, possibly a definite species. According to Brehm, the frogs and toads of India are *Ranidae* (true frogs and flying frogs), *Engystomatidae* (small-mouthed frogs), and *Pelobatidae* (toad frogs). To the second of these families belongs the numerous, wide-spread, large, brown-yellow-black-red-gray speckled Indian Bullfrog, *Callula pulchra* Gray, whose voice resembles the bellow of an ox.⁷ Twice in the hymn we

⁵ *kāniṣkan*: frequentative rather than intensive. Bloomfield, 'did skip.'

^{5a} Despite Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, 2. 1. 322 (cf. also Brugmann, *Grundriss*, 2. 1. 95), I am unable to see any indication, either in forms, accent, syntax, or context, of reciprocal action in stanzas 3, 4, or 5.

⁶ That there was, at least later, a consciousness of the sex-element in the hymn is suggested by Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇuparvan 95. 23 = 8803, 'a passage which is clearly modelled after sts. 7 ff. of our hymn . . . : "The frog having lain asleep eight months croaks with his wives."' (Bloomfield, p. 178).

⁷ It inhabits the Indian mainland from Ceylon to China, and is known and distinguished everywhere for its variegated coloring and for its remarkably

find, if not the direct statement, at least the clear indication by parallel that the speckled frog has a deep voice and bellows like an ox, and that the green frog bleats like a goat, i. e. has less voice: 'One bellows like an ox (*gómāyur éko*), the other bleats like a goat; one of them is speckled, the other is green' (stanza 6); 'The one that bellows like an ox, the one that bleats like a goat; the speckled one and the green one have both given us wealth' (stanza 10). In *Kāuśika* 93. 4 and 96. 1 and 3 *gómāyu* above is used outright as a name for a particular kind of frog—quite possibly the Indian bullfrog. There are various species in India of green (or, for that matter, yellow or greenish-yellow) frogs that 'bleat like a goat,' that have less voice: 'bearing a common name, but of different color-and-shape, they modulate their voice in various ways when they speak' (stanza 6).

That the hymn is on the whole hieratic cannot be denied, and one must agree, rather regretfully, to be sure, with Bloomfield (p. 176) in rejecting the picture of a 'mildly frenzied rhapsodist among the people, or, perhaps, . . . some Rāja's poet laureate "given to infinite tobacco" [to keep away the mosquitoes!], as he walks along the jungle in the cool of the evening, at the opening of the rainy season, eager to bag some good subject for the delectation of the court of his patron.' But even if the

loud voice. For a full description of its habitat, markings, habits, and voice see Brehm, l. c., p. 281 ff. Notice p. 283: 'Später macht Flower auf Grund seiner Beobachtungen in Siam noch weitere Mitteilungen über den Indischen Ochsenfrosch . . . Während der Regenzeit in Bangkok ist fast jeden Abend nach einem regnerischen Tage die Luft voll von dem dröhnenden Gequake dieser Frösche, das wie "eung-ahng eungh-angh" klingt und, bald fallend, bald ansteigend, die ganze Nacht fortgesetzt wird. [Cf. stanza 7 of the hymn: 'Like Brahmans at the all-night soma-sacrifice, chanting around the full soma-bowl (pool).'] An manchen Strassen, die beiderseits von Wasser begrenzt sind, und wo *Callula* häufig ist, kann man buchstäblich seine eigene Stimme nicht hören.'

The voice of the Indian bullfrog is elsewhere described by Flower as 'wau-auhhhhhk.' With *akhkhala* in stanza 3, above, Bloomfield (p. 174, note) compares *βρεκεκεκεξ κοῦξ κοῦξ*. But according to G. A. Boulenger (above, p. 63) the cry of Aristophanes' chorus of frogs is that of *Rana esculenta*, which is not a speckled, but a green frog. I grant, however, that little weight can be put on efforts accurately to describe the voice of frogs. Probably no two modern observers would agree entirely upon a phonetic transcription of the voice of any species.

ecclesiastical 'Stimmungsbrechung' at the end was, as seems likely, the production of the author of the remainder of the hymn, I submit, nevertheless, that the rishi was not so absorbed in the prospects of bakhshish that he could not afford the time to observe with patient care the frogs at their play and to describe with genuine interest and enthusiasm what he saw. Notice, in addition to what has already been said, stanza 5 of our hymn: 'When one of them repeats the cry of the other, as a student (that) of the teacher, then all that with them is like a well-executed^s lesson, when with a loud voice they croak upon the water.' One croaks in one direction, another croaks in another direction; then a whole chorus arises as if a great group of students were repeating the words of the teacher. Any one who has observed frogs will recognize this as an accurate and vivid description.

Finally, to Bloomfield's evidence of the use of the frog in rain-charms may be added a point from the report of ritual uses in Lanman's edition of Whitney's translation of the *Atharva-Veda*. AV. 3. 13 is addressed directly to the waters and is prescribed in whole or in part for four different purposes: to be used with a frog in a ceremony for directing water into a certain course (*Kāūsika* 40. 1 ff.); to accompany the conducting, in the *agnicayana*, of water, reeds, and a frog over the altar-site (*Vāitāna* 29. 13); to be used by one desiring rain (*Commentary*); to be employed in a rite for good fortune (*Kāūsika* 41. 14). Here we have in the native employment of one hymn all the elements of frog-ritualism except its use as a cure for fever.

^s Cf. Bloomfield, p. 174 and note.

THE VIGESIMAL AND DECIMAL SYSTEMS IN THE AINU NUMERALS

WITH SOME REMARKS ON AINU PHONOLOGY

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The vigesimal character of the numeral system of the Ainu was first recognized clearly by the great philologist A. F. Pott,¹ although he had at his disposal only the scanty and deficient vocabularies of A. J. v. Krusenstern² and Klaproth (*Asia polyglotta*). On the basis of a Japanese collection of Ainu words, the *Moshiogusa*, A. Pfizmaier³ arrived at the same conclusion a few years later. J. Batchelor,⁴ the patient and meritorious investigator of the Yezo Ainu, has refrained from giving an analysis of the numerals, being content to observe that 'twenty, more literally a "score," is the highest unit ever present to the Ainu mind when counting. Thus, forty is "two score," sixty is "three score," eighty is "four score," and a hundred is "five score." ' An interesting analysis of the numerals from the pen of B. H. Chamberlain, however, is inserted in his Grammar.

The cardinal numerals from one to five are *šine*, *tu*, *re*, *ine*, and *ašikne*; or properly, *-ne* being a suffix, as will presently be recognized,⁵ they are *ši*, *tu*, *re*, *i*, *ašik*. The word for the number 5, *ašik*, is doubtless associated with the nouns, Yezo *aške*, from **ašike* 'hand', *aškororo* 'a handful', *ašikipet*, Saghalin *askipit*

¹ *Die quinare und vigesimale Zählmethode bei Völkern aller Welttheile*, p. 85 (Halle, 1847).

² *Wörter sammlungen aus den Sprachen einiger Völker des östlichen Asiens* (St. Petersburg, 1813).

³ 'Untersuchungen über den Bau der Aino-Sprache,' p. 26 (*Sb. Wiener Akad.* 1851). In 1883 Pfizmaier adopted the only correct spelling 'Ainu' (see his 'Untersuchungen über Ainu-Gegenstände,' p. 1).

⁴ *A Grammar of the Ainu Language*, p. 47 ff. (Yokohama, 1903); reprinted also at the end of his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* (2d ed., Tokyo, 1905).

⁵ The same suffix is employed also in adjectives: *kuras-ne* 'black', *on-ne* 'old', *tan-ne* 'long', *tak-ne* 'short'.

'finger'.⁶ The designation for 'foot' (*kema*) is not met with in the numeral system.

The numbers six to nine are formed by subtraction from 10, *wan*,⁷ as follows:—

iwan, *i-wan* (*i* 4, *wan* 10), $10 - 4 = 6$.

arawan, *a-ra-wan*⁸ (*a* prefix, *ra* = *re* 3, *wan* 10), $10 - 3 = 7$.

tupesan, *tu-pe-san* (*tu* 2, *pe* 'thing,' *san* 10), $10 - 2 = 8$.

šinepesan, *ši-ne-pe-san* (*ši* 1, *ne* suffix, *pe* 'thing,' *san* 10), $10 - 1 = 9$.⁹

⁶This seems to me the only rational explanation in opposition to B. H. Chamberlain (*The Language, Mythology, . . . of Japan Viewed in the Light of Ainu Studies*, p. 9), who interprets *ašik-ne* as 'possibly "new four" (*aširi ine*).' This is artificial and runs counter to phonetic requirements. Pott (*l.c.*) had already remarked that the relationship of the numeral 5 to 4 in the sense of 'a beyond it' is merely deceptive.

⁷Batchelor writes *wa(n)*. On Saghalin I heard only *wan* or in composition with *pe* 'thing': *wam-pe*. I. Radliński ('Slownik narzecza Ainów,' p. 67, Kraków, 1891) gives for the Kuril dialect *wam-pi-y* or *vam-pi-kama*. The materials of this Polish author have not been utilized by Batchelor.

⁸On Saghalin only *a-ru-wan*. Batchelor (*Dictionary*, p. 44) gives for Yezo both *arawan* and *aruwan* on equal footing; the *Moshiogusa*, according to Pfizmaier, only *aruwan*. Kuril Ainu (Radliński) *arwa* (from **aruwa*).

⁹Chamberlain (*l.c.*) analyzes *tupesan* as 'two (*tu*) things (*pe*) come down (*san*) [from ten],' and similarly *šinepesan*. True it is, Batchelor has on record a word *san* with the meaning 'to descend, to flow along as a river, to go down'; but there is nothing to indicate that it conveys the notion of subtraction. I prefer to assume that *san* in the numbers 8 and 9 appears in lieu of *wan*, and signifies 'ten.' The question, however, is not of a phonetic change, an alternation of *s* and *w* being otherwise unknown in Ainu, but we are bound to suppose that *san* is an independent stem or base with the meaning 'ten' on a par with *wan*. Also the languages of primitive tribes are no longer extant in their original forms, and especially in the numerals far-going modifications and re-adjustments of various systems have doubtless taken place. In Friedrich Müller's *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft* (2. 1. 145), where a rather poor and in many respects incorrect sketch of Ainu is given, we read literally as follows: '8 *tu-be-šan* (2 + 5); 9 *šne-be-šan* (1 + 8).' The element *san* cannot be compared with the numeral 5 *ašik*, *ašik-ne*, for, as is evidenced by the word for 'finger,' from which the numeral is derived, the final *k* is part of the stem. Moreover, if we are not mistaken, even in Müller's time (1882) 2 + 5 was 7, and not 8, as he makes out. To be consistent, Müller should have explained *šne-be-šan* 9 as 1 + 5, but it will not do to conceive the element *be-šan* as 8. Pott had already recognized the true condition of affairs, saying that the numbers from 6 to 9 raise the suspicion of having originated retrospectively through deduction from 10, and that there is no doubt of this in 8 and 9. Even Ph. von Siebold (*Nippon*, new ed., 2. 255) gave a correct explanation of the Ainu number 8. The first edition of his work, incomplete, appeared in seven parts in Leiden, 1832-52.

The numbers eleven to nineteen are formed on the scheme $1 + 10$, $2 + 10$, *šine ikašima wan*; on Saghalin simply *šinū ikašima* = $1 +$. The unit of all higher counting is represented by the figure 20: Yezo *hot-ne* (the same suffix *-ne* as in the numbers 1, 4, 5, and possibly the mobile *-n* of *wan* 10), Kuril *ot*, Saghalin *ox, otsi*. The number 30 is expressed by $10 - 2 \times 20^{10}$ (*wan-e-tu-hot-ne*), 31 by $1 + (10 - 2 \times 20)$, $40 = 2 \times 20$, $50 = 10 - 3 \times 20$, $60 = 3 \times 20$, $70 = 10 - 4 \times 20$, $80 = 4 \times 20$, $90 = 10 - 5 \times 20$, $100 = 5 \times 20$ (*ašikne hotne*, Kuril *askinot*), $110 = 10 - 6 \times 20$, $120 = 6 \times 20$, $200 = 10 \times 20$, $1000 = 5 \times 10 \times 20$, etc.

In its origin, this numeral system accordingly was quaternary, the numbers one to four being indivisible and undefinable roots. The number five was derived from the designation of the hand. It plays no role in the formation of higher number-conceptions. The words for ten and twenty are simple and unanalyzable stems. From eleven to nineteen the numbers follow the decimal principle, while from twenty onward a vigesimal system is carried through with clear consistency. Similar conditions are found in American languages.¹¹

This method of reckoning is remarkable for its complexity, and bespeaks no small degree of mental effort for such simple folk as the Ainu. We are quite ready to believe Batchelor that in actual practice the higher numbers are rarely, if ever, met with, nor is it surprising to learn from the same authority that at the present time the simpler Japanese method (that is, a purely decimal system) is rapidly supplanting the cumbrous native system. Such transformations are always interesting to note and worth keeping in mind, especially in view of the conventional opinion that the life of primitives should be unchangeable.

It has not yet become known, however, that the Ainu of Saghalin, at least part of them, have advanced toward a purely decimal system of counting, but, while the impetus to this progressive movement was doubtless received from an outside quar-

¹⁰ To be understood, of course, as $(2 \times 20) - 10$.

¹¹ See chiefly the interesting study by R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, 'Numeral Systems of the Languages of California,' *American Anthropologist*, 9 (1907), p. 663-690; and J. A. Mason, 'Ethnology of the Salinan Indians,' *Univ. of Cal. Publ. in Am. Arch.* 10 (1912), p. 134-136.

ter, they have recruited elements of their own language to this end. Among the Ainu on the southeast coast of Saghalin Island, I recorded the numerals in January 1899 as follows:—

1 <i>ši-nä'</i>	10 <i>wam-pe</i>	100 <i>ši-nä-taŋku</i>
2 <i>tū</i>	20 <i>tū-kūŋkūtu</i>	200 <i>tū-taŋku</i>
	21 <i>tū-kūŋkūtu ši-nä ikašima</i>	
3 <i>rē</i>	30 <i>rē-kūŋkūtu</i>	300 <i>rē-taŋku</i>
4 <i>ī-ne</i>	40 <i>ī-ne-kūŋkūtu</i>	400 <i>ī-ne-taŋku</i>
5 <i>aši'k, aši-ne</i>	50 <i>aši-ne-kūŋkūtu</i>	500 <i>aši-ne-taŋku</i>
6 <i>i-wan, i-wam-pe</i>	60 <i>i-wan-kūŋkūtu</i>	600 <i>i-wan-taŋku</i>
7 <i>a-ru-wam-pe</i>	70 <i>a-ru-wan-kūŋkūtu</i>	700 <i>a-ru-wan-taŋku</i>
8 <i>tu-pe-sam-pe</i>	80 <i>tu-pe-san-kūŋkūtu</i>	800 <i>tu-pe-san-taŋku</i>
9 <i>ši-nä-pe-sam-pe</i>	90 <i>ši-nä-pe-san-kūŋkūtu</i>	900 <i>ši-nä-pe-san-taŋku</i>
		1000 <i>wan-taŋku</i>

It is clear that this system, based on the multiplication of 10, is logically decimal pure and simple. How far it is propagated among the Ainu of Saghalin I am unprepared to say, as my sojourn among them was limited to a few days, but it was given me by my Ainu informant as the mode of counting then generally in vogue. There is no doubt that also the ancient vigesimal system still holds sway on Saghalin, as stated by M. M. Dobrotvorski and B. Pilsulski. Dobrotvorski was stationed on Saghalin as Russian military surgeon from 1867-71, and his *Ainu-Russian Dictionary*¹² was published on his death by one of his brothers in Kazan, 1875. In the appendix of this work (p. 15), which contains a criticism of Pfizmaier's treatise cited above, the author speaks exclusively of the vigesimal character of the numerals. In the body of the dictionary, however (p. 153), he remarks that *kunkutu* (thus spelled instead of *kūŋkūtu*) is a counting-word for sables with the meaning 'ten sables,' also *sne* (= *ši-nä*) *kunkutu* being used in this sense; *tu-kunkutu*, 'twenty sables,' etc. It is quite possible and, as will be noted, plausible that this method was originally inaugurated in connection with the calculation of sable-skins; but it is certain that *kūŋkūtu* does not mean 'sable,' either in Ainu or in any language of the peoples surrounding them. The sable is called by the Ainu both on Yezo and Saghalin only *hoinu* or *hoino*. Under

¹² By the way, a rather mediocre and from a phonetic viewpoint unsatisfactory work.

tañku Dobrotvorski (p. 317) notes that this signifies 'a hundred snares in catching sables.' *Tañku*, however, means simply 'hundred.'¹³

The word *tañku* for hundred occurs in an Ainu story recorded by B. Piłsudski¹⁴ and describing an incident of Tungus life. It is avowedly the reproduction of an Orok tradition. With reference to *tañku* Piłsudski remarks that this is not a word of the Ainu, who denotes hundred by *ašišne hot* 'five score'; 'it is taken,' he continues, 'from the Olčhy [read Olča] tribes, from whom they learned to set snares for pine-martens, and counted the number of snares by hundreds in that language.' Yet *tañku* is not peculiar to the Olča, but the common word for hundred in Manchu (*taṅgô*), in the ancient language of the Jučen (*taṅgu*), and among all Tungusian and Amur tribes. The Ainu were for two centuries under the rule of the Manchu, and my impression in the matter has always been that they adopted this numeral from their Manchu rulers. This conclusion is amply confirmed by the fact that the annual tribute to be paid to them by the Ainu, as was the case with all the tribes of the Amur region, consisted in sable-skins and other peltry. The Chinese classified all these peoples under the category 'those with an annual tribute of sable-skins' (*sui tsin tiao p'i*). The Ainu ranked in this class,

¹³ Dobrotvorski (p. 228) notes also a word *opispe* with the meaning 'ten snares in the catch of sables,' used in the same manner as *kuñkutu*. But *opispe* is very far from having in its origin this narrow significance. Eliminating the element *-pe* 'thing,' we have *opis* which was recorded by Steller in the eighteenth century with the spelling *ūp̄hs* as the numeral 10 among the Ainu at the southern end of Kamchatka (see his vocabulary published by J. Klaproth, *Asia polyglotta*, p. 302, or *Aperçu général des trois royaumes*, p. 254, Paris, 1832). Further, Batchelor has noted on Yezo a word *upiš* meaning 'number.' It is therefore probable that *upiš*, *opis*, or *opiš*, assumed the significance of a high number, and was finally utilized to convey the notion 'ten.' What Dobrotvorski noted is merely a specific case or an applied example. For this reason I am inclined to infer also that the expression *kuñkutu* at the outset had no relation to the business of sable-catching, but, whatever its primeval meaning may have been, is a genuine Ainu word denoting the numeral 10. On Yezo there is a similar word for ten, used only in the counting of animals, *atuita*; for example, *tu atuita* 'twenty animals'—sufficient evidence that the Ainu language does not lack expressions for ten.

¹⁴ *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore*, p. 139 (Publication of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Cracow, 1912).

as stated in chapter 3 of the *Huang ts'ing chi kung t'u*, 'The Tribute-bearing Nations of the Manchu Dynasty,' an official work published under the reign of K'ien-lung in 1773. Here the Ainu are illustrated and described under the name *K'u-ye* (*Hou-ye* of the Jesuits of the eighteenth century), which is a reproduction of Tungus *Kūgi*, the Tungus and Gilyak designation of the Ainu.

As to Manchu-Ainu relations we are well informed also by Japanese authors. One of these, who wrote in 1786, mentions tobacco-pipes provided with inscriptions in Manchu characters and traded to Karafuto (Saghalin), also Chinese stuffs obtained by the Manchu in Peking and shipped thither.¹⁵ Above all, we have an excellent source of information on Saghalin and the Amur region in the account of Mamia Rinsō, translated by Ph. von Siebold.¹⁶ Rinsō traveled in those regions in 1808, and left a vivid description of Manchu administration in Saghalin and the taxes paid by the Ainu in furs. He also saw on the east coast near Taraika a boundary-stake inscribed with Manchu characters. A Manchu document is still preserved by an Ainu chieftain of Naiero.¹⁷

The reminiscence of their former dependence on the Manchu is still preserved even in the Ainu traditions of Yezo, in which are allusions to journeys of the people to the governor of Manchuria to pay their respects. Batchelor,¹⁸ who has recorded such a story, comments on this occasion that the ancient Ainu used to go yearly to Manchuria to render homage to the governor of that country, and on their way used to pass through Saghalin; that they used also to do business with the Manchu particularly when at war with the Japanese; and that possibly the Ainu were subject to Manchuria in very ancient times. This chronological definition is somewhat exaggerated. Saghalin became known to the Manchu only as late as during the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hi (1662-1722).¹⁹ It follows therefrom that the

¹⁵ Klaproth, *Aperçu général des trois royaumes*, p. 190.

¹⁶ *Nippon*, new ed., 2, p. 207-235; see chiefly p. 219-221.

¹⁷ Laufer, *Keleti Szemle*, 1908, p. 5.

¹⁸ *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 18 (1890), p. 42.

¹⁹ See Du Halde, *Description of the Empire of China*, 2. 247, or the original French edition, 4. 15 (this report relates to the year 1709); C. Ritter, *Asien*, 3. 450.

Ainu decimal system cannot be older than about the middle of the eighteenth century, when Manchu sovereignty over them was more firmly established. It hardly requires special mention that the numeral system of the Manchu is strictly decimal.

Piłsudski, in his interesting work previously quoted (p. 1-11), is the first author to offer some remarks on the phonetics of the Ainu language. Batchelor has almost neglected this fundamental part of the language, and his transcription of Ainu is no more than an attempt at adapting the English alphabet to the writing of Ainu. And then it is possible to compare with Hebrew and Indo-European, and even to stamp as Indo-European, a language the sounds of which are not yet accurately ascertained. Piłsudski says that Abbé Rousselot studied the phonology of Ainu with some individuals from Yezo at the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London, 1910, and communicates some of his results. I have been waiting for their publication on the part of Rousselot, but have not yet seen it. In 1900, shortly after my return from Siberia, I prepared a small Ainu grammar which for some reason or other was never published. In the interest of the progress of Ainu studies I deem it useful to check off my data and conclusions with those obtained by Piłsudski and to state the points in which we agree and those in which we differ.

One of the most interesting experiences in the study of Ainu phonology was to me the fact that all sonants in the series both of the explosives and spirants are lacking. As I was familiar with this phenomenon in many other languages, I naturally paid especial attention to it in examining the Ainu consonantal system. I was able to hear the guttural, palatal, dental, and labial *k*, *č*, *t*, and *p* only as pure surds, and summarized the result of these observations in my Ainu grammar literally as follows: 'To the ear the surds may sometimes sound like sonants, but even in this case no laryngeal intonation takes place. Indeed an Ainu is not able to articulate the sonants of the Russian and Japanese languages, and will invariably transform these into the corresponding surds. Russian *dal'se* "farther," for instance, is pronounced by them *tarše*; Russian *gul'ai* "to walk"²⁰ like

²⁰ In the Pidgin-Russian as spoken by the aboriginal tribes and the Chinese and Koreans of eastern Siberia, the Russian verb is usually employed in the imperative, regardless of the real form required.

kurai; Japanese *baka* "fool" becomes *paka*; *ōgi* "fan," *aunki*; *azuki* "a kind of bean," *antuki*.' Ainu *kumaška* 'ruble' is the reproduction of Russian *bumaška* 'banknote, paper bill.' All close observers are indeed agreed on the one point that the sounds in question, both as initials and finals, are downright surds; this is the opinion, although not expressed by this strict formula, of Dobrotvorski, Batchelor, and also Piłsudski.²¹ Batchelor remarks that 'no sonant letter begins a sentence, but in composition surds are sometimes changed into sonants, *k* turning into *g*, *p* into *b*, *t* into *d*.' This would be a sort of sandhi which occurs in exactly the same manner in Japanese, and which, owing to the long and familiar intercourse of both peoples, may conclusively be attributed to the influence exerted by the Japanese upon the Ainu language. Japanese likewise, as is well known, lacks the sonant explosives, and has developed them but secondarily in composition (the so-called *nigori*). It is thus not impossible, I concluded in 1900, that in a further stage of development Ainu will also develop such secondary sonants. On the southeast coast of Saghalin I had little occasion to note this change; on the contrary I recorded many examples with surds in composition, where a sonant is offered by Batchelor; for instance, *inumbe* 'wooden framework round a fireplace'—Saghalin *inumpä*; *humbe* 'whale'—Saghalin *humpe*; *rai-ge* 'to kill'—Saghalin *rai-ke* (*-ke* is a suffix forming causative verbs; *rai* 'to die').

Piłsudski formulates his observations as follows: 'The explosives are *k*, *t*, *p*; *g*, *d*, *b*. These two groups are not unrelated. In Ainu there is really only one group; if the sounds occur at the beginning of a word, their normal sound is *k*, *t*, *p*. In the middle of a word, the sound wavers between the former, the voiceless group, and the voiced group *g*, *d*, *b*. Strictly speaking, these are not identical with their Indo-European corresponding consonants. They are, I should say, neither *fortes* or *lenes*; they are *between*. And then, which is yet more important, their conditions of combination are to be noticed. For instance, after *m*, these consonants readily acquire a certain sonorousness of tone, which probably does not last during the whole time of their

²¹ F. Müller (*l.c.* p. 143) has added *g*, *d*, *b* to the consonantal system of the Ainu, for which there was no occasion even at his time; he had accordingly not read Dobrotvorski.

articulation. The outcome of this was that in very many cases I was unable to determine the nature of the consonant, as I heard a sound that could not be identified either with the former group or with the latter. At all events, among the Ainu of Saghalin, the normal and primary group is *k, t, p* (voiceless), possibly less strongly articulated in certain connections. Their corresponding sounds (*g, d, b*) more or less voiced appear only as secondary variations. On the western shore of Saghalin the latter group is more often to be met with than on the eastern shore.'

The last observation accounts for the fact that on the east coast I heard so few *g, d, and b*; I had no occasion to visit the southwestern shore of the island. Although Piłsudski expresses himself somewhat differently, I believe that I am perfectly in accord with him as to the facts in the case, save that I am not yet convinced that the Saghalin dialect possesses genuine sonants. In my estimation, these sonants are also voiceless.²² With respect to the Yezo dialect I do not hazard an opinion, not having had an opportunity of hearing it.

I concur with Piłsudski in the observation that the explosives are capable of palatalization, except that I do not believe with him in the existence of *b'* and *g'*, and have to add *t'* to his *k'* and *p'*. Palatalized *t'* alternates with palatal *č* (see below, p. 204-5).

Piłsudski asserts that the palatal sonant *j* also occurs, but only in very few words after a nasal, as in *unji* 'fire', *tunji* 'interpreter'—cases already cited by Dobrotvorski. The latter example proves little, as it is a loan-word; Batchelor writes it *tunči*, and in my own collectanea I have *tunčinė ainu* 'interpreter': it is Sinico-Japanese *tsūji*, Chinese *t'un(t'ung)-ši*. This word has been carried by the Chinese all over Eastern and Central Asia; it is heard in Tibet as well as in Mongolia and Manchuria (Manchu *tuñse*, Golde *tuñsiko*, Oročon *tuñksa*). It is curious that the first element of the Ainu loan-word agrees with the Manchu form, the second element with Japanese. At any rate this example is not conclusive as to the existence of an original *j* in Ainu. In regard to *unji*, I myself heard only *unči*, and Batchelor gives both *unči* and *unji*, so that this *j* represents

²² Compare Sievers, *Phonetik*, § 348.

č, and is again inspired by an imitation of the Japanese *nigori*. A Japanese initial *j* is transformed by the Ainu into the palatal surd; for instance, *jo* 'lock' becomes *čo*.

As final consonants occur the three explosives, the four nasals *ñ*, *n*, *n'*, and *m*; and *s*, *r*. In regard to the final explosives I made the curious observation on Saghalin that they were about to disappear, that they were dropped altogether by most individuals, while a few in some cases pronounced them with a rather obscure articulation, the preceding vowel being greatly shortened and uttered harshly and abruptly. Thus:—

YEZO	SAGHALIN
<i>yuk</i> 'stag'	<i>yŭ'</i>
<i>tek</i> 'hand'	<i>tě'</i>
<i>šiuik</i> 'bear'	<i>išō'</i>
<i>marek</i> 'spear for salmon'	<i>marě'</i>
<i>upok</i> 'to wrestle'	<i>upō'</i>
<i>čup</i> 'sun, moon'	<i>čŭ'</i>
<i>ikaiop</i> 'quiver'	<i>ikaiō'</i>
<i>onnep</i> 'a large seal'	<i>onně'</i>
<i>čep</i> 'fish'	<i>če'</i>
<i>at</i> 'flying squirrel'	<i>a'</i>

Piłsudski states that certain final consonants are not completely articulated and only very faintly heard, but his description of the process is not quite clear. In all probability the history of this event was such that the final explosives were first changed into the spirant *x* (see below, p. 202-3), which is now gradually giving way. We have, for instance, Yezo *etok* 'source, origin, limit', Saghalin *etox* and *eto*; *mat* or *max* 'woman' becomes *ma* in composition: *kaši-ma* 'old woman,' *koš-ma* 'daughter-in-law.'

In the combinations *pk* and *pt*, when occurring as medial sounds, the labial explosive is eliminated in the dialect of Saghalin:—

YEZO	SAGHALIN
<i>ataye-yupke</i> 'expensive'	<i>ataiyuki</i>
<i>aptoran</i> 'it rains'	<i>atoran</i>
<i>irangarapte</i> 'a greeting'	<i>irañkaratū</i>

Medial double *k* of the Yezo dialect corresponds to *sk* on Saghalin: Yezo *ikka* 'to steal,' Saghalin and Kuril *iska*.

Pk and *kk* interchange: Yezo *kupka* and *kukka* 'mattock.'

Of nasals, Ainu possesses at present four—the guttural *ñ*, palatal *n'* or *ñ*, the dental *n*, and the labial *m*. Only the two last-named may be considered as original constituents of the language. The guttural nasal *ñ* (*ng*) has originated from dental *n* before the guttural explosive:—

Kusuñ-kotan, the town Korsakovsk
ahun + kani = *ahunkani* 'to enter'
ahun + ke = *ahunke* 'to let enter'
ehan + ke = *ehanke* 'near'
itañki 'teacup'; Batchelor spells *itangi*
kuñkani 'gold,' Japanese *kogane*
añ-kutihi 'metal girdle'
toñkori 'a musical instrument'

As equivalent of Yezo *šinnam* 'cold, frost' I noted on Saghalin *šinnamai*.

As a final, *ñ* occurs very seldom; for instance, *kakun* 'pouch,' *kamiyun* 'thunder.'

The palatal *n'* occurs only before *e* or as a final, and the palatalization is weak and almost imperceptible. *N* changes into *m* before labials: *tan + pe* = *tampe* 'this thing.' Yezo final *m* sometimes becomes *n* or *ñ* in Saghalin: Yezo *haram* 'lizard,' Saghalin *harian*; Yezo *hum* 'voice,' Saghalin *hun*. Final *n* and *s* after *o* and *u* may be dissolved into *i*, thus forming a diphthong, or being lengthened:—

pon čika(p) 'small bird' becomes *poi* and *pō čika(p)*
wen ainu 'a bad man'—*wei ainu*
išo rui 'bear-skin', for *rus*
tonči and *toiči* 'pit, dilapidated habitation'
 Yezo *setan-ni* and *setai-ni* 'Pyrus toringo'

The spirant *x* has been observed by me in the same manner as by Piłsudski and in the Kuril dialect by Radliński. It occurs as initial, medial, and final, corresponding not only to *p*, *t*, or *k* of Yezo, but also to *h*, *č*, and *ra*.

SAGHALIN
oax 'one of a pair'
max 'wife'
kux 'belt, girdle'

YEZO
oara
mat, mači
kučihi (Kuril *kut*)

<i>axto</i> 'rain'	<i>apto</i>
<i>oyaxta</i> 'abroad, away'	<i>oyakta</i>
<i>čux, čup</i> 'sun'	<i>čup</i>
<i>suroxte</i> 'they sit' from <i>rok</i> 'to sit'	
<i>šinox</i> and <i>šinot</i> 'to play'	

There is no doubt that Yezo has preserved the original condition, and that *x*, which is absent in Yezo, presents a secondary development on Saghalin. Sometimes *x* appears as a euphonic insertion, as in *reporpe* 'a sea-animal' from *rep* ('sea') + *ox* (instead of *o*, 'in, inside') + *pe* ('thing, creature'), or in *pinoxponne* 'stealthily' from *pi* ('secret') + *no* + *ponne* (two adverbial suffixes).

Pilsudski explains that *f* occurs but rarely, and as a secondary sound, produced by the influence of the neighboring vowel (*kuf*, *kux*, *kuči* 'girdle,' original form *kut* or *kut'*); *p*, when weakened, sometimes becomes *f*, but is always accompanied by *u* (*čup* or *čuf* 'luminous body, sun, moon'). I heard *f* in *čufčikin* 'east,' but *čupahun* 'west.' In *utufta* 'between,' from *uturu* 'interval' and *oxta* 'in,' *f* seems to be evolved from *x*; compare also *ekoxpe* and *yokofpe* 'a single rock in the sea.' Batchelor says that 'the letter *f* resembles the true labial in sound, it being softer than the English labiodental *f*; it is always slightly aspirated as though indeed it were *h*.' On Saghalin I heard *f* and *w* as bilabials, seldom as dentolabials, and only in the combination *fu*. All examples of initial *f* given in Batchelor's *Dictionary* and occupying but two pages are indeed of the type *fu*, and several cases show an alternation of *fu* and *hu*: *fuči*—*huči* 'fire,' *fura*—*hura* 'scent,' *furu*—*huru* 'hill,' *fuško-toita*—*huško-toita* 'anciently,' *futtat*—*huttat* 'bamboo grass.' Dobrotvorski enumerates after doubtful older sources a few words beginning with *fa*, *fe*, *fi*, *fo*, but all these can be easily traced to initial *h*, *p*, or *w*; for instance, Dobrotvorski's *faibo* 'mother' in fact is *habo*, *faigar* 'spring' is *paikara*, *fambe* 'ten' is *wambe*, *fets* 'river' is *pet*. None of these examples speaks in favor of an original *f*. It is plain that the use of this fricative is very restricted, and, as justly emphasized by Pilsudski, is secondary. When Batchelor adds that it is often found in words which appear to be of Japanese origin (this observation was made also by Dobrotvorski), I believe that this points to the real source of the consonant in Ainu, which in my estimation was adopted by them from the Japanese in comparatively late historical times. This assumption would harmonize

with the fact that in the dialect of Kamchatka and the Kuriles *f* is absent; Radliński at least does not give any word with initial *f*. In Japanese also, *f* occurs only before the vowel *u*, *h* being substituted for it with the other four vowels; or rather the rule should be formulated that *h* before *u* becomes *f*. In Japanese likewise, *f* and *h* (probably developed from *p*) are interrelated.

In regard to *h* and *w* I have nothing to add to the remarks of Piłsudski, except that I am not inclined to accept his view that *w* (or, as he writes it, *v*) is always voiced.

Of sibilants I distinguished in Saghalin Ainu three—the dental sibilant *s*, the palatal sibilant *š*, and an intermediary sound transcribed *ś*, in the formation of which the tip of the tongue moves farther down than in the two former. This *ś* I regarded not as an independent sound, but as secondarily developed from *s* before certain vowels within a word, and as perhaps representing merely an individual variation, as some persons pronounced a plain *s* in the place of *ś*. In all probability it is developed from a palatalized *s* (*s'*). Piłsudski denies and rejects *š* entirely, and replaces it by *ś*, equalizing the latter with Polish *ś*,²³ and defining it as between *s* and *š* with a distinct palatalization, or an approach to the position in which *i* is articulated. Abbé Rousselot remarks that *s* is formed by the tip of the tongue held somewhat downward, and its upper surface (dorsum) raised toward the palate. I have no doubt that Piłsudski's *ś* (not heard or noted by Batchelor) coincides exactly with my *ś*, especially as his examples of *ś* agree with my records of *ś* (for instance, *sam* 'to marry,' *i-sam* 'to marry me'—where Piłsudski justly attributes the origin of this *ś* to the influence of the preceding vowel *i*),²⁴ but I am convinced also that a genuine palatal *š*, as recorded by Batchelor for the Yezo dialect, likewise exists on Saghalin. This observation is confirmed by the fact of a phonetic alternation of *t*, *t'*, *č*, and *š*.

Compare the following examples:—

²³ The same observation was already made by A. Pfizmaier, 'Erörterungen und Aufklärungen über Ainu,' p. 30, *Sb. Wiener Akad.* 1882).

²⁴ Some examples noted by me are *seta* 'dog,' but *pō-seta* 'small dog' (*po* originated from *pon*, *poi*); Yezo *sesek*, *šesek* 'warm'—Saghalin *sēsšē*; *rus* and *rus* 'skin'; *śis* 'eye'; *čis* 'to weep, to grieve.'

Kuril <i>t'eonatarp</i> 'green'	Saghalin and Yezo <i>šiunin</i> 'green,
<i>t'eonatorpa</i> 'yellow'	yellow'
(Klaproth: <i>t'euninua</i>)	
Saghalin <i>t'ise</i> , <i>t'ise</i> , <i>t'isä</i> 'house'	Yezo <i>čisei</i>
Yezo <i>inuye</i> , <i>šinuye</i> 'to tattoo, carve'	Saghalin <i>inuye</i> , <i>činuye</i> , <i>šinuye</i>
Kuril <i>kut</i> 'girdle'	Yezo <i>kučihi</i> (<i>kutšihi</i>)
Kuril <i>po-mat</i> , <i>e-po-moč</i> 'daughter'	Yezo <i>mat</i> , <i>mači</i> (<i>matši</i>) 'wife'
	<i>matne</i> 'female' of animals
	Yezo <i>etu</i> , <i>eči</i> , <i>čietu</i> 'spout, handle'

Of liquidæ Ainu possesses only *r*. *L* is absent, as in Japanese. In Russian loan-words *n* is substituted for initial *l*, while Russian medial *l* becomes *r* or is dropped entirely. The Russians are called by the Ainu *Nuča* instead of *Luča*, the general name for the Russians among the Amur tribes. Russian *gul'ai* 'to walk' is pronounced by the Ainu *kurai*. Ainu *čaŋki* 'chief, commander, superior' (address to all Russian gentlemen) is derived from Russian *načal'nik*. Piłsudski affirms that he heard clearly *l* instead of *r* pronounced by many persons on Yezo in the village Piratori and still more frequently in Shiravoi. This observation is confirmed by Abbé Rousselot, who says that *l* exists only as a modification of *r*. Accordingly it is a mere local variation, and cannot be credited to the fundamental phonetic system of Ainu. *R* has its normal articulation; only as an initial it is, according to Rousselot, semi-occlusive, yielding such variations as *r*, *tr*, *kr*, *tl*. Piłsudski heard *tr* or *dr* only after *n*, and noted a frequent interchange of *t* and *r*, particularly among the Ainu of the north. I heard *tāşoku* 'candle' for Japanese *rosoku*, and *tetara* 'white' for Yezo *retara*.

The consonantal system of modern Saghalin Ainu is accordingly composed as follows:—

	Explosives		Nasals	Spirants	
	Palatalized				
Gutturals	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
Palatals	<i>c</i>		<i>n'</i>	<i>š</i>	
Dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>
Labials	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>w</i>
Liquids	<i>r</i>				

Eliminating the secondary, more or less modern, developments, we obtain the following:—

	Explosives	Nasals	Spirants
Gutturals	<i>k</i>	..	<i>h</i>
Palatals	<i>č</i>	..	<i>š</i>
Dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>
Labials	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>
Liquids	<i>r</i>		

That this limited inventory of eleven sounds bears no relation to Altaic, Indo-European, Semitic, or Bask, with all of which Ainu has thoughtlessly been compared, must be patent to every one. Ainu is an isolated language at present, its congeners, if they ever existed, being extinct long ago.

Of all sounds the vowels have been most unsatisfactorily fixed in the Ainu texts hitherto placed on record. Batchelor and Pilsudski note merely *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, while Abbé Rousselot points out that *a*, *e*, and *o* may have the three different qualities of timbre found in French. In the speech of Saghalin I discerned eight vowels—*a*, *ä*, *e*, *ē* (*e* in gardener), *i*, *o*, *ā* (English *aw*), *u*, and the semi-vowels *y* and *ū*. In the articulation of *ā* the larynx is lowered, the tip of the tongue is pressed downward, and the orifice is rounded. This vowel is important, as it sometimes occurs in the same word beside ordinary *o*, and as there are homonyms distinguished only by these two timbres of *o*; for example, *porā* 'seal,' *pā* 'to boil' (intr.), but *po* 'child.' The diphthongs are *ai*, *ao*, *au*, *eo*, *eu*, *ou*, *oi*, *äi*, *ui*, *oa*, *ua*, *ya*, *ea*. As the language has no accentual stress, but only a musical accent (as in Japanese or French), the distinction between short and long vowels is very slight. There are no naturally long vowels, but all vowels may be artificially lengthened under the force of the chromatic accent. In conversation, the word *pirika* 'good, well,' for instance, may be heard according to circumstances in three different ways—*pírika*, *piríka*, and *piriká*. Monosyllables terminating in a vowel as a rule evince a tendency to being somewhat lengthened; for instance, *kū* 'bow,' *tū* 'two.' Lengthened vowels, moreover, arise from contraction of two vowels into one or from elision of consonants: *či* + *okai* yields *čōkai*; *Yezo ataye-hauke* 'cheap' becomes *atāhauki* on Saghalin; *pon seta* 'small dog' develops into *poi seta* and *pōseta*; *pūrai* 'window' co-exists with *puyara*. Many vowels between consonants show a tendency to evaporate and to be almost eliminated: *seta* 'dog'—*s^ta*, Kuril *sta*; *šiken* 'sledge'—*šⁱken*, Kuril *skini*; *Yezo*

čikap 'bird' becomes on Saghalin *č'ka*, *čka*, *čkapu*, and *čkap*. This fact accounts for the many consonantal combinations in the Kuril dialect, like *st*, *sk*, *kr*, and others, which are otherwise foreign to the language.

Piłsudski observes: 'It seems that the Ainu make no fixed distinction between short and long vowels; that is, they know nothing of quantity properly so-called. We can only say that an accented syllable is longer, and may be simply termed long; but this length is in strict connection with the accent. However, we do meet with fixed differences in quantity in certain words the sound of which would otherwise be the same; their only distinctive quality is the length of articulation.' As examples he cites *ē* 'to eat' and *ě* 'to come,' *rū* 'way' and *rũ* 'ice in the river' or 'a flock of birds.' Pilsudski has further made a new and interesting observation, namely that a few homonyms change their accents to bring out a change of meaning; thus, *átai* 'chair'—*atái* 'payment'; *án-koro*, possessive pronoun—*an-koró* 'I have'; *širi* 'earth'—*širi* 'payment'; *úma* 'horse'—*umá* 'also.' The same phenomenon is encountered also in Japanese: *áme* 'rain'—*amé* 'a kind of sweetmeat'; *háši* 'chopsticks'—*haši* 'bridge,' etc.²⁵ It would not be surprising that the Ainu, as in so many other cases, should have imitated the Japanese model.

Some vocalic changes in the various dialects are noteworthy. Final *a*, for example, is eliminated in the Kuril dialect:—

KURIL	YEZO
<i>rip</i> 'high'	<i>ripa</i> (Saghalin <i>ripa</i>)
<i>rer</i> 'wind'	<i>rera</i>
<i>rar</i> 'eyebrows'	<i>rara</i>
<i>čar</i> 'mouth'	<i>čara</i> , <i>čaro</i>
<i>mukar</i> 'ax'	<i>mukara</i>

The Saghalin and Kuril dialects have sometimes preserved a final *u* which is dropped in that of Yezo:—

Saghalin and Kuril <i>erumu</i> 'rat'	Yezo <i>erum</i>
Saghalin <i>ihoku</i> 'to buy'	Yezo <i>ihok</i>

²⁵ For other examples see B. H. Chamberlain, *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese*, 3d ed., p. 20. The accent is so extremely slight that it will be hardly noticed by an untrained ear, but it really exists, as I had many times occasion to convince myself. It cannot be compared in strength with the energetic tonic accents of Russian in such pairs of words as *zámok* 'castle'—*zamók* 'lock'; *múka* 'grief'—*muká* 'flour'; *óbráz* 'manner'—*obráz* 'pattern'; *pólnoči* 'midnight'—*polnóci* 'half a night.'

When more exact records of the various dialects are placed at our disposal (and there are none thus far of the Kuril dialects), it will be possible to establish a greater number of phonetic laws and to trace the history of Ainu speech, possibly leading also to a clue as to tribal migrations. The fact that the Yezo and Saghalin dialects are closely related was, of course, known long ago; but the theory that the idiom of Saghalin is purer or more archaic must be disputed. Despite the possibly larger variety of vowels, diphthongs, and spirants (*x* and *ʃ*, both of secondary origin), the phonetic system of this dialect shows decided evidence of a far more advanced state of disintegration and even deterioration. The dialectic differentiations are largely phonetic and lexicographical; accident and structure appear to be the same everywhere. According to statements made to me by natives of Saghalin, their language is not divided into dialects, but is spoken with a high degree of uniformity. Local variations of words are frequent, particularly in the names of animals: an eagle is designated in Naiero *furä*, in Naibuči *pisetteri*; Naiero *samakka* (explained as 'a black sea-eagle with a red-tipped beak') answers to *onnim* of Naibuči; a strap of sea-lion skin used for carrying loads is styled *ečikä* in Ottašam, but *tara* in Naiero and Taraika. There are likewise identical words with different meanings on Yezo and Saghalin; for instance, *hoinu* on Yezo means 'martens,' on Saghalin 'sables.' We need a complete dictionary of the Saghalin dialect for further comparative study; we need a good grammar of the language, not after the fashion of the Latin grammar, but one interpreting the spirit and laws of the language from within. We have had enough theories and fancies about the Ainu; it is time to get at the facts.

THE SABBATH AND FESTIVALS IN PRE-EXILIC AND EXILIC TIMES

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In order to trace the origin of the Sabbath and the festivals and follow up the stages of their development, we must not consult the codes of law and the meaning attached to the words of the same in later times, but examine certain historical facts in the other narratives and in occasional allusions and draw our conclusions therefrom. By this method of historical-critical research we arrive at an altogether different calendar system in ancient Israel than that with which we are familiar. The Sabbath and the festivals have gone through a process of evolution which we must try to unravel and which few of our historians have made clear. Nor have our Assyriologists succeeded in elucidating this process, especially in regard to the Sabbath, as the recent work of Morris Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, and an article of his on 'The Day after the Sabbath' (*AJSL* 30. 94 ff.) seem to show.

THE SABBATH

To begin with the Sabbath, let me state that we know as yet too little of the Assyrian Sabbath to build important theories concerning the origin of the Jewish Sabbath upon it. The name *Shabbatum* in the Babylonian calendar has been found by Pinches in a glossary to designate the full moon; hence the Hebrew Sabbath must have had the same meaning, according to Jastrow, Meinhart, and others. On the other hand there was brought to light long ago a Babylonian Elul calendar according to which the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days were regarded as unlucky days, on which the priest-king was not allowed to officiate as judge, use fire, eat cooked meat, etc.; but the term Sabbath is not applied to these *dies nefasti*. Now, while the older Assyriologists were inclined to identify these days of the Elul calendar with the Hebrew Sabbath (suggesting that the nineteenth day was really the forty-ninth—that is, seven times

seven, counted from the beginning of the previous month), modern Assyriologists no longer lay stress upon this fact, and insist instead upon the other fact that Shabbatum designates exclusively the full moon. Combining with it the etymology of Shabat, which is elsewhere explained by *gamar* 'to complete,' they explain the term Shabbatum to be the time of the completion of the moon's light, 'when the sun on the other side of the sky casts its full light upon it.' Prof. Jastrow goes even so far as to explain the **ממחרת השבת** to have meant originally the morrow of the full moon, because the Passover feast begins on the 15th of Nisan, assuming the verse in question to belong to two or three different sources. As we shall later see, the whole argument regarding the Passover feast rests on a fundamental error. But aside from that, I do not think that there is any basis or justification whatsoever for identifying the Hebrew Sabbath at any time with the full moon. It seems to me that we are not in a position as yet to assume with any kind of certainty that the Hebrew Sabbath was simply taken over from the Babylonians, at least in historical times. Like all the things Babylonians and Hebrews had in common, the Sabbath seems to me to belong to an older epoch when the Babylonian lore was not as yet developed, and the Hebrew Sabbath may just as well throw light on the Babylonian Shabbatum as *vice versa*. Each had its own process of growth.

This much, however, is certain, that the Hebrew Sabbath is not only older than the Decalogue of the Exodus, which connects it with the Creation week, as does the Elohist in the first chapter of Genesis, but also older than the original form of the Decalogue: **זכור את יום השבת לקדשו**, which refers to the Sabbath as an established and known institution, and is by no means a new commandment. It is, however, quite noteworthy that the older Decalogue of Ex. 34 simply says, **ששת ימים תעבוד וכיום השביעי תשבת**, while the same Sabbath is implied but not mentioned. The chapter on the Manna, Ex. 16, offers indubitably an explanation for the Decalogue expression **זכור את יום השבת** by the narrative's placing the commandment of the Sabbath before the Sinai Revelation—a point of view which the rabbis present in connection with the words **שם שם לו חק ומשפט** in Ex. 15. 25 (see *Mekilta*, ad loc.).

For us, however, the question is whether the Hebrew Sabbath was from the beginning based upon the fixed institution of the week, which certainly rests on Babylonian astrology, or whether it originally corresponded with the four lunar phases, so that the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth of each month were the days of the moon's 'stand-still,' that is, Sabbath days. The latter view is expressed by Nowack, *Hebr. Arch.* 2 144, who refers also to Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*², p. 107. It seems to me that too little stress has been laid on the important fact that, throughout the entire pre-exilic literature, the Sabbath occupies only the second place alongside of the new moon, which is always mentioned first and foremost as a day of rest and of feasting, of sacrifice and of seeking the word or oracle of the Deity as given through the sacred seer. I refer to the well-known passages, 2 Ki. 4. 23; Am. 8. 5; Hos. 2. 13; Is. 1. 13; 66. 23, where **חַדֵּשׁ** always precedes the Sabbath. Down to the Exile—Ezekiel forms the interesting turning-point, as we shall see later on—the New Moon played a far greater role in ancient Israel than may be inferred from the Mosaic Code, where it is no longer made a day of rest, but has only the character of a survival in the Temple Cult. Note, however, Amos 8. 5, where the people are represented as saying: **מִתִּי יַעֲבֹר הַחֹדֶשׁ** **נִשְׁבֵּר שֶׁבַע וְהַשְּׁבַע וְנִפְתַּח בָּר**: i. e., they could not sell corn on the New Moon, just as they could not on the Sabbath. Very characteristically we find the day previous to the New Moon, and in distinction from the same, called by Jonathan (1 Sam. 20. 19) **יוֹם הַמַּעֲשֶׂה** 'Work Day,' which plainly shows the New Moon to have been celebrated by the people as a holy day. The presumption, then, is that the New Moon was the more solemn holy day, given over to feasting and sacrifices of a higher order among the families, such as we find it celebrated in the royal house of Saul and occasionally among certain classes in Israel (**זִבַּח הַיָּמִים שֶׁם לִכְל הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה**, 1 Sam. 20. 6), over against which the Sabbath days of the month were but, so to say, diminutive moon seasons, four holy days of lesser solemnity and importance. But this very chapter reveals a fact the importance of which has not been recognized by historians. It is the agreement of David and Jonathan to meet again in the field on the third day, that is on the day following the two New

Moon days (20, 5, 12, 19). That they could thus speak beforehand of the two New Moon days as a self-evident matter shows that the New Moon was not celebrated only on the first day of the month, when the reappearance of the moon had been observed by the respective functionaries, but on two days; that is, on the twenty-ninth and thirtieth days of the month, the latter day leading over to the next month, which was counted from the day following as the first day of the first lunar week. We get in this way the following division of the month: four lunar weeks, each ending with the Sabbath, and these twenty-eight days to be followed by the two New Moon days—thirty days altogether. But they occasionally divided the month into decades as did the Egyptians, and as we learn from the term **עשור** and **עשור לחדש**. As a rule, however, the heptad prevailed. The holy number seven belongs to very ancient Semitic traditions, as all the oaths are made among the various Semitic tribes by the number seven. Hence we have the word **נשבע** 'to swear,' which means 'to be bound by the holy seven.' (Whether the seven planets or Pleiades or some other seven was the object is not as yet ascertained.) The name **שבועה** for week, also **שבוע**, (in Jacob's story: **מלא נא שבוע זאת**, Gen. 29. 27) is certainly old. All the festivities in private and public life filled up a full week, and, strange to say, the Sabbath is never mentioned in this connection. Not even in the story of the siege of Jericho is there any mention of the Sabbath. This can be accounted for only by the assumption that the Sabbath as a separate institution is of a later date.

The new and full moon, however, were celebrated by all Semitic, nay by all primitive, tribes. The Moon was the real Measurer of time, as the Greek or Aryan **μήν** expresses it. Especially for the wandering tribes of the desert the Moon is the guide on the night march. Consequently the Bedouin still hails the appearance of the new moon with shouting, dancing, and clapping of hands, as Doughty describes it in his *Arabia Deserta*. And we learn from Job 31. 27 that the idolatrous practice of throwing kisses at the moon was still practised when that book was written. How much of a recrudescence of this was allowed to come in by the cabbalistic writers in the solemn greetings of the Kiddush-Lebanah rite, is not necessary to point out here. At any rate the New Moon celebrations, which were undoubtedly connected

with the Canaanite or Semitic worship of the queen of Heaven, and the round cakes, כֻּנִּים, offered her on the roof-tops of the houses, as we learn from Jer. 44. 17—25, could not but meet with disfavor on the part of the Hebrew legislators. Here we have the reason for the abrogation of the New Moon as a day of rest. Only the priestly tradition retained the New Moon in the cult (Ezek. 45. 17; 46; and Num. 28. 10 f.). The Cabbalists, or Mystics, during the late Middle Ages gave dignity to the New Moon, and by a strange atavism, the Jewish women—compare the women in Egypt mentioned by Jeremiah—desisted on that day from doing work. The priest-prophet Ezekiel in his legislative system accords to the New Moon only the second place alongside of the Sabbath (cf. Ezek. 46. 1—3). A still more interesting change which the New Moon has undergone in the writing of Ezekiel, and which henceforth influenced the literature of the Jewish people (Num. 28. 10 and elsewhere) is that the name is changed from חֹדֶשׁ 'renewal' into ראש חֹדֶשׁ 'beginning of the month,' and חֹדֶשׁ henceforth stands for month. We shall soon see what this implied for the regulation of the festivals in the Mosaic Code. But we have to turn our attention first to the new concept of the Sabbath.

The Sabbath is transformed in the Decalogue from a lunar holy day into a day of the Lord, and made an institution independent of the phases of the moon, a weekly institution, whether for the rest of man, as the Deuteronomic decalogue has it, or as a testimony to God's creation of the world in a seven-day week, as the decalogue in Exodus has it. The latter idea is, of course, a transformation of the Babylonian myth in the monotheistic spirit. With Ezekiel (20. 20) begins the special accentuation of the Sabbath as a sign between Israel and his God, and hence also the Holiness Code, which emanated from the Ezekiel school, renders it a special sign of the covenant between Israel and the Lord (Ex. 31. 13, 17). In the Priest Code the ancient concepts of the Sabbath as a day of austerity and of the prohibition of labor, of the use of fire, of cooking, etc., made themselves felt again, and this led to ever greater rigidity in the Sadducean and Karaite and then in the Shammaite circles, whereas the Exilic seer in Is. 58. 13 voices a different view regarding the joy and cheer on Sabbath, though wishing to have the day devoted to divine things exclusively. The passage in Jeremiah (17. 19—27)

threatening those that trade on the Sabbath with the conflagration of the city belongs to the time of Nehemiah and ought never to have been assigned to the great prophet.

Before concluding my views on the Sabbath, I wish to call attention to the one fact which the Assyriologists have failed to consider. Had the Sabbath been really known in Babylonia as a holy day outside of the priestly cult, the Biblical Sabbath could never have been made the sign of the covenant, or a mark distinguishing the Jewish people from the rest, as is already done by Deutero-Isaiah and by Ezekiel. The idea of the distinction of Israel from the surrounding nations became the guiding motive in the Mosaic Code also for the festivals, as we shall now see.

PESAH

There can hardly be any dispute as to the meaning of **חַדֵּשׁ** 'New Moon,' wherever it occurs in ancient literature. Let me ask, then, when is Passover to take place, according to Deuteronomy? There can be but one translation of 16. 1, **שָׁמַר אֶת חֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב וְעָשִׂיתָ פֶסַח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כִּי בַחֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב הוֹצִיאָךְ הָאֲבִיב מִמִּצְרַיִם לַיְלָה** 'Observe the New Moon of the Ripening Crops and offer the Paschal sacrifice, for on the New Moon of the Ripening Crops hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt at night.' To translate **חֹדֶשׁ** by 'month' is simply impossible in view of the word **לַיְלָה** at the end of the verse. In other words, the Passover at the time of King Josiah was celebrated, not on the eve of the 15th, but on the eve of the New Moon. Nor was it, as described in Exodus 12, the sacrificial day of a lamb, but, as we read in the following verse, of all kinds of animals taken from the flock and the cattle. This Deuteronomic precept receives its light from Ex. 13. 1—10, 11—16, where we have the duplicate of the law prescribing consecration of the first-born of man and beast and the sacrifice of the first-born of the beast on the memorial day of the Exodus. There we read also: **הַיּוֹם אַתֶּם יּוֹצֵאִים בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב** 'This day have you been going out of Egypt on the New Moon of the Ripening Crops.' So also in Ex. 34. 18 and 23. 15 (where the same law is given concerning the Feast of Mazzoth with especial reference to the redemption, or sacrifice of the first-born). There we find also the express statement **כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לַמּוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב כִּי בַחֹדֶשׁ הָאֲבִיב**

הָנָה אֲנֹכִי הָרֹג אֶת בְּנִךְ בְּכֹרֶךָ ending with בְּכֹרֶךָ belongs to the oldest stratum of the Exodus story in connection with the Pesah, connecting the Shepherd Spring feast with the death of the first-born. Originally then the Pesah as a festival of Spring was celebrated on the New Moon of the Spring Month, when the blood of the first-born of the flock or cattle was put on the forehead and hand of the people, and also sprinkled on the doorpost and door-sill, a practice that is still in vogue among fellahin natives of Palestine, Syria, and the Arabian peninsula (see Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion*, p. 206 ff. and Dillmann, ad loc.). The change from the New Moon to the Full Moon is first recorded by the prophet Ezekiel, 45. 21, and then in the priest code, Ex. 12 and Lev. 23, which latter chapter is of composite nature and not a pure product of the Holiness Code. As a matter of fact the Passover feast was only, in consequence of the Deuteronomic Code, transformed from a Shepherd household feast into a national festival under King Josiah (2 Ki. 23. 22), and then connected with the Mazzoth feast.

THE FEAST OF WEEKS

Coming to the Feast of Weeks, we observe that it nowhere has a special date as to the month, or day, like the other festivals. It was and remained even during the period of the second temple an agricultural festival, the time of which was determined by the end of the harvest of the barley and wheat crops, which lasted seven weeks. The Deuteronomic Law simply says: 'Thou shalt count seven weeks'—that is seven times seven days, without a mention of the Sabbath anywhere—'and then thou shalt celebrate the Feast of Weeks.' The older code of the Covenant calls it חַג הַקִּצִּיר adding בְּכֹרֶי מַעֲשֵׂיךָ (קִצִּיר). Ezekiel does not mention it at all; for שְׁבִיעֹת for שְׁבַעַת in 45. 21 is a scribal error. But the law in Lev. 23. 9 ff. devotes to it a long paragraph, which has become a matter of dispute not only among priest and sage, Sadducee and Pharisee of olden times, but also among the scholars, Jewish and non-Jewish, to this very day. I refer to the well-known passage in verses 15—17. I hold that no unbiased reader can translate this otherwise than

the Sadducees originally did: 'Ye shall count from the day following the Sabbath, on which day you bring the Omer of the first barley harvest [of which it expressly says, v. 11, **ממחרת** **השבת** **יניפנו הכהן**], seven weeks, and then on the following day, the morrow of the seventh Sabbath, which is the fiftieth day (Pentecost), ye shall celebrate the Feast of Weeks.' In other words, then, on the day following the Sabbath when they swung the sickle at the standing corn (which, of course, could not be done on the Sabbath Day), they offered the Omer of the first barley, and on the day following the seventh Sabbath, which is the fiftieth day, they brought the two loaves of bread made from the new wheat as a sacrifice for the Feast of Weeks. What has been lacking in this Biblical Law is a specific date, which was not necessary, as it depended each year on the time of the ripening of the crops. This was good enough for the priests of the Temple, but what about the Jew living far away from the holy land? Should he forego celebrating the Feast of Weeks? It is remarkable that the Book of Jubilees (6. 17 f.; 14. 20—21) takes the name **חג השבועות** to be the feast of the covenant oaths, telling us that the covenant made with Noah, with Abraham, and with Israel on Sinai were all made on the fifteenth of Sivan.

The rabbis, with reference to Ex. 19. 1, point to the giving of the decalogue as the historical event which took place on the sixth, or as R. Jose says in *Shabbath* 86 b, the seventh, of Sivan, the **יום מתן תורה—חג הקציר יום שבו נתנה תורה לישראל** (*Shemoth* R. 31. 17), taking the term *Kazir* as the spiritual harvest, the day when the Law was given to Israel. Of course, the **חדש השלישי** here also can refer only to the first day, since it says **ביום הזה**. But the rabbis, or rather the Pharisees, wanted to have a close connection made between Pesah and Shabuoth in order to fix the date of the latter, and at the same time give it a historical character, and so they interpreted the words **ממחרת השבת** to mean 'on the day following the first day of Pesah.' So already the LXX has it. The first step to this connection between Pesah and the Omer sacrifice was taken at the time when the story of Israel's entrance into Canaan was told by the people, about which the Book of Joshua tells us that **ממחרת הפסח**, on the morrow of the Pesah, that is on the fifteenth day of Nisan, the

people ate Mazzoth of the produce of the land, while the Manna ceased. This **ממחרת הפסח** in Joshua could serve as some kind of support to the Pharisees to refer the expression **ממחרת השבת** of the Omer to the day after the first day of Pesah, while the Karaites and their predecessors, the Boethusians, and the Falashas refer it to the day after the last day of Pesah, so as to bring the Shabuoth festival close to the fifteenth of Sivan (see Jubilees, *l. c.*).

THE SUKKOTH FEAST

As to the Sukkoth festival I have long ago come to the conviction, and I now find also Dr. Ehrlich's commentary and Carpenter, quoted by Berthelot, *Leviticus*, p. 79, on my side, that the name has nothing to do with the harvest tents, as most modern exegetes think. There is nowhere such an allusion to harvest tents in the Bible, neither in Deuteronomy, where we might expect it, nor in Exodus 23. 16 or 34. 22, where it is simply called **תקופת השנה** or **חג האסיף בצאת השנה**. As a matter of fact, it was the *Hag*, 'Pilgrimage Feast' *par excellence* (see 1 Ki. 13. 2; 12. 32; Lev. 23. 39—41; Ezek. 45. 23; Neh. 8. 14, and Mishna *R. H.* 1. 2; cf. Nowack, *l. c.* 150). But it is an error to ascribe to the Sukkoth feast, as Nowack does on p. 155, the Deuteronomic law concerning the offering of the first fruits (Deut. 16. 1), as both the Mishnah *Bikkurim* 3. 2 and Philo (Mangey, 2. 298), who calls it 'the feast of the basket,' show that there was no connection between the two. Naturally the pilgrimage feast of the people took place after the summer's work was over, when they could come in large numbers to the temple of Shilo, or Jerusalem, as the Muhammadans come to Mecca for their Hajj. And where would they find a shelter, unless, as is done in Mecca, they would erect tents for all the strangers? This gave the pilgrimage feast the specific name of Feast of Tents. But the priestly legislator was not satisfied with this idea of a simple harvest festival. He was anxious to invest it with historical meaning, and so he connected it also with the story of the Exodus. But how? The usual interpretation is that the words 'I placed you in tents when I brought you out of Egypt' refer to the fact that the people, on their journey from Egypt in the Wilderness, dwelt in tents. But in this case the verse ought to read, **בהוציא אותם במדבר**, not **בהוציא**

אוֹתָם מֵאֵרֶץ מִצְרַיִם. A glance at the history of the Exodus and the list of journeys shows that Sukkoth was the gathering-place of the Hebrews, or the first station of their wanderings (Ex. 12. 37; 13. 20; Num. 33. 5). It matters not whether the name is derived from the tents built there, or whether the name happened to be Sukkoth, just as we learn of Jacob that he gave the name Sukkoth to a place where he built his tents (Gen. 33. 17). The idea is that God provided a place of tents as a gathering-point for the fugitive slaves at their exodus from Egypt. Hence also the controversy between R. Eliezer, R. Akiba, and other Tannaim as to the meaning of Sukkoth, whether it denotes the place of Israel's starting-point at the Exodus, or whether God built for them these tents, or whether He wrapped them in clouds like tents to protect them when He brought them out of Egypt (see *Mekilta* to Ex. 12. 37; 13. 20; *Sifra* to Lev. 23. 43). That the tents in which the wine harvest is celebrated by the people should have given rise to the festival, as is the opinion of the various exegetes (see Dillmann, Berthelot and Driver on Dent. 16. 13, following Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, 2. 81 f.), has no foundation in the Scripture, as there is nowhere any allusion made to the Sukkoth feasts being celebrated as a wine festival, whereas the pilgrimage tents correspond to the name Hāg.

As regards the striking difference which exists between Nehemiah 8. 15, where the law regarding the Sukkoth tents is quoted, and the passage in Lev. 23. 40, I am quite sure that our Code text has undergone a transformation, and that the text in Nehemiah is more authentic. According to the latter the plants mentioned were all used for the cover of the tents and instead of **פֵּרִי** the reading was **עֵץ הָרָר** (not **הָרָם** 'myrtle,' as Ehrlich thinks, nor can I accept his **פֵּאֵר** 'branches,' instead of **פֵּרִי**). The Talmudic authorities have no longer any comprehension of **פֵּרִי עֵץ הָרָר** and do all sorts of guessing. Our Ethrog is really the Persian Othrang, which is our orange; while Josephus (*Ant.* 3. 10. 4) and LXX seem to think of a peach instead of a citron. The prophet Zechariah, or rather the author of the fourteenth chapter, which belongs to a very late date, gives us an insight into an altogether different and yet archaic character of the harvest feast of Sukkoth, when he describes it as a feast of rain which is to bring its fertility to those nations who come to Jerusalem for the celebration of the feast, and the

blessing of which is to be withheld from the nations who do not come to bow down before the One and Only God of Israel in Jerusalem. Obviously we have here an ancient water festival, traces of which are found also in Is. 12. 3 and 30. 29. It is called in the Mishnah *Sukkah* (5. 1) *Simhath beth ha-shoebah*, 'Festivity of the House of the Water-drawing.' It consisted of a procession from the Shiloah Spring to the temple made by large crowds following the priest with his chalice of water for the water libation at the altar, and was preceded by dances during the whole night of each day of the Sukkoth festival, amidst the play of instruments and the carrying of torches, in which especially 'the Hasidim and the Wonderworkers' (*anshe maaseh*, probably the Essene 'rain-makers') took a prominent part. It closed with the beating of the willows—*hıbbu! arabah*—at the close of the feast (*Sukkah* 4. 1—6, cf. Ps. 118. 27). The Sadducean priesthood, however, opposed it (*Sukkah* 4. 9; *Tosefta Sukkah* 3. 1, 16). The ceremony was connected with the belief in the water foundation in the depth of the world's center as placed beneath the Temple mountain of Jerusalem (see *Sukkah* 53 a, b), a belief still shared by the people, Jew and Christian, and it reaches far back in ancient Semitic life, as has been shown by Feuchtwang, *Das Wasseropfer u. d. verb. Ceremonien*, 1911 (cf. Sepp, *Jerusalem*, Index, s. v. Siloa).

The name Azereth in Lev. 23. 36 and Num. 29. 35 for the last day of the festival gathering seems rather to denote 'Conclusion Feast,' as is shown in Deut. 16. 8, and as Tradition has it, which gave to the Feast of Weeks as the ending of the seven harvest weeks also the name Azereth, Aram. *Azarta* (*Rosh ha-Shanah* 1. 2; *Hagiga* 2. 4; Josephus, *Ant.* 3. 10 b).

These three festivals were adopted from the Canaanites as agricultural feasts, and, no doubt, celebrated originally in the various sacred localities according to the ancient custom, while the annual pilgrimage feast at the end of the agricultural year (Ex. 23. 16; 34. 22) was at an early date made an especial season of gathering at the main Sanctuary of Shiloh (Ju. 21. 19; 1 Sa. 1. 3).

THE NEW YEAR'S DAY

The other two festivals ordained in the Priest Code (Lev. 23. 23—32; Num. 29. 1—11) have in my opinion not been satisfac-

torily explained as to their origin and meaning. The priest-prophet Ezekiel seems to have taken cognizance in his festal system (45. 18—25) of the double calendar existing already in ancient Palestine as well as in Babylonia, the agricultural one beginning in the fall (see Ezek. 40. 1) and the sacred or official one beginning in the spring (2 Sam. 11. 1; 1 Ki. 20. 22; Jer. 36. 9, 22). Accordingly he proposed an Expiation for the Temple on the first of the *first* month of the sacred calendar and another on the first of the seventh month (בשביעי באחד לחדש). This is the reading restored after LXX by Cornill, Smend, and Wellhausen. As was seen already by Ewald, the Priest Code has, in accepting the agricultural calendar beginning the year in the spring, made it its object to build the whole system of Jewish life on the holiness of the number Seven, according to which the seventh day of the week, the seventh month of the year, and again the year following the seventh time seventh year as the Jubilee year should be holy unto the Lord. Accordingly the New Moon of the seventh month, being the Sabbatical month following the six months of agricultural labor, was, in distinction from the New Moon of any other month, which was always ushered in by the blowing of trumpets (Num. 10. 10), to have a more sonorous blast by the Shofar, and therefore it is called a day of memorial by blowing the horns (Lev. 23. 24; Num. 29. 1), whereas the first day of the first month of the year has nothing specific as the year's beginning. The rite of expiation of the Temple, however, is transferred from the first (on which day Ezekiel has it, 45. 20) to the tenth of the seventh month. The reason for this must be sought in the fact that this was the ancient solar New Year's day, as Ezekiel has it in 10. 1, and because the Jubilee year was according to the later legislation to begin on this day (Lev. 25. 9—10). It was only with the introduction of the Babylonian system of the months that the first of Tishri, which denotes 'the month beginning the year,' *Tasritu* (see now Jastrow's highly interesting article 'Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings,' *JAOS* 36. 274—299, esp. p. 298, n. 62), became in the Jewish liturgy the New Year's Day, while it was a subject of the controversy between R. Eliezer and R. Joshua of the second century whether on the first of Nisan or of Tishri the creation of the world or of man took place (*Rosh ha-Shanah* 10 b-11 a). Possibly the important event recorded in

Neh. 8. 2 ff. of the introduction of the book of the Law by Ezra at the festal gathering on the first day of the seventh month, marked as especially 'holy,' had some influence on rendering this day a great memorial day for the future. Still the day is characterized there as one of joy and social festivity, not of a serious nature such as the New Year's day became afterwards. Unquestionably, however, it was the old Babylonian New Year's day, celebrated originally in the fall at the beginning of the seventh month Tishri (corresponding also with the seventh month of the Persian calendar named after Mithras), on which Bel Marduk or his predecessor, as the supreme deity of Babylon, sat in the mystic chamber of the fates to determine from the book of life the destiny of mankind for the coming year,¹ which gave the Jewish New Year's day its serious character as the day of divine Judgment on which the Creator and Judge of the world assigns to all men their destiny according to their merits or demerits each year, inscribing the same in His book or books of life, finally to seal it on the Day of Atonement.

THE DAY OF ATONEMENT

The great Day of Atonement, celebrated on the tenth day of the seventh month, which forms the culminating point of the Temple worship of the year, called like the Sabbath, 'a Sabbath of complete rest,' Lev. 16. 31, has a unique character among the Jewish festivals. While obviously unknown as yet in Ezra's time (Neh. 8), not to speak of the Solomonic time (1 Ki. 8. 65), it soon became during the second Temple 'the great Day' of the year and afterwards the most solemn holy day of the Synagogue. To account for its origin and meaning it is not sufficient to point to Ezekiel's proposed system, according to which the first day of the seventh month was like that of the first month to be a day of expiation of man's sin and of atonement for the temple (Ezek. 45. 20), and simply to assume that the author of the Priest Code transferred it to the tenth day in order to have the New Moon of the Sabbatical month stand out as distinguished from the other New Moons of the year. We have also to consider

¹ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 67—69, especially p. 68; Schrader-Zimmern, *KAT.* p. 402 f., 514 f.; Alfred Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, p. 43, 357, note 3.

the fact that the tenth of Tishri is called by Ezekiel (40. 1) 'the beginning of the year,' and that the Jubilee year was actually to be proclaimed by the blowing of the horn as holy on the Atonement day, the tenth of the seventh month, which implies that the year began on that very day (Lev. 25. 9—10). It is obviously the solar year, in contradistinction to the lunar year, the beginning of which was to be marked according to the system recognized also in the story of the Flood (see Gen. 8—9, cf. 7. 11), where the difference is also one of ten days.

Here, then, the question arises whether it is likely that the strange rites prescribed in Lev. 16, which placed the Azazel, the demon of the wilderness, in some sort of opposition to Yahweh, the Only One God of Israel, were introduced as an innovation during the second temple at a time when the religious spirit of the people and the priesthood was scarcely susceptible any more to the worship of the goat-like deities, the *Seirim* (= satyrs) against which ch. 17. 7 warns. It was Ibn Ezra in his commentary to Lev. 16. 8 who saw the relation of the Azazel to these demons 'of the field.' But we know from the book of Enoch, written in the second pre-Christian century, what an important role among the demons Azazel played. The Masoretic writing **אֲזַאזֵל** was introduced to give the name **אֲזַאזֵל** as found in Mandaeen, Sabaeen, and Arabian mythology (Norberg, *Onomasticon*, p. 31, Brand, *Mandäische Theologie*, p. 197 f.) the meaning of a 'rugged place,' (*Sifra* ad loc.; *Yoma* 67 b) instead of a 'wilderness deity.' The very spot in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, the sharp rocks (Beth Hadude) where the scapegoat was to be cast down to Azazel according to the Mosaic Code (*Yoma* 6. 8), was regarded as the place where the demon was cast down by the angel Raphael there to remain shackled in the darkness until Judgment Day (*Enoch* 10. 4—5; see Charles, ad loc.). In other words, Azazel was in the popular belief the head of the demons whose dwelling was in the wilderness around Jerusalem. The sending out of the scapegoat to him laden with the sins of the people was originally, then, the cleansing of the people of all impurity in order to secure their welfare for the year just begun. It was an ancient rite dating from primitive time, to be compared with the rite concerning leprosy (Lev. 14. 7), which has its analogies also in Babylonian rites (see Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 461), and in all likelihood the

festal dance of the maidens on the hills of Jerusalem assigned in the Mishnah *Taanit* 4. 8 to the Atonement day and the fifteenth of Ab (August), reminding one very much of the dance of the maidens at the sanctuary of Shilo (Ju. 21. 21), was connected with the celebration of the solar New Year's day (cf. Morgenstern *JAOS* 36. 324 f.). The signals informing the people of the arrival of the scapegoat at its destination, the Azazel rock (*Yoma* 6. 8), seem to have been the inducement to open the dance on the hills.

Now it is rather strange that the date for the Atonement Day is not given at the beginning of the chapter, but in v. 29, which together with v. 30—31 did not belong to the original text. Possibly the whole law underwent changes as to date and contents. As a matter of fact the chapter is composed of many sources, as was shown by Benzinger and others (see Berthelot and Driver *ad loc.*). From a popular New Year festival it was transformed by the author of the Priest Code into a day of great pontifical function, and the final redactor of Leviticus in inserting v. 29—31 rendered it a Day of Atonement for the people. Later on the Pharisees invested it with a still higher or holier character in rendering it a day of prayers for repentance as well as fasting, a day of divine mercy on which the thirteen attributes of God (Ex. 34. 6—7) revealed to Moses were brought home to the people as assurance of the divine forgiveness. They went even so far as to refer the words: *Ki bayom hazeh yekapper*, 'on this day he shall atone,' not to the priest but to God, who shall, through the day, have atonement for the people (*Sifra* to v. 30). Thus the whole idea of sacrificial worship on the Atonement Day, on which the Epistle to the Hebrews (c. 9) and Barnabas (c. 7) base their doctrine of Christ as the world's Atoning High Priest, was replaced by the prayers and litanies of the 'great day.'

THE TRAVELS OF EVLIYA EFFENDI

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A comparatively small amount of material has been translated from Turkish into English and published. The Latin, German, and Italian, and even the Hungarian and Danish languages have all received considerable portions of the early Ottoman historical writings, of which English shares with French the defect of having received very little. A number of poems and humorous stories, and some longer stories, have been translated into English, often too freely to give a correct impression. E. J. W. Gibb has published an extensive anthology of Ottoman poetry.¹ But were it not for *The Travels of Evliya Effendi*, there would exist, I believe, no single sizable piece of Englished Turkish. This translation, furthermore, while probably corrected by an Englishman, was made by an Austrian German, the great Orientalist Joseph von Hammer.² Curiously enough, though doubly incomplete, it contains, I believe, in the 350,000 words of its 676 folio pages, the longest work that has been translated out of the Turkish, except possibly Fluegel's translation into Latin of Haji Khalfa's annotated bibliographical dictionary.³ Evliya

¹E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, ed. E. G. Browne, 6 vols., 1909—.

²*Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century*, by Evliya Efendi. Translated from the Turkish by the Ritter Joseph von Hammer (Oriental Translation Fund). Vol. 1, pt. 1, xviii + 186 pages; pt. 2, iv + 256 pages; vol. 2, v + 244 pages. London, 1846—1850.—The translator has provided an introduction, tables of contents, and about 50 notes, but no index. The 'Advertisement' bears the date Jan. 20, 1834, showing that the translation was completed before that date. It is not known what assistance, if any, von Hammer had in the preparation of his translation.—All subsequent references without titles are to the volumes and parts of this work.

³*Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopedicum*, a Mustafa ben Abdallah Katib Chelebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalfa, edidit, latine vertit, et commentario indicibusque instruxit G. Fluegel, 7 vols., Leipzig, 1835—1858.

seems to have fallen far short, from the chronological point of view, of writing a narrative of all the travels and adventures of his forty or fifty active years, but he has largely compensated for this by including so great a part of all he knew or could learn about things in general. His work contains, besides its central motive, an autobiography of the author, a sort of guide-book to Constantinople and the Levant, a broken sketch of Ottoman history from the beginning to about 1676, no small quantity of unreliable statistics, a description of the administration of the Empire in the time of Suleiman, a lively enumeration of the 'thousand and one' trade-gilds of Constantinople, and a wealth of anecdotes, legends, and observations.

Evliya lived from 1611 until about 1680,⁴ and thus witnessed most of the period of high and perilous equilibrium in Turkish history which stretched from the peace of Sitvatorok in 1606, when Austria ceased to pay tribute for her holdings in Hungary, until the year 1683, when the second failure of the Turks before Vienna initiated their long and incomplete retreat southeastward. All that is known of his life is to be found scattered piecemeal through his narrative. If his own story be accepted without question, he was descended from great men of the time of Sultan Orkhan and even of the Caliph Harun ar-Rashid.⁵ His great-grandfather, Yawuz Ali Usbek, had been Mohammed II's standard-bearer at the conquest of Constantinople.⁶ Rewarded with an estate in the city, he built on it one hundred shops, and then by good Ottoman custom bestowed it upon a mosque as an endowment, in such a way that his descendants would always be

⁴1. 1. 110: 'I, the humble writer of these pages . . . was born on the 10th of Moharrem, 1020 [A. H.]' Kara Mustafa is mentioned as grand vizir (1. 1. 156), which position he held from 1676 until his execution after failing to take Vienna, in 1683. If the number 51 be correct for the years of Evliya's active life (1. 1. 174), this would equal about 49 Christian years, and, added to 1631, would bring him to 1680.

⁵1. 1. 35, 36. Evliya claims descent from Sheikh Ahmed Yesovi of Khorasan, who sent his disciple, the famous Hajji Bektash, to Sultan Orkhan; and from Mohammed Hanifi, whose son Sheikh Jafar Baba was sent as ambassador to Constantinople by Harun.

⁶1. 2. 48. The burying-ground of Evliya's family was at Kasim Pasha, behind the Arsenal. Here lay his father, his grandfather Timurji Kara Ahmed, his great-grandfather, and many other relatives.

administrators and entitled to a share of the income.⁷ Evliya's father, Dervish Mohammed Zilli, had been the great Suleiman's standard-bearer, and was for an unbelievable number of years head of the gild of goldsmiths of Constantinople.⁸ This very numerous organization enjoyed special imperial favor, since Selim I and Suleiman, following the practice by which every prince of the Ottoman house must learn a trade, had been apprenticed as goldsmiths (1. 2. 188). Evliya's mother had been a Circassian or, more strictly, an Abaza slave girl.⁹ Her brother Malik Ahmed rose as slave-page in the palace through various offices of government, until he became grand vizir of the empire and was honored with the hand of the Sultan Murad IV's daughter.¹⁰ The help and influence of this highly successful adventurer accomplished much for his nephew, who was less ambitious and important, but freer and happier.

The comprehensive character of Evliya's book is related to a remarkable breadth of experience. The offspring of a freeborn man of ancient Moslem lineage and a slave woman from the rough mountains of the Caucasus, he was educated according to standard Moslem fashion along the road which led to the high positions in religion and law, but he also had opportunities to mount a certain distance in the government service, which was gradually departing from the rule according to which its higher

⁷ 1. 1. 31. Evliya's book gives many references to the numerous Ottoman religious endowments; see for example, 2. 91. For a brief discussion of the subject see my *Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, p. 200-203.

⁸ 1. 1. 39, 141: 'Praise be to Allah, that my father was the chief of the goldsmiths from the time of Sultan Soleiman to that of Sultan Ibrahim.' The former died in 1566; the latter ascended the throne in 1640.

⁹ 1. 1. 152. Her father, an Abaza, was the *Kiaya* of the *Kapujis* (superintendent of the gatekeepers) of the important man Ozdamir-Oghlu Osman Pasha. She and her brother Malik Ahmed were sent to the home country for what was considered a better bringing-up (1. 2. 61), and when the brother was 15 years of age they were brought back and presented to Sultan Ahmed, who took the boy into the page-school of the palace and gave the girl in marriage to Evliya's father.

¹⁰ 1. 1. 118, 152, 162; 1. 2. 13. This lady, whose name was Ismahan Kia, died in childbirth in 1651, at the age of 27. Malik Ahmed served as governor in a remarkable number of provincial capitals, including Diarbekir, Buda-Pest, Cairo, and those of Bosnia and Rumelia, both before and after his term as grand vizir.

positions were open only to those who had begun life as Christian slaves.¹¹ In addition to this, Evliya was trained in his father's profession as a goldsmith, and so had a definite place in the economic organization of the empire (1. 2. 189). Although he seems never to have been married, he was far from indifferent to the beauty of women, or, indeed, of boys.¹² He became initiated as a dervish into one of the many mystical religious orders (1. 2. 93 ff.), but he also spent much time in the gay life of a well-to-do young man about town (1. 2. 246; 2. 28). He passed through all of this as 'a poor, destitute traveler, but a friend of mankind' (1. 1. 2), and, as he himself says, being 'of a vagabond Dervish-like nature' (2. 28), he entered all doors but took up a fixed abode nowhere.

In his formal education he studied seven years in the Madressah of Mufti Hamid Effendi, one of the numerous endowed colleges of Constantinople (1. 2. 37). Here he heard the general lectures of Akhfash Effendi, and he mentions gratefully the names of three of his teachers, and in particular that of Evliya Mohammed, after whom he was probably named.¹³ 'Evliya' means 'saints,' and perhaps it was the accident of his name that led him to become a traveler, eager to visit the tombs of Moslem saints. He describes, however, a picturesque dream in which in the mosque of Akhi Chelebi he saw the Prophet Mohammed and was given a commission to travel through the world and visit the tombs of holy men.¹⁴ He was then just twenty-one years of age, and desired, he says, 'to escape from the power of my father, mother, and brethren' (1. 1. 1). His first journey was confined, however, to a thorough and detailed inspection of his native city and its environs¹⁵; not for ten years did he venture a longer

¹¹ This rule is discussed in my *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 45 ff. The education for religion and law is described on p. 203 ff.

¹² See his descriptions of the inhabitants of various towns, 2. 128, 144, 149, 196, etc. For example: 'The beautiful youth of both sexes at Meragha are everywhere renowned.'

¹³ 1. 2. 83: Sheikh Hedayi Mahamud Effendi 'adopted me as his spiritual child'. In 1. 1. 32, 137 Evliya shows his reverence for the elder Evliya.

¹⁴ 1. 1. 2—4. Evliya's book mentions the tombs of hundreds of Moslem saints, whose final resting-places he sought out at every opportunity.

¹⁵ The description of this, with much other material intermingled, occupies his first volume (which is also that of the translation, including parts 1 and 2).

flight for the sole purpose of travel. Meantime he accompanied his father on the military expedition to Tabriz in the year 1635 (1. 1. 129 ff.). His education had not ceased, and its last period, though the picturesque account is open to the suspicion of being overdrawn, was of exceptional character. Small of stature and of youthful appearance, he was possessed of an attractive voice, and had learned to sing, accompanying himself with various musical instruments; and to intone the Moslem call to prayer, read the Koran, and lead prayers in the most approved fashions.¹⁶ In the same year 1635, on the Night of Power, when Santa Sofia was filled with reverent worshipers, and Sultan Murad IV himself was present in his private box, Evliya, by the advice of his father, and very probably with the collusion of his uncle, who then held the high office of sword-bearer, took a place on the seat of the muezzins, and at a suitable time, began to chant the Koran. The impression which he made on the Sultan resulted in a summons to the palace and an adoption into the corps of pages.¹⁷ Though Evliya claims that he told the Sultan he knew seventy-two sciences and was acquainted with 'Persian, Arabic, Romaic, Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Turkish' (1. 1. 133), nevertheless he was given a series of text-books and assigned regular lessons (1. 1. 137). He claims to have 'enjoyed the greatest favor' of Murad (1. 1. 138), and certainly he showed through his life a special attachment and loyalty to him. Before the great expedition to Baghdad in 1638, which secured that city to the Turks 'unto this day,' Evliya had been graduated from the palace school, and made a *spāhī* or cavalryman, with a high salary.¹⁸ It would seem, however, that he did not go on that

¹⁶ His small size is revealed in 1. 1. 134, 139. He served for 3 years as reader in the mosque of Salim I (1. 2. 6) and frequently afterward as *Muazzīn*.

¹⁷ A sprightly account of his life in the palace is given at 1. 1. 132—142. In previous times he would not have been allowed to remain more than a year, since pages were 'graduated' at twenty-five years of age. Hammer states erroneously that Evliya remained in the palace only a short time and then went on the expedition to Erivan (1. 1. iv). He went to Erivan first (1. 1. 129—131). The Sultan returned to Constantinople on the 19th of Rajab, and Evliya entered the palace in Ramazan, two months later. He remained about three years, it appears.

¹⁸ 1. 1. 141—142: 'Previously to his Majesty's undertaking the expedition to Baghdad, I left the imperial Harem, and was appointed a Sipahi,

campaign, and that for some unstated reason he left the permanent public service before the year 1640.

Evliya's first independent trip for travel was made in the year last mentioned, to Brusa (2. 1 ff.). With this began his series of journeys out from Constantinople and back, by which in the course of half a century he saw most of the lands of the empire, and especially Asia Minor, the shores of the Black Sea, and the Balkan peninsula.¹⁹ Nor did he omit the pilgrimage to Mecca, and he saw Egypt and Syria by the way.²⁰ He also passed the frontiers and visited northern Persia and Russia,²¹ while his longest single journey was one of three and a half years in Western Europe, in the years 1664-1668.²² It is particularly to be regretted that he left no account of this journey, for his view of the infidel countries written for the edification of the faithful would be both amusing and instructive. Some of his journeys were taken under military orders, as by sea to Crete in 1645²³ and to Dalmatia a little later.²⁴ Summing up his adventures, he says that in his life he was present at twenty-two battles (1. 2. 57), saw the countries of eighteen monarchs, and heard one hundred forty-seven languages.²⁵

Evliya adorns his narrative with some book knowledge, includ-

with an allowance of forty aspers per day.' If this figure be correct, Evliya received a salary with which he was expected to bring into service, when needed, three or four cavalymen besides himself.

¹⁹ The second volume describes in detail his circuit of the Black Sea and his travels in many regions of Asia Minor and the adjacent portions of Persia. The first volume contains brief allusions to his journeys through most parts of European Turkey.

²⁰ The account of this journey is lost; see below, p. 239.

²¹ 1. 1. 164. He traveled 70 days in Russia in the year 1668.

²² 1. 1. 163. He visited Vienna, Dunkirk, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, and Poland. 'In the year 1668, on the night of the Prophet's ascension, I found myself on the Ottoman frontier, at the castle of Toghan-kechid, on the Dniester. Conducted by my guides, who were Kozaks [Cossacks], I saw lights in the minaret, and, for the first time, after so long an absence, I heard the sound of the Mohammedan call to prayer.'

²³ 2. 74 ff. Evliya is a valuable first-hand authority for the history of this expedition.

²⁴ 1. 1. 149. Evliya says that he was then in one of the Janissary companies, a statement not easily to be reconciled with his claim to have been in the superior position of *Spāhī* of the Porte seven years earlier.

²⁵ 1. 1. 174; 1. 2. 99. Evliya attempts, at 1. 1. 11-12, to give the name of Constantinople in 23 different languages. Some of the forms are cor-

ing allusions to the ancient literature of Arabia, Persia, Islam, and even Judaism and Christianity.²⁶ Yet from the fact that he went no farther in the religious school system, he does not seem to have possessed an exceptional order of intellectual excellence. It was probably a serious trial to his father that he failed to utilize any of the brilliant opportunities that were before him in business, the army, the government, the law, or the church. He did, however, finance many of his travels by utilizing portions of his training in these various directions.²⁷ He was evidently quick-witted, well-mannered, shrewd, and resourceful. Though so fond of good company, he insists strenuously and repeatedly that, like his father before him, he never tasted forbidden drinks. 'I, who spent so much time in coffee-houses, buza-houses, and wine-houses, can call God to witness, that I never drank anything during all my travels but this sweet buza of Constantinople preserved in boxes, that of Egypt made of rice-water, and that of the Crimea, called *makssâma*. Since I was born, I never tasted in my life of fermented beverages or prohibited things, neither tobacco, nor coffee, nor tea, . . . nor wine, . . . nor beer,' and so on to no less than sixty-eight items.²⁸ Can it be that he 'doth protest too much'? He recognized as prevalent and deplored other Oriental vices, but in this regard he made no affirmation of innocence, and indeed, laid himself distinctly open to suspicion.²⁹ At the same time, not only is there a religious ingredient in his work from beginning to end,

rect, as the German *Konstantinopel*, while others are clearly inaccurate; the 'African' name is said to be *Ghiranduviiyyeh*, which seems to be a representation of the French *Grande Ville*.—In this connection may be mentioned the visitors to the Mosque of Suleiman (1. 1. 81), who in the picturesque account of their visit are related to have exclaimed 'Maryah, Maryah'; this may have been *merveilleux*, and if so, the visitors were presumably French.

²⁶ These allusions, too numerous for citation, are especially frequent in regard to literary, Biblical, and early Moslem personages.

²⁷ For example, he was *muazzin* on the admiral's ship for the expedition to Azov in 1641 and for that to Crete in 1645; he went to Erzerum a little later as *muazzin* of the Pasha and clerk of the custom-house, etc. (2. 59, 77, 78).

²⁸ 1. 2. 246. Evliya makes positive denial also at 1. 2. 54; 2. 139. The latter forms part of a most interesting description of his entertainment by a Persian governor.

²⁹ See the allusions at 1. 2. 34, 85; 2. 12; etc. The prostitutes in Constantinople in his time were boys, not women (1. 2. 53, 109).

but piety appears to be no extraneous and superadded feature of his character.³⁰

For us of to-day who desire to learn from him about his people and his times, the questions of accuracy, veracity, and critical judgment are of great importance. In all of these respects credit can be given him for good intentions and sustained efforts, but in none can it be affirmed that he is unimpeachable. In general, he has the tendency frequent in Orientals, to substitute an exaggerated estimate for patient laborious calculation, he is not uninfluenced by a desire to exalt his own knowledge and achievement or to give point to a story, and he is credulous as regards such matters as the deeds of saints and the longevity and the adventures of ancient and garrulous campaigners. It is then not to be expected that his book would possess the calm, judicial, meticulously accurate, and designedly uninteresting character of the ideal work of a scientific historian. It is in fact a very human document. He called his city a 'mine of men' (1. 1. 23), and his book is primarily a mine of information about men. After all due criticism has been made, a great deal of illumination is thrown by it upon the social customs, habits of business, modes of thought, and life experiences of the seventeenth-century peoples whom he knew and visited, and particularly upon his fellow-Osmanlis. The persons whom he introduced in profusion, by masses, groups, or individuals, are all alive, active, and dynamic, whether officials high or low, townsmen or villagers, tradesmen or sailors, priests or soldiers. With a different training, Evliya might have become a Balzac or an Arnold Bennett, a Prescott or a Macaulay.

Evliya states that he began to write his travels in his twenty-second year, at the time when he first resolved to become a traveler (1. 1. 5). Nevertheless the work bears evidence that even the first and fullest portion, the elaborate description of Constantinople which occupies nearly two-thirds of the published translation, was composed in the later years of his life, probably in his seventh decade, after his travels had come to an end.³¹

³⁰ Such seems a fair inference, not merely from the frequent formulas and affirmations of a religious character, but also from Evliya's turning to prayer in times of danger and special rejoicing.

³¹ References to many years of his experience are scattered through his first volume. See note 4.

It is likely, however, though positive proof is lacking except in a few instances, that he gathered materials in the form of notes of his own, and fragments and works of others, during all the active years of his life.³² Unless he possessed an extraordinary memory, the precise statements which he makes presuppose extensive written support, for he has carried out well what he affirms to have been his original commission: 'Thou shalt travel through the whole world, and be a marvel among men. Of the countries through which thou shalt pass, of their castles, strong-holds, wonderful antiquities, products, eatables and drinkables, arts and manufactures, the extent of their provinces, and the length of the days there, draw up a description which shall be a monument worthy of thee' (1. 1. 4).

The historical narratives which are distributed through the book, associated often with the mosques and tombs of Sultans, are, apart from those of his own lifetime, a mixture of truth and error, in such a way as to indicate a combination of oral tradition and written record, modified occasionally by a native untrained criticism. An illustration of his historical offering may be condensed from his story of Constantinople, which he claims to have taken in part from the Ionian history (the 'history of Yanvan') read to him by his Greek friend, Simeon the Goldsmith.³³ King Solomon, who was a Moslem, was the first of nine builders of the city. Alexander the Great, the 'Two-horned,' was the fourth. He it was, furthermore, who cut the channel of the Bosphorus between the Black and the White (or Aegean) Seas (1. 1. 13, 14).³⁴ Puzantin, King of Hungary, evidently the eponymous

³² He mentions: the historical work *Tohfet* (*Tuhfat*), 1. 1. 9; the 'history of Yanvan [Ionia?],' 1. 1. 27; the title deeds to his ancestral lands, 1. 1. 31; the statistical *Kanūn-nāmah* of Suleiman I, 1. 1. 88—105; a description of Constantinople in the time of Murad IV, from which he extracted a summary, 1. 2. 44, 100, 104; the constitutional laws of Sultan Suleiman, 1. 2. 89; the constitutions of the different orders of dervishes, 1. 2. 100; the description of Constantinople by Molla Zekeria Effendi, 1. 2. 102.

³³ 1. 1. 27. Either Simeon or Evliya introduced many things which could not have been found in a Greek history.

³⁴ 1. 2. 72: 'This is the canal which was cut by Iskender Zulkarnin to unite the Black and the White Seas. The traces of this work are even now to be seen on the rocks.'

Greek founder Byzas, instead of being the first founder was the fifth. Constantine the Great instead of second was ninth. Evliya is not quite clear as to the distinction between the first Constantine and the last, for he says that Constantine planted eleven hundred cannon to defend the city, so that not a bird could fly across without being struck, a statement which, aside from double exaggeration, is of course anachronistic even for the thirteenth Constantine. Having been besieged nine times by the Saracens, half the city was surrendered to Sultan Bayazid I, and finally the whole was taken by Mohammed II the Conqueror. At this point is introduced an interesting and characteristic episode (1. 1. 37—43). During the siege twenty relief ships came from France and were captured by the Turks. On one of them was a daughter of the King of France, who grew up to become the cherished consort of Mohammed II and the mother of Bayazid II. Now Evliya very clearly had doubts about this story, but they were resolved in the following way. As a boy he knew an aged friend of his father's, named Su-kemerli Koca Mustafa. 'He was,' says Evliya, 'a most faithful man, and one whose word could be taken with perfect security' (1. 1. 39). Su-kemerli related that he was himself a nephew of the French princess and had been five years old at the time of the taking of Constantinople. Evliya quotes him again as having been 'when a youth of twenty-five years of age, present at the conquest of Cairo by Sultan Selim I.'³⁵ But if his former statement could have been true, he would have been sixty-nine instead of twenty-five years of age in 1517. Not only does Evliya overlook this discrepancy, but he finds nothing difficult in the conclusion that in order to tell these romances to him in about the year 1620, Su-kemerli must have been about one hundred and seventy years of age! Evliya can affirm that his own father was present in 1521 at the capture of Belgrade, and yet lived until 1648!³⁶ Such claims

³⁵ 1. 1. 39. See von Hammer's attempted correction of this, 1. 1. 184, note 7, where he errs in his calculations by three years and is apparently not at all surprised at the extraordinary age of Su-kemerli Mustafa.

³⁶ 1. 1. 39: 'My father . . . was with Sultan Suleiman at the sieges of Rhodes, Belgrade, and Sigetvar.' Mohammed Zilla died in 1648 (2. 240). The great architect Sinan is said to have lived to 170 years (1. 1. 171). See also 1. 1. 46, 60, 152.

have not often been made since the days of the Biblical patriarchs. One can imagine the ancient veterans swapping yarns, which grow with the telling, while the young Evliya, reverently repressing the tendency to doubt, stores all up in his retentive memory. But such credulity impairs for us his value as a historian, at least of times before his own. Still, judging from his general tone and occasional affirmations, he endeavored to state the truth as nearly as he could ascertain it. He wishes, he explains, 'not to incur the tradition of liars, which says: "A liar is he who relates everything he hears"' (1. 1. 63; 1. 2. 21).

He corrects a historiographer's statement as to the place of Selim II's death (1. 2. 10), and observes that whereas there is shown in Santa Sofia the stone trough in which the newly born Jesus was washed, he saw the real one at Bethlehem (1. 1. 65). But he hastens to affirm as 'known to all the world,' that 'crooked and sickly children, . . . when washed in the trough in Ayá Sôfiyah immediately become straight and healthy, as if revived by the breath of Jesus.' In his travels generally he is scrupulous in avoiding the attempt to describe what he himself had not seen.³⁷ In his historical statements likewise he appears to have applied such criticism as he was capable of³⁸ and in general to have reproduced the standard view of the past as accepted by the learned Turks of his time.³⁹ Neither the beliefs set forth above as to Constantinople's early history nor the tradition about the French princess is confined to Evliya's work alone.

He was an especial admirer of Sultan Murad IV, to whose household he belonged for a time. Some of his anecdotes deline-

³⁷ 2. 67. At 1. 2. 132—133 there is a story of a man, a crocodile, and a fish, which is evidently more than Evliya wishes to accept, though he was confronted with witnesses; he likens the experience to that of Jonah. At 1. 1. 60—63 is another tale as to which it is well said, 'the proof of it rests with the relator.'

³⁸ A curious use of criticism is found at 1. 2. 3, where the tradition that Bayazid II died and was buried twice is *corrected* by the explanation that his soul once yielded to the temptation to eat animal food and crept out of his mouth in the form of a living creature; he prevented its re-entrance and had it beaten to death; later, by decision of the Mufti, it was given decent burial.

³⁹ Evliya was more credulous on the religious side than elsewhere. He believed almost anything related of a saint; see, for example, 2. 70—72.

ate the peculiar character of this monarch, and reveal the child-like but dangerous impulsiveness that unlimited authority may develop. The Sultan possessed immense strength, even though one can not believe with Evliya that he once hurled a javelin a mile.⁴⁰ No wrestler could open his clenched fist. On one occasion Evliya advised him after vigorous exercise and a Turkish bath not to wrestle any more that day. Said the Sultan, 'Have I no strength left? Let us see,' and taking Evliya by the belt, he raised him above his head and swung him about for a long time, until he begged for release. Then the Sultan put him down, and gave him forty-eight pieces of gold for consolation (1. 1. 139). On another day Murad, sitting in the garden of Dolma-Baghcheh, was reading a new satirical work by the poet Nefi Effendi, 'when the lightning struck the ground near him; being terrified, he threw the book into the sea, and then gave orders to Bairam Pasha to strangle the author Nefi Effendi.'⁴¹

Evliya falls into a few anachronisms, as when he speaks of Prince Jem and Uzun Hasan as having flourished before the fall of Constantinople, instead of some time after (1. 1. 36). This is in spite of the fact that he expressly affirms his accurate knowledge of the dates of Mohammed II's reign, as obtained from the title deeds to his inheritance (1. 1. 31). Another anachronism illustrates also his credulity. At his father's suggestion a building that was believed to be a thousand years old, situated near Santa Sofia, was opened up in order to become the tomb of Sultan Mustafa I. Says Evliya: 'While the windows were being cut in the walls, a tobacco pipe was found among the stones, which smelt even then of smoke; an evident proof of the antiquity of the custom of smoking' (1. 2. 12). It is interesting to notice that Evliya understood the use of a telescope and had probably looked through one (1. 2. 50).

⁴⁰ 1. 1. 140. Evliya states that Murad, standing in the courtyard of the Old Palace, brought down a crow from the minaret of the Mosque of Bayazid II, one mile distant. He says that the spot where the crow fell was marked by a white marble column inscribed with a chronogram. Possibly the translator, having in mind the principal palace on Seraglio Point, inserted the words 'one mile distant' erroneously. The Eski Sarai of Mohammed III was much nearer than one mile to the mosque of Bayazid II.

⁴¹ 1. 2. 63. See also the incident of the astronomer's well, 1. 2. 60. The pursuit of literature and science was hazardous in the time of Murad IV.

The Orient has seldom been inclined to count exactly and estimate accurately, and in its records enormous exaggerations are possible. Evliya's figures are subject to this tendency, even when quoted from documentary evidence said to have been obtained with great care. He had before him, he says, an enumeration with descriptions of all the buildings of Constantinople, made exactly and completely for Sultan Murad IV in the year 1638 (1. 2. 103). The summary contains the following figures: 'Great mosques of the Vezirs, 1985, small mosques of the wards, 6990, . . . primary schools, 1993, . . . caravansarais, 997, . . . baths, public and private, 14,536, . . . fountains, public and private, 9995.' Now it is clear that in many of these instances, a round number was guessed, ordinarily about ten times too large, as 2000, 7000, 1000, 10,000, and then a slight change was made to make the estimate seem to be the result of counting. Evliya says again that Suleiman's mosque cost 890,883 *yuks*, which von Hammer values at 74,242,500 piasters, equal to about as many dollars, an incredibly large sum.⁴²

If Evliya's historical facts and his figures are unreliable, there yet remains much that is of importance and interest. After the description of the mosque of Suleiman is given a statistical survey of the empire in that Sultan's time, which was evidently copied from one or more written documents, with enlivening annotations from other sources (1. 1. 84—109). In this are included lists of great officials of the reign, the provinces and their *sanjaks*, the pay of the high officials, the number of feudal cavalymen, and the conquests of Suleiman. A yet more extensive description, requiring some 80,000 words in the translation, is that of the procession of the guilds before the Sultan Murad IV (1. 2. 104—250). This is perhaps the outstanding feature of the book. Says Evliya: 'Nowhere else has such a procession been seen or shall be seen,' and he sighs with relief as he concludes: 'By the Lord of all the Prophets, God be praised that I have overcome the task of describing the guilds and corporations of Constantinople' (1. 2. 250). Participated in by two hundred

⁴² 1. 1. 81. The statement at 2. 65 that the Tartar Khan had 800,000 horsemen is an error of copying or translation, since the number 80,000 is mentioned in the previous sentence; this also is very probably an overestimate. Likewise the statement at 1. 1. 145, that the Turkish fleet in 1695 had 11,700 vessels, is not Evliya's own, for his items add up to 1700.

thousand men, who were grouped into some seven hundred and thirty-five companies, this parade passed before the Alai Kiosk, where the Sultan sat, from dawn through the whole day until sunset. Its description gives an unexampled insight into the inner commercial life of Constantinople three hundred years ago. Evliya names the gilds in order, gives each its patron saint, tells the number of its members, and describes the exhibitions each presents. He also inserts many curious observations, as to the ordinary work of the gild members, related experiences of his own, notes from Moslem history, and occasional humorous remarks, anecdotes, and stories. An example may be taken from the account of the vinegar merchants: 'The number of men are one hundred and fifty. Their patron received the girdle from Ins Ben Malek, but I am ignorant of where his tomb is. . . . The oldest patron of the vinegar merchants is Jemshid, who having planted the vine at the advice of Satan, also made the first vinegar. Jemshid is said to be buried at Ephesus. They adorn their shops with large bottles, and roll along casks, crying, "Good excellent English vinegar." They have old casks of from seventy to eighty years' standing, wherein they put neither raisins nor anything else, but hot water only, which in three days becomes the best vinegar. Such casks cost an hundred piasters: in this manner the vinegar makers as well as the sherbet makers sell each drop of water granted to them by heaven.'⁴³

It is clear that Evliya possessed a very definite, if somewhat unpolished sense of humor. Elsewhere he says: 'Seven hours further on is the village of Karajalar, . . . three hundred houses of poor but very obstinate Turks: they will sell the trunk of a tree (for fire-wood) forty times over, putting it in the water every night, so that you may be compelled to lay out ten aspers in brushwood to set it on fire. A traveler marked one of these trunks by fixing a nail in it, and when he returned three years afterwards from the siege of Erivan they gave him the very same trunk.'⁴⁴

⁴³ 1. 2. 150. Among many other examples of humorous or picturesque description of gilds are those of the executioners, 1. 2. 108; the schoolboys, 115; the bakers, 120, 121, 126; the captains of the White Sea, 134—135; the dispute of the butchers and the merchants, 136—138.

⁴⁴ 2. 94. At 1. 2. 85 Evliya says: 'So famous are these meadows of Kiat-haneh, that, if the leanest horse feed in them ten days, he will resemble in

Now and then he manifests a naïve and delightful, if not profound philosophy, as for example in his explanation of why there are so many sheep in the world: 'Although a sheep brings forth but one a year, yet are all mountains covered with them. Meanwhile it is a strange thing that dogs and swine have every year many young, so that one would believe that the world must be filled with them, yet God blesses the sheep because it gets up early and breathes the wind of divine mercy. The swine on the contrary turns up the earth with its snout the whole night, and sleeps during the day. The dog likewise barks the whole night, and in the morning with its tail between its feet lies down to sleep. Therefore the young of swine and dogs never reach a long life. This is a wonderful effect of the wisdom of God' (1. 2. 147—148).

Evliya's descriptions of travel are uniformly sprightly and lively. He narrates the experiences of his journeys, and in connection with each place of sojourn tells something of its appearance, size, history, the characteristics of its inhabitants, its fruits and products, gardens, defenses, buildings, its officers, their incomes, and the saints who are buried near.⁴⁵ Not infrequently he repeats conversations and addresses, and he never hesitates to speak in the first person, yet always in a natural and inoffensive way. His style is regularly characteristic and individual.

It would be too much to ask of Evliya that he should provide serious and adequate reflections upon the institutions and the probable future of his country, for he is no political or social philosopher. The contemporary English observer Paul Rycaut, who could not equal Evliya in inside knowledge, possessed from the advantage of foreign birth a far superior objectivity of view.⁴⁶ By combining the information given by the two with the

size and fatness one of the large elephants of Shah Mahmud [of Ghazni]. At the siege of Constantinople there were 40 ships 'filled with some thousand scarlet scull-capped Arabs, burning as brandy, and sharp as hawks' (1. 1. 37). After a battle near the Iron Gates 'the white bodies of the infidels were strewed upon the white snow' (1. 1. 159). Does it reveal humor, credulity, or mere stupidity when he says (1. 1. 56) that the doors of St. Sofia 'are all so bewitched by talismans that if you count them ever so many times, there always appears to be one more than there was before'?

⁴⁵ Cf. the description of the town of Kopri, 2. 218.

⁴⁶ Sir Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1668.

testimonies of other travelers, as the Frenchmen Du Vignau and Tavernier,⁴⁷ it is possible to reconstruct with much vividness, depth, and truth the vanished Ottoman society of the seventeenth century.

The translation, so far as it may be judged without a comparison with the original, is careful and generally accurate. The English used is occasionally a little foreign,⁴⁸ but on the whole it is smooth, clear, and lively. The introduction contains a number of errors, due perhaps to von Hammer's reliance upon memory for Evliya's statements about his career.⁴⁹ The translation reaches the end of the second of four volumes written by Evliya, at the year 1648 (2. 243). Immediately afterward he went on his pilgrimage to Mecca, on which he passed through Palestine and Egypt. Von Hammer once saw the third volume, containing the travels in Egypt, in the library of Sultan Abdul Hamid I, but could never again find it there or discover another copy anywhere (1. 2. 200, 255 n. 23). Nor could he find any evidence that Evliya had continued the account of his travels beyond the year 1655 (1. 1. xii). Had the Turkish writer carried out his plan to the full and narrated the experiences of his whole life, he might have produced a work unique in interest as well as in magnitude. As it is, one cannot perhaps dissent seriously from the summary opinion of the translator, who says: 'Evliya must be considered as but an indifferent poet and historian. But in the description of the countries he visited he is most faithful, and his work must be allowed to be unequalled by any other hitherto known Oriental travels' (1. 1. xiv). At any rate he deserves to be placed in the group with such famous wanderers as Masudi, Benjamin of Tudela, Ibn Jubair, and Ibn Batutah.

⁴⁷ J. B. Tavernier, *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur*, Paris, 1681; Sieur Du Vignau, *L'État présent de la puissance Ottomane*, Paris, 1687.

⁴⁸ For instance, the use of 'chapel' (*Kapelle*) for 'band', of 'seorch' (*écorcher*) for 'flay', etc.

⁴⁹ See notes 17 and 35. Von Hammer says also that Evliya's uncle Malik Ahmed went to Constantinople to be married to a second princess (1. 1. xii), whereas the text states that he went to be present at the marriage of a princess. He says that Evliya traveled 41 years (1. 1. vi), while the text gives the number as 51 (1. 1. 174).

NAVIGATION TO THE FAR EAST UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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Communication between Mediterranean lands and the Far East, which had been growing in importance since establishment of political contact in the conquests of Alexander and the consequent opening of the overland caravan routes, became exceedingly active between the first and third centuries of the Christian era through the discovery of the periodicity of the trade winds and the opening of active maritime traffic. There was, however, among writers in the Roman world considerable confusion because of their assumption that the land and sea routes had the same destination. This confusion, due partly to primitive misconceptions of geography, was greatly enhanced by the surprising misinterpretation of reports of various travelers upon which Ptolemy based his geographical calculations.

In tracing the caravan route it is impossible to go far astray because of limitations imposed by mountains, deserts, and water-courses. Richthofen (*China*, 1. 10) and others have followed the whole route between the Pamirs and *Sera metropolis*, which may quite surely be identified with the ancient Chinese capital Singan-fu. This was the great trade route of the silk merchants, and that trade was already of importance in the second century before the Christian era. The sea route was opened first to the west coast of India and Ceylon, where contact was made with another sea route leading further east known to the natives of India as the 'golden route,'¹ and its eastern termini as the 'golden and silver islands'—whence silk was also obtained. Inland from these islands (or shores, either interpretation being possible), was a metropolis *Sina Sinorum*, known to the Roman world by hearsay only, and assumed to be identical with the earlier known *Sera metropolis*, so that both caravan and maritime routes were supposed to have reached the same trade centers.

¹ Nundo Lal Dey, *Notes on the History of the District of Hugli or the Ancient Rada*, JASB new series, 6, no. 11, 1910.

Although the various ports of call along this ocean route have been reasonably identified by comparison of place names, consideration of sailing conditions may still yield matter of interest.

Graeco-Roman navigation in the Indian ocean, as we know from ample evidence from coins, painting, and sculpture, was carried on in open craft, felucca rigged, very similar to the Arab dhows of our own time. Sailing before the wind was preferred: considerable effort was required to hold a course with the wind abeam, and tacking against the wind was not attempted out of sight of land because neither log nor compass was available for calculating or holding a course. The trade winds, which blew from southwest to northeast between April and October, and in the reverse direction between October to April, had doubtless long been used by Arab and Dravidian mariners, but vessels from Egypt to reach these ocean winds depended also on the so-called etesian winds blowing from north to south, and setting in usually about mid-summer, to carry them on the long journey down the Red Sea.² The time for their voyage was therefore very limited. We learn from Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 6. 26) that vessels set sail from Egypt at mid-summer and in about thirty days arrived at the Straits. There they met the trade wind, which they gave the name *Hippalus* from the first of their countrymen to discover its use, and after exchanging cargo, set sail for India and reached the Malabar coast in forty days. Owing to depredations of pirates, they were obliged to steer with the wind partly abeam so as to make a landfall at the Tamil ports near the southern extremity of India. There they again exchanged cargo and set sail on their return voyage in December, using the southeast trade wind, which, owing to climatic influence due to the Sahara and Arabian deserts, is projected up the Red Sea as a southerly wind. Only by adopting this sailing schedule could the return journey be made in the same season. The voyage from the ports of the Dravidian kingdoms and Ceylon to the Far East was undertaken under similar conditions, except that, since no secondary passage had to be made through a body of water like the Red Sea, the whole period of each monsoon could be utilized. It was easy for the Chola mariners to reach Farther India and the South China Sea with a longer period for exchange

² *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* 57.

of cargoes and to return the same season. For vessels hailing from Red Sea ports this was impossible. To the Greek or Roman merchant who ventured to the Far East this was a venture indeed, not to be undertaken unless under exceptional conditions of charter or cargo to be secured. There is, however, good reason to believe that the eastern sea trade of India exceeded its western trade and that the commercial activity of Rome in its prosperous period was but the reflection of greater activity in the capitals of India from Madura to Palibothra.

Comparison of the evidence available from the records of Rome, India, and China is of interest. Professor Hirth³ has made the Chinese Annals available, and we find that although the southern coast of China proper, including the ports of Kwang-Tung and Fo-Kien provinces, had not as yet been made part of China, the province of Tong-King had been over-run by the Chinese B. C. 214, was incorporated into the Empire B. C. 111, and remained a Chinese possession until A. D. 263.⁴ This conquest followed that of the province of Yun-Nan, still one of the richest provinces of China in metals, in forestry and agriculture. From the capital of Yun-Nan situated on an inland lake, vividly described by Marco Polo (2. 48), and evidently reflected through the accounts of the Roman traders, there was a well-defined trade route down the Yang-tse river and overland through central China to the capital Singan-fu on the watershed of the Yellow River; and from the adjoining plateau of eastern Tibet through parallel valleys within a few miles of each other flow not only the Yang-Tse and the Red River of Tong-King, but the Me-Kong of Cochin China, the Salwin and Irawadi of Burma. Adjoining Yun-Nan in the water-sheds of these Burmese rivers was located the kingdom of the Shans, then an important tribal federation, and there is reason to believe that an active trade existed out of China through Yun-Nan with the Shans as intermediaries. A Chinese record dating from A. D. 120 informs us that 'the king of the country of Shan sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor offering musicians and jugglers,' whose accomplishments suggest the juggling of India, and

³ *China and the Roman Orient*, *passim*, from which references herein are quoted.

⁴ Richthofen, *op. cit.* 1. 509.

who said: 'We are men from the west of the sea. The west of the sea is the same as Ta-Tsin. In the southwest of the country of Shan one passes through to Ta-Tsin.'⁵ While Ta-Tsin was the name given by the Chinese to the eastern lands of the Roman Empire, it cannot always be given that meaning, and in this case seems to mean merely people coming from the West. The route is, however, clear; the embassy came by sea to the southwest of the Shan country, that is, the Gulf of Martaban, the shores immediately east of the modern Rangoon, and proceeded inland up one of the river valleys. The modern rail route leaving Rangoon follows the valley of the Sittaung river to Mandalay, thence up the Irawadi. At Bhamo, the head of navigation on that river, the overland route to Yun-Nan began crossing the parallel gorges of the other rivers by suspension bridges. The earlier route probably ascended the Salwin passing the Shan capital Theinni and crossing the other rivers a little lower down, both routes having as their destination Yun-nan-fu, Cheng-tu-fu, and finally Singan-fu. Another Chinese record informs us that in A. D. 166 the king of Ta-Tsin, 'An-tun,' who may of course be identified with Marcus Aurelius, 'sent an embassy with tribute from the frontier of Jih-Nan,' and that 'merchants of this country frequently visit Fu-Nan, Jih-Nan, and Kiao-Tsi,' but that 'few of the inhabitants of those southern frontier states ever went to Ta-Tsin.'⁶ We have here evidently still a confusion of Burma, southern India, and the Roman East. The name of Antoninus suggests a stray Roman subject, but the merchants 'frequently visiting the southern states,' which we may identify with the modern Siam, Annam, and Tong-King, must have come from the ports of India or Ceylon. Another record dating from the fourth century gives us the route from the Chinese capital to its Tong-King seaport, and the routes down the other rivers as follows: 'southeast you come to Kiao-Tsi; there is also connection by water [in fact by both river and ocean routes] with the principalities of Yun-Nan and Yung-Chang [near Bhamo; that is, through Burma].' Chinese interest in distant lands is reflected in this same record in its concluding observation: 'Although in that country, Ta-Tsin, sun and moon and the con-

⁵ *Hou-han-shu*, c. 86.

⁶ *Ibid.* c. 88; *Liang-shu*, c. 54.

stellations are quite the same as in China, former historians say that going a hundred *li* west of Tiao-Chih [mouth of the Euphrates] you come to the place where the sun sets. This is far from being true.⁷

From the hills of Yun-Nan came gold, silver, and precious stones, silk, and the fragrant cinnamon bark so greatly prized in Rome. The upper Yang-Tse in Chinese speech is still the 'river of the golden sands,' and a recent traveler refers to a neighboring river valley as being called the 'silver shore.'⁸ The overland route from Yun-Nan to the upper Irawadi was used by conquering Chinese troops in the 18th century and was by them called the 'gold and silver route.'⁹ The southern port of China mentioned in the record as southeast from Yun-Nan, that is, down the Song-Koi or Red River of Tong-King and named Kiao-Tsi, we may safely follow Richthofen in identifying as the *Kattigara* (or *Katti-nagara*, from some Prakrit-speaking pilot?) of Ptolemy and other Roman writers. This gave the Chinese Empire an outlet to the southern seas, the sailing course from which, being within the tropics, was steered by the southern cross and not the north star. The south seems to have been the cardinal direction with the Chinese. The magnetic needle having already been known to them for centuries, although apparently not put to practical uses for navigation, was also called the south-pointing chariot.¹⁰

Indian records of Farther India show very active communication at this same time. There was missionary activity of all creeds then held in India—Brahmin, Buddhist, and Jain—and there was active sea trade. The 'golden route' of the Chinese was known in India as the Golden Coast, *Suvarṇa bhūmi*, and near one of the mouths of the Ganges was an important port of India named *Suvarṇa Grāma*, the Golden Port, better known in the days of Arab trade as *Sonargaon*.¹¹ Not only from the

⁷ *Wei-shu*, c. 102.

⁸ Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, p. 35, 44, 104, 255.

⁹ Cordier's Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2. 67-76.

¹⁰ Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, p. 126-134.

¹¹ Nundo Lal Dey, *Notes on Ancient Anga or the District of Bhagalpur*, *JASB* new series, 10, no. 9, 1914; cf. the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*, where a single ship from Chāmpā to Suvarṇabhūmi had on board seven caravans with their beasts.

kingdoms of the Ganges was there navigation across the Bay of Bengal: from southern India the sea trade was so important that the Andhra kings struck numerous coins bearing the impression of capacious two-masted vessels used in that service and evidently regarded as the source of national power and prosperity. The Tamil poem *Paddinappalai*¹² gives us a vivid description of a busy port of the Chola Kingdom, *Kaviripadinam*, which was built on the northern bank of the Kaviri river, then a broad and deep stream into which heavily laden ships entered from the sea without slackening sail. At the beach were raised platforms and warehouses where cargoes were stored. The goods were stamped with the royal tiger stamp after payment of customs duty and then released to the merchants. Close by were settlements of the Yāvana merchants, which name included not only Ionians or Greeks, but Graeco-Bactrians and Parthians. Here were quartered foreign traders from other lands beyond the seas, and precious cargoes of many kinds were brought from all directions—from the northern mountains, the western coast, the valley of the Ganges, Ceylon and Burma. There were lighthouses built of brick and mortar which exhibited flashing lights at night to guide ships to port. Among the workmen on the Chola palace in that city were not only artisans from all parts of India, but carpenters from Yāvana, that is, probably Greeks from Egypt or Syria. Another Tamil poem describes the 'seaport of Muchiri on the west coast near the mouth of the Periyar where the beautiful large ships of the Yāvanas bringing gold come splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar which belongs to the Cherala and return laden with pepper.'¹³

An early Sanskrit play of India, 'The Little Clay Cart,' describes the same activity. One of the characters is a gentleman 'dressed in silken raiment glittering with rich ornaments.' In one of the scenes appears a row of jewelers' shops 'where skilful artists are examining pearls, topazes, sapphires, beryls, rubies, lapis lazuli, coral, and other jewels; some set rubies in gold; some work with gold ornaments on colored thread; some string pearls; some grind lapis lazuli; some pierce shells and some cut

¹² Quoted from Mookerji, *History of Indian Shipping*, p. 135-6; see also Pillai, *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 16, 24-26.

¹³ *Erukkadūṟ Thayan Kannaṉar-Akam*; quoted from Mookerji, *op. cit.* p. 135.

coral.¹⁴ In this list there are gems from all four points of the compass.

Meager enough are the Roman references to this sea trade. The conditions of the journey given by Pliny have already been mentioned. The author of the *Periplus* mentions the three kingdoms of southern India: Chera, with its port of Muziris, the *Muchiri* of the Tamil poets; Pāṇḍya, the capital of which, Madura, Pliny reports as *Modiera*; and the 'coast country,' that is, Chola, with its capital called Argaru, that is *Uragapura*, *Uraiyūr*, the modern Trichinopoly on the Kaviri, while the port of *Kaviripaddinam* he mentions as Camara, and says that there were in that port not only the large single-masted vessels peculiar to the Malabar coast, but others very much larger which made the voyage to Chryse and the Ganges. He mentions Chryse as 'an island opposite the Ganges and under the rising sun' and tells us that beyond Chryse the sea comes to an end, and that to the north was 'a land called *This* with an inland city called *Thinae* from which silk was brought overland through Bactria to the Gulf of Cambay and by way of the Ganges to the ports of Damirica,' that is, Tamil Land, the *Tamilakam* of their poets (*Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* 63, 64).

There is apparent confusion here between the overland Turkestan route to North China and the combined sea and land route to South China. *Thinae*, the eastern metropolis, may be the same in name as *Theinni*, the Shan capital¹⁵; though the Turkestan caravans never reached it, and it is not north of the Gulf of Tong-King, which is the place where the outer sea was thought to come to an end. Burma, Yun-Nan, and China proper were brought into one peninsula by as late a geographer as Edrisi.

The sea route to *Kattigara*, according to Marinus of Tyre, was twenty days coasting south from the Golden Chersonese to a place called *Zabai*, whence, sailing 'a little to the left of south' one came in 'some days' to *Kattigara*. How many days he could not tell, but thought 'some,' as reported to him by mariners, meant 'many.' Ptolemy (1. 14) criticized him severely, and said 'some' meant 'few,' and that *Kattigara* was therefore close

¹⁴ *Mṛcchakatika*, Act 4, tr. Ryder, Cambridge, 1905, p. 70.

¹⁵ Kingsmill, *The Mantse and the Golden Chersonese*, *JRAS China Branch*, 35. 76-101.

by the Golden Chersonese. He plotted it on his map, fixed the latitude and longitude, and then asserted that the coast beyond trended westward, joining Africa below Zanzibar. But, calculations notwithstanding, he was guessing, just like Josephus who said Solomon's ships went for gold 'to the land that of old was called Ophir, but now the Golden Chersonese, which belongs to India' (*Ant. Jud.* 8. 2).

Marcian of Heraclea, generally considered a mere compiler out of Ptolemy, gives further details of the far eastern voyage. The unknown land east of the Sinae, and the unknown land south of the sea called *Prasodes* (this name being identical with the *Green Sea* of the Arab geographers and the *Erythraean* or *Red Sea* of the Greeks, although apparently derived from the Sanskrit *prasāda*, 'pacific') came together, making 'a sort of angle near the Gulf of the Sinae.' Above the Sinae, he said, was the region of the Seri and their metropolis; the unknown eastern land was dotted with 'stagnant lakes, in which great reeds grow, so closely crowded together that men cross over the lakes by walking upon them'—which may readily refer to the lakes of Yun-Nan and the bamboos used for bridges there. He mentions *Thinae*, the metropolis of the Sinae, as 'the border between the known and the unknown land'; but the sailing course beyond *Kattigara*, he says, 'cannot be set down in stages or figures,' because 'there are no witnesses to point out the course unless it be some God who knows.'¹⁶

But it is noteworthy that Marcian's sailing distance, ignoring his directions, is reasonably accurate between his 'Point of Departure' at the westernmost mouth of the Ganges, and the mouth of the Cottiaris river by *Kattigara*, if we take that to be the Song-Ka or Red River of Tong-King.¹⁷ And from that point it is true that 'the unknown land to the east' makes 'a sort of angle' with a land reaching westward, the Island of Hai-Nan. Marcian's sailing course also is correct, holding southward from the Golden Chersonese, if we take that as the Martaban coast—the modern Moulmein—and not the lower tip of the Malay Peninsula. There, however, his knowledge ends.

¹⁶ *Peripl. Mar. Ext.* 44, 46: fifth mouth of Ganges to frontier of Sinae, 45,350 stadia; thence to Cottiaris R., 12,650 stadia.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 44. Concerning the 'Point of Departure' cf. Nundo Lal Dey, *The Vikramasīla Monastery*, JASB new series, 5, no. 1, 1909.

There is a triple confusion in all these sailing courses of the Roman period. Mediterranean courses were set by the north star, and 'the right-hand coast' would be east. Red Sea courses were set by the wind and the coast-line, never far distant, and the direction being south, the western or African shore was the 'right-hand coast' and the eastern or Asiatic shore the 'left-hand coast.' At the Horn of Africa, Cape Guardafui, the course was set by the trade winds, and connection was made with the active shipping of India, where the cardinal direction was east. This may have led to Pliny's and Ptolemy's failure to realize the southern extension of India, which was well known to the author of the *Periplus*. At the Tamil ports in Southern India, connection was made with shipping bound across the Bay of Bengal to the Golden Chersonese, also a course steered by the trade winds. There connection was made with Malay or Chinese shipping bound to Kattigara, but once past the Straits of Malacca, directions were reversed, and an actual east-and-north course was reported as south-and-west. This may have been due merely to the different point of view of the steersman. The Greek southbound was steering backward, as it were; and the Chinaman forward, south being his cardinal direction.

But finally we have the correct description of the trend of the coast at the head of the Gulf of Tong-King, indicating personal observation by some navigator who was neither Tamil, Hindu, nor Chinese, and the wholly unwarranted assumption that the coast of Hainan extended westward all the way to Cape Prasum in Africa (*Peripl. Mar. Ext.* 40). A like assumption was made by the author of the *Periplus* for Ceylon (*Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* 61). Both were due to the notion of a southern continent or Antichthones, conceived by both Greeks and Romans as necessary to counterbalance the Eurasian continent and so prevent it from sliding off toward the ultimate north.¹⁸

The inferences as to Roman enterprise by sea to the far east are negative. That Roman shipping frequented the ports of the

¹⁸ Cf. Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, 1. 9: quod si est alter Orbis, suntque oppositi nobis a meridie Antichthones, ne illud quidem a vero nimium abscesserit, in illis terris ortum amnem, ubi subter maria caeco alveo penetraverit, in Nostris rursus emergere et hac re solstitio accrescere, quod tum hiems sit unde oritur. Alia quoque in his terris mira sunt . . .

Tamil Kingdoms and Ceylon is undoubted. But of the great beyond, they brought back hearsay. The author of the *Periplus*, like Tavernier in the 17th Century, gives us a summary out of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas. Marinus of Tyre gives the accounts of a few other mariners, on which Ptolemy makes specious calculations. Tamil literature and coinage alike testify to maritime enterprise eastward, and Chinese annals refer to a few visits of people coming 'from the west of the sea'—which may mean Tamil Land and Ceylon, though in one case the mention of An-Tun seems to mean a Roman subject. All point to the same conclusion, that Roman ships in the Bay of Bengal and the China Sea were so rare that two or three in a century might tell their tale.

But what of that other voyager out of the west, who came to Kattigara and, being conducted to the Chinese Court, gave an account of the lands to the west of the sea, which the Annalist warns us are not at the place where the sun sets? His name comes to us as *Tsin-Lun*¹⁹; that may be no more than Lun, the Tsin, or Roman; and may not Lun also be some attempt of the Chinaman to pronounce *Romanus*? Here was an earlier Marco Polo who should have been imprisoned by some enemy, that the world might be the richer for his memoirs. For of the vast Pacific the only witness to the Roman world might be, as Marcian put it, 'some God who knows.'

¹⁹ *Liang-shu*, c. 54.

BRIEF NOTES

Babylonian Titles of Medical Textbooks

In *CT* 14, plate 23, the obverse of K 9283 and K 259 are reproduced. The former tablet deals with the treatment of bites and stings of venomous animals; the latter is a pharmaco-therapeutic list for toothache, shaking tooth, and tooth-decay. The reverse of neither of the tablets is there published. The obverse of K 259 was first reproduced together with K 191 by Sayce and is widely used in the literature. The lack of reproductions of the reverse has been a handicap in the determination of the relationship of the different pharmaco-therapeutic series of tablets. The authorities of the British Museum have allowed the reverse to be photographed, and a reproduction of it accompanies this note.

The principal part is the phraseology known from every colophon of Assurbanipal's library. Of the first extant line of the reverse of K 259 only traces are preserved. The end of this line and the next 3 lines read: *nisiḫ tupsaruti ša ina šarani alik maḥrīa mamma šipru šuatu la iḫuzu . . . mala bāšmu ina tuppāni aštur asniḫ aḥrīma ana tamarti šitassīa kirīb ikallīa ukin*. The signs of the lacuna are: *TI KIB SA AN IV U LI*. The first part of the phraseology (*nisiḫ* to *ukin*) recurs in every tablet of the *sualu* series, and there a longer passage of the lacuna shows the real title of the medical textbook of which the three *sualu* tablets form a separate volume. The above lacuna of K 259 is again the real title of a large series of tablets containing the materia medica, the indication of the special drug, and its special application, arranged in classified form in three columns. It was some sort of Babylonian practitioner's memorandum.

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The Name Hammurabi

Since the appearance of Ungnad's note on 'Ammurapi,' *ZA* 22 (1908), p. 7 f., the spelling *Hammurapi* has gradually been displacing the older transcription of the name of the greatest

of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon. So generally has Ungnad's reading been accepted that the time seems to have come when one may be asked to show cause for not adopting the new spelling.¹

Ungnad's argument is based almost wholly upon the form *Am-mu-ra-PI* found on K 552, a letter published by Harper, *Letters*, 3, No. 255. On this name Ungnad has the following to say: 'Eine Assimilation oder sonst einen Grund weswegen *b* zu *p* geworden sein sollte, kann ich in dem Namen des Königs nicht entdecken. Wir werden demnach anzunehmen haben, das der Schreiber tatsächlich *Ammurapi* hörte oder sprach.'

But then the ancients at times show a deplorable disinclination to abide by the rules laid down in our Assyrian grammars. Perhaps the scribe made a mistake or was careless. Assyrian scribes could make mistakes and they could be careless. One of them wrote *ru-ku-pi-ia* for *ru-ku-bi-ia* (Sennacherib, Taylor Cylinder, 5. 80)—to mention the last example my eyes happened to rest upon. Or the scribe may have been a Babylonian. His signs are Babylonian, not Assyrian. In that case the *PI*-sign may have had a value other than *pi*. In view of such possibilities as these I have felt all along that Ungnad had failed to prove his case, and therefore, saw no reason for adopting his spelling. I believe we are now in a position to show that the spelling *Hammurapi* does not render the real pronunciation of the name any better than does *Hammurabi*, if as well.

The name *Hammurabi* was explained by a late Assyrian scribe as equivalent to *kimtu rapaštu* (*kim-ta ra-pa-aš-tum*) 'the widespread people,' *VR* 44. This etymology does not fall in line with Ungnad's conclusions, so the scribe is labeled 'der nicht sehr erfahrene Nameninterpret.' Neither does Professor Prince see any reason for taking the etymology seriously, *JBL* 29 (1910), p. 21 f. I agree with Ungnad that the scribe probably did not regard the element *rabi* as Babylonian, else he would have translated *kimtu rabitu*. Perhaps I am inclined to give the scribe too high a rating as a philologist, but if he pronounced it *rapi*, as Ungnad asserts he must have done, we ought to be able to find

¹ Even the proofreaders of the University of Chicago Press took advantage of the writer's absence from the city to correct his *Hammurabi* into *Hammurapi*, *AJSL* 33 (1917), p. 250 f.

some West-Semitic word which the scribe saw in *rapi* and which he supposed had the meaning *rapāštu* 'wide, numerous.' Evidently Ungnad did not think it worth while to attempt to do this.

We now know that the interest of scribes in personal names did not spring up in late Assyrian days, but goes back to the time of the First Dynasty and earlier. Dr. Chiera has recently published a syllabary and lists of personal names which were the work of the priest-professors and students of the Temple School at Nippur.² Besides Sumerian and Akkadian names these lists contain many which Chiera calls 'Amoritc.' We used to call them 'West-Semitic.' But the label is immaterial. Chiera pointed out some interesting variant spellings of Amoritic names (p. 37). Alongside of *di-PI-ir-a-bi* (*a-ḫi, mu-ti*) we find *di-BI-ir-a-bi* (etc.). Another name appears in these forms: *ar-pu* (or *bu*)-*um*, *ar-mu-e-um*, and *ar-wi(PI)-um*. Still another has the variant spellings *ar-mi-tum* and *ar-wi(PI)-tum*.

At first sight the *di-PI-ir* and *di-BI-ir* variants seem to bear out Ungnad's contention. But in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the period from which these school-texts come, the *PI*-sign almost invariably had the value *w*(*a, i, u*). *Dībir* is, therefore, not a variant of *dīpir* but of *diwir*.³ These and the other variants given above show that besides the *PI*-sign the *bi*-, *pu* (or *bu*)-, *mu*-, and *mi*-signs were used to render a West-Semitic *w*.⁴

Is *Hammurabi* the Babylonian rendering of a West-Semitic name *Ammurawi*? If so, the scribe who wrote the name *AmmuraPI* probably pronounced it *Ammurawi*, not *Ammurapi*, and the main prop of Ungnad's argument falls to the ground.

² *Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur* (nos. 1 and 2 published).

³ Chiera saw this. He also shows that we shall probably have to correct our reading of names beginning in *apil* (*abil*), usually translated 'son of,' and read instead *awil* 'man of.'

⁴ We know that the *w* was disappearing from the Babylonian language. In forms where it was retained the *PI*-sign came to be the ordinary sign used to reproduce it. That this usage was reached through a process of elimination is shown by the use of the *pu*(*bu*)-, *mi*-, and *mu*-signs. In course of time *awilum* became *amēlu*. Cf. *mu-um-ma-al-li-da-at*, of l. 4 of the Babylonian version of the Creation Epic. Note also that in the Code of Hammurabi we find the participle *bābīl* and the noun *bīblum*, which are derived from the root *wabālu*.

But the question of the etymology of the name still remains. At this point we must note the important variant *Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi-iḥ*, found in a Mesopotamian document published by Johns in *PSBA* 29 (1907), p. 177, and the name *Ili-rabiḥ* of the Amarna Letters.⁵ Hommel compares the element *rabiḥ* 'wide' with the Arabic *rabāḥa*, *rabagha*, *rafāḥa*, *rafugha* (*OLZ* 1907, p. 485, n. 2). Ungnad reads *rapiḥ* and thinks of the Arabic رَفَعَ or فَعَّ, but in view of the fact that neither of these roots has been found in West-Semitic names he does not care to press the matter of the etymology of this element of the name. There is smooth sailing if we assume that *rabiḥ* stood for the West-Semitic *rawiḥ*. The root رَوِيَ *rawiḥ* has the general meaning 'to be airy, roomy, wide,' and *kintu rapaštu* would then be a fair translation of the name Hammurabi.⁶ *HammuraBI* and *AmmuraPI* are variants, like *di-BI-ir-abi* and *di-PI-ir-abi*, of an Amorite name, the middle radical of whose second element was *w*. The disappearance of the *ḥ* in the Babylonian forms of the name causes no difficulty. Whether the first element of the name, *Ḥammu*, is to be taken as the equivalent of the West-Semitic מֵעַ 'people, family,' as the Assyrian scribe believed, or as the epithet of a deity, as most modern scholars hold, cannot, I believe, be decided.⁷

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Assyrian lânu, 'aspect'—Arabic lâṇ, 'color'

In Assyrian we have a noun *lânu* 'aspect, form.' The Sumerian equivalent is *alam*, which is also explained by Assyrian *ḡalmu* 'image' and by *ḡalâlu* 'to lie down' (cf. *SGL* 9; 196, l. 7; 206, nu ii). Assyrian *lânu* is a synonym of *igaru* (= *ḥigaru*

⁵ See Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, index, p. 1563.

⁶ Hommel's *rabiḥ* also has the meaning 'wide,' but if we start with this we cannot account for the *Babylonian* variants, *raBI* and *raPI*. The Amraphel of Gen. 14 is of no more value in the determination of the pronunciation of Hammurabi than is the Asnapper of Ezra 4. 10 for that of Ashurbanipal.

⁷ For the literature on the different attempts to interpret this name see Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 84.

'enclosure, wall' (cf. *SGL* 26, 49, 192, 274). *HW* 382^a separates *lānu* 'enclosure' from *lānu* 'aspect, form, frame.' We call an enclosing border (French *cadre* = Latin *quadrum* 'square') a *frame* and *frame* denotes also 'form, structure.' In *NE* 136. 60 we have *lān-pāni* 'forecastle' (lit. 'enclosure of the front') = French *gaillard d'avant*, German *Back*, i. e. the place in the eyes of a ship where the seamen live. Another synonym of *lānu* is *zīmu*, which signifies originally 'bloom,' then especially 'rosy hue of the cheeks.' It has passed into Aramaic as *zīyā* (Dan. 5. 6, 9, 10; 7. 28), but corresponds to the Arabic *zahū*, from *zāhā*, *zāhū* 'to bloom, flourish.'

Just as *bāt* 'he passed the night' (Dan. 6. 19) means originally 'he housed' (German *er hauste*), as a denominative verb derived from *baīt* 'house' (which is connected with the preposition *bē* 'in' and the verb *bā* 'he entered,' lit. 'he inned'; see *AJSL* 22. 259), so Hebrew *lān* 'he spent the night' is derived from a noun corresponding to Assyrian *lānu* 'enclosure' (contrast *GB*¹⁶ 385^b). It means originally 'he made an enclosure' (Heb. *līrā*; cf. *GB*¹⁶ 276^a; Delitzsch, *Jes.*³ 705; *BL* 119). In the Sūdān and the adjoining regions a fenced camp or enclosure for the protection of the animals of a caravan during the night is called *zareeba*; for the original meaning of this term see my remarks in *AJSL* 32. 66.

As to the connection between *lānu* 'aspect' and *lānu* 'enclosure,' we may compare our *complexion*, which denotes 'aspect, general appearance,' but especially 'color of the face' (French *teint*), although it is derived from Latin *complecti* 'to encompass.' This shows that Assyrian *lānu* is identical with Arabic *layn* 'color, form, aspect, species' (cf. Ethiopic *qāl* = *qāyal*, for Arabic *qāḷ*). Dr. Ember identifies Arabic *layn* = Assyrian *lānu* with Egyptian *'yn* (𓂏𓂛) 'color,' Coptic EINE 'image, form.' For the semantic connection between *species* and *enclosure* we may compare the Latin phrase *omnia una comprehensione complecti*. Arabic *sāḥnah* (or *saḥnā*) means 'exterior, figure, form, complexion,' while Syriac *sēhāntā* denotes 'good complexion, beautiful natural color,' and Ethiopic *senhāt* signifies 'a bald head' (lit. 'smooth,' cf. Heb. *ḥalāq*, Gen. 27. 11). German *Glatze* is connected with *gleissen* 'to glisten'; Middle High German *glitze* means both 'gloss' and 'baldness.' Arabic *sāḥana* signifies 'to break, bray, triturate, grind, smoothe' (syn.




kásara, dálaka, sáhaqa, dá'aka, márasa, máraṭa). Trituration of pigments renders them smooth; cf. my remarks on Sumerian *daggas* 'mineral pigments' (lit. 'ground stone'), which appears in Arabic as *daqš, raqš, niqš, niqs* (*OLZ* 16. 493; 17. 53, n. 5). Arabic *niqš* means 'figure, picture' and 'pigment, color' (cf. *naqš* 'image, likeness'). Middle High German *lich* was used not only for 'dead body' (German *Leiche*; cf. Eng. *likewake, lichwake, lichway, lichgate*), but also for 'body, color of the skin, hue of the face, complexion, form, figure, appearance, aspect.' Our *hue* meant originally not only 'color,' but also 'appearance, form,' and just as Hebrew *malôn* denotes 'lodging-place,' while Assyrian *lânu* means 'aspect,' so we have *habitation* 'place of abode' and *habitus* 'general appearance,' both derived from Latin *habere*.

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The Reading of GIŠ-ŪH^{ki}

A number of monuments from ancient Babylonia of the early period, such as the Stele of Vultures, the cone and net-cylinder of Entemena, the vase of Lugal-zag-gi-si, and the clay tablet of Uru-ka-gi-na tell us of an important city whose name was expressed by the ideogram *GIŠ-ŪH^{ki}*, also transliterated *GIŠ-HŪ^{ki}*, the true reading of which was in doubt. In spite of the confidence with which some, notably Contenau in the introduction to his *Contribution à l'histoire économique d'Umma*, have recently read the ideogram *Umma*, that reading was by no means certain.

In a syllabary belonging to the British Museum and published in Rawlinson V, col. 1. 4, the reading for *GIŠ-ŪH^{ki}* seemed to the copyist, Dr. T. G. Pinches, to be perhaps *šit-ma*. In *CT* 12. 28. 4, Dr. R. C. Thompson, in 1901, gave the following for the equivalent: . Meissner copied the text thus:  (see *ZA* 20. 423), for which in his *Seltene Ideogramme*, no. 8539, he offered *um* (? oder *al*)-*ma* as the reading. In 1915, Dr. Pinches re-examined the tablet just before he published the Behrens Collection, and says the signs seem to be , which he thinks might be read *šir-ma*. At the same time he gave up a previous reading *il-ma*. On the whole he admits that *um-ma* may be correct. In this connection he also makes the interesting suggestion

that the modern Arabic Jokha may be a corruption of the ancient *GIŠ-ŪH*.

In the writer's collection there is a small tablet which puts the reading *Um-ma* beyond any further doubt. It consists of unbaked, light-brown clay. The left border of the obverse is worn down. Everything of importance on the tablet, however, except the first sign of the sixth line is well preserved. That sign, which occurs before the city name, *Um-ma^{ki}*, is almost certainly *shàg* or *shà*, meaning 'at' or 'in.'

The contents of the tablet relate to three consignments of grain, one of which Ur-nun-gal received, another Ningirsu-nishag, the remainder being left in Umma. In the first line of the reverse the sign *kab* before *kišib* is new to the writer. In this connection very likely it means 'stamped' by the seal of A-ab-ba. Whether the sign following the name is a compound of *bi* and *dīš* meaning 'his first,' or whether it is intended for *šim*, a title, or is a new sign altogether, the writer is unable to say. A tentative translation of the tablet follows:—

'1 gur 150 qa of wheat, royal (measure), Ur^d Nun-gal; 1 gur 150 qa of wheat, ^dNin-gir-su-ni-shag; 1 gur 150 qa surplus in Umma. Aabba struck his first seal [?].

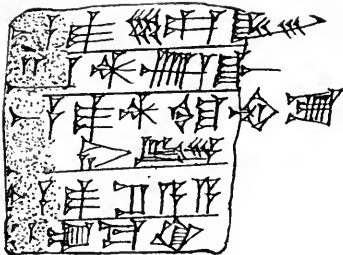
From the month Maš-azag-kú to the month Á-ki-ti, six months; the year the wall of the land was built.'

JAMES B. NIES

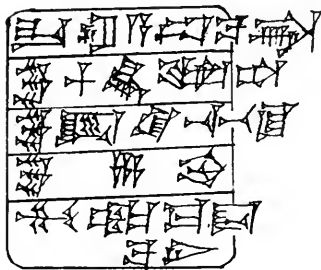
Brooklyn, N. Y.



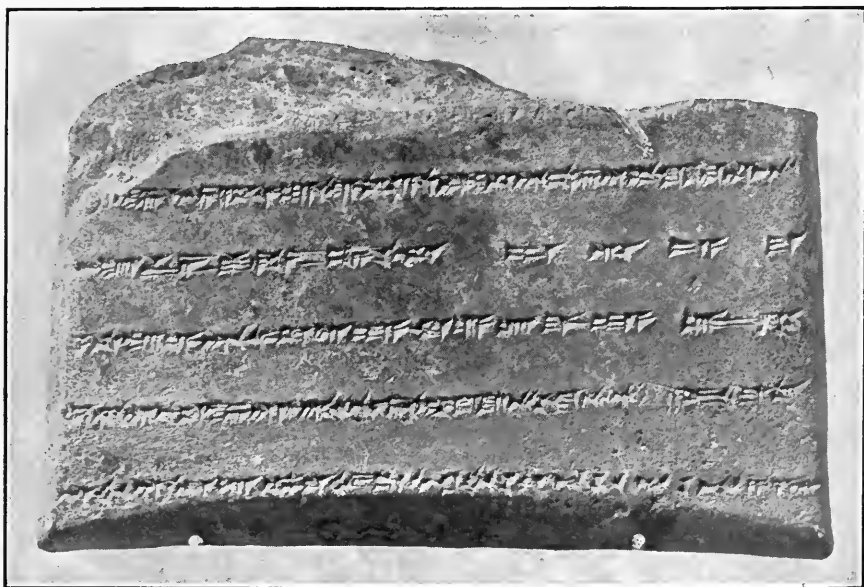
OBVERSE



REVERSE



TABLET FROM DREHEM DATED IN THE REIGN OF DUNGI, KING OF UR
(See Nies, 'The Reading of GIŠ-ÚHki')



REVERSE OF TABLET K259 OF THE KUYOUNJIK COLLECTION,
BRITISH MUSEUM

(See von Oefele, 'Babylonian Titles of Medical Textbooks')

THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA-VEDA, BOOK FIVE

EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

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INTRODUCTION

In editing this fifth book of the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda little change has been made from the method of presentation used in the first four books (published in vols. 26, 30, 32, and 35 of this JOURNAL). The transliteration (in italics) is not given line for line, but is continuous, with the number of each line in brackets; the method is familiar, and there should be no difficulty in comparing any passage with the facsimile. The results attained here fall short of my hopes: but in dealing with new material given to us in such condition as in this ms. it seems inevitable that the results will be uncertain and all too often unsatisfactory. As soon as circumstances will permit Book 19 will be published; it contains a large amount of the material given by Ś. in its Book 6 and Book 7.

The abbreviations employed are the usual ones, except that 'S' is used to refer to the AV. of the Śāunakiya 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); the Roman period is used for *virāma*; daggers indicate a corrupt reading.

Of the ms.—This fifth book in the Kashmir ms. begins f.74b l.17 and ends f.90a l.8—a little more than 15 folios. Wrong numbers are affixed to f.85 and f.86, but the facsimile gives these folios in the proper sequence for the text: i. e. f.86ab following f.84b, then f.85ab, then f.87a. None of these folios are defaced; most of the pages have 18 or 19 lines, only 6 having 17.

Punctuation, numbers, etc.—Within the individual hymns punctuation is most irregular; only three accent marks appear, in st. 1 of no. 40. The hymns are grouped in anuvākas, of

which there are 8 with 5 hymns in each: anu. 4 no. 2 has no number after it, anu. 8 no. 2 is numbered 1, and anu. 8 is numbered 5. There are some corrections, both marginal and inter-linear, usually consisting of 2 or 3 letters.

Extent of the book.—The book is made up of 40 hymns of which 2 are prose and at least one other is partly prose. The normal number of stanzas in a hymn is 8: 21 hymns have 8 stanzas each and not one has less. Assuming the correctness of the verse-divisions of the text as edited below we may make the following table:—

21 hymns have	8 stanzas each	=	168 stanzas
10 “ “	9 “ “	=	90 “
4 “ “	10 “ “	=	40 “
1 “ “	11 “ “	=	11 “
1 “ “	12 “ “	=	12 “
2 “ “	14 “ “	=	28 “
1 seems to have	9 stanzas	=	9 “
<hr/> 40 hymns have			<hr/> 358 stanzas.

New and old material.—There are 25 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 seems to be 203; the pādas which do not appear in the *Concordance* are approximately 775 in number.

Of the 31 hymns which constitute Ś. 5 only one appears here, but 8 of the hymns of Ś. 4 appear here: there are here also 2 hymns of Ś. 3, and 4 of Ś. 6 (3 of these are combined into one hymn here). Two hymns of RV. appear here: a passage of MS. is given here with some variants, and several stanzas of Tāittiriya texts appear. A group of three verses quoted by Vāit. are part of a hymn given here; and another group of three verses quoted by Kāuś. appear in another hymn here. Other correspondences are insignificant.

ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ŚĀKHĀ

BOOK FIVE

1

[f.74b17] *atha pañcamāṣ kāṇḍā likhyate z z [18] oṃ namo gaṇeśāya z oṃ namo jvālābhagavatyāi z z*

[f.75a1] *oṃ namaṣ piśaṅgabāhvāi sindhujātāyā ugrāyāi yo sye nameta kanad aped a[2] sya grhād ayat. | apehi no grhebhyo pehi vatsatambhyā ātmānam atra roci[3] t savaroham ahā naśa | hāmba sūtale tho vāi sā ma śānttama | putro yas te prṣṇi-[4] bāhus tama tvaṃ śāsanam kṛdhi | atho duhitaraṃ naptrīp atho tvaṃ sāmānā bha[5] bhava bhūtapatir nir ajātv indraḥ cetis sadānvā | grhasya vudhnāśinā tā va[6] jreṇādhi tiṣṭhatu | apete-tis sadānvāhiṃsantīr imāṃ grhaṃ | dhenur vā[7] tra sthāmy asaty anadvān vedayā saha | yas sahamānaś carasi sāsahā-[8] nāiva ṛṣabha | sadānvāghraṃ tvā vayaṃ jāitrāyātsāvadāmāsi | sa[9] hasvino bhimātihaṃ sahasva prtanāyataḥ | sahasva sarvā rakṣāṃsi [10] sahasānāmy oṣadhe tvaṃ vyāghraṃ sahasme tvaṃ syāhvān ubhayāduta | ma[11] kṣaś cita kṛṇvānā madhu tvaṃ sahasāuṣadhe z 1 z*

For the introductory phrase and the invocation read: *atha pañcamāṣ kāṇḍo likhyate z z oṃ namo gaṇeśāya z oṃ namo jvālābhagavatyāi z*

For the hymn read: *oṃ namaṣ piśaṅgabāhvāi sindhujātāyā ugrāyāi | yo 'syāi nama id akarad aped asya grhād ayat z 1 z apehi no grhebhyo 'pehi vatsatantyāḥ | ātmānam atra roci savaroham | iha naśa | hāmba sutale 'tho vāi sā me śāntamā z 2 z putro yas te prṣṇibāhus tam u tvaṃ śāsanam kṛdhi | atho duhitaraṃ naptrīm atho tvaṃ śāsanā bhava z 3 z bhūtapatir nir ajatv indraś cetis sadānvāḥ | grhasya budhna āśinās tā vajreṇādhi tiṣṭhatu z 4 z apete-tis sadānvā ahiṃsantīr imāṃ grhaṃ | dhenur vātra sthāmny asaty anadvān vedayā saha z 5 z yas sahamānaś carasi sāsahāna iva ṛṣabhaḥ | sadānvāghraṃ tvā vayaṃ jāi-trāyācchāvadāmāsi z 6 z sahasva no 'bhimātiḥ sahasva prtanā-yataḥ | sahasva sarvā rakṣāṃsi sahasānāsy oṣadhe z 7 z tvaṃ vyāghraṃ sahasme tvaṃ siṃhān ubhayādataḥ | sakṣaś cetaḥ kṛṇvānā madhu tvaṃ sahasvāuṣadhe z 8 z 1 z*

There is much uncertainty here, the most serious difficulty lying in st. 2; its first hemistich, however, seems good as given. In 2c *ya ātmānam* might seem good, and *iha naśa* is probably correct for the end of *pāda d*: I strongly incline to think that syllables have been lost before *hāmba*, perhaps enough to make a complete stanza ending with *śāntamā*. RV. 8. 63. 8a is *sā te agne śāntamā*. In st. 3 *śāsanam* (and *śāsanā*) is suggested as being more in harmony with the import of the rest of the hymn. In st. 5a *sthāpyāsaty* might be read.

Our st. 4 = Ś. 2. 14. 4; our 6ab = Ś. 3. 6. 4ab, and Ppp. 6. 8. 3ab varies only slightly; our 7ab = Ś. 19. 32. 6ab.

2

(Ś. 4. 1)

[f.75a12] *yaṁ pitre rāṣṭrayaty agre prathamāya januṣe bhūmināṣṭhāu tasmā etaṁ su*[13]*ruca hvāram ahyam gharman śṛṇvantu prathamassu dhāsyuh vrahmā jajñā*[14]*nam prathamam purastād vi sīmatas suruco vena āvaḥ sa vudvyā upa*-[15]*māmsa viṣṭhā sataś ca yonim assataś ca vi vaḥ z prā yo jajñe vi*[16]*dvā asya bandhum viśvām devā janimā vivakti vrahmaṇa uj jabhā*[17]*ra madhyān nīcād uscā svadhayābhi pra tasthāu | mahān mahi a*[f.75b1]*skabhāyad vi jāto dyām jitaḥ pārthivam ca rajah sa vudhnyārāṣṭra janu*[2]*ṣābhy akraṇ vṛhaspatir devatā tasya samrāt. | nūnam tasya gavyo hanoti ma*[3]*ho devasya pūrvasya pahi | eṣa jajñe bahubhismākam itthā pūrvād a*[4]*rād aviduraś casahnuḥ sa hi divas sa hi prthivyā rcesthā mayi kṣā*[5]*man bhrajasī viṣkabhāyati | āryaś chukraṁ jyotiṣo dhanīṣṭād dhā bhyamanto vi* [6] *vasantv aripṛā | yathā vātharvā pitaram viśvadevaṁ vṛhaspatir manasā* [7] *vo datsva | tvaṁ viśvasya januṣyā dhataṣyāgre kavir devān adhabhāyus svadhā*-[8]*va | mūrḍhnā yo agram abhyarty ojaś vṛhaspatirmā vivāsanti devāḥ* [9] *bhinnad balaṁ vimṛdardarīti kanikradati gā svar apo jighāya z* [10] *z 2 z*

In the top margin at the right stands *ndhā* and over that *sām*.

Read: *iyam pitre rāṣṭry ety agre prathamāya januṣe bhūmanēṣṭhāḥ | tasmā etaṁ surucaṁ hvāram ahyam gharman śṛṇvantu prathamasya dhāseḥ z 1 z vrahma jajñānam prathamam purastād vi sīmatas suruco vena āvaḥ | sa budhnyā upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ sataś ca yonim asataś ca vi vaḥ z 2 z pra yo jajñe vidvān*

asya bandhūnī viśvā devānām janimā vivakti | vrahma vrahmaṇa
uj jabhāra madhyān nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau z 3 z
mahān mahī askabhāyad vi jāto dyām dvitā pārthivam ca rajah |
sa budhnyād āṣṭa januṣābhy agram vṛhaspatir devatā tasya
samrāt z 4 z nūnaiṇ tad asya kāvyo hinoti maho devasya pūrva-
sya mahī | eṣa jajñe bahubhis sākam itthā pūrvād arād avidūrāt
sasan nu z 5 z sa hi divas sa hi prthivya rṣeṣthās sa hi
kṣāman bhrājasī viṣkabhāyati | ahar yac chukraṇ jyoṣṭho jani-
ṣṭhāthā dyumanto vi vasantv ariprāh z 6 z yathā vātharvā pitarām
viśvadevaṇ vṛhaspatir manasāva ca gacchat | tvaṁ viśvasya
januṣo dhātāsy agre kavir devo adabhāyus svadhāvān z 7 z
mūrdhnā yo agram abhyarty ojasā vṛhaspatim ā vivāsanti devāḥ
| bhinad valam vimṛdho dardarīti kanikradat svar apo jigāya
z 8 z 2 z

In st. 1 I have followed closely ŚŚS. and AŚS. for the first hemistich and for the end of pāda d; śṛṇvantu as in our ms. hardly seems possible. The reading of st. 3 and 4 here agrees with KS. 10. 13 and almost with TS. 2. 3. 14. 6. In st. 6 rjīṣṭhas might be considered instead of rṣeṣthās. In st. 7b it seems necessary to approximate the reading of Ś; in 7d adabhāyus seems to be a proper formation, and I incline to think that devām as in the ms. might stand ahead of it. Our st. 8 appears (with variants) elsewhere only in TS. 2. 3. 14. 6; in pāda d gā seems to be an intrusion due to association with krand, though we might keep it and read the pāda kanikrad abhi gās svar apo jigāya.

3

[f.75b10] ud apaptad asāu sūryaṣ puradrṣṭo adrṣṭahā | udāyaṇ
ra[11]śmībhruvāntūdāyaṇ rasān akah nimratat asāu sūryo
viśvadrṣṭo adr[12]ṣṭahā | nimrocaṇ raśmībhavantu nimrocaṇ
rasān akah | ye ca drṣṭā ye cādr[13]ṣṭā ubha ye vihyavaḥ teṣām
vo agrabham nāma sarve sākam nī jasyaca | adr[14]ṣṭahananī
vīrud asi tāujā viśāsahī | cyukākāṇi tvaṁ jajñīṣe [15] sādṛṣṭān
jātaso hi | jahī jyeṣṭham adrṣṭūnām sarpanām moghacāri-[16]
nām. krimīnām sarvajātāni pāuñjastī yavayaṇ sṛṇā | yaś ca
to[17]do yaś ca sarpo yaś cādrṣṭas ca yo vṛṣā | cyukākāṇi tvaṁ
tān vṛṣci vrkṣam [18] paraśumān iva | samvṛṣcīnānś cukākāṇir
vrkṣam paraśumān iva | [f.76a1] samvṛṣcīnānś cukākāṇir
vakṣam paraśumān iva | kṛmīnām sarvajātāni sa[2]ndahāgnir

*ivolapam metiṣṭhāgnir akhalas tviṣīmān kṛmīṇām jātā[3]ni
pṛtanotu sarvā | vṛhaspatir medinī jātavedā adrṣṭān hantu
dṛṣa[4]deva sākham z 2 z*

Read: ud apaptad asāu sūryaṣ purudrṣto adrṣṭahā | udāyan
raśmibhir hantūdāyan rasān akaḥ z 1 z ny amrocaḥ asāu sūryo
viśvadrṣto adrṣṭahā | nimrocan raśmibhir hantu nimrocan rasān
akaḥ z 2 z ye ca dṛṣṭā ye cādrṣṭā uta ye 'viśyavaḥ | teṣām vo
agrabhaṁ nāma sarve sākam ni jasyata z 3 z adrṣṭahananī vīrud
asi bhojyā viśāsahih | cyukākāṇi tvaṁ jajñiṣe sādṛṣṭān jambhaya
hi z 4 z jahi jyeṣṭham adrṣṭānām sarpānām moghacāriṇām |
krimīṇām sarvajātāni puñjīṣṭhāny avayan śrṇa z 5 z yaś ca todo
yaś ca sarpo yaś cādrṣṭaś ca yo dṛṣṭah | cyukākāṇi tvaṁ tān
vraśeir vṛkṣam paraśumān iva z 6 z samvṛśeāinānīś cyukākāṇi
vṛkṣam paraśumān iva | krimīṇām sarvajātāni sandahāgnir
ivolapam z 7 z methiṣṭhā agnir akhilas tviṣīmān krimīṇām
jātāni pṛtanyatu sarvā | vṛhaspatir medinī jātavedā adrṣṭān
hantu dṛṣadeva sākam z 8 z 3 z

The end of the first two stanzas does not seem quite right;
nāśanam would give a better meaning. The word cyukākāṇi
seems to be new; it is evidently a plant name with kaṇa as part
of the compound. In 6b vṛṣā, as in the ms., seems utterly
discordant.

For the first three stanzas cf. RV. 1. 191. 7-9 and Ś. 2. 32.

4

(Ś. 5. 3)

[f.76a4] *samāgne varco vihaveṣv astu vayan tvendhānās
ta[5]nvaṁ puṣema | mahyaṁ namantām pradiśaś catasras
tvayādhyakṣeṇa pṛtanā jaye[6]ma | agne manyuṁ pratinudaṁ
pareṣām tvaṁ no gopāṣ pari pāhi viśvataḥ | apān[7]co yaṇtu
pravudhā durasyavo mamīṣā cittam bahudhā vi naśyatu | mama
devā [8] vihave santu sarva indravatto maruto viṣṇur agniḥ
mamāntarikṣam urulo[9]kam astu mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavatām kāme
asmin. mahyaṁ yajantām sama yā[10]nīgnākūtis satyā manaso
me astu | yono mā ni gām katamaś canahaṁ [11] viśve devā abhi
rakṣantu mām iha | mahyaṁ devā draviṇam ā yaja[12]ntā
samāśir astu mama devahūtiḥ dāivā hotāras sanīśam na eta[13]r
ariṣṭā syāma tanvās suvīrāḥ devīḥ ṣaḍ urvīr aṇuras karā | tha
vi[14]viśve devāssa iha mādayadhvaṁ mā hasmahī prajayā mā*

dhanena mā [15] *dadhāma dbhiṣate soma rājan. uruvyacā no mahiṣaś śarma yaścha* [16] *d asmin vāte puruhutaṣ puruḥṣas sa naḥ | prajāyāi haryasva mṛdaye* [17] *ndu mā no rīriṣo mā parā dāḥ | dhātā vidhartā bhuvanasya yas pati* [18] *s savitā devo bhimātiśāhaḥ vṛhaspatir indrāgnī āsvino* [f.76b1] *bhā devāṣ pāntu yajamānaṁ nirṛthā yāhavāncam ati hvayār indraṁ* [2] *jāitrāya jetave asmākam astu varṇa yataṣ kṛṇotu vīryam | arvā* [3] *ñcam indram avatam havāmahe yo gojīd dhanajīd āsvajīd yaḥ imaṁ* [4] *no yajñam vihava juṣasvāsmākam kṛṇvo harivo medinaṁ tvā | trā* [5] *tāram indram avatāram indraṁ have-have suhavaṁ sūram indraṁ huvema* [6] *śakraṁ puruhūtam indraṁ svaste no maghavān u pātṽ indraḥ tisor devī* [7] *r mahi me śarma yan prajāyāi me tanva yaś ca puṣtaṁ | mān viṣas samma* [8] *naso juṣantām pitryam kṣattram pṛta jānātṽ asmāt. yo naś cakrābhi* [9] *manyunendramittro hi jighāṁsati | taṁ tvaṁ vṛttrahaṇ jahi vas sa* [10] *smabhyam ā bhara | ye naś śapaṇty upa te bhavaṇtv indrāgnībhyāṁm apa bā* [11] *dhāma yonim. ādityā rudrā upariṣpṛso mām ugraṁ cettā* [12] *ram adhirājam akran. z 4 z*

Read: mamāgne varco vihaveṣv astu vayanṁ tvendhānās tanvaṁ puṣema | mahyaṁ namantām pradiśaś catasras tvayā-dhyakṣeṇa pṛtanā jayema z 1 z agne manyuṁ pratinudan pareṣāṁ tvaṁ no gopāṣ pari pāhi viśvataḥ | apāñco yantu prabudhā durasyavo 'māiṣāṁ cittam bahudhā vi naśyatu z 2 z mama devā vihave santu sarva indravanto maruto viṣṇur agniḥ | mamāntarikṣam urulokam astu mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavatām kāme asmin z 3 z mahyaṁ yajantām mama yāniṣṭākūtis satyā manaso me astu | eno mā nī gām katamac canāhaṁ viśve devā abhi rakṣantu mām iha z 4 z mahyaṁ devā draviṇam ā yajantām mamāśir astu mama devahūtiḥ | dāivā hotāras sanisan na etad ariṣṭaḥ syāma tanvās suvīrāḥ z 5 z devīḥ ṣaḍ urvīr uru nas karātha viśve devāsa iha mādayadhvam | mā hasmahi prajāyā mā dhanena mā radhāma dviṣate soma rājan z 6 z uruvyacā no mahiṣaś śarma yacehad asmin have puruhūtaṣ puruḥṣuḥ | sa naḥ prajāyāi haryaśva mṛdayendra mā no rīriṣo mā parā dāḥ z 7 z dhātā vidhartā bhuvanasya yas patis savitā devo 'bhimātiśāhaḥ | vṛhaspatir indrāgnī āsvinobhā devāṣ pāntu yajamānaṁ nirṛthāt z 8 z ihārvāncam ati hvaya indraṁ jāitrāya jetave | asmākam astu varṇo yataṣ kṛṇotu vīryam z 9 z arvāncam indram avāncam havāmahe yo gojīd dhanajīd āsvajīd yaḥ | imaṁ no

yajñam vihave juṣasvāsmākaṁ kṛṇmo harivo medinaṁ tvā z 10
 z trātāram indram avitāram indraṁ have-have suhavaṁ sūram
 indram | huvema śakraṁ puruhūtam indraṁ svasti no magha-
 vān u pātv indraḥ z 11 z tisro devīr mahi me śarma yacchan
 prajāyāi me tanve yac ca puṣtam | māṁ viśas saṁmanaso
 juṣantāṁ pitryaṁ kṣatraṁ prati jānātv tasmāt z 12 z yo naś
 śakrābhimanynendrāmitro hi jighāṁsati | taṁ tvaṁ vṛtrahaṁ
 jahi śavas so 'smabhyam ā bhara z 13 z ye naś śapanty apa te
 bhavantv indrāgnibhyām apa bādhāma enān | ādityā rudrā
 upariśrō mām ugraṁ cettāram adhirājam akran z 14 z 4 z

The ms. corrects to dv(iṣate) in 6 d.

In 2d and 4a we seem to have only graphic errors, and I have given the readings of Ś; again in 7b vāte of our ms. seems impossible and I have read with Ś. TB. 2. 4. 3. 2 has our st. 9 with kevalaḥ for varṇo and without pāda d. In 10a by reading avāñcam I have kept close to the ms. Our st. 11 = Ś. 7. 86. 1. In our 14a Ś and other texts have ye naḥ sapatnā °; our form is perhaps too recent to be a real variant.

5

(cf. MS. 2. 13. 15)

[f.76b12] pṛthivī vaśā sā a[13]gnīm garbhaṁ ca dadhe so
 maṁ pāhi tasyāi te vidheyaṁ tasyāi te namas ta[14]syāi te svāhā
 | antarikṣaṁ vaśā sā vāyūṁ garbhaṁ dadhe dyāur vaśā [15] śā
 sā sūryaṁ garbhaṁ ṛg vaśā sā sāma garbhaṁ viḍ vaśā sā kṣattri-
 [16]yaṁ garbhaṁ | dakṣiṇā vaśā sā yajñīyaṁ garbhaṁ vāg vaśā
 sā pa[17]rameṣṭhīṇaṁ garbhaṁ | vaśā vaśā sā rājanyaṁ garbhaṁ
 samā vaśā sā[18]saṁvatsaraṁ garbhaṁ dadhe | so maṁ pāhi
 tasyāi te vidheyaṁ tasyāi te nama[f.77a1]s tasyāi te svāhā z 5 z
 anu 1 z

Read: pṛthivī vaśā sāgnīm garbhaṁ dadhe | so māṁ pāhi
 tasyāi te vidheyaṁ tasyāi te namas tasyāi te svāhā z 1 z antari-
 kṣaṁ vaśā sā vāyūṁ garbhaṁ dadhe | so ° ° ° ° z 2 z
 dyāur vaśā sā sūryaṁ garbhaṁ dadhe | so ° ° ° ° z 3 z ṛg
 vaśā sā sāma garbhaṁ dadhe | so ° ° ° ° z 4 z viḍ vaśā sā
 kṣatriyaṁ garbhaṁ dadhe | so ° ° ° ° z 5 z dakṣiṇā vaśā sā
 yajñīyaṁ garbhaṁ dadhe | so ° ° ° ° z 6 z vāg vaśā sā
 parameṣṭhīṇaṁ garbhaṁ dadhe | so ° ° ° ° z 7 z vaśā vaśā
 sā rājanyaṁ garbhaṁ dadhe | so ° ° ° ° z 8 z samā vaśā sā

samvatsaram garbham dadhe | so mām pāhi tasyāi te vidheyam
tasyāi te namas tasyāi te svāhā z 9 z 5 z anu 1 z

6

[f.77a1] *sapta sūryā divam anupravi*[2]*ṣṭās tān pathevānv*
ayatu dakṣiṇāvān tasmāi sarve ghṛtam ātapantūrjam [3] *duhā-*
nānapasphurantā

This stanza appears TA. 1. 7. 4. In b read *tān* and *etu*
dakṣiṇāvān: in c te 'smāi, in d *duhānā anapasphurantaḥ*.

ātapam kṣīradanīyā ca savyādhi niṣṭapan adhā[4]*yat tapattra*
sūrya udayad vrhatīr anu |

For *pādas* ab a probable reading is *ātapam kṣīradanīyā yā ca*
sabvādhi niṣṭapan; in c we may read *tapatu*.

āt pitā pitṛn vidma damvūn i[5]*niṣṭastā vayan guhāyan ye*
sūryā svadhām anu carantu te |

Pāda a lacks a syllable, so I would read *āyat pitā*; the ms.
corrects *damvūn* to *dasyūn*, but I incline to think that *śamyūn*
would be better; I can make nothing out of the *pāda*. For *ed* I
think we may read *guhā āyan ye sūryās svadhām anu carantu te*.

dyāus sa[6]*tervevarāṇ janāsaḥ pañca tye puro divā kṣiyanti*
| *tān vrahma de*[7]*vaṁ vrhad ā viveśa tān praveda pracaram*
adhīryatā |

In *pāda* a only *janāsaḥ* is clear to me; in b read *diva ā*
kṣiyanti. In c read *dāivam*; in d *pracuram adhīryata* might
be possible.

yo dadāti [8] *yo yajate yaṁ dhīnaś śraddhadhāno dhatte* |
yamo vāivasvatānu rājā [9] *sarvān ukṣatu savadhīḥ* |

In b read *yo dīnaś*; I think *yo* is better than *yaṁ*. In c read
°vato anu; at the end of d I would suggest *śavadhīḥ*.

sā vidhan paryāyano yo dakṣiṇā[10]*ṣ pari muṣṇanti dhattam*
| *sugaṇa tān pathā sarvān yamo rājāti* [11] *nayaṣat*. |

For a read *mā vidhan paryāyino*, in b ye 'dakṣ° and *dhātum*:
in c read *sagaṇān tān*, in d *neṣat*.

yena pathā vāivasvato yamo rājā yayū | *agnir nas te*[12]*na*
netu prajānan vāiśvanaraḥ pathikṛd viśvagrṣṭiḥ |

In b read *yayāu*, in c *nayatu*, in d *vāiśvānaraḥ*.

*nahi jyo[13]tin nihata martyeṣu ena devāso atarann arāti |
tenemaṁ setum ati [14] geṣma sarve vāiśvānaraṁ jyotir amīha
devāḥ |*

In a read jyotir nihitaṁ martyeṣu, in b yena and arātīn.

*ud vayan tamasas pari jyo[15]tiṣ paśyanta uttaraṁ | devaṁ
devatrā sūryam aganma jyotir uttamaṁ |*

In a read vayan, in b and in d uttaram. This is Ś. 7. 53. 7.

*āroko[16]bhrājaṣ pabāraṣ pataṅgas svarṇaro jyotiṣīmān
vibhāsa tasmāi sa[17]rve gṛtām ātapatorjaṁ duhānānapa-
sphurantaḥ z 1 z*

Read: ārogobhrājaṣ paṭaraṣ pataṅgas svarṇaro jyotiṣīmān
vibhāsaḥ | te asmāi sarve gṛtām ātapantūrjaṁ duhānā anapa-
sphurantaḥ z 10 z 1 z

This stanza appears TA. 1. 7. 1.

7

(Ś. 4. 15)

[f.77a17] *saṁ utpata[f.77b1]ntu pradiśo nabhasvatī sapa-
trāṇi vātajūtāni yanti | māṛṣabhasya nudato na[2]bhasvato
vāmrāpha pṛthivīm tarṣayantu | samīkṣad viśvag vāto napāṇsy
apām [3] vegāsah | pṛthag utpatantu | varṣasya svargā māyantu
bhūmīm pṛthag jāya[4]ntām oṣadhayo viśvārūpāḥ abhi kranda
stanayāndayodadhīm bhūmīm parja[5]nya payasā samagdhi |
tayā varṣaṁ bahulam eta sṛṣṭas āmāreṣi krama[6]guleyatasthaṁ
| udīrayata marutas samudratas tveṣārkāna | bhūtāpāta[7]yantu
| pravarsayanti tamīṣā sudānava pām rasir oṣadhī sacantām | [8]
gaṇās topa gāyantu mārūtāḥ parjanya ghoṣiṇaḥ pṛthak. | svargā
[9] varṣasya varṣatus sṛjantu pṛthivīm anu | saṁ avantu sadā-
navotsāja[10]garā uta | vātā varṣasya varṣatuḥ pravahantu
pṛthivīm anu | vāto [11] vidyud abhiraṁ varṣaṁ samavaṇ sudhā-
navah prā pyāyasva pra pitṛsya maṁ bhū[12]mīm payasā sṛja
| apām agnis tanūbhis saṁvidāno ya odhīnām a[13]dhipo
babhūva | sa no varṣaṁ vāinutām jātavedaḥ prāṇaṁ prāṇaṁ
prajābhyo a[14]mṛtaṁ divas pari | oṁ prāṇaṁ prajābhyo
amṛtaṁ divas pari | āmā[15]m āsām vi dyotatām vātāvāntu diśo
diśaḥ marudbhiḥ pratyutā [16] meghā varṣantu pṛthivīm anu |
prajāpatis salilād ā samudrād ā[17]pīrayaṁn idadhīm ardayāti
| prāpyāyatām viṣṇo śvasya neto | arvā[18]ṇ etena stanayitnu-
nehy apo niṣiñcan asuraḥ pitā naḥ svāsantu ga[19]rgarāpām ava*

nīcīr apa srja vantu prṣṇibāhavo maṇḍūkā r[f.78a1]ṇānu |
 saṁvatsaram śaśayānā vrāhmaṇā vratacārīṇaḥ | vātaṁ parjanya-
 [2]jinvatām. | pra maṇḍūkā avādiṣuḥ upapravada maṇḍūki
 varṣam ā [3] vada tāndhuri | madhye hradasya plavasva vigrhya
 caturaṣ padaḥ mahantaṁ ko[4]śam utajābhi śiñca savidyutaṁ
 bhavati vātu vātaḥ tanvatām yajñam bahu[5]dhā visrṣtam
 ānirdinīr oṣadhayo bhavantu z 2 z

Read: sam utpatantu pradiśo nabhasvatīḥ sam abhrāṇi vāta-
 jūtāni yantu | maharṣabhasya nadato nabhasvato vāsrā āpaḥ
 pṛthivīm tarpayantu z 1 z samīkṣayad viṣvag vāto nabhāṁsy
 apām vegāsaḥ pṛthag utpatantu | varṣasya sargā mahayantu
 bhūmīm pṛthag jāyantām oṣadhayo viśvarūpāḥ z 2 z abhi kranda
 stanayārdadayodadhiṁ bhūmīm parjanya payasā samañdhi |
 tvayā varṣam bahulam etu srṣtam āśārāiṣi †kramagul etv astam
 z 3 z udīrayata marutas samudratas tveṣā arkā nabha utpātaya-
 ntu | pra varṣayantu taviśās sudānavo 'pām rasina oṣadhīs
 sacantām z 4 z gaṇās tvopa mārutās parjanya ghoṣiṇaḥ pṛthak |
 sargā varṣasya varṣatas srjantu pṛthivīm anu z 5 z sam avantu
 sudānava utsā ajagarā uta | vātā varṣasya varṣatas prāvantu
 pṛthivīm anu z 6 z vāto vidyud abhraṁ varṣam sam avantu
 sudānavaḥ | pra pyāyasva pra bibhr̥sya saṁ bhūmīm payasā
 srja z 7 z apām agnis tanūbhis saṁvidāno ya oṣadhīnām adhipo
 babhūva | sa no varṣam vanutām jātavedās prāṇam prajābhyo
 amṛtaṁ divas pari z 8 z āśām-āśām vi dyotatām vātā vantu
 diśo-diśaḥ | marudbhis pracyutā meghā varṣantu pṛthivīm anu
 z 9 z prajāpatis salilād ā samudrād āpa īrayann udadhim
 ardayāti | pra pyāyatām vṛṣṇo 'śvasya reto arvāṇ etena stana-
 yitnunehy apo niṣiñcann asuraṣ pitā naḥ z 10 z śvasantu gargarā
 apām ava nīcīr apaḥ srja | vadantu prṣṇibāhavo maṇḍūkā īrīṇānu
 z 11 z saṁvatsaram śaśayānā vrāhmaṇā vratacārīṇaḥ | vācaṁ
 parjanyaajinvitām pra maṇḍūkā avādiṣuḥ z 12 z upapravada
 maṇḍūki varṣam ā vada tāduri | madhye hradasya plavasva
 vigrhya caturaṣ padaḥ z 13 z mahāntām kośam udajābhi śiñca
 savidyutaṁ bhavati vātu vātaḥ | tanvatām yajñam bahudhā
 visrṣtam ānandinīr oṣadhayo bhavantu z 14 z 2 z

In 2a I have tried to keep close to the ms.; but the reading given by the ms. may be only a graphic variant of the Ś form. In 3d we might well read with Ś kṛśagur. The form given for 4b is Whitney's suggestion. The evidence of our ms., though slight, supports the reading of 10e with st. 10.

8

(Ś. 4. 6)

[f.78a5] *yāvatī dhyā[6]vāprthivī vavirimṇā yāvad vā sapta sindhavo vicaṣṭhuḥ vācam viśasya [7] dūṣaṇīm tām ito nir avāriṣaṇ | suparṇas tvā garutmān viṣa prathamam ā[8]dayat. | nāropayo nāmādayotāsmābhavan pituḥ yām cāstrīta[9]t pañcā-ṅgulir vakrā cid ati dhanvinaḥ | apaskambhasya bāhvo[10]n nīvocam aha viṣam z śalyād viṣam nīvocam āñjanāt parṇadher uta | [11] apāṣṭhās chṛgalāt karmalān nīvocam ahaṁ viṣam | ramas tveko śalyo [12] uto te rasaṁ viṣam z utārasusya vṛkṣasya dhanuṣ ṭe ramārasam. ye pī[13]yūṣaṇ ya duṣyaṇ yāmyaṇ neva- vāsrjan | sarve te vadhrayas santu vadhrir vi[14]śagiriṣ kṛtā | vadhrayas te khanitāro vadhrir tvam asy oṣadhe | vadhrisva pa[15]rvato giri yato jātam idaṁ viṣam. vād idaṁ vārayātāi varuṇātā[16]bhṛtaṁ | tatṛāmṛtasyāsiktaṁ taś cakārārasam viṣam. z 3 z*

Read: *yāvatī dyāvāprthivī varimṇā yāvad vā sapta sindhavo vicaṣṭhuḥ | vācam viśasya dūṣaṇīm tām ito niravādiṣam z 1 z suparṇas tvā garutmān viṣa prathamam ādayat | nāropayo nāmādaya utāsmā ābhavan pituḥ z 2 z yām cāstrītat pañcāṅgu- lir vakrāc cid adhi dhanvanah | apaskambhasya bāhvor nīvocam ahaṁ viṣam z 3 z śalyād viṣam nīvocam āñjanāt parṇadher uta | apāṣṭhāc chṛṅgāt kulmalān nīvocam ahaṁ viṣam z 4 z arasas ta iṣo śalyo 'tho te 'rasaṁ viṣam | utārasasya vṛkṣasya dhanuṣ ṭe 'rasārasam z 5 z ye 'pīpiṣan ye 'duṣyan ya āsyan ye 'vāsrjan | sarve te vadhrayas santu vadhrir viśagiriṣ kṛtaḥ z 6 z vadhrayas te khanitāro vadhrir tvam asy oṣadhe | vadhrir sa parvato girir yato jātam idaṁ viṣam z 7 z vār idaṁ vārayātāi varuṇād ābhṛtaṁ | tatṛāmṛtasyāsiktaṁ tac cakārārasam viṣam z 8 z 3 z*

The margin suggests serve te in 6c.

In 2d abhavaṣ, in accord with Ś, would be smoother. In 3a I suspect we have only a corruption of the reading of Ś yas ta āsyat; but possibly a form of strī is the verb. Our st. 8 is Ś 4. 7. 1; the form suggested for our pāda b is not satisfactory. and something like varanāvatyā ābhṛtaṁ would bring it in accord with Ś.

9

[f.78a16] *khā*[17]*direṇa śalalenātho kaṅkatadantyā* | *atho viṣasya yad viṣaṁ tena pā*[18]*mīr anīnaśaṁ.*

In pāda b we may read *kaṅkaṭadantyā*; in d read *pāpīr*.

kityās śataparvaṇās sahasrākṣeṇa śarmaṇā | [f.78b1] *tikṣṇā-bhir abhribhir vaya nir adāmās sadānvā*

In a read *śityās śataparvaṇas*; in cd *vayaṁ nir ajāmas sadānvāḥ*; the verb is very uncertain.

māsahāsatyam ida[2]*ṣ kṇvū paro nudaḥ māyādhanāgatā yās ciha grṇiṣ purah*

For pāda b we may read *itaṣ kaṇvām paro nudaḥ*, but for a I see nothing sure; perhaps *sadānvām* should be the first word having dropped out after *sadānvā* of st. 2d, and then *asatyām* might be the last word of the pāda with some form of the root *sah* before it. In cd we might read *māyādharā āgatā yā yās ceha jurniṣ parah*; but this is very uncertain.

nacā [3] *itthā nacā ihā vamāsato akṣe va śṛṅgavaś chiraḥ* | *sadānvā vrā*[4]*hmanas pate tikṣṇaśṛṅgodṛṣann ihi* |

The second hemistich is clear here *sadānvā vrahmaṇas pate tikṣṇaśṛṅgodṛṣann ihi*; cf RV. 10. 155. 2cd. Pāda b we may read *akṣe vaś śṛṅgavac chiraḥ*, which appears also Ppp. 6. 8. 4d. RV. 10. 155. 2a is *catto itaś cattāmutaḥ*, which suggests for pāda a here *nīcā itthā nīcā iha vamāmuto*.

vi ten manthās caṣire vi tade[5]*te agado hi ni dadāu te abhy agāuṣ kaṇve parehy avaraṁ vṛṇe* |

I can offer nothing here except the division of words.

yās te[6]*nke tiṣṭhanty ā valīke yā prayam khe prayam khayanty uta yāni ghorā* | [7] *yā garbhāt pramṛśanti sarvāṣ pāpīr anīnaśaṁ* |

For pāda a *yās te* 'nke *tiṣṭhanti yā valīke* might stand; in b it seems that *prayam khe* is due to dittography and should be dropped, and it might be possible to read *yāḥ prayaṣ kṣiyanty uta yā nu ghorāḥ*. In c read *garbhān pramṛśanti*.

yās celam vasaṭā u[8]*ta yā natta duṣaṁ nīlam piṣaṅgam uta lohitaṁ yā* | *yā garbhān* [9] *pramṛśanti sarvāḥ pāpīr anīnaśaṁ*

In pāda a the first word should perhaps be yās and the last word probably dūṣaṇi, but further I cannot see: with piṣaṅgam and yāḥ b can stand being practically the equivalent of Ś. 14. 2. 48b. Read garbhān in c.

yākīdantīr viṣadantī[10]r viṣadantī prāṇam asyāpi niṣyata |
durnāmnīs sarvās saṅga[11]tya māmūṣyotsikta kiṇ cana z 4 z

Read: †yākīdantīr viṣadantīḥ prāṇam asyāpi nikṣata | durnā-
mnīs sarvās saṅgatya māmūṣyotsikta kiṇ cana z 8 z 4 z

There is a proper name ākīdantī which may be in pāda a, but I have thought also of aṅkadantīr. Ś. 5. 8. 4e is prāṇam asyāpi nahyata.

10

[f.78b11] yamyā muṣalāhatā [12] dviṣataprṣṭā viṣā suta tapur
agnis tapur dyāus tapavān sure bhava vi[13]ṣaṇ tveto akma
rohyanto avruvan. |

This seems little more than a series of words, but some corrections at least are evident or possible. Read yamyā muṣalā-
hatā and probably dviṣataprṣṭhā; perhaps sūtā followed by a colon. Next a triṣṭubh pāda can be made out tapur agnis tapur
dyāus tapavān. The rest could be counted as two anuṣṭubh
pādas, reading †akma rohayanto.

dviṣaṇ kumbhe va srava viṣaṇ tāma[14]no sure viṣaṇ tvaṇ
hastyāhata viṣaṇ pratihitā bhava |

Read: viṣaṇ kumbhe 'va srava viṣaṇ †tāmano sure | viṣaṇ
tvaṇ hastāhata viṣaṇ pratihita bhava z 2 z

This seems rather unsatisfactory: if sure is vocative then we
would expect vocatives feminine in ed. In st. 6b below we have
viṣaṇ te pāvane sure (sic correxi), which possibly is the form
intended here.

siṅhas te stu ta[15]ṇḍūlo vyāghraṣ pary odanaṇ prajā kūna-
sya nakrahur vṛkasya hr̥ḍi saṇ[16]sravaḥ |

In a read 'stu taṇḍulo; in c kūrasya would fit the tone of
pādas ab but I can suggest nothing for nakrahur; pāda d seems
possible as it stands.

yamvyā pātrā sutāśaṣpassa kvā viṣas pari | varāha [17] manya-
rujaṇ nuttāna pāda sandayaḥ |

I can make no suggestion here.

*udadanī pracyavanī a[18]pām subhagā viṣas pari | utākhāta
manyurujaṁ nyuta paścāt ta[19]puras kṛdhi |*

I can make no suggestion here.

*viṣaṁ te pavane sure rudhi[f.79a1]raṁ sthāle astu te |
mathnañtv anyo anyasmād iṣudhiyaṁ tad dhanas tvat.*

In a pāvane seems good; in c read mathnantv; in d iṣudhyan would seem possible and dhanus.

*iṣupāvāno [2] rudhirās caranti pātāro martyās tava ye sumere
| hatāso anye yodhayañtv anyā[3]s tvam adīschiraṁ samahimā-
naṁ surāyā |*

Pāda a seems possible as it stands, taking iṣupāvāno as meaning 'protecting from(?) arrows'; in b perhaps we may read ye 'sum erire. A good pāda c is obtained if we read yodhayañtv anye; in d I can only conjecture 'straṁ dhikṣeran for the first two words, the rest being possibly good with surayā.

*tvām vīrudho visravo balena uta pā[4]taya sādaya yodhanā-
yāi | bhinnarīn nirbhinnaśīrṣṇā sam ṛchatām ātmacelo [5] visra-
van te surāpā |*

In pāda a read tvām, in ab balenot pātaya sādahaya and perhaps yodhanāya although yodhānāyāi might possibly stand. For c read bhinnārīr nirbhinnaśīrṣṇā sam ṛchatām; in d visra-
van te surayā seems possible, but I suspect ātmacelo for which however I can suggest nothing.

*viṣosutām pivati ca rṛṣāno mastrā saṁsṛṣṭān rudhi[6]reṇa
miśrāṁś chinnahastaś carati grāme antar vīrahatyāni bahudhā
paṇā[7]yam |*

For pāda a I see nothing more than the transliteration shows; in b with saṛān and miśrān we would have a good pāda: with paṇāyan at the end the last two pādas seem possible.

*asumatīm iṣumatīs unnayāma sitād adhi | sādhayābhi sādā-[8]
yā harivīṇām pari ropayā | anyo anyasya mośchiṣam. z 5 z [9]
z anu 2 z*

Read: asumatīm iṣumatīm unnayāma sitād adhi | sādhayābhi
sādhayā ḥharivīṇām pari ropayā | anyo anyasya mocchiṣan z 10
z 5 z anu 2 z

In pāda d possibly we may read arivenām (= enemy's arrow?). In pāda e mocchiṣan is by no means certain.

The intent of this escapes me in spite of some fairly clear hints in st. 2, 6, and 8: and all the suggestions are therefore simply gropings in the dark.

11

[f.79a9] *anu te manyatām agnir varuṇa te anumanyatām | tatas te pu[10]tro jāyatām | sa valghī goṣu yudhyatām idaṁ vāyon ajānīha yadim indra [11] vṛhaspate | āñcanaṁ putravedanaṁ | kṛṇvaṣ puṁsamalan vayaṁ | yenetat pari[12]ṣṭabhitam yasmāt putram na vindase | indrāgnī tasmāt tvenasaḥ pari pātām a[13]hardivī ātharvāṇo aṅgirasō viśve devā ṛtāvṛdhah śṛṇvantv a[14]bhya me havam asyāi putrāya vetave | indrāṇī varuṇānī sinīvālī [15] utāditiḥ marutarugrā patnīnām putram abhy anudeṣṭu te | putram te mitrā[16]ruṇā | putram devī sarasvatī | putram te aśvināu devā | ādhattām puṣka[17]raśṛja | yeṣāṁ ca nāma jagrabha teṣāṁ ca nopa saṁsmara | devās te [18] sarve saṅgatyā putram cāivātrikaṁ dadhe | ātmanenaṁ nir mamīṣva sa tvat pari [19] jāyatām | tvaṁ bījam urvareva tvaṁ bibharṣi yonyām | prthivīm saha ya[f.79b1]jñair nakṣattrāis saha sūryaḥ vātaḥ patattribhis saha putram abhy arideṣṭu te z z [2] z 1 z*

Read: *anu te manyatām agnir varuṇas te anu manyatām | tatas te putro jāyatām sa valgī goṣu yudhyatām z 1 z idaṁ vāyor ajānīhedam indrād vṛhaspateḥ | āñjanaṁ putravedanaṁ kṛṇvaṣ puṁsamalan vayaṁ z 2 z yenāitat pariṣṭabhitam yasmāt putram na vindase | indrāgnī tasmāt tvāinasah pari pātām ahardivī z 3 z atharvāṇo aṅgirasō viśve devā ṛtāvṛdhah | śṛṇvantv abhi me havam asyāi putrāya vettave z 4 z indrāṇī varuṇānī sinīvāly utāditiḥ | †marutarugrā patnīnām† putram abhy anudeṣṭu te z 5 z putram te mitrāvaruṇā putram devī sarasvatī | putram te aśvināu devā ādhattām puṣkarasrajā z 6 z yeṣāṁ ca nāma jagrābha teṣāṁ ca nopa sasmāra | devās te sarve saṅgatyā putram jāivātrikaṁ dadhre z 7 z ātmanīnaṁ nir mimīṣva sa tvat pari jāyatām | tvaṁ bījam urvareva tvaṁ bibharṣi yonyām z 8 z prthivī saha yajñair nakṣatrāis saha sūryaḥ | vātaḥ patattribhis saha putram abhy anudeṣṭu te z 9 z 1 z*

The ms. seems to correct valghī in 1d to valmī.

If valgī is an allowable form its meaning would seem possible here. In 2d I think puṁsavanam would be a more attractive reading. In 5c we want something like marutām ugrānām patnī

but I do not venture to restore it in the text. With our st. 6 cf. Ś. 5. 25. 3. In 7b either nāpa or nūpa might be considered as an alternative to nopa. The form deṣṭu does not seem to be quoted, but is not open to objection, I think.

12

[f.79b2] *vr̥ṣā jajñī madhavāno yaṁ madhumatibhyaḥ sāu te yonim ā[3]śayām bad dakṣaṣ puruṣo bhuvan | yonim gaccha madhavāno yonyām puruṣo bhava [4] tataḥ punan nir āyāmi śīrṣnās śronībhīn nonudat. bāṇavān i[5]ṣudher iva kṛṇvan putror yathāpriyam | śroniyo manv antarā daśamāsyā[6]yasi | sa pratyāṁ praty ā vantā ete saṁvatsare punaḥ yathā jīvāsi [7] bhadrayābībhantā mahā bhava | saṁ te yonim aceklīpaṁ supra-ja[8]stvāya bhadrayā | tatrā siñcasva vr̥ṣṇyam daśamāsyam abhi vratam. | [9] garbhas te yonim ā śayī garbho jarāyuv ā śayām | kumārā ulba[10]m ā śayām tvaṣṭāklīpto yathāparuḥ yathā rājan madhuvānas taṁ [11] bījaṁ vi rohasi | evā tvam asyā nir bindhi kumāraṁ yonyā[12]dhi | garbhādhāno madhavāno garbhaṁ devo vr̥haspatīḥ garbhaṁ ta [13] indraś cāgniś ca garbhaṁ dhātā dadhātu te z 2 z*

Read: *vr̥ṣā jajñe madhavāno 'yaṁ madhumatibhyaḥ | asāu te yonim ā śayām bad dakṣaṣ puruṣo bhuvan z 1 z yonim gaccha madhavāna yonyām puruṣo bhava | tataḥ punar nir āyāsi cīrṣṇā śronībhīn nonudat z 2 z bāṇavān iṣudher iva kṛṇvan putraṁ yathāpriyam | śronyor manv antarā daśamāsyā āyasi z 3 z sa pratyāṁ praty ā tvartā ete saṁvatsare punaḥ | yathā jīvāsi bhadrayābhi bhartā mahān bhaveḥ z 4 z saṁ te yonim acīklīpaṁ suprajastvāya bhadrayā | tatra siñcasva vr̥ṣṇyam daśamāsyam abhi vratam z 5 z garbhas te yonim ā śayī garbho jarāyuv ā śayām | kumāra ulbam ā śayām tvaṣṭāklīpto yathāparuḥ z 6 z yathā rājan madhavāna taṁ bījaṁ vi rohayasi | eva tvam asyā nir bindhi kumāraṁ yonyā adhi z 7 z garbhādhāno madhavāno garbhaṁ devo vr̥haspatīḥ | garbhaṁ ta indraś cāgniś ca garbhaṁ dhātā dadhātu te z 8 z 2 z*

With our 1c and 6ab cf Ś. 5. 25. 9b; with our st. 8 cf. Ś. 5. 25. 4. Perhaps madhuvāna (cf. ms. in 7a) is the correct form of this word: I find neither. The forms suggested for 2d, 3b, and 4d are rather uncertain. In 4a probably the verb is prati + ā + vṛt, and perhaps vartthā might stand.

13

[f.79b13] śiva[14]ś śivābhir vayas tvam saṁ gacchasva tanvā
 jātavedaḥ | ratnaṁ dadhā[15]nas sumanāṣ purastād grhebhyaḥ
 tvā varcase nir vapāmi pr[16]thivyām ghama stabhito antarikṣe
 divi śrataḥ dyāur enāṁ sa[17]rvataḥ pātu yas tvā pacany odanaḥ
 ye samudram ayīrayaṁ ye [18] ca sindhum ye antarikṣaṁ
 pṛthivīm uta dyām. ye vātena sa[f.80a1]rathaṁ yānti devās tān
 āpnoty odanā pākātra ṛcā kumbhi dīnyatā sāmnā [2] pacyato-
 danā aṅsaṁ somasyāikaṁ manye vāiśvadevam idaṁ haviḥ ulū-
 khale [3] musule yaś ca śūrpe bhūmyām ukhāyām yadi vāsi
 sañja | yā vipuruṣo [4] yā vininnejanāni sarvaṁ tat te vra-
 hmaṇā sūdayāmi ūrdhva prehi māpa [5] vyaktā vyarujo anta-
 ram | rakṣāṁsi sarvā tīrtvā yathā roha divaṁ tvam | turo no [6]
 turo bhava saṁ dhībhir vīyatām ayaṁ saṁ pṛthivyā sam agnīnā
 saṁ sūryasya raśmi[7]ṣu | saṁ devānām apasva | ā ca dviṣas
 sukṛtasya loke | tṛtiye nāke [8] adhi rocane divaḥ satyor apadaṁ
 yopayanto anyetva pṛcchāmi kṛtya mṛtyuṁ [9] padayopanena
 z 3 z

Read: śivaś śivābhir vayas tvam saṁ gacchasva tanvā jāta-
 vedaḥ | ratnaṁ dadhānas sumanāṣ purastād grhebhyaḥ tvā
 varcase nir vapāmi z 1 z pṛthivyām gharmaḥ stabhito antarikṣe
 divi śrataḥ | dyāur enaṁ sarvataḥ pātu yas tvā pacaty odana z
 2 z ye samudram ārayaṁ ye ca sindhum ye antarikṣaṁ pṛthivīm
 uta dyām | ye vātena sarathaṁ yānti devās tān āpnoty odanaḥ
 pākāpātre z 3 z ṛcā kumbhī ni dīyatām sāmnā pacyata odanaḥ |
 aṅsaṁ somasyāikaṁ manye vāiśvadevam idaṁ haviḥ z 4 z ulū-
 khale musale yaś ca śūrpe bhūmyām ukhāyām yadi vāsi sañjaḥ
 | yā vipuruṣo yā vinirnejanāni sarvaṁ tat te vrahmaṇā sūdayāmi
 z 5 z ūrdhvaḥ prehi māpa †vyaktā vyarujo† antaram | rakṣāṁsi
 sarvā tīrtvā yathā rohā divaṁ tvam z 6 z turo no 'turo bhava
 saṁ dhībhir vīyatām ayaṁ | saṁ pṛthivyā sam agnīnā saṁ
 sūryasya raśmibhiḥ z 7 z †saṁ devānām apasva | ā ca dviṣas†
 sukṛtasya loke tṛtiye nāke adhi rocane divaḥ z 8 z mṛtyoḥ padaṁ
 yopayanto anv eta †pṛcchāmi kṛtya† mṛtyum padayopanena z 9
 z 3 z

In f.79b l. 14 the ms. corrects to gacchadhva.

Pāda a of st. 1 seems to be defective, and the trouble is probably in vayas; vahas comes to mind but hardly improves the pāda. At the end of 3d pākātrā might be a simpler emenda-

tion. With 6a we may compare Ś. 6. 87. 2a ihāivāidhi māpa cyoṣṭhāḥ; for vyaktā perhaps we should read some form of vyac. That there are two stanzas after st. 7 I feel fairly confident, but can get no further with them than is indicated above.

With st. 1b cf. Ś. 18. 2. 10d; RV. 10. 16. 5d. With st. 4a cf. Ś. 9. 5. 5a. Our 5a appears VSK. 2. 5. 2a and elsewhere with yac ca: our 8c appears RV. 9. 86. 27d and elsewhere with prṣṭhe. What is given here as st. 9 looks as if it might be a corrupted version of a stanza composed of Ś. 12. 2. 30ab and 29cd.

14

[f.80a9] *bhūtvā mukham asi satyasya raśmīr uccāi* [10] *śloko*
divaṁ gaccha uśchriyetāṁ haviṣkṛto | *sādhū devān saparyata*
[11] *m ajāṣas apa luspata* |

Reading bhūtyā we have a good pāda of eleven syllables; in b I would read uccāiśśloko, in c haviṣkṛtāu; in d saparyatām is probable; the last pāda, in which lumpatu is the only possibility which suggests itself, perhaps does not belong here.

āpo devīr yajñakṛtaḥ śukrā devīn havi[12]*ṣkṛtaḥ ekapātro-*
dano agniṣṭomena saṁmyatā |

Read: āpo devīr yajñakṛtaḥ śukrā devīr haviṣkṛtaḥ | ekapātra
odana agniṣṭomena saṁmyataḥ z 2 z

Pāda c would be improved by reading ya eka°.

gāyatrī havyavā[13]*d asi devatāgnis sam idhyase* | *sahasra-*
dhāraṁ sukṛtasya loke ghr[14]*tapṛṣṭham amattyuh* |

This is all correct except the last word for which mamadyuh would seem possible.

tapas ca satyaṁ cāudanaṁ prāśnītāṁ parameṣṭhināu tā-[15]
bhyāṁ vāiśvarābhṛtaṁ tenādhipatir ucyase |

Read vāiśvānarā° in c; with this the stanza seems correct.

udagāyo śivāyoh | [16] *prāṇena samyata* | *apa vṛprāṇimaj*
jahy

Out of this I get nothing: it seems to represent st. 5, for the rest of the material divides readily into three stanzas.

apa kṣīya duritam a[17]*haṁ* | *apa rakṣāṁsi tejasā* | *devebhyo*
havyam arcataṁ vyacasvān supra[f.80b1]*thā sa hi* |

In a kṣīye seems possible; in d read suprathās.

*uścāis suparṇo divam ut patāsundriyaṁ deveṣv ākr̥ṇvann
ṛṣi[2]bhyaḥ pari dehi mām śukraṁ śukreṇa bhakṣayām pibantu
sukṛto madhu |*

In a read uccāis, in ab patāsindriyaṁ, in d bhakṣyaṁ pibantu.

*dva[3]yā devā tapano yajñam ākur yān odano dviṣade yāñś
ca pr̥sthah ā[4]dityāṅgirasas svargam imaṁ prāśnantu ṛtubhir
niṣadya z 4 z*

Read: dvayā devās tapanam yajñam ākur yān odano †dvi-
ṣade yāñś ca pr̥sthah | ādityā aṅgirasas svargam imaṁ prāśnantu
ṛtubhir niṣadya z 8 z 4 z

For dviṣade in b viṣate would seem rather good, and pr̥sthyam
might be better than pr̥sthah. In a tarpanam might be better.

15

[f.80b5] *pīyūṣasya kṣīrasya sarpiṣo anyasyāgram sambharā-
metat. etabhā*am[6]s ahutādo anyo vāiśvadevaṁ havir ubha-
yaṁ samcaranti |*

For pāda b read annasyāgram sambharāmy etat. The first
word of c is probably yathābhāgam, and anye should be read for
anyo; the last pāda can stand, although Kāuś. 73. 14 has ubhaye.
It is possible that what stands here as pāda c is a corrupt
abbreviation of Kāuś. 73. 14ab.

*te samyañca [7] iha mādayantām iṣam ūrja yajamānāya
matsva me sma bhavo mā [8] śarvo vadhīd grām vatsān kroma-
śrayo vadanti |*

With ūrjam pāda b might stand, being a variant of Ś. 18. 4.
4d; but Kāuś. 73. 15 has a as here, and in b yajamānā yam
icchata, which probably should be read here. In c read mo sma;
d should probably begin grāmyān vatsān, but I can get nothing
out of the rest of it.

*ye jātā ye ca garbhe[9]śv antar ariṣṭāgnes tanum ārabhantām
imā gāvo vijāvatīṣ prajāvatī [10] strīṣva saṁmano bhavantu |*

The meter would be much improved in a by ye ca jātā; in b
read ariṣṭā agnes tanvam. In c read prajāvatīṣ, and for d strīṣu
saṁmanaso bhavantu. The two hemistichs do not hang together
very well.

ā sabhāumān api pr̥schanti devā sām̐vatsa[11]*rāyusā sedasā saṁsr̥jāmi vra viyantām striyo gāvo viṣṇur yo* [12] *ryonim anu kalpayāti* |

Read: *ā sabhāumān api pr̥schanti devās sām̐vatsarāyusā medasā saṁsr̥jāmi* | *pra viyantām striyo gāvo viṣṇur yo yonim anu kalpayāti* z 4 z

pratigr̥hṇātīr ṛṣabhasya reta ukṣā[13]*nādvānś carati vādya-tām anu* | *preram agram na hinasti kiñ cana ya*[14]*thākāmam kṛṇuta somyam madhu* |

In a we may probably read *pratigr̥hṇāti ṛṣabhasya*, in b *vāśitām*. In c perhaps *preram* might stand, but *preran* would seem better.

sādhur yajñas akutādo naya[15]*nta rāyas poṣā yajamānam sajantām* | *nī te prathām pr̥thivī ya*[16]*ntu sindhavo yad oṣa-dhayo nihatām predatām irān*.

In a we may perhaps read *sādhur yajnas sa hutādo nayatu*; in b read *sacantām* (= Ś. 2. 34. 1d). In c read *pr̥thiviṁ*, in d *nihatām predatām irām*.

parjanyaasya [17] *maruto dadhiyaṁsān vāta bhadram sasyam pacyatām modatām jagat*. | [18] *saptar̥ṣayas sapta svarāṁsy eṣām sapta kṣayo śvinoh* |

For *dadhiyaṁsān vāta* I can suggest nothing plausible; nor for *kṣayo*, after which read 'śvinoh.

pañca vājū prā[f.81a1]*ṇo vyāno manākutir vāg devī devebhyo havyam vahatu prajānān*.

Read *vājāḥ* and *mana ākūtir*, with colon after *devī*; this can be read as two eight-syllable pādas. Read *prajānan*.

ye ca dṛ[2]*ṣṭā ye cādr̥ṣṭāḥ krimayaḥ kīkr̥ṣās ca ye* | *teṣāṁ śirāṁsy asinā śchi*[3]*nadmī yathā sām̐vatsanāyusā medasā saṁsr̥jāmi* z 5 z [4] z *anu* 3 z

Read: *ye ca dr̥ṣṭā ye cādr̥ṣṭāḥ krimayaḥ kīkṛiśās ca ye* | *teṣāṁ śirāṁsy asinā chinādmī yathā sām̐vatsarāyusā medasā saṁsr̥jāmi* z 9 z 5 z *anu* 3 z

16

[f.81a4] *dyāuś cemaṁ yajñam pr̥thivī ca sandahātām mā*-[5] *tariśvā pavamānaḥ purastāt. tvaṣṭā vāyus saha somena vāta* i[6]*maṁ saṁ duhur ānapasphurantaḥ*

In a read sanduhātām; in d read ana°: for pāda a see TB. 3. 7. 4. 15.

gharmaṁ tvapānv amṛtasya dhārayā devebhyo [7] *havyam paride savitre | śukraṁ devās śrutam ajaṇtu havyam āsam juhvā* [8] *nām amṛtasya yonāu |*

In a read tapāmy, in b paridām, in c śrtam adantu, in d juhvānam. These corrections bring the stanza in accord with Vāit. 14. 1.

ud vāsayāgne śrutam akarma havyam ā roha [9] *prṣṭham amṛtasya dhāma | vanaspatayā upa barhi strṇṭa vadhvā sa-* [10] *matū ghṛtavat karātha |*

Read: *ud vāsayāgneś śrtam akarma havyam ā roha prṣṭham amṛtasya dhāma | vānaspatyā upa barhis strṇṭa madhvā sama-* *ñktha ghṛtavat karātha z 3 z*

For pādas ab cf. Kāuś. 2. 37; for d cf. Kāuś. 2. 36.

yopsī yakṣmaś śamayāmi taṁ vorja gavyūti [11] *yam śam anajmi yetām taṁ nam krī kṣīram avitham naṣ kṛṇomy aṇsam tayanto* [12] *piyūtham etaḥ*

If yopsī may mean 'hurtful' it may stand; at the end of pāda a read taṁ va; for b ūrjam gavyūtiṁ sam anajmy etām. Just above taṁ, at the beginning of c, the ms. interlines a correction ktā, but I can make nothing of the first part of the pāda; read aviṣam for avitham. For d it seems possible to read aṇsam dayante piyūṣam etat.

idāṇām pitā uta pitnyāyāṇām payo dhayanṭv a [13] *huṇīyamā-* *naḥ | ṛtubhis sasyam uta kliptam astu yo gopā rakṣatu vā* [14] *yur* *ena |*

In a pītā seems a probable reading, and pitryāṇām; in b read dhayanṭv ahrṇīyamānāḥ; in c klptam; at the end of d enaṁ may be possible.

pivata ghṛtam yata dhāvayed guhā yataṁ nihataṁ mānuṣeṣu [15] *viśve devā vāśvadevasyāgnāu yathābhāgo haviṣo mādā-* *yadhvam |*

In a read pivata, and perhaps yato or yatra; with nihitaṁ pāda b would seem good: in d read yathābhāgam.

yo [16] *devānām asi śreṣṭho rudras tvamticaro vṛṣā | ariṣṭa-* *smākaṁ vīrā me* [17] *taḍ astu hṛtaṁ tava |*

In b read tanticaro; in c ariṣṭā asmākaiṃ; in d read hutaiṃ for hṛtaiṃ, and unless medad can stand as the first word of d I can see nothing. Pāda a appears MŚ. 1. 3. 4. 3, and pāda b TB. 3. 3. 2. 5.

*pūrṇam ahaṃ kariṣaṇaṃ | śatavantaṃ sahasraṇaṃ vi-[f.81b1]
śvebhīr agne devāir imaṃ goṣṭhamāṃ durha z 1 z*

Read: pūrṇaṃ mahaṃ kariṣiṇaṃ śatavantaṃ sahasraṇaṃ | viśvebhīr agne devāir imaṃ goṣṭomaṃ driha z 8 z 1 z

This stanza as emended is not satisfactory; I have tried to bring it into the general sphere of the first six stanzas, but that may be a mistaken effort.

17

(Ś. 6. 111 with additions)

[f.81b1] *devāinasād unmadi[2]taṃ kṣettriyās chapathār uta
| muñcantu tasmā tvā devā unmattaṃ rakṣa[3]sas pavi z*

For b read kṣettriyāc chapathād uta; in c tasmāt, in d pari. Our a and d are Ś. 3ab.

*munim bhavantaṃ saryāṇi vāvṛto rakṣāṅsy aknu ulā ka-[4]
nikratī | atas taṃ no adhi pāhi vājinn indreṇa medī vṛhate [5]
raṇāya |*

The first two words of a are probably sound; for the next word paryāṇe might be possible, followed by some form of vṛt. In b only the first and last words seem good: I can get no idea of the intent of the first two pādas.

*yathāgne devā ṛbhavo maṇiṣiṇom unmattam asṛjany are-[6]
nasah eva te śaktre abhayaṃ kṛṇotu muñcasvāinaso vi nayāmi
rakṣah [7]*

In ab we may probably read maṇiṣiṇo 'mum unmattam asṛjann āra enasah. In c read śakro, in d nayāsi.

*yathā gāvās ca bhūmyām puruṣāśvīnya okasah yavonmattasya
te mu[8]ne śa grhṇātu prthivīm anu |*

Read gāvās in a; for b the only suggestion I have is puruṣāś cinvanty. In c read evon°, in d perhaps saṃ or sa.

*munim dādadhāra prthivī munim dyāu[9]r abhi rakṣati munni-
yam hi viśvā bhūtāni munim indro adīdharat. | [10] parā rakṣa
svāmi te |*

Read: munim dādhāra prthivī munim dyāur abhi rakṣati |
munim hi viśvā bhūtāni munim indro adīdharat | parā rakṣas
suvāmi te z 5 z

With the last pāda cf. Ś. 4. 13. 5d, which has yakṣmaṇi.

imaṇ me agne puruṣaṁ samugdhi yā vibho grā[11]hyā lālāpīti
| utodite kṛṇavarbhāgadheya munim mudito [12] agado yathā-
sat. |

Read: imaṇ me agne puruṣaṁ mumugdhi yo vibaddho grāhyā
lālāpīti | atho 'dhi te kṛṇavad bhāgadheyam anunmudito agado
yathāsat z 6 z

agniṣ te na śasayatu yat te unmana uddhṛtaṁ ju[13]homi
vidvāṇs te havir yathānaṁmudito bhava |

Read: agniṣ te ni śamayatu yat te tan mana uddhṛtaṁ |
juhomi vidvāṇs te havir yathānūnmudito bhavaḥ z 7 z

punas tvā tur apsaraṣ pu[14]nar vātaṣ punar diśaḥ punar
yamaṣ punar yamasya dūtās te tvā muñca[15]ntv aṇhasaḥ |
jīvātave na martave atho ariṣṭatātaye |

Read: punas tvā dur apsarasasḥ punar vātaṣ punar diśaḥ |
punar yamaṣ punar yamasya dūtās te tvā muñcantv aṇhasaḥ |
jīvātave na martave atho ariṣṭatātaye z 8 z 2 z

18

(Ś. 4. 13)

[f.81b15] uta de[16]vā avahitaṁ devā uddharatā punaḥ tato
manuṣyaṁ taṁ devā dāivaṣ kṛ[17]ṇuta jīvase | ā tvāgamaṁ
śāntātībhi atho ariṣṭatātībhiḥ [18] dakṣaṁ te bhadram āriṣaṁ
parā muvāsy ānaya tu. dvāv imāu vātāu vā[f.82a1]ta ā sindhor
ā parāvataḥ dakṣaṇ te anya ā vatu parānyo vāta yad rapaḥ | [2]
ā vāta vāhi bheṣajaṁ vi vāta vāhi yad rapaḥ tvaṁ hi viśvabhe-
ṣajo [3] devānāṁ dūta iyase | trāyantām imaṁ devās trayantām
maruto gaṇāiḥ [4] trāyantām viśvā bhūtāni yathāyam agado
sati | ghr̥tena dyāvā[5]prthivī ghr̥tenāpas samukṣatā | ghr̥tena
muścasvāinaso yad ā tva [6] kṛtaṁ āhṛtaḥ ayaṁ me hasto bha-
gavattaraḥ ayaṁ me viśvabheṣajo yaṁ śi[7]vābhimarśanaḥ
hastābhyāṁ daśaśākhābhyāṁ jihvā vātaṣ purogavi | hanāma-[8]
yatnubhyāṁ samvubhyāṁ tvā abhimarśāmasi | āpa id vā u
bheṣajis tās te [9] kṛṇvantu bheṣajam.z 3 z

Read: uta devā avahitaṁ devā ud dharathā punaḥ | uto manu-
 syaṁ taṁ devā dāivāṣ kṛṇuta jīvase z 1 z ā tvāgamaṁ śaṁtā-
 tibhir atho ariṣṭatātibhiḥ | dakṣaṁ te bhadram ābharṣaṁ parā
 suvāmy anayaṁ te z 2 z dvāv imāu vātāu vāta ā sindhor ā parā-
 vataḥ | dakṣaṁ te anya ā vātu parāṇyo vātu yad rapaḥ z 3 z ā
 vāta vāhi bheṣajaṁ vi vāta vāhi yad rapaḥ | tvaṁ hi viśvabhe-
 ṣajo devānāṁ dūta iyase z 4 z trāyantām imaṁ devās trāyantām
 maruto gaṇāiḥ | trāyantām viśvā bhūtāni yathāyam agado 'sati
 z 5 z gṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī gṛtenāpas samukṣatā | gṛtena
 muñcasvāinaso yad ā tvā kṛtam ahrthāḥ z 6 z ayaṁ me hasto
 bhagavān ayaṁ me bhagavattaraḥ | ayaṁ me viśvabheṣajo 'yaṁ
 śivābhimarśanaḥ z 7 z hastābhyāṁ daśaśākhābhyāṁ jihvā vācas
 purogavi | anāmayitnubhyāṁ śambhubhyāṁ tābhyāṁ tvābhi
 mṛśāmasi z 8 z āpa id vā u bheṣajir āpo amīvacātaniḥ | āpo
 viśvasya bheṣajis tās tvā kṛvantu bheṣajam z 9 z 3 z

In 2c our ms. seems to point toward the form which most of
 the mss. of Ś have: the form given for 2d is close to the form
 in Ś, parā yakṣmaṁ suvāmi te. St. 6 has no parallel: st. 9
 varies only in pāda d from Ś. 3. 7. 5 (= Ppp. 3. 2. 7); the
 similar endings of pādas a and c account for the omission of
 b and c.

19

(Ś. 3. 30)

[f.82a9] sahrdayaṁ sāmnyasyam avidveṣaṁ kṛṇo[10]mi vaḥ
 anyo nyam abhinnuta vatsaṁ jātam ivāghnyā anuvrataṣ pituṣ
 putro mātṛā [11] bhavati sunnataḥ jāyā patye madhumatīm
 vācaṁ vadatu śāntivām | mā trā[12]tā bhrātaraṁ dhukṣa mā
 svasāram uta svasā | samyañcas suvratā bhūtvā vācaṁ va-[13]
 datu bhadrayā | yena devā na vīyanti no ca vidviṣate mithaḥ |
 tat kṛṇvo [14] vrahma vo gr̥he saṁjñānaṁ puruṣebhyaḥ jāya-
 svrntas cittano mā vi yaṁṣtas saṁnā[15]dhayantas sudhirās
 carantaḥ anyo nyasmāi valgū vadantu yaca samagrāstha sa-[16]
 dhricināṁ samāni prapā saha vo nyabhāgas samānyokte saha vo
 yunā[17]jmi samyañco gnyo sapariyatādā nābhim ivābhṛtā |
 yena devā ha[f.82b1]viśā yajatrāpa pāpmānam āpnuta | kro-
 dhaṁ manyum ṛtaṁ bhāgaṁ duruktam aśo[2]canam. | rejaṁ
 ni dadhmasi | sadhricināṁ nas samanasaṣ kṛṇomy ekasu[3]ni-
 ṣṭyaṁ saṁvananena saṁhr̥da | devā yaved amṛtaṁ rakṣamāṇas
 sāyaṁ[4]prātas susamitir vo stu z 4 z

Read: sahrdayaṁ sāmmanasyam avidveṣaṁ kṛṇomi vaḥ |
 anyo 'nyam abhi navata vatsaṁ jātam ivāghnyā z 1 z anuvrataṣ
 pituṣ putro mātṛā bhavatu samyataḥ | jāyā patye madhumatīm
 vācaṁ vadatu śaṁtivām z 2 z mā bhrātā bhrātaraṁ dvikṣan mā
 svasāram uta svasā | samyañcas savratā bhūtvā vācaṁ vadata
 bhadrayā z 3 z yena devā na viyanti no ca vidviṣate mithaḥ |
 tat kṛṇmo vrahma vo gr̥he saṁjñānaṁ puruṣebhyaḥ z 4 z jyāya-
 svantaś cittino mā vi yāṁsta saṁrādhayantas sadhurās carantaḥ
 | anyo 'nyasmāi yalgu vadanto yāta samagrās sta sadhrīcīnāḥ
 z 5 z samānī prapā saha vo 'nnabhāgas samāne yoktre saha vo
 yunajmi | samyañco 'gnīm saparyatārā nābhīm ivābhṛtāḥ z 6 z
 yena devā haviṣā yajatrā apa pāpmānam apunata | krodham
 manyum ṛtīm bhaṅgaṁ duruktam aśocanaṁ rejmaṁ ni dadhmaṣi
 z 7 z sadhrīcīnāḥ vas saṁmanasaṣ kṛṇomy ekaśnuṣṭin saṁvana-
 nena sahrdaḥ | devā ived amṛtaṁ rakṣamāṇāṣ sāyaṁ-prātas
 susamitir vo 'stu z 8 z 4 z

The ms. corrects dhukṣa in 3a to kṣudha.

The variants from Ś are slight. In 5d three syllables are needed; samantāḥ, or samānāḥ, would fit in nicely and might easily have dropped before samānī. In 6d Ś has ivābhitaḥ. St. 7 is new; in pāda c ṛtaṁbhāgaṁ, as given in the ms., seems out of harmony with the context.

20

[f.82b4] *paro paraś ca parastan ma parasta[5]raṁ agnir
 vātasya dhrājyāpardhādhe ahaṁ tām |*

The first pāda seems to be defective; it seems to end 'paraś ca: for b I incline to read paras tardāḥ paraś caran. For cd read agner vātasya dhrājyāpa bādhe ahaṁ tām; cf. Ś. 3. 1. 5b.

*udakasyedam enaṁ vānta[6]syedaṁ nibhañjanaṁ | agner
 namasyāyaṁ panthā neha tandāyanam tavā z z [7]*

In a read ayanam, for b vāntasyedaṁ nibhañjanam. In c a possible reading is agner namasyā°; in d read tandāyanam tava.

*pari tvā kṛṣṇavartmani agnir dhūmanārciṣā | sa tvan tardhā
 paraś carā[8]nyata dhy ahvañi*

In a read °vartane, in b dhūminārciṣat: in c sa tvaṁ tarda; the sign transliterated hva in the last word is not clear, and I suggest carānyato 'dhi hr̥ṇīhi as a possible but doubtful reading.

*yavā etan māsureṣitās ca ye | sarvāns tān vrahma[9]ṇā vayan
śalabhān jambhayāmasi |*

In the first two words we seem to have what represents pāda a, with some mention of barley; the next pāda might be māsara eṣitās ca ye; the rest is correct. I take śalabha to mean an insect of the grasshopper sort.

*śalabhasya śalabhyas tandasyo[10]tpatattriṇāḥ z agnir vāta-
sya nrājyāpi nipyāmy āsam |*

In a read śalabhyās, for b tardasyotpatattriṇāḥ: pāda c as in st. 1, and for d °āpi nahyāmy āsyam (= Ś. 7. 70. 4b, 5b).

*yadīda [11] gavi bheṣajam viśvād ṛpāt samābhṛtam | ākhor
ghuṇasya tandasya [12] teṣā snāvnāpi nahyataḥ*

In a read yadīdam; in b riphāt is the simplest correction but an ablative would seem better. In c read tardasya, and for d teṣām snāvnāpi nahyata.

*trṣṭā tvam asi gandhena oṣadhir guṇaja[13]mbhinī | ākhor
ghuṇasya jātāni | tāni jambhaya tejasā*

The kh in ākhor is imperfect. In ab read gandhenāuṣadhir ghuṇa°; remove the colon after jātāni.

*tūlam [14] tandas trṇasyāttu mūlam ākhur dhiyeṣitaḥ | atho
vrkṣasya phalgū [15] yad a ghuṇā yantu sāyavam.z 5 z anu
4 z*

Read: tūlam tardas trṇasyāttu mūlam ākhur †dhiyeṣitaḥ | atho vrkṣasya phalgu yad ā ghuṇā yantu sayavam z 8. z 5 z anu 4 z

Although many details are very uncertain here, the sphere is clearly that of Ś. 6. 50.

21

(cf. Ś. 5. 22 passim)

[f.82b16] *dyāus ca dhās pitā prthivī ca mātā cāgniś ca nṛcakṣā
jātave[17]dāh | te takmānam adharāñcam nyañcam daśāham
namasyam tvaradhi dūra[f.83a1]m asmat.*

This seems to be clear except toward the end; the simplest correction would be namasyan tvarāti, but it is very possible that a verb form is concealed in daśāham and that namasyam is an adjective.

*takmann iyañ te kṣettrabhāgam apābhajāñ pṛthivyāñ pūrve
ardhe ati[2]hāya tim ati no hinasviḍ. grāhiṣ krītvā grheṣv iti
kilā suśīrṣṇaḥ [3]*

The only suggestions I can make are imañ for iyañ, and kṣettrabhāgam apabhajan; in the rest the word division is not certain.

*takmañ parvatā ime himavantas somaprṣṭhāḥ vātañ jūtañ
bhiṣāja no a[4]krañ naśyeto marajāññ abhi |*

Read takman, vātajūtañ bhiṣajañ no akrañ, and marajāñ. This is probably intended to be metrical. Pāda d seems to be of similar intent to Ś. 5. 22. 7a.

*na tvā striyaṣ kāmayañte na pumsāñsaṣ katime [5] cana | neha
takma kāmāloro titaro mahāñ.*

Read pumāñsaṣ and we have two readable pādas: next takmā seems probable and perhaps kāmalo; for the last pāda 'ravati taro mahāñ might seem possible, but it does not give any very good meaning.

*mā no hiñsīñ mahato mā [6] hiñsīr mahyaṣ tvañ kumārāñ
babhro mā hiñsīñ mā no hiñsīṣ kumārīha [7]*

In a read hiñsīr, in b perhaps mahīyaṣ; in c hiñsīr, and in d perhaps kumārīr iha. Cf. Ś. 11. 2. 29.

*yaḥ sākam utpādayasi balāsañ kāsañ anvṛjañ bhīmaṣ te
takman hē[8]tayaṣ tābhiṣ sa pari vṛñdhi nā |*

In b read balāsañ and perhaps anvṛjum, for which Ś. has udyugam. In c bhīmāṣ, in d naḥ; Ś. has tābhiṣ sma in d.

*anyakṣettreṇa ramate sahasrākṣo [9] martyaḥ abhūti prā-
rthas takmatmāu no mṛḍāyīṣyati*

Read: anyakṣetre na ramate sahasrākṣo 'martyaḥ | abhūd u prārthas takmā †tmāu no mṛḍāyīṣyati z 7 z

In d perhaps we may read tmanañ no.

*takman na bhahiyā[10]śvā na gāvo neha te ca gṛhā | śatañna-
rasya muṣṭihā punar gaścha mahā[11]vṛṣām . z 1 z*

Read: takman na bheyā aśvā na gāvo neha te ca gṛhāḥ | śakañ bharasya muṣṭihā punar gaccha mahāvṛṣāñ z 8 z 1 z

The reading suggested in a is barely probable: in pādas cd I have followed Ś, which however has etu in d.

22

[f.83a11] *yo hemantaṁ śāpayatho balenārvāg de[12]vety uda
ye paro divaḥ bhavārudrayos sumati vṛṇīmahe anyatrā[13]ssad
aghahaviṣyā vy etu | yo dyām ā tanoti yo ntarikṣaṁ stabhrāty
ojaso [14] jāyamānaḥ tasmāi rudrāya haviṣā vidhemānyatrā-
smad aghaha[15]viṣā vy etu z yayo rodhān nāpapadyate kiṁ
canāntar deveṣūta mānu[16]ṣeṣu | tābhyām rudrābhyām haviṣā
vidhemānyatrāssad aghahaviṣā vy e[17]tu | yāv āisāte paśūnām
pārthivānām catuṣpadām uta vā ye dvi[18]pādaḥ | tābhyām
rudrābhyām haviṣā vidhemānyatrāssad aghahavi[18]ṣā vy
etu z z oṁ anyatrāssad aghahaviṣā vy etu z yasya pratihitā [2]
yā ssa vyañjantu yāraṇyāṣ paśava uta grāmyāsaḥ | tasmāi
rudrāya ha[3]viṣā vidhemānyatrāssad aghahaviṣā vy etu | yassād
oṣaṭayo ba[4]bhriyamānā yantismān rakṣāso na yujanti viśve |
tasmāi rudrāya [5] haviṣā vidhemānyatrāsmad aghahaviṣā vy
etu yaḥ parvatān nyana dadhe [6] ti vidvān yo bhūtāni kalpa-
yasi prajāgan. | tasmāi rudrāya havi[7]ṣā vidhemānyatrāssad
aghahaviṣā vy etu z yāv āisāno carato dvi[8]pado yāś catuṣpadaḥ
yā ugro kṣipradhanvānau tābhyām rudrābhyām ha[9]viṣā vidhe-
mānyatrāsmad aghahaviṣā vy etu | punaś cakṣuṣ punaṣ prā-[10]
ṇaṁ punar āyur dhehi no jātavedaḥ rudra jalāśabheṣaja
vidvā[11]ndvastenā haviṣā vidhemānyatrāssad aghahaviṣā vy
etu z 2 z*

Read: yāu hemantaṁ śāpayatho balenārvāg diva ety uta yo
paro divaḥ | bhavārudrayos sumatiṁ vṛṇīmahe anyatrāsmad
aghaviṣā vy etu z 1 z yo dyām ā tanoti yo ntarikṣaṁ stabhnāty
ojaso jāyamānaḥ | tasmāi rudrāya haviṣā vidhemānyatrāsmad
° ° z 2 z yayo rodhān nāpapadyate kiṁ canāntar deveṣūta
mānuṣeṣu | tābhyām rudrābhyām ° ° ° z 3 z yāv īsāte
paśūnām pārthivānām catuṣpadām uta vā ye dvipādaḥ | tābhyām
rudrābhyām ° ° ° z 4 z yasya pratihitā yāś sma vyañjanti
yasyāraṇyāṣ paśava uta grāmyāsaḥ | tasmāi rudrāya ° ° °
z 5 z yasmād ṛṣṭayo bebhriyamānā yanty asmān rakṣāso na
yuechanti viśve | tasmāi rudrāya ° ° ° z 6 z yaḥ parvatān
vanā dadhiṣe vidvān yo bhūtāni kalpayasi prajānan | tasmāi
rudrāya ° ° ° z 7 z yāv īsānau carato dvipado yā catuṣpado
yā ugrāu kṣipradhanvānau | tābhyām rudrābhyām ° ° °
z 8 z punaś cakṣuṣ punaṣ prāṇaṁ punar āyur dhehi no jātavedaḥ
| rudra jalāśabheṣaja †vidvān dvastenā† haviṣā vidhemānyatrā-
smad aghaviṣā vy etu z 9 z 2 z

Opposite f.83a l.13 in the right margin is *nyoja*, which seems to indicate *stabhrān vojaso* for the end of that line.

In §. 6. 93. 2d we find *anyatrāsmad aghaviṣā nayantu*, where *aghaviṣā* is acc. pl. fem., probably agreeing with an omitted *iṣūs*. In 3a I take *rodhān* as abl. case, probably meaning 'arrow.' Pāda 4b appeared in this same form in Ppp. 3. 32. 2b. At the beginning of 5b *yasya* seems necessary; but cf. KS. 30. 8a, 9. In 6a *ṛṣṭayo* is a conjecture based largely on the context, as is *vanā* in 7a. Pāda 9a = Ppp. 3. 17. 3a. In §. 2. 27. 6a we find *rudrā jalāṣabheṣaja*; I feel sure that there is corruption in *vidvān dvastenā*, but I can make no suggestion.

23

(§. 4. 17)

[f.83b12] *īśānan tvā bheṣajānām vijeṣāgrṇīmahe cakre sahasra-*
vī[13]ryam sahasvān oṣadhe tvam | satyajitam śapathayāvanī-
yam sahasā[14]nām punaścarām sarvā samahavy oṣadhī ṛto mā
pārayān iti | yā [15] śasāpa śapanena yā vāgha mūram ādadhe
| yā vā rathasya prā[16]śārehya togham utva sah | praticīna-
phalā ity ekā yaś ca bhrātu[17]rviśvapati yaś ca jānuś śapati
naḥ vrahmā yan manvataś capāt sarvaṁ [18] tam no adhaspa-
dam yām te cakrur āme pātre yām sūtre nīlaloḥite | [f.84a1]
yāmme mānse krtyām yām cakras tvayām krtyākṛto jahi |
dussvapnyam du[2]rjīvataṁ rakṣo bhyom arāyya | durvācas.
sarvaṁ durbhūtaṁ tam ito nāśayā[3]masi | kṣudhāmāraṁ tṛṣṇā-
māram aghotām anupaśyatām | apāmā[4]rga tvayā vayan
sarvaṁ tad api sṛjumahe z 3 z

Read: *īśānām tvā bheṣajānām vijeṣa ā grṇīmahe | cakre*
sahasravīryam sahasyām oṣadhe tvām z 1 z satyajitam śapatha-
yāvanīm sahamānām punaścarām | sarvāḥ samahvy oṣadhīr ito
mā pārayān iti z 2 z yā śasāpa śapanena yā vāgham mūram
ādadhe | yā vā rasasya prāśārebhe tokam attu sā z 3 z praticīna-
phalo hi tvam apāmārgo babhūvitha | sarvān mac chapathān
adhi variyo yāvayās tvam z 4 z yac ca bhrātrvyaś śapati yac ca
jānuś śapati naḥ | vrahmā yan manyutaś śapāt sarvaṁ tad no
adhaspadam z 5 z yām te cakrur āme pātre yām sūtre nīlaloḥite
| āme mānse krtyām yām cakras tvayā krtyākṛto jahi z 6 z
dussvapnyam durjīvataṁ rakṣo 'bhvam arāyyaḥ | durvācas
sarvaṁ durbhūtaṁ tam ito nāśayāmasi z 7 z kṣudhāmāraṁ

tr̥ṣṇāmāram agotām anapatyatām | apāmārga tvayā vyaṁ
sarvaṁ tad apa mr̥jmahe z 8 z 3 z

The reading of the ms. in 1d might be defended if the apāmārga is understood as the plant addressed; to emend as above does not make much improvement. In 3cd prāśāyārebhe might be a better reading. Our st. 4 appeared previously Ppp. 2. 26. 4: our st. 5 is a variant of Ś. 2. 7. 2. At the end of 8b our ms. offers nothing decisively helpful; it does seem to offer a basis for the reading suggested.

24

(Ś. 4. 18)

[f.84a4] samā bhūmī[5]s sūryenāhnā rātrī samāvati kṛnomi
satyam ūtaye rasās santu [6] kṛtvārī | yo devaṣ kṛtyo kṛtyā harād
aviduṣo grhaṁ | vatso dhārar i[7]va mātaraṁ tvaṁ pratyag
upapadyatām | āmā kṛtvā pāpmānaṁ yas tvayānna [8] jighā-
ṇsati | asmādashasyāṁ jagadhārayāṁ bahulāṣ phaṭi [9] kari-
kratuḥ sahasradhāmaṁ viśākhāṁ vyagrīvāṁ śāya tvaṁ prati [10]
sma cakṛṣe kṛtyāṁ priyāṁ priyāvaśe hara | yāṁ cakāra na
śa[11]śākha śāśire pādamaṁ aṅgulim | cakāra bhadram asmaḥ
abhagā [12] bhagavadbhyaḥ anayāhaṣ oṣadhyā sarvā kṛtyāyād
aviduṣo [13] grhaṁ | yāṁ kṣetṛe cakur yāṁ gobhyo yāṁ vā te
puruṣebhyaḥ | apāmā[14]rgo pa mā iṣṭu pa kṣettriyaṁ śapathaś
ca mat. | apāhyātudhānyo [15] n upa sarvā arāyya apāmārga
pra jayā tvaṁ yyā ati sr̥jasva [16] naḥ z 4 z

Read: samā bhūmis sūryenāhnā rātrī samāvati | kṛnomi
satyam ūtaye 'rasās santu kṛtvārī z 1 z yo devaṣ kṛtyāṁ kṛtvā
harād aviduṣo grham | vatso dhārur iva mātaraṁ taṁ pratyag
upa padyatām z 2 z āmā kṛtvā pāpmānaṁ yas tayānyaṁ jighā-
ṇsati | āsmānas tasyāṁ †jagadhārayāṁ bahulāṣ phaṭ karikratu
z 3 z sahasradhāman viśākhāṁ vigrīvāṁ śāyaya tvaṁ | prati sma
cakruṣe kṛtyāṁ priyāṁ priyāvate hara z 4 z yāṁ cakāra na
śaśāka śāśre pādamaṁ aṅgulim | cakāra bhadram asmaḥ
abhago bhagavadbhyaḥ z 5 z anayāham oṣadhyā sarvā kṛtyā
adoduṣam | yāṁ kṣetṛe cakrur yāṁ gobhyo yāṁ vā te puruṣe-
bhyaḥ z 6 z apāmārgo 'pa mārṣṭu kṣettriyaṁ śapathaś ca yaḥ |
apāha yātudhānir apa sarvā arāyyaḥ z 7 z apamr̥jya yātudhānān
apa sarvā arāyyaḥ | apāmārga pra jayā tvaṁ arāyyo ati sr̥jasva
naḥ z 8 z 4 z

In the right margin opposite l. 9 stands sadvañ, and opposite l. 10 is rañā.

In 3b the reading is hardly as good as that of Ś, which has tenā°: in 3c it seems highly probable that we have a corruption of the reading of Ś, dagdhāyām. Our st. 5 is almost identical with Ś. 5. 31. 11. I am confident that adoduṣam is the Ppp. reading in 6b, and that somehow a copyist's reminiscence of 2b has interfered. In 7b I have restored the reading of Ś, but śapathāñś ca mat would be possible. I have ventured to restore the first hemistich of st. 8 from Ś for the identity of 7d and 8b would easily cause its omission.

25

(Ś. 4. 19)

[f.84a16] *uta evāsy abandhukṛd utāyesya nra jā*[17]*mita |*
uto kṛtyākṛtaṣ prajāññ abhṛas ivā śchinda vārṣikam vra-[18]
hmañena pariṣukto si kañvena nārṣadena | senevāiṣi tviṣi-
matī na tatra bhayam astu yatra prāpnohy oṣadhe [1] *oṣadhīnām* [f.84b1] *jyotiṣevāpidhīpayam | uta pākasya trātāsy*
uta hantāsu rakṣasaḥ [2] *yad adho davāssurāñs tvayāgre nir*
akṛṇvataḥ tasmād adhi tvam oṣadhe [3] *apāmārgo ajāyata z om*
apāmārgo ajāyata | vibindatī [4] *śataśākhā vibinda nāma te pitā*
| pratyag vibhitam tvam yo asmāñ a[5]*bhidāsati | asada bhūmyā*
samabhavat ta dyām eti vr̥hatvacaḥ u[6]*di tvaco vyadhūmayat*
pratyak kartāram ṛschatu | pratyam hiñ sambabhūyatha [7]
pratiṣṭhāphalas tvam pratiṣ kṛtyākṛtyā amuñ kṛtyākṛtañ jahi
| [8] śatena mā pari pāhi sahasreñābhi rakṣa mañ indras te
vī[9]*rudhāñ pata bhadrojmanam ādadhuḥ z 5 z anu z 5 z* [10]
 zz zz

Read: utāivāsy abandhukṛd utāivāsi nu jāmitā | uto kṛtyā-
 kṛtaṣ prajāñ abhṛam ivā chindhi vārṣikam z 1 z vr̥ahmañena
 prayukto 'si kañvena nārṣadena | senevāiṣi tviṣīmatī na tatra
 bhayam astu yatra prāpnohy oṣadhe z 2 z agra ehy oṣadhīnām
 jyotiṣevābhidīpayan | uta pākasya trātāsy uta hantāsi rakṣasaḥ
 z 3 z yad ado devā asurāñs tvayāgre nirakṛṇvata | tasmād adhi
 tvam oṣadhe apāmārgo ajāyathāḥ z 4 z vibhindatī śataśākhā
 vibhindañ nāma te pitā | pratyag vibhindhi tvam tañ yo asmāñ
 abhidāsati z 5 z asad bhūmyās samabhavat tad dyām eti vr̥ha-
 divyacaḥ | tad vai tato vidhūpāyat pratyak kartāram ṛschatu

z 6 z pratyañ hi sañbabbhūvitha praticinaphalas tvam | praticiṣ
krtyā ākrtyāmum krtyākṛtañ jahi z 7 z śatena mā pari pāhi
sahasrenābhi rakṣa mām | indras te vīrudhām pate bhadra
ojmānam ā dadhat z 8 z 5 z anu 5 z

In st. 1b jāmītā seems possible, though jāmātā might be better in some ways; Ś has jāmikṛt. On prayukto in 2a see Whitney's Translation. In 6c vṛhadvyacaḥ is surely the reading for Ppp.; and in 6c the most plausible course is to follow Ś (as I have done). In 8cd it is entirely possible that our ms. has merely a corruption of the Ś reading, pata ugra. With 7cd cf. Ś. 10. 1. 6cd and Ppp. 1. 47. 3 cd.

26

[f.84b10] *rā dyāvūprthivī śchintāñ mūlam atho śiraḥ viśchi-*
[11] *tya sadyatas prṣṭhās tāñ kanvāthām adhaspadan |*

In a read arātyā, in b chinttañ: in c vichidya, probably
[er] hadhvatas, and perhaps prṣṭis rather than prṣṭhā; in d
kanvāthām.

idañ śṛnu jā[12] tavedo yaḍ amuṣyād vaco mama | rātyāt
sarvam iṣyat prṣṇid vṛha[13] tam aśvinām |

In b read amuṣṇād, in c arātyās and perhaps iṣaṃ yat: in d
aśvinā, and possibly prṣṭir, although prāśnad would also seem
possible.

yā svapne yā carati dorbhūtā janāñ anu | rā[14] tim indra
tvam jahi tvām agnir iva sādaha |

In a read ca carati, in b dāurbhūtyā, in c arātim, in d tāñ and
sañdaha.

śreṣṭho me rājā va[15] ruṇo hañ satyena gacchatu | rātyaṃ
hutvā santokām ugro devo [16] bhi dāsatu |

In b instead of hañ we might read 'yañ: in c read arātim
hatvā sañtokām, in d 'bhi.

jyeshṭhā ca yā sinīvālī sapta tisro ty āyā [17] rātim viśvā
bhūtāni ghnantu dāsīs ivāgamī

In b read 'bhī āyan, in c arātim, in d dāsīm ivāgamīm.

somo rā[18] joṣadhībhis sūryācandramasā ubhā | rātyaṃ sarve
gandha [f.86a1] rvā ghañtv apsarasas ca yaḥ |

In a read *rājāuṣ°*, in c *arātiṁ*, in d *ghnantv* and *yāḥ*.

bhavo rājā bhavāśarvāv indro vāyur vṛhaspatiḥ tvaṣṭā me [2]
dhyakṣaṣ pūṣa te rātīn ghnantu suvrata |

Read 'dhyakṣaṣ pūṣa in c, 'rātīn and *suvratāḥ* in d.

ye ca devā bhūmicarā ye cāmī divy ā [3] *sate ye ntarikṣa syete*
te rātīyaṁ ghnantu suvrata |

In pāda c the only suggestion I have is *ye 'ntarikṣa āsyante* which does not seem satisfactory: in d read as in the preceding stanza.

yā ceṣitāsurāir devebhir i [4] *ṣitā ca yā* | *atho yā manyor jāyate*
rātrīm harmi vrahmaṇā z 1 z

Read: *yā ceṣitāsurāir devebhir iṣitā ca yā* | *atho yā manyor jāyate* 'rātīn harmi vrahmaṇā z 9 z 1 z

27

[f.86a5] *tarir me aditsadam mahad yakṣam vṛhad vapuḥ*
viśvāir devāir nirrtis tanāyu [6] *jā maraṁ mṛtyor ha jāyate* |

Pāda b seems good as given, *mahad yakṣam vṛhad vapuḥ*; pāda a lacks one syllable, and otherwise it is wholly unclear to me: the first three words of c are good, but I can make nothing of the syllables *tanāyujā*; the rest seems possible as it stands, but *maro* might be a better reading.

ammmum sṛṣṭitsāt patho vadadahiṁ vāi rājanta [7] *m ojasā* |
āyuṁśchati gutsam atigmam andayavṇiklīdvirmum ojasā |

In a possibly *amum sṛṣṭecchāt* is intended, but for the rest of the hemistich I see nothing. In c perhaps *āyūñjati* may be read, which would give a fair pāda: after that I see nothing.

yā [8] *vatī dyāvāprthivī varimṇā yāvad vā sapta sindhavo*
mahitvā tāvatī ni [9] *rrtir viśvavārā viśvasya yā jāyamānasya*
devā |

Read: *yāvatī dyāvāprthivī varimṇā yāvad vā sapta sindhavo*
mahitvā | *tāvatī nirrtir viśvavārā viśvasya yā jāyamānasya veda*
z 3 z

With pādas ab cf. Ś. 4. 6. 2ab (= Ppp. 5. 8. 1): for pād cf. st. 5.

*viśvasya jāyamānasya de[10]vi puṣṭy asya vāpuṣṭipati tva-
bhūyatha | namo stu te nirṛte mātman asmān parā[11]bhajenā-
param ghātayāsi |*

In b I would read puṣṭasya vā puṣṭipatir babhūvitha: in c read 'stu; mātman ought to mean something like 'do not harm,' but I cannot solve it; for d a possible reading is parabhajenā-param ghātayāsi.

*devīm ahaṁ nirṛtir vardhamānaṣ piteva putram va[12]sate
vacobhiḥ | viśvasyāi jāyamānasya devī śiraś-śiraṣ pradīśoro
nudasthe*

For this stanza cf. TS. 4. 2. 5. 4; with nirṛtiṁ pāda a may stand tho TS. has vandamānas; pāda b seems good but TS. has dasaye and KS. damaye. In c read viśvasya yā, and probably devī; but cf. st. 3. In d I would suggest prati sūro 'nu caṣṭe; TS. has sūrī vi.

*a[13]panvantam ayajamānam iścha tena sebhyām taskara-
syānu śikṣa svapantam iścha sū tayī[14]bhyām namo stu te nirṛte
ahaṁ kṛṇomi |*

Read: apanvantam ayajamānam iccha stenasyetyām taskara-syānu śikṣa | svapantam iccha sū ta ityā namas tu te nirṛte ahaṁ kṛṇomi z 6 z

This stanza also appears TS. 4. 2. 5. 4; there and in other places asunvantam stands in a, and if apanvantam (from pan) is not good, we must restore that here.

*amunvakā nirṛtis saṁjagatsun nāsyā[15]ṣ pitā vidyate nota
mātā | madhyās cha srāmanu jighāsi sa[16]rvaṁ na devānām
sūryam samāpa |*

In a read asunvakā and saṁjighatsur; perhaps for c we might read madhyāt sū srāmam no jighānsus sarvaṁ: pāda d lacks one or more syllables, and I think it probable that sūriṁ should stand for sūryam; possibly samāpa can stand, but I cannot fit this pāda into the rest successfully.

*yad asya pāre tamamaś śukraṁ jyō[17]tir ajāyata | sa naṣ
parśad ati dviṣo gne vāiśvānara dyumat.z 2 z*

Read: yad asya pāre tamasaś śukraṁ jyotir ajāyata | sa naṣ parśad ati dviṣo 'gne vāiśvānara dyumat z 8 z 2 z

This appears TS. 4. 2. 5. 2, and we may also compare Ś. 6. 34. 5.

28

(cf. Vāit. 10. 17)

[f.86a18] *pramucyamāno bhuvanasya gopa paśun no tra prati bhāgam etu | agnir yajñam trivṛtaṁ [f.86b1] saptatantum devaṁ devebhyo havyam vahatu prajānan. z yū te daṁṣṭrā sudhayāu ropayisṇū [2] jihvayete dakṣiṇā saṁ ca paśyata | anā-ṣṭram naṣ pitaras tat kṛnotu yūpe [3] baddham pra vi mucyamā yad annam aklistvas tam avi juṣṭaḥ parehir indrasya goṣṭha [4] m api dhāva vidvān. | dhīrāmas tvā kavayas saṁsrjantv isam ūrjam yajamā [5] nāya matsataḥ ṛṣibhiḥ tvā saptabhir attrināham pratigrhṇāmi bhuvane syone | [6] jamadagniḥ kaśyapas svādv etad bharadvājo madhv annam kṛnotu z pratigrahītre go [7] tamo vasiṣṭho viśvāmittro dadarśe śarma yaśchāt. | yan no agram havitha jagāmā [8] nvasya putram uta sarpiṣo vā | yad vā dhanam vahator ājagāmāgniḥ tad dhotā su [9] khatam kṛnotu | yad ājyam prati jagrāha yañś ca vrīhan ajam candreṇa saha ya [10] j jagāma | vṛhaspatir haviṣo no vidhartā mā no hinsīt saha go āsvo viṣā [11] ca | agnir nayatu pratigrhṇātu vidvān vṛhaspatiḥ praty etu prajānan. indro [12] marutvān suhataṁ kṛnotv avāikṣavannam anamīvo stu | yan no dudur varām akṣitīm [13] vasu yad vā dalpam upanenena nas saha | yad dhāvyeṭam saha vṛṣṭanotā agni [14] tad dhotā suhataṁ kṛnotu | yan naś śālām viśvabhogām imām dadur grham vā yo [15] ktram saha kṛtyota yad vāharam upanāyena devā | agniḥ tad dho suhataṁ kṛnotu z [16] z 3 z*

Read: *pramucyamāno bhuvanasya gopa paśur no 'tra prati bhāgam etu | agnir yajñam trivṛtaṁ saptatantum devo devebhyo havyam vahatu prajānan z 1 z yāu te daṁṣṭrā sudihāu ropayisṇū jihmāyete dakṣiṇā saṁ ca paśyataḥ | anāṣṭram naṣ pitaras tat kṛnota yūpe baddham pra vi mucyamā yad annam z 2 z akliṣṭas tvam abhi juṣṭas parehīndrasya goṣṭham api dhāva vidvān | dhī-rāsas tvā kavayas saṁsrjantv isam ūrjam yajamānāya matsataḥ z 3 z ṛṣibhiḥ tvā saptabhir atrināham pratigrhṇāmi bhuvane syone | jamadagniḥ kaśyapas svādv etad bharadvājo madhv annam kṛnotu | pratigrahītre gotamo vasiṣṭho viśvāmitro dadarśe śarma yacchāt z 4 z yan no agram haviṣa ājagāmānnasya pātram uta sarpiṣo vā | yad vā dhanam vahator ājagāmāgniḥ tad dhotā suhataṁ kṛnotu z 5 z yad ājyam prati jagrāha yañś ca vrīhīn ajam candreṇa saha yaj jagāma | vṛhaspatir haviṣo no vidhartā*

mā no hiisīt tsaha go aśvo viṣā ca z 6 z agnir nayatu prati-grhṇātu vidvān vṛhaspatih praty etu prajānan | indro marutvān suhutaṁ kṛnotv avekṣyānnam anamīvo 'stu z 7 z yan no dadur varām akṣitim vasu yad vā kalpam tūpanenena nas saha | yad vāvayatvaṁ tsahavṛṣṭanotā agniṣ tad dhotā suhutaṁ kṛnotu z 8 z yan naś śālāṁ viśvabhogām imāṁ dadur grhaṁ vā yoktraṁ saha kṛtyota | yad vāharan upanāyena devā agniṣ tad dhotā suhutaṁ kṛnotu z 9 z 3 z

The arrangement of st. 4 is open to doubt, and its first two pādas might perhaps better be taken with st. 3 except that Vāit. shows no trace of them; the rest of st. 4 has appeared Ppp. 2. 28. 4, a hymn which has part of Ś. 6. 71: in Ppp. 2. 28. 4a svādv should be read. In 6d a possible reading would be hiṁsīd mā gāur. In 8c avyayatvam is given to match its equivalent akṣitim; but 8a would seem better if we read varam akṣitaṁ vasu.

29

[f.86b16] *sūryavarca iti yat suśravāhaṁ yena prajā jyotiragrās cara*[17]*nti some varco yad goṣu varco mayi devā rāṣṭrabhṛtas tad akram.z*

In a read yac śuśrāvāhaṁ, in d akran: pāda c lacks at least one syllable, and it would be helped by the insertion of yat before some.

yajñe varco [18] *marutoś cad adṛhaṁ vāyuh paśūn prjat sam bhagena gandharvāṇām apsarasām* [f.85a1] *yad asmāi*

In a it is possible to read maruto yad adṛhaṁ, in b I would read apr̥ṇcat for prjat: at the end of c it seems necessary to read yad varco; for pāda d mayi ° ° ° .

yajñe varco yajamāne ca varco yad ābhiṣikte rājani yaś ca varcaḥ surā[2]*yām varco dhi yat.* |

In b read ābhiṣikte rājani yac; in c I can only suggest 'dhi yad as indicated in the transliteration; supply pāda d as in st. 1.

rathe varca rathavāhane ca varco iṣudhāu varcaḥ kavaca eva [3]*rcāḥ aśveṣu varcā z*

At the end of a read varca and after rathe read varcā. The ms. probably intends pāda c to be completed so as to read aśveṣu varca 'dhi yad, followed by mayi ° ° ° .

sabhāyām varcas sumityām ca varco vadhvām varca uta varco vare[4]ṣu | dakṣiṇāyām varco dhi yat.

Read: *sabhāyām varcas samityām ca varco vadhvām varea uta varco vareṣu | dakṣiṇāyām varco 'dhi yad mayi ° ° ° z 5 z*

sinhe varcā uta varco vyāghre vṛke varco madhvā[5]re ca varcaḥ | śayane varcaḥ patunām yad vabhūva mayi |

In a read *varca uta*; in b it would seem that *madhvāre* is a fourth animal, but I cannot do anything with it on that basis, and have thought it possible to read *vṛkṣe* and *madhvāmre*. In c *śayane* seems good, but *patunām* (or *pattanām*) I cannot solve; *paṭūnām* does not seem very good; read *babhūva* in c, and for d *mayi ° ° °*.

hiranyavarcaṣas uta ha[6]stivarcaṣaṁ saṅgrāmaṁ yad yat. jighāṇ varca āhuḥ kṛṣyām kṣettrarṣayo nvānadhur ma[7]yi | devā rāṣṭrabhṛtas tad akran.

In a read *°varcasam uta*; in b *saṅgrāmaṁ* is clear and I think we should read *yad yad* rather than *yudhyat*, būt for *jighāṇ* I have no suggestion although it is clearly from *han*. In c read *kṣetra ṛṣayo 'nvānrdhur*, and for d *mayi ° ° °*.

mayi varco mayi sruvo mayi dyumnaṁ mayi tvi[8]ṣiḥ adhaspadaṁ pṛdanyavo haṁ bhūyāsam uttamaḥ z 4 z

Read: *mayi varco mayi śravo mayi dyumnaṁ mayi tviṣiḥ | adhaspadaṁ pṛtanyavo 'haṁ bhūyāsam uttamaḥ z 8 z 4 z*

30

(Ś. 3. 24)

[f.85a8] *payasvati[9]r oṣadayaṣ payasvān māmakaṁ vacaḥ atho payasvatām paya ā harāmi saha[10]rāmi sahasrasā ahaṁ veda yathā payaś cakāra dhānyam bahuḥ sambhṛtvā nāpa [11] yo vedas ta vaṁ yajāmahe sarvasyāyāścāno gr̥he | yathā dyāuś ca pṛthivī ca ta[12]sthatu varuṇāya kaṁ | evaṁ sphātī nī tanosī mayāreṣu khaleṣu ca | yathā rū[13]pāś catadhāras sahasradhāro aksataḥ evā me astu dhānyam sahasradhāram akṣataṁ [14] śatahasta samāharaḥ sahasrāiva saṁgiraḥ yatheya sphātīr āyasi kṛtaśca kṛ[15]ryasya ca | imā yāṣ pañca pradīśo mānavāiṣ pañca gr̥ṣṭayaḥ sarvāś śambhūr ma[16]yobhuvo vṛse śapaṁ nadīr ive | iha sphātīm sam ā vrhāṇ iha sphātīr oṣadhīnām [17] devānām*

uta saṅgama ihāivāśvinorasto dvāparasyoruta z tistro mātṛā
ga[18]ndharvānām catasro gr̥hapatnyaḥ tāsām yā sphātivartamā
tayā tvābhi sarśāma[19]si | jyēṣṭhasya tvāṅgirasya hastābhyām
ā rabhāmahe | yathāsad bahudhānyam a[f.85b1]yakṣmaṁ bahu-
pāuruṣam.z 5 z anu 6 z

Read: payasvatīr oṣadhayaḥ payasvan māmakaṁ vacaḥ | atho
payasvatām paya ā harāmi sahasraśaḥ z 1 z ahaṁ veda yathā
payaś cakāra dhānyam bahu | sambhṛtvā nāma yo devas taṁ
vayam yajāmahe sarvasyāyajvano gr̥he z 2 z yathā dyāuś ca
pr̥thivī ca tasthatur varuṇāya kam | evam sphātiṁ ni tanoṣi
mathaneṣu khaleṣu ca z 3 z yathā rūpaś śatadhāras sahasradhāro
akṣataḥ | evā me astu dhānyam sahasradhāram akṣatam z 4 z
śatahasta samāharaḥ sahasrāiva saṁkiraḥ | yatheyam sphātīr
āyasi kṛtasya kāryasya ca z 5 z imā yāś pañca pradīśo mānaviḥ
pañca kṛṣṭayaḥ | sarvāś sambhūr mayobhuvo vṛṣṭe śāpaṁ nādīr
iveha sphātiṁ sam ā vahān z 6 z iha śphātīr oṣadhīnām devānām
uta saṅgamā | tihāivāśvinorasto dvāparasyorutaḥ z 7 z tistro
mātṛā gandharvānām catasro gr̥hapatnyaḥ | tāsām yā sphāti-
vartamā tayā tvābhi mṛśāmasi z 8 z jyēṣṭhasya tvāṅgirasya hastā-
bhyām ā rabhāmahe | yathāsad bahudhānyam ayakṣmaṁ bahu-
pāuruṣam z 9 z 5 z anu 6 z

Our st. 3 has no parallel, st. 4 varies considerably from Ś, st. 7
has no parallel, and st. 9ab has none; st. 9cd = Kāuś. 20. 5cd.
For 7cd I can get nothing. In 5b we might perhaps keep saṁgi-
raḥ; and in 6b possibly gr̥ṣṭayaḥ, but I doubt if a variant from
Ś is intended in either case.

31

[f.85b1] abhyāsarat prathamā dhokṣamā[2]nā sarvān yajñān
bibhṛatī vāiśvadevī | upa vatsam sṛjad vācyate gāur viśrṣṭa[3]s
sumanā himkṛṇomi |

This stanza and the next two appear in Kāuś. 62. 21. In a
read atyāsarat and dhokṣyamānā; in c probably sṛjata as in
Kāuś. is intended, and vāśyate is to be read; the ms. suggests
nāur for gāur. In d we should probably read with Kāuś.
vyasrṣṭa and °kṛṇoti.

badhān dhehi mavi dhehi bhuñjantī nadya gor upasī[4]da
dugdhi z irām asmā odanaṁ pinvamānāḥ kilālam ghṛtaṁ madhu-
manva[5]bhāgam |

Read: badhāna vatsam abhi dhehi bhuñjati nijya godhug
upa sida dugdhi | irām asmā odanaṁ pinvamānā kilālaṁ ghṛtaṁ
madamann abhāgam z 2 z

This is the reading of Kāuś. and I think our ms. offers no real
variant: the margin suggests idām for irām.

*sā dhāvatu yamarājñasyavatsā sukrātām pathā prathamēha
dattā | ato[6] vr̥ṣṭidattā prathamēnas āgaṁ vatsena gām saṁ sr̥ja
viśvārūpā |*

In a read yamarājñas savatsā. In c atho 'vr̥ṣṭidattā seems
possible; Kāuś. has atūrṇadattā; read prathamēdam, and in d
read viśvarūpām.

*prathamēda[7]m āgaṁ pūrvamād atra etābhy asmiṁ loka
mabhya u tvā dadāti semāṁ dhenoh pra[8]thamāṁ pārayāsi
śraddhayā dattā paramē vyoman. |*

In a pūrvasmād seems probable, followed perhaps by atrai-
tābhy asmiṁ loka madhya. In c dhenō is probable.

*jānīhasmi saṁsthīya [9] dhenavo gopatiṁ yas tvā dadātu
prathama svadhāvāṁ pūrvā hi tatra sukr̥taṣ pare[10] hy atāiṣātī
rājasaṣ parastāt. |*

For the beginning of pāda a yājñīyo 'smi is the only sugges-
tion I have; saṁsthīrya follows (the ms. correcting ya to rya)
and probably dhenō. In b read dadāti prathamā svadhāvāṁ.
In d atyeṣayitā may be possible; read also in d rājasaṣ.

*ati dhenur anaḍvāham anyannad yayoṣ kramīm [11] atī vatsū-
nām pitara ṛṣabhaṁ prati sāsurat.*

Pāda a seems correct; it looks as if aty might stand at the
beginning of b and possibly kramīt at the end, or krame. In c
I think pitaram would be better; in d read sāsarāt.

*jyotiṣmatī prathamā yā[12] hi sūre sonas te dhenavo patayo
bhavantu | sapta tvā sūryānvātapanīr imaṁ dhā[13]ma sātī
saraṣ parācāh z*

In b we may probably read syonās te dhenō; in c sūryā anv°;
in d idam would seem better than imaṁ.

*dhātṛe sūtraya mahyaṁ dadhānobhāu lokāu bhuñja[14]tī vi
kramasva | iṣam ūrjam dakṣiṇām saṁvasānā bhagasya dhārām
ava[15]se pratīma*

I doubt if sūtraya can stand in a, and would suggest sotre. In d bhāgasya is probably the reading, with pratimaḥ at the end. A pāda similar to our c occurs VS. 12. 57c and elsewhere.

sahasrāṅga śataṁ jyotiyaṁ hy asyā yajñīyasya paprir amṛta svargā [16] sā nāitu dakṣiṇā viśvarūpā ahiṁsantī prati-grhṇīma enāṁ z 1 z

Read: sahasrāṅgā śataṁ jyotiṣāṁ hy asyā yajñīyasya paprir amṛtā svargā | sā na āitu dakṣiṇā viśvarūpāhiṁsantīm prati-grhṇīma enāṁ z 9 z 1 z

32

(Ś. 4. 16)

[f.85b17] *ye te pāsā varuṇā saptasaptatis tredhā tiṣṭhanti ruṣatā ruṣantaḥ chinadya [18] sarve anṛtaṁ vadantaṁ yas satyavāg yadi tuṁ srjāmi |*

In a read varuṇa, in c read with the Roth-Whitney ed. of Ś sinantu: in d read °vādy ati taṁ srjāmi. The margin corrects to chinabhya.

iha spaśaṣ pa carantī[19] me syāma sahasrākṣā ati paśyanti bhūmim | so syannataṁ pra munāti kaś cana ssa [f.87a1] mucyate varuṇasya pāsāt. |

This varies considerably from verse 4 of Ś. In a read pra and 'sya (for syāma), in b bhūmim: for pāda c we may read yo 'sya nākaṁ pra mināti kaś cana, or something very like that, for the meaning of Ś. 4a is probably here. In d read na sa ° ° . The margin corrects to mudyate.

utayam asya prthivī samīcī dyāur vṛhati[2] r antarikṣam | uto samudro varuṇasya kakṣār utāsminn alpa udake namaktāḥ | [3]

Read uteyam in a, in b vṛhaty urv antarikṣam. In c I would read samudrāu and kakṣāv; but also without changing samudro we might read kuṣāv, getting thus a meaning which might stand. In d read niṣaktāḥ.

yas tiṣṭhati manasā yaś ca vācati yo nilāyaṁ carati yaḥ pralāyam dvāu ya[4] d avadatas samniṣadya rājā tad veta varuṇas trtīyā

Read: yas tiṣṭhati manasā yaś ca vañcati yo nilāyaṁ carati yaḥ pralāyam | dvāu yad vadatas samniṣadya rājā tad veda varuṇas trtīyaḥ z 4 z

*sarva tad rājā varuṇo vi [5] caṣṭe yad antarā rodasī yaṣ para-
stāt. | samśātaś ca nīmiṣo janānām akṣān [6] na stvaghñī bhu-
vanā mamīte |*

In a read sarvañ, in b yat parastāt: in c sañkhyātā asya, in d akṣān na śvaghñī.

*tvam eva rājan varuṇa dhattā devānam asi viśvarū[7]paḥ
duścarmās tad asaṣ pīsaṅgo yas satyām vācam anṛtena hanti |*

Pāda a seems good, but two more syllables would make it better; in b read dhartā devānām. In c the first word is probably some form of duṣkarman and pīsaṅgo is perhaps correct, but it may be that śṛṅgo is here; pāda d is correct. This stanza has no parallel.

*yas sāmānyo [8] varuṇo yo vyāsyō yaś cyañdecyō varuṇo yo
videcyah | yo dāivyo varuṇo yaś ca mā[9]nuṣas sarvāñs tvetāni
prati muñcāmy atra |*

Read: yas sāmānyo varuṇo yo vyāmyo yas sañdeśyo varuṇo yo videśyah | yo dāivyo varuṇo yaś ca mānuṣas sarvāñs tvayi tān prati muñcāmy atra z 7 z

Ś. has our pādas abc as its vs. 8; our d represents its vs. 9.

*śatena pāsāir varuṇābhi dhehi mā [10] te mody anṛtavā
nṛcaḥṣaḥ | āsthām jālma udanam śaṁsītyā kośevāvadhrīṣ pa-[11]
rikṛtyamānā |*

In b read mocy anṛtavāñ; for cd read āsthām jālma udarañ śrañśayitvā kośa ivābandhraṣ parikṛtyamānaḥ. I think iva vadhrīṣ is not probable, if indeed possible.

*uto cit prapātayacito tad api nahyasi | uto tad asya gañ kṛtvā
[12] rājā varuṇīyate*

It would seem possible to read here uto acit prapātayad uto ° ° : in c if we may read asyāgañ it would seem fairly good; in d read varuṇa īyate.

*āinañ chinadsya varuṇo natañ kaṣipune yathā | mūle tasya
vr[13]ścatī ya enaṁ pra mīmīṣati z 2 z*

Read: enaṁ chinatti varuṇo naḍaṁ kaṣipune yathā | mūlañ tasya vrścati ya enaṁ pra mīmīṣati z 10 z 2 z

For pāda b cf. Ś. 6. 138. 5.

33

(Ś. 6. 133-135)

[f.87a13] *ya imān devo mekhalām ā[14]babandha yas
sumnāha yamāha yojah yasya devasya pradiśā carāmi sa [15]
phāram ṛśchāt sāu mā vi muñcā*

For b read yas saimnanāha ya u mā yuyoja : in c read pradiśā :
for d read sa pāram ṛechāt sa u mā vi muñcāt.

*āhuta ṛṣiṇām asy āyudham pūrvā vṛdhasya prā[16]ṣṇati
avīraghnī bhava mekhale |*

Doubtless pāda a is to be restored from Ś, āhutāsy abhihuta :
in c read prāṣṇati, and in d vīraghnī.

*mṛtyor aham vrahmacāryād asmi bhūtām niryājam [17] puru-
ṣam yamāya | tam āyam vrahmaṇā tamasā śrameṇānāinaṁ
mekhalayā si[18]nāmi z*

Read: mṛtyor aham vrahmacārī yad asmi bhūtān niryācan
puruṣam yamāya | tam āyan vrahmaṇā tapasā śrameṇānayāinaṁ
mekhalayā sināmi z 3 z

*ayam vajras talpayatām vratena | āvāsyā rāṣṭram ava hantu
jivam ki[19]nantu skandhā pṛśanātūṣṇiha*

In a read tarpayatām; Whitney suggests mṛtena for vratena.
The colon is to be removed and then we read vratenāvāsyā. For
c read śṛnātu skandhān pra śṛnātūṣṇihā; no trace of pāda d is
in the ms., but we will probably be safe in restoring it from Ś,
vṛtrasyeva śacīpatih.

*adharo bhram adharo bhreṇa gūḍhat pṛthivyā mo-[f.87b1]
srpat. | vajreṇāvahatu śrayām*

Read: adharo 'bhram adharo 'bhreṇa gūḍhaḥ pṛthivyā
motsrpat | vajreṇāvahataś śayām z 5 z

*yo janāti tam anv iścha yo janāti tam i[2]j jahi | jinato vajra
sāyakah śimaṇcam anvacam anu pātaya*

Read jināti in a and b, iccha in a: in c sāyaka śimantam, in
d anvañcam.

*yad uṣṇāmi ba[3]lam kurve vajram anu pātayati | skandhān
amuṣya śātayam vṛttrasyeva śacīpatih | [4]*

In a read aśnāmi, in c śātayan, in d vṛtrasyeva.

*yat pivāmi saṁ pivāmi samudrāiva saṁpiva | prāṇān amuṣya
saṁpivāṁ saṁpi[5]vāmy ahaṁ pivāṁ |*

Read: *yat pivāmi saṁ pivāmi samudra iva saṁpibaḥ | prāṇān
amuṣya saṁpiban saṁpibāmy ahaṁ pivam z 8 z*

*yad girāmi saṁ girāmi samudra iva saṁgira prāṇān a[6]mu-
ṣya saṁgiraṁ saṁ girāmy ahaṁ giraṁ z*

In b read saṁgiraḥ, in c saṁgiran, in d giram.

*śraddhāyā duhitā tapaso dhi jātā sva[7]sarśīnām bhūtakṛtām
babhūva | sā no mekhale patim ā dhehi medhātho no dhe[8]hi
tapa indriyaṁ ca |*

In a read 'dhi, in c matim and medham, in d atho.

*yām tvā pūrve bhūtakṛta ṛsayah | pari medhire mā tvam [9]
pari śajasva mā dīrghāyutvāya mekhale z 3 z*

Read: *yām tvā pūrve bhūtakṛta ṛsayah pari bedhire | sā tvam
pari śajasva mā dīrghāyutvāya mekhale z 11 z 3 z*

In Book 19, as here, our ms. presents as one hymn material which in Ś constitutes several hymns; in fact in Book 19 that seems to be the regular condition.

34

*[f.87b9] ayaṁ te śvaśrū[10]r vadatu śvaśuras te aśantaram |
devāt te abhiśocanam vrahma vidveṣanam kṛ[11]tam |*

In pāda a iyaṁ seems necessary; read aśantaram in b. I have not been able to grasp the intent of this hymn, so that my suggestions are made almost blindly.

*ā krandaya ululā kur vāca ā dhehy apriyaṁ śīro lipsamy aha-
stā[12]bhyām keśān te abhiśocanam |*

In a read kar, taking ululā as acc. plural; cf. LŚ. 4. 2. 9. In b read vaca: in c lipsāmy would seem good: in d perhaps keśāt rather than keśān, but neither one seems very good.

*ye keśāyoḥ pratidhita kurīram yūpaśah a[13]tho ye te svā
saṁti sarve te abhiśocanam |*

In a it might be possible to read keśāyoḥ pratiditāḥ; in b I think it likely that we must understand ya followed by a word beginning with upa. In c svās santi may seem good, or śvasanti.

apa trisamrdhānā durmā[14]d idam kṛṇomi te | atho yat te samvāsas sarvaṁ tat te abhiśocanaṁ |

For pāda a I can suggest nothing; in b I would suggest *durmāditam*. Pādas *cd* can stand, I believe.

a[15]rkamadhbhis prapatāto municakṣuṣ kṛṇomi te | atho śvabhyo rāyabhyaṣ prati ssa [16] gagaṇam kuru |

Pāda *a* can stand, *prapatāto* = *prapata* + *atas*; *b* is also good: in *c* read 'rāyabhyaṣ, in *d* *sma*.

ut tiṣṭhare palāyasva saricīnām padaṁ bhava | atho u[17]d akāryaṁ kurv āsām sam arṣi muṣkayoḥ z

In *a* read *tiṣṭhāre*, in *b* *maricīnām*: the rest seems possible.

upakṣedābhi cālāya vā[18]tas tūlam ivijaya | dadbhissindhusya bāhvor dadhy asūravastuve |

In pāda *a* it is clear that we have *abhi cālāya*, but the rest is not clear; I have thought of *upakṣetā*: at the end of *b* I would read *ivāijayat*. It may be that pāda *c* begins with *adbhis*, and that *sindhoś ca* should stand for *sindhusya*. For the rest I see nothing.

abhi [19] gāya śābaleyaṁ śroneyaṁ sūdhuvāhanaṁ kālāṁ syākiś cara kṛddhy ā[f.88a1]yataṣ prati cālāya |

In *a* we might read *śābaliyaṁ*, in *b* *śronīyaṁ*. In *c* *kṛddhy* is all I can see; pāda *d* seems good.

hrṣvapūśchaṁ vātarohaṁ manojavaṁ | taṁ te rathaṁ sambharanti devā[2]s tenā carāmi patim iśchamānā z 4 z

Read: * * *hrasvapucchaṁ vātarohaṁ manojavam | taṁ te rathaṁ sambharanti devās tenā carāmi patim icchamānā z 9 z 4 z*

35

(cf. Ś. 4. 39; TS. 7. 5. 23; KSA. 5. 20)

[f.88a2] agnaya sam anamaṁ tasmāi pṛthi[3]vyās sam anamaṁ yathāgnaye pṛthivyās sam anamann evā mahyaṁ saṁnamas saṁ namantu z [4] vittim bhūtim puṣṭim paśum vrahma vrākmaṇavarcaṣaṁ sannates tu saṁnenematas svāhā z [5] vāyave sam anamaṁ tasmānturikṣeṇa saṁ anamaṁ yathā vāyave ntarikṣeṇa sam a[6]namaṁ | sūryāya sam anamaṁ tasmāi divas sam anama yathā sūryāya divā sam ana[7]maṁ | candrāya sam anamaṁ tasmāi

nakṣattrāis sam anamañ yathā candrāya nakṣattrāis sam a-[8]
 namañ | somāya sam anamañ tasmā oṣadhībhis sam anamañ
 yathā somāyāuṣadhī[9]bhis sam anamañ | yajñāya sam anamañ
 tasmā dakṣiṇābhis sam anamañ yathā yajñā[10]ya dakṣiṇābhis
 sam anamañ samudrāya sam anamañ tasmāi nadībhis sam ana-
 mañ [11] yathā samudrāyaya nadībhis sam anamañ | indrāya
 sam anamañ tasmāi vīryeṇa [12] sam anamañ yathendrāya
 vīryeṇa sam anamañ | vrahmaṇe sam anamañ tasmāi vrahmacā-
 [13]ribhis sam anamañ yathā vrahmaṇe vrahmacāribhis sam
 anamañ | devebhyas sam ana[14]mañ tebhyo amṛtena sam
 anamañ yathā devebhyo amṛtena sam anamañ | prajāpataye
 sa[15]m anamañ tasmāi prajāpatibhis sam anamañ yathā
 prajāpataye prajāpatibhis sam anamañ [16] neyā mahyañ
 saṁnamas sañ namantu | vittim bhūtim puṣṭim paśum vrahma
 vrāhmaṇavarcaśaṁ | [17] saṁnates tu saṁnenematas svāhā |
 sapta sannamo śtamī dhīti sādhanī saṁkāmā[18]n adhvañṣ kṛṇu
 saṁjñānam astu no dhane z 5 anu 7 z

Read: agnaye sam anaman tasmāi pṛthivyā sam anaman
 yathāgnaye pṛthivyā sam anamann evā mahyañ saṁnamas
 sañ namantu | vittim bhūtim puṣṭim paśum vrahma vrāhmaṇa-
 varcaśaṁ | saṁnates tu †saṁnenematas svāhā z 1 z vāyave sam
 anaman tasmā antarikṣeṇa sam anaman yathā vāyave 'ntarikṣeṇa
 sam anamann evā ° ° ° ° z 2 z sūryāya sam anaman
 tasmāi divā sam anaman yathā sūryāya divā sam anamann evā
 ° ° ° ° z 3 z candrāya sam anaman tasmāi nakṣattrāis sam
 anaman yathā candrāya nakṣattrāis sam anamann evā ° ° ° °
 z 4 z somāya sam anaman tasmā oṣadhībhis sam anaman yathā
 somāyāuṣadhībhis sam anamann evā ° ° ° ° z 5 z yajñāya
 sam anaman tasmāi dakṣiṇābhis sam anaman yathā yajñāya
 dakṣiṇābhis sam anamann evā ° ° ° ° z 6 z samudrāya
 sam anaman tasmāi nadībhis sam anaman yathā samudrāya
 nadībhis sam anamann evā ° ° ° ° ° z 7 z indrāya sam
 anaman tasmāi vīryeṇa sam anaman yathendrāya vīryeṇa sam
 anamann evā ° ° ° ° z 8 z vrahmaṇe sam anaman tasmāi
 vrahmacāribhis sam anaman yathā vrahmaṇe vrahmacāribhis
 sam anamann evā ° ° ° ° z 9 z devebhyas sam anaman
 tebhyo amṛtena sam anaman yathā devebhyo amṛtena sam ana-
 mann evā ° ° ° ° z 10 z prajāpataye sam anaman tasmāi
 prajāpatibhis sam anaman yathā prajāpataye prajātibhis sam
 anamann evā mahyañ saṁnamas sañ namantu | vittim bhūtim

puṣṭiṁ paśuṁ vrahma vrāhmaṇavarcaśaṁ | saṁnates tu †saṁne-
nematas svāhā z 11 z sapta saṁnamo 'ṣṭamī dhītis sādhanī |
sakāmāṁ adhvanaṣ kṛṇu saṁjñānam astu no dhane z 12 z 5 z
anu 7 z

Kāuś. 20. 19 has vittim bhūtim puṣṭim prajāṁ paśūn annam
annādyam iti; we may regard our corresponding phrase ending
°varcaśaṁ as good, but that which follows thereafter is unclear.
Our 12c = VS. 26. 1a.

36

[f.88a18] *ye vāruṇā u[19]ta nāinryas patinām vīrudhām ca*
pāśāt. | ye bhūmā bhūmyā adhi sambabhū[f.88b1]vus te tvā na
hyanmām śivatātir astu z

In pāda a we might read nāirayās, in b pathinām and pāśāḥ.
In c read bhūmā, in d hiṁsān and astu te. The repetition of
pāda d assures us fairly well of the form intended, but na with
the subjunctive is not good. The first two pādas would be helped
a little by inserting ye after uta and again before pathinām.

ye antarikṣe divi ye ca pāsān ye vicṛ[2]tātir astu te |

Read: *ye antarikṣe divi ye ca pāsān ye vicṛ* * * | * **
** * te tvā na hiṁsān śivatātir astu te z 2 z*

It is clear that the ms. has dropped an entire line; I have
restored part of pāda d. Perhaps vicṛ* should be completed
as a verb form from vi + crt.

ye te mānuṣaṁ manuṣyāḥ śrapaṇta yām vā hotrān pitṛnyām ā
rabha[3]nte | samāmyo varuṇo yā jagāma sa tvā na hiṁsā
śivatātir astu te |

In a read śrayante, in b hotrām pitṛyām: in c ya ā, in d
hiṁsāc.

apra[4]prāgā hyari vā sasāmiṣe gñim ā rebhiṣe yadi vā sami-
dḍhaṁ vidvān avidvā[5]n anṛtaṁ yad ivakta tvā sa tvā na siṁsān
śivatātir astu te |

Compare with the almost identical passage seven lines below:
I think we may read for a apapragā yadi vā samāmiṣe, in b read
'gñim: in c yad uvaktha, in d tā tvā na hiṁsān.

yat praticyām dviṣataṣ pr[6]ṣṭām sa peśyām jāmapātre pa
pāpātha | hinas satvenānṛtaṁ yad ivakta tvā na hiṁ[7]sān
śivatātir astu te z

It would seem that the first three words of pāda a are good, but for *prṣtām* sa I can get nothing plausible: for b *peṣyaṁ cāmapātre* 'pa papāta may be possible. In cd we may read *hinas satyenānṛtaṁ yad uvaktha tā tvā* ° ° .

yam grāvānam ārabhanta yenānsūn abhiṣanvanti so[8]*maṁ |*

In a read *ārabhante*, in b *abhiṣunvanti*. It looks as if *somam* were the first word of a pāda c. These two pādas do not seem to me to be in place in this hymn.

yad vā dhanam dhanakāmo niremiṣe kṣettraṁ gām aśvam puruṣam vobhayādatra tvā [9] *na hiṁsān śivatātir astu te |*

In b read *kṣetraṁ*, in bc *vobhayādat te tvā* ° ° .

ye bāṇavantam sudhiyam jaghāna tasyāśma [10] *śānād adhi loṣṭābhṛtasya tvā na hiṁsān śivatātir astu z*

In a read *yo*, in b perhaps *tasyāśmā* and *loṣṭābhṛtas*: for c I think we should read *sa tvā na hiṁsāc* ° ° .

apapragā [11] *hr̥di vā vyāmiṣe gñim ā rebhiṣe yadi vā samiddhan |*

It is possible that the ms. intends here a stanza almost identical with st. 4: on that assumption we could supply pādas cd as in st. 4. In a read *yadi*, in b 'gnim.

jāmyā hastam ghr̥[12]*tam ā rebhiṣe dhanur voddhatam ita cakramitvā manyur vo rājño varuṇasyā* [13] *mimattha sa tvā na hiṁsān śivatātir astu te z* 1 z

Read: *†jāmyā hastam ghr̥tam ā rebhiṣe dhanur voddhatam itthā caṅkramitvā | manyur vā rājño varuṇasyā mamantha sa tvā na hiṁsāc śivatātir astu te z* 10 z 1 z

Pādas cd seem good, but the first two do not seem to me at all satisfactory; if *yadi* were read for *jāmyā* it would be a great improvement. But the entire hymn is so unclear that only the most evident corrections can carry conviction.

37

[f.88b13] *yā te prajāpī*[14]*hatā parābhūd yonir vā mugdhā nihatā piśācāi | astrānam vādhi pa ti*[15]*ṣṭhāmi ghoram sarvam tat te vrahmaṇā pūrayāmi*

Read in a *prajāpīhatā*, in b *piśācāih*; in c read *astrānām vādhy upatiṣṭhāsi*. Pāda a = Ppp. 3. 39. 1a.

yady asyāḥ prajā varuṇena śu[16]ṣpitā dunnāmāno vā r̥tviyam asyārhan̥ti | dveṣāt sahapatnyād vidhi ca[17]kramasyā yatvān rāṣṭrā apa hantv āgniḥ

Perhaps śuṣphitā may be accepted as an equivalent of gumphitā; in b read durnāmāno and asyā riphanti: in c read sāpatnyād yadi cakrāmāsyāi: for the first two words of d yatvā naṣṭān might be possible; read agniḥ.

yasyās striyā yadi lakṣmīr apu[18]tryā garbho vāsyā yātu-dānāḥ parābhṛtār duṣṣvaptriṃ vā yat svapatī tidarśe i[19]ndrāgnī tat kṛṇutām bhadrayā punaḥ

In a read asyās, in b yātudhānāḥ parābhṛtaḥ: in cd dussvapnyam and dadarśendra°.

devāinasād yadi putram na vindase manu[f.89a1]ṣyāṇām vā tvā śavathe rarādha | pitṛbhir vā te adhi sūtaḥ pratiṣṭhita idam tan ni[2]ṣ ṭanvo janayāsi putram z

In b read śapatho.

vāśvānaro janmanā jātavedāḥ prajāpatis siṃca [3] reto syām bādhetā dveṣo nirṛtiṃ parācāḥ putriṇim imām prasvam kṛṇotu

Read siṃcatu reto 'syām in b, and bādhetā in c; this seems to be the simplest way to reconcile the variation of persons in the verbs. With c cf. Ś. 6. 97. 2c.

iha [4] prajāṃ agnir asī dadābhy ādityebhir vasubhis samvidānaḥ viśve devā havam ā[5]yantu māi sam putro syām jāyatām vīryavān. |

In a read asyāi dadāty, in c me, in d 'syām.

yena devy aditir garbham ādate ye[6]na prajāḥ srjatu prajāpatis tenāham asyāi haviṣā juhomi ya[7]tā pumānsam janayāsi putram

In a read ādhatte, in b srjati prajāpatih, in d putram.

vanve te putram pari devatābhyo [8] anu manyantām marutaḥ prṣnimātaraḥ garbhas tvā daśamā[9]syaḥ pra viśat kumāraṃ jātām pipṛtād upasthe z 1 z

Read: vanve te putram pari devatābhyo anu manyantām marutaḥ prṣnimātaraḥ | garbhas tvā daśamāsyas pra viśat kumāraṃ jātām pipṛtād upasthe z 8 z 2 z

38

(RV. 10. 136).

[f.89a9] *keśy agniṁ keśi viṣaṁ keśi bibharti rodasī | keśi viśvaṁ syar dṛṣe keśidaṁ jyotir ucyate | [11] munayo vātaraśanāṣ piśaṅga vasate malāḥ vātasyānu dhrājim yantu yad de[12]vāso ayukṣata | unmaditā moneyena vācān ā śastimā vyaṁ | śarīre[13]d asmākaṁ yūyam mantāso vi paśyata antarikṣeṇa patatis svan bhūtāvicākaśat. | [14] munir devasya-devasyā sāukṛtyāya sakhā yata | oṁ asāukṛtyāya sakhā [15] yata | indrasyāśvo vāyos sakhāto diviṣito muniḥ ubhāu samudrāv ā kṣi[16]ti sadyaṣ pūrvas utāparam gandharvānām apsarasām devānām carāṇe carāṇ | [17] muniḥ ketussya saṁvidvān sakhā svādur madintamaḥ vāyur asmā upāmantha[18]t pinaṣti smā kunannamaḥ munir viśasya pātreṇa yad rudreṇāt pibat saha | [f.89b1] saṁyukte dyāvāpṛthivī tiṣṭhante vicṛtye keśenāikasya devasya viṣṭabhnāś chacīpa[2]tiḥ z 3 z*

Read: *keśy agniṁ keśi viṣaṁ keśi bibharti rodasī | keśi viśvaṁ svar dṛṣe keśidaṁ jyotir ucyate z 1 z munayo vātaraśanāṣ piśaṅgā vasate malā | vātasyānu dhrājim yantu yad devāso ayukṣata z 2 z unmaditā māuneyena vātān ā tasthimā vyaṁ | śarīred asmākaṁ yūyam martāso 'bhi paśyata z 3 z antarikṣeṇa patati svar bhūtāvicākaśat | munir devasya-devasya sāukṛtyāya sakhā yataḥ z 4 z indrasyāśvo vāyos sakhātho deveṣito muniḥ | ubhāu samudrāv ā kṣeti sadyaṣ pūrvam utāparam z 5 z gandharvānām apsarasām devānām carāṇe carāṇ | muniḥ ketasya saṁvidvān sakhā svādur madintamaḥ z 6 z vāyur asmā upāmanthat pinaṣti smā kunannamaḥ | munir viśasya pātreṇa yad rudreṇāpibat saha z 7 z saṁyukte dyāvāpṛthivī tiṣṭhante vicṛtye | keśenāikasya devasya viṣṭabhnāc chacīpatih z 8 z 3 z*

Our st. 8 has no parallel: if it is really a part of the hymn I would suggest for pāda b something like saṁ tiṣṭhante vicṛttā ye, and would insert svar at the beginning of pāda d.

39

(RV. 10. 126)

[f.89b2] *na tam aṅho na duritaṁ devāso aṣṭa martyaṁ sajo-ṣaso yam aryamā mi[3]ttrō nayanti varuṇo ati dviṣaḥ tad dhi vyaṁ vrñmahe varuṇo mittrā aryaman. [4] yan no nirhaso yūyaṁ pātha nethātha martham ati dviṣaḥ | tan notanū yūyas utaye va[5]ruṇa nayiṣṭhā no nāiṣani ṣṭhaṣ parṣiṣṭhāṣ parṣiṇo ati*

dviṣaḥ śunam asmabhyas ūta[6]*ye varuṇa mitrāryaman. | śarma yacchatu supratha ādityāso atīmahe | atī* [7] *dviṣaḥ ādityāso ti sṛdho varuṇo mittro aryamā | rudraṁ marudbhīr ugraṁ hu-*[8] *vemendras aditiyaṁ svastaye ti dviṣaḥ nūtāra ū śu nas tiro varuṇo mittro* [9] *aryamā | atī viśvān atī duritā rājānaś carṣa- nīnāy atī dviṣaḥ | yū*[10]*yaṁ viśvaṁ pari pātha varuṇa mitrā- ryaman. yuṣmākāṁ śarmāṇi prayā syāma* [11] *supraṇītayo ti dvi- ṣaḥ yathā ha tyadi vasavo gāuryaṁ cit prāiṣatā vimuñca*[12]*tā yajatrāḥ evo śv assan muñcatā vy aṇhaṣ pra tāry agne pratiranta āyuh z z* [13] *z 4 z*

Read: na tam aṇho na duritaṁ devāso aṣṭa martyam | sajo-
śaso yam aryamā mitro nayanti varuṇo atī dviṣaḥ z 1 z tad dhi
vayaṁ vṛṇīmahe varuṇa mitrāryaman | yena nīr aṇhaso yūyaṁ
pātha nethātha martyam atī dviṣaḥ z 2 z †tan no tanū yūyaṁ†
ūtaye varuṇa mitrāryaman | nayiṣṭhā no neṣaṇi stha parṣiṣṭhāṣ
parṣiṇo atī dviṣaḥ z 3 z śunam asmabhyam ūtaye varuṇo mitro
aryamā | śarma yacchantu sapratha ādityāso yad īmahe atī
dviṣaḥ z 4 z ādityāso 'ti sridho varuṇo mitro aryamā | rudraṁ
marudbhīr ugraṁ huvemendram ādityaṁ svastaye 'ti dviṣaḥ z
5 z netāra ū śu nas tiro varuṇo mitro aryamā | atī viśvānī duritā
rājānaś carṣaṇīnām atī dviṣaḥ z 6 z yūyaṁ viśvaṁ pari pātha
varuṇa mitrāryaman | yuṣmākāṁ carmāṇi priyāḥ syāma supra-
ṇītayo 'ti dviṣaḥ z 7 z yathā ha tyad vasavo gāuryaṁ cit padī
ṣitām amuñcatā yajatrāḥ | evo śv asman muñcatā vy aṇhaṣ pra
tāry agne prataraṁ na āyuh z 8 z 4 z

In st. 3a RV. has te nūnaṁ no 'yam, and I incline to think that the reading of our ms. is only a corruption of this; if we adopt the reading of RV. here, nominatives should stand in pāda b. It may however be possible that we have a form of tan in the pāda, so that we might read something like tan no tanutha yūyam ūtaye; but this does not harmonize in meter. The form of 3cd is not wholly good; RV. has parṣaṇi in d which might be read here; in fact parṣiṇo may not seem acceptable. In 8b I think we are safe in reading with RV. as indicated.

40

[f.89b13] *devasya tvā savituḥ prasavāiśvinoh bāhubhyāṁ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṁ* [14] *prasūto vrahmaṇebhyo nīrvāpāmi | sá me má kṣiṣṭa sadam iṣyamānaḥ pitṛṇām* [15] *loke anumadhān prthivyemaṁ pacāmy anu dyāur manvatām anv antarikṣaṁ anumanyatā*[16]*m aditir devaputrā pivet svarge loke stu | vrah-*

maṇoṣām adhi dadhāmy agnāu bhūmyām [17] tvā bhūmim
 adhīdhārayāmi | agniṣ pacāṁ rakṣatv odanam imāṁ rakṣaṣ
 piśācān [18] nudatām jātavedāḥ acyūtam akṣitīm viśvadānīm
 utsam iva madam akṣīya [19] mānaṁ pitā pitāmaha uta yas tṛtī-
 yaḥ prayataṁ bhāgam upajīvāntv atra | [f.90a1] prapīnam
 akṣitīm viśvadānyo somam iva punar apyāyamānaṁ putrah
 pautra uta yaś pra[2]pautras teṣāṁ astu nihato bhāga eṣaḥ
 māmejāryaṁ nihato bhāga eṣa mānu[3]ṣaṁ mārṣata glupto stu
 | vāivasvate ni dadhe śe|vadhīm etaṁ to smat sṛjātu mahyam
 eva [4] punaḥ pūryatām ya dadan tasyāudano yam tiṣṭhaty
 akṣatis sadā | vāivasvatena glupto [5] stu rājñā samītopajīvāntu
 me svā z śatadhāraṁ sahasradhāram utsam akṣa[6]taṁ yaś ca
 mānaṁ salilasya madhye | ūrjam duhānam anapasphurantam
 upāsī[7]ya sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ zz zz oṁ upāsīya sukṛtām
 yatra lo[8]kāḥ z anu 5 zz ity atharvaṇi pāippalādaśākhāyām
 pañcama[9]ṣ kāṇḍaḥ z z

Read: devasya tvā savituṣ prasave aśvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo
 hastābhyām prasūto vrahmaṇebhyo nirvapāmi | sa me mā kṣeṣṭa
 madam iṣyamāṇaḥ z 1 z pitṛnām loke anu madam prthivyemaṁ
 pacāmy anu dyāur manyatām anv antarikṣam | anu manyatām
 aditir devaputrā pibet svarge loke 'stu z 2 z vrahmaṇoṣām adhi-
 dadhāmy agnāu bhūmyām tvā bhūmim adhīdhārayāmi | agniṣ
 pacāṁ rakṣatv odanam imāṁ rakṣaṣ piśācān nudatām jātavedāḥ
 z 3 z acyūtam akṣitīm viśvadānīm utsam iva madam akṣīyamā-
 ṇam | pitā pitāmaha uta yas tṛtīyaḥ prayataṁ bhāgam upajī-
 vantv atra z 4 z prapīnam akṣitīm viśvadānīm somam iva punar
 āpyāyamānam | putrah pautra uta yaś prapautras teṣāṁ astu
 nihito bhāga eṣaḥ z 5 z †māmejāryaṁ† nihito bhāga eṣa mānuṣaṁ
 †mārṣata klpto 'stu | vāivasvate ni dadhe śevadhīm me taṁ
 tasmāt sṛjātu mahyam evā punaḥ z 6 z pūryatām yo dadan
 tasyāudano 'yam tiṣṭhaty akṣitis sadā | vāivasvatena klpto 'stu
 rājñā sametā upajīvāntu me svāḥ z 7 z śatadhāraṁ sahasradhā-
 ram utsam akṣitaṁ vyacamānaṁ salilasya madhye | ūrjam
 duhānam anapasphurantam upāsīyāḥ sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ z 8
 z 5 z anu 8 z

ity atharvaṇi pāippalādaśākhāyām pañcamaṣ kāṇḍaḥ zz zz

Of the numerous variations of the formula in st. 1 that in
 KS. 1. 4. is most like ours; for the end of st. 1 cf. Ś. 4. 34. 8c
 and Ppp. 6. 22. 8c. With our st. 8 cf. Ś. 18. 4. 36. For st. 6ab
 I can make no suggestion that seems promising.

TONES IN SUMERIAN

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In his interesting article 'The Pronouns and Verbs of Sumerian,' published in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 54 (1915), Professor Prince stated (p. 44) that I had suggested that the different persons in the Sumerian verb might have been distinguished by a difference in quantity of the vowels of the preformatives, so that, for example, 'he made' might have been *in-gar*; 'thou madest,' *in-gar*; 'I made,' *in-gar*—*i* denoting a very short *i*, *i* a short *i*, and *i* a long *i*; cf. the three Segôls in Hebrew *ēlôhîm* 'god,' *helqî* 'my lot,' and *timçêna* 'they [fem.] will find.'

The vowels in Aztec have four different pronunciations, and in Siamese the vowels have three quantities: very short, short, and long; cf. Misteli's new edition of Steinthal's *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues* (Berlin, 1893), p. 113, n. 1; p. 207). Proto-Slavonic had very short, short, and long vowels, also a musical accent with different intonations (*EB*¹¹ 25. 233^b, 12; 236^b, l. 4).¹ Sweet (*Primer of Phonetics*) distinguishes very short, short, half-long (or medium), long, and very long sounds. In English we have three varieties of *i* in *military* and *police*: the second *i* in *military* is very short, the first is short, and in *police* we have a long *i*. Consequently the possibility of a differentiation of the three persons by different quantities of the vowels in the preformatives (*in*, *in*, *in*) cannot be denied; but I never advanced this theory either in my publications, or in my academic lectures, or in discussions at philological meetings, or in private conversations, or even in my wildest dreams.

Nor did Bertin (*PSBA* 5. 19) suggest such a distinction. In the paper cited by Prince he speaks only of accent = stress in Sumerian; he thought that Sumerian originally had the accent on the antepenultimate or even on the pre-antepenultimate (contrast *SFG* 55).

Accent, of course, may denote not only stress, but also pitch, intonation, modulation of the voice, manner of pronunciation.

Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1891), p. 361, says: 'Alles das, was man unter dem französischen Namen *accent* begreift, gehört hierher: Höhe und Beugung des Tones, Rhythmus, Art der Lauterzeugung.' A man born in this country may have a pure American accent, but may misaccentuate certain words, saying, for example, *legislative*, *exigencies*, *intercalary*, *transferrable*, *décadent*, whereas an immigrant may correctly accentuate these words, but show his foreign accent by pronouncing the *g* in *legislative* like *ch*, the *t* like *d*, and the *v* like *f*.

I fail to see how Prince with his remarkable linguistic equipment can have misunderstood both Bertin and me. When he quoted the remark I made 40 years ago (*SFG* 19, n. 6; cf. 41, l. 9) in *AJSL* 19. 205 (July 1903)² and in his *MSL* xxi (1908), he correctly interpreted the term 'accent,' which I used in 1879, to mean 'tone-accent.' I stated in *SFG* 19, n. 6, that the cuneiform characters *KIL* (*rim*, *xap*) = Assy. *garâru* 'to run' and *GUR* = Assy. *târu* 'to turn' were both read *gur* in Sumerian, but were no doubt pronounced with a different inflection of the voice,³ perhaps *gur* = *garâru* 'to run' as *gúr*, and *gur* = *târu* 'to turn' as *gûr*. I added that the tablets to be copied were sometimes dictated; so it could easily happen that a scribe did not hear which accent *gur* should have in a particular case. He might therefore write *gúr* instead of *gûr*, and it would perhaps be better to term this 'confusion of accents' instead of 'phonetic spelling.'⁴ If I had thought that there was a quantitative difference between the two syllables, I should have used *gûr* and *gúr*, not *gúr* and *gûr*. So far as I know, the acute and grave accents have never been used to distinguish long and short vowels (though the acute accent is at times found used to mark long vowels),⁵ but they have been repeatedly employed for indicating different tone-accents, e. g. by Misteli, *op. cit.* xxiv; cf. also Lepsius's *Standard Alphabet*, p. 234 and below, n. 3. Sweet, *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 44, used the acute accent for the rising intonation and the grave for the falling. If I speak of two monosyllables having different accents it is evident that I mean musical accents, not stress-accents.

The term 'tone' instead of 'accent' = musical accent or tone-accent was not customary in 1879, at least not in Germany. Georg Curtius in his lectures on comparative philology, which

I attended twice (in 1876 and in 1878), used the term *Betonung* for 'intonation' or 'tone-accent,' but *Betonung* means, as a rule, 'stress'; a *betonte Silbe* is an accented syllable (cf. Gabelentz, *op. cit.* 357). The term *Betonung* is used also by Misteli (*op. cit.* 162). On p. 303 of Misteli's work we find beside *Betonung* the term *Intonation*, and on p. 304 *Töne*. Even in this country the term *tone* = musical accent is comparatively rare. The definition of *tone* as a distinctive quality or pitch forming in some languages a fixed feature of the pronunciation of words, as in Chinese, Swedish, etc., was not given in the original edition (1889-91) of the *Century Dictionary*, although Whitney was the editor-in-chief, but in the two supplementary volumes issued in 1909. In Webster's *New International Dictionary* the term *tone* is defined as an intonation, or inflection, of the voice which distinguishes the meaning of a word from that which it has when pronounced with a different inflection, as in Chinese and some other languages. In Pekingese *ma*¹ means 'mother,' *ma*² 'hemp,' *ma*³ 'horse,' *ma*⁴ 'to revile.'

The title of the recent article by C. B. Bradley, analyzing the tones of Cantonese and Pekingese words (*JAOS* 35. 199), is 'Tone-accents of two Chinese Dialects,' and whenever he uses the term *tone* he puts it in quotation-marks. On p. 201 he says: "'Tone" in our sense of the word is not exactly pitch at all, but rather a patterned change or movement within the field of pitch.' He is inclined to think that there are six tones in the Cantonese dialect, which may be reduced to three, each having perhaps a short variety. Gabelentz (*op. cit.* 362) says: 'Im Chinesischen haftet, je nach der Mundart, jedem Worte ein bestimmter Ton an, der gleichmässig gezogen, steigend oder fallend, kurz abgebrochen und dann wieder hoch oder tief sein kann.' In *EB*¹¹ 1. 113 (1911) the Chinese tones are treated under *accent*. Dr. Giles, of Cambridge, says there (p. 113): 'In languages like Chinese, which have neither compound words nor inflection, accent plays a very important part.' On page 112^a he remarks: 'Swedish also has a well-marked musical accent.' Misteli (*op. cit.* 207) says that there are five tones, or accents, in Siamese.

The term *accent* was used in this sense also by F. Max Müller. He said in his *Lectures on the Science of Language* (New York, 1884), 1. 265: 'Chinese has about 450 radicals. These 450

sounds are raised to 1263 by various accents and intonations.' According to Giles, whose article (*EB*¹¹ 6. 217^a) is quoted by Prince in *JAOS* 34. 326-327, there are 420 vocables in Pekingese and 800-900 in Cantonese; he remarks that Cantonese is supposed to approximate most nearly to the primitive language, whereas Pekingese (Mandarin) perhaps has receded farthest from it. In his introductory lectures to his second series of *Lectures* Max Müller stated with reference to Annamese (cf. *EB*¹¹ 2. 62^a): 'One of the early missionaries said, When I arrived in Cochin-China, and heard the natives speak, particularly the women, I thought I heard the twittering of birds, and I gave up all hope of ever learning it. All words are monosyllabic, and people distinguish their signification only by means of different accents in pronouncing them. The same syllable, for instance *daï*, signifies twenty-three entirely different things, according to the difference of accent, so that people never speak without singing. This description, though somewhat exaggerated, is correct in the main, there being six or eight musical accents or modulations in this as in other monosyllabic tongues, by which the different meanings of one and the same monosyllabic root are kept distinct. These accents form an element of the language which we have lost, but which was most important during the primitive stages of human speech.'

It is, of course, a mistake to suppose that we have lost these modulations. *EB*¹¹ 6. 217^b, below, correctly states that the Chinese tones may be compared to the half-involuntary modulations which express emotional feelings in our words. We may compare, for example, the different intonations of the words *like that*. If an artist is trying to show one of his students how a certain line should be improved, the student may ask, after having tried to carry out his master's instructions, *Like that?* i.e. 'Should it be like that?' The master thereupon may draw the line himself, adding laconically, *Like that!* i.e. 'No, it should be this way!' After critically surveying his correction for a moment and perceiving enthusiastic appreciation on the part of his pupil, he may say, *Like that?* i.e. 'Do you like that?' The tone of the first and the third *like* are entirely different, and even the second has a different intonation.

In Germany it was customary for barbers to shave their customers at home. It was also customary to shorten the salutation

Guten Morgen! to *Morgen!* just as *Gesegnete Mahlzeit!* was shortened to *Mahlzeit!* (see R. Meringer, *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 31; cf. also p. 17). A barber might meet one of his distinguished customers in the street and say respectfully, *Morgen!* i.e. 'Good morning!' The customer would reply, with a somewhat condescending intonation, *Morgen!* Thereupon the barber might ask, *Morgen?* i.e. 'Shall I call at your house tomorrow?' and the customer might reply, *Morgen!* i.e. 'Yes, you may come tomorrow.' The conversation would end by the barber bidding his distinguished customer again a deferential *Morgen!* i.e. 'Good morning!' the customer replying, somewhat nonchalantly, *Morgen!* In this brief conversation the word *Morgen* would have six different intonations; even the first and the last *Morgen* of both barber and customer would have different inflections of the voice.⁶

In the German edition (by Fick and Wischmann) of Max Müller's work (Leipzig, 1892-93) we find (1. 357) *Accente und Betonungen* for 'accents and intonations'; in 2. 29 *vermitteltst verschiedener Betonungen in der Aussprache* is used for 'by means of different accents in pronouncing them,' and *sechs oder acht musikalische Accente oder Modulationen* for 'six or eight musical accents or modulations.' The term *musikalischer* (or *tonischer*) *Accent*⁷ is used also by Sievers in his *Phonetik*⁵ (Leipzig, 1901), § 600, 602, 661. Sievers introduced these terms in the second edition of his book (1881), § 30 (contrast p. 114 in the first edition of 1876). On p. 80 of his *Rhythmisch-melodische Studien* (Heidelberg, 1912) Sievers speaks of *Wort-tonhöhen* in Chinese, etc. The term *tone* is found in Jespersen's *Elementarbuch der Phonetik* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 182 (15. 8). Viëtor's *Kleine Phonetik*⁹ (Leipzig, 1913), § 131, distinguishes *Dauer, Stärke, Höhe*, i.e. quantity or length, stress or force, and intonation or pitch. For *accent* = 'stress' Jespersen employs *Druck* (14. 1) = *Nachdruck* (Sievers, *Phonetik*⁵, § 570). The term *tones* was used as early as 1857 by Edkins in his *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese* (2d ed., Shanghai, 1864). He said: 'By natural tones are meant certain inflections of the voice and variations in time and pitch used with vowels and consonants'; see the quotations in Techmer's *Phonetik*, 1. 182. Techmer gave there also some remarks on tones in certain African languages (Hottentot, Mandingo), and on p. 180 he quoted

Storm's résumé on tones in Norwegian and Swedish (cf. also p. 70 and *EB*¹¹ 24. 297^a, 298^a). The term *tones* was used also in Lepsius's *Standard Alphabet* (London, 1863), p. 232, 234, 241, 243.

Nevertheless these quotations from phoneticians and linguists show that I was perfectly justified in using the term *accents* instead of *tones*, and Prince's misunderstanding of the plain statements made by Bertin and myself in English and German may create a certain prejudice against his explanations of intricate syntactical problems in Sumerian. I do not prefer the term *accent* to *tone*; I merely want to explain why I used *accent* instead of *tone* 40 years ago. I was convinced in 1878 that there were tone-accents in Sumerian as in Chinese, Annamese, Siamese, Lithuanian, Serbian, Swedish, Norwegian, Hottentot, and Mandingo, but I never entertained the idea that in the cases where the Sumerian preformatives of the third person seem to be used for the first or second person there was a quantitative or tonal difference in the vowels. This phenomenon must be explained in a different way; in a number of such cases we have a different construction in Sumerian.

In the incantation *ASKT* 79 we find, for example, for the Assyrian *gibil ina išâtika elliti ina bît ekliti nûra tašâkan* 'O Firegod, with thy bright fire thou makest light in the house of darkness,' in Sumerian *gibil izâ-zu ela laġlaġa^s e-giggiga laġ ab-gaga*, which means literally 'O Firegod, thy fire bright and radiant the house of darkness light makes,' so that *ab-gaga* is the third person, not the second (cf. *CV* 21).⁹ We need not read *kuga* (*SGL* 126) instead of *giggiga*. The gloss *kuga* is a synonym of *giga*; cf. Arabic *raqâh* (*AJSL* 22. 203). The older form of *gik*,¹⁰ *gi* was *mi*. The change of *mi* to *gi* was not due to nasalization (*SGL* 100, n. 1). *Gi=gui=yi=mi*; see *OLZ* 17. 454 and my note on Armenian *g* for *u* in *ZDMG* 69. 564; cf. also the modern form *Guštâsp* for the Old Persian *Vištâspa* (Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 64; *Zoroaster*, p. 5). It might be well to add here that the Biblical *Tatnai* is not a corruption of *Vištâna* (*JBL* 32. 114; contrast *AJSL* 24. 244; *GB*¹⁶ 931^b). For *eklitu* 'darkness' see *OLZ* 16. 492.

It is, of course, important that the Sumerian forms be correctly analyzed. For instance, we must not read in 4 R² 10. 37^b (*ZB* 65) *šu-bu ban-nip* instead of *šu git-ban-nip* (*SGL* 90; *SG*

§ 128 e) and regard *bu* as a possessive suffix modified by vocalic harmony. Nor must the root *ip* 'to be wroth' in *ib-ba-bi* 'his wrath' or 'he against whom someone is incensed' = *al-maǧḏūbu* 'alāiḥi in the first sūrah of the Koran be explained as a preformative of the second person (*MSL* xxvii, § 26 = *AJSL* 19. 215, § 26). The correct explanation of *ib-ba-bi* 'who has provoked wrath' was given 37 years ago in *ASKT* 188, no. 101. For *git* = *ṣabātu* see *CV* 25.

In some cases Prince is very conservative: in *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 54. 34, l. 2 (cf. also *AJSL* 33. 44, ad l. 20) he gives, for example, the old incorrect reading *muḡ* for the preposition corresponding to the Assyrian *elī* 'over,' although he has on the preceding page the correct reading *ugu* in *ugu-zu-nene* = Assyrian *elīkunu* 'upon you.' I have explained the agglutination in the plural forms of the Sumerian possessive suffixes and in the corresponding Semitic forms in *Judges* (*SBOT*) 65. 46 (cf. *CV* 12). This *ugu* is connected with *gu* 'neck, shoulder,' which is used also for 'height' (*SGL* 102), just as Heb. *kaṭēf* is used of the high table-land of Moab or of the Philistine foothills or of the hills east of the Sea of Galilee (*TOCR* 1. 303). Also *Shechem*, on the high road from north to south, means 'shoulder.' Sum. *ugu* is a formation like *ugur* 'sword' from *gur* 'to cut up' (*SGL* 43; cf. *CV* 35; contrast *SG* 155, ad § 58, 59).¹¹

The reading *ugu* should have been adopted before Brünnow (8888; cf. Meissner 6597) recorded it, since we knew that the Sumerian equivalent of Assyrian *na'butu* 'to flee,' *ugu-de*, could be written either with the sign *U* = *bēlu* 'lord' or with the sign *U* = *šam* 'herb' (cf. Brünnow 6035, 6721). That the first element of the Sumerian expression for 'to flee' should not be read *muḡ*, but that the *U* = *bēlu* should be separated from the *KA* = *gu*, was pointed out in *SFG* 52. 2. The *de* in this phrase is not the verb *de* 'to speak' (originally 'to flow'; cf. our *flow* of eloquence, *fluency* of speech, and also *to dry up* = 'to cease talking'), but is a byform of *du* 'to go,' so that *ugu-de* corresponds to Assyrian *êtelû* 'to get up and get away.' In Arabic, *rāfa'a* means 'to lift, raise' and 'to remove,' and *irtafa'a* 'to be raised or removed.' Arab. *ṭāla'a* signifies 'to rise, ascend' and also 'to go away' (Arab. *ṭāla'a* 'ānḥum idā ḡāba). In modern Arabic *ṭāla'a* is used also for 'to go out, to leave' (cf.

Mic. 73, l. 2; *ZA* 30. 97). In the third Sumerian family law (cf. *ZA* 30. 93) we find *ina bîti u igari êtêlâ* 'he must leave hovel or mansion,' i.e. it makes no difference whether his father be poor or rich (contrast *BA* 4. 86). The word *igaru* has here the same meaning as in l. 22 of the Flood Tablet, while *bîtu* corresponds to *qiqqišu*. In Arabic, *baît* (from *bâ* 'he entered'; cf. above, p. 254) means not only 'house,' but also 'tent' (cf. *baïtu* 'l-ša'ri). On the other hand, the Assyrian equivalent of Hebrew *ôhl* 'tent,' *âlu*, meant 'city' (*AJSJL* 22. 199; cf. also *BA* 3. 579). I have shown (*JAOS* 32. 6) that Assyrian *qiqqišu* is a reduplicated form of Heb. *qas* 'straw,' just as French *chaume* means 'stalk, stubble' and 'hut' (= *chaumine*, *chaumière*). Luther used *Hütte* 'hut' for 'tent.' The original meaning of *hut* is 'wattle, hurdle.'

In a great many cases we find in Sumerian the third person instead of the first, e.g. *mae*¹² *eri-zu ide-zu mun-gam-am* = Assyrian *anâku aradka mazarka kansaku* 'I, thy servant, before thee I bow' (4 R² 24, no. 3, l. 10). The Sumerian construction is here: 'I, thy servant, before thee bows,' not 'I bow.' The pronoun *I* may be construed with the third person, especially when it is followed by 'thy servant.' We are all familiar with *I is* instead of *I am* (cf. on the other hand *ain't*, *don't* for *is not*, *does not*). Assyrian *kansaku* stands for *kamsaku*; the stem *kamâsu* is a transposition (cf. *AJSJL* 32. 64) of Heb. *samâk* 'to prop, support'; the original meaning of Assyrian *kamâsu* 'to collapse' is 'to be unproped.' For the etymology of *ardu* 'servant' see *ZDMG* 69. 172, n. 11.

In the same way we must explain the third person instead of the first in *u-turâni-ta*, 'from the days of his youth' = Assyrian *ultu ûm qixriku* 'from the time I was young': *u-turâni-ta* is co-ordinated to the suffix *mu* in *mulu ugu-mu zêba*, 'what is good for me,' in the preceding line. The construction, from our point of view, is: 'May she do what is good for me—me, O Lady, who from the days of his youth is fast bound to adversity, who ate no bread, weeping was my refreshment,' etc. (cf. *CV* xxxv; *ZB* 34). In connection with the phrase 'fast bound to adversity' I have called attention to the line of Mutalammi (*BL* 92): *inna 'l-mar'a rahnu muçibati* (cf. *JBL* 32. 141) = 'man is a pledge¹³ of adversity' (see *BA* 5. 215, n. **).

In the dialogue between Ea and his son Marduk, which we find in the fifth tablet of the *Šurpu* series,¹⁴ the Assyrian version

has (ZR 26. 30): *mârî minâ lâ tîdî* 'my son, what dost thou not know?' but the Sumerian text has: *dumu-mu ana nu-ni-zu*, 'my son, what does he not know?' We can say, 'What does my son not know?' instead of 'What dost thou not know?' (contrast SG 157, ad § 150). We often use the third person instead of the second or first. A little boy may say, 'Johnnie has tummy-ache' instead of 'I have pains in my stomach.' In the first scene of *King Lear*, Cordelia says: 'What shall Cordelia speak? Love, and be silent!' and Kent says to Lear: 'Be Kent unmannerly, when Lear is mad.' In the second act of Wagner's *Walküre* Wotan says to Brünnhilde: 'Brünnhilde stürme zum Kampf, dem Wälsung kiese sie Sieg' instead of 'Brünnhilde, stürme zum Kampf, dem Wälsung kiese du Sieg.' Later in the same act Siegmund asks Brünnhilde: 'Umfängt Siegmund Sieglinde dort?' to which Brünnhilde replies: 'Sieglinde sieht Siegmund dort nicht.'

We may substitute the third person for the first or second in relative clauses. For Hebrew *ānî Iahyê mēqaddēšô* (Lev. 21. 15; 22. 9, 16) we may say 'I am the Lord which sanctify him' (Revised Version) or 'I am the Lord who sanctifies him' (Polychrome Bible). Similarly we may say for 'Our Father, which art in heaven' (Authorized Version) 'Our Father, who is in heaven.' If the first or second person of the verb is used in connection with a relative pronoun, it is necessary in German to insert the pronoun of the first or second person: 'Unser Vater, der du bist im Himmel.'

In Syriac one may use in a relative clause after a vocative either the second person or the third (see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*² § 350 B, c). In Arabic we generally find in this case the third person, e.g. *ia āiūhā 'lladīna āmanū* 'O ye who believe,' not *āmāntum*; but it is more usual to say *a-lāsta 'l-'ābda 'lladī kūnta* 'art thou not the slave who wast?' instead of *a-lāsta 'l-'ābda 'lladī kāna* 'art thou not the slave who was?' (see WdG 2. 324 B; 319 c; Reckendorf, § 198; Spitta, § 206 d; Fleischer, *KS* 1. 802; cf. *GK* § 155 m; also Dillmann², p. 466, l. 3).

We may say 'A new song will I sing Thee, O God, who givest victory' or 'who gives victory.' In Ps. 144. 10 we find co-ordinated to 'Thee' in v. 9: 'who saves His servant from the sword' = Hebrew *Elôhîm šîr-ḥadāš ašîrā-laḳ . . . hap-pôçê 't-'abdo me-hārb.*¹⁵ In Ps. 104 the Authorized Version has: 'Thou art clothed with honor and majesty, who coverest thyself with light

as with a garment, who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain,' but in the following verses the third person is used instead of the second: 'Who layeth the beams of His chambers in the waters, who maketh the clouds His chariot, who walketh upon the wings of the wind, who maketh His angels spirits, His ministers a flaming fire.' The Polychrome Bible here substitutes the second person (cf. *JHUC*, no. 163, p. 48^b).

There are a great many passages in the Old Testament where we may substitute the second person for third and vice versa; cf., for example, Ps. 106 and 136. For a series of co-ordinated participles, either with or without the article, cf. Ps. 136. 4; 144. 10; 145. 16; 146. 6; 147. 8; also the fragments of the Maccabean psalm scattered through the Book of Amos (4. 12, 13; 5. 8, 9; 9. 5, 6). The portions preserved consist of three triplets with 3 + 3 beats. The last line of the third triplet is lost. It has been replaced by a repetition of the second triplet. For *ä'sê* in the first line of the first triplet (4. 12) we must read the third person (*ia'sê*). We find these co-ordinated participles also in the cuneiform prototypes (*JHUC*, no. 163, p. 54^a) of the Biblical Psalms, e.g. *ASKT* 116. 6, 8, 10 (*CV* xxxv; *ZB* 33; *DB* 1. 169^a, l. 6). For the Assyrian participles the Sumerian has here the simple roots without any preformatives or affirmatives, e.g. *šem-mumu* = Assyrian *mušêçât urkîti* 'she who causes herbage to sprout'; *u-tu duâbi-ene* = Assyrian *bânât kalâmi* 'she who generates everything.'

The Hebrew parallels cited above help us to understand the substitution of the third person for the second in Sumerian hymns and incantations. In 4 R² 20, no. 2, l. 7, we find, for example, for the Assyrian version *šamaš ana mâti rêšika taššâ* 'O Sungod, thou hast lifted thy head toward the land' in Sumerian: *babbar kalamâ-ta sagâna-šu mi-nin-il* 'O Sungod, in the land with his head he lifts' (cf. *SFG* 58, n. 5; contrast *SG* 121, n. 2). We may regard this as a relative clause, equivalent to Hebrew *han-nôšê bē-rôšô 'el-ha-'ârç* (for the *bē-* cf. *našâ bē-rôšô* = ἀνῴψωσεν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ in Sir. 11. 13; also *GK* § 119 q and *JBL* 32. 112, n. 19; 113, n. 23).

If we use *Your Excellency* or *Your Lordship*, or similar forms of address, we employ the third person instead of the second. We also prefer the third person to the first in formal invitations and replies. If a letter begins with 'The undersigned,'

or 'An old soldier who,' or 'A poor woman who,' the third person is used instead of the first. In English we say 'you would expect' for the German *man würde erwarten*. In Hebrew one may say 'he [or they] will expect,' although the second person may be used (*GK* § 144 b, d, f, h; *Mic.* 25, n. 17). If we find in Hebrew the third person feminine in cases like *uṭ-tēcr-lô* instead of *uṭ-iēcr-lô*, we must supply *nafšô* 'his soul.' In German a person is now addressed *Sie* 'they'; some punctilious people use this also for *er* 'he' when referring to a person in his presence: instead of saying 'er hat mir soeben gesagt, er müsste morgen abreisen' they will say 'sie haben mir soeben gesagt, sie müssten morgen abreisen' (cf. *BL* 26, n. †). I have heard men address a young apprentice *du*, an old coachman *Ihr*, and a little boy *du* or *er* (e.g. 'will er wohl!' instead of 'willst du wohl!' sc. 'das sein lassen,' i.e. 'stop that!')

In the eighth and ninth centuries of our era princes and high dignitaries were addressed *Ihr*. In the 17th century it was customary to say *Er* for 'you.' The plural *Sie haben* has been used for *Er hat* in the sense of 'you have' since the end of the 17th century. Schiller's father, who died in 1796, addressed his son in his letters *Er*.¹⁶ In Schiller's *Die Räuber* (1781) Franz addresses his father *Ihr*, while he thous his son; Karl uses *Sie* in speaking to the Catholic father. For *Er* cf. the opening scenes of Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*. In the Bavarian army officers addressed enlisted men *Er* down to 1868. Originally *Er* was preceded by *der Herr*, corresponding to Hebrew *ādônî*, and this form of address is still used in certain cases: a waiter may say, 'Wünschen der Herr zu speisen?' In the German army not only privates and non-commissioned officers, but even lieutenants will not say to a captain, 'Haben Sie sonst noch Befehle, Herr Hauptmann?' but 'Haben der Herr Hauptmann sonst noch Befehle?' It is also considered more polite to say 'Gnädige Frau gestatten?' instead of 'Gestatten Sie, gnädige Frau?'

In modern Hebrew it is still good form to use the third person instead of the second. For 'come in!' for example, one says *iabô!* i.e. 'let him come!' A lady will say to a guest at her table: *iôšit-lî-nâ 'et-çallaḥtô uē-'ašîma lē-fanâu ḥaṭîḳāt bašār çalî*, lit. 'may he pass me his plate, and I will place before him

a slice of roasted meat'; or *î'óm-nâ haṭīkāt çalî 'eḡl* 'may he taste a slice of roast veal?' for 'Won't you try a slice of roast veal?'¹⁷ The third person is more formal and more polite than the second. In 'giving an order to a servant the second person would be used, just as one uses *voi* in speaking to an Italian cabman or porter, but in addressing a gentleman one says *Lei* (lit. 'her'; cf. our 'it can't be me' and the expression 'thee is' used by the Friends instead of 'thou art')¹⁸ or *Ella* 'she' with the third person singular, e.g. *ha Ella avuto nuove di suo fratello?* = 'have you had news of your brother?' lit. 'has she [viz. *vostra signoria* 'Your Lordship'] had news of her brother?' Some writers use the feminine even in the verb, e.g. *quando è Ella arrivata?* = 'when did you arrive?' (addressed to a gentleman).

Also in Spanish the third person is used instead of the second, because 'you' = 'thou' is expressed by *usted* = *vuestra merced* 'Your Grace' (Portuguese *vossê* = *vossa merce*). 'Have you your cane?' is in Spanish *tiene V. su baston?* lit. 'has Your Grace his cane?' In the Middle Ages *vos* was used instead of *tú*.

In conclusion I wish to emphasize the following points:—

(a) Sumerian was a tonal language; apparently identical syllables which have entirely different meanings may have been distinguished by tones, as in Chinese or Siamese (cf. *SFG* 19. 6; *AJSL* 19. 205, n. 7; 24. 355; *JAOS* 34. 322, 326).¹⁹

(b) The three different persons were not distinguished by different tones of the verbal preformatives.

(c) Nor were they differentiated by the quantity of the vowels of the preformatives.

(d) The pronouns of the first and second persons may be construed with the third person of the verb.

(e) Even without a pronoun of the first or second persons, or words like *thy servant* or *my lord*, the third person of the verb may be used for the first or second persons.

(f) In cases where a vocative seems to be followed by the third person of the verb instead of the second, we may regard the statement after the vocative as a relative clause, at least from our point of view; cf. the Hebrew appositional participles in Ps. 104. 2-6 and similar passages.

NOTES

¹ For the abbreviations see vol. 34, p. 425, n. 6.—*SG*, *SGL*, *SS* = Delitzsch, *Sumerische Grammatik*, *Sumer. Glossar*, *Sumer. Sprachlehre*, Leipzig, 1914.—*ZB* = Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, Leipzig, 1885. Cf. *JBL* 36. 75.

² This article, apart from the two introductory paragraphs, is reprinted (with some slight modifications) in *MSL* xx-xxv.

³ I said 'mit verschiedener Stimmbiegung.' The same expression is used in Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*⁶, 4. 60^a (1903): 'Tonakzente, d.h. Stimmbiegungen.' This article also uses the acute and grave accents for indicating the Chinese tones, e.g. *chī* 'to know,' *chì* 'finger,' *chí* 'to be willing,' *chǐ* 'upright.' In Brockhaus's *Konversations-Lexikon*, 4. 166 (1901), the term *Töne* is employed, and the grave accent is used for one of them: *lì* 'plum,' *lí* 'pear.'

⁴ For phonetic writing in Sumerian cf. *SGL* 143, l. 13; 150, l. 2; 190, *mud* 4; 200, l. 8; 269, l. 2. *SGL* 91-92 (cf. 278) states that *gír* 'dagger' is used incorrectly for *gìr* 'foot,' and vice versa. The root *duk* 'to speak' is often written *tuk* = 'to take' (*SGL* 147, 161; *SG* § 156). *SGL* 77, l. 12 calls the use of *gal* 'great' for *gal* 'to be' 'schlechte Schreibweise' (cf. also 141, l. 10; 237, l. 2; 242, l. 5; 281, last line but one; 284, *maš* 5; 285, *gap*). *SGL* 106, l. 16; 246, l. 1; 264, *šeš* 3, uses the term *Ideogrammverwechslung* (cf. *SG* § 12). In a German rebus (cf. Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, 4. 364; *BL* 131, n. *) the idea of a cemetery might be expressed by an enclosed space (yard, cf. churchyard, graveyard) and a personification of Peace, because very few Germans know that the first syllable of *Friedhof* 'cemetery' is not the word *Friede* 'peace,' but is connected with *Einfriedigung* 'fence, enclosure.' Both *Friede* and *Einfriedigung* are, of course, derived from the same stem (cf. *AJSL* 22. 203, below; *JBL* 29. 87, l. 5).

⁵ Certain English Orientalists use the acute accent in place of the macron or the circumflex to indicate long vowels. But the grave is not used for the breve. Our use of the grave in poetry corresponds, in some respects, to the Syriac *mēhagiānā* (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 52. 5). The acute accent indicates long vowels in Hungarian. The Masoretic punctuation of Hebrew does not distinguish between long and accented vowels; the Hebrew words for 'king,' 'book,' 'ear' should be pronounced μέλχ, σέφρ, ὄζν (*AJSL* 26. 20, n. 11). The vowels of the second syllable in קִטֵּל and תִּתֵּן are accented, but not long (read ἱκτόλ, ἱττέν). Greek names like Παῦλος appear in Hebrew as פִּלּוּס; cf. Albrecht, *Neuhebr. Gr.* (1913) § 7 d; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*² p. 34, l. 5. Also the Ćērê in the imperatives of the verbs לִהֲרֶה

and in the construct state of nouns in -ê (like *šadê* 'field') is not a long ê, but an accented short ě. English-speaking Jews often confound long and short vowels, saying, for example, *sin* for *seen*, and *seen* for *sin*. Cf. also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*² § 42, 47, 48.

⁶ Cf. also 2. 30 of the German edition of Max Müller's *Lectures*; Techmer, *Phonetik*, 1. 70; Sievers, *Phonetik*⁵, § 602; Sweet, *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch*², p. 44 (*Tonhöhe*).

⁷ This does not correspond to our 'tonic accent,' which is generally used for 'syllabic stress'; but the title of Samuel Wells Williams's dictionary (Canton, 1856) was *A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*.

⁸ The Sumerian *ġ* is a $\bar{g} = \text{𒄣}$ (*SFG* 71; *ASKT* 135; *CV* 6; *BA* 1. 255). Prince (e.g. *JAOS* 34. 323; 36. 95) uses *ġ* for *ġ*, but *ġ* is the symbol for 𒄣 , i.e. our *j*.

⁹ According to *SG* § 147 c, *tašákan* = *ap-gaga* is wrong; but it is just as correct as the free translation of *ġe-pa* 'lét him be conjured' by *lû-tamât* 'be thou conjured' (see *SGL* 73, *pat* 2; *SG* § 152 a, c; also § 170, and especially p. 157, *ad* § 150; cf. p. 4, l. 5, and the remarks on the prohibitive in § 158). Also the alleged forms of the first person given in *SG* § 151 are forms of the third person; *mu-ra-du*, Gudea Cyl. B, 2. 20, does not mean 'I have built for thee,' but 'he [viz. Gudea; cf. l. 7, 12, and 3. 2] has built for thee.'

¹⁰ For the reading *gik* instead of *gig* see *JAOS* 32. 12, l. 4; *JBL* 32. 139, n. 2; *OLZ* 17. 454.

¹¹ Similarly we have *uduk* 'weapon,' originally 'killer'; this is also the primary meaning of the name of the demon Uduk (*SGL* 45). The original connotation of *ugu* 'parent' (*SGL* 43) may be 'raiser,' i.e. 'one who raises [or brings up] a child.' The original form was, it may be supposed, *ugun*. The prototype of Aram. *attûnâ* 'oven,' Sumer. *udun*, may be derived from *tun*, *dun* 'to dig, excavate' (*SGL* 152). Assy. *utûnu* 'oven' (*SGL* 45) is synonymous with *tinûru*, Heb. *tannûr*. *DB* 2. 73^a states that the term *tannûr* is still in use in the Lebanon for a special kind of oven in which the women bake bread. A pit is dug in the earth, and a hollow cylinder of pottery, about two feet in diameter, is let down into it. Cf. also *DB* 3. 637^a; *EB* 605 and 270. Sumer. *gir* 'even,' the prototype of Heb. *gir* (Is. 27. 9) and *kîrâim* (Lev. 11. 35), denotes especially an asphalt-furnace or pitch-pot (cf. *KAT*² 516; *BL* 131; *JBL* 36. 93).

¹² If the *ae* in *mae* (later *gae*) was pronounced as a diphthong (cf. p. 28 of Prince's paper cited at the beginning of this article), the pronunciation may have been *mai* (our *my*), but not *mö* (= French *eu* in *meute* or *Meuse*). Sievers, *Phonetik*⁵

§ 415, says that the diphthongs in German *Hain*, *Haus* are really *ae* and *ao*, not *ai* and *au*.

¹³ Cf. *Measure for Measure*, 2. 2. 92: 'Your brother is a forfeit of the law,' and Greek ἔνοχος νόμῳ; θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα; τύχῃ ἐνέχει, Sophocles, *Phil.* 1086; Lat. *sorti destinatus*. The primary meaning of *destinare* is 'to fasten, to bind' (cf. Arab. *rāhana* = *hābasa*). Assy. *šalpātu* 'adversity' (= *šalputtu*, from *lapātu*; *HW* 384^a) does not correspond to Heb. *sālf*. We have the stem of Heb. *sālf* in Assy. *zalıptu* 'wickedness' (*HW* 256^b). The *s* in Hebrew and Arabic (*fāsila*) is due to partial assimilation (cf. *JBL* 36. 141, n. 4).

¹⁴ Cf. *JBL* 19. 62, n. 8; *AJSL* 13. 142.

¹⁵ The words *rā'ā* after *me-hārḇ* and *dayiḏ* before 'aḏdō are glosses.

¹⁶ Cf. the articles *Duzen* and *Er* in *Brockhaus* (see above, n. 3).

¹⁷ See J. Rosenberg, *Hebr. Conversationsgrammatik*, p. 77, 104. Rosenberg writes *hatīḥat* instead of *hatīḫat* (corrected on p. 180). Siegfried-Baentsch, on the other hand, wrote *Mordehai* for *Mordekai*; see *Esra, Nehemia und Ester* (Göttingen, 1901), p. 135-139, 152-175.

¹⁸ *Thee* is used for *thou* in the dialect of West Somerset; also *you* was accusative (and dative) until about the 16th century, the nominative being *ye* (cf. *EB*¹¹ 12. 326^a; *Century Dictionary*, p. 7012^a).

¹⁹ The same view was expressed by Amiaud in 1888; see Weissbach, *Die sumerische Frage* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 104, n. 8; cf. p. 172.

THREE NOTES IN HEBREW LEXICOGRAPHY

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1. PSALMS 75. 9.

כִּי כֹס בִּיד יְהוָה וַיִּין חֹמֶר מֵלֵא מִסֶּךְ וַיִּגַּר מִזָּה אֶךְ שִׁמְרִיהָ יִמְצֹ
יִשְׁתּוּ כָל רִשְׁעֵי אֶרֶץ

The Massoretic reading וַיִּגַּר מִזָּה which is translated into English by 'he poureth out of the same' has been generally considered unsatisfactory, and thus some modern critics, following the Greek and Syriac versions, have suggested the emendation מִזָּה לִזָּה, that is, 'he poureth out from one (cup) into another.' But I need hardly say that this emendation does not render the expression less ambiguous and cumbersome.

I venture, therefore, to offer the following new explanation of the term מִזָּה. We need only slightly to alter the vowel points of the word, reading מִזָּה instead of the present מִזָּה, to see that the Massoretic text is on the whole correct. מִזָּה is not the demonstrative זֶה with the particle מִ, but it is rather the substantive מִזֵּה with the pronominal suffix הָ. The phrase וַיִּגַּר מִזָּה may thus be rendered 'and he poureth out her מִזֵּה.' As to the meaning of the term מִזֵּה, we may, in the first place, conjecture from its context that it is synonymous with חֹמֶר, מִסֶּךְ, all of which occur in the same verse, meaning 'wine.' Furthermore, in Arabic, too, this term, invariably written *muzz*, *muzzat*, *mizza*, means 'wine.' It is mentioned in the *Tahzīb al-Alfâzī* and in the *Lisân al-'Arab* among the words meaning 'wine.' The native Arab lexicographers illustrate this meaning of the term מִזֵּה by many citations from ancient poets, for which I may refer to the *Tahzīb* just cited.

2. SONG OF SONGS 7. 6.

רֹאשׁךְ עָלֶיךָ כְּכֹרֶמֶל וְדִלֶת רֹאשְׁךָ כְּאַרְגָּמָן מֶלֶךְ אֲסוּר בְּרֹהֲטִים

How puzzling this verse has proved to all commentators is quite familiar to Biblical students. Both Hebrew and gentile

scholars, ancient and modern, have failed to interpret it, especially the second part. The net result of all their efforts is well summed up by Ehrlich, who writes: 'Hier ist das Schlussglied für mich unübersetzbar.'

Now here, too, the difficulty arises from the misreading of the word מֶלֶךְ, which is treated as if it were the trilateral noun for 'king.' As a matter of fact, the ך in this case is not a radical letter, but a pronominal suffix added to the substantive מֶל parallel to the ך in the preceding ראשׁך. The proper reading is not מֶלֶךְ, but מֶלֶךְ or מֶלֶךְ. Thus, with merely a slight change in the pointing of this one word and without alteration of the Massoretic consonants, this hitherto most obscure verse in the Bible becomes at once clear and intelligible.

In describing his beloved, the lover uses the following three figures of speech: (1) 'thy head upon thee is like Carmel'; (2) 'and the hair of thine head like purple'; (3) 'thy מֶל is אסור כרהטים. All three figures parallel each other, the third conveying the same thought as the preceding. By a gradual process of elimination we may be able to get the meaning of the third part of the verse.

The theme of the passage is the hair of the beloved, for מֶל corresponds to the preceding word דלה, which means 'tresses.' The lover sings the praises of her hair, which is אסור כרהטים. The verb אסר is most commonly used in the sense of binding, but not infrequently it is also used in the sense of tying, as in ויאסר את מרכבתו. ויאסרו בעגלה. ויאסר אזור במתניהם. אסרי לגפן עירה—in the last place in the sense of girdling. The verb may therefore be used here in the sense of doing up the hair with something, either for ornament or convenience. The meaning of the word כרהטים becomes clear. It refers to the ribbons and fillets which a woman employs to do up her hair. Now the term כרהטים in the sense of 'tresses,' which is usually attributed to it in this passage, likewise does not occur elsewhere in the Bible, as modern commentators have observed (cf. Budde), while מֶל is *hapax legomenon*.

But, as a matter of fact, both מֶל in the sense of tresses and כרהט in the new interpretation I give it, rest on a firm basis. Although none of the senses of the Hebrew root מלל, found

elsewhere in the Bible, suggest the sense in which I suppose מל is used in the Song of Songs, namely that of 'tresses,' it might conceivably be that this meaning was derived from the conception of motion implied in the root מלל, from which we have the expression מלל ברנלין, and perhaps also the word מלל in the sense of rubbing and stirring, as found in the Mishna. Compare, for example, the word תלתלים which Nöldeke declares to have been derived from the Arabic *taltala*, which is used in the sense of motion. It is also possible that the word מלל in the Mishna in the sense of fringes, as in the passage Kelim 28. 7, חוץ מן המלל, according to the interpretation of R. Hai Gaon, is closely related to the word.

The Arabic, to be sure, possesses no noun *mall* meaning 'hair,' but there is the inverted term *limmat* 'locks,' which is used by the ancient poet al-'Ijâj quoted by al-Aṣmayî in his Kitâb ḥuluk al-insân (ed. A. Haffer). Now the derivation of the word *limmat* remains obscure; for, among the various shades of meaning of the Arabic root, all of which imply arrival and approach, there is none from which it could logically have been evolved in this sense. The explanation given in the Lisân al-'Arab seems rather far-fetched. One is therefore tempted to question the indigeneity of the word in the Arabic language. It is perhaps permitted to suppose that it was borrowed from some other Semitic language, not improbably from the Hebrew itself, and that, in passing from one language to another, the radicals became transposed, as is so often the case.

As regards the word רהטים, the argument rests on a still firmer basis. There seems to be no room for doubt. The word רהט is found also in Arabic, where it is used in a sense very much akin to that in which I suppose it is used in this verse. See the Lisân al-'Arab, s.v. According to Lane, s.v., the *rahaṭ* is a garment for children made of skin or wool cut into ṭhongs or strips.

We may conclude that in the ancient Semitic language the word רהט originally has the general sense of a strip of leather or cloth, of a width varying according to its use in each locality. Among the Hebrews the רהט may have been a narrow strip like a fillet, used both as an ornament and a hair-band.

3. NAHUM 2. 14.

הנני אליך נאם יהוה צבאות והבערתי בעשן רכבה וכפ'ריך
 תאכל חרב והכרתי מארץ טרפך ולא ישמע עוד
 קול מלאככה

The great majority of modern commentators are generally agreed upon accepting the Massoretic text of this verse, subject, however, to a slight emendation. They would regard the ה at the end of מלאככה as a dittography from the beginning of the next verse.

The commentators have, nevertheless, been slightly troubled as to the proper disposal of מלאככה. There is no room at all for a messenger, for the entire last part of this chapter deals with lions and their prey. One of the modern commentators has suggested that we substitute מהלכך for מלאככה, while others declare that this whole hemistich must be placed elsewhere. But the Massoretic text is correct. The מלאך used here is not the word מלאך in the usual sense of 'messenger,' but is derived rather from a root לאך whose Arabic equivalent is *lāka* 'grind.' The roots 'alaka and 'alaka are used in exactly the same sense. The three roots are used synonymously in the sense of grinding some hard object between the teeth, as a horse grinds his teeth upon the bit. It is the sound made by the molar teeth when grinding something hard. There is no doubt that the word מלאככה used here is employed in a similar sense to complete the figure of the lion and his prey. Translate: 'the sound of thy grinding.'

BRIEF NOTES

Note on Kathāsaritsāgara 9. 7

At the opening of the second book of the Kathāsaritsāgara, in which the story of Udayana is begun, there is a passage that requires emendation, although Speyer has not dealt with it in his critical notes (*Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, p. 154 ff.). On introducing Śatānika, the grandfather of Udayana, the author says (taraṅga 9, v. 6 and 7)¹:—

*tasyāṃ rājā śatānikah pāṇḍavānvayasambhavaḥ
janamejayaputro 'bhūt pautro rājñah parīkṣitah
abhimanyuprapautrasya yasyādīpuruṣo 'rjunaḥ.*

This is translated by Tawney (1. 51), according to the text given above: 'In it [the city of Kauśāmbī] dwelt a king named Śatānika, sprung from the Pāṇḍava family; he was the son of Janamejaya, and the grandson of king Parīkṣit, who was the great-grandson of Abhimanyu. The first progenitor of his race was Arjuna.'

The apparent omission of two generations between Parīkṣit and Abhimanyu is surprising, and is also in contradiction with the accounts of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, which make Parīkṣit the son of Abhimanyu (see Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 4). Read therefore in the third line *-prapautras tu*, 'and he (Śatānika) was the great-grandson of Abhimanyu.' The corruption of the nominative into the genitive is easily explained by the influence of the following *yasya*.

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Name of the so-called deity Za-mal-mal

In the Chicago Syllabary recently published (Luckenbill, *AJSL* 23. 169 ff.), line 220 is read: *ba-a* | sign to be explained | *pi-sa-an-nu* | *ša* ^d*za-mal-mal* *šu-ma*.

¹ Ed. Brockhaus, 1. 97; ed. Durgāprasād and Parab, p. 28 (Bombay, 1889). D's second edition (1903) is not accessible to me.

The name of the patron god of Kish who is identified with In-urta (Nin-IB), called *mār rêštum ša E-kur* in the Hammurabi Code, and later 'the Marduk of battle,' has been read *Za-mà-mà*, and, as above, *Za-mal-mal*. The last word in the line of the Syllabary, namely, *šu-ma*, however, is to be understood as meaning that the sign in the name which has been read *mà* and *mal*, is here to be read *ba*. For the same expression cf. line 288 of the Yale Syllabary (Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, 53: 288), which reads: *ur-ta* | sign to be explained | *u-ra-šu* | *ša* ^d*Nin-IB* *šu-ma*, which means that the sign *IB* or *urašu* in ^d*Nin-IB* is to be read *ur-ta*.¹ The complete name, however, is to be read *Nin-urta* or (*N*)*in-urta*. In late times, according to a well-established law, the *r* passes into *š*, and the name is reproduced in Aramaic characters אנושה, which represents *In-ušta* < *In-urta* < *In-marta* < *Nin-marta* or perhaps *Nin-Mar-Tu*.

With the reading *Za-bà-bà* before us, the name of the god of Ekron, Baal Zebûb, immediately suggests itself for comparison. The usual explanation of this name, i.e. 'lord of flies,' a Zeus ἀπόμυιος, such as was worshiped at Elis in Greece, has never seemed appropriate for the oracle god which was consulted by Ahazia, king of Israel. Perhaps later we will find more evidence of a deity in Western Asia named Zabûb or Zabâb, whose name was reproduced in Babylonia by the scribes as *Za-bà-bà*.

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Babylonian niš 'oath' in West-Semitic

One point in the fragmentary and difficult ending of the Hadad inscription from Zenjirli is cleared up by reading נשה in lines 28 and 29 as equal to the Babylonian *niš* 'oath.' The repeated נשה אמר will then mean 'he shall speak (take) his oath,' the final ה being the pronominal suffix (not a radical, which would be א, or the emphatic ending, which does not occur in this inscription). In line 28-29 read: 'Your brother shall take his oath: Has he destroyed, or stolen . . .' (ה not Hafel, which is unknown in ננה, but interrogative particle). Then

¹ See also line 51 of the Yale Syllabary. That *urta* is the reading only of *IB*, was not stated in *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*.

further on: 'He shall take his oath: If [הן אם], n.b. the proper particles of swearing] I have set these words in a presumptuous mouth [read וך rather than ור, the facsimile speaking for the former] . . .' (Can the following verbs be interpreted as imperatives: 'Then stand fixed, my eye, be terrified[?], my ear [reading ארני]'?) Evidently the subject of the text is brought before some kind of judicial ordeal. If נש is to be interpreted as 'oath,' it is a Babylonian importation, and may reflect light upon the meaning of the Babylonian term in the contracts, where its meaning is variously explained.

I would suggest that possibly יהוה נסי of Ex. 17. 15 is to be translated, not 'Yahwe is my banner,' but 'Yahwe is my oath,' i.e. 'I swear by Yahwe.' The following obscure verse evidently gives Yahwe's oath of destruction against the Amalekites. In this case the word has been taken over from the Babylonian with a Samek instead of a Sin (possibly through South-Arabic influence?).

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*On the Reading of the Date-formula of the Fourth Year of
Gimil-Sin*

The date-formula, commemorating the fourth year of Gimil-Sin, king of Ur, has universally been transcribed by: *mu^dGimil-d Sin lugal Uriki -ma-ge bád mar-tu mu-ri-iq Ti-id-ni-im mu-dū* (or, *mu-rū*). (See Myhrman, *BE* 3, part 1, p. 42; Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 172; Huber, *Die Personennamen in den Keilschrifturkunden aus der Zeit der Könige von Ur und Nisin*, p. 33, etc.) Striking is here the Semitic name of the wall, which has been translated by Kugler: 'Schutzwehr gegen Tidnim.' It seems somewhat forced to translate 'Bulwark *against* Tidnum,' but it could be translated by 'bulwark of Tidnum.' This would imply that Tidnum is either a personal name, or, what seems more probable in case we acquiesce in the above transcription, a special district of Uruk. But Tidnum as a geographical name, so far as I can ascertain, is nowhere mentioned. In view of the fact that we meet in this date-formula with the Semitic word *murik* I would propose to read instead of *Ti-id-ni-im*, *á-lí-im* and connect the

preceding *ti* with *murik*, i.e. *mu-ri-ik-ti á-lí-im*. The phonetic reading of the Sumerian phonetic values for a Semitic word is not uncommon at that age, particularly in proper names. It could then be translated either by: 'City-extension,' if *muriktu* is taken as the participle of *araku* 2¹, with fem. termination (for *murriktu*), or 'bulwark of the city.' Note also that the omission of *ti* in *RTC* 428, R. 7, in this case is not a mistake of the scribe, but fully justified.

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'Emperor'-worship in Babylonia—a Reply

Without trespassing too much upon the Journal's valuable space, it seems desirable to point out, with reference to what Professor Barton has written (*JAOS* 37. 162-163), that while he appreciates my aim in my article on 'emperor'-worship, he accuses me of overlooking evidence which would overthrow my whole thesis. Only three points in reply are necessary: first, *JAOS* 36. 363, note 12, will disprove the accusation of overlooking important evidence; secondly, a comparison of the article itself with what Professor Barton writes in his last two paragraphs will show conclusively that he has made no point which has not already been made in my article, where the possibilities of other interpretations have been carefully noted; finally, it can hardly be considered biased to attempt to discover whether material can be interpreted in more ways than one. In my opinion, evidence proving 'emperor'-worship in Babylonia may be forthcoming, but it has not yet appeared.

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The Assyrian Veterinary Physician

The existence of the veterinary *surgeon* among the Babylonians is known from Hammurabi's codex. The activity of the veterinary *physician* is revealed in Rm 362 of the Kuyounjik texts.

The history of the veterinary medicine and surgery is almost a history of horse treatment. Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and

Middle Low German veterinary texts have been published, and in every case disorders of horses' feet occupy the first place. Colica of the horse is the principal internal ailment recorded by the ancients, and this has been treated since Assyrian times.

A large percentage of the badly mixed contents of *CT* 14 shows a characteristic arrangement of three columns. A single name of a plant, often accompanied by species determination through color, origin, or the like, appears in each line of the first column; the second column tells in what sickness it is useful; the third column advises the manner of application.

Rm 362, on plate 41 of *CT* 14, contains parts of 13 lines of 5 sections. The first section consists of 5 lines. Of the first column, only the species determination of the last two plants is preserved; in each case it reads *eqli* 'arvensis.' The first line of the second column is slightly mutilated and can be restored to read *šam qi-iz libbi ša murnizqi* 'plant for abdominal cutting ache of the horse.' This means that the plant named in the first column is a remedy useful in treating colica of the horse. The next 4 lines repeat: 'remedy for the same.' The third, fourth, and fifth lines of the third column have lost because of mutilation the sign *HI*. Each reads: *taḥašal ina kuruni titirri ana libbi* 'contunde in vino, ungue ad abdomen.'

Cataplasmata have been used throughout the centuries for treatment of colica of the horse. Rm 362 presents the oldest evidence hitherto found.

FELIX VON OEFELE

New York City

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Middle West Branch of the Society will be held in Cincinnati on February 22d, 1918. The Hebrew Union College has extended an invitation, and the local committee of arrangements, Messrs. Morgenstern, Grossman, Kohler, and Philipson, is already making provision for the entertainment of the members. The program has not been completed, but papers have been announced by Messrs. Breasted, Bittenwieser, Byrne, Fullerton, Kohler, Lybyer, Morgenstern, Olmstead, Tolman, Waterman, and Wolfenson, and others are under consideration. Members desiring to present communications are requested to inform the secretary of the Branch, A. T. Olmstead, Urbana, Illinois.

The annual meeting of the Society will take place at New Haven on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, April 2d, 3d, and 4th, 1918.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

A joint meeting of the Archaeological Institute, the American Philological Association, the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, the American Historical Association, and the American Anthropological Association was held in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania, December 26th to 29th, 1917. The Society of Biblical Literature held its sessions of the first day at Dropsie College. Several of the joint sessions were devoted to symposiums and topics of interest to Oriental students. On the 27th the following papers were presented, each one being followed by the remarks of an appointed opener of the discussion: "The Cosmopolitanism of the Religion of Tarsus and the Origin of Mithra," by A. L. Frothingham; "Oriental Impe-

rialism," by A. T. Olmstead (opener, Morris Jastrow, Jr.); "Greek Imperialism," by W. S. Ferguson (opener, W. N. Bates); "Roman Imperialism," by G. W. Botsford (opener, S. B. Platner); "The Decay of Nationalism under the Roman Empire," by Clifford Moore (opener, F. F. Abbott). On the 29th the Historical Association held a conference on Far Eastern History, with the following papers: "The Mid-Victorian Attitude of Foreigners in China," by F. W. Williams; "American Scholarship in Chinese History," by K. S. Latourette; "Twenty Years of Party Politics in Japan, 1897-1917," by W. W. McLaren; "The History of Naturalization Legislation in the United States, with Special Reference to Chinese and Japanese Immigration," by S. L. Gulick. There was also a subscription dinner conference for members of the Historical Association interested in Far Eastern History. At a joint session of the Archaeological Institute and the Society of Biblical Literature several papers on the archaeology of the Near East were presented. The meetings were thus particularly characterized by attention to Oriental questions.

The Archaeological Institute elected as president James C. Egbert, and as additional vice-presidents A. T. Clay, H. R. Fairclough, H. N. Fowler, Frank Springer; the other officers were re-elected.

The Society of Biblical Literature elected the following officers: president, J. A. Montgomery; vice-president, E. J. Goodspeed; secretary, H. J. Cadbury; corresponding secretary, M. L. Margolis; treasurer, George Dahl.

The governing board of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem met in connection with the above meetings. It was felt that this was a propitious time for taking steps toward raising an endowment for the School and for making other provisions for its usefulness as soon as work can begin again in Jerusalem. A gift of \$50,000 was announced from Mrs. James B. Nies, of Brooklyn, for the construction of the first building on the School's property. Consul Glazebrook, of Jerusalem, reported on the condition of the property of the School and gave an interesting account of conditions in Jerusalem, which he left last May. Professors Torrey, Clay, and Ropes were re-elected, respectively, chairman, secretary, and treasurer of the Managing Committee.

We quote the following from the Literary Supplement of the *London Times*:—

The two oldest European organizations for the advancement of Oriental learning—the Société Asiatique, which began its activities in 1822, and the Royal Asiatic Society, which came into existence a year later—have concluded an agreement in the last few days for close and practical co-operation. It is felt that the most effective preparation for a wider federation of Allied Orientalists is for the two older societies to constitute a nucleus which may be a *point d'appui* for similar organizations. One of the objects of the scheme is that of replacing by a better, more speedy, and less cumbersome organization the old Orientalist Congresses, which met triennially in various European capitals. The last of these congresses was held in Athens in 1912, and the one in prospect before the war for 1915 was to assemble in London.

The Hyderabad Archaeological Society announces the institution of the 'Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal,' to be awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan archaeology or history. Theses for the first competition, which is open to scholars in any part of the world, will be received up to the end of October, 1918.

Those interested in the science of phonetics will be glad to learn of the formation in New York, during the past summer, of the Phonetic Society, whose object is, as implied in its name, 'the advancement of the organized knowledge of the sounds of human speech in general, and of the sounds and combinations of sounds which characterize the different languages of the world.' While necessarily local and limited in its activities at the start, this society looks forward to a wider membership and larger field of usefulness. Its first president is Dr. Charles P. G. Scott; its secretary is Robert Morris Pierce (143 West 47th Street, New York City), who will supply additional information on request.

PERSONALIA

The Rev. JAMES HOPE MOULTON, Professor of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology in the University of Manchester, died, at the age of 53, after the wrecking of his vessel in the Mediterranean by an enemy submarine on April 4th, 1917, from several days' exposure on the sea. He was distinguished in the field of Hellenistic grammar, particularly for his *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, and for his Iranian studies, among which may be named his Hibbert Lectures on *Zoroastrianism*. At his death he was returning from a journey to India, where he lectured before the Parsi community, which has since published the lectures. Probably the last of his learned communications was his report on the decipherment of the Hittite bilingual texts made by Hrozny and his associates and generally inaccessible to the English-speaking world because of the war. This appeared in the *Expository Times* for December, 1916. An appreciation of Professor Moulton is given by his colleague Professor George Milligan in the *Expository Times* for June, 1917.

The Hon. JOHN W. FOSTER, LL.D., a former minister to China and one time Secretary of State, died in Washington on November 15th. He was born in 1836. He distinguished himself in diplomatic negotiations with and in behalf of the Chinese government, and was the author of *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (1902). He was lecturer in international law in Columbian University, Washington, D. C.

The Marquis CHARLES JEAN MELCHIOR DE VOGÜÉ, born October 18th, 1829, died in Paris on November 10th, 1917. Appreciations of this distinguished archaeologist are given by S. Reinach in *Revue Archéologique*, 1916, p. 429-447, and by Père Lagrange in *Revue Biblique*, 1917, p. 5. A bibliography of his writings is contained in the *Florilegium . . . à Melchior de Vogüé*, ed. G. Maspero, Paris, 1909.

HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge University, died last May, in his 83d year. His

great contribution to Oriental scholarship lies in his edition of the Greek Old Testament and the accompanying volume of Introduction.

JOHN GWYN, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, is dead, in his 91st year (see the *Guardian* for April 12th). He was the discoverer and editor of several valuable Syriac manuscripts of the New Testament.

Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, has been appointed Professor of Ethnology at George Washington University. He will retain his position as ethnologist in the Bureau. He spent a profitable season of field work in the summer and autumn among the Sauk, Fox, and Potawatomi Indians.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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

† designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Dr. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.
- Prof. ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES, 1 Rue des Écoles, Fontenay aux Roses, Seine, France. 1917.
- Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.
- Prof. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Cotterstock, Chipstead, Surrey, England. 1907.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, vii Holló-Uteza 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.
- †Prof. HENDRIK KERN, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. LEONARD W. KING, British Museum, London, England. 1917.
- Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, Ve.) 1917.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7.) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kaiser-Friedrichstr. 32.) 1878.
- Prof. HERMANN OLDENBERG, University of Göttingen, Germany. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.) 1910.
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François 1^{er}, Paris, France. 1908.
- Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Witte Singel 84a.) 1914.

Prof. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weberstrasse 18a.) 1902.

Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstrasse 15.) 1890. [Total: 24]

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with * are those of life members.

Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.

Mrs. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.

Dr. CYRUS ADLER, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.

Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1915.

Dr. THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN, 5547 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.

Dr. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.

Prof. MASAHARU ANESAKI, Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan. 1914.

SHIGERI ARAKI, 102 West 123d St., New York. 1915.

Prof. J. C. ARCHER, 571 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1916.

Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD (Andover Theol. Seminary), 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

Prof. KANICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn., 1904.

Q. M. Sgt. CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, 1125 Arbor Drive, San Diego, Cal. 1916.

Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York. 1915.

LEMONT BARBOUR, 440 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1917.

Prof. LEROY CARR BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.

Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.

Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.

Prof. L. W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 418 West 20th St., New York. 1894.

Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Miss ETHEL BEERS, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.

*SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR, Deccan College, Poona, via Bombay, India. 1914.

Miss EFFIE BENDANN, 420 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.

Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.

E. BEN YEHUDA, 473 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1916.

Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.

PIERRE A. BERNARD, 662 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1914.

Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.

Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.

Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.

CARL W. BISHOP, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.

- Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 7 Carroll Road, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria. 1898.
- Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, 804 W. Oregon St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, Lutherville, Md. 1916.
- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
- Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, 93 N. Ohio Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
- GUSTAV VON BRAUCHITSCH, 87 Middle Divinity Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Jubbulpore, C.P., India. 1909.
- Dr. WILLIAM NORMAN BROWN, 227 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- LUDLOW S. BULL, 5344 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- Dr. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
- Prof. MOSES BUTTENWIESER (Hebrew Union College), 257 Loraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Dr. EUGENE H. BYRNE, 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1914.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- J. DUDLEY CARROLL, 1032 Forest Ave., Memphis, Tenn. 1915.
- Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, LL.D., Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
- Dr. PAUL CARUS, Care of Open Court, La Salle, Ill. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, Sunnyside, Rayapettah, Madras, Southern India. 1899.
- Miss EVA CHANNING, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Dr. EDWARD CHIERA (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 5340 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
- HWANG CHUNG-HUEI, Hotel Nottingham, Boston, Mass. 1915.
- ARTHUR H. CLARK, Caxton Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, 24 North Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.

- *ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 820 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
 Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHEN, 4100 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 *GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
 Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins University), 1027 Calvert St.,
 Baltimore, Md. 1887.
 Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, Univ. of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn.
 1905.
 Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
 1917.
 EDWIN SANFORD CRANDON, 36 Bowdoin St., Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
 Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
 FRANCIS A. CUNNINGHAM, 508 W. Maple Ave., Merchantville, N. J. 1910.
 Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.
 1888.
 Hon. ALEXANDER DEL MAR, 5 Nassau St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Prof. IRWIN H. DE LONG, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church,
 Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
 Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
 JAMES T. DENNIS, Woodbrook, Md. 1900.
 GOTTHARD DEUTSCH, 3600 Wilson Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
 Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
 Dr. VICCAJI DINSHAW, Mahabubnagar, Haidarabad, India. 1915.
 Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
 LOUIS A. DOLE, Urbana, Ohio. 1916.
 LEON DOMINIAN, American Geographical Society, 156th St. and Broadway,
 New York, N. Y. 1916.
 Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 N. Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
 Rev. WALTER DRUM, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1915.
 Rev. WM. HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
 1912.
 Dr. GEORGE S. DUNCAN, 2900 7th St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
 Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 1910.
 WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, 3600 Albemarle St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
 Mrs. ARTHUR C. EDWARDS, 309 West 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS, 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
 Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
 1901.
 ALBERT W. ELLIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1917.
 WILLIAM T. ELLIS, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.
 Dr. AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
 Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1916.
 Prof. C. P. FAGNANI (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St., New York,
 N. Y. 1901.
 Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin,
 Texas. 1888.
 Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
 Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, 91 Arlington St., Newton, Mass. 1900.

- Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.
- CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- Rev. Dr. FONCK, Instituto Biblico Pontificio, Via del Archelto, Roma, Italia. 1913.
- Rev. Dr. HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Prof. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Prof. JOHN FRYER, 2620 Durant Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1917.
- Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
- Dr. WM. HENRY FURNESS, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Miss MAUDE H. GAECKLER, Ormsby Hall, Appleton, Wis. 1915.
- Dr. CARL GAENSSLE, 3117 Cedar St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.
- ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
- Rev. FRANK GAVIN, St. Francis House, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, So. Philadelphia High School, Broad and Jackson Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.
- Rev. F. GEORGE LIN, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D. C. 1916.
- Miss ALICE GETTY, 75 ave. des Champs Elysées, Paris, France. 1915.
- Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE (Johns Hopkins University), 1002 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
- Rev. Dr. A. H. GODBEY, Bridgeton, Mo. 1917.
- Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.
- Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
- KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
- Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 25 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1897.
- Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 25 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1907.
- Miss BELLE DA COSTA GREENE, 33 East 36th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Miss ETTALENE M. GRICE, Care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
- Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 50 Heck Ave., Ocean Grove, N. J. 1894.
- Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.
- *Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 518 W. 140th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Mrs. IDA M. HANCHETT, Care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebr. 1912.
- Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.

- EDWARD A. HENRY, Box 217, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- PHILIP S. HENRY, 1402 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, Leopoldstr. 8, München, Germany. 1887.
- Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. EMIL G. HIRSCH, 3612 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- PHILIP K. HITTI (Columbia University), 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1915.
- *Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
- *Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
- Dr. STANLEY K. HORNBECK, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
- Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
- Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- *Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- SOLOMON T. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. ISAAC HUSIK, 408 S. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1913.
- *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
- Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 12th St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
- Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
- Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
- Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 3038 N St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1908.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Dr. FREDERICK T. KELLY, 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.

- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 415 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- LEEDS C. KERR, Easton, Md. 1916.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- Dr. K. KOHLER (Hebrew Union College), 3016 Stanton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- GEORGE S. S. KUKHI, 30 Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- WALTER S. KUPFER, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
- Prof. GOTTHARD LANDSTROM, Box 312, Hebron, N. Dak. 1917.
- *Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Denison University, Granville, Ohio. 1917.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Rabbi MORRIS S. LAZARON, 1712 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. FREDERICK LENT, 195 Livingston St., New Haven, Conn. 1915.
- T. Y. LEO, Chinese Consulate, 18 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1916.
- Dr. GERSON B. LEVI, 5000 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 561 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Rev. H. LINFIELD, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMAN, Hainholzweg 44, Göttingen, Germany. 1912.
- Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, University of Pa. Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Dr. HENRY F. LUTZ, 4314 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1009 W. California St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.
- *BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTGOE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- FREDERICK MCCORMICK (Asiatic Institute), 27 West 67th St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Prof. J. F. MCCURDY, 255 Fort Washington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- WALTER A. MAIER, 70 Toptiff St., Dorchester, Mass. 1917.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, 757 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 6501 Wayne Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.

- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
 Rev. Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD, 175 9th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK (Millikin Univ.), 285 N. Fairview Ave., Decatur, Ill. 1917.
 Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Seminary), 2738 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 Rev. FREDERIC C. MEREDITH, 32 Kita-kuruwa Cho, Maebashi, Jochu, Japan. 1914.
 Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
 MARTIN A. MEYER, 3108 Jackson St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
 Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
 Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
 †Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS, 218 Ifley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
 Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 BENJAMIN BURGESS MOORE, 109 East 38th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
 *Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
 Dr. RILEY D. MOORE, Div. of Physical Anthropology, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1916.
 Prof. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 863 Hutchins Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
 Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
 Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Jefferson, Wis. 1906.
 Prof. W. MAX MUELLER (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 4325 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
 Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
 Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, 477 Main St., Orange, N. J. 1916.
 EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, Box 321, Madison Square P. O., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Rev. Dr. JAMES B. NIES, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
 *Mrs. JAMES B. NIES, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1916.
 Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
 Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 1727 Lamont St., Washington, D. C. 1915.
 Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
 Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFELE, 326 E. 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
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 Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
 Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
 Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.

- Prof. ALBERT TENNEYCK OLMSTEAD (Univ. of Illinois), 901 S. Busey Ave., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
- Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
- *ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan. 1909.
- Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Woodley, Woodley Lane, Washington, D. C. 1917.
- T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, Thottakkadu House, Madras, India. 1913.
- PAUL POPENOE, 511 Eleventh St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
- Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Dr. JULIUS J. PRICE, 495 Palmerston Boulevard, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1917.
- Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
- Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, S.T.L., Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Rev. Dr. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, 801 Jackson St., Gary, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, Colonial Heights, Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
- E. N. RABINOWITZ, 125 Aisquith St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
- Dr. CAROLINE L. RANSOM, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- G. A. REICHLING, 466 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
- Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Rt. Rev. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER, Church House, 12th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1908.
- ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.
- Prof. GEORGE H. RICHARDSON, Peru, Ind. 1917.
- J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Canada. 1913.
- Rev. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Haverford, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

- Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Dr. JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN, 1704 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 417 West 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
ELBERT RUSSELL, Woolman House, Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.
P. D. SAKLATVALA, 354 4th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1915.
†Mrs. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
Rev. Dr. FRANK K. SANDERS, 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.
Rev. Dr. HENRY SCHAEFFER, 19 Southampton St., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
Dr. JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, Box 998, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1906.
Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
Prof. H. SCHUMACHER, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1916.
Dr. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.
Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.
*Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, 125 Aisquith St., Baltimore, Md. 1917.
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi-machi, Sendai, Japan. 1902.
O. R. SELLERS, 126 S. Divinity Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
Dr. HENRY B. SHARMAN, Truro, Mass. 1917.
Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.
*JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
Major C. C. SMITH, Fourth Cavalry, Ft. Leavenworth, Kan. 1907.
Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.
Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
Rev. JOSEPH E. SNYDER, Ellicott City, Md. 1916.
ELY BANNISTER SOANE, Care of H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, England. 1911.
Prof. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.
REUBEN STEINBACH, 114 S. Chester St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., Woodbridge Hall, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Hon. MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. GEORGE SVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
Rev. HENRY SWIFT, Plymouth, Conn. 1914.

- WALTER T. SWINGLE, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C. 1916.
Rabbi SIDNEY TEDESHE, 461 Elmwood Ave., Providence, R. I. 1916.
Miss MARGARET THOMAS, 20 Gloucester St., Boston, Mass. 1915.
EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1917.
*Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, St. Bartholomew's Church, 44th St. & Madison Ave., N. Y. 1909.
Rev. Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH (Columbia Univ.), 55 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.
ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
Dr. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
Rev. SAMUEL W. WASS, 2987 Perry Ave., New York, N. Y. 1917.
Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Prof. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD, 30 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1903.
ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 100 Lenox Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
*Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
HERBERT L. WILLETT, 6119 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1901.
Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, Xenia, Ohio. 1911.
HENRY B. WITTON, 290 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
Dr. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 1113 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
Dr. HENRY A. WOLFSON, 25 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD, 1606 Minnehaha St., St. Paul, Minn. 1917.
Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.

- Miss MARGUERITE WOODWARD, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Prof. WILLIAM H. WORRELL (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 133 Whitney St., Hartford, Conn. 1910.
- Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. ROYDEN K. YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), 3437 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Dr. S. C. YLVISAKER, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1913.
- Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911. [Total: 348]

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- BOSTON, MASS.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- BROOKLYN, N. Y.: Theosophical Society.
- CHICAGO, ILL.: Field Museum of Natural History.
Hibbard Egyptian Library.
- NEW YORK: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
- PHILADELPHIA, PA.: American Philosophical Society.
Free Museum of Science and Art, Univ. of Penn.
- WASHINGTON, D. C.: Archaeological Institute of America.
- WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

EUROPE

- AUSTRIA, VIENNA: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
K. u. K. Direction der K. u. K. Hofbibliothek.
(Josephsplatz 1.)
Anthropologische Gesellschaft.
Geographische Gesellschaft.
- PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK: University Library.
- FRANCE, PARIS: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)
Bibliothèque Nationale.
Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)

- FRANCE, PARIS: École Française d'extrême Orient. (28, rue Bonaparte.)
Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.
- GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Bibliothek.
Seminar für Orientalische-Sprachen. (Am Zeughause
1.)
- DARMSTADT: Grossherzogliche Hofbibliothek.
- GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstrasse 50.)
Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein für Sachsen und Thüringen.
- KIEL: Universitäts-Bibliothek.
- LEIPZIG: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- MUNICH: Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.
- TÜBINGEN: Library of the University.
- GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, S. W.)
Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W. C.)
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N. W.)
E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. (46 Great Russell St.)
Palestine Exploration Fund. (2 Hinde St., Manchester Square.)
- ITALY, BOLOGNA: Reale Accademia delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna.
- FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.
- ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
Istituto Biblico Pontificio.
- NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.
Vereeniging "Koloniaal Instituut."
- LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.
- S'GRAVENHAGE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië.
- RUSSIA, FINLAND, HELSINGFORS: Société Finno-Ougrienne.
- PETROGRAD: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
Archeologiji Institut.
- SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

ASIA

- CHINA, SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- TONKIN: École Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton),
Hanoi.

- INDIA, ALLAHABAD: Allahabad Public Library.
 BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)
 BENARES: Benares Sanskrit College, "The Pandit."
 CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)
 The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)
 Sanskrit College.
 DELHI: Secretary to the Government of India, Department of
 Education.
 LAHORE: Library, University of the Punjab.
 MADRAS: Oriental Manuscripts Library. ✓
 Presidency College.
 SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Ben-
 more, Simla, Punjab.)
 Secretary to the Government of India, Department of
 Education, Simla.
 SIAM, BANGKOK: Siam Society.
 Vagirañāna National Library.
 CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 JAPAN, TOKYO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.
 JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
 KOREA, SEOUL: Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 NEW ZEALAND, NEW PLYMOUTH: The Polynesian Society.
 PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, MANILA: The Ethnological Survey.
 Philippine Library.
 SYRIA, JERUSALEM: The American School. (Care U. S. Consul.)
 SIBERIA, VLADIVOSTOK: Oriental Institute.
 HAWAII, HONOLULU: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.

AFRICA

- EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

JOURNALS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- The Indian Antiquary (Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).
 Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E.
 Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).
 Archives orientales (care of Prof. J.-A. Lundell, Upsala, Sweden).
 Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, Herzogstrasse
 8, Munich, Bavaria).
 Transactions of the American Philological Association (care of Prof.
 C. P. Bill, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O).
 Le Monde Oriental (care of Prof. K. F. Johansson, Upsala, Sweden).
 Panini Office, Bhuvaneshwari, Asram, (Allahabad) Bahadurgany (India).
 Siddhanta Dipika Office, Madras, N. C. (India).
 Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register (Colombo, Ceylon).
 Revue Biblique (90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).

Al-Machriq (Université St. Joseph, Beirut, Syria).

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (care of Prof. Nau, Rue Littré 10, Paris, France).

Leipziger Semitistische Studien (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, Germany).

Indian Text Series (care of J. Murray, Albemarle St., London, England).

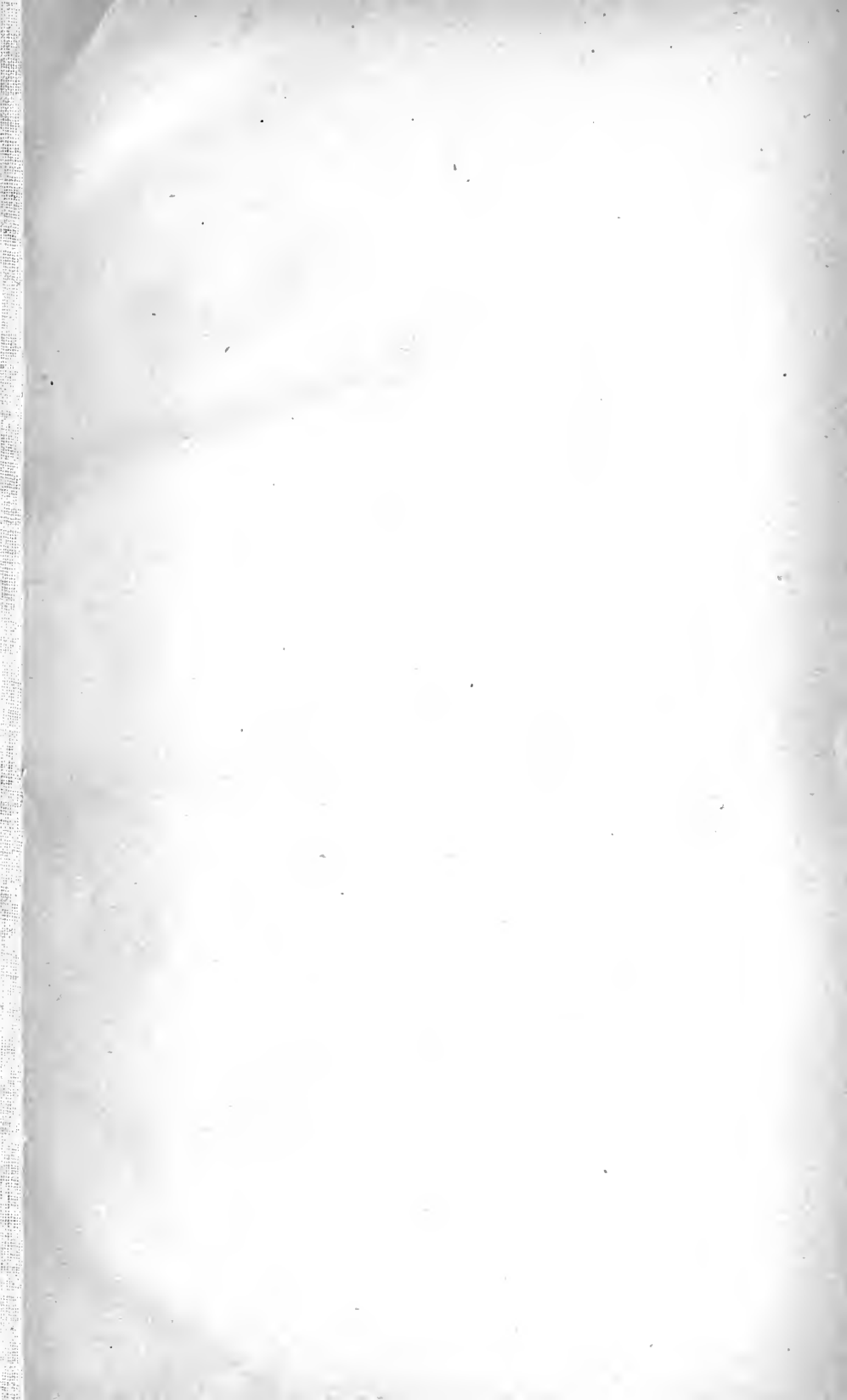
Bibliotheca Buddhica (Petrograd, Russia).

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. D. Karl Marti, Marienstr. 25, Bern, Switzerland).

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany).

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenthurmstr. 15, Vienna, Austria).

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).





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