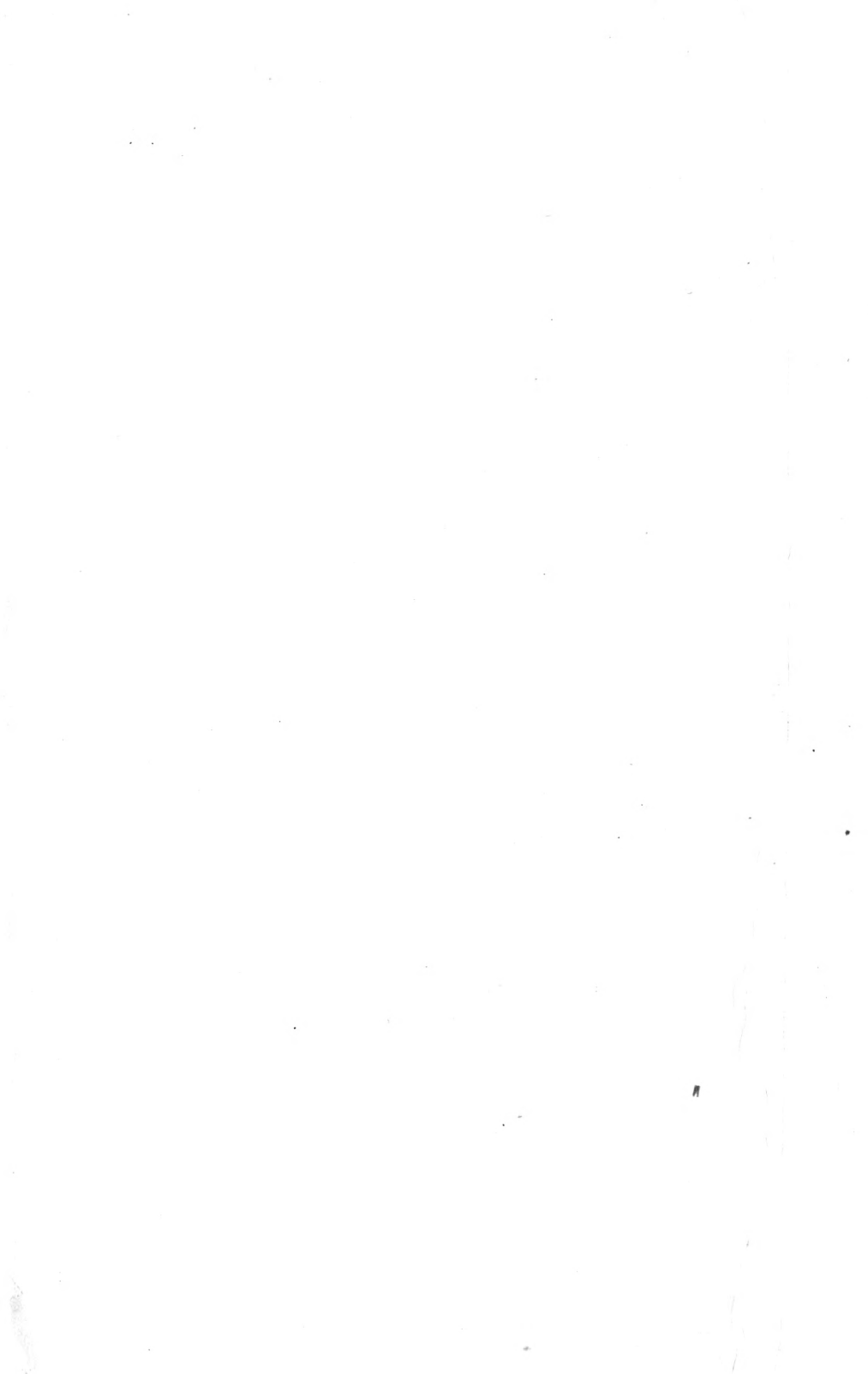
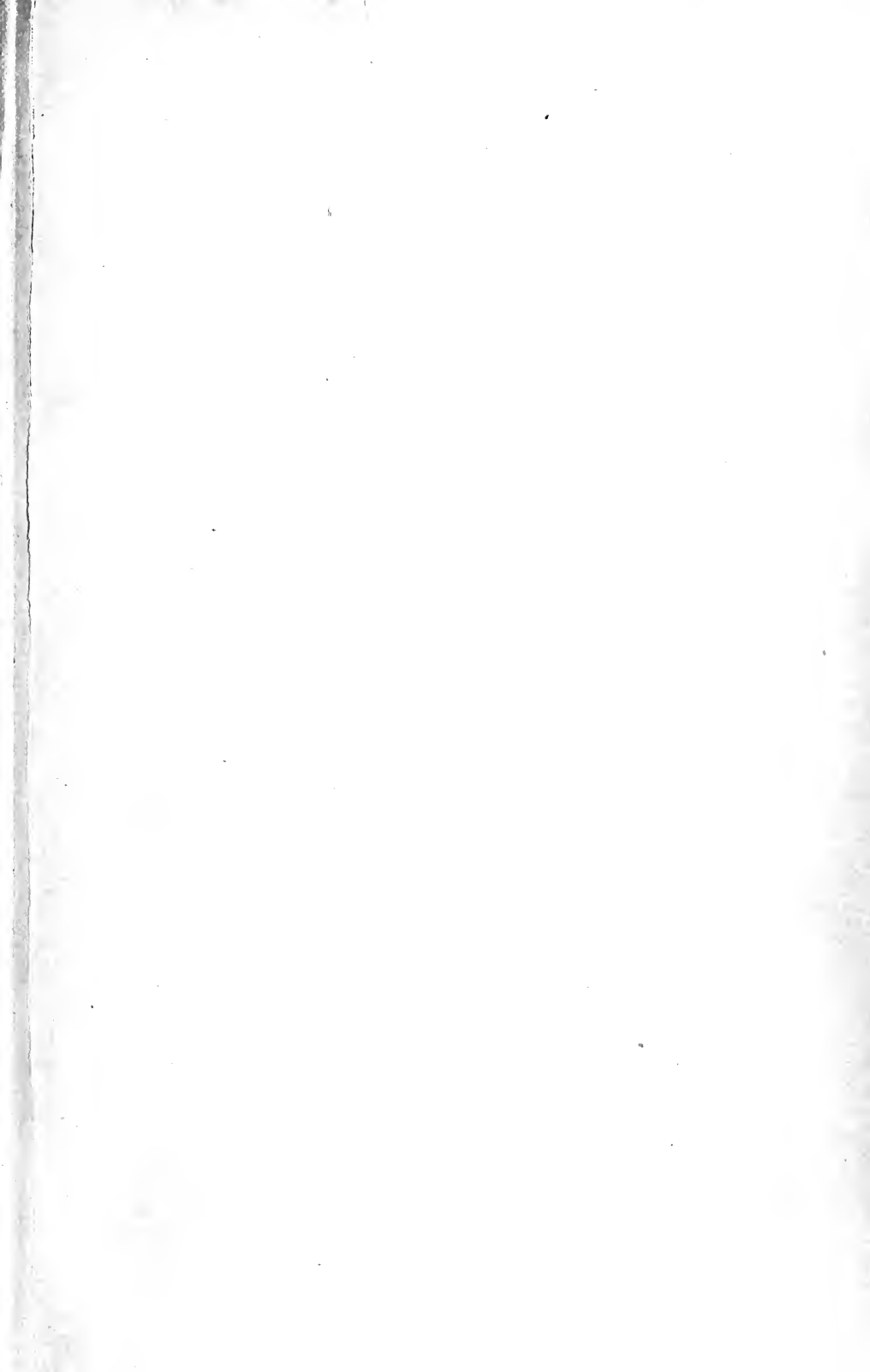
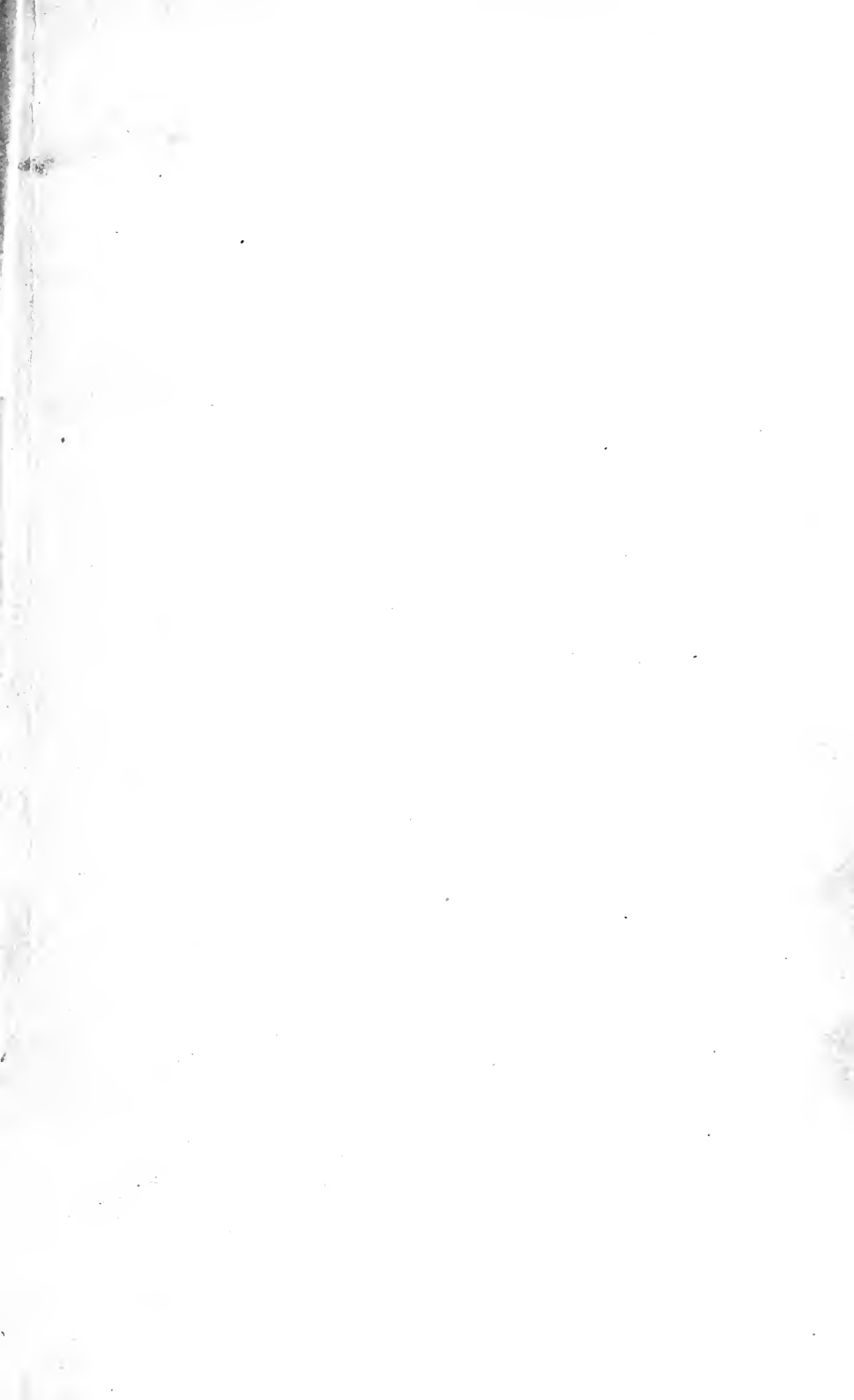


UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



~~Orient. Philol.~~

~~A~~

820-

JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY FRANKLIN EDGERTON

Professors in the University of Pennsylvania

VOLUME 40

186184
28.12.23

PUBLISHED FOR THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

1920

PJ
2
A5
v. 40-41

Printed by The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company,
New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABBOTT, J. E.: Mālobā, the Marāṭhā Saint	300
ALBRIGHT, W. F.: Uttu, the Sumerian God of Commerce	73
— Gilgames and Engidu, Mesopotamian Genii of Pecun- dity	307
BARRET, L. C.: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Seven	145
BENDER, H. H.: Lithuanian <i>klónas, klūnas</i> 'a place where something is spread out'	353
BLAKE, F. R.: A Bibliography of the Philippine Languages, Part I	25
BLOOMFIELD, M.: The Dohada or Craving of Pregnant Women: A Motif of Hindu Fiction	1
— Notes on the Divyāvadāna	336
BREASTED, J. H.: The First Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago	282
EDGERTON, F.: Hindiisms in Sanskrit again	84
— Studies in the Veda	89
— Counter Rejoinder (to E. W. Fay)	100
— Evil-Wit, No-Wit, and Honest-Wit	271
FAY, E. W.: Phonetic and Lexical Notes	81
— Rejoinder to Professor Edgerton	93
— Indo-Iranica	121
GAVIN, F.: The Sleep of the Soul in the Early Syriac Church	103 —
KENT, R. G.: The Textual Criticism of Inscriptions	289
KOO, T. H.: The Constitutional Development of the Western Han Dynasty	170
KRAELING, E. G. H.: The Tower of Babel	276
LANMAN, C. R.: Phrase-Words and Phrase-Derivatives	194
— The Sanskrit Passive Stem	199
— India and The West with a Plea for Team-Work among Scholars	225
— Bharata's Treatise on Dramaturgy (<i>Nāṭya-sāstra</i>)	359
LINFIELD, H. S.: The Dependence of the Talmudic Principle of <i>Asma- khta</i> on Babylonian Law	126
LUTZ, H. F.: A Loanword in Egyptian	71
— A Remark on Egyptian <i>r</i> 'part'	359
PRINCE, J. D.: A possible Sumerian Original of the Name Nimrod	201
SCHOFF, W. H.: Cinnamon, Cassia and Somaliland	260
SUKTHANKAR, V. S.: An Assyrian Tablet found in Bombay	142
— Studies in Bhāsa, I	248
THAYER, G. W.: Julien's Manuscript Dictionary of the Manchu Lan- guage	140
TOLMAN, H. C.: An erroneous Etymology of the New Persian <i>pādšāh</i> , in Relation to the pr. n. <i>Πατισειθης</i> (Hdt. 3. 61)	200
TORREY, C. C.: The mosaic Inscription at 'Ain Dūk	141 —
WARREN, W. F.: Where was Śākadvīpa in the mythical World-View of India?	356
PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING AT ITHACA, 1920	204
PROCEEDINGS OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH	134
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY	75, 285, 361
NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.	75, 286, 363
THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES	77
PERSONALIA	80, 144, 224, 288, 360
LIST OF MEMBERS	367

THE DOHADA OR CRAVING OF PREGNANT WOMEN: A MOTIF OF HINDU FICTION¹

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

HINDU SCHEMATISM allows nothing in nature or the mind, however unimportant or indecent it may seem to a sophisticated Western soul, to pass without formal statement and discussion. The two Śāstras, Kāmaśāstra, 'Rules of Love,' and the (so far) lost Steyaśāstra, 'Rules of Thieving,' are familiar examples of this Hindu habit. Lurid descriptions of the female body, inflammatory, and primarily intended to inflame, pass into literature without the least sense of indecency or decadence.² In their Hindu treatment, these matters appear, in the end, natural or even exigent; to suppress them or disguise them would leave a blank, and cast shame upon him that thinketh evil. Similarly, dohada, that is, the fancy, craving, or whim of a pregnant woman, a trivial and intimate event in woman's life history, is not allowed to flit uncaught thru Hindu thot. On the contrary it is gripped firmly, and handled without gloves, pervading poetry and fiction all the way from Ceylon to Tibet. The notion is so persistent that it becomes, in time, a mere formula, or bit of embroidery. There is scarcely a description of spring-time

¹ The present article continues the encyclopedic treatment of Hindu Fiction, planned some years ago, and since then substantiated in a number of my own papers, and one by Dr. E. W. Burlingame. See Bloomfield, 'On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction, and the Laugh and Cry Motif,' *JAOS* 36. 54-89; 'On the Art of Entering Another's Body, a Hindu Fiction Motif,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 56. 1-43; 'The Fable of the Crow and the Palm-Tree, a Psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction,' *AJP* 40. 1-36. Preceded by, 'The Character and Adventures of Mūladeva,' *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 52. 616-50; and, 'On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction,' *Festschrift Ernst Windisch*, 349-61. Burlingame's paper is: 'The Act of Truth (*Saccakiriya*): a Hindu Spell and its Employment as a Psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction': *JRAS*, July 1917, pp. 429-67.

² So, e. g., Daśakumāra Carita (Bombay Sanskrit Series), Part 1, p. 62; Vāsavadattā, Gray's Translation, pp. 58, 61, 62, 86; Kathāsaritsāgara 84. 6 ff.; Pārśvanātha Caritra, 1. 216 ff.; Samarādityasamkṣepa 5. 167 ff.; Divyāvadana, p. 444.

in which trees or plants do not manifest dohada before they blossom out; there is many a story in which an embryo child teases its mother with caprices of the most varied sorts.

The treatment of dohada is both scientific and literary. As regards science, it figures prominently in medicine, in love books (*Kāmaśāstra*), in psycho-physics, and in philosophy. With these we are not directly concerned, except in so far as they put forth the idea that dohada is due to the presence of a second heart and a second will in the body of the mother; that the mother's cravings are, therefore, vicarious; and that the prosperous development of the embryo depends upon the satisfaction of these cravings, in whatsoever manner they may manifest themselves. This aspect of dohada, as well as the derivation of the word from the idea of 'two-heartedness,' has been treated conclusively enough by Lüders, *Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1898, fascicle 1; Jolly, *IF* 10, 213 ff.; Aufrecht, *ZDMG* 52. 763; Boehtlingk, *ZDMG* 55. 98; *Ber. d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1901; Richard Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, p. 392 ff.

As a theme of literature dohada appears in two ways, both naïve in their inception, and *a priori* quite dispensable. It must be admitted, however, that on the whole, they are worked out in a way that lacks neither beauty nor usefulness; that is entirely free from grossness; and that, in the end, really adds both distinctiveness and variety to Hindu literature.

One of the ways is poetic, the other pragmatic. In poetry we have the exquisite notion that the sudden blossoming of trees in the spring is a kind of birth, preceded by a pregnancy fancy. The fulfilment of that fancy is that to be the necessary preliminary to the perfect event. The kadamba tree suddenly buds forth at the beginning of the rainy season, when the thunder rolls—sign that the kadamba craved to hear the thunder, before giving birth to its buds. The bakula (vakula) tree, before bearing blossoms, must be sprinkled with wine from the mouths of young women—that is its whim. Above all, the aśoka tree must be touched by the foot of a maiden, or young woman, before it blossoms—again the whim of the pregnant plant, say, or imply, the Hindu poets.³

³ As regards the aśoka see Lālā Sitā Rām in *ZDMG* 58. 393.

In Pārśvanātha Caritra 6. 796, 797, four trees are thus said to blossom in spring in consequence of having their several dohadas fulfilled.

*puṣyanti taruṇīṣṭhā yasmin⁴ kuruvakadrumāḥ,
vikāśaṁ yānty aśokās tu vadhūpādaprahārataḥ.
mṛgākṣisīdhugandūṣāḥ puṣyanti bakulā api,
campakās tu praphullanti sugandhajaladohadāḥ.*

‘(Came spring) when the kuruvaka trees bloom, as they are embraced by young maids; when the aśoka trees burst into bloom, as they are struck by the feet of young women; when the bakula trees bloom, if sprayed with wine from the mouths of gazelle-eyed maidens; when the campaka trees burst as they are sprinkled with perfumed water.’ The kuravaka or kuruvaka is said also to break into blossom when looked at by a beautiful woman, (*pramadayā*) *ālokitaḥ kuravakaḥ kurute vikāśam*, gloss to Kumārasaṁbhava 3. 26 (see *Pet. Lex.* under *kuravaka*).

In the more eufuistic descriptions, Vāsavadattā 133 and 138, figure only aśoka and bakula; they are, as a matter of fact, mentioned most frequently: ‘Came spring, that makes bakula trees horripilate from sprinkling with rum in mouthfuls by amorous maids, merry with drink; that has hundreds of aśoka trees delighted by the slow stroke of the tremulous lotus feet, beautiful with anklets, of wanton damsels, enslaved by amorous delights.’ And again, ‘In spring, by its fresh shoots the aśoka, because of its longing to be touched by a maiden’s ankleted foot, red with the dye of new lac, seemed to have assumed that color. The bakula shone as if, thru sprinkling with mouthfuls from amorous girls’ lotus lips, completely filled with sweet wine, it had assumed its (the wine’s) color in its own flowers.’⁵

Rarely does a Hindu poet allude to the aśoka tree without this thot; see, e. g., Mālavikāgnimitram, Act 3, stanzas 48 and 53 (Bollensen’s edition, 1879); Boehtlingk’s *Indische Sprüche*, 5691, 5693. In case of all of these trees there is the corollary idea that their fruit does not prosper, unless their cravings are satisfied; it is just as fit and proper to satisfy these cravings, as, in real life, it is imperative to satisfy the whim of the prototypical pregnant woman: *dohadam asyāḥ pūraya*,⁶ ‘satisfy her

⁴ Sc., *vasante*.

⁵ Compare Gray’s Translation of Vāsavadattā, pp. 84, 85.

⁶ Mālav. stanza 55.

dohada,' is, as it were, a Hindu motto, because the foetus comes to grief if desire due to dohada is not granted, *dohadasyāpradānena garbho doṣam avāpnuyāt* (Yājñavalkya 3. 79).

The pragmatic aspect of dohada is what concerns Hindu fiction. It seems that Hindu women are affected by it to a degree unknown in the West, and that husbands are very conscious of its presence and of their duties, in the circumstances, towards their patient wives. Literary testimony is very abundant, but we have in addition direct testimony from a modern Hindu source. In an article entitled 'Doladuk (dohada),' Mr. W. Goonetilleke, in *The Orientalist* 2. 81, describes the circumstances somewhat as follows: Sinhalese as well as other Eastern women acquire, during the earlier period of pregnancy, a longing or craving after particular objects. It is the duty of the husband to provide these objects, lest the woman's health suffer. In 'former times' unchaste wives availed themselves of this for getting rid of their husbands for a time, so as to enjoy the company of their paramours. All the young woman has to do is to express longing for some rare article of food, or a fruit out of season, and the deluded husband, as he is in duty bound, sets out to procure it. In the meantime the wife has her own way in the house; see the Nikini story, below, p. 22.

This longing for particular objects is known among the Sinhalese as Doladuk = dohada. In decent Sinhalese, a woman is not said to be pregnant, but in the state of Doladuk, '*Doladukin innavā*.' Mr. Goonetilleke goes on to say that the object longed for is, for the most part, a lump of dry clay or earth, or broken pieces of new chatties. These substances have a kind of fragrance which is irresistibly inviting to pregnant women, as well as to patients suffering from the disease called Pāṇḍu (jaundice or anemia).⁷ In Raghuvansa 3. 3, 5, 6, this matter is authenticated. The king of North Kośala there sniffs (our 'kisses') the face of his beloved, that has the odor of earth (*mṛt-surabhi*)⁸ and thus learns that she is in dohada. 'Whatever she chose, that she saw brought in; for the desired object was not unattainable, even in heaven, by this king with the strung-bow.'

⁷ Jaundiced clay-eaters are well known in the southern United States.

⁸ The commentator Mallinātha says, *garbhīṇāṁ mṛdbhakṣaṇaṁ loka-prasiddham eva*, 'it is universally understood that pregnant women eat earth.'

As far as the writer knows, the craving for clay does not again appear in literature.

The same dohada is employed constantly as a start motif which initiates a chain of unusual happenings, or as a progressive motif in the course of stories. Clearly, if the story requires something unusual to be done, if the smooth course of some one's life is to be disturbed; or, if the evenly righteous or proper character of some person needs to be turned into something wicked or convulsive; dohada, in its unbridled unexpectedness, can be readily called upon. When a lady expresses the desire to dine off the entrails of her husband,⁹ or to drink the moon,¹⁰ the story gets a jolt, and after that is liable to move with some *élan*. Indeed, dohada runs the entire gamut from such fierce fancies clear to the opposite pole, e. g., the lamb-like desire to hear pious discourse from some great religious teacher, which occurs very frequently in fiction, tho it is perhaps not so likely in real life.

As is true of many other fiction motives, dohada, because it occurs very frequently, tends to become mechanical in its use. Thus, in the course of the rebirths of the pair of souls of Guṇasena and Agniśarman in the Jaina text *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa*, the births are very regularly preceded by dohada: 2. 13, 361; 3. 15; 4. 444; 5. 10; 6. 388. The motif is, in this regard, very much on a plane with another birth motif, namely, the dream, which heralds the birth of a noble son, a stock motif with which the Jainas in particular embroider the life histories of their saints and emperors, from Mahāvīra down. This trait is also constant in the *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa*.¹¹

Dohada unconsciously assumes in the minds of the fictionists certain systematic aspects, which make it convenient to treat it under six rubrics:

I. Dohada either directly injures the husband, or impels some act on his part which involves danger or contumely.

II. Dohada prompts the husband to deeds of heroism, superior skill, wisdom, or shrewdness.

⁹ Pradyumnācārya's *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa* 2. 361.

¹⁰ *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* 8. 225 ff.

¹¹ See my volume, *The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Paṇḍita-nātha*, pp. 189 ff.

III. Dohada takes the form of pious acts, or pious aspirations.

IV. Dohada is used as an ornamental incident, not influencing the main events of a story.

V. Dohada is feigned by the woman, in order that she may accomplish some purpose, or satisfy some desire.

VI. Dohada is obviated by tricking the woman into the belief that her desire is being fulfilled.

I. *Dohada either directly injures the husband, or impels some act on his part which involves danger or contumely.*

Suitably, the account of this motif, based, as it is, upon extravagance, begins with its most extreme manifestation, namely, when the dohada injures. Once more, the extremest injury, which is surely not retailed without a touch of irony, is to the person or character of the husband himself. It is remarkable that the woman herself is not directly injured; nor is she, as a rule, driven by her whim into adventure. There is just one folklore story of this sort, told by Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. 2, pp. 388 ff., where the young wife of a prince is taken with dohada (doladuk) for a damba fruit, which her seven sisters-in-law refuse to give her. The princess climbs a damba tree, is there wooed by a leopard, and goes with him to his rock cave. The leopard is trapped by the princess's brothers in a covered pit and buried alive. The princess dies thru very grief at the loss of the leopard.

In Thusa Jātaka (338) the mother of the future parricide, Prince Ajātasattu,¹² when pregnant with him, conceives a chronic longing to drink blood from the right knee of her husband, King Bimbisāra. The king learns from his astrologers that the prospective child will kill him, and seize his kingdom. 'If my son,' says the king, 'should kill me and seize my kingdom, what is the harm of it?' He has his right knee opened with a sword, lets the blood fall into an open dish, and gives it to the queen to drink. But the queen, loathing the idea of the parricide's being born, endeavors to bring about a miscarriage. The king, hearing of it, calls her to him, and says, 'My dear, it is said, my son will slay me, and seize my kingdom. But I am not exempt from old age and death: suffer me to behold the

¹² See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 14 ff.

face of my child!' In full time the queen gives birth to a son who is called Ajātasattu, because he had been his father's enemy while still unborn.¹³ Ajātasattu in due time slays his father.

In Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 84, Queen Vāsavi, who is about to bear her husband, King Bimbisāra, a son, destined to kill that king, his father, is seized by the desire to eat flesh from the king's back. She tells the king, who consults the soothsayers. They decide that the desire is caused by the influence of a being which has entered into his wife's womb. Some sagacious person advises him to have a cotton garment lined with raw meat, and to put it on, and then offer the meat to his wife. He does so, and offers Vāsavi the meat; she thinks that it is the king's own flesh, and so eats it, whereby she is freed from her longing. Afterwards she longs for her husband's blood, the king has the veins opened in five of his limbs, and gives her the blood to drink, whereby she is freed from her longing.

This event is alluded to, Kathākośa, p. 177,¹⁴ where the king, whom the Buddhists call Ajātaśatru, is called Koṇika (Kūṇika). This king has his father Śreṇika thrown into prison, where he ultimately dies. One day Koṇika is eating, while Udaya, his son by his wife Padmāvatī, is sitting in his lap. The child's urine falls into the vessel of rice. Koṇika does not put him off his lap for fear of disturbing him, but eats the rice mixed with urine. Koṇika says to his mother who is sitting by: 'Mother, did anybody ever love his son so much?' His mother replies: 'You monstrous criminal, listen! When I was pregnant with you, I had a longing to eat your father's flesh. The king satisfied my longing. When you were born, I abandoned you in an enclosure of aśoka-trees, saying that you were a villain. The king brought you back; so you were called Aśokacandra. Then a dog tore your finger. It became a whitlow. So he gave you the name of Koṇika.'¹⁵ When the swelling on your finger ripened, you suffered pain; your father held that finger in his

¹³ It is very unlikely that this teleological interpretation of the name is correct; rather 'he whose enemies are not born, or do not exist'; i. e., 'Unconquerable.' So Ajātaśatru, an epithet of Indra in RV. Clearly the name is part reason for the story.

¹⁴ The same episode in Nirayāvaliyā Sutta, edited by Warren in *Transactions of the Amsterdam Academy*, 1879.

¹⁵ There is no evidence that Koṇika has this meaning.

mouth, tho it was streaming with matter, so you did not cry. To this extent did he love you.' Koṇika, full of remorse, takes up an iron club, and goes off in person to break his father's chains. The guards say to Śreṇika: 'Koṇika is coming in a very impatient mood, with an iron club in his hand.' The king, thinking that he would be put to death by some painful mode of execution, takes *tālapuṭa* poison. When Koṇika arrives there, he finds King Śreṇika dead.

In Samarādityasaṅkṣepa 2. 356 ff. the soul of the ascetic Agniśarman falls from heaven, and is conceived in the womb of Kusumāvalī, queen of King Siṃha. In her dream she sees a serpent enter her womb,¹⁶ go out again and bite the king, so that he falls from his throne. She does not communicate this inauspicious omen to the king. Owing to that fault she gets to hate the king as her child keeps growing in her womb, and finally is taken with dohada to eat her husband's entrails. Because she ascribes this to the evil nature of the foetus, she decides to practise abortion. But tho she takes many drugs, she does not succeed in her detestable design, merely growing very lean from the drugs and her unsatisfied dohada. From a friend of the queen the king learns the whole story, consults his minister, and is advised to cut fake entrails from his body before the eyes of the queen. The minister tells the queen that he will satisfy her craving. She consents, and he cuts the entrails of a hare which are hidden in the king's clothes, apparently from out of his body, while the queen looks on. The minister next tells her to report the birth of her child to himself, and, when she does so, he tells her that the child is dangerous to the king and should therefore be brought up at a distance. Again she consents, and intrusts the child to a tire-woman, who, however, is intercepted by the king. He takes the child, contrives a secret birth-festival for him, names him Ānanda, has him educated in every accomplishment, and appoints him heir-apparent.

It comes to pass that a forest bandit, Durmati by name, rises against the king, who then organizes an expedition against him.

¹⁶ In Viracarita 23 (*Indische Studien* 14. 137) a pregnant woman sees a serpent, and, therefore, begets a serpent. In Pārśvanātha Caritra 5. 125, Queen Vāmā, while pregnant, sees a serpent by her side (*pārśvataḥ*), therefore her son is named Pārśva. See my *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārśvanātha*, p. 190.

The king is reminded of the perishableness of all things by the spectacle of a frog being devoured by a serpent, the serpent by an osprey, and the osprey by a boa constrictor. He decides to abandon the world, and makes preparations for his successor, Ānanda. Ānanda, on account of his evil nature, suspects his father of designs against his life, and attacks him. A battle ensues, which is, however, stopped by the king, who orders Ānanda's consecration as king. But Ānanda, still suspicious, has his father thrown into prison. There Queen Kusumāvalī visits him, is converted, and turns nun. The king decides to die by starvation, but Ānanda sends a palace eunuch, named Devaśarma, to feed him by force. The king refuses to be interfered with in his pious career, and is slain by the sword of his own son.

There is finally a single case in which dohada results not only in the husband's death, but also in the death of a second person, showing how insistent is this mode of treatment. In *Suvanna-kakkaṭṭu Jātaka* (389)¹⁷ the Bodhisat, born as a Brahman farmer, strikes up a friendship with a crab. Now in his eyes are seen the five graces and the three circles, very pure. A she-crow, conceiving dohada to eat his eyes, tells her mate to wait on a cobra, and to induce him to sting the Brahman to death, in order that he may pluck out the dead Brahman's eyes, and bring them to her. The cobra consents to the arrangement, bites the Brahman in the calf of his leg, and flees to his ant-hill. The crab seizes the crow by the neck; the crow calls the cobra to his aid, and when he comes the crab clutches him as well. He makes the cobra suck the poison from the Brahman's wound, so that he is as well as before, and then crushes the heads of both crow and snake with his claws.

At times dohada does not kill the unoffending husband, but merely endangers his life. Thus in *Pārśvanātha Caritra* 3. 456 ff., *Prabhāvaka*, an adventurer who has taken service with a mean-spirited *Thakkura*, *Siṅha* by name, is married by that *Thakkura* to a low-born wife. She conceives dohada for the flesh of the *Thakkura*'s pet peacock.¹⁸ *Prabhāvaka* satisfies it

¹⁷ Cf. Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, 1. 539.

¹⁸ In Chavannes, *Cinq Cent Contes et Apologues Chinois*, nr. 20, the wife of a king falls sick, dreams that she sees a peacock, and that someone tells her that his flesh will cure her. This is, no doubt, dohada. Peacock's flesh makes young and long-lived in *Jātaka* 159; cf. also *Jātaka* 491.

by giving her the flesh of a peacock equally good, and at the same time hides away the Thakkura's pet. At meal-time the Thakkura misses his peacock, has the drum beaten, and offers 800 dīnārs and exemption from punishment to the restorer of the peacock. Then the slave-wife reflects: 'What use have I for this man from a strange country? I will take the money, and get another husband.' She touches the drum, and tells the king that she had craved the peacock's flesh, and that Prabhāvaka, out of love for her, had slain him, tho she had tried to dissuade him. Prabhāvaka, after having vainly sought protection by an ungrateful friend, and after appealing in vain to the mercy of the Thakkura himself, whom he had previously benefited in an important way, produces the peacock. Then, in disgust, he takes leave of treacherous wife, faithless friend, and ungrateful king.

In another instance, Pārśvanātha 7. 275 ff., Kathākośa pp. 42 ff., a female endangers thru dohada her husband's life, but, in the end, herself saves him thru her devotion. A fond pair of parrots live upon a tree. The female, in dohada, requests the male to bring her a head of rice from a nearby field. The male remonstrates, because the field belongs to king Śrīkānta, and he will therefore lose his *head*. She taunts him for his cowardice. Thereupon he daily plucks a head of rice from the field, until the king notices the depredation, orders the keepers of the field to catch the parrot, and bring him to his presence. When this is done, the king raises his sword to cut off the head of the parrot. But the female covers him with her body, begs for his life, and explains that her husband has misbehaved at her bidding, when in dohada. The king taunts the male, telling him that he, who is famous in the world for wisdom,¹⁹ had risked his life to satisfy the whim of a woman. The female retorts by narrating how the king himself, in a former birth, had taken the same risk of his life in behalf of his queen Śrīdevī. The king releases both parrots, and assigns to them daily rations of rice from that very field. The she-parrot, her dohada satisfied, lays two eggs.

¹⁹ See my paper 'On Talking Birds in Hindu Fiction,' *Festschrift Ernst Windisch*, p. 354 ff.

A close relative of the last story, *Supatta Jātaka* (292),²⁰ transfers the devotion, which primarily belongs to the husband, to an agent, but the chief traits are the same. The Bodhisat, born as king of the crows, named *Supatta*, has a queen *Suphassā*, and a chief captain *Sumukha*. Queen *Suphassā*, in *dohada*, flying over the kitchen of king *Brahmadatta* in Benares, smells its savory food, longs for it, and tells her husband that she must die, unless she gets some of it. The crow king, perched pensively, is quizzed by Captain *Sumukha*, who no sooner hears what is the trouble than he proposes to fetch the food. The captain with eight champions flies to Benares and settles on the roof of the kitchen. There he issues the following order: 'When the food is taken up, I'll make the man drop the dishes. Once that is done, there's an end of me. So four of you must fill your mouths with the rice, and four with the fish, and feed the royal pair with them; and if they ask where I am, say I'm coming.'

The cook, hanging his dishes on a balance-pole, goes off towards the king's rooms. As he passes thru the court the crow captain, with a signal to his followers, settles upon his chest, strikes him with extended claws, and with his beak, sharp as a spear-point; pecks the end of his nose, and with his two feet stops up his jaws. The king, happening to observe what the crow is doing, hails the carrier, 'Hullo, you, down with the dishes, and catch the crow!' He does so; the champions pick up the food and give it to their king and queen to eat. When the cook brings the captain, and the latter is questioned by the king about his disrespectful and reckless conduct, he explains: 'O great king! Our king lives near Benares, and I am captain of his forces. His wife conceived a great longing for a taste of your food. Our king told me what she craved; at once I devoted my life, and now I have sent her the food.' King *Brahmadatta* is so pleased with the captain's devotion that he bestows upon him the white umbrella, and regularly sends of his own food to the royal crow pair.

The chef-d'oeuvre of *dohada* stories, in which the uxorious husband both fails to satisfy his wife and in addition is contemptuously outwitted by superior intellect, is founded upon a

²⁰ See *Folk-lore Journal*, 3. 360.

female crocodile's dohada for a beautiful monkey's heart. It occurs in two versions, both of which are distinguished by inventiveness and perfect Hindu setting. In their Buddhist form they figure as the *Suṇsumāra Jātaka* (208), of which a briefer version is the *Vānara Jātaka* (342); and the *Vānarinda Jātaka* (57), of which a briefer version is the *Kumbhīla Jātaka* (224).²¹ In the *Suṇsumāra* the Bodhisat disports himself as a monkey on the shore of the *Gaṅgā*. The female crocodile conceives a desire to eat his heart. Her mate entices the monkey, by promise of fresher and choicer fruit, to cross the *Gaṅgā* upon his back. The crocodile drops the monkey in the middle of the river. On being asked the reason for this procedure the crocodile replies, with a touch of Buddhist cant, that he has not dealt honestly by the monkey, because he wishes, for above-mentioned reasons, to feed the monkey's heart to his wife. The monkey acknowledges the propriety of the crocodile's intentions: 'If only monkeys had their hearts in their bodies! This is not so, because their hearts would be torn to pieces by the branches of the trees upon which they are constantly jumping about.' The crocodile sceptically asks how the monkeys can live in this way, but the monkey convinces him by showing him the ripe fruits upon an *udumbara* (fig) tree, alleging that they are the monkeys' hearts. Saith the crocodile: 'If you will show me your heart I will not kill you!' 'Then take me there, and I will show it you, hanging down from the *udumbara* tree.' The crocodile complies, the monkey escapes, and recommends the crocodile to consider, as the permanent valuable fruit of his experience, that his, the crocodile's, body may be great, but not so his intelligence. But the monkey reflects for himself somewhat as follows:

'Lightly I'd eat the lotus on the other side of the sea,
Far better for me to eat the fruit of the homely fig-tree.'

In the *Vānarinda Jātaka* the monkey lives on the bank of a river, but is in the habit of foraging on a little island in the middle of that river. This island he reaches by first jumping upon a large rock between the bank and the island. Now the crocodile, sent by his pregnant wife, one evening lies in ambush

²¹ Parallels to these stories are cited from the classical literatures of India by Andersen, *Pāli Reader*, p. 115; from folk-lore by Bloomfield, *JAOS* 36. 59, note.

upon the stone, awaiting the return of the monkey from the island to the shore of the mainland. The monkey, however, notices that the rock (with the crocodile upon it) looms larger than usual, whereas the water of the river is no lower than usual. With exceeding artfulness he calls the rock three times (*bho pāsāna*), and as there is, of course, no answer, exclaims 'Why, O rock, do you not answer to-day?' (as tho the rock were in the habit of answering). The crocodile thinks that the rock must be in the habit of conversing with the monkey, and finally responds, 'What is it, O monkey?' (*kim bho vānarinda*).²² He then confesses that he is there to get the monkey's heart. The monkey expresses his willingness to be eaten. He tells the crocodile to open his mouth to receive him, knowing that the eyes of a crocodile shut up when he opens his mouth. As soon as the crocodile has opened his mouth, the monkey jumps from the island upon his head, and thence to shore.

In one instance dohada is not directed against the unoffending husband but manifests itself in a whim for ogrish things or ogrish food, which must, indeed, have been very disturbing to that husband. In Kathās. 9. 45 ff., and again in 30. 45 ff., Queen Mṛgāvatī, the wife of King Sahasrāṇika, being pregnant, feels a desire to bathe in a lake of blood.²³ Her husband, afraid of committing sin, has a lake made of liquid lac and other colored fluids, in which she plunges. Then a bird of the race of Garuḍa pounces upon her, thinking that she is raw flesh. He carries her off, and as fate will have it, leaves her alive on the mountain of the sunrise (*udayaparvata*). Therefore, the gods give her son the name of Udayana.

In yet another case the caprice of a queen costs a husband both wife and child, without, however, injuring his person. But out of the disruption of the family comes in time the birth of a famous Pratyekabuddha, named Karakaṇḍu. In Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. 34, line 25 ff.,²⁴ King

²² This, according to my suggestion, *JAOS* 36. 58, is the 'Cave Call Motif,' or the 'Speaking Cave.'

²³ Bath of blood occurs also in Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 60, in a different connection.

²⁴ See also Warren, *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*, in the *Transactions of the Amsterdam Academy*, 1879; Charpentier, *Paccakabuddhageschichten*, pp. 152 ff.

Dahivāhaṇa reigns in Campā. His queen, Paumavaī, is taken with dohada. 'How can I divert myself, riding thru the parks and groves on the most excellent back of an elephant, attired in the costume of the king, having the royal parasol held over me by the great king?' On the strength of this the royal pair mount the Elephant of Victory. It is then the beginning of the rainy season. When the elephant smells the odor of the fragrant earth he remembers the woods, and gallops out of the path. The people can not keep up with him. The two enter the woods. The king sees a fig-tree. He says to the queen: 'He will pass under that fig-tree; then you are to take hold of a bough.' She promises, but can not take hold. The king seizes the bough, and Paumavaī is carried off alone into a desolate wood. Afterwards she brings forth, in a Jaina convent, a son, whom she exposes, and who, when he grows up, becomes the Pratyekabuddha, Karakaṇḍu.

II. *Dohada prompts the husband to deeds of heroism, superior skill, wisdom, or shrewdness.*

In the first instance dohada jeopardizes the life of the husband, who is, however, saved by his own heroic prowess. In the long and interesting story of the present in Bhaddasāla Jātaka (465), repeated in Dhammapada Commentary 4. 3,²⁵ Mallikā, wife of the general Bandhula, is prompted by her dohada to bathe in the tank in Vesāli City, where the proud families of the kings of the Licchavis get water for the ceremonial sprinkling, as well as drinking water. That tank is guarded strongly within and without; above it is spread an iron net; not even a bird can find room to get thru. But Bandhula goes there in a car with Mallikā; puts the guards to flight; bursts thru the iron network; and in the tank bathes his wife and gives her to drink of the water. Then the 500 kings of the Licchavis are angered, mount 500 chariots, and set out in pursuit. Mallikā spies them, and tells her lord. 'Then tell me,' says Bandhula, 'when they all look like one chariot.' When they, all in line, look like one chariot, Mallikā reports: 'My lord, I see, as it were, the head of one chariot.' Bandhula gives her the reins, stands upright in the chariot, and speeds a shaft which cleaves the heads of all the 500 chariots, and passes right thru the 500

²⁵ A muddled version of this story also in Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 82.

kings in the place where the girdle is fastened and then buries itself in the earth. The kings, not perceiving that they are wounded, pursue still, shouting, 'Stop, holloa, stop.' Bandhula stops his chariot, and says, 'You are dead men and I cannot fight with the dead.' 'What,' say they, 'dead, such as we are?' 'Loose the girdle of the first man,' says Bandhula. They loose his girdle, and that instant he falls dead. Then Bandhula says to them, 'You are all of you in the same condition; go to your homes, and set in order what should be ordered, and give your directions to your wives and families, and then doff your armor.' They do so and all of them give up the ghost.²⁶

The next story, Chavaka Jātaka (309), brings out the wisdom of the Bodhisat, who is established as a poor Pariah householder. His pregnant wife, taken with dohada for a mango fruit, says, 'If I can have a mango, I shall live; otherwise I shall die.' The Bodhisat climbs by night a mango tree in the garden of the king of Benares, but, while he is engaged in this predatory act, the day begins to break. Afraid that he will be seized as a thief, he decides to wait till it is dark. Now the king of Benares at this time is being taught sacred texts by his chaplain. Coming into the garden he sits down on a high seat at the foot of the mango tree, and, placing his teacher on a lower seat, he has a lesson from him. The Bodhisat realizes that it is wicked of both of them to sit in this way—the teacher should sit higher than the pupil—and at the same time becomes conscious that he himself has fallen into the power of a woman, and has become a thief. He descends from the tree and preaches the Law to such purpose that the king places upon his neck the wreath of flowers with which he himself is adorned, and makes him Lord Protector of the city.

A faint echo of this tale seems to resound from the folk-tale

²⁶ Rouse in the Cambridge Translation of the Jātakas, vol. 4, p. 94, note 2, remarks: 'This is a variation of a well-known incident. A headsman slices off a man's head so skilfully that the victim does not know it is done. The victim then takes a pinch of snuff, sneezes, and his head falls off. Another form is: Two men dispute, and one swings his sword round. They go on talking, and bye and bye the other gets up to depart, and falls in two parts.' Rouse gives no references. This motif, 'Shake yourself and you will find that you are dead,' occurs in Norse narrative, and, imitatively, in a volume of skits by Robert Burdette which I read long years ago.

in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 362 ff. A pregnant woman eats greedily a cake while a crow looks on, without giving the crow even a bit. Afterwards the crow fetches a mango from the house of a Rākṣasa and eats it whole in front of the woman. Taken with dohada, the woman orders her husband to get her a mango. He goes to the house of the Rākṣasa and ascends the mango tree, but is discovered by the Rākṣasa. He tells the Rākṣasa his mission, and is allowed to pluck one fruit, on the condition that, if the woman bears a daughter, she shall be for the Rākṣasa.²⁷ A girl it is; the Rākṣasa takes her and calls her Wimalī. The king hears of the girl (pictured as attractive) and comes to take her. The Rākṣasa is gone to eat human flesh; the king takes Wimalī, after leaving in her place an effigy formed out of rice flour. The Rākṣasa, returning, eats a great part of the flour figure. His mouth being choked with flour, he says, 'May a mouth be created on the top of my head.' When he says this, the mouth is created, and, the Rākṣasa's head being split in two by it, he dies.²⁸

In Dabbhapuppha Jātaka (400)²⁹ a jackal husband, Māyāvī, or 'Wily,' satisfies his wife's dohada by dint of congenital cunning. The wife craves to eat fresh rohita fish; the jackal promises it to her. Wrapping his feet in creepers he goes along the bank of the river. Two otters are quarreling over the division of a great rohita fish which they have captured by their united efforts. On observing him, they invite him to arbitrate their dispute. He does so, assigning the tail and head pieces to the two others, and taking the middle as the proper share of the arbiter. His wife admiringly gets what she craves.

III. *Dohada takes the form of pious acts, or pious aspirations.*

²⁷ Cf. for this kind of selection Neogi, *Tales Sacred and Secular*, p. 86 ff.

²⁸ This 'head splitting' again is a common motif of fiction; see, e. g., Kathās. 123. 170 ff.; Brhaddevatā 4. 120: Jātakas 210, 358, 422, 497; Pārśvanātha Caritra 2. 812.

²⁹ This story also in Dhammapada Commentary 12. 2a; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 332 ff. The motif is 'Trick arbiter,' from the story of Putraka, Kathās. 3. 45 ff., to Pārśvanātha 7. 147 ff. Cf. Brhatkathāmañjarī 2. 48; Jātaka 186; Grimm, No. 197; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 96, 99, 322, 389; J. J. Meyer, *Daśakumāracarita*, p. 38.

In the preceding cases dohada manifests itself in cruelty or extravagance. In a considerable number of cases the phenomenon operates, as it were, at the opposite pole; we have what may be called good dohada. This appears almost entirely in Buddhist and Jaina edificatory texts, particularly in the latter. It amounts to this, that the capricious lady is taken with the fancy to perform acts of piety, to bestow alms, or to revere some holy teacher or saint.

Thus in Śālibhadra Carita 2. 56 and 60 ff., the mother of a certain merchant is taken with the whim to give (*dānadohadā*). Then her son, noticing this, did as follows:

*dohadam sāuhrdaśreṣṭhaḥ*³⁰ *śreṣṭhī vijñāya*³¹ *so 'nyadā,*
tvarayā pūrayāmāsa śrīmatām hi sprhā mahāh
sarvāṅgīṇāir dayādānāiḥ pātrādānāir guṇottarāiḥ.

In Dhammapada Commentary 5. 15^b and 6. 5^{b32} a boy is conceived in the womb of the wife of a supporter of the Elder Sāriputta; the expectant mother longs to entertain the monks, and so satisfies her longing. In the story of Nami, Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. 41, line 25 ff., Mayanarehā is taken with a pregnancy longing: 'May I reverence the Jinas and the Sages, and may I continuously hear the teachings of the tiṭṭhayāras!' When this desire of hers was fulfilled her pregnancy went on without disturbance. Similarly in the Pārśvanātha version of the same story, 6. 793, 797, and in the Kathākośa, p. 19. In Paṛiśiṣṭaparvan 2. 61 ff., a merchant's pregnant wife, Dhāriṇī, is taken with a craving to reverence the gods and the teachers, because, adds the text, cravings come upon women during the development of their fruit. The merchant liberally fulfils her desires, as tho he himself were taken with the desire to spend for religious purposes. In Kathākośa p. 53, Queen Śrutimatī has dohada to worship the gods in the holy place on the Aṣṭāpada mountain; and similarly in the same text, p. 64, Queen Jayā feels a desire to worship gods and holy

³⁰ Apparently the text intends a pun between *dohadam* and *sāuhrda*, as tho dohada contained a suggestion of *dāurhṛda* 'evil-hearted.' This very etymology has been proposed.

³¹ Comm., *mātur dānavāñchām*.

³² See Burlingame's Digest in his forthcoming Translation of this work, pp. 100, 101.

men, and to give gifts to the poor and wretched. In Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 247, Brahmatī's dohada prompts her to have presents distributed at the gates of the city. And, once more, Samarādityasamkṣepa 2. 13, Queen Śrīkāntā describes explicitly her dohada to her husband, King Puruṣadatta, to wit:

*jinārcā pātrādānam ca dīnānāthānukampanam
sarvasattvābhayaṁ ceti mama nātha manorathāḥ.*

Similarly the same text, 3. 15, 444.

IV. *Dohada is used as ornamental incident, without influencing the main events of a story.*

It is quite in the line of experience that Hindu fiction should employ this motif merely as embroidery for a narrative which would otherwise be too dull or monotonous. Anyone who has tried to tell children fairy-tales on the spur of the moment knows how much reliance can be placed on vivid but really irrelevant side issues, to keep the imagination in a glow. Hindu fiction is full of episode, which is, as a rule, repetition of snatches from other stories, and which relies in particular upon the large line of settled or tried motifs. Dohada does not escape this use, or misuse. But it may be observed that this phase of dohada is almost restricted to the Kathāsaritsāgara, primarily a secular text. Whereas the Jaina and Buddhist texts invariably point the theme in the direction of edification.

Thus in Kathās. 22. 1 ff., Vāsavadattā, the wife of Yāugaṁdharāyaṇa, is pregnant with a son, who is to be the future king of the Vidyādharas. She feels a longing for stories of great magicians, provided with incantations by means of spells, introduced appropriately in conversation. She dreams that singing Vidyādhara ladies wait upon her high up in the sky, and, when she wakes up, she desires to enjoy in reality the amusement of sporting in the air and looking down upon the earth. Yāugaṁdharāyaṇa gratifies that longing of the Queen's by employing spells, machines, juggling, and such like contrivances. But once on a time there arises in her heart a desire to hear the glorious tales of the Vidyādharas; then Yāugaṁdharāyaṇa, being entreated by her, tells her the story of Jīmūtavāhana, by which her dohada is stilled (stanza 258).

Similarly in Kathās. 35. 109 ff., Queen Alankāraprabhā, wife of King Hemaprabha, becomes pregnant, and delights her

beloved by her face redolent of honey, with wildly rolling eyes, so that it resembles a pale lotus with bees hovering around it. Then she gives birth in due time to a son, whose noble lineage is proclaimed by the elevated longings of her pregnancy, as the sky gives birth to the orb of the day. Pregnant a second time, in a chariot of the shape of a beautiful lotus, constructed by the help of magic science, she roams about in the sky, since her pregnant longings take that form. In Kathās. 34. 31 ff., Queen Kaliṅgasenā, pregnant, has the lotus of her face a little pale, having longing produced in her.

Incidental or unimportant instances of dohada may be read also in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. 3, pp. 84, 102, 308. They are mere clap-trap. But even a Jaina text, Samarādityasaṃkṣepa 5. 10, 6. 388 ff., lists mechanically a case or two of dohada as incidents in the birth of a child, which do not in any way add to the real point of the story.

V. *Dohada is feigned by the woman, in order that she may accomplish some purpose or satisfy some desire.*

In a way which reminds us of the tricky use of the *sacca-kiriya*,³³ dohada is frequently feigned by a woman for her own purposes, either innocent or depraved. There are no less than five Jātakas in which a queen, called Khemā, dreams of a wonderful golden bird or deer whom she desires to hear preach the Law; in each case she feigns dohada, in order to spur on the efforts of her spouse to obtain the apparently unattainable.

In Mahāhaṃsa Jātaka (534) Queen Khemā sees in a vivid dream golden haṃsa birds perch upon the royal throne, and preach the Law. Afraid that an ordinary request extended to her husband, King Saṃyama, will be pooh-poohed, because there are no golden haṃsa birds in this world, she feigns dohada. When the king tenderly inquires what she would have, saying he would soon fetch it, she says: 'Sire, I long to listen to the preaching of the Law by a golden haṃsa, while it sits upon the royal throne, with a white umbrella spread over it, and to pay homage to it with scented wreaths and such like marks of honor. If I should attain this, it is well, otherwise there is no life in me.' The king has a decoy lake constructed, and his forester in time catches the king of the golden Dhataratṭha haṃsas, which are wise and

³³ See Burlingame, *JEAS* July 1917, pp. 461 ff.

learned. The haṇsa king is deserted by all the 90,000 golden members of his tribe, except the captain of his army, who refuses to leave him. Touched by his devotion, the fowler would release the captive birds, but they insist on being taken before the king. The haṇsa king preaches the Law to the royal pair; the queen is satisfied and enlightened; the birds are honored and pampered, and finally set at liberty. The Haṇsa Jātaka (502) tells the same story in briefer form.

The same idea is carried out in the Mora Jātaka (159) and in the Mahāmora Jātaka (491), in connection with a golden peacock—with this difference, that the peacock is not snared until the longing queen, her consort, and the fowler are dead. Six kings reign and pass away; six fowlers are unsuccessful; but the seventh hunter, sent by the seventh king, ensnares him thru the lure of a pea-hen. In Mora Jātaka the peacock is brought before the king, and converts him. In Mahāmora Jātaka the fowler recognizes the essential virtue of the peacock (Bodhisat), is instructed by him, and becomes a Paccekabuddha; and thereafter, owing to an Act of Truth made by him at the prompting of the peacock, thruout India all creatures are set free, and not one is left in bondage.

Once more, the Rohantamiga Jātaka (501) presents queen Khemā dreaming of a gold-colored stag who discourses on the Law. Her husband has a hunter trap the golden-hued stag Rohanta, who is then abandoned by his 80,000 followers, but his brother Cittamiga and his sister Sutanā stand by him. The hunter comes up to spear Rohanta, but is touched by pity, and converted. At the request of Rohanta, he explains that he was commissioned by the king to snare him. Rohanta thinks it a bold and unselfish deed on the part of the hunter to set him free; he therefore decides to win for him the honor the king promised him. He bids the hunter chafe his back with his hand, until it is filled with golden hairs. These he must show to the king and the queen; he must tell them that they are hairs from the golden stag, and discourse to them in words dictated by the stag. The queen will then have her craving satisfied. The hunter lets go the three deer, wraps the hairs in a lotus leaf, and brings them to the king and the queen. They are converted by the verses which Rohanta has taught the hunter. Cf. also the Rurū Jātaka (482), similar to all the preceding, but without the dohada trait.

In Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka (545) a very sagacious man Vidhura Paṇḍita arouses the admiration of the queen Vimalā, wife of the Nāga king Varuṇa; she longs to hear him discourse on the Law. She thinks to herself, 'If I tell the king that I long to hear him discourse on the Law, and ask him to bring him here, he will not bring him to me; what if I were to pretend to be ill, and complain of a sick woman's longing?' To the solicitous king she says, 'There is an affection in women; it is called a longing, O King! O Monarch of the Nāgas, I desire Vidhura's heart brought here without guile.' The king replies, 'Thou longest for the moon³⁴ or the sun or the wind; the very sight of Vidhura is hard to get; who will be able to bring him here?' Then the royal pair's daughter, Irandaṭī, entangles a Yakkha, named Puṇṇaka, in the meshes of her charms, so that the king has a chance to promise him her hand, if he will bring Vidhura's heart. The Yakkha Puṇṇaka visits the court of King Dhanañjaya Koravya, where Vidhura Paṇḍita shines as a great ornament; he defeats the king at gambling, and claims the wise man. The wise man asks for three days delay to instruct his family. The Yakkha tries to kill him, but fails. The wise man asks him what he wants, and he tells him. He then wins over the Yakkha, yet goes to the court of the Nāga king, where his serenity and wise teaching win every heart, and no harm comes to him.

In one case, Nigrodha Jātaka (445), the trick dohada is merely a feature of a broader scheme by which a woman feigns pregnancy. A merchant's wife, being barren, is treated disrespectfully by her husband's family. She consults a good old nurse of hers as to the behavior of pregnant women, and, instructed by her, conceals the time of her courses, and shows a fancy for sour and strange tastes. She continues to feign pregnancy³⁵ until nine months have passed, when she expresses the wish to return home, and bring forth her child in her father's house. On the way she picks up a babe of the color of gold (the Bodhisat), abandoned under a banyan tree by a poor woman belonging to the train of a caravan. Without finishing

³⁴ Crying for the moon, or the hare in the moon, is a recurring motif. See ZDMG 65. 449; Jātakas 449, 454; Dhammapada Commentary 1. 2.

³⁵ Fake pregnancy also in the story of the present, Mahāpaduma Jātaka (472), and, *en passant*, also in Telapatta Jātaka (96; Fausböll, 1. 397).

her journey she returns to her husband, and the babe is acknowledged by the family.

In Jülg's *Kalmükische Märchen*, p. 31, the wife of the Khan Kun-snang desires to have her son, called Moonshine, become successor to the throne at the expense of Sunshine, the heir-apparent, son of a former defunct queen. She feigns what is obviously dohada to the point of death. When interrogated by the Khan she says: 'If I could eat the heart of either of the princes, no matter which one, fried in sesame oil, then I should find rest. But for you, O Khan, it is difficult to proffer Sunshine, and Moonshine, to blurt it out, has come out of my own womb, so that his heart would not pass my throat. There is, therefore, no expedient, except to die!' The uxorious Khan offers to sacrifice Sunshine, but Moonshine overhears. The two boys, devoted to one another, escape, and experience important adventures which land them in royalty; and, when they return in state to their father's residence, the wife of the Khan gets a fright at the sight of them, spits curdled blood, and dies.

Perhaps the most ingenious and highly organized instance of trick dohada belongs to the folk-lore of Southern India. The story goes by the name 'The Nikini story,' or, 'The Deer and the girl and Nikini'; it is reported in Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 284 ff. According to Goonetilleke, *The Orientalist*, 2. 82, the story is derived from a Sinhalese book of verse and goes by the name of Nikini Katāva, 'The Nikini Story.' A girl is married to a rich Gamarāla (village head) of another country, who finds a fawn in the jungle, and presents it to his wife as a companion, or sister. Dohada³⁶ comes upon the woman, and the Gamarāla asks the deer 'what she can eat for it.' The deer replies: 'Our elder sister can eat the stars in the sky.'³⁷ The Gamarāla searches for the corner of the sky where it joins the earth, until he grows old and dies. The girl next marries a king, and is again overtaken by dohada. The king asks 'what she can eat for it,' and the deer says, 'Should you bring for our elder sister the sand which is at the bottom of the ocean, if she slept upon it, she would be well.' The king goes to the bottom of the sea to take the sand, is soaked

³⁶ Clearly feigned, because all the events of the story are tricks.

³⁷ Cf. the note 34.

with the water, and dies. The woman marries a third man; has dohada; the man asks the deer, 'what can she eat for it;' and the deer replies, 'Our elder sister must eat Nikini, else her life will be lost.' The husband starts in search of Nikini, and asks several persons, who engage him in hard work on the pretense of being able, by way of reward, to tell him where there is Nikini. But they end by saying, 'I don't know; go your way.' Finally he meets one man who is honest enough to reward his labor by telling him, 'That was not asked for thru want of Nikini. That was said thru wanting to cause you to be killed. Your wife has a paramour.' The man asks the cuckold what he will give him if he catches the paramour; he is promised a gem which has been in his family from generation to generation. Then they construct a cage called 'The cage of the God Sivalinga'; this they cover up with white cloth, and the man who had gone for Nikini is placed inside, covered by a cloth, and with a cudgel. They first perform some profitable pranks, by introducing the cage, as being the vehicle of a god, into several rich men's houses and robbing them. Finally they bring the cage to the Nikini man's own house, where he finds his wife living with her paramour. The supposed god comes out of the cage and beats the paramour to death.

VI. *Dohada is obviated by tricking the woman into the belief that her desire is being fulfilled.*

In *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* 8. 225 ff. the wily minister Cāṇakya plots to destroy King Nanda. Remembering a profesy that he himself would reign thru the medium of a nominal king, he searches for a person fit to play that part. While roaming about he arrives at the village where live the caretakers of the king's peacocks.⁸⁸ There he hears that the chief's daughter, pregnant, has a craving to drink the moon (*candra*). Cāṇakya promises to satisfy her, on condition that the prospective child be handed over to him. The parents of the woman agree, afraid that she will miscarry if balked in her desire. Cāṇakya causes a shed to be constructed, the thatch of which has an opening. In the night, when the moon shines thru the opening and is reflected in a bowl of milk placed below it, he orders her to drink the

⁸⁸ King's pets: see *Pārśvanātha Caritra* 3. 456; *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa* 4. 344 ff.

milk. As she drinks it, a man on the thatch gradually covers up the opening. The woman is satisfied that she has drunk the moon, and in due time gives birth to a boy who is called Candragupta, 'Moon-protected.'³⁹

The woman's craving is satisfied by the substitution of an ordinary peacock in place of the Thakkura's pet in the story told above, p. 9 f. The trick feature occurs in several other of the preceding stories.⁴⁰

³⁹ The reflection of the moon in water is present to the Hindu mind so insistently as almost to become proverbial. In *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* 6. 25 ff. King Udayin mourns the death of his loving father; he is reminded of him by every spot he was in the habit of frequenting; he sees him everywhere just as the image of the moon is seen in the water (multiplied by the play of its waves, cf. Böhlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 4088). The reflection of the moon in the water is used trickily in the familiar fable of the elephants and the hares, *Pañcatantra* 3. 1; *Hitopadeśa* 3. 4; *Kathās*. 72. 29 ff; *Brhatkathāmañjarī* 16. 452 ff; cf. Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, 1. 348 ff. In Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 353 (from Kah-gyur), monkeys see the reflection of the moon in the well, decide to draw it out, form a monkey-bridge by entwining their tails, and finally tumble into the well (cf. Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 1. 246, note 3). Similar notions in Uncle Remus. For tricks and pranks due to reflected objects in general see the fable of the lion who is angered at his own reflection in a well, e. g., *Pūrṇabhadra* 1. 7; Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 156; Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, 1. 181 (cf. W. Norman Brown, *JAOS* 39. 24); and for other matters, see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 198 (fool sees own image reflected in ghee, takes it for robber, and smashes the pitcher); Ralston, *ibid.*, p. 165 (gem illusively reflected in the water); Benfey, *Pañcatantra*, 1. 349 (fox shows wolf reflected moon instead of promised cheese). Also cf. fable of dog who loses his bone when he sees another reflected in the water.

⁴⁰ Additional Note.—The *Divyāvadāna* very frequently excels in describing how the solicitous father *in spe* surrounds the prospective mother with tender care and precautions as to her diet. Thus, p. 2: *āpannasattvāṃ ca tām* (sc. *garbhiniṃ*) *viditvā upariprāsādatalagatām ayantritām dhārāyati śīte śitopakaraṇāir usṇa usṇopakaraṇāir vāidyaprajñaptāir āhārāir nātītiktāir nātyamlāir nātīlavanāir nātīmadhurāir nātīkaṭukāir nātīkaśāyāis tiktāmlalavanamadhurakaṭukaśāyavivarjitāir āhārāir hārardhahāravibhūsi-tagātrīm Apsarasam iva nandanavanavicāriṇīm mañcān mañcām pīṭhāt pīṭham avatārantīm uparimām bhūmim, na cāsyā amanojñāśabdaśravaṇam yāvad eva garbhāsyā paripākāya*. On pp. 79, 167, and 441 the same text with *adharimām* for *uparimām*; a fragment of it on p. 523. Dohada manifests itself in insatiable appetite, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 234.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES.

PART I.¹

FRANK R. BLAKE

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER of works dealing with the Bibliography of the Philippine Islands have been published up to the present time, but only in the writings of Blumentritt (1882-85) and Barrantes (1889) are the publications of a linguistic character separated from those belonging to other categories. The lists of linguistic titles in both these works are comparatively brief, Barrantes containing about a hundred, and Blumentritt about twice as many, and while they include the most important grammars and dictionaries written before the time of their publication, they contain comparatively few works composed in the various languages.

The chief Bibliographies of works relating to the Philippines, those of W. E. Retana of Madrid, and of T. H. Pardo de Tavera of Manila, are general bibliographies in which works written in or relating to the native languages are given together with those on history, travel, geography, religion, etc., and only in Retana's works is any attempt made to separate these various categories, and here only in the indexes. It is thus difficult from these works to get any adequate idea of the extent of native Philippine literature, or to gain any information with regard to books on the native languages without a considerable expenditure of labor.

The need of a complete and up-to-date separate bibliography of the Philippine languages is obvious, and it is in an attempt to supply this need that the following has been prepared.

A complete bibliography of Philippine languages would consist naturally of two parts. In the first would be given all those

¹ The present article was first set up in Germany in 1915 as a part of volume XXXV of the Journal. Its delay until the present volume was due to the War and to changes in the editorial staff of the Journal, during which time the article was lost sight of. Advantage has been taken of the interval to add many new titles (about 90), and so far as possible to bring the article up to date.

works, such as grammars, phrase-books, vocabularies, dictionaries, etc., which discuss, analyse, or deal in any way with the native languages. The second part would contain all works written wholly or partly in any of the native languages.

In the present bibliography the material has been treated somewhat differently. All works which were described above as constituting the first part of a complete bibliography have been included, and in addition all works written in any of the less known idioms, that is in all except the seven principal languages, Tagalog, Bisaya (in its chief dialectical forms—Cebuan, Panayan, Samaro-Leytean), Bikol, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Iloko, and Ibanag; all works in the less known dialects of Bisaya, e. g., Haraya, are also included. A complete list of the works in the seven principal languages will be published later as Part II.

In the present list the works are separated into two sections: first, printed books, and, second, manuscripts. The titles of manuscript works are not infrequently given in slightly different form by the various authorities. The titles in each section are arranged alphabetically according to author, or in the case of anonymous works according to the initial word. The title, place, and date of publication are followed by the number of pages and size of the work; remarks on the work are given in parentheses; finally in brackets references are given to the chief bibliographies that contain titles of a linguistic character, so that the work may be employed as a linguistic index to those bibliographies. When there is a difference in the authorities with regard to the number of pages, the enumeration of Retana has usually been given, the idea being not to give absolutely accurate information on this point, but simply to show about what the size of the work is. The size of journals is usually not noted, pages alone being given. The names of most of the journals cited are given in full, but JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; AJP = *American Journal of Philology*; BS = *Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology Publications*, Manila; and BNI = *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*. In the case of books cited by Retana or Pardo de Tavera it is to be noted that 4° often, perhaps usually, denotes a small quarto, not much larger if any than an octavo; moreover the authorities often differ among themselves in describing the size. When two or more

collaborate on the same work, each author's name is given in its proper place followed by the title; the other details, however, are given under the name which appears first on the title page, a reference to this name being added in the case of the other author or authors. For compound Spanish names connected by *y* look under the first part; for those ending in a saint's name look under San; for surnames beginning with the prepositions *de*, *von*, etc., look under name that immediately follows. In those Spanish names where it is difficult to tell what part is to be regarded as the surname, all parts that could possibly be so regarded are placed in their proper alphabetical order with a reference to the name which is most commonly considered the surname.

The guttural nasal of the Philippine languages, which is usually represented as *ng* or *g* marked with a tilde above the *g*, is written without this tilde thruout the article. As the usage with regard to capital letters and accent marks is not uniform in the sources used in preparing this bibliography, the bibliography naturally reflects these inconsistencies.

Each separate title is numbered consecutively, but the names and titles inserted simply for reference to other titles are excluded from the enumeration, being marked with a star.

The bibliography is believed to contain all the most important titles up to the present (end of 1919), but it cannot claim completeness for the last few years.

At the end of the lists an index is given in which the numbers are arranged according to subjects treated.

The chief bibliographical works containing linguistic titles, with the symbol by which they are cited in the lists in [], are the following, viz.:

Retana, W. E.—Catálogo de la biblioteca filipina de W. E.

Retana. Madrid, 1893. Fol. (few linguistic titles). [C]

— Epítome de la bibliographia general de Filipinas (in Archivo del bibliófilo filipino. Madrid 1895-98, 8°, Tom. I, parte XI; Tom. II, parte XIII; Tom. III, parte V; Tom. IV, parte IX; pp. 286). [A]

— Catálogo abreviado de la biblioteca filipina. Madrid, 1898, pp. xxxviii + 656, 8° (Nos. 1-1167 = Epítome...). [R]

— Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas. Madrid, 1906, 3 vols., pp. 1800 + 4, Fol. [Ap.]

Pardo de Tavera, T. H.—Biblioteca filipina. Washington, 1903, pp. 439, Fol. [P]

Barrantes, V.—El Teatro tagalo. Madrid, 1889 (Bibliography of Philippine languages in an appendix, pp. 167-196). [B]

Blumentritt, F.—Vocabular einzelner Ausdrücke, welche dem Spanischen der philippinischen Inseln eigentümlich sind. Leipzig, 1882 and 1885 (Bibliography of Philippine languages in an appendix to each part, I pp. 83-87, 132; II pp. 29-35). [Bl.]

Robertson, J. A.—Bibliography of the Philippine Islands, Printed and Manuscript, preceded by a Descriptive Account of the most important Archives and Collections containing Philippina. Cleveland, 1908, pp. 433, 4°. [Ro.]

The titles in C, A, R, Ap., and Ro. are arranged according to date, in P and B according to author, in Bl. according to subject matter. Manuscript titles are found chiefly in B, Bl., and Ro. The numbers after C and Ro. refer to the page, those after A, R, P, Ap., to the number of the title; with B no numbers are given as the bibliography is short and the titles easily found. As any number of A is identical with the same number of R up to 1167, R is cited only from 1168 upward. Bl. I refers to the first section of the bibliography where the tables are not numbered; Bl. followed by an Arabic numeral refers to the second section where the titles are numbered.

Other works and articles containing brief linguistic bibliographies with their abbreviations are the following, viz.:

Beyer, H. O.—Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916. Manila 1917, pp. 89-95. [Be.]

Bloomfield, L.—Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis, Urbana, Ill., 1917, Vol. I, pp. 13, 14. [Bf.]

Conant, C. E.—The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages. Anthropos VII, 1912, pp. 943-947. [Co.]

MacKinlay, W. E. W.—A Handbook and Grammar of the Tagalog Language. Washington, 1905, pp. 7-13. [Mc.]

Scheerer, O.—The Batan Dialect as a Member of the Philippine Group of Languages. BS, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 9-10, 20, 22. [S]

These will be referred to as a general thing only when they are the sole authority for a title or an edition.

LIST OF WORKS ON THE PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES.

(Including all works in the less known idioms.)

A. Printed Works.

1. Abecedario para el uso de las escuelas primarias de la Diocesis de Cebu. 7^a ed., Tambobong, 1894, pp. 40, 8°. [R 1739, Ap. 3437.]
2. ABELLA, V. M. DE—Vade-mecum filipino ó manual de conversación familiar español-tagalog. Binondo, 1868; 1869; 1871; 9^a ed., Manila, 1873 (followed by a list of idioms of Manila), pp. 116, 8° (P), 12° (R). [R 2524, P 9, B, Bl. I, Ap. 1377.]
3. ADELUNG, J. C.—Mithridates oder Allgemeine Sprachenkunde. Berlin, 1806 (Vol. 1 contains two versions of the Lord's Prayer in Tagalog with grammatical explanation, one version of 1593, the other the current form). [Mc.]
- * ALBIOL, M.—Cf. Carbonell, J.
- * ALCAZAR, A. V.—Cf. Sanchez de la Rosa, A., Nos. 321, 322.
4. ALLIN, B. C.—Standard English-Visayan Dictionary. Cebu, ?, pp. 260.
5. ALTER, F. C.—Ueber die tagalische Sprache. Wien, 1803, pp. x + 80, small 8°. [P 55, B, Bl. I.]
6. ALVARO—Arte pampaño (mentioned by Bergaño). [B, Ap. 236, p. 264f.]
- * ALZATE, I.—Cf. Flores Hernandez, A.
7. APACIBLE, D. S.—Casaysayan nang gramática castellana inihalal sa wicang tagalog ni D. S. A... Manila, 1884, pp. iv + 206, 4°. [P 87, B.]
- * APARICIO, J.—Arte de la lengua bisaya-hiligayna. Cf. Méntrida.
8. Archipiélago filipino (el)—Collección de datos geogr., estadist., cronol., y cientif., relativos al mismo, entresacados de anteriores obras, ú obtenidos con la propia observación y estudio por algunos padres de la Comp. de Jesus en estas islas. Washington, 1900, Tom. I, pp. 26-147 *passim* and pp. 221-238 (translated in Report of Philippine Commission for 1900, Vol. III, pp. 14-128 *passim* and pp. 397-412).
9. A(RIÑEZ), A. M. DE—Diccionario hispano-kanaka... collección de la voces... de esta lengua de la Ascensión ó Ponapé (Carolinas Orientales) (preceded by some gram-

- matical rules). Tambobong, 1892, pp. 188, 4°. [R 1460, P 846, Ap. 3125.]
10. — Catecismo de doctrina cristiana hispano-kanaka, seguido de un pequeño devocionario y una colección de cánticos religiosos. Manila, 1893, pp. 164, 8°. [R 1637, Ap. 3299.]
 11. ARRUÉ, L.—Adalan sa mga cristianos. Malabón, 1896, pp. 72, 8°; 2^a ed., Manila, 1904 (in Kuyo) [R 1956, Ap. 3744, Co.]
 12. Arte de la lengua de Pangasinan. Manila, 1690 (mentioned by Pellicer). [P 134.]
 13. Arte de la lengua tagala compuesta por un Religioso del orden de Predicadores. Manila, 1736. [Bl. I.]
 - * Arteng Tagalog, cf. G., F. M.
 14. Arte de la lengua Zebuana (no date or author given; Encina [?]) Sampáloc, 1800 [?], pp. 616 + 16, 4°. [R 2208, P 135, Bl. I, Ap. 4133.]
 - * Arte tagalo en verso latino—cf. Religioso de Sto. Domingo.
 - * Arte tagalo en verso castellano—cf. Religioso de S. Francisco.
 15. Asistencia á los enfermos ó sea modo de administrarles los Santos Sacramentos y demás auxilias espirituales. Guadalupe, 1889 (in last 36 pp. confession of faith in Tagalog, Pampanga, Bikol, Bisaya, Iloko, Ibanag, and Bisaya of Panay). [R 1174, Ap. 2677.]
 16. BAER, G. A.—Contribution à l'étude des langues des indigènes aux Iles Philippines. Anthropos, Vol. II, 1907, pp. 467-491.
 17. BALBI, A.—Atlas Ethnographique du Globe. Paris, 1826 (contains remarks on Tagalog, cf. Table No. 364, and pp. 246-249). [Mc.]
 18. BENCUCHILLO,² F.—Arte tagalo. [B.]
 19. — Diccionario poético tagalo. [B.]
 20. — Arte poético tagalo (printed in Retana's Archivo, Tom. I, pp. 185-210, from MS. dating before 1776).
 21. BENNÁSAR, G.—Diccionario tiruray-español. Manila, 1892, pp. 204, 8°. [R 1472, P 266, Ap. 3098.]
 22. — Diccionario español-tiruray. Manila, 1893, pp. 175, 8°—cf. also No. 132. [R 1624, P 267, Ap. 3285.]

² Written *Beneuchillo* by Barrantes and Blumentritt.

- * — Cf. Observaciones gramaticales... No. 265, and note.
- * BERDUGO, A.—cf. Verdugo, A.
- 23. BERGAÑO, D.—Arte de la lengua pampanga. Manila, 1729, pp. 22 + 346 + 12, 4°; Sampáloc, 1736, pp. 32 + 219 + 3, 4°. [C 73; A 30, 33; P 273, 274; B, Bl. I; Ap. 236, 251.]
- 24. — Bocabulario de pampango en romance, y diccionario de romance en pampango. Manila, 1732, pp. 16 + 399 + 88, Fol.—Vocabulario de la lengua panpanga en romance (Pampanga-Spanish only). Manila, 1860, pp. 16 + 343, Fol. [C 73; A 31, 264; P 275, 276; B; Bl. I; Ap. 239, 959.]³
- 25. BERMEJO, J.—Arte de la lengua Zebuana, sacado del que escribió el P. F. Francisco Encina. Manila, 1836, pp. 168 + 8, 12°; Tambobong, 1894, pp. 186, 12°. [A 150, R 1748, P 136, Ap. 3451.]
- 26. BEYER, H. O.—Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916: Población de las Islas Filipinas en 1916 (in parallel columns, English and Spanish). Manila, 1917, pp. 95, 7 × 10½ in.
- 27. BLAKE, F. R.—Study of Philippine languages at Johns Hopkins University. American Anthropologist (New Series), Vol. IV, Oct.-Dec. 1902, pp. 793-794.
- 28. — Sanskrit Loanwords in Tagalog. Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars, Vol. XXII, No. 163 June, 1903, pp. 63-65.
- 29. — Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog. *Ibid.* pp. 65-66.
- 30. — Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan. JAOS., Vol. XXV, 1904, pp. 162-169.
- 31. — The Bisayan dialects. JAOS, Vol. XXVI, 1905, pp. 120-136.
- 32. — Expression of case by the verb in Tagalog. JAOS, Vol. XXVII, 1906, pp. 183-189.
- 33. — Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar. I. General features, notes on phonology, pronouns. JAOS, Vol. XXVII, 1906, pp. 317-396.
- 34. — Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar. II. The numerals. JAOS, Vol. XXVIII, 1907, pp. 199-253.

³ The title "Diccionario pampango-español y español-pampango," Manila, 1732, given Bl. I, p. 86 in addition to this title, is evidently identical with it.

35. — The Tagalog ligature and analogies in other languages. JAOS, Vol. XXIX, 1908, pp. 227-231.
36. — Expression of the ideas "to be" and "to have" in the Philippine languages. JAOS, Vol. XXX, 4, 1910, pp. 375-391.
37. — *Review of* C. W. Seidenadel's "The first grammar of the language spoken by the Bontoc Igorot." AJP, Vol. XXXI, 3 (whole No. 123), 1910, pp. 339-342.
38. — Article on Philippine Languages in New International Encyclopedia. New York, 1910, Vol. XV, pp. 727-728.
39. — Tagalog Verbs derived from other Parts of Speech. AJP, Vol. XXXII, 4 (whole No. 128), 1911, pp. 436-440.
40. — Philippine Literature. American Anthropologist (New Series), Vol. XIII, July-Sept., 1911, pp. 449-457.
41. — *Review of* C. E. Conant's "The RGH Law in Philippine Languages," JAOS, Vol. XXXI (1910), pp. 70 to 85, American Anthropologist, *ibid.*, pp. 472-473.
42. — Construction of Coordinated Words in the Philippine Languages. AJP, Vol. XXXVII, 4 (whole No. 148), 1916, pp. 466-474.
43. — The Tagalog Verb. JAOS, Vol. XXXVI, 1917, pp. 396-414.
44. — Reduplication in Tagalog. AJP, Vol. XXXVIII, 4 (whole No. 152), 1917, pp. 425-431.
45. — *Review of* M. Vanoverbergh's "A Grammar of Lepanto Igorot as it is spoken at Bauco," Manila, 1917. AJP, Vol. XXXIX, 4 (whole No. 156), 1918, pp. 417-420.
46. — *Review of* L. Bloomfield's "Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis," 3 vols., Urbana, Ill., 1917. AJP, Vol. XL, 1 (whole No. 157), 1919, pp. 86-93.
47. BLOOMFIELD, L.—Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis: Urbana, Illinois, 1917; 3 vols., 7 × 10½ in.—Part I.—Texts and Translation, pp. 15 + 107; Part II.—Grammatical Analysis, pp. 11 + 183; Part III.—List of Formations and Glossary, pp. 8 + 92 + 2 (= University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. III, Nos. 2, 3, 4; May, Aug., Nov., 1917).
- * BLANCAS (de San José), F.—cf. San José, F. Blancas de.
48. BLUMENTRITT, F.—Ueber den Namen der Igorroten. "Ausland," Stuttgart, 1882, No. 1, p. 17. [P 355.]

49. — Vocabular einzelner Ausdrücke und Redensarten, welche dem Spanischen der philippinischen Inseln eigenthümlich sind. Leipzig[?] 1882-1885[?] (2 pamphlets, 8°, respect. 132 and 64 pages). [R 2218; P 361, 363; B, Ap. 1873.]⁴
50. — Negritos von Baler. Mittheil. d. Wiener geog. Gesellschaft, 1884, Heft 7. [Bl. 76.]
51. — Begleitworte zu meiner Karte der Insel Mindanao. Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde, Bd. XIX, 1884 (contains examples of Tiruray). [Bl. II, p. 34.]
52. — Bemerkungen zu den spanischen Angaben über die Verbreitungsgebiete, etc., der philippinischen Landessprachen. Zeitschrift d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin, 1887, No. 2, pp. 15, 8°. [P 305.]
53. — Katechismus der katholischen Glaubenslehre in der Ilongoten-Sprache verfasst von Fray Francisco de la Zarza in Druck gelegt und mit Aequivalenten des Ilongot Textes in spanischer, beziehungsweise tagalischer und magindanauischer Sprache. Wien, 1893, pp. 30, 4°. [R 1629, P 346, Ap. 3288; cf. B and Bl. 81.]
54. — Die Transcription des Tagalog von Dr. José Rizal. BNI, Vol. 42, pp. 311-320, 1893 (translated from article in "La Solidaridad"). [R 1628, P 2406, Be.]
55. — Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Eingeborenen Stämme der Philippinen und der von ihnen gesprochenen Sprachen, (?), (?), pp. 20, 8° (translated by O. T. Mason—cf. No. 236). [P 297.]
56. — Nachtrag zu dem "Alphabetisches Verzeichnis." Bol. de la Sociedad Geográfica de Berlin, 1893, pp. 6, 4°. [R 1630, Ap. 3289.]
57. — Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der bei den philippinischen Eingeborenen üblichen Eigennamen, welche auf Religion, Opfer, und priesterliche Titel und Amtsverrichtungen sich beziehen. Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1894, pp. 43-58, 137-154, 224-238 (also printed in Retana's Archivo, Tom. II). [R 1749, P 298.]

⁴French translation by A. Hugot in Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, 2^e Série, t. II (cf. Bl. 1).

58. — Ueber die Namen der malaiischen Stämme der philippinischen Inseln. Braunschweig, 1895 (in Globus, Bd. LXVII, No. 21), pp. 3, Fol. [R 1860, P 356.]
- 59.— Die Mangianeschrift von Mindoro. Braunschweig, 1896. [R 1960, Ap. 3751.]
60. — Verzeichnis Philippinischer Sachwörter aus dem Gebiete der Ethnographie u. Zoologie. Abh. u. Berichte des kgl. zool. u. anthr.-ethnog. Museum, Dresden, Festschrift, 1899, No. 1 (pub. in Berlin, 1899).
61. BLUMENTRITT, F. and KERN, H.—Des Padre Fr. José Castaño Nachrichten über die Sprache des Agta. Opmerkingen omtrent de taal der Agta's van't schiereiland Camarines. s'Gravenhage, 1896 (Bulletin of Institute of the Dutch Indies), pp. 7, 4°. [R 1962, Ap. 3668.]
62. BORDMAN, J.—(a small pamphlet containing sentences in English, Spanish, and Tagalog in parallel columns)—after 1898. [Mc.]⁵
63. BRABO, A.—Vade mecum filipino ó manual de la conversación español pampango. Manila, 1875, pp. 109, 8°. [P 408.]
64. BRANDSTETTER, R.—Tagalen und Madagassen. Luzern, 1902,⁶ *pamph.*, pp. 85, 8°.
65. — Ein Prodomus zu einem vergleichenden Wörterbuch der malaio-polynesischen Sprachen. Luzern, 1906, *pamph.*, pp. 74, 8°.
66. — Mata-Hari oder Wanderungen eines indonesischen Sprachforschers durch die drei Reiche der Natur. Luzern, 1908, *pamph.*, pp. 55, 8°.
67. — Anlaut und Auslaut im Indogermanischen und Malaio-polynesischen. In Album Kern.
68. — Die Stellung der minahassischen Idiome zu den übrigen Sprachen von Celebes einerseits und zu den Sprachen der Philippinen anderseits. In Versuch einer Anthropologie der Insel Celebes von F. Sarasin.
69. — Wurzel und Wort in den indonesischen Sprachen. Luzern, 1910, *pamph.*, pp. 52, 8°.

⁵ I have seen and used this work, but I failed at the time to note title, etc., and I cannot now (Sept., 1919) locate the book (F. R. B.): Mc. p. 12 gives only the information here noted.

⁶ Translated into Spanish by L. Stangl, Manila, 1908, 1909.

70. — Sprachvergleichendes Charakterbild eines indonesischen Idioms. Luzern, 1911, *pamph.*, pp. 72, 8°.
71. — Gemeinindonesisch und Urindonesisch. Luzern, 1911, *pamph.*, pp. 45, 4°.
72. — Das Verbum dargestellt auf Grund einer Analyse der besten Texte in vierundzwanzig indonesischen Sprachen. Luzern, 1912, *pamph.*, pp. 70, 8°.
73. — Der Artikel des Indonesischen. Luzern, 1913, *pamph.*, pp. 56, 8°.
74. — Indonesisch und Indogermanisch im Satzbau. Luzern, 1914, *pamph.*, pp. 56, 8°.
75. BUFFUM, KATHARINE G. and LYNCH, C.—Joloano Moro (a Sulu primer). Manila, 1914, pp. 6 + 138, large 8°. [Be.]
- * BUGARIN, J.—Diccionario ibanag-español—cf. Rodriguez, R.
76. BUZETA, M.—Gramática de la lengua tagala. Madrid, 1850, pp. 6 + 171 + 3, 4°. [C 57, A 199, P 431, Bl. I, Ap. 781.]
77. CACHO, A.—Origen y costumbres de los isinays, ilongotes, irulis é igorotes (cf. No. 407). [B, Bl. 79.]
78. CALDERÓN, S. G.—Pocket Dictionary. English-Spanish-Tagalog. Manila, 1914, pp. 343, 12°, a more complete 8° ed. by J. Martinez, Manila, 1916. [Be.]
- * CAMARENA, F. DE = San José, F. de. [B, Bl. 33.]
79. CAMERON, C. R.—Sulu Writing. Zamboanga, 1917, pp. viii + 161, small 4°. [Be.]
80. Camino del Cielo. Manila, 1873 (in Gaddan), pp. 382, 8°. [A 428, P 474, Ap. 1381.]
81. CAMPOMANES, J. HEVIA.—Lecciones de gramática hispano-tagala. 1^a ed., Manila, 1872; 2^a ed., Manila, 1877; 3^a ed., Manila, 1883; 4^a ed., Manila, 1888; 6^a ed., Manila, 1901; 9^a ed., Manila, 1912, pp. 260, 4° (all editions are identical at least up to the 6th inclusive—cf. Mc. p. 11). [C 76, A 1133, R 2537, P 1319, B (under H), Bl. 13; Ap. 1340, 1579, 2021, 2616, Be., Mc.]
82. CARBONELL, J.—Tesauro ilocano (with emendations and additions by M. Albiol—mentioned by Lopez). [B, Bl. 64.]
- * CARMEN, A. IBAÑEZ DEL—cf. Ibañez (del Carmen), A.
83. CARRO, A.—Vocabulario de la lengua ilocana. Manila, 1849, pp. 6 + 326 + 5, Fol.—Vocabulario iloco-español.

- Manila, 1888, pp. 4 + xii + 295, Fol. [C 74; A 195; P 512, 513; B; Bl. I, Bl. 65; Ap. 766, 2570.]
- * — Gramática ilocana—cf. Lopez, F.
84. Cartas de los PP. de la compania de Jesus de la Misi6n de Filipinas. Manila, 1883, Fol.; on pp. 218-222 examples of Tiruray. [A 742, P 519, Bl. II, p. 34, Ap. 1991.]
- * Catecismo de doctrina cristiana hispano-kanaka—cf. Ariñez, A. M. de.
85. Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana en castellano y en moro de Maguindanao por un misionero de la Compania de Jesus. Manila, 1885, pp. 83, 8° (by J. Juanmartí). [P 568, Bl. 83, Ap. 2574.]
86. Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana en castellano y tiruray. Manila, 1888, pp. 57, 8°. [A 1102, P 569, Ap. 2575.]
87. Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana (in Batan by a Dominican). Manila, 1834, pp. 92, 16° (A), 12° (P)—(reprinted in Retana's Archivo, Tom. II, pp. 269-307; cf. Grammatical notes and vocabulary in Prologo pp. xxxvixlix). [A 145, P 567, Ap. 628.]
88. Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana en lengua gaddan. Manila, 1833, pp. 225 + 3, 16° (A), 12° (P); 2^a ed., Manila, 1897, pp. 173. [A 137, P 570, Bl. I, Ap. 621, Co.]
89. Catecismo historico por el abate C. Fleury y traducido al tiruray por un P. Misionero de la compania de Jesús. Manila, 1892, pp. 142, 4°. [C 74, R 1502, P 576, Ap. 3138.]
90. Catecismo sa salita' zambale a mancapalaman nin dao dasal tan maanter a pamamalicas a cumana. Manila, 1873, pp. 91, 12° (in Zambal, written by J. M. Laerte). [R 2526, Ap. 1382.]
91. Census of the Philippine Islands. Washington, 1905 (a few remarks on languages in Vol. I, pp. 412, 448, 449, 461, 515, 516).
92. CHAMBERLAIN, A. F.—Etymology of the name Aeta (Eta, Ita). American Anthropologist (New Series), Vol. II, 1900, p. 773f.
93. — Philippine studies, I—Place names. Amer. Antiquarian, Vol. XXII, pp. 393-399.
94. — Philippine studies, III—Tagal language. Amer. Antiquarian, Vol. XXIII, pp. 145-148.

95. — Philippine studies, V—The origin of the name Manila. *Ibid.*, p. 333f.
 * CHORRO, F.—cf. Doctrina cristiana para instr. de los niños en lengua montés, No. 133.
96. CHRISTIAN, F. W.—The Caroline Islands. London, 1899 (at end explanation of a number of words of Yap and Ponapé). [Ap. 4061.]
97. CHRISTIE, E. B.—The Subanuns of Sindangan Bay. BS, Vol. VI, pp. 1-121, Manila, 1909.⁷
 * CHURCHILL, W.—The Subanu—cf. Finley, J. P.
98. CLAPP, W. C.—Trying to learn the Igorrote language. Spirit of Missions, Vol. LXIX, No. 12, Dec., 1904, pp. 890 to 897.
99. — A vocabulary of the Igorot language as spoken by the Bontok Igorots: Igorot-English and English-Igorot. BS, Vol. V, pp. 141-236, Manila, 1908.
 * CLAUSER, M.—cf. Métrida, A. de, No. 239.
100. COHEN, H. M. and MEDALLE Y ZAGUIRRE, A.—Pocket Dictionary of the English, Spanish, and Visayan Languages, Part I. English-Spanish-Visayan. Cebu, 1900, pp. 204, 16°.
101. COLIN, F.—Labor evangelica... Madrid, 1663. Fol.; ch. xiii, del ingenio, lenguas, y letras de los Filipinos. [A 14, P 655, Ap. 122.]
102. Compendio de historia universal desde la creación del mundo hasta la venida de Jesucristo y un breve vocabulario en castellano y moro maguindanao por un misionero (Juanmartí?). Singapore, 1888. [A 1107, P 676, B, Ap. 2582.]
103. Compendio de la doctrina cristiana, Iloilo, 1891 (in Agutayna = Kalamian), pp. 47, 16°. [R 1391, Ap. 2989.]
104. Compendio de la doctrina cristiana...traducido todo en lengua tagbanua según se usa en el Norte de la Paragua. 2ª ed., Guadalupe, 1889, pp. 60, 16° (R), 12° (P). [C 75, R 1188, P 678, Ap. 2703.]
105. CONANT, C. E.—“F” and “V” in Philippine languages. BS, Vol. V, Part II, Manila, 1908, pp. 135-141.

⁷ I have not seen this work, but list it here on the chance that it contains linguistic material like most of the other volumes of the same series.

106. — The names of Philippine languages. "Anthropos" (Wien), Vol. IV, 1909, pp. 1069-1074.
107. — The Bisaya language; its evolution in the last decade. "Ang Suga," Sugbu, June 16, 1910, p. 1.
108. — The RGH law in Philippine languages. JAOS, Vol. XXXI, 1, 1910, pp. 70-85.
109. — Consonant changes and vowel harmony in Chamorro. "Anthropos," Vol. VI, 1, 1911, pp. 136-146.
110. — Review of C. W. Seidenadel's "The first grammar of the language spoken by the Bontoc Igórot." Classical Philology, Vol. VI, No. 3, July, 1911, pp. 365-6.
111. — Monosyllabic Roots in Pampanga. JAOS, Vol. XXXI, 4, 1911, pp. 389-394.
112. — The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages. Anthropos, Vol. VII, 1912, pp. 920-947.
113. — Notes on the Phonology of the Tirurai Language. JAOS, Vol. XXXIII, 2, 1913, pp. 150-157.
114. — Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language. JAOS, Vol. XXXV, 1, 1915, pp. 1-15.
115. — Grammatical notes on the Isinai Language (Philippines). JAOS, Vol. XXXV, 3, 1915, pp. 289-292.
116. CORIA, J. DE—Nueva gramática tagalog, teórico-práctica. Madrid, 1872, pp. 552 + iv, 4° (A), 8° (P). [C 58, A 411, P 696, B, Bl. 11, Ap. 1330.]
117. CORONEL, F.—Reglas para aprender el idioma pampango. Manila?, 1617. [B; Bl. 59; Ap. 236, p. 264f.]
118. COSGAYA, L. F. and VILANOVA, P.—Diccionario pangasinan-español. Manila, 1865, pp. 8 + 330 + 121, Fol. [C 60, A 321, P 2795, B (under F), Bl. I, Ap. 1089.]
119. COWIE, ANSON and W. C.—English-Sulu-Malay Vocabulary: grammatical introduction. London, 1893, pp. xlviii + 288, 4°. [Ap. 3309.]
120. CRESPO, M.—Arte del idioma bicol para la enseñanza de este idioma dispuesto y ordenado por...A. de San Augustin; dalo á luz corregido y adicionado...M. Crespo... Manila, 1879, pp. xii + 239 + 1, 4°. [A 593; P 763, 2481; B, Ap. 1705.]
- * CUADRADO, M. MARTÍNEZ—cf. Martínez Cuadrado, M.
121. CUARTERO, M.—Arte del idioma bisaya hiligaino que se habla en Panay y en algunas islas adyacentes...Manila,

- 1878; Guadalupe, 1890, pp. 174 + 2, 8°. [R 1292, P 770; Ap. 1623, 2844.]
122. — Casayoran sa pagaradalan sa mga cristianos. Manila, 1871 (in Kuyo), pp. 88, 8°. [A 394, Ap. 1285.]
123. CUARTERÓN, C.—Spiegazione e traduzione dei XIV quadri relativi alle isole di Salibabao... Roma, 1855 (in an appendix are short vocabularies of Italian, Malay, Sulu, Tagalog). [A 229, P 773, Ap. 869.]
124. CUE-MALAY, G.—Frases usuales para la conversación en español tagalo é ingles. Manila, 1898. [Bf.]
125. CUESTA, A. DE LA—Gramática iloco-castellana. Manila, 1890, pp. 114, small 4°. [R 1293, Ap. 2845.]
126. CUEVAS, J. M. FAUSTO DE—Arte nuevo de la lengua ybanág. Manila, 1826, pp. 541, small 4°; 1854, pp. 2 + 366 + 25, 8°. [A 222; P 1054, 1055; B, Bl. I, Ap. 847.]
127. DAHLMANN, J.—El estudio de las lenguas y las misiones. Madrid, 1893, pp. xvi + 207, 4° (deficient in matters pertaining to the Philippines). [R 1649, Ap. 3314.]
128. Dasal sa sarita nin Zambalen binobolinao. Manila, 1875, pp. 96, 8° (in Zambal). [P 803.]
129. DELGADO, J. J.—Historia general sacro-profana, politica y natural de las islas de poniente llamadas Filipinas. Manila, 1892 (libro 3° contains some treatment of the languages). [R 1491, P 824, Ap. 3123.]
130. Diccionário español-ibanag ó sea tesauo hispano-cagayan. Manila, 1867, pp. 4 + 511, 4°. [A 347, P 845, B (under *Religiosos*), Ap. 1146.]
131. Diccionário español-ibatán por varios PP. Dominicos misioneros de las Islas Batanes. Manila, 1914, pp. 2 + xviii + 574, 8° (with an introduction by O. Scheerer, pp. i-xvii). [Be.]
- * Diccionario hispano-kanaka—cf. Ariñez, A. M. de.
132. Diccionario tiruray-español. (?), 1892—cf. No. 22. [C 75.]
133. Doctrina cristiana para instruccion de los niños en lengua montés—(Bisaya of Mindanao)...Malabon, 1895, pp. 64, 16° (by F. Chorro?). [R 1876, Ap. 3641.]
134. DOHERTY, D. J.—The Tagalog language. *Educat. Review* (N. Y.), Vol. XXIV, pp. 497-502.
135. — Notes on Filipino Dialects. Leaflet of 4 pp., privately

- printed, Chicago, in which the author advocates the fusion of the native dialects into a common language.
136. DURÁN, C. G.—Manual de conversaciones en castellano tagalo é ingles. Manila, 1900. [Bf.]
 137. ELLIOTT, C. W.—A vocabulary and phrase book of the Lanao Moro dialect. BS, Vol. V, pp. 301-328, Manila, 1913.
 138. ENCARNACIÓN, J. F. DE LA—Diccionario bisaya-español. Manila, 1851—and Diccionario español-bisaya. Manila, 1852; 2^a ed., Binondo, 1866—both parts in one, 3d ed., Manila, 1885, pp. 8 + 437 + 2 + 349, Fol. [C 75; A 204, 216, 335, 864, 865; P 923, 924; B; Bl. I; Ap. 793, 822, 1113, 1114, 2208, 2209.]
 139. ENCINA, F.—Arte de la lengua zebuana. Manila, 1836. [B, Bl. 47, Ap. 639]—cf. Bermejo and Gonzalez.
 140. ESCOBAR Y LOZANO, J.—El indicador del viajero en las Islas Filipinas. Manila, 1885, 4^o, pp. 155-170 Spanish-Tagalog vocabulary. [A 866, P 942, Ap. 2210.]
 141. ESGUERRA, D.—Arte de la lengua bisaya de la Provincia de Leyte (also remarks on dialects of Cebu and Bohol). Manila, 1747, reimpresso, pp. 8 + 176(?), 4^o (very rare). [P 951, B (*Esquerra*), Bl. I (*Ezguerra*, 1847).]
 - * Estudios comparativos entre el tagalo y el sanscrito—cf. Minguella (de la Merced), T.
 142. EVERETT, A. H.—Tagbanwa word list incorporated in Swettenham's "Comparative Vocabulary of the Dialects of the Wild Tribes inhabiting the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, etc." in Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, June, 1880. [Co.]
 - * FAUSTO DE CUEVAS—cf. Cuevas, J. M. Fausto de.
 143. FAVRE, P.—Dictionnaire malais-français. Vienne, 1875, 1880 (contains references to Tagalog and Bisaya). [A 475, 610.]
 144. FERNANDEZ, E.—Vocabulario tagalo-castellano. Manila, 1883, pp. 120, 8^o. [A 756, P 1060, B, Ap. 2013.]
 145. — Nuevo vocabulario ó manual de conversaciones en español, tagalog, panpango. 1^a ed., Binondo, 1876, pp. 80, 8^o; 2^a ed., Manila, 1882, pp. 84, 4^o; 4^a ed., Manila, 1896; 5^a(?), Binondo, 1901. [P 1061, B, Bl. I, Bl. 12, Ap. 1514, Co., Bf.]

146. FERRAZ, J. F.—Nahuatlismos de Costa Rica. San José de Costa Rica, 1892, pp. lxxv + 148, 4° (treats many words in common use in the Philippines). [R 1501.]
147. FERRER, F.—Manual iloco-castellano ó sea metodo para aprender ó enseñar el castellano en los pueblos ilocanos. Manila, 1894, pp. 2 + vi + 241 + 12, 4°. [R 1786, Ap. 3510.]
- * FERRER, N. G. DE SAN VINCENTE—cf. Gonzalez (de S. V. F.), N.
148. FIGUEROA, A.—Arte del idioma visaya de Sámar y Leite. Binondo, 1870, 1872, pp. 135, 4°. [A 415; P 1080, 1081; B; Bl. I; Ap. 1335.]
149. FINLEY, J. P. and CHURCHILL, W.—The Subanu. Studies of a Sub-Visayan Mountain Folk of Mindanao. Publication No. 184 of the Carnegie Institution, Washington, 1913, pp. v + 1 + 236, large 8°. [Be.]
150. FLORESCA, R.—Vocabulary English-Ilocano. Vigan, 1904, pp. 237, small 8°. [Co.]
151. FLORES HERNANDEZ, A. and PIQUER Y MARTIN CORTES, R.—Crónica de la Exposición de Filipinas. Madrid, 1887 (contains poem in Igorot dialect of Abra by Ismael Alzate). [A 1036, P 1093, Ap. 2475.]
- * FLEURY, C.—cf. Catecismo historico... No. 89.
152. FRITZ, G.—Chamorro Wörterbuch: Deutsch-Chamorro und Cham.-Deutsch. Berlin, 1908.
- 153.^a — Chamorro Grammatik. Mittheilung des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen an der Königlichen Friedrich Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin, VI, 1: Ostasiatische Studien, Berlin, 1903, pp. 1-27. [Co.]
- 153.^b — Die Zentralkarolinische Sprache. Lehrbücher d. Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, No. 29, Berlin, 1911.
154. FORREST, T.—A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas...to which is added a Vocabulary of the Magindanao tongue. Dublin, 1779, 4°, vocabulary pp. 415-442. [P 1121, 1122; Bl. I; Ap. 360, 365.]^{7a}
155. FORSTER, J. R.—Observations made during a Voyage round the World. London, 1778 (contains vocabularies,

^{7a} French translation, Paris, 1780, cf. P 1122, Ap. 365. The German translation (cf. Ap. 371) is without the vocabulary.

- of 47 words, of Tagalog, Pampango, Malay, and several Polynesian dialects). [Mc.]
- * FOY, W.—Die Mangianschrift—cf. Meyer, A. B., No. 245.
156. G., J. M.—*Arteng tagalog na macapagtuturo nang uicang castila*. Manila, 1875, pp. 95, Fol. [Bl. 40; Ap. 1452.]
157. GABELENTZ, G. VON DER, and MEYER, A. B.—*Beiträge zur Kenntniss der melanesischen, mikronesischen und papuanischen Sprachen*. Abhandl. d. K. S. Gesellschaft d. Wiss., Leipzig, 1882, Bd. VIII, p. 375ff. [Bl. I, p. 132.]
158. GABELENTZ, H. C. VON—*Ueber das Passivum*. Abhandl. d. K. S. Ges. d. Wiss., Leipzig, 1860, Bd. VIII, pp. 451-546. [Bl. I, p. 132.]
159. GARCIA, F. and HERRERA, V.—*Manga onang turo sa uikang inglés*. Maynila, 1902. [Bf.]
160. GAYACAO, J.—*Nuevo vocabulario ó manual de conversaciones en hispano-ilocano*. 1^a ed., Manila, 1875; 4^a ed., 1884; 5^a ed., 1892, pp. 80, 8°. [R 1510, P 1174, Bl. 66, Ap. 3148.]
161. — *Nuevo vocabulario y guia de conversaciones español-panayano*. 2^a ed., Manila, 1879, pp. 70, 12°. [A 579; P 1175; Bl. I, Bl. 49; Ap. 1675.]
162. — *Manual de conversaciones en hispano-bicol y vice versa*. 4^a ed., Manila, 1873; 5^a ed., Manila, 1881, pp. 116, 8°. [P 1173; Bl. I, Bl. 70.]
163. — *Vocabulario ibanag*. Binondo, 1896. [S]
164. *Geographic Names in the Philippine Islands (The)*. Special Report of the U. S. Board on Geographic Names, Washington, 1901, pp. 59, 8° (?).
- * GERÓNIMO—cf. Jerónimo.
165. GIBERT (DE SANTA EULALIA), P. (?)—*Lacted nga tocsaan nga casayodan sa pagaradalan sa mga cristianos*. Manila, 1871, pp. 32, 8° (in Kuyo). [A 402, Ap. 1301.]
166. — *Plan de la Religion . . . traducido todo en lengua cuyona*. Manila, 1886, pp. 155, 12° (A), 8° (P) (in Kuyo). [C 79, A 954, P 1179, Ap. 2350.]
167. GIBERT, M.—*Diccionario bagobo-español*. Manila, 1892, pp. 70, 4°. [R 1513, P 1186, Ap. 3151.]
168. — *Diccionario español-bagobo*. Manila, 1892, pp. xviii + 190, 4°. [R 1512, P 1185, Ap. 3150.]
169. GONZALEZ (DE SAN VINCENTE FERRER), N.—*Gramática*

bisaya-cebuana del P. Francisco Encina reformada... Manila, 1885, pp. 160 + 44 + 2, 4°. [A 872, P 1196, Ap. 2217.]

* GOYENA, R. IRURETA—cf. Irureta Goyena, R.

170. GUILLÉN, F.—Gramática Bisaya para facilitar el estudio del dialecto Bisaya Cebuano. Malabon, 1898. [Co.]

171. HAYNES, T. H.—English, Sulu, and Malay Vocabulary. *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Dec., 1885 and Dec., 1886. [Co.]

* HERNANDEZ, A. FLORES—cf. Flores Hernandez, A.

172. HERNANDEZ, F. and SAINZ, F.—Devocionario sa sarita sambalen binobolinao. Nipatanid conran maomacooray. Binondo, 1879, pp. 248, 8° (in Zambal). [P 1307.]

173. HERREJÓN, S.—Lecciones de gramática bicol-hispana. Binondo, 1882, pp. 218, 4°. [A 697, P 1308, B, Ap. 1907.]

* HERRERA, V.—Manga onang turo...—cf. Garcia, F.

174. HERVAS (Y PANDURO), L.—Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas. Vol. II, Madrid, 1801, 4°. [C 76, A 83, Ap. 442.]

175. — Vocabulario Poliglotta. Cesena, 1787 (specimens of the Tagalog of 1593, 1604 and 1787); Spanish ed., 2 vols., 1801 (remarks on Tagalog in Vol. 2). [Mc.]

176. — Aritmética. Cesena, 1785 [“bears upon Tagalog to a slight extent”—Mc.].

* HEVIA CAMPOMANES, J.—cf. Campomanes, J. Hevia.

177. Himnos y Oraciones en alabanza de Jesus, Maria, y José. Manila, 1882, pp. 76, 12° (in Kuyo). [A 698, Ap. 1908.]

178. HOLLE, K. F.—Tabel van oud- en nieuw-indische alphabetter. Bijdrage tot de paleographie van Nederlandsch-Indië. Batavia, 1882, text pp. 20, plates pp. 50, Fol. [P 1324, Bl. I.]

179. HUMBOLDT, W. VON—Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java. Berlin, 1838, 3 vols. (discussion of the Tagalog verbal system and formations, Vol. II, pp. 347-396; cf. also p. 288). [Mc.]

180. HUMBOLT, G. DE—Extraits d'une lettre de Msr. le baron G. de Humbolt à Msr. E. Jacquet sur les alphabets de la Polynésie asiatique. *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, 1832, pp. 481-511. [Bl. I.]

181. IBÁÑEZ (DEL CARMEN), A.—Devoción á San Francisco de

- Borja. Manila, 1887, pp. 88 + 1, 4° (two columns Spanish and Chamorro). [A 1041, P 1338, Ap. 2481.]
182. — Gramática chamorra que traducida literalmente de la que escribió D. Luis Mata y Arango dedica a las escuelas de Marianas con el fin de que los niños aprendan el Castellano el P... Manila, 1865, pp. 50, 4°. [P 1336, B under Y.]
183. — Diccionario español-chamorro. Manila, 1865, pp. 88 + 1, 4°. [P 1337, B under Y.]
184. IÑIGUEZ, J.—Gramática ibanag. (?), 1720-30 (?) (first Ibanag grammar, cf. Introduction to Cuevas' grammar). [B under Y.]
185. IRURETA GOYENA, R.—Sistema métrico decimal. Antiguo sistema de pesas, medidas y monedas de Filipinas. Manila, 1893, pp. 68, 8°. [R 1669, P 1388, Ap. 3343.]
186. JACQUET, E.—Considerations sur les alphabets des Philippines. Paris, 1831, pp. 30, 8° (Extrait du Nouveau Journal Asiatique). [P 1396, Ap. 611.]
187. — Notice sur l'alphabet yloc ou ylog. Nouveau Journal Asiatique, 1831, pp. 3-30. [Bl. I.]
188. — Ueber tagalische Literatur. *Ibid.*, 1832, pp. 557-569. [Bl. I.]
189. JENKS, A. E.—The Bontoc Igorot. Department of the Interior; Ethnological Survey Publications; Vol. I; Manila, 1905, 4°, chapter x (contains besides an account of Bontok Igorot and a vocabulary of 16 pp., brief lists of Malay, Sulu and Benget Igorot words), pp. 227-248. [Ap. 4439.]
190. JERÓNIMO DE LA VIRGEN DE MONSERRATE—Vocabulario calamiño-castellano por . . . (printed in Retana's Archivo from a MS. of 1789; cf. Tom II, pp. 207-225 and Prologo p. xxiv.)
191. JIMENES, CRISTOBAL—Arte del idioma bisaya. Manila 1610. [P 1414.]
192. — Poética cristiana y preguntas en lengua visaya, y juntamente una introducción á esta lengua y confesionario breve. 3ª ed., Manila, 1732. [P 1416, B.]
193. JUANMARTÍ, J.—Cartilla moro-castellano para los Maguin-danaos. Manila, 1887, pp. 58, 4°. [A 1017, P 529, Ap. 2442.]

194. — Gramática de la lengua de Maguindanao. Manila, 1892, pp. 112, 4°. [R 1522, P 1434, Ap. 3163.]
195. — Diccionario moro-maguindanao-español, *and* Diccionario español-moro-maguindanao. Manila, 1892, pp. 274 + 244, 4°. [R 1521, Ap. 3162.]
 - * — cf. Catecismo...en castellano y en moro...No. 85.
 - * — cf. Compendio de historia universal...No. 102.
196. KEATE, G.—An account of the Pelew Islands. London, 1788; new ed. Basil(?), 1789 (at end of Vol. II, pp. 361-372, is a short vocabulary of the language of the Pelew Islands). [P 1445, 1446, 1447; Ap. 403, 406, 407, 472.]^s
197. KERN, H.—Over zoogenaamde verbindings klanken in het tagala en wat daarmee overeenkomt in't Kawi. BNI, 1876, pp. 138-157. [P 1453, Bl. 15, Ap. 1524.]
198. — Sanskritsche woorden in het tagala. BNI, 1880, pp. 535-564. [P 1449, Bl. 15, Ap. 1815.]
199. — Sanskritsche woorden in het bisaya. BNI, 1881, V Deel, I Stuk. [P 1450, Bl. 50, Ap. 1814.]
200. — Over de taal der philippijnsche Negritos. BNI, 1882, VI Deel, 2 Stuk. [P 1451, Bl. 77, Ap. 1911.]
201. — Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van't oude philippijnsche letterschrift. BNI, 1884, X Deel, 1 Stuk, pp. 17. [R 2285, P 1448, Bl. 15.]
202. — *Review of* C. W. Seidenadel's "The first grammar of the language spoken by the Bontoc Igórot." In Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Bd. XIX, 1910, pp. 232-3.
 - * — Sprachvergleichende Bemerkungen (on the language of the Negritos)—cf. Meyer, A. B., and Kern, H., No. 244.
 - * — Opmerkingen omtrent de taal der Agta's...—cf. Blumentritt, F., and Kern, H., No. 61.
203. KIRK, MAY—The Baldwin Primer. Tagalog edition. New York, copyright 1899 and 1902. [Bf.]
204. KUBARY, J. S.—Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Karolinen Archipels. Leiden, 1889-95, large 4° (pp. 112-133, list of words of Ponapé and Yap). [Ap. 2731.]

^s French translation, Paris, 1788 and 1793, cf. P 1446, Ap. 403: German translation, Hamburg, 1789, cf. Ap. 407: Spanish translation (without vocabulary) Madrid, 1805, cf. P 1447, Ap. 472.

- * Lacted nga tocsaan...cf. Gibert (de Santa Eulalia), P.
- * LACOUPERIE, TERRIEN DE—cf. Terrien de Lacouperie.
- * LAERTE, J. M.—cf. Catecismo sa salita zambale, No. 90.
- * LAGASCA, M.—furnished the Kankanai words used by Scheerer in his "Batan Dialect," cf. No. 337.
- * LAKTAW, P. SERRANO—cf. Serrano Laktaw, P.
- 205. LÁZARO, J.—Introducción al estudio de la lengua castellana en Isinay. Manila, 1889, pp. 185, 8°. [C 76, R 1214, P 1507, Ap. 2733.]
- 206. LENDROYRO, C.—The Tagalog language. Manila, 1902, pp. 387 + 61 + viii, Fol.; 2d ed., Manila, 1909. [Ap. 4353.]
- 207. (Linguistic work of Catholic missionaries in the Philippines). Zeitschrift f. kathol. Theol., Vol. XXVI, p. 223f.
- 208. LISBOA, M. DE—Vocabulario de la lengua bicol. Manila, 1754, 2d ed., 1865, pp. 417 + 103 + 1, Fol. [A 326; P 1533, 1534; B; Bl. I, Bl. 71; Ap. 1098.]
- 209. — Arte del idioma bicol. [B, Bl. 71.]
- 210. LOBATO (DE SANTO TOMÁS), A.—Gramática ibanag (mentioned by Cuevas). [B.]
- * — Diccionario ibanag. Cf. Rodriguez, R.
- 211. LOPEZ, F.—Arte de la lengua iloca. Manila, 1627—2^a ed. Compendio y methodo de la suma de las reglas del arte del ydioma ylocano. Sampaloc, 1792-3^a ed. (same title as first ed.), Sampaloc, 1793—A later ed. (4^a) revised by A. Carro, Gramática ilocana. Malabón, 1895, pp. xvi + 354 + 2, 4°. [R 1899; P 1545, 1546, 1548; B; Bl. I; Ap. 422; 3673.]
- 212. LOZANO, R.—Cursos de lengua panayana. Manila, 1876—2^a ed. Gramática hispana-visaya-panayana. Valladolid, 1892, pp. 278, 4°. [R 1526, 2534; P 1562; B; Bl. I; Ap. 1527, 3170.]
- * LYNCH, C.—Joloano Moro—cf. Buffum, K.
- 213. M., M. L.—*Review of Allin's "Standard English-Visayan Dictionary,"* Cebu(?). Philippine Journal of Science, Sec. D, Vol. VI, 1911, p. 281.
- 214. MACARAEG, A. A.—Vocabulario castellano-pangasinan. Manila, 1896. [S.]
- 215. MACKINLAY, W. E. W.—Memorandum on the languages of the Philippines. Journal of Anthro. Inst. of Great Britain, Vol. XXXI, pp. 214-218.

216. — Some minor languages of Luzon. JAOS, Vol. XXV, 1904, pp. 170-174.
217. — A handbook and grammar of the Tagalog language. Washington, 1905, pp. 264, 6 folded charts, 8°.
218. MADRE DE DIOS, SEBASTIAN DE LA—Arte de la lengua ilongota. [B.]
219. MAGDALENA, AUGUSTIN DE LA—Arte de la lengua tagala. México(?), 1679, pp. 8 + 71, 4°. [P 1583, B *del idioma tagalog*, Bl. I.]
220. MALLAT, J.—Les Iles Philippines. Paris, 1843 (contains survey of languages and vocabularies of Tagalog and Bisaya, which, however, are of little importance). [P 1517, 1590; B; Ap. 711.]
221. — Archipel de Soulou...suivie d'un vocabulaire français-malais. Paris, 1843. [Bl. 82.]⁹
- 222.^a MALUMBRES, J.—Vocabulario en Gaddan, Español, e Inglés. Manila, 1911, pp. 91, 8°. [Be.]
- 222.^b — Vocabulario en Castellano, Inglés e Ifugao del Quiangan. Manila, 1911, pp. 60, 8°. [Be.]
223. Mga parangadien nga cristianos ig lactéd nga pagturo o casaisayan sa mga pono nga camatundan, nga taqués maelaman ig tutumamanén sa tauo, nga maliag magpacun sa langit. Manila, 1887, pp. 29, 8° (in Kuyo). [C 77, A 1051, Ap. 2500.]
224. MARCHE, A.—Luçon et Palaouan. Paris, 1887 (notes on Tagbanua important). [R 1052, Ap. 2494.]
225. MARCILLA Y MARTIN, C.—Estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos. Malabón, 1895, pp. 110, Fol. [R 1905, P 1616, Ap. 3679.]
226. MARRE, A.—De l'introduction de termes chinois dans le vocabulaire des malais. Leiden, 1896, pp. 8, 4°. [R 1995, Ap. 3799.]
227. — Madagascar et les Philippines. Vocabulaire comparatif des principales racines malayo-polynésiennes, communes à la langue malgache et à la langue tagalog. Atti R. Acc. delle sc. (Torino, 1900) 36, pp. 145-156, 4°. [Ap. 4113.]
228. — Proverbes, maximes, et conseils traduits du Tagalog. Torino, 1900, pp. 16, 4°. [Ap. 4114.]

⁹ Placed by Bl. under the heading "Mindanao, Joloano (Sulu)," so it probably contains references to Sulu.

229. — Grammaire tagalog, composée sur un nouveau plan. BNI, Volgr. VI, D. IX (1901), pp. 547-592. [Ap. 4315.]
230. MARSDEN, W.—Miscellaneous Works. London, 1834 (some observations on Tagalog, p. 94). [Mc.]
231. MARTÍN, J.—Diccionario hispano-bisaya. Manila, 1842, (pp. 461-827 of Méntrida's "Diccionário"). [A 173, P 1703, B.]
232. MARTÍN, GREGORIO and MARTÍNEZ CUADRADO, M.—Collección de refranes, frases y modismos tagalos... Guadalupe, 1890, pp. 234, 8° (879 refranes, etc.; many of Spanish origin). [R 1318, P 1620, Ap. 2884.]
- * MARTÍNEZ CUADRADO, M.—cf. preceding title.
- * MARTÍNEZ, J.—cf. Calderón, S. G.
233. MARTÍNEZ VIGIL, R.—Diccionario de los nombres vulgares que se dan en Filipinas á muchas plantas usuales y notables... Madrid, 1879, pp. 2 + vi + 51, 4°. [A 585, B, Ap. 1687.]
234. — Exposición del sistema métrico-decimal y su comparación con las medidas de Filipinas, Manila, 1865; 1870, pp. 43, 12°. [A 386, P 1635, Ap. 1254.]
- * — (Article on Tagalog Alphabet) cf. Revista de Filipinas, No. 300.
235. MAS, S. DE—Informe sobre el estado de las islas Filipinas en 1842. Madrid, 1843, 2 vols., 4° (contains short vocabulary of Tagalog, Bisaya, Iloko, Ibanag, and Malay; also note on native alphabets, cf. Piddington, No. 287.
236. MASON, O. T. (*translator*)—Blumentritt's list of the native tribes of the Philippines and the languages spoken by them; with introduction and notes. Report of Smithsonian Inst. for '99 (1901), pp. 527-547.
- * MEDALLE Y ZAGUIRRE, A.—Pocket Dictionary of Bisayan, cf. Cohen, W. M.
237. MEDIO, P. N. DE—Agguiammuan tac cagui gasila ó gramática ibanag-castellana. Manila, 1890; 1892, pp. 400, 8°. [C 76; R 1319, 1530; P 1657; Ap. 2885, 3176.]
238. MÉNTRIDA, A. DE¹⁰—Arte de la lengua bisaya-hiliguayna de la isla de Panay. Manila, 1818, pp. 2 + 247, 4° (1st ed.

¹⁰ Blumentritt, Bl. I, p. 84 gives under this name the title "Vocabulario de las lenguas de las Philipinas," 1637, reprinted Manila, 1818. This is probably a mistake, one or both of the titles listed here being meant.

- before 1636); a later ed. revised by J. Aparicio, Tambobong, 1894, pp. 4 + xviii + 270 + 6, 4° (contains also paradigms of Haraya, pp. 18-20, of Cebuan pp. 249-251, and of Samaro-Leytean, pp. 251-253). [A 100, R 1808, P 1704, B, Bl. I, Ap. 511, 3537.]
239. — *Bocabulario de la lengua bisaia-hiligvoina y haraia de la Isla de Panai y Sugbu, y para las demas Islas...* añadido e impresso por M. Clauer. Manila, 1637, over 900 pp., 4°; another ed. 1698. [P 1701, Bl. I.]—*Diccionario de la lengua bisaya-hiligueina y haraya*. Manila, 1841, pp. 460, Fol. (cf. Martín J. for pages 461 ff.). [A 173, P 1702, B, Bl. I, Ap. 690.]
- * MERCED (MERCEDES), T. MINGUELLA DE LA (LAS)—cf. Minguela (de l. M.), T.
240. MERRILL, E. D.—A dictionary of the plant names of the Philippine Islands. Publications of Bureau of Government Laboratories, Manila, 1903, *pamph.*, pp. 193. 8°.
241. MEYER, A. B.—Ein Beitrag zu d. Kenntniss d. Sprachen auf Mindanao, Solog, und Siau, der Papuas d. Astrolabe-Bai auf Neu-Guinea, der Negritos d. Philippinen und einige Bemerkungen über H. Riedel's Übersetzungen in's Tagalische u. Visayische. *Tijds. v. Taal, Land en Volkenk. v. Nederl. Indië*, Bd. XX, 1872, pp. 440-470 (contains also a vocabulary of Tiruray). [Bl. I and II p. 34.]
242. — Ueber die Negrito-Sprache. *Zeitsch. f. Ethnol.*, Bd. VI, 1874, pp. 255-257. [Bl. I.]
243. — Ueber die Negritos oder Aetas der Philippinen. Dresden, 1878 (contains a comparative vocabulary of Tagalog of Bataan, Pampanga of Zambales, Negrito of Mariveles, and Negrito of Zambales). [B, Bl. I, Ap. 1647.]
244. MEYER, A. B., and KERN, H.—Die Philippinen. II. Negritos. Dresden, 1893, pp. 92 + 10 plates, Fol. (= Publikationen aus dem Königlichen Ethnographischen Museum zu Dresden, IX). [R 1683, P 1718, Ap. 3366.]
245. MEYER, A. B., SCHADENBERG, A., and Foy, W.—Die Mangianschrift von Mindoro. Berlin, 1895, pp. 34 + 4 plates, Fol. (= Abh. u. Ber. d. kgl. zool. u. anthrop.-ethnogr. Museums zu Dresden, No. 15).
246. MEYER, H.—Eine Weltreise. Leipzig, 1885, pp. 543 + 1, 8°. Appendix entitled "Die Igorroten" pp. 505-543.

- Another edition, Leipzig und Wien, 1890. (Said by Conant to contain references to Tingyan.) [Co., Be., S.]
247. MILES, J.—Método teórico-practico...para aprender...el lenguaje tagálog. Barcelona, 1887; 1888, pp. 135, 4° (A), 8° (P). [C 77, A 1054, P 1729, Ap. 2502.]
248. MILLER, M. L.—The Mangyans of Mindoro. *Philippine Journal of Science*, Sec. D, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1912, pp. 135-156, espec. 153-154.
- * — Probably = M., M. L.; cf. No. 213.
249. MINGUELLA (DE LA MERCED *or* DE LAS MERCEDES), T.—Ensayo de gramática hispano-tagala. Manila, 1878, pp. 302, 4°. [A 563, B, Bl. 16, Ap. 1648.]
250. — Método práctico para que los niños y niñas de las provincias tagalas aprendan á hablar castellano. Manila, 1886, pp. 164, 4°. [A 970, P 1736, B, Ap. 2379.]
251. — Estudios comparativos entre el tagalo y el sanscrito. In *Exposición de Filipinas*, colección de artículos publicados en *El Globo*, Madrid, 1887. [A 1032, P 1036, Ap. 2470.]
252. — Unidad de la especie humana probada por la filología. Manila, 1889, pp. 31, 8° (comparative studies of Tagalog and Sanskrit similar to those in preceding title). [R 1224, P 1737, Ap. 2749.]
253. MIRASOL, D. M.—Vocabulario ó Manual de Dialogos en Español y Visaya. 2ª ed., Manila, 1883, pp. 80, 8°; 2ª parte, 3ª ed. cor. y aum. por P., Manila, 1889; 3ª ed. cor. y aum. por P., Guadalupe, 1889; pp. 90. [A 772; R 1225, 1226; Ap. 2036, 2751, 2752.]
254. MONTANO, J.—Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'instruction publique sur une mission aux Philippines. Paris, 1885 (contains brief vocabularies of Atás, Bilaan, Manobo, Sámal, Tagacaolo; also some analysis of Tagalog). [A 885, P 1748, Bl. II, p. 34; Ap. 2172, 2235.]
255. MORENO, S.—Sobre el modo de comprender el idioma pampango y su poesia (MS.?). [B.]
256. MORGA, A. DE—Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas. Mexico, 1609; Ch. viii, pp. 139-140 on languages and letters. [A 9, P 1776, Ap. 68.]
257. MÜLLER, FR.—Ueber den Ursprung d. Schrift d. malayis-

- chen Völker. Sitzungs- b. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. k. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien, 1865. [Bl. I.]
258. — Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft. Wien, 1876-84, Bd. II, Abth. II, pp. 1-160, espec. 87-160.
259. NAVES, J.—Gramática hispano-ilocana. Manila, 1876; Tambobong, 1892, pp. 431 + vi + 6, 4°. [C 78; R 1533; P 1815, 1816; B; Bl. I; Ap. 1533, 3180.]
- 260^a. NEILSON, P. D.—English-Tagalog Dictionary. Manila, 1903. [Bf.]
- 260^b. — Tagalog-English Dictionary. Manila, 1903. [Bf.]
261. NEPOMUCENO Y SIRIBAN, V.—Gramática castellana explicada en el lenguaje español é ibanag. Manila, 1894; Malabón, 1895, pp. 368, 8°. [R 1917, P 1818, Ap. 3696.]
262. NIGG, C.—A Tagalog-English and English-Tagalog dictionary. Manila, 1904, pp. 360, small Fol.
263. NOCEDA, J. DE and SAN LUCAR, P. DE—Vocabulario de la lengua tagala. Manila, 1754; 2^a ed., Valladolid, 1832; 3^a ed., Manila, 1860, pp. 16 + 642, Fol. [C 78; A 136, 268; P 1823, 1824, 1825; B; Bl. I, Bl. 19; Ap. 301, 618, 968.]
- * NOLASCO DE MEDIO, P.—cf. Medio, P. N. de.
264. Nu Napia Amigo anmana Devocionario du chirin nu Ibatán á ichasantos nu cristiano: á pinarin da ni Padres Misioneros du Islas Batanes. Manila, 1901. [Co.]
265. Observaciones gramaticales sobre la lengua tiruray. Manila, 1892, pp. 58, 4°. [R 1549; P 1855, Ap. 3197.]¹¹
266. OLLERAS, T.—Apuntes para una gramática bisaya-cebuana en relación con la castellana. Manila, 1869, pp. xviii + 161, 8°. [P 1862.]
267. Ordsamling af nogle af de forskjellige Dialecte som tales paa Luconia. In Beretning om Corvetten Galathea's Reise omkring Jorden 1845, 46 og 47, ved Steen-Bille. Kjöbenhavn, 1850 (references to Negrito in Bd. II, pp. 457-465). [Bl. I.]
268. Orthography of place names in the Philippines. Geographical Journal, XVIII, p. 620f.

¹¹ Said by Conant and Beyer to be by G. Bennásar, cf. Co. p. 947, Be. p. 89.

269. ORTIZ, T.—Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala. Sampaloc, 1740, pp. 10 + 125 + 12, 4°. [P 1890, B, Bl. I.]
270. — Diccionario hispano-tagalo. [B.]
271. OYANGUREN (DE SANTA INES), M.—Tagalysmo elucidado y reducido (en lo possible) á la latinidad de Nebrija: con su syntaxis...etc., y con la alusion, que en su uso y composicion tiene con el dialecto chinico mandarin, con las lenguas hebrea y griega... Mexico, 1742, pp. 8 + 228, 4°. [A 39, P 1901, B, Bl. 21, Ap. 270.]
- * P. = Perfecto, M.
272. PAGLINAWAN, M.—Balarilang Tagalog (*on cover* Gramatikang Tagalog). Maynila, 1910. [Bf.]
273. PALLAS, P. S.—Vocabularium Catharinae. St. Petersburg, 1787-1789, 2 vols., 4° (comparative vocabulary of about 200 terms in 200 languages, list No. 186, Pampanga, No. 187, Tagalog). [Mc.]
274. PALOMO, J.—Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana...traducido al...chamorro. Manila, 1887, pp. 69, 8°. [P 1908.]
275. PARDO DE TAVERA, T. H.—Contribución para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos. Losana, 1884, pp. 30 + 1 plate, 4° (A), 8° (P). [A 829, P 1914, B, Bl. 22.]
276. — Les anciens alphabets des Philippines. Annales de l'Extrême-Orient (Paris), 1885, pp. 204-210; 232-239. [P 1915.]
277. — El sanscrito en la lengua tagalog. Paris, 1887, pp. 55, 4° (A), 8° (P). [A 1066, P 1919, Ap. 2517.]
278. — Consideraciones sobre el origen del nombre de los números en tagalog. Manila, 1889, pp. 26, 4° (A), 8° (P). [R 1240, P 1921, B, Ap. 2768.]
279. — Etimologia de los nombres de razas de Filipinas. Manila, 1901, pp. 20, 8°. [P 1931.]
280. PARKER, L.—An English-Spanish-Pampango Dictionary. Manila, 1905. [Co.]
281. PAYO, P.—Diccionario Español-Ibanág. Manila, 1867. [Co.]
282. PELLICER, M.—Arte de la lengua pangasinana ó caboloan. Manila, 1840; 2ª ed., 1862, pp. 176 + 4, 4°; 3ª ed., Manila, 1904. [C 79, A 292, P 1958, B, Bl. 62; Ap. 680, 1016, Co.]
283. PERFECTO, M.—Vocabulario de la lengua bicol con sus

- significaciones en castellano. Nueva Cáceres, 1897, pp. 48, 8°. [P 1970.]
284. — Frases familiares en español y bicol y guía de conversaciones en bicol y español. Nueva Cáceres, 1896, pp. 32, 8°. [P 1971.]
285. — Vocabulario ó manual de términos en castellano y bicol. Nueva Cáceres, 1896, pp. 56, 8°. [P 1972.]
286. — Guía de conversaciones en bicol y español. Para escuelas y estudiantes que principian á aprender el castellano, y para los extraños que desean comprender algo del bicol. Nueva Cáceres, 1896, pp. 32, 8°. [P 1973.]
- * — = P., the reviser of Mirasol's "Vocabulario"—cf. Mirasol, D. M.
287. PIDDINGTON, H.—A notice of the alphabets of the Philippine islands translated from the "Informe sobre el estado de las islas Filipinas" of Don Sinibaldo de Mas. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XIV, 1845, p. 603. [Bl. 25.]
288. PINPIN, T.—*Librong pagaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang castilla* (with questions for confession in Tagalog and Spanish by F. de San José). Bataan, 1610, pp. 258; 2^a ed., 1752; 3^a ed., 1832, pp. 919, 8°. [P 1983, 2553, 2554, Bl. I.]
289. PORTER, R. S.—A primer and vocabulary of the Moro dialect (Magindanau). Washington, 1903, *pamph.*, pp. 77, 8°.
- * Primer Ensayo de Gramatica de la lengua de Yap—cf. Valencia, A. de.
290. PRINCE, J. D.—*Review of C. W. Seidenadel's "The first grammar of the language spoken by the Bontoc Igórot."* *The Monist*, 1911, pp. 470-475.
291. Puk en Jojua, me kajirauik jon ni lokaia uta ipru; ap kapara ki ton Ponape. En Amerika joupeneapan paipel, me tapi ta Nu Iok, 1816, pp. 39, 4° (parts of Bible in language of Caroline Is.). [A 714, Ap. 1945.]
- * QUÍÑONES, J. DE [Mc.]—cf. under Manuscript Titles, No. 448.
292. RAJAL, J.—*Exploración del territorio de Davao*... Madrid, 1891 (contains short vocabulary, Spanish, Bisaya, Malay, Manobo). [R 1440, B, Ap. 3062.]

293. REED, W. A.—Negritos of Zambales. Ethnological Survey Publications, Department of the Interior, Vol. II, Part I, Manila, 1904; Appendix B, Vocabularies pp. 79-83 (vocabularies of Zambal and Negrito dialects).
294. Relacion de las islas Filipinas. Rome, 1864, 4°, chs. xv and xvii on languages and letters. [Ap. 57.]
295. Religioso de Sto. Domingo, (un)—Arte tagalo en verso latino (mentioned by Totanes)—cf. No. 421. [B.]
296. Religioso de S. Francisco, (un)—Arte tagalo en verso castellano (mentioned by Totanes). [B.]
297. RETANA, W. E.—Los antiguos alfabetos de Filipinas. Madrid, 1895, pp. 12, Fol. (reprinted from journal *La Política de España en Filipinas*: contains criticism of Marcilla). [R 1930, Ap. 3718.]
298. — Archivo del bibliófilo filipino. Madrid, 1895-1898, Tom. I, par. VII; Tom. II, par. VII, X—cf. Beneuchillo, Jerónimo, Catecismo...Batan. [R 1928, P 2354, Ap. 3716.]
299. — Aparato bibliográfico...Madrid, 1906, Fol., Vol. I, pp. xxxv-xxxvij, Tabla tercera, Biblioteca idiomática oriental (contains classified list of numbers of titles of Bibliography that deal in any way with Philippine languages).
300. Revista de Filipinas: Tom. II, 4° (contains article on Tagalog Alphabet by R. Martínez Vigil). Manila, 1876-77. [P 2359.]
301. REYES, F. D.—*Review of H. O. Beyer's "Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916."* Philippine Journal of Science, Sec. D, Vol. XIII, 1918, pp. 41-42.
302. RIEDEL, J. G. F.—Bijdrage tot de kennis der dialecten voorkomende op de eilanden Luzon of Lesoeng, Panai of Ilong-ilong, Belangingi, Solog, Sangi, alsmede op Noord-en Midden-Celebes. Batavia, 1868, pp. 44, 4°. [P 2389, Bl. I.]
- * RIZAL, J.—Die Transcription des Tagalog—cf. Blumen-tritt, F., translator, No. 54.
303. ROBERTSON, J. A.—Bibliography of the Philippine Islands, Printed and Manuscript. Cleveland, O., 1908 (discussion of languages, pp. 47-49).
304. ROCAMORA, F.—Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana en la

- lengua de Isinay ó Inmeas. Manila, 1876, pp. 176, 12° (A), small 8° (P). [A 509, P 2412, Ap. 1547.]
- * RODRIGUEZ, J.—Said to be author of Nos. 87, 88; cf. Co. pp. 944, 945.
305. RODRIGUEZ, R.—Diccionario ibanag-español compuesto en lo antiguo por el R. P. Fr. J. Bugarín, reducido al mejor forma por el R. P. Fr. Antonio Lobato de Santo Tomás; compendiado por el R. P. Fr. Julian Velinchon...reducido à método mas claro...por...Manila, 1854, pp. 280 + 72, Fol. (innumerable errors). [A 221, P 2418, B, Bl. I, Ap. 844.]
306. ROMUALDEZ, N.—A Bisayan Grammar (Samaro-Leytean). Takloban (Leyte), 1908, pp. 136, 8°. [Be.]
307. — Tagbanwa Alphabet, with some reforms. Manila, 1914, pp. xiv + 24, 8°. [Be.]
- * ROSA, A. SANCHEZ DE LA—cf. Sanchez de la Rosa, A.
308. ROSA, P. DE LA—Vocabulario Visaya—Inglés. Método práctico sang ingles agud mapagadalan sang mga taga isla sang Masbate cag Ticao. Manila, 1905. [Co.]
309. ROST, R.—De la lengua y literatura malayas¹² (translated by M. Walls). Madrid, 1895, pp. 60, 8°. [R 1933, Ap. 3722.]
310. SAAVEDRA, M. DE—Arte para aprender la lengua de los naturales de Nueva Segovia. [B.]¹³
311. SAFFORD, W. E.—The Chamorro Language of Guam. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. V (1903), pp. 289-311, 508-529; Vol. VI (1904), pp. 95-117, 501-534; Vol. VII (1905), pp. 305-319.
- * SAINZ F.—Devocionario sa sarita zambalen—cf. Hernandez, F.
312. SALEEBY, N. M.—Studies in Moro history, law, religion. *Ethnological Survey Publications*, Department of the Interior, Vol. IV, Part I, Manila, 1905, pp. 107, 4° (contains Magindanau and Sulu texts and translations).

¹² Retana says nothing about the content of this work, so it is uncertain whether the term "Malayas" is used in its broader or its narrower signification. The book is included here, however, on the possibility that it is used in the broader sense, thus including the Philippines.

¹³ The Nueva Segovia mentioned here is apparently the one in northern Luzon. There is also a N. S. in Nicaragua and one in Venezuela.

313. — History of Sulu. BS, Vol. IV, Part II, 1908 (contains translations of Malay and Sulu historical documents).
314. SALVÁ, E.—Vocabulario militar y guía de la conversacion español, tagalog-visaya. Manila, 1884, 4° (forms Vol. II of *Biblioteca de la Revista del ejército y armada de Filipinas*). [P 2475, B.]
315. SAN AGUSTÍN, A. DE—Arte de la lengua bicol. Manila, 1647; 2ª ed., Sampaloc, 1795, pp. 5 + 167, 12° (A), small 8° (P)—cf. also Crespo, M. [A 78; P 2477, 2478; B; Bl. I, Bl. 73; Ap. 429.]
316. SAN AGUSTÍN, G. DE—Compendio del arte de la lengua tagala. Manila, 1703; 2ª ed., Sampaloc, 1787; 3ª ed., Manila, 1879, pp. 168, 8°. [C 79; A 66, 594; P 2483, 2484, 2485; B; Bl. I, Bl. 29; Ap. 397, 1706.]
317. — Adiciones al Arte visaya de P. Mentrida. [Bl. 53.]
318. SAN ANTONIO, J. F. DE—Chronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de San Gregorio, Sampaloc, 1738-44, Fol.; ch. xli de las letras, lenguas, y policía de los Philipinos. [A 38, P 2487, Ap. 258.]
319. SAN BUENAVENTURA, P. DE—Vocabulario de la lengua tagala. Pila, 1613, pp. 6 + 707, Fol. [P 2493, B, Bl. 31.]¹⁴
320. SANCHEZ DE LA ROSA, A.—Diccionario español-bisaya,¹⁵ (?), 1887, (?). [B.]
321. — Diccionario hispano-bisaya para las provincias de Samar y Leyte. Manila, 1895, pp. 8 + 480, Fol.; 3ª ed., revised by A. V. Alcázar...español-bisaya...Manila, 1914, pp. 630 + 8, 4°. [R 1936, Ap. 3726, Be.]
322. — Diccionario bisaya-español compuesta por...para las provincias de Samar y Leyte. Manila, 1895, pp. x + 332, Fol.; revised by A. V. Alcázar, Manila, 1914, pp. 440, 4° (this and preceding usually in one volume). [R 1937, Ap. 3727, Be.]
323. — Gramática visayo-hispana precedida de algunas lecciones prácticas que familiaricen á los niños indigenas con el idioma castellano. Compuesta para uso de las escuelas

¹⁴ Given by Bl. as *Diccionario español-Tagalog*.

¹⁵ Possibly same as, or earlier edition of, following title.

- de la provincia de Samar. Manila, 1878, pp. xxvi + 112 + 6, 8°. [P 2494, B, Ap. 1654.]¹⁶
324. — Gramática hispano-visaya con algunas lecciones practicas...que facilitan á los niños de Leyte y Samar la verdadera...expresión de la lengua castellana. Manila, 1887, pp. 334, 4° (in two columns Spanish and Bisaya). [A 1081, P 2511, Ap. 2539.]
- * SANCHEZ, J.—Diccionario bisaya-español. Aumentada con mas de tres mil voces por...(1st part of 3d ed. of Encarnación's dictionary, which see).
325. SANCHEZ, MATEO—Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya. Manila, 1711, Fol. [A 29, P 2500, B,¹⁷ Bl. I, Ap. 217.]¹⁸
326. SANCHEZ, MIGUEL—Arte de la lengua tagala (mentioned by Totanes). [B.]
- * SAN JOAQUIN, R. ZUECO DE—cf. Zueco de San Joaquin, R.
327. SAN JOSÉ (or JOSEF or JOSEPH), F. (BLANCAS) DE—Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala. Manila, 1832, pp. 919, 12°, earlier editions Bataan(?), 1610 (1st ed.); Manila, 1752. [A 134; P 2551, 2552; B; Ap. 619, Bf., Co.]
- * — Librong pagaralan...cf. Pinpin, T.
- * SAN LUCAR, P. DE—Vocabulario de la lengua tagala—cf. Noceda, J. de.
328. SAN LUCAS, F. DE—Diccionario de los principales idiomas de las islas Filipinas (17th cent.?). [B.]
- * SANTA EULALIA, GIBERT DE—cf. Gibert (de S. E.).
- * SANTA INES, M. OYANGUREN DE—cf. Oyanguren de Santa Ines, M.
329. SANTARÉN, H.—Catecismo histórico nga nagasacop et caripon cang Historia nga Santos et cang pagtolon-an cang mga Cristianos...Manila, 1877, pp. 226 + 4, 12° (in Haraya dialect of Bisaya). [A 538, Ap. 1604.]

¹⁶ This book is given by P, B, Ap. under Antonio Sanchez, but there seems little doubt that he is the same as Sanchez de la Rosa.

¹⁷ Given by B as *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala...para uso y comodidad de los ministros Bisayos*, Manila, 1611. *Tagala* is evidently a mistake for *bisaya*, and 1611, for 1711.

¹⁸ Size of book given by Retana thus "En fol. Hojas: 5 s. n. (*i. e.* sine numero) + 551, + 1 s. n. + 41." The numbers after the first probably refer to pages and not to leaves (*hojas*).

330. SANTOS, D. DE LOS—Vocabulario de la lengua tagala. Tayabas, 1703; Sampáloc, 1794; Manila, 1835, pp. 8 + 739 + 118, Fol. [A 77, 148; P 2576, 2577, 2578; B; Bl, I; Ap. 428, 637.]
- * SANTO TOMAS, A. LOBATO DE—cf. Lobato (de S. T.), A.
- * SAN VINCENTE FERRER, N. GONZALEZ—cf. Gonzalez (de San V. F.), N.
331. SCHADENBERG, A.—Über die Negritos der Philippinen. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. (Berlin) 1880, Vol. XII, pp. 133-174 (vocabularies of Negrito and Tagalog, pp. 167-174). [P 2593, Bl. I.]
332. — Die Bewohner von Süd-Mindanao u. der Insel Samal. Zeitsch. f. Ethnol., 1885 (contains vocabulary of Bagobo). [P 2598, Bl. II p. 34.]
333. — Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Banao-Leute und der Guinananen... Verhand. d. Berliner Gesells. f. Anthrop., Ethnol., u. Urgeschichte, 1887, pp. 145-159 (vocabulary of Ginaán). [P 2599.]
334. — Beiträge zur Kenntnis der im Innern Nordluzons lebenden Stämme.¹⁹ Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, XVI, Nov., 1889, pp. 649-727 (vocabularies of Igorot dialects of Bontok, Banaue, and Lepanto, and of Iloko). [P 2601.]
- * — Die Mangianschrift—cf. Meyer, A. B., No. 245.
335. SCHEERER, O.—The Nabaloi dialect. Ethnological Survey Publications, Department of the Interior, Vol. II, Part II. Manila, 1905, pp. 97-178, 4°.
336. — Ein ethnographischer Bericht über die Insel Botel Tobago mit sprachvergleichenden Bemerkungen. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Bd. XI, T. 2, Tokyo, 1908, pp. 145-212 (espec. pp. 195-212).
337. — The Batan dialect as a member of the Philippine group of languages (with comparative lists). BS, Vol. V, Part I; Manila, 1908, pp. 131, 4°.
338. — On a quinary notation among the Ilongots of Northern Luzon. The Philippine Journal of Science, Sec. D, Vol. VI, No. 1, Feb., 1911, pp. 47-49.

¹⁹ P has *Stamm*, a mistake for *Stämme*.

339. — Linguistic travelling notes from Cagayan (Luzon). *Anthropos*, Vol. IV, pp. 801-804, Wien, 1909. [Be.]
340. — The Particles of Relation of the Isinai Language. The Hague, 1918, pp. 4 + 115, $6\frac{3}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$ in.
341. — *Review of* C. W. Seidenadel's "The first grammar of the language spoken by the Bontoc Igorot." *Philippine Journal of Science*, Sec. D, Vol. VI, 1911, pp. 271-281.
* — cf. *Diccionario español-ibatán*, No. 131.
342. SCHEIDNAGEL, M.—Filipinas. Distrito de Benguet, memoria descriptiva y económica...Madrid, 1878 (contains vocabulary of Benget Igorot, pp. 39-54). [A 569, P 2607, Ap. 1655.]
343. SCHNEIDER, E. E.—Notes on the Mangyan Language. *Philippine Journal of Science*, Sec. D, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1912, pp. 157-178.
344. SCHUCHARDT, H.—Kreolische Studien. Ueber das Malaio-spanische der Philippinen. Wien, 1883, pp. 42, 8°. [P 2611, B, Bl. 2.]
345. SEIDENADEL, C. W.—The first grammar of the language spoken by the Bontoc Igorot with a vocabulary and texts. Chicago, 1909, pp. xxiv + 588, 4°.
346. SEIPLE, W. G.—Tagalog poetry. *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, Vol. XXII, No. 163, June, 1903, pp. 78-79.
- 347^a. — The Tagalog numerals. *JHUC*, No. 163, pp. 79-81.
- 347^b. — Polysyllabic roots with initial P in Tagalog. *JAOS*, Vol. XXV, 1904, pp. 287-301.
348. SEMPER, C.—Ueber die Palausprache. *Korrespondenzblatt d. deut. Gesellschaft f. Anthr., Ethnol., u. Urgesch.*, 1871, pp. 63-66.
349. SERRANO, R.—Diccionario de términos comunes tagalo-castellano. Manila, 1854; 3^a ed., Binondo, 1869, pp. 316 + 3, 8°. [A 227, 376; P 2641, 2642; B; Bl. I; Ap. 861, 1226.]
350. — Nuevo diccionario manual español-tagalo. Manila, 1872, pp. 6 + 398, 8°. [C 79, A 426, P 2643, Ap. 1373.]
351. SERRANO LAKTAW, P.—Diccionario hispano-tagalog. Manila, 1889, pp. 626, 4° (in reformed spelling). [C 79, R 1260, P 2644, B, Ap. 2801.]
352. — Diccionario tagalog hispano. Manila, 1914. [Bf.]
353. SMITH, C. C.—A Grammar of the Maguindanao Tongue. Washington, 1906 (translation of No. 194).

354. SWIFT, H.—A Study of the Iloco Language, based mainly on the Iloco Grammar of J. Naves, Washington, 1909, pp. 172, 8°.
355. TAYLOR, I.—The Alphabet, an account of the Origin and Development of Letters. London, 1883, Vol. II, Chap. x. [Bl. 37.]
356. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE—Formosa. Notes on manuscripts, languages, and races. Hertford, 1887, 4° (vocabulary of Tagalog, Bisaya, Pampanga, Magindanao). [Ap. 2544.]
 - * TAVERA, T. H. PARDO DE—cf. Pardo de Tavera, T. H.
357. TENORIO A SIGAYÁN, J.—Costumbres de los indios tirurayes. Manila, 1892, pp. 96, 4° (two columns, Spanish and Tiruray). [R 1596, P 2696*, Ap. 3253.]
358. THÉVÉNOT, M.—Relation de divers voyages curieux... Paris, 1696, Fol. (3d part contains remarks on languages and alphabet). [A 24, P 2701, Ap. 173.]
359. TOTANES, S. DE—Arte de la lengua tagala y manual tagalog. Sampáloc, 1745; 2^a ed., 1796; 3^a ed., Manila, 1850; 4^a ed., Binondo, 1865, pp. viii + 131 + 166, 4°. [A 42, 79, 202, 329; P 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720; B; Bl. I; Ap. 277, 432, 788, 1105.]
360. URIOS, S.—Ancora con sinipit sa pagpanluas... Manila, 1884, pp. 736, 16° (translation of J. Mach, "Áncora de Salvación," in Bisaya of Mindanao). [A 839, Ap. 2156.]
361. VALENCIA, A. DE—Primer ensayo de gramática de la lengua de Yap (Carolinas Occidentales). Manila, 1888, pp. 144, 8° (A), small 4° (P). [C 80, A 1149; P 2018, Ap. 2643.]
362. VANOVERBERGH, M.—A Grammar of Lepanto Igorot as it is spoken at Bauco. BS, Vol. V, Part VI, Manila, 1917, pp. 331-425.
 - * VELINCHON, J.—Diccionario ibanag—cf. Rodriguez, R.
363. VERA, R. M. DE—Gramática Hispano-Bicol. Manila, 1904. [Co.]
364. VERDUGO, A.—Arte tagalo. (?), 1649. [B, Bl. 7 *Berdugo*.]
 - * VIGIL, R. MARTÍNEZ—cf. Martínez Vigil, R.
 - * VILANOVA, P.—Diccionario pangasinan-español—cf. Cosgaya, L. F.
365. VILCHES, M.—Gramática visaya-cebuana. Breves apuntes. Manila, 1877, pp. 183 + 1, 4°. [A 541, Ap. 1609.]

- * VIRGEN DE MONSERRATE, JERÓNIMO DE LA—cf. Jerónimo de la Virgen de Monserrate.
366. *Visitas du Santísimo caní Santa Maria á pinayapu ni S. Alfonso Ligorio* (Batan). Manila, 1901. [Co.]
367. VIVO Y JUDERÍAS, G.—*Gramática hispano-ilocana*. Manila, 1869, pp. 225 + 5, 4°. [C 80, A 377, P 2817, Bl. I, Ap. 1227.]
368. — *Compendio de la gramática hispano-ilocana*. Manila, 1871, pp. 136 + 4, 8°—2^a ed., *Breve compendio de la gramática iloco-castellana*. Manila, 1884, pp. 96, 8°. [C 80; A 406, 840; P 2818; Ap. 1322, 2161.]
369. — *Diccionario ilocano-castellano*. Manila, 1873, pp. 228, 4° (A), 8° (P). [C 80, A 434, P 2816, Ap. 1401.]
370. — *Nuevo vocabulario en lengua Hispano-Ilocana*, Binondo, 1876. [Bl. I *Vivo y Tuderias*.]
371. *Vocabulario de la lengua camarina ó bicol*. Manila, 1729. [P 2819.]²⁰
372. WALLESEER, S.—*Grammatik der Palausprache*. Mittheilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, XIV, 1, 1911, pp. 121-231.
373. — *Palau Wörterbuch: Palau-Deutsch*, pp. 165; *Deutsch-Palau*, pp. 79 with appendix, pp. 81-98 of *German-Palau conversational phrases*. Hong Kong, 1913.
- * WALLS, M.—cf. Rost, R.
374. WATERMAN, MARGARET P.—*A Vocabulary of Bontoc Stems and their Derivatives*. BS, Vol. V, Part IV, Manila, 1913, pp. 239-299.
375. WILLIAMS, H. W.—*Grammatische Skizze der Ilocano-Sprache*. München, 1904, pp. 82, 8° (Dissertation).
376. WOLFENSON, L. B.—The infixes *la, li, lo* in Tagalog. JAOS, Vol. XXVII, pp. 142-146.
377. WORCESTER, D. C.—The Non-Christian tribes of Northern Luzon. *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. I, No. 8, Oct., 1906, pp. 791-875 (see especially p. 861f.).
378. WULFF, K.—*Review of Brandstetter's "Mata-Hari."* *Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. LXIII (Leipzig), 1909, pp. 615-623.

²⁰ P has the following note with regard to the size of the book viz., "Pinelo-Barcio, II, fol. 919 vta."

379. — *Review of* Brandstetter's "Wurzel und Wort in den Indonesischen Sprachen." *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, I, 3, 1910-11, pp. 224-236.
380. — Zur neueren Literatur über die Völker und Sprachen der Philippinen. *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, II, 1, 1911-12, Berlin, pp. 64-78.
- * ZARZA, F. DE LA—cf. Blumentritt, F., No. 53.
381. ZUECO (DE SAN JOAQUIN), R.—*Método del Dr. Ollendorff ... adaptado al bisaya*. Manila, 1871; 2^a ed., 1884, pp. 26 + 271 + 120, 4^o; 3^a ed., *Gramática bisayo-española adaptada al sistema de Ollendorff*, Guadalupe, 1890, pp. lxxiii + 222 + 3, 4^o (grammar of Cebuan, but contains also remarks on the dialects of Bohol and Mindanao). [A 407, 841; R 1369; B; Bl. 54; Ap. 1323, 2163, 2954.]
382. — *Compendio de la gramática bisayo-española adaptada al sistema de Ollendorff*. 2^a ed., Guadalupe, 1889, pp. lxxvii + 152 + 27, 8^o. [R 1272, Ap. 2814.]

B. *Manuscripts*.²¹

383. ALAFON or ALAFONT, M.—*Notas y adiciones al arte pampango del padre Vergaño*. [B; Ap. 236, p. 264.]
384. — *Arte de la lengua española para uso de los naturales de la provincia de la Pampanga, ca. 1786*. [Ro. 363.]
385. ALBUQUERQUE, A. DE—*Arte de la lengua tagala* (MS. written 1570-80?; disappeared when English took Manila 1762). [B, Bl. 3.]
386. APARICIO, J.—*Diccionario bisaya*, 1896? [Ro. 416.]
387. *Arte del idioma gaddang en la mission de Paniqui* (MS. of 1838 in the Library of Santo Tomas at Manila). [B.]
388. ASUMPCION or ASUNCION, D. DE LA (died 1690?)—*Arte del idioma tagalog*. [B, Bl. 6, Ro. 314.]
389. — *Diccionario tagalog*. [B, Bl. 6, Ro. 314.]
- * AVILA, P. DE LA CRUZ—cf. Cruz Avila, P. de la.
390. AYORA, J. DE—*Arte panayano*. [Bl. 44.]
391. — *Vocabulario panayano*. [Bl. 44.]

²¹ Nos. 6, 18, 19, 77, 82, 184, 210, 218, 255, 310, 317, 320, 326, 328, 364, which, lacking a definite statement as to their character, have been placed under printed works, are probably also manuscripts.

392. — Arte ilocano. [Bl. 63.]
393. — Vocabulario ilocano. [Bl. 63.]
394. — Arte pangasinano. [Bl. 61.]
395. — Vocabulario pangasinano. [Bl. 61.]
396. AZPITARTE, A.—Proyecto de una gramatica bisaya, 1888? [Ro. 412.]
397. — Addiciones al diccionario bisaya del P. Mentrída. [Ro. 412.]
398. BENAVENTE, A. DE—Arte y diccionario pampango (author took MS. to China where he died 1709). [B, Bl. 56.]
399. BERMEJO, V. E.—Bocabulario de la lengua gaddan (MS. in Library of S. Tomas at Manila). [B.]
400. BEYER, H. O.—History and Ethnography of the Igorot Peoples (a collection of 120 MSS. relating to the language and culture of the Igorots), 5 vols. of about 500 type-written pages each. Manila, 1913. [Be.]
401. BISO, J. DEL (died 1754)—Compendio del Arte Tagalog. [Bl. 9.]
402. BLAKE, F. R.—A Grammar of the Tagalog Language. Baltimore, 1910(?), pp. xxviii + 368.
403. BLANCAS, F. (or SAN JOSEF)²²—Arte para aprender los Indios Tagalos el Idioma Español, ca. 1614. [Ro. 282.]
404. — Arte para aprender la Lengua Tagala, ca. 1614. [Ro. 282.]
405. BRAÑA, M. (died 1774)—Diccionario tagalo. [B, Bl. 10.]
406. BULLE, E.—Notas y observaciones á la gramatica tagala, 1890? [Ro. 413.]
407. CACHO—Catechisms in Isinay, Ilongot, Iruli, and Igolot (Bl. *Igorrota*) (between 1707 and 1748). [Bl. 79; S, p. 10.]²³
408. — Confesionario and sermons in Isinay. [Bl. 79.]
409. CALLEJA, J.—Clave para escribir y leer en pampango, ca. 1765, 1 vol. 4°. [Ro. 350.]
- * CASTAÑO, N.—Diccionario Español y Batan—cf. Paula, J. de.
410. CASTRO, A. M. DE—Ortografía de la lengua tagala, 1760? [Ro. 346.]

²² Evidently the same as F. Blancas de San José (Josef, Joseph).

²³ This is perhaps the same work or works as No. 77.

411. CONANT, C. E.—A list of about 200 Batan words taken down from two natives in 1904 and 1905. [Co.]
412. — A Bisaya-English Dictionary, prepared with the collaboration of V. Sotto and J. Villagonzalo: about 5500 words. Cebu, 1906. [Co.]
413. — A list of about 50 Kuyo words (numerals and names of parts of body) taken down from a native. Manila, 1904. [Co.]
414. — A list of 75 English words with their equivalents in Yogad, Gaddang, and Itawi taken from several natives in N. Luzon, 1904 and 1905. [Co.]
415. — Isinai-English word list compiled from F. Rocamora's "Catecismo" (cf. No. 304). Baguio, Benguet, 1907. [Co.]
416. — Kankanai word lists taken down from eight Kankanai boys questioned separately: 50 words, chiefly numerals and parts of the body. Baguio, Benguet, 1903. [Co.]
417. CORONEL, F.—Arte y reglas de la lengua pampanga..., 1621 (in collection of Eduardo Navaro at Valladolid). [Ro. 286.]
418. — Vocabulario pampango. [Bl. 59.]
419. CRUZ AVILA, P. DE LA—Arte, vocabulario, y catecismo ilocano, ca. 1600. [Ro. 272.]
420. Dictionarium Hispano-Tagalicum (according to Bl. was in library of Count Wrba, Vienna, in 1799, pp. 335, 4°). [Bl. I.]
421. Dominican Friar, A.—Arte tagalog, 1736—cf. No. 295. [Mc.]
422. ENCINA, F.—Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya zebuana, 1760. [Ro. 343.]
423. FORONDA, S.—Vocabulario pampango, ca. 1710, 1 vol. Fol. (in Candaba Library). [Ro. 327.]
424. GARDNER, F.—Mangyan Songs, 1905, pp. 3. [Ro. 418.]
425. — The Hampangan Mangyans of Mindoro. Bulalakao, 1905, 60 typewritten pages. [Be.]²⁴
426. GARVAN, J. M.—Negrito Vocabularies with notes by E. E. Schneider: five extensive vocabularies collected by Garvan together with a compilation of all known Negrito vocabu-

²⁴ It is not certain whether this contains any linguistic material or not.

- laries by other authors, and comparative notes on the same. Manila, 1914, about 500 typewritten pages. [Be.]
427. GONZAGA, E. J.—Bisayan Literature. Manila, 1917, 156 typewritten pages. [Be.]
428. — Ibanag-Spanish dictionary (title page lacking): 348 pp. and an “*indice de las raices anticuadas*” (contains a large number of words and definitions not found in the dictionary of Rodriguez, No. 305). [Co.]
429. JESUS, B. DE—*Arte del idioma tagalog*, ca. 1604. [B, Bl. 14, Ro. 278.]
430. MAC KINLAY, W. E. W.—Notes on F. R. Blake’s “Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar,” Nos. 33, 34: 5 typewritten pages, 1908, in possession of F. R. Blake.
- * MADRE DE DIOS, T. (QUIROS) DE LA—cf. Quiros de la Madre de Dios, T.
431. MARÍN, E.—*Arte y diccionario de la lengua igolota*, ca. 1600. [B, Ro. 272.]
432. MARTÍN, J.—*Diccionario tagalo-castellano*, 1880 (not completed). [Ro. 405.]
433. MARTOREL, D.—*Catecismo de doctrina en idioma iraya ó egongot*. [Bl. 80, S.]
434. MONTES, J.—*Arte del idioma tagalog*. [B.]
435. — *Diccionario del idioma tagalog*. [B.]
436. MONTES Y ESCAMILLA, G.—*Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*.²⁵ Manila, before 1610. [P 1762, Ro. 272.]
437. — *Arte del idioma tagalog*, ca. 1600. [Bl. 17, Ro. 272.]
438. MORENO, S.—*Modo y forma de leer los caracteres de la lengua pampanga*. [Ro. 327.]
439. OCHOA, D.—*Arte, vocabulario y confesionario pampango*, ca. 1580, 3 vols. (preserved according to B in “convento de Lubao”). [Ro. 257, B *arte y diccionario del idioma pampango*.]
440. OLIVER, J. DE—*El arte tagalog escrito por Fr. Juan de Plasencia, reformado y aumentado de adverbios y particulas*, ca. 1599. [B, Bl. 26, Ro. 271.]
441. — *Diccionario tagalog-español escrito por Fr. J. de P. perfeccionado y aumentado*, ca. 1599. [B, Bl. 26, Ro. 271.]

²⁵ Given as *Diccionario del idioma tagalog* in Ro.

442. OYANGUREN DE SANTA INES, M.—Diccionario trilingüe tagalog-castellano-cántabro, *ca.* 1736. [B, Bl. 21, Ro. 333.]
443. PASTOR, M.—Arte del idioma tagalo, *ca.* 1820. [B, Ro. 378.]
444. PAULA, F. DE and CASTAÑO, N.—Diccionario Español y Batán (19th Century)—an extract from it (about 200 words) is printed in Retana's "Archivo," Vol. II, Prólogo, pp. xli-xlix. [Co.]
445. PLASENCIA, J. DE—Arte del idioma tagalog, 1580. [B, Ro. 256.]
446. — Diccionario hispano-tagalog, 1580. [B, Ro. 256.]
447. — Colección de frases tagalas. [B, Ro. 256.]
448. QUIÑONES, J.—Arte y diccionario tagalo, *ca.* 1580. [B, Ro. 257.]²⁶
449. QUIROS DE LA MADRE DE DIOS, T.—Arte tagalog, between 1627 and 1662. [Mc.]
450. RUIZ, M.—Vocabulario tagalog, 1580 (date probably wrong, as the Dominicans, to which order the author belonged, did not arrive in the Philippines until 1587). [Bl. I, Mc.]
451. SAN ANTONIO, F. DE—Institución de la lengua tagala, *ca.* 1620. [B, Bl. 30, Ro. 286.]
452. — Diccionario tagalo, *ca.* 1620. [B, Bl. 30, Ro. 286.]
453. SAN ANTONIO, J. DE—Sermones morales (in Kalamian). [Bl. 75.]
454. — Explicación del Catecismo (in Kalamian). [Bl. 75.]
455. SAN MIGUEL, R. DE—Arte y diccionario de la lengua tagala. [B.]
456. SANTARÉN, H.—Gramática bisaya según el método de Ollendorf, 1880? [Ro. 406.]
457. — Colección de voces del dialecto bisaya que no se hallan contenidas en el Diccionario del P. Méndrida, *ca.* 1880. [R. 406.]
458. SANTA ROSA, B. DE—Arte del idioma de los Aetas, *ca.* 1750. [B, Bl. 78, Ro. 337.]
459. — Diccionario del idioma de los Aetas, *ca.* 1750. [B, Bl. 78, Ro. 337.]
460. — Doctrina cristiana en el idioma de los Aetas. [Bl. 78.]

²⁶ Perhaps printed in Manila, 1581, cf. Mc. p. 8.

461. — Administración de los sacramentos...en el idioma de los Aetas. [Bl. 78.]
462. SANTOS, D. DE LOS—Arte tagalog, *ca.* 1695 (some leaves preserved in Dominican Convent at Manila). [Bl. 35, Ro. 316.]
463. SERRANO, J.—Arte ilocano, *ca.* 1750. [Ro. 337.]
464. — Diccionario ilocano, *ca.* 1750. [Ro. 337.]
465. SHARTLE, S. Y.—A Tagalog Grammar, *ca.* 1890, pp. 121: in possession of F. R. Blake.
466. SORIANO, J.—Diccionario cebuano, 1870? (said to be in hands of the Recollets). [Ro. 401.]
- * SOTTO, V.—Bisaya-English Dictionary—cf. Conant, C. E.
467. Tesauro de la lengua de Pangasinan (MS. in possession of José Maria Ruiz 1889). [B.]
468. VELLOQUÍN, J.—Estudio sobre las lenguas isinay y de Ituy (MS. in "convento de Candaba"). [B.]
- * VILLAGONZALO, J.—Bisaya-English Dictionary—cf. Conant, C. E.
469. Vocabulario tagalo (anonymous MS. by a Dominican friar in Library of S. Tomas at Manila). [B.]
470. ZARZA, F. DE LA—Arte del idioma egongot, *ca.* 1800 (MS. in Convento de S. Francisco in Manila). [B, Bl. 81, Ro. 374.]
471. — Catecismo de doctrina cristiana en Egongot (MS. *ibidem*: copy in possession of Blumentritt—cf. No. 53. [Bl. 81.]
472. — Administración de los Sacramentos en idioma Egongot 1788-1810 (MS. *ibidem*). [Bl. 81.]
- 473.²⁷ — Arte de la lengua zebuana, *ca.* 1800 (in Ayer Collection). [Ro. 374.]

²⁷ The total number of titles is 476, as Nos. 153, 222, and 347 are used twice as 153a, 153b etc.

Index of Subjects²⁸

- Abra (cf. Igorot).
 Aeta (cf. Negrito).
 Agta—61.
 Agutayna (cf. Kalamian).^{*}
 Alphabets—59, 79, 101, 178, 180,
 186, 187, 201, 225, 235, 245, 256,
 257, 275, 276, 287, 294, 297, 300,
 307, 318, 355, 358, 409(?), 438
 (cf. also note on *Magindanao*
below).
 Animals (cf. Names).
 Atás—254.
 Bagobo—167, 168, 332.
 Banaue (cf. Igorot).
 Batan—87, 131, 264, 336, 337,
 366, 411, 444.
 Bauco (cf. Lepanto).
 Benget (cf. Igorot).
 Bikol—120, 162, 173, 208, 209,
 283, 284, 285, 286, 315, 363,
 371.
 Bilaan—254.
 Bisaya
 in general—30, 31, 107, 143,
 199, 427.
 dialect not stated—4, 100,
 191, 192, 213, 220, 231,
 235, 241, 253, 292, 314, 320,
 325, 356, 386, 396, 397, 456,
 457.
 of Bohol—141, 381.
 Cebuan—1, 14, 25, 138, 139,
 141, 169, 170, 238, 266, 365,
 381, 382, 412, 422, 466, 473
 (also probably 4, 100, 213).
 Haraya—238, 239, 329 (also
 perhaps 317, 457).
 Hiliguayna or Panayan—121,
 161, 212, 238, 239, 317,
 390, 391 (also probably
 231, 396, 397, 457).
 of Masbate and Ticao—308.
 of Mindanao—133, 360.
 Panayan (cf. Hiliguayana).
 Samaro - Leytean — 141, 148,
 238, 306, 321, 322, 323, 324
 (probably also 320).
 Bontok (cf. Igorot).
 Caboloan (cf. Pangasinan).
 Calamian (cf. Kalamian).
 Caroline Is.—9, 10, 96, 153b, 204,
 291, 361.
 Cebuan (cf. Bisaya).
 Chamorro—109, 152, 153a, 181,
 182, 183, 274, 311.
 Chinese—226, 271.
 Comparative Grammar and Vocab-
 ulary—15, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35,
 36, 41, 42, 53, 64, 65, 66, 67,
 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 105,
 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114,
 115, 119, 123, 143, 145, 155,
 157, 158, 171, 189, 197, 220,
 227, 235, 241, 243, 254, 258,
 271, 273, 292, 302, 314, 328,
 334, 337, 340, 347b, 356, 376,
 378, 379, 414, 430.
 Cuyo (cf. Kuyo).
 Egongot (cf. Ilongot).
 English grammar in Tagalog—
 159.
 Gaddan(g)—80, 88, 222a, 387,
 399, 414.
 General Philippine Linguistics—
 8, 16, 26, 27, 38, 40, 49, 52, 54,
 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 91, 93, 101,
 106, 127, 129, 135, 146, 164,
 174, 185, 207, 215, 216, 220,
 226, 233, 234, 236, 240, 256,
 268, 279, 294, 298, 299, 301,
 303, 309, 318, 339, 344, 349,
 358, 377, 380—cf. also Compar-
 ative Grammar and Vocabulary.
 Ginaán—333.

²⁸ Numbers from 383 upward refer to manuscript titles.

²⁹ Cf. also Ap. 4208-4211, Koran, genealogical tree of prophets of Islam, and Easter prayers all in Arabic characters as used by Moros of Mindanao (probably all in Arabic, and so not included in the list).

- Guam (cf. Chamorro).
 Haraya (cf. Bisaya).
 Hiliguayna (cf. Bisaya).
 Ibanag—126, 130, 163, 184, 210, 235, 237, 261, 281, 305, 339(?), 428.
 Ifugao—222b.
 Igorot
 in general—48, 77, 98, 334, 400, 407, 431.
 Abra—151.
 Banaue—334.
 Benget—189, 342.
 Bontok—37, 99, 110, 189, 202, 290, 334, 341, 345, 374.
 Inibaloi—335.
 Kankanai—337, 416.
 Lepanto—45, 334, 362.
 Nabaloi (cf. Inibaloi).
 Iloko—82, 83, 125, 147, 150, 160, 211, 235, 259, 334, 354, 367, 368, 369, 370, 375, 392, 393, 419, 463, 464.
 Ilongot—53, 77, 218, 338, 407, 433, 470, 471, 472.
 Inmeas (cf. Isinay).
 Iraya—433 (= Egongot?).
 Iruli—77, 407.
 Isinay—77, 115, 205, 304, 340, 407, 408, 415, 468.
 Itawi—414.
 Ituy—468.
 Lanao—137.
 Lepanto (cf. Igorot).
 Literature—40, 188, 228, 232, 309, 427.
 Kalamian—103, 190, 453, 454.
 Kankanai (cf. Igorot).
 Kuyo—11, 122, 165, 166, 177, 223, 413.
 Madagascan—64, 227.
 Magindanao—53, 85, 102, 154, 193, 194, 195, 289, 312, 353, 356.²⁰
 Malay—119, 123, 143, 155, 171, 189, 221, 226, 235, 309, 313.
 Malayo-Spanish—344, 349(?).
 Mangyan—59, 245, 248, 343, 424, 425.
 Manobo—254, 292.
 Moro (cf. Lanao, Magindanao, Sulu).
 Nabaloi (cf. Igorot).
 Names (Personal, Race, Place)—48, 55, 56, 57, 58, 92, 93, 95, 106, 164, 236, 263, 279.
 Names (Plant)—233, 240.
 Names (Utensils, etc.; Animals)—60.
 Negrito—50, 92, 200, 241, 242, 243, 244, 267, 293, 331, 426, 458, 459, 460, 461.
 Neuva Segovia—310.
 Numerals—34, 185, 234, 278, 338, 347a.
 Palau Is. (cf. Pelew Is.).
 Pampanga—6, 23, 24, 63, 111, 117, 145, 155, 243, 255, 273, 280, 356, 383, 384, 398, 409, 417, 418, 423, 438, 439.
 Panayan (cf. Bisaya).
 Pangasinan—12, 118, 214, 282, 394, 395, 467.
 Papuan—157, 241.
 Pelew Is.—114, 157, 196, 348, 372, 373.
 Plants (cf. Names).
 Poetry—19, 20, 255, 346.
 Ponapé (cf. Caroline Is.).
 Reviews—37, 41, 45, 46, 110, 202, 213, 290, 301, 341, 378, 379, 380, 430.
 Samal—254.
 Samaro-Leytean (cf. Bisaya).
 Sanskrit—28, 198, 199, 251, 252, 277.
 Semitic—29.
 Spanish grammars in native dialects—1, 7, 125, 147, 156, 173, 182, 205, 237, 250, 261, 286, 288, 323, 324, 384, 403.
 Spelling—54, 268, 351, 410.
 Subanu—97, 149.
 Sulu—75, 79, 119, 123, 171, 189, 221, 241, 312, 313.

Tagakaolo—254.

Tagalog—2, 3, 5, 7, 13, 17, 18, 19,
20, 28, 29, 30, 32, 35, 39, 43,
44, 46, 47, 53, 54, 62, 64, 76,
78, 81, 94, 95, 116, 123, 124,
134, 136, 140, 143, 144, 145,
155, 156, 159, 179, 188, 197,
198, 203, 206, 217, 219, 220,
227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 235,
241, 243, 247, 249, 250, 251,
252, 254, 260a, 260b, 262, 263,
269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 277,
278, 288, 295, 296, 314, 316,
319, 326, 327, 330, 331, 346,
347a, 347b, 349, 350, 351, 352,
356, 359, 364, 376, 385, 388,

389, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405,
406, 410, 420, 421, 429, 432,
434, 435, 436, 437, 440, 441,
442, 443, 445, 446, 447, 448,
449, 450, 451, 452, 455, 462,
465, 469.

Tagbanua—104, 142, 224, 307.

Tingyan—246.

Tino (cf. Zambal).

Tiruray—21, 22, 51, 84, 86, 89,
113, 132, 241, 265, 357.

Utensils (cf. Names).

Yap (cf. Caroline Is.).

Yogad—414.

Zambal—90, 128, 172, 293.

Zebuan (cf. Cebuan).

Special Index of Works dealing with Tagalog

Dictionaries—19, 78, 144, 260a,
260b, 262, 263, 270, 319, 330,
349, 350, 351, 352, 389, 405,
420, 432, 435, 436, 441, 442,
446, 448, 450, 452, 455, 469.

Short Vocabularies—123, 140, 155,
220, 235, 243, 273, 331, 356.

Grammars of Tagalog—13, 18, 47,
76, 81, 116, 206, 217, 219,
229, 247, 249, 269, 271, 272,
295, 296, 316, 326, 327, 359,
364, 385, 388, 401, 402, 404,
421, 429, 434, 437, 440, 443,
445, 448, 449, 451, 455, 462,
465.

Grammars of Spanish and English
in Tagalog—7, 156, 159 (Eng),
250, 288, 403.

Phrase Books—2, 62, 124, 136,
145, 203, 232, 314, 447.

Articles on Grammatical and Lexi-
cal topics—28, 29, 30, 32, 35, 39,
43, 44, 64, 179, 197, 198, 227,
251, 252, 277, 278, 347a, 347b,
376, 406.

Miscellaneous—3, 5, 17, 20, 46,
53, 54, 94, 95, 134, 143, 188,
228, 230, 241, 254, 346, 410.

A Loanword in Egyptian

பாண்டிச்சேரிக்குரிய கி. பி. சிவசாமி

Takapu is a loanword from Assyrian *zaqapu* ‘to erect, put up,’ Hebrew זָקַף ‘lift up, comfort.’ In Assyrian *zaqapu* means also ‘to plant’; *kîru zaqpu*, ‘hortus’; *zêru zaqpu*, ‘a planted field.’ *Takapu* in Egyptian came to mean ‘educational institution, Pflanzschule, seminarium.’ The root זָקַף is also con-

Brugsch WB. 'Schule, in welcher die Pferde dressiert werden, Reitschule. Coptisch **ANZHB, M ANZHB, ANZHB, ANZHB** schola.'

University of Pennsylvania

The following remark about the etymology of the Hebrew word תפר 'to sew' was suggested to me when I noticed an interesting ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in Egyptian. In W. Spiegelberg, *Hieratic Ostraca and Papyri found by J. E. Quibell in the Ramesseum*, 1895-6, pl. XVII, No. 132, a small hieratic text is published, a note scribbled on a piece of limestone. It reads: 'Let there be made ten *ma-ti-pu-(i)ra-ti* with their ten *-'ganna(?)-i(?)-ti.*' On the reading of the latter extremely uncer-

tain word see below. The first of these two words, which by their vocalized spelling betray themselves as loanwords from the Old-Canaanitish tongue, invites, however, an easy etymology, especially on account of its determinative 'copper, metal,' namely from Hebrew תפר, 'to sew.' It seems, therefore, that we have here a word **matpart*, or **metport*, in Biblical Hebrew, i. e. * מתפרה or more probably מתפרה 'sewing instrument, needle.' If some object of leather belonged to each of these needles, we might guess that this object was a small leather case and that the needles were of larger size, perhaps for leather work, like shoemaker's punchers. So the etymology proposed has at least great probability, and we may ascribe to the Old-Canaanitish language the word *matpart* for the time soon after 1300 B. C. This observation leads to a more important question, namely how the root תפר, occurring only in Hebrew, is to be connected with other Semitic roots. The above example shows that the Canaanites possessed the singular word in its later form by about 1300 B. C. The Coptic *tor(e)p* 'to sew,' however, leads us in the right direction. This form is decidedly older than the later Hebrew form, although the latter already appears in the fragment discussed above. It is evidently accidental that *trp* has not yet been found in hieroglyphic form. Being clearly the earlier form of the word it must have penetrated into Egyptian a couple of centuries before the nominal formation *matport*. In the other Semitic languages 'to sew, to mend' is رפأ (Arabic and Ethiopic); in the North Semitic languages (Hebrew, Phoenician, Syrian, Assyrian) this root has assumed the more specialized meaning 'to heal,' originally 'to sew up a wound.' Evidently *תרף as preserved in Coptic *torp* and رפأ come from the same root. The Canaanitish language has developed a new trilateral verb from the relative *תרפא in which the reflexive prefix evidently expressed reciprocity, like English 'together,' since sewing generally requires two objects. That reflexive must have been very frequent; possibly the causative-reflexive formation *אתרפא or *התרפא was one of the reasons why the reflexive *t-* was understood as a part of the root.

H. F. LUTZ

University of Pennsylvania

Uttu, the Sumerian god of commerce

In *JRAS* 1919, 37-41, Langdon has laid Assyriologists under obligation by discovering new material for the appraisal of the mysterious *TAG + KU*, who now assumes more tangible shape before our eyes. A more careful sifting of the material, however, requires the modification of Langdon's results. First of all, we must examine *CT* 12, 24, 38129, 64 ff.; cf. Christian, *MVAG* 1913, 78, who clarifies the situation regarding the sign names:

64 *TAG + ŠŪ* (*tibir*, *SGL* 157) = *rittu^m*

65 *TAG + UT* (!) (*uttu?*) = *rittu^m*

66 *TAG + KU* (*uttu?*) = *rittu^m*

Sb 121 (*kišib* = *MIŠ* = *rittu^m*) shows clearly that *rittu* meant not only 'paw, hand, fist,' but also 'seal'; for the development cf. our 'hand' for 'signature.' Line 65 above is a phonetic writing of a common type, indicating the pronunciation *utu*, or the like; the other two entries leave one in doubt whether the older writing is *TAG + ŠŪ* or *TAG + KU*, since *ŠŪ* and *KU* can hardly be distinguished in Old Babylonian. As *rittu* means hand, like *šû*, *TAG + KU* is probably secondary in this use. It can, moreover, be shown that *TAG + ŠŪ* means 'fist,' as well as 'seal.' The expression *zig-tibira-ra* means *maḥâçu ša šapri*, 'strike the rump' (*šapru* = Ar. *tafr*, 'arse, rump,' a sense which fits into all the passages perfectly; *šapru* is a synonym of *imšû*, 'seat, fundament'), a common gesture in cuneiform literature, expressive of disgust or despair. But *ZIG* alone, with the pronunciation *ġaš*, means *šapru*, 'rump' (*Br.* 4688); the sign, which has not been explained, obviously represents this part of the body (cf. the Eg. sign *ph*). So, as *ra* = *maḥâçu*, *tibir* must be 'fist'; the whole phrase means 'strike the rump with the fist.' The fact that *KU* = *išdu*, 'seat, arse,' does not warrant the interpretation of *TAG + KU* in this way, however. In the same way, one could take any of the multifarious values of *KU*, and erect a hypothesis on it; I have made and rejected several. It is by no means certain that the translation 'full, laundry,' for *TAG ša KU* is correct; the following entry, *puç(ç)û ša irši*, is simply 'clean a sleeping rug'; even if it is right, it most certainly does not result that *Uttu* is a

fuller-god. Juxtaposition in the vocabularies has been employed as an argument to prove many erroneous contentions.

In the important section last published by Meek, *AJSL* 31. 287, Uttu is explained as the divine engraver (*zadim*; the engraver also made seals), the god of the seal, the god of judicial decisions (*^dSá-bar*, *^uša-purussê*), the god of the judicial staff (*^dUš-bar*, *^uparuššu*), and *^dRAT*, whose meaning is doubtful, tho 'fuller' is possible. These statements ought to make it clear that Uttu was a god of the contract, which lay at the center of all Babylonian business life. Now we can understand why Uttu appears in the Langdon Epic in a transaction involving the purchase of agricultural products; the Sumerian poet wanted to portray the beginning of agricultural and commercial life, which held a place of such dignity and importance in Babylonia.

Unfortunately, Langdon insists upon maintaining the identification of *TAG + KU* with Utnapištim, which the pronunciation *Uttu* assists him in doing. After *JAOS* 38. 60, the imaginary 'Utta-napištim arik' should be allowed to die. As a mere possibility I would propose the identification of Uttu with the sun-god Utu, also *pâris purussê* and lord of the judicial sceptre and the contract; Uttu is then a depotentized sun-god, like the Avestan Mithra. It may be noted that Mithra was also a god of the contract, as well as a figure of the Tammuz type, in some respects (cf. the remarks *JAOS* 39. 81, to which, aside from the reading *Šummu*, I still subscribe). Uttu may easily have been a god of fertility and a god of business at once; Nisaba was a goddess of writing and accounting as well as a grain-deity.

In this connection I wish to correct a typographical error in *JAOS* 39, 81, n. 28, where the *g* in Eg. *ngr* (*nḡr*) should have an inverted circumflex, as in the copy. The serpent hieroglyph was pronounced *dž*, but since the three Semitic *ṣ*'s (Ar. *ṣ*, *ḍ*, and *ẓ*) have fallen together in it, as well as the palatalized *g*, we have adopted the habit of transcribing *ḍ* in the former case, and *g* with inverted circumflex in the latter; *Dḡuti* corresponds to Eth. *ḍahâi*, 'sun,' and is more remotely connected with Ar. *yâḍah*, 'moon.'

W. F. ALBRIGHT

Johns Hopkins University

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., on April 6-8, 1920. The Board of Directors will meet on the evening of April 5, the day preceding the first day of meeting.

During the absence of the Treasurer, Prof. A. T. Clay, now in residence at the School in Jerusalem, all dues and business communications forwarded to his New Haven address will receive prompt attention.

President Lanman of the Society has appointed the following Committee on Plan for Archaeological Exploration in the Near East: Messrs. Breasted (chairman), Torrey (acting chairman in Dr. Breasted's absence from the country), Butler, Jewett, Nies.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was held at Union Seminary, New York, December 29 and 30. The Presidential Address on 'The Origin of Acts,' by Prof. E. J. Goodspeed, was accompanied by a symposium on the Criticism of Acts as related to the History and Interpretation of the New Testament. The Society took important action in establishing a commission to catalogue all the Biblical and Patristic manuscripts to be found in this country. The officers elected for the following year are: President, Prof. A. T. Clay; Vice-President, Prof. Kemper Fullerton; Secretary, Prof. H. J. Cadbury; Treasurer, Prof. George Dahl.

In connection with the above Society was held the annual meeting of the Managing Committee of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. It was reported that the School had been opened with Director Worrell and Professors Clay and Peters in residence, that affiliation had been made with the British School of Archaeology, and the Bute House within the Jaffa Gate had been secured as the home of the two Schools. The Fellow, Dr. Albright, reached Jerusalem on December 30.

The annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, which could not be held in Toronto, the appointed place, because of an epidemic, was held in Pittsburgh on December 29-31. The officers of the organization were in general reelected. Of general interest was the discussion on 'Archaeology and Classical Philology', in which Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece and Italy were represented respectively by Drs. Currelly, Jastrow, Fowler, Laing.

The Palestine Oriental Society was organized in Jerusalem in January at a meeting participated in by about thirty officials and scholars. It adopted a constitution similar to that of the American Oriental Society. The officers elected are: Père Lagrange, president; Messrs. Clay and Garstang, vice-presidents; Mr. Danby, treasurer; Mr. Slousch, secretary; Governor Storrs, Messrs. Ben Yehudah and Crea, directors.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Upon the invitation of the presidents and secretaries of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Historical Association, extended to thirteen representative American learned societies devoted to humanistic studies, a conference was held in Boston on September 19, 1919. The following societies were represented by delegates: the American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Modern Language Association, the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Philosophical Association: and, unofficially, the American Philological Association and the American Oriental Society, the latter being represented by Professors J. R. Jewett and D. G. Lyon. Mr. William R. Thayer was chosen permanent chairman and Mr. Waldo G. Leland permanent secretary. The object of the conference was the establishment of a union of the humanistic societies in America, so as to enable this country to be properly represented in the Union Académique, a proposed international organization of learned societies devoted to humanistic studies, steps towards the formation of which were taken under the auspices of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres at a preliminary conference held in Paris on May 15 and 17, 1919.

It was formally resolved by the conference in Boston that, 'It is the sense of this Conference that American learned societies devoted to humanistic studies should participate as a group in the Union Académique.' Professor James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, and Mr. William H. Buckler, of Baltimore, were appointed as American delegates to the session of the Union Académique to be held in Paris in October. Among the votes adopted by the conference was the statement that 'This Conference desires to express its deep interest in the subject of explorations and researches in Western Asia and hopes that a scheme of coöperation may be considered by the Union Académique.'

A draft of a Constitution of the affiliated American societies was then considered and adopted. It is as follows:

CONSTITUTION

ART. I. This body shall be known as the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies.

ART. II. SECT. A. The Council shall be composed of delegates of the national learned societies of the United States which are devoted to the advancement, by scientific methods, of the humanistic studies.

SECT. B. Each of the thirteen societies herein named shall, upon ratification of this convention and constitution, be admitted to representation in the Council:

- The American Philosophical Society.
- The American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- The American Antiquarian Society.
- The American Oriental Society.
- The American Philological Association.
- The Archaeological Institute of America.
- The Modern Language Association of America.
- The American Historical Association.
- The American Economic Association.
- The American Philosophical Association.
- The American Political Science Association.
- The American Sociological Society.
- The American Society of International Law.

SECT. C. Other societies may be admitted to representation in the Council by vote of three-fourths of all the delegates.

ART. III. SECT. A. Each society shall be represented in the Council by two delegates, chosen in such manner as the society may determine.

SECT. B. The term of office of delegates shall be four years, but at the first election of delegates from each society a short term of two years shall be assigned to one of the delegates, and thereafter one delegate shall be chosen every two years.

ART. IV. The officers of the Council shall consist of a chairman, a vice-chairman, and a secretary-treasurer, who shall be chosen for such terms and in such manner as the Council may determine, but no two officers shall be from the same society.

ART. V. The Council shall determine its own rules of procedure and shall enact such by-laws, not inconsistent with this constitution, as it may deem desirable.

ART. VI. The Council shall hold at least one meeting each year, which meeting shall be not less than two months prior to the stated annual meeting of the Union Académique.

ART. VII. The Council shall choose such number of delegates to represent the United States in the Union Académique as may be prescribed by the statutes of the Union, and shall prepare their instructions, and in general shall be the medium of communication between the Union and the societies which are represented in the Council.

ART. VIII. The Council may upon its own initiative take measures to advance the general interests of the humanistic studies, and is especially charged with maintaining and strengthening relations among the societies which are represented in it.

ART. IX. SECT. A. In order to meet its own necessary administrative expenses and to pay the annual contribution of the United States to the administrative budget of the Union Académique the Council shall, until otherwise provided, assess upon each society represented in it an annual contribution of not less than twenty-five dollars, nor more, except as a minimum contribution, than a sum equal to five cents for each member of the society.

SECT. B. The Council may receive gifts and acquire property for the purpose indicated above.

ART. X. The Council shall make a report to the societies each year setting forth in detail all the acts of the Council and all receipts and expenditures of money.

ART. XI. Identical instructions from a majority of the societies which are represented in the Council shall be binding upon it.

ART. XII. The Council may be dissolved by a vote of two-thirds of the societies represented therein.

ART. XIII. Amendments to this constitution may be proposed by a vote of two-thirds of the Council and shall take effect when ratified by a majority of the societies represented in the Council.

ART. XIV. This convention and constitution shall be presented to the societies named in Article II, Section B, and shall be put into effect when they shall have been ratified by any seven of them.

The meeting of the Committee of the Union Académique was held in Paris on Oct. 15-18, 1919, the American representatives being Mr. Buckler and, in the absence of Prof. Shotwell, Dr. Louis H. Gray. A constitution of the Union was drafted, which is to be submitted to the American learned societies for ratification, but no copies of it are known to have reached this country as yet. It was also decided that the next meeting of the Union be held in May, 1920.

The foregoing information was communicated by the Corresponding Secretary of this Society to its Directors in a circular letter dated Dec. 13, 1919, so that they might make such recommendations as they might see fit to the Society at its Annual Meeting.

The Constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies has already been ratified by eight of the thirteen societies participating in the Boston Conference, viz: the American Philosophical Society, the Amer-

ican Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Philological Association, the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, and the American Sociological Society. Six of these societies have appointed their delegates to the Council, the first meeting of which, it is now expected, will be held in New York City on February 14.

Although the American Oriental Society has not yet ratified the Constitution of the American Council, it has been asked to send two informal representatives to the coming meeting, and the President of the Society has appointed as such Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., and Prof. Maurice Bloomfield.

P. S.—At the first meeting of the American Council, held in New York on February 14, organization was effected. The following officers were elected: Prof. Charles H. Haskins, chairman; Prof. John C. Rolfe, vice-chairman; Prof. George M. Whicher, secretary-treasurer. Professor Jastrow attended the meeting as the informal representative of this Society.

PERSONALIA

M. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Honorary Member of this Society, has been commissioned by the French Minister of Public Instruction to organize the department of Oriental Languages in the reconstituted French University of Strasbourg.

PHONETIC AND LEXICAL NOTES

EDWIN W. FAY*
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

1. INDO-IRANIAN TREATMENT OF IE. *k*'s.

1. In Avestan, interior and final *k*'s yielded *š*, through an intermediate stage which we may transcribe by *k*'s or *ss*. In behalf of the second transcription I note *-ikš-* from *iss* in Skr. *dvikṣat* (he hated), and *-iṭ* in *edhamāna-dvīṭ*.

REMARK. It is not necessary, however, to invoke the analogy of Sk. *-ks-<ss-* to support the contention that IE *k*'s (Indo-Iran. *šs*) yielded interior *kṣ* but final *ṭ*.—I see no cogent reason for accepting the theory (see Wackernagel *Ai. Gram.* § § 118; 97a) that *dveksi* (thou hatest) has analogical *ks*. The *s* of IE *esi* (thou art)=Sk. *ási* (A) may be an earlier treatment of *-ss-* than the *ss* of *ἔσσι* (*essi*), Plautine *ess*, Armen. *es*; (B), see Brugmann, *Gr.* 1, p. 725, Anm. It must be remembered, however, that unemphatic *esi* yields no reliable proof for the usual treatment of *-ss-*. Sk. *jósi* may fall under A, *dveksi* under B. In view of the small number of locative infinitives like *budh-i* in Sanskrit (see Macdonell's *Ved. Gram.* § 588), more heavily graded *jós-i* (imperative from infinitive, type of Lat. *es-se*) is not to be excluded from the *budh* class; cf. like variations in gradation in dative root infinitives (see Bartholomae, *Gr. Iran. Phil.* 1. § 258. 1). And who shall decide whether *śrósi* (hear thou) is from *śru* or from *śrus*? That gen. *uṣ-ús* (Aurorae) comes from *uṣ-s*, reduced from IE *us-es-*, rather than directly from *us* (cf. *vy-ús-i*, at dawn), is quite incredible.

2. In Sanskrit, the rules are much more complicated: (1) Interior *k*'s > *ss* > *kṣ* (*ávikṣmahi*, like *dvikṣat*); (2) final *k*'s normally yielded *-ss*, whence *-ṭ* (*viṭ*, settlement, like *edhamāna-dvīṭ*); (3) but after *r* *r*, as in *dṛk spṛk úrk*, yielded *-k*; (4) and so after dentals, by dissimilation, as in *dík ṛtvik* (cf. *Class. Quart.* 8. 53, noting also *-dhrk* for *-dhrt*). (5) After *n* and *ṣ*, as in *bhiṣák* and *prá-ṇak* (but *naṭ á-naṭ*), the product was also *-k*. (6) We find *ṭ* and *t* after *ṣṭh* in Prākritic *paṣṭhavāt* (cf. on nom. *anadvān* § 4).

3. The nom. *purodās* (fore-offering) contains *dā-* (gift), or perhaps an *s* stem, **dās*; but its lingual *ḍ* testifies to an early metaplastic nominative *-dāṭ* (*ḍ* by progressive assimilation). The accusative *puro-dāśam* (fore-honor) is metaplastic (: *dāś*,

* Died Feb. 17, 1920. He had revised proof on pp. 81-102 before his death.

acclaims). Likewise *avayās* (propitiatory offering) belongs to the root *yā*; see Whitney's note on AV. 2. 35. 1, and cf. *avayānam* (propitiation). Vedic *an-āk* (eyeless) has IE. *k^w*.

2. THE PHONETICS OF SKR. *anaḍūd-bhyas*.

4. The problem is to trace the phonetic development of the Proto-Indo-Iranian weak stem *anas-ug^h-*. This I do briefly as follows: by exterior euphony the compound *anas-ug^h-* yielded *anaṣ-uḡh-*, whence by assimilation *anaṣ-uḡh-* and next, with continued assimilation, abl. **anaḍ-ud-bhyas*, loc. **anaḍuṣu*, subsequently dissimilated to *anaḍūd-bhyas* etc. The proper nominative, still reckoning with the accomplished dissimilation, would have been **anaḍvāt*, voc. **ānaḍvat*, with euphonic forms in *-vān* before initial nasals. To the generalisation of these euphonic forms the synonymous vocatives of *vīṣan* and *ūkṣan* (bull) would have contributed, though Whitney's metaplastic stem *anaḍvānt* (possessing a wagon) is not inadmissible.—Uhlenbeck's prius *anarḍ-* is bare assumption; and the Indra epithet *ānarviś-* in RV. 1. 121. 7 might mean, as Ludwig realizes in his note, a thousand other things than *car-borne* (pace Johannson in *BB* 18. 17). Perhaps the epithet is a *bahuvrīhi*, with shifted (? ultimately vocative) accent, from haplogologic *anar[vā]-viś-* (having a limitless dwelling, dwelling in infinity).

3. CRITIQUE OF *JAOS* 38. 206-207.

5. Professor Edgerton has made a just, if somewhat harsh, criticism of Uhlenbeck's 'etymology' of Skr. *lāti* (takes). He has also found for *ādeśa* the sense of *salutation*. Against his derivation of these words from a Hindi dialect I have reservations; nor can I believe that, in noting Hindi *lena*, the lexicon of Monier Williams intended to represent *lena* as the source of *lāti*, but rather to say that *lāti* and *lena* derived from a common Prākritic source.

6. As for the verb *lāti*, Fröhde correctly placed it long ago (*BB* 20. 212) with the sept of Greek *λάτρον* (wage). But Fröhde's definition was defective. As it is reflected, after Walde, in Boisacq (s. v. *λάτρον*), *lēi* (noun and verb) meant 'possession, to accord to one'; in the middle, 'to acquire, gain.' We come out better with the one definition of *to take*. [Giving is a reciprocal act. For the receiver it is a taking (cf. Eng. *takings* = money

taken in business, receipts).] In Homer (see the passages in Fröhde's article), ἀλῆος means 'without one's takings,—a due share in'; λάτρον is the share of the earner, and Lat. *latro* has come clearly back to 'taker.' The IE. root (s)lēi (? enlargement of *sel* in ἐλαίν) appears as *slə*, expanded by various determinatives in ἑλλαβε (λήπεται) and λάζεται. Skr. *rābhate* preserves a trace of the original diphthong in pf. *rebhe* (see *AJP* 39. 293) and *i* is also revealed in *-ripsu* (cited by Whitney); cf. (with *i*) λαίψηρος (rapidus). Between *lātṇā* (with) and λαβών a close parallel obtains. Was Lat. *lētum* originally a *taking off*?

7. As regards *ādeśa* in the sense of *salutation* (cf. Eng. *bid* = invitation and 'I bid you good-day'), I am even further from being convinced. In the context it seems not unlikely that *ādeśam dattvā* etc., introducing the interview of a great king with a sage, meant merely 'the king having given a signal <to proceed> was saluted by the sage'; and note in the lexica that *ā + diś* is defined by *nominare* (benennen). Granting the definition, however, this sense may have been suggested for *ādeśa* to any user of the cry of greeting (? or salutation at departure), *diṣṭyā*; cf. *diṣṭi-vrddhi* (congratulation).—In regard to the formula of etiquette *diṣṭyā vardhase*, I hesitate between the standard interpretation as *salute augeris* and a more archaic *salute appellaris* (*vardhase* : Lat. *verbum*). The salutation *diṣṭyā* (*salve*; lit. with homage) is to be derived from *dāśnōti* (does homage).

8. Likewise *ādeśa*, if it means *greeting*, may belong by honest descent to the sept of *dāśnōti*, for I take it that, given a colloquial survival of Sanskrit, a word (*lāti*) or, in a formula (*ādeśam dattvā*), a definition of most archaic nature may emerge as late classical Sanskrit, or even in a restricted dialect, that of the Southern recension of Professor Edgerton's text. In point of derivation *ādeśa* may belong, like *diṣṭyā*, to a very interesting group. The original root was *dē(i)k*¹, with long interior diphthong; and the cognates exhibit a rather rich vowel gradation, e. g. *dāśati* (acclaims, does homage, greets, offers, consecrates); *dīkṣā*, consecration (this is, to the best of my knowledge, a new derivation); *ādeśa* (? salutation). There is also in RV. 6. 56. 1 the reduplicated stem *dīdeś-*:

yá enam ādīdeśati karambhād iti pūṣānam | ná téna devá ādīše:
qui hunc salutat 'Pultiphagus' nomine Pushanem | non ei deus
salutando <est>.

In Homer the root *dēik*¹ is of social rather than sacral import: *δείκνυται* (salutes, welcomes, pledges with a cup); and in the same sense *δεικανόωντο δειδίσκετο* (: *δεδισκόμενος*). Nor must we any longer, under the spell of the phonetic system that obtained prior to the elucidation of the long diphthong series, follow Wackernagel (*BB* 4. 269) in the mischievous correction to *δῆκνυται*. In Latin, the *i* of the diphthong has been lost altogether in *decus*, honor (: Skr. *daśasyāti*); but *dicat* (consecrates) and *dignus* (honored, honorable > worthy) contain it; cf. *ἀρι-δείκετος* and see *AJP* 31. 415. A secondary root *dek*¹s remains in RV. in impv. *dakṣatū* (do homage), construed (as sometimes *dās*) with dative of receiver.

9. That the root *dēik*¹ (acclaim) is anything but a specialized aspect of the root written *deik*¹ (to point out, show, in Skr. *dis*), or conversely, I cannot believe. Clue enough to the special sense is furnished by the Aeschylean compound *δακνυλό-δαικτος* (= *digitis monstratus* > honored, conspicuous). I also compare our Biblical *shew-bread*. Personally I think that in the sept of *dāśati* the long diphthong series is archaic in the sacral and social word, and is older than the short diphthong series of *dīco*, *δείκνυμι*. The reduplication of *δειδίσκετο* is the intensive reduplication of Skr. *dēdiṣṭe* (displays), formally allocated to *dis* instead of *dās*. Again, we should not correct to *δηδίσκετο*.

HINDIISMS IN SANSKRIT AGAIN: A REPLY TO PROFESSOR FAY

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

MY DERIVATION of *ādeśa*, 'salutation,' from Hindi (or some related dialect) *ādes* evidently goes very much against the grain with Professor Fay; for he thinks of at least three distinct and alternative ways of avoiding it. It puzzles me to discover why the suggestion should seem to him *a priori* so improbable, as apparently it does. But of that later. Let me first consider his alternative suggestions.

1. He thinks *ādeśam dattvā* need not mean 'giving a saluta-

tion,' but may mean simply 'giving a signal (to proceed).' The sage's response to the king's *ādeśa* is a benediction, *sukhī bhava*. The like of this is regularly delivered by a saint to anyone (king or other person) whom he may meet, *in response to a respectful salutation*. The salutation is represented as a necessary preliminary to the blessing. If occasionally in such cases no prior salutation is specifically mentioned, that only means that it is taken for granted, because the idea of its necessity is so commonplace and familiar. In another recension of the Vikramacarita the same king tests the omniscience of another saint by saluting him only *mentally* (that is, without words or other outward sign); when the sage offers a benediction, the king says 'Why do you bless me *when I have not greeted you?*' To this the sage replies that by means of his omniscience he perceived the *mental* greeting of the king. (This incident is found in *Indische Studien*, 15. 285.) The royal permission is not needed for a religious person to address the king; on the contrary, the saint ranks higher than the king, and it is the king's duty to salute him first. This is commonplace throughout all Hindu literature. Professor Fay's suggested interpretation of *ādeśa* is therefore un-Hindu.

2. Granting the meaning 'salutation,' Professor Fay thinks this meaning of *ādeśa* may be derived from Sanskrit uses of the root *(ā)diś*. Two of his suggestions may be grouped here.

(a) He calls to mind the phrase *diṣṭyā* (*vardhase*), a form of congratulation (not of salutation). The literal meaning of this phrase is not entirely clear. But certainly *diṣṭi* does not mean anything like salutation; and indeed Professor Fay's suggestion implies a very violent transfer of meaning based on a very vague psychological connexion. Another objection is that *diṣṭi* is not *ādiṣṭi*, and that in semantics you cannot jump from a simple base to one of its compounds without hesitation.

(b) Deserving of much more serious consideration is the claim that *ādideśati* in RV. 6. 56. 1 means 'salutes.' If this were so, or if any form or derivative of *ādiś* in Sanskrit could be shown to have such a meaning, then Professor Fay would have some apparent ground for questioning my etymology. I shall endeavor to show in the paper which follows this that he is wrong about *ādideśati*, and that in the R̥gveda at least no such meaning attaches to any form or derivative of *ādiś*. Even if I were wrong

in this (and after reading Professor Fay's Rejoinder I am still fully convinced that I am right), I do not think that the question of *ādeśa* would be seriously affected thereby. The power of the counter-argument would be more apparent than real. Professor Fay has not been able to show any trace of the meaning 'salute' in any derivative of *ādiś* later than the Rigveda. Yet the word and its derivatives are very common in later Sanskrit. I should hesitate long before jumping from the Rigveda to more than a thousand years A. D., with no intervening link, on a point concerning the meaning of a word which is very commonly used in other meanings throughout the whole of the intervening period. It is not unimportant, either, that the actual form *ādeśa* does not occur in the Rigveda at all. So far as we know, *ādeśa* means, in all periods of Sanskrit where it occurs, 'command, instruction' or the like; until suddenly, like a bolt out of the clear sky, in a single occurrence in a work composed more than a thousand years A. D., we find it meaning 'salutation.' And then we find that Hindi *ādes* means, very commonly though not invariably, the same thing. To refuse to accept the obvious inference requires more self-denial than I have.

3. Professor Fay's third line of attack involves a series of interesting and ingenious etymological suggestions by which he seeks to link *ādeśa* in particular, and the root *diś* in general, with a number of other words in Sanskrit and related languages which mean 'honor, respect' and the like. His language in this part of his paper is not always quite clear to me. For instance, he says '*ādeśa* (greeting) may belong by honest descent to the sept of *dāśati* (does homage).' If he means by this that *ādeśa* may be directly connected with *dāś*, and only more remotely (if at all) with *ā-diś*, then I cannot follow him. Indeed, I cannot even argue with him on that point; for it implies the non-recognition of what to me are axiomatic principles. To my mind *ādeśa* 'greeting' is either a Sanskrit word by 'honest descent' (or derivation) from *ā-diś*, or it is not a Sanskrit word at all. A third alternative seems to me to be entertainable only by an act of faith. My own view is that it is not a Sanskrit word at all, but a Hindi (or other modern) word.

On the other hand, if Professor Fay only means that *diś*, 'indicate, show,' belongs to a group of Indo-European words some of which have developed such meanings as 'honor, revere,

salute'; then, if his etymologies ar sound (they seem to me pretty bold), they would indeed be of use in explaining the origin of this meaning of the Hindi *ādes*. For they would furnish interesting semantic parallels for the development of this word from Sanskrit *ādeśa* 'direction, prescription, aim' or the like (but not 'salutation').

The only point at issue would then be whether the meaning 'salutation' for *ādeśa* develope in Sanskrit, or whether it develope in a modern dialect and came into Sanskrit as a back-formation. Now, it is of course wel-known to all that Sanskrit—even much older Sanskrit than the Vikramacarita—is 'chuck full' of back-formations from the Middle Indic dialects, that is from popular speech. Buddhistic Sanskrit is the prize example of this; a large part of it is only rudely and imperfectly Sanskritized Pāli (or som related dialect). But all periods of the language ar sufficiently full of the same sort of thing. Now then, if the very common Sanskrit word *ādeśa* never shows any meaning like 'salutation,' except in the one passage discovered by me; and if the verb *ā-diś* and its other derivativs ar equally negativ; and if we find that, in Hindi, *ādes* is an extremely familiar and commonplace word in this meaning; then—I do not see what *dignus*, *decus*, or even *dās*, can hav to do with the question (except, as aforesaid, perhaps as semantic parallels). *Hier stehe ich; ich kann nicht anders*.

Let me put a hypothetical question to Professor Fay. Let us assume that in a scholastic Latin treatise written in Bologna in the fourteenth century we find a common Latin word—say *dictio*—used in a sense in which it is otherwise unknown, even in medieval Latin, but in which its Italian equivalent is very wel known and common. Would Professor Fay look to Old Persian and Lithuanian relatics of the original Latin root to find the explanation of the isolated usage? Would he even trouble himself to go far afiel among Plautine or Ciceronian cognates of the root in question—particularly among supposed cognates whose relationship is at best doubtful, and certainly cannot hav been apparent to the users of the language (as *dās*: *diś*)? The parallel seems to me perfect.

The same considerations apply to *lāti*. No Hindi scolar, so far as appears, douts the fact that Hindi *le-nā* (*nā* is the-infinitiv ending, the 'root' is *le*) is derived from Prakritic forms of

labh. (See Platts, *Hindustani Dictionary*, s. v.; Hoernle, *Comp. Gram. of the Gaudian Languages*, p. 70.) In Bengali the root is *la* (infinitiv *la-ite*), and Hindi dialects hav *lāinā* (Platts, l. c.). The late appearance of *lāti*, plus its correspondence with these words, is to my mind sufficient evidence that it is from a popular dialect, and that all attempts to connect it with IE. elements *le* or *la* ar useless and misleading. The only question open to discussion is whether it is a Prakritism or coms from a more modern dialect. In favor of the latter alternativ may be mentiond the following facts. There is no Prakrit base *lā*, so far as I can find. There is indeed a Prakrit *le* (Hemacandra, 4. 238; see reff. there quoted in Pischel's translation), which Pischel thinks probably connected with *lāti*, but which I think more likely belongs with Sanskrit *lī* (as Pischel also considers possible); cf. Karpūramañjarī, ed. Konow (*HOS* 4), 1. 13. At any rate *lāti* could with difficulty be derived from Prakrit *le*. It apparently coms from a dialect in which the vowel was *ǣ*. Cf. the Hindi dialect form *lāinā*, and Bengali *la*; the standard Hindi *le* is apparently not to be connected with Prakrit *le* (even if the latter belongs in this group at all), but its *e* is a contraction of *a-i*, in which the original vowel of the root appears. The compound *lānā* (for *le-ānā*), 'to bring,' may possibly, but in my opinion not probably, be the origin of *lāti*.

Again, the disappearance of medial intervocalic *h* is a familiar (tho not exactly common) fenomenon in the modern dialects (cf. Hoernle, l. c.; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, p. 54). In Prakrit, on the other hand, it is rare. Indeed, Pischel (*BB* 3. 246 f., *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 184) categorically and dogmatically denies that it ever occurs; but I think this is too sweeping, cf. Weber, *Hāla*¹ (*AKM* 5. 3), p. 29; *Hāla*² (*AKM* 7. 4), on strofes 4, 410, 584, especially on strofe 4. This is an additional reason for not connecting Prakrit *le* with *labh* (*lā*), besides its meaning ('to lay on'), which does not seem to fit the latter easily. If we bar out *le*, there ar no Prakritic forms of *labh* except those containing an *h* as representativ of the Skt. *bh*.

For these reasons it seems to me fair to assume that *lāti* coms from a modern, post-Prakritic dialect. This is certainly what Monier Williams intended to suggest in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. Whether the suggestion has also been made elsewhere I

am not sure. It seems to me so obvious that I feel sure it would have become commonplace ere now, but for the facts that (1) *lāti* is so rare and late a word in Sanskrit, and (2) comparatively few Sanskritists, unhappily, know anything about the modern dialects.

STUDIES IN THE VEDA

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

8. *Ā-diś* IN THE RIGVEDA.¹

NO CAREFUL STUDY of *ā-diś* and its derivatives in the Rigveda has yet been made. The nearest approach to one is found in Oldenberg's remarks, *ZDMG* 55. 292, and *Rgveda Noten* on 6. 4. 5. Oldenberg finds that *ādīś* as a noun usually refers to 'feindliche Anschläge.' This I believe to be true; but I think that both the noun and the verb can be more accurately defined.

My belief is that the verb *ā-diś* (always in RV a reduplicating present, *ādīdeśati*, or intensiv, *ādēdiṣṭe*) means invariably 'to aim at' (with hostile intent), nearly always in the literal sense, 'to aim with a weapon at' (with accusative of the person or thing aimed at). The noun *ādīś* likewise always means 'aim,' and in every case except possibly one or two it also implies hostile intent.

Fundamental are the two passages 9. 70. 5^{cd} and 10. 61. 3^{cd}. The first reads:

*vīśā śūṣmeṇa bādhatē vī durmatīr ādēdiśānaḥ śaryahēva
śurūdhah.*

'The viril (Indra) overcomes the evil-disposed by his furious energy, aiming at them as an archer at opposing warriors (? *śurūdhah* of uncertain meaning, but cannot affect the question).—The second reads:

ā yāh śaryābhis tuvinrmṇó asyāsrīṇītādīśam gābhastāu.

'Who with vigorous strength prepares his aim with arrows in the hand.'

Most of the occurrences of *ā-diś* as a verb belong so obviously

¹ Cf. Fay, above, page 83. For the first seven Studies in this series, see *AJP* 35. 435 ff., *JAOs* 35. 240 ff., *AJP* 40. 175 ff.

to the sphere of hostile attacks that they require no discussion. Thus, 10. 134. 2^{cd}:

adhaspadām tám im kṛdhi yó asmān ādīdeśati.

‘Put him down underfoot who aims against us.’ The same or a closely similar locution is found 9. 52. 4^c, 10. 133. 4^{a-c}, 1. 42. 2^{a-c}. Equally simple and obvious is 6. 44. 17^{cd}, *abhīṣeṇān abhy ādēdīśānān pārāca indra prā mṛṇā jahī ca*. The only remaining occurrence of a finite verb form from *ā-dīś* is 6. 56. 1:

yá enam ādīdeśati karambhād iti pūṣāṇam, ná téna devā ādīše.

In the light of the otherwise universal use of the verb, it seems to me clear that it should be understood here too in a hostile sense. I therefore would render, nearly (tho not precisely) with Roth, Grassmann, and Oldenberg (*Noten*, on 9. 21. 5), and at variance with Fay (who follows Ludwig essentially), ‘He who aims (malignantly) at Pūṣan, saying “he is a porridge-eater (hind, weakling)” —the god is not a mark for him (literally, not is the god for aiming at by him).’ Aside from the superior consistency with other occurrences of the verb, we hereby avoid the bold assumption of an understood *anyāḥ*, which Ludwig and Fay are compelled to make. What parallel is there for the omission of *anyā* in such a case? In other words, how can *ná . . . devāḥ* mean ‘no other god’? It means nearly the opposit of that: ‘not the god (just mentioned).’ It is mere casuistry for Ludwig to refer to 1. 140. 11 *priyād . . . prēyo*, ‘dearer than a dear one’; obviously this is not in the least parallel.

The noun *ādīś*, naturally, follows the verb in usage. In addition to the passages already quoted, it occurs in 8. 60. 12^{ab}: *yéna váṇsāma pṛtanāsu śárdhataś tāranto aryā ādīśaḥ*. Again the sphere is conflict (*pṛtanāsu*); ‘crossing over (escaping) the aims of the foe.’ On the difficult, and pretty certainly corrupt, passage 6. 4. 5 see Oldenberg, places quoted. Oldenberg is evidently not prejudiced in favor of the view I hold, for he specifically refers to 8. 93. 11 as showing *ādīś* without hostile meaning. Yet he holds, I think rightly, that in 6. 4. 5 (as well as in 8. 92. 31, for which see his note on that passage in *Rgveda Noten*) it refers to ‘feindliche Anschläge’; the phraseology of the passage (*turyāma*, cf. *tāranto* 8. 60. 12, *ārātīr*, etc.) bears this out, whatever may be the true reading and interpretation of the text. The passage 8. 93. 11, which Oldenberg seems to think shows

ādisam in a different sense, is inconclusiv, and can as easily be interpreted in my way as in any other: *yāsyā te nā cid ādisam nā minānti svarājyam, nā devó nádhriḡur jánaḥ*. 'Verily they do not at all obstruct (impede) thy aim, thy imperium.' Of course there is nothing in the context which definitely proves that Indra's 'aim' is directed against his enemies; yet it would be only his enemies that would wish to 'obstruct' it, and Indra's general character, as wel as the usual meaning of *ādis* (not to speak of *svarājyam*, parallel to it) suggest this.

In two or three passages an *ādis* is attributed to Soma. It occurs twice in the consecutiv stanzas 9. 21. 5 and 6, in closely parallel locutions:

āsmīn piśāṅgam indavo dādhatā venām ādise,
yó asmábhyam árāvā. 5.
ṛbhúr ná ráthyam návam dādhatā kētam ādise,
śukráḥ pavadhvam árṇasā. 6.

The key to *ādise* is *yó asmábhyam árāvā*. The soma-drops ar to fix their *vená* 'for aiming at him who is stingy towards us.' In the next stanza pāda b is repeated with *kēta* for *vená*; obviously 5^c is to be understood also with 6^b. Oldenberg (*Noten*) seems to me wrong on these stanzas, tho he is right to the extent of taking *ādise* in a hostile sense. It seems to me that both *piśāṅga vená* and *kēta* must pertain to the soma, not to the stingy man (proleptically). The locativ *asmin* causes no difficulty; it depends in sense, at least, on *ādise* (perhaps also in literal construction, since we need not expect with the verbal noun the accusativ which would be found with a finite verb-form of *ā-dis*; but it may also depend on *ā-dhā*, 'fix . . . upon him for aiming' = 'fix for aiming at him'). The exact meaning of *vená* in this place is a problem which I hav not solvd to my own satisfaction; *kēta* at least is clearly 'purpose, Absicht,' nearly synonymous with *ādis* except that the latter is distinctly a hostile word; and I incline to the opinion that *vená*, which exchanges with *kēta* in these two stanzas, is to be taken in som sense which amounts to the same thing in the final outcom.

The sound of the soma is *dūrāādisam* in 1. 139. 10; the context is colorless and givs no clue to the meaning; 'aiming afar off' fits as wel as any other meaning.

I com finally to the last occurrence of *ādis*, which Professor

Fay might hav quoted against me, since it is the one and only occurrence of a derivativ of this root in the entire Rigveda which, taken by itself, might plausibly be interpreted in the sense of 'salutation' or the like. It is 6. 48. 14:

*tām va indram ná sukrátum várūṇam iva māyīnam
aryamānam ná mandrām srprābhōjasam viṣṇum ná stuṣa
ādīše.*

Pūṣan is praised, and is declared to be like unto various other gods in their special sferes. Simple as the language of the stanza seems at first sight, there ar difficulties about it. For instance, we need a qualifying epithet to go with *viṣṇum ná* in pāda d. It is very lame to translate with Grassmann 'den meinend preis' wie Vischnu ich'; for *ná* implies that Pūṣan is '(so-and-so) like Viṣṇu,' just as he is 'powerful like Indra' etc. Ludwig sees this and construes *srprābhōjasam*, in the preceding pāda, with *viṣṇum ná*. The pāda division and the order of words ar against this, tho I regard it as superior to Grassmann's rendering. But is it not at least possible that *ādīše* is the complement to *viṣṇum ná*—'like Viṣṇu for aiming (against enemies?)'? It is tru that, so far as I am able to discover, the Vedic accounts of Viṣṇu furnish no clue for explaining this as particularly appropriate to Viṣṇu. But the Rigveda tells us so little about Viṣṇu anyhow, that we can not be sure that there may not be som allusion here to a feature of the god not otherwise made clear.—If, however, this is not acceptable, then Ludwig's interpretation of the passage is clearly the right one. Ludwig renders *ādīše* 'für meine Absicht,' and the like is implied by Grassmann's 'den meinend.' Barring the possibility (which I freely admit is only a possibility) that my new interpretation is correct, we should hav in *ādīše* at this point one clear case of the meaning 'aim' without hostile intent. There would, after all, be nothing very startling in this; it is not a very remote departure from the customary (and I believ otherwise universal) meaning of the word. It would stil be a very far cry to 'salutation,' which, as I said, might be conjectured for this passage if we knew nothing about the word otherwise, but which, in view of its constant occurrence in a very different sense, can surely not be adopted here. No interpreter, so far as I kno, has adopted it; not even Ludwig, altho in his interpretation of 6. 56. 1 he coms quite close to Professor Fay's idea.

REJOINDER TO PROFESSOR EDGERTON*

EDWIN W. FAY

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

1. To MAKE an Irish reply to Professor Edgerton's hypothetical question (p. 87), what I wish to know is whether the author or editor of the *Vikramacarita* and the late users of the verb *lāti* employed Sanskrit as a vernacular and mother-tongue, whether they thought in Sanskrit (I do not mean to the exclusion of a Prakritic or Hindi dialect). If these authors had received Sanskrit *viva voce vivisque auribus* it is entirely possible that they introduced into Sanskrit literature words not written into our record but, in point of origin, of hoary antiquity. Grammatical citations apart, *parut* (: *πέρυσσι*) is not of record. This shows the possibility of a most ancient word never being included in the literary record (supposing us to have it all!), and leaves us to infer that Pāṇini took the example from the speech of his own time. The IE. character of *parut* would have guaranteed its authenticity even if, without Pāṇini's citation, it had emerged as late as *lāti*. Again, the history of the root *stigh*, long known only through the questionable medium of Dhātupāṭha, shows us how a word of most certain IE. origin was restricted, not (so far as I know) to a definitely ascertainable locality, but to the canticles of a restricted Vedic sect. The relation of literary Sanskrit to the genuine vernaculars is a thorny problem. From the time of the great Epics on, Sanskrit was not, in the narrow sense, a vernacular. But the language was imparted *viva voce* and received *vivis auribus*, so that it actually functioned as a standardized class or caste dialect, and its speakers were bilingual. In a genuine, if restricted, sense, this dialect must have begun as speech, so that the question arises at what time, in which century (sorites-wise) from 200 B. C. (shall I say?) down to 1500 A. D., the colloquial founts dried up. For *lāti* and *ādeśa* there is also the other question of a possible bookish source (see § 9, note). If a word of good IE. stamp appeared first in the learned Epic of Apollonius or in Callimachos I should not question its genuineness as Greek, even

* Revised by the author after reading Edgerton's following 'Counter-Rejoinder.'

though the vernacular of these authors was Hellenistic. I cannot think the lateness of *lāti* substantially different from the lateness of *stthagayati* (covers): Lat. *tegit*; or of *hadati* which, exception made of Epic *-hāda*, is classical only, but surely of IE. provenance. Also note *itar*, primary derivative of *i*, but not found till Vāsavadattā, see Gray's edition, pp. 202, 214.

The vocalism of *lāti*.

2. I could not think, because of the conflict of vowels in Sk. *lāti* and Hindi *le-nā*, that the lexicon of Monier Williams meant to assert the express derivation of the one from the other; nor did I feel sure—though I am compelled to speak without due lexical aids—that the contracted Hindi form *lāna* < *le-ānā* was earlier than the emergence of *lāti*. [And now exactly so for the Bengali root *lā*.] On the other hand, the morphological relation between *lāti* and *labhati* has so many analogues to confirm it in IE. grammar that a theory of late emergence, but early origin, for *lāti* is not to be put out of court till something like philological proof of origin from an Indic vernacular is assured. In brief, a colloquial option between *lāti* and *labhati* may always have existed in that Primary Prākṛit from which Sanskrit came, without one of the terms having emerged till a late period. Even what one takes for the commonest words may emerge relatively late into the written record, for instance Eng. *leg die bull* (see Royster in *Studies in Philology*, 14. 235).

[2a. In my original critique I failed to mention—because I did not know it then—that Wackernagel (*Ai. Gram.* § 80) had tentatively proposed the correlation of *lāti* (root *lāu*) with Lat. *lucrum* (gain, takings). The very dialect forms cited by Professor Edgerton, however, make for the root *lēi*—perhaps from *(t)lēi*, cf. my explanation of Lat. *clē-mens*: *ταλαί-φρων* as toyed with by Walde on p. 868 and then on p. xx. There is an undoubted Prākṛit root *le* and, whatever Pischel may have thought when he was translating Hemacandra, he categorically correlates the absolutives *levi lēppinu levinu* with Sk. *lā* in his Prākṛit Grammar § 588. Then Pk. *le* is from *lei* (: *lēi* : : Av. *pai* : *pāi*, see Bartholomae's *Grammar*, § 122. 10). We actually have Pk. *lenti* in the Karpūra-mañjarī 1. 13, as follows:

lenti ṇa taha aṅgammi (loc. sg.) *kuppāsaam*
and do not put on a bodice (Lanman).

After Plautus *Amphitruo* 999, *capiam coronam mi in caput*, I feel free to render our sentence by

capiunt non tum (for *neque*, postponed) <*sibi*> in *membra uesticulam*.

How a proper sense for *lenti* here—and I have gone over the usage of *lī* carefully in the Petersburg lexica—can be arrived at from Sk. *lī* (cling) I cannot divine.—In Sanskrit the flexion of the root *k¹ēi* (to lie)—so Brugmann correctly writes it in *IF* 6. 98; cf. Bartholomae, *Lex.* 1571—generalizes the midgrade *k¹ai* (*séte*, accent abnormal). In Greek *κείται* *k¹ēi* is generalized. In Sk. *lā[i]ti* : Pk. *lenti* we have the alternation *ē[i]/ai*. That *lī* would be a legitimate form of *lā[i]* in Sanskrit is true enough, and we might in fact derive Pk. *levi* from **lītvī*, cf. Sk. *pītvī* : *pāti* (root *pōi*). An Indic root *lāi* | *lāi* is recognized by Franke, *BB* 23. 177, in Pāli *layati* (harvests). Now this is the root of *lāti*. For the sense of *reaps* (i. e. harvests, gathers) from *takes* (seizes) cf. Cicero, *Sen.* 70, *tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis*, with Cato's more generalized usage (*Agr.* 4. 1) in the turn *fructi plus capies*. Further note Skt. *√ grabh* (: Eng. *grabs*), cognate with Germ. *Garbe* (sheaf of the reapers).]

i. Whether 1 *ādeśa* (*indicium*) came to mean salutation.

3. If a sage could utter a benediction to a Hindu king in response to a merely mental salutation (an assumed glum silence, one suspects, to intensify the test of the sage's prescience) our sage might well have acknowledged the same king's intimation (cf. Lat. *indicat*) or signal (to proceed, of attention; look of recognition),¹ and that quite duly. When a king of England 'commands' a singer or other artist, what remains formally a command is in fact a great courtesy, with all the effect of a salutation. Note that in Latin, by way of ellipsis, but ellipsis is one of the standing elements in semantic development, *iubeo* (sc. *saluere*) means *saluto*.—I still think that one who said *diṣṭyā* (*salve*; lit. with homage) might have turned for its cases to *ādeśa*, a flexional word in being. In Iranian the correspondent of *ādeśa* is Av. *ādišti*, whence the semantic proportion Indo-Iran. *ā-dišti* (*indicium*) : Sk. *ā-deśa* : : *diṣṭyā* (with

¹ The closest synonym of *ādeśa* is *ājñā*, which means not only command but also, as I here assume for *ādeśa*, permission.

homage): (2) *ādeśa* (if = salutation). In Latin, *salus* (greeting) was adopted as the flexional form of the word of greeting, impv. *salve* (be whole). What I have in mind is a semantic correlation such as we employ when we use *appurtenance* as the noun corresponding to the technical adjective phrase *pertaining to*, in the formulae of derivation and definition. The correlation *appurtenance* x *pertaining to* is desk English, not the vernacular. Cognate words do interchange their meanings as when, to employ a standard example, *to execute a man* is developed out of the *execution of a sentence*. It is perfectly legitimate to suppose that from *diṣṭyā* (*salve*) *diś* + *ā*, or derivatives thereof, might have gathered up the force of *salutem dico* (*saluto*); it is quite legitimate, as a question of genesis, to say that *ā-deśa* does not derive from *ā* + 1 *diś*, but rather from *ā* + *dās* (do homage, acclaim), in alternation with *ā* + *diś*. For another example of the gradation *ā* : *i* in interior position—at root ends nothing is commoner—cf. *khād* : *khid*, with intermediate *e* in *khédā* (not secondary, *pace* Wackernagel *Alt. Gram.* § 15), *Av. sās* : *siš*, see Bartholomae's *Grammar* § 122. 8.

ii. The etymology of 2 *ādeśa* (? salutation).

4. If in a formula of politeness such as *ādeśam dattvā*—formulae may be very old—*ādeśa* meant salutation, it may well have come by its meaning through honest descent. The equation of *δαίκννται* (greet) with *dāśnóti* (does homage) has not been responsibly questioned for 40 years (see literature in Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gram.* § 342), nor do I understand Professor Edgerton now to question it; and we are now devising, to satisfy our craving for system, a fit gradation diagram with a place for the root *dē(i)h¹*, a place for its derivative *ā-deśa* (of IE. type); with a place for Lat. *dignus*,² a place for *dicat* (consecrates), and a place for *decus*.—On the late development of 2 *ādeśa* from *ādiś* see § 9 fn.

² Be it said in passing that *dignus* has certainly for its nearest of kin (morphologically and semantically, I mean) ONorse *úginn* (eminent < *digito monstratus*, see the lexicon of Falk-Torp, p. 1251). I call particular attention to the Umbrian perfect stem *pur-dins*' (see *AJP* 32. 414), with the sacral sense of offered. Here we have a nasal variety of the root of *dicat*; cf. Sk. *puro-dāsam* (acc.), offering.

iii. Hindi *ādes*: *ādeśa* (*ādeśam dattvā*).

5. I assume that *ādes* came from *ādeśa* (*indicium*) and that, excluding the temporary expedient of 2 *ādeśa*, its alleged sense of salutation, so far as we may list a contextual shading for a definition, was at some time and place developed by way of connotation (a polite signal to proceed is a salutation) or by way of ellipsis. A situation apt for the development of the connotation lies in fact before us, where *tasya ādeśam dattvā* etc. = *ei intimatione* < ? *sui* > *facta* (*rex ipse a sapiente salutatus est*). Or, if we inform ourselves that Lat. *indicium* means not only *testimony* but also *leave to testify*, we may grant that, by a like shift of usage, *ādeśa* might mean, not only *announcement*, but *leave to announce* (? himself, the sage): *ei indicatione* < *ipsius* > *facta*.

iv. The meaning of *ā + diś*.

6. In support of my substantially correct version of RV 6. 56. 1 (p. 83) I go on to demonstrate that this verb means pretty nearly what Lat. *inclamare* means, both in its good sense of *invoke* and in the bad sense of *jeer at, abuse*. Why should one who recalls Lat. *facinus* or *valetudo* or *inclamare* or *acclamatio* object to the exhibition by a word of both bad and good senses? As a *vox media* Eng. *challenge* is a good rendering of *ā + diś*; or Lat. *provocare* (but with all the range between *salutare* and *laccessere*, or even *imprecari*). In 9. 70. 5, *ādēdiśāṇaḥ śaryahēva śurūdhaḥ* = *inclamans ut sagittarius^a iaculatores* (*śuru-* : Sabine Lat. *curis*, spear), and in 10. 61. 3, *āsrīṇīta ādiśam* = *paravit* (lit. *coxit*, cf. *coquere iras, verba*) *inclamationem* (*imprecationem*). One thinks of the 'brag' of Homeric combatants before beginning to fight. The reader may easily go through the ensuing examples from Professor Edgerton's list and substitute due forms of *inclamo* or of *challenge*.

7. In the three next passages also *ādiś* has the nominal sense of *inclamatio*, but varying, like *acclamatio*, between cheers (*laus, honor*) and jeers (*inrisio, minae*). The passages are as follows: (1) 8. 60. 12^b, *tāranto aryā ādiśaḥ* = *superantes hostis inclamationes* (*minas*). For the situation cf. again the brag and threats of any pair of Homeric warriors, e. g. Tlepolemos and Sarpe-

^a The archer and spearmen, typically taken, may have belonged either to hostile armies or, as rival arms of the service, to the same army.

don in E 633 sq. (2) In 6. 4 Agni is besought to fetch the other gods to the sacrifice (st. 1), and in st. 5 (text of Aufrecht) we read, *turyāma yās ta ādiśām ārātir* = *superemus* <eum> *qui tibi invocationum (laudum) invidus* <est> (cf. 9. 21. 5, below). (3) I render 8. 93. 11 as follows:

yāsya te nū cid ādiśām nā minānte svarājyaṃ | nā devó nādhrgur jānaḥ
cuius illi quidem laudem non impediunt eius <ve> imperium
neque deus <alius, see § 9> neque semperfestinans(?) gens.

8. In 9. 21. 5 (and likewise for the next stanza), *āsmīn* . . *dādāhātā venām ādiśe* etc. = *apud nos facite voluntatem inclamare* (eum qui nobis invidus est), i. e. confirm in (or unto) us our desire, viz. to rebuke him who is stingy toward us.

9.—6. 56. 1. To give a hostile sense to *ādiśe* here involves taking *karambhād* (Pultiphagus), the title of Pūṣan, as defamatory. This seems to me a grave literary error in the interpretation maintained by Roth and Grassmann. Inasmuch as *karambhā* was the special food of Pūṣan it would be strange to summon his worshippers in the first stanza of a hymn by recounting a jeer of the 'pagans' (in this case 'cits') that honored him not. Professor Edgerton will have it that the first stanza of a Pūṣan hymn says 'whosoever shall aim at Pūṣan (our god) with the taunt of "Porridge-eater," the god is not his to aim at.' To me the stanza can only mean what Sāyaṇa thought it meant—and he rendered *ādīdeśati* by *abhiṣṭāuti* (praises)—'Whosoever shall invoke (praise) Pūṣan (our god) by his favorite title need invoke no other god.'⁴ As for *karambhā*, it was mixed-with-the-food (*karambhīn*) of Indra, but besides (shade of Dr. Samuel Johnson!) it was also shared [and not only in 'porridge-punch'] by Indra—unless we mean to disqualify the evidence of Ait. Br. 2. 24—and Indra was no weak-

⁴ Among the Vedic clerks and priors, the scholars and men of letters, before and after his time (say 1350 A. D.), Sāyaṇa would not have been alone in holding and teaching the equation *ādīdeśati* = *abhiṣṭāuti* (*laudat, celebrat*). I confess I am casual enough to believe, even in the face of Professor Edgerton's ordered genealogical and chronological criteria, that among these scholars many, one or another, even the redactor of the *Vikramacarita*, seeking to vary the monotony of *namas* (*salus, laudatio, honor*), might have hit upon *ādeśam dattvā* (*laudationem dans*) as a fit substitute for *namaskṛtya*, so giving to *ādeśa*, a word in being, the sense of *ādīdeśati*.

ling, nor yet a hind.⁵ The real vocative *karambhád* (here turned to a nominative before *íti*) is a virtual invitation to Pūṣan to come and eat *karambhá*; and the Vedic poet said in effect, to make a slight change in my previous version,

qui hunc inclamat (invocat) Pultiphagum nomine Pūṣanam,
non ab eo deus invocando <est>.

This version leaves the ambiguity of the original. If, to begin with the less probable, *deus* = Pūṣan, the apodosis means that Pūṣan will not wait for a second invitation, but accept instantly the call to his favorite food. If *deus* is not Pūṣan the apodosis means : not a god is to be invoked by the worshipper, for Pūṣan alone is sufficient. In my first version I supplied, after Ludwig, *alius*; but neither Ludwig (I will suppose) nor I actually supplied *anyás* to the original (see also for *ná* <*anyó*> *devó* 8. 93. 11 in § 7). We have here a partitive relation, and Pūṣan is tacitly excluded from the other gods. [In passing I will state that I think Ludwig was entirely right in interpreting *priyád* . . . *préyo* in 1. 140. 11 by dearer than <any other, or the typical> dear.] One thinks of Corinthians 15. 27: But when he saith, All things are put in subjection, it is evident that he is excepted who did subject all things unto him. Cf. on *véiaros ἄλλων* *Class. Rev.* 8. 456, and the colloquialism, He runs faster than anybody (for anybody else); or, none such = no other like. On the other hand, there have been grammatical sticklers who, in respect to Milton's famous line, 'the fairest of her daughters, Eve,' objected to the inclusion of Eve; cf. *Odyssey* 5. 262, where Calypso includes herself with Ulysses (those two, and no others) in the words *τοῖς ἄρα μύθων ἦρχε*.—The omission of 'other' is common enough, though lists of examples lack. Note, with consideration of the context (*δῶματα* in 1. 299 = *δóμος* in 1. 302), *Odys.* 6. 301, *οὐ μὲν . . . δῶματα Φαίηκων* = no <other> residence of the Phaeacians.

10.—6. 48. 14. Omitting the unessential and accepting (without reserve as to the metre) Ludwig's disposition of the adjective complement of Viṣṇu, I would thus render:

⁵ I am not unaware that Pūṣan was a Pan among the gods. To Professor W. Schulze he is Pan, and the sectarian character of Pūṣan, of which note is made below (§ 12), reminds us again of the difficulty of getting recognition for Pan throughout Greece.

tām (sc. *Pūṣānam*, again!) . . . | *srprābhōjasam viṣṇum nā stuṣa ādīṣe*
eum ut Vishnum adipicibum <habentem> laudo invocando.

But for *ādīṣe* (invocando) we must supply a subject like *us* or *you* (the worshippers), which yields the meaning *ut invocemus* (*invocetis*); cf. 1. 52. 8, *ādḥārayo divy ā sūryam dṛśé = posuisti in caelo solem videndo* i. e. *ut videremus* (*ut homines viderent*). Also see excellent examples for subjectless infinitives in Monro's *Homeric Grammar*, § 231. It were possible, but harsher, to render *ādīṣe* by the imperative, *invoke*. Or *stuṣa ādīṣe = I (re)commend to (be) invoke(d)*.

11. The evidence for *ā + dīś = inelamare* has been submitted. The definition recognizes derivation from the root *dēik*¹. I doubt not that Professor Edgerton admits the propriety of trying, so far as may be, to utilize IE. derivation and etymology in the effort to fix the definition of Vedic words. To know the approximately original meaning of a word certainly helps in fixing the sense of its further ramifications, as in the case of *diṣṭyā* (with homage) § 3.

12. In conclusion I suggest that the two *Pūṣan* stanzas I have interpreted seem to constitute a sectarian recommendation of *Pūṣan* as the equal or superior of other gods. It is because of this sectarian quality that *karambhād* cannot be a jeer (*ādīś*), but must be a word of praise (*ādīś*), see § 9.

COUNTER-REJOINDER TO PROFESSOR FAY

FRANKLIN EDGERTON
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

PROFESSOR FAY (§ 3) seems to miss the point of the story of the 'mental salutation,' which appears to me to prove absolutely that, to the feeling of its author, no sage would bless a king without first receiving a salutation. There was no 'assumed glum silence'—except perhaps to an ignorant bystander who lacked the sage's omniscience; certainly the sage, if he had assumed a glum silence (that is, lack of salutation), would not have blessed the king. That is the whole point of the story. The silence was only tech-

nical, not real, because (as the sage afterwards observes), 'mind is superior,' and a mental salutation is fully as efficacious as a vocal one.

For the rest, I have little to say in further reply except on one point. In discussing 6. 56. 1, Professor Fay objects to my taking *karambhád* as a scornful epithet because Pūṣan's regular food was *karambhá*, and because Indra also eats cakes and soma which are *karambhín*, 'mixt with *karambhá*.' Now, I did not mean to say that the worshipers of Pūṣan considered his eating of *karambhá* a matter worthy of scorn. Of course they did not. But that would not prevent other people from holding that opinion; and it is quite possible that Pūṣan's worshipers might allude to the opinions of these blasphemers for the purpose of protesting against them, just as the Indra hymn 2. 12 alludes in vs 5 to atheists who deny the existence of Indra.

It is a well-known fact, which does not by any means depend on the word *karambhá* alone, that Pūṣan occupies a peculiar position in the Vedic pantheon. He is a sort of 'hayseed' deity; a god of shepherds, and distinctly different from the general run of the gods. So, for instance, he has no share in the soma; he prefers milk and gruel (*karambhá*). That he should for this reason be more or less laughed at by some of the more 'cultivated' and warlike followers of Indra seems quite conceivable, and by no means out of keeping with any known fact of Vedic filology.

Now as to Indra and *karambhá*. From 6. 57. 2 it is sufficiently clear that *karambhá* is no normal food for Indra; here Indra and Pūṣan are specifically contrasted on the ground that Indra consumes soma, and Pūṣan *karambhá*. That the soma should sometimes be mixt with *karambhá*—and this is, as Professor Fay himself notes, all that *karambhín* means—is not at all surprising, and does not in the least support Professor Fay's contention. Soma was mixt with all sorts of things, notably with milk. Would a drinker of milk-punch be spoken of as living on a dairy diet? Similarly cakes for Indra are *karambhín*—in this case presumably 'made of (that is containing) *karambhá*.' The most elegant cuisines use dairy and farm products constantly. But it is another matter to live on plain rustic fare exclusively. In spite of Dr. Johnson, I venture to guess that English epicures did in his day, and do today, eat

various confections of oats, and find them very palatable. His jibe was at oat-*karambhá* as a staple of diet. The Scottish Pūṣan drank no soma, and apparently lived mainly or exclusively on *karambhá*. So he was distinctly contrasted with Indra (6. 57. 2) and apparently met with some ridicule (6. 56. 1). Indra could not possibly be called anything like *karambhád*; and the fact that his 'sporty' food and drink might contain *karambhá* proves nothing.

As to *lenti* (Fay, p. 94f.), I take it as a causative formation from *lī*; and so, I judge, does Lanman.

THE SLEEP OF THE SOUL IN THE EARLY SYRIAC CHURCH

F. GAVIN

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS HOUSE, NASHOTAH, WISCONSIN

IN SYRIAC CHRISTIANITY, from the fourth century on, there appears with more or less consistency and in much the same outline a curious teaching as to the state of the dead. As the earliest example of the sort that is available in Syriac authors is Aphraates, the 'Persian sage,' I shall quote him first. 'The Spirit is absent from all born of the body until they come to the regeneration of baptism. For they are endowed with the soulish spirit (from) the first birth,—which (spirit) is created in man, and is immortal, as it is written, "Man became a living soul" (Gen. 2. 7, cf. I Cor. 15. 45). But in the second birth—that is, of Baptism—they receive the Holy Spirit, a particle of the Godhead, and it is immortal. When men die the soulish spirit is buried with the body and the power of sensation is taken from it. The Heavenly Spirit which they have received goes back to its own nature, to the presence of Christ. Both these facts the Apostle teaches, for he says:¹ "The body is buried soulish, and rises spiritual" (I Cor. 15. 44). The Spirit returns to the presence of Christ, its nature, for the Apostle says: "When we are absent from the body we are present with the Lord" (II Cor. 5. 7). Christ's Spirit, which the spiritual have received, goes back to the Lord's presence; the soulish spirit is buried in its own nature, and is deprived of sensation.' (293. 2-24, Parisot's edition.)

In the above quotation several points are worthy of notice: (a) the 'soulish spirit,' or soul (ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ or ܠܥܝܢܐ) is the principle of natural life, or *ψυχή*; (b) the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit, is the *πνεῦμα*; (c) the text of I Cor. 15. 44 does not read as in the Greek. Instead of, 'The body is *sown* (*σπείρεται*), a natural—or "psychic"—body,' the Syriac of Aphraates reads: 'The body is *buried* "soulishly," or "psychically,"' e. g. ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ.¹ The Peshitto reads instead

¹ In this quotation I have translated the adverbs as adjectives.

of ܡܕܠܚܝܬ of Aph. the same word as the Greek *σπείρεται*, ܡܕܠܚܝܬ. While Aphraates teaches also that the body and soul may be 'deprived of sensation,' yet he means by this 'that in this sleep men do not know good from evil' (397. 17). He uses in this same passage three words referring to 'sleep,' and this is the clue to the meaning of his other statement that the good rest with a good conscience and sleep well, waking alert and refreshed at the Resurrection, while those who have done evil in their lives are restive and unquiet, for they are uneasy with the sense of foreboding and doom impending. He illustrates this by the story of the likeness of the two servants, one of whom is expecting punishment, and the other praise from his lord, in the morning (396. 16-35; 397. 1-14). This is perhaps the clearest statement of the doctrine of the 'sleep of the soul,' and Aph. claims it for an article of the Faith (397. 15).

There is hardly any feature of the teaching of Aph. which has occasioned so universal comment. So far as I can ascertain, all who have written on Aph. have spoken of it.² Since his is probably the clearest exposition of the teaching regarding the soul's sleep, I have thought well to give it in full.

Some reputed texts from St. Ephraem Syrus (373) who wrote in the same language as Aph. and with whom there are many fundamental likenesses in thought and expression,³ would seem to indicate that he, too, held to a tripartite division of man, and to the doctrine of death being a 'sleep,' in which there is the same kind of semiconscious knowledge of what is passing, as in the case of an habitual 'light sleeper.' 'The lesson of the dead is with us. Though they sleep, yet they teach us, their garments alone are destroyed,—the body which diseases bring to an end,—while the soul preserved in life, as it is now, (is) without

² E. g., Parisot, in *Patrologia Syriaca*, vol. 1, c. 3, pp. lvi-lvii; Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* 1. 733; George, Bishop of the Arabs, fol. 251-2, cf. Wright, *Homilies of Aphraates*, pp. 32-4; Nestle, *Realenc. f. Th. u. K.* 1 (1896), pp. 611-12 ('eigenthümliche Psychologie, insbesondere die Lehre von dem Seelenschlaf'); Forget, *De vita et script. Aph.*, pp. 293 ff.; Sasse, *Prolegomena in Aph. Sap. Persi sermones homileticos*, pp. 18 f.; Bardenhewer, *Zeits. kirch. Theol.*, 3. 369-378; G. Bickell, in *Ausgewählte Schriften der Syrischen Kirchenväter*, p. 15 ('eine höchst seltsame und verkehrte Auslegung von 1 Kor. 15. 44').

³ Cf., e. g., St. Ephrem, *Sermo de Domino Nostro*, and Hom. XXIII of Aph.

corruption.²⁴ 'The souls of the departed are alive and endowed with reason, laid up in Paradise for the Creator, while their bodies are stored up in the earth as a pledge to be restored one day.' The whole figure of death and sleep is brought out in the following: 'Just as in the eventide laborers rest, so do they rest for a time in death, until like sleepers waked from their sleep in the tomb, they (shall) don glory.'

Bickell, in his summary of St. Eph.'s doctrine (*Sancti Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena*, Leipzig, 1866), says that St. Eph. teaches that the faithful departed are not dead but sleep, since they are alive and have the power of reason (cf. Rom. Ed. 3. 258). Yet the soul cannot yet go into paradise properly speaking, since nothing imperfect must enter there (3. 586-88). This state before the Resurrection is called 'sleep' in the technical sense; for until the Resurrection, together with their bodies, their souls are sunk in 'sleep' (cf. 3. 225 B). This place, or state (which of the two is not to be ascertained) is a sort of ante-room to Paradise. 'One road, my brethren, lies before us all: from childhood unto death, and from death unto the Resurrection; thence branch out two ways,—the one to the flames, the other to Paradise' (*Carmina Nisib.* LXXIII, ll. 24-28). 'Sweet is sleep to the weary,—so is death to him who fasts and watches (i. e. the ascetic). Natural sleep slays not the sleeper,—nor has Sheol slain, nor does it so now. Sleep is sweet, and so is Sheol quiet . . . Sleep strives not to hold the sleeper, nor is Sheol greedy. Behold, sleep shows us how temporary is Sheol, for the morn awakes the sleeper,—and the Voice raises the dead' (XLIII, ll. 158-176). That Eph. taught distinctly a trichotomy in the regenerate man can be seen from such a passage as the following: 'How much more does that soul love its dwelling place, if it get on well with the body, and in agreement with it expel the evil indwelling demon, and invite the Holy Spirit to dwell with both' (XLVII, ll. 97-101). He teaches that 'a dead man in whom is hidden the secret life, lives on after death' (XLVII, ll. 135-41). Over and over again St. Eph. compares death to sleep,—the Resurrection is being waked out of sleep (XLIX, ll. 170-189). This is the whole burden of LXV, where death is compared to sleep, which is like the foetus in the womb, the bud of a flower, the bird in the egg.

²⁴ From the 'Necrosima,' *Op. Omnia*, Rom. Ed., 3, p. 225, D.

In other words St. Eph. seeks to teach that a real life is going on, hidden and secret, and only semi-conscious. 'How like is death to sleep, and the Resurrection to the morning! . . . He is a fool who sees that sleep passes at dawn, yet believes of death that it shall endure eternally' (LXX, ll. 58-61, 66-69). 'Our habitation (i. e. in death) is like a dream' (beginning of LXXVII). 'The mouth of a dead man spake to the soul in Eden: whence, why, and how hast thou come hither?' (LXIX, ll. 74-77). Thus Eden must be conceived of rather as a state than a place, if we are to make the teaching of St. Eph. intelligible. Sheol must refer to the place and state of the departed. Death speaks: 'the bodies of the prophets and apostles glow; all the righteous are for lights to me in the darkness' (LXIII, ll. 81-84). Evidently the indwelling presence of the soul of the holy man transfigures the body from within. Of course, St. Ephraem believed, as did Aphraates, that salvation meant 'new life,' and that the work of Christ as Saviour effected the imparting of His Spirit whereby Life was communicated (cf. the 'Discourse on Our Lord,' in *S. Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, T. J. Lamy, Mechlin 1882, cols. 147-274).

In general St. Eph. believed much as did Aph. He, following the same authorities, believed in a trichotomy of man, of body, soul, and Spirit—the divine principle, given by God through Christ. After death the Spirit leaves the body, leaving in it the soul. The two carry on life with, however, the natural faculties wholly suspended. This state is technically the 'sleep,' and from it the voice of Christ will call the dead to judgment. It is a little less explicit and complete than Aphraates, but the same teaching underlies the system of Eph., with which it is entirely consistent, and to which it acts as complement.

I am indebted to O. Braun's *Moses bar Kepha und sein Buch von der Seele* (Freiburg i. B., 1891) for the following quotation which he took from a Vatican MS. not yet published. The doubtful reference to St. Eph. gives the same teaching as is found above taken from the certainly genuine *Carmina Nisibena*.⁵ Braun quotes: 'Behold how (the dead) are encom-

⁵ For criticism of St. Ephraem's works cf. F. C. Burkitt in the *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, 2. 341 ff., and also *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 1-91.

passed in Sheol, and awaiting the great day, till He come to delight them, and bring hope to the hopeless' (p. 143). On the same page he quotes from a catechism ascribed to Isaac the Great (fl. 410), the teaching of which for our purposes may be summarized as follows: (a) both body and soul lose the power of thought and feeling after death; (b) while the body cannot even *live* without the soul, the soul, though it cannot see or hear without the body, is yet able to live (he illustrates this statement by the figure of the unborn child in its mother's womb); (c) the soul has no consciousness after death. Braun has doubts about the genuineness of this text (pp. 144-5), but there need be no presumption against this type of teaching, on the basis of internal evidence.

Babai (569-628—acc. to Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, p. 212) in his commentary on the 'Centuries' of Evagrius, fol. 13^b ff. (quoted in Braun, *op. cit.* p. 145) says: 'the soul cannot be active without the body, hence one must say that after death it is in a kind of sleep. The Holy Scriptures call death sleep; thus, too, the "Seven Sleepers" of Ephesus. As light cannot burn without fuel, so the soul in Abraham's bosom possesses only its unchangeable faculties,—i. e., the life from God, and (its) memory. . . . Man is a bodily existence endowed with reason. The soul is not a "complete nature" (yet) it cannot be said that after death it is as if it were not . . .' We have seen that the mention of the soul in this state as something imperfect was made by St. Ephraem (cf. above, and Rom. Ed. 3. 586-88).

This same thought is of primary importance to Timothy I (779-823, date from Duval, *op. cit.*), who says: 'The soul is not a "complete nature," but (is) for the purpose of completing man's nature, like the body. . . . Will and understanding are only virtually in the soul,—otherwise it would be like the angels, a "perfected nature"; the other properties, that is, the four essential ones . . . are in abeyance, and the two which it possesses by reason of its union with the body are lost. Thus it is like a child in the womb.' Timothy gives as illustrations and authorities for his interpretation such passages in the Holy Scriptures as Is. 38. 18, Psalms 6. 6, 103. 33, 145. 4, Eccl. 9. 10, etc. 'The soul has no power of sensation, nor the use of memory, else it would suffer or rejoice, which experiences are not to

begin until the judgment, and which, besides, belong to the whole man. If the souls were to possess knowledge, then would the will be active,—then what of the body?’ Under this same Timothy in 790 was held a council of the Syro-Nestorian Church, which condemned the errors of a certain ‘Joseph the Seer, the Huzite,’ who had been at the head of the school of Nisibis, the third in line from the great Narses. The canons of that council are preserved in Arabic, and may be found in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. 3, pp. 100-1. They anathematize those who teach that Christ’s Divinity could be seen by His Humanity, or by any other created things; ‘they decreed that souls after the separation are destitute of sense until they reënter their bodies, and that none save Christ’s humanity has ever attained perfection in this world.’

Much the same sort of teaching appears among the Nestorians; it is not necessary to quote in detail. Elias of Anbar (930) claims that most of the fathers hold it impossible that souls should have any power of sensation after death. In his trichotomy he teaches that the body goes to earth, the soul to the place of souls (is it a *state*, or a *place*?), where all are together till the Resurrection, without sense or power of distinguishing between good and evil (cf. Aph. above); and the πνεῦμα, the power of life, returns to God (Braun, p. 146). Emmanuel bar Schahhare (*Mallepana* of Mosul, 980, cf. Duval, *Lit. syr.*, pp. 280, 293) on the ‘Hexameron’ teaches that the ‘souls of the righteous are in a place of repose as in a sleep, like the child in its mother’s womb . . .’ (Braun, *ibid.*). Thus, also, George of Arbela (945-987, text in *B.O.* 3, pp. 518-540; on him cf. Duval, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 393). The witness to this as the predominant Nestorian view is given by Moses bar Kepha, cf. chapters 32 and 33 (Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 109). It is thus demonstrable that among the Nestorians from the 9th century on this doctrine was current, if not dominant.⁶ Having suggested the direction from which emanated this trend of thinking in the Syriac Church, with Aph. and Ephraem Syrus as

⁶ Cf. Guidi, *Testi orientali inediti sopra i sette dormienti di Efeso*, p. 50, note: ‘Del resto la credenza, che le anime dopo la morte, restassero prive di senso fino alla risurrezione, era commune fra i Nestoriani almeno dal IX secolo. . .’

the first examples, it may not be without interest to investigate the sources of their own doctrine on the subject.

Before doing so it may be worth while to note that there are certain differences in the later Nestorian teaching, which may rest on the teaching of St. Ephraem. I said that it was not absolutely certain whether by Sheol, or Paradise, he meant a state or a place. Aph. undoubtedly means that the soul remains with the body in the grave, yet he personifies Death, who has a conflict with Jesus in which Death is worsted. So St. Eph. personified Death (in the *Sermo de Domino Nostro*, etc.), and perhaps localized Sheol as a place where are gathered the souls of those who sleep in death. Perhaps the simplest explanation to account for the facts would be that he spoke of the souls being laid up in store under the guardianship of Death (not always, by the way, a forbidding figure), while the bodies were laid away in store beneath the earth. If neither concept of 'state' nor 'place' was defined in his mind, something like what he meant by 'nature,' in a non-philosophic sense, would represent the condition of the departed. Aph. is more explicit. I think St. Ephraem, save where he waxes poetical, holds the same view. The later Nestorian writers sometimes held that the souls were garnered up in a 'storehouse,' while the bodies were in the earth (e. g., the 'Burial rite of the Convent of Mar Abraham and Mar Gabriel,' Cod. Syr. Vat. 61, fol. 36^a, in Braun, p. 147), and at other times that they were in the earth asleep in the bodies. Yet a new element has entered into their considerations, even if they did follow the same tradition as Aph., St. Ephraem, and the catechism purporting to be by Isaac the Great. As is apparent, Aristotelian philosophic conceptions (oftentimes misconceived) shaped their doctrine, as will appear below.

Aph. and St. Ephraem lived in the 4th century. Whence did they derive their doctrines as to the 'sleep of the soul'? Are there any other examples of this teaching in the early Church outside the Syriac-speaking branch of it? There are; and the resemblances are the more striking if the differences as to time, and the utter disparity as to point of view and idiom of thought, be taken into consideration. Tatian, in his *Oratio ad Graecos*, maintains the immortality of body as well as soul (c. 25). For the human soul is not of itself immortal, but is

capable of becoming so. 'It dies and dissolves with the body, if it does not know the truth; but it will rise later at the last, to receive, together with its body, death in immortality as its punishment. On the other hand, if it have the knowledge of God, though it be dissolved for a time, it will not die. Of itself it is darkness; and there is no light in it.' He quotes St. John 1. 5, and continues: 'It is not the soul which saves the Spirit, but the soul shall be saved by the Spirit. Light has received darkness, inasmuch as the Light of God is the Logos, and the ignorant soul is darkness. This is the reason why the soul left to itself becomes lost in matter, and dies with the flesh. If, however, it have achieved an alliance (*συνεργίαν*, not a 'union,' cf. Puech, *Recherches sur le discours aux Grecs de Tatien*, pp. 70 ff.) with the Spirit, it will be in need of naught else. It rises whither the Spirit leads, for It dwells on high, while the origin of the soul is below. . . . While the Spirit was associated from the beginning with the soul, It abandons the soul if it be unwilling to follow. . . . God's Spirit is not in all, but descends upon such as deal justly, and becomes bound up with their soul . . .' (c. 13). Thus Tatian is seen to teach an essential trichotomy, and goes on further to state that . . . 'the soul is of many parts, not simple. . . . It sees by means of the physical eyes of the body. . . . 'It cannot see without the body, nor can the body rise without the soul.' A man is only true to his own character as being the 'image and likeness of God' when he is removed farthest from the merely animal and physical side of his nature. The soul is the bond of the flesh, and the flesh the dwelling-place of the soul. . . . When (he) becomes like a temple, then God wills to dwell in him through the superior Spirit (cf. 1 Cor. 3. 16, 6. 19, 2 Cor. 6. 16, Eph. 2. 22). When the whole man is not thus coordinated (i. e., does not make himself fit for God's Spirit to reside in him), then he differs from the beast only by the power of speech (c. 15; with this cf. the quotations above from Aph.).

While Aph.'s notion of salvation is not that of Tatian, to whom it is the Revelation of Divine Light through the Logos, yet there are distinct and definite common elements. It will be remembered that Tatian, too, was a Syrian, and that he taught, after his expulsion from Rome, at the great centre of

Syriac learning, Edessa, and that his 'Diatessaron' was the text which both Aph. and St. Ephraem used constantly. The presence of the Holy Spirit restores what was lost to man before the Incarnation of the Logos. By means of the Spirit man attains immortality. Tatian says: 'I was not, then I was. I die, but I shall be raised' (c. 6), and Aph. has almost the same sequence of ideas. 'If God can create from naught, why is it difficult to believe He can raise the dead?' (cf. 369. 21-23). The body of man has its own natural and immortal life, but would be only as a beast before God, if the man chose not to avail himself of the presence of the Divine Spirit brought to mankind by Christ. When the individual has done his best to prepare as well as he may to become the temple of God, God's Spirit comes, and departs only at the believer's death. Since the body and soul are complementary to each other, they must needs abide together, and from Tatian's words we are left to infer that they remain together in the grave. At the Resurrection the Holy Spirit returns to raise the bodies of the righteous, while the wicked are condemned to 'death in immortality.' It is merely a question of terms between Tatian and Aph. as to the immortality of body and soul, and their relation to the Spirit. The thought is largely the same. If soul and body could be condemned to a 'death in immortality' and are to be raised for judgment, such an act at the last day could be considered either a waking from sleep or a quickening of the dead. If it is the former, we have the teaching of Aph. and St. Eph. If the latter, then we merely change the terminology. The idea represented is the same in both cases. If death be not total destruction without hope of rehabilitation, which would utterly forbid any possible recall to a state of life, but rather a temporary dissolution of faculties and properties, then it is as simple to conceive of it under one name as the other. Such a mere suspension of those faculties and powers, even if called 'death,' is almost identical with the notion of the 'sleep of the soul.'

Irenaeus lived at almost the same time as Tatian, and wrote his great work 'Against Heresies' in the years 180-5. It was early translated into Syriac, and the type of teaching is the same in general outline as that found in Aph. St. Irenaeus

surely held to a trichotomy of the nature of regenerate man. 'Sunt tria ex quibus, quemadmodum ostendimus, perfectus⁷ homo constat,—carne, anima, et spiritu, et altero quidem salvante et figurante, qui est spiritus; alter quod unitur et formatur, quod est caro; id vero quod inter haec est duo, quod est anima, quae aliquando quidem subsequens spiritum, elevatur ab eo; aliquando autem consentiens carni, decedit in terrenas concupiscentias. Quod ergo id quod salvat et format, et unitatem non habent, hi consequenter erunt et vocabuntur caro et sanguis; quippe qui non habent Spiritum Dei in se. Propter hoc autem et mortui tales dicti sunt a Deo: Sinite . . . mortuos sepelire mortuos suos, quoniam non habent Spiritum qui vivificet hominem' (*Adv. Hæreses*, 5. 9, in Migne, *P.G.*, 7, col. 1144 f.). A little before this he has said, 'Anima autem et spiritus pars hominis esse possunt, homo autem nequaquam: perfectus autem homo, commistio et adunitio est animae assumptis Spiritum Patris, et admisto ei carni, quae est plasmata secundum imaginem Dei' (*ibid.*, col. 1137). The souls of the dead are to await the day of Resurrection in a place set apart by God, and after receiving their bodies and 'perfecte resurgentes, hoc est, corporaliter, quemadmodum et Dominus resurrexit,' they come to the Divine presence for judgment (*ibid.*, col. 1209).

The essential feature of all of these quotations is that the soul sleeps, or is in some kind of comatose state, from the time of death till the day of Resurrection. The contrary view would be the attainment of a degree of happiness or unhappiness immediately after death by the soul alone, as if the body were not essentially part of the human nature. Aph. certainly held that the soul was with the body during this interim and that both lay dormant in the grave. St. Eph. is not so clear as to the relations of the body and the soul. Isaac, or rather the quotation above attributed to him, agrees in the main with Aph. The Nestorians, who held to the sleep of the soul practically

⁷ It is true, however, as Klebba has pointed out (*Die Anthropologie des hl. Irenäus*, Münster, 1894, pp. 100, 165), that there is no essential trichotomy of the *natural* man in St. Irenæus. It is only the 'perfectus homo' who possesses the spirit and then only as 'eine Zierde.' (Cf. Schwane, *Dogmengeschichte der vornicänischer Zeit*, p. 440; A. Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philosophie der patristischen Zeit*, p. 153.)

universally from 850 on, waver between the belief that the soul is with the body, and that it is stored up elsewhere, though much of the material is not precise enough in its outlines to be certain of. So far as the earlier examples go, we have found thus far that Aph. is much closer to the type of teaching found in Tatian in this detail, than the Nestorians are in that respect. St. Irenaeus, who as regards the composition of the 'regenerate' man is a trichotomist, is definite about the relation of body, soul, and Spirit and is in line with the type of Aphraates' teaching expounded above, while he differs from Aphraates chiefly in the mention of a 'locum invisibilem, definitum . . . a Deo in medio umbrae mortis . . . ubi animae mortuorum erunt . . . et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur . . . ' (*loc. cit.*, col. 1209). Whether this be state or place, or both, it is not certain, and it cannot be shown that he does not mean the buried body to be the natural place of repose for the soul. However, this detail is not of great consequence.

About the year 247, Eusebius tells us (*Hist. eccl.* 6. 37), Origen successfully combatted at a synod the strange doctrine of 'the Arabians who said that at the present time the human soul dies and perishes with the body, but that at the time of the resurrection they will be renewed together.' McGiffert on this passage (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d Series, vol. 1, 1904, p. 279) refers to two passages where similar doctrines are discussed. He feels that Redepenning (*Origenes; Leben und Lehre*, Bonn, 1841, vol. 2, on the Arabian Church, pp. 74-129) is wrong in claiming that Eusebius misunderstood the theology of the Arabian Church. Redepenning contends that the Christian community in Arabia was nourished on Jewish teaching (p. 75), that St. Paul travelled thither (Gal. 1. 17) and was reputed to have founded a Church at Bostra. The early Arabian Christians were Semitic, and probably Jewish, converts. Continual resurgences of the fundamentally Jewish character of their faith disrupted the progress of their church life, and its contact with the Church at large (p. 105). He claims that the proper notion of the Arabian Christians' teaching is not found in Eusebius, who misrepresents it, and says that it is fundamentally Jewish. In Jewish teaching he finds the original teaching from which this is drawn, that the dead sleep in the earth, and maintain a kind of shadowy existence

with the Father (p. 109). He refers to Tatian, and to the teaching of Irenaeus (cf. above), commenting on which he says: 'the soul . . . is only the breath of earthly life which through being taken up into the Holy Spirit becomes capable of immortality. The earthly life is itself transitory and passes away so soon as the breath of life (i. e., the soul), by which God quickened the body, leaves it,—unless an external power, the Spirit of God, overcome the transitory' (pp. 106-7, cf. *Iren. Adv. Haer.* 5. 12; 4. 38). So Heracleon holds that the soul is mortal, and dies with the body in the grave, but is capable of being clothed with immortality. Origen definitely taught a tri-chotomy of body, soul, and spirit in man (on St. John, vol. 13, p. 275, ed. Migne).

It is not necessary to imagine that Eusebius gave a complete picture of the teaching of the Arabians. The distinction between the *ὑποψυχῆται* and the *θυγροψυχῆται* seems not to be based on any valid foundation. Both theories, if indeed there be two, are attempted explanations of the phenomena of death, and the relations of body and soul to each other. To say that the body and soul 'die' and then 'become immortal' is not clearing up what is meant by 'dying' and 'immortality'!

The later references (e. g. in St. Augustine, *de Haeres.* No. 83, 'Arabici') do not add much. St. John Damascene (676-760) in *liber de Haer.* No. 90 (in Migne, *P.G.* 94, col. 759) says that the Thnetopsychists hold that the human soul is like that of the beasts, for it is destroyed with the body. Still later, Nicephorus Callistus of Constantinople (ob. 1356) repeats what is found in Eusebius, on whom he probably based this passage. His version is however slightly different: 'the human soul, together with the body, dies *for the present* (πρὸς τὸ παρόν), and with it undergoes decay; at the Resurrection to come it lives again with other bodies, and from then on (τοῦ λοιποῦ) it is maintained in immortality.' (*Hist. eccl.* 5. 23, in Migne, 145, col. 4.) The attempt to account for the state of the body and soul after death by calling it 'sleep,' i. e. suspended animation, is in some measure an explanation of the phenomena it tries to deal with. . . . Simply to say that 'death' involves 'death of body and soul,' etc., leaves still the question: what happens to the soul? and does not assist in the settlement of the problem.

Thus we have seen that the doctrine of the 'sleep of the soul'

is found in full and definite form in Aphraates, a writer of the Persian Church, while St. Ephraem and perhaps Isaac the Great, west and east of him respectively, and all three nearly contemporaneous, taught much the same doctrine. In the later Nestorian Church, the doctrine of the sleep of the soul had a considerable number of adherents. Before the 4th century we find similar teaching in Tatian, and implication of a similar system in St. Irenaeus. In the 3d century much the same position, this time held by 'Arabians,' was attacked by Origen, and as a heresy it was known in more or less imperfect form, in writers of the 14th century Eastern Church.

I shall not attempt to construe a theory of interrelation between these various and scattered writers. It is sufficiently demonstrated that it was not peculiar or unique in the case of Aphraates. It may be that another instance of similarity in teaching with the Asianic school, noticeable in other phases of his doctrine, may be found in this case. The Syriac Church undoubtedly had a great sympathy for such teaching. In fact it found peculiar favor with the Christian Semitic communities and writers. From this it may be inferred that there was some kinship in ideas between Eastern Christianity and Judaism, as Redepenning has suggested. How much importance can be attached to this fact? What sort of origins and sources can the doctrine of the 'sleep of the dead' be said to have?

(a) To begin with the latest phase, which was presented earlier in this essay—the Nestorian writers from Babai on. In comparing them with Aphraates, a singular difference will be apparent. While Aphraates certainly utilizes his theory of the trichotomy of human nature as an essential element in the presentation of his doctrine of the 'sleep of the soul,' the Nestorians base theirs on an entirely different psychology and philosophy. Their anthropology was based on a dichotomism. Aristotle began to be known among the Nestorian writers, and to be translated and spread widely in the 8th and 9th centuries. Before that time his philosophy had had many more or less loyal adherents among them, but these students of Aristotle had not always successfully translated Greek ideas and idioms, especially purely philosophical ones, into Syriac. For instance, Moses bar Kepha (ob. 903), who wrote a treatise on the dialectics of Aristotle, even at this late date misunderstood the

distinction between 'matter' and 'form.' Aristotle says: ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὴν ψυχὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι ὡς εἶδος σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζῶνι ἔχοντος. ἡ δ' οὐσία ἐντελέχεια. τοιαύτου ἄρα σώματος ἐντελέχεια (*De anima*, II. 1. 412^a, 6, Ritter and Preller's text, pp. 339). The ἐντελέχεια is the actual being of a thing, as against δύναμις, potential being. In *De anima* 8. 3 the soul is called the ἐντελέχεια of the body, as also in II. 2. 414^a 14: οὐ τὸ σῶμά ἐστιν ἐντελέχεια ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ σώματος τινος...; for the soul is τοῦ ζῶντος σώματος αἰτία καὶ ἀρχή (*ibid.* 415^b). The soul as ἐντελέχεια of the body is that by which it actually is, though it may be said to have had the δύναμις of existing before. The word in Syriac for ἐντελέχεια is ܡܥܬܠܚܐ. It is apparent that the 'Book of the Soul,' for example, is full of misunderstood philosophical terms. Moses b. Kepha, who was a Jacobite, misconstrued the Nestorians about whom he was writing, while oftentimes they were nearer the mind of Aristotle than he himself was. As the soul is the cause of being of the body (*De part. an.* I. 5. 654^b 14), it is also that by which it actually is. Furthermore, it is the 'form' of the body, in that it gives actual being to that which had only existed before potentially, as matter. The word ܡܥܬܠܚܐ meant also 'perfection,' 'completion,' and in this sense it could truly be applied to the soul as making possible the life of the whole man, by animating his body. Either element then was 'incomplete,' and so, while the soul was really the more important, yet it could not come to enjoy eternity without the body with which it stood in so intimate a relationship. The Nestorian doctrine of the soul sleep, from the 7th century on, is built on the Aristotelian psychology, unlike the earlier teaching of e. g. Aphraates and St. Ephraem.

(b) In his comments on Aphraates, Braun suggests that he must have been acquainted with contemporaneous rabbinic teaching as to the condition of the soul and body after death.⁸ In much the same vein Redepenning thinks that the 'heresy of the Arabians,' which caused the dissension that Origen had to settle, was none other than a bit of Jewish tradition which the Church had taken over (*op. cit.* p. 109).

In the books between the Old and New Testaments in which are reflected the speculations of the days preceding rabbinic

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

Judaism and Christianity, sources may be found for this doctrine, which appears fully developed in later days. On Gen. 2 and 3 was based the whole general distinction between the immaterial and material principles in man. Man became a living soul (נפש) because God breathed into him the breath of life (Gen. 2. 7). The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha contain the root of much of the doctrine which was to be found later in the systems of Christianity and Judaism respectively. E. g., in Ecclus. 38. 23, Baruch 2. 17, Tobit 3. 6 and Judith, 10. 31 (πνεῦμα ζωῆς), the spirit is the divine breath of life as in Gen. 2. 7. In Baruch and Tobit the spirit and soul are different. While the spirit goes back to God, the soul continues to subsist in Sheol. According to Ethiopic Enoch, all the 'immaterial personality' descends to Sheol, and its life there is far from being unconscious (according to R. H. Charles, *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* . . ., London, 1899, chap. 5). The primitive psychology was trichotomistic, according to Charles, but in the 3d-2d cent. B. C. a change set in toward the type of dichotomism which was to prevail in the first Christian writing. In 2 Mac. 7. 22-27 there is a syncretism of two types of psychology; while the departed are conscious (6. 26), yet the spirit is the life-giving principle of which the living soul is the product, as in Gen. 2-3, and these souls are given back to God at death (cf. Charles, *op. cit.* p. 232). According to the trichotomistic principle, the soul is the supreme function of the quickened body and the spirit 'the impersonal basis of life, returning to God after death' (cf. Ecclus. 12. 2 and *op. cit.* p. 44). The state of the dead was spoken of as a condition of sleep, 'terra reddet qui in ea dormiunt, et pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant' (2 Esd. 7. 32, cf. also, Apoc. Bar. 50. 2).

The early distinction between soul and spirit passed completely in later Judaism. Its psychology was, as Bousset says, 'ungeheuer einfach,' distinguishing only between the external and internal in man, between soul and body. According to the older views, at the best a kind of shadowy existence in the grave or Sheol was predicated of the departed. This could not refer to the Spirit of God which returned to Him after death, ceasing to exist in that particular individual. Thus soul and body, in the older view, were intimately connected (cf. W. Bousset, *Religion des Judentums im nt. Zeitalter*, 2d Ed., Berlin, 1906,

pp. 459-60). While there is scarcely any distinct psychology in late Judaism, yet certain elements persisted in the popular religion, which preserved earlier views, or embodied popular speculations.

In the development of the notion of personal immortality, in connection with the teaching about the resurrection of the dead, the inference could hardly be avoided, that if their bodies were one day to rise, the dead themselves must be in a kind of coma or sleep. The intimate connection between death and sleep is suggested in a saying reported in Berachoth 57b that 'sleep is a sixtieth part of death.' Rabbi Isaac said: 'A worm is as painful to the flesh of a dead man, as a needle in that of the living' (Ber. 18a, Sab. 13b). (Then there follows the delightful story of the two ghosts who conversed on the eve of ראש השנה and were overheard by the חסיד who profited by the information gained from overhearing them.) That the dead were spoken of as 'sleeping' is shown in the story of R. Meir's interview with Cleopatra, when she asked about the clothing of the dead on the day of resurrection. The dead are called שכני (Ber. *ibid.*). That the dead are to rise is shown by references to Deut. 32. 39, 33. 6, that they talk in the grave by *ibid.* 34. 4, 5 (cf. Berach. 18b, Pesachim 68a, and the whole list of proofs in Sanhed. 91, 92, etc.). Assignment of punishment is, according to a story reported in Sanh. 91b where Rabbi talks with Antoninus, to be inflicted upon the whole man, when body and soul have been united, as otherwise each could blame the other, like the blind and lame men who were assigned the task of watching an orchard. During their master's absence the blind man bore the lame one to the trees, whose fruits they both enjoyed, and yet, when accused, each could point to his own lack of ability to steal the fruit alone! By inference, the body and soul are neither to be blamed or praised till united at the Resurrection.

The Resurrection according to the dominant Jewish view is for the righteous only (cf. Taanith 2a, 7a). The idea of the Resurrection of the body need not arouse surprise. 'If those who had not yet lived have come into being, how much more can they rise again who already exist?' (words of R. Gebiha b. Pesisa in Sanh. 91a, with which argument cf. Aph. 369. 21-23). 'If vessels (of blown glass) made by the breath of man can be restored if once broken, how much more then a human being,

who is created through the breath of the Holy One?' (Sanh. 91a)—where the double meaning of נֶפֶשׁ as 'breath' and 'spirit' is vital to the argument. The comparison of the grave to the womb appears in Sanh. 92b: as the womb receives and gives back, so does the grave, etc.

(c) One of the first who wrote on Aph. (Nöldeke, in *GGA* 1869, p. 1524) suggested that his doctrine of the sleep of the soul was true to primitive Pauline thought. As was indicated above in his quotation of the text 1 Cor. 15. 44, Aph. does not use the words: 'It is sown' but, 'It is buried.' The passage alluded to above (Aph. 369. 21-23) shows clearly that Aph. must have known the Pesh. text of this verse, but for some reasons preferred to use the other. St. Paul deduces the necessity for a twofold existence of man, natural or 'psychic,' and heavenly or 'pneumatic,' from a fresh interpretation of Genesis 2. 7. It is possible that he may have had the comparison of the seed to the plant alluded to above (Sanh. 90b, also in Ber. Rab. 95) in mind in writing 1 Cor. 15. (Thus H. St. John Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 1906, p. 112.) He certainly used conceptions and teaching already at hand in the Apoc. and Pseudepigrapha; e. g., the trumpet of 1 Cor. 15. 52 and 2 Esd. 6. 23, Orac. Sibyl. 4. 173-4, and cf. Weber, *Jüd.-Theol.*, paragraph 369; and 'Those who are asleep' in 1 Thes. 4. 13, 15 and 2 Esd. 7. 32. Beyschlag in his *Neutest. Theol.* (2. 257) commenting on 1 Thes. 4. 14 considers St. Paul to have thought that the state of the dead was that of 'Schläfer im Schoose der Erde.' He did not teach a complete and utter death, because he used for 'to be dead' the word κοιμᾶσθαι. 'In this condition man's powers are latent, but it is not to last long,' etc. (cf. E. Teichmann, *Die Paulinischen Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht* . . ., p. 27, and note 2). St. Paul for the Resurrection uses the word ἐγείρεν, to wake (from sleep), in preference to the words ἀναστῆναι ἀπὸ νεκρῶν (thirty-five occurrences of the former to ten of the latter).

The Pauline trichotomy is unique in the New Testament (cf. Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-415) and is necessary to the consistency of St. Paul's whole tenor of thought. Since there are two Adams and two Creations, a natural and a spiritual man, there are two immaterial principles, soul and spirit. He who is purely natural possesses a soul, but when accorded the Spirit

of God, he then has both soul and body, and also the Spirit. Now the Spirit leaves to return to God at death, but not thus the soul. St. Paul nowhere makes a distinct statement, but the inference made by Aph. is most just. The soul is buried with the body, for if the body is to rise again, and the two are inseparably connected, they must needs remain together in the grave.

There is, then, in the doctrine of the 'sleep of the soul' in the early Syriac Church a complex of three elements, clearly discernible. The Nestorians were doubtless influenced most largely by (a) Aristotelian philosophy, which they did not entirely grasp aright. (b) Earlier teaching, which was trichotomistic (while the Nestorians were, in the main, dichotomists), was indebted to certain Jewish conceptions, perhaps of the popular religion of the day, and especially (c) (conspicuously so in the case of Aph.) to a thorough-going allegiance to the Pauline teaching.

INDO-IRANICA

EDWIN W. FAY

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

1. Avestan *aēšasa-*, *petens*.

THE AVESTAN ROOT *aēš* means to seek; to (seek to) hear (Bartholomae, *AIr. Wbch.*, p. 29, 4); to attack, waylay, seize (*ib.* E); to obtain, acquire (*ib.* 6). The long word *aēšasa-* is from a primate *aisoskō-* (Av. *s* from *sk*), and the selfsame primate lies behind the Latin denominative verb *aeruscāt*, begs (as a mendicant). Note *s* from *sk* also in the compound *vandwyaēsa*, army-thief, waylayer. For further definitions of the root AIS or AIS, see *CQ* 9. 110.

2. Excursus on *ἐπαιστος*, seized, caught (taken in the act).

For Herodotean *ἐπαιστος* (wrongly accented in the books, in response to a wrong derivation, *ἐπαίστος*) a typical example is *ἐπαιστος ἐγένετο προδιδούς* = he was taken betraying, i. e. caught in the act of betraying. In Apollonius Rhodius *Arg.* 4. 366 we must read *ἐπ' αἰστον* (*ἐπὶ* as in *ἐπ' ἰσα*, equally), ex improviso.

3. Sanskrit *pada-vī* (foot-) way.

With Perrson (*Beitraege*, p. 512) I identify *-vī* in this compound with Lat. *via*. In the earlier masculine *padavīs*, guide, the *posterius* meant goer, while *pada-* seems almost prepositional = with, cf. *πεδά* in the Aeolic poets, and see on Skr. *pad-rathas*, footman (with the chariot) in *CQ* 8. 52, n. In *vī*, *ī* is a weak grade of the *ēi* of the root. Lat. *via* (and this remark is applicable to many Greek and Latin feminines in *ia*) is a syncretic form, combining the feminine ending in *ī* with the feminine in *ā*; in this case the root noun *wī* with a feminine suffixal *ā* attached to the weakest form of the root, i. e. w-ā. Perrson is in error in writing the root as *wēi* (but see § 10).

4. Indo-Iranian *ā-vīs*, obvious.

This is a compound of *ā* (i. e. the proethnic preverb *ē*: *ō* for which English here or there is too heavy a rendering; German *dar* suits better) plus the adverb *vis*, i. e. *vi* extended by the *s*

which seems to be joined quite ad libitum with prepositional adverbs. The Avesta preserves *viš* and we have it in the compound *viš-patha*, quasi *deviously, variously*. As will appear later *vi* comes right close in meaning to the German adverb *weg*.

5. Indo-Iranian *vī, vi*, asunder, apart; *weg* (cf. Ital. *via*).

I explain the adverb *vi* as a locative to a root noun *wē(i)*, with the verbal sense of to wind, whence to wend, wander. For this *wēi* see Walde's *Lexicon* s. v. *vieo* (from a secondary root *wy-ē*). As Eng. *wends, wanders* derive from the root of to *wind*, we may admit a like development of sense in the root *wē(i)*. Note that in English *went*, a past tense of to *wend*, serves as preterit to the verb to *go*, and has lost all trace of connection with to *wind*.

6. Excursus on (Sanskrit) doublet roots in *-an/-ā(y)*.

In *JAOS* 44. 341 I made, in part after Macdonnell, a list of these roots,¹ viz. *khā(y):khan*, *jā(y):jan*, *sā:san*, *tā(y):tan*. To these may be added the Indo-European pair *wā: wen*, to wound (see Fick, 1⁴ p. 542 and p. 547, Boisacq, s. v. *μάσσω*).

¹In that list I concluded *drā:drām* and *gā:gam*. I now note that the Sanskrit trio *drā drām dru*, to run, justifies the trio *gā gam gu*, to go. I am exploiting no theory of origins. I am quite willing to believe that the *-am* and *-ā* roots had an entirely unrelated origin, though later they came, must have come, together in speech consciousness in response to a classification as inevitable as it was unwilling. To state this extremely, it is altogether possible that in their prototypes *βαλvei*, goes (root *gwem*), and *ξβη*, went (root *gwā*), fell into a systematic association only as Latin *fert* and *tulit* or as Eng. *goes* and *went* so fall. But after they once fell into this association they served as a source for analogies, and the analogy groups then formed, without the consciousness, or at least without the conscious will, of the speakers, a morphological system. Accordingly, when we find in Sanskrit a posterius *gu*, going, we may set it down at first as due to the analogy of Skr. *dru*, running: or we may place it at once, per saltum, in a morphological system with *gā gam*; cf. also *yu-*, faring: *yā*, to go. There is neither rhyme nor reason in refusing *gā gam gu* if you admit *drā drām dru*, always, of course, upon evidence. Thus we escape the awkwardness of having to deal with Skr. *-gva-*, in *nāva-gva-*, as cow, instead of as going or gang, and we are left free to define *πρόσβυς* by fore-going and not by fore-bull (Bloomfield, *AJP* 17.424, 29.80; see the literature in Boisacq). The nominative *πρόσβυς* will have originated after the vocative in *ev* (Sanskrit *o*). Thus the vocative was a common term in Greek in the *v* and in the *ev* stems. We owe *βυ* instead of the correct *γυ* to Homeric *πρόσ-βα*.

Here I add *wē(i)*, to wind (go): *wen-d*,² to wind, go. We may here note the special sense of to wither in Lat. *viescit*, correlative to Slavic *ven-d* to wither (see Miklosich, p. 380); cf. Eng. *gone off* = deteriorated, etc.

7. Further on Indo-Iranian *āvīs*, obvious.

The Slavic sept of O.Bulg. *avě*, manifeste (see Berneker *Slav. Etym. Wbch.* p. 34), reveals that the combination in *ā-vis* was Indo-European. Slavic *-vě* differs from Av. *-vī(š)* as Lat. *prae* differs from *pri*. In Greek, as I have pointed out before (see *AJP* 33. 391), we have a double of Skr. *āvīs* in the compound *āv-ωστί*, not on the road standing, not obvious, unexpected. Here belongs Skr. *āvīṣṭya-* (*ty* from *thy*, see *AJP* 34. 15, n.), obvious, visible. In the Avesta *āvīš-ya*=coming on the road, whence obvious, visible. The Indo-European trio *wai wī wō* (cf. Lat. *prae pri prō*) exhibits its last member in Gāthīc Avestan *vā-dāya*, to put away, push away, thrust away, cf. *ω-θέω*.³ Where Indo-Iranian *vī* connotes asunder, entzwei, there has been some influence from Indo-European *dwis*, in-two, apart. To put it otherwise, the word *dwis* in certain combinations lost its *d-* by dissimilation. The root *wi-dh* of Skr. *vidhyāti* and Lat. *di-vido*, e. g., will have come by dissimilation from original *dwi-dh-*. In passing I would explain Skr. *vyadh* (: *vidh*) as containing in *vya-* a correlate of *ḍá*, through. Given the doublet *dwi(s)/wi(s)*, we may also

² The unextended root *wen* is preserved in Germ. *wohnen*, to dwell, i. e. to wander in a nomadic preserve; cf. Eng. *dwells*, from O.Eng. *dwelian*, to go astray, err, tarry, dwell. Skr. *vānam*, forest, wood (wood before trees, trees was an interpretation of wood) applied at first to the ranges in which the nomads dwelt, or over which their cattle wandered.

³ Despite the convenience of recognizing proethnic *wē*, *weg*, in Latin etymology, the words in which we have this *vē* seem to be best explained otherwise. It is not open to question, in my opinion, that Lat. *vehe-mens* is a compound with imperative prius *vehe-*, cf. Avestan *vazo-vanōwya-*, (carrying away i. e.) robbing the army-stuff. Thus *vehementem* (acc.) = carrying away the mind (first of anger etc., for the usage in Plautus see *AJP* 24.71). The contracted form *vē-mens*, supported by the influence of *dē-mens* and *amens*, became the pattern for *vē-cors*, *vē-sanus* etc., and the irradiation even went so far that we have *vē-grandis* as a negative of *grandis*. Lat. [*s*] *vescitur* I cannot bring myself to separate from Skr. *agni-ṣvātta-*, ignicomesus (see *TAPA* 44.110). In *vē(r)-labrum*, water-basin (see *AJP* 35.153) the prius = Skr. *vār*.

expect to find other proethnic forms, or their continuants, with *w-*, e. g. *vī-* in Lat. *vīginti*.

8. Excursus on *αἰσ-θάνεται*, perceives; Lat. *audit*, hears.

In the whole range of 'orthodox' Indo-European etymology there is nothing more pretentious than the equation of *αἰσ-* with Skr. *ā-vís*. For the treatment of *αἰς* as a dissyllable there is no particle of evidence. Of *ἐπισαυρος* I have already disposed (§ 2), and *αἰώ*, I hear, is a plain denominative from a stem *AUSI-*, ear, in Lat. *auris*. The correct derivation of *αἰσθάνεται* is from the root *ais*, to take (see § 1), as I have before pointed out in *CQ* 9. 110. Eng. *takes* (I take it), *apprehends*, *assumes*, and Lat. *capio*, *accipio*, *percipio*, all show how the sense to perceive originates from to take. See also § 1 on Av. *aēš*, with the sense of to (seek to) hear. If the current derivation of *αἰσ-θάνεται* is a caprice, the derivation of Lat. *audio* from *awisdio* is a phantasm. With *aus-cultat* (ear-lends or leans) before us, anything but *ausdit* is unthinkable. Of course the elaborately fanciful primate *awisdio* has been invented to turn a special phonetic trick for *oboedio*, but it involves far less of unsupported assumption to conclude that here posttonic *au* on its way to *u* or, in vulgar circles, on its way to *ō*, was subject to reenforced rounding from *ob* modified by anticipatory palatalization from *di*,—causes resulting in something other than **obūdio*. But the analysis *o-boedit*, which means cognation with *πέποιθα* (*πείθεσθαι*), is always possible, cf. O.Lat. *con-foedusti*, and note that *foedus*, ugly, has held on to *oe*. Festus also gives us *amecus* (i. e. *amoecus*) for *amicus*, and we have *oe* in the second syllable of *amoenus*, lovely.

9. Semantic excursus; the meaning before the last.

In the classical tongues there is a wide range of turns such as to *walk with legs*, to *see with eyes*, to *talk with the mouth* (*ore loqui*). These are relics of the time when to *walk* and to *see* and to *speak* were not the original senses of their verbs, and when *ore loqui* e. g. meant something like to *crack* (Scottice *usurpatum*) *with the mouth*; when to *see* may have meant some such thing as to scan. The gradual ellipsis of the names of the organs participant, whereby the connotation was raised to the rank of definition, may be aptly illustrated by the comparison of Plautine *oculis rationem capio* with Terentian *rationem capio*

(see the great *Thesaurus*, iii. 321. 12); cf. also in Lucretius, *carmina auribus accipere* (4. 982) with *voces accipio* (4. 611). With *oculis* omitted *capio* was on the way to becoming a verb of perception.

10. Sanskrit (*vayyà*) *vayí-a-*, attendant: *á-íras*, wooer.

This Sanskrit word, not treated by Uhlenbeck, is from a locative *vay-i*, extended by suffixal *o*. Here we come back (see § 5) to the root *wē(i)* (*ē* certain in Lat. *vēnor*). I am not disposed to deny *à outrance* the grade *wēi*; and those who refuse the gradation *ē : ē* will perhaps admit that *wai*, by assimilation to *wēi*, was liable to appear as *wēi*. This is what we do accept in Greek for *θερός*. Or the grade *wēi* may have come by way of assimilation to the synonym root *eí*. Or [s]w-*ei* may be a compound root (on *sw-* see *TAPA* 44. 108 sq.). The additional sense of after (for, towards) in Skr. *véti*, goes after (pursues, hunts, follows), and its cognates, will have come from the accusative regimen. So in the Rig Veda the participle of *éti* (goes) means, with the accusative, seeking (begging, etc., cf. *ἰκέτης*, suppliant: *ἰκνεῖται*, comes to). By acknowledging interplay of the roots *wēi* and *ei* we may account for the *ai* (from *ai*) of the denominative *áitēi*, demands.

11. Joining an issue; Avestan *vī-naoiti*.

Av. *vī-naoiti* (only with *ava* and *frā*) means *necat* (Eng. slays, Germ. schlägt). We might derive from the root *wā* (§ 6) or, as we must then write it, *wā(i)*, to wound, injure (*nocere*). This root will hardly be different from Lat. *vae*; cf. Goth. *vai-dēdja*, malefactor (*homo nocens*). I take the Latin outcry *vae* to be (a continuant of) the 'root,' not a derivative from it. On the other hand, and this seems to me far more likely, *vī-* may be the preverb (=weg) and *nao* the verbal element, cognate with *nu-d* in Skr. *nudāti*, thrusts (see on this 'root' Walde, s. v. *nuo*). In its meanings *nudāti* combined with *vi* comes quite close to *vī-naoiti*, viz. to wound; to strike (Germ. schlagen) the lute. Given Skr. *nudāti*, then Av. *vīnaoiti*, slays: Goth. *naus*, slayer: O.Bulg. *nawī*, mortuus (cf. Goth. *b-nauan*, conficere) leave no room to challenge a root *NU* with the general sense of the root *TU* (cf. Walde, s. vv. *tundo*, *stuprum*).

THE DEPENDENCE OF THE TALMUDIC PRINCIPLE OF ASMAKHTA ON BABYLONIAN LAW

H. S. LINFIELD

DROPSIE COLLEGE

THE LAW which governed and regulated the life of the Jew in former days is contained in two distinct literatures: Biblical literature, especially the five books of Moses, and Talmudic literature. In the latter we must distinguish between an elder stratum and a younger one. The chief work containing the former is known as the Mishnah, a book compiled about 219 A. D.; the chief work containing the latter is known as the Babylonian Gemara, which is a sort of a running commentary to the older stratum of law, especially the Mishnah. The most striking difference between these two literatures as law is the following. The immediate and sole authority for the law in the Bible is God. The Bible reads, as we all know: 'And God spoke to Moses saying, speak to the children of Israel saying,' etc. On the other hand, the Talmudic legal literature resembles our own Anglo-American law: the immediate authority for a certain law is the opinion of this or that judge or jurist. It reads as follows: If one does so and so, he should do this, in the opinion of Rabbi A; but Rabbi B says he should do that; and sometimes there follows the opinion of Rabbis C and D. These were not considered as the ultimate authority for the laws. As in the Bible, so in the Talmudic literature, God is looked upon as the ultimate and sole authority. Yet, for various reasons, the Jews could not regard the law contained in both literatures as one and the same. Thus, the problem arose, what is the relation of the one to the other? After a long struggle, the Mishnah propounded the following theory: Moses on Mount Sinai received two bodies of law: the Law and a sort of a running commentary to it. He was commanded to write down the former, while the latter was to be taught orally. The Law written down is the one we have in the five books of Moses; the other which was intended to be taught orally is the one now embodied in the Talmudic literature. Thus there were given to the Jews a written law and an oral

law, both intrinsically related to each other, both contemporaneous with each other, and both possessing the same divine authority. This oral law, commonly known as Rabbinic law or as Talmudic law, we shall designate as Jewish Law. The older stratum in this we shall refer to as Tannaitic Law, because the jurists cited are known as Tannaim; the latter we shall call Amoraic Law because the jurists cited are known as Amoraim.¹

One of the outstanding features of Jewish commercial law is the principle known as Asmakhta. Its legality was a bone of contention among the Jewish jurists for a long time. And finally when it was decided in favor of that principle, the doctors could not agree as to its application and exposition. Writes one of the famous Rabbis of the Medieval period: 'The scholars of former and later generations have fought concerning the principle of Asmakhta—what is the so-called Asmakhta and what does it depend upon; and I have not seen one that agreed with his colleague' (Solomon ibn Adrat, *Responsa*, vol. 1, Resp. 933).

The following exposition has the merit of, at least, being put forth by the latest Jewish Code.² An obligation is valid only in the case when there could be no question raised as to its *bona fide* nature on the part of its maker. Now there are three kinds of obligations in which the question could be raised. They are called Asmakhta obligations.

First, there is the kind of obligation the execution of which depends from the very first upon the good-will of persons other than the maker. For instance:

¹In the course of studies that I have made in Jewish commercial law, I have come to the conclusion that three elements entered into its creation: the economic life of the valley of the Euphrates and the business customs of the people of that country—the Babylonian element; Biblical laws and the Prophetic spirit of the Bible—the Palestinian element; and the formulation of the new law as if it were an outgrowth of Biblical law—the element of Judaization. We meet with cases, for instance the institution of inheritance, which show no trace of Babylonian influence. But, as a whole, Jewish commercial law is the product of a harmonious and thorough-going blending of those three elements, though the proportions of the elements vary in the different groups of laws. The results of the present paper fall in line with this conception of the nature and rise of the law embodied in the Talmudic literature, though they do not necessarily presuppose it.

²Cf. Moses Isserel's *Hosh. Mish.* 207. 13. We do not mean to subscribe to this presentation. It is hardly possible to arrange all the cases of Asmakhta under three headings (cf. *Baba Mes.* 67a).

A commission merchant received money from his dominus to buy wine, the delivery of which was to be made at a later date when wine would be higher in price. The time for delivery arrived but the commission man did not deliver the wine. Instead, he brought back the money received from his dominus. The latter refused to accept the money; he demanded his wine or a sum of money sufficient to buy the same quantity at the present market price. Jewish law instructs the courts to render a judgment in favor of the commission man. (Bab. *Baba Mes.* 73b.)

The Jewish jurists give the following legal explanation:—At the time of the promise, the commission merchant could not be absolutely certain that he would be in a position to fulfil it, since the execution depended upon the consent of others: other people had to agree to sell him that sort of wine. The obligation was thus dependent upon conditions over which the promisor had no absolute control. Such an obligation is an *Asmakhta* and hence void (*ibid.*).

Secondly, there is the kind of an obligation the execution of which is indeed in the hands of the maker, but which contains an element of exaggeration. For instance:

A man leases a field to till, and makes the following stipulation: 'Should I not till it, I hereby agree to pay you the exorbitant sum of \$1,000.' He did not till the field, and he was willing to pay the owner of the field the actual loss that he made him incur, but he refused to pay the \$1,000. Jewish law instructs the judges to return a verdict in favor of the lessee. (Bab. *Baba Mes.* 104b, *Misnah ibid.* 9. 3, and *Caro Code* 207. 13.)

For, the obligation from the very beginning was not *bona fide*.

Thirdly, there is the kind of obligation, the execution of which is neither in the power of the maker nor in the power of others; it is a case of chance. For instance:

A says to B, 'I make a bet that so and so will turn out. If I lose, I shall pay you a certain sum of money.'

In the case before us, it would seem that the *bona fide* nature of the obligation could certainly be attacked. Contrary to all our expectations, Jewish Law maintains that such an obligation is valid. This is not an *Asmakhta*-obligation (cf. Bab. *Sanhed.* 24b and *Tur Hosh. Mish.* 207. 7, *Caro Code* 207. 13).

Jewish Law claims no Biblical basis for it. Was there any certain tradition for this far-reaching legal principle? Let me cite further:

If one paid off a portion of his debt, the creditor deposited his bill and the debtor said to the depository, 'If I shall not have given you the rest of my debt between now and a certain day, return the bill to the creditor.' The day set arrived, and the debtor had not paid. R. Jose says the depository should give the bill of debt to the creditor, but R. Judah says he should not give it to him. (*Mishnah, Bab. Bat. 10. 5.*)

The Mishnah offers no hint as to the basis underlying the difference of opinion between these two authorities. If they knew of the principle, we must say that R. Jose does not recognize it, while his colleague does. This is really the opinion of the Amoraim (*Bab. Baba. Bat. 168a*). But we must notice the following:

He who pledged a house or a field and said to the pledgee, 'If I shall not have given payment to you between now and a certain day, I have nothing in your hands.' The set date arrived and the maker did not carry out his obligation. His stipulation must be carried out—these are the words of R. Jose. Said R. Judah, 'How can the pledgee acquire title to something that is not his?' 'Surely he must return the pledge.' (*Tosephta Baba Mes. 1. 17.*)

This is also a clear case of *Asmakhta* as expounded by the Amoraim. But did those Tannaim know of this principle? R. Judah says that in our case there is nothing that could transfer the object from the possession of one to that of another. What does this mean? Does the jurist deny in such a case the very existence of a state of contingent ownership, as does the principle of *Asmakhta*? Or does he merely say that the mere fact of the pledgor's failure to pay the debt does not convert the state of contingent ownership in which the pledge finds itself, into a state of ownership vested in the pledgee? Tannaitic Law goes on to say that all authorities³ agree that the following obligation is valid:

Two people laid claim to a house or a field and one said to the other, 'If I do not come with my substantiating evidence before a certain day, I agree to waive my claim.' The day set arrived but he did not present his evidence, surely he lost his claim. (*Tosephta Bab. Mes. 1. 17b*).

So if we say that Tannaitic Law knew of the principle of *Asmakhta* we must conclude that all agreed that such a case is

³ Read, in the *Tosephta* 'R. Judah' instead of 'R. Jose.' Evidently a copyist misread 'RJ.'

not one of Asmakhta. Now, Amoraic law deals with exactly such a case, and there the Amoraim regarded it as a clear case of Asmakhta. We are not interested here in the exposition of these Tannaitic laws.⁴ Do the Tannaitic sources know of the principle of Asmakhta or not? This is the question that concerns us here. Later Amoraic teachers assure us that they did. But that is not the point; do we have internal evidence that Tannaitic law knows of the principle of Asmakhta? It is certain that the Tannaim do not speak of this principle as such. More than that, even the early Amoraim like Rabh, Samuel, R. Johanan, etc., do not mention the principle of Asmakhta, although we find sometimes that the late Amoraim speak of the principle 'in the name of' certain early Amoraim.⁵ And even the later Amoraim could not agree as to the legality of the principle. One famous judge (R. Nahman) lived long enough to change his mind on that subject. Finally, we may notice that even the late compilers of the Talmud did not agree as to the extent of the legality of the principle. We have at least three 'decisions' rendered by them concerning it:

The law is in accordance with R. Jose's statement that an Asmakhta obligation is valid (Bab. *Baba Bat.* 168a). The law is that an Asmakhta obligation is valid provided the failure to carry out the obligation was not due to unavoidable causes and provided further that the obligation was sanctioned by the '*qinian sudar*' and in the presence of a recognized court (Bab. *Ned.* 27b). The law is not in accordance with R. Jose's statement; but under all circumstances an Asmakhta obligation is void (Bab. *Baba Bat.* 168a).

It is perfectly clear that there did not exist a tradition concerning this principle. And, thus, we come to the conclusion that the principle had its origin neither in the Bible nor in tradition. This will become even clearer when we cite two or three judicial decisions which involved or should have involved the principle of Asmakhta.

⁴ The Jerusalmi states that all agree that when a man hires his son out to learn a trade, all Asmakhta obligations are valid; otherwise, continues the Jerusalmi naively, people will be unable to make a living (Jer. *Git.* 5: 8). Cf. also Maim., *Mekhirah*, 11. 4, and commentaries.

⁵ R. Huna (in Bab. *Ned.* 27a-b) does not mention the principle. Jer. mentions R. Abahu (Bab. *Bat.* 10. 5) and the Bab. mentions later teachers who spoke of the principle 'in the name of' Rab and R. Johanan, (Bab. *Bat.* 168a, *Ned.* 27b).

One deposited his papers with the court and said, 'If I do not come with additional evidence within 30 days, I agree that the papers deposited should be considered void.' He met with an accident and did not come. Said R. Huna, the papers deposited are void. . . . But, continues the Talmud, is not this a case of an Asmakhta?—and an Asmakhta obligation is not binding. Here it is different; the papers were deposited, and whenever the object of litigation is deposited, there can be no question of Asmakhta. Did we not learn as follows: 'He who paid a portion of his debt and the creditor deposited the bill of debt,' etc. And R. Nahman said the law is not in accordance with R. Jose's statement in which he does not recognize the principle of Asmakhta. Here it is different, since he said he agreed that his papers should be considered void. But, the Talmud continues, the law is that an Asmakhta obligation is valid provided. . . (Bab. Ned. 27a-b.)

R. Kahana claimed money from Rab Bar Sheba. Said the latter, 'If I do not pay you within a certain time, collect from this wine before thee.' R. Papa was of the opinion that an Asmakhta obligation is void only in the case of land, since, as a rule, it is not sold; but in the case of wine, since there is always a market for it, it is like ready cash. Said R. Huna, the son of R. Josua, to R. Papa, 'Thus it was said in the name of Rabha, "any obligation involving an 'if' is not valid."' (Bab. Bab. Mes. 66b.)^{*}

This is the earliest statement with reference to the applicability of the principle of Asmakhta. The famous late jurist Rabha is said to be its author.

In view of the fact that this legal principle is not based on the Bible or tradition, and in view of the fact that, as far as internal evidence is concerned, it is a product of Jewish jurists who lived in Babylonia, a product of Babylonian Jewry, it is natural that we should inquire what was the Babylonian law and business custom with regard to it.

There can be no doubt that the Babylonians knew nothing of an invalidating principle of Asmakhta.⁷ But first of all, we

^{*}For further instructive examples, cf. Bab. Baba Mes. 104b, 109b, and 73b-74a.

⁷Thus from the Old Babylonian law: 'He who breaks the agreement, in as much as he has sworn, should pay a certain sum and in addition he will have his head covered with hot asphalt' (cf. *Hamm. Gesetz*, 3, p. 223). And from the Assyrian period: 'He who breaks the agreement should place in the lap of Ninlil 10 minas of silver and 10 minas of gold' [an enormous sum] (John, *Deeds and Doc.*, 161). From the Neo-Babylonian period: 'One rents a house at a rental of five shekels per annum. Both parties agree that he who breaks the agreement should pay the other party 10 shekels' (Camb. 97, see also Dar. 25, and 378, Nbk. 103, Dar. 434, and Artax. in *BE*. vol. 9 by Clay).

must notice that the Babylonians had their own conception of obligations involving a fine in case of default. 'It seems,' writes Prof. Joseph Kohler, 'that a debtor had the right to pay the fine in place of the fulfilment of the obligation; the agreement to pay a fine was conceived as an alternative obligation' (*Aus Babyl. Rechtsl.* 1, § 6). Now this is just the Jewish view. The principle of Asmakhta, in part, simply says this: An agreement to pay a fine in case of default is void, unless it is conceived, as it was by the Babylonians, as an alternative obligation.

Then again we must bear in mind that an agreement involving a forfeiture clause was sometimes drawn up as follows:

If on the 29th of Nissan, Marduk-našir-aplu shall not give 3 minas to Bel-ibni, Bel-lu-šulmu and Lu-balaṭ then belong to Bel-ibni the three minas as the complete purchase price (Dar. 319. 2, cf. also 309 and Kohler's note, *op. cit.* 3, p. 33).

This simply means that at the time the loan is made the creditor says to the debtor, 'You will either pay your debt at the date stated, or this money that I am now giving you is purchase price for the object which you are now handing over to me as a pledge.' This is just what Jewish law requires. The principle of Asmakhta says that a debtor can forfeit his pledge only if the agreement is made out in a way similar to the above mentioned Babylonian contract (קני מעבשה).

We are now in a position to approach the problem before us.⁸ In as much as the Jewish business men followed the common law of the land in which they lived, they had no principle of Asmakhta. But in the case of an obligation involving a fine in default, they had a peculiar notion; and in the case of a transaction with a forfeiture clause, the contracts were at times drawn up according to a certain fixed form. The causes underlying that form do not concern us here.⁹ What does concern us is that there existed such facts. Some Jewish jurists then insisted upon that form, claiming that otherwise the obligation would not be binding; while others did not insist upon

⁸ No attempt is made here to give a detailed history of the principle of Asmakhta. We are here interested in showing its dependence on Babylonian business and legal customs.

⁹ Cf. Kohler's observation quoted above.

it. Such a situation was however intolerable to the Jewish jurists; they wanted every practice to be fixed and provided with a legal basis. The early jurists knew nothing of a principle of *Asmakhta*. Seemingly, they did not progress far in their expositions of the existent cases (cf. Tosephta quoted above, **כמה יקנה הלז**). As time went on, the jurists were more and more inclined to favor the existent practices of the land mentioned above. Those, on their surface, involved the question of the state of mind of the maker of the obligation. This then formed the starting point for discussion in the schools. In the course of time, there was evolved a full-fledged theory which covered the existing cases and similar ones. The doctors in the Babylonian Law Schools then coined for it the technical term of *Asmakhta*, a word unknown not only to Tannaitic Law but also foreign to the Palestinian Amoraim. That was all accomplished mainly within the four walls of the law academies. The judges and jurists refused to subscribe to it. It was not until the time of the famous judge R. Nahman that the judges began to pay attention to it. That judge himself at first refused to recognize it, but later reversed his position. A younger contemporary succeeded in bringing forth a clear statement of the principle, **כל דאי לא קני**. And it was a generation later that one authority felt justified in claiming that it was a matter of daily practice that *Asmakhta*-obligations are void (*Bab. Baba Bat. 173b*).¹⁰

Thus the Jewish legal principle of *Asmakhta* means on the one hand the legalization of a few Babylonian practices, and on the other hand the extension of its own legal theory to cover all other similar cases.

¹⁰ The statement cannot however be taken too literally, for we find that the latest editors of the Talmud were not agreed as to its application, as stated above.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MIDDLE WEST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

The fourth Annual Meeting of the Middle West Branch was held at Evanston, Ill., February 20-21, 1920. We were the guests of Garrett Biblical Institute and Northwestern University, and our heartiest thanks must be given to the local entertainment committee, headed by Professor F. C. Eiselen, and including Prof. Kenneth W. Colegrove, Prof. Leslie E. Fuller, Prof. Perley O. Ray, Prof. Edmund D. Soper, Dean R. C. Flickinger, Dean James A. James, Prof. John A. Scott, President C. M. Stuart. The Shaffer Hall Dormitory was set free for the accommodation of those who did not care to go to hotels, and the University Club of Evanston was our headquarters and here we had our meals. An informal dinner, presided over by Dean Flickinger, was given by Northwestern University Friday evening, and a luncheon, presided over by President Stuart, was given Saturday noon by Garrett Biblical Institute. Through these we became acquainted with the staffs of those institutions, while a dinner of club members alone Saturday evening was an appropriate ending to the meeting. After the Presidential address Friday evening, Professor Eiselen entertained the members at his house, at which Professor Scott made an address.

The members present were Allen, Blomgren, Clark, Cohen, Colegrove, Eiselen, Fuller, Judson, Kelly, Keyfitz, Laufer, Levitt, Levy, Lybyer, Marshall, Mercer, Molyneux, Morgenstern, Olmstead, Robinson, Scott, Smith, Soper, Sprengling, Waterman (25). The following were proposed as new members: Prof. Kenneth W. Colegrove, Northwestern University; Miss Alia Judson, University of Chicago; Mr. I. Keyfitz, University of Chicago; Professor D. A. Leavitt, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. H. I. Marshall, Ohio State University; Prof. John A. Scott, Northwestern University; Prof. E. D. Soper, Northwestern University. Letters and telegrams of regret were received from Messrs. Bolling, Byrne, Conant, Tolman. At the business sessions, the nominating committee, consisting of Messrs. Kelly,

Morgenstern, Fuller (chairman), reported the following who were unanimously chosen: President, Prof. A. H. Lybyer, University of Illinois; Vice-President, Prof. W. E. Clark, University of Chicago; Secretary-Treasurer, Prof. A. T. Olmstead, University of Illinois; Executive Committee, Prof. Leroy Waterman, University of Michigan; Prof. L. B. Wolfenson, University of Wisconsin. On motions of Messrs. Levy, Morgenstern, and Smith, the thanks of the Branch were tendered to Northwestern University, to Garrett Biblical Institute, to the local committee of arrangements, and especially to its chairman, Prof. Eiselen.

The papers may perhaps best be reviewed in geographical order. Prof. E. D. SOPER of Northwestern University discussed 'Religion and Politics in Present-Day Japan.' The origin and development of the imperial cult was detailed and its importance emphasized for understanding present political conditions. Still, there is good hope for democracy in future Japan. The Monroe Doctrine of Japan was shown by Prof. KENNETH COLEGROVE of Northwestern University to be the necessary result of our own Monroe Doctrine having been forced upon the Peace Conference. A detailed discussion of the methods by which militarist Japan was strengthening herself in China followed. Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER of the Field Museum of Natural History presented a remarkable series of colored slides which represented some of the finest examples of Chinese pictorial art.

'The Origin of the Karen and their Monotheistic Tradition' was presented by Rev. H. I. MARSHALL, now of Ohio State University, missionary at Insein, Burma. The results presented in this paper form a by-product of missionary enterprise.

The traditions of the Karen tribes of Burma indicate that they are immigrants into Burma from some northern country. They crossed the 'River of Running Sand' which is not the Gobi desert as earlier scholars thought, but rather the 'River Running with Sand,' and may refer to the Ho-ang Ho, or Yellow River, of China, at the headwaters of which the early home of Eastern Asiatic peoples was situated. The Karen language is Sinitic in form and structure. The people are Mongoloid in physical feature. Their possession of bronze drums peculiar to certain northern peoples of Upper Indo-China and Yunnan makes it probable that they made their home there some time, perhaps at the beginning of the Christian era, in the hills of Yunnan, for Chinese generals who conquered that region then found bronze drums in use. The monotheistic tradition is a close parallel to the account of the creation and fall in Genesis. The Father God made man, then woman from his rib, and put the two in a garden

where there were seven kinds of fruit one of which they must not eat. The dragon called 'Mukawli' came in and tempted the woman to eat after he had failed with the man. After this sickness and death followed. This story in verse has been handed down by word of mouth from time immemorial. Since the Karens were already in Yunnan, they could not have received these traditions from the Jewish colonies which did not enter China until 1122 A. D., nor from the Nestorians who entered in the sixth century. The absence of Christian tradition or Messianic hope shows the tradition could not have come from Nestorian or Portuguese sources. While it appears that a story having so many points in common with the ancient Jewish account of creation must have been borrowed, we cannot trace the direct agency through which it came. The ancient religion of China has been found to be a monotheistic system though references to it are scanty. The Karen are related to the Chinese racially and linguistically. May it not be possible that they are related religiously as well and that in this tradition we have a survival of an ancient faith of which we know very little?

Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, Chicago University, gave a paper on 'Prakrit Dialects in the Sanskrit Drama,' a close study of those sections in which the lower classes speak lower class language. The majority of editions sin by paying too much attention to rules of late Prakrit grammarians. More attention should be paid to the readings of the manuscripts. In the absence of Prof. H. C. TOLMAN, Vanderbilt University, the secretary read a note by him on 'An Erroneous Etymology of the New Persian *pādšāh* in relation to the pr. n. Patizeithes (Hdt. 3, 61).' The current belief that Patizeithes is the title of the Pseudo-Smerdis is impossible because of the phonetic difficulties involved, the use of the term, and the Magian title he bore is rather the Oropastes of Justin.

'The Sumerian Paradise of the Gods' was investigated by Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Western Theological Seminary, on the basis of the Langdon Epic, and new readings and interpretations were presented. Prof. GEORGE L. ROBINSON, McCormick Theological Seminary, reviewed a recent work on the Samaritans by Rev. J. E. H. THOMPSON. Following up studies at earlier meetings of our branch, Prof. JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Hebrew Union College, discussed 'The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch and its Historical Significance.' Prof. C. A. BLOMGREN, Augustana College, gave a minute investigation of the Book of Obadiah. 'The Attitude of the Psalms toward Life after Death' was presented with negative conclusions by Prof. J. M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago.

The more modern phases of the Near East were well represented. Prof. LESLIE FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, pointed out the large number of 'Humanitarian Elements in the Koran,' and its relationship to the life of the present. The branch enjoyed a brief visit from Prof. LOUIS C. KARPINSKI, of the University of Michigan, who has devoted his life to a study of the history of mathematics, and who talked on Oriental and Arabic mathematics.

The thesis that all science originated with the Greeks has been seriously advanced by prominent writers on the history of philosophy. This pernicious theory has had an unfortunate effect upon many writers on oriental science. The noteworthy progress in real science made by the Babylonians and the Egyptians is minimized; Hindu science is treated as entirely the product of Greek influence; Arabic science is also minimized, and the contributions of the Hindus to the development of Arabic science are frequently not mentioned. In the Hindu treatment of Hindu science, certain writers have minimized the actual records of progress in mathematical thinking, found in the Hindu development of the sine function, of algebraic equations, of a refined process for the solution of indeterminate equations, of the first and second degree, and in the system of numerals which we use. This material is homogeneous and furnishes internal evidence of a common origin, not Greek. In the absence of supporting Greek documents, the Greek delusion has influenced certain writers to postulate the nature of the contents of Greek works which are lost, to support the Greek hypothesis. A sympathetic attitude toward the Oriental peoples may well be expected of the historian of science. Undoubtedly much Oriental material is of poor quality, but so is much that is printed today in our own scientific periodicals. Oriental progress in science cannot be denied and it remains only for Orientalists and scientists to work together to make the record of the progress definitely known and widely appreciated.

At the reception given by Professor Eiselen, Prof. JOHN A. SCOTT spoke on 'The Dardanelles and Beyond.'

The campaign into the Dardanelles was a campaign of haste and despair, for the difficulties of making a successful attack either by land or by sea were so great that it was only the dread of seeing Russia make a separate peace which brought on the attempt. It was the original plan to cut off the German connections with the Euphrates-Tigris basin by means of an attack from Alexandretta Bay with Cyprus as a convenient base, but the jealousy of the French precluded the possibility of landing a British force in Syria, yet the urgency of the Russian situation made some action imperative, hence the attack on the Dardanelles. While from a military point of view this attack may have been an error, yet in the broader strategy of the war it was a deciding issue, since it helped the

Allies to keep the upper hand in Russia, held her in the war for another great campaign, and thus kept the Austrians from crushing Italy and the Germans from defeating France until the English had time to create and equip an army and until America had come into the struggle. It seems safe to say that this ill fated campaign against the Dardanelles by keeping Russia in the field was the deciding point of the war.

From his experience as a Near East expert at Paris and as chief technical expert for the King-Crane commission on mandates in the Near East, Prof. A. H. LYBYER gave new facts on 'The Near East at the Peace Conference.'

The Near East was represented at the Conference on behalf of the Serbs, Rumanians, Greeks, and the Arabs of the Hejaz, but not on behalf of the Bulgarians and Turks. This led to a one-sided presentation of the situation and looked toward a settlement out of harmony with the facts. The Conference came slowly and late to the treaty with Bulgaria and adjourned before taking up that with Turkey. In both areas, the trend of events was conditioned by secret treaties. The Treaty of London of 1915 proposed to divide Albania between Serbia, Italy, and Greece. The treaty by which Rumania entered the war guaranteed to her the territories she then held, including the Bulgarian strip taken in 1913. The agreement by which Mr. Venizelos expects to receive the undue award of Thrace and western Asia Minor has never been made public. The Sykes-Picot agreement gave the oversight of Palestine and the control of most of Mesopotamia to Britain; Syria, Cilicia, the rest of Mesopotamia, and an interior block including Diarbekir and Sivas, to France. The agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne promised southern Asia Minor to Italy. Russia was promised Constantinople and perhaps northern Asia Minor. Col. Lawrence made promises to the Arabs which overlapped those of Sir Mark Sykes to the French. The whole scheme was based on the imperialism of the Old Diplomacy, and paid small regard to ethnography, geography, economics, or the rights of peoples. At the Peace Conference and since the European effort has been directed toward carrying out the secret agreements, while the effort of America has been to secure a settlement in harmony with the principles for which the war was professed to be fought, and in the direction of permanency. The European scheme can be carried out in all probability only after a considerable war of conquest directed against the Turks and Arabs; and if it should become established it must be corrected sooner or later, either by a vital and effective league of nations, or by another resort to arms.

Introduced in happy fashion by President Stuart of Garrett Biblical Institute, Prof. LEROY WATERMAN of the University of Michigan delivered his Presidential Address on 'Oriental Studies and Reconstruction.'

The far reaching task of reconstruction affecting the modern world may not seem applicable, even by analogy, to so secluded a field as Oriental

Studies; but such sweeping changes in the present order, in themselves, demand of us new adjustments. The new age brings with it a challenge from the past and for the future. Oriental Studies have suffered in the recent past from an inadequate articulation with the larger cause of humanity that calls for a restatement and a reemphasizing of ideals. A closer practical scrutiny of every discipline in the coming age is bound to require a more intimate touch with living human values. Orientalists heretofore may have been overzealous in vindicating a *dead* past. Present developments in the Near East should help to bring about a more vital contact between the East of yesterday and the West. Recent world cleavage of thought has terminated our pre-war apprenticeship and calls us to rebuild both our house and its furnishings. Finally, our existing programs and equipment are inadequate to cope with our present opportunities. A comprehensive American policy, fully correlated with the plans of other interested nations, and capable of utilizing all our resources, is needed for the immediate task of recovering the fuller records of the past in the Near East, and for conserving the present sources of inspiration opened up by changed conditions in Palestine.

A. T. OLMSTEAD, *Secretary*

BRIEF NOTES

Julien's manuscript dictionary of the Manchu language

Sinologists may be interested in knowing that the Cleveland Public Library has just received, in its John G. White Collection of Folk-lore and Orientalia, an unpublished manuscript dictionary of the Manchu language, prepared by the great Chinese scholar, Stanislas Julien. This manuscript the Library referred to Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Columbian Museum, from whose letter has been taken, with his kind permission, the following account:

'The manuscript bears the title "Vocabulaire Tartare-Mandchou. Contenant la traduction de tous les mots tartares-mandchou employés dans la version de Meng tseu' par l'Emp. Khian loungh." Opposite the title-page, written by the same hand, "Ex libris Stanislas Julien."

'What Julien calls Tartar-Manchu, we now call simply Manchu. It is a special vocabulary to the Manchu translation of the Chinese work Meng-tse (see Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. 2). In 1824 Julien published a book under the title "Meng-Tseu vel Mencium, latina interpretatione ad interpretationem tartaricam utramque recensita instruxit, et perpetuo commentario e Sinicis deprompto illustravit Stanislas Julien. Lutetiae, 1824-29. 2 vol.," published by the Société Asiatique of Paris. . . . A copy of this work, which is in the White collection, has been consulted, but shows no reference to this vocabulary.

'It is obvious that Julien prepared this glossary for the purpose of his translation, and that this manuscript is to be dated prior to 1824. Whether it has ever been published, I am not prepared to say; but nothing is known to me about such a publication. The glossary is not noted by H. Cordier in his *Bibliotheca Sinica*, either as printed or as manuscript.

'It is interesting that in some instances Julien has added the Chinese equivalent to the corresponding Manchu word. It would not be worth while to publish this manuscript, as we have a Manchu dictionary by H. C. v. d. Gabelentz (Leipzig, 1864) for the classical literature and a complete Manchu-Russian dictionary by Zakharov. Julien's work is essentially of historical interest in that it shows us the working methods, the conscientiousness and industry of this great scholar.'

Perhaps some of the readers of the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY may have further information about the his-

tory of this vocabulary. If so, they are requested to communicate it to the Cleveland Public Library.

GORDON W. THAYER,
Librarian of the John G. White Collection.

Cleveland Public Library,
 Cleveland, Ohio.

The mosaic inscription at 'Ain Dūk

This interesting Jewish Aramaic inscription, recently uncovered by a bursting shell at 'Ain Dūk, near Jericho, has been variously published and explained, most fully by Père Vincent in the *Revue Biblique* for October, 1919.

Some of the characters are missing or uncertain, and their restoration is more or less a matter of conjecture. I would like to suggest the following as the probable reading:

דכיר לטב
 בינימין פרנסה
 בר יוסה
 [ד]כירין לטב כל מן
 [ד]מתחזק ויהב או
 [ד]יהב בהרן אתרה
 [ק]רישה בן דהב בן
 [כ]סף בן כל מקמה
 [ד]היא [להו]ן חוקהון
 בהרן אתרה קרישה
 אמן

'Honored be the memory of Benjamin the treasurer, the son of Joseh. Honored be the memory of every one who lends a hand and gives, or who has (already) given, in this holy place, whether gold or silver or any other valuable thing; for this assures them their special right in this holy place. Amen.

The reading of all the characters which are preserved seems quite certain, though they are somewhat carelessly executed, and several of them are made to resemble one another so closely that they would be problematic in a less plain context.

The basis for dating the inscription afforded by the palaeography is so insecure as to be almost negligible. It may be given

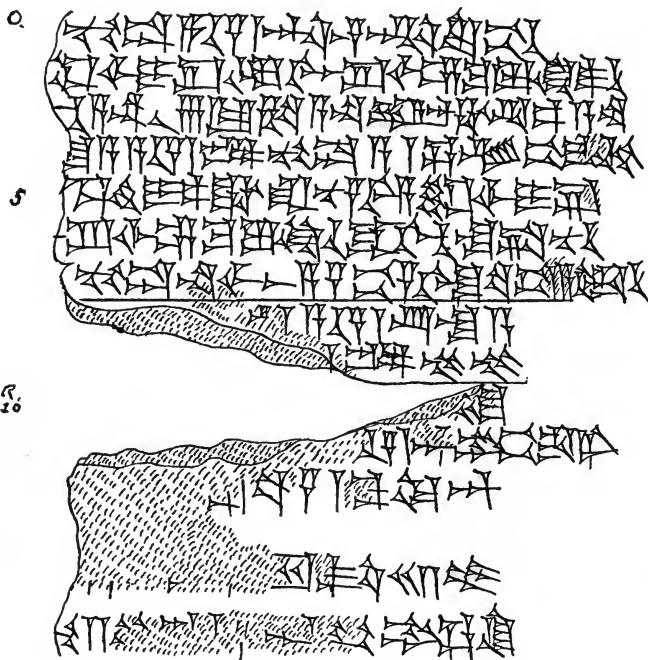
some slight value, however, when taken in connection with the few other indications. The date proposed by Vincent, the age of Herod the Great, seems to me extremely improbable; the evidence points to a much later day. The spelling *בְּנִימִין* is distinctly late; the relative pronoun is *כִּי*, not *כִּי* (contrast the *Megillath Taanith*); the noun *מְקֻמָּה*, 'valuable possession,' is a later Rabbinical word, not even occurring in Onkelos, but frequent in Talmud and Midrash, and noticeably common in Palestinian Syriac (the Judean dialect of about the fifth century A. D.) The abbreviation *בִּן*, for *בְּרִישׁ*, points in the same direction; and finally, the characters of the inscription correspond as closely to those of the fifth century A. D., and the end of the fourth century, as to those of any other time, judging from the scanty material in Chwolson's *Corpus* and elsewhere. All things considered, the fifth century seems to me the most probable date.

C. C. TORREY

Yale University.

An Assyrian tablet found in Bombay

The Assyrian clay tablet here presented was discovered in the storeroom of a house in Girgaum, one of the wards of the city



of Bombay. Through my friend, Dr. Robert Zimmerman, S.J., Professor of Indic Philology in St. Xavier's College, Bombay, it came into my hands. I recently had the opportunity to announce the discovery before the Oriental Club of New York, and at Dr. J. B. Nies's suggestion the tablet was placed in Dr. C. E. Keiser's hands for decipherment. His reading follows. Dr. Keiser notes that of the two women sold by -zêr-ukîn one was his slave and the other his daughter; the *sihi* and *paqirannu* officers who are always mentioned in these slave contracts apparently gave over the document guaranteeing ownership. I may add that it is not known how the relic reached India.

Transliteration.

OBVERSE

1. . . . -zêr-ukîn apil-šu ša ^{md}Šamaš-êtir ina hu-ud lib-bi-šu
[^fA]-šar-ši-i-bîti ù ^fIna-bîti-pân-kalam-ma-lu-mur-aš-šu
. . . -šu a-na 16 šiqu kaspu a-na šimi ha-ri-iš a-na
. . -la (?) -a apil-šu ša ^{md}Nabû-zêr-ukîn apil ^mE-gi-bi id-din
5. [bu-ut] si-hi-i pa-qir-ra-nu ša ^fA-šar-ši-i-bîti
[ù ^fIn]a-bîti-pân-kalam-ma-lu-mur-šu mârtu-šu la-ta-nu-šu
. . . . -zêr-ukîn na-ši ina a-ša-bi ša ^fKu-ut-ta-a aššati-šu
. apil-šu ša ^mŠil-la-a
. ^{md}Nabû-nâdin-šum

REVERSE

10. -tu
. [apil]-šu ša ^{md}Lugal-marad-da-ni
. ut ša ^mBa-di-ilu
. ^{arhu}Šabâtu ûmu 22^{kan}
14. šattu 2^{kan} ^{md}Nabû-kudurri-ušur šar Bâbili^{ki}.

Translation.

. . . -zêr-ukîn, son of Shamash-êtir, in the joy of his heart [i. e. of his own free will] Asharshi-bîti and Ina-bîti-pân-kalamma-lumurashshu his . . . for 16 shekels of silver, for a fixed price, to . . lâ, son of Nabû-zêr-ukîn, son of Egibi, gave (i. e. sold). (The document of) the *sihi* (and) *paqirranu* officers, which (was taken out over) Asharshi-bîti (and) Ina-bîti-pân-lumurshu his daughter (and) his slave, . . . -zêr-ukîn bears. In the presence of Kûtta his wife. (Witnesses) , son of Šillâ; Nabû-nâdin-shum; -tu; , son of Lugal-marad-

dani; of Badi-ilu. month Shebet, day 22,
year 2 of Nebuchadressar, king of Babylon.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

New York City.

PERSONALIA

There has appeared in the *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Quarterly* for November, 1919, an "Appreciation" of Professor GEORGE A. BARTON. It consists of papers by Miss L. P. Smith, of Wellesley College, Prof. A. L. Wheeler, of Bryn Mawr College, and Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania. It is accompanied with a Selected Bibliography of Dr. Barton's Publications, pp. 13-17.

Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, ethnologist in the Bureau of American Ethnology, and professor of ethnology in George Washington University, has been elected a corresponding member of the Société des Américanistes de Paris.

Père ANASTASE-MARIE DE ST. ELIE, the Carmelite lexicographer of Baghdâd, has written to an American correspondent of his experiences since the beginning of the war. On Nov. 23, 1914, he was exiled by the Turkish government to Caesarea (Cappadocia), and allowed to return only in July, 1916. Prior to the fall of Baghdâd in March, 1917, the retreating Turks set fire to the Carmelite monastery and completely destroyed its two valuable libraries of oriental and occidental books respectively. Père Anastase thus saw obliterated the work of 45 years of his life in preparing an etymological dictionary of the Arabic language, which was nearing completion. The monthly magazine, *Lughat al-'Arab*, of which he was the editor, has not appeared since, and will not be published again until the price of paper and printing is reduced. Orientalists who desire to send reprints or duplicate books for the reconstitution of the library of the Order, may address them to the Bibliothèque, Mission des Carmes, Baghdâd, Mesopotamia.

THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA VEDA, BOOK SEVEN

EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

LEROY CARR BARRET

TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

INTRODUCTION

IT HAS SEEMED BEST to continue the work on the Kashmirian Atharva Veda by publishing Book 7 instead of Book 19 as promised in *JAOS* 37. 257. The material is presented in the same manner as that used in Book 5: the transliteration of the ms. is given in italics and is continuous, with the number of each line in brackets. Abbreviations and punctuation marks used are the same as in previous books; they are doubtless familiar to all who are interested in this work.

The results attained in editing the text of this book are rather more satisfactory than in previous books, but much is still uncertain.

Of the ms.—This seventh book in the Kashmir ms. begins f97b17 and ends f104a20,—a little more than six and one half folios. There is only one defacement worth mentioning, f105a 15, and it is possible to restore the text in spite of this. Some of the pages have 19 lines, some 20, none more or less.

Punctuation, numbers, etc.—Within the individual hymns punctuation is most irregular; the colon mark is often placed below the line of letters rather than in it. Below lines 17 and 18 of f100a are some five marks which might possibly be intended for accent marks.

The hymns are grouped into anuvākas, of which there are 4, with 5 hymns in each: anu 3 no. 5 has no kāṇḍa number after it, only 'anu 3', and at the end of the book no number is written for kāṇḍa or anuvāka, tho space is left for one number.

There are a few corrections, both marginal and interlinear, only one of which is at all extended; this is on f98b between lines 4 and 5, where a pāda is inserted followed by 'dvitīyapustake'. In the left margin of f101b at the beginning of hymn no. 11 is 'rakṣāmantram'.

Extent of the book.—This book contains 20 hymns, 4 of them prose. The norm of stanzas in a hymn is clearly 10: ten hymns (probably eleven) have 10 stanzas each. It will be observed that the stanza norm is increased by one in each successive book, starting with four in Book 1. Assuming the correctness of the verse-divisions of the text as edited below we make the following table:

3 hymns have	9 stanzas each =	27 stanzas
10 “ “	10 “ “ =	100 “
3 “ “	11 “ “ =	33 “
3 “ “	12 “ “ =	36 “
1 hymn seems to have	10 “ “ =	10 “
<hr/> 20 hymns have		<hr/> 206 stanzas

New and old material.—Twelve of the hymns of this book may be called new; the number of really new stanzas is about 100, the number of new pādas is somewhat more than 300. Four of the hymns of Ś Bk 5 appear here and also four of Ś Bk 19: our no. 14 is counted as new though some of it has parallels in TS and elsewhere.

ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ŚĀKHĀ BOOK SEVEN

1

(Ś 5. 14)

[f97b17] *atha saptamaḥ oṃ namo* [18] *nārāyaṇāya z oṃ namo*
jvālābhagavatyāiḥ oṃ namo tilotamāyāiḥ z z

[f98a1] *oṃ suparṇas tvāṃnavindat sūkaras tvākhanan nasā |*
dipsoṣage tvam dipsantaṃ prati [2] *kṛtyākṛto dāha | atho yo*
smān dipsati tam u tvam jahy oṣadhe agne pṛtanāṣāt pṛ- [3] *tanā*
sahasva prati kṛtyām kṛtyākṛte | pratiharāṇena harāmasi |
yāṣkvārhi- [4] *ya pautu dyāvāpṛthivī tatsutat. | ut tam mṛgam*
iva viddhat kṛtye kṛtyākṛtaṃ kṛ- [5] *tā | agham astv aghakṛte*
śapathaś śapathiñcine pratyan prati prahiṇvāsi yaś ca- [6] *kāra*
tam aśchatu | yas tvā kṛtyety ekā | punaṣ kṛtyām kṛtyāmṛte
pratiharāṇamna harāma- [7] *si | samakṣam asminn ādadhmo*
yathā kṛtyākṛtam hanaḥ putra iva pītaram gaścha sva- [8]
dāivābhiṣṭhito daśa | tantur ivāvyayaṃn idi kṛtye kṛtyākṛtaṃ
kṛtāḥ | udenāiva vāru- [9] *ṇy abhikrandaṃ mṛgāiva kṛtyā kar-*
tāram ṛśchatu | hr̥ṣvasyāiva pariśāsaṃ parimāya [10] *pari tvaca*

| *druhārde caṣṛṣe kṛtyāṁ grīvāsu pra muñcata* | *yā kṛtye deva-*
kṛtā yā [11] *vā manuṣyajāsi* | *tām tvā pratyāṁ prahiṇmasi* |
praticīnayana vrahmaṇā | *yada strī* [12] *dī vāsmān akṛtyāṁ*
cakāra pāpmane | *tām u tasmāi nayāmassy āśvam ivāśvābhi-*[13]
dhānyā z 1 z

For the invocation read: *atha saptamaṣ kāṇḍo likhyate z oṁ*
namo nārāyaṇāya z oṁ namo jvālābhagavatyāi z oṁ namo tilotta-
māyāi z

For the hymn read: *suparṇas tvānvavindat sūkaras tvākhanan*
naśa | *dipsāuśadhe tvaṁ dipsantaṁ prati kṛtyākṛto daha z 1 z*
<ava jahi yātudhānān ava kṛtyākṛtaṁ jahi> | *atho yo 'smān*
dipsati tam u tvaṁ jahy ośadhe z 2 z agne pṛtanāṣāt pṛtanāḥ
sahasva | *prati kṛtyāṁ kṛtyākṛte pratiharāṇena harāmasi z 3 z*
iṣvā ṛjīyaḥ patatu dyāvāpṛthivī utsutā | *ut taṁ mṛgam iva*
vidhyat kṛtyā kṛtyākṛtaṁ kṛtā z 4 z agham astv aghakṛte
śapathāś śapathīyate | *pratyak prati prahiṇmasi yaś cakāra tam*
ṛchatu z 5 z yas tvā kṛtye prajighāya vidvān aviduṣo gṛham |
punas tvā tasmāi dadhmo yathā kṛtyākṛtaṁ hanāḥ z 6 z punaṣ
kṛtyāṁ kṛtyākṛte pratiharāṇena harāmasi | *samakṣam asminn*
ādadhmo yathā kṛtyākṛtaṁ hanāḥ z 7 z putra iva pitaraṁ gaccha
svaja ivābhiṣṭhito daśa | *tantur ivāvyayann iti kṛtye kṛtyākṛtaṁ*
kṛtā z 8 z ud eṇīva vāraṇy abhikrandaṁ mṛgīva | *kṛtyā kar-*
tāram ṛchatu z 9 z ṛṣyasyeva pariśāsaṁ parimāya pari tvacaḥ |
durhārde cakruṣe kṛtyāṁ grīvāsu prati muñcata z 10 z yā kṛtye
devakṛtā yā vā manuṣyajāsi | *tām tvā pratyak prahiṇmasi prati-*
cīnena vrahmaṇā z 11 z yadi strī yadi vā pumān kṛtyāṁ cakāra
pāpmane | *tām u tasmāi nayāmasy āśvam ivāśvābhīdhānyā z 12*
z 1 z

I have supplied 2ab from Ś; the pādas would be most easily
omitted if 1d and 2b ended alike, so that jahi may have once
stood in our 1d. In 4b *utsutā* is of course only a conjecture.
St 5abc occurs Ś 10. 1. 5abc. St 6 has appeared Ppp 2. 38. 3;
it is reedited here, as the suggestions formerly made do not seem
good.

2

(Ś 5. 23)

[f98a13] *oṣate me dyāvāpṛthivī okatā devī sarasvatī* | [14]
okato ma indraś cāgniś ca kṛmīṁ jambhayatām imāṁ yasyendra
kumārasya kṛmīṁ [15] *dhanapate jahi* | *hatā viśvārātayogreṇa*

*vacasā mimā yo kṣāu parisarpa-[16] ti ye nāsāu parisarpati |
 natām yo madhyaṁ gaśchami taṁ krimiṁ jambhayāmasi [17]
 virūpāu dvāu surūpāu dvāu kṣyāu dvo rohitāu dvāu | babhruś
 ca babhrukarnāś ca gṛdhra-[18] ś kokāś ca te hatāḥ ye krimayas
 sitavakṣā ye kṣṇās sitabāhavaḥ ye ke [19] ca viśvarūpās tān
 krimiṁ jambhayāmasi | yo dviśiṣśas caturakṣaś krimiś carāṅgo
 [20] arjunah śṛṇāmy asya pṛsthīr apa vṛścāmi yaś chirah tad
 asāu sūryo agād vi- [f98b] śvadrṣṭo adrñhā | drṣṭānsya ghnimn
 adrṣṭān ca sarvānś ca pramṛṇaṁ krimiṁ. yavā-[2] śavākhāsaś
 kaṣkiśyāmo dhūkṣāmaś ca parivrṇavaḥ drṣṭaś ca hanyatām
 krimir adṛ-[3] ṣṭaś cota hanyatām. hito yavākho hataś ca pavir
 hato śaṁgaṇavāñ uta | hatā vi-[4] śvārātaya anena vacasā mama
 | sarveśāṁ ca krimiṇāṁ bhinadmy aśminā śīro da-[5] hāmy
 agninā mukhaṁ z 2 z*

Between lines 3 and 4 at the right the ms has *sarvāśāṁ ca krimiṇāṁ dvitīyapustake*.

Read: ote me dyāvaprthivī otā devī sarasvatī | otāu ma indraś
 cāgniś ca krimiṁ jambhayatām imam z 1 z asyendra kumārasya
 krimiṁ dhanapate jahi | hatā viśvā arātaya ugreṇa vacasā mama
 z 2 z yo 'kṣyāu parisarpati yo nāsāu parisarpati | datām yo
 madhyaṁ gacchati taṁ krimiṁ jambhayāmasi z 3 z virūpāu
 dvāu sarūpāu dvāu kṣṇāu dvāu rohitāu dvāu | babhruś ca
 babhrukarnāś ca gṛdhraś kokaś ca te hatāḥ z 4 z ye krimayaś
 śitivakṣā ye kṣṇās śitibāhavaḥ | ye ke ca viśvarūpās tān krimiṁ
 jambhayāmasi z 5 z yo dviśiṣśas caturakṣaś krimiś sārāṅgo
 arjunah | śṛṇāmy asya pṛsthīr apa vṛścāmi yac chirah z 6 z ud
 asāu sūryo agād viśvadrṣṭo adrṣṭahā | drṣṭānś ca ghnann
 adrṣṭānś ca sarvānś ca pramṛṇaṁ krimiṁ z 7 z yavāśāsaś kaṣka-
 śāso dhuṅkṣāsaś ca parivrṇavaḥ | drṣṭaś ca hanyatām krimir
 adrṣṭaś cota hanyatām z 8 z hato yavāšo hataś ca pavir hataḥ
 saganavāñ uta | hatā viśvā arātayo anena vacasā mama z 9 z
 sarveśāṁ ca krimiṇāṁ sarvāśāṁ ca krimiṇāṁ | bhinadmy
 aśmanā śīro dahāmy agninā mukham z 10 z 2 z

In st 1 ote, otā, and otāu are given as in Ś; but the ms reading may point rather to oṣṭe, oṣṭā, and oṣṭāu, from ā + vas with the meaning 'shining hitherward' or possibly 'abiding here.'

3

[f98b5] *tigmebhir agnir arcibhiś śukreṇa deva śociṣā | [6]
 āmādo ni vaha tvam anyam āsu ni kṛṇva tām*

In a read agne, in d āsarī ni kṛṇu tān. RV 6. 48. 7ab has our ab, but with brhadbhir for tigmebhir.

śociṣāgne arcīṣā ca nir daheto [7] aghāyavaḥ | sakhyam ā saṁkṛṇmahe tvaṁ cam āmād upa śambhuvaṁ

Reading tvāṁ cāmād in d would seem to give a possible sense to the stanza.

nir āmādo na-[8]nayāmasi niṣ kravyādho gr̥hebhyaḥ | sam-yādo nāma ye deva te agne mārābhantām | [9]

Read nayāmasi in a, kravyādo in b: in c māṁsādo seems probable.

āmādaś ca kravyādasaś eādasyobhayān saha | prajāṁ ye cakrire bhāgaṁ tām i-[10]to nir nayāmasi |

In a read kravyādaś, in b probably māṁsādaś cobhayān: also tān in d.

yāmeṣv aramāntama pakvam uta dādṛṣu te yantu sarve sasa-[11]mbhūyānyatreto ghāyavaḥ |

For a read ya āmeṣv arasatamaṁ, in b dādṛṣuḥ: in c saṁbhūyā°, in d 'ghāyavaḥ.

ye na sīduḥ kṛtakṛta kilbiṣakṛta sādhya punas tvā-[12]n yajñiyā devā yantu yata āgatāḥ

For ab read ye nas seduḥ kṛtyākṛtaḥ kilbiṣakṛtas sakhyam: in c tān, in d nayantu. Our cd = Ś 14. 2. 10cd. At the end of b the ms reading might be sakhya.

avareṇa savarājo nenajaṁ hastiṁ ba-[13]laṁ | dhātā no bhad-rayā neṣat sa no gopāyatu prajāṁ |

There seems to be a contrast in pādas a and b between avareṇa and anena, but I can see nothing more; the sign transliterated 'ba' in 'balam' is not sure. Over the combination ts in neṣat sa the ms has śca.

kṛṇve haṁ rodasī varma [14] syāma savitus save | mātā no bhadrayā bhūmi dyāuś cāsmān pātva aṇhasaḥ | [15]

Read 'haṁ in a, and bhūmir in c.

yad asurānām ahany asmān pāpāta medhinaḥ devānām paśya dāivyaṁ āpa-[16]ś śundhantu mām imām |

In b pāpāta is probably some form of the root pā 'protect'; medhinaḥ might better be read. In c paśya probably balances pāpāta; pāda d (perhaps reading imam) can stand, but cf. KS 38. 5d āpaś ° māinasah.

yā te pitur marutām sumnam emi mā nas sūryasya saṁdṛśo yu-[17]vathā | abhi no viro vati kṣametat pra jāyāmahi rudra prajā-[18]yā

Read: ā te pitar marutām sumnam emi mā nas sūryasya sain-
dr̥so yuvathāḥ | abhi no vīro 'rvati kṣameta pra jāyāmahi rudra
prajayā z 10 z

This is RV 2. 33. 1 with several variants.

yo garbhe antar yo vṛdhre | antar yaj jātām janitavyam ca
pāuruṣam tasmāhr̥dyā [19] sam haviṣā hamadhya sa naṣ prajāṁ
jaradaṣṭim kṛnotu zz 3 zz

Read: yo garbhe antar yo vṛdhre antar yaj jātām janitavyam
ca pāuruṣam | tasmā rddhyā sam haviṣā huvadhvam sa naṣ
prajāṁ jaradaṣṭim kṛnotu z 11 z 3 z

Cf. Ś 4. 23. 7b and TB 2. 6. 16. 2d.

4

(Ś 19. 13)

[f99a] idyasū bāhū sthvirāu vṛṣāṇāu | cittrā yamā vṛṣabhāu
pārayiṣṇū | tayokṣe prathama yo-[2]gāgate yābhyām catam
asurānā svar yat. | āśuś śīśāno vṛṣabho no bhīmo ghanāgha-
[3]naḥ kṣobhanaś carṣaṇīm. saṅkṛandano nemiṣa ekavīraś
śatam senā ajayat sā-[4]kam indraḥ saṅkṛandanenānīmīṣeṇa ji-
ṣṇunā yodhyena duścyavanena dhr̥ṣṇunā | ta-[5]d indreṇa
jayata tat sahadhvam yudho nara īśuhastena vṛṣṇyā sa īśuhas-
tāis sa nakamkri-[6]bhīr vaśī saṁsr̥ṣṭā adhi indro ganena |
saṁsr̥ṣṭajit somapā bāhośaśkūrdhavadhanvā [7] pratihitābhīr
astā | om̐ ūrdhavadhanvā pratihitābhīr asthā balavijñāyas stha-
vira-[8]ṣ pravīraḥ sahasvān vāji sahasāna ugraḥ abhivīro
abhissatvā sahoji-[9]j jāitṛāyāi ā ratham ā tiṣṭha kovidaṁ
| imam vīram anu harṣādhvam ugram indram satvāno [10] anu
saṁrabhadhvam | grāmajitam gojitam vajrabāhum jayantam
ajmā pram̐ṇantam oja-[11]sā | abhi gottrāni sahasā gāhamāno
madāyur ugrāś catamatsur indraḥ duśśya-[12]vānaṣ pṛtanāśād
ayodhyo sśakam senā avatu pra yutsu | vṛhaspatī pari dīyā [13]
rathena rakṣohamitrāñ apabādhmānāḥ prabhañjan satṛñ
pram̐ṇan̐ amittrān asmā-[14]kam̐ edhyevitā tanūnām. |
indra eṣām nayatā vṛhaspatir dakṣiṇo yajñāṣ pura [15] etu
somaḥ devasenānām abhiḥbhañjatīnām jayantīnām maruto yantu
madhye | [16] indrasya vṛṣṇo marutasya rājña ādityānām maru-
tām śardha ugram | mahāmanasām [17] bhuvanacyavānām ghoṣo
devānām jayatām̐m ud astām. asmākam indras sa-[18]mr̥teṣu
dhvajeṣv asmākam yā īśavas tā jayantu | asmākam vīra uttare
bhava-[19]tv asmāñ devāso vatā haveṣu z 4 z

Read: indrasya bāhū sthvirāu vṛṣāṇāu citrā imā vṛṣabhāu
 pārayiṣṇū | tā yoksyē prathamāu yoga āgate yābhyām jitam
 asurāṇām svar yat z 1 z āśuś śīśāno vṛṣabho na bhīmo ghanā-
 ghanah kṣobhanaś carṣaṇīnām | saṅkrandano 'nimiṣa ekavīraś
 śataim senā ajayat sākam indrah z 2 z saṅkrandanenānīmīṣeṇa
 jiṣṇunāyodhyena duścyavanena dhṛṣṇunā | tad indreṇa jayata
 tat sahadhvam yudho nara iṣuhastena vṛṣṇā z 3 z sa iṣuhastāis
 sa niṣaṅgibhir vaśī'samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena | sam-
 srṣṭajit somapā bāhuśardhy ūrdhavadhanvā pratihitābhir astā z
 4 z balavijñāya sthaviṛaṣ pravīraḥ sahasvān vājī sahamāna
 ugraḥ | abhivīro abhisatvā sahojij jāitrāyendra ratham ā tiṣṭha
 govidam z 5 z imaṁ vīram anu haṛsadhvam ugram indraṁ
 satvāno anu samrabhadhvam | grāmajitaṁ gojitaṁ vajrabāhum
 jayantam ajma pramṛṇantam ojasā z 6 z abhi gotrāṇi sahasā
 gāhamāno adāya ugraś śatamanyur indrah | duścyavanaḥ pṛta-
 nāśād ayodhyo 'smākaṁ senā avatu pra yutsu z 7 z vṛhaspate
 pari dīyā rathena rakṣohāmitrāṁ apabādhamānaḥ | prabhañjaṁ
 śatrūn pramṛṇann amitrān asmākam edhy avitā tanūnām z 8 z
 indra eṣām netā vṛhaspatir dakṣiṇā yajñas pura etu somaḥ |
 devasenānām abhibhañjatīnām jayantīnām maruto yantu
 madhye z 9 z indrasya vṛṣṇo varuṇasya rājña ādityānām maru-
 tāṁ śardha ugram | mahāmanasām bhuvanacyavānām ghoṣo
 devānām jayatām ud asthāt z 10 z asmākam indras samṛteṣu
 dhvajeṣv asmākaṁ yā iṣavas tā jayantu | asmākaṁ vīrā uttare
 bhavantv asmān devāso 'vatā haveṣu z 11 z 4 z

The version restored here accords very closely with that of Ś:
 the emendations are proposed the more confidently because of a
 growing belief that it will become clear that much of Ś Bk 19
 is drawn from Ppp, as was suggested by Roth, *Der AV in Kasch-*
mir, p. 18.

5

[f99a19] vāiśvanarād arocata jāto hira-[20]nyayo mañih tam
 ābharad vṛhaspatiḥ kasyapo vīryāya kaṁ vṛhaspataṁs tam
 a-[f99b] kṛṇo mañim vāiśvānaram saha saptarṣayo balāya kaṁ
 sam dadhuḥ tvā vayodhasaḥ viśve de-[2]vās tv indriyaṁ saptar-
 ṣayaś ca sam dadhuḥ jāto hiranyayo mañir agner vāiśvānarād
 adhi | [3] āsvatho jātaḥ prathamō gneṣ priyatamā tanūḥ vāiś-
 vānarasya srṣṭyā kṛtyādūṣi-[4]ḥ kṛto mañih kṛtyādūṣim tvāvi-
 daṁ kṛtyādūṣim bharāsi tvā kṛtyādūṣim kṛ-[5]nōmi tvā

kr̥tyādūṣim̐ vayodhasam̐ | patatrī pakṣi balavān̐ kr̥tyādūṣis sa-[6]*pūtnahā nitanni viśvabheṣaja ugraṣ patiko maṇiḥ patatrī te balāya* [7] *kaṁ nitannir bheṣajāya te | jāto hiraṇyayo maṇir apa rakṣāṁsi sedhatu | de-*[8]*vo maṇis sapatnahā rakṣohāmī-vacātanah̐ hiraṇmayam̐ naram̐śmāna kaśya-*[9]*penābhṛtaṁ saha | vāiśvānaram̐ te namekaṁm̐ āhur agner yones saha candreṇa jātam̐* [10] *gayasphānaṣ pratarano vadhodhaṣ kr̥tyādūṣir bala-gahāsy ugraḥ yasyedaṁ bhūmyā-*[11]*m̐ adhi niṣkrāntam̐ pān-sure padaṁ | mṛdā nas tanno yad rūpas tasyasnāhi tanūvadhi |* [12] *dūṣā tvāvidaṁ vayam̐ devasya savitus save | jīvātave bharāmasi mahyā* [13] *ariṣṭatātaye | āśchedanaṣ pratyedano dviṣatas tapano maṇiṣ śatruñjayas sa-*[14]*patnahā dviṣantam̐ apa bādhatām̐. z 5 z a 1 z*

Read: vāiśvānarād arocata jāto hiraṇyayo maṇiḥ | tam ābharad vṛhaspatiḥ kaśyapo vīryāya kam z 1 z vṛhaspatis tam akr̥nod maṇim̐ vāiśvānaram̐ saha | saptarṣayo balāya kaṁ sam̐ dadhuṣ tvā vayodhasaḥ z 2 z viśve devās tv indriyam̐ saptar-ṣayaś ca sam̐ dadhuḥ | jāto hiraṇyayo maṇir agner vāiśvānarād adhi z 3 z aśvattho jātaṣ prathamo 'gneṣ priyatamā tanūḥ | vāiśvānarasya sr̥ṣṭyā kr̥tyādūṣiṣ kr̥to maṇiḥ z 4 z kr̥tyādūṣim̐ tvāvidaṁ kr̥tyādūṣim̐ bharāmi tvā | kr̥tyādūṣim̐ kr̥nomi tvā kr̥tyādūṣim̐ vayodhasam̐ z 5 z patatrī pakṣi balavān̐ kr̥tyādūṣis sapatnahā | nitunnir viśvabheṣaja ugraṣ patiko maṇiḥ z 6 z patatrī te balāya kaṁ nitunnir bheṣajāya te | jāto hiraṇyayo maṇir apa rakṣāṁsi sedhatu z 7 z devo maṇis sapatnahā rakṣohā-mīvacātanah̐ | hiraṇmayam̐ †naram̐śmāna kaśyapenābhṛtaṁ saha z 8 z vāiśvānaram̐ te nāmāikam̐ āhur agner yones saha candreṇa jātam̐ | gayasphānaṣ pratarano vayodhaṣ kr̥tyādūṣir valagahāsy ugraḥ z 9 z yasyedaṁ bhūmyām̐ adhi niṣkrāntam̐ pānsure padaṁ | mṛdā nas tanvo yad rapas tasyāsnāhi tanūvasin z 10 z dūṣām̐ tvā vidma vayam̐ devasya savitus save | jīvātave bharāmasi mahyā ariṣṭatātaye z 11 z ācchedanaṣ pracchedano dviṣatas tapano maṇiḥ | śatruñjayas sapatnahā dviṣantam̐ apabādhatām̐ z 12 z 5 z anu 1 z

In 6c and 7b nitunnir is a conjecture which may be found acceptable: patiko I would regard as a variant form of pataka. In 8c we might consider as a possibility araśmānam̐; the two hemistichs do not hang together well. For 9c cf RV 1. 91. 19c; for 11b cf RV 5. 82. 6b etc; for 12b cf Ś 19. 28 passim; and for 12d cf SMB 1. 2. 1c.

6

[f99b14] *patyasya sthū*-[15]*ṇā pṛthivī dādāhāra ṛtena devā amṛtām anv avindan.* | *dhruvena tvā ha*-[16] *haviṣā dhārayāmy abhi tad dyāvāpṛthivī ghrṇītām*

In a we may probably read *patyasya sthūṇāḥ*; in b *tena* and *amṛtam*, tho *ṛtena* would seem possible; the form suggested is Ś 13. 1. 7d. In c read *dhruvena* and *haviṣā*, in d *ghṇītām*; our d is RV 10. 47. 8c.

yebhir homāir viśva-[17]*karmā dadhāremām pṛthivīm mātaraṁ naḥ* | *tebhiḥ tvā homāir iha dhārayā*-[18]*m ṛcam satyam anu carantu homāḥ*

In b read *dādāhāre*°, in cd probably *dhārayāmy ṛtaṁ*.

iha dhriyadhvaṁ dharuṇe pṛthivyā uśatyā [19] *mātus subhagāyā upasthe* | *aparānutvā sahasā modamānā asmi*-[20]*n vāstāu suprajāsāu bhavātha* |

In c I would suggest *upārṇudhvaṁ*; in d read *suprajaso* (the stem *supraja* seems not quotable in AV). Note Ś 14. 2. 43b *hasāmudāu mahasā modamānāu*.

suprajāsāu sahasā modamānā varṣman pṛthi-[f100a]*vyā upari śrayadhvaṁ* | *asyāi śālāyāi śarma yacchantu devā dhārābhir enām pṛthivī pi*-[2]*partu* |

Read *suprajaso mahasā* in a: *mahasā* also in st 3c.

imām śālām śrāiṣṭhyatamām vasānām ariṣṭavīrām abhi sañcarema | *dr̥dhā ta*-[3]*pasito bhavantu sthirāvīrā upasado bhavantu* |

The ms corrects to *dr̥dhā u*° in c. In a read *śrāiṣṭhyatamām*; in c *upamito*, in d *sthiravīrā*. The insertion of *asyā* at the beginning of c would improve the pāda.

imām śālām savitā vāyu-[4]*r indro vṛhaspatir nimnotu prajānan.* | *ukṣāntūrṇā maruto ghr̥tena bhago no rājā ni* [5] *kṛṣaṁ dadātu* |

Read: *imām śālām savitā vāyur indro vṛhaspatir ni minotu prajānan* | *ucchantūnnā maruto ghr̥tena bhago no rājā ni kṛṣiṁ dadātu* z 6 z

This is Ś 3. 12. 4; but Ś has *tanotu* in d.

mānasya patni haviṣo juṣasva tivrāntasya bahulamadhyamasya | [6] *ā tvā śasir vādhyatām ā kumāra ā vābhyantām dhenavo nityavatsāḥ*

Read: *mānasya patni haviṣo juṣasva tivrāntasya bahula-*

madhyamasya | ā tvā śīsur vāsyatām ā kumāra ā vāsyantām
dhenavo nityavatsāḥ z 7 z

With our *cd* compare Ś 3. 12. 3cd and also PG 3. 4. 4.

dr̥dhās te sthūnā [7] *bhavantu bhūmyām adhi dr̥dhāḥ pakṣāsas*
tavidhe viśāle | sthiravīrā annasi-[8] *tā na edhi | śarma no yaścha*
dvipade catuṣpade |

Read *taviṣe* in *b*; in *c* probably *sthiravīrānna*°; delete colon after *edhi*, and read *yaccha* in *d*.

śālā devī gārḥapatyāya ca-[9] *klipe tṛṇam vasānā jagatī śusevā*
| sthirāṅgam tvā sthirapāuruṣān asya pa-[10] *ttriḥ sthirā tvā*
vīrā abhi sañcarema |

Read *ca* in *a*, *tṛṇam* and *śusevā* in *b*: in *c* °*ṅgām* and °*pāuruṣām*, but for *asya* *pattriḥ* I can suggest nothing.

vāstoṣ pate prati jāniḥy asmān dvāveśo [11] *anamīvo na edhi*
| yan tvemahe pṛtanas taj juṣasva catuṣpado dvipadā veśṛ
e-[12] *ha z 1 z*

Read: *vāstoṣ pate prati jāniḥy asmān svāveśo anamīvo na*
edhi | yat tvemahe prati nas taj juṣasva catuṣpado dvipada ā
veśayeha z 10 z 1 z

For this stanza see RV 7. 54. 1, etc., but with a different *pāda*
d: Kāuś 43. 13 quotes the stanza as here. *Pāda d* is Ś 13. 1. 2d.

7

[f100a12] *darbhogra oṣadhīnām śatakāṇḍo ajāyata | sahasra-*
[13] *vīryaṣ pari naṣ pātu viśvataḥ*

Over *sahasra* the *ms* has a correction *mamahasa**vīryaḥ*.

Read *darbha ugra* in *a*; for *c* *maṇiḥ sahasra*°. Ś 2. 4. 2 has the second hemistich as here; in general cf Ś 19. 32.

yathā bharbho ajāyamānas tvacām bhinantya [14] *bhūmyām*
| evāsyā bhidyatām jano yo naḥ pāpam cikitsati |

Read *darbho jāyamānas* in *a*, and *bhinatti bhūmyāḥ* in *b*.

apa nātram a-[15] *pa kṛtyām apa rakṣasya dhānvā | amīvās*
*c * * * * * sarvāṅś ca yātu*-[16] *dhānaḥ*

Read *rakṣāṅsi dhanvā* in *b*: in *cd* *cātayāmasi sarvāś ca*
yātudhānyaḥ. Tho the *ms* is defaced, enough traces of letters remain to give a basis for restoration. At the end of *pāda d* the *ms* interlines the correction *nyaḥ*.

asthi vāi nivata udvalam na vāi sarvam anuplavam | asi tvam
tasya dūṣa-[17] *no yo naḥ pāpam cikitsati |*

With *asti* in a the first hemistich might stand; and *asti* would seem rather better than *asi*.

pari sāyaṁ pari prātaḥ pari madhyandinām pa-[18]ri garbho hiranyahastaghnaḥ pari naḥ pātu viśvataḥ

Read *madhyandinām* in b; and *uta* for *pari* at the end of b would be better but perhaps is not necessary. In c read *darbho*.

girāu jātas svarāsi [19] sākaṁ somena babhruṇā | mā pāpakṛtvanaś śikho mā pākaḥ puru-[f100b] ṣo ri naḥ pātu vidvataḥ z

In a *svārād* *asi* might be better than *svārāsi* (from *svṛ*). In c we might read *śisur* for *śikho*, and in d *pākaḥ puruṣo riṣat*: in e read *pari* and *viśvataḥ*.

sahasrakāṇḍas taviṣas tikṣṇavalśo viśāsahi | [2] garbhena sarpā rakṣāṁsy asīvāś cāpadhāmasi |

In b read *viśāsahih*, in c *darbhena sarpān*, in d *amīvāś*.

apadugdham duṣvapni apada-[3]gdhā arātayaḥ sarvaś ca yātudhānyaḥ

For a read *apadagdham dussvapnyam*: in c *sarvāś*.

mā tvā dabhaṁ yātudhānāṁ sā [4] sā dhradhniś śakuniḥ patham. | darbho rājā samudriyaḥ pari naḥ pātu vi-[5]śvataḥ z
2 z

Read: *mā tvā dabhaṁ yātudhānā mā grdhnuś śakuniḥ patan | darbho rājā samudriyaḥ pari naḥ pātu viśvataḥ z 9 z 2 z*

8

[f100b5] *yo naḥ pāpena vacasū ghoṣatodrṁkta vṛvat. | [6] ārāś chapatam aprāsmām upanadyātu sarvataḥ |*

In b perhaps we may read °odrikto 'bravat; in c ārāc chapatham, and possibly ā parasmād, or better apāsmād; in d apadyatu.

yan naś śapād varuṇo ya-[7]t sapatniś śvaśrūr vā yaś chvaśuro vā śapāti | jyāyasaś capathām vayi-[8]yavāinaṁ yāvayāmasi |

Read: *yan naś śapād varo no yat sapatni śvaśrūr vā yac chvaśuro vā śapāti | jyāyasaś śapathān vā ye avāinān yāvayāmasi z 2 z*

yām samasyante pathām vākṣampānṛtyām adhi | yuvam [9] tam bibhṛad vāho pūrvaḥ pratiśśṛṇīyatām |

For ab it would seem possible to read *yān samasyante śapathān yān śapān anṛtān adhi*. In c if *yuvam* is correct it might be

followed by *tān bibhrad vāhyo*, or *bibhradvāhyāu*; for *d* we then would read *pūrvā pratiśrñyātām*.

ṛjukeśo yavo ma babhrūr maghavā [10] *no na sābhya hiraṇyadhanvām śapathām tupejatu tām pīt vendro vṛttram śakno jaghā*-[11]*na* |

For *ab* a probable reading is *ṛjukeśo yavas sa babhrur maghavā no na sādhyah*. For *c* we might read *hiraṇyadhanvā śapathān tv apejatu*; in *d* read *taṁ* and *vṛtram śakro*: in the right margin the ms indicates the correction *kra* for *kno*.

vāsava sāsīśhyata ṛṣabhas sahasvañ śapathān iva | *ārā carantu śapathā* [12] *itā ito jihvōditārasās santu sarve* |

In *a* there may be some form of *sah*, but I can suggest nothing satisfactory; in *b* *sahasvāñ* is probable. In *c* read *ārāc*, in *de* *ita ito jihvoditā arasās*.

nāsagrām hā vāco heḷād ī-[13]*kṣitā* | *aghoracakṣasa śarma te varma kṛṇmasi* |

In the first part of this I can suggest nothing beyond the division of the words: read *aghoracakṣasaś*.

apāñco yantu śapathā-[14]*d anenāstāghāyunā* | *yo no durasyāñ jīvase senā nākasyeṣate* | [15]

Read *apāñco*, and probably *śapathā anenāstā aghāyunā*. In *c* *durasyan* is probable, and if *jīvase* is a verb the third person *jīvati* would seem better; for the rest I can see only *īṣate* at the end.

pari pātu śapathā | *d anṛtād duritād uta* | *pari mā jyāyasaś śaṅ*-[16]*sād divo rakṣatu mām iṣam* |

Read: *pari mā pātu śapathād anṛtād duritād uta* | *pari mā jyāyasaś śaṅsād devo rakṣatu mām iṣam* z 8 z

The end of *d* may not be good, but it seems possible: *imām* would be better.

anāsta yajñam śapathāir anuci vyāddhyam kṛtam | [17] *vṛhada varma prati muñcāmi te* |

In *a* read *anaṣtam* rather than *anvāsta*; in *b* *anūci vyāddhyam* would seem possible if *vyāddhyam* can be a noun: read *vṛhad varma*.

yuvantardhyayāyānsīva pakṣaṇā-[18]*viśantu patattriṇaś śapatāram śapathāṣ punaḥ* z 3 z

Read: *tyuvantardhyayāyānsīvaḥ pakṣiṇaḥ* | *ā viśantu patattriṇaś śaptāram śapathāṣ punaḥ* z 10 z 3 z

The text in *a* looks somewhat like that of 3c above; both *pādas* seem hopeless.

9

(Ś 5. 7)

[f100b18] *a no di-[19]śam sū pari śthārāter mā nor dakṣāir
dakṣiṇā yātumāvān punaḥ pra jātā [f101a] savitā ca yaśchatām
nasor viraśchāyāsamṛddhyāi ca kṛṇva |*

Read: ā no diśa mā pari śthā arāte mā no dhakṣir dakṣiṇām
yātumāvān | punaḥ pra dhātā savitā ca yacchatām namo vīrt-
sāyā asamṛddhyāi ca kṛṇmaḥ z 1 z

This varies greatly from Ś, having an entirely different cd:
the gender of yātumāvān is not consistent with a and d.

*yam arāte purodhatsvāi puru-[2]rāprṇam | namas te tasmāi
kṛṇo mā vanim mama vyathah*

Read: yam arāte purodhatse puruṣam parirāprṇam | namas
te tasmāi kṛṇmo mā vanim mama vyathah z 2 z

Ś has °rāpiṇam in b; perhaps it should stand here also.

*anavadyābhiḥ prayuñjma-[3]he manasā hṛdayena ca | arātī
tanvo mā vīriśche diśchantām parirāprṇi [4]*

In a anavadyābhiḥ would seem possible; in cd read arāte and
vīrtser ditsantam: tanvam would be better than tanvo. This
is not in Ś.

*pr no vanir devakṛtā divā naktam ca siddhyatu | rātim anu-
preme vayam namo stv a-[5]rāyataye |*

In a read pra no, in b sidhyatu: in c arātim, in d 'stv arāyataye.

*uta magna āpobhavati svapnayyā srjase canam | rāte citti
vīri-[6]śchindy ākūtim puruṣasya ca |*

Read: uta nagnā bobhuvati svapnayā srjase janam | arāte
cittim vīrtsyanty ākūtim puruṣasya ca z 5 z

*paro mehy asimṛddhe mrte hetim nayāmasi | yam dvi-[7]śmas
tam vimvakavyā bhūtvā srgmanī rukmanī drśet.*

For ab we may probably read paro mehy asamṛddhe vi te
hetim nayāmasi; cf Ś 7ab where paro 'pehy stands. If we may
read viśvakavyā and sragmanī, the rest might stand.

*namas te stu samṛddhe [8] māmāham purodhim kṛṇv atha
varmī tvāham namivantiṁ nutadantiṁ mā te martyām sa-[9]
santyebhya adhi nirvadantiṁ*

It seems that samṛddhe is correct here, not asamṛddhe; if so
the next pāda might possibly be māmāhaḥ puraiṇdhim kṛṇu:
these suggestions are made to seem the more doubtful by the fol-
lowing words which are in part parallel to Ś 7cd where tvā refers
to asamṛddhi. It seems clear that Ppp intends nimivantiṁ

nitudentim, and probably arāte for mā te; amartyām martye-bhyo might be possible. For atha varmī one might think of atha vanve, or perhaps vṛṇve.

mā no vanim mā vācam vīriścam ugrāv indrāgnī [10] nām bhajatām vasūni sarve no dya diśchatta aratīm prati haryatām

Read vīrtsīr in a, and na ā in b; in c ditsanto, and in e no 'dya and haryatā.

sa vadā-[11]ni devānām devadūtiṣu |

These words are all that the ms gives to correspond to Ś st 4. The stanza in Ś reads, sarasvatīm anumatiṁ bhagaṁ yanto havāmahe | vācam juṣṭām madhumatīm avādiṣam devānām devahūtiṣu.

yam vācā mama kuryāj jihvayoṣṭhāpidhā-[12]nayā | śraddham adya vindatu dattās somena babhruṇā z 4 z

Read: *yam vācā mama kuryāj jihvayāuṣṭhāpidhānayā | śrad-dhā tam adya vindatu dattā somena babhruṇā z 10 z 4 z*

The first hemistich in Ś st 5 is *yam yācāmy aham vācā sarasvatyā manoyujā*: our pāda a seems possible but if it should be emended to *yam yācāmi* then *makuryāj* may conceal an instrumental agreeing with *jihvayā*, or parallel to it.

10

(Ś 19. 39)

[f101a13] *aitu devas trāyamāṇa kuṣṭho himavatas pari | takmānam sarvaṁ nāsayaṁ sa-[14]rvās ca yātudhāvyah trīni te kuṣṭha nāmāni naghāmāro naghāriṣo na ghā-[15]yam puruṣo riṣat. | asmāi pari vṛvīmi tvā sāyam prātar atho divah jī-[16]valā nāma te mātā jīvanto nāma te pitā | mārṣā nāma te śvasāḥ u-[17]ttamo sy oṣadhīnām anadṛvān jagatām iva | vyāgra svapadām iva naghāyam [18] puruṣo riṣat. | asmāi pari vṛvīmi tvā sāyam prātar atho divah ti-[19]ṣyāmividyō girayebhyas trir ādityebhyas pari | trir jāto viśvadevebhyas sa [f101b] kuṣṭho viśvabheṣaja | sūkam somena tiṣṭhasi takmānam sarvaṁ nāsayaṁ sarvās ca yātu-[2]dhānyah aśvattho devasadanas trītyasyām itāu divi | tatrāmṛtasya cakṣaṇam tva-[3]ṣ kuṣṭho jāyatāt saḥ hiraṇye non acarad dhiranyardhandhanā divi | sa yatra nava-[4]ṣ paribhṛāṇam yatra himavataś śiraḥ tatrāmṛtasya cakṣaṇam tataḥ kuṣṭho ajāya-[5]ta | sa kuṣṭham viśvabheṣaja sūkam somena tiṣṭhasi | takmānam sarvaṁ nāsayaṁ sarvā-[6]ś ca*

*yātudhānyaḥ yaṁ tvā veda pūrvakṣvāko yaṁ vā tvā kuṣṭhikāś
ca ahiśyā-[7] vaso anusāriśchas tenāsi viśvabheṣajaḥ śīrśālākāṁ
tṛtīyakāṁ sa-[8] dantī yaś ca hāyanaḥ takmānaṁ viśvadhāvīryā
adharāñcam parā suvaḥ z [9] z 5 z anu 2 z*

Read: āitu devas trāyamānaḥ kuṣṭho himavatas pari | tak-
mānaṁ sarvaṁ nāśayan sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ z 1 z trīni te
kuṣṭha nāmāni naghamaṁro naghāriṣo na ghāyaṁ puruṣo riṣat |
asmāi pari vṛavīmi tvā sāyaṁ-prātar atho divā z 2 z jīvalā nāma
te mātā jīvanto nāma te pitā mārṣā nāma te svasā | na ghāyaṁ
puruṣo riṣat | asmāi ° ° z 3 z uttamo 'sy oṣadhīnām anadṛvāṁ
jagatām iva vyāghraś śvapadām iva | na ghāyaṁ puruṣo riṣat
| asmāi pari vṛavīmi tvā sāyaṁ-prātar atho divā z 4 z trīś śāmbu-
bhyo 'ngirebhyas trir ādityebhyas pari | trir jāto viśvadeve-
bhyaḥ | sa kuṣṭha viśvabheṣaja sākāṁ somena tiṣṭhasi | takmā-
naṁ sarvaṁ nāśayan sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ z 5 z aśvattho
devasadanas tṛtīyasyām ito divi | tatrāmṛtasya cakṣaṇaṁ tataḥ
kuṣṭho 'jāyata | sa kuṣṭha ° ° | takmānaṁ ° ° z 6 z hiraṇyayī
nāur acarad dhiranyaḥ bandhanā divi | tatrā ° ° | sa kuṣṭha ° °
| takmānaṁ ° ° z 7 z yatra nāvaḥ prabhraṇsaṇaṁ yatra hima-
vataś śīraḥ | tatrāmṛtasya cakṣaṇaṁ tataḥ kuṣṭho ajāyata | sa
kuṣṭha viśvabheṣaja sākāṁ somena tiṣṭhasi | takmānaṁ sarvaṁ
nāśayan sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ z 8 z yaṁ tvā veda pūrvā
ikṣvāko yaṁ vā tvā kuṣṭhikāś ca | tahiśyāvaso anusāriśchas
tenāsi viśvabheṣajaḥ z 9 z śīrśālākāṁ tṛtīyakāṁ sadandir yaś ca
hāyanaḥ | takmānaṁ viśvadhāvīryā dharāñcam parā suva z 10
z 5 z anu 2 z

There are a number of variations from Ś here. In 5a śāmbu-
bhyo is adopted on the testimony of the Ś mss, which also seem
to support the form 'ngirebhyas; 5d is emended to harmonize
with the tiṣṭhasi of 5e. The most important variation is in giv-
ing 5d-g with stt 6 and 7; this seems to be indicated by the ms
in f101b3 by the saḥ before hiraṇye and the sa before yatra.
In 9ab I have merely tried to keep close to the ms: in 10a
śīrśālākāṁ is probably correct but its meaning is not clear.

11

Cf Ś 3. 21. 10, RV 10. 162 passim, and MG 2. 18. 2 passim.

[f101b9] *ye parvatās somaprṣṭhāpa uttānaśī-[10] vari | vātaś
parjanyaūd agnis te kravvyādāṁ aśīsamāṁ | yas te hantū carāca-
[11] ram utthāsyantaṁ sarīṣṭpam. garbhaṁ yo daśamāsyam*

10/61-6ab- tam ito nāsayāmasi | [12] yad agnibhyapsaraso gandharvām
 gehya uta | kravyādo mūradevenas tāy ito [13] nāsayāmasi | yas
 tā urv ārohaty asṛk te rehaṇāya kaṁ | āmādaṣ kravyā- [14] dhe
 ripuṁs tāy ito nāsayāmasi | yas te śroṇi vyāvayaty antarā dam-
 patī [15] śaye | yonī yo antar ārelhi tam ito nāsayāmasi | yas
 tvā svapnena ta- [16] masā mohayitvā nipadyate | rāyaṁ kaṇvaṁ
 pāpmānaṁ tam ito nāsayā- [17] masi | hā hī kharva khalute
 nāigur akarna tuṇḍila | indraś ca tigmasā- [18] yudhaṁ tena tvā
 nāsayāmasi | nasas taṇḍāya namaṣ kusumāya namaṣ pra- [19]
 diṣṭhāmne namaṣ kaśyade namaṣ tubhyaṁ nirṛte viśvavāre jale
 maṁ dhāpaye [20] tāṁ viśvarūpaṁ yāvad dyāur yāvat pṛthivī
 yāvat payeti sūryaḥ tāvatvam u- [f102a] m ugra lulgulo parimāṁ
 pāhi viśvataḥ z 1 z

In the left margin opposite the first two lines the ms has rakṣāmantraṁ. Line 18 is slightly defaced.

Read: ye pārvatās somaprṣṭhā āpa uttānaśīvariḥ | vātaṣ par-
 janya ād agnis te kravyādāṁ aśīśaman z 1 z yas te hanti carā-
 caram utthāsyantaṁ sarisṛpam | garbhaṁ yo daśamāsyāṁ tam
 ito nāsayāmasi z 2 z yad agnibhyo 'psaraso gandharvā gehyā
 uta | kravyādo mūradevinas tāṁ ito nāsayāmasi z 3 z yas ta ūrv
 ārohaty asṛk te rehaṇāya kaṁ | āmādaṣ kravyādo ripuṁs tāṁ ito
 nāsayāmasi z 4 z yas te śroṇi vyāvayaty antarā dampatī śaye |
 yonim yo antar ārelhi tam ito nāsayāmasi z 5 z yas tvā svapnena
 tamasā mohayitvā nipadyate | arāyaṁ kaṇvaṁ pāpmānaṁ tam
 ito nāsayāmasi z 6 z hā hī kharva khalite nāigur akarna tuṇḍila
 | indrasya tigmam āyudhaṁ tena tvā nāsayāmasi z 7 z namaṣ
 taṇḍāya namaṣ kusumāya namaṣ pratiṣṭhāmne namaṣ kaśyade
 | namaṣ tubhyaṁ nirṛte viśvavāre jale saṁ dhāpaye tāṁ viś-
 varūpāṁ z 8 z yāvad dyāur yāvat pṛthivī yāvat paryeti sūryaḥ
 | tāvat tvam ugra gulgula parimāṁ pāhi viśvataḥ z 9 z 1 z

In st 7b nijur or even nāijur might be read: in 8b prati-
 ṣṭhāmne is probably good but for kaśyade I can think of noth-
 ing: in 8d we might consider jvāle instead of jale.

12

[f102a1] yāikarāgnim ekavratā- [2] m ekasthām ekalāmikām |
 pājām sannacātaniṁ jāitrāyāśchāvadāmasi | [3] yāikarājñi
 ekavratā ekasthā ekalāmike | na tvā sapatnī sasaha śāi re- [4]
 cana vāhyā uttarāhaṁ tattarabhyo uttared adhārabhyaḥ adhaṣ
 sapatnī sāmakty adha- [5] red adhārabhyaḥ na sāindhavasya puṣ-

pasya sūryo snāpayati tvacām. pāṭe snāpa-[6]yātvayā sapatnā varcādade | na vāi pāṭe pāṭe vahasi subhagāṁkaraṇīd a-[7]si pāṭe bhagamyā no dheyatho mā mahiṣīm kṛṇu | yat pāṭe adha vṛkṣe vātapla-[8]vā mahīyame | jayanti pratyātiṣṭhanti sañjāyā nāma vāsi | uttānapa-[9]rṇām subhagām sahamānām sahasvatīm | aśchā vṛhadvadā vada pāṭām śapatna-[10]cātānīm pāṭām ivy āśnān hantavā amurebhyaḥ tayā sapatnyām sāksīya mahe-[11]ndro dānavān iva | pājā bibharty aṅkuśām hiraṇyavantam aṅkinām | tena sapatnyā [12] varca ālumpasi samedhamat. imām khanāmy oṣadhiṁ vīrudhām balavatta-[13]mām athā sapatnīm bādhate kṛṇute kevalam patim. z 2 z

Read: ekarājñīm ekavratām ekasthām ekalāmikām | pāṭām sapatnacātānīm jāitrāyācchāvadāmasi z 1 z ekarājñy ekavrata ekastha ekalāmike | na tvā sapatnī sāsāha †śāi recana vāhyā† z 2 z uttarāham uttarābhya uttared adharābhyaḥ | adhas sapatnī †sāmaky adhared adharābhyaḥ z 3 z na sāindhavasya puṣpasya sūryaḥ snāpayati tvacā | pāṭe snāpayatu tvayā sapatnyā varca ādade z 4 z na vāi pativahāsi subhagāṁkaraṇīd asi | pāṭe bhagām ā no dhehy atho mā mahiṣīm kṛṇu z 5 z yat pāṭe adho vṛkṣe vātaplavā mahīyase | jayanti pratyātiṣṭhanti sañjāyā nāma vā asi z 6 z uttānaparṇām subhagām sahamānām sahasvatīm | acchā vṛhadvadām vada pāṭām sapatnīcātānīm z 7 z pāṭām indro vyāśnād dhantavā asurebhyaḥ | tayā sapatnīm sāksīya mahendro dānavān iva z 8 z pājā bibharty aṅkuśām hiraṇyavantam aṅkinām | tena sapatnyā varca ālumpasi samedhamat z 9 z imām khanāmy oṣadhiṁ vīrudhām balavattamām | athā sapatnīm bādhate kṛṇute kevalam patim z 10 z 2 z

The word ekalāsikā, or ekamālikā, might be better than ekalāmikā as given in stt 1 and 2. Our st 3 is an interesting variant of Ś 3. 18. 4; sāsakty would seem quite possible in pāda c, intensive of sañj; Edgerton suggests māmaky. Our st 8 has some similarity to Ś 2. 27. 4 and 5 (Ppp 2. 16. 3). For our st 10 cf Ś 3. 18. 1 and 2.

13

[f102a14] yāsām ārād āghoṣāso vātasyāi prthag yataḥ tāsām sanvanām indra apa-[15]kṛtāś chirah yāṣ purustād ācaranti sākaṁ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ yā vācam a-[16]nasavyamny antarikṣed adho divaḥ yāsām preṅkhyo divi vṛddho antarikṣe hi-[17]raṇyayaḥ yāṣ patanti vātarathād uttānāṣ pādaghātīnīm vṛkṣaṁ parisa-[18]rpanti sū cakṣu karikrati | yāś ca tvā riṣaṁ gaśchanti

vikumbhās celanāsini | [19] *yāsaṁ siktavām iṣur gr̥ho mito hiraṇyayaḥ yā rokāiḥ papadyante pu-*[20]*ṣkalāir iva jāmaya | yā nadiḥ pratigāhante saṁrabhya kanyā vayah yā-*[f102b]*s tirthan avagāhante ghn̄yā svaśitir iva | yās samudrād uścāranty uścāir ghoṣān kanikrati | ā-*[2]*gaśchanti janam janam iśchantiḥ prahitam bahu | tāsām sunvatim indro apakṛtaḥ chiraḥ* [3] *z*
3 *z*

Read: *yāsām ārād āghoṣāso vātasyeva pr̥thag yatāḥ | tāsām śvanvatīnām indro apakṛntac chiraḥ* *z* 1 *z* *yās purastād ācaranti sākaṁ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ | tāsām ° ° z* 2 *z* *yā vācam †ana-savyam̄ny antarikṣād atho divaḥ | tāsām ° ° z* 3 *z* *yāsām preṅkho divi vṛddho antarikṣe hiraṇyayaḥ | tāsām ° ° z* 4 *z* *yās patanti vātarathād uttānāḥ pādaghātiniḥ | tāsām ° ° z* 5 *z* *yā vṛkṣaṁ parisarpanti †sā cakṣuḥ karikrati | tāsām ° ° z* 6 *z* *yās ca tvā riṣaṁ gacchanti vikumbhās celanāsiniḥ | tāsām ° ° z* 7 *z* *yāsām sikatāvān iṣur gr̥ho mito hiraṇyayaḥ | tāsām ° ° z* 8 *z* *yā rokāiḥ papadyante puṣkalāir iva jāmayaḥ | tāsām ° ° z* 9 *z* *yā nadiḥ pratigāhante saṁrabhya kanyayā vayah | tāsām ° ° z* 10 *z* *yās tirtham avagāhante 'ghnyāś śvasatir iva | tāsām ° ° z* 11 *z* *yās samudrād uccaranty uccāir ghoṣān karikrati | āgacchantir janam-janam icchantiḥ prahitam bahu | tāsām śvan-vatīnām indro apakṛntac chiraḥ* *z* 12 *z* 3 *z*

14

CF TS 2. 3. 10. 3, and KS 11. 7

[f102b3] *agnir āyusmān sa vanaspatibhir āyusmān. sa māyusmān āyu-*[4]*ṣmantam kṛṇotu | vāyur āyusmān so antarik-ṣeṇāyusmān. sūrya āyusmān sa dī-*[5]*vāyusmān. | candra āyusmān sa nakṣattrāir āyusmān. soma āyusmān sa oṣa-*[6]*dhibhir āyusmān. yajña āyusmān sa dakṣiṇābhir āyusmān. samudra āyusmā-*[7]*n sa nadibhir āyusmān. indrenāyusmān sa vīryeṇāyusmān. vrahmāyusmā-*[8]*t tād vrahmacārībhir āyusmān. tan māyusmā āyusmantam kṛṇotu | devā āyu-*[9]*ṣmantas te mṛtenāyusmantas teṣā āyusmanta āyusmanta kṛṇuta | prajāpati-*[10]*r āyusmān sa prajābhir āyusmān. sa māyusmān āyus kṛnta kṛṇotu* *z* 4 *z* [11]

In the left margin, opposite line 8, is a correction ṣmannāyu.

Read: *agnir āyusmān sa vanaspatibhir āyusmān | sa māyusmān āyusmantam kṛṇotu* *z* 1 *z* *vāyur āyusmān so antarikṣeṇāyusmān | sa ° ° z* 2 *z* *sūrya āyusmān sa divāyusmān | sa*

° ° z 3 z candra āyusmān sa nakṣatrāir āyusmān | sa ° °
 z 4 z soma āyusmān sa oṣadhibhir āyusmān | sa ° ° z 5 z
 yajña āyusmān sa dakṣiṇābhir āyusmān | sa ° ° z 6 z samu-
 dra āyusmān sa nadibhir āyusmān | sa ° ° z 7 z indra āyus-
 mān sa vīryenāyusmān | sa ° ° z 8 z vrahmāyusmat tad
 vrahmacāribhir āyusmat | tan māyusmad āyusmantam kṛṇotu z
 9 z devā āyusmantas te 'mṛtenāyusmantah | te māyusmanta
 āyusmantam kṛṇvantu z 10 z prajāpatir āyusmān sa prajābhir
 āyusmān | sa māyusmān āyusmantam kṛṇotu z 11 z 4 z

15

[f102b11] *dakṣiṇā sā dakṣiṇato dakṣiṇāḥ pātu savyataḥ paśśād
 anavyādhāt pātu sa-* [12] *rvasyā bhavahetyā* |

Read: *dakṣiṇā mā dakṣiṇato dakṣiṇā pātu savyataḥ* | *paścād
 anavyādhāt pātu sarvasyā bhavahetyā* z 1 z

This stanza occurs Ppp 2. 85. 3, but was not successfully
 treated in that place.

paśunā tvām paśupate dvipāddattā catuṣpadā | *ātmanva-* [13]
tī dakṣiṇā prānadattā prāne hi

Here I would suggest *dvipāddattā* in b, with *pātu* understood;
 and in d *prāne* hi. These suggestions are in harmony with
 what seems to be the intent of the hymn.

yām dadhāsi yaddhadāno dakṣiṇām [14] *vrāhmaṇakṛte* | *sā
 tvā yakṣmāt pārayaty agne santāpād divyasya śokā*

Read *śraddadhāno* in a, *agnes* and *śokāt* in d.

da- [15] *dāmīmām dakṣiṇām ātāmamaś chalyābhyakṣmād vi-
 barhā movayaṇte* | *karṇa-* [16] *śīlam upahatyārātis sarve yakṣmā
 upa tiṣṭhantu sākam*

At the end of a there is probably a reference to the *ācamana*
 rite, but I cannot suggest a good reading. In b read *chalyād*
 and *movayaṇte*: in c *karṇaśīlam*, if it is a correct form, would
 seem to indicate some disease of the ear: read *ārātis*.

anyena prānī [17] *vanute tirodhatte paridhānena yakṣmā
 hiranyam āśvam gām dadatu kṛṇute va-* [18] *rma dakṣiṇā* |

The ms interlines a correction, *dā*, over *dadatu*.

At the end of b *yakṣmāt* seems probable; in c read *dadātu*.
 Possibly there is a corruption at the beginning of a.

uṣṇīsaṁtyā śīśaktiyā dvāsaḥ tvāt taṁ nāmāyā candram hi- [19]
raṇyam mīthyā karṇād dattaṁ śukraṁ bhājātu

Here I can offer no satisfactory suggestions. In a *tvā śīrśak-*

tyā seems possible, for b dvāśas tvāt tan namayat: in cd I can see only words, and it is not at all clear that the end of the stanza is as indicated.

vādhuryāt pātu dakṣiṇā | upa-[f103a] varhaṇam kṛtvā grīvām ayār maṇayo yakṣmūd atravyā aṅgarogād

In a bādhiryāt might stand; if the first pāda belongs with this stanza we should read dakṣiṇopa°, with colon after kṛtvā. For c we might read grīvām me ayār maṇayo: bhrātrvyād might be considered in d but does not seem to fit the context.

abhyañjana manyantām ni-[2]ṣ ṭvām ayā adhampadā dāma-yataḥ pado rogān upanahūḥ daṇḍas tvā dattaṣ pari pā-[3]tu sarpā

In a abhyañjanam is possible, for b perhaps niṣ ṭvam ayā adhaspadā: in c read upānahāu, in d sarpāt.

dakṣiṇataḥ preto dakṣiṇena | sāumanasaṁ dakṣiṇām dakṣi-māna īsa-[4]m ūrjam dakṣiṇām saṁvasānā | ghṛtasya dhārām ase pratīmas

Pāda a can probably stand; in b dhokṣyamāṇaḥ is perhaps the best suggestion; in d read avase pratīmaḥ. The second hemistich appears Ppp 5. 31. 8cd with bhāgasya in d. Punctuation is to be corrected.

sahasrāṅgām śataṁ [5] jyotiyaṁ hy asyā yajñasya paprir amṛtā svargā ā netu dakṣiṇā viśvarūpā a-[6]hiṁsantī pratigrh-ṇīma enām z anu 3 z

Read: sahasrāṅgā śataṁ jyotiṣāṁ hy asyā yajñasya paprir amṛtā svargā | ā na etu dakṣiṇā viśvarūpāhiṁsantīm pratigrh-ṇīma enām z 10 z 5 z anu 3 z

This is Ppp 5. 31. 9, which however has yajñīyasya in b; probably it should be read here also.

The first and last stanzas indicate the general intent of this hymn; the mention of the sandals, the staff, and probably the turban, seems to narrow the application to the occasion of initiation.

16

(§ 19. 17)

[f103a6] agnir mā pātu vasubhi-[7]ṣ purastāt tasmin krame tasmin yaṁ śrapaye thām puram vṛavīmī | sa mā rakṣatu sa mā go-[8]pāyatu tasmātmānam pari dade svāhā z vāyur māntarik-ṣeṇa tasyā di-[9]śas somo mā rudrāḥ dakṣiṇāyā diśaḥ varuṇa

mā natīn etasyā diśa-[10]*s sūryo mā dyāvāpṛthivībhyām prati-*
cyā diśa apo soṣadhasitir etasyā di-[11]*śaṣ pāntu tāsu krame tā*
ā śraye thām puram vṛavīmi | tā mā rakṣantu tā mā [12]
gopāyantu tābhyātutmānaṁ pari dade svāhā | viśvakarmā mā
saptarṣibhi-[13]*r udīcā diśaḥ indro mā marutvān etasyā diśaḥ*
prajāpatir mā praja-[14]*nanavān saptabhiṣṭāyā dhruvāyā diśaḥ*
vṛhaspatir mā viśvāir devāir ūrdhvā [15] *yā diśaḥ pātu tasmin*
krame tasmīyaṁ nraye thām puram vṛavīmi | sa mā ra-[16]*kṣatu*
sa mā gōpayatu tasmātmānaṁ pari dade svāhā zz 1 zz [17]

Read: agnir mā pātu vasubhiṣ purastāt tasmin krame tasmin
 śraye tām puram prāimi | sa mā rakṣatu sa mā gopāyatu tasmā
 ātmānaṁ pari dade svāhā z 1 z vāyur māntarikṣeṇāitasyā diśaḥ
 pātu ° | ° z 2 z somo mā rudrāir dakṣiṇāyā diśaḥ pātu °
 | ° z 3 z varuṇo mādityāir etasyā diśaḥ pātu ° | ° z 4 z
 sūryo mā dyāvāpṛthivībhyām pratiḥyā diśaḥ pātu ° | ° z
 5 z āpo māuṣadhīmatir etasyā diśaḥ pāntu tāsu krame tāsu
 śraye tām puram prāimi | tā mā rakṣantu tā mā gopāyantu
 tābhya ātmānaṁ pari dade svāhā z 6 z viśvakarmā mā saptar-
 ṣibhir udīcyā diśaḥ pātu ° | ° z 7 z indro mā marutvān
 etasyā diśaḥ pātu ° | ° z 8 z prajāpatir mā prajānanavān
 sa pratiṣṭhāyā dhruvāyā diśaḥ pātu ° | ° z 9 z vṛhaspatir
 mā viśvāir devāir ūrdhvāyā diśaḥ pātu tasmin krame tasmin
 śraye tām puram prāimi | sa mā rakṣatu sa mā gopāyatu tasmā
 ātmānaṁ pari dade svāhā z 10 z 1 z

The text is restored, in places perhaps somewhat violently, to agree with Ś; vṛavīmi of the Ppp ms offers the only occasion for doubts.

17

(Ś 19. 18)

[f103a17] *agnim te vasumantam ṛschantu i māmaghāvayaḥ*
prācyā diśo bhidāsān so-[18]*maṁ te rudravantam ṛschanta i*
māghāyavo dakṣiṇāyā diśo bhidāsān | va-[19]*ruṇam tvāditya-*
vantam ṛschanta i māghāyava etasyā diśo bhidāsān sū-[f103b]
ryam te dyāvāpṛthivivanta iśchanta i māghāyava etasyā diśo
bhidāsān viśva-[2]*karmānaṁ te saptarṣivantam ṛschanta i mā-*
ghāyava udīcyā diśo bhidāsān i-[3]*ndraṁ me marutvantam*
ṛschanta i māghāyava etasyā diśo bhidāsān prajāpatim te pra-
[4]jananavantam ṛschanta i māghāyavo dhruvāyā diśo bhidāsān
prajāpatim pra [5] *te prajānanavantam ṛschanta i māghāyavo*

*dhruvāyā diśo bhidāsān vr̥ha-[6]spatiṁ te viśvedevāvāntam
ṛschanta i māghāyava ūrdhvā diśo bhidāsān [7] z 2 z*

Read: agniṁ te vasumantam ṛchantu | ye māghāyavaḥ
prācyā diśo 'bhidāsān z 1 z vāyuṁ te 'ntariṣavāntam ṛchantu
| ye māghāyava etasyā diśo 'bhidāsān z 2 z somaṁ te rudra-
vantam ṛchantu | ye māghāyavo dakṣiṇāyā diśo 'bhidāsān z 3 z
varuṇaṁ ta ādityavāntam ṛchantu | ye māghāyava etasyā diśo
'bhidāsān z 4 z sūryaṁ te dyāvāpṛthivīvāntam ṛchantu | ye
māghāyavaḥ pratīcyā diśo 'bhidāsān z 5 z apas ta oṣadhīmātīr
ṛchantu | ye māghāyava etasyā diśo 'bhidāsān z 6 z viśvakar-
maṇaṁ te saptarṣivāntam ṛchantu | ye māghāyava udīcyā diśo
'bhidāsān z 7 z indraṁ te marutvāntam ṛchantu | ye māghāyava
etasyā diśo 'bhidāsān z 8 z prajāpatiṁ te prajānanavāntam
ṛchantu | ye māghāyavo dhruvāyā diśo 'bhidāsān z 9 z vr̥ha-
patiṁ te viśvadevavāntam ṛchantu | ye māghāyava ūrdhvāyā
diśo 'bhidāsān z 10 z 2 z

Stt 2 and 6 are restored from Ś to establish the symmetry
between this hymn and the preceding. The variations of the
Ppp ms from the text as given in Ś are corruptions rather than
variant readings.

18

(Ś 5. 8)

[f103b7] *vāikaṅkatenedhmena | devebhya ājyaṁ vaha | ag-
naye thān i-[8]ha sādaya sarvā yantu me havam*

Delete colon after pāda a; read agñe tān in c, and sarva ā
yantu in d.

*indrā yāhi me havam idaṁ kariṣyāmi ta-[9]ś chṛṇu | imam
indrātīrākūti saṁ navambhū me | tebhiś śakemaṁ vīryaṁ jāta-
veda-[10]s tanūvasiṁ*

Read havam in a, and tac in b: for ed imām indrātīsarā ākū-
tiṁ saṁ namantu me: in e śakema, in f °vasin.

*yad āsām amuco devādevā saś cikīrṣati | vātasyāgnir ha-[11]
vyam sāksīd dhavam devās ca somaṁ gur mamāiva havam
etunaḥ*

Read: yad asāv amuto devā adevas saś cikīrṣati | mā tasyāgnir
havyam sāksīd dhavam devā asya soma gur mamāiva havam
etana z 3 z

This is the reading of Ś except that it has vākṣīd, and perhaps
that too ought to be restored here.

*ati dhāvātā-[12]tisurā viśvasyeśānā ojasā | vṛścatāmuṣya jīv-
ati | indreṇa sa-[13]ha medhinā |*

Read °sarā in a; for jīvati the only suggestion I have is jīvātum; in d medinā. Our a = Ś 4a, with b cf RV 8. 17. 9b, and with d cf Ś 6. 129. 1b. This only remotely resembles Ś st 4.

*atimṛtātisarāv indrasyojasā hata | aviṃ vṛkīva [14] satnīca
tato vo jīvaṃ mā mocīḥ punar ā kṛdhi yathāman trinahaṃ janam*

Read: atisṛtyātisarā indrasyāujasā hata | aviṃ vṛkīva mathnīta tato vo jīvaṃ mā moci | pratīcaḥ punar ā kṛdhi yathāmuṇ trinahāṃ janam z 5 z

Pādas a-d here correspond to Ś st 4; ef are Ś 7de; the reading mocīḥ in our ms might suggest that it has dropped Ś 7c plus the word pratīcaḥ: i. e. tvam tām indra vṛtrahan pratīcaḥ, which supplies the needed vocative. A completely satisfactory distribution of the pādas given here as stt 4 and 5 seems hardly possible.

[15] *yam amī purodadhire vrahmāṇam abhībhūtaye | indrasya te
adhaspadam tvam prśchā-[16]mī mṛtyave | kravyād enam
samayatu |*

In c read indra sa, in d tam pratyasyāmi, in e śamayatu: the last pāda is new.

*yad viprāir devapurā vrahma varmāṇi [17] cakrire | tanū-
pāṇam paripāṇāni cakrire | sarvaṃ tad ara-[18]saṃ kṛdhi |*

In a read yadi preyur; delete colon after c. Ś has paripāṇām kṛtvānā yad upocire sarvaṃ.

*athāinam indra vṛtrahaṃn ugro marmaṇi viśya atrāivenam
abhi [19] tiṣṭhaś śakra nedy ahan tavaḥ | anu tvendrārabhāmahe
syāma sumatāu tava | |*

Read: athāinān indra vṛtrahann ugro marmaṇi vidhya | atrāivāinān abhi tiṣṭhaś śakra medy ahaṃ tava | anu tvendrārabhāmahe syāma sumatāu tava z 8 z

[f104a] *yathendram udvātanam labdhvā cakre adhaspadam |
kṛṇe mim adharam tathā śaśvatībhyas sa-[2]mābhyah z 3 z*

Read: yathendra udvātanam labdhvā cakre adhaspadam | kṛṇve 'mum adharam tathā śaśvatībhyas samābhyah z 9 z 3 z

19

[f104a2] *aṅgirasō janmanāsi tam u hāhur vanaspatim sva pī-
[3]lō rakṣo bādhasva sākam indreṇa medhinā |*

Read āṅgirasō in a, sa in c, and medinā in d: tvām would seem better in b. Pāda a occurs AB 7. 17. 3a.

apa rakṣāṅsi bādhasva bādhasva pa-[4]rirapaṇa | piśācān pīlo kravyādo bādhasva pūradevinah |

For b read bādhasva parirapaṇā, in d mūra°.

athāhus tiṣṭham [5] kaṭukam avagūḍham pale kulam tasyāi hiranyakeśyāi namaḥ kṛṇvo arātaye |

In a trṣṭam would seem possible; in d kṛṇmo.

yā [6] sahatī mahormānā sarvāsā vyānaśe tasyāi hiranyakeśyāi namaḥ kṛṇvo arā-[7]taye |

Read: yā mahatī mahonmānā sarvā āśā vyānaśe | tasyāi ° z 4 z This is Ś 5. 7. 9.

yas te yonim pratiredhy āṇḍādo garbhādūṣaṇah rāyam putram prāpyas tvam pī-[8]lus saha-jāsitā |

In c I would read prāpya, and for d pīlos saha-jāsitha.

yadū pīla maṅgisah | pakvo tiṣṭha vanaspate | tadā-[9]hur indram jajñānam śakram prajjahye prati |

In a read pīlo, but for maṅgisah I have no suggestion; in b 'tiṣṭho seems probable. In d prajāghne might be possible.

yathā sedhim apabādhatāpaśyamāno [10] vanaspate | evā pīlo rakṣo bādhasva sakam indreṇa medinā |

In a sedim apā° would give a possible reading; in d read sākam.

yat piśācāi-[11]ṣ puruṣasya jagdham bhavaty ātmanah ā pīlo pyāyate punas tava caṣṇātu pipr-[12]lam |

Read cāśnātu in d; piprlam would seem to mean 'fruit.'

pīlum tvāhuh pītivāhur atho tvāhur vanaspatim | sarvā tve bhadra mā [13] nāmāni tebhīn naḥ pāhy anhasah |

In a it would seem possible to read pītim tvāhur: in c te bhadra nāmāni would be good; in d read tebhīr.

rakṣoṇam vṛtrahaṇam pīlum piśāca-[14]jambhanam | jajñānam agre vṛkṣāṇām tam te badhnāmy āyuse zz 4 zz [15]

Read: rakṣoṇam vṛtrahaṇam pīlum piśācajambhanam | jajñānam agre vṛkṣāṇām tam te badhnāmy āyuse z 10 z 4 z

20

[104a15] *sagarāya śattruhane svāhā | śaramnīlāya śattruhane svāhā | sadaṅsā-[16]ya śattruhane svāhā | īśirāya śattruhane svāhā | avasyave śattruha-[17]ne svāhā | vāyave śattruhane svāhā | vātāya śattruhane svāhā | [18] samudrāya śattruhane*

svāhā | mātariśvane śatruhaṇe svāhā | pavamā-[19]nāya śatruhaṇe svāhā zz zz ity atharvaṇikapāippalā-[20]dayās śākhāyām saptamaṣ kāṇḍas samāptaḥ zz kū 7 zz

Read: *sagarāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 1 z śilānīḍāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 2 z sadanśāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 3 z iṣirāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 4 z avasyave śatruhaṇe svāhā z 5 z vāyave śatruhaṇe svāhā z 6 z vātāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 7 z samudrāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 8 z mātariśvane śatruhaṇe svāhā z 9 z pavamānāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 10 z 5 z anu 4 z*

ity atharvaṇikapāippalādāyām śākhāyām saptamaṣ kāṇḍas samāptaḥ.

The emendation *śilānīḍāya* (an epithet of Garuḍa) is none too certain, but seems possible.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN HAN DYNASTY

TELLY H. KOO
DENISON UNIVERSITY

I. *The feudal system of the Chou dynasty.*

THE FORM of government which the Revolution of 1912 partially overthrew was no sudden creation, but the product of long centuries of growth. It had its roots far back beyond the Christian era and had undergone great modifications in successive dynasties. It has by no means disappeared to-day, but in modified form is the basis of the present republican machinery of administration and may well remain so for years to come. In all the long history of the Chinese political organization, there is no more important period than that which spans the dynasty of the Western Han. It was then that the combination was made between the decentralized feudalism of the Chou and the highly centralized and bureaucratic innovations of the Ts'in. As the years of the dynasty progressed, a form of organization increasingly developed which with alterations was to become the framework of the central government under all succeeding rulers. It is not too much to say that the organization of China which we know dates from the great emperors of the Earlier Han.

The history of feudalism in China goes back to the time of Yu, the founder of the Hsia dynasty. It had its origin at Tusan¹ where Emperor Yu had his first conference with the princes of the different existing states. In succeeding generations this feudal system was improved and modified to meet the peculiar needs of each time, and it reached its completion in the middle of the Chou dynasty. It is well nigh impossible to discover the exact beginnings of feudalism, for what records we have of that period are unreliable. To have a full and intelligent understanding of the governmental system and structure of the Western Han, however, it is wise to have in mind a brief survey of the feudal government as it existed under the more important Chou monarchs.

¹ In the present province of Anhui.

At the head of the State was the emperor.² He had the power to create nobles, appoint ministers, distribute honors, inspect his subjects, confer emoluments, and levy taxes. He was to conduct religious ceremonies, national worship, and meetings of the princes. He granted land to those whom he considered worthy and he retained the power to eject such grantees should they be found faithless.

The central government consisted of the emperor, a prime minister or senior chancellor (T'ai Ssu) who was over all departments and who helped the monarch to execute the latter's decrees, a senior tutor (T'ai Fu) who gave advice to the emperor, and a senior guardian (T'ai Pao) who admonished the ruler whenever he departed from the path of rectitude. Each of the three councillors had an assistant or junior councillor (Shao Fu, Shao Pao, and Shao Ssu). These councillors were to study the needs of the nation and to submit suggestions to the Crown for the improvement of the welfare of the people.

Below the councillors were the six departments.

1. The Heaven Department (T'ien Kuan). The head of this department helped the emperor to regulate the state affairs and public expenses, to determine the national budget, and to fix taxes.

2. The Earth Department (Ti Kuan). The head of this department was charged with the duty of establishing schools, proclaiming laws, providing for the poor and the helpless, encouraging virtue, and appointing teachers to instruct the people in the proper means of life.

3. The Spring Department (Ch'un Kuan). It was the duty of the head of this department to attend to all religious ceremonies.

4. The Summer Department (Hia Kuan) was assigned the duty to raise money for war, to organize the army, to crush rebellion, and to examine people who were ready for service.

5. The Autumn Department (T'siu Kuan). This was the ministry of justice. To its head was intrusted the task of interpreting the laws, punishing criminals, and giving instructions to the judges. On the other hand, he was to see whether the

² In Chinese texts all rulers of the Chou are called kings (Wang) and all monarchs from Ts'in to the present time emperors (Ti).

punishments imposed upon the people were reasonable.³ Under him were the Great Travellers (T'ai Ying Jen) and the Small Travellers (Siao Ying Jen), who were given police powers, i. e. they were to inspect the feudal kingdoms, to see whether everything was in good order, and to make reports of their tours.

6. The Winter Department (Tung Kuan). The head of this department had the duty of assigning to the people suitable places for dwelling, of providing employment for them, and of overseeing public works.

All six departments were directly responsible to the emperor.⁴ They were supposed to make constant and regular reports of their work and to present measures for the emperor's approval. Roughly speaking, the emperor, the councillors, and the departments formed the imperial council.

The monarch reserved a state of one thousand square li for himself. The rest of the land was given to his feudal vassals. Of these there were five classes: first, the duke (Kung) who was given one hundred square li; second, the marquis (Hou) who received the same size of land; third, the earl (Pê) to whom was given seventy square li; fourth, the count (Tsu) and fifth, the baron (Nan) to each of whom were given fifty square li. Territories less than fifty square li were not directly responsible to the emperor but to the princes and were called attached territories.⁵ All imperial ministers were given lands according to their ranks. Thus the whole nation under the Chou was divided into nine regions including the imperial domain. There were once 1773 feudal states, of which ninety-three were in the imperial domain.⁶ The tenure of land within this region was for life, while that outside was a hereditary grant given to the princes.⁷

Under each of the five classes of vassals were a number of officers and ministers, a majority of whom were appointed by

³ Hawking L. Yen, *A Survey of Constitutional Development in China*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1911, p. 52.—Friedrich Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1911, p. 123.

⁴ For a detailed study of the departments, see H. L. Yen, *op. cit.* pp. 45-55.

⁵ H. L. Yen, *op. cit.* p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 43.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 56.

the Crown. The number of officers varied according to the feudal rank of their master.⁸ To express their loyalty and allegiance to the emperor, custom and law required that the feudal princes should send annual tribute to the monarch,⁹ model their governments according to the central government, confer with the emperor in case of difficulties, and help him to subdue rebellious princes. Were trouble to arise between two states, the wronged prince was not allowed to attack without first obtaining the consent of the emperor.

All land was divided for purposes of cultivation into three classes in accordance with its fertility, and it was partitioned among the farmers according to the number of persons in a family.¹⁰ In return, the farmer was under obligation to pay rent and to labor and fight whenever emergency arose. Later, the 'Well Farm' (Tsin T'ien) system was inaugurated, a plan by which land was divided into nine equal lots, each comprising seventy square mou. To every adult was assigned a lot, and every eight families were to cultivate the lot in the center. The income of the latter was to go to the imperial government.

When the emperor declared war on neighboring peoples, one from each family was required to join the army. All urban residents between twenty and sixty-five years of age, with the exception of the nobles, officers, the old and the crippled, were required to go to war.¹¹

Ordinary citizens of good character and ability might enter the civil service. They were first to pass satisfactory examinations and were recommended to the emperor and inducted by him into the court.

For a while the whole machinery, complicated as it was, worked well and produced its desired results. The able monarchs who gave vigor to the initial years of the Chou dynasty succeeded in maintaining order and peace and the feudal princes were kept under control.

II. *The decline of feudalism.*

The later emperors of the Chou dynasty forgot the hardships of their ancestors and gave themselves over to vice, leaving the

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 42.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 57.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 58.

government in the hands of incompetent or corrupt ministers. They ceased to give heed to their councillors, and instead of picking the best to fill offices, they surrounded themselves with flatterers. In 842 B. C. rebellion broke out and the ruling monarch, Li Wang (878-842 B. C.), was banished. Bad emperors were followed by worse ones. Yu Wang (781-770 B. C.), in order to please his queen, cheated his princes by lighting false beacon fires, and was finally captured by the Hiungnu, a people related to the Huns.¹²

After Nan Wang (314-255 B. C.), the ministers and princes actually made and dethroned the emperor and ceased to pay tribute to him.¹³ They began to worship Heaven directly, a privilege heretofore reserved to the monarch, and no longer sent troops to the latter's assistance. Before long they ceased to present themselves to the emperor and at one time failed to visit him for thirty years.¹⁴ Those princes who were exposed to the attacks of neighboring states, seeing that they could not expect any help from the central government, now organized their own armies, levied their own taxes, and themselves appointed civil and military officers.

By the time of P'ing Wang (770-719 B. C.), the emperor's leadership had become purely nominal and his power had passed into the hands of the feudal princes. The northwestern states began to expand their territories at the expense of their barbarous neighbors, the Yung and the Ti. By constant struggle with these tribes, they developed their warlike spirit, and with the help of such military leaders as Sung Ping and Wu Chi, the stronger feudal princes annexed all the neighboring small states and became more powerful than the central government. The eastern states had been unable to expand their territories, for they were hedged in by the sea. They began, however, under such statesman as Kuan Tze, to make use of salt and iron, and thus became rich. The emperor now found himself dependent on some states for money, on others for military support.

Among the feudal princes, meetings were held without giving notice to the monarch and alliances were concluded and dissolved

¹² Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi* (Historical Records), Commercial Press, Shanghai, China, 1916; Chapter 4, p. 11.

¹³ F. Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, p. 326.

¹⁴ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 4, p. 9.

without reference to him. This condition of affairs led to periods of decentralization and internal warfare known as the era of 'The Five Leaders' and 'The Seven Heroes.' Several times the emperor attempted to restore his power, but it was too late. The last Chou monarch, Nan Wang, made a bold endeavor to crush Ts'in by concluding an alliance with some of the princes. Ts'in took advantage of this breach, became an open rival, and, by virtue of superior force, defeated the imperial armies. After Nan Wang's death, the empire was left to the relative of the emperor who was ultimately conquered and deposed by Ts'in.

The outstanding weakness of feudalism lay in its decentralization. While the people were technically subjects of the emperor, in actuality they were governed by the local princes. Each local jurisdiction meant the loss to the monarch of just so much land.

III. *A period of centralization under the Ts'in dynasty.*

With the beginning of the contending states there came a period of anarchy. Warfare was universal. Finally Ts'in Cheng (246-209 B. C.), the feudal prince of Ts'in, with the help of his able warriors conquered and annexed all other states, and China, for the first time, became a united nation. Seeing well the drawbacks of feudalism, Ts'in Cheng determined to rule with an iron hand.

The rulers of the remote past had the title 'Hwang Ti.' All the monarchs of Chou had assumed the title 'Wang,' because they considered themselves unworthy of being called by the earlier title. Ts'in Cheng, however, thought that his merits surpassed all the ancient rulers and so called himself 'Hwang Ti' (Emperor). He has, accordingly, been known to posterity as Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti. When he considered whether it would be wise to divide the nation among the nobles and his relatives, his minister, Li Shih, replied that 'the preceding dynasty, Chou, suffered a great deal because the feudal princes looked upon each other as enemies. They disregarded the mandates of the king, indulged in constant warfare, and at last caused the downfall of the central government. It is sufficient to compensate the princes and ministers with money. This is the way to insure peace.'¹⁵ Acting upon the advice of his minister, Ts'in Shih

¹⁵ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 6, p. 5.

Hwang Ti divided the kingdom into thirty-six administrative districts, each ruled by three officials, a governor, a general, and a censor, all appointed by the emperor. All weapons were collected and melted. New laws were put into operation and the 'Well Farm' system was abolished. All the more capable people were ordered to live in the capital in order to permit careful surveillance and so to nip further revolutions in the bud.

This sudden break with the governmental methods installed by the ancient emperors seemed too radical to the scholars of the time and they ventured to comment adversely upon it. To stop these criticisms, Li Shih suggested that 'scholars are wholly ignorant of the present. They care merely to copy the past. If they are allowed to criticize the government, seditions and the decline of imperial power will follow. I suggest therefore that all books but the records of the present dynasty be burnt. People who dare to talk about the older classics should be arrested, tried, and executed. Scholars who venture to compare the present government with the past and thereby make slighting comments are, together with their families, to be killed. Officials who tolerate such outlaws or who fail to execute this order thirty days after its issue should receive the same punishment or be banished from the kingdom. All books but those on forestry, horticulture, and medicine should be gathered and thrown into the fire. Scholars might be allowed to study law under appointed officials.'¹⁶

This suggestion was embodied in an imperial decree and was put into vigorous execution. Such books as could be found were burnt, all scholars were brought to trial and not less than four hundred were buried alive. It was only through the careful efforts of a daring few that we to-day still have the Confucian classics.

Before his death, the First Emperor saw the beginning of the disintegration of the empire. There was universal and growing dissatisfaction and mobs were common. Within a few months, the whole fabric had fallen to pieces.

There is much to be said in favor of the policy of centralization as it was carried out by the First Emperor. His iron hand was needed to bring the nation together. He did well in abolishing the old system of taxation and in placing national resources

¹⁶ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 87, p. 3.

under the direct control of the central government. He saved the nation from the incessant civil wars of the Chou and wisely took over all military powers of the feudal princes. He centered all political powers in his own hands by making all ministers and governors directly responsible to him. His purpose was to make the nation the personal property of his family for 'thousands of generations.' His dream might have been partially realized had it not been for his excessive tyranny.

IV. *Han Kao Tsu's general plan of reconstruction.*

The man of iron was gone. Once again the nation was plunged into turmoil. New military heroes were making their fortunes and the surviving feudal princes planned to restore their old kingdoms. It seemed as though the days of the Contending States were fast returning. There was not even a nominally recognized emperor. On the other hand, the people were tired of war. They were willing to follow any one who would guarantee the safety of their property and lives. Such a man was found in Liu Pan (206-194 B. C.) later known as Han Kao Tsu, the founder of the Western Han dynasty.

Kao Tsu started his career as a magistrate of a *ting*. Through his genius as a warrior and strategist, he worked his way up until he became a rival of Hsiang-yu, then the dominant figure in the empire. His experience convinced him that he could not hold the country together by sheer force, nor by assigning portions of land to the princes. He was sure, however, that a plan such as set forth by Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti was workable if he could combine it with the machinery devised by the ancient sovereigns.¹⁷ His first aim was to gain the favor of the people. This he did by allowing them to occupy the gardens of Ts'in and to turn them into fields, by exempting them from taxation for a certain length of time,¹⁸ by abolishing the laws of Ts'in, and by the proclamation of 'The Three Principles,' a simple penal code which ran: 'Murderers are to be executed. Criminals who are guilty of robbery or injuring others are punishable by severe laws. The rest of the Ts'in laws are to be void.'¹⁹

¹⁷ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu* (The Former Han History), The Commercial Press, Shanghai, China, 1916, ch. 1b, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 1, p. 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* ch. 1, p. 7.

Kao Tsu knew well that instead of driving his conquered enemies to the wall it might be well to show his magnanimity. By promising to each the grant of a city of ten thousand families he induced the independent governors to surrender.²⁰ All prisoners, except those deserving death, were to be free.²¹ He ordered that all who, for want of food, had sold themselves as slaves during the war, should be free citizens. Innocent military officers who had lost their positions were to be restored.²² By liberal treatment, Kao Tsu won the confidence and support of the conquered.

The emperor was no less conscious of the need of granting favors to those who had offered help in bringing the war to a successful issue. On one occasion he made a frank confession that as an organizer Chang-liang far surpassed him, that as a strategist Shiao-woo was much better, and that as a general Han-sin was much superior to him.²³ To satisfy all the generals and leaders who had promised allegiance to him, he granted to each a certain portion of land. He even conferred land on his enemies.²⁴ Soldiers who died in the war were to be buried at the expense of the state, and their families were to be provided for. Those who had rendered important service were to be exempted from taxation forever.²⁵

The scholars were the leading citizens and were not to be neglected. To keep them quiet, Kao Tsu proved himself a worthy follower of the past and a worshipper of the sages. He showed honor to the monarchs of the past by assigning positions to their descendants, and even before he became emperor displayed his loyalty by ordering his army to mourn for I Ti, the rightful king of Tsu, who was murdered by Hiang-yu. During his conquest of the empire, he refused to attack the State of Lu because Confucius taught there, a striking contrast to the attitude of Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti.²⁶ In conformity with the governing principles of the emperors, Kao Tsu made known his

²⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 1, p. 10.

²¹ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 2.

²³ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 9.

²⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 1.

belief that people were to be taught and not to be punished, and that they were to be governed by the good and the honorable of the community.²⁷ Good character, favorable reputation, and experience were requirements which he laid down for those who wished to enter the civil service. Promotion was to be based on merit. It was the emperor's idea that all district magistrates should either in person or by deputy visit the scholars who were known for their good conduct and should recommend them to the Palace.²⁸ While he was still on the battle-field Kao Tsu promised that scholars who were willing to follow him should be ennobled.²⁹ To them he gave exclusive privileges which were denied to the merchants.³⁰ By these means, the support of the conservatives who had been alienated by the Ts'in was obtained.

The land problem was a serious one. Kao Tsu was well aware that he could not practise the extreme absolutism of Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti, for he had learned by experience that unless he gave lands to the leaders of the time, the latter would not follow him.³¹ The question which concerned him was how to grant lands and yet have a central government efficient enough to hold the princes in subjection.

Remembering the mistake of the Chou dynasty in permitting the nation to become a loose federation of petty states, Kao Tsu decided to create a few large kingdoms. He did not restore the Five Class System of Chou which had been abolished by the Ts'in, but started a two class feudalism made up of the king and the feudal princes with the emperor at the top. During the first decade of the Western Han dynasty, there were only twelve kingdoms, three of which were ruled over by Kao Tsu's brothers-in-law who had followed him in the wars, and the remainder by his own brothers.³² The number of officers whom he made feudal princes amounted to little over a hundred.³³ This is in sharp contrast with the beginning of the Chou dynasty, when there were eight hundred kingdoms, fifty of which were ruled

²⁷ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 8.

²⁹ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 6.

³¹ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 1.

³² *Ibid.* ch. 3, p. 2.

³³ *Ibid.* ch. 14, p. 1.

by brothers and relatives of the king.³⁴ The kingdoms of Han varied in size from thirty-one to seventy-three districts (Chun).³⁵ Each district was again divided into Hsiens and contained from three to fifty-one of these. Throughout the Western Han dynasty all grants were counted by the numbers of families, and these varied from 10,000 to 460,000 in a district. The estimated population of the various districts ran from 30,000 to 2,590,000. These figures are by no means reliable, because even to-day an accurate census is unknown in China. They provide, however, fairly satisfactory data on which to base estimates.

Among the methods which Kao Tsu devised for maintaining the power and wealth of the central government was the retention of a considerable body of land for himself. At the time of his accession, the central government had fifteen districts, an amount equal to all the large kingdoms combined. He gave portions of that land to his princesses, who were, of course, powerless. For the administration of the capital, he appointed a viceroy who was directly responsible to him.³⁶ The capital was approximately three times the size of the royal domain of the Chou dynasty.

Kao Tsu conferred large grants upon his brothers, because he believed that to locate them at the different strategic points of the country would meet two ends: it would satisfy his brothers, and minimize the danger of rebellion. Hence at the very outset the title 'king' (Wang) was almost exclusively given to his brothers and brothers-in-law. He thought that by virtue of their relation to the emperor they would be faithful, but he overlooked the fact that they might become too powerful and thus endanger the throne. Feudal lords outside his family were not made kings without first granting them the surname Liu-Kao, Tsu's family name. Nine of the emperor's brothers and sons became kings. Later the title 'king' was given to ministers and princes of great merit who did not belong to the Liu family, but all of them disappeared before Wen Ti's reign (179-156 B. C.).³⁷ It is evident, then, that the larger part of the nation

³⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 14, p. 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 4.

³⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 17.

³⁷ *Ibid.* ch. 13, p. 1.

was in the hands of Kao Tsu's immediate family and of those closely related to him.

With a few exceptions, Kao Tsu kept the administrative system of the Ts'in dynasty intact. A majority of the offices, as we shall see later, had their origin in the preceding dynasty, and Kao Tsu did not even change their titles. From time to time the number of officials who were used to strengthen the central government and to watch the kings and feudal lords was increased. Kao Tsu and his successors regarded the positions of the censors as very important and kept their occupants busy.

As time went on, many of the kings died without heirs and others lost their estates through unworthy descendants.³⁸ The central government annexed all such territories and put them under its direct control. The Western Han dynasty owes much of its unity and expansion to Wu Ti (140-86 B. C.), for while to some of the generals he granted his newly-won territories, he spared no effort to make the conquered land a portion of the royal domain.

The last and perhaps the most important method by which Kao Tsu and his successors maintained the strength of the central government was the retention of military powers in the hands of the emperors. We have seen how Chou Yu Wang kindled beacon-fires to summon the soldiers of the feudal princes for help. This story illustrates the dependency of the Chou emperors upon the feudal princes for military assistance. With this as an object lesson, the Western Han emperors entrusted all military power to a few generals appointed by the central government. It was this system that kept Kao Tsu's widow from usurping the government and that later put down the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion (154 B. C.). Indeed, had it not been for the emperor's military power, and the military officers who were always faithful to the Crown, the Western Han would have come to an end long before it did.³⁹ While love of peace weakened the Chou dynasty, the constant invasions of Hiungnu gave to the Han emperors a good reason for building up a national army strong enough to meet any emergency.

In a word, then, Kao Tsu effected a sort of combination of the

³⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 41.

³⁹ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 10.

feudalism of the Chou and of the highly centralized government of the Ts'in. To comply with the desire of the people who were eager to see the return of the Chou days and to quiet those who had done much to win the throne for him, he had to share with his retainers the fruits of his conquests, but he decided to go half way and no more. Along with the restoration of feudalism he limited the number of grants, retained a large area for the capital, created most of his chiefs or kings from the members of his own family, retained and increased all Ts'in official positions which were necessary for a strong imperial government, and kept the military power in the hands of the generals of the central government.

V. *The feudal government.*

We have seen that there were two categories of titles in the feudalism of the Western Han dynasty, king and marquis. We have seen, too, that those who became kings were as a rule the emperor's brothers and children. The title was occasionally given to other men of extraordinary merit, and still later was conferred on the surrendered chiefs of the northern nomads.⁴⁰ It was also the custom of the Western Han dynasty to keep in the emperor's ancestral temple a record of the service rendered by ministers, the children of whom might, under rare circumstances, be summoned to enter civil service and given lands. The emperors of the Western Han, however, particularly those who ruled after the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion, were very careful not to make unnecessary grants.

Before the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion, the story of which we are soon to relate, the feudal governments were a miniature of the central government. Their officials, both civil and military, were the counterparts of those of the central government, except that their titles were slightly different. It is explicitly stated that Kao Tsu promised his children the right of governing their own territories.⁴¹ All kingdoms were hereditary, that is, the eldest son succeeded the father, just as the eldest son of the emperor was to succeed the emperor. This, however, was later changed. Except the tutor, the prime minister, and the censors, who were chosen by the emperor,⁴² the chiefs in the feudal king-

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 17.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* ch. 51, p. 4.

⁴² *Ibid.* ch. 58, p. 4.

doms were allowed to appoint their own officials and levy their own taxes.⁴³

Points of contact between the central government and the feudal governments were insignificant. All that was required was to send an annual tribute, to visit the emperor once in five years,⁴⁴ to attend any conference that the emperor might call, and to send delegates to the imperial palace when ancestor worship took place.⁴⁵ When the kings became old, the emperor granted them a cane and freed them from the necessity of coming to see him.⁴⁶ The emperor also reserved the right to regulate the taxes of the feudal princes in time of famine. Aside from these restrictions, the feudal princes ruled as independently as the emperor himself.

VI. *The growth in power of the feudal kingdoms culminating in the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion.*

In spite of the checks and safeguards which Kao Tsu provided, the feudal kingdoms increased in importance. During the long war at the end of the Ts'in dynasty, many great cities had been deserted. During and before Wen Ti's reign all people who had left their homes returned, and there was such an inrush of immigrants that some feudal kingdoms actually doubled in population. The larger kings got 3,040,000 families, although originally no one of them had had more than 16,000.⁴⁷

With the increase of population and with the natural resources which some of the feudal kingdoms possessed it followed inevitably that industry grew by leaps and bounds, and with it wealth. For instance, the kingdom of Wu (in the locality of the present province of Kiangsu), by virtue of its nearness to the sea, manufactured salt and coined money, and soon became so rich that it was able to free its people from taxation.⁴⁸ With the increase of wealth, it might well be expected that Wu's regard for the central government would decline.

It will be remembered that at the end of the period of the

⁴³ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 9; ch. 24, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ch. 5, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 44, p. 4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* ch. 16.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 35, p. 2.

Contending States, some of the feudatories became strong because of the four nobles who used to have a large number of guests.⁴⁹ The nobles would give them pensions, and in return, when emergency arose, these guests would do all in their power to uphold their masters. This was also common in some of the larger kingdoms at the beginning of the Western Han dynasty, and it became at least one of the causes that contributed to the importance of the kings.⁵⁰

The growth of military power was another explanation for the expansion of the feudal kingdoms. In the attempt of Queen Li (Kao Tsu's consort) to kill off all the kings of the Liu family and to fill their places with her own brothers, several of Kao Tsu's sons were executed outright or compelled to commit suicide.⁵¹ This attempted *coup d'état* gave a pretext for the remaining feudal kings of the Liu name to enlarge their armies, a step which might later tempt them to revolt.

In time, then, the feudal lords came to be more concerned with their own autonomous development than with loyalty to the central government. Within a hundred years after the accession of Kao Tsu they had gotten so far away from the control of the emperor that the realm seemed about to return to the decentralized conditions of the Contending States. The feudal chiefs were ready to challenge the strength of the central government whenever a chance should be given.

The emperors, however, were keenly alive to the danger, and saw clearly that if affairs were allowed to take their course, the feudal governments were certain to surpass the imperial government in wealth and power. In view of this danger several attempts were made to reduce the feudal kingdoms. Two brilliant statesmen, Kia I and Ch'ao Ts'o, initiated the plan. These men suggested in turn to Wen Ti and King Ti (156-140 B. C.) that a part of the feudal lands be annexed by the central government, for the stronger the central government the less the fear of rebellion.⁵² Kia I's proposal, however, received but scant attention, and the seven kingdoms demanded the execution

⁴⁹ P'ing Yuan Kun, Meng Ch'ang Kun, Sin Ling Kun and Ch'un Shen Kun.

⁵⁰ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 44.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* ch. 38.

⁵² *Ibid.* ch. 48, p. 5.

of Ch'ao Ts'o on pain of revolt. An outbreak finally started in the kingdom of Wu. The ruler of that state, fearing that the central government might become too strong, induced his fellow kings to join him. Partly because of the military power of the central government, and partly because of the lack of close coöperation among the rebellious states, the revolt was put down.

VII. *A period of centralization.*

As soon as the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms had been suppressed, the emperor King Ti undertook to reduce the feudal kings to a less independent position. His first measure was to deprive them of the full control of their estates. It will be recalled that except for a nominal tribute which the feudal chiefs paid to the central government they practically ruled as independent sovereigns. Now the central government made it known that the kings were not to be allowed to govern their lands.⁵³ They might keep them as a source of revenue, but must part with their political functions. All officials, civil and military, were now to be appointed by the emperor and were to be directly responsible to him.⁵⁴ To guard against plots and conspiracies, the number of officials in the kingdoms was greatly reduced.⁵⁵ As a result some of the kings became so poor that they were forced to ride in ox-drawn carts.⁵⁶ They ceased to exert political influence and became harmless pensioners of the central government.

In the second place, the emperor now put into execution a plan which had been contemplated during the initial years of the dynasty, the division of the kingdoms among the children of the kings. The central government notified the kings that after the death of each, the eldest son was to retain a comparatively larger portion of land and the title of king, while to the younger sons were to go a definite portion of land and the title of lord.⁵⁷ As a result the largest kingdom (Chi) was soon divided into seven parts, Chao into six, Liang into five, and Wei Nan into three.⁵⁸

⁵³ *Ibid.* ch. 19, p. 7.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 38.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ch. 19, p. 7; ch. 14, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 38.

⁵⁷ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 17.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 17.

During Wu Ti's reign all the former wealthy and extensive kingdoms became insignificant. As the number of states multiplied, the spirit of unity increased and the danger of revolt declined.

King Ti and his successors were particularly careful to limit or reduce the size of the kingdoms.⁵⁹ The big kingdoms of Wu Ti's time did not exceed ten cities, while the lords did not have more than forty or fifty li, an amount of land so small that the income was just sufficient to pay their tribute, their share in the expenses of the imperial worship, and to meet their own private expenses.⁶⁰ Each king was allowed to possess no more than three hundred *mou* (acres) of land and two hundred servants.⁶¹ Violation of the law was punished by confiscation.

The central government, moreover, began to avail itself of every opportunity to annex kingdoms in whole or in part. Sometimes the king died without children, or the children were convicted of crime, and sometimes the king failed to appear when summoned, or neglected to send money to aid in the annual imperial worship.⁶² Largely as a consequence the royal domain, which at the beginning of the dynasty possessed fifteen districts, by the time of King Ti increased to over eighty.⁶³ Perhaps the most important feature of the plan was the imperial possession of all mountains and rivers, a source from which the kingdoms once derived much of their prosperity and wealth.⁶⁴

Another means used to avoid trouble with the feudatories was to shift the kings much as the late Manchu régime shifted the viceroys.⁶⁵ Suspended kings were usually asked to remove to the frontier provinces, which was equivalent to exile.⁶⁶

As a final precaution against rebellion, censors were maintained whose duty it was to inspect the kingdoms and to make reports. These officials were to see to it that no large kingdoms trespassed on the neighboring small states, and that there was no disobedience of imperial decrees, no excessive taxation, no injustice in the courts, no practice of favoritism, and no luxury.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 44, p. 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 11, p. 2.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 44, p. 14; ch. 14, p. 2.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* ch. 19, p. 7.

⁶¹ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 17.

⁶² Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 53, p. 3; ch. 6, p. 9.

⁶³ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 17.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 17.

⁶⁵ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 48, p. 12.

In a word, the kings were no longer semi-independent rulers, but pensioners, and as such they had merely the right to gather taxes under imperial supervision. They were held strictly to their duties and obligations to the emperor, and were required to attend the imperial worship and to be present at the regular conferences with the head of state.⁶⁸

VIII. *The central government.*⁶⁹

As in all absolute monarchies, the emperor under the Han was in theory all powerful, the chief executive, the law-giver, and the supreme judge. In time of peace he regulated taxes, examined scholars, and appointed ministers. In time of war he was commander-in-chief of the armies.

Usually, however, the emperor did not exercise all the powers which technically belonged to him. He had a prime minister who was frequently the real ruler. The title 'prime minister' (Chin Siang, later Siang Kuo, in either case meaning 'to assist in ruling') was created by Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti and preserved by the Han emperors. Some emperors indeed had two prime ministers. The duties of the latter were not clearly defined. Upon his suggestion the emperor appointed, dismissed, or punished his kings and officials,⁷⁰ made and abolished laws, proclaimed peace, and declared war. All petitions, recommendations, impeachments, and reports reached the crown only through his hands.⁷¹ He had two assistants.

The senior tutor, the senior chancellor, and the senior guardian together constituted what was known in the Chou dynasty as the Three Councillors. These were abolished by the Ts'in dynasty but were restored under the Han. Besides offering suggestions and advice, their functions were insignificant.

The general (Ta Ssu Ma) was charged with the direction of all military affairs.⁷² Under him were four lieutenant-generals

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 6, pp. 11-15.

⁶⁹ For a complete list of the titles of the Western Han officials consult Édouard Chavannes' *Les mémoires historiques*, five volumes, Paris, 1897; Vol. 5, Appendix 1.

⁷⁰ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Shu*, ch. 5, p. 4.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* ch. 19, p. 2.

⁷² The title 'general' corresponds to the 'T'ai Wei' of the Ts'in dynasty.

(right, left, front, and rear). The number was increased from time to time. They commanded the two standing armies in the capital, and the national army in case of foreign invasion.

Another official who, with the prime minister and the general, shared the honor of being the most important functionary at court, was the grand censor (Yu Ssu Ta Fu, later known as Ta Ssu K'ung). He was at the head of civil officers, and upon him the positions of all sub-officers depended. He had two assistants, one in charge of the imperial library, the other entrusted with the duty of inspecting all district officers. Under those two were fifteen commissioners (Yu Ssu Yuan) whose duty it was to receive all indictments submitted by local officers.

The administrative board corresponding to the departments of modern governments included, first of all, the Ta Ssu Lung or minister of agriculture. China was then predominantly agricultural, and derived the greater part of her national revenue from the farm. The minister of agriculture was to send around officers to collect taxes from the farm and to distribute grain to all civil office-holders. All taxes coming from mountains, seas, ponds, and marshes went to meet the current expenses of the imperial family.⁷³

There were three governors in the capital. Under them were a number of military officers whose duty it was to maintain order in the royal domain.

There was a special functionary to look after the imperial temple, ancestral halls, and ceremonial observances.

The supreme court was organized under the Ts'in dynasty (the title 'Ting Wei', meaning fair, survived in the Han).⁷⁴ The court was attached to the palace, and the chief justice was appointed by the emperor. Later this court was called T'ai Li Yuan, a name which was in vogue even at the beginning of the Republic. In the seventh year of Kao Tsu's reign, each Hsien was ordered to have a local court of its own. If a case could not be settled there it was to be submitted to the governors, who, in case they should fail to settle it, were to hand it over to the supreme court. Final appeal could be taken to the emperor.

⁷³ There were two kinds of taxes, 'S'ai' and 'Fu'; the first for public expenses, the second for the national army.

⁷⁴ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 23, p. 8.

Within the imperial palace there stood the head official of the court. His duty chiefly consisted in reporting on the character of all court officials. Under him were five categories of officers which we need not describe except to say that they were either personal guards or servants of the emperor and the royal family. In addition, there were special officials to look after the different palaces and to take care of the finances of the imperial family.

IX. *Local administration.*

The country was divided into kingdoms, which in turn were divided into administrative districts. Each district was again divided into Hsiens. As we have noticed previously, the number of districts under each kingdom varied from three to fifteen, and the number of Hsiens in each district varied from three to fifty-one. Towards the close of the Western Han dynasty, it was estimated that the capital or royal domain had fifty-seven Hsiens and a population of two and a half million.⁷⁵ Outside of the royal domain the country was divided into twenty kingdoms, which were composed of eighty districts, which again were made up of one thousand five hundred and one Hsiens. The total population was approximately sixty millions.⁷⁶

The Western Han dynasty kept the district system of Ts'in practically intact. At the head of each district were a civil governor and a military officer. At the head of each Hsien was a magistrate. Each Hsien was about ten li square and was composed of an indefinite number of counties or Shans. There were three officers in each county, who were collectively known as the 'Three Old Ones.' One was to look after the religious and educational welfare of the people or, more strictly, to enlighten the people in the ways of living, one was the judge and tax collector, and the third was the head of the police. The smallest unit was a Ting, at the head of which was an officer who had no well defined duties.⁷⁷ From the prime minister to the lowest official, it was estimated that one time there were not less than 130,000 officials.

⁷⁵ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 28, p. 5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 28.

⁷⁷ After the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion, all these officials were appointed by the emperor.

X. *The effects of the administrative system of the Western Han upon subsequent dynasties.*

The Western Han dynasty is generally regarded as one of the most glorious periods in Chinese history, not alone because of the widespread conquests of Wu Ti's reign and the brilliant rulers which it produced, but because of the far-reaching and persistent influences of its administrative system upon later dynasties.

1. Perhaps the most outstanding and lasting effect of the Western Han dynasty was the honor paid to scholars. For the purpose of recruiting officials for the elaborate bureaucracy, civil service examinations were established, and success in these was based upon proficiency in the classics. Decrees ordering the recommendations of scholars for governmental service were repeatedly promulgated. People came to regard the mastery of the classics as the only method of obtaining entrance into the time-honored official class. In P'ing Ti's time (1-6 A. D.) the Chou school system was restored and scholars were distinguished by their dress and manner. Later the title 'Five Classics Doctor' was created. A general knowledge of the five classics was required of any scholar who had the desire to be an official. The Confucian school, wellnigh extinguished by the Ts'in, now enjoyed unprecedented popularity. It was this tradition that obtained honor for the scholar class and gave birth to the competitive examination system. It was this tradition, too, which made scholars more eager for official positions than for social usefulness.

2. We must not overlook another effect of the Western Han officialdom, which as ages went by contributed much to the corruption of the Chinese administrative system. This was the sale of offices and titles, a practice which had its origin in the latter part of Wu Ti's reign, when the country was on the verge of bankruptcy because of the long wars and the successive attacks of famine. To get money, the government created and sold titles and petty offices. In later years, however, when famine was over, the government had no intention of abolishing the system, and gradually it became a regular form of national income; and the wealthy began to look upon political position as a means of acquiring a fortune. So persistent was the corrupt tendency then established that as late as the Manchu

dynasty officials shamelessly regarded office as a source of private gain. With money they procured power; with power they obtained more money.

3. At the beginning of the Western Han dynasty, people were allowed to mint cash and produce salt and iron. Later, however, when the country was flooded with cash, money began to lose value, and as the salt and iron merchants became rich the government relied on them in time of financial stringency. To remedy the situation and to add to the wealth of the central government, coinage of money and the manufacture of iron and salt were forbidden to individuals.

4. One of the noteworthy features of the Western Han period was the changes in the penal system made under different rulers. Kao Tsu ordered that all criminals over seventy and below ten should not be held responsible for the crimes committed.⁷⁸ It was also in his time that the death punishment was commuted for the payment of 60,000 cash. The punishment of the 'slaughter of three clans' was abolished.⁷⁹ In theory and practice the Western Han rulers in the long run carried out the motto set forth by Kao Tsu that 'people are to be enlightened, not punished,' a motto which has inspired many a monarch in ensuing generations.

5. The emperors of Western Han in their provision for the old and destitute not only showed their own magnanimity and care but also aided materially the initiation of many philanthropic institutions, some of which exist to-day. The emperor Wen Ti was the first one to order that widows, widowers, orphans, and the poor were to be cared for. It was the duty of the district magistrate to send around officers to visit these helpless people. People over eighty were given ten bushels of rice and a certain amount of meat and wine each month. Those over ninety received, in addition, two hundred feet (tsai) of silk and forty ounces of cotton.⁸⁰ These grants were constantly fulfilled by the emperor. Sometimes the helpless were exempted from taxes and service. Not infrequently, when the country

⁷⁸ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 1b, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Formerly when a criminal was convicted of some very serious crime, not only was he to be executed, but all his relatives on the side of his mother, father, and wife.

⁸⁰ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 4.

was at peace, the emperor would ask his governors to make through their commissioners a special study of the poor and to provide means of relief and help. This policy encouraged private charitable institutions. Many of the traditions and customs of government aid for the poor have come down to our days.

6. The exact tax system is nowhere to be found in the Chinese records of the Han dynasty. It is quite safe to infer from the various hints found here and there that the government laid taxes on merchandise, while the chief revenue was from the land tax. There was a head tax of sixty-three cash per year in Wu Ti's time, but what became of it in later generations, no one can tell.⁸¹ Unmarried women beyond the age of thirty were to pay sixty cash a year.⁸² On the other hand, the pure women, the filial, the old, the parentless, and the good were usually free from taxation, or paid at one half the rate of others.⁸³ It was the custom of the Western Han, too, to grant people wine and silk at the accession of a new emperor. Whether compulsory military service such as was installed by Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti survived in the Han is questionable. We know, nevertheless, that at the beginning, all prisoners held for minor crimes were compelled to enter the service for national defense.⁸⁴

7. In the royal grants of oxen and wine, women had an equal share. Unusual honors were given to chaste women after their death, and the grants of land and titles to women were an innovation of the dynasty. It is true that in the preceding dynasties women had ruled behind the throne, but the queen of Kao Tsu (Li Shih) became a ruler in fact. Her attempt to kill off all Kao Tsu's sons and to transfer the country to her own family, though a failure, established a precedent which was to be repeated later on and was occasionally to imperil the nation.

8. Very often under the Western Han the emperor was not the sole ruler. The emperors of the Chou diffused their power among the feudal princes, but the Han emperors leaned upon their prime ministers and councillors, to many of whom we must admit the Han dynasty owed its prosperity and development.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* ch. 2, p. 7.

⁸² *Ibid.* ch. 1.

⁸³ *Ibid.* ch. 1.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 2, p. 8.

Later, moreover, under weaker sovereigns, some favorites actually worked for the destruction of the imperial house. From then on, up to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1912, the government was more than once either in the hands of the queen and her relatives, or of the prime ministers; and often the two would plunge the country into chaos.

We have seen that the administrative systems and traditions of the Han have left many good as well as bad influences. On the whole, it is agreed that the Western Han was one of the most brilliant of the formative periods of Chinese history. It succeeded in organizing a central government upon which the subsequent dynasties laid their basis. It revived the Confucian classics and prepared a civil service basis upon scholarship. In strong contrast with the Chou kings there was a close relationship between the people and the central government. Never before were the monarchs so eager to study the people, their needs and problems; and, on the other hand, never before were the subjects so conscious of their obligation towards the rulers. As a dynasty, the Western Han contributed much to the solidification and the general development of the country.

PHRASE-WORDS AND PHRASE-DERIVATIVES

CHARLES R. LANMAN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE TRUE CHARACTER of a linguistic phenomenon sometimes fails to be clearly recognized, for no deeper reason than this, that no one has taken the trouble to describe it and propound a good name for it. An apt designation, if it be clear and self-explaining, suggests at once a category in which many seemingly unrelated facts find unity.

‘While we were breakfasting’ is English. ‘He broke his hip by falldowning’ is not. Why? because the combination ‘break fast,’ as is shown by the pronunciation and by the fact that it is under the domain of a single accent, has become what may fitly be called a ‘phrase-word,’ while ‘fall down’ has not become a phrase-word. Derivatives of phrase-words may be styled ‘phrase-derivatives.’ Phrase-words and phrase-derivatives are common in English and Sanskrit and Pāli. These designations may suggest to Anglicists and Indianists and others the interesting task of collecting the facts and studying them. A few examples may be given.

English.—Lady Macbeth’s ‘Letting I-dare-not wait upon I-would.’ Boswell’s ‘A plain matter-of-fact man.’ From a phrase-adjective, good-for-nothing, comes the abstract goodfor-nothing-ness. So straightforward-ness. From the phrase-word et-cetera has been formed the adjective etceter-al: as in ‘the etceteral term of an equation.’ And from pro rata (in proportion) has been made the verb to prorate (assess proportionally). The phrase so-and-so is as truly a word as is its precise Sanskrit equivalent *asāu*. Hence it is entirely licit to give it a genitive inflection and say ‘so-and-so’s oxen.’

Differing from this in degree rather than in kind are the examples given in the ‘funny column’ of the newspaper. Thus: ‘Is that puppy yours or your little brother’s?’ ‘It’s both-of-us’s.’ St. Mark, narrating the betrayal of Jesus, says: ‘And one of them that stood by drew a sword, and smote a servant of the high priest, and cut off his ear.’ A modern lad renders it: ‘He cut off the servant of the high priest’s ear.’ For other examples,

with interesting comment, see *Words and their Ways in English Speech*, by J. B. Greenough and G. L. Kittredge (Macmillan, New York, 1901), p. 188-¹

On account of their especial clearness as examples may be cited several derivatives. Sir James Murray quotes from Halliburton (1855) the agent-noun comeout-er. (See the verb *come*, sense 63 m!!!) Similar is the quite recent coinage, standpatter, from stand pat, 'take a position that just suits the exigency.' So standoffish and standoffishness. 'Sir Walter Scott (1821), in *Kenilworth* (ii.), has: Married he was . . . and a cat-and-dog life she led with Tony. Professor E. S. Sheldon tells me of the Old French *comfaitement* and *sifaitement* (qualiter, taliter) from the phrase-words *com-fait* and *si-fait* (qualis, talis).²

An ecclesiastical council of the sixth century enjoined that if the presbyter could not preach, a deacon should read a homily. Each homily began with the words 'Post illa verba textus' (after those words of the text), and so a homily became known as a postil, and the verb postillare was coined as Mediæval Latin for 'read a homily, postillate.' Whether the judicial sentence of 'hanging by the neck,' *suspensio per collum*, was once so frequent as to make a standing abbreviation for it needful, I do not know. The dictionary does in fact book 'sus. per coll.' as such a shortened form, and Thackeray (Denis Duval, i) writes: None of us Duvals have been suspercollated to my knowledge.

From Greek and Latin I have not made collectanea. The prior part of tautologous etc., like that of the Greek *ταυτο-λόγος* etc., represents a phrase, τὸ αὐτό. Herodotus speaks of 'the people who live beside a river (*παρὰ ποταμῷ*)' as οἱ παραποτάμιοι. And the title of *Iliad* 22 is μάχη παραποτάμιος, quite literally, 'Alongtheriver-ish Combat.' I presume that ἐνύπνια are literally

¹ [H. L. Mencken, *The American Language* (New York, 1919), p. 229, quotes *inter alia*: 'That umbrella is the-young-lady-I-go-with's.'—ED.]

² So the modern *quelque* is a phrase-word. In older French we find *quel* + noun + *que* + verb: see Sheldon in *The Romanic Review*, vol. 10, pages 233-249, and especially 247ff. An unprinted 'doctor dissertation' (of 1906) by John Glanville Gill on *Agglutination as a process of word formation in French* may be consulted in the Harvard Library. French *oui*, 'yes,' was originally *o* (from Latin *hoc*) + the personal pronoun *il*. See A. Tobler in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 23. 423. Cf. the geographical name *Langue-doc* (Provençal *oc* 'yes,' from Latin *hoc*), and the antithetic *langue d'oil*.

‘in-a-dream (things),’ τὰ ἐν ὕπνῳ ὁρώμενα; and that ultramundanus is a derivative from the phrase-word ultra-mundum. So ultramontanus is from ultra-montem, and not (as the dictionary says) from ultra+montanus.

Sanskrit.—In so early a record as the Rīgveda, we find a luculent example of the genesis of a phrase-word. At 9. 1. 5 occurs the couplet:

tuām áchā carāmāsi . . . Unto thee do we go
tád íd ártham divé-dive. . . . For this very purpose day-by-day.

But at 8. 2. 16, *vayám* . . . *tadīdarthāḥ*, the phrase has crystallized into a single word, a possessive compound, under one single accent, ‘we, having-this-very-purpose,’ that is, ‘we, intent on this.’ Whitney, at 1314, under the heading, ‘anomalous compounds,’ registers ‘agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases.’ Most familiar is *itihāsas*, ‘story,’ from *iti ha āsa*, ‘thus, indeed, it was.’ Hence *āitihāsikas*, ‘story-teller.’ So from *iti ha* comes *āitihyam*, ‘tradition.’ From *na asti*, ‘non est (deus),’ comes *nāstikas*, ‘atheist.’ From *punar uktam*, ‘again said,’ comes *pāunaruktyam*, ‘tautology.’ Quite frequent in ritual books are designations of hymns, made (like *Te Deum*) from their first words: so *āpohiṣṭhīyam* (sc. *sūktam*), ‘the-Since-ye-are-(kindly-)waters-ish (hymn),’ for Rīgveda 10. 9, which begins with *āpo hí ṣṭhā mayobhūvah*.

Pāli.—In Pāli, the coinage of phrase-words and phrase-derivatives runs riot, as does the coinage of denominatives in the ‘English’ of Thomas William Lawson. In so old a text as the *Dīgha* (1. 132), one who greets you with ‘Come, and welcome’ is called an *ehi-sāgata-vādī*, literally, ‘a-“Come-Welcome”-sayer.’ Nothing could be simpler. The *Mahā-vagga* (1. 6. 32) tells how, before the Order was established, a monk was summoned to live the Holy Life by the Buddha himself, and with the simple words, ‘Come hither, monk’ (*ehi, bhikkhu*). Such a one is called a ‘Come-hither-monk (monk)’ at *Visuddhimagga*, 2. 140, and his ordination is ‘Come-hither-monk-ordination,’ *ehi-bhikkhu-upa-sampadā*. The *Majjhima* (1. 77. 29), describing a monk who is slack in observing the rules of propriety, says he is not a ‘Come-hither-venerable-Sir-man’ or a ‘Wait-a-bit-venerable-Sir-man,’ *ehibhadantiko, tiṭṭhabhadantiko*,—here using derivatives of the

phrases *ehi, bhadanta!* and *tiṭṭha, bhadanta!* The Religion or Truth is called (at 1. 37. 21) the 'Come-see-ic Religion,' the *ehi-passiko dhammo*, from *ehi, passa*, 'Come, see.' A gaṇa to Pāṇini (2. 1. 72) gives *ehi-svāgata* and other similar ones.

I suppose that *anto gharaṃ*, 'in the-house,' is strictly a phrase, in which *anto* governs *gharaṃ*. So *anto vassam*, 'in the-rains.' But the whole phrase has won the value of a substantive, 'rainy-season,' so that the combination *antovass-eka-divasam*, 'on a day in the rainy season,' is entirely natural.

The Dhamma-saṅgaṇi uses the phrase *ye vā pana . . aññe pi atthi . . dhammā*, 'or whatever other states there are.' (So at § 1, page 9, line 22: cf. pages 17, 18, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, etc.) The commentary, *Attha-sālinī* (at § 328), quoting § 1 of the text, speaks of these as the *ye-vā-panaka* states, the 'etceter-al' states, the 'whatever-other-al' states. The *Visuddhi-magga* speaks once and again (book 14) of the 'four etceterals,' the *yevāpanakā cattāro*.

Phrases containing inflectional forms sometimes occur in derivatives in such a way as not to offend against logic and grammar. Thus *lābhena lābham nijigimsano* means 'desiring-to-win gain by gain.' The abstract therefrom, *lābhena-lābham-nijigimsana-tā* (in *Visuddhi*, 2) is quite logical. So *idaṃ-atthi-tā*.

Per contra.—Although *tayo ca saṅkhārā*, 'and three saṅkhāras' (nominative); is quite *en règle*, the *Paṭisambhidā* (at 1. 26, p. 97: ed. Taylor), having occasion to speak of them in the genitive, inflects the whole as a crystallized phrase, and says *tayo-ca-saṅkhārānaṃ*. In view of this procedure (although very striking, it is easily intelligible), Taylor would have been wholly justified in adopting the ungrammatical *lectio difficilior* of his mss. S. and M., at p. 58, *catasso-ca-vipassanāsu*. In fact he reads the strictly grammatical *catūsu ca vipassanāsu*. The *Dhamma-pada* Commentary (at 3. 38) says that the Teacher gave instruction by a story 'with reference to' (*ārabbhā*) 'three groups of persons' (*tayo jane*: accusative). The title, however, *tayojana-vatthu*, is a compound of *-vatthu* (story) with *tayojana*, the 'stem' of the crystallized phrase *tayo-jane*.

So-called 'compounds' of which the prior member is a gerund are, strictly speaking, phrase-words. The famous collocation,

paṭicca samuppādo, 'origination by-going-back-to (a prior cause),' that is, 'dependent origination,' is entirely normal as two words, but it becomes in fact a unit, that is, a single phrase-word. So *paṭicca-samuppanno*, etc. Compare *Buddhe* (*dhamme, saṅghe*) *avecca-ppasādo*, at Majjhima 1. 37. The Dhammapada Commentary, at 4. 230, tells of a devout layman who asked his wife about the other Paths, and then at last 'the question with-a-stepping-beyond, the question with-a-trans-scending,' the *atikkamma-pañha*, or 'the transcendent question.' 'Ah,' says she, 'if you want to know about *that* question, you must go to the Teacher and put it to *him*.' The beautifully veiled phrase means of course the question about Arahatsip.

Examples might easily be multiplied. Let these suffice to tempt some Pāli student to systematic study of these curious and interesting linguistic phenomena.

BRIEF NOTES

The Sanskrit passive-stem

Its sign is accented *yá*, added to the root. Since the root was unaccented, its form was the weak one: *bandh*, *badh-yá-te*. The grammars, in long succession, state that, before added *ya*, the root undergoes changes: thus final *r* becomes *ri*; final *i* becomes *ī*; and so on.

These changes lose the aspect of irregularity, if we consider that the *ya* of the passive, like the *ya* or *īya* of the gerundive, is often dissyllabic, *i-a*, or (with the 'transition-semivowel' or 'disjunctive semivowel') *īa*. Thus *kr-īya-te* becomes *kr-īya-te*; *ci-īya-te* becomes *cīyate*. The *ā*-roots (few in number, but of frequent occurrence) weaken to *ī*: *pā*, *pīyate*. Thus after the powerful analogy of forms like *pīyate*, *cīyate*, even roots in *u* show *ū*: *śru*, *śrūyate*.

To this it may be objected that 'the passive-sign is never resolved into *ia* in the Veda.' So Whitney, *Grammar*, 771g: cf. Edgren, *JAOS* 11, p. iv, Oct. 1878.—'Is the passive *ya* ever resolved into *ia*?' Clearly, in view of the forms like *mriyate*, *hriyate*, *dhriyate*, etc., it is no less a begging of the question to answer this question with 'never,' than it is to say that these forms prove that it is so resolved.

Accordingly let us look at the Prākritis and Pāli. (See Pischel's *Prākṛit Gram.*, § 535—; Geiger's *Pāli Gram.*, § 176.) Here are found corresponding forms in abundance which show the formative element *ya* as a true dissyllable: Prākṛit, *gamīadi*, *gacchīadi*, *sunīadi*, *jānīadi*, *sumarīadi*; Pāli, *sodhīyati* (*śodh-yate*), *māriyati*, *sāriyati*, and so on.

The gerundive (it may be added) is simply a verbal adjective. Latin *laudandus* is properly 'laudable,' just as *faciendus* (and *facilis* no less so) is simply 'do-able.' The Sanskrit gerundives 'formed with *ya*, *tavya*, and *anīya*,' are better treated all alike as secondary verbal adjectives in *ya* (in the Veda often *i-a*: see Edgren) or *īya*, from different primary verbal substantives: *kār-ya* (*kār-ia*) from *kāra*; *kartav-ya* from *kartu*; *karaṇ-īya* from *karaṇa*. (Cf. Pischel, § 571; Geiger, § 199.)

CHARLES R. LANMAN

Harvard University

An erroneous etymology of New Persian pādšāh, in relation to the pr. n. Πατιζείθης (Hdt. 3. 61)

Marquart (*Phil. Sup.* 10. 531) was the first to propose that the name of the Magian, the brother of Gaumāta (Pseudo-Smerdis), as given by Herodotus in the form Patizeithes was not a proper name but an official title corrupted from the Anc. Pers. **patixšāyabīya* and preserved in the familiar Mod. Pers. *pādšāh*. This theory has found place in later histories and commentaries to such an extent that it has become almost popularly accepted. My argument against this view is based on the phonetic difficulties involved, on the use of the term in the Middle Persian period, and on what I believe is the restoration of the usurper's real Magian title.

It is doubtful if the hypothetical Anc. Pers. **patixšāyabīya* would signify 'pro-king, viceroy, regent.' The chief ground for the existence of such a word with the meaning proposed is its apparent connection with Mod. Pers. پادشاه *pādšāh* 'king.' This seems to the writer phonetically impossible. The Anc. Pers. prefix *patiy* becomes in Mod. Pers. *paδ*, *pa°*, never *pād*. Again, in the Greek transliteration of Anc. Pers. sounds *xš* becomes ξ or σ, never ζ except when medial, Μεγάβυζος (*baga* 'god' + **buxša* fr. *buj* 'to free'), and in the combination *h-xš*, Φαρναξέθης (*farnah* 'glory + *xšaθra*, 'kingdom'). The Anc. Pers. dental tenuis *asp* does not become θ or τ except before *ρ*, e. g. Μυρρο-, Μιρρο- < *Mithra*, but σ e. g. Σαράσπης (*θata* 'hundred' + *aspa* 'horse'), Ἀρτασούρας (*Arta*, 'divine law' + *θūra* 'strong'). Furthermore such forms of the Magian's name as Πατιζάτης (Chron. Alex. 339. 16) and Πατιζούθης (Dionysius of Miletus) seem to point to a *Kosen* name, based on Av. *paitizanta* fr. *zan*, Anc. Pers. *dan* 'know.' Πατιζούθης may not be Greek at all (*πᾶν* + ξουθός), but the transliteration of the Iranian *patizanta*. The metathesis of *n* is seen in Φαρναδάτης < *farnah* 'glory' + *dāta* 'given.' For *v* < *a*, cf. Ἀμυρτις < Av. *hu* 'well' + Anc. Pers. **mati*, YAv. *maiti* 'thought'; for *θ* < *t*, cf. φ < *p* in Μαφάτης < Anc. Pers. *māh* 'month' + *pāta* 'protected.'

The New Pers. *pādišāh*, *pādšāh* was given originally to the monarch as a supreme title of honor and only later was extended to subordinate rulers. This would preclude any designation of power delegated from the king which Marquart would see in the

prefix *patiy*. The *prius* of the Mod. Pers. compound is more probably to be found in the Anc. Pers. *pā* 'protect.' The *nomen agentis* *pātar* 'protector' would appear in the Mod. Pers. as *pād*, cf. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 887, Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, 35. The Mod. Pers. *pādišāh* < Anc. Pers. *pātar* + *xšāyathiya*, 'protector-king' would illustrate Iranian *r* changed into *i* as in New Pers. *giriftah*, Bal. *gipta*, cf. Av. *garəpta* 'seized'; New Pers. *χirs* cf. Av. *arəša* 'bear'; New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *zirdē*, cf. Av. *zərədaya* 'heart'; New Pers. *tiš*, cf. Av. *taršna* 'thirst.' Cf. change of Skt. *r* to *i* in the Indian dialects, Skt. *kṛta*, Prak. *kita*; Skt. *ghṛta*, Bang. *ghi*, Sindhi *gihu*, Anglo-Indian *ghee*, cf. Gray, *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, 71.

Herodotus (3. 61) states that Cambyses had left Patizeithes τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνόν. If this is not a title but his real name as Hdt. implies, we find his Magian designation in *Oropastes* (Justin. 1. 9.). This reverses the now generally accepted theory which would find in the latter the proper name and in the former the title. The derivation of *Oropastes* is clear—*prius* Anc. Pers. *aura* 'lord,' *posterius upastū* 'aid.' Just as his brother Gaumāta (*nomen proprium* as given in the Behistan Inscription) bore the Magian appellation Σφενδαδάτης according to Ctesias, Pers. 10, which is the YAv. *spəntōdāta*, 'created by the Holy,' so we can believe that in **auraupasta* 'possessing the help of the Lord' we restore the Magian title of Patizeithes.

H. C. TOLMAN

Vanderbilt University

A possible Sumerian original of the name Nimrod

According to the tradition recorded in the genealogical tablet, Gen. 10. 8 ff., Nimrod, son of Cush, founded the empire of Babylonia. This Nimrod is mentioned in v. 8, as having been 'the first great warrior in the land' (this seems to be the meaning of the words: **החל להיות גבר בארץ**), and in v. 9 it is stated that Nimrod was a 'great warrior hunter before Jahve,' i. e., so great as to attract the attention of Jahve (**הוא היה גבר ציד לפני ה'הוה**), a tradition which does not appear to have any connection with the rest of the text. For this reason some scholars have concluded that verse 9 is a gloss (Procksch, *Die Genesis*, 1912, p. 74).

Admitting that v. 9 may be an interpolation, there must have been some reason in the mind of the glossator for the assertion that Nimrod was a hunter of distinction. One's first instinct would be to seek the cause of such a tradition, but, unfortunately, the Biblical Nimrod has not been successfully identified with any Babylonian hero and especially with no one who was specifically devoted to the chase.

Thus, the name *Nimrod* has of recent years been subjected to the following analyses: Nimrod = Nin-Murda, Maynard, *AJSL* 34, p. 30, cf. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, 1916, pp. 93 ff.; Nam-urta = the god Ninib (Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 74); Nimrod = Namir-udda, a supposed epithet of the god Ninib, Jeremias, *Light on the Old Testament from the East*, 1, p. 290. Here should be noted also Hommel's derivation: Nimrod = Namra-uddu, *PSBA* 15 (1893), pp. 291 ff., 'shining light,' a view opposed by Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 104 ff.; etc.¹

Dr. Emil Kraeling has suggested that Nimrod was an Amorite who came to Babylonia from southern Arabia (*Aram and Israel*, 1918, pp. 13 ff.). More recently, in the Assyrian Seminar of Columbia University, Dr. Kraeling is now inclined to connect Nimrod historically with Lugal-Banda, a mythological king mentioned in Poebel, *Historical Texts*, 1914, whose seat was at the city Marad, now known to be the modern Wanna Sedoum, west of Nippur on the Euphrates (Clay, *Misc. Inscr.*, notes to No. 10, and Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 220). Following Delitzsch (*Sum. Glossar*, p. 206), who derives the name Nimrod from a supposed *nu-Marad* 'man of Marad,' Kraeling suggests rather *en-Marad* = *Lugal-Marad* (*en* = *lugal*, 'king'), whom he identifies with *Lugal-Marrada* = ^dMaš, Br. 12536; viz., ^dMaš = Ninib, Clay, *Amurru*, 1909, pp. 126 ff. Hence Nimrod = Ninib (?).

The king Lugal-Banda, however, was not noted as a hunter. The only two great Babylonian heroes distinguished in the chase were Dumuzi (Tammuz), who was killed while hunting boar (Jeremias, *Altor. Geisteskultur*, pp. 270 ff.), and the renowned *Gilgameš*, whose name, however, contains no suggestion of hunting and has no connection with the name Nimrod (Prince, 'Note sur le nom Gilgameš,' *Babyloniaca*, 1907, pp. 63-65).

A second suggestion of Dr. Kraeling's is that *Nimrod* may have

¹ For other opinions, cf. the material in Gesenius-Buhl, p. 501.

been an epithet of the first great Semitic Babylonian king Hammurapi, who, however, was not distinguished in the chase, but, like the Biblical Nimrod, was an empire builder, which would correspond with the expansion attributed to Nimrod, Gen. 10. 10 ff., and, so far as the historicity of Nimrod is concerned, it is highly probable that we have in this obscure character a reminiscence of early Semitic territorial extensions in the Euphrates valley. But it is doubtful whether Hammurapi is intended.

How can the description of Nimrod as a great hunter in the presumably glossated text of Gen. 10. 9, be accounted for? In the absence of any known tradition confirming this statement, the next step would be to examine the form *Nimrod* itself, to discover whether the name does not offer some suggestion of the chase. Assuming *Nimrod* to be a Sumerian name or epithet, it is highly probable that the first syllable *nim* contains the Sum. *nin*, with gloss *ni-ni* (Del. *Glossar*, p. 204) = *câidu*, occurring in *lu edin ni-ni* (= *kili*), 'field huntsman.' That this stem *nin* (*ni-ni*) is identical with *nigin* = *saxâru*, 'turn, seek,' which itself contains *gin*, *gi* = *târu*, 'turn around, seek,' is highly likely. In *nin-nini*, the final *n* was probably nasal *ng*, as in the equation *gi* = *ni* = 'man' (also = *lu* = *nu*, 'man'; Prince, *JAOS* 39, pp. 270, 275). This *nin-nini* also has the meaning *napxaru*, 'entirety,' a variant of *saxâru*, 'surround,' in which sense the sign has the val. *kili* = nasal *k* + *l* = *n* = *ningi-ningin*.

The element *-rod* in *Nimrod* is more difficult. It may stand for Sum. *gud*² = *ellum* 'bright, distinguished' (*Glossar*, p. 215), a very common epithet. In this case, *ning-h'ud* = 'distinguished hunter.' It is, however, possible that a later tradition may have confounded this guttural *gud* with *gud* = *qarradu* (*Glossar*, 108), the exact equivalent of the Biblical גַּרְדֵּן. If this supposition is correct, *Nimrod* is merely the original of the rendering גַּרְדֵּן צִיד. This suggestion has never been made before, so far as I know, and would serve to explain the introduction of the supposed gloss, Gen. 10. 9, implying that the glossator connected the idea of a huntsman with the name *Nimrod*.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE

Columbia University.

² Variant *had* = *ellum*, *ebbum*, 'shining, distinguished' (*Glossar*, p. 209).

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT THE MEETING IN ITHACA, N. Y., 1920

The annual sessions of the Society, forming its one hundred and thirty-second regular meeting, were held in Ithaca, N. Y., at Cornell University, on Tuesday and Wednesday of Easter Week, April 6 and 7, 1920.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott	Griswold	Lybyer	Schmidt
Abbott, Mrs.	Haupt	Montgomery	Schoff
Barbour	Hopkins	Nies	Torrey
Barret	Hyde	Ogden	Waterman
Bates, Mrs.	Jackson	Olmstead	Westphal
Berry	Jackson, Mrs.	Popper	
Brockwell	Jastrow	Sanders	
Edgerton, F.	Lanman	Saunders, Mrs.	[Total: 29]

THE FIRST SESSION

The first session was held on Tuesday morning beginning at 9:45 A. M., in Goldwin Smith Hall, the President, Professor Lanman, being in the chair. The reading of the Proceedings at Philadelphia in 1919 was dispensed with, as they had already been printed in the JOURNAL (39.129-151): there were no corrections and they were approved as printed.

Prof. Schmidt, as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented the report of the Committee in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday afternoon at half past two, Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at half past two, and Thursday morning at half past nine. The session of Wednesday afternoon was to be devoted to the presentation of papers on the historical study of religions, and papers of a more general character. It was announced that on Tuesday at 1 P. M. the President and Trustees of Cornell University would entertain

the members at a luncheon in Prudence Risley Hall; that local friends would take the members on an automobile excursion Tuesday at 4:30 P. M., after which the members would dine together at the Forest Home Tea Room; that the members would gather at the house of the Telluride Club for an informal reception Tuesday evening; that the members would have luncheon together at the Ithaca Hotel on Wednesday at 1 P. M.; that there would be a special organ recital in Sage Chapel on Wednesday at 5:15 P. M.; and that the annual subscription dinner would take place in Prudence Risley Hall on Wednesday at 7:30 P. M.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, presented the following report:

The rather miscellaneous duties of the Corresponding Secretary are hard to summarize; but they are in the main the arrangement of the formal program of the Annual Meeting, the noting of changes affecting the membership, and the conducting of correspondence with other Societies and organizations.

There is little for the Secretary to say about the program of the sessions, since, tho he has been engaged in learning both from precedent and by experience, he is as yet more able to receive suggestions than to make them. Also the problem of coping with the increasing output of the Members' learned zeal has been evaded this year thru our escaping from cities into a thoroly academic atmosphere where we can enjoy a meeting of a manageable size. The sixth session decreed by the resolution passed at the last meeting (see the JOURNAL, 39. 134) has therefore been omitted, as it is altogether likely that five sessions will give time enough for the presentation in full of all papers and for ample discussion.

The report concerning the membership can best be stated thru statistics. The list of corporate members, as it was at the opening of the meeting in 1919, contained 359 names. At that meeting 24 persons were elected to membership, and three former members were reinstated during the year, the total accessions to the list being 27. The losses during the past twelve months have been: deaths reported, 13; formal resignations, 4; names dropt from the list, 13; total losses, 30. There are therefore at present 356 names in the list of corporate members, which registers a net loss of 3 for the year; but it is unnecessary to emphasize these figures, since they will very soon be made obsolete when the unprecedentedly large list of persons recommended for membership is laid before the meeting.

One honorary member, Sir Arthur Evans, was elected at the last meeting to fill the only vacancy then known to exist, and he has signified his accept-

ance of membership. Two deaths reported during the past year leave two vacancies to be filled in the roll of honorary members.

It is now the duty of the Secretary to report to the Society the names of those members whose deaths have been brought to his notice since the last meeting.

Professor ERNST WINDISCH, of the University of Leipzig, a scholar whose activities embraced the extremes of Indo-European philology, since his studies ranged from Old Irish to Sanskrit and Pali. In the Oriental field his edition of the *Itivuttaka* and his articles on Buddhist legend and doctrine have been of especial value. Elected an honorary member in 1890. Died on October 30, 1918. [See *JRAS* 1919, pp. 299-306.]

Professor LEONARD W. KING, Assistant Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, and professor in King's College, London. He was widely known for his work in editing Babylonian tablets and the great Behistan Inscription and for his books on Babylonian history. Elected an honorary member in 1917. Died on August 20, 1919. [See *AJSL* 36. 89-94.]

Mr. J. NELSON ROBERTSON, of Toronto, Canada. Elected in 1913. Died in December, 1918.

Dr. PAUL CARUS, of La Salle, Ill., editor of *The Open Court*. He was primarily interested in philosophy, but had written extensively on Oriental religions, notably on Buddhism. Elected in 1897. Died on February 11, 1919. [See memorial number of *The Open Court*, Sept., 1919.]

Mr. GUSTAV A. VON BRAUCHITSCH, fellow in Semitics at the University of Chicago. Elected in 1917. Died on April 2, 1919.

Professor CRAWFORD H. TOY, of Cambridge, Mass., for twenty-nine years Professor of Hebrew and cognate subjects at Harvard University, and one of the pioneers in America of the critical study of the Old Testament. Elected in 1871. President of the Society in the year 1906-7, being the first President to be elected under the system of annual rotation. Died on May 12, 1919. [See *AJSL* 36. 1-17.]

Mr. GERARD ALSTON REICHLING, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a young scholar of promise, who contributed an article to the *JOURNAL* only a short time before his death. Elected in 1912. Died on June 18, 1919.

Professor W. MAX MÜLLER, of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the most distinguished Egyptologists in America, and an active member of this Society. Elected in 1905. Died on July 12, 1919.

Mrs. JANE DOWS NIES, of Brooklyn, N. Y., wife of the Rev. Dr. James B. Nies, and herself a supporter of Oriental studies thru her gifts to this Society and to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Elected in 1916, and from that time a life member. Died on September 16, 1919.

Dr. FRANKLIN CARTER, of Williamstown, Mass., president of Williams College from 1881 to 1901. Elected in 1873. Died on November 22, 1919.

M. VICTOR SEGALÉN, Médecin-major, Brest, France. Elected in 1919. Died during the year 1919.

Dr. SOLOMON T. H. HURWITZ, of New York City, editor of *The Jewish*

Forum, professor in the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, and a leader in Jewish higher education. Elected in 1912. Died on January 12, 1920. [See memorial number of *The Jewish Forum*, Feb., 1920.]

Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, of Canton Corner, Mass., formerly pastor of the First Congregational Parish in Canton. Elected in 1874. Died on January 31, 1920.

Professor EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, of the University of Texas, where for twenty-one years he had been Professor of Latin. His scholarly activities, however, extended into the wider domain of comparative Indo-European philology, especially in its relation to the classical languages and Sanskrit, and his brilliant and ingenious discussions of etymological problems had won for him an international reputation. His death is a serious loss to this Society, for, tho unable to attend its meetings often, he has been a frequent contributor to the JOURNAL on Indo-Iranian topics. Elected in 1888. Died on February 17, 1920.

Mr. CHARLES MARTYN PRYNNE, of Boston, Mass. Elected in 1919. Died during the year 1919-20.

Among the external affairs of the Society there has been only one matter of prime importance to note; namely, the Conference of Learned Societies held in Boston last September, and the consequent organization, in February of this year, of the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies. This topic, however, need not be elaborated here, as it has been summarized in the February number of the JOURNAL (40. 77-80) and has thus been brought, at least constructively, to the members' notice.

The efforts of the Corresponding Secretary to obtain some preliminary consensus of opinion by sending a circular letter to the officers and Directors of the Society have made him believe that a board of eighteen persons is too unwieldy to function between meetings of the Society and that a smaller Executive Council, as has been already suggested, could in the interval deal with urgent questions, under proper limitations. Such a power is doubtless inherent in the President; but as he is apt to be a distinguisht, and therefore a busy, man, and likewise duly sensible of the brevity of his tenure, he cannot well be compelled to exercise it. And that the Corresponding Secretary, by reason of his strategic position in respect to the Society's affairs and his comparative permanency in office, should assume the right of decision, would be a consequence from which he must be saved if need be in spite of himself.

The Secretary cannot end this report without expressing his appreciation of the cordial co-operation that he has received from the officers and the members of the Society in general, both in answering his requests for information, and in other ways. Especially is it his duty and his pleasure to thank his predecessors in office, Professors Jackson and Edgerton, and the President of the Society, Professor Lanman, for putting at his disposal their stores of precedents and their practical wisdom. Of whatever has been accomplisht the merit is theirs.

Upon motion the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted. Brief remarks were made concerning several late members: Professor Jastrow spoke of Max Müller; Professors Hopkins, Lanman and Barret of E. W. Fay; Professor Montgomery of Mrs. J. B. Nies; Professors Hopkins and Haupt of E. Windisch; Professors Lanman and Jastrow of Crawford H. Toy; and Professor Waterman of Leonard W. King.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Treasurer, Prof. A. T. Clay:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1919

Receipts

Balance from old account Dec. 31, 1918		\$3,326.83
Annual dues		1,540.10
Interest on bonds:		
Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Ry.	\$120.00	
Lackawanna Steel Co.	100.00	
Virginia Railway Co.	50.00	
Minneapolis General Electric Co.	50.00	320.00
J. B. Nies, for the Encyclopedia of Islam		50.00
Publication Fund		77.50
Old plates sold		5.52
Sale of publications		456.54
Interest on deposit		169.30

\$5,945.79

Expenditures

To the Corresponding Secretary: printing	\$	12.17
Treasurer's expenses: clerical	\$ 7.00	
postage (for four years)	36.43	43.43
Librarian's expenses: postage .....		.12
Expenses of the Middle West Branch		27.15
Journal: printing of 38.5	337.14	
39.1	239.31	
39.2	350.94	
39.3	350.01	
39.4	313.37	
W. Drugulin for printing	96.55	
Editors' honorariums: J. A. Montgomery ..	100.00	
Franklin Edgerton ..	150.00*	
Editors' expenses: postage	13.33	
printing	62.35	2,013.00

* \$50.00 for the preceding year.

C. Snouek Hurgronje, honorarium for the Eneyclopedia of Islam		100.40
Membership Committee Expense: printing	31.75	
postage	7.42	
clerical	3.00	42.17
Balance, Dec. 31, 1919		3,707.35
		<hr/>
		\$5,945.79

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented by Professor Hopkins:

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.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS,
F. W. WILLIAMS,
Auditors.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., March 15, 1920.

On motion the Treasurer's report and that of the Auditing Committee were accepted; and a suggestion from the Auditing Committee concerning the investment of funds was referred to the Directors for report.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Librarian, Prof. A. T. Clay, and upon motion it was accepted:

Periodicals have been added to catalogue cards, marked and placed on shelves to date. New accessions, including both periodicals and books, are now being catalogued. Mr. Paul, a graduate student, has looked over the books and manuscripts in the Tamil and Bengali languages, and has made additions to the catalogue cards which were already made for them.

Accessions to the Library of the American Oriental Society

Mar. 1919—Jan. 1920

'Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad al-Sam'ani. The Kitab al-ansab reproduced from the ms. in the British museum. 1912. (E. J. W. Gibb memorial series, v. 20.)

Banerjee, G. N. Hellenism in ancient India. 1919.

Bhandarkar, D. R. Lectures on the ancient history of India . . . 650 to 325 B. C. 1919.

- Bloomfield, M. The life and stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha. 1919.
- Calcutta university commission report (1-5).
- Claretie, L. Nos frères roumains.
- De Roo de la Faille, P. Iets over Oud-Batavia. (Popular-wetenschappelijke serie, no. I.)
- Gann, T. W. F. The Maya Indians of southern Yucatan and northern British Honduras. 1918. (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin, 64.)
- Giuffrida-Ruggeri, V. Prime linee di un' antropologia sistematica dell' Asia. 1919.
- Holmes, W. H. Handbook of aboriginal American antiquities. 1919.
- Journal of Jewish lore and philosophy, v. 1, no. 2.
- Kaplun-Kogan, W. W. Die jüdischen Wanderbewegungen in der neuesten Zeit (1880-1914). 1919.
- Krom, N. J. De sumatraansche Periode der javaansche Geschiedenis. 1919.
- Laufer, B. Sino-Iranica. Chinese contributions to the history of civilization in ancient Iran. 1919.
- Le Nain, L. Rapport succinct sur l'état du palais des académies après le départ des Allemands. 1919.
- Marseille. Chambre de commerce. Congrès français de la Syrie, 3, 4, et 5 janvier 1919. Séances et travaux, fasc. II.
- Al-Mokattam, a daily Arabic newspaper. June-Aug. 1919.
- Narasimhachar, R. The Kesava temple at Belur. 1919. (Mysore archaeological series.)
- The New China Review, v. 1. 1918.
- Parmentier, H. Inventaire descriptif des monuments cams de l'Annam, t. II.
- Pratt, I. A., comp. Armenia and the Armenians, a list of references in the New York Public Library. 1919.
- The South Indian research, a monthly journal of researches, v. 1, no. 3-4.
- Stein, A. A third journey of exploration in Central Asia. 1913-16.
- Tuttle, E. H. Dravidian S. Repr. from Am. jour. of philology, v. 40, 1919.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Prof. J. A. Montgomery, Senior Editor of the JOURNAL, presented the report of the Editors, and upon motion it was accepted:

The five Parts of the JOURNAL for 1919 have appeared very closely to schedule time. We have received more than the usual amount of copy, which has been delayed in printing because we have not yet returned to the pre-war size of the JOURNAL, the volume for 1919 containing 352 pages against 460 pages of the volume for 1914-15. Unfortunately it is more than ever obvious that only a considerably larger income will enable us to

return to the original quantum, for with the new year the printers notified us that their rates would be increased between 20 and 25%. We have been advised that in the present state of the printing business we must accept the situation. The Editors are practising all possible economy. Among other economies they must now require that authors shall furnish copy in final shape or else bear the cost of changes in composition. They would urge upon contributors the virtue of condensation and the sacrifice of any but necessary display of foreign types.

Included in the last year's printing bill were items for printing a large number of offprints of the very timely Presidential Address and of a brochure containing the papers on the proposed School of Living Oriental Languages which has been widely distributed by the appropriate Committee.

As the Treasurer's report will show, we came off very cheaply in paying our outstanding printing bill in Germany, at about one-sixth of the normal rates. Although this bill was paid in the latter part of the summer we have not yet received from the Messrs. Drugulin the missing copies of the Parts of Volumes 34 and 35, which were held up by the War. A letter from the Messrs. Drugulin of date Jan. 22 advised us that they were at once shipping the missing numbers but these have not yet been received.

The Editors would recommend supplying libraries and other learned institutions with the JOURNAL at the same rates as to members.

A suggestion was made from the floor that abstracts of papers announced for the sessions be printed for distribution before the meeting; upon motion the matter was referred to the Editors of the JOURNAL and the Corresponding Secretary with power.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society; the list includes some elected at a later session:

HONORARY MEMBERS

Rév. Père Vincent Scheil, Member of the Institute, Paris, France.

Dr. Frederick W. Thomas, Librarian of the India Office, London, England.

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Prof. William Frederic Badè,

Mr. Oscar Berman,

Mr. Isaac W. Bernheim,

Prof. Campbell Bonner,

Prof. Edward I. Bosworth,

Miss Emilie Grace Briggs,

Prof. C. A. Brodie Brockwell,

Mr. Leo M. Brown,

Prof. John M. Burnam,

Rev. Isaac Cannaday,

Mr. Alfred M. Cohen,

Dr. George H. Cohen,

Rabbi Dr. Henry Cohen,

Mr. Kenneth Colegrove,

Prof. Frank Leighton Day,

Mr. Robert E. Dengler,

Rabbi Dr. Israel Elfenbein,
 Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman,
 Rabbi Joseph L. Fink,
 Rabbi Leo M. Franklin,
 Mr. Maurice J. Freiberg,
 Mr. Sigmund Frey,
 Prof. Israel Friedlaender,
 Mr. Dwight Goddard,
 Rabbi Dr. S. H. Goldenson,
 Rabbi Solomon Goldman,
 Mr. Philip J. Goodhart,
 Rev. Dr. Herbert Henry Gowen,
 Mr. M. E. Greenebaum,
 Rev. Dr. J. R. Griswold,
 Pres. William W. Guth,
 Dr. George Ellery Hale,
 Prof. W. H. P. Hatch,
 Mr. Daniel P. Hays,
 Mrs. Edward L. Heinsheimer,
 Rabbi James G. Heller,
 Prof. Max Heller,
 Mr. B. Hirschberg,
 Mr. Theodore Hofeller,
 Mr. G. F. Hoff,
 Prof. Alice M. Holmes,
 Mr. Samuel Horchow,
 Prof. Walter W. Hyde,
 Ikbal Ali Shah,
 Rabbi Edward L. Israel,
 Mr. Melvin M. Israel,
 Prof. F. J. Foakes Jackson,
 Miss Alice Judson,
 Mr. Julius Kahn,
 Mr. Vahan H. Kalendarian,
 Mr. I. Keyfitz,
 Mr. Eugene Klein,
 Rev. Dr. Emil G. H. Kraeling,
 Mr. Harold Albert Lamb,
 Mr. D. A. Leavitt,
 Mr. Samuel J. Levinson,
 Mrs. Lee Loeb,
 Rev. Arnold Look,
 Rev. Dr. Chester Charlton McCown,
 Mr. Ralph W. Mack,
 Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin,
 Prof. Henry Malter,

Rabbi Jacob R. Marcus,
 Mr. Ralph Marcus,
 Mr. Arthur William Marget,
 Mr. Harry S. Margolis,
 Mr. H. J. Marshall,
 Prof. D. Roy Mathews,
 Rabbi Dr. Eli Mayer,
 Mr. Henry Meis,
 Mr. Myron M. Meyerovitz,
 Rabbi Louis A. Mischkind,
 Rev. Hugh A. Moran,
 Mr. Effingham B. Morris,
 Rev. Thomas Kinloch Nelson,
 Mr. Herbert C. Ottinger,
 Mr. Robert Leet Patterson,
 Mr. Harold Peirce,
 Dr. Joseph Louis Perrier,
 Dr. Arnold Peskind,
 Mr. Julius I. Peyser,
 Mr. Robert Henry Pfeiffer,
 Mr. Julian A. Pollak,
 Mr. Carl E. Pretz,
 Rabbi Dr. Max Raisin,
 Prof. H. M. Ramsey,
 Prof. Joseph Ransohoff,
 Mr. Marcus Rauh,
 Prof. John H. Raven,
 Rev. A. K. Reischauer,
 Mr. Robert Thomas Riddle,
 Mr. Julius Rosenwald,
 Rabbi Samuel Sale,
 Rabbi Dr. Marcus Salzman,
 Mr. Jacob H. Schiff,
 Mr. John F. Schlichting,
 Prof. John A. Scott,
 Mr. Max Senior,
 Mr. Gyokshu Shibata,
 Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
 Mr. Hiram Hill Sipes,
 Mr. Jack H. Skirball,
 Prof. Edmund D. Soper,
 Mr. Alexander Spanakidis,
 Prof. Wallace N. Stearns,
 Dr. W. Stede,
 Mr. A. J. Sunstein,
 Prof. Leo Suppan,

Mr. I. Newton Trager,
Mr. David Arthur Turnure,
Mr. Dudley Tyng,
Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer,
Mr. Ludwig Vogelstein,
Mr. Morris F. Westheimer,
Mr. Milton C. Westphal,

Mr. Peter Wiernik,
Mr. Herman Wile,
Prof. Clarence Russell Williams,
Prof. Curt Paul Wimmer,
Mr. Louis Gabriel Zelson,
Mr. Joseph Solomon Zuckerbaum,
Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer.

[TOTAL: 122.]

Upon motion it was voted that the thanks of the Society be extended to the Committee on the Enlargement of Membership and Resources, and particularly to the Chairman, Prof. Morgens-tern, for zealous and efficient work.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1920-1921

Dr. J. B. Nies for the Committee on Nomination of Officers reported as follows:

President—Professor Taleott Williams, of Columbia University.

Vice-Presidents—Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Archer M. Huntington, of New York City; Professor Albert Howe Lybyer, of the University of Illinois.

Corresponding Secretary—Dr. Charles J. Ogden, of New York City.

Recording Secretary—Professor LeRoy Carr Barret, of Trinity College.

Treasurer—Professor Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

Librarian—Professor Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

Editors of the Journal—Professor James A. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania; Professor Franklin Edgerton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Directors, term expiring 1923—Dr. Justin Edwards Abbott, of Summit, N. J.; Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University; Professor Charles Rockwell Lanman, of Harvard University.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

Upon motion reports of other committees were deferred.

The President, Prof. C. R. LANMAN of Harvard University, delivered an address on 'India and the West' [to be printed in the JOURNAL].

At the luncheon which followed adjournment of the first session Dean J. E. Creighton of the Graduate School made an address of welcome, acting in behalf of President Schurman who was at the time on a mission to Japan.

THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order by President Lanman at 2:30 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon. The reading of papers was immediately begun:

Professor M. JASTROW, JR., of the University of Pennsylvania: Two New Fragments of a Sumerian Code of Laws. Remarks by Professor Haupt.

A discussion of two texts recently published by Dr. H. F. Lutz (Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts, Philadelphia, 1919) containing fragments of laws dealing with agricultural regulations and with family relationships. A comparison of the fragments with the Hammurabi Code shows only a general dependence of the latter with many variations. Differences between the Sumerian and Babylonian regulations throw an interesting light on shiftings in social conditions in Ancient Babylonia.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Evil-wit, No-wit, and Honest-wit. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professors Lanman and Hopkins.

Professor N. SCHMIDT, of Cornell University: (a) Traces of Early Acquaintance in Europe with Ethiopic Enoch; (b) The First German Translation of Ethiopic Enoch. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professors Jackson and Montgomery.

Professor G. R. BERRY, of Colgate University: The Psalms called Songs of Ascents. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Jastrow.

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Eight. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Professor C. R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: (a) Phrase-derivatives; (b) The Sanskrit Passive-formative, *ya* or *i'a*. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professors Haupt and Ogden.

At 4:25 P. M. the Society took a recess to enjoy an automobile ride.

THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order by President Lanman at 9:45 o'clock on Wednesday morning. Some additional nominees for membership, included in the list already given, were duly elected.

It was announced that the next meeting of the Society would be held in Baltimore at Johns Hopkins University and at Goucher College on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, March 29, 30, and 31, 1921.

Upon recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend

ARTICLE V of the Constitution so that the present wording thereof shall be denominated SECTION 1; and to add thereto the following:

SECTION 2. An Executive Committee, consisting of the President, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, and two other Directors each elected for a term of two years, shall be constituted by the Board of Directors. The Executive Committee shall have power to take action provisionally in the name of the Society on matters of importance which may arise between meetings of the Society or of the Board of Directors, and on which, in the Committee's opinion, action cannot be postponed without injury to the interests of the Society. Notice of all actions taken by the Executive Committee shall be printed as soon as possible in the JOURNAL, and shall be reported to the Directors and the Society at the succeeding annual meeting. Unless such actions, after being thus duly advertised and reported, are disapproved by a majority vote of the members present at any session of the succeeding annual meeting, they shall be construed to have been ratified and shall stand as actions of the Society.

Upon recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend By-Law VII so that as amended it shall read:

VII. All members shall be entitled to one copy of all current numbers of the JOURNAL issued during their membership. Back volumes of the JOURNAL shall be furnished to members at twenty percent reduction from the list price. All other publications of the Society may be furnished to members at such reductions in price as the Directors may determine.

Upon motion it was voted that greetings from the Society be sent to the newly organized Palestine Oriental Society, and that it be placed on the exchange list.

For the Directors it was reported that they had voted to send as a gift to the Library of the University of Louvain a set of the JOURNAL.

Professor Lanman reported for the Committee on Co-operation with other Oriental Societies, as follows:

Delegates of the Société Asiatique, American Oriental Society, and Scuola Orientale (of Rome), met in joint-session with the Royal Asiatic Society, at London, September 3-6, 1919. The representatives of our Society were Professors Breasted, Clay, Woods, and Worrell.

[A full account of the meeting is given in Number 1 of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1920, pages 123-162. This number arrived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, between April 5th and 8th, 1920, that is, while the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society was in progress at Ithaca, and so too late for oral presentation.]

Report upon plans concerning the progress of Semitic and related studies may best be left to the competent hands of Professors Breasted and Clay and Worrell, who have not yet returned from Egypt and Palestine. And as the issues of our Journal are now frequent, the delay need not be serious. On the other hand, a brief report upon the projected General Dictionary of Buddhism, drawn up by Professor Woods, who came back to America soon after the meeting, may well be submitted herewith.

At a meeting of the officers of the joint-session, including M. Senart, Professors Finot, Sylvain Lévi, Macdonell, and Woods, Dr. F. W. Thomas, and Sir George Grierson, it was decided to plan a General Dictionary of Buddhism, with special reference to biography, history, geography, doctrine, and philosophical technique, and in the form of short and precise definitions or articles, and with characteristic passages from the printed texts.

The point of departure would be the vocabulary of Rosenberg (Tokyo, 1916). The first undertaking would be to collect on uniform cards the words already assigned to local groups of workers: a Japanese group, a Cingalese group, an Indian group at Calcutta, and a Tibetan group at Darjeeling or Petrograd. Provisional arrangements for these centres of study have already been made. The revision and editing, especially of the historical and geographical cards, would be the work of the Western members.

The Chairman of the Committee for the conduct of the undertaking is Sylvain Lévi of the Collège de France. With him are associated Dr. Thomas of the India Office Library, and Professor Woods of Harvard. The services of those who make the collections will have to be paid for and there will be (besides necessary incidentals) clerical expenses. A budget of say six thousand dollars will be required. It is proposed to prepare a circular letter to be sent to persons interested in furthering such scholarly work in the various countries,—the letter to be approved and signed by the four bodies already represented at the joint-meeting.

On behalf of the above Committee, Professor Woods asks that the American Oriental Society give its general approval to this undertaking and join the other societies in signing the letter thus approved.

It was voted that the matter of relations be referred back to the Committee for further report.

Professor Jastrow offered the reports of several Committees.

The Publication Committee reported some progress.

The Committee on the Establishment of a School of Living Oriental Languages reported that it had discovered sympathy for the project in important quarters.

The Committee on Enlargement of Membership and Resources pointed to the nominations for membership as its report.

It was voted that members be requested to send to Professor Morgenstern suggestions regarding new members.

The Committee on Honorary Associates reported progress.

The Committee on the Statement of Scope, Character, Aims, and Purposes of Oriental Studies reported inability to prepare a suitable statement and asked to be discharged.

The Committee on the Formation of a National Academy of Humanities reported progress.

At this point it was voted: that the American Oriental Society ratify and it does hereby ratify, the convention and constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies. This constitution has already been printed in the JOURNAL (40. 78 f.).

It was also voted: that the Society's delegates to the Academic Council just mentioned be appointed by the Directors.

The Committee on the Interests of the American School in Jerusalem gave a brief report on the activities of the school during the last year.

The Committee on a Plan for Archaeological Exploration in the Near East reported that Professor Breasted is now in that region looking over the ground.

At this point the presentation of papers was resumed.

Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, of New York: Some Literary Aspects of the Absence of Tragedy in the Sanskrit Drama. Remarks by Professors Edgerton, Jastrow, Ogden, Jackson, and Brockwell.

This paper is a consideration of the loss of possibly great tragedies through the rules of dramaturgy against unhappy endings for Sanskrit plays.

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum: Cinnamon, Cassia, and Somaliland. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professors Torrey, Ogden and Haupt.

Mr. P. L. BARBOUR, of New York: Some Observations regarding the Burushaski Language of Northern Kashmir. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Brockwell.

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to certain features of this unclassified language of Northwestern India. The peculiarities particularly noted are:

(1) a system of pronominalizing or adding a pronominal prefix to the various words, be they noun, adjective, or verb, which express the idea of family relationship, or name the parts of the body or concepts of the mind;

(2) the use of a vigesimal system in counting.

In conclusion the author expresses his desire to investigate the language at first hand.

Professor C. A. B. BROCKWELL, of McGill University: Some of the basic principles of the science and art of measuring time, as used among the early Mediterranean peoples. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Jastrow.

Rev. Dr. J. E. ABBOTT, of Summit, N. J.: Maloba, the Maratha Saint. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professor Jackson.

The President announced the appointment of the following committees:

On Arrangements for the meeting in Baltimore in 1921: Professors Haupt, Bloomfield, and Dougherty, and the Corresponding Secretary.

On Nominations for the year 1921-1922: Professors Jastrow and Schmidt and Dr. W. N. Brown.

Auditors for 1920-1921: Professors F. W. Williams and Torrey.

The Society took a recess at 12:15 P. M.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order by President Lanman at 2:40 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon. The reading of papers was immediately begun.

Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Ventriloquism in Babylonia; (b) The Nuptials of Jahveh and the Sun; (c) Sumerian Stillatories; (d) Suckling Sea-monsters.

(a) The instruction at the end of a cuneiform exorcistic manual (ZA 30, 213) to pipe like creatures of the desert (*cf.* Arab. *'azf*) and female voices refers to ventriloquism, which has a higher pitch and a different timbre (Assyr. *lišānu enītu*). The Hebrew necromancers were ventriloquists (Is. 8, 19; 29, 4). The Sipirmeneans were said to pipe like women (ZA 30, 227 n. 3; *cf.* Herod. 4, 183) because they spoke a tonal language. The Sumerian tones may have been more marked in the older (*eme-sal*) dialect (ZA 31, 240) and in the language of the women (JAOS 37, 312). The Tibetans say that sounds uttered with a high tone are spoken *with a woman's voice* (EB¹¹ 26. 920^b; *cf.* also PSBA 40. 95).

(b) MVAG 22, 69 regards Ps. 19 as Davidic, and Ps. 132 (JBL 33, 168) as Solomonic. Ps. 19 is called a song for the Neomenia or the Feast of the Tabernacles, from the Solomonic Book of Songs (JHUC No. 316, p. 22) which is identified with the Psalter. Before *in them hath He set a tabernacle* (or bridal pavilion) *for the sun* the line *Jahveh knew* (Gen. 4, 1; *cf.* JHUC, No. 316, p. 24) *the sun in heaven, He thought to dwell in thick darkness* (see *Kings*, SBOT 101) is supposed to have been omitted. This reconstruction is untenable (JBL 38, 182).

(c) Sum. *kakkul*, Assy. *namzitu*, Talmud. *nāzaitā* is not a mash-tun for the brewing of beer (ZA 32, 168) but the receiver of a still for the distillation of brandy (JHUC, No. 287, p. 33). The boiler of the still is called in Assyrian: *qannu* or *qanqannatu* = Talmud. *qančan*. Siduri (which may be the prototype of Calypso; cf. *kuttumat*, HW 363) had a still near the sea; she was not a Sabeian maiden: *sābītu* is the feminine of *sābū*, taverner (cf. Heb. *sōhē'ē jāin*, wine-bibbers) = Sum. *lu-geštin* or *lu-kaštin*. During the siege of Erech (JAOS 22, 8) the hostess in despair smashed the receiver of her still (KB 6, 273, 6).

(d) In the Maccabean Elegies (JBL 38, 157) Lam. 4, 3 we must read: *Gam-tanninim halēqū šēqēhēn, henīqū gūrēhēn*, Even sea-monsters offered (lit. *drew out*) their teats, and suckled their young. The Jews may have observed dugongs suckling their young in the Red Sea. There were also whales (both right whales and sperm-whales) in the Mediterranean (JHUC, No. 296, pp. 37, 43). Whales bring forth their young alive and suckle them; the two teats are placed in depressions on each side of the genital aperture. The dugong often raises its round head out of the water and carries its young under the forefin (see plate in Brockhaus, 14, 1002).

Rev. Dr. F. K. SANDERS, of New York: The Publications of the Board of Missionary Preparation relating to Religions. Remarks by Professors Haupt, Jackson, Torrey, and Montgomery.

The purpose of the speaker is to report certain results already reached, illustrating these by the actual publications and indicating the further policy of the Board in that direction, and then to speak of a proposed series. Each is of interest as representing a distinct attempt to utilize the very best scientific knowledge in order to assist young missionaries to enter thoughtfully and broadly into their work.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Illinois: The Assyrian Land System. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Jastrow.

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: On the Site of the most ancient Zoroastrian Fire. Remarks by Professor Hopkins.

In Zoroastrian tradition the Farnbag Fire, or the special fire of the priestly class, is the most sacred of all fires, as it represents the divine fire of Ormazd. Tradition assigns its original foundation to the legendary ruler Yim, who established it in Khvarazm, to the east of the Caspian Sea. According to the Indian Bundahishn it was removed to Kabul by Zoroaster's patron, King Vishtasp; but according to the Iranian recension of that work (now available) it was carried to a place which may be identified with Kariyan in Fars. The paper discusses this latter tradition in the light of various other sources.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: The So-called Original Hebrew of Sirach. Remarks by Professors Montgomery and Jastrow.

The Hebrew text of Sirach recently discovered is not the original Hebrew, but the result of a process of retroversion. The proofs of this are chiefly the following: (1) Our Greek text is by no means a ren-

dering of this Hebrew. (2) The style of the Cairo fragments is wretched. (3) Unlike the Greek, there is everywhere a weak repetition of Old Testament phrases. (4) The Hebrew of the fragments is largely the language of a much later day than that of Ben Sira. (5) The original metrical form is very often wanting. (6) Not seldom there is unmistakable evidence of translation. (7) There is good reason to believe that the real Hebrew of Sirach was lost at a very early date.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: The Ethical Element in the Rig Veda. Remarks by Professors Lanman, Haupt, and Dr. Abbott.

Some ethical quality is inferable from pre-Vedic period. Vedic gods are peculiarly related to man. The idea of mediation has been exaggerated. The relation of sinner to gods and nature of the divine laws. These laws are according to the divine Order and Supreme Being; extracts in illustration. Nature of sin. Punishment of sinner; reward of pious.

By unanimous consent Prof. Lybyer's paper on The Syrian Desire for Independence was postponed for presentation in the evening, after the annual dinner.

After discussion it was voted: that the Executive Committee consider the preparation of questionnaires to be sent to missionary areas for the purpose of gathering information which might be useful to scholars.

On motion of Professor Jackson, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that the American Oriental Society, in appreciation of its particularly pleasant visit at Ithaca, wishes to express its cordial thanks to the President and Trustees of Cornell University for welcoming the Society at Goldwin Smith Hall, where its sessions were held, and for hospitably entertaining the members at luncheon; also to thank the Telluride Association for the reception kindly given at its home and for various other attentions; to thank furthermore the Town and Gown Club and the University Club for courtesies extended; to express appreciation likewise to the Ithaca Chamber of Commerce for the enjoyable automobile excursion, and to thank Professor Quarles for the delightful organ recital which he gave for the members of the Society. It wishes, in conclusion, to add special acknowledgements to the Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements and his very efficient Reception Committee for the remarkable manner in which they contributed to make the meeting a memorable one for all those in attendance.

The President announced the formal presentation by title of the following papers.

Professor F. R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: A Bibliography of the Philippine Languages, Part II.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Notes on the Divyāvadāna. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] (b) On overhearing, as a motif in Hindu Fiction.

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of Albany, N. Y.: Buddhist influence on Bidpai's Fables. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Dr. E. CHIERA, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Sin Offering.

Professor R. P. DOUGHERTY, of Goucher College: The Temple Guard in Erech.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Pañcātātra Reconstructed: a report of progress.

Dr. I. EFROS, of Baltimore: An Emendation to Jer. 4. 29.

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: Several Semitic Etymologies.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: R̥té śrāntāsya, 'without toil,' RV. 4. 33. 11.

Mr. V. H. KALENDARIAN, of Columbia University: The Turanian Element in Armenian.

Professor M. JASTROW of the University of Pennsylvania: Notes on Criticism of Inscriptions: I, The Behistan Inscription of Darius the Great. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: Notes on the Persian Poet Bābā Tāhir.

Professor M. JASTROW, of the University of Pennsylvania: Notes on the Text of Ishtar's Descent to the Lower World.

Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, of Dropsie College: (a) An Approach to the Study of Jewish Contracts from the point of View of Babylonian Contracts. (b) The Forms *šelaši šelašit šelašin šelašōt, rebā'ī -it -in -ōt*, etc., in Neo-Hebrew and their Equivalents in other Semitic Languages.

Professor D. G. LYON, of Harvard University: Assyrian City Gates.

Dr. D. I. MACHT, of Johns Hopkins University: A Pharmacological Appreciation of Biblical Incense.

Professor T. J. MEEK, of Meadville Theological School: (a) Some New Assyrian Ideograms. (b) An Assyrian Copy of the Hammurabi Code.

Dr. J. J. PRICE, of Plainfield, N. J.: The Rabbinic Conception of Labor.

Professor J. D. PRINCE, of Columbia University: The Sumerian Original of the name Nimrod. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Rev. J. E. SNYDER, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Habbakuk's Maledictions. (b) The *ā* before the affixes of the Assyrian permansive.

(a) The four imprecatory triplets in Heb. 2, 6^b = 17 (18-20 is a subsequent addition) refer to events and conditions recorded in 1 Mac. 10, 30. 42; 11, 34. 35.—1, 21-23; 2, 9; 6, 12; 1, 33; 10, 32; 11, 41.—1, 46; 2, 12; 3, 51; 4, 38; 7, 35. 42; 14, 36; 9, 50-53.—1, 24. 30; 2, 38; 5, 2; 7, 17. 19. We must read *lē'oklénū* for *lô-lô* and '*ullô la-ābūtāy*, also *nēšūkēka* and *mēz-ozē'ēka*, and *mispāh*, bloodshed (miswritten *mispāh* in Is. 5, 7 and *mišpaṭ* in Ezek. 7, 23) for *mēsappēh*.

(b) The *ā* in Assy. *palzāku*, I fear, does not correspond to the *ō* in

Heb. *sabbôta*, which is conformed to the verba tertiae *y* (*JAOS* 28. 113), but to the *ô* in Heb. *anôkî* I. The pronoun of the first person was (*an*)*âku*. This *â* was afterward transferred to the other persons. *Anâ* in Arabic and Aramaic (Ethiopic *ănă*) is shortened from *anâku* and Heb. *ănî* and *anôkî* are conformed to the suffix of the first person (*SFG* 53).

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: The Site of Niniveh in the Book of Tobit.

The Society took a recess at 5:10 P. M.

THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order by President Lanman at 8:35 P. M., after the annual dinner, in Prudence Risley Hall, for the purpose of listening to Prof. Lybyer's paper, postponed from the afternoon session, and of transacting certain business. The following paper was presented:

Professor A. H. LYBYER, of the University of Illinois: The Syrian Desire for Independence. Remarks by Professors Haupt, Jastrow, Montgomery, Popper, and others.

Impressions of the Syrian character and desire for self-rule as observed with the American Commission on Mandates in Turkey last summer. The program of the Syrian Conference at Damascus. How the Syrian desires conflict with the secret treaties which are in process of being put into effect. How America might solve the problem of the world. If the triple partition be enforced upon the country, there is small prospect of permanent peace.

At the end of the discussion of Professor Lybyer's address, the Society held a brief business session.

Professor Lanman, as Chairman of the Committee on Co-operation with the Société Asiatique, presented the report of that Committee. On motion of Professor Haupt, properly seconded, it was voted, after some discussion, that the report be referred to the Executive Committee with power to act upon the proposal therein contained that this Society co-operate with the Société Asiatique and other Oriental Societies in regard to planning a General Dictionary of Buddhism and issuing an appeal for aid in its preparation.

On motion it was voted that the President of the Society be authorized to appoint delegates to represent the Society at the

joint meeting of Oriental Societies to be held at Paris in July, 1920.

Certain additional nominees for membership, included in the list already given, were duly elected.

Professor Olmstead extended an informal invitation for the Society to hold its annual meeting with that of the Middle West Branch in Easter Week of 1922.

At 11:10 o'clock the Society adjourned, to meet again in Baltimore on March 29, 1921.

PERSONALIA

Of the staff of the School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem Director WM. H. WORRELL expected to leave for America in May and Prof. A. T. CLAY in June, the latter returning *via* Europe. Prof. J. P. PETERS plans to return in July. Prof. C. C. McCOWN, of the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif., has been appointed Thayer Fellow at the School for the coming year. Professor Clay made an extensive trip through Babylonia, reaching Mosul. He met there Prof. J. H. Breasted and his party. The present Fellow, Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, has been appointed Acting Director of the School for 1920-21.

Père J. N. STRASSMAIER, the pioneer in the study of Babylonian astronomy and in Babylonian contract literature, died in London, January 11, 1920. A biographical sketch is given by Père Condamin in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* for January-March.

Mr. T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, of Madras, a member of our Society, died on Feb. 29, 1920. He had been for twenty-five years a fellow of the University of Madras, and was a valued member of the Tamil Lexicon Committee. That Committee has adopted a resolution on the death of Mr. Pillai, which we are glad to print, as follows:

The Tamil Lexicon Committee records with sorrow the death of Rao Saheb T. Ramakrishna Pillai, B.A., F.R.H.S., in whom it has lost one of its original members, who has all along rendered invaluable help by his enthusiasm for the work and by his readiness to further it in every way.

Dr. ISRAEL FRIEDLÄNDER, Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City, was killed by brigands in the Ukraine on July 8, while he was engaged in distributing money for Jewish relief. Dr. Friedländer became a member of the Society this year.

225

INDIA AND THE WEST

WITH A PLEA FOR TEAM-WORK AMONG SCHOLARS¹

CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

IT IS A CURIOUS REMINISCENCE of a journey to India of thirty odd years ago, that no less than two pamphlets were given me discussing the religious right of a Brahman to cross the ocean. Remote indeed must be the corner of India in which that question is now debatable. Railways, electric motors and lights, telegraphs and telephones, a successful flight from Europe to Karāchi,—such things must make it clear to any Hindu, whether learned or illiterate, that the old order is past and gone, and with it the possibility of maintaining the old-time caste-restrictions, and the isolation that they fostered.

Fostered, not effected. For India has never been wholly isolated. Thither, for conquest and gain, Alexander led an army, and upon the observations of his generals and followers rest the Greek and Latin accounts (such as those of Megasthenes), which it is a fascinating study to test upon the touchstone of native Hindu records (such as those of Kāuṭilya).—Thither, again, came the Chinese pilgrims to the Holy Land of Buddhism,—their purpose, to get the authentic records of Buddha's teaching and carry them home to China. Of all foreign visitors to India, none challenge our sympathy and admiration more splendidly than do these stout-hearted men who braved the awful perils of the Sand-desert, the Sha-mo, upon so exalted

¹ Presidential address delivered before the American Oriental Society at Ithaca, April 6, 1920.—In it are embodied a few statements already made by the author in print elsewhere,—in official documents 'not published,' or in books of very restricted circulation.

For the sake of readers who live outside of the world of American sports, be it said that 'team-work' means 'work done by the players of a team collectively, for example, by the players of a foot-ball eleven.' These must do each his best for the success of his team as a whole. To this end, they must be free from the slightest feeling of personal jealousy, and must not allow the hope of personal advantage to influence any thought or act. The application of the term 'team-work' to the scholarly co-operation as between India and the West which we here have in mind, is obvious.

an errand.—And thither, again, came ‘visitors’ of a very different stripe, invaders, beginning in 1001, who in long succession, from Mahmud of Ghazni to the Moguls, set up foreign rule in India. Of the Moguls, the greatest and best was Akbar, and the time of his life (1542-1605) accords very nearly with that of Queen Elizabeth, as does also the time of his reign of nine-and-forty years. It was on the very last day of the sixteenth century that Elizabeth gave a charter to ‘The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.’

This marks the beginning of a new era, the era of British India. The isolation of India, so far as it concerns India and the *West*, has been, upon the whole, pretty complete from the days of Alexander to those of the Company. To Horace, India was the land whose forests were ‘lapped by the storied Hydaspes.’ And more than a hundred years before Elizabeth’s Charter, Columbus set out, in 1492, to seek India by sailing to the west. And five years later, Vasco da Gama started from Lisbon to reach the same fabled goal by sailing in general to the east. It was in May, 1498, after a voyage of nearly eleven months, that the intrepid Portuguese captain cast anchor off the coast of Malabar, near Calicut. On returning, he bore a letter from the Prince of Calicut to the King of Portugal: ‘In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral, and scarlet.’ Portuguese, Dutch, French, Danes, even Prussians, strove in vain for a permanent foot-hold in India. It was reserved for the unconquerable persistence and self-restraint of the English, and for their loyalty to far-sighted principles through two hundred and fifty years, to establish the greatest colonial empire of human history.²

Modern scientific knowledge of India in the Occident is often said to begin with Sir William Jones and Henry Thomas Colebrooke. These are the most illustrious names on the earliest bead-roll of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded by Sir William in 1784. But even a hundred years and more before that, two remarkable observers had written books to which I should like to call attention. One is ‘The Open Door to hidden heathendom, or truthful description of the life and customs, religion

² See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1908, ii. 446-469.

and worship of the Bramins on the coast of Coromandel and lands thereabouts. By Dominus Abraham Rogerius, in his life, Minister of the Holy Gospel on the same coast,' published in Dutch at Leiden in 1651. A German translation was published a dozen years later, at Nürnberg, in 1663. The Dutch original is of extreme rarity, and has accordingly just been republished by our colleague, Professor W. Caland of Utrecht, at The Hague, in 1915.—The other work is the 'Truthful detailed description of the famous East Indian coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and the island of Ceylon. By Philip Baldæus, sometime Minister of the Divine Word in Ceylon,' published in German at Amsterdam in 1672. I have long been the fortunate possessor of a copy of the Nürnberg Rogerius, and of a copy of Baldæus (both destined for the Harvard Library); and Rogerius has just been laid on the table before you.

The 'visitors' in India, to whom brief allusion has been made, are typical. On the one hand are the conquerors and traders, to whom cinnamon and ginger, coral and scarlet, mean much. On the other are the pilgrims and missionaries, seekers for the things of the spirit. But notice how these latter represent two exactly opposite types. The Chinese pilgrims go to learn. The men from the West go to teach. And the purpose of each type is clearly reflected in the mental attitude of each towards what there is to see. The work of Baldæus has for a sub-title 'Heathen Idolatry,' *Abgötterey der Heyden*, and its pages have many descriptions and pictures of abominations. For contrast, let me read a bit from Fâ-hien, the concluding paragraph of his own record of his pilgrimage to India (399-414 A. D.).

After Fâ-hien set out from Ch'ang-gan,³ it took him six years to reach Central India; stoppages there extended over (other) six years; and on his return it took him three years to reach Ts'ing-chow. The countries through which he passed were a few under thirty. From the sandy desert westwards on to India, the beauty of the dignified demeanour of the monkhood and of the transforming influence of the Law was beyond the power of language fully to describe.

At the end of the work is added one more passage by an unnamed writer, Fâ-hien's host, who says:

³ In Shen-si, near the great bend of the Yellow River. Fâ-hien speaks of himself in the third person. The Law or Great Doctrine means Buddha's religion.

It was in the year Keah-yin (414 A. D.) that I met the devotee Fâ-hien. On his arrival, I lodged him with myself in the winter study, and there, in our meetings for conversation, I asked him again and again about his travels. The man was modest and complaisant, and answered readily according to the truth. I thereupon advised him to enter into details, and he proceeded to relate all things in order from the beginning to the end. He [Fâ-hien] said himself,

'When I look back on what I have gone through, my heart is involuntarily moved and the sweat breaks forth. That I encountered danger and trod the most perilous places, without thinking of or sparing myself, was because I had a definite aim, and thought of nothing but to do my best in simplicity and straightforwardness. Thus it was that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable, if I might accomplish only a ten-thousandth part of what I hoped.'

These words [of my guest, Fâ-hien] affected me [his host] in turn, and I thought:—'This man is one of those who have seldom been seen from ancient times to the present. Since the Great Doctrine flowed on to the East, there has been no one to be compared with Hien in his forgetfulness of self and search for the Law. Henceforth I know that the influence of sincerity finds no obstacle, however great, which it does not overcome, and that force of will does not fail to accomplish whatever service it undertakes. Does not the accomplishing of such service arise from forgetting (and disregarding) what is (generally) considered as important, and attaching importance to what is (generally) forgotten?'

Simple, straightforward, self-forgetting seeker for the truth, hoping all things, and yet daring death to do even a little part of what he hoped, and, above all, judging values not as the world judgeth! such was Fâ-hien, The Illustrious Master (Hien) of the Law (Fâ). For us, as scholars and as students of the East, where may be found a braver, a nobler, a wiser exemplar?

Fâ-hien's 'definite aim' was to seek and carry home the authentic records of Buddha's Teachings. But since these would be useless without a knowledge of the language of the originals, it follows that he must have recognized the fact that the first essential for knowing Buddha's religion was to know the language of its ancient sacred books. A similar fact with reference to Hindu jurisprudence was recognized fourteen hundred years later by Henry Thomas Colebrooke. Warren Hastings saw that if the Company's wise intentions of governing the Hindus by their own laws were to be carried out, those ancient laws must be made accessible to their European judges. As no one was found to translate them directly from the original Sanskrit into Eng-

lish, they were in fact translated from Sanskrit into Persian and from Persian into English. The result was Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Laws* (1776). Colebrooke arrived at Calcutta in 1783, as a lad of eighteen. But he acquitted himself with such distinction in the revenue service, that at thirty he was transferred to the judicial service, to a post in the Court or Adawlat of Mirzapore, near Benares.⁴

In 1787, Sir William Jones wrote home to Charles Wilkins: 'You are the first European that ever understood Sanscrit, and will, possibly, be the last.'⁵ It was probably very soon after this date, perhaps in 1790, that Colebrooke took up Sanskrit. He had been seven years in Bengal, and his eagerness to acquire a knowledge of ancient Hindu algebra was what first moved him to study Sanskrit. The difficulties were so great that he twice abandoned the study. But the duties of his office, and the inadequacy of Halhed's work, forced him to renew the fight. For, with the lack of help, and the constant pressure of official duty, it must indeed have been a fight. The result was his monumental *Digest of Hindu Law*, dated 1798.

In a letter of January, 1797, to his father, Colebrooke announces the completion of his task of translating the *Digest of Hindu Law*, and his plan of working out a Sanskrit grammar, and the fact that 'types have lately been cast, in Calcutta, for printing the Sanscrit language in its appropriate character,' that is, in Nāgarī letters. The first Sanskrit book to be so printed was the *Hitopadeśa*, with parts of Daṇḍin and Bhartṛhari, and a copy of it lies on the table before you. Its editor was Carey, and it was printed at his press in Serampore in 1804, and with a preface by Colebrooke, saying that it was 'To promote and facilitate the study of the ancient and learned language of India in the College of Fort William.' It was followed in 1805 by Colebrooke's *Sanskrit Grammar*. Of this also a copy lies before you. In a letter of 1801, Colebrooke says: 'My chief literary occupation now is a Sanscrit Grammar, which is in the press. I undertook it because I accepted the Professorship of Sanscrit in the College, but do not choose to deliver oral instruction to the students; and I am expediting the publication, that this may be

⁴ See *The Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, by his son, Sir T. E. Colebrooke, London, 1873, for these and the following statements.

⁵ See *JAOS* 9, p. lxxxviii.

one of the valuable legacies of the College, if it do die the death to which the Court of Directors have condemned it.' And such a legacy indeed it is. It is based upon Pāṇini, the greatest of all Hindu grammarians. But since the Hindu system of grammar is infinitely more difficult than the Sanskrit language itself, the work was unusable except as a sure stepping-stone for Colebrooke's successors.

We cannot realize how difficult were the beginnings of a scientific study of India for these brave pioneers. Wilkins, the Caxton of India, arrived in Bengal in 1770, and Halhed at about the same time. Sir William Jones and Colebrooke arrived in 1783, and Carey in 1793. Carey, the learned shoemaker, established his mission at Serampore in 1800. He became a translator of the Bible, and justly earned the title of 'The Wyclif of the East.' Wilkins was the first to make a direct translation of a Sanskrit work into English. This was the *Gītā* (London, 1785). Of it and of Wilkins, Colebrooke says:

I have never yet seen any book which can be depended on for information concerning the real opinions of the Hindus except Wilkins' '*Bhagvat Geeta*.' That gentleman was Sanscrit-mad and has more materials and more general knowledge respecting the Hindus than any other foreigner ever acquired since the days of Pythagoras.

Wilkins was very skilful with his hands and his pen. He had with his own hands designed and cut the punches and cast the types from which Halhed's Bengali grammar was printed at Hoogly in 1778. And he taught his art to a Bengali blacksmith, Panchanan. The latter came to the Serampore Mission Press most opportunely. Carey was in sore need of Nāgarī types for his Sanskrit grammar and texts. Panchanan met the need. The excellence of his work you may see for yourselves from the beautiful volume before you, the *Hitopadeśa*. His apprentice, Mohonur, continued to make elegant fonts of type for many Eastern languages for more than forty years. Rev. James Kennedy saw him cutting the matrices and casting the type for the Bibles while he squatted before his favorite idol, under the auspices of which alone he would work. Serampore continued down till 1860 to be the principal Oriental type-foundry of the East.⁶

⁶ *The Life of William Carey*, by George Smith, 2d ed., London, 1887. See especially pp. 217-8.

Let me cite, from an essay⁷ of a dozen years ago, some facts for which in part I was indebted to our confrere, Dr. Justin E. Abbott, formerly of Bombay.

On the 'Bombay side' the case was similar. The first important press of Western India was started by the American Mission in 1816. A young Eurasian of that press, Thomas Graham, cut the first Marathi and Gujarati type. At this press were later employed also two young Hindu lads, one of whom, Jāvaji Dādāji, learned the art of printing from the Americans, and founded the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, now carried on by his son Tukārām Jāvaji. The other, taught by Graham, is still living, and cuts all the beautiful Nirṇaya Sāgara type.

Printing in India is therefore modern, and essentially un-Indian in its origin; but no sane man would refuse a Sanskrit text because it was printed, and insist on having one made by a Hindu scribe. The consideration of cost alone would utterly condemn such a preference. Meantime, Bombay and Poona and Calcutta are producing admirably printed Sanskrit texts; printed texts are beginning to come from such out-of-the-way places as Nagpore; and from Kumbhakonam, the 'Oxford of Southern India,' they come in great numbers. Whether we like it or not, printing will ere long have ousted memorizing and copying as a means of handing down texts. In short, the ancient Hindus are no longer ancient; like the rest of the world they too are moving on.

The Sanskrit philology of the Occident is but little more than a century old. But its achievements are already great. The last work from the hand of our colleague, Ernst Windisch of Leipzig, is entitled History of Sanskrit philology, Part I, and goes down through the time of Christian Lassen. Whether Part II would have contained an outline of Sanskrit philology in India (manuscript-collections, text-editions, epigraphy, numismatics—the work of what Windisch calls his 'Fourth period'), I am not sure. But in this connection it is noteworthy that Sanskrit philology is in fact commonly taken to mean the work of Occidental scholars.

What I especially desire to bring to your attention today is the great fact that it is only through the most whole-hearted co-

⁷ Prefixed to J. Hertel's *Panchatantra*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 11, p. xxii.

operation of Indianists of the Occident with those of the Orient that we may hope for progress which shall be fruitful in good to West and to India alike. And there is a very peculiar propriety in emphasizing this fact just at this time.

Almost three years ago, when we Americans were engaged in the stupendous work of fighting mighty nations separated from us by thousands of miles of land and sea, there appeared in India, at Poona, a splendid volume of Commemorative Essays presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, July 6, 1917. It consists of forty essays, mostly in English, partly in Sanskrit and French, contributed by scholars of India and the West in token of their admiration for Dr. Bhandarkar as a scholar who has for decades combined Indic and Western learning, and so has been an example and an inspiration to us all. Thus in these dark days,—when internationalism seems almost dead, when for the older generation the hope of reorganizing international effort for great undertakings seems faint,—comes this virile messenger from India, the Continent of the Bhāratans, to quicken our courage and our hope. I trust that it may be an added measure in the cup of gladness of Dr. Bhandarkar, who has been for thirty-three years one of our Honorary Members, to learn that here in distant America it is deemed worth while to pause and do honor to a life that has been devoted to the noble ideal of helping the West to understand his native India.

And, before turning to the main subject which this volume suggests, let me add that to us, as Americans, it is a matter of satisfaction and pride that Dr. Belvalkar, who was a leading spirit in planning the volume and in organizing the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, is a member of our Society, and that, although in the wide fields of Indian antiquities there is many a subject about which he knows as a matter of course vastly more than any American professor of Sanskrit can hope to know, he was nevertheless wise enough to devote two years to study in an American university. This last I mention with hope and with gladness. I am glad that a Hindu, well versed in the learning of his native land, should think it worth while to learn of the West. And I hope that his residence in America may make his Eastern learning far more fruitful for his countrymen and for us Occidentals than it ever could be, if he had not come

hither to study our methods and to find out what lessons from his country's past may best be taught to us.

The main thought which the stately Bhandarkar volume suggests is the happy one that Indianists of India are now joining hands with Indianists of the West in the great work of helping each to understand the other. The supreme folly of war is in the last analysis a failure—as between two peoples—to understand each other, and so to trust each other. It follows then that the business of us Orientalists is something that is in vital relation with urgent practical and political needs. The work calls for co-operation, and above all things else for co-operation in a spirit of mutual sympathy and teachableness. There is much that America may learn from the history of the peoples of India, and much again that the Hindus may learn from the West. But the lessons will be of no avail, unless the spirit of arrogant self-sufficiency give way to the spirit of docility, and the spirit of unfriendly criticism to that of mutually helpful constructive effort. Both India and the West must be at once both teacher and taught.

The whole spiritual and material background of the life of India differs so completely from that of the West that neither can ever understand the other from a mere study of the other's literary monuments. Such study is indeed inexorably necessary, and it must be fortified by broad and rigorous training in the many-sided methods of today. But that is not enough. An Occidental who would faithfully interpret India to the West must also know the life of India from actual observation and experience, and must be able to look at it from the Eastern angle of vision. Accordingly, for example, the Sanskrit professor of the next generation must have resided in India, have mixed (so far as possible) with its people, and have mastered one or more of the great modern vernaculars, such as Marathi or Bengali. And, on the other hand, since the Hindus themselves are already actively engaged in interpreting the East to the West, it is needful also that they visit us, not merely to learn our way of doing things, but also to look at life as we look at it, and thus to find out what things—such, let us say, as repose of spirit or the simple life—the West most needs to learn of the East.⁸

⁸ C. R. L., in a Note prefixed to S. K. Belvalkar's *Rāma's Later History*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 21, page xiii.

Colebrooke, in a letter of 1788 to his father, says: 'Never mixing with natives, an European is ignorant of their real character, which he, therefore, despises. When they meet, it is with fear on one side, and arrogance on the other.' And I must confess that I have myself in India seen that the basis of Colebrooke's charges had not become wholly a thing of the past. Sir William Jones and Colebrooke are ideal instances of the spirit and methods that were and are and must ever remain exemplary. They went to India, they learned of the Hindus, and to the task of making India known to the West they gave, with heroic devotion, all that they had to give. And ever since their day, the business of the East India Company or of the Imperial Government has taken men to India who have proved to be not only men of lofty personal character and faithful officials, but also Indianists of large achievement.

To France belongs the honor of establishing the first professorship for Sanskrit upon the Continent of Europe. This was at the Collège Royal de France, and a copy of the inaugural address of the first incumbent, de Chézy, delivered Monday, January 16, 1815, lies before you. In the second third of the last century, there arose men who, like de Chézy's successor, Eugène Burnouf, or like the lexicographers, Böhtlingk and Roth, accomplished great things without ever visiting the Land of the Rose-apple. As late as Carey's day, it took about half a year to go from England to India. Just before the World War, letters often came from Bombay to Boston in three or four weeks. And now appears Sir Frederick Sykes before the Royal Geographical Society, announcing the projects of Great Britain for the development of commercial aviation. Egypt must for a long time be the 'Hub' or the 'Clapham Junction' of the aerial routes to India, Australia, and Cape Town. Between Egypt and India weather-conditions are found to be stable on the whole; and whereas the normal time for the sea-voyage from Port Said to Bombay is nine days, that traject is made through the air in four days, flying only in the day-time. When I was a graduate student at Yale, it was not even suggested that I should go to India; and an occasional letter of scientific interest from India was deemed worthy of publication in Weber's *Indische Studien* or in our JOURNAL.

But soon, when a letter can be transmitted from Boston to Bombay in ten days, and the writer can be carried by ship and train in a fortnight, it is evident that the increased opportunities will bring—as always—increased obligations, and that for professed Indianists in America a period of residence and study in India—preferably, perhaps, at such a place as Poona or Benares—will become rather a matter of course. Meantime, it may be added, the development of the discipline of tropical hygiene will tend to reduce to a minimum the dangers to health from living in an unwonted climate.

The time is ripe for instituting a system of international exchange-scholarships as between the universities of India and America. This will encourage and promote the tendency to inter-university migration, which is already well under way. Scores of students from India and the Far East are now listed in the Harvard Catalogue. Within the last two years I have had upon my rolls a recent Harvard graduate who has returned from Burma to complete his preparation for a professorship in Judson College, another American back from a long residence in China, two young Chinese students, one of extraordinary promise, and Hindus to whom it was an especial delight for me to explain their sacred Upanishads. It would be an entirely legitimate use of the Harvard Sheldon Fellowships (which are intended for non-resident students) to award them to men who propose to study in India, and I am glad to make this fact known.

Political and economic conditions are just now such as to make it a peculiarly unpromising time to move for the establishment of chairs for Oriental philology in the United States. But things have their ups and downs—*utpadyante cyavante ca*, say the Hindus—and it is for us in these dark days to do the best we can in the way of leaving works which (all in good time, it may be after we are gone) shall bear fruit by substantially promoting an understanding between India and the West.

I must not quit this theme without mentioning that the Indian Government has already recognized the value of these exchanges by sending young men on government stipends to pursue their studies in Europe and America. They are of course especially numerous in the fields of the technical sciences. But men of notable excellence in the things of the spirit are also not lacking.

Young Todar Mall was a pupil of Macdonell of Oxford, and had accomplished valuable work upon Bhavabhūti, when death disappointed his hopes and ours. An elaborate study of Kālidāsa as he appears in the Hindu writers upon rhetoric or Alankāra has recently been published in French and Sanskrit by Hari Chand, a pupil of Sylvain Lévi of Paris, now of Strassburg. It is a significant book, which no one could produce who had not had thorough training in these difficult writings. Such training is hardly to be had outside of India. No one in America even offers to expound them, and the offer would be vain even if made. On the other hand, professors of Oxford and Cambridge have recently presented to the Secretary of State for India a memorandum advocating the establishment of a few fellowships to enable young British scholars to study in India the classical languages and antiquities of India, and such related subjects as could be pursued to better advantage there than in Europe. Although the memorial has not yet gained its immediate object, it has gained public recognition of an important fact.

Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar was the first great Indianist of India to combine the native learning in which they must ever excel us, with the knowledge of the Occidental methods which give us in some ways important advantages over them. It is futile to make invidious comparisons of Hindu and Occidental scholars and scholarly results. Far better it is to take them all, gratefully or modestly as the case may be, for what they are worth, and make the most of them for further progress. The recent pamphlet of the Bhandarkar Institute concerning the new edition of the Mahā-bhārata, inviting suggestions from Western scholars, shows how generously ready Hindu scholars now are to adopt Western methods and ideas, so far as serviceable and applicable. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, the editor of the great Bombay quarto edition of the Atharva-veda, had the utmost respect for our illustrious Whitney—a feeling that he made plain by deeds. And I have often wondered whether there is any old-time shrotriya still left in India, whose learning and memory would enable him even distantly to compete with the achievements possible for a Western scholar armed with Bloomfield's wonderful Vedic Concordance. And I say this without fear of offence to my Hindu friends and colleagues. We must, as Yusuf

Ali in his Copenhagen lectures of 1918 rightly says,⁹ recognize the actuality and importance of the modern spirit in Indian life.

Let me cite a case or two which have been a part of my own experience, as showing the openness of mind of our colleagues in the Orient. The oblong Bombay edition of 1889 of the *Mahā-bhārata* exhibits some very substantial and valuable and practical improvements over that of 1878. I am under the impression that they are due to suggestions from Occidental sources. Once more, on June 24, 1910, Mr. Simon Hewavitarne of Colombo wrote me of his plan of publishing a complete text of the Buddhist sacred books in Cingalese characters. I have the carbon copy of a memorial which I addressed to him on July 25, 1910, in which I discussed the choice of the texts to be published first; the use of Cingalese authorities for a Cingalese edition; the importance of the native commentaries for the projected Pāli lexicon; the urgent need of having not only a Cingalese title-page, but also (for Occidental librarians) an English one as well; the extreme inconvenience and wastefulness of issuing large texts in many small parts (as is so often done in the East); the importance of the native divisions of the texts, and (at the same time) of possibly other, but truly convenient, means of citation; the need of practical and intelligently made indexes; the great importance of clear typography and other externals. Not long after, Mr. Hewavitarne passed away; but the administrators of the 'Simon Hewavitarne Bequest' are now issuing most beautiful and practical and scholarly volumes, one after another, which are certain to be of immense help for the progress of Buddhist studies.^{9a}

Before passing on, I must call to your notice a letter from Mr. N. B. Utgikar, Secretary of the *Mahā-bhārata* Publication, and Professor P. D. Gune, Secretary of the Bhandarkar Institute in Poona, sent with the prospectus of the new edition of the *Mahā-*

⁹ See *JRAS* for 1919, p. 277.

^{9a} A brief extract from the preface to my memorial may here be given: "The first thing that I would urge upon you is the tremendous usefulness and importance of co-operation—untrammelled by any petty personal jealousies. If you can secure for your undertaking, genuine and true-hearted scholars who are imbued with the true spirit and precepts of The Exalted One, half the battle will be won."

bhārata already mentioned, and asking for suggestions regarding the work undertaken and the methods of preparing the edition as outlined in the prospectus, and for advice on other relevant matters which the prospectus may not have noticed. The most eminent authority among us, Professor Hopkins, has already responded—as I am glad to learn. In a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom. Any colleague who has often vainly wished that the old editions might have been made more conveniently usable, will find pleasure and honorable satisfaction and, I believe, also profit in accepting this most kind invitation.

One brief corollary to this I should like to draw in passing. And that is, that there is now very much that is distinctively Indian, which will very soon have passed away. Western scholars must go to India, and go speedily, if they are to make the observations and records which must be made soon or never. A remarkable illustration of this point is that remarkable book of Sir George Grierson's, *Bihar Peasant Life*. A large part of the edition was destroyed, so that the book is of extremest rarity and worth its weight in silver and more. While he was in active service, he conceived the idea of photographing the natives as engaged in their various industries and using their primitive implements, often so like those of centuries ago that the precious volume is frequently an illustrated commentary upon books one or two thousand years old. The introduction of modern agricultural and other machinery into India will soon make an undertaking like that of Grierson too late, if indeed it be not so already.

Or, to take another case, when I was in Benares, beautiful lithographed texts of the Upanishads with the commentaries of Illustrious Śankara were offered to me, which fortunately I purchased. (A specimen, the Kena, lies on the table.) I do not think that such works can be picked up now. Recent Hindu pupils have told me that they have never even seen such books. And for accuracy and general excellence they are of large practical value. They are doubtless the work of old-time Benares pandits qui'e innocent of Occidental learning, who were at once competent Sanskritists and skilful lithographers.

As further evidence of the modern spirit in India, must not be left unnoticed the activity recently shown in the organization of societies for co-operation in scholarly research. The Panjab Historical Society was founded in 1910 by scholars of the Panjab

University,—doubtless not without the stimulus and help of Dr. Vogel, a distinguished pupil, and now the successor at Leyden, of the greatest Dutch Indianist, Hendrik Kern, himself once a professor at Benares. Thus Kern, being dead, yet speaketh. Another organization of promise is the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, which already has to its credit the edition of the great inscription of Khāravela, king of Kalinga. Strong and promising is the Hyderabad Archæological Society, founded in 1915, and with the resources of the Government of the Nizam behind it.¹⁰

These things show that the Indianists of India already realize the importance of turning to account the modern methods of organization and business efficiency, and the modern progress of the graphic arts. The value of organization, and of combining the labors of isolated scholars for well-considered ends, is splendidly illustrated by the Series called *Kāvya-mālā* of Bombay, and by the *Ānandāśrama* Series of Poona. As regards wide circulation and usefulness, complete works issued in such large groups or series as those, and in such form as only a strong and adequate printing establishment can give them, have an enormous advantage over works issued singly or in incomplete parts, and at some obscure and feeble press, and in a small edition. The work of eminent printers, such as the late Jāvajī Dādājī of Bombay, seems to me to be a very substantial service to science, and as such to deserve generous recognition from scholars.

That India, with her great learning, is eager to adopt modern methods to make that learning available to her own sons and to us, and is ready to join hands with us of the West in order to make her spiritual heritage enrich our too hurried life,—this much is clear. It remains (of the few things that one may consider in so brief a time) to emphasize some of the tasks which seem to be most immediate and most pressing.

And first may be said what I said years ago in one of the earliest volumes (vol. 4) of the *Harvard Oriental Series*: Make available to the West good Sanskrit texts and good English translations thereof. The labors of the last seventy years have given to the world of scholars editions of most of the really great works of the Indian antiquity—the Jaina texts excepted. Roth

¹⁰ See *JRAS* 1919, p. 631.

and Whitney, Weber, Aufrecht, Max Müller, von Schroeder, have given us the Vedas. The Hindus themselves, the Epos. Rhys Davids and his collaborators of the Pāli Text Society, the texts of Buddhism. The World-war is perhaps the end of this pioneering period. It is not the least disparagement to these brave pioneers to say that these first editions ought now to be regarded as provisional, and that the coming generation of Indianists must set to work to make new editions, uniform in general plan and in typography, and provided with manifold conveniences for quick and effective study, such as it would have been most ungracious even to expect in an editio princeps. To illustrate: Aufrecht has printed the text of the Rigveda as solid prose, like a German hymn-book. It is incontestable that hosts of critical facts which it needed the expert eye and mind of a Bergaigne to discover from Aufrecht's or Müller's texts, would have been obvious almost to beginners from a Rigveda text printed so as to show its true metrical character.^{10a}

There still remain very important texts of which good editions and versions in Occidental style are a pressing need. Only two such will I mention, but they are texts of absolutely transcendent importance. One is Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, the oldest fundamental work upon dramaturgy and theatric arts. This we may hope to receive from the hand of Professor Belvalkar. The other is the Artha-śāstra of Kāuṭilya, Chandragupta's prime minister, the greatest Indian writer upon the science of government. Considering the age, authorship, scope, and intrinsic interest of the treatise, the future student of this science may not ignore it. It abounds also in discussions of most modern topics, such as profiteering, control of liquor-traffic and prostitution,

^{10a} Rudolph Roth's last letter to Whitney is dated Tübingen, 23 April, 1894. Roth says: "An Lanman, der mir den Harvard *Phormio* als Gruss geschickt hat, habe ich heute eine Karte abgelassen und ihn gemahnt für künftigt auch eine Ausgabe des Rigveda im Auge zu behalten. . . . Eine Ausgabe des Rigveda *nach der Gestalt der Verse*, wie unser Atharvaveda, ist absolut notwendig. Ich wundere mich, dass andere nicht darauf gedrungen haben. Die Art Müllers und Aufrechts ist hungerleiderisch. Ich selbst bediene mich deshalb nie der Ausgaben, sondern nur meiner Abschrift, die richtig angelegt ist."

The postal card I still have. In it Roth mentions his article, *Rechtschreibung im Veda* (*ZDMG*, vol. 48, p. 101), as relevant to the problems of a new edition.

public stables and laundries, use of poison-gases, and so on. Of this, the learned Librarian of Mysore, R. Shamasastri, working in a most admirable spirit of co-operation with Fleet and Thomas, Jolly and Barnett, and other Western Indianists, has already given us an excellent provisional text and version.

Other tasks I will not try to specify for the coming Indianists. But to them, by way of needed warning, one word! It is a deplorable misdirection of power to spend toil and money over the corrupt manuscript readings of third-rate ritual texts or over books of pornography,—so long as the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures are largely untranslated, so long as new texts and versions, or even well-revised and annotated ones, of the Vedic literature, of the treatises on medicine and law and philosophy, of the dramas and stories and epics, are still desiderata,—in short, so long as work of really first-rate importance still remains to be done.

At present, for whatever causes, the future of humanistic studies does not look bright. Schools for advancing material progress flourish as never before. In devotion to the things of the spirit there is a falling off. For our future as a nation this is a very real danger. To meet it, we must awaken the interest of many young students. To this end, better elementary textbooks are an indispensable means. And for this reason, I believe that the work of providing such books is at the present time more important than even the work of enlarging the boundaries of our science. I am convinced that one single year of Sanskrit study may, with proper books, be made so fruitful, that any one who intends to pursue linguistic studies—be he Latinist or Hellenist or Anglicist—may well hesitate to forego the incomparable disciplinary training which it offers.

Of 'proper books,' the first is an elementary Sanskrit grammar. Such a book I have long had in hand. But for the war, it might already have been issued. The inflection and sound-changes of the Sanskrit are very far less difficult than is commonly supposed. The right method of teaching Sanskrit is to separate the difficulties of the language from those of the writing. The reason why so many a beginner balks at the outset, is that these difficulties are not separated, and that he has to grapple with them all at once. Accordingly I am casting the elementary grammar into a form which employs only Roman transliteration. The use of Roman

type makes clear to the eye, instantly and without a word of comment, countless facts concerning the structure of the language which it is utterly impossible to make clear in Nāgarī letters, even with a good deal of added comment.¹¹ Moreover, by combining ingenious typography with Roman letters, it is possible, literally, to accomplish wonders for the visualizing memory. I have already succeeded in tabulating the paradigms of declension and conjugation (always in parallel vertical columns) in such a way that even beginners admit that a real and speedy mastery of the common forms is an easy matter.

This elementary grammar is to be very brief. I think that some fifty pages will suffice to give all the grammatical facts needed for the first year of reading of judiciously selected texts. Stenzler's famous grammar shows how easily it may happen that brevity is attained at the expense of clearness and adequacy. On one of his title-pages Joseph Wright cites the couplet, 'Nur das Beispiel führt zum Licht; Vieles Reden thut es nicht.' This I too have taken to heart. The examples have been gathered and culled with extremest care, and are often combinations of such frequent occurrence as to be worth learning as a help in reading.

The addition of explanatory or illustrative material to the sections of a grammar in such a way as to interrupt the sequence of the descriptive exposition is a fatal procedure. This is proved beyond a shadow of doubt by the Sanskrit grammar of Albert Thumb. And yet the illustrative material, drawn from languages usually familiar among us (English, Greek, Latin), is

¹¹ This is due to the fact that the Nāgarī writing is partly syllabic, that a consonantal character carries with it an inherent unwritten vowel *a*, unless that vowel is expressly negated by a subscript stroke or by some other and written vowel. Thus the one single character for *ma* means two sounds, *m* and *a*, of which the *m* may be the end of one word, and the *a* the initial of the next. I can cite nothing analogous from English but a line from the *Whimsey Anthology* of Carolyn Wells (New York, 1906), p. 52: 'I'm sorry you've been 6 o (=sick so) long; Don't be disconsol8.' Here the one character 6 (=six=sick s) designates sounds belonging in part to the word *sick* and in part to the word *so*.

At first blush, the critic may say that the use of Roman letters is by itself enough to condemn this book, so far as Hindu learners are concerned. But a most intelligent Maratha pupil is of contrary opinion. I am not without hope that my paradigm-tables in Roman letters may prove so successful as to convince even Hindu teachers of their usability with beginners.

exceedingly helpful, and may even be made highly entertaining. For this reason I propose to give a running Comment on my Grammar, entirely separated from the Grammar, but bound up with it as an appendix between the same pair of covers, and with the section-numbers of the Comment corresponding throughout with those of the Grammar, so that reference from the one to the other is 'automatic.'

To make it easy to learn to read Sanskrit in Nāgarī characters, I am making a small, but quite separate volume. This is not to be taken up until the beginner has acquired a considerable vocabulary of common Sanskrit words, and such familiarity with the not too numerous endings and prepositional prefixes, and with the rules of vowel-combination, as shall enable him quickly to separate the confusingly run-together words. For this book, I believe that some of the salient facts of Indian palæography can be used to great practical advantage. One should, for example, never begin with the initial forms of the vowels, but rather with the medial forms in conjunction with a preceding consonant. I do not think that the historical identity of form between medial and initial *u* was ever suggested to me by either a book or a teacher in my early years, nor yet the relation of long *ū* to short *u*. And even to this day, the form of *r* in groups beginning or ending with *r* is treated as an anomaly; whereas, in fact, it is the *r* that stands by itself which is anomalous (in appearance, at least: for the apparent anomaly is very easily explained). By printing this book about the Nāgarī alphabet at Bombay, at the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, and with the rich and admirable type-fonts of that Press at command, it will be very easy to make scores of matters clear which are now stones of stumbling for the beginner.

The way thus cleared for teaching quickly and effectively the essentials of Sanskrit grammar, and incidentally also the main structural features of our native English (of which even advanced students are now lamentably ignorant),—it will then be in order to induct the beginner into the literature. At present, he reads, between October first and Christmas, usually about five chapters of Nala, or about seven pages of the big oblong Bombay edition of the Mahā-bhārata. This would be a pitiful showing, if it were possible to do better with books now available; but I fear it is not. The next step is then to prepare a

number of little text-books (they must be *little* books) from which the beginner can see for himself how exceedingly easy the easy epic texts are. These texts must be chosen with skill and common sense and good taste. They must be purged of long-winded descriptive passages. They must not be puerile. (This objection lies against many much-read fables of the *Hitopadeśa*: these are quite proper for Hindu boys studying Sanskrit at the age of ten, but not for our students of twenty or more.) Above all, they must be in simple unstilted language, entertaining, full of rapidly moving action and incident. These requirements can all be met by an abbreviated text of the story of Nala.

Some sixty years ago, Charles Bruce, a pupil of Roth, trimmed down the story from about a thousand quatrains to about the half of that. It can be reduced to even narrower compass, and without impairing the charm of the really beautiful story, and so that a beginner can easily read and understand and enjoy the substance of the entire poem in the first two or three months after the very start. To this end I propose to print the Sanskrit text, each quatrain in four octosyllabic lines, with suspension of the sound-changes at the end of the first and third, and with a simple English version in a parallel column at the right.¹² Thus divested of the wholly adscititious difficulties of the strange alphabet and of all avoidable running-together of the words,—it is simply *amazing* to find how easy a really easy and well-chosen piece of the great epic may be made for an intelligent young student who has mastered the principal inflections and sound-changes.

Two other little anthologies are called for: one of interesting brief stories from the *Mahā-bhārata*, and one from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. From the former, the *Śakuntalā*-story ought certainly to be read, as presenting the material of Kālidāsa's famous play. The story of *Yayāti* (1. 76-), the *Gambling-scene* (2. 60-), the wonderful *Night-scene on the Ganges* (15. 32-), in which the fallen heroes come forth and talk with the living, the *Great Journey* (17),—these and many others are available as easy and readable and characteristic specimens of the Great Epic.

¹² Specimens of this typographic procedure may be seen in the article on Hindu Ascetics in the *Transactions of the Am. Philological Association* for 1917, vol. 48.

As long as on the earth the hills
 Shall stand, and rivers run to sea,—
 So long the Tale of Rāma's Deeds
 Throughout the world shall famous be.

So says the Rāmāyana itself (1. 2. 36), in almost the very words of Virgil, *In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae*, etc. There is, I think, no other more immediate way of acquainting the Occidental with the very spirit of the Hindu, than by familiarizing him with a reasonable number of episodes from the Tale of Rāma's Deeds, the epic that has long been the Bible of untold millions and is so today.

A similar volume of quatrains (variously called proverbs, *Sprüche*, epigrams), each complete in itself and with a real point, each in simplest language and meter,—would be useful as providing matter for learning by heart. I am convinced that the student of Sanskrit should begin committing such stanzas to memory at the very first lesson, just as beginners in French are wont to learn LaFontaine. Such quatrains are easily culled from the Mahā-bhārata, or from the collections of Parab or Böhlingk. A small anthology of passages illustrating the Hindu sense of humor would be very taking with beginners. Parab gives many such.¹³ An occasional selection from the Mahā-bhārata, like the Jackal's Prayer (12. 180), might well be put with it.

These little books are only four of a considerable number that the Indianists owe to the beginners. There should be one made up of extracts from the Ocean of the Rivers of Story or Kathā-sarit-sāgara. This should include characteristically diverse selections, such as Upakośā and the Four Gallants (4. 26-86), part of the Book of Noodles (61), and some of the Vampire-stories (75-99), such as the amusing tale of the Father who married the Daughter and his Son who married her Mother. Another should give extracts from the Purāṇas. Thus from the Viṣṇu, what could be more interesting for the man who reads of the achievements of modern astronomy, than the Hindu theories (6. 3-) of the evolution and dissolution of the universe? and what could be finer and more fit for the century of the World-

¹³ Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra, 2d ed., Bombay, 1886, p. 622. See also Böhlingk, *śuni dr̥ṣṭe*, etc., *ekonā viṃsatir nāryaḥ*, etc.

war than the Earth-song (4. 24)? At least four small volumes should be devoted to specimens from the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upanishads. These last might well be entitled 'Theosophy of the Hindus: their doctrine of the all-pervading God.'

Two Sanskrit dictionaries are greatly needed. The wonderful thesaurus of Böhtlingk and Roth was finished almost half a century ago, and (as the exploitation of the Artha-śāstra, for example, and of other texts makes evident) needs now to be thoroughly revised and brought up to date. For this very purpose there is in London, at the India Office Library, a large amount of unpublished lexicographical material which came from Aufrecht and Cappeller. But who is to find the money for so large an undertaking? and when and where may we look for two such giants as Böhtlingk and Roth to do that Herculean task?—But not only is a revised lexicon on a grand scale a desideratum,—even more pressing is the need of a dictionary of moderate compass for the use of beginners. For this purpose Cappeller's was good, and its price was small, but it is out of print. The second edition of Monier Williams's is full and accurate, but its price was 64 shillings before the war. All things considered,—typography and size¹⁴ and scope and low price,—Macdonell's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, issued in 1893, is of incomparable excellence. But the copies were all sold by 1910, and the book has now been unobtainable for ten years. All these three dictionaries were printed from type and not from electrotypes plates. This was a very great and most unfortunate mistake. For a new issue cannot be made except by setting up the entire work from *a* to *izzard*, and at an expense which is now commercially almost out of the question.

Dictionaries, like tables of logarithms, ought never to be printed except from electrotypes plates. As for Macdonell's book, its whole life upon the market was only seventeen years, a period lamentably short when compared with the time (the time of an expert) which the author spent in writing it. Instead of a separate glossary for each of the little volumes of text mentioned above, it would be far better to have a small but adequate dic-

¹⁴ Its weight is a trifle over 3 pounds; that of the St. Petersburg Lexicon is over 34.

tionary like Macdonell's. I am at a loss to know what course to suggest at this time, which is so *critical for the maintenance of Indic studies*. But as soon as the costs of production are lower, I think the best plan would be to reset Macdonell's dictionary, even if it were practically unchanged, and to electotype the work, so that a new issue of say five hundred copies could be struck off at any time as needed, and with small expense.

As was just said, the present time is indeed a critical one in the history of Oriental studies. The war brought us to a height of moral elevation and of enthusiasm for the noblest ideals, which, on such a scale, was without precedent in human history. Among the signs of the unhappy reaction that has set in, are the fatal dawdlings of partisan politics and the wranglings for bonuses. Another is the feebler interest in things which, although not in a material way, do yet most truly enrich our life. But, with all the political and economic miseries that the war has brought us, it has also, for better or worse, brought the East nearer to the West. With this hard fact we *must* reckon. Students of the Orient must so direct their work as to make it most effective in helping our countrymen to understand and respect our neighbors across the Pacific, and to deal justly and honorably with them. We must realize that their prophets and saints and sages have made great attainments in what is most truly 'the fulness of life.' And to make this fact clear to the Occident, we must faithfully devote ourselves to just such prosaic tasks as those which I have outlined. If these are well done, done by teachers who themselves have the teachable habit of mind and never forget the broader bearings of their life-work, we may hope that Oriental studies will not fail to maintain their value and to justify the belief in their practical and political significance.

STUDIES IN BHĀSA

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

Introduction

NO METHODICAL STUDY¹ has yet been made of the thirteen anonymous dramas issued as Nos. XV-XVII, XX-XXII, XXVI, XXXIX, and XLII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and ascribed by their editor, Pandit T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī, to the celebrated playwright Bhāsa. The first attempt at a comprehensive review of the plays—and the only one that has contributed substantially to our knowledge of them—is found in the editor's own introductions to the *editio princeps* of the Svapnavāsavadattā and that of the Pratimānāṭaka respectively. Opinion may be divided as to whether the learned editor has fully vindicated his claims regarding the age of the dramas or the authorship of Bhāsa, but it seems unquestionable that the arguments brought forward by him in support of his case deserve serious consideration. Another approach to a study of these dramas is found in the introduction to a subsequent edition² of the Svapnavāsavadattā by Prof. H. B. Bhide. This author replies to the arguments of a scholar who had in the meanwhile published an article in a vernacular journal calling into question the conclusion of Gaṇapati Sāstrī regarding the authorship of Bhāsa, and attempts to re-establish it by adducing fresh proofs in support of it. Mr. Bhide then turns his attention to the question of Bhāsa's age, which he endeavors to fix by what may be termed a process of successive elimination. Incidentally it may be remarked that his arguments lead him to assign the dramas to an epoch even earlier than that claimed for them by Gaṇapati Sāstrī.³ While it would be invid-

¹ A complete bibliography of the literature, Indian (including the works in vernaculars, of which there is a considerable number already) and European, bearing on the subject, will be the theme of a separate article.

² The Svapna Vasavadatta of Bhasa edited with Introduction, Notes etc. etc. by H. B. Bhide, . . . with Sanskrit Commentary (Bhavnagar, 1916).

³ According to Gaṇapati Sāstrī the author of these dramas, Bhāsa, 'must necessarily be placed not later than the third or second century B. C.'; according to Mr. Bhide, 475 B. C. to 417 B. C. would be the period of Bhāsa.

ious to belittle the work of these pioneers in the field and deny them their meed of praise, it must nevertheless be confessed that their investigations are characterised by a narrowness of scope and a certain perfunctoriness of treatment which unfortunately deprive them of all claims to finality. Vast fields of enquiry have been left practically untouched; and, it need not be pointed out, a study of these neglected questions might seriously modify the views on the plays and the playwright based on the facts now available.

Nor have the critics⁴ of Gaṇapati Sāstrī, who challenge his ascription of the plays to Bhāsa, attempted—perhaps they have not deemed it worth their while to attempt—to get below the surface; their investigations confine themselves to a very restricted field, upon the results of which their conclusions are based. Corresponding to the different isolated features of these plays selected by them for emphasis, different values are obtained by them for the epoch of these dramas; and having shown that these dates are incompatible with the probable age of Bhāsa, these writers have considered their responsibility ended.

Now whatever opinion may be held regarding the age of these plays it seems undeniable that they are worthy of very close study. Their discovery has given rise to some complicated literary problems, which demand elucidation. Their Prakrit, which contains some noteworthy peculiarities, requires analysis; their technique, which differs in a marked manner from that of hitherto known dramas, requires careful study; their metre, with its preponderance of the śloka, and their Alaṃkāra of restricted scope, both call for minute investigation. The fragment⁵ Cāru-datta alone, of which the Mṛcchakaṭikā looks almost like an enlarged version, suggests a whole host of problems. Some verses (or parts of verses) from these dramas are met with again in different literary works; we find others referred to in critical works of different epochs: have they been borrowed or quoted (as the case may be) from *our* dramas? If so, what chronologi-

⁴ Prof. Pandeya in the vernacular periodical *Sārādā* (Vol. 1, No. 1), who assigns the plays to the 10th century A. D.; and Dr. L. D. Barnett in *JEAS*, 1919, pp. 233f., who ascribes them to an anonymous poet of about the 7th century A. D.

⁵ Thereon see my article ‘“Charudatta”—A Fragment’ in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore), 1919.

cal conclusions follow from these references? Some of these questions have never been dealt with at all before; there are others whose treatment by previous writers must be called superficial and unsatisfactory; but all of them merit exhaustive investigation. In these Studies I shall try to discuss various problems connected with these plays with all the breadth of treatment they require. I hope that they will in some measure answer the demand.

At first I shall devote myself to collation of material; subsequently, when I have a sufficient number of facts at my disposal, duly tabulated and indexed, I shall turn my attention to the question of the age and the authorship of these dramas, and consider whether, from the material available, it is possible to deduce any definite conclusions regarding these topics. From the nature of the case it may not be possible to find for the question of the authorship an answer free from all elements of uncertainty; but it is hoped that the cumulative evidence of facts gleaned from a review of the plays from widely different angles will yield some positive result at least regarding their age.

In conclusion it should be made clear that nothing is taken for granted regarding the author or the age of these plays. It follows, therefore, that the choice of the title 'Studies in Bhāsa,' or the expression 'dramas of Bhāsa' if used in the sequel with reference to them, does not necessarily imply the acceptance of the authorship of Bhāsa; the use of Bhāsa's name should be regarded merely as a matter of convenience, unless the evidence adduced be subsequently found to justify or necessitate the assumption involved.

I. *On certain archaisms in the Prakrit of these dramas.*

The scope of this article, the first of the series, is restricted to a consideration of certain selected words and grammatical forms, occurring in the Prakrit of the dramas before us, which arrest our attention by their archaic character. There are many other questions relative to the Prakrit of these plays which await investigation, such as, for example, its general sound-system, its varieties, its distribution, etc.: they will be dealt with in subsequent articles. 'Archaic' and 'modern' are of course relative terms. The words noticed below are called 'archaic' in reference to what may be said to be the standard dialect-stage of the Prakrit of the

dramas of the classical period, such as those of Kālidāsa. No comparative study has yet been made of the Prakrit of Kālidāsa and his successors with a view to ascertaining the developmental differences (if any) obtaining between them; marked differences there are none; and we are constrained, in the absence of detailed study, to regard the Prakrits of the post-Kālidāsa dramas as static dialect-varieties showing only minute differences of vocabulary and style.

Methodologically the question whether all these thirteen anonymous plays are the works of one and the same author should have been taken up first for investigation. But even a cursory examination of these plays is enough to set at rest all doubts regarding the common authorship; moreover the point has already been dealt with in a fairly satisfactory manner by the editor of the plays, whose conclusions have not hitherto evoked adverse comment. The question will, however, in due course receive all the attention and scrutiny necessary.

Meanwhile we will turn to the discussion of what I regard as archaisms in the Prakrit of these plays.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SELECTED ARCHAISMS.

1. *amhāam* (= Skt. *asmākam*).

Svapna. 27 (twice; Ceṭī), 28 (Ceṭī); Pañca. 21 (Vṛddhagopālaka); Avi. 25 (Dhātrī), 29 (Vidūṣaka).

amhāam is used in the passages just quoted; but in other places the very same characters use the later form *amhāṇam*, which is formed on the analogy of the thematic nominal bases: cf. Ceṭī in Svapna. 24, 32; Vṛddhagopālaka in Pañca. 20, 21; and Dhātrī in Avi. 23. The latter form occurs, moreover, in Cāru. 1 (Sūtradhāra), 34 (Ceṭī). The form *amhā(k)am*, it may be remarked, is neither mentioned by grammarians⁶ nor found in the dramas hitherto known. But Pāli, it will be recalled, has still *amhākam*, and Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (Lüders^{6a} 58) have preserved the corresponding *tum(h)āk(am)*. Owing to the simul-

⁶ Thus, for instance, Mārkaṇḍeya in his *Prākṛtasarvasva* (ed. Grantha-pradarsanī, Vizagapatam, 1912), IX. 95, lays down specifically that the gen. plu. of the 1st pers. pron. in Saurasenī is *amham* or *amhāṇam*.

^{6a} Here and in similar references 'Lüders' stands for Lüders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (*Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft I*), Berlin 1911.

taneous occurrence in our dramas of both the forms in the speech of one and the same character, we are not in a position to decide at this stage whether the *amhāam* of our manuscripts is a genuinely archaic use of the word or whether there is a contamination here with the Skt. *asmākam*. It may again be that the promiscuous use of the doublets points to a period of transition.

2. Root *arh-*.

Svapna. 7 (Tāpasī); Abhi. 5 (Tārā).

Twice the root appears in Prakrit passages in these dramas with unassimilated conjunct: once as a nominal base *arhā* (Svapna. 7) and again as a verbum finitum *arhadi*⁷ (Abhi. 5). In the latter case the editor conjecturally emends the reading of the manuscripts to *arihadi*. *A priori* the conjunct *rh* seems hardly admissible in a Prakrit dialect;⁸ and one is tempted to follow the editor of the dramas in regarding it as a mistake of the scribe. In the Śaurasenī of later dramas an epenthetic *i* divides the conjunct: *arih-* (Pischel 140). Of this form we have two instances in our dramas: *arihadi* in Pratimā. 6 (Avadātikā) and *aṇarihāṇi* in Abhi. 15 (Sītā). In another place, however, the word appears with an epenthetic *u*⁹: Abhi. 60 (Sītā) we have *aṇaruhāṇi* (instead of *aṇarihāṇi*) in a passage which is otherwise identical with Abhi. 15 quoted above. Thus, an emendation would have seemed inevitable in the two isolated instances containing the conjunct, had not the Turfan manuscripts of Aśva-ghoṣa's dramas, with which our manuscripts will be shown to have a number of points in common, testified to the correctness of the reading, by furnishing a probable instance of the identical orthographic peculiarity. In a passage from a speech placed in the mouth either of the Courtesan or the Vidūṣaka (and therefore Śaurasenī) occurs a word that is read by Prof. Lüders as *arhessi* (Lüders 49). Unfortunately the portion of the palm-leaf which contains the conjunct *rh* is chipped, and the reading, therefore,

⁷ The actual reading of the text is *a(rha?riha)di*, meaning apparently that the MS. reading is *arhadi* and that the editor would emend to *arihadi*.

⁸ See Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen* (abbreviated in the sequel as 'Pischel'), § 332.

⁹ Pischel (§ 140) remarks that the Devanāgarī and South-Indian recensions of Śakuntalā and Mālavikā, and the Priyadarśikā, have *aruhadi* in Śaurasenī; according to him it is an incorrect use.

cannot claim for itself absolute certainty. However that may be, Prof. Lüders appears to have in his own mind no doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted by him. Should this restoration be correct, we should have a precedent for our seemingly improbable reading. It is not easy to explain satisfactorily the origin of this anomaly. We can only conjecture, as Prof. Lüders does, that the conjunct *rh* was still pronounced without the *svarabhakti*, or was at any rate written¹⁰ in that manner. Assuming that our reading of the word *arh-* in both sets of manuscripts is correct, this coincidence, which is a proof as positive as it is fortuitous of the affinity between our dramas and those of Aśvaghoṣa, has an importance which cannot be overrated.

3. *ahake* (= Skt. *aham*).

Cāru. 23 (Śakāra).

Occurs in these dramas only once in the (Māgadhī) passage just quoted. Śakāra uses only in two other places the nominative case of the pronoun of the first person, namely Cāru. 12 (which is a verse), and 15; in both these instances, however, as elsewhere in our dramas, occurs the ordinary Tatsama *aham*. The derivation of *ahake* is sufficiently clear; and since in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī the *svārthe*-suffix *-ka* may be retained unaltered (Pischel 598), the form is theoretically, at any rate, perfectly regular. It has moreover the sanction of the grammarians, being specifically noticed in a Prakrit grammar, namely the Prākṛta-prakāśa (11. 9) of Vararuci, which is the oldest Prakrit grammar preserved (Pischel 32). In his paradigm of the 1st pers. pron. Pischel encloses this form in square brackets, indicating thereby that there are no instances of its use in the available manuscripts. Probably this view represents the actual state of things in Pischel's time. It would be wrong on that account to regard its occurrence here as a pedantic use of a speculative form which is nothing more than a grammarian's abstraction. For we now have in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas an authentic instance of the use of a still older form, *ahakam*, in the 'dramatic' Māgadhī of the Duṣṭa

¹⁰ It would be worth while examining the Prakrit inscriptions to ascertain whether they contain any instances of this usage, and if so to determine its epochal and topographical limits.

(Bösewicht); Lüders 36. The *ahake* of these dramas and of Vararuci stands midway and supplies the necessary connecting link between the *ahakaṃ* of Aśvaghoṣa and the *hake*, *hag(g)e* of later grammarians and dramatists. The legitimacy and archaism of *ahake* may, therefore, be regarded as sufficiently established. Incidentally the correspondence with Vararuci is worthy of note. —The occasion for the use, in this instance, of the stronger form *ahake*,¹¹ instead of the usual *aham*, appears to be that the context requires an emphasis to be laid on the subject of the sentence: *ahake dāva vañcīde* . . . ‘Even I¹¹ have been duped . . .’ —The later forms *hake*, *ha(g)ge* occur neither in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa’s dramas nor in our dramas, a fact which is worthy of remark.

4. *āma*.

Svapna. 45 (Vidūṣaka), 80 (Padmāvati), etc.; Cāru. 4 (Naṭī), 20 (Śakāra); etc. etc.

An affirmative particle occurring very frequently in these dramas and used in all dialects alike. This word, which is met with also in the modern Dravidian dialects, where it has precisely the same sense, seems to have dropped out of the later Prakrit. It need not on that account be set down as a late Dravidianism introduced into the manuscripts of our dramas by South Indian scribes, for its authenticity is sufficiently established by its occurrence in Pāli on the one hand and in the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa’s dramas on the other (Lüders 46).

5. *karia* (= Skt. *kṛtvā*).

Svapna. 52 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavadattā), 70 (Pratīhārī); Pratijñā. 10, 11, and 15 (Hamsaka), 41, 45, and 50 (Vidūṣaka); etc. etc.

The regular Śaurasenī form is *kadua* (Pischel 581, 590). But Hemacandra (4. 272) allows also *karia*. While this rule of the grammarian is confirmed by the *sporadic* occurrence of *kari(y)a* in manuscripts, it is interesting to remark that it is met with also in a Śaurasenī passage in Aśvaghoṣa’s dramas (Lüders 46).

¹¹ [Editorial note.—The suffix *ka* cannot, in my opinion, have this meaning. Here it is very likely pitying (“poor unlucky I”); or it may be *svārthe*.—F. E.]

According to Pischel (KB 8. 140, quoted by Lüders in *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 48, footnote 3) the use of *karia* is confined exclusively to the Nāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śakuntalā and Mālavikā. But its occurrence in the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas shows that it is a genuinely archaic form and not a vagary of South Indian or Nāgarī manuscripts.—*kadua* does not occur in our dramas, nor in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas. Incidentally we may note that our plays also furnish instances of the use of the parallel form *gacchia* (Skt. *gatvā*) of which the regular (later) Śaurasenī form is *gadua*; see Cāru. 1, etc. etc.

6. *kissa*, *kiśśa* (= Skt. *kasya*).

Avi. 16 (Vidūṣaka), 20 (Nalinikā), 71 and 73 (Vidūṣaka); Pratimā. 6 (Sītā); Cāru. 24 (Śakāra).

The dialects are Śaurasenī (*kissa*) and Māgadhī (*kiśśa*). Formally these words represent the genitive singular of the interrogative pronoun, but here as elsewhere they are used exclusively in the sense of the ablative *kasmāt*—‘why?’, ‘wherefore?’. Neither of these words—in this stage of phonetic development—occurs in the Prakrit of the grammarians and other dramatists (with but one exception), which have *kīsa* (*kīśa*) instead (Pischel 428). *kissa* occurs frequently in Pāli, *kiśśa* is used by the Duṣṭa (‘Bösewicht’) in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (Lüders 36); in both these instances the words have precisely the same sense as here. Like *ahake* (above no. 3), *kissa* (*kiśśa*) corresponds exactly to the theoretical predecessors of forms in use in the Prakrit of later dramas. *kīsa* occurs once in these plays also: Svapna. 29 (Ceṭī).

Unless a period of transition be assumed, *kissa* would appear to be the right form to use here. For, *kīsa* may represent the spurious correction of a learned transcriber; but were *kīsa* (*kīśa*) the original reading in all these places, it would be difficult to explain the deliberate substitution of an archaic *kissa* (*kiśśa*) in its place. In other words I assume the principle of progressive correction, that is the tendency of successive generations of scribes to modernize the Prakrit of older works so as to bring it in line with the development of the Prakrit of their own times. Unless, therefore, as already remarked, it is assumed that the simultaneous use of the two forms be regarded as indicating a period of transition, *kissa* (*kiśśa*) would appear to be the form proper to the dialect

of our dramas. In passing it may be pointed out that *kissa* (*kiśśa*) cannot be arrived at by the Prakritization of any Sanskrit form; therefore a question of contamination does not rise in this case.

7. *khu* (= Skt. *khalu*).

Svapna. 5 (Vāsavadattā), 7 (Tāpasī), 11 (Padmāvatī), 13 (Ceṭī), etc. etc.

Written almost throughout without the doubling of the initial. Now the rule deduced from an observation of the usage of manuscripts appears to be that after short vowels and after *e* and *o* (which then are shortened under those circumstances), we should have *kkhu*; after long vowels, however, *khu* (Pischel 94). This rule applies to Śaurasenī and Māgadhī alike. But in the manuscripts of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas the initial is never doubled; and in our text of the present plays there are only two instances of the doubling, both of which are spurious and due to mistakes of copyists. We will turn our attention to these first. They are:— (1) Abhi. 23 (Sītā): *aho aaruṇā-kkhu issarā*,¹² and (2) Pratimā. 22 (Sītā): *ṇaṃ saha-dhamma-āriṇī-kkhu ahaṃ*. It is quite evident that the doubling in these instances, which takes place after the long finals *ā* and *ī*, is contrary to every rule, and is nothing more than a mistake of some transcriber. It may therefore be assumed that at the stage in which the dialects of our dramas find themselves the doubling of the initial in *khu* had not yet taken effect. We notice here, however, the first step taken to its treatment as an enclitic. In the dramas of Aśvaghōṣa *khu* remains unaltered throughout with undoubled initial;¹³ but in our dramas we find frequently *hu* substituted for it in the combinations *ṇa + khu* and *kim ṇu + khu*: Svapna. 23 (Vāsavadattā), 58 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavadattā), etc.; Pratijñā. 9 (Hamsaka); Pañca. 20 (Vṛddhagopālaka); Avī. 79 (Nalinikā), 82 (Kuraṅgī), 92 (Nalinikā); etc. etc. Sporadically *khu* is retained unaltered even in these combinations.¹⁴

¹² But note Svapna. 27 (Vāsavadattā): *aho akarūṇā khu issarā*. Of course the retention of the intervocalic *k* is unjustifiable.

¹³ Prof. Lüders does cite **t.kkhu* in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas; but, as he himself points out, it is far from certain that we have the particle *khu* before us (Lüders 51, footnote 3).

¹⁴ For instance, *kim ṇu khu*, Svapna. 63 (Vāsavadattā).

8. *tava* (= Skt. *tava*).

Svapna. 17 (Tāpasī), 40 (Padmāvati), 78 (Dhātrī); Pratimā. 8 (Avadātikā); etc. etc.

This is the usual form of the word in our plays in all dialects alike; in addition, of course, the old enclitic *te* (*de*) is also in use. The Śaurasenī of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas furnishes also an example of its use in the Prakrit of dramas (Lüders 46), and it is common enough in Pāli. On the other hand the later forms *tu(m)ha*, and *tujjha* are unknown alike to the Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa and these plays. According to Prakrit grammarians and the usage of the manuscripts of later dramas *tu(m)ha* (and not *tava*) is proper to Śaurasenī;¹⁵ evidently this represents the state of things at a later epoch. The use of *tava* seems later to be restricted to Māgadhi, Ardhamāgadhi, and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (Pischel 421).

9. *tuvam* (= Skt. *tvam*).

Svapna. 37 (Padmāvati), 38 (Vāsavadattā), 53 (Padminikā), 54 (Padminikā), 55 (Padminikā); Pratijñā. 40 (Vidūṣaka), 42 (Vidūṣaka); Avi. 73 (Vidūṣaka), 77 (Vidūṣaka), 79 (Kuraṅgī); Ūru. 104 (Durjaya); Cāru. 2 (Naṭī); etc. etc.

This form, in which the assimilation has not yet taken effect, disappeared from the Prakrit of later dramas, which substitute *tumam* in its place. But it is mentioned by Prakrit grammarians (Pischel 420), and it is the regular form of the nominative case of the 2nd pers. pron. in Pāli and inscriptional Prakrit. It was, moreover, in use still in Aśvaghoṣa's time (Lüders 46), which is significant from our viewpoint. The later form *tumam* occurs sporadically in our dramas also: Svapna. 78 (Dhātrī); Pratijñā. 58 (Bhaṭa and Gātraśevaka), 62 (Bhaṭa); Avi. 29 (Vidūṣaka), 92 (Vasumitrā). In respect to the references from the Pratijñā. (58, 62) it should be remarked that the manuscripts upon which our text is based are just at this place defective, and full of mistakes; consequently the readings adopted in the text cannot by any means be looked upon as certain.—Twice *tuvam* is used in the *accusative*¹⁶ case: Ūru. 105 (Durjaya), Cāru. 71 (Gaṇikā).

¹⁵ See Pischel 421 for a discussion of the merits and use of the different Prakrit equivalents of Skt. *tava*.

¹⁶ In the paradigm of the pronoun of the 2nd pers. Pischel gives the form *tuvam* for the nom. and acc. sing., but he encloses it in square brackets.

But the usual form of the accusative case in our plays, as in later Prakrit, is *tumañ*: e. g. Svapna. 27 and 32 (Ceṭī).

10. *dissa-*, *diśsa-* (= Skt. *drśya-*).

Svapna. 70 (Pratīhārī); Avi. 22 (Nalinikā), 70 (Vidūṣaka); Pratijñā. 58 (Bhaṭa); Bāla. 50 (Vṛddhagopālaka); Madhyama. 4 (Brāhmaṇī); Ūru. 101 (Gāndhārī); Abhi. 54 (Sītā); Cāru. 16 (Śakāra); Pratimā. 5 (Sītā); etc.

In the above instances we have the root-form *dissa-*. On the other hand, in a number of other places the later form *dīsa-*, with the simplification of the conjunct, has been used. The relation *dissa-*: *dīsa-* is the same as that of *kissa*: *kīsa* discussed in paragraph 6. According to Pischel *dissa-* occurs in the Ardhmāgadhī of the Jaina-canon, but *not* in the dramas, which substitute *dīsa-* instead (Pischel 541). This later form *dīsa-* is met with in our dramas only in : Avi. 28 (Vidūṣaka), 91 (Vasumitrā); Pratijñā. 54 (Vidūṣaka); Cāru. 16 (Śakāra). It is worth noting that in one instance (Cāru. 16) the two forms occur on the same page and are placed in the mouth of the same character (Śakāra). The remarks made in paragraph 6 on the relation of the forms *kissa*: *kīsa* are also applicable here. It is interesting to note that the passive base *dissa-* is in use not only in Pāli, but also in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (Lüders 58).

11. *vaam* (= Skt. *vayam*).

Svapna. 31 (Vidūṣaka); Avi. 93 (Vasumitrā); Cāru. 49 (Vidūṣaka).

In Svapna. (p. 31) the word is spelt *vayam*; but in conformity with the orthography of the manuscripts of our dramas, which omit the intervocalic *y*, the reading *vaam* should be adopted also in this instance. The form proper to Śaurasenī, to which dialect all the above passages belong, is *amhe* (Pischel 419). But it is interesting to note that Vararuci (12. 25) and Mārkaṇḍeya 70, according to Pischel 419, permit the use of *va(y)am* in Śaurasenī. And again in the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa we do actually meet with an instance of the use of *vayam* in a dialect which is probably Śaurasenī (Lüders 58). The form *amhe* does not occur in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas. And in our plays it occurs, as far as my observation goes, only three times: twice, curiously enough, in the sense of (the nomi-

native case of) the dual *āvām* (Abhi. 48; Pratimā. 58), and once in the *accusative*¹⁷ case (Pratimā. 35). *va(y)aṃ* may therefore be regarded as a form peculiar and proper to the older Prakrits.

SUMMARY

Above have been set forth a number of peculiarities of vocabulary and grammar in which the Prakrit of our dramas differs from that of the dramas of Kālidāsa and other classical playwrights. Every one of these peculiarities is shared by the Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas. In some instances the archaic and the more modern form are used side by side in our dramas: e. g. *amhāṃ* and *amhāṇaṃ*; *tvaṃ* and *tumaṃ*; *kissa* and *kīsa*; *dissa-* and *dīsa-*; *arh-*, *arih-* and *aruh-*. But in other instances the archaic forms are used to the exclusion of the later forms: e. g. *ahake* (later *hage*), *va(y)aṃ* (later *amhe*, Nom. Plu.), *tava* (later *tumha*), *kariā* (later *kadua*), and *āma* (obsolete). The absence of doubling of the initial of the particle *khu* after *ě* and *ō* may be taken to indicate an epoch when the shortening of the final *e* and *o* had not yet taken effect. Worthy of special note are the forms *ahake* and *āma*, which not only are unknown to later Prakrit, but are not the regular *tadbhavas* of any Sanskrit words. It should also be remembered that *ahake* and *va(y)aṃ* (used in our plays practically to the exclusion of *hage* and *amhe* respectively) are noticed in Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa, which is believed to be the oldest Prakrit grammar extant.

The affinities with Aśvaghoṣa's Prakrit pointed out above have a bearing on the age of our dramas which will receive our attention in due course. Meanwhile it will suffice to note that these affinities go far to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections, for which the successive generations of scribes and 'diaskeuasts' should be held responsible, there lies in the dramas before us a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature.

¹⁷ It should be remarked that *amh-* is the regular base of the oblique cases of this pronoun, and that *amhe*, accus., is regular in all dialects.

CINNAMON, CASSIA AND SOMALILAND

WILFRED H. SCHOFF

THE COMMERCIAL MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA

THE ANCIENT SEMITES sometimes took their tribal totems from trees, which they thought of as animate. The leaves, bark, gum or wood of such trees they conceived as preserving the attributes of the tree itself. Thickets, groves or forests of such trees were sacred places, to trespass in which was disastrous. Setting fire to such a thicket to bring the ground under cultivation is said, in more than one Arabian story, to have brought about the departure of spirits of the trees in the form of flying serpents who brought death to the intruders. From very early times certain trees and plants were thought to possess special virtues for ceremonial purification, and it is not impossible that such uses antedated animal sacrifice as a means of atonement to the higher powers.¹ Echoes of such beliefs may be found in the Old Testament fable of the trees that chose the bramble to be their king.²

Among known products of Arabia, those especially valued for purposes of purification were the lemon grass (*idhkkhir*)³—of which the woody root is more fragrant than the hollow stem (*Andropogon schoenanthus*)—which grows tall and strong in the valleys of streams in both Arabia and Somaliland; the senna (*Cassia angustifolia*), a leguminous shrub native in the Somali uplands; the myrrh (*Balsamodendron myrrha*), a small tree whose rudimentary leaves offer little evaporating surface to the blazing sun of its native uplands; the acacia (*Acacia seyal*), yielding a valued hard wood and a gum of specific virtue; the balsam (*Balsamodendron gileadense*), a poorer cousin of the myrrh; the sweet flag or calamus (*Acorus calamus*); the ladanum or rock rose (*Cistus villosus*); the fragrant blooming *kadi* or screw pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*); and most valued of all, the frankincense (*Boswellia Carterii*), a fully-leaved small tree which requires more water than the myrrh and grows therefore in val-

¹ W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 133; cf. Herodotus, 3. 107.

² Judg. 9. 8. *sqq.*

³ Smith, *op. cit.* 142.

leys at the base of hills, which attract some of the moisture of the monsoons, around the enclosed bays of South Arabia and the valleys of the Horn of Africa.

So firmly rooted was the belief in the efficacy of the lemon grass that Mohammed, in making his reservations of sacred land in Arabia, on which it was forbidden to cut fodder, fell trees, or hunt game (the natural products of the holy soil being exempt from human appropriation), was compelled, we are told by Robertson Smith, to except the lemon grass because of an ancient custom that allowed it to be cut for certain purposes, 'for entombment and purification of houses,' uses which persist to the present day.⁴ Myrrh also had its peculiar uses for the entombment of the dead; senna and frankincense for the purification of the living. Ritual observance in various faiths in our own day calls for a strict fast before partaking of the sacrament. In more primitive times, and even today, as Robertson Smith shows of the Masai in East Africa,⁵ such observance requires not only fasting, but the use of strong purges that the body may contain nothing unclean and the individual thus more surely make his atonement. Such was, probably, one of the objects of the formulae of the Babylonians quoted by Dr. Jastrow, which depended apparently upon senna as a prime ingredient.⁶

Frankincense had a religious value greater than the rest, whether its odor was used in the form of ointments or was produced by burning the gum as an altar sacrifice. No other product of antiquity was collected with such strict religious precautions. The *Periplus* tells us that it could be gathered only by certain individuals;⁷ Pliny adds that they must be men upright in life, living in celibacy during the gathering season;⁸ and Marco Polo tells of the islands off the south coast of Arabia⁹ whereof one was reserved for the women and the other for the men during the gathering season.

Such, in brief, were the principal media of purification of the early Semitic world. The demand for them in neighboring coun-

⁴ Smith, *op. cit.* 142.

⁵ Smith, *op. cit.* 434.

⁶ *Trans. Roy. Soc. Med.* 7. 2. 133.

⁷ *Periplus*, 29. 32.

⁸ Pliny, *H. N.* 12. 30.

⁹ Marco Polo, 30. 31.

tries gave a very early impetus to international commerce. Egyptian records as early as the 5th Dynasty tell of Punt expeditions yielding incense and aromatics. The well-known Punt reliefs of the 18th Dynasty tell of frankincense and myrrh, ointments and fragrant woods.¹⁰ Babylonian and Assyrian tribute lists tell of the same substances, and of leaves used for the ceremonial purgatives.¹¹ It is here that the literary tradition brings in the words, cinnamon and cassia, which refer today to the bark and wood of the tree laurel of India and tropical Asia (*Cinnamomum tamala*). But it would seem that such reference is not borne out by the original texts.

The occasion for this doubt is the well-known fact that laurel varieties will not grow where lime is present in the soil, that they require considerable moisture, and the tree laurel in particular abundant seasonal rainfall.¹² In the Somali peninsula, which the Greeks and Romans thought to be the home of the cinnamon, calcareous rock is everywhere found, the uplands being thereby arid, while calcareous clay is characteristic of the river bottoms. These conditions, with scanty rainfall and high average temperature, make it improbable that laurel varieties ever grew there. The same testimony is furnished alike in geological history and in modern exploration. Fossil cinnamomums are found in Asia but not in Africa.¹³ R. E. Drake-Brockman, a British officer stationed at Berbera, made special inquiries some years ago at my request, interviewing Somali traders from all the caravan routes and showing them cinnamon bark, wood and leaf. He found them utterly ignorant of any such product,¹⁴ and writes, 'had cinnamon been a product of the Horn of Africa it is hardly reasonable to suppose that it would have so completely disappeared. I have never met with it in any part of the interior, nor do those Somalis who are acquainted with the imported article know of the existence, even of an inferior quality of it. Frankincense and myrrh are collected today, as they were two or three thousand years ago, in what is now British Somaliland.'

A recent Italian expedition headed by Bricchetti explored all

¹⁰ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 1. 161; 2. 265, etc.

¹¹ Cf. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 52, 134-136, etc.

¹² Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, pp. 311-313.

¹³ Engler and Prantl, *Die natürlichen Pflanzenfamilien*, 3. 3. 157-163.

¹⁴ *British Somaliland*, pp. 6, 8, 9.

parts of Italian Somaliland, bringing back a full botanical collection, reported on by Professor R. Pirotta of Rome, in which no laurel varieties appear.¹⁵ Similarly negative results are found in subsequent Italian colonial reports. Mr. S. E. Chandler, of the Imperial Institute, in a recent letter expresses similar views: 'The crux of the question is whether any Lauraceous bark was, or could have been, obtained from the indigenous flora from the Horn of Africa. So far as I can ascertain, the answer is in the negative. No cinnamomums occur in tropical Africa.' On this opinion Mr. H. W. Dickinson, of the Science Museum, South Kensington, observes: 'He practically negatives the possibility that any tree of the cinnamon-bearing laurel variety could have been obtained from the Horn of Africa.' The researches of Robertson Smith apparently yielded nothing concerning cinnamon, which does not appear among his lists of ceremonial substances valued by the ancient Arabs. The literary tradition, however, is explicit as to substances bearing the names, cinnamon and cassia. The explanation may be found by inquiring into the significance of the names themselves.

So far as the Egyptian reliefs are concerned, Dr. Breasted informs me, the translation, cinnamon, is merely hypothetical, the original being *tyspsy* from the root *spsy*, meaning 'to sweeten': so that the word designates nothing more than a wood or product of fragrant or agreeable taste.

In a list of commercial substances clearly of ceremonial application in Ezekiel we find as products of South Arabia קרה and קנה translated in our English versions as cassia and calamus.¹⁶ In the LXX the verse is lacking, but קרה appears as *κασία* among the products of Judah. The קנה may be either the sweet flag or the lemon grass. קרה, possibly connected with a root קר 'to cut', suggests rather the Babylonian *kasu*, the Somaliland senna.

This leguminous shrub, still known botanically as *Cassia* and native in the Horn of Africa, reaches the market in two forms—the long, stiff pods, and the tender leaves. The pods are gathered from the plant and tied in bundles without covering. The plant is cut down and spread in the sun to dry. The leaves are

¹⁵ Bricchetti, *Somalia e Benadir*, pp. 628-629, 700-726.

¹⁶ Ezek. 27. 19.

then stripped off and packed in bags. Senna reaches the market in both forms, and from the same places, to this day, and is described in the pharmaceutical books as *folia sennae* and *folliculi sennae*.¹⁷ A dealer in drugs tells me that he is now carrying 'Tinnevelly pods' (Somali senna) for the first time to meet the insistent demand of Russian Jewish women; a curious survival indeed, if that race came originally from South Arabia.

The tabernacle specifications in Exodus,¹⁸ probably later in their present form than the text of Ezekiel, give in this connection three substances—קנה, קרה, and קנמן, rendered by the LXX κάλαμον, *īris*, and κιννάμωμον. The rendering *iris* is interesting, this being the orris root of commerce noted by Theophrastus¹⁹ as an ingredient of sacred ointments among the Greeks, but found by them much nearer home than Arabia. Κιννάμωμον raises at once our question of the laurel product to which the word is now applied. The Hebrew form קנמן-בישם suggests not only that the substance was sweet, but also that there might be a קנמן that was not sweet; and the form קנמן may possibly be a verbal noun derived from a root קנם, to set up, erect or bundle, applicable to any product brought in that form by the caravans, including the roots of the lemon grass. There is, of course, some doubt as to the existence of such a root, but a similar form קנן means, to set up, build up, and hence to nest; and Herodotus seems to have such a meaning in mind when he says that 'cinnamon comes from great birds' nests in India.²⁰ That the form of the package is still considered in commerce, I note from a modern specification for licorice coming from a merchant in Valencia, Spain, which passed over my desk a few days ago: 'Natural, in branches, completely dried, in bales, perfectly fastened, without burlap.' In a Psalm of uncertain date²¹ we have the words קציעות and אהלות rendered by the LXX κασία and στακτή (a word applied alike to myrrh and balsam) and in a passage in Proverbs,²² קנמן and אהלים rendered by the LXX

¹⁷ Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, art. 'Senna'.

¹⁸ Exod. 30. 23-24.

¹⁹ Theophrastus, H. P. 9, 9, 2.

²⁰ Herodotus 3. 110.

²¹ Ps. 45. 8.

²² Prov. 7. 17.

κιννάμωμον and κρόκινον, saffron (*Crocus sativus*), an interesting reading again suggesting substitution of a substance found nearer the Greek world. Finally in the late text of Ben Sira²³ we have in a list of ceremonial perfumes, κιννάμωμον and ἀσπάλαθος, but no cassia. *Aspalathus* (*Genista acanthoclada*) is an aromatic shrub native in Palestine; so that in Ben Sira's day, notwithstanding the maritime trade of the Red Sea was far more active than formerly, the products of the south were not exclusively specified for the 'sweet savor unto the Lord.'

The Hebrew writings give us, then, two substances: קנמן things bundled; and קרה things cut; with a variant, קציעות things stripped. The difference no doubt was that the first, whatever its nature, could be tied to a camel's back as a fagot or bundle of twigs, sticks or roots, while the second had to be packed in bags.

The Greek geographers knew little of Arabia, but they diligently pieced together their scraps of information in a definite form, hardly warranted by the material. The Persian Empire had established for the first time a sovereignty coterminous with the Greek and the Hindu worlds, and a Greek adventurer²⁴ in the employ of a Persian monarch had demonstrated the feasibility of navigation between India and Egypt. Following the conquests of Alexander, this sea trade was steadily developed, but principally by Arabian and Indian enterprise, for the Greeks give us mainly second-hand information until after the Christian era. Herodotus,²⁵ who had personally visited both Babylonia and Egypt, mentions κασία as a spice brought from Arabia, and remarks that the Greeks took the word κιννάμωμον from the Phoenicians as an equivalent to κάρφρα, cut sticks, apparently still making the distinction primarily from the form of package. One of the earliest Greek geographers to give us details of trade is Agatharchides,²⁶ a tutor of one of the Ptolemies, perhaps librarian of Alexandria, who had an attractive literary style but no personal knowledge of lands beyond Egypt. He links together, in a passage describing the region of the elephant hunts, κάρδαμον and palm; again,

²³ Ecclus. 24. 15.

²⁴ Scylax of Caryanda: Herodotus, 4. 44.

²⁵ Herodotus, 2. 86; 3. 111.

²⁶ Agatharchides, ap. Diod. 84. 103; ap. Phot. 87, 97, 101, 102, 103, 110.

among products brought to Palestine by the South Arabian caravans, he mentions frankincense. He describes the country of the Sabaeans as a land yielding balsam and cassia, having great forests of myrrh and frankincense, with *κινναμόμων φοῖνιξ* and calamus. This cinnamon-palm suggests the *kadi* of Yemen, which Glaser²⁷ proposed to identify with the קרה of Ezekiel; though for that I should rather suggest *idhkkhir* or lemon grass. Herodotus says that cassia 'grows in a shallow lake,'²⁸ suggesting a rush or grass of some sort. Agatharchides goes on to tell of the great wealth of the Sabaeans derived from their trade in incense and aromatics, and of the enervating effects of their spicy breezes—a romantic flourish, derived perhaps from taboo, but effectively used by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*.²⁹ He refers elsewhere to ship-building industry at the mouth of the Indus.

Artemidorus copied from Agatharchides, and Strabo³⁰ in turn from Artemidorus without other knowledge of the eastern sea trade than he could obtain by talking with Alexandrian merchants who told him that about 120 ships sailed from Myos-hormos to India. Strabo takes for granted the Sabaean forests of Agatharchides without locating them. The military expedition of Aelius Gallus penetrated as far as the Sabaean capital in Strabo's day. The commander was Strabo's friend, and personally told him the details of the enterprise. As they reported no spice forests, Strabo says only that the expedition turned back two days' journey from the land of spices. Indeed this mythical forest which Strabo pushes out at first in South Arabia, and finally in the Horn of Africa to Cape Guardafui itself, reminds one very much of the Western Sea where the sun sets,³¹ which similarly recedes in the Chinese Annals from Lop-Nor to the mouth of the Tagus. Cinnamon, cassia and other spices, he says, are so abundant in the land of the Sabaeans that they are used instead of sticks and firewood; and again, pitch (perhaps balsam) and goats' beards are burned to ward off the noxious effects of the spicy atmosphere.³² Herodotus has a similar story about safeguarding the frankincense

²⁷ *Skizze*, p. 41.

²⁸ Herodotus 3. 110.

²⁹ 4. 156-165.

³⁰ Strabo, 16. 4. 19; 3. 5. 12; 16. 4. 22-24.

³¹ Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 51, 77; *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 153.

³² Strabo, 16. 4. 19; cf. Smith, *op. cit.* 325, 331.

gatherers by burning styrax.³³ Here, surely, we have echoes of Semitic sacrifice and purification ritual, further suggested by the statement that the gatherers wear skins, evidently from the sacrificial victims. The country of the Sabaeans, he says, produces myrrh, frankincense and cinnamon (evidently copying from Agatharchides' cinnamon-palm), while along the coast are found balsam, sweet-smelling palms, calamus, and another kind of herb of very fragrant smell, but which is soon dissipated. Thus far Arabia. On the African side³⁴ he brings us to the frankincense country with its promontory, temple and grove of poplars, its rivers Isis and Nilus, both producing myrrh and frankincense, beyond which lies the tract that bears the false cassia, frankincense, and in the interior, cinnamon, from which flow rivers which produce rushes in abundance (probably the lemon-grass). We have here a word 'cinnamon' taken from Agatharchides who applied it to a palm, and referred to Cape Guardafui as the extreme limit of Strabo's nautical knowledge. But he says also that cassia was 'the growth of bushes,' and that, according to some writers, 'the greater part of the cassia is brought from India.' Nothing that Strabo says of the cinnamon identifies it clearly with the laurel family; nor, indeed, is this the case until we come to the author of the *Periplus*, who, after the countries yielding myrrh and frankincense, describes Ras-Hafun below Cape Guardafui as a place where cinnamon was largely 'produced,'³⁵—a phrase which can be applied to a transit trade, such as other items in the list would indicate this to have been. This led Cooley to conclude that there was near the eastern coast below Cape Guardafui a

³³ Herodotus 3. 107; cf. Smith, *op. cit.* 437.

³⁴ Strabo, 16. 4. 14.

³⁵ *Periplus*:—8 (Malao) 'Εκφέρεται... κασσία σκληρότερα καὶ δοῦακα καὶ μάκειρ, τὰ εἰς Ἀραβίαν προχωροῦντα.

10 (Mosyllum) 'Εξάγεται... κασσίας χρῆμα πλείστον (διὸ καὶ μειζόνων πλοίων χρήζει τὸ ἐμπόριον) καὶ ἄλλη εὐωδία καὶ ἀρώματα... (Cassia trade meant larger ships).

12 (Aromatum emporium) Προχωρεῖ... τὰ προειρημένα γίνεταί δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ κασσία καὶ γίζειρ καὶ ἀσύφη καὶ ἄρωμα καὶ μάγλα καὶ μοτῶ καὶ λίβανος. (An import and export list in which γίνεταί can stand for ἐκφέρεται; while γίζειρ may represent *idhkhir*.)

13 (Opone) εἰς ἣν καὶ αὐτῇ γεννᾶται κασσία καὶ ἄρωμα καὶ μοτῶ καὶ δουλικὰ κρείσσονα, ἃ εἰς Αἴγυπτον προχωρεῖ μάλλον... (a transit trade, so indicated by the slaves alone).

range of hills having silicious rock and soil and a sufficient rainfall to grow the tree laurel.³⁶ This was merely inference and is not borne out by the Italian explorations. The question could, no doubt, be settled definitely by local examination of the Wadi Darror, which empties on the coast just below Ras-Hafun.

The description of the author of the *Periplus*³⁷ is of the laurel product known to us as cinnamon; he calls it *κασσία* throughout. It could have been brought to Cape Guardafui in the Indian ships he saw there. In describing the exports at the ports of India he uses, not this word, but *μαλάβαθρον* (*tamalapatra*, or leaf of the *tamala* tree, the botanical *Cinnamomum*).³⁸ This *μαλάβαθρον* was one of the most treasured ingredients of ointments in the Roman world, but was much confused with *νάρδος*, a name in which there was also confusion as between the spikenard (*Nardostachys jatamansi*), a tall herbaceous plant of the western Himalayas, and the citronella (*Andropogon nardus*), a near cousin to the lemon grass of Arabia.³⁹ Strabo says in one passage that 'the same tracts produce cassia, cinnamon, and nard.'⁴⁰ A modern description of the essential oil distilled from one of these Indian grasses is that 'its odor recalls cassia and rosemary, but a strong persistent odor of oil of cassia remains.' This recalls Pliny's description of cinnamon as the spice, sweet as a rose but hot on the tongue⁴¹ (which he seems to connect with Guardafui as a product merely transshipped there), and since his day the words, cinnamon and cassia, have been applied exclusively to the tree laurel of India. Before the opening of regular sea trade from India which led in turn to the sudden wealth of the Sabaeans in the second century B. C., there is no proof that this South and East Indian spice reached the world's markets or was meant by the words, cinnamon and cassia. *Cassia* leaves or strippings is clearly senna in the Babylonian records. Laurel bark is not purgative, but astringent, and does not fit the case at all. In Ezekiel it is uncertain whether senna or lemon grass is meant; the latter, more probably. In the Psalms and Proverbs lemon grass,

³⁶ *JRAS* 1849; 19. 166-191.

³⁷ *Periplus*, 56, 63.

³⁸ Watt, *op. cit.* 311-313.

³⁹ Watt, *op. cit.* 450-462.

⁴⁰ Strabo, 16. 4. 25.

⁴¹ Pliny, *H. N.* 6. 29.

sweet flag or some such fragrant substance is indicated. Cinnamon, things bundled, in Exodus may be the roots of the lemon grass, or the sweet flag; in Babylonian records and elsewhere, the pods of the senna. Cassia itself could be a hollow grass, for Galen translates it as *σῦρυξ* or reed.⁴² Cinnamon, as Herodotus said, was merely another word for cut sticks. It is only by a secondary interpretation that it becomes 'pipe', or that the idea of a pipe is applied to the tender rolled-up bark of the tree laurel. These caravan terms have gone through a course similar to that of the ספיר, which began as the blue jasper of Egypt, then became the *σάπφειρος* or lapis lazuli of Media and Badakshan, and finally the sapphire, or blue corundum of Ceylon. The weight of evidence is against any production of laurel cinnamon in 'Panchaia, with its incense-bearing sands';⁴³ and in its bearing on the question of the antiquity of sea trade in the Indian Ocean it may be said that if cinnamon was laurel, it came from India: if it grew in Somaliland, it was not laurel.

The mediaeval Arab geographers are almost as indefinite as their Greek predecessors. Abū'l-Faḍl Ja'far, a twelfth-century writer, correctly connects nard (*sunbul*) with lemon-grass (*idhkhir*) and speaks of a 'swallows' nard' from India that suggests the birds' nest of Herodotus. Ibn-al-Baiṭār, whose drug treatise of the thirteenth century contains much useful information, lists cinnamon under *Dar ḡinī*, 'Chinese tree' (a curious title if the product had ever originated in Arabian territory) and distinguishes *dar ḡinī ad-dun*, *dar šuṣ* true *Ḳirfa* (this word being the same as the *Karphea* of Herodotus) and *Ḳirfat al-Kar-anful*, 'clove *Ḳirfa*'. He mentions still another variety, 'known by its bad odor,' which he calls *zinzibar*, apparently our ginger. Obviously these trading terms cover various botanical species.

We cannot assume critical botanical knowledge among semi-savage peoples. The minute descriptions of fragrant gums suggest that the ancients classified them according to the size, shape, color and clearness of the piece, rather than the botanical orders of the trees that produced them. So, likewise, with the caravan traders who made their painful journey of seventy days along the hot sands of Arabia from Minaea to Aelana (140 shiftings of

⁴² Antid. 1. 14.

⁴³ Vergil, *Georg.* 2. 139.

camel load at the best of it) :⁴⁴ what more probable than that the camel drivers should have the bag and the bundle in mind as the things to be handled, and that these very general terms should have been specifically applied in consequence to the substances which it paid them best to carry? A less crudely physical conception of holiness would perhaps have crowded out the senna first of all; a change from nomadic to agricultural habits would have increased the cultivation of fragrant grasses and brought in new aromatic plants for ceremonial use; and finally the laurel of India, for which the Roman Empire developed a craze and for which it was willing to pay any fabulous price asked,⁴⁵ would have appropriated to itself the ancient terms; cinnamon for the bundled bark, cassia for the treasured leaf, and curiously enough, by confusion with the senna pod and the less precious substances classified under the same name, for the woody parts of the *Cinnamomum* rather than the *μαλάβαθρον* or leaf.

We may guard against too specific an interpretation of these early trading terms by remembering the dragon's blood, or *κιννάβαρι*, a term growing likewise out of early animistic beliefs, which was applied by the Greeks and Romans indiscriminately to the gum of the Socotrine dracaena, the red oxide of iron, and the red sulphide of mercury. Pliny tells us of a Roman physician who thought he had prescribed the vegetable product,⁴⁶ but his patient took the Spanish ore and died!

⁴⁴ Cf. Strabo, 16. 4. 25.

⁴⁵ Strabo, 16. 4. 4.

⁴⁶ Pliny, *H. N.* 33. 38; 8. 12.

EVIL-WIT, NO-WIT, AND HONEST-WIT

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THERE IS a well-known story in the first book of the Pañcatantra, which is variously called *Duṣṭabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi*, *Badheart and Goodheart*, or *Duṣṭabuddhi and Abuddhi*, *The Treacherous Man and the Simpleton*.¹ These variations in title are due to an apparent discrepancy between the catch-verse and the prose story. It is the purpose of this paper to explain and remove this apparent discrepancy.

The catch-verse to the fable reads in the Tantrākhyāyika² as follows:

*duṣṭabuddhir abuddhiś ca dvāv etāu dhiñmatāu mama
tanayenā 'tipāṇḍityāt pitā dhūmena mārītaḥ.*

'I have a very low opinion of both the evil-minded man (Evil-wit) and the fool (No-wit) alike. The son, because he was all too clever, caused his father's death by smoke.'

I shall consider later the variants of the other versions; for the present let me merely say that there is no doubt that T's version, just quoted, is that of the original Pañcatantra in all respects, except that possibly in the third pāda the synonym *putra* may have occurred instead of *tanaya*, 'son'. There is, at any rate, no doubt that the original Pañcatantra did not mention Dharmabuddhi, 'Good-heart' or 'Honest-wit,' in the stanza, and that it did speak of Duṣṭabuddhi and Abuddhi, 'Evil-wit' and 'No-wit', or the evil-minded man and the fool.

The story then begins, virtually in identical language in all

¹ The story is numbered in the several versions as follows (note that after the name of each version I enclose in parenthesis the abbreviation of the name which I shall use in this paper): Tantrākhyāyika (T) I. 15; Southern Pañcatantra (SP) I. 14; Nepalese (N) II. 14; Textus simplicior (Spl), ed. Kielhorn-Bühler, I. 19; Pūrṇabhadra (Pn) I. 26; Somadeva (So) I. 11 (Kathāsaritsāgara, ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, 60. 211 ff.); Kṣemendra (Ks) I. 14 (Śivadatta and Parab, Brhatkathāmañjarī, 16. 369 ff.; Mankowski, I. 116 ff.; references are made first to the former, then, in parenthesis, to the latter); Old Syriac (Sy) I. 13. The story is not found in the Hitopadeśa.

² T vs I. 167. In the other versions the vs occurs: SP I. 141, N II. 114, Spl I. 396, Pn I. 389, Sy I. 101; cf. So 60. 210 (?), Ks 16. 368 (I. 115).

Sanskrit versions (except Ks, see below): 'In a certain locality there livd two merchants' sons who wer frends, and their names wer Duṣṭabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi (Evil-wit and Honest-wit).' It goes on, also in substantially identical fashion: The two went on a trip together, and Honest-wit found a purse of money, which he shared with his frend. Returning home, they buried most of the money in a secret place, agreeing to take equal amounts as they needed it. Evil-wit stole it all, and then accused his frend of having done so. The case came before the court, and Evil-wit volunteerd to call as witness the *devatā* (spirit) in the tree at the base of which the money was buried. The court adjourned to the next day, when all proceeded to the place in order to take the tree-spirit's testimony. But Evil-wit had hidden his father, in spite of the latter's protest, in the trunk of the tree; and when they put the question 'Who stole the money?', the father, impersonating the tree-spirit, replied 'Honest-wit'. The latter, conscious of innocence, lighted a fire in the hollow trunk of the tree, which soon brot Evil-wit's father tumbling down, half-choked and blinded. The truth of course was thus revealed.

Thruout this story no other name than Dharmabuddhi, 'Honest-wit', is used for the righteous merchant in any Sanskrit recension. Only in the offshoots of the Pahlavi translation is he cald 'the simpleton' (Schulthess, 'der Einfältige'), representing, apparently, the Sanskrit word Abuddhi. But in view of the unanimity of all the Sanskrit versions it can scarcely be doubted that the Pahlavi is secondary, and that the original had in the prose story the name Dharmabuddhi. Evidently the Pahlavi has taken the name Abuddhi from the catch-verse and applied it to the honest merchant in the prose story.

The problem that confronts us is then this. In the original form of the catch-verse are mentiond only two names or epithets—Duṣṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' and Abuddhi, 'No-wit.' In the original of the following prose ar likewise mentiond only two names—Duṣṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' and Dharma-buddhi, 'Honest-wit.' It has always been assumed—not unnaturally—that we must infer from this the equation Abuddhi = Dharmabuddhi; or in other words, that the person cald 'No-wit' in the verse is cald 'Honest-wit' in the prose.

It seems to me, however, that we should hesitate long before

accepting this equation, for several reasons. In the first place, the literary harshness assumed is such as could hardly be paralleled in the original *Pañcatantra*. The name Honest-wit would be substituted baldly for No-wit (the righteous man for the simpleton), without a word of motivation or explanation, with nothing to indicate that it is not the simplest and most natural sequence in the world! It almost passes belief that any story-teller could be so slovenly; and the story-teller of the original *Pañcatantra* was in general anything but slovenly.

In the second place, is there anything in the story to justify calling Dharmabuddhi a 'simpleton'? Hertel (*Tantrākhyāyika*, Translation, p. 51, n. 2) says his dullness consists in the fact that he entertained friendly feelings for Duṣṭabuddhi and divided his find with him. But a much more prominent place in the story is occupied by the scheme by which Dharmabuddhi exposes the trick played upon him by Duṣṭabuddhi; and in this incident Dharmabuddhi shows marked cleverness. It seems *a priori* unlikely that a person capable of such shrewdness would be called a 'fool.'

These considerations suggest that perhaps all previous interpreters may have been wrong in assuming the identity of Abuddhi, the 'No-wit' of the catch-verse, with Dharmabuddhi, the 'Honest-wit' of the prose story. There is, in fact, not a single particle of evidence to show that this identity was felt by the author of any Sanskrit recension. More than this: there is clear and decisive evidence to prove that in some Sanskrit recensions, at least, just the opposite was true; it is Duṣṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' whom they consider the 'fool,' not Dharmabuddhi, 'Honest-wit.' And this is, when one thinks about it, just what the story clearly means to teach (compare the last paragraph of this article, below). The catch-verse and the prose story are in perfect agreement on this point, that Evil-wit proves himself a fool and causes the death of his own father by being too clever and tricky. Let us examine the evidence which shows that certain Sanskrit recensions regard it in this light.

1. In the prose story of all Sanskrit recensions (I use the term 'prose' loosely to include the poetic versions of So and Kṣ, distinguishing thus their versions of the story proper from their versions of the original catch-verse), the name Duṣṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' is always used without variant for the villain except

that Spl uses the synonym Pāpabuddhi (copied also in Pn in one or two places where it follows Spl), and except also for Kṣ, which is peculiar and highly interesting. Kṣ 368 (115) reproduces the original catch-verse thus:

*abuddhiyogād adhamāḥ sarvadā vipadāspadam
pitā dhūmena nihataḥ sutenā 'dharmabuddhinā.*

'Because of their folly (no-wit) the base ar always subject to disasters. The Dishonest-witted (*a-dharma-buddhi*) son kild his father with smoke.'—In the following story, representing the original prose, Kṣ begins with the statement: 'There wer once two frends, Honest-wit (Dharmabuddhi) and No-wit (Abuddhi).' The name of the villain occurs later on five times more—twice as Abuddhi, 'No-wit,' twice as Duṣṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' and once as Durbuddhi, a synonym for the latter. It certainly needs no argument to show that Kṣ thot of Abuddhi as a synonym, not of Dharmabuddhi, but of Duṣṭabuddhi.

2. The variants of the catch-verse, quoted abov in its T form, in other Sanskrit recensions, show that they too had the same understanding. The Jain versions (Pn and Spl) read for the first half of the catch verse: *dharmabuddhir abuddhiś* (Spl *kubuddhiś*) *ca dvāv etāu viditāu mama*. (It is noteworthy that one manuscript of T reads just as Pn does in the first pāda.) It is obvious that to these versions also Abuddhi is the same as Duṣṭabuddhi. In SP we find: *duṣṭabuddhir dharmabuddhir dvāv etāu vaṇigātmajāu*. So the edition; but several of the best mss. (recension a) either agree absolutely with T or point in that direction; and N agrees with T. This is sufficient to prove that T's reading was that of the tru and original SP text, and of the original Pañc. However, the readings of the secondary SP mss. and of the edited text ar interesting as showing that the writers of these codices or their archetype felt averse to a reading which *seemd* to identify Abuddhi with Dharmabuddhi, the simpleton with the honest man, when the clear intention of the story is inconsistent therewith.

My explanation is that the original catch-verse red like T, but that Abuddhi, 'No-wit,' was not intended to refer to Dharmabuddhi, 'Honest-wit,' in the following story. On the contrary, the meaning of the catch-verse is that Duṣṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' is just as bad as (any, indefinit) Abuddhi, 'No-wit;' in short, that 'honesty is the best policy.' The catch-verse says: 'I hav just as

low an opinion of Evil-wit as of No-wit ; one is as bad as the other. And to prove it, I refer you to the case of Evil-wit who caused his father's deth by his excess of cunning, thereby showing himself no better than a fool, or a No-wit.'

This is the only explanation that does justis to the point of the story and avoids the unendurable harshness of naming a character in the catch-verse by a name wholly inconsistent with the name he bears in the actual story. The variations of the several recensions ar due to their failure to see the point of the term Abuddhi, 'No-wit,' in the catch-verse. They all, except Pahlavi, support my contention that Honest-wit cannot hav been identified with No-wit ; and Pahlavi is proved to be secondary by the fact that all Sanskrit recensions, without exception, ar unanimous in using the term Dharmabuddhi in the prose story for the character which Pahlavi calls 'the simpleton'. This confusion of Pahlavi is explaind by the same misunderstanding which was found, with different results, in various of the Sanskrit recensions.

The location of the fable in the frame story of Pañc. Book I shows that 'honesty is the best policy' is what it intends to teach. It is told by the jackal Karaṭaka to warn the evil-minded and trecherous Damanaka of the fate that is in store for him if he follows in the course he has begun. Damanaka is the prototype of Duṣṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' and Karaṭaka, the teller of the story, means to let him see that evil-mindedness is really folly and brings one to disaster. To represent Dharmabuddhi, 'Honest-wit,' as foolish would spoil the moral that is obviously intended.

THE TOWER OF BABEL

E. G. H. KRAELING

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

EVER SINCE it became definitely known that the great and imposing ruins of Birs Nimrud were remnants of the ziqqurra of Borsippa, the view that they represented the Tower of Babel has been abandoned by most scholars. This view, according to Koldewey, the excavator of ancient Babylon, was tenable only so long as Oppert's fantastic ideas as to the extent of the city found credence. It is now held as almost certain that Marduk's famous Temple Esagila, with its ziqqurra E-temen-an-ki, is the structure referred to in Gen. 11.¹ It seems to me however that the ancient and traditional identification of the 'tower of Babel' with the site of Birs Nimrud must be revived.

It is plainly the intention of Gen. 11. 1-9 to tell that Yahweh hindered the builders of the tower, so that they could not complete their work. For only to the temple with its tower and not to the residential sections can the statement in v. 8, 'They had to stop building the *city*' apply. Since the temple of an ancient city was its real heart and centre this synecdoche is not surprising. Furthermore a cessation of 'building the city' would not become very easily the part of a story if referring to the residential part, but a great temple tower that had remained a torso or had fallen into decay would stimulate the imagination profoundly. To this Birs Nimrud bears ample testimony, for the travellers of all times have been deeply stirred by the sight of its vast ruins. The story of Gen. 11, then, clearly arose and circulated at a time when the tower referred to had been a torso for a considerable period.

¹ Cf. Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, 1913, and *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, 1911. The long lost tablet describing Esagila in its final grandeur has been rediscovered and published by Scheil in *Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, vol. 39 (1913), p. 293 f. But the famous Bel-Temple described by Herodotus does not seem to have been the one at Babylon, which was no longer standing in the days of the Greek author, but rather the temple of Borsippa. Cf. Delitzsch in *Festschrift für Eduard Sachau*, 1915, p. 97 f.

Now the J source from which Gen. 11. 1-9 is taken seems to have originated at the time of Solomon, 970-932 B. C.² If this dating may be regarded as fairly secure we must suppose that the story of the tower of Babel is an 11th century story and that the tower at this time had the incomplete or dilapidated appearance therein described.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the history of the temples of Babylon and Borsippa is very meagre. We may here well omit the references to them in very early times. Suffice it to say they had their ups and downs, as the so-called Kedorlaomer texts show, which speak of the pillage of Ezida and Esagila by the hostile Elamite.³ During the period of the Cassite rule, lasting over 500 years, Babylonia seems to have enjoyed prosperity and no doubt the temples were well taken care of. King⁴ has recently called attention to a boundary stone of Merodach Baladan I (1201-1181), one of the last rulers of the Cassite dynasty, on which appears the symbol of the god Nabū (the stylus) supported by a horned dragon set off against a four-stage tower, which can be none other than the ziqqurra of Borsippa, E-ur-imin-an-ki. At this period, then, 'the house of the seven stages of heaven and earth' was only a four story structure, but we may assume that it was in good condition and had been well cared for by the king. The fall of the Cassite Dynasty, 1150 B. C., brought a repetition of the conditions that had existed before Hammurapi—invasion by the Elamites. We learn that the statue of Marduk was even carried off by them from Esagila, but there is no record of how they dealt with the temples. Under Nebuchadrezzar I, however, a few years later, Babylon recovered the Marduk statue and regained its independence. Among the following kings many bear names compounded with Marduk, and were no doubt zealous in providing for this god's shrine. But the unsettled conditions of the period, the disturbance caused by the Aramaean migration and by the rise of the Assyrian power in the north do not argue for an age of prosperity in Babylon, and only in prosperous days

² Procksch, *Die Genesis*, 1912, p. 17.

³ Re-edited by Jeremias in *Festschrift für Hommel*. Cf. also *Das Alte Testament*², 1916, p. 280 f. Esarhaddon began to rebuild Esagila and the operations were continued by Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin; cf. Streck, *Ashurbanipal II*, 1916, p. 146, p. 246 f., etc.

⁴ *History of Babylon*, p. 79.

are building operations carried on extensively by kings. But the ziqqurrat of Babylon seems to have been standing, for when Sennacherib (705-681), the conqueror of Babylon, entered the city he devastated the temple, tore down the ziqqurrat, and threw it into the Arahtu canal.⁵

The ziqqurrat of Borsippa however seems also to have experienced a destruction, and perhaps at an earlier time. Of especial importance in this connection is the inscription of Nebuchadrezzar's cylinder.⁶ 'At that time E-ur-imin-an-ki, the ziqqurrat of Barsip which a previous king had made—42 cubits he had elevated it, not had he raised its head, from a distant day it had collapsed, not were in order the outlets of its water, rain and storm had removed its bricks, the bricks of its covering were split open, the bricks of its body were heaped up like a ruin mound—Marduk, my lord, aroused my heart to construct it.' Now it must be emphasized that the activity of the previous king referred to was also one of restoration, since the temple tower was only elevated 42 cubits.⁷ The four-stage tower of the days of Merodach Baladan I was much higher! The necessary conclusion therefore is that this older temple had been destroyed or had fallen into ruin, and that later on a king, who ruled a long time before Nebuchadrezzar, had begun its restoration. The partially restored ziqqurrat had also in the course of time fallen into ruins. This obviously compels us to seek a much earlier date for the destruction of the temple than that of Sennacherib. In fact the attempt at restoration may antedate this king and is perhaps to be accredited to Merodach Baladan II (721-710) who calls himself 'the worshipper of Nebo and Marduk, the gods of Esagila and Ezida, who provided abundantly for their gates and made shining all their temples, renewed all their sanctuaries.'⁸

⁵ Bavian Inscription, III R 14, l. 51.

⁶ Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, 1912, p. 98 f.; cf. also p. 114.

⁷ Cf. with this the statement in Langdon, p. 60 (Col I. 44 f.) that Nabopolassar raised the ziqqurrat of Babylon 30 cubits. In both cases it does not seem clear whether this means from the *base up*. Thirty cubits is not even the height of the lowest stage of Nebuchadrezzar's Tower. Furthermore Rawlinson claims to have found the three copies of the cylinder above quoted on the corners of the third stage of E-ur-imin-an-ki, indicating that here the work of Nebuchadrezzar began.—He figured about 8 metres to every stage; cf. *JRAS* 18, pp. 1-34, on the excavations.

⁸ Cf. the Black Stone Inscription.

It seems most likely that immediately after the fall of the Cassite dynasty Ezida and E-ur-imin-an-ki, whether by violence or by neglect, fell into ruins. It seems to have a peculiar significance that the Assyrians in the 9th century founded another temple by the name of Ezida at Nineveh and adopted to a very great extent the worship of the god Nabū.⁹ If the shrine at Borsippa had been flourishing in those days such action would not have been very likely. Thus while the continuity of the temple of Babylon seems to be assured to the time of Sennacherib, there is ground for supposing that that of Borsippa fell into ruin right after the Cassite era, in other words at the time of the rise of the Hebrew kingdom in Palestine when the Jahvist lived.

But an additional argument from the mythological point of view speaks most emphatically for the tower of Borsippa. In the 137th Fable of Hyginus we are told that ages ago mankind spoke only one language. But after Mercury had multiplied the languages and divided the nations, strife began to arise among them. Zeus was angered at Mercury's act but could not change it. The tradition presupposed in this fable seems to have no other analogy in Graeco-Roman legend. And if we recall that Mercury is the equivalent of the Oriental Nabū we must immediately ask ourselves whether this is not an eastern myth that was imported with so much other Asiatic lore in the Hellenistic era. The god Nabū is the author of written language—the cryptic signs that seem so wonderful to the uninitiated; the art of writing is once called 'the mother of language and the father of wisdom.'¹⁰ Equally mysterious, however, must have seemed the sound of foreign tongues. Who else could be their originator in a Babylonian speculative system than the god Nabū? True, we have no direct testimonial to this in the inscriptions. But if Gen. 11 originated in Babylonia—and of this there can be no doubt—then Yahweh has assumed in the present version the role of some Babylonian deity, and this deity by every argument of analogy and probability can only have been Nabū. We should expect the story of the dispersion of tongues to be centered at Nabū's shrine in Borsippa, rather than at Marduk's sanctuary in Babylon.

⁹ Cf. Streck, *op. cit.* 2, 272 f. Shamash-shum-ukin, Stele Inscr. S¹ l. 13 f., says that he renewed the walls of Ezida which had grown old and weak under a former king.

¹⁰ Cf. Jeremias in Roscher's *Lexicon* 3. 56.

The motif of the deity's prevention of the completion of the tower can however be no integral part of the official cult story of Ezida. This element was added at a time when Ezida and its ziqqurrat were greatly neglected. One might be inclined to assign this motif entirely to the imagination of that early Hebrew story-teller who saw in the scene of ruin Yahweh's verdict upon the self-aggrandizement of the people of Babylonia. Yet it also seems possible that the idea of the jealous deity, that is afraid of men's prowess and intervenes in order to defeat their attempt to overthrow him by destroying the ladder on which they seek to climb into heaven, shimmers through the story. The descent of the deity for punitive purposes (v. 7) finds an analogy also in a passage of the so-called Kedorlaomer texts: 'If the king does not speak righteousness, inclines toward wickedness, then his shêdu will descend from Esharra, the temple of all the gods.'¹¹ It may well be therefore that this element goes back to a pre-Hebraic stage. Gunkel's view that the story was heard from Aramaean Beduin on the Babylonian border¹² may not be very far from the truth. The point of view certainly cannot be that of the native Babylonian citizen. Perhaps an ancient Hebrew forerunner of Herodotus who visited Babylonia as tradesman and came into contact with the roving Chaldaean Aramaeans brought back the story to Palestine as he heard it from the lips of these nomads somewhere near the great ruins of Birs Nimrud.

A third stage, however, in the development of the story is assuredly Palestinian—that is its attraction away from Borsippa to Babel. Naturally a traveller would relate it in connection with his visit to the metropolis since the name of Borsippa was too obscure and unimportant for his hearers. And since 'Babel' lent itself so excellently to a pun with *bālal* 'to confuse', the original reference to Nabū's temple was lost. Gunkel has seen that the emphasis on the root *pūç*, 'to scatter,' thrice repeated, prepared the way for another etymology which has been obliterated—that of the temple or ziqqurrat.¹³ His own suggestion of an appellation like '*piçû*' (the 'white' tower) is of no value, for

¹¹ Cf. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament*, p. 180.

¹² Gunkel, *Die Genesis*³, *ad loc.*

¹³ Gunkel divides the story into two sources—a city version and a tower version; so also Procksch, who however maintains that the story is a unity in its present form because of the excellent metre.

the towers were many-colored. In seeking the original name we must remember that the key form for the etymology is always the last one used—here *hefiçâm* (v. 9). There is no other Babylonian temple name so nearly like this as E-zi-da, especially if we recall that Sumerian E (house) appears as *hē* in Hebrew (cp. *hēkal* = *ēkallu*). The form *Hēzida* is the most likely representation of the name in Hebrew. An identity of all consonants is not necessary; cp. 'Ēšāw = sē'ār, Gen. 25. 25, etc., where a mere vocalic correspondence was found sufficient.¹⁴ In view of all the other material we have presented it seems certain that this name once stood in the text. That the pun is made with the name of the temple Ezida, rather than with the tower E-ur-imin-an-ki, presents no difficulty since even in the Babylonian texts the latter is only rarely mentioned. The shorter and more familiar name of the greater complex of the temple was more likely to be perpetuated.

Originally a cult story of Ezida, then a popular Aramaean legend, then a Babylonian reminiscence of a Hebrew traveller, and eventually a vehicle of deep religious and philosophical thought—such is the evolution of Gen. 11. 1-9. Surely a fascinating bit of history down whose vistas we here can glance.

¹⁴ A much worse pun on the name of Ezida with Uza occurs in a Babylonian text, cf. King's *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1. 209 ff. Rev. 7, and Jeremias, *Altorientalische Geisteskultur*, 1913, p. 30 note. It seems likely however that the Hebrews heard a corrupt form of the name, else a pun with *zīd* 'arrogance' would have been more attractive.

BRIEF NOTES

The First Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

This expedition was intended to be a preliminary reconnoissance of the needs and opportunities for field research in the Near East since the changes resulting from the great war; but it was also hoped that many opportunities for the purchase of antiquities and historical documents of the ancient Orient might present themselves. These aims were in the main fulfilled. After attending the important joint meeting of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Société Asiatique*, and the *American Oriental Society* in London early in September, 1919, Professor Breasted proceeded to Paris where he purchased a valuable collection of Oriental antiquities, chiefly Egyptian, including especially a finely illuminated hieratic papyrus of the Book of the Dead.

The remainder of the trip to Egypt via Venice was beset with many difficulties, but Dr. Breasted reached Cairo by the end of October, having fallen in with Professor Clay of Yale on the way. A few weeks' work in the Cairo museum viewing the many new accessions there, included a study of the new Cairo fragments of the so-called Palermo Stone, which disclosed the existence of a new dynasty, or group of at least ten kings of united Egypt who ruled *before Menes*, that is *before the beginning of the usually recognized dynastic period*. Extensive purchases of antiquities in the hands of dealers were also made, and a trip up the river as far as Luxor extended these purchases to Upper Egypt. This brief notice does not permit the mention even of the leading items of these large accessions. An interesting feature of the work in Egypt was an airplane trip along the pyramid cemeteries on the margin of the Sahara for sixty miles, on which Professor Breasted was able to make a series of airplane views of these great tomb groups, with the especial purpose of locating prehistoric cemeteries which might show up in the negatives, though not visible on the ground. This opportunity was available through the kind offices of Lord Allenby, who is much interested in archaeological research. The members of the expedition assembled in Cairo and Upper Egypt dur-

ing December, 1919, and January, 1920, and some of them pushed up the Nile as far as the First Cataract. Early in February, all five of the men belonging to the expedition were in Cairo ready to leave for Asia. They included Prof. D. D. Luckenbill, Ludlow S. Bull and William F. Edgerton, both fellows of the University of Chicago, and Prof. A. W. Shelton of Emory University, besides the director, Professor Breasted.

The party sailed from Port Said on Feb. 18th, 1920, and after transshipment in Bombay arrived in Basrah on March 9. Every facility was afforded the expedition by the British authorities, and by March 16 the party was ready to leave Basrah for a rapid survey of the leading sites in Babylonia. The Basrah-Baghdad railway line had been completed and opened only a few weeks before and the party was thus the first archaeological expedition to make the Basrah-Baghdad trip with the use of this line, which greatly facilitated the journey. The first stop was at Ur, now called 'Ur Junction' (!), whence the party visited the ruins of Ur and Eridu, using Ford vans furnished by the British Army, and proceeded also via Nasiriyah up the Shaṭṭ el-Hai some eighty miles as far as Kal'at es-Sikkar. From this point Tell Yokha was visited, besides a number of unidentified sites of which there are many on both sides of the Shaṭṭ el-Hai, especially above Kal'at es-Sikkar on the east side of the Shaṭṭ. Returning to the railway at Ur Junction the trip up the Euphrates to Baghdad was made by rail, stopping at all the well-known sites, especially Babylon, left precisely as last worked by the Germans under Koldewey.

The Tigris trip was likewise made by rail as far as Kal'at Shergat (the spellings are those of the new British survey), that is some eighty miles below Mosul and Nineveh. All the leading sites as far as Khorsabad were visited and studied. While there had been more than one dangerous corner of Babylonia through which the expedition passed, it was on the Tigris journey that the most hazardous situations were first experienced. On arriving at Shergat on the return trip the railway was cut by the Arabs and also broken in two other places by a heavy storm.

On the return to Baghdad the Civil Commissioner, Col. A. T. Wilson, the British Governor General of Mesopotamia, asked the expedition to proceed up the Euphrates to Salihiyah, some 300 miles above Baghdad, in order to record and rescue as far as

possible some extraordinary Roman paintings disclosed by the excavation of a rifle pit. The British authorities civil and military furnished the transportation, seven automobiles, and leaving Baghdad on April 29th, the expedition reached the vast Roman fortress of Salihyah on the right bank of the Euphrates on May 4th. The paintings, which proved to be of unusual interest, were duly photographed and as carefully studied as the time would permit, and on the morning of May 5th, the expedition shifted to five Turkish arabanahs or native wagons, and entering the Arab State threw themselves upon the protection of the local officials of King Faisal. Moving up the right bank of the Euphrates through Dêr ez-Zôr and past the mouths of the Khabur and the Balikh, the expedition reached Aleppo in safety on the fifth of May, 1920, being the first group of non-Moslems to cross the Arab State since its proclamation in March, of the same year. Although the expedition passed directly over the fighting ground between Arabs and British, it met with the friendliest reception from all the sheikhs, and learned much of the present situation in King Faisal's dominions. The occasion which made it possible for an American expedition to take the risk, however, was not only the friendly feeling of the Arabs toward Americans. It was likewise the fact that the British had just drawn in their front on the Euphrates about a hundred miles down river from Salihyah to a point just above Anah. As a result the Arabs were momentarily feeling in the best of humors, during which the American party managed to slip through in safety. The chief danger for the time was from brigands.

As there was imminent danger that the railway south of Aleppo would be cut by the Arabs in order to hamper the French, the expedition made haste southward, stopping only at Tell Nebi Mindoh, the ancient Kadesh of Ramses II's famous battle. A careful reconnoissance of this place was made, and after a visit at Baalbek the expedition hurried out of the hazardous regions of inner Syria and made its headquarters at Beyrut, whence the leading sites along the ancient Phoenician coast were inspected. After a brief visit to Damascus and two conferences with King Faisal, the expedition shifted to Palestine, but here, just as in Syria, conditions were too disturbed to permit much work. The Plain of Megiddo, where the party endeavored in

vain to reach Tell el-Mutesellim, was quite unsafe, and even Jericho was inaccessible from Jerusalem.

The conditions as to available labor for excavation, the times of year when such work would least disturb the demand for agricultural labor, the varying scale of wages, especially the increase in wages resulting from war conditions, available vacant land for disposal of dump,—all these local questions conditioning excavations were examined at most of the leading sites in Western Asia except in Asia Minor, where the rebellion of Mustafa Kamal Pasha made the country quite inaccessible. At the same time the legal conditions and the regulations of government to which such work would be subject were taken up with the French and British authorities. A valuable collection of cuneiform documents and works of art was obtained in Western Asia also, besides a group of some 250 Cappadocian tablets purchased in Cairo.

Dr. Luckenbill remained in Beirut to develop the large series of negatives taken by the expedition in Western Asia, while the rest of the party returned to Cairo, especially to look after the shipment of purchases to America. On hearing of the facts observed by the expedition in Asia Lord Allenby requested Professor Breasted to change his route and to return to America via London in order to report in person to Premier Lloyd-George and to the Foreign Minister, Earl Curzon. Professor Breasted therefore left for London in June with letters from Lord Allenby to the two ministers and reported as desired. The antiquities secured have since arrived safely in America, but it will be long before they can be properly installed and exhibited.

JAMES H. BREASTED

University of Chicago
September 10, 1920

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The following have been added to the Committee on Enlargement of Membership: President Talcott Williams, Dr. J. E. Abbott, Professors F. R. Blake, A. V. W. Jackson.

On page 221 of the last (June) number of this volume (40) of the JOURNAL, in the report of the Proceedings at Ithaca, the paper on 'Notes on Criticism of Inscriptions: I, The Behistan

Inscription of Darius the Great' was erroneously attributed to Professor M. Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania. The paper was by Professor R. G. Kent of the University of Pennsylvania. The copy red correctly, and was correctly set; the galley proof was correct; but by som strange accident the change was made in the printers' offis after galley proof, and the error was overlookt in page proof. The editors and the printers both deeply regret the annoying mistake, and tender their apologies to Professor Kent.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

Dr. Louis H. Gray, as delegate of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies, has presented a report on the transactions of the meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, held in Brussels, May 26-28, 1920. The following is a summary of the more important points in the report.

Since the first session of the Union at Paris, the academies of Rumania, Portugal, Serbia, and Norway have adhered to the Union.

The Union approved in principle several scholarly projects to be undertaken under its auspices. Among these were (1) a revision of Du Cange, (2) an edition of the works of Grotius, (3) a catalog of Greek alchemic manuscripts, (4) a corpus of Attic vases.

It proved impracticable to obtain a fixt date for the meetings of the Union, as the American delegate had been instructed to propose. Regarding the American proposals dealing with the *CIL* and *CIG*, the delegate reports that 'there is, on the one hand, no desire to take over enterprises of international scholarly importance from countries not represented in the Union; but, on the other hand, there is still less feeling that it would be possible to collaborate with the countries in question.'

The American Delegate suggests that serious efforts be made to secure funds to support the extraordinary budget of the Union's secretariat, as for instance by levying a small additional tax on the members of the component societies. He also suggests that in the future the American delegates be chosen from scholars proceeding from America to Europe during the period between the sessions of the American Council and those of the Union, and that

if possible they should be persons who have been personally present at the sessions of the American Council, in order that they may be directly acquainted with the discussions which have taken place of projects to be presented to the Union.

The Pontificio Istituto Biblico in Rome has published the first three parts of its new journal *Biblica* (1920, pp. 1-428), bearing on Bible studies. While the editorial tongue is Latin the various articles appear not only in that language but also in Italian, French, Spanish, English, German. To the leading articles a Latin summary is prefixed. A full and admirably arranged bibliography is part of the contents, along with personal notes and correspondence. *Biblica* is received in exchange by the Library of this Society. The same Institute also announces the publication of a series entitled *Orientalia*, i. e. 'commentarii de rebus assyro-babylonicis, arabicis, aegyptiacis et id genus aliis.' The first fascicle announced will contain articles by A. Deimel.

La Service des Antiquités et des Beaux Arts de la haute Commission de la Rép. Française en Syrie (Beyrouth) announces the publication of a new archaeological series under the title *Syria*. This will be received in exchange by our Library.

The Société des Études Arméniennes has been established in Paris for the promotion of researches and publications relating to Armenia. It will publish the *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, the first fascicle of which is to appear this year. The Administrateur-Archiviste is Prof. F. Macler, 3 Rue Cunin-Gridaine, Paris.

The Société Ernest Renan was organized at its first general meeting on December 18, 1919. The Society 'a pour objet de remettre en lumière la tradition française dans le domaine de l'histoire et de la philosophie religieuses, d'en montrer la continuité et la richesse.' It will publish a bimensual Bulletin and has commissioned the preparation of a new edition of Astruc's *Conjectures sur la Genèse* and of a bibliography of Renan. The Secrétaire général is M. Paul Alphandéry, 104 rue de la Faisanderie, Paris, XVI, France.

Of the last year's staff at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem Professors Worrell and Peters returned home in July, Professor Clay in September. Dr. Albright has become Acting Director of the School and will be assisted by the Fellow, Dr. C. C. McCown.

The British School of Archaeology in Palestine was formally opened on August 9, with addresses by the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, Père Lagrange, Professor Garstang and Dr. Albright. Dr. Garstang has begun excavating Ashkelon in behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund. A committee including representatives of the Schools of Archaeology and the various nationalities has been appointed by the High Commissioner to assist in drafting a law of antiquities.

Of the last year's staff at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, Professors Worrell and Peters returned home in July, Professor Clay in September. Dr. Albright has become Acting Director of the School and will be assisted by the Fellow, Dr. C. C. McCoun.

PERSONALIA

Rabbi ELI MAYER, of Albany, died July 29. He became a member of the Society this year.

Professor FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH has announced his retirement from his professorship at the University of Berlin.

Mr. BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, of Philadelphia, a Life Member of this Society and a founder of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, died August 30, at the age of 84 years.

Prof. FRIEDRICH SCHWALLY, of the University of Königsberg, died February 6, 1919.

A private communication announces that Prof. WILHELM BOUSSET, of the University of Göttingen, died this year.

Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., a member of this Society, died May 3.

THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF INSCRIPTIONS

ROLAND G. KENT

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

1. SCHOLARS ARE NOW well equipped with treatises upon the corruptions which are found in manuscripts, and upon the manner in which editors must proceed as they make up a corrected text. We may mention, in this connection, the following selected authorities, most of which contain references to earlier works:

James Gow, *A Companion to School Classics*³, 47-66 (1891).

W. M. Lindsay, *An Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation based on the Text of Plautus* (1896).

Harold W. Johnston, *Latin Manuscripts*, 79-99 (1897).

F. W. Shipley, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts: a study based upon two manuscripts of Livy: Codex Puteanus (fifth century), and its copy Codex Reginensis 762 (ninth century), in Amer. Journ. Archaeology*, 7. 1-25, 157-197, 405-428 (1903).

2. Well adapted as these are for their purpose, which is to acquaint the scholar with the 'rules of the game' in the criticism and the emendation of manuscript texts, as he edits or elucidates them, they do not so well serve for the handling of inscriptional texts. For the manuscripts may be the results of one copying after another, each new copy suffering perhaps additional corruption at points which are already corrupt; but an inscription is in practically all instances merely transferred from a manuscript draft to its permanent position on stone or bronze, and therefore less subject to complicated corruption. At the same time, the speed with which a copyist transcribes with pen upon paper or upon parchment, is a factor leading likewise to greater error than the slowness with which the engraver transfers his text, letter by letter (not word by word), to its place of permanent record. On the other hand, the inscription may be copied in an alphabet differing from that in which the original draft stands, and this will produce a series of corruptions to which manuscript copies rarely afford parallels, except that we may compare the manner in which Greek words in Latin texts have been miscopied by the

scribes; or unless we include within our field the manuscripts of India and of the Avesta.

3. For these reasons, it is my intention to examine critically the accepted or suspected errors in certain inscriptions of formal character, which should be written with a considerable degree of care, and should therefore not contain many errors of a haphazard nature, in order to determine precisely the kinds of errors which actually do occur in inscriptions. The results and the principles thereby reached, even if not revolutionary, will be a firm basis on which philologists may found their utilization of the linguistic evidence furnished by inscriptional forms—evidence which, for ancient languages, has no rival for validity excepting only the remarks of contemporary writers upon points of grammar and pronunciation.

4. Variations from an original copy may be classified in several ways. Johnston (pp. 80 ff.) prefers a scheme based chiefly upon the causes: (1) Unavoidable changes; (2) Intentional changes; (3) Accidental changes, including (a) those of the ear, (b) those of the eye, (c) those of the memory, (d) those of the judgment. Lindsay (p. 10) groups them mainly by their results: (1) Emendation, (2) Transposition, (3) Omission, (4) Insertion, (5) Substitution, (6) Confusion of Letters, (7) Confusion of Contractions. Neither of these classifications, however, is free from its disadvantages, since the divisions and subdivisions prove not to be mutually exclusive in practice; and for dealing with inscriptions, where the corruptions are not of such complicated nature as those in manuscripts, it seems better to revert to the old and simple classification of (1) Loss, (2) Addition, (3) Change, with subdivisions which will be developed as met with.

5. It must be understood that it is not within the province of the present investigation to include phenomena which rest upon a conventionalized orthography or upon confusion in pronunciation. In Latin inscriptions of the older period, the failure to double the consonants in writing would not here be handled, since that is a convention of the alphabet in use; but a doubling of a consonant which should not be doubled would be taken into account. Similarly, in a Latin inscription of the later period, the variation between *e* and *ae* results from confusion in the pronunciation, and is valuable as evidence for the pronunciation of

the time; it is not the purpose here to deal with such matters. The editor of a text must, it is true, eliminate such corruptions as well as the grosser errors (e. g., Plaut. *Epid.* 231 *crutulam* BJ, for *crocotulam*, found in A); but errors or orthographic variations which rest merely upon conventions in spelling and confusion in the sounds, must in inscriptions be left as precious evidence for the student of philology. Our purpose is, then, to prepare the text of certain inscriptions in such a way that the philologist may use it with confidence in reconstructing the history of the language; and to fix the rules and principles for handling other inscriptions.

6. Again, we are not to deal with restorations of missing characters, which, so far as no traces remain, are entirely conjectural; nor may we accept such conjectures in poorly preserved portions and then seek to find errors in the few characters which are to be read; such a procedure would be quite unscientific. Our attention is to be directed to those words and characters which are legible, and our field overlaps that of conjectural restoration only when characters are preserved in part, so that they may be read in more than one way; in this situation we can hardly draw a definite line of demarcation between restoration and textual criticism.

7. For this purpose the following inscriptions have been selected:

I. Old Persian: the Inscription of Darius the Great, at Behistan.

II. Greek: the Bronze Tablets with the treaties between Naupactus and the Hypoanemidian Locrians, and between the Oeantheans and the Chalcians.

III. Oscan: the Tabula Bantina.

IV. Umbrian: the Bronze Tables of Iguvium.

V. Latin: the preamble to the Edict of Diocletian fixing maximum prices.

I. *The Behistan Inscription of Darius the Great.*

8. The Inscription of Darius the Great, cut high up on the face of the cliff at Behistan in Western Persia, records the accession of Darius to the throne of Persia and his successful suppression of a number of revolts against his power. It is engraved in a cuneiform syllabary, the conventions of which are well determined and familiar to scholars (cf., for example, E. L.

Johnson, *Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language*, 29-35; also R. G. Kent, *JAOS* 35. 325-329, 332, on special points). The text is presented in the cuneiform syllabary, with transliteration, translation, and critical annotations, by L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia*, 1-91 (1907), a publication of the British Museum embodying the results of their reexamination of the rock and its inscription; this is the definitive text. A transliteration and translation, with critical notes and vocabulary, is contained in H. C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts* (1908); and the same scholar's *Cuneiform Supplement* (1910) contains an autographed copy of the text in the cuneiform, and as an appendix E. L. Johnson's *Index Verborum to the Old Persian Inscriptions*, which is a complete word concordance: these two volumes are Nos. VI and VII in the *Vanderbilt Oriental Series*. These will be referred to hereafter by easily recognizable abbreviations.

9. The most striking feature of the inscription is the extreme care with which it is engraved, demonstrable errors being very few, now that the text has been definitively recorded by KT. But this care is not to be wondered at; for without it the record would have become a hodge-podge, since 23 of the 36 characters of the syllabary are transformable into other characters by the addition or the subtraction of a single stroke, and eleven of the remaining thirteen are convertible by subtracting one stroke and adding another—in some cases this being merely a placing of the same stroke in a new position. Besides this, King Darius attached a high value to the records, as is evident from his injunctions for their preservation in 4. 69-80, and must have placed the work in charge of his most skilled engravers.

10. There are a few points which lie on the border-line between orthographic convention and epigraphic error. It is a convention that an absolutely final short *a* be written with the sign of length, and that final *i* or *u* be followed by the corresponding semivowel. But when an enclitic follows, the *a* or *y^a* or *v^a*, respectively, may be omitted; the examples are listed in *Stud.* §13, §8, §7 (= R. G. Kent, *Studies in the Old Persian Inscriptions*, in *JAOS* 35. 321-352); and the same variation occurs in the final sound of the prior element of compounds. Further, there are a few instances where the *a* is not written to show the graphic length of the final *a*, but the instances are chiefly where

the word forms a unit with the following: e. g., the genitive of a month name in *-ahya* before *māhyā* 'month' and the genitive of a personal name before *puθra* 'son' and sometimes before *taumāyā* 'family'. Other examples of this phenomenon must be regarded as errors (*Stud.* 329 ftn.).

11. After the characters with inherent *i* (*jⁱ dⁱ mⁱ vⁱ*) or *u* (*k^u g^u t^u d^u n^u m^u r^u*), it is a convention to repeat the vowel as a separate character; doubtless because after other consonants, where for want of the special character the sign with inherent *a* was written, the *i* or *u* was of necessity represented separately. But sometimes after the signs with inherent *i* or *u* the separate vowel sign was omitted, though not so often as it was inserted. The examples of omission of *i* are the following:

armⁱniyaiy (*ar^amⁱn^ai^yaⁱy^a*) 2. 33-34, 39, 44, 48; but *armⁱniya* 2. 29, 3. 78-79, 4. 29, *armⁱniyaiy* 2. 59, 63, *armⁱina* 1. 15, *arminam* 2. 30, 32, 50, 52 (all these with *ar^amⁱn^a-*). Some of these examples are mutilated, but they can be read with sufficient accuracy to determine the presence or absence of the *i*.

vⁱθam 1. 69, 71; *vⁱθāpatiy* 3. 26 (and restored in 2. 16); *vⁱθi[yā]* 4. 66 (always *vⁱθ^a-* in the Behistan Inscription).

vⁱθⁱāb^aiš^ac^aa 1. 65; the normalized spelling is not entirely certain. *vⁱštāspa* 1. 4, 2. 93, 94, 97, 3. 4, 7, A. 5; *vⁱštāspam* 3. 2, 3; *vⁱštāspahya* 1. 2-3, 4, A. 3, 5-6 (always *vⁱš^at^aas^ap^a-* on the Behistan Inscription). Some of the examples are mutilated, but the absence of the *i* is always determinable.

12. The omission of *u* after consonants with inherent *u* seems to occur in this inscription only in the name *Nabukudracara*, which appears as *n^ab^auk^ud^ar^ac^ar^a* in 1. 78-79, 84, 93, but with the full writing (*-k^uud^a-*) in 3. 80-81, 89 (restored), 4. 14, 29-30, D. 3-4, I. 5-6 (*-d^a-* omitted; see §24, below).

13. The erratic writings after *h^a* are listed in *Stud.* §24, and need not be discussed here.

14. Finally, we should note that in the Behistan Inscriptions the words are carefully separated by an angled sign with the apex to the left. This sign precedes the word rather than follows it, for where the sense suffers a paragraph break there is a blank on the surface of the rock and the word-divider comes after the blank, just before the initial word of the new paragraph. Since the five columns form a continuous text, the divider does not occur at the end of the first four. The end of the fifth is illegi-

ble; yet the divider probably stood there, for in the short inscriptions labeling the figures of the sculptures, which are complete texts in themselves, it is found at the end of all except two (H and K). Between §3 and §4 of A (line 13), KT give no divider; but Tolman *CS* 43 gives it. We might note that the last stroke of the preceding character, h^a , is identical with the divider, and that this may have led to confusion either of the engraver or of the modern copyist.

I. Errors of Omission.

15. 1. 50 $h^a c^a a < d^a r^a š^a m^a$ seems to stand for $h^a c^a a < d^a r^a$. ($u g^a a < d^a r^a$) $š^a m^a$, = $hacā draugā daršam$, the omission being due to the repetition in the text of the four identical characters $a < d^a r^a$, so that the engraver passed from the one set to the other with omission of the two intervening characters (cf. *Stud.* §33-§46, especially §44). This species of error may be termed *Haplography with Skipping*.

16. 1. 54-55 $aur^a/m^a z^a am^a$ for $aur^a/m^a z^a d^a am^a$ = *Auramazdām*, with omission of d^a . The omission was made easy by the fact that d^a is formed of one horizontal stroke above two vertical strokes, while a , which follows d^a , consists of one horizontal stroke above three vertical strokes. The two letters are so similar that the omission is almost an haplography; as however they are not absolutely identical, this species of error may be termed *Pseudo-Haplography*.

17. 1. 78-79 $n^a b^a/uk^u d^a r^a c^a r^a$, as also at 1. 84 and 1. 93, lacks the character u after k^u , as was noted in §12. The omission seems to be favored not only by a certain superfluosness of the vowel character after the consonant with inherent u , but by the likeness of the following letter. The u is the divider followed by a horizontal stroke above two vertical strokes; d^a is one horizontal stroke above two vertical strokes. The u is therefore identical with the divider plus d^a . It is possible that here again is an example of Pseudo-Haplography, though the fact that this omission occurs three times in rapid succession is rather evidence that it is not a mere error of script.

18. 1. 95-96 $a/p^a i š^a i m^a$ = *āpišim*, for nominative *āpiš* plus the enclitic *šim*. But as geminates are never written in this syllabary, it is better to regard *āpišim* for *āpiš-šim* as an orthographic convention than as an example of true *Haplography*.

19. 3. 38-39 $v^a h^a y^a / z^a d^a a t^a h^a y^a$ and 3. 46 $v^a h^a y^a z^a d^a a t^a h^a y^a$, = *Vahyazdātahya*; 3. 49 and again 3. 51 $ah^a t^a$ = *ahaⁿta*.

These four words, found within a few lines of each other, share the same error, the failure to write the conventional final *a* for a short *a* which was not protected by a final consonant. The fact that in the first three of the examples the next word begins with *a*, might seem to be a factor in the failure to write the final *a*; but the same paragraphs include five or more instances where the conventional final *a* is written even though the next word begins with the same character. These four words then seem to represent the engraver's resistance to the unphonetic writing; for the *a* inherent in the preceding consonant sign was adequate to represent the short vowel, and was so used if the short vowel was followed by a weak final consonant not represented in writing. This might be termed *Omission for Phonetic Accuracy*.

20. 3. 77 *ua* for $ut^a a$ = *utā*. As the omitted t^a bears no close resemblance to either the preceding or the following character, this error may be classed as *Omission*, without any contributing factor.

21. 4. 72 $av^a \theta^a a \check{s}^a t^a a$ = *avaθāštā*, is hardly to be interpreted without emendation. The simplest correction is that of Hoffmann-Kutschke (quoted Tolman *Lex.* 69, *CS.* v), who thinks that it is really two words, *avaθā štā*, run together by the failure of the engraver to represent the divider. Since \check{s}^a consists of two dividers under a horizontal stroke, this is a possible instance of Pseudo-Haplography; but the interpretation 'stand thou thus <and> guard <them>' for the two words and the following *pari[ba]ra* leaves the final verb without its pronominal object, which is unusual in the inscription, and makes the uncompounded *stā* assume the \check{s} which would be proper only after prefixes ending in *i* or *u* and after the reduplication in *i*. Yet as the \check{s} is found in *aištata* and extended in *niyaštāyam niyaštāya*, such an extension to *štā* is not too unlikely.

22. Tolman's emendation, making the \check{s}^a a miswriting for the word divider, and *tā* the pronominal object of the following verb, is improbable, since the demonstrative stem *ta-* is not found as a separate word elsewhere in the Old Persian inscriptions, and the addition of the two strokes to the divider so as to make the \check{s}^a is an unlikely error.

23. 4. 83 $u]t^a a[n^a < n^a]am^a$ = *U]tā[na n]āma*, is the proba-

ble restoration of the passage, but KT 76 ftn. 2 state that the gap has room for only two characters, not three. It is likely that either the first or the second n^a was omitted; an omission which may be termed *Tele-Haplography*, and is to be defined as the failure to write one of two identical characters or groups of characters which are not contiguous, though the intervening character or characters remain. There is a possible alternative, that it was the divider which was omitted; since the symbol n^a consists of two horizontal strokes followed by the divider, the omission of the divider at this point would be an instance of Pseudo-Haplography.

24. I. 5-6 $n^a b^a u k^u u r^a / c^a r^a$ for $n^a b^a u k^u u d^a r^a c^a r^a = Nabukudracara$, has lost the d^a . This is an easy example of Pseudo-Haplography, since u is the same as d^a with a prefixed divider: thus $u d^a = < d^a d^a$.

25. I. 11 $b^a a b^a r^a u v^a$ for $b^a a b^a i r^a u v^a = Bābirauv$. The i of the second syllable is omitted, although the preceding consonant has inherent a , and neither the preceding nor the following character closely resembles i . This must be classed as simple Omission.

II. Errors of Addition.

26. 1. 23 $t^a y^a n^a a < m^a n^a a$ stands for $t^a y^a a < m^a n^a a = tyā manā$. The sign n^a is repeated from the following word. This repetition of a character in a position separated by one or more letters from its rightful place, may be termed *Tele-Dittography*.

27. 4. 44 $u p^a a v^a] r^a t^a i y^a i y^a$ has repetition of $i y^a$ at the end of the word, according to Tolman, *Lex.* 122 (where other interpretations also are listed), and is to be normalized as $u p^a v^a r^a t^a i y^a$, a first singular middle. This is a typical example of normal *Dittography*.

III. Errors of Change.

28. 3. 55 $a g^a u r^a t^a$ for $a g^a u b^a t^a = agaubata$. The sign r^a consists of three parallel horizontal strokes followed by one vertical stroke; b^a consists of two horizontals followed by one vertical. The error here is therefore made by adding one horizontal stroke, which changes b^a to r^a ; this may be termed *Change by Addition*.

29. 3. 66 $g^a d^u u t^a v^a = Ga^d dutava$, seems to be an error for $Ga^d dumava$, in view of the *kantuma* + at the corresponding place in the Elamitic version, though KT confirm the reading t^a

rather than m^a . Since m^a is made of one horizontal stroke followed by three verticals, and t^a is made of two horizontals followed by three verticals, this is a second instance of Change by Addition.

30. 3. 67 $ar^a r^a$ for $ab^a r^a = abara$. By the omission of one horizontal stroke, b^a is transformed into r^a (cf. on 3. 55 above, where the converse change is discussed). This may be termed *Change by Subtraction*.

31. 4. 71-72 $d^a/t^a s^a$ should probably be $u/t^a v^a = utava$ (Hoffmann-Kutschke, quoted by Johnson IV. 27, cf. Tolman *Lex.* 98). The divider prefixed to d^a produces u , and a short horizontal stroke prefixed to s^a produces v^a . It may be that these strokes originally stood on the rock, and that they have become illegible through weathering; but if nothing has so disappeared, this word gives two more examples of Change by Subtraction. The divider is recorded by KT as legible before the d^a ; the reduction of $< u$ ($= < < d^a$) to $< d^a$ shows also a haplological element. This particular variety of Change by Subtraction might be termed *Semi-Haplology*.

32. 4. 71 and 73 $vik^a n^a ah^a y^a = vikanāhy$, 4. 77 $vik^a n^a ah^a diš^a = vikanāhadiš$ (so read by Jackson) were read by KT as having s^a and not k^a . In view of $viyaka^n$ 1. 64 and $nika^t uv$ 4. 80, it seems certain that these are forms from the root kan ; and if s^a really stands on the Rock, it is another instance of Change by Subtraction, for one vertical stroke followed by three horizontals forms k^a , and one vertical followed by two horizontals forms s^a .

33. I hesitate to list further possible errors from the text of the Behistan inscription. Scholars have made many conjectures, as may be seen by examining the critical apparatus in Tolman, *Lex.*, but most of the conjectures do not deserve consideration since the minute collation by KT. The following might, however, be listed, even if only to support the actual text:

1. 22, 4. 66-67 $ufrastam$; 4. 38 $ufrāštam$; 4. 69 $ufrāštā$ (cf. *Stud.* §64-§69.) The variation between s and $š$ is merely the result of leveling (*Stud.* 351, fn. 4).

1. 30 $hamātā$ for $*hamamātā$ almost certainly represents the actual pronunciation, and is therefore not an example of Haplology, but an example of Haplology (*Stud.* §46).

1. 86-87 $uś^a/b^a ar^a im^a$ is by many scholars supposed to lack two signs at the end of the prior line: $uś^a t^a r^a/b^a ar^a im^a = uštrabārim$

'camel-borne,' cf. Avestan *uštra* 'camel.' But *uṣābārim* may be correct, if *uša* was a doublet form of *uštra* as *asa* was of *aspa* 'horse' (*Stud.* §47-§51).

1. 87 *as^am^a* = *asam*; 2. 2, 71, 3. 41, 72 *as^ab^aar^aib^aiš^a* = *asabāribiš*. The establishment of *asa* as a doublet of *aspa* makes emendation of these forms superfluous (cf. *Stud.* §50).

2. 74 *har^ab^aan^am^a* = *harbānam* 'tongue'. KT 36 ftn. 4 explain it as from the root in Latin *sorbeō*; this eliminates the need of correction (cf. Tolman *Lex.* 134).

2. 75 and 89 *ucasma* 'eye' may be correct, though somewhat indistinct on the Rock (cf. Weissbach *ZDMG* 61. 726, quoted by Tolman *Lex.* 75).

3. 8 *θakatam* is the correct singular form, and not an error for *θakatā*, which is the correct plural form, required in the other eighteen passages where the word is used (cf. Bartholomae, as quoted by Tolman *Lex.* 95).

4. 6 *adamšim*: the explanation of the difficult enclitic is given *Stud.* §52-§63, especially §63.

4. 65 ++ *m^an^uuv^at^am^a* or + *t^un^u*- or + *t^uun^u*-.: the reading is too uncertain for the passage to be used here.

4. 89 *i[ya]* *dīpi* (the illegible gap has space for but one character, according to KT 77 ftn. 5); 4. 90 *iya* [*d*] *īpi*. This *iy^a* is not to be emended to *iy^am^a* = *iyam*, but is to be read *īy*, from Indo-European **i* (*Stud.* 348, ftn. 2).

5. 11 *utā* < *daiy* < *marda* 'and he annihilated them.' Objection has been taken to *daiy* as an orthotone and as an accusative. But the change of enclitics to orthotones and vice versa can be paralleled elsewhere, and the form of the accusative plural in Old Persian, outside the enclitic pronouns (which can have no nominative), is invariably that of the nominative plural (*Stud.* 336, ftn. 2), notably in the third person pronouns (*avaiy*, *imaiy*, *tyaiy*). The orthotone value and the nominative form as accusative therefore go hand in hand, and mutually confirm the reading of the text rather than make it suspicious.

34. In the passages of the Behistan Inscription which are surely or probably miswritten, therefore, we have found errors of the following kinds, which have been defined as they were met:

I. Errors of Omission :

Omission, with no apparent motive: 20, 25.

Omission for Phonetic Accuracy: 19.

Haplography: 18.

Haplography with Skipping: 15.

Tele-Haplography: 23.

Pseudo-Haplography: 16, 17, 21, 23, 24.

II. Errors of Addition :

Dittography: 27.

Tele-Dittography: 26.

III. Errors of Change :

Change by Addition: 28, 29.

Change by Subtraction (including Semi-Haplography: 31): 30, 31, 32.

35. For convenience, the following index of passages, topics, and words discussed above, is appended:

Passages:

1. 23 *ty<an>ā manā* 24
1. 30 *hamātā* 33
1. 50 *hacā dra(ugā dar)šam* 15
1. 54-55 *auramaz(d)ām* 16
1. 65 *viḡaibaišaca* 11
1. 78-79, 84, 93 *Nabukudracara* 12, 17
1. 86-87 *uṣabārim* 33
1. 87 *asam* 33
1. 95-96 *āpišim* 18
2. 74 *harbānam* 33
2. 75, 89 *ucasma* 33
3. 8 *ṡakatam* 33
3. 38-39, 46 *Vahyadātahya* 19
3. 49, 51 *ahanta* 19
3. 55 *agaubata* 28
3. 66 *Gandumava* 29
3. 67 *abara* 30
3. 77 *u(t)ā* 20
4. 6 *adamšim* 33
4. 44 *upava]rtaiy<aiy>* 27
4. 65 ++ *manuvatam* or
++ *t(u)nuvatam* 33
4. 71, 73 *vikanāhy* 32
4. 71-72 *utava* 31
4. 72 *avaṡā šta* 21, 22
4. 77 *vikanāhadiš* 32

4. 83 *Utā[(na) n]āma* 23
4. 89, 91 *īy dīpi* 33
5. 11 *utā daiy marda* 33
- I. 5-6 *Nabuku(d)racara* 12, 24
- I. 11 *Bāb(i)rau* 25

Topics:

- Enclitic pronouns 33 (bis)
Final vowels 10, 19
Geminate consonants 18
Inherent *i* 11
Inherent *u* 11, 12, 17
Vowels after *ha* 13
Word divider 14, 22, 23, 31

Words:

- armina* 11
arminiya 11
asabāribiš 33
ufrasta ufrašta 33
taumāyā 10
Nabukudracara 12, 17, 24
puṡra 10
māhyā 10
viḡa 11
vištāspa 11

MĀLOBĀ, THE MARĀTHĀ SAINT

JUSTIN E. ABBOTT

SUMMIT, NEW JERSEY

THE STORY OF MĀLOBĀ, as related by Mahīpati in his Bhaktalīlāmṛita, is tragic in the extreme, and well illustrates the Hindu conception of God, as a very present help in time of trouble.

That Mālobā was an historic personage need not be seriously questioned on the ground of the miraculous element in his story. Dnyāneshwar, Nāmdev, Eknāth, Tukarām, and Rāmdās, of unquestioned historic standing, all have the miraculous woven into the accounts of their lives. It is a Hindu feeling that those who live so near to God, as do the true saints, are agents through whom God manifests His power, and that He is sure to do so when they are in distress.

Mahīpati (b. 1715, d. 1790) is *par excellence* the biographer of the Marāthā saints, but he was not a higher critic of his sources of information. He accepted the traditional stories as true. His Bhaktavijaya, Santalīlāmṛita, and Bhaktalīlāmṛita contain long lists of authors and works used by him. No evidence suggests that he might have been an inventor of Lives. He anticipates the charge, however, and in his Santalīlāmṛita 1. 67-69 says, 'You will raise this doubt in your mind and say, "You have drawn on your own imagination."' This is not so. Listen. Great Poet-saints have written books in many languages. It is on their authority that I write this Santalīlāmṛita. If I wrote on my own authority, my statements would not be respected. The Husband of Rukmani is witness to this, who knows all hearts'. If Mahīpati drew his information from unhistoric sources, Mālobā may not stand in the list of actual saints, but the story, illustrating the Hindu idea of God's intervention in the calamities befalling his saints, will not lose its point thereby.

With data so meagre, it is useless to speculate on the date of Mālobā, for in the very unchronologically arranged lists of saints as given by Shekh Mahamad (in 1696), by Jayarāmasuta (c. 1718), by Mahīpati (1715-1790) and by Moropant (1729-1794), the name appears among those of both earlier and later date.

There have been published English translations of the Abhangs of the Poet-Saint Tukarām and there are translations of small portions of the works of other Marāṭhā Saints, but the intensely interesting accounts of their lives, handed down by tradition, and related in verse by the poet Mahīpati, though they have frequently been summarized have never been published in an English translation. Mahīpati's account of their lives is worthy of translation, for it reveals accurately and most vividly the Hindu ideal of a true saint.

Mālobā, the Marāṭhā Saint

Translation of Mahīpati's Bhaktalīlāmṛita, 41. 148-213.

41. 148. There once lived in the Province of Varhād¹ a Bhakta² named Mālobā, a man of supremely noble character. He was a worshiper of Viṭhobā.³ (149) He was a gentleman and merchant, respected and worthy. His business took him in time to the Kārṇāṭak, to which country he removed with his family, and there he made his home, but remembering Viṭhobā in his heart. (150) He had a son of noble qualities, by the name of Narhari. Both son and father excelled in goodness of character, and possessed minds ever discriminating (between right and wrong). (151) They regarded all mankind as themselves. They were compassionate to all creatures. To the needy and to guests they were generous in gifts and hospitality. (152) They were constant in their worship of Vishnu. They greatly loved the services of song in praise of Hari. They were ever ready in ministering to the saints, and they never uttered an untruth.

(153) After some days of sojourn (in the Kārṇāṭak) Mālobā's wife died. This caused great sorrow to his heart. 'What shall I do?' he cried. (154) But finally he reasoned to himself thus: 'It is well, after all, that the snare of this world has been broken.' And bringing to mind the Husband of Rukmani, he

¹ Varhād, a District in the Bombay Presidency.

² In the word Bhakta is implied not only one who formally worships, but one whose character is marked by godliness, moral purity, and sincerity.

³ The sacred city of Paṇḍharpur has an ancient temple with an image within representing a figure standing on a brick. God, as represented by this idol, has the name of Viṭhobā, Viṭhthal, Pāṇḍurang, Paṇḍharināth, and Husband of Rukmani. Vishnu, Krishna, Hari, Lord of Heaven, etc., are used synonymously with Viṭhobā.

destroyed the very seat of Ignorance. (155) But Mālobā soon came under pressure of public opinion. A Southern⁴ bride was found for him. The marriage took place hastily. Later this union proved the cause of great pain to Mālobā.

(156) Some days passed, when suddenly the father of the bride appeared. He was of the Nameless⁵ caste. He recognized his daughter. (157) He went to Mālobā and told him his story from beginning to end, his town, his name, and all his circumstances. (158) 'I am of the lowest caste,' he said. 'My daughter was stolen away in the dead of night by a thief. You have made her your wife. It is evident you have committed a sin.' (159) Mālobā listened to his story, and an agony of contrition filled his soul. 'Oh save me, Oh save me, Lord of Heaven,' he cried. (160) 'Of all sinners in this universe, I am the one great sinner. Could all sins be collected together, and formed into a human statue, I am it. O Purifier from Sin, O Thou who hast mercy on the lowly, I lay my case before Thee.' (161) Mālobā now called his wife to him, and said, 'Do you recognize your father?' She acknowledged all, but made no further reply. (162) Mālobā said to the Nameless, 'Take away your daughter, and as for me I will do whatever the Brahmans prescribe.' (163) The Nameless replied, 'Of what use for me to take away a defiled vessel? My caste fellows will accuse me of wrong, and then what shall I do?' (164) And with this the Nameless left for his village. The affair now become everywhere publicly known, and people remarked, 'She has defiled him.' (165) The rascal who had given this Southern bride in marriage, accompanied by his children, stole away by night and left the country.

(166) Mālobā, in worldly things, was a rich man. Naturally therefore sycophants gathered at his home. But when this great calamity befell him, they all deserted him and fled. (167) His noble-hearted son, Narhari, alone remained by his side. All dinner-brothers at once disappeared. ((168) The Brahmans excommunicated him. His relatives abandoned him. Through repentance, however, he now fully atoned for his sin. (169) He called

⁴I am uncertain of the meaning of *hedichi*. I have assumed it to be a variant of *hedhichi*, southern.

⁵*Anāmik*, Nameless, is used by Mahīpati as synonymous with Mahār, one of the lowest castes.

the Brahmans together, and had them rob him of all his wealth. As a loving Bhakta, he now spent all his time in the worship of Hari. (170) Mālobā finally called together a large assembly of Brahmans, and prostrated himself on the ground before them. With joined hands he exclaimed, 'Prescribe at once a penance.' (171) The Brahmans, the Vedic pandits, the learned Shastris consulted the sacred texts and commentaries, and found the penance to be suicide. There was no other adequate penance. (172) After listening to the decision of the Brahmans, Mālobā replied, 'I think so also; but prescribe the method.' (173) The Earth-immortals answered, 'Search for a large cavity in a tamarind tree. Crawl into it, and have the space within filled with cowdung fuel. (174) Then set it afire with your own hands. In performing this penance of suicide all your sin will be destroyed.' (175) Mālobā listened and agreed, remarking, 'Whatever one does, one must suffer the effects. There is no escape whatever.' (176) And so Mālobā sat gladly within the cavity of the tree, the cowdung fuel packed around him, and set it afire. In his heart he contemplated the image of Pāṇḍurang, and earnestly invoked him.

(177) 'O Dweller in Paṇḍharpur', he cried, 'O Viṭhabai, my family goddess! Come quickly and deliver me from my Karma. (178) Those who were friends because of my wealth, whom I had regarded as dear relatives, even they, as the end of my life comes, have all forsaken me and fled. (179) And now, as I am entirely stripped of all repute among men, of honor, of son, of wife, of wealth, do Thou break my bodily bond. (180) Though many other calamities, greater than even this, should come upon me; though the heavens should fall crashing on my body; yet, O Hari, this only would I ask for, that I may remember Thee in my heart.' (181) Then, with firm determination, Mālobā closed his eyes, his heart contemplating the image of Viṭhobā, the source of joy and peace to his devotees. (182) With fixed concentration of mind his lips repeated the names and attributes of God.⁶ 'O Keshava, Nārāyaṇa, Slayer of Madhu, Purifier from Sin, Ocean of Mercy, (183) O Unchangeable One, Infinite One,

⁶ The technical term *Nāmasmaraṇa*, literally 'remembering name(s)', stands for more than mere remembering. It includes the repeating aloud of God's various names and attributes, as is well illustrated in verses 182-185 above.

Govinda, Supreme Being, Saccidānanda, Savior of the World, Source of Happiness, Shri Mukunda, World's Guru, (184) Shri Rām, Raghupati, Slayer of Rāvana, Destroyer of Demons, Founder of Religion, Lord of the World, who with mighty power released Vṛindāraka, (185) O Krishna, O Vishnu, O Dark-Complexioned One, O Protector of thy Bhaktas, O Thou Being of Goodness, this only I ask of Thee, O Ātmārām, that in this my worship there may be love.'

(186) As Mālobā thus worshipped full of love, and tears of love streamed from his eyes, suddenly the Lord of Heaven came to his rescue. (187) The kindled fire had become a roaring flame, but to his body it felt cool. No part of his body was so much as scorched. (188) The Brahmans exclaimed to one another, 'The wonderfully mysterious might of God's Name! The fire, indeed, has not been able to burn him, for the Life of the World has been his protector. (189) Once long ago, when Hiranyakashipu⁷ attempted to burn the Bhakta Prarhād in fire, the fire would not burn him. And so it is with this man.' Thus exclaimed the Brahmans to one another. (190) The fire in the cavity burnt itself out; the live coals became extinguished and fell to the ground. The glorious loving Bhakta now crawled out of the cavity and descended to the ground. (191) The people all marvelled and exclaimed, 'Blessed is this loving Bhakta. In his distress the Husband of Rukmani came to his aid. A wonderful miracle has taken place.' (192) The Brahmans now said to Mālobā, 'It is you who are holy and righteous. In your distress Paṇḍharināth came to your help. You are wholly without blame.'

(193) Mālobā now relinquished his occupation and commercial business, and gave himself up to performing Kirtans⁸ in praise of Hari. His words were words of grace; his teachings the blessed teachings of a saint. (194) And the daugh-

⁷ The well known mythical story (Vishnu Purāṇa 1. 17) of Hiranyakashipu, the godless, blaspheming, atheistic king of the Demons (Daityas), to kill whom Vishnu had to assume the fourth incarnation, Narasinha, half man, half lion. Hiranyakashipu was incensed at the piety of his son, Prarhād (or Pralhād; Sanskrit Prahrāda) and sought to destroy him by burning him alive, and by other cruel means, but God's power always saved him from even the slightest injury.

⁸ Religious cantatas.

ter of the Nameless, whom he had married without realizing her caste, profited by the good companionship with him, and experienced sincere repentance of heart. (195) She said to Mālobā, 'Tell me some means of salvation, by which I may attain to a different birth.' And this indeed took place. (196) Mālobā, the Vaishnav Bhakta, listened to her and replied, 'In this affair you have committed no wrong whatever. It is true your father has deserted you, but I will continue to give you food and clothing. (197) If you ask me for the means of salvation, hold in your heart what I have already told you, namely, keep Shri Hari in your remembrance without ceasing, and have no concern about anything else.' (198) To all this the young woman assented, and from a distance bowed low to him. Mālobā had a small hut built for her at some distance from his house, and there she lived. (199) She kept her clothes and vessels clean, and regularly performed her baths. She learned to love the repeating of God's names and attributes, and her thought never turned from it. (200) Mālobā would send her, by the hand of his servant, food served in a dish. This was all she would eat, and then she would give herself up to repeating God's names and attributes. (201) By this contact with the good, she attained a character of goodness, and Nārāyaṇa, in his graciousness, would reveal himself to her sight. (202) Days passed in this way, and the end of her life now approached. The angel of Vishnu carried off her soul and took it to heaven. (203) Mālobā learned the news that she was dead. 'Who is there who will be willing to speed her corpse on its good way?' said he. (204) 'No outcaste or Shūdra will even touch her.' Mālobā thought and decided; 'I will do it myself,' he said. (205) 'I was the cause. She has suffered intensely, and now that she has gone hence, I must perform her funeral rites.' (206) Thus thinking and determining he proceeded to enter the hut. Opening the door, he looked toward the corpse, when behold, it had changed into a mass of flowers. (207) 'This,' he exclaimed, 'is the mighty glory of the worship of Vishnu, made evident to the sight of men. By this He has truly increased the praise of his servants.'

(208) From that day men everywhere began to honor Mālobā. 'The Husband of Rukmani was his help,' they exclaimed, 'and delivered him out of his great trouble.' (209) From that day

also Mālobā began to give Kirtans that appealed to the tender sentiment, and pious listeners were moved in their hearts to deep emotion. ((210) In Kirtans the nine sentiments are used, and listened to by the devotees of Vishnu, but the supreme means for the realizing of the presence of God is the tender (*karuṇa*) sentiment.⁹ (211) The desire was now begotten in Mālobā's heart to reach the other side of the ocean of this worldly life, and so using the tender (*karuṇa*) sentiment he pled with God. (212) This Bhakta of God now felt the desire to meet with God, and so he went into the forest, and there tenderly pled. (213) The Lord of Heaven heard his cry, and quickly came, for this conforms to his character, a character described by Shri Vyāsa in his Song of Praise.

⁹The nine sentiments or passions are Shringāra, love; Hāsyā, mirth; Karuṇa, tenderness; Raudra, anger; Vīra, heroism; Bhayānaka, fear; Bībhatsa, disgust; Adbhuta, astonishment; Shānta, peace.

GILGAMES AND ENGIDU, MESOPOTAMIAN GENII OF FECUNDITY

W. F. ALBRIGHT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH IN JERUSALEM

TWO OF THE MOST INTERESTING FIGURES in ancient mythology are the heroes of the Babylonian national epic, Gilgames and Engidu. In this paper they will be studied in as objective a way as possible, avoiding the knotty problems connected with the evolution of the epic. Even on the latter, however, some light may be thrown. A thousand and one tempting ideas come to mind, but our materials are still too scanty for the composition of a successful history of Mesopotamian literature and religion, as shown by the recent attempt of the brilliant philosopher of Leipzig, Hermann Schneider.¹ Thanks to the discovery of the temple library of Nippur, Sumerian literature is swelling so rapidly that few theories can be regarded as established beyond recall. On the other hand, our knowledge is now sufficiently definite to permit lucrative exploitation of comparative mythology and civilization; indeed, since many of these problems may be treated on the molecular, if not the atomic principle (cf. *JBL* 37. 112), their solution is an indispensable prerequisite to the future history of Babylonian thought. My general attitude towards the methods and theories of comparative mythology is succinctly given *JBL* 37. 111-113.

The name Gilgames is usually written ^d*GIŠ-GIN (TU)-MAŠ*, read *Gi-il-ga-mes(š)*, the Γιλγamos of Aelian, *De natura anim.*, 12, 21 (Pinches, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. 4, p. 264). *CT*² 12. 50. K 4359, obv. 17, offers the equation *GIŠ-GIN-MAS-*

¹ See his *Kultur und Denken der Babylonier und Juden*, Leipzig, 1910.

² Note the following abbreviations in addition to those listed *JAOS* 39. 65, n. 2: *ARW* = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*; *BE* = *Publications of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*; *GE* = *Gilgames-epic*; *HT* = *Poebel, Historical Texts*; *JEA* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; *KTEI* = *Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*; *NE* = *Haupt, Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*; *PSBA* = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; *RA* = *Revue d'Assyriologie*; *RHR* = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; *UG* = *Ungnad-Gressmann, Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, Göttingen, 1911; *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

SI = *Giš-gibil-ga-mes*; CT 18. 30 ab. 6 ff. gives *KALAG-GA-IMIN* = ^d*Giš-gibil-ga-mes*, *muqtablu*, 'warrior,' and *âlik pâna*, 'champion, leader.'³ The latter ideogram is merely an appellative describing him as 'the seven-fold valiant.' The full form of his name, ^d*Giš-gibil-ga-mes* (cf. *SGL* 87), is often found on early monuments, especially seals and votive inscriptions from Erech and the vicinity. In a sacrificial list from Lagaš (De la Fuye, *Documents*, 54. 10. 6; 11. 5) his name appears in the form ^d*Giš-gibil-gin-mes*. As the sibilant must have been primarily *s* (see below), the second element takes the variant forms *ginmas*, *games*, and *ginmes*. Since the first of these writings is late, it may be overlooked in fixing the original pronunciation; the other forms point to a precursor ^{*}*ganmes*, which became *ginmes* by vocalic harmony, and *games* by syncope. The primary form of the name was, therefor, ^{*}*Gibilganmes*, whence, by contraction, *Gilgames*, the meaning of which will be considered below.

According to Sumerian historiographers (Poebel, *HT* 75), Gilgames was the fifth king of the dynasty of Eanna (name of the *ziquurat* of Erech), succeeding Meskingašer son of Babbar (the sun-god), who reigned 325 years, Enmerkar, his son (420), Lugalbanda, the shepherd (1200), and Dumuzi, the palm-cultivator (100).⁵ The hero himself was the son of the goddess Ninsun, consort of the god Lugalbanda, and of Â°, the *enu* or *ramku* (*išib*)-priest of Kullab, a town as yet unidentified, but certainly near Erech. Â is also called the *mes-sag Unug* (CT 24. 35. 29-30), 'chief scribe of Erech,' an epithet translated CT 16. 3. 88 (cf. Schroeder, *MVAG* 21, 180) by *nagir Kullabi* (the relation of Erech and Kullab was like that existing between Lagaš and Girsu). His consort is called Ningarsag, or *Nin-gû-e-sir-ka*, both

³ In *âlik pâni* as a heroic appellative we may possibly have the source of the Babylonian royal name Orchamus of Ovid, *Met.* 4, 212, since *ὄρχαμος*, 'leader of a row,' might well be a translation of the expression into Greek.

⁴ Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 40, n. 1. reads the name ^d*Gi-bil-aga-miš*, taking *TU* to be originally *MIR* = *aga* (Br. 6945), and rendering 'The god Gibil is commander.' This is mere guess-work.

⁵ Poebel took *ŠU-ĜAgunu* to be equivalent to *ŠU-ĜA* 'fisherman,' but Barton (*Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 264, n. 3) is almost certainly right in explaining the group as *ŠU-PEŠ*, and translating 'palm-tree-fertilizer,' an ideal occupation for a god of fecundity.

⁶ See Försch, *OLZ* 18. 367 ff. Sum. *â* means 'father' (for *a'a*, *ada*); *Â* may have been himself a figure of the Attis type. Was his consort originally *Ama*, 'mother' (cf. *Ama Engur*) like Anatolian *Mâ*?

figures closely related to Ninsun. In the Babylonian recension of the second tablet of *GE*, recently published by Langdon, the mother of Gilgames bears the name *rîmtum ša supûri Ninsunna*, the *rîmat Ninsun* of the Assyrian version (Poebel, *OLZ* 17. 4 ff.). The 'wild-cow of the fold' corresponds to Leah, consort of the *ab(b)îr Ia'aqob*, 'bull Jacob,' as pointed out *JBL* 37. 117.

The king-list gives Gilgames only 126 years, hardly more than Tammuz, who was torn away in the flower of his youth. Evidently there is a close relation between the hero's vain search for immortality and the short duration of his career. Like the son of Peleus and Thetis he was doomed to die young, a fate which was presumably the original reason assigned for his quest of life. The morbid fear of death and the desire to be freed from the venereal disease, which, as Haupt has made probable, the vindictive Ištar had inflicted upon him, are, at all events, secondary motives, characteristic of a rather corrupt and cynical society, such as may well have existed in Erech during the last part of the third millennium. From *SLT*, No. 5, it appears that Gilgames preserved the title of high-priest of Kullab (*en Kul-ab^{ki}-gè*) after being elevated to the throne. Both in *GE* and its Sumerian prototype he appears as the builder of the wall of Erech, a tradition mentioned in an inscription of Anam of Erech (twenty-second century). According to *GE* 11. 322 he was assisted in this work by seven wise architects (note the motive of the seven sages). In the Sumerian text of a Gilgames-epic, published by Langdon, we read (obv. 15-20; Engidu seems to be addressing the hero):

Unug^{ki} giš-kin-ti dingir-ri-e-ne-gè
ê-an-na ê-an-ta è-dè
dingir-gal-gal-e-ne me-bi ba-an-ag-eš-ám
bád-gal bád an-ni ki-uš-sa
ki-ma-maġ an-ni gar-ra-ni
sag-mu-e-sum za lugal ur-sag-bi =

'In Erech, the handiwork⁷ of the gods,
 Eanna, the temple which reaches heaven,⁸

⁷ Sum.. *giš-kin-ti* (literally 'wooden-work taken hold of'; contrast *SLT* 125), whence *kiškittû* and *kiškattû* (M. 753, 4033), means both 'handiwork,' and 'artisan'; cf. Langdon, *Grammatical Texts*, p. 26, n. 2.

⁸ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, 17, 18, etc., for *an-ni uš-sa*, 'reach heaven'; the insertion of *ki* does not affect the sense, nor is the oxymoron intentional.

Where the great gods gave their decrees,
 The great wall, the wall which reaches heaven,
 The mighty structure,⁹ of celestial construction,
 Thou hast the supremacy (hast made head); thou art king and hero.'

This passage implies that Gilgames, of whom it is said (obv. 10-11) *gub-gub-bu-dè su(KU)-su-u-dè dumu-lugal-la da-ri e-ne* = 'standing or sitting, ever the son of a king is he,' built the temple Eanna and the wall of the city. A reference to the erection of Eanna is found *GE* 1, 10; see Poebel, *HT* 123. The founding of the city itself is ascribed in the Sumerian chronicle to Enmerkar, *lù Unuga mu-un-da-dú-a*.

As might be expected, Gilgames was regarded as the special patron of the city, a position in which he may easily have enjoyed more popularity than the distant god of heaven, Anu, theoretically the patron of Erech. Several centuries before Anam, Utuġegal (*ca.* 2600), the liberator of Babylonia from the yoke of Guti, says in his triumphal inscription (Col. 3, 1 ff.; see *RA* 9. 115): *ḡiṣ-gibil-ga-mes du[mu] ḡNin-sun-na-gè maškim-šù ma-an-sum; dumu Unug-ga dumu Kul-ab-ka šà-ġul-la ba-an-gar* = 'G, the son of N, he gave him as a guardian genius; the people of Erech and Kullab he (Gilgames) made joyous of heart.' He received divine honors at Lagaš and Nippur, presumably also elsewhere, while his cult survived into Assyrian times; cf. the image (*ġalmu*) of Gilgames mentioned Harper, Letters, 1. 56.

In turning to consider the original nature of Gilgames, his solar characteristics become immediately apparent. The hero's adventures in the epic remind one involuntarily of the deeds of Heracles and Samson, whose essentially solar nature is clear, even after sundry adscititious elements have been eliminated; mythology is a liberal master, employing motives of the most varied origin in its service. Like the sun-god, Šamaš, our hero (see the incantatory hymn, *NE* 93) is the *da'ân Anunnaki*, 'the judge of the A'; like the sun, again, he is the *hâ'iṭ kibrâti*, 'the overseer of the regions'; it is expressly stated (*NE* 93. 8) that the powers of Šamaš are delegated to him. Gilgames figures as Nergal, lord of the underworld, in *SLT*, No. 6, obv. 3. 10 f., *ki-àg ḡEreš-ki-gal ḡGiṣ-gibil-ga-mes lugal-kúr-ra-gè* = 'the beloved of

⁹ *Ki-ma* = *ki-má* (*ki-gar*; cf. *du*(1)-*mar-ra* and *ki-dur*, both = *šubtu*).

E, Gilgames, lord of the mountain (i. e., the underworld).’ In Langdon, *Liturgies*, No. 8, rev. 3, he receives the appellation *umun-ki-ga-gè*, ‘lord of the underworld.’ In the epic his mistress is Išhara, a form of Ištar with marked chthonic associations. Whatever we may think of Egyptian and Greek parallels, in Babylonia it is the sun-god who appears as judge both of the living and of the dead, spending his time as he does half with the shades and half with mortals. While the writing ^d*Giš*, found in the Meissner fragment and the Philadelphia text of the second tablet, is an abbreviation (cf. Poebel, *OLZ* 17. 5), it is interesting to note that ^d*Giš* is explained as *Šamaš*, and that *giš* also = *išātu*, ‘fire’ (*SGL* 98). As these equations suggest, Gilgames stands in close relation to the fire-gods (naturally in many respects solar) Nusku (cf. Hommel, *OLZ* 12. 473 ff.), Gibil (cf. his name), and Gira (cf. *Maqlû* 1. 37 ff.), who shares some of his attributes. In fact, Gira’s ideogram ^d*GIŠ-BAR* (for reading cf. Meissner, *OLZ* 15. 117; for *Gira* < *Gišbara* cf. *JAOS* 39. 87, note; this god must not be confused with ^d*GÎR*, for whom see below) may be partly responsible for the late writing of the name of the hero as ^d*GIŠ-GIN-BAR* (*MAŠ*).

In the capacity of solar hero, Gilgames has much in common with ‘his god’ (*ilīšu*, *GE* 6. 192) Lugalbanda. It may even be shown that the saga of Gilgames has been enriched by the spoils of the latter. In the story of the birth of Gilgames, reported by Aelian, the Babylonian king Seuechoros (Σευηχορος), warned by the astrologers that his daughter would bear a son who would deprive him of the kingdom, shut her up in the acropolis. However, she was mysteriously visited, and bore a son, who was forthwith thrown from the tower. An eagle caught the child on its outstretched wings, and saved it to fulfil the decrees of fate. As Aelian observes, this is the well-known motive of Perseus, while the Babylonian sources available assign the Aeneas motive to the hero, who was the son of a priest of Kullab (originally a god) by the goddess of fertility. Lugalbanda, on the other hand, so far as the texts inform us, follows the Perseus recipe. He is the son of the sun-god, who, we may suppose, had visited his mother in the guise of a golden shower;¹⁰ he passes his youth as a shepherd

¹⁰ The motive of the golden shower is Oriental as well as Hellenic, and may safely be postulated as a common explanation of the mode of solar gen-

before mounting the throne. It is very important to note that his predecessor, Enmerkar, is not called his father; he may safely, however, be regarded as his grandfather. Now, Σευηχρος is to be read *Ευηχρος*; the initial C is simply dittography of the final C in the preceding word βασιλεύοντος. Euechoros bears the same relation to *Enmerkar* (pronounced *En̄merkar*) as *Euedora*-(*n*)*chos* does to *Enmeduranki* (cf. also *Ευεδωκος* for *Enmedúga*, pronounced *En̄yedôk*). We may, therefor, tentatively supply the missing details of the Babylonian legend. Lugalbanda was the son of Enmerkar's daughter by Šamaš. Being thrown from the tower by his grandfather's command, an eagle rescues him; an eagle carries the related Etana to heaven in a similar story. Lugalbanda grows up as a shepherd, and on reaching manhood is elevated by the favor of the gods to his rightful throne. In the later form of the story, transferred to Gilgames, the hero becomes a gardener, since this occupation had become the legendary prerequisite of kingship, as in the sagas of Sargon the Elder and Ellil-bânî of Isin.

My reconstruction of the Lugalbanda myth is supported by the indications in the fragments published *HGT*, Nos. 8-11, all belonging to a single epic, probably part of the Lugalbanda cycle, as follows from the mention of the storm-bird Im-dugud (Zû) in 11, 3. From this text we learn that Enmerkar, son of [Mes-ingašer] (8, rev. 10), was a mighty king, ruling in Kullab without a rival (8, obv. 4 ff.). Unfortunately, however, the throne has no heir (9, rev. 5 f.: *aratta* [*LAM-KÛR-RU-KI*] *áš-ba - - - a-bil* [= *ì-bil* (*RA* 10. 97) = *ablu*] *nu-tug-da*). The poem goes on to introduce the *kurkû* bird (9, rev. 9 ff.): *kûr-giṣu kî-a* [] *pa-te-si Sumer^{ki}-ra* [] *mu-da-kû-ù-dè kin-gí-a En-me-ir-kár en-nun* [] = 'The *kurkû* bird in the land [] the viceroy of Sumer [] to nourish [] the messenger of Enmerkar [held] watch.' Tho the name of Lugalbanda does not occur, we can hardly doubt that this passage alludes to the rescue of the youthful hero from his hostile grandfather by the *kurkû* bird (who may be an inter-

eration. In Hindu tales (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 20, 145; Vol 21, p. 374) a traveler, before setting out on a journey, tells his pregnant wife that the birth of a son will be announced to him by a shower of gold, of a daughter by a shower of silver. These showers are primarily metaphoric expressions for the golden and silver rays of the sun and moon, respectively male and female according to the most general belief.

mediary for Zû, whose relations with our hero would then date from the latter's infancy).

Lugalbanda,¹¹ with the consort Ninsun, was the principal god of Marad,¹² whence he bore the name Lugal-Maráda (*AMAR-da*), and of Tupliaš (*Ašnunnak*) in eastern Babylonia. He also received divine honors at Erech and Kullab, especially during the dynasty of Amnanu (*ca.* 2200). Accordingly he is listed among the legendary kings of the postdiluvian dynasty of Erech. Lugalbanda and Ninsun were worshiped also elsewhere, as at Lagaš and Nippur; a patesi of the former city bears the name Ur-Ninsun. Lugalbanda belongs to the same class of modified sun-gods as Ninurta, and hence is combined with Ninšubur and Ningirsu, deities of this type (*IIR* 59, rev. 23 f.). In a hymn published by Radau (*Hilprecht Anniv. Vol.*, Plates 6-7; cf. p. 418), he is addressed as *kug*¹³ *Lugal-banda gu-ru-um kúr-ra* = 'holy L, offspring of the mountains,' and identified with Babbar (*Šamaš*): *šul Babbar zi-zi-da-zu-dè kalam igi-mu-e-da-zi-zi* = 'Hero Babbar, when thou risest, over the land thy eye thou dost lift,' etc. Like Gilgames, and other old gods of productivity, he came to occupy a prominent position in myth and legend, thanks to the annual celebration of his adventures in mimetic fertility rites. I would not attempt to decide whether his role as shepherd came from solar symbolism (cf. *AJSL* 34. 85, n. 2), or is on a par with the pastoral aspect of other gods of fecundity (cf. *JBL* 37. 116 f.); both conceptions doubtless played a part.

Around the figure of Lugalbanda seasonal and reproductive myths soon crystallized, later spreading from their original home, and developing into the heroic legend, the prototype of the true saga, with its historical nucleus and lavish display of mythical and romantic finery. The saga could not spring, as some appear to think, full-armed from the popular fancy, but had to grow apace as utilitarian cult-motives whetted the imagination. Lugalbanda became the focus of a legendary cycle of very great

¹¹ Radau, *Hilprecht Anniv. Vol.*, p. 429, points out that Lugalbanda as lord of Tupliaš is Tišpak, the *am-banda* = *rīmu eqdu* (Ar. *ʿaqada* = *šadda*); hence his name means 'mighty king,' rather than 'wise king.'

¹² Modern *Wannet es-Sa-dûn*, on the Euphrates, nearly due west of Nippur; see Clay, *OLZ* 17. 110 f., and Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 9. 84.

¹³ For reading *kug* cf. Luckenbill, *AJSL* 33. 187.

interest,¹⁴ since its perfected form, found in the myth of Lugalbanda and Zû, is written in Sumerian, while our Gilgames-epic is a Semitic composition, however much it may have drawn on Sumerian sources. Besides the Assyrian translation of over a hundred lines (*KB* 6. 1. 46 ff.) we now possess goodly fragments of the original Sumerian: *CT* 15. 41-43; *HGT*, Nos. 14-19, and probably also 8-11 (see above); in Nos. 20-21 we have part of a chronicle dealing with events during the reigns of Lugalbanda and his successor Tammuz (cf. *HT* 117). Most of the latter text apparently refers to Lugalbanda, since Tammuz is not mentioned until the close. Along with victorious invasions of Elam, Ħalma (= Guti), and Tidnu^m (= Amûru), a disastrous flood which overwhelmed Eridu is described (obv. 11-12): *a-urû-gul-la-gè* [] *NUN-KI a-gal-la si-a* [] = 'the waters of the destructive deluge. . . . Eridu, flooded by the inundation [].' In connection with this the *deus ex machina*, Ninlil, comes on the scene; despite the pseudo-historical setting we are dealing with myth.

The story of Lugalbanda and Zû, personification of the hurricane, is primarily, as has often been observed, the contest between

¹⁴ It is possible that the saga of Nimrod may be an offshoot of the Lugalbanda cycle rather than of the Gilgames cycle, especially since the former seems to have been much more important than the latter in early times, and from a home in Marad more likely to influence the west than the latter, whose hearth was Erech. As lord of Marad Lugalbanda is the *Lugal-Marâda* or the **Nin-Marâda*, just as Nergal-Lugalgira is the *Nin-Girsu*, the lord of Girsu, and as Marduk is the *Nin-Tintir* (*IIR* 59, obv. 47), Ellil the *Nin-Nibru*, or Lord of Nippur (*ibid.* 9); cf. also Sin the *Bêl-Ħarrân*, etc. The heroic shepherd and conqueror of wild-beasts, **Nimarâd*, may thus have become the mighty hunter, *Nimrôd*, just as *Dagân* becomes *Dagôn*, and *Hadâd* 'Αδωδός. Similarly the shepherd Damu (Tammuz) became in Byblos the hunter Adonis. The figure of Nimrod was probably influenced by the impressive monumental representations of the Assyrian Heracles; he may easily reflect a western 'Orion,' but Eduard Meyer's view that he was primarily a Libyan 'Jagdriese' is gratuitous. The recent historical theories are still less felicitous: Sethe (Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 6, p. 650) holds that Nimrod is a corruption of the official name Nebmu^cerê^c of the indolent Amenophis III, appearing in cuneiform as Nimmuriija; Van Gelderen (*Expositor*, 1914, pp. 274 ff.) explains Nimrod as a corruption of Narâmsin, historically possible, but phonetically incredible. Jensen's explanation, deriving *Nimrôd* from **Namurta*, his reading of *NIN-IB*, is antiquated by the discovery of the correct reading *Ninurta*, which became *Inušta* (*JAOS* 38. 197), a form quite unlike Nimrod.

the sun and the storm-clouds, whom he subdues, just as Marduk overcomes Ti'amat in the cosmogonic reflection of the motive. Without entering into an elaborate discussion of the myth, which I hope to treat elsewhere, I will call attention to an episode which has apparently influenced the Gilgames cycle. Lugalbanda's journey to Mount Sâbu, where the wine-goddess Ninkasi-Sirîs helps him to outwit Zû and recover the tablets of fate, is in some respects the prototype of Gilgames' visit to the wine-goddess Sâbîtu. In *GE* the episode of Sâbîtu's mountain paradise is decidedly in the air; in the older recension, however, it is clearer; instead of being merely in charge of a station on the hero's route to Elysium, she is his real goal.¹⁵ Only after he despairs of securing from her the immortality for which he yearns does he undertake the perilous voyage to Utnapišti^m. As I shall show in detail elsewhere, the wine-goddess Sâbîtu becomes in effect the divinity of life; in her hands was supposed to rest the bestowal of eternal life, so far as this was terrestrially obtainable. Her name is derived from Mount Sâbu,¹⁶ the abode of Ninkasi, with whom, as will be shown elsewhere, Siduri Sâbitû is essentially identical. I have proved, *AJSL* 35. 179, that the neighboring Mount Ħaşur, the abode of Zû, is Kašîari-Masius, and that Sâbîtu's garden lay in the same region, which corresponds to the northern habitat of the *soma*, as well as to the vineyard-paradise of Anatolia. As clearly indicated in the fragments of the myth, Lugalbanda recovers the *dupšîmâti* by inviting the bird to a banquet, and intoxicating him with the aid of the goddess of conviviality—a motive which reappears in a multitude of similar tales of the Marsyas type. The motive is closely associated with the *soma* cycle of the Indo-Iranians, as will be shown in another article; two distinct motives have evidently been fused, the eagle being the *tertium comparationis*. The *dupšîmâti* belong with the motive above referred to, as they appear also in the creation myth; Lugalbanda originally

¹⁵ Cf. *JAOS* 38. 61-64; additional evidence will be adduced in my article 'The Mouth of the Rivers,' *AJSL* 35. 161-195, and in a paper entitled 'The Goddess of Life and Wisdom,' to appear in *AJSL*.

¹⁶ Mount Sâbu, probably the name of a northern mountain, near Ħaşur-Kašîari-Masius (see my article in *AJSL*, cited in the preceding note), was perhaps selected because of the paronomasia with *sabû*, 'wine,' and its congeners.

goes after the fertilizing rains, symbolized by wine, just as Indra wrests the *soma* from the bird Garuḍa, and bestows it upon the thirsty land. As the draught of the gods is also the potion of immortality, this is at the same time a journey in search of life. That Gilgames' visit to Sâbîtu was originally vicarious, made on behalf of his people, is highly probable; he was a god of fertility (see below). The individualizing of the myth naturally resulted in the idea that his mission was vain; did he not die at a relatively early age (see above)? The journey to the Mouth of the Rivers, originally to bring the inundation, has undergone the same modification. As Lugalbanda is a more pronounced sun-god than Gilgames, it is interesting to note that solar motives are unquestionably worked in with our episode; *GE* 9, Col. 4, 46, the nightly journey of the sun thru the *ḥarrân šamši* of the underworld, in order to be reborn from the womb of the mother-goddess the next morning, is expressly alluded to. It may be that the myth has gained admission to the epic cycle thru the influence of the solar analogy.

In the cult, at least, the solar side of Gilgames was quite subordinate to his aspect as a god of fecundity. The chthonic character of our divinity, while in its specific development implying solar relationship, is no less an indication of kinship with gods of vegetation. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find many Tummuz-motives in the cycle of Gilgames; his amours with Išhara and Ištar are vegetation-myths (cf. *JBL* 37. 115-130). Some of the evidence presented to show that Gilgames was primarily a god of vegetation by Schneider, in his suggestive essay,¹⁷ is not valid, but the main thesis, if somewhat broadened to include the various functions of a god of fertility, is certainly correct. Equally cogent is Prince's view (*Babyloniaca*, 2. 62-64), tho the explanation of *ḡiṣ-a-am* as 'héros divin de la production' leaves the older writings of the name entirely out of consideration. The symbol of the god was the *ḡiṣ-a-am* *ḡilgames* (*CT* 15. 14, rev. 11, 13), with the Semitic equivalent *ildacqu* (for **iṣ-daqu*, 'small tree'), 'sprout, slip.' Hommel (*OLZ* 12. 473 ff.) has ingeniously connected the *ḡiṣ-a-am* (lit. 'plant of the water of the wild bull') with the cylinder of Sargon the Elder, representing a hero of the Gilgames type watering a wild-bull from a stream, over which a

¹⁷ *Zwei Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte Vorderasiens*, pp. 42-84.

young shoot is growing. The scene is evidently symbolical; the stream is the Euphrates, which provides growing vegetation and browsing cattle alike with the needful moisture. Similar representations, primarily serving the purpose of sympathetic magic, will be treated below. The *a-am zi-da* of Gudea, Cyl. A, 5, 8, and 6, 9, is a cult object, apparently a lustral laver, like the *abzu*; in Gudea's dream it is placed before him, toward the sunrise, a position forcibly reminding one of the basin in the *ġit Šamši* of Šilhak-in-Šušinak (*RT* 31. 48), also, of course, placed toward the sunrise. The name may indicate that the basin was placed on the back of a bull, just as the laver of Solomon's temple was supported by twelve bulls,¹⁸ symbolizing, as will be shown elsewhere, the origin of the water from the mouth of the bull Enki, lord of the fresh water (see below), or his attendant bulls, the *gud-sig-sig*, donors of the fecundating water of the two rivers.¹⁹ The *giš-a-am*, which presumably derived its name from the *a-am* by its side, from which it drew moisture, like the *ildaggu* on the bank of the river, may have been a symbolic tree or post, like the wooden pole of Aširat or the *qd*-pillar of Osiris.²⁰

¹⁸ In this connection I may take up the problem touched *JAOS* 36. 232. Both *kijjôr-ki-ur*, 'platform,' and *kijjôr-kiuru*, 'laver,' are ultimately identical. Primarily *ki-ur* meant 'base, foundation-platform' (*duruššu* = *išdu*, *temennu*), whence, like *ki-gal*, 'surface, site, ground,' it is used metaphorically for 'Hades' (cf. Langdon, *Liturgies*, p. 138). The explanation of *ki-ur* as *nêrib ercîtim*, 'entrance to the under-world,' reminds one of the Egyptian *mas̄t̄aba*, which served as a link between the two worlds. The shrine *ê-ki-ur* in Nippur reminds one of a shrine near Thebes which seems to have been regarded as an entrance to the underworld; cf. Foucart, *PSBA* 32. 102 ff. The laver *kiuru* may have received its name from being on a platform, or it may symbolize the lower world, like the *apsû*, the big laver from which the *egubbê* were replenished; see my article on 'The Mouth of the Rivers,' *AJSL* 35. 161-195.

¹⁹ Cf., for the present, Frank, *Religion*, p. 275.

²⁰ When a tree in which a great numen of fertility resided died, the trunk often remained an object of veneration, being replaced finally by a symbolic post, usually representing a palm or cedar. Lutz has brilliantly shown that the *qd*-pillar was a stereotyped palm; etymologically it belongs, as I shall show elsewhere, with Assyr. *qaddu*, 'sign-post.' It may be added that Osiris is the masculine counterpart to Aširat, as both Ember and myself have concluded for different reasons; the old West-Semitic god Ašir, a god of fertility with lunar associations, seems to be identical with Osiris (for *Asirey, Asir). For Osiris and the moon cf. *JAOS* 39. 73, n. 15.

In view of the close relation of Gilgames to the gods Gibil, Šamaš, and Tammuz, I would explain the name **Giš-gibil-gan-mes* (see above) as meaning primarily 'torch-fecundating hero' (i. e., the hero who fecundates with the torch of fertility).²¹ According to a vocabulary cited *SGL* 68, *giš-gibil* = *iççu kabbu* and *giš-gibil* = *iççu irru*, both meaning 'fire-stick,' or 'fire-brand.' In the above-quoted hymn, Gilgames is called *rabbu*²² *ša nîšê*, 'the torch (which illumines) the people.' Similarly we read *KTRI* 1, No. 32, obv. 33; *Šamaš diparka kátim mâtâti* = 'Šamaš, thy torch overwhelms the lands.' The metaphoric allusion to the sun as a lamp is familiar; cf. *Sûra* 25, 62, where the sun is called *sirâğ*, and note that Gibil was symbolized by a lamp. This explanation of *giš-gibil* is much more likely than the one advanced *SGL* 87; at the same time it is perfectly possible that the name Gilgames was later thought to mean 'ancestral hero,' or the like. My translation of *gan* as 'fecundity' is strongly favored by the names *Šagan* and *Sumugan* (see below). Our name falls in the same category as *Dumu-zi-abzu* (Tammuz), 'the loyal child of the subterranean lake' representing vegetation as perennial, never-failing, a happy state which the auspicious name of the god was fancied to aid in producing.²³ Gilgames was worshiped as patron of the growing forces of nature, felt to emanate from the warm rays of the sun. Hence he is a vegetation god, and, like the plants over which he presides, his quest of eternal life is doomed to failure. Thru his association with the sprouting and vigorous, instead of with the fading and dying, with the virile male rather than with the ewe and lamb, he is placed in conscious opposition to Tammuz, the darling of women, who comes to grief thru the wiles of Ištar.

²¹ Contrast the formation of the name with others in the same royal list: *Mes-anni-pada*, 'Hero chosen by heaven'; *Mes-kiag-nuna*, 'Hero loved by the prince' (Ana, god of heaven); *Meskingašer*, perhaps 'Hero sent by the lord' (*kinga* = *kin-gé-a*; *šer* older form of *ner*). Even in name these are lay figures.

²² Read *rabbu*, from *rbb*, 'shoot arrow, flash,' instead of *rappu*, as in Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, p. 178a; cf. *nablu*, 'flame,' from *nbl*, 'shoot arrow,' etc. I shall discuss the word elsewhere.

²³ *Dumu-zi-abzu* is thus a name like *Apāṃ-napāt*, 'offspring of the water,' an Indo-Iranian genius of fecundity (cf. Gray, *ARW* 3. 18 ff.). In the arid lands of Central Asia the subterranean water-supply was all-important, and the vegetation which depends on it was most appropriately termed 'child of the water.'

It is also theoretically possible that the name Gilgames means 'Torch of the (god) "Hero of fecundity,"' a theophorous formation containing the divine name *Gan-mes*.²⁴ It is noteworthy that a god Games seems to have been known, to judge from the city-name *Kargamiš*, *Karkemiš* (the shift in sibilants is regular in northern Mesopotamia), 'quay of Games.' Virtually all the names of river-ports beginning with *kar* (Assyr. *kâru*), 'quay,' have a divine name as second element; thus, to illustrate without attempting to exhaust the list, we find in the Kossean period *Kar-Adad*, *Kar-Bâniti*, *Kar-Bau*, *Kar-Bêl-mâtâti*, *Kar-Damu*, *Kar-Duniaš*,²⁵ *Kar-Nábû*, *Kar-Ninlil*, *Kar-Ninurta*, *Kar-Nusku*, *Kar-Šamaš*. For various reasons, which I will not give here, I am inclined to see in Games²⁶ the precursor of the great Euphratean god Dagân.²⁷

The most sympathetic feature of the Gilgames-epic is the enduring intimacy between the king of Erech and his companion, the erstwhile wild-man Engidu. So harmonious is their friendship that the latter almost seems a mere shadow, designed solely

²⁴ *Gan-mes* would be a form like *ulkin-mes*, 'senator' (*puršumu*). The word *gan*, 'fertility' (= *gê*), is found especially in *ama-gan* (see below), and in *ša-gan*, *Sumu-gan*, and *Gan*, names of the god of fertility.

²⁵ There can be little doubt that Streck's explanation of *Karduniaš* is better than Hüsing's (see *ZA* 21. 255 ff., and contrast *OLZ* 11. 160, n. 1). *Kar-Duniaš* may have been originally the Kossean name of a city in north-eastern Babylonia, on the frontier.

²⁶ It is not impossible that our *Games*, later pronounced **Gayiš*, is the *Gš* of *Brgš* (Assyr. *Mâr Gûsi*) in the Zakir inscription. The older form may survive in the Moabite *Kammôš* (Assyr. *Kammusu*), for **Kammêš*, like *Sargôn* for *Sarkên*, etc.—it was long ago suggested that *Karkemiš* meant 'fortress of Chemosh'—which would then belong to the Amorite period of contact with Mesopotamia, like *Damu* and *Laḫmu* (Schröder, *OLZ* 18. 291 f., 294 f.), *Išḫara* and *Dagân*, while *Gôš* would be a much later, Aramaean loan, like אֱלֹהִים for *Ilumêr*, *Iluyêr*, *Nikkal* for *Ningal*, *Nsk* for *Nusku*, etc.

²⁷ *Dagân*, like *Adad*, with whom he alternates, was originally a weather-god; his name is connected with the root *dg*, 'be cloudy, rainy' (Ar. *dagga*, *dāgā*, *dāgana*). From the nature of things most gods of productivity are also regents of the weather, and conversely. The ichthyoid development of *Dagân* in Palestine is due to popular etymology connecting the name with *dag*, 'fish,' as natural for a maritime people. Heb. *dāgān*, 'grain,' is probably on a par with Lat. *Ceres*, Assyr. *Nisaba*; cf. the precisely similar use of *Pales*, *Sumuqan*, and Heb. *ʿāštarôt haqqôn*. Sanchuniathon's explanation of the name Δαγων from *dagan*, ἐπειδὴ εὔρε σίτον, is another artificial etymology, impossible from the Assyrian standpoint.

to act as the hero's mentor, a reflection of his buoyant ideal of life and dismal picture of death. The parallelism is so close that the complementary element found, for example in the story of David and Jonathan, or in that of Etana and the eagle, where one supplies the lacks of the other, is wanting. Gressmann has happily directed attention to the contrast between Gilgames, the exponent of civilization, and Engidu, the child of nature, who develops successively thru the stages of love for animals, for woman, and for a friend (*UG* 92 ff.). The discovery of the Babylonian text of the second tablet has confirmed Gressmann's view; after the vivid description of Engidu's initiation into the benefits and snares of civilization, and his grapple with Gilgames to free the latter from the allurements of Išhara, there can be no doubt that the thought of the gifted poet has been correctly divined. Here, however, as in the story of Joseph, we must not rate the inventive genius of ancient rhapsodists too highly, tho they were sometimes able to construct surpassingly beautiful edifices when the material lay at hand. Engidu is not, as might be fancied from the standpoint of literary analysis alone, an artificial creation of the poet; he is a figure of independent origin, related in character to Gilgames, and attracted to him under the influence of the motive of the Dioscuri; Engidu corresponds to Castor, while his companion, who remains inconsolable after the death of his 'younger brother', is Polydeuces.²⁸

The fundamental identity of Engidu with Gira-Šakan-Sumuqan is now generally recognized (cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 480 f.). Their resemblance is indicated in the epic by the phrase *lubušti labiš kîma "GÎR* (I, Col. 2, 38), 'he is dressed in a garment like Sumuqan,' which is naturally a euphemism for 'naked.' Both Sumuqan and Engidu are patrons and protectors of the *bûl çêri*, especially of the gazelle; after death the latter descends to Hades to live with the former, who, being a god of fertility, must die.

It is impossible to reach a definite conclusion in regard to the

²⁸ The most popular conception of the heavenly twins exhibits them as the sun and moon, so it is by no means improbable that Gilgames and Engidu in this role represent the sun and moon, respectively, as suggested by Lutz. It is, at all events, clear from the present investigation that all Gilgames' astral affinities appear to be with the sun, while part, at least, of Engidu's are with the moon.

oldest name of our deity, as a result of the welter of names and the confusion of ideograms which greet us. Thureau-Dangin (*Lettres et contrats*, p. 60; *RA* 11. 103) thinks that the most ancient reading is *Gîr*, but the reading *Ûg* is also possible. *CT* 12. 31, the god's name is written with the character *ANŠU*; *SA* IV, 11 gives the value *anše* to *GîR*, a confusion due to the close resemblance in form between the signs. As the original form of *GîR*, a lion's head (Barton, No. 400), shows, our god was primarily leonine (*ûg* = *labbu*, *nêšu*, *ûmu*, 'lion'; *ûmu*, *nûru*, *Šamaš*, 'light, sun'); from Sum. *gîr* is derived *girru*, 'lion,' properly 'the mighty one,' like Ar. 'asad. The lion is, of course, a typically solar animal (see below). The vocabularies give for *GîR* the pronunciations *Šakan* (*CT* 12. 31, 38177.4), *Šakkan* (*CT* 29. 46. 9), and *Sumuqan* (*CT* 24. 32. 112), *Sumugga* (*CT* 29. 46. 8), a reading which was perhaps the most common, as it appears written phonetically *Su-mu-un-ga-an* (*SLT*, No. 13, rev. 12). *Sumugan* (Akkadian *Sumuqan*) is probably equivalent to later Sumerian *gan-sum-mu*, 'giver of fecundity'; *Šagan* (later *Šakan*, *Šakkan*, like *Makkan* for *Magan*) is an abbreviation of *Ama-šagan-gub* (*CT* 29. 46. 12), written *Ama-GAN* + *ŠA-gub* in a cylinder published by Thureau-Dangin (*RA* 11, 103 f.), a name which means 'He who assists mothers in child-birth' (*ama-gan* = *ummu âlittu*; see above). *CT* 29. 46 gives as ideographic equivalents of *GîR*, *GîR-GAZI ÂM*, *GAN*, and *MÂŠ*, all referring to his functions as patron of animal productivity.

The name Engidu (*CT* 18. 30. 10) is written in the Assyrian recension of *GE* *dEn-ki-dû*, in the southern text *dEn-ki-du(g)*; we also find the writing with a parasitic nasal *dEn-ki-im-du* (*SLT* 178, n. 2). Langdon's explanation as *bêlu ša erçita^m uṭaḥḥadu* (*dû* = *ṭaḥâdu*), 'Lord who fructifies the earth,' may be correct. In view, however, of *KI-DÛ* = *KI-GAL*, both pronounced *sur* (*SGL* 252) = *bêrûtu*, 'depths' (*mât bêrûtu* = *qibîru*, 'grave' = *aralû*; note that Heb. *bôr* and *šahat* = *še'ôl*), Zimmern's idea²⁹ seems preferable, and *Engidu* may be rendered 'Lord of the underworld,' like *Enki*, which almost certainly has this meaning. Enki-Ea and Gira-Sumuqan were originally related

²⁹ See *KB* 6. 1. 571 f., and *KAT* 568, n. 6. *Sur* means 'depth, source' (*asurraku* is 'ground-water, source-water' contrast *SGL* 251), 'gulch' (*ḥarru*, *SGL* 252), and perhaps 'submerge' (*sur* = *ZAR* = *ṭarâru* [*AJSL* 34. 244. 91], otherwise *gigri*, *loc. cit.*).

figures; the latter is mentioned after *Ea-bêl-ḥasîsi*, 'Ea the lord of wisdom,' in the Mattiqaza treaty.³⁰ Most interesting is the divine name *dSumugan-sigga-bar*, 'Sumuqan the wild-goat,' since it virtually identifies our deity with Ea.³¹ In an incantation over the holy water (*ASKT* 77, No. 9, 6) we read: *a sigga-bar-ra-mi*³² *-zid-dê-eš-dug- [ga]* = 'water' which by the wild goat (Ea; cf. next line: *ka-kug dEn-ki-gê na-ri-ga-âm*, 'the holy mouth of Enki is pure') is continually made soft (Akkadian very free, *mû ša ina apsî kêniš kunnû*). Engidu's own character as donor of fertilizing water to vegetation is clear from *SLT*, No. 13, rev. 13: [*En-ki*]-*im-du ab-si-im-ma e-pa-ri gi-ir-za-al [še-gu]-nu ma-a* = 'Engidu, who makes abundant (*zal* = *šutabrû*, 'be sated with') the irrigating ditches and canals for the herbage, who causes the sesame (?)³³ to grow.' He also appears as a satyr, or vegetation spirit *GE* I, Col. 2, 36 f.; *ubbuš pirîtu kîma sinništi*; [*pi*] *tiq pir-tišu uḫtannaba kîma Nisaba* = 'he is decked with hair like a woman: the growth (lit. formation) of his hair is as luxuriant as (standing) grain.'

³⁰ *OLZ* 13, 296.

³¹ Ea is given the name *dDâr*, the divine wild-goat (ibex), *IVR* 25, 40a. and *dDâr-abzu*, 'ibex of the nether sea,' *IIR* 55, 27c, whence in the list of divine barks, K 4378, his ship is called the *gišmâ-dâr-abzu*. The *dâr-abzu* appears in art as a goat-fish, *suḡur-mâš* (cf. *JAOS* 39. 71, n. 12.)

³² Delitzsch (*SGL* 146) prefers to read *gême* (*dug-ga*), but the parallel form *giš-dug-ga* does not make this necessary. The reading *mi* is proved by the gloss *mi* to *SAL* in *SAL-zid-dug* in a text published by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 11. 144. 14. Some of the passages where our word occurs will not admit Delitzsch's rendering. Assy. *kunnû* (cf. *KB* 6. 1. 435), from *kanû*, means properly 'fix, appoint, assign, apply' (the root *kn*, whence *kânu* and *šakânu*, means 'set, establish'), hence 'apply a name' in Ar. and Heb., 'count' in Eg. (*čny*), and in Assy. 'make fitting, suitable, adorn, care for' (like 𐎲𐎠𐎫, Job 32, 21; this illustrates the connection between Ar. 'âhaba, 'prepare,' and Heb. אהב, 'love'). Eth. *mekenîât*, 'cause, opportunity, pretext,' seems to afford a parallel to Lat. *opportunitas*, properly 'fitness.'

³³ Barton's explanation of *gu* as 'sesame' (*BA* 9. 2. 252) seems plausible; the ideogram means 'oil of heaven,' corresponding to Sem. *šamaššammu* ('sun-plant,' Haupt). Sum. *gunu* may even stand for **mušni* (the oldest form of the word, reflected by the ideogram *ŠE-GIŠ-NI*) > **muni* (like *mutin*, 'vine,' for *muštin* > *geštin*) > **munu* (by vocalic harmony) > *gunu*. An increasing number of parallels, which I am collecting, shows that such a relation between *EME-KU* and *EME-SAL*, or litanic (Haupt) forms is quite regular.

Like Tammuz, the ^d*Sib* (= *rê'û*),³⁴ Sumuqan is a shepherd, guardian of all animal life, wild as well as tame. *KTRI*, No. 19, obv. 2 f., Sumuqan is called *nâqidu ellu^m massû ša Ani ša ina pût karši nâšû šibirra* = 'holy shepherd, leading goat of Anu, who carries the shepherd's staff before the flock (?).' In 13 we hear of the *bûl Sumuqan*, his cattle, and in 15 his name is followed by *nam(m)aštê ša ċi[rîm]*, 'the beasts of the plain.' The text is a hymn to Šamaš; in the first line we must read ^d*Sumuqan mâ (!)r[u] narâmka*, 'S, the son whom thou lovest'; Sumuqan was the son of the sun. Similarly, *SLT*, No. 13, rev. 13, we find *Su-mu-un-ga-anzi-gál ši-in-ba-ar ú-ši-im-dib-a* = 'S, who oversees living creatures and provides them with herbage.' Accordingly, when wild animals were needed for sacrificial purposes, Sumuqan had first to be appeased, that his dire wrath over the slaughter of his creatures might be averted. In the interesting 'scape-goat' incantation (*ASKT*, No. 12),³⁵ Enki, after giving Marduk his commission, instructs him: ^d*Sumuqan dumu^d Babbar sib-níg-nam-ma-gè maš-dá^d Edin-na ġu-mu-ra-ab-tum-ma;^d Nin-ildu (IGI-LAMGA-GID) lamga-gal-an-na-gè illuru³⁶ šú-kug-dim-ma-na ġu-mu-ra-ab-tum-ma; maš-dá^d Edin-na du-a igi^d Babbar-šû u-me-ni-gub. lugal-e - - - maš-da igi^d Babbar-šû ġe-en-sig-ga* (rev. 10 ff.) = 'Let Sumuqan, sun of Šamaš, shepherd of everything, bring a gazelle of the desert; let Ninildu, the great artificer of heaven, bring a bow made by his pure hands; place the gazelle toward the sun. Let the king - - - shoot the gazelle, (facing) toward the sun.' When the gazelle is shot, the sin and sickness of the king leave him and enter the beast. Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, No. 100, 25, a wild-sheep, [*ša*] *ibbanû ina supûri elli ina tarbaċi ša Gira* (written *Ġir-ra*) = 'which was created in the pure enclosure, in the fold of Gira' (i. e., in the wilderness), is presented for sacrifice.

Sumuqan is in a special sense the god of animal husbandry, the fecundity of cattle, and even their fructification being ascribed to

³⁴ Cf. Zimmern, *Tamûz* (*Abh. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, Vol. 27), p. 8.

³⁵ While it must be admitted that the *máš-ġul-dub-ba* was killed before the termination of the ceremony, the scape-goat was turned loose to be devoured by wild-beasts, which amounts to the same thing, so Prince and Langdon are justified in employing the term. For the debate between Prince and Fossey see *JA*, 1903, 133 ff.

³⁶ For reading see Langdon, *RA* 12. 74. 17, and 79, n. 7.

his agency.³⁷ Thus we read (*ibid.* 35 ff.): *anášikunûši - - - puḥâtta - - - ša azlu lâ išḥîtu elîša, riḥût Sumuqan lâ imquta ana libbiša* = 'I bring you a ewe-lamb, upon which a wild-sheep has not yet leaped, into which the sperm of Sumuqan has not yet fallen.' The most important passage is *Maqlû*, 7, 23-30, hitherto misunderstood:—*šiptu: aráhîka râmânî aráhîka pagrî kîma Sumuqan irḥû bâlšu laḥru immerša ḡabîtu armaša atânu mûrša, narṭabu ercitiṁ irḥû ercitiṁ imḥuru zêrša. addî šipta ana râmânî'a; lirḥî râmânîma lišêḡi lumnu, u kišpi ša zumrî'a lisuhû ilâni rabûti* = Incantation: I impregnate thee, myself; I impregnate thee, my body, just as Sumuqan impregnates his cattle, and the ewe (conceives) her lamb, the gazelle her fawn, the she-ass her colt, (just as) the noria³⁸ impregnates the earth, and the earth conceives her seed. I apply the incantation to myself; may it impregnate me and remove the evil; may the great gods extirpate the enchantment from my body.' In the same way we have, *PSBA* 23, 121, rev. 11, *kîma šamû irḥû irḡiti im'îdu šammu* = 'just as heaven impregnates earth (with rain) and herbage increases.' The passage has been misunderstood also by Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 93, n. 8; *raḥû* has just as concrete a meaning here as *GE* I, Col. 4, 21.

As patron of animal husbandry Sumuqan becomes the principle of virility. Hence his association with the remarkable rite of masturbation, by the ceremonial practise of which evil was expelled. We need not suppose that in Assyrian times the rite was more than symbolical; originally, however, it must have been actually performed. In Egypt one of the most popular myths represented the creator, Atum, as creating the gods in this way (cf. *Apophis-book*, 26, 24 f.; *Pyramid* 1248: 'Atum became an onanist [*iṣ'u*] while he was in Heliopolis. He put his phallus in his fist, in order to satisfy his lust with it [*ṣdnf ḥnnf m ḥf'f, irf*]

³⁷ To use current terminology, he is the *mana* residing in the male.

³⁸ The *gišapin* = *narṭabu* was probably a great undershot water-wheel, Ar. *nâ 'ûra*; Heb. 'ôfân, 'wheel' may be derived from *epinnu* (cf. Maynard, *AJSL* 34. 29) < *apin* (in this connection I would like to point out another Hebrew word derived from Sumerian [cf. *AJSL* 34. 209]: *môrâg*, 'threshing sledge,' is Sum. *marrag* = *narpasu*, with the same sense, as is certain from the ideogram (cf. *SGI* 175), which means 'sledge to thresh grain,' or *tribula*). The ancient Babylonians may also have employed the *čerd* (Meissner, *BA* 5. 1. 104 f.).

ndm mt imf]. The two twins, Šû and Tefêne, were born').³⁹ The Aegaeon peoples doubtless possessed similar ideas about the origin of life, preserved in a modified form in the hermaphrodite god of fecundity, Phanes, who, according to Suidas, was portrayed αἰδοῖον ἔχων περὶ τὴν πυγὴν, 'penem habens iuxta nates.'⁴⁰ There is no direct trace of an onanistic theory of creation in Babylonia; the magical ceremony in *Maqlû* is evidently based on a fertility charm, not dissimilar to the many cases gathered by Frazer, Schröder, and others, where a sexual union of some kind is executed or symbolized in order to induce fertility by homeopathic magic. We may safely trace our peculiar brand of symbolic magic to pastoral customs; both in Babylonia and in Greece the practise of onanism is connected with the satyr-shepherds Sumuqan and Pan.⁴¹ A curious aetiological explanation of the custom is given by Dion Chrysostom (Roscher, III, 1397): ἔλεγε δὲ παίζων τὴν συνουσίαν ταύτην εὖρημα εἶναι τοῦ Πανός, ὅτε τῆς Ἥχους ἐρασθεὶς οὐκ ἐδύνατο λαβεῖν *** τότε οὖν τὸν Ἑρμῆν (the ithyphallic, like Eg. Min) διδάξαι αὐτόν *** ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς ποιμένας χρῆσθαι μαθόντας. The story is perhaps late; the idea that Pan's *ταλαιπωρία* consequent on the escape of the elusive nymph was cured in this way is sufficiently grotesque to be ancient, but hardly naïve enough. Onanism was, of course, common among shepherds, a virile race, often deprived of female companionship, and forced to while away tedious siestas with the flocks, a necessity which gave rise to

³⁹ A similar conception is reflected in Pyr. 701: *šw'd Ttî - - r 'gbî tp m'stf, r bnîṭ imîṭ ḥf'f* = 'Make Teti more flourishing (greener) than the flood of Osiris that is upon his lap (the Nile), more than the date which is in his fist' (the date, like the fig, has phallic significance). According to this extraordinary conception, the Nile arises thru the continuous masturbation of Osiris; later the grossness of the symbolism was softened by speaking merely of the efflux (*rdw*) of the god's body, which does not, of course, refer to the ichor of the decomposing corpse, but to the fecundizing seed. The Egyptians also fancied that the Nile was the milk of Isis (Pyr. 707, etc.). The Sumerians fancied that the silt in the rivers was caused by Innina's washing her hair in the sources (see especially *ASKT*, No. 21), and that the rivers were the menstrual flow from the lap of the earth-goddess (*JAOS* 39. 70).

⁴⁰ In art, at least, Hermaphrodite is less grotesque, resembling rather Eg. H'pî, the Nile-god.

⁴¹ *Pan* stands for **Ἰαων*, connected with *pastor* and *Pales*; *Sumuqan* and *Nisaba* are employed for 'cattle,' and 'grain,' precisely like *Pales* and *Ceres*. Both Engidu and Pan are associated with springs and fountains, where their 'heart became merry, in the companionship of the beasts.'

bestiality as well (see below), as illustrated by an amusing story in Aelian, *De nat. anim.*, 6, 42.

The relation of Sumuqan to the reproduction of animals is drastically represented in archaic seal-cylinders (cf. Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, No. 197, etc., and especially the beautiful seal in De la Fuye, *Documents*, 1, plate 9), where a naked god with a long beard and other marks of virility (the heroic type) grasps a gazelle by the horns and tail in such a way that the sexual parts come into contact.⁴² The reason for the frequency of this motive on the early cylinders is not hard to find. Many, if not most of the seals in a pastoral country like early Babylonia belonged to men who had an active interest in the prosperity of the flocks and herds. Our scene belongs primarily to the category of sympathetic magic; by depicting the lord of increase in his fecundating capacity the flock would become more prolific. The origin of many similar representations on the monuments must be explained on this principle. One of the clearest cases is the scene showing two genii of fertility (Heb. *Kerûbîm*) shaking the male inflorescence over the blossoms of the female date-palm, with the winged solar disk above to bestow early maturity of fruit (cf. Von Luschan, *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 25 ff.)⁴³ The Sumuqan motive was as completely misunderstood in the process of mechanical imitation

⁴² In this connection may be mentioned two cylinders published by Toscanne, *RA* 7. 61 ff., so far unexplained. One represents a female squatting over a prostrate man, while another man seizes her wrist with his right hand, drawing a dagger with his left. The second shows a similar nude figure hovering in the air (so; contrast Toscanne) before a man, who holds a lance to ward her off. These creatures are ghouls, the Babylonian *ardât lili*; the seals, which belonged to harem officials, may have had apotropæic purpose. A commentary is provided by Langdon, *Liturgies*, No. 4, 14 ff.:

ša-ki-äg bār-bār-ri-dè
ša-ki-äg ur-i-ri-dè (for *ù-ri-ri* = *ù-ku-ku?*)
ša-ki-äg an-ta im-dù-dim dúb ša (?)
 [] *kalag a-gi-dim ġe-ra-ra* =

‘When the beloved (of the *lilit*) was stretched (in sleep),
 When the beloved lay sleeping (?),
 Upon the beloved like a storm from above coming down (?),
 [] the man like a flood verily she overwhelmed.’

⁴³ A similar motive is found on a cylinder in the collection of Dr. J. B. Nies, representing a figure stretching out his hands, from which sprouts grow, over a flock, as if in blessing.

as the palm-tree motive.⁴⁴ The phallism disappears; the gazelle even becomes bearded, and is transformed into a bull-man wrestling with the hero (contamination with the beast-combat motive). In some of the cylinders the latter seems to be protecting the gazelle from a lion which is in the act of springing upon her.

The hero in this scene is unquestionably Sumuqan-Engidu, whose association with the gazelle is familiar from the epic as well as from the passages cited above.⁴⁵ Jastrow pointed out long ago (*AJSL* 15. 201) that Engidu, like Adam, was supposed to have had intercourse with the beasts before knowing woman. *GE* 2 describes very vividly how Engidu lived with the gazelles, protecting them from the hunter, accompanying them to the watering place, and drinking milk from their teats (*GE*, Langdon, Col. 3, 1-2). When he returned after his adventure with the courtesan to consort with the gazelles, they failed to recognize him, as his wild odor had been corrupted by the seven days' liaison with the emissary of civilization. So fixed was his semi-bestial character that he apparently follows the *mos pecudum* even with the *šamḫat* (Jensen, *KB* 6. 1. 428). Of course, the above described representation is not purely symbolical in character; the idea doubtless came from current practises. The gazelle, so beautiful and graceful, and so easily tamed, was presumably employed in the ancient Orient for the same purpose as the goat in Mediterranean countries, and the llama or alpaca in Peru. An anatomical reason for the superiority of the gazelle in this respect is stated in the Talmudic tractate '*Erûḇîm*, fol. 54 b, commenting on the significant expression אֵילַת אַהֲבִים. Prov. 5, 19, in the usual fashion: מִה אֵילָה רַחֲמָה צֶרַח וְחִבִּיבָה עַל בּוֹעֵלָה כָּל שְׁעָה וְשְׁעָה כִּשְׁעָה רִאשׁוֹנָה אֵךְ דְּבַרִי תוֹרָה חִבִּיבִין עַל לִמְדֵיהֶן כָּל שְׁעָה וְשְׁעָה כִּשְׁעָה רִאשׁוֹנָה. The gazelle was associated with the cult of the goddess of fecundity among the Western Semites and in Arabia; some references to the older literature are given by Wood, *JBL* 35. 242 f. At Mekka small golden images of the gazelle were worshiped.

⁴⁴ As a sequel to the series of illustrations given by Von Luschan, note a relief from the Parthian period, figured in Andrae, *Hatra*, II, 149, forming a sort of transition to the familiar heraldic group of the lion and unicorn, 'fighting for the crown.'

⁴⁵ *Sûra* 11, 59, 'There is not a beast whose forelock (*nâṣṭîṭa*) he does not grasp,' might almost have referred to Sumuqan, so similar is the posture.

The West-Semitic god Rešep was a gazelle-god; a gazelle is carved on the forehead of his statuettes (Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. 1, p. 33). Of special importance is the fact that the gazelle was sacred to the ithyphallic Min of Koptos, also an onanist, and presumably equally devoted to his favorites, who enjoyed the honors of mummification. The gazelles were later, in the interests of decency (?), and in accordance with ideas elsewhere, transferred to Isis (Aelian, *op. cit.* 10, 23): σέβουσι δὲ ἄρα οἱ αὐτοὶ Κοπτῖται καὶ θηλείας δορκάδας καὶ ἐκθεοῦσιν αὐτάς, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας (naturally!) καταθίουσιν. ἄθρυμα δὲ εἶναι τὰς θηλείας τῆς Ἰσιδός φασιν.

It may further be shown that our divinity was regarded in one important myth as the son of the sun-god by a gazelle. First, however, we must return to the lion-god, *Ûg* or *Gira*,⁴⁶ who represents the solar heat both in its destructive and in its fecundating aspects. Hence the god of pestilence, the lion (*KB* 6. 1. 60.3) Irra or Nergal, is associated with *Gir-ra* (*CT* 25. 50. 15), and Ninurta is compared (Radau, *BE* 29, No. 4, 1) to the lion-god who prowls in the night looking for prey (*^dGir-ra-dim gê-a du-du*). The lion-god is found elsewhere, especially in Asia Minor, where the Anatolian Heracles (Sandon, etc.) is represented standing on a lion (see Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*,³ pp. 127, 139, 184). In Egypt the ferocious goddess of war and destroyer of mankind, *Šhmt*, is lion-headed. The intimate relation between Gira and Nergal (Lugalgira) appears from the fact that both are gazelles as well as lions; Nergal is called the *mašda* in the vocabularies *CT* 11. 40, K 4146. 22-23, and *CT* 12. 16b. 38-39. As a gazelle-god he is patron of productivity; his specialized aspect of lord of the underworld was developed after he had been admitted to the greater pantheon of Babylonia.

We should certainly expect to find some reflection of so popular a deity and hero as Sumuqan-Engidu in the list of post-diluvian kings, along with Tammuz, Lugalbanda, and Gilgames. Nor are we deceived; one can hardly doubt that Gira is the successor of *Qalûmu*^m, 'young ram,' and *Zuqâqîp*, 'scorpion,' and the predecessor of Etana, whose name is variously written *Ar-ûu*, *Ar-ûu-u*, and *Ar-bu-um*. The word was also used commonly as a per-

⁴⁶ Engidu is called *nimru ša çêri*, 'panther of the desert' (*GE* 10. 46). Sum. *ûg* or *gir* seems to have denoted both 'lion' and 'panther.'

sonal name; see Chiera, *Personal Names*, Part I, p. 64, No. 275: *Ar-ūu-um*,⁴⁷ *Ar-bu[-um]*, *Ar-mu-e-um* (No. 276 is the corresponding fem., *Ar-ūi-tum*, *Ar-mi-tum*). We can identify our name without hesitation with Heb. 'ariê, 'lion,' Eth. arûê, 'beast,' Ar. arûâ, 'ibex';⁴⁸ arûû stands for *arûaiû, a form like *arnabu*, 'hare' (Ar. 'arnab), which also is a common proper name (cf. Chiera, No. 277, *Arnabtu*^m). Now, *Aryû*^m is called the son of a gazelle in *HGT*, Nos. 2 and 5. It is true that in No. 3 we have *maš-en-dá* = *muškênu*, for *maš-dá* = *çabîtu*, but this is evidently a scribal error.⁴⁹ The existence of a predecessor of Gilgames named 'Lion' appears further from *GE* 6. 51-52; rationalism has transformed the lion-god into an animal loved by Ištar, *more Pasiphaes*. Pécundizing demigods were often regarded as born of animal mothers; cf. *JBL* 37. 117. The father of *Aryû*^m was, of course, Šamaš, also the parent of the related Meskingašer and Lugalbanda, as well as of the bull-god ^u*GUD mâr* ^u*Šamaš* (Denefeld, *Geburtsomina*, p. 37, 19). In this connection it may be noted that these three Semitic animal names all belong to the dynasty of Kiš, while the rulers of the following kingdom of Eanna are all Sumerian. This is probably due to the fact that the Sumerian legends current in northern Babylonia, which became predominantly Semitic long before the south, were early Semitized.

A most curious reflection of the cycle of Sumuqan-Engidu is found in the popular Indian story of 'Gazelle-horn' (*R̥ṣya-śr̥ṅga*),⁵⁰ best treated by Lüders (*Nach. Gött. Ges. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1897, pp. 87 ff.) and Von Schröder (*Mysterium und Mimus*, pp. 292-303). There are two principal recensions, Sanskrit and Pāli, both based upon a common prototype, now lost, as Lüders has shown. Schröder has adopted the dramatic theory of Hertel, and pointed out further that the representation was a mimetic fertility charm. According to the first recension,

⁴⁷ Cf. *CT* 4. 50, and 6. 42a, where the name also occurs.

⁴⁸ For the development 'ibex,' cf. Eg. *m'hq*, 'oryx antelope,' lit. 'white lion.'

⁴⁹ There is much confusion between *mašda*, 'gazelle,' and *mašenda* = *muškênu*; cf. *CT* 11. 40, K 4146, 25-26, and *CT* 12. 16. 41-42.

⁵⁰ Cf. also Jensen, *ZDMG* 67, 528, who, as often, goes altogether too far in the exuberance of discovery.

Ṛṣyaśrīṅga is the son of a gazelle, made pregnant by drinking from water in which a holy man has bathed. He grows up to be a hermit (wild man) in the forest, associating with animals and ignorant of woman. When a drought afflicts the land, the king is informed by the Brahmans that it cannot be checked until the hermit is brought to the court. After a courtesan has seduced him from his ascetic life, rain falls. In the Buddhist *Jātaka*, Śakra (Indra) sends a three years' famine upon the land, and refuses to remove the ban until the obnoxious hermit is seduced by the king's daughter. The princess succeeds, by a familiar ruse, and Śakra is pacified. The hermit relates the experience to his father, who admonishes him, and draws him back to his ascetic career; the last is naturally a Buddhistic modification, quite foreign to the original tale. The ascetic character of 'Gazelle-horn' is on a par with the Sicilian Santa Venera (Venus), and cannot be regarded seriously. His wild character is original, as also, evidently, his intimate association with gazelles; on a relief of Amarāvati (Lüders, p. 133) he is portrayed as a man with long braided hair, a skin over his shoulder and a girdle about his hips, in the company of three gazelles.

In the Gilgames-epic Engidu is molded by Aruru, the creatress of man; he lives in the wilderness, consorting with the gazelles, and protecting them against the hunter. The latter protests to Gilgames, who sends a courtesan to seduce the wild man, a commission which is duly executed. As seduction of the male is a very common motive in the cult-legends of Oriental gods of fertility (see *JBL* 37. 123 f.), we may safely assume that the theme was once the subject of mimetic representation in Babylonia. The form of the story which has been incorporated into *GE* is much modified to suit the new situation. Moreover, it is here associated with the motive of the creation of the first man, describing his intercourse with animals, his seduction, and the fall from primitive innocence which ensued (Jastrow, *loc. cit.*). The myth current among the worshipers of Sumuqan must have been somewhat different. In the first place, the hero is a child of the sun by a gazelle. Being a demi-god, he is not content with breaking the snares of the hunter, and filling up his pits; he sends a famine against the land. This is a motive familiar elsewhere, as in the legends of Brauron and Munichia, whose inhabitants kill a she-bear and are punished by Artemis with famine

and pestilence. Similarly, according to a legend preserved in the *Qur'ân*, God sent a supernatural camel to test the Thamûdites (7, 71 ff.; 11, 67 ff.; 26, 155 ff.; 54, 27 ff.), imposing the condition that they must share their fountain with the *nâqatu 'ulâhi* alternate days. Disregarding warnings, they houghed the camel, and were destroyed by a cataclysm. Another parallel is found in Persia, if we accept Carnoy's doubtful explanation of the punishment of Mašya and Mašyôî (*JAOS* 36. 315).

We may reconstruct the myth of Sumuqan very plausibly, after making the necessary alterations in the form found in *GE*. The king sends a courtesan to seduce the god or hero of fertility; with sexual union the charm is broken, and rain returns to the land. Whether this was the exact form of the myth or not is, of course, doubtful; it is, however, evident that all the elements are here from which precisely such a tale as the R̥ṣyaśr̥nga-story may be derived in the most natural way. Jensen is certainly wrong in seeing here a direct loan from *GE*, as the gazelle-mother does not occur in the latter. But it is very probable that our story goes back eventually to a Mesopotamian origin; in no other case that I have seen is the likelihood so great. Indologists who regard all Hindu fiction as autochthonous would do well to read Gaston Paris' posthumous monograph on the origin and diffusion of the 'Treasury of Rhampsinitus' (*RHR* 55. 151 ff., 267 ff.). No doubt a few stories retold in other countries originated in the prolific climate of Babylonia.

The conceptions of Sumuqan hitherto considered exhibit him as a lion, like Nergal, a wild-goat, like Ea, a gazelle, like Nergal, Rešep, and Min. Besides these three animal incarnations, we have a fourth, the ass, as appears from the vocabulary *CT* 12. 31, 38177, 4-5, where ^dANŠU has the pronunciation *Šakan* (see above). That this datum is not due to graphic corruption with *GIR* is perfectly evident from the context, which is devoted to ass-names. Moreover, the ^dANŠU appears in early proper names.

Ass-worship did not, so far as we know now, attain much importance in any Mediterranean country except Anatolia, where we find the Phrygian ass-divinity Silenus, reflected in the legendary Midas, whose person, despite its mythical robe, is a reminiscence of a historical dynasty of Phrygian kings (Mita of Muške). Another ass-god was Priapus, whose cult centered in

Lydia and Mysia (Lampsacus), to whom the ass was sacrificed, and who in some myths was the son of an ass (Roscher, III, 2970). In Egypt, from the Hyksos period on, Set (Štš, Šth) of Avaris was worshiped as lord of Asia under the form of an ass (𐥅𐥓𐥃), which led to the Egypto-Hellenistic libels regarding the worship of Iahô as an ass in Jerusalem. The beast of Set was originally perhaps an ant-bear (Schweinfurth), at all events not an ass, so we may ascribe the identification of the no longer recognized figure with the ass to Hyksos (i. e. Anatolian) influence.⁵¹ The association of the ass with fecundity might be illustrated by a mass of evidence, mythological, pornographic, and philological. The quasi-divine nature of the ass appears from Juvenal's statement (6, 334) that prominent Roman matrons consorted with the animal at the orgies of the 'Bona Dea.' That bestiality of this sort was practised elsewhere is clear from Apuleius, *Met.*, 10, 22, and Lucian's Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος, which draws freely from Syro-Anatolian tales and customs.

As might be expected, the fecundizing sun was symbolized as an ass, and 𐥅 was, accordingly, one of the solar names in the Egyptian litany (*PSBA* 15. 225). Solar eclipses were fancied to be caused by a huge serpent (*hiu*), which swallowed the ass of heaven, a catastrophe depicted most vividly in the vignettes accompanying the text of the *Book of the Dead* (*ibid.* pl. 13, facing p. 219).⁵²

We have also direct evidence that the ass-god Šakan was identified with the moon in the name ^dEN-ZU-^dANŠU = Sin-Šakan, 'Šakan is the moon.'⁵³ The only other clear lunar ass with

⁵¹ Cf. also Müller, *OLZ* 16. 433-6. Schiffer's Marsyas theory (cf. *OLZ* 16. 232) is untenable; while an ass-god may well have been worshiped in Damascus, the Assyrian name *ša imêrêšu*, '(City) of asses,' refers to the extensive caravan trade of the latter (Haupt, *ZDMG* 69, 168-172). Another *ālu ša imêrê*, in the Zagros, is mentioned among the conquests of the Elamite king Šilhak-in-Šušinak (*RT* 33. 213. 14).

⁵² The Egyptians also believed in an obscene ass-demon; cf. Möller, *Sitz. Berl. Akad.*, 1910, p. 945.

⁵³ Pinches, *PSBA* 39, Pl. 10, rev. 37. The suggestion (*ibid.* p. 94) that 'Šakkan . . . would seem to be a parallel to the Hebrew Shekinah, and . . . comes from the same root' would probably be rejected by the author now. Even this is superior to the views expressed by Ball, *PSBA* 32. 64-72, where among other gems we find the idea that *Šekem ben Hamôr* is *Šakân mâr imêri*.

which I am acquainted is the Iranian three-legged Khara (i. e. 'ass,' mod. *har*), standing in the cosmic sea Vourukaša, related both to the three-fold moon (cf. Siecke, *Hermes*, pp. 67 ff.) and to the three-legged Priapus,⁵⁴ whose phallic nature shows transparently thru the metonymy. The motive was familiar to the Indo-Iranians, as appears from the three-legged Indian Kubera (cf. Hopkins, *JAOS* 33. 56, n. 1).

Finally I will call attention to some curious parallels between Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Indo-Iranian mythology, suggested by the equation Sin = Šakan. Blackman, in a valuable article, *JEA* 3, 235-249, has proved that one of the writings of the name of the moon-god *Ḫnsu*, 'the wanderer,' represents him as the royal placenta, *ḫi-niṣut*, *ḫnsu*, a conception paralleled among the Baganda. The real meaning of the idea has been cleared up by Van der Leeuw's happy suggestion (*JEA* 5. 64) that, since the Pharaoh was the incarnation of the sun-god Rê, his astral placenta, in which his *k*' was embodied, was the moon, often considered by the Egyptians as the *k*' of the sun. The moon's shape is such that it might easily be compared to a placental cake, or a womb, as was commonly done in Babylonia. In the great hymn to Sin (*IVR* 9), the moon is called (line 24): *ama-gan-nigin-na mulu ši-ma-al-la-da* (so *SGL* 223) *ki-dur-maḡ ne-in-ri* 'Mother (Sem. *rîmu*, 'womb') who bears all life, who together with living creatures dwells in an exalted habitation.' The idea that the moon is the womb whence all life springs is most natural; does not the *roscida luna* exhibit a monthly failing and dimming corresponding often exactly to the menstrual period? Hence, by a most natural development under the influence of the life-index motive, the moon becomes the index of human life,⁵⁵ and especially of the permanence of the reigning dynasty; an eclipse foretold disaster to the state. These conceptions may easily be illustrated from the inscriptions. *CT* 16. 21. 184 f. we have: *lugal-e dumu-dingir-ra-na ud-sar ḏSin-na-dim zi-kalam-ma šú-dū* = 'The king, son of his god, who like the crescent moon holds the life of the land.' The principle that the mutations of the moon are an index to the health and prosperity of men could hardly be stated more clearly. The moon

⁵⁴ See Theocritus, *Ep.* 4, 2-3, *σύκινον ἀρτιγλυφὲς ξάανον, τρισκέλες*.

⁵⁵ I hope to discuss this Babylonian conception elsewhere.

is the index of the dynasty in the text of Agum II, Col. 8, 3 ff.; ⁴¹*Sin* ⁴²*Nannar šamê zêr šarrûti ana ûmê rûqûti liddiš* = 'May Sin, divine luminary of heaven, renew the royal seed to distant days,' i. e., may the dynasty renew itself spontaneously like the moon (Vedic *tanûnapât*, 'self-created'), which is called (IVR. 9. 22) *gi-rim nî-ba mu-un-dîm-ma*, 'fruit which thru itself is created.'⁵⁸ To appreciate the intimate relationship between the Babylonian and the Egyptian conceptions it must be remembered that the placenta and navel-string are among the most primitive of life-indices; see Hartland, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 8, p. 45 a.

A further striking parallel to these conceptions is found in Indo-Iranian mythology. The lunar genius Narāsaṅsa- Nair-yosaṅha (Neryosang) is called 'the king-navel' (cf. Gray, *ARW* 3. 45-49), properly 'the royal navel-string' (the umbilical cord often takes the place of the placenta in folklore). After Hillebrandt's treatment of Narāsaṅsa (*Vedische Mythologie*, II, pp. 98 ff.), his lunar character is certain; in the Rg-veda, 3. 29. 11, he is called 'son of his own body, the heavenly embryo' (or 'womb,' *garbho āsuro*); his title *gnāspati*, 'lord of women,' reflects the widespread popular view that female life varies with the moon. The *Bûdahîšn*, Ch. 15, tells us that Neryosang received two-thirds of Gayomart's semen for preservation; elsewhere we learn that the seed of the primeval bull was kept in the moon, whence, therefore, the race of animals sprang, just as the moon was the father of Apis in Egyptian mythology (cf. *JAOS* 39. 87, n. 42). I am not competent to decide whether Carnoy is justified in combining the motives of Gaya and the bull, thus deriving the seed of man from the moon (*JAOS* 36. 314). At all events the theory is good Indo-European, as is the association of the placenta with the moon; cf. 'Mondkalb,' referring to a false conception (*Kalb* connected with *garbha*, δελφύς, 'womb'), but originally, perhaps, to the placenta.

In concluding this paper, I wish to repeat, with emphasis, the remarks made *JAOS* 39. 90, regarding the vital importance of combining the philological and comparative mythological

⁵⁸ Note ideogram for *Zirru* (*SGL* 225), 'priest of Sin,' *EN-NUNUZ-ZI*, literally 'priest of the constant offspring (of heaven)'. Sum. *nunuz* means also 'egg'; the moon might easily be called 'egg of heaven.'

methods in the study of cuneiform religious literature. Surely it is no longer necessary to stress the unique significance of the latter for the solution of comparative religious problems.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ In the year that has elapsed between the preparation of the paper and the correction of the proofs, much new material has become available some of which should be mentioned.

The Sumerians had a special word for 'life-index,' for so I would interpret *izkim-tila*, lit. 'sign, index of life,' rendered inadequately in Babylonian by *tukultu*, 'support,' and *ġiptu*, 'pledge.' Sometimes the king is the *izkim-tila* of the god (especially Šamaš), and at times the god is the *izkim-tila* of the king, respectively as the soul of the god was thought to reside in the king, or the soul of the king in the god. For passages cf. *SGL* 28 and Zimmern, *König Lipit-Ištars Vergöttlichung*, p. 25.

In a Neo-Babylonian text published by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16. 145. 8-9, Lugal-gir-ra is identified with Sin, Gilgames with Meslamtaea and Nergal of the underworld. As pointed out above, Lugal-gira is identical with Gira-Šakan, so our association of Engidu-Šakan with the moon is confirmed. In the same way, as Thureau-Dangin observes (p. 149), Gilgames 'est ainsi nettement caractérisé comme dieu solaire.'

Schroeder, *MVAG* 21. 180 f., shows that the reading Lugalbanda is gratuitous, and that we must read Lugalmarada, or Lugalmarada, identified in his vocabulary with Ninurta. As late as the second century A. D. Ninmarada seems to have been worshiped under the name of Nimrod by the Aramaean population of Hatra (*OLZ* 23. 37). Kraeling's suggestion En-marad, quoted by Prince in his article *JAOS* 40. 201-203, is nearly correct; Prince suggests that the name stands for Sum. *ning-b'ud* = *nin-gud*, 'brilliant hunter.'

NOTES ON THE DIVYĀVADĀNA

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

1. *On the practice of giving animals intoxicating drink.*

THE SAINT Svāgata is delegated by the Buddha to convert the murderous Nāga (serpent) Aśvatīrthika. In this he succeeds so well as to compel thereby the admiration of the Brahman Ahitunḍika, who has previously fled from fear of that Nāga to the city of Śrāvastī. This brings the Svāgata story, Divyāvadāna xiii, to p. 188, line 12. At that point the story goes on to say that King Prasenajit Kāūsala takes Ahitunḍika into his employ, with the words: *sa* (sc. Ahitunḍika) *rājñā Prasenajitū Kāūsaleṇa hastimadhyasyopari viśvāsikāḥ sthāpitaḥ*. Naturally the vocabulary to the Divyāvadāna marks the word *hastimadhyā* with an interrogation mark. A later suggestion in the notes on p. 706, 'does this mean, "he was set over ten billions of elephants?"', does not invalidate that interrogation mark. Ten billions—the Lexicons rather give ten thousand billions for *madhyā*—is a pretty large order even for a Buddhist text. But it is necessary to fit this word *madhyā* into the sequel of the story, to wit: Emend *madhyā* to *madyā*, 'intoxicating liquor.' The passage above means: 'He (namely, Ahitunḍika) was placed in charge of the elephants' liquor.' In the sequel Ahitunḍika, now liquor trustee, in order to show his appreciation of Svāgata's saintly power, invites him to dinner in Śrāvastī. Svāgata accepts the invitation, comes to Śrāvastī, and is entertained by Ahitunḍika with a full meal. At the close Ahitunḍika becomes anxious about Svāgata's digestion (p. 190, l. 3): *āryeṇa Svāgatena praṇīta āhāraḥ paribhukto no jarayiṣyati*. He decides to give him water to promote the digestive processes; Svāgata accepts it. Then on p. 190, line 7 the following statement is made: *tena* (sc. Ahitunḍikena) *pānakam sajjikṛtya hastimadād aṅgulih prākṣiptā*. Read, on account of the non-existing combination *pra + ā + kṣip*, instead of *prākṣiptā*, *prāk kṣiptā*: 'While preparing the drink Ahitunḍika's finger was thrust forth from the elephants' liquor.' Cf., on p. 82, l. 21, the parallel expression, *aṅgulih patitā*. The implication is, that one of Ahitunḍika's

fingers, wet with the elephants' booze, got into the water about to be drunk by Svāgata (*Svāgatena tat pānakam pītam*). That the Arhat should do this is ascribed to carelessness: *asaman-vāhrtyārhatām jñānadarśanam na pravartate*, 'When Saints are careless they lose the sight of knowledge.'

Svāgata takes leave from his host with thanks, and walks in a street of Śrāvastī, covered with mats (in his honor, we may assume).¹ He gets a touch of the sun, and shaken by the booze falls to the ground: *sa tām* (sc. *vīthim*) *atīkrānta ātapena prṣṭho* (so the mss.: read *sprṣṭo*²) *madyakṣiptaḥ prthivyām nipatitaḥ*. The story in the mouth of the Buddha is an extreme plea for monks' total abstinence: *tasmān na bhikṣuṇā madyam pātavyam dātavyam vā*, 'a monk shall neither drink nor give to drink intoxicating liquor.' And later again (p. 191, l. 2 ff.) more explicitly, as applying to the present case: *mām bho bhikṣavaḥ śāstāram uddiśyādbhir* (text, incorrectly, *uddiśyādbhir*) *madyam apeyam adeyam antataḥ kuśāgreṇāpi*, 'With me, the Teacher, as authority, O ye Monks, liquor with water shall not be drunk or given (to drink), even with the tip of a blade of grass!'—Svāgata, we may assure the reader, is properly cared for; the Buddha himself conjures by magic over Svāgata a hut made of leaves of the *suparna* tree, lest any one seeing him in that state become disaffected from the teaching of the Blessed One.

The practice of giving strong drink to animals, in order to make them mettlesome, is sufficiently attested. In the present-day story (*paccuppanna-vatthu*) of the Cullahaṇṣa Jātaka (533), Devadatta, hater of the Buddha, and ever gunning for him (unsuccessfully, of course), has personally made sundry attempts on the Buddha's life.³ Foiled, he exclaims, 'Verily no mortal beholding the excellent beauty of Gotama's person dare approach him. But the King's elephant, Nālāgiri, is a fierce and savage animal, who knows nothing of the virtues of the Buddha,

¹ Or, perhaps rather in honor of the Buddha, who happens at that time to be in Śrāvastī.

² Perhaps the editors are right in suggesting *prṣṭhe sprṣṭo*, changed by a sort of haplography to *prṣ(the sprṣ)ṭo*. But the word *prṣṭhe*, 'on the back,' is pretty certainly not required; this is shown by p. 6, third line from bottom: *sūryānśubhiḥ sprṣṭa ātāpitaḥ*.

³ An echo of this story in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. iii, p. 306.

the Law, and the Assembly. He will bring about the destruction of the ascetic.' So he goes and tells the matter to the King. The King readily falls in with the suggestion, summons his elephant-keeper, and thus addresses him, 'Sir, to-morrow you are to make Nālāgiri mad with drink, and at break of day let him loose in the street where the ascetic Gotama walks.' Devadatta asks the keeper how much rum the elephant is wont to drink on ordinary days, and when he answers, 'Eight pots,' he says, 'Tomorrow give him sixteen pots to drink, and send him on the street frequented by the ascetic Gotama.' But the Buddha converts, yea, even the rum-mad elephant. Nālāgiri, on hearing the voice of the Master, opens his eyes, beholds the glorious form of the Blessed One, and, by the power of the Buddha, the intoxicating effects of the strong drink pass off. Dropping his trunk and shaking his ears he falls at the feet of the Tathāgata.⁴ Then the Master addresses him, 'Nālāgiri, you are a brute-elephant; I am the Buddha-elephant. Henceforth be not fierce and savage, nor a slayer of men, but cultivate thoughts of charity.' The elephant becomes good, being henceforth known as Dhanapālaka (Keeper of Treasure), established in the five moral laws.

Mettlesome horses also were given strong drink, either to inspirit them, or to restore them after great fatigue. In Vālodaka Jātaka (183) such horses returning from battle are given (fermented) grape-juice to drink; this they take without getting intoxicated. But the fermented leavings of the grapes are strained with water and given to donkeys, who then romp about the palace yard, braying loudly. The Bodhisat, the King's adviser, draws the moral, applicable to this day:

'This sorry draught, the goodness all strained out,
Drives all those asses in a drunken rout:
The thorobreds, that drank the potent juice,
Stand silent, nor skip capering about.'⁵

Animals also intoxicate themselves without knowing that they do: cats, with fermented liquor, in Kumbha Jātaka (512); a jackal, in Sigāla Jātaka (113); a pair of crows, in Kāka Jātaka (146). All come to grief. A delicious bit of satire, extant in a modern version, tells in Gūṭhapāṇa Jātaka (227) how a drunken beetle

⁴ Cf. the conversion of the elephant Marubhūti in Pārśvanātha Caritra 1. 815ff.

⁵ Rouse's Translation of The Jātaka, vol. ii, p. 66.

comes to grief.⁶ Citizens of the kingdoms of Aṅga and Magadha, traveling, used to stay in a house on the confines of the two kingdoms, there drink liquor, and eat the flesh of fishes. A certain dung-beetle, led by the odor of the dung, comes there, sees some of the liquor shed upon the ground, and for thirst drinks it, and returns to his lump of dung, intoxicated. When he climbs upon it the moist dung gives way a little. 'The world cannot bear my weight!' he exclaims. At that very instant a maddened elephant comes to the spot, and smelling the dung retreats in disgust. The beetle sees it. 'Yon creature,' he thinks, 'is afraid of me, and see how he runs away! I must fight with him!' So he challenges him:

'Well matched! for we are heroes both: here let us issue try:
Turn back, turn back, friend Elephant! Why would you fear
and fly;
Let Magadha and Aṅga see how great our bravery!'

The elephant listens, turns back, and replies:

'I would not use my foot nor hand, nor would my teeth I soil;
With dung, him whose sole care is dung, it behooveth me to
spoil!'

And so dropping a great piece of dung upon him, and making water, he kills him there and then, and scampers into the forest, trumpeting.

The modern instance is of a mouse which happens upon drippings from a whiskey-barrel, drinks its fill, and becomes a bit squiffy; then places itself astride on the barrel, and exclaims: 'Now come on with your blankety cat!' Nothing is new under the sun, but the old story is in a deeper vein of humor.

2. On certain standing epithets of Buddhist Arhats.

As one of the many repeated or stenciled passages characteristic of the text of the Avadānas there occurs in Divyāvadāna six times, or perhaps more, a passage which describes the state of mind of him who has attained to highest monkhood or Arhatship. The published text has not in all places the same form, and some of its words need explaining. On p. 97, *vācāvasāne Bhagavato munḍāḥ samvṛttās trāidhātukavītarāgāḥ samaloṣṭakāñcanā ākāś-*

⁶ Closely following Rouse's picturesque rendering in the Cambridge Translation, vol. ii, p. 148.

*apāṇitalasamacittā vāsīcandanakalpā vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośāvidyā vijñāḥ*⁷ *pratisamvitprāptāḥ* etc. In the remaining passages where the same state of mind is predicated of a single Arhat (*arhan samvṛttaḥ* etc.), namely pp. 180, 240, 282, 488, 492, most of the words remain essentially the same, but there are also the following variations:

p. 180, *vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośo vidyābhijñāḥ pratisamvitprāptāḥ*,

p. 240, *avidyāvidāritāṇḍakośo*⁸ *vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāptāḥ*,

pp. 282, 488, 492, *vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośo vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāptāḥ*.

After proper correction there remains the plural form, p. 97, *vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośā vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāptāḥ*; the singular form, *vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośo vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāptāḥ*.

The same *cliché* occurs frequently in Avadānaśataka, Speyer's text, vol. i, pp. 96, l. 6; 104, l. 7; 207, l. 12; vol. ii, p. 129, etc. The editor seems to have been in doubt, for a time at least, as to the correct reading of one of the words; he is finally mistaken as to another. The printed text of Avadānaśataka has on p. 96, l. 7: *samaloṣṭakāñcana ākāśapāṇitalasamacitto vāsīcandanakalpo vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośo vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāpto* etc. On p. 104, l. 7 there is *vāsī candanakalpo*; but on p. 207, l. 12 *vāsīcandanakalpo* (so the Editor's final, correct decision, Additions and Corrections, p. 208; and Index, p. 234, under *vāsīcandanakalpa*). As regards *vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośo* the editor, on p. lxxiii, note 127, argues in favor of 'kalpo' *'vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośo*, a construction which has also occurred to the Editors of the Divyāvadāna, p. 240, l. 24, but which, be it noted, does not tally with the plural version on p. 97, stated above. Against grammar, Speyer would construe *avidyāvidāritāṇḍakośa* as meaning 'whose egg-shell of ignorance has been cleft,' but the correctly construed *vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośa* yields about the same result, 'the egg-shell (of whose existence in ignorance, *avidyā* implied) is cleft by knowledge.' 'Imprisonment within the egg-shell of life thru nescience' is the point under either construction. See Divyāvadāna, p. 203:

⁷ Corrected in the Errata to °kośā vidyāvijñāḥ.

⁸ The a at the beginning of this extract represents the avagraha of the editors.

tulyam atulyaṃ ca sambhavaṃ bhavasamskāram apotsrjan muniḥ,

adhyātmarataḥ samāhito hy abhinat koṣaṃ ivāṇḍasambhavaḥ.

According to the Editors of the Divyāvadāna, in a note on p. 706, the Pāli of the Mahāparinibbānasutta (3. 10) reads for pāda d, *abhida kavacam iv' attasambhavam*, 'he cleft, as tho a coat of mail, his own existence's cause' (by means of his *vidyā* as a Muni or Arhat).

The remaining descriptions of Arhat condition seem not quite clear to the Editors and Translators of the two Avadāna texts. Feer, on p. 14 of his translation of Avadānaśataka,⁹ translates, once for all, the passage from *samaloṣṭakāñcana* to *vidyābhijñā-pratisamvitprāpto* as follows: 'l'or fut à ses yeux de la rouillé, la voute céleste comme le creux de la main. Il était froid comme le sandal; la science avait déchiré les ténèbres qui l'enveloppaient, la possession claire et distincte des connaissances supérieures de la science lui était acquise.' Some help or correction may be gained from a metrical parafrase of this Arhat-*cliché* in stanza 327 of the metrical text, Avadānamālā, nr. 91, published by Speyer in the Preface to his Edition of the Avadānaśataka, p. lxxiii:

*suvītarāgaḥ samaloṣṭahemā ākāśacitto ghanasāravāsī,
bhindann avidyādrim ivāṇḍakoṣaṃ prāpad abhijñāḥ pratisam-
vidas ca.*

As regards *samaloṣṭakāñcana*, or *samaloṣṭahemaṇ*, 'he who regards gold and a lump of dirt as of equal value,' see Böhtlingk's Lexicon. This is the *yogī samaloṣṭāśmakāñcana* of Bhagavadgītā 6. 8; 14. 24; or the *paramahaṃsaḥ samaloṣṭāśmakāñcanaḥ* of Āśrama-Up. 4, showing the continuity between the Saṃnyāsin of the Upaniṣads and the Buddhist Arhat. It is, as it were, put into practice at the end of Mūgapakkha Jātaka (538) by, *bhaṇḍāgāresu kahāpaṇe assamapade vālukā katvā vikiriṃsu*, 'money in the treasuries, being counted as mere sand, was scattered about in the hermitage.' Feer's rendering of *loṣṭa* by 'rust,' tho recorded in native lexicography, strains needlessly to conform to the biblical idea.

The compound *ākāśapāṇitalasamacitta* seems to mean, 'he in

⁹ Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. xviii.

whose mind the palm of his hand is like ether,' i. e. 'he for whom the plainest reality is no better than the most ethereal substance.' The palm of the hand is the most real thing: 'When one cannot in darkness discern the palm of one's own hand, then one is guided by sound,' *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4. 3. 5. Ether is subtle, invisible, and touches upon 'emptiness,' 'nothingness': *yac chuṣiram tad ākāśam*, 'ākāśa is hollow,' *Garbha-Up.* 1. In *Amṛtabindu-Up.* 11 *ākāśa śūnya* means 'empty space.' In the *Avadānamālā* passage (Speyer, p. lxxiii, stanza 327) *ākāśacitta* seems to mean, 'he whose mind is (empty like) ether.'

As regards *vāsīcandanakalpa*, Feer reads merely *candanakalpa* which accounts for his, 'il était froid comme le sandal.' The Editors of the *Divyāvadāna* leave the word unexplained; Speyer, l. c., note 126, remarks that *ghanasāravāsī* in the *Avadānamālā* answers to the enigmatical epithet *vāsīcandanakalpa*. The latter compound means, 'he for whom the (cooling) sandal is not different from a (painful) sword.' In *Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhavam*, act X, stanza 10 (p. 257 of M. R. Telang's edition, Bombay, 1892), the same antithesis is used to express the quick succession of good and evil in man's fate:

*kim ayam asipattracandanarasacchaṭāsārayugapadavapātaḥ,
analsphuliṅgakalitah kim ayam anabhraḥ sudhāvarṣaḥ.*

'Is it that sharp-edged swords and drops of sandal
In the same shower commingle?
Is it that sparks of fire and streams of nectar
Descend together from unclouded skies?'

Sandal is the Hindu beau-ideal of a cooling substance; it cures fever. The pain of a sword is conceived as burning, in absolute antithesis. In the pretty story of *Pūrṇaka*, *Divyāvadāna* pp. 30ff., a man carrying wood cast up by the ocean comes along trembling with cold. *Pūrṇaka* investigates the wood, finds it to be sandal, recognizes its cooling property, buys it, and cures with it the fever of the King of *Sūrpāraka*. The streets of the city of *Sudarśana* are sprinkled with sandal-water, to make them cool, as well as fragrant, *Divyāvadāna* p. 221, l. 5. The yet more curious *ghanasāravāsī* of the *Avadānamālā* seems to be a nominative from a stem *ghanasāravāsin*, perhaps in the sense of 'regarding camfor as a sword.' The Hindus ate camfor as a sort of sweetmeat, as is stated in the proverb, Böhtlingk's *Indische*

Sprüche, nr. 6921: *dantapātaḥ kathaṁ na syād atikarpūrabhaka-
ṣaṇāt*, 'the teeth of him that eats too much camfor are sure to fall
out;' cf. *Pet. Lex. s. vs. karpūra* and *karpūranālikā*.

3. On some correspondences between Buddhist Sanskrit and Jāina Sanskrit.

Amidst the countless Pāliisms or back-formations from Pāli in the Buddhist Avadāna texts none are more interesting than those which occur also in Jāina Sanskrit, a language which in its turn is tainted by the literary and religious Prākritis (Māhārāṣṭrī and Jāina Prākrit), familiarly used by the Jāinas. Thus both Avadāna Sanskrit and Jāina Sanskrit have a 'root' *vikurv* (*vi + kurv*), 'to perform magic or miracles.' In the Avadānas this 'Sanskrit' root is a back-formation of Pāli *vikubb* (*vikubbana*, 'miracle'). Thus Divyāvadāna 269, line 7, *prayānti . . . divāukaso nirīkṣitum Śākyamuner vikurvitaṁ*, 'the gods proceed to examine Śākyamuni's miracle.' On p. 403, l. 21 *vikurvate* occurs in the sense of 'play pranks with': *Kunālo . . . pitrā sārḍhaṁ vikurvate*. In Avadānaśataka, vol. I, p. 258, l. 9, *vikurvita* is again 'miracle', and in Saddharmapuṇḍarīka occur the abstract nouns *vikurvā* and *vikurvaṇa* (Pāli *vikubbana*): pp. 446, 456, 472 of Kern and Nanjio's edition; note especially the tautological compound *vikurvaṇa-prātihārya*, 'magic miracle,' on p. 456, and the succession *bodhisattva-vikurvayā . . . bodhisattva-prātihāryeṇa* on p. 472. The noun *vikurvaṇa* occurs also in Lalitavistara (ed. Lefmann), p. 422, l. 9; see also Mahāvastu (ed. Senart), vol. i, p. 425.

In Jāina Sanskrit *vikurv* appears to be an independent retrograde formation of Prākrit *viuvvai*, *viuvvā* (past participle *viuvviya*; gerund *viuvviṇa*); see Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, §508. The verb is particularly common in Pārśvanātha Caritra, in the sense of 'produce by magic': 1. 601; 2. 352, 411; 5. 101; 6. 1129; 8. 384. Thus, 1. 601, *vikurvya mahatīm śilām*, 'having produced by magic a big rock;' 2. 352, *vikurvya sinharūpam*, 'having assumed magically the form of a lion.' Further examples may be seen in my *Life of Pārśvanātha*, p. 222, where this Prākritism figures as one of a fairly extended list of the same sort. The 'root' *vikurv* I remember to have seen also in Rāuhineya Carita.

In Divyāvadāna occur eight times apparent derivatives from a causative *dhmāpayati*, in the sense of 'cause to burn,' 'consign

to flames.' The word is restricted to descriptions of cremation. Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, vol. ii, p. 209, has corrected these readings to derivatives from *dhyāpayati*, retrograde Sanskrit from Pāli *jhāpeti*, 'consign to fire,' primary *jhāyati*, 'burn' (Childers), from root *jhāi* = the Sanskrit root *kṣāi*, 'burn.' On p. 350, l. 19, the Divyāvadāna mss., as a matter of fact, read *dhyāpitah*, and Skt. Buddhist (Mahāyāna) texts handle the root *dhyāi*, 'burn,' quite familiarly (*Avadānaśataka*, *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, etc.; see Speyer, l. c.).

The analog of this in Jaina Sanskrit is a root *vidhyāi* (*vi + dhyāi*) which is in the same way = Pāli-Prākṛit root *vi-jhāi*, in the opposite sense to *dhyāi*, namely, 'go out,' 'become extinguished.' I have not met with simple *dhyāi* in Jaina Sanskrit texts, but it may be there. Derivatives from *vi + dhyāi* are especially frequent in Pārśvanātha Caritra and Samarādityasaṃkṣepa. The instances from these texts are gathered in my *Life of Pārśvanātha*, pp. 220, 221 (where other references); they include primary and causative verbs (*vidhyāpaya-*), as well as noun derivatives (*vidhyāpana*).

The question arises whether these identical retrograde forms grew up independently, from Pāli on the one side, from Prākṛit on the other. This is, of course, possible, but I should like to point out that Pārśvanātha Caritra and Samarādityasaṃkṣepa are the Jaina replicas of Avadāna texts, both treating 'of the fruits of action or moral law of mundane existence' (*karmaploti*, *karmapāka*, *karmavipāka*); see Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, vol. ii, Preface, p. i.^{9a}

^{9a} This parallelism between Buddhist and Jaina Avadāna texts is brought out by Śālibhadra Carita 2. 1: *tena dānāvadānena prīṇito dharmabhūpatiḥ, yaṃ prasādam adāt tasmāi tasya līlāyitum stumaḥ*. The word *dānāvadāna* here refers to the wonderful result (comm.: *avadānam atyadbhutam karma*) in a second birth of a self-sacrificing gift of food by a young shepherd, Saṃgama, to an ascetic who arrived at his village to break a month's fast. In the second birth the soul of Saṃgama, reborn as Śālibhadra, attains to Arhatship. This is described in terms parallel to the Buddhist Avadāna clichés discussed in the preceding section (2) of this paper. See Śālibhadra Carita 7. 94, where Śālibhadra is described as *samatāsindhu*, *samasaḥjanadurjana*, and *vāsīcandanakalpa*, 'ocean of equanimity', 'he who regards good and evil men alike', and 'he for whom the (cooling) sandal is not different from a (painful) sword.' It is hardly likely that such parallelism is entirely spontaneous. Note that *vāsīcandanakalpa* is not quotable from Brahmanical sources, whence the Jāinas might have derived it.

4. On the meaning of āsvāpana.

On p. 526, lines 23, 25, occurs the otherwise unquoted *āsvāpanam*, which the Editors translate by 'sleep.' It means 'sleeping-charm': *apareṇa samayena rājñāḥ sāntaḥpurasyāsvāpanam dattvā*, 'on another occasion she gave to the King and his zenana a sleeping-charm.' Similarly (l. 25) *mayā Siṃhakeśarīno rājñāḥ sāntaḥpurasyāsvāpanam dattam*. The word is identical in meaning with *avasvāpanikā*, *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* 2. 173; *avasvāpinī*, *Rāuhineya Carita* 14; and both *avasvāpinī* and *avasvāpanikā* in *Pārśvanātha Caritra* 5. 85, 113. See my *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārśvanātha*, p. 233. It is rather remarkable that finite verb forms of neither *ā + svap* nor *ava + svap* are quotable.

5. On different authorship of the individual avadānas.

The Avadānas of the present collection are on the whole written in the same style, which betrays itself by its luxurious breadth; by repeated idioms and expressions; by longer recurring passages, or *clichés*,¹⁰ and, of course, by the grammatical habits common to the Pāliizing Avadāna language. Yet there is sufficient evidence that they are not from the same original source. Even in their final redaction, controlled as it is by similar didactic aims and the conventions of this type, distinctions between Avadāna and Avadāna are not wanting. The Editors, p. vii, note, point to the flowery style of xxii and xxxviii. The thirty-third Avadāna does not run true to form in subject-matter and style. Avadānas xvii and xviii differ from the rest in the use of transitional particles which continue the thread of the story.

In this regard all are very lavish. It is not necessary to say, pp. 223, l. 14; 233, l. 10, *paścāt te saṃlakṣayanti*; or *yatas te saṃlakṣayanti*, 'then they reflect,' because the text, innumerable times, gets along with *sa saṃlakṣayati*, 'he reflects,' e. g., three times on p. 4. The most common particles of continuance are *atha* and *tataḥ*, swelling from these light words to cumbrous expressions like *tataḥ paścāt*, twice on p. 11; *athāpareṇa samayena*, pp. 23, l. 11; 62, l. 20; 319, l. 22; *tena khalu samayena*, pp. 32, l. 14; 36, l. 16; 44, l. 8; 318, l. 5; 320, l. 9, 19; 321, l. 1.

Among these particles of continuation two are formed upon relative pronoun stems, namely, *yāvat* and *yataḥ*, in the sense,

¹⁰ See Feer, *Avadāna-Śataka*, pp. 2ff.

perhaps, of 'whereupon,' as compared with *atha* or *tataḥ*, in the sense of 'then.' The use of *yāvat* is favored thru the collection as a whole. The use of *yataḥ* belongs to Avadānas xvii and xviii. In looking thru Avadānas i, ii, iii, xiii, xix, xxii, xxiii, and xxviii, I have found *yataḥ* a single time in iii, p. 61, l. 23; in Avadāna xviii I have counted *yataḥ* 71 times; in that part of Avadāna xvii which deals with the story of Māndhātara, pp. 210-226, *yataḥ* occurs 26 times. This great predilection for *yataḥ* reaches a sort of climax in the formulaic passage, *yato bhikṣavaḥ saṃśaya-jātāḥ sarvasaṃśayacchettāraṃ Buddham Bhagavantam prechanti*, in xviii, p. 233, l. 17; 241, l. 17. The same formula occurs often without any introductory particle (*bhikṣavaḥ saṃśayajātāḥ* etc.); e. g. p. 191, l. 5. Both Avadānas show, in addition, a marked liking for *paścāt*, as an apparent synonym of *yataḥ*. In Avadāna xviii *paścāt* occurs 15 times; in Avadāna xvii, 11 times (once, p. 214, l. 7, *yataḥ paścād* together). And this latter feature individualizes also Avadāna i, where *paścāt* occurs 5. 9; 6. 16; and *tataḥ paścāt*, 9. 21, 25; 11. 10, 14; 16. 5; 23. 9. On the other hand the long Avadāna ii does not show a single case of *paścāt*. Clearly, the distribution of these particles will furnish a criterion by which to determine partly the stratification of the collection.

The story of Māndhātara (with pun on his name: *mām dhātara*, 'Me-sucker,' 'Thumb-sucker') begins in Mahābhārata 3. 126; 7. 62; and enters Buddhist literature with Mandhātū Jātaka (258), continuing in Milindapañho 4. 8. 25; Dhammapada Commentary 14. 5; Divyāvadāna xvii; and in the Tibetan version, Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, October 1877 = Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 1ff. The Divyāvadāna version, as well as the Tibetan version, is a closely corresponding copy of a Mahāyāna original which we do not possess. We cannot therefore tell whether the *yataḥ* in this story is derived from this source. Avadāna xviii, according to the Editors, repeats, with some variations, Nr. 89 of Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (in course of publication in Bibl. Ind.); see Feer, l. c. p. xxviii; Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, vol. ii, pp. v and xi.

6. Running comments.

In WZKM 16. 103ff., 340ff. (Vienna, 1902) the late Professor Speyer, who afterwards (1906, 1909) gave us an excellent edition

of the Avadānaśataka, published a series of text emendations, translations, and comments upon the Divyāvadāna, as edited by Cowell and Neil in 1886. His remarks are in general very much to the point, tho not entirely free from error, as when he emends *uddiśyadbhir* on p. 191, l. 3, to *uddiśya bhavadbhir*, instead of *uddiśyādbhir* (*madyam apeyam*), see above, p. 337. I add here a modest aftermath of comments, some of which will occasionally correct Speyer, as he corrected the Cambridge edition. Others concern points which have escaped his vigilant eye. I am sure that successive readers will find yet more; indeed, without disparagement of the Cambridge scholars, a new edition, based upon better mss. and a wider knowledge of Mahāyāna language and literature, more particularly Avadāna literature, will in time be required.

P. 4, l. 22. Koṭikarna, starting on a mercantile expedition, is instructed by his father to stay in the middle of his caravan, because there, as he reasons plausibly, is safety from robbers. And he concludes with the words: *na ca te sārthavāhe hataḥ sārtho vaktavyaḥ*. Speyer, l. c., p. 107, regards this bit of text as corrupt and nonsensical. The Editors seem also to have been puzzled, since they mark the word *sārthavāhe* with 'Sic MSS.' Speyer proposes a radical emendation, to wit: *na ca te sārthikebhyaḥ so 'rtho vaktavyaḥ*, 'but you must not tell it to the merchants (viz. that you will take your place in the centre, and why).' Speyer seems to have in mind that such conduct would lay Koṭikarna open to the suspicion of cowardice, a thing which the rather garrulous text does not say. Perhaps we may transpose the two similar words *sārthavāhe* and *sārtho*, reading, *na ca te sārthe hataḥ sārthavāho vaktavyaḥ*, 'And in thy caravan a slain leader shall not be spoken about.' Which is eufemistic for, 'It shall not happen that you, the leader of your caravan, shall come to grief.' The expression is very close to what in ordinary Sanskrit would be: *na ca te sārthe hataḥ sārthavāha iti vaktavyam*, 'In thy caravan it shall not be said: "The leader of the caravan has been slain."'

On p. 7, l. 1, the word *pithitaḥ*, 'covered,' 'closed,' for which the Editors would read *pihitaḥ* (so on p. 554, last line but one), must be allowed to stand. It not only occurs in Lalitavistara (see Bö. Lex. s. v. *pithay*), but also in Saddharmapundarika, Kern and Nanjio's edition, p. 260: *tisṛṇāṁ durgatīnāṁ dvāraṁ*

pithitam bhaviṣyati, narakatiryagyoniyaamalokopapattiṣu na patiṣyati, 'The door to three misfortunes will have been shut; he will not fall into the fate of hell-inhabitant, animal, or world of Yama.' Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, pp. 123 bottom, 254 top, rightly explains it as a Hyper-Sanskritism, on the analogy of *tathā*: Prākṛit *tahā* (but not Pāli).

Speyer, l. c., p. 112, argues plausibly that *sukhapratibuddhaḥ* on p. 115, l. 25 be changed to *suptapratibuddhaḥ*, because the latter wording occurs in the same Avadāna, p. 113, l. 17. He may be right, yet there is no compelling reason why the author should not modulate his thought to this extent. The notion of 'blissful sleep' is familiar from Upaniṣad to Pārśvanātha Caritra: e.g., Kāth. Up. 1. 11; Praśna Up. 4. 1. In Brahma Up. 1 *suṣupta* is the designation of one that has enjoyed blissful sleep; Devadatta in that state enters into bliss like a wishless child: *yathā kumāro niṣkāma ānandam upayāti, tathāivāiṣa devadattaḥ svapna ānandam upayāti*. The terms *sukhasvapna* (Pārśvanātha 2. 972), *sukhasupti*, *sukhasuptikā*, and *sukhasupta* are familiar. In our text, p. 115, l. 25, *sukhapratibuddhaḥ* is preceded by *pramuditamanāḥ*. The hero of the story has been having a very pleasant dream indeed: a divinity has promised him in succession the blandishments of four Apsarases, eight Kinnara maidens, and then again sixteen and thirty-two of the same sort. Under these circumstances *pramuditamanāḥ sukhapratibuddhaḥ* is pretty good sense and Sanskrit.

On p. 132, l. 14 a certain householder, when a famine is impending, asks his treasurer: *bhoḥ puruṣa bhaviṣyati me saparivārāṇām dvādaśa varṣāṇi bhaktam*. This must mean, 'I say, Sir, will there be for me and my retinue food for twelve years?'. All mss. have *saparivārāṇām* which the Editors properly mark with 'sic.' The many solecisms of the ms. tradition should, perhaps, not stand in the way of changing the form to *saparivārasya*.. Correctly the singular, *rājā sāntaḥpuraparivārah*, on p. 526, l. 27; or, several times on p. 488, *Mahāpanthakaḥ pañcaśataparivārah*. Still the collective singular may be here, by curious idiom, swelled into the plural, in accordance with its intrinsic meaning.

On p. 153, l. 14 the text reads: *yasya* (sc. *Cundasya*) *tāvad vayan śiṣyapraṭiśiṣyakayāpi na tulyāḥ*. Read *śiṣyapraṭiśiṣyata-yāpi*, 'Whose like we are not in quality of being pupil, and pupil of a pupil.' Cunda's spiritual descent is described in l. 5, as fol-

lows: *śramaṇasya Gāutamasya Śāriputro nāma śiṣyas tasya Cundo nāma śrāmaṇerakāḥ*. A pupil of Śāriputra and no less than a 'grand-pupil' of the Buddha is fitly described as above. On p. 249, l. 4 Speyer, l. c., p. 125, emends plausibly *praveśakāni* to *praveśitāni*. Conversely *t* for *k* on p. 573, l. 22, where Speyer's emendation (l. c., p. 361) of *avataṛiṣyati* to *avakarīṣyati* is surely correct. And again on p. 84, l. 15, according to Speyer, p. 111, *akṛtapuṇyakāḥ* for meaningless *akṛtapuṇyatāḥ*. Obviously *k* and *t* are readily confused in Nepalese mss.

A number of times the text has the form *śaknosi* or *śaknoṣi*, 'thou art able,' which is to be emended to *śakto 'si*, particularly because there is no form *śaknosi*. On p. 207, l. 6, the printed text has *śaknoṣi*, but the mss. read *śaknosi*; on pp. 129, l. 2; 279, l. 23; 536, ll. 6, 23 the edition itself as well as the mss. have *śaknosi*. On p. 304, l. 2, the edition has *śakto 'si* with three mss., but a fourth again has *śaknosi*. This shaky tradition, taken by itself, is best made stable by adopting *śakto 'si*; this is supported by the first person *śaktāham* (feminine) on p. 612, l. 3. All forms, of course, with the infinitive. In the Nepalese ms. of the seventeenth century, the ultimate source of the more modern copies used by the Editors, *t* and *n*, particularly in consonant combinations, must have been much alike, judging from the formula *mūlanikṛnta iva drumah* (thus mss.), for the Editors' correct *mūlanikṛtta iva drumah*, 'like an uprooted tree,' e. g. p. 387, l. 6; p. 400, l. 17.¹¹ The suspicious form *nāpinī* for *nāpitī*, 'female barber,' on p. 370, ll. 1, 3, is probably due to the same confusion. Conversely *t* takes the place of *n* in *satta°* for *santa°*, p. 291, l. 8.

When a Buddha steps within a city gate to perform a miracle, a long list of wonderful and portentous things happen. Two passages describe these miracles, pp. 250, lines 22 ff., and 364, lines 27 ff. The longer of these passages, which are two recensions of one another, contains among other things the statement: *mūdhā garbhinīnām strīṇām garbhā anulomībhavanti*, 'mislocated foetuses of pregnant women right themselves';¹² both versions con-

¹¹ So. also Avadānaśataka i, p. 3, l. 16 (and often); cf. *nikṛntitamūlam*, Divyāv., p. 537, l. 14, and *mūlanikṛntita iva drumah*, p. 539, l. 5, which show the participle in another, but correct way.

¹² This refers perhaps to the common Avadāna cliché about the birth of children, e. g., Divyāv. i, etc.; Avadānaś. iii, etc. (cf. Feer, l. c., p. 4, nr. 11.)

tain the frase *haḍṇigadabaddha*, 'bound by fetters and chains,'¹³ which recurs essentially in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, pp. 440, 450. For *hastinaḥ kroṇcanti*, 'elephants trumpet,' on p. 251, l. 2, we have correctly on p. 365, l. 7, *hastinaḥ krośanti*. For *peḍākṛtā alaṁkāṛā madhuraśabdān niścārayanti* on p. 251, l. 4 we have more correctly on p. 365, l. 8, *peḍāgatā alaṁkāṛā madhuraśabdān niścārayanti*, 'jewels in their caskets (*peḍāgatāḥ*) emit a sweet sound.' The word *peḍā* which is translated by the Editors doubtfully by 'basket' is not otherwise quoted in the Lexicons: it recurs in *Avadānaśataka*, vol. ii, p. 12, l. 13, being the fairly common Prākṛit *peḍā*, 'box;' see the *Agaladatta* (*Agaḍadatta*) stories in *Jacobi's Māhārāṣṭrī Tales*, pp. 67, ll. 34, 36, 39; 75, l. 1. Cf. Skt. *bhūṣaṇa-peṭikā* 'jewel-casket,' and *kośa-peṭaka* 'treasure-chest.'

On p. 299, ll. 10ff. the mss. have the following text: *evam aparam aparaṁ te āyusmatā Mahāmāudgalyāyanaena samyag avavāditāḥ* (one ms. *avavoditāḥ*; one ms. *avabodhitāḥ*) *samyag anuśiṣṭāḥ*, 'Thus again and again they were taught perfectly, instructed perfectly by the illustrious Mahāmāudgalyāyana.' The same text with *avoditāḥ* for *avavāditāḥ* on p. 300, l. 2. Speyer, l. c., p. 128, argues plausibly in favor of *avoditāḥ* as the only correct grammatical form. Yet in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* 4, p. 101, l. 3ff. the printed text reads: *tato bhagavann asmābhir apy anye bodhisattvā avavoditā abhūvann uttarāyāṁ samyaksaṁbodhāv anuśiṣṭās ca*. So also the *Pet. Lex.*, citing this passage. This form the Cambridge Editors obviously had in mind when they marked with an exclamation mark the form *avoditāḥ*, on p. 300. Since *ava* and *o* are practically one and the same in a Pāliizing Sanskrit text, it would seem that the total of tradition inclines to *avavāditāḥ*, which is probably felt, Hyper-Sanskritically, to be the correct way of speaking.

On p. 302, l. 26, *nayena kāmamgamah* is improved by Speyer, l. c., p. 129 to *na yena kāmamgamah*, 'not allowed to go where one likes.' Read *na yena kāmamgamah*, which was probably Speyer's intention.

I doubt whether Speyer, l. c., p. 343, is right in questioning the Editors' text on p. 338, l. 17: *tatrāika ṛṣiḥ saśukladharmah*,

¹³ Precisely the second passage reads (with ms. vars.), *haḍṇigadacārakā-vabaddhānām*.

where he would divide *sa śukladharmah*. In a Pāliizing Sanskrit text *saśukladharmah* as positive to *aśukladharmah* is no more strange than is *sakubbato*, as positive to *akubbato*, in Dhammapada. Prākṛitizing Jāina Sanskrit texts do the same; e. g. *sa-jñāna*, 'knowledge,' positive to *a-jñāna*, 'ignorance.' So Prākṛit *sa-vilakkha*, 'embarrassed,' in Jacobi, *Māhārāṣṭrī Tales* 17. 3; *sa-sambhanta*, 'terrified,' ib. 7. 34; *sa-sankiya*, 'suspicious,' ib. 67. 30; 68. 15; *sa-siṇiddha*, 'friendly,' ib. 22. 19. In Divyāvadāna 43. 28 *sa-kṛtakarapuṭa*, 'with folded hands;' on 82. 16, *sa-rujjārta*, 'tortured by disease;' and several times, 152. 3, 158. 19, 637. 25, *sa-brahmacārin*, 'chaste.' The positive *sa* carries with it a certain emphasis.

On p. 372, l. 10, Prince's Aśoka, having been sent by his father, King Vindusāra, to besiege the city of Takṣaśilā, is received peacefully by its citizens, and shown every honor: *mahatā ca satkāreṇa Takṣaśilām praveśita evaṃ vistareṇāśokaḥ svaśarājyām praveśitaḥ*. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 362, note 2, suggests doubtingly *khaśarājyam* for *svaśarājyam*, but this does not suit. Read (with haplografy) *svavaśarājyam*, 'And having been introduced into Takṣaśilā he thus at length entered upon the supreme authority (of a Cakravartin).' In the sequel this is just what happens, namely, Aśoka starts his empire in Takṣaśilā, gradually extends it, establishes his 84 edicts, becomes a just emperor under the sobriquet Dharmāśoka, 'Aśoka of the Law.' *Svavaśarājya* is identical with *svavāśya*, 'supreme rule,' which figures in Āitareya Brāhmaṇa 8. 17, 18, 19 by the side of the similar words, *svārājya*, *pārameṣṭhya*, and *māhārājya*. The text of the Divyāvadāna is not exempt from such peccadilloes; see, e. g. *adhva(ga)gaṇa*, 'crowd of travellers,' pp. 126, l. 2; 148, l. 14; 182, l. 7; see Index, under *adhvagaṇa*, and Speyer, l. c., p. 114, who points out the unutilized reading in Avadānaśataka, nr. 19. On p. 279, l. 12, *śrad-dhate* is also haplografic for *śraddadhate*, 'he believes,' an easier correction than *śraddhatte*. The Editors, curiously enough, seem to be content with *śraddhate*.

On p. 419, l. 17 the printed text has: *samudrāyām pṛthivyām janakāyā yadbhūyasā Bhagavacchāsane. 'bhiprasannāḥ*. The Editors in the foot-note suggest questioningly *āsamudrāyām*, with the result, 'On the earth, to the limit of the ocean, people became the more inclined to the teaching of the Bhagavat.' This is not questionable; on p. 364, l. 9, *tasya yāvad āsamudrāyām*

śabdo viśṛtaḥ, 'the sound of that spread over (the earth) as far as the ocean.' The expression *āsamudrāyām pṛthivyām* occurs moreover on p. 381, l. 4, and it is parafrased on p. 433, l. 1, by, *samudraparyantām mahāpṛthivīm*.

On p. 500, l. 5, in the course of the Mūṣaka story, the following sentence is badly constructed: *tena teṣām kalāyānām stokam dattam śītalam ca pānīyam pātam*. The last word needs correction, and I think that the reading of one ms., namely *pāyam*, points to *pāyitam*, 'given to drink.'

On p. 523, last line, a father tells his son who wants to go to sea on a commercial venture that this is unnecessary, because he, the father, has inexhaustible wealth: *putra tāvat prabhūtam me dhanajātam asti yadi tvam tilataṇḍulakulatthādiparibhogena ratnāni me paribhotsyase tathāpi me bhogā na tanutvam parikṣayam paryādānam gamiṣyanti*. I had corrected the senseless *paribhotsyase* to *paribhokṣyase*, when, later on, I noticed the parallel on p. 4, l. 7: *putra tāvantam me ratnajātam asti yadi tvam tilataṇḍulakolakulatthanyāyena ratnāni paribhokṣyase tathāpi me ratnānām parikṣayo na syāt*. In both passages the father says to the son, that no matter how much of his substance (oil and grain) he might consume he could not exhaust his (the father's) wealth. Just as *paribhokṣyase* corrects *paribhotsyase*, the word °*nyāyena* on p. 4, l. 7 is hardly in the picture, as judged by °*paribhogena* on 524, l. 1. I miss the word *ādi*, 'and so forth,' on p. 4, but the proper reading does not suggest itself.

On p. 577, l. 21ff. the text reads, *na ca tvayā mām muktvā anyakasyacid dātavyam*, 'And you must not give (the key) to any one but myself.' Here *anyakasyacid* is to be changed to *anyasya kasya cid* (haplografic); the passage recurs at the bottom of the page in the form, *na ca tvayā mām muktvānyasya na kasyacid dātavyam*, where the second *na* is, perhaps, to be thrown out.

P. 579, l. 26, in the statement, *aham āryasya Mahākātyāyanas-yopasthāpakāḥ*, where *upasthāpaka* makes no sense, read *upasthāyaka*: 'I am Great Kātyāyana's adjutor.' See *upasthāyakāḥ* on p. 426, l. 29, and, more particularly, *Avadānaśataka*, vol. i, p. 214, l. 6, *vayam bhagavan bhagavata upasthāyakāḥ* (see also Speyer, Index, ad. voc.). Similarly the improbable, tho not unconforming, *pāpayati*, *Divyāv.*, p. 398, l. 17, is to be changed to *pāyayati*, 'give drink.'

LITHUANIAN *KLONAS*, *KLUONAS* 'A PLACE WHERE SOMETHING IS SPREAD OUT'

HAROLD H. BENDER
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

LITHUANIAN *klonas* (Nesselmann) 'ein hinter den Wirtschaftsgebäuden, bes. hinter der Scheune und dem Garten gelegener Ort; dann auch die von dem Wohnhause abgelegen gebauten Wirtschaftsgebäude'. *arklius į kloną paleisti* (Nesselmann) 'die Pferde auf den Platz hinter der Scheune treiben'. *klounas* (Geitler, *Litauische Studien*, 92) "(= *klonas*, Ness.) bedeutet auch die Tenne". *klūnas* (Bezenberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache*, 295) 'Tenne, Scheune'. *klūnas* (Schleicher, *Litauische Sprache*, II. 282) 'Raum hinter dem Hause nach dem Felde zu'. *kluonas* (Leskien, *Nomina*, 196, 361) 'Tenne, Scheuer'. *klónas*, *klūnas* (Kurschat) 'der Bleichplatz hinter der Scheune'. *klóns* (Bezenberger, *Litauische Forschungen*, 126): *àpatinis klóns* 'der Platz unter dem Ofen', *virszūjis klóns* 'die Decke auf dem Ofen'. *klónas* (Leskien, *Nomina*, 197) 'place where cattle graze'. *kluonas* (Lalis) 'barn, barnyard'.

I propose to embrace all of the above words under a *klónas*, *klūnas* 'a place where something is spread out' and to connect this *klónas*, *klūnas* with *klóju*, *klóti* 'to spread out'. Only one or two of these words have hitherto received etymological treatment. Leskien's *Ablaut* (379) goes no further than connecting *klūnas* (beside *klónas*) 'Bleichplatz hinter der Scheune' with Lett. *klūns* 'Estrich'. None of the group is assigned to any root by Nesselmann or Kurschat, or by Leskien, either in his *Ablaut* or in his *Nomina*. Brückner, *Die slavischen Fremdwörter im Litauischen*, 94, considers *klonas* 'Wirtschaftsgebäude' and *klounas* 'Tenne' Slavic loanwords: White Russian, Polish dial. *klúňa* 'Scheuer', Little Russian *kluń*, *kluňa*. Bezenberger, *BB* 17. 215, relates Old Lith. *klūnas* 'Tenne, Scheune' = Samogit. *klouns*, Lett. *klōns* 'Tenne, Estrich' with Lith. *kùlti*, Lett. *kult* 'dreschen', Lett. *kuls* 'Tenne, Estrich'. He adds that White Russian, Little Russian *kluňa* 'Scheune' is perhaps borrowed from the Lith., but that *klūnas*, *klōns* are certainly not from

the Slavic. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I. 522-3, derives Little Russian, White Russian *klúna* from Polish dial. *klunia* for **klónia*, which he attaches to Old Bulg. *klońo*, *kloniti* 'neigen, beugen'; the latter he is inclined to consider an iterative formation to a lost present **klŭ-no*, which was conceived as **klŭn-o*, and to connect, with *Gutturalwechsel* (*k'* in *slońo*, *sloniti*), with the root *k'lei-* in Skr. *śráyati*, Gk. κλίνω, Goth. *hláins*, Lith. *szlējù*, *szlėti* 'anlehnen', *szlìjės* 'sich geneigt habend, schief', etc. Of the Polish dial. *klunia* for **klónia* Berneker says, "Entlehnung aus lit. *kluonas* 'Tenne, Scheuer'; *klōnas* bei Kurschat 'Bleichplatz hinter der Scheune'; le. *klūns* 'Estrich' erklärt die Form nicht; gegen Bezzenberger *BB* 17. 215". Finally, Brugmann, *Grundriss*², II. 1. 259, points, with a single line, in the right direction, "Lit. *klónas* 'Bleichplatz hinter der Scheune', zu *kló-ti* 'hinbreiten'".

The basic idea of *klónas*, *klūnas* (on uncertainty and confusion between *ŭ* and *o* in the Lith. dialects see, among others, Leskien, *Ablaut*, 378) is that of a place where something is spread out, e. g. the bleaching place near the house or barn, the small pasture in the same location, the threshing floor, barn floor (and then, by synecdoche, barn), barn yard, the space above or under the stove. Formally, *klónas* bears exactly the same relation to *klóju*, *klóti* that Old Lith. *planas* (i. e. *plonas*) 'Tenne' bears to *plóju*, *plóti* 'breitschlagen' and that *stónas* 'Stand' bears to *stóju*, *stóti* 'treten, stehen'. The IE. belongings of *klóju*, *klóti* are clear: Lett. *kláju*, *klát* 'hinbreiten, breit hinlegen'; Old Bulg. *kladō*, *klasti* 'laden, legen'; Goth. *af-hlapan* 'überbürden'; OHG. *hladan* 'laden'. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*², II. 3. 368; Berneker, *Slav. etym. Wb.*, I. 508.

Leskien, *Ablaut*, 376, gives only five Lith. words under the group of *klóju*, *klójau*, *klóti* 'zudecken'. The following list will extend his group and at the same time throw semasiological light upon the nouns grouped together above in the first paragraph. The words included there are not repeated here; regular compound verbs are omitted unless they are valuable semantically.

klóju, *klóti* 'decken, überdecken; den Fussboden ausdielen; das Bett, ein Nest machen; zum Dreschen anlegen' (Nesselmann); 'hinbreiten, breit hinlegen (z. B. ein Bett; Getreide auf die Tenne zum Dreschen breit hinlegen); breit bedecken' (Kurschat). *apklodas* (Ness.) 'das Gezimmer zu einem Bau'. *apklóju*,

apklóti 'herumlegen, befeihen, bedecken; eine Wand bekleiden' (Ness.); 'hinbreitend (oder breitlegend, z. B. mit Brettern, Laken) etwas bedecken' (Kur.). *apklotis* fem. (Ness.) 'Deckbett'. *inklodė, įklodė* (Ness.) 'Bodenbrett eines Lastwagens'. *išžklóju, išžklóti* 'den Boden täfeln, pflastern, ausdielen' (Ness.); *stūba dėkiais išžklóti* 'ein Zimmer mit Decken auslegen oder ausschlagen' (Kur.). *klodas* (Lalis) 'layer, bed, stratum'. *klódinu, klódingi* caus. (Kur.) 'mit etwas Breitem bedecken'. *klojimas* 'das Auslegen; das Lager, die Lage zum Dreschen; die Tenne' (Ness.); 'das Spreiten, Breitlegen; die Dreschtenne; die zum Dreschen ausgespreitete Getreidelage' (Kur.); 'spreading, covering; threshing floor, barn floor; (Eng.-Lith. Dict.) barn' (Lalis). *klojys* (Ness.) 'eine Lage zum Dreschen, das Getreide, das auf einmal auf die Dreschtenne gelegt wird'. *klótau, klóstyti* (Kur.) 'fortgesetzt breiten, spreiten und decken'. *klota* (Ness.) 'das Pflaster im Hause, das Ziegel- oder Fliesenpflaster'. *klotė* (Lalis) 'cover, bed cover, blanket'. *pakloda, paklodas* (Ness.) 'eine hölzerne Schlittenschiene; das Unterfutter im Kleide, unter dem Sattel, das Polster; ein Bettlaken, auch ein Umschlagelaken, in dem man Kinder auf dem Rücken trägt, und das man gegen den Regen gebraucht; auch das Säelaken, in welchem der Säemann die Saat trägt'. *paklōdė* (Lalis *paklodė, paklotė*) 'Bettlaken'. *paklóju, paklóti* (Ness.) 'decken, unterbreiten; auspreiten; Getreide zum Dreschen anlegen; hölzerne Schienen unter den Schlitten legen; das Bett machen'. *paklotis* fem. (Ness. also masc.) 'Unterbett' (Ness.); 'Streu' (Bezenberger, *Beitr. zur Geschichte d. lit. Spr.*, 308); 'spread, bedding' (Lalis). *paklotuvė* (Ness.) 'Matratze, Polster; Filzdecke unter dem Sattel'. *priklodas* (Ness.) 'Deckbett; Beispiel, Paradigma'. *užklodas, užkloda, užklodė* (Lalis *užklotė*; cf. *paklōdė* above) (Ness.) 'Bettdecke, meistens von grober Leinwand, die über das aufgemachte Bett gebreitet wird'. *užklonis* masc. (Kur.) 'ein Grasplatz hinter dem Hause, hinter der Scheune; so ziemlich das was *klónas*'. *užklotuvė* (Ness.) 'Deckbett, Bettdecke'.

WHERE WAS ŚĀKADVĪPA IN THE MYTHICAL WORLD-VIEW OF INDIA?

WILLIAM FAIRFIELD WARREN

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

AN ARTICLE of rare interest on the above question, from the pen of Professor W. E. Clark of Chicago University, is presented in the October, 1919, issue of this JOURNAL. In it is given the result to date of long and wide researches. It must be confessed that the result is far from satisfying. In a single sentence we are given the largely conflicting conclusions of nine prominent Orientalists, and then the names of fourteen other scholars who, despairing of success in locating 'the illusive isle', simply assign it to 'the realm of fancy.'

The present writer cannot claim linguistic qualification to take a part in this high debate, but he has in mind a few questions, which very possibly may aid the better qualified in discovering one reason for the many failures of the past.

1. What kind of a region is this which we wish to locate?

Obviously it is a 'dvīpa', whatever that may mean, and it must be a place fitted to serve as the abode of certain finite intelligences.

2. Is it one of the notable 'seven' dvīpas which are represented as severally surrounded by one of the seven concentric seas?

Probably, for it is often so listed.

3. Which is the first, and which the last, of the seven as listed in the Purāṇas?

The first is Jambudvīpa, the last Pushkaradvīpa.

4. Where does the Viṣṇu Purāṇa locate the seven?

After naming them it says, 'Jambudvīpa is *the centre* of all these, and the centre of Jambudvīpa is the golden mountain Meru.'

5. And what is Jambudvīpa, according to the same Purāṇa? Our Earth, 'a sphere', the abode of living men.

6. Where does the Sūrya Siddhānta locate Mount Meru? At the north pole of the Earth sphere.

7. What extra-terrestrial bodies, according to Plato and the astronomers of his time, center in our Earth and revolve about it?

Seven homocentric globes, each solid, yet so transpicuous that though we dwell inside them all, we may gaze right through the whirling seven every cloudless night and behold the vastly more distant stars unchangeably 'fixed' in or on the outermost of all the celestial spheres, the eighth. Reread the memorable cosmographical passage in Plato's Republic.

8. How were these seven invisible globes supposed to be related to the planets that we see?

The moon we see was represented as in some way made fast to the 'first' or innermost of the seven, and the movement of the visible Luna enables us to infer that one month is the time required by the invisible 'Lunar Sphere' in the making of one revolution. Of course, as every schoolboy should know, the Lunar Sphere incloses the whole Earth, shutting it in on every side. The second of the seven, far out beyond the lunar on every side, was supposed to be the Sphere of Helios, the Solar Sphere. Then at ever increasing distances revolved the concentric spheres of Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. In each case the luminary we study with the telescope is as distinct from the sphere to which it is attached as a locomotive's headlight is from the engine which bears it. Indeed, Milton calls the visible planet the 'officious lamp' of its invisible sphere. The 'Music of the Spheres', as so often explained, was supposed to result from their diverse rates of motion in revolution, and from their harmonic adjustment as to distance from each other.

9. If now in Hindu thought the seven concentric dvīpas are (or originally were) simply the concentric invisible spheres of the ancient Babylonian and Greek astronomers, and the seven concentric seas that separate them simply the intervening concentric spaces, oceanic in magnitude, what passages in the Kūrma Purāṇa are at once seen to need no further harmonizing?

The passages cited by Professor Clark in last line of note on page 218 and line following. The two 'surroundings' by one and the same sea are no more difficult of conception than is a surrounding of the spheres of Jupiter and Mars by the sphere of Saturn. So also it is now plain how Śākadvīpa can be 'north' of Meru and at the same time 'east' of it. It is both.

10. Has this view of the dvīpas and of the seven concentric seas ever been proposed?

Certainly, more than thirty years ago. See page 459 of *Paradise Found*, by W. F. Warren, Boston, 1885. Also his *Earliest Cosmologies*, New York 1909, page 91, n. *et passim*.

11. What does Professor Clark say of the distance of Śākadvīpa from the abodes of men?

'The distance was never traversed by human feet, it was travelled through the air.' Note eight, page 210.

12. When Nārada starts for Śākadvīpa, what direction does he take?

Not a northward, not an eastward, not a southward or westward; simply *upward*. He 'soars into the sky.' Page 231.

13. If he keeps on in his upward flight until he reaches the last heaven this side of Pushkaradvīpa what kind of tenants will he there find?

Beings 'white' and 'sinless.' See the description in article of Professor Clark, pages 234ff. One statement reads: 'The effulgence which is emitted by each of them resembles the splendor which the sun assumes when the time comes for the dissolution of the universe.' Unearthly to say the least.

14. What is the weight of the garments of one of these beings according to the Buddhist scriptures?

Divide one ounce into one hundred and twenty-eight parts and one of these parts will balance the garments in weight. In the ascending order of the heavens it is the last in which clothing of any kind is *en règle*.

15. Name of this heaven, next below Pushkara, in what seems to have been the orthodox Purāṇic list?

ŚĀKADVĪPA.

Small wonder that our results are unsatisfactory so long as we place polar Meru somewhere among the Himalayan ranges, and unremittingly scan all procurable maps of Asia for a region which is measureless miles above our heads.

BRIEF NOTES

A remark on Egyptian r 'part'

It is a well-known fact, that in Egyptian the word for mouth, *r*, has also the meaning 'part.' Difficulty, however, arises as soon as an attempt is made to explain the change of meaning. Sethe, in his brilliant monograph *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Aegyptern*, Strassburg, 1916, p. 86, takes into account a few possibilities that might have been instrumental for this change. According to him, it may have been considered a 'mouthful,' analogous to the Hebrew *yad*, which was used to express the fractions, and which as such a designator may have been thought of as a 'handful'; or else as 'part' of the body, like Greek μέρος, or as 'edge', 'rim' or 'side.' Apart from this use of *r* 'part' in the designation of fractions, the use of *r* 'mouth' in a metaphorical sense for 'chapter,' 'saying,' as a 'part' of a literary production is very common.

In an entirely unique way I find this word in my perusal of Erman's 'Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Graeberbildern des Alten Reiches' (*Abh. der Preus. Akad. der Wissenschaften*), Berlin, 1919. On page 18 we read that a man calls to the butcher, 'Free me from him! this steer is mighty.' The answer, which the butcher returns, concerns us here. He calls back: *ndr sw r mnḥ m r-k*. Erman renders this by 'Halt ihn ordentlich mit (?) deinem'. But this sentence allows no other translation than: 'Hold him properly for thy part!' The use of the preposition *m* particularly favors this translation. The answer contains thus a slight rebuke to the man, who sits between the horns of the steer and holds him down for slaughter. The sense is thus: 'Instead of calling for my help, tend to your own part of the work well.'

H. F. LUTZ

University of Pennsylvania

Bharata's treatise on dramaturgy (Nāṭya-śāstra)

Some of the members of our Society will be interested to learn of certain items from letters written from Poona, India, by Professor Belvalkar. He has in hand an edition and annotated ver-

sion of this ancient and exceedingly important treatise. The items illustrate clearly some of the enormous advantages which native Indianists have over us Indianists of the Occident.

He tells me that his article upon the material available for a critical edition of this treatise (see *Sanskrit Research*, 1. 37-) has brought fruitful replies from various parts of India: 1. Report of a complete ms. of the text at Chidambaram (otherwise, Chilambaram: South Arcot, Madras, a few miles south of Cuddalore); 2. Report of the discovery in Malabar of an almost complete ms. of Abhinavagupta's commentary on the text; 3. Information as to 93 fine images painted on the inner walls of a temple of the XIII. century, illustrating the various dancing postures enumerated in chapter 4, stanzas 33 to 53 of our treatise. What is more: above each picture is a description of each posture, the description (in Grantha characters) agreeing word for word with those given in our treatise, chapter 4, stanzas 99-. The pictures enable us to understand Bharata clearly.

CHARLES R. LANMAN

Harvard University

PERSONALIA

Dr. B. LAUFER, curator of anthropology in the Field Museum of Chicago, was elected an honorary member of the Finnish Archaeological Society of Helsingfors on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of this Society on November 6, 1920, and a corresponding member of the Société des Amis de l'Art Asiatique, Hague, Holland. He was recently appointed also Honorary Curator of Chinese Antiquities in the Art Institute of Chicago.

In commemoration of the labors of Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, of Columbia University, who attained the age of 75 years in April of this year, a 'Festschrift für Friedrich Hirth' is announced by the *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Kultur und Kunst des fernen Ostens* (Oesterheld & Co., Berlin).

The Rev. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., Litt.D., late Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge University, and Assyriologist, died in August.

Prof. RICHARD GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University, is attached to the University of Strasbourg for the present academic year.

Dr. HENRY SCHAEFFER has become Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Chicago.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

In accordance with Art. V, §2, of the Constitution of the Society, the Executive Committee, thru the Corresponding Secretary, reports the following actions taken by it since the last annual meeting of the Society.

Pursuant to a vote of the Society (see Proceedings, in JOURNAL, 40. 222), the Executive Committee took under consideration the proposal contained in the report of the Committee on Co-operation with the other Oriental Societies (JOURNAL, 40. 215-216) that this Society co-operate with the other Oriental Societies in regard to planning a General Dictionary of Buddhism and issuing an appeal for aid in its preparation. The following resolution was submitted to each member of the Committee by the Secretary and was approved by four out of the five members (Professor Clay being absent from the country and unable to respond), on or before June 4, 1920.

‘Whereas, the American Oriental Society, at its meeting held in Ithaca, N. Y., on April 6 and 7, 1920, referred the report of the Standing Committee on Co-operation with Other Oriental Societies to the Executive Committee with power to act upon the proposal contained in the report that this Society co-operate with the other Oriental Societies in regard to planning a General Dictionary of Buddhism and issuing an appeal for aid in its preparation :

The Executive Committee, on behalf of the American Oriental Society, hereby gives the general approval of the Society to this undertaking and authorizes its representative on the Committee for planning the Dictionary to join in signing and circulating the appeal that may be approved.’

Thereafter Professor James H. Woods, who is the representative of this Society on the joint Committee for planning the Dictionary of Buddhism, on his return from the joint meeting of Asiatic Societies held in Paris in July, 1920, submitted to the Executive Committee the subjoined ‘Projet de Circulaire’ with the request that this Society authorize its circulation in the same manner as the French and the British Societies had already agreed to do. This request was transmitted to each member of the Committee by the Secretary, and the issuance of the circular appeal was unanimously approved by them, on or before Sept. 28, 1920.

On Saturday, Oct. 23, a meeting of the Executive Committee was held at Columbia University, New York City, all the members being present. The minutes of actions already taken thru correspondence votes (as stated above), were unanimously ratified and approved.

A resolution, 'that the American Oriental Society extend to the Asiatic Societies of England, France, and Italy an invitation to hold a joint meeting in this country at the time of the annual meeting of the American Society in 1921, or, if it seems preferable, at some other time in that year,' was referred to the decision of the Board of Directors, in such manner as the President of the Society might direct.

The matter of the investment of any uninvested capital belonging to the Society having been referred to the Executive Committee by the Board of Directors, it was voted: 'That the investment of such part of the funds of the Society as may seem wise shall be referred to the Treasurer with power to act, after consultation with and upon the advice of the Treasurer of Yale University.'

The affairs of the Committee on Preparation of a Statement setting forth the Scope, Character, Aims, and Purposes of Oriental Studies having been referred to the Executive Committee by the Board of Directors, it was voted: 'That the President appoint a committee from among the younger members of the Society to prepare a statement setting forth the aims and the importance of Oriental Studies, such committee to report to the Executive Committee at its next meeting.'

CHARLES J. OGDEN,

Corresponding Secretary.

PROJET DE CIRCULAIRE

LA FÉDÉRATION DES SOCIÉTÉS ASIATIQUES (Amérique, Angleterre, France, Italie), a pris l'initiative d'une publication qui grouperait dans un effort commun des équipes nationales de savants orientaux et occidentaux. Elle a entrepris la préparation d'un *Dictionnaire Général du Bouddhisme* (doctrine, histoire, géographie sacrée, etc.) fondé sur un dépouillement direct des sources (sanskrit, pali, tibétain, chinois, japonais, langues de l'Indochine et de l'Asie Centrale) et élaboré par des spécialistes locaux dans chacun des pays de civilisation bouddhique, sous le contrôle d'un Comité de direction élu par les Sociétés fédérées.

Une pareille entreprise exige le concours d'un nombre considérable de travailleurs qu'il est nécessaire de retribuer, et elle comporte dès le début des frais élevés de mise en oeuvre et de matériel. Le prix de revient total,

encore impossible à préciser, atteindra des centaines de milliers de francs. Pour couvrir ces dépenses, les Sociétés Fédérées sollicitent la générosité des souscripteurs. En tant que religion, philosophie, littérature, art, le bouddhisme a joué dans le monde un rôle trop considérable pour qu'un homme cultivé puisse s'y déclarer indifférent.

Les souscriptions sont reçues.

The Directors, at the Annual Meeting, authorized the Editors to undertake the preparation of an Index of Volumes 21-40 of the JOURNAL. Prof. R. K. Yerkes has kindly consented to prepare this Index, and it will appear in 1921, to be sold at cost. It will be recalled that the Index to Volumes 1-20 was prepared by Mrs. George F. Moore and appeared in Vol. 21.

The Annual Meeting of the Middle West Branch of the Society will be held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., February 25-26. Communications for the program should be sent to the Secretary, Prof. A. T. Olmstead, 706 So. Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

A Joint Meeting of the Oriental Societies of France, Great Britain, Italy and America was held in Paris, July 6-8. The representatives of the American Society present were Drs. Clay, Gottheil, Gray and Woods. The sessions were divided into two sections, of Near Asia and Far Asia. M. Senart, President of the French Society, gave a reception on Wednesday and there was a dinner on Thursday. The following was the program:

M. R. Gottheil. Sur une nouvelle typographie orientale.

M. Goloubew. Sur l'organisation au Musée Guimet, d'un dépôt de clichés archéologiques.—Communications de MM. Pelliot et Lartigue sur leurs expéditions en Extrême-Orient. Projections.

Sir G. A. Grierson: Report on the Linguistic Survey of India.

M. Meillet: Sur le caractère des Gâthâs.

Dr. H. B. Morse: The super cargo in the China trade, circa 1700.

M. Cédès: Les origines de la dynastie de Sukhodaya.

M. A. T. Clay: The Amorite name Jerusalem.

Dr. Cowley: A Hittite word in Hebrew.

M. Chabot: Traces de l'influence juive dans les inscriptions palmyréniennes.

Prof. St. Langdon. Sumerian Law Codes and the Semitic Code of Hammurabi.

- M. Minorsky: La secte persane des Ali-Allahi.
- M. Longworth Dames: The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the XVth Century.
- M. P. Pelliot: Un vocabulaire arabe-mongol et un vocabulaire sino-mongol du XIV^e siècle.
- M. Archambault: Le sphinx, le dragon et la colombe, d'après les monuments de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.
- M. Krenkow: The second volume of the Kitâb al Ma'ânî of Ibn Qutaiba.
- M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes: Le manuscrit d'Ibn Khaldoun des Qaraouîn de Fez.
- M. Thureau-Dangin. Rituel du temple d'Anou à Ourouk.
- M. Casanova: Un alphabet magique.
- M. Cl. Huart: Un commentaire du Coran en Turc d'Asie Mineure (xv^e siècle).
- M. C. D. Blagden: Résumé of Malay Studies.
- M. Masson-Oursel: Sur la signification du mot dharma à travers l'histoire de l'Inde.
- M. Mukerjee: Belvedere (an archæological Account of a home occupied by the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal).
- M. G. Ferrand: La Chine dans Ya'kûbî.
- M. Sidersky: L'astronomie et la science orientale.
- M. Deny: Futuwet nameh et romans de chevalerie tures.
- M. Delafosse: Sur l'unité des langues négro-africaines.
- M. Bourdais: L'action originelle des forces naturelles dans le premier écrit de la Genèse.
- M. Danon: Sources ottomanes inédites de l'histoire des Tartares.

The second general meeting of the Palestine Oriental Society (see above, p. 76) was held in Jerusalem on May 25. The following papers were presented: Professor Clay, 'The Amorite origin of the name of Jerusalem'; Père Lagrange, 'Les noms géographiques de Palestine dans l'ancienne version des Évangiles'; Mr. Phythian-Adams, 'An early race of Palestine'; Mr. Idelson, 'A comparison of some ecclesiastical modes with traditional synagogal melodies'; Père Dhorme, 'L'assyrien au secours du livre de Job'; Dr. Albright, 'Mesopotamian influence in the temple of Solomon'; Père Decloedt, 'Note sur une monnaie de bronze de Bar Cochba'; Mr. H. E. Clark, 'The evolution of flint instruments from the early palaeolithic to the neolithic'; Mr. Ben Yehuda, 'The language of the Edomites'; Mr. Rafaeli, 'Recent coin discoveries in Palestine'; Professor Peters, 'Notes of locality in the Psalter'; Mr. J. D. Whiting, 'The Samaritan Pentateuch'; Mr. Tolkowsky, 'A new translation of *metheg ha-ammah*, 2 Sam. 8. 1'; Mr. Lind, 'Prehistoric Palestine'; Professor Worrell, 'The inter-

change of *Sin* and *Shin* in Semitic and its bearing on polarity'; Père Orfali, 'Un sanctuaire canaanéen à Siar el Ganem'; Mr. Eitan, 'Quelques racines inconnues dans le livre de Job'; Dr. Slousch, 'Nouvelle interprétation d'une inscription phénicienne'. The Society is preparing to publish its proceedings. The present membership in Palestine numbers 145.

The reorganized University of Strasbourg announces a department of the History of Religions, which will include members of both the Catholic and Protestant faculties. M. Alfarié has been appointed to the newly created chair of History of Religions. The program of lectures for this year includes general courses, and courses on the Egyptian, Semitic, and Indo-European Religions, and Christianity, primitive, mediaeval and modern.

The lectures for this winter under the auspices of the American Committee on the History of Religions are being given by Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, on the subject, The Secret Cults of Syria, covering the history and tenets of the Isma'ilis, the Nusairis and the Druses. These lectures are given at Union Seminary, University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins University, Auburn Theological Seminary, Rochester Theological Seminary, Cornell University, Meadville Theological Seminary, Oberlin University, University of Chicago, and Hartford Theological Seminary.

The first volume of the ANNUAL of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem has appeared under the editorship of Prof. Charles C. Torrey. The papers, all contributed by former Directors of the School, are: 'A Phoenician Necropolis at Sidon,' by C. C. Torrey; 'The Walls of Jerusalem,' by H. G. Mitchell; 'Survivals of Primitive Religion in Modern Palestine,' by L. B. Paton; 'Gleanings in Archaeology and Epigraphy,' by W. J. Moulton. The volume is illustrated with 77 plates. It is published by the Yale University Press.

An Asiatic Society has been organized at the University of Illinois with a membership already of over forty. The purpose is expressed in the constitution as follows: (1) interest in the Asiatic peoples, their history, civilization, and present problems; (2) scientific instruction and research on Asiatic topics, including the development of the University Library and the Oriental Museum; (3) social intercourse among members on the basis of these common interests. Members are to be chosen from faculty

and both American and Asiatic students, on the basis of scholarship and interest in this development. Members returning to the Orient become corresponding members and without dues, with the hope that they will retain a permanent interest in the development of Asiatic studies at the University and in the education of their fellows. Officers have been chosen as follows: President, Professor E. B. Greene, Department of History; Vice President, A. P. Paterno, Philippines; Secretary, Professor A. T. Olmstead, Department of History; Treasurer, B. N. Bysack, India; Executive Committee, Professor David Carnahan, Dean of Foreign Students; N. Uyei, Japan; C. C. Yu, China; F. S. Rodkey, America.

The École Biblique of the Dominican Monastery in Jerusalem has been officially recognized as the French School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and will doubtless be affiliated with the proposed French School in Syria. The Pontifical Institute (Jesuit) in Rome is establishing a similar school in Jerusalem under the auspices of the Italian government.

The Department of Antiquities of the Government of Palestine has granted the following concessions for excavation: to the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Beisân; to the Jewish Archaeological Society, Tiberias and Artûf; to the Dominicans in Jerusalem, 'Ain Dûk, near Jericho. A group of Swedish and Finnish archaeologists are seeking a concession for Tell el-Kâdî, near Banias, in French territory.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

† designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Sir RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.
- 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.
- Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.
- 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-Utca 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.
- Sir 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. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, Ve.) 1917.
- Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7.) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, Karlsruhe, Germany, Ettlingerstr. 53. 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.
- Prof. V. SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 4bis Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.
- EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François Ier, Paris, France. 1908.
- Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Witte Singel 84a.) 1914.
- F. W. THOMAS, M.A., Hon. Ph.D., The Library, India Office, London S. W. 1, England. 1920.
- FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.

[Total: 25]

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.
 Pres. CYRUS ADLER (Dropsie College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr.
 Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, American School for Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1915.
 Dr. THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN (Univ. of Chicago), 5743 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Dr. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
 FRANCIS C. ANSCOMBE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 SHIGERU ARAKI, Care of S. Chujo, 21 Hayashicho, Hongoku, Tokyo, Japan. 1915.
 Prof. J. C. ARCHER (Yale Univ.), 571 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1916.
 Prof. KANICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
 Prof. WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÉ (Pacific School of Religion), 2616 College Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
 CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, Care International Petroleum Co., Apartado 162, Tampico, Mexico. 1916.
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 *Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR, Care Mrs. Geo. H. Moore, 7 West 92d St., 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), 3 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Miss ETHEL BEERS, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
 *Dr. 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, Care of Zionist Commission, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1916.
 Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
 OSCAR BERMAN, Third, Plum & McFarland Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 PIERRE A. BERNARD, 662 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, Inter So. Bldg., Louisville, Ky. 1920.
 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.
 Prof. FREDERICK L. BIRD, 606 Beall Ave., Wooster, Ohio. 1917.
 CARL W. BISHOP, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 109 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, 1155 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
 Prof. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD (Univ. of Illinois), 804 W. Oregon St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.
 Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
 PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, 601 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
 Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
 Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Ohio State Univ.), 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
 Prof. CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.
 Prof. EDWARD I. BOSWORTH (Oberlin Graduate School of Theology), 78 So. Professor St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
 Miss EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS, 124 Third St., Lakewood, N. J. 1920.
 Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1920.
 Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
 Mrs. BEATRICE ALLARD BROOKS, Wellesley, Mass. 1919.
 MILTON BROOKS, 3 Clive Row, Calcutta, India. 1918.
 Rev. Dr. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN (Transylvania College), 422 Davidson Court, Lexington, Ky. 1909.
 LEO M. BROWN, P. O. Box 953, Mobile, Ala. 1920.
 Dr. WILLIAM NORMAN BROWN, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1916.
 Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
 LUDLOW S. BULL, Litchfield, Conn. 1917.
 ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
 Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, 98 Chestnut St., Albany, N. Y. 1910.
 Prof. JOHN M. BURNAM (Univ. of Cincinnati), 3413 Whitfield Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
 Prof. 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.
 Prof. EUGENE H. BYRNE (Univ. of Wisconsin), 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
 Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY, 1075 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1914.

- Rev. Dr. JOHN CAMPBELL, 3055 Kingsbridge Ave., New York, N. Y. 1896.
 Rev. ISAAC CANNADAY, M.A., 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY, 50 rue des Joyeuses Entrées, Louvain, Belgium. 1916.
 Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
 Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, Sunnyside, Rayapettah, Madras, Southern India. 1899.
 Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
 Dr. EDWARD CHIERA (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 1538 South Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
 Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, Box 222, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
 Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
 †Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1918.
 *ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 820 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
 ALFRED M. COHEN, 9 West 4th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Dr. GEORGE H. COHEN, 120 Capitol Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1920.
 Rabbi HENRY COHEN, D.D., 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas. 1920.
 Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHEN, 4100 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 KENNETH COLEGROVE, 105 Harris Hall, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
 *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, Transcript Office, Boston, Mass. 1917.
 Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
 Prof. GEORGE DAHL (Yale Univ.), 51 Avon St., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
 Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
 Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.
 Prof. IRWIN H. DE LONG, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
 ROBERT E. DENGLE, 2324 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
 Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
 Dr. VICCAJI DINSHAW, Mahabubnagar, Haidarabad, India. 1915.
 Rev. Dr. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
 LOUIS A. DOLE, Urbana, Ohio. 1916.
 LEON DOMINIAN, Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C. 1916.
 Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 N. Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
 Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 Rev. WALTER DRUM, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1915.
 Rev. WM. HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
 Prof. F. C. DUNCALF, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.

- Dr. GEORGE S. DUNCAN, 2900 7th St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 107 Bryn Mawr Ave.,
Lansdowne, Pa. 1910.
WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, Danby Road, Ithaca, N. Y. 1917.
Mrs. ARTHUR C. EDWARDS, 309 West 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
Prof. GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS (Missouri Bible College), 811 College Ave.,
Columbia, Mo. 1917.
Dr. ISRAEL I. EFROS, 146 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
1901.
Rabbi ISRAEL ELFENBEIN, M.A., L.H.D., 2309 Thomas St., Chicago, Ill.
1920.
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.
Rabbi HARRY W. ETTelson, Hotel Lorraine, Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
1918.
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.
Rabbi ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, Keneseth Israel Temple, Broad St., Phila-
delphia, Pa. 1920.
Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.
Rabbi JOSEPH L. FINK, 540 South 6th St., Terre Haute, Ind. 1920.
Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington,
D. C. 1912.
CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.
1914.
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.
Rabbi LEO M. FRANKLIN, M.A., 10 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1920.
Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, 3426 Burnet Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1918.
MAURICE J. FREIBERG, First National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
SIGMUND FREY, 632 Irvington Ave., Huntington Park, Calif. 1920.
†Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 29 Hamilton
Terrace, New York, N. Y. 1920.
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.
Dr. MAUDE H. GAECKLER, Baylor College, Belton, Texas. 1915.

- Dr. CARL GAENSSLE (Concordia College), 3117 Cedar St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.
- ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Mrs. WILLIAM TUDOR GARDINER, 29 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1915.
- ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
- Rev. FRANK GAVIN, S.S.J.E., St. Francis House, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, 5720 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- 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), 1002 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
- DWIGHT GODDARD, Lancaster, Mass. 1920.
- Rabbi S. H. GOLDENSON, Ph.D., 4905 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, 55th & Scoville Sts., Cleveland, O. 1920.
- PHILIP J. GOODHART, 21 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- 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. HERBERT HENRY GOWEN, D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Wash. 1920.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
- Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 108 West 78th St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 108 West 78th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
- M. E. GREENEBAUM, 4504 Drexel Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. ROBERT F. GRIBBLE, Mercedes, Texas. 1918.
- Dr. ETTALENE M. GRICE, Care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
- Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, Violet Hill Farm, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.
- Dr. HERVEY D. GRISWOLD, 307 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.
- Pres. W. W. GUTH, Ph.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1920.
- *Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 323 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Rev. K. K. HADDAWAY, 2504 Garrison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Dr. GEORGE ELLERY HALE, Director, Mt. Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Calif. 1920.
- Dr. B. HALPER, 1903 North 33d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
- Mrs. IDA M. HANCHETT, 523 Fourth Ave., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 1912.
- Prof. MAX HANDMAN, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
- Prof. W. H. P. HATCH, Cambridge Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
- Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.

- DANIEL P. HAYS, 115 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Mrs. EDWARD L. HEINSHEIMER, 3584 Alaska Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 Rabbi JAMES G. HELLER, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 Prof. MAXIMILIAN HELLER (Tulane Univ.), 1828 Marengo St., New Orleans, La. 1920.
 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, 1321 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
 Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. EMIL G. HIRSCH (Univ. of Chicago), 3612 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 BERNARD HIRSHBERG, 260 Todd Lane, Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Clemenstr. 30, München, Germany. 1903.
 Dr. PHILIP K. HITT (Columbia University), 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Rev. Dr. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 9 Sumner St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
 THEODORE HOFELLER, 59 Ashland Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
 G. F. HOFF, 403 Union Bldg., San Diego, Calif. 1920.
 Dean ALICE M. HOLMES (Colby College), Foss Hall, Waterville, Me. 1920.
 *Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
 SAMUEL HORCHOW, 1307 Fourth St., Portsmouth, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. STANLEY K. HORNBECK, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1917.
 Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER, 3220 Monument Ave., 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. H. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 Prof. ISAAC HUSIK (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 408 S. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
 *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
 Prof. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 12th St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
 IKBAL ALI SHAH, University Union, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1920.
 Rabbi EDWARD L. ISRAEL, Springfield, Ill. 1920.
 MELVIN M. ISRAEL, 50 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
 Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.

- Prof. FREDERICK J. FOAKES JACKSON, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway & 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Rev. ERNEST P. JANVIER, care Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, India. 1919.
- 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, 421 Washington St., Norwichtown, Conn. 1916.
- R. F. JOHNSTON, Chang Wang Hutung, The Old Drum Tower Road, Peking, China. 1919.
- FLORIN HOWARD JONES, Box 95, Coytesville, N. J. 1918.
- Miss ALICE JUDSON, Green Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- JULIUS KAHN, 429 Wick Ave., Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.
- VAHAN H. KALENDERIAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, 780 E. Ridgeway Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1918.
- Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 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, 5238 Westminster Place, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1916.
- I. KEYFITZ, 6044 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTEDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- EUGENE KLEIN, 1318 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Dr. K. KOHLER (Hebrew Union College), 3016 Stanton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Rev. EMIL G. H. KRAELING, Ph.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- Rev. GEORGES S. KUKHI, Care Y. M. C. A., Davies-Bryan Bldg., Cairo, Egypt. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
- HAROLD ALBERT LAMB, 7 West 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. GOTTHARD LANDSTROM, Box 12, Zap, Mercer Co., 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 JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, Ph.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- Rabbi MORRIS S. LAZARON, 1712 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1917.
- D. A. LEAVITT, 44 N. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- T. Y. LEO, Chinese Consulate, 18 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1916.
- Rabbi GERSON B. LEVI, 5000 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- SAMUEL J. LEVINSON, 522 East 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMAN, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany. 1912.
- Mrs. LEE LOEB, 53 Gilbert St., Charleston, S. C. 1920.
- Prof. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, 2272 South Filmore St., Denver, Colo. 1918.
- Rev. ARNOLD LOOK, Crozier Seminary, Bradford, N. Y. 1920.
- 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, 4509 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1009 W. California St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.
- †BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 269 South 4th 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. CHESTER CHARLTON MCCOWN, D.D. (Pacific School of Religion), 2223 Atherton St., Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Dr. D. I. MACHT, Dep't of Pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- RALPH W. MACK, 3836 Reading Road, Cincinnati, O. 1920.
- Rabbi EDGAR F. MAGNIN, 2187 West 16th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 1920.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- WALTER A. MAIER, 70 Tiptiff St., Dorchester, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY MALTER (Dropsie College), 1531 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, 575 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Rabbi JACOB R. MARCUS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1920.
- RALPH MARCUS, 531 West 124th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ARTHUR WILLIAM MARGET, 157 Homestead St., Roxbury, Mass. 1920.
- HARRY S. MARGOLIS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1920.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 152 W. Hortter St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Dr. JAMES P. MARSH, 1828 Fifth Ave., Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- Pres. H. I. MARSHALL (Karen Theol. Seminary), Insein, Burma, India. 1920.
- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. D. ROY MATHEWS, 1401 East 63d Place, Chicago, Ill. 1920.

- †Rabbi ELI MAYER, Ph.D., Capitol Station, Box I, Albany, N. Y. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD, 175 9th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK (Meadville Theological Seminary), 650 Arch St., Meadville, Pa. 1917.
 HENRY MEIS, 806 Walnut St., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Seminary), 2738 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 R. D. MESSAYEH, 49 East 127th St., New York, N. Y. 1919.
 Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
 Rev. Dr. MARTIN A. MEYER, 3108 Jackson St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
 MYRON M. MEYEROVITZ (Hebrew Union College), 538 Rockdale Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
 Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
 Rabbi LOUIS A. MISCHKIND, M.A., Box 725, Wheeling, W. Va. 1920.
 GEORGE TYLER MOLYNEUX, 1401 East 60th St., Chicago, Ill. 1919.
 Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 *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.
 Rev. HUGH A. MORAN, 221 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 764 Greenwood Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
 *EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS, "Ty'n-y-Coed," Ardmore, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
 Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Jefferson, Wis. 1906.
 Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
 Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, 245 East Tremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1887.
 Rev. Dr. THOMAS KINLOCH NELSON, Virginia Episcopal School, Lynchburg, Va. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, 477 Main St., Orange, N. J. 1916.
 Prof. W. R. NEWBOLD, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
 EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Rev. Dr. JAMES B. NIES, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
 Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
 Mrs. CHARLES F. NORTON, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. 1919.
 Miss RUTH NORTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 1727 Lamont St., N. W., 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 University, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
 HERBERT C. OETTINGER, 8th & Walnut Sts., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
 Dr. 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 Illinois), 706 S. Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
 Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
 Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
 ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, Shelds, Allegheny Co., Pa. 1920.
 Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
 Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
 HAROLD PEIRCE, 222 Drexel Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
 Dr. JOSEPH LOUIS PERRIER (Columbia Univ.), 315 West 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
 Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2414 East 55th St., Cleveland, O. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
 Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan. 1909.
 JULIUS I. PEYSER, 208 Wilkins Bldg., Washington, D. C. 1920.
 ROBERT HENRY PFEIFFER, 39 Winthrop St., Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
 Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Woodley, Woodley Lane, Washington, D. C. 1917.
 †T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, Thottakkadu House, Madras, India. 1913.
 JULIAN A. POLLAK, 927 Redway Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 PAUL POPENOE, Thermal, Calif. 1914.
 Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
 Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
 Dr. JULIUS J. PRICE, 94 Fairview Ave., Plainfield, N. J. 1917.
 Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
 CARL E. PRITZ, 101 Union Trust Bldg., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, S.T.L., Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Dr. GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, Colonial Heights, Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
 Rabbi MAX RAISIN, LL.D., 1093 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. H. M. RAMSEY, Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minn. 1920.
 Dr. JOSEPH RANSHOFF (Univ. of Cincinnati), 7th & Race Sts., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 MARCUS RAUH, 951 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), 185 College Ave., New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
 Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.

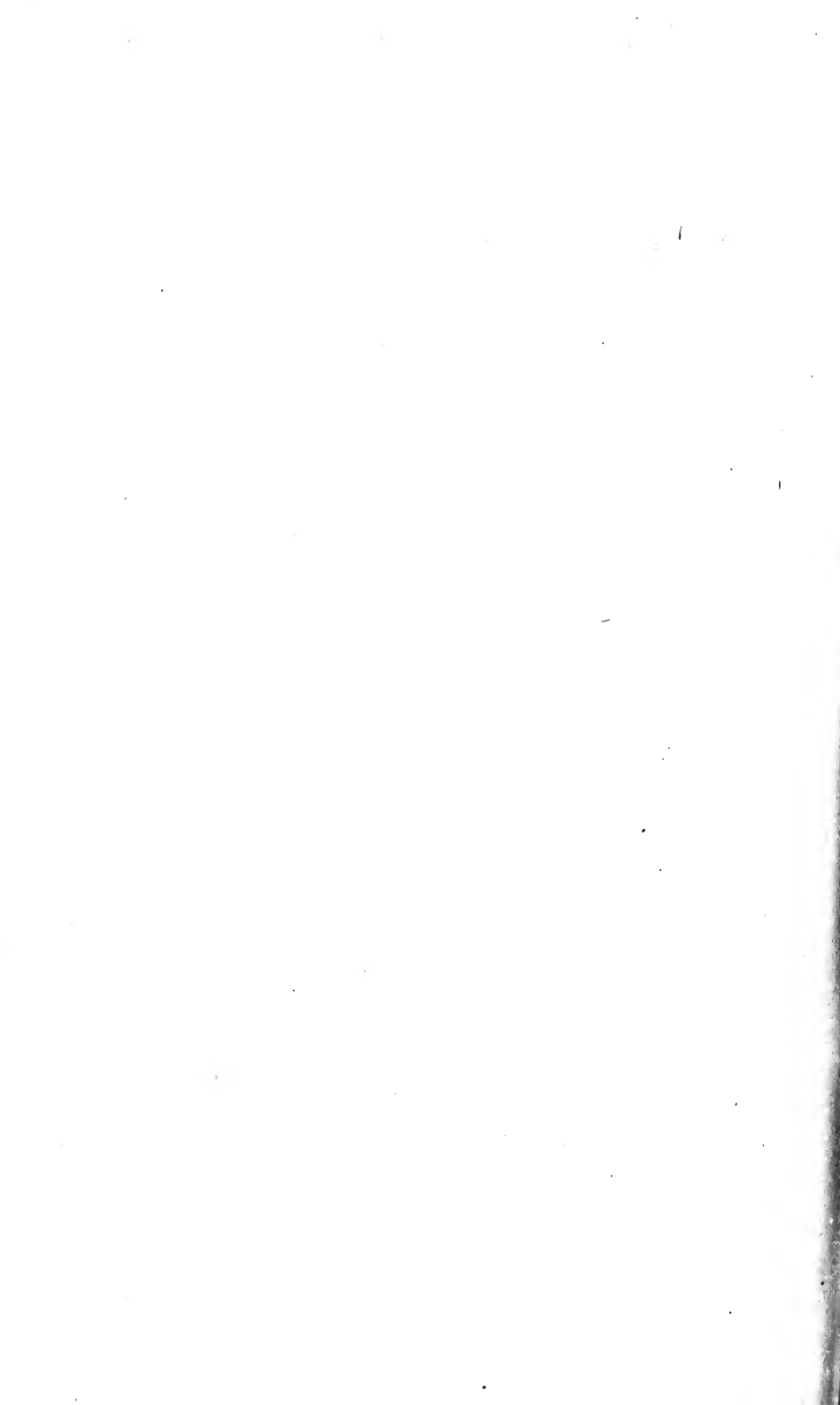
- JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.
- Rev. Dr. A. K. REISCHAUER, Meiji Gokwin, Tokyo, Japan. 1920.
- Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Rt. Rev. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER, Church House, 12th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1908.
- Prof. GEORGE H. RICHARDSON, Trinity Rectory, Logansport, Ind. 1917.
- ROBERT THOMAS RIDDLE, St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Bronxville, N. Y. 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.
- HARRY L. ROSEN, 831 South 3d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
- Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Dr. JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN, 1704 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
- *JULIUS ROSENWALD, Care of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 115 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Dr. ELBERT RUSSELL, Woolman House, Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.
- Rabbi SAMUEL SALE, 4621 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
- Rabbi MARCUS SALZMAN, Ph.D., 94 West Ross St., Wilkes Barré, Pa. 1920.
- 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.
- Prof. HENRY SCHAEFER (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1016 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Dr. JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, Care of Kerkhaven and Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- †JACOB H. SCHIFF, 52 William St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- JOHN F. SCHLICHTING, 1430 Woodhaven Blvd., Woodhaven, N. Y. 1920.
- 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.
- WILLIAM BACON SCOTFIELD, Worcester Club, Worcester, Mass. 1919.
- Prof. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.
- Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.
- Prof. JOHN A. SCOTT, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
- *Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, 9-11 Montgomery St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi-machi, Sendai, Japan. 1902.
- O. R. SELLERS, Lexington, Mo. 1917.
- MAX SENIOR, 21 Mitchell Bldg., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
- Dr. HENRY B. SHARMAN, North Truro, Mass. 1917.
- Rev. WILLIAM SHELLABEAR, 2512 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1919.

- Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square,
New York, N. Y. 1907.
- CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 447 Webster Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1904.
- GYOKSHU SHIBATA, 330 East 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER, The Temple, East 55th St. & Central Ave.,
Cleveland, O. 1920.
- HIRAM HILL SIPES, Rajahmundry, Godavery District, India. 1920.
- JACK H. SKIRBALL, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1920.
- *JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
- 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.
- Dr. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.
- Rev. JOSEPH E. SNYDER, Box 796, Fargo, N. Dak. 1916.
- Prof. EDMUND D. SOPER, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
- ALEXANDER N. SPANAKIDIS, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Phila-
delphia, Pa. 1920.
- Dr. DAVID B. SPOONER, Ass't. Director General of Archeology in India,
"Benmore," Simla, Punjab, India. 1918.
- Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Prof. WALLACE N. STEARNS, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. 1920.
- Dr. W. STEDE, "Wynbury," Howard Road, Coulsdon, Surrey, England.
1920.
- Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.
- M. T. STERELNY, P. O. Box 7, Vladivostok, East Siberia. 1919.
- Rabbi EMMANUEL STERNHEIM, M.S.P., 1400 Douglas St., Sioux City, Iowa.
1918.
- Mrs. W. YORKE STEVENSON, 251 South 18th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
- Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., Woodbridge Hall, Yale Station, New
Haven, Conn. 1900.
- Rev. Dr. JOSEPH STOLZ, 4714 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Hon. MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- A. J. SUNSTEIN, Farmers Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. LEO SUPPAN (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 2109a Russell Ave.,
St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
- 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.
- Prof. F. J. TEGGART, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1919.
- 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.
- I. NEWTON TRAGER, 944 Marion Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, O. 1920.
- Rev. ARCHIBALD TREMAYNE, 4138 Brooklyn Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1918.

- TSEH LING TSU, 1201 W. Clark St., Urbana, Ill. 1918.
 DAVID ARTHUR TURNURE, 109 East 71st St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 DUDLEY TYNG, Milford, Mass. 1920.
 Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, 44 East 76th St., New York, 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.
 Mrs. JOHN KING VAN RENSSELAER, 157 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
 LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
 Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
 Rev. SAMUEL W. WASS, 177 Soudan Ave., N. Toronto, Canada. 1917.
 Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
 Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
 ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 12-16 John St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 MORRIS F. WESTHEIMER, Traction Bldg., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 MILTON C. WESTPHAL, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.
 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.
 PETER WIERNIK, 220 Henry St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 HERMAN WILE, Ellicott St. cor. Carroll St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. HERBERT L. WILLETT (Univ. of Chicago), 6119 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, The Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.
 Prof. CLARENCE RUSSELL WILLIAMS, St. Stephen's College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y. 1920.
 Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS (Univ. of California), 1410 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1901.
 Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
 Mrs. F. W. WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
 Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
 Prof. CURT PAUL WIMMER, Columbia University, College of Pharmacy, 115 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.
 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, 6834 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1911.
 HENRY B. WITTON, 290 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
 Prof. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON (Univ. of Wisconsin), 1113 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wis. 1904.

- Dr. HENRY A. WOLFSON, 35 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, Broadway & 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1919.
Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD (Dartmouth College), 23 North Main St., Hanover, N. H. 1917.
Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
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), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.
Dr. S. C. YLVISAKER, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1913.
Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
LOUIS GABRIEL ZELSON, 427 Titan St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911.
JOSEPH SOLOMON ZUCKERBAUM (Mizrachi Teachers' Institute), 2 West 111th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
Rev. Dr. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, Cairo, Egypt. 1920.

[Total: 472]



JOURNAL 1
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY
JAMES A. MONTGOMERY FRANKLIN EDGERTON
Professors in the University of Pennsylvania

VOLUME 41

In Memoriam Morris Jastrow, Jr.

PUBLISHED FOR THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

1921

Printed by The John C. Winston Company,
Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

CONTENTS

211

	PAGE
IN MEMORIAM MORRIS JASTROW, JR.	322
Portrait	322
MORGENSTERN, J.: Morris Jastrow, Jr., as a Biblical Critic	322
BARTON, G. A.: The Contributions of Morris Jastrow, Jr., to the History of Religion	327
CLAY, A. T.: Professor Jastrow as an Assyriologist	333
Bibliography of Morris Jastrow, Jr.	337
ADLER, C.: A New Hebrew Press	225
BARBÔUR, B. L.: Buruṣaskī, a Language of Northern Kashmir	60
BARRET, L. C.: The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Book Eight	264
Note on Pāippalāda 6.18	318
BARTON, G. A.: Notes on Dr. Peters' Notes and Suggestions	150
BISHOP, C. W.: The Elephant and its Ivory in Ancient China	290
BLAKE, F. R.: A New Method of Syntactical Arrangement	467
BLOOMFIELD, M.: The Hittite Language	195
On a Possible Pre-Vedic Form in Pāli and Prākṛit	465
BROWN, G. W.: Note on Angarōs, in Montgomery's 'Aramaic Incanta- tion Texts from Nippur'	159
CHIERA, E.: A New Creation Story	459
CLAY, A. T.: The Antiquity of Babylonian Civilization	241
A New King of Babylonia	313
Gobryas, Governor of Babylonia	466
DOUGHERTY, R. P.: Ancient Teimā and Babylonia	458
EDGERTON, F.: On the Doubling of Consonants in the Seam of Certain Pāli Compounds	462
EFROS, I.: An Emendation to Jer. 4. 29	75
GOTTHEIL, R.: An Answer to the Dhimmis	383
GRIERSON, G.: Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages	235
HOMMEL, F.: The Oldest Dome-Structure in the World	230
JACKSON, A. V. W.: The Location of the Farnbāg Fire, the Most Ancient of the Zoroastrian Fires	81
JASTROW, M., JR.: An Assyrian Law Code	1
Huruppāti, 'Betrothal Gifts'	311
KENT, R. G.: Addendum on a Difficult Old Persian Passage	74
LEVITAN, I. S.: Dr. Efros' Emendation of Jer. 4. 29	316
MICHELSON, T.: Note on Magadhi <i>ahake</i>	459
Once More Shāhbāzgarhi <i>ulthanam</i>	460
The Locative Singular of Masculine and Neuter <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> Stems in Śaurasenī Prākṛit	461
MONTGOMERY, J. A.: The 'Two Youths' in the LXX to Dan. 6	316
NORTON, R.: Note on Tantrākhyāyika IV, A 286	76
OLMSTEAD, A. T.: Shalmaneser III and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power	345

	PAGE
PETERS, J. P.: Notes and Suggestions on the Early Sumerian Religion and its Expression	131
— The Tower of Babel at Borsippa	157
PRINCE, J. D.: Possible Non-Indo-European Elements in 'Hittite' . .	210
SAUNDERS, V.: Some Literary Aspects of the Absence of Tragedy in the ■ Classical Sanskrit Drama	152
SCHMIDT, N.: The Two Recensions of Slavonic Enoch	307
SUKTHANKAR, V. S.: Studies in Bhāsa, II	107
THAYER, G. W.: A Rare Work by Sir Henry Miers Elliot	73
TOLMAN, H. C.: Persian Words in the Glosses of Hesychius	236

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY AT BALTIMORE, 1921	161
PROCEEDINGS OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH, 1921	188
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY	78, 238, 320, 472
NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.	78, 238, 320, 473
PERSONALIA	79, 160, 239, 320, 474
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE SOCIETY	475
LIST OF MEMBERS	479

AN ASSYRIAN LAW CODE

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

I

TWENTY YEARS AGO, the French expedition excavating at Susa under the direction of M. Jacques de Morgan discovered the magnificent diorite block—about eight feet high—containing on its two sides the famous Babylonian Code of the Babylonian king Hammurabi (2123–2081 B. C.) which since its first publication by Professor Vincent Scheil¹ has been the subject of constant study by Assyriologists as well as by students of the history of law.² The discovery of this code in almost perfect condition—except for some columns intentionally polished off by the vandal Elamitic conqueror³ who carried the Code as a trophy of war from Babylon to Susa and had no doubt intended writing an inscription glorifying himself on the erased portion⁴—was heralded at the time as one of the most important contributions to our knowledge of social conditions and of legal practice in Babylonia during the second millennium B. C. What Hammurabi did was to codify existing laws and to prescribe methods of judicial proce-

¹ *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Vol. 4 (Paris 1902).

² Despite the subsequent translations into English and German by Johns, Harper, Rogers, Winckler, Peiser, Müller, Ungnad and others, a new translation, embodying the results of detailed investigations, correcting erroneous readings, filling up gaps and giving a more accurate rendering of the legal phraseology, is very much needed. New fragments of the Code on clay tablets are constantly turning up. So since the publication by Ungnad in 1909, of the 'Stele' text and of many Babylonian and Assyrian fragments on clay tablets (*Keilschrifttexte der Gesetze Hammurabis*), a large tablet found at Nippur has been published by Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (University of Pennsylvania Museum—Babylonian Section, Vol. 5, Philadelphia 1914), No. 93, a fragment by Clay in *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven, 1915), No. 34, and four fragments by Schroeder in his *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1920), Nos. 7 and 190–192.

³ The gap can be partially filled out by fragments of copies of the Code on clay tablets.

⁴ The conqueror of Babylonia who carried off the trophy was probably Sutruk-Nahunte, c. 1100 B. C.

ture which, as the thousands of legal documents found in Babylonian mounds testify, continued in vogue for many centuries, aye to the end of the Babylonian period, though no doubt somewhat modified from time to time, as conditions changed.⁵ A discovery made by the German explorers of the mound of Kaleb-Shergat—the site of Assur, the earliest capital of Assyria⁶—and now published in a volume of texts from Assur,⁷ takes equal rank with the finding of the Hammurabi Code, for the German explorers found an Assyrian Code of Laws that appears to have been fully as extensive as the Code of Hammurabi, if not more so. Moreover, this Assyrian Code, we have every reason to believe, occupied the same position in the north that Hammurabi's Code did in the south. Through this new code we now have the means of instituting a comparison between legal procedure and enactments in Assyria with those prevailing in Babylonia. Each code reflects admirably the social conditions existing in the country for which it was drawn up; and the contrast between the spirit of the Hammurabi Code and that revealed in the new Assyrian Code is exceedingly instructive for a comparative study of the older and more refined Babylonian culture with the rougher and cruder civilization of militaristic Assyria.

Exactly when and on what part of the mound the portions of the Code recovered were found, the editor of the text, Dr. Otto Schroeder, does not tell us. It probably formed part of the extensive library archive discovered at Assur, of which the six volumes of religious texts⁸ published by Dr. Erich Ebeling give us hundreds of specimens. This archive is considerably older than the great library gathered by King Ashurbanapal (668-626 B. C.) and discovered by Layard in the ruins of the king's palace

⁵ Hammurabi's Code itself gives evidence of modification in the application of legal principles to changing conditions. See Jastrow, 'Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurabi' (*JAOS* Vol. 36, pp. 1-33).

⁶ Excavations were carried on at Kaleb-Shergat by the German Orient Society from 1903 till the spring of 1914. The same society excavated the mounds covering the site of Babylon and other mounds in the south from 1899 till the spring of 1917, when the definite advance of the British troops into Mesopotamia compelled the abandonment of the work.

⁷ Otto Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1920, being the 35th volume of the *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*), Nos. 1-6 and 143-144 and 193.

⁸ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (6 parts Leipzig 1915-1919). Several additional volumes are announced as in preparation.

at Kouyunjik—on the site of ancient Nineveh—about 65 years ago. Unfortunately, the Assyrian Code is far from being perfect. Only one tablet of the series which comprised the laws is in a good state of preservation, though even this tablet, comprising eight columns—four on the obverse and four on the reverse with about 100 lines to each column—contains some serious gaps, and many of the lines are only partially preserved. A second tablet, likewise of eight columns but less well preserved, furnishes us with 18 laws additional to the 55 to be distinguished in the other tablet, but of the rest of the Code we have only fragments—seven in all—in Dr. Schroeder's volume.⁹ The two large tablets—Nos. 1 and 2 of Schroeder's edition—evidently belong to the same series, and since text No. 1 contains the date, and a part of the eighth column is uninscribed (for the reason that the text had come to an end), we may—provisionally at least—assume that this tablet is the last of the series. Text No. 2, therefore, represents an earlier tablet in the series. We are unable to say how many tablets the series in its complete form comprised. Judging from the detailed manner in which the laws are set forth in texts Nos. 1 and 2 as well as in the seven small fragments, it is easier to err on the side of underestimation than of overestimation. Text No. 1 is almost entirely taken up with laws in which women enter as the subject, though the variety of themes introduced is large. Text No. 2, so far as preserved, is confined to laws about fields and houses, and the treatment is equally detailed. If the Code covered as wide a scope as that of Hammurabi—and there is no reason to suppose that it did not—at least three more tablets must be assumed for the whole series. Since each tablet of 8 columns must have contained over 800 lines,¹⁰ we would thus have a series of over 4,000 lines as a minimum, but the series may well have consisted of considerably more than five tablets. Dr. Schroeder notes (Pl. 14) that there are traces of effaced characters in the lower part of the uninscribed portion of the eighth column. No doubt the name of the series was given and the number of the tablet in the series. Of the colophon, however, we have only

⁹ The more complete of the two large tablets is No. 1 in Schroeder's edition covering Plates 1–13; the other less complete tablet is No. 2, covering Plates 14–18 and the seven fragments are Nos. 3–6 (Pl. 18–21), 143–144 (Pl. 89) and 193 (Pl. 106 [obv.] and 107 [rev.]).

¹⁰ Text No. 1 comprised 828 lines.

the date, indicated, as usual in Assyrian documents, according to the eponym for the year in which the document was drawn up.¹¹ The name of the eponym in text No. 1 is only partially preserved, *Sa.....u.....*. Since no such name occurs in eponym lists that have come down to us, we can only conclude from the character of the writing, from the manner of writing words and from indications of language that the text dates from about 1500 B. C. A date before 1000 B. C. is made probable also from the occurrence of the old Assyrian name, *Sarati*,¹² for the sixth month in the colophon instead of the later *Ululu*, which is more common after 900 B. C., though the older names of months are occasionally met with even after that date. As for the seven smaller fragments, published by Schroeder, while there can be no doubt that they are parts of the same Code as texts Nos. 1 and 2, it is not certain that they all belong to one and the same copy. There were no doubt several copies in the archive discovered at Assur; and judging from the greater length of the lines, Nos. 6 and 143 and 144 may represent parts of a second copy. On the other hand, none of the fragments duplicate any of the preserved portions of texts Nos. 1 and 2, nor can we fit any of the fragments into the gaps in these two texts. For the present, we must, therefore, leave the question as to the relationship of the seven fragments to the two large tablets in abeyance. It is to be hoped that more fragments of the Code will turn up in Berlin or in Constantinople, and one may venture to express the hope that the authorities of the British Museum or of the Louvre, now that, through the authority of their governments, access can be had to the collections of the Constantinople Museum, will have a search made for fragments of the Code and make them accessible to scholars through an early publication. No greater service could be rendered at present to Oriental scholarship than to supplement the publica-

¹¹ The years of a king's reign were drawn up in lists prepared by the scribes to act as a guide in fixing dates. The king himself was the eponym (*limu*) for his first year, but each succeeding year had a different eponym after whom the year was dated. It is, therefore, only in the case that we have the list of all the eponyms for any reign that we can fix accurate dates for Assyrian documents. See Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (New York 1912), pp. 219-238, now to be supplemented by texts Nos. 19-24 of Schroeder's volume; and perhaps also No. 16.

¹² Written *Sa-ra-a-ti* (cf. VR 43, 32 occurring also in Cappadocian tablets), and the day appears to be the second.

tion of the German Orient Society, if happily some portions of the Code should have found their way to Constantinople, to which centre apparently all the finds made at Assur were shipped before the division was made with the Berlin Museum. German scholars can no doubt be depended upon to make a further search for fragments in the share of the tablets that were assigned to the Berlin Museum.

II

Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the authorities of the German Orient Society for placing such portions of the Code as have been identified at the disposal of scholars, even before the appearance of the translation and interpretation which the editor, Dr. Otto Schroeder, announces as in preparation. The full credit to be given to him for his *editio princeps* will not be diminished if meanwhile independent translations of the Code published by him should be made by others. The importance of the Code for our knowledge of social conditions in ancient Assyria, as well as for purposes of comparison with the Hammurabi Code and for the fragments that we have of a Sumerian Code, forming the prototype for the compilation made by the scribes of Hammurabi,¹³ not only justifies an immediate translation into English, but makes it desirable that independent renderings should be made accessible to those interested in the ancient civilization of Mesopotamia and to students of the development of law and of legal institutions and procedure. The Code fairly bristles with difficulties, and it will be by the combined and independent efforts of many scholars only that we shall be able to reach a definite interpretation, and to solve the difficulties inherent in the many new terms revealed by the Code, in the complicated syntactical constructions as well as in the strange verbal and noun forms encountered.

¹³ The credit belongs to Professor Clay of having discovered and published the first fragment of such a Sumerian Code, forming No. 28 of the texts gathered by him in his splendid volume *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. Two further fragments in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum were published by Dr. H. F. Lutz in his volume of *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts* (Philadelphia 1919) Nos. 101 and 102.

Before giving my translation of texts Nos. 1 and 2,¹⁴ to which I have added notes, restricted to the most essential explanations, it may be useful to summarize the general character of the Code.

III

It is probably fair to assume that the new Assyrian Code represents a codification of existing usage in legal decisions and procedure at the time of the codification, as is the case with the Hammurabi Code. We may, therefore, judge both Codes by the spirit which breathes through them. From this point of view, the Assyrian Code although half a millennium later than Hammurabi's compilation reveals a harsher and cruder aspect which crops out more particularly in the frequency of punishments that stand in no logical association with the crime but are either intended to humiliate an offender or to inflict bodily torment, due to the survival of the primitive (though natural) spirit of vengeance for an injury or wrong. Among such punishments we find with nauseating frequency the cutting off of the ear or the nose or both, or boring the ear and mutilating it, or mutilating the entire face, lashes varying in number from 20 to 100 blows, castration¹⁵ in two instances, public exposure by taking an offender's clothes away, and in one case impalement, to be carried out even on a dead body.¹⁶ Now some of these punishments likewise

¹⁴ Of the seven fragments, I have contented myself—at the close of this article—with a summary of the contents so far as this can be determined. In the case of one of the larger fragments, No. 6, it is possible to restore portions of four laws with some certainty, but not without some conjectures that cannot at present be confirmed.

I wish to acknowledge valuable aid received from my friend, Charles H. Burr, Esq., of the Philadelphia Bar, in selecting the proper legal terms, and who placed his profound and accurate legal knowledge at my disposal for unraveling some of the intricacies in the Code. I also owe to Drs. Chiera and Lutz some suggestions made in the course of our study of the Code in the Assyrian Seminar of the University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵ The term used occurs in the Code for the first time—but one may feel quite sure that the proposed explanation (see Note 64 to § 14 of Text No. 1) is correct.

¹⁶ Text No. 1 § 51, the case of a woman who by malpractice brings on a miscarriage. Besides being impaled she is to have no burial—the most horrible curse from the Babylonian-Assyrian point of view, and even if she dies under the illegal operation, the impalement is to be carried out on the corpse which is to remain unburied.

occur in the Hammurabi Code, but with much less frequency—in itself an indication of the growth of social refinement. There is only one instance of whipping as a punishment in the Hammurabi Code, viz.: in the case of a freeman striking another (§ 202). The offender receives 60 lashes with an oxtail and, as is added, ‘in public’, to show that humiliation as well as bodily torment was intended. Impalement is imposed as a punishment in the case of the woman (§ 153) who conspires for the death of her husband. Cutting off the ear is prescribed as a punishment (a) for the slave who strikes a freeman (§ 205) and (b) for the slave (§ 282) who repudiates his owner. Castrating an offender or removing his or her clothes does not occur; and it is perhaps significant also of the difference in the relations of the populace to the ruler (or to the government as we would say) in the south from those prevailing in the north, that forced labor which is a most frequent punishment in the Assyrian Code—called ‘service of the king’ and generally for one month, imposed for every variety of offenses—is entirely absent from the Hammurabi Code. Even more significant as illustrating the divergent spirit of the two codes is the observation to be made that bodily punishments in most instances in the Hammurabi Code stand in some logical association with the crime, whereas in the Assyrian Code such association is exceptional. According to the Hammurabi Code an offender’s fingers are cut off in four instances (a) in the case of a son striking his father (§ 195), (b) branding a slave without the consent of the owner (§ 226), (c) stealing from a field which one has been hired to cultivate, (d) the case of a physician who by an operation brings about the patient’s death or destroys the patient’s eye (§ 218). In all these cases, the punishment is prescribed on the principle that the hand which did the deed should be mutilated; and even the still harsher punishment, prescribing that the breasts of a wet-nurse are to be cut off (§ 194), who substitutes a child for one entrusted to her care that has died, betrays this association. In the Assyrian Code—so far as preserved—there are only two instances (No. 1, §§ 8–9) of such connection. The woman who assaults a man—‘stretches out her hands’, as the phrase runs—and injures him, has her finger cut off, and *vice versa* if the man assaults a woman. In further association between the crime and the punishment, we find that the man who in a brawl bites a woman has his lower lip chopped off. The punishment falls on the hand or on the lip that com-

mitted the deed. Outside of these instances bodily punishments in the Assyrian Code are imposed without any association with the crime committed.

Another feature of the Code of a general character is the cruder method of judicial procedure in comparison with the Hammurabi Code. The constant formula 'they seize him (or her) and determine his (or her) guilt' shows to be sure the existence of an established court which tries an offender, but the phrase is also applied (Text No. 1, § 14) to individuals. Witnesses (§ 11) may 'seize' an adulterer and put him to death, which is clearly a survival of an age in which punishment was imposed by individuals or by any body of citizens. Besides such instances of 'lynch law', recognized as legitimate,¹⁷ we have the frequent phrase, 'he may do as he pleases', applied to the husband or father in the case that his wife or his daughter has committed an offense. We actually find the husband authorized to impose punishment on his wife (Text No. 1, § 3) and, what is more, the same punishment that he imposes upon his wife is meted out to the one who is an accessory to a crime. The husband is free either to cut off his wife's ear in case of theft or not to do so (Text No. 1, § 4). He may kill her or not if he discovers her with another man (Text No. 1, § 14); and equal liberty is given to him in the treatment of his daughter who has committed an offense.

All this points quite clearly to the existence of less settled conditions in the north during the second millennium B.C., in contrast to what one finds in the Hammurabi Code, which does not introduce any such phrase as 'he may do as he pleases'. It assumes throughout judicial procedure by a recognized officially constituted tribunal which pronounces the verdict and—apparently—is the sole body to authorize the carrying out of its decrees.

Wife and daughters in the Assyrian Code are regarded entirely from the early point of view as forming part of the possessions of a man, over whom he has full authority. Whereas the Hammurabi Code in theory still recognizes this relationship, in practise the many laws bearing on the relationship of husband to wife, and of father to children, tend towards curbing the authority of the husband and father, as the laws dealing with slaves and with debtors tend to reduce the arbitrary power of the master over

¹⁷ It is said (Text No. 1 § 14): no guilt attaches to those who thus kill an adulterer.

his slaves and of the creditor over his debtor. In the Assyrian Code, divorce is treated in a single paragraph (§ 36) which gives the husband the choice—according ‘as his heart moves him’, as the phrase runs—to give his wife something when he dismisses her or to send her away empty-handed. The Hammurabi Code has quite a number of restrictions to such an arbitrary procedure.

The assumption throughout the Babylonian Code is that a man divorces his wife either because she is childless or because of some charge against her. In the former case it is provided (§ 138) that the marriage settlement and dowry be returned to the wife. If there was no marriage settlement, the husband gives his wife 60 shekels of silver on divorcing her (§ 139). She is not sent away ‘empty-handed’. If there are children (§ 137), the divorced wife receives her dowry and sufficient maintenance to rear her children; and upon their reaching the age of majority, she is given a share of her former husband’s estate equivalent to the portion of one son and is free to marry whom she chooses. The husband is prohibited (§ 148) from divorcing his wife because she has become afflicted with disease. He must keep her and support her in his house as long as she lives, but if she prefers to live elsewhere, she receives her dowry. Only in case there is a definite charge of neglecting her husband and her household, of being a ‘gad-about’, is she sent away empty-handed (§ 141). Moreover, the wife has a right to bring a charge of neglect or of improper conduct against her husband, and if the charge is established (§ 142) she recovers her dowry and goes to her father’s house.

It is in keeping with the general attitude toward the wives and daughters as the property of the husband and father that the wife and daughter can be sold or pledged for debt to a creditor. The Hammurabi Code (§ 117), while recognizing the right, changes the transfer to a limited indenture for three years, and provides that ‘in the fourth year they (wife, son and daughter) must be given their freedom’; and as a further provision, dictated by humane considerations, the master who sells a female slave who has born him children for debt, must ransom the woman (§ 119). There is no time limit to the pledging of a member of a man’s household in the Assyrian Code. On the other hand, it is precisely in connection with this subject, that we find the newly discovered code striking a higher note. It is provided (Text No. 1, § 47) that a creditor who holds his debtor’s daughter for

debt cannot hand her over to a third party without the consent of the father. In case the father is dead, the opportunity must be offered to the brothers to redeem their sister and a period of one month must be allowed to any brother who is desirous of doing so. As a further protection to the unfortunate daughter, it is provided that if the man who holds her for her father's debts treats her badly (§ 38) she may be rescued by any one, who, however, must pay the full value of the girl to the creditor, in order to marry the girl.

The unquestionably harsher aspects of the Assyrian Code as a whole in comparison with the Hammurabi Code must not blind us to the tendency to be noted towards protecting those whose position is dependent upon others. So, *e. g.*, Text No. 1, § 45 imposes on the sons to support their widowed mother in case the father has failed to make provision for her; and it is added they should do so tenderly as one treats 'a bride whom one loves'. If she happens to be a second wife, and has no children of her own, then the duty of support falls upon the children of the first wife. She is to have a home with one of the children.

The woman abandoned by her husband who has deliberately gone away or who has been captured while in government service is taken care of. The duty is imposed on her to remain faithful to her husband for a term of years—two (Text No. 1, § 44) or five (Text No. 1, § 35) according to the conditions of the desertion—and if the husband has left her without maintenance, the woman can appeal to the state to step in (Text No. 1, § 44), which makes over to her during her husband's absence the 'field and house', as the phrase runs, for her support. If, however, she marries within the interval, her husband on his return can claim his wife, while the children born to the second husband belong to the latter.

From the sociological point of view the new code is of extraordinary interest. It reveals a state of society in which sexual immorality had become sufficiently rampant to necessitate the large number of paragraphs—no less than 14 in the preserved portions of the Code—that deal with the various degrees of illicit and unnatural sexual intercourse and the varying circumstances under which it takes place. The 'procuress' appears by the side of the 'adulterer'. The harlot is a fixed institution (Text No. 1, §§ 39 and 50). Sodomy and malpractice find a place in the Code (Text No. 1, §§ 18, 19 and 51). On the other hand

in the regulation of property rights we find comparatively advanced legislation to prevent encroachment on a man's domain. Text No. 2—so far as preserved—deals largely with the regulation of property rights. The one who removes boundaries is severely punished, and a distinction is made between a 'large' and a 'small' trespass of this character (Text No. 2, §§ 8 and 9). Light is thrown on agricultural methods by provisions against using property not belonging to one for digging a well, for planting orchards, or for making bricks (Text No. 2, §§ 10, 12-15). Irrigation is regulated (Text No. 2, §§ 17-18) and the division of an estate carefully provided for (Text No. 2, §§ 1-5). Of special interest is the elaborate procedure for the purchase of an estate (Text No. 2, § 6) for a proclamation to be made three times, calling upon all who have a claim on an estate to appear before the recorder and deposit their claims, in written form. A month's time is allotted for such notice and the purchase is made in the presence of a group of officials which includes a representative of the king, the surrogate, the city scribe, the recorder, the prefect, and three magistrates.

Another feature, meriting special notice, are the provisions for the regulation of the dress of women when appearing in public (Text No. 1, § 39). The paragraph in question enables us to trace back the veiling of women—still so widespread in the Near East—to the second millennium B. C.; and the point of view from which veiling and covering of the head (by which a complete enveloping is meant) is regarded, is instructive for the light that it sheds upon the origin of the custom. Wives and daughters are to be veiled or to have their heads covered, or both, to mark them as the property of the husband and father, and as a warning to others to keep their hands off. Hence the hierodule who remains unmarried—who belongs to the temple and not to any man—is to be unveiled, and likewise the harlot, because she belongs to *any* man. A severe punishment is imposed upon a harlot who appears veiled in public, as also upon the one who sees her thus disguised and fails to report her 'to the palace'. The original purpose of the veiling shades over into the factor of social distinction and accordingly slave girls are likewise to go unveiled. This gradual change in the custom is again of special interest, because in other respects, the Assyrian Code is marked rather by the absence of class distinctions, in contrast to the Hammurabi Code which is full of special legislation for the

'plebeians'¹⁸ and 'slaves' by the side of 'freemen' who form a species of aristocracy. It is of course possible that in the missing portions of the Code the same distinctions were introduced, but their absence in the preserved portions is at least worth noticing. Society both in Babylonia and Assyria had passed beyond the stage of recognizing the 'clan' or kinsman as representing a social unit at the time when the two Codes now at our disposal were compiled, and it may well be that the further stage of a sharp division of classes was reached in the south long before it made its appearance in the north.

Lastly, the new Code is of interest because of the additions that it furnishes to legal phraseology. Besides the terms above noted, we encounter here for the first time the term for debtor (*ḥabbūlu*) as against *bēl ḥubulli* for creditor—already known to us. We have the distinction between the *amirānu*, 'the eye witness', and the *išmeānu* 'the one who hears a report'.

The person pledged for debt (*tadinānu*) and various officials for land transactions enter upon the scene. The term for the raising of loans (*kīdu*) on deposits or on property is another interesting addition. Lying outside the strictly legal province, we have also the many new grammatical forms which show a wider divergence in the speech of the north during the second millennium from that of the south than we had hitherto suspected.¹⁹

Reserving a further and more detailed study of the Code in comparison with the Hammurabi Code, in which the laws common to both will be placed in parallel columns and which will further reveal the different social conditions prevailing in Babylonia—so essentially a cultural power—as against those in a militaristic state like Assyria, let us now turn to the translation of the Code itself.

¹⁸ See C. H. W. Johns on these distinctions in his valuable work on *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (London 1914) p. 8. We owe to Johns the correct interpretation of the term Maš-En-Kak = *muškēnu* as the 'plebeian' in the Hammurabi Code.

¹⁹ The grammar of the Code merits a detailed study which will no doubt be undertaken by some Assyriologist. As a single illustration, we may call attention to the constant use of the ending *ūni* in the plural of verbs, as in classical Arabic.

1

(Badly preserved. Treats of the case of a woman—the wife of a man or a man's daughter—entering a temple apparently to make restitution for something that she has stolen. The part dealing with the punishment is too mutilated to be made out.²⁰)

2

If a woman, be she the wife of a man or a man's daughter, does not confess²¹ the theft or under pressure²² makes restitution, that woman bears her sin²³; on her husband, her sons and her daughters she has no claim.²⁴

3

If a man is sick or has died (and) his wife steals something from his house, whether she gives it to a man or to a woman, or to anyone whomsoever, the wife of the man as well as the receivers shall be put to death; or if the wife whose husband is living steals

²⁰ The law is the first of a group dealing with theft committed by a woman, who as wife or daughter is a man's property. The Hammurabi Code deals with theft from a temple—and to which it adds 'or from a palace'—in §§ 6–8. It decrees that both the thief and receiver of the stolen property, are put to death, but the severity of the old law is modified by the exception (§ 8) that in case the stolen object is an ox or ass or sheep or pig, the thief if a freeman is to restore thirty fold the value of what he took, and if he be a plebeian ten-fold; and only in case he have not the wherewithal to make restitution is he put to death. The Hammurabi Code has no special laws with regard to women who steal, from which we may conclude that in §§ 6–8 the conventional phrase beginning 'if a man,' etc., applies to women as well.

²¹ Text has *ta-tak-ti-bi* = *taktibi* with a redundant initial syllable, for which there are several examples, for example, *ta-at-ta-al-pa-at* (col. 1, 83) = *talpat*; *ta-(at)-ta-aš-bat* = *tašbat* (Col. 3, 52).

²² *Mi-ki-it pi-e*, the ideographic writing for which *Ka-ta Šub-ba* (II Rawlinson 39, 13a–b) shows that it is to be rendered 'falling of the mouth', in contrast to *Ka-ta Ē=ši-it pi-i* (II Rawlinson 12a–b), 'utterance'. 'Falling of the mouth' cannot mean 'silently', for which we have 'closing of the mouth' (= *si-kur pi-i*, ib. 11b). I take the phrase to mean that the stolen property is restored under pressure.

²³ I. e., she is guilty, *a-ra-an-šá ta-na-aš-ši*, is a parallel to the Hebrew phrase in the Priestly Code *nāsā ḥēṭ* 'bearing sin', e. g., Lev. 19. 17; 22. 9; 24. 15; Num. 9. 13, etc., in the sense of being guilty.

²⁴ *la-a i-ḫar-ri-i-bi*, 'she shall not approach', i. e., she has no claim on any members of her family. Cf. § 26, the husband 'shall not approach' the house of his father-in-law, i. e., has no claim on it, if at the time of divorce from his wife, she is living in her father's house.

from the house of her husband, whether she gives it to a man or to a woman or to any one whomsoever, the man seizes²⁵ his wife and imposes punishment²⁶; and on the receiver of the stolen property which she has given away, (the same) punishment is to be imposed²⁷ that the husband imposes on his wife.

4

If a male slave or a female slave receives anything²⁸ from the wife of a man, the nose and the ear of the slave, male or female, shall be cut off, and for the stolen property²⁹ full restitution must be made.³⁰ Either, the man cuts off his wife's ear, or if he releases her,³¹ and does not cut off her ear, then also (the ear) of the slave, male or female, shall not be cut off, and they need not make restitution for the stolen property.

5

If a man's wife steals something from a man's house and through someone else it is restored, the owner of the stolen property must

²⁵ *û-ba-ar* from *ba'āru* 'catch', as in the phrase 'they seize him and determine his guilt,' used throughout the Code for arresting a person and convicting him of a crime.

²⁶ *hi-i-ta* literally 'sin', but here as throughout the Code for 'guilt' (like the Hebrew *hēl*) and also 'punishment'. This authority given to the husband to 'seize' his wife and impose punishment on his wife (as on his daughter) in certain cases is a survival of primitive conditions when punishment was meted out by individuals and not by a judicial tribunal. See above, and parallels in Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, Vol. 2, p. 140 *seq.* Note also that the punishment meted out to the receiver follows the arbitrary one that the man imposes on his wife.

²⁷ Generally the impersonal 'they' with plural of the verb is used in the part of the law announcing the decision. It seems preferable to render this by the use of the passive, since the code does not tell us, except in certain specific instances, who actually carries out the punishment. It is interesting to note that here as in other instances, e. g., § 4, the accessory to a crime receives a punishment equal to that of the main offender. Modern law provides that the accessory can never receive punishment in excess of what is imposed on the main offender.

²⁸ I. e. stolen.

²⁹ *šur-ka*, the 'stolen' property.

³⁰ *û-mal-lu-û*, literally 'they fill out'.

³¹ *û-uš-šar*, used throughout the Code in the sense of 'letting one go'. A synonym is *paṭāru* 'redeem', e. g., § 5, though this verb is also used as the Biblical equivalent in the sense of 'buying off', e. g., § 47.

swear that when it was taken 'the stolen property was in my house³².' If the husband chooses he may restore the stolen property and redeem her (i. e. his wife)³³ and cut off her ear, but if her husband does not wish to redeem her, then the owner of the stolen property may take her³⁴ and cut off her nose.

6

If a man's wife puts a pledge³⁵ in pawn³⁶, the receiver must surrender it as stolen property.³⁷

7

If a woman stretch out her hands against a man, they seize her. She must pay 30 manas of lead and she receives 20 lashes.

8

If a woman in a brawl injures a man's testicle, they cut off one of her fingers; and if the man engages³⁸ a physician and the

³² I. e., he must identify the stolen property.

³³ *i-pa-at-tar-ši*, a synonym of *uššuru* 'let her go' (above § 4). The implication in the Assyrian Code is that a woman who steals something from a man's house (not her husband's) forfeits her liberty, unless her husband makes good the theft.

³⁴ I. e., as his property, and presumably either to sell her or to reduce her to servitude.

³⁵ *ma-aš-ka-at-la* (from *šakānu*) is 'something put on deposit'; it occurs again in Text No. 6 obv., 11, and as in our passage with *ina kīdi*, and finds its equivalent in the phrase of the Hammurabi Code, § 7 *ana maššarūtīm* 'for safe keeping'. This law provides that the receiver of stolen property is put to death, even though he only accepted it for safe keeping. As the accessory to the crime he receives the same punishment as the main offender.

³⁶ *i-na ki-i-di*. According to *Cuneiform Texts XXVII*, Pl. 12, 11, *ki-di* is a part of the palace, but our passage, as well as § 43, where the phrase is again met with, leaves no doubt that *ina kīdi* may designate the raising of money on some object of value—real or movable estate. It is therefore the equivalent to our 'in pawn'. The *kīdu* of the palace may therefore be a storing place of some kind.

³⁷ The woman is punished according to the law set forth in the previous paragraphs.

³⁸ *ur-tak-ki-is* from *rakāsu* 'to contract', from which we have *riksu* and *riksātu* used in the Hammurabi Code and in the Assyrian Code, as well as in legal documents for a 'contract'.

other testicle of itself³⁹ is destroyed, compensation⁴⁰ shall be offered; or if in a fight the second testicle is (also) crushed, the fingers⁴¹ of both hands they mutilate.⁴²

9

If a man stretches (his) hand against the wife of a man, treating her roughly⁴³ (?), they seize him and determine his guilt⁴⁴. His fingers are cut off. If he bites her, his lower lip with the blade⁴⁵ (?) of a sharp (?) axe is cut off.

10

(Covering Col. I, 97 to II, 13.)

(Deals with murder, but the text is too fragmentary to be translated.)

11

If a man's wife goes out into the highway (and) a man seizes her, without even proposing intercourse with her⁴⁶ and not giving her the chance to protect herself,⁴⁷ but seizes her by force and

³⁹ *il-ti-šá* = *ištiša*, occurring again, col. 3, 56 (§ 23) in the sense of 'by itself', independently, etc.

⁴⁰ I read [*mu*]-*ri-im-ma tar-ti i-ši*. *Murim* from *rāmu* 'offer' or 'grant'.

⁴¹ I supply [*Rit-Lal*] *Meš* = *rittē* (like Hammurabi Code §§ 195, 218, 226, 253) or perhaps we are to read [*Šú-si*] *Meš* = *ubanāte* 'fingers'.

⁴² *i-na-bu-lu*.

⁴³ *ki-i bu-ri e-pu-us-si*. The context points to some violent assault, like scratching or tearing the flesh. *Būru* ordinarily means a 'young animal', which however is hardly in place here.

⁴⁴ *ub-ta-e-ru-ú-uš uk-ta-i-nu-ú-uš*, the standing phrase throughout the Code for what we call arrest and trial. See above, p. 8. From the same stem *ba'āru* 'catch', we have in the Hammurabi Code the official *Šú-Ħa* = *bā'iru* as the 'constable' (§§ 26-28, 30 and 32, 36, 37, etc.), while *uk-tin* 'to fix the guilt' occurs in §§ 1-3 and 127 of the Hammurabi Code.

⁴⁵ [*me*]-*ri-im-ti*, the meaning of which is to be deduced from the context.

⁴⁶ *la-a ni-ik-ki-me iḫ-ti-bi-a-aš-še* 'does not say to her *niḫkime*', the latter term being the proposal to the woman to give herself to the man. The underlying stem *nāku* was recognized many years ago by Oppert as denoting sexual intercourse. It occurs in the Code in a variety of verbal forms; also the noun form *naikānu* for the ravisher or adulterer. See Meissner, *Assyrische Studien*, 4, p. 10 and the passages there quoted.

⁴⁷ I. e., there is no attempt on the part of the man to try to persuade the woman, but he uses force, while she makes no advances on her part.

rapes her,⁴⁸ whether he merely overpowers⁴⁹ the man's wife, or actually has intercourse with her,⁵⁰ the witnesses⁵¹ may seize him and put the man to death. No guilt⁵² attaches to the woman.

12

If the wife of a man leaves her house to meet a man at a rendezvous⁵³ and he rapes her, knowing that she is another man's wife, then they also⁵⁴ put the wife to death.

13

If a man has intercourse with a man's wife, whether in an interior⁵⁵ (?) or on the highway, knowing that she is another man's wife, they (mutually) agreeing⁵⁶ to do so in the manner customary between a man and his wife⁵⁷, the man is adjudged to be an adulterer.⁵⁸ But if he did not know that she was another

⁴⁸ *ūt-ti-ak-ši* I, 2 from *nāku* as above.

⁴⁹ *ik-šū-du-uš* 'conquers her'.

⁵⁰ *i-ni-ku-ū-ni*.

⁵¹ *še-bu-tu*, who are called in to testify to the assault. From the interesting circumstance that the word *šebutu* means both 'elders' and 'witnesses', one is tempted to conclude that the 'witness' in Babylonian and Assyrian law was a 'professional' witness. The 'elders' in early society would form the natural tribunal; and they would be the ones called in to witness a legal document or to be present at the trial of an offender and to hear testimony in regard to the offender, even though they may not have actually been present at the commission of the crime. *From this point of view, we can understand the extension of the term 'elder' to the very general sense of 'witness', and its still later use without reference to any professional status.

⁵² Or 'punishment'. The term is again *hi-i-ṭa* as above, note 26.

⁵³ *a-šar us-pu-ū-ni* 'a place where (people) gather', i. e., the woman deliberately goes out to meet a man.

⁵⁴ *Ū*, the conjunction which as often has the force of 'also'. The law assumes that the man—as in §11—is likewise put to death.

⁵⁵ *bīt al-tam-me*—a new word which from the context must designate an interior in contrast to 'highway'. It is quite possible that a bed-chamber or even a brothel is meant.

⁵⁶ Literally 'saying'.

⁵⁷ I. e., as though they were man and wife. Note (as in § 22) the elaborate legal phraseology to prove that it is a genuine case of adultery.

⁵⁸ *na-i-ka-na*. See above, note 46. The punishment being death for the man according to the principle involved in § 11, it was not considered necessary to specify it again.

man's wife, the adulterer goes free.⁵⁹ The man seizes his wife and can do what he pleases with her.⁶⁰

14

If a man discovers his wife with a man,⁶¹ they seize him and determine his guilt, and both of them are put to death. There is no guilt⁶² because of him. But if he is caught and either before the king or before judges is brought, they (i. e., the judges) seize him and determine his guilt. If the man has already put his wife to death, then the man⁶³ is also put to death. If he has cut off his wife's nose, the man (i. e., the adulterer) is to be castrated⁶⁴ and his whole face⁶⁵ mutilated.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ *za-a-ku*, the regular term in this Code as in the Hammurabi Code for acquittal, though also used in the wider sense of being free from any further obligation, as e. g., in text No. 2, § 6 (col. 3, 47), as well as to indicate that something is at the 'free' disposal of another, e. g., § 37 (col. 5, 25).

⁶⁰ I. e., the wife is turned over to the husband and he imposes punishment, as in § 3, according to his pleasure.

⁶¹ Literally: 'he takes the man away from his wife'.

⁶² The addition of this phrase *a-ra-an-šú la-aš-šú*, 'there is no guilt because of him', shows that in this case, 'they' are not the judges, but individuals—perhaps witnesses called in by the husband—who, as we would say, lynch the man after ascertaining that he is guilty, i. e., that he knew that it was another man's wife.

⁶³ *a-i-la* another form for *amēlu* (pronounced *awēlu* 'man'). See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 3a.

⁶⁴ *a-na šar-ri-še-en ú-tar* (see also § 19), more literally 'he is made an eunuch'. I owe to my colleague, Professor⁶⁷ Montgomery, the happy suggestion that we have in the word *šaršēn* the name for the 'eunuch', corresponding to the Hebrew *sarīs*, which is no doubt taken over from the Akkadian. The meaning fits the context, and the punishment of castration is appropriate for the adulterer caught in the act in case the husband has already taken the law into his hands by cutting off his wife's nose. It is even more appropriate as a punishment (§ 19) for the one who is guilty of sodomy. These are the only two occurrences of the punishment in the Code; and it is thus interesting to be able to trace the custom of castration to so early a date. Professor Montgomery's suggestion disposes of Schroeder's view (in the brief description of the Code, page viii) that *šaršēn* means 'prison'. There is no evidence for imprisonment as a punishment either in Babylonia or Assyria, whereas, as is well known, the eunuch figures frequently among the escort of the king on Assyrian monuments. The form *šaršēn* with the formative *ēn* (by the side of *ān*) is proper for the designation of a class; and now that the word by itself has been encountered in an Assyrian text, there is no longer any reason to question that the *rab šā-riš* mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions is the 'chief eunuch'. Furthermore, the explanation of *ša-riš* as though com-

(The rest of the paragraph—four lines apparently—is broken off.)

15

If a man [violates]⁶⁷ another man's wife, her mouth⁶⁸ there is no guilt attaching to the man. The husband can impose punishment on his wife according to his pleasure. But if by force he has violated her, they seize him and determine his guilt, the punishment being the same as that imposed upon the man's wife.⁶⁹

16

If a man says to another, thy wife has been raped,⁷⁰ and there are no witnesses, they bind him (i. e. the accused) in fetters and take him to the river.⁷¹

17

If a man says to his companion, whether in private or in a brawl,⁷² 'thy wife has been raped and I caught her', but it turns out that he could not have caught her, and the man actually did not catch her (in the act), he receives 40 lashes and must perform

posed of *šá* and *rīš* ('head'), still maintained by Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, page 6, is to be abandoned in view of our *šaršēn* which clearly points to a stem *šarāšu*. At the most, it might be claimed that *šá-rīš* is an etymological play upon the supposed meaning of *šaršēn*, but even this is unlikely and certainly an unnecessary supposition.

⁶⁵ I. e., ears and nose are cut off and possibly his eyes are put out. We have not actually encountered this method of punishment, except in the historical annals of Assyrian kings as meted out to the enemy.

⁶⁶ *i-na-ku-ru*, 'they destroy'.

⁶⁷ To be supplied. The half of the line is broken away.

⁶⁸ No doubt in the sense of 'consent.' The balance of the line is broken away. The context indicates that the woman gave herself to the man willingly.

⁶⁹ I. e., whatever the man would do to his wife, in case she were guilty, is done to the adulterer.

⁷⁰ *ū-ti-ni-ik-ku*.

⁷¹ I. e., for an ordeal, to test the truth of the charge. The ordeal occurs again, §§ 23, 24; also in the Hammurabi Code §§ 2 (suspect of sorcery) and § 132 (suspect of adultery).

⁷² I. e., when others are present to hear what is said. It is rather characteristic of social conditions in Assyria, that the word for a 'fight', becomes a synonym of 'in public'.

one month's royal service. They summon him⁷³ and one talent⁷⁴ of lead he must hand over.

18

If a man in private spreads the report⁷⁵ about his companion that someone has had (unnatural) intercourse with him,⁷⁶ or in a brawl in the presence of men⁷⁷ says to him: 'Someone has had (unnatural) intercourse with thee and I caught thee (in the act),' whereas there was no possibility of this and that man did not catch him (in the act), he receives 50 lashes, and must perform one month's royal service. They summon him, and he must hand over one talent of lead.

19

If a man has (unnatural) intercourse with his companion,⁷⁸ they seize him and determine his guilt. If he actually had intercourse with him, then he is castrated.⁷⁹

20

If a man strikes a man's daughter, so that there is a miscarriage,⁸⁰ they seize him and determine his guilt. Two talents and 30

⁷³ *i-ga-di-mu-uš* (also col. 2, 92), literally 'they bring him into the presence', i. e., of the court.

⁷⁴ 3600 shekels.

⁷⁵ *a-ma-ta iš-kun*.

⁷⁶ He accuses his fellow of sodomy. The same verb (*it-ti-ni-ku-ú-uš*) is used as in the case of rape and adultery.

⁷⁷ *Erem* (*meš*), literally 'soldiers', but frequently used for men in 'general'. The contrast is here as in § 17 between a private and a public statement.

⁷⁸ There can be no doubt that here and in the preceding law sodomy is meant. Through omen texts we learn of the varieties of unnatural intercourse that were known to Assyrians and practised by them. See the examples of such practices discussed by Meissner *Assyrische Studien*, 4 (*MVAG*, Vol. 12), pp. 11-13. Strangely enough, the prognostication in one case is favorable, to wit, that a man who succeeds at sodomy will become a leader.

⁷⁹ *a-na šá-ri-še-en, ú-tar-ru-uš*, i. e., 'they make him an eunuch', as above § 14, note 64.

⁸⁰ Literally 'she drops what is within her'.

mana⁸¹ of lead he must hand over; he receives 50 lashes and must perform one month's royal service.

21

If some man who is neither her father, brother nor son seizes a man's wife on the road,⁸² he must swear an oath that he did not know that she was a man's wife, and hand over 2 talents of lead to the husband.

(The continuation (Col. 3, 1-13) is mutilated. It set forth variant circumstances attending the assault, in which the woman shares the guilt. The river ordeal is provided—apparently for both—though they are not fettered (as in § 16). From the closing lines which read: 'When the man returns from the river, he is given the same punishment by the husband as the latter imposed on his wife,' we may conclude that the guilty wife, as in other instances (e. g. above §§ 3, 15, etc.) was punished by her husband. It would also appear that surviving a river ordeal was not regarded as complete vindication, but only proved that the man merited a milder punishment than death. Similarly in § 23.)

22

If a man's wife takes another man's wife into her house for sexual intercourse⁸³ and the man (i. e., the one into whose house the woman was taken) knew that it was another man's wife (and) had intercourse with her as with another man's wife, and in the

⁸¹ A total of 9000 shekels. This law finds a complete parallel in § 209 of the Hammurabi Code, which reads: 'If a man strikes a man's daughter so that she has a miscarriage, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver'. In the case of a woman of lower rank, the fine is only 5 shekels and in the case of a slave 2 shekels. If the woman dies, the fine is 30 shekels in the case of a woman of lower rank, 20 shekels for a slave, while in the case of the free woman, the *lex talionis* is put in force and the man's daughter is put to death. If we assume that the fine in lead is calculated according to the proportionate value between lead and silver, then 5400 shekels of lead = 10 shekels, would give us a proportion of 1 to 540. The fine however may have been considerably larger in Assyria.

⁸² The assumption is that any one who takes hold of a woman on the road and who is not closely related to her has designs upon her.

⁸³ *a-na ni-a-ki*.

manner customary between a man and his wife,⁸⁴ the woman is adjudged a 'procuress'.⁸⁵ But if no intercourse as between a man and his wife had actually taken place, then neither the adulterer nor the procuress have done anything.⁸⁶ They shall be released.⁸⁷ And if the man's wife⁸⁸ did not know (of the plot) and she entered the house of the woman, trusting the man's attitude towards her,⁸⁹ who had intercourse with her and if after leaving the house, she confesses⁹⁰ to having had intercourse, that woman is to be released—she is guiltless.⁹¹ The adulterer and the procuress are put to death. But if the woman does not confess, the husband may impose punishment on his wife as he pleases;⁹² and the adulterer and the procuress are put to death.

23

If the wife of a man in the face of her husband⁹³ and of her free

⁸⁴ Note again the redundancy of legal phrases (as above in §13) to make it certain that actual adultery had taken place, which in the full legal sense involves a knowledge on the part of the adulterer that he was acting with another man's wife, and that the act was fully consummated in the normal manner. Moreover, one of the main points in this law is to ascertain the guilt of the 'procuress'.

⁸⁵ *mu-um-me-ri-tu*—a new word, the meaning of which is certain from the context, and which sheds light on social conditions in Assyria. The underlying stem appears to be *amāru* 'surround', the *mummeritu* being the woman who 'enmeshes', i. e., the ensnarer. Cf. Prov. 7. 23.

⁸⁶ I. e., the man is not adjudged an adulterer, nor is the woman legally a 'procuress' if the intercourse has not actually taken place.

⁸⁷ The mere intent does not constitute a misdemeanor or a crime. The point of view in this law is consistently directed towards the wife as the husband's property. If no injury to the property has been done, there is no case.

⁸⁸ Namely, the wife who was brought into another man's house did not know of the plot.

⁸⁹ *ki-i pi-i kēnu amēli a-na eli-šá*—an interesting phrase, to indicate that she had no cause for suspicion.

⁹⁰ *taḫ-ti-bi*, 'says,' which may merely indicate that she reports the occurrence to her husband.

⁹¹ *za-ku-at* (as above § 13) literally—'free' of blame or guilt.

⁹² Again punishment meted out by the husband and according to his pleasure, as in §§ 3 and 13.

⁹³ So the phrase runs (*i-na pa-ni mu-ti-šá*) which appears to mean—as the Hebrew *liḫnē* is often used—in spite of her husband, against his protest.

will⁹⁴ is carried off,⁹⁵ be it into any large city⁹⁶ or into a suburb,⁹⁷ where by appointment⁹⁸ she enters the house of an Assyrian,⁹⁹ and without the mistress of the house¹⁰⁰ stays (there), [or if his wife (?)]¹ has died, (but) the master of the house did not know [that it was]² another man's wife who [was taken]³ into his house, (and) [by stealth (?)]⁴ that woman was taken,⁵ then the master of the house⁶ whose wife in his [face] of her own accord [was carried off],⁷ shall take his wife. The wife of the man who as his wife through her fault⁸ was seized⁹—her ear they cut off; and if her husband so chooses, he (i. e., the adulterer) must give 3 talents and 30 mana of lead as her purchase price,¹⁰ or if he (i. e., the aggrieved husband) chooses, he may take his wife away.¹¹

But if the owner of the house knew that it was a man's wife who was taken into his house without the mistress of the

⁹⁴ *ra-ma-an-ša* 'willingly'.

⁹⁵ *tal-da-da-at* = *tašdadat* from *šadādu* 'drag'. In this same *lāw* we have (col. 3, 73) *tal-du-du-ū-ni*,—to be supplied also in line 54.

⁹⁶ *ālu am-me-e-im-ma* (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 57b) in contrast to *ālu kur-bu-ū-ti*, 'suburb'.

⁹⁷ On the sign used for city in this combination, see Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, No. 540. It is clearly *ālu* with the plural sign to indicate the towns adjoining a city; literally, therefore, 'near-by towns'.

⁹⁸ *a-šar bīti ud-du-ši-i-ni*, literally: 'the place of a house fixed for her' or by her, i. e., at an appointed house.

⁹⁹ *bīl aš-šu-ra-ia*. See § 43 (col. 6, 40–41), where also an Assyrian man or woman is specified.

¹⁰⁰ *iš-tu bēlil bīti*, i. e., the mistress of the house is not there. There is no suspicion of any 'procuress' in the case.

¹ The text at the beginning of this line is defective. I suspect a reading like [*lu-u aššati*]-*šū miṭ-ṭa-at* 'or that his wife is dead', to account in some other way for the woman being in the house alone with a strange man. The traces as given by Schröder can hardly be correct.

² Supply *ki-i* according to the traces.

³ Supply [*uṣ-bu*]-*tu-ū-ni*.

⁴ Traces point to [*ina šu-ur-ki*]-*it-ti* from *šarāku* 'steal'.

⁵ Read *ta-ta-aš-bat*, with the same overhanging *ta* as in the two examples above given, § 2, note 21.

⁶ I. e., the aggrieved husband.

⁷ Read [*tal-du*]-*du-ū-ni* as below in line 73. See above note 95.

⁸ *il-ti-ša*, as above, § 8 note 39.

⁹ *uṣ-bu-tu-ni* here in the sense of 'being caught'.

¹⁰ I. e. 12,600 shekels. A certain ambiguity arises in these laws because of the constant change of subject in the succeeding verbs, but the context clearly shows that the adulterer may purchase the man's wife whom he has raped.

¹¹ I. e., the husband takes her back.

house,¹² he must pay three times the amount.¹³ And if he denies it and says that he did not know, they take him to the river;¹⁴ and if the man in whose house the man's wife was seized returns from the river,¹⁵ he must pay three times the amount. If the man whose wife in his face was carried off of her own accord, returns from the river,¹⁶ he is free¹⁷—the river (sc. ordeal) settles all for her.¹⁸ And if the man does not cut off the ear¹⁹ of his wife who in his face, of her own accord, had been carried off, he takes his wife back and imposes nothing further upon her.

24

If a woman is retained in her father's house²⁰ and her husband has died, the brothers of her husband may not divide²¹ (the estate) even though she has no son. Whatever her husband has voluntarily²² assigned to her, the brothers of her husband cannot annul²³; it is not to be included in the division. As for

¹² Clearly, the wife of the man into whose house the woman was taken is meant and who (according to line 48 above) had nothing to do with the crime. Instead of the sign for woman (Dam) I read Nin = *bēlit*, as in line 48, and supply *bīti* at the end of the line. A confusion between Dam and Nin is easily possible. The original probably has Nin.

¹³ I. e., of the purchase price as above given or 37,800 shekels in lead.

¹⁴ To submit to an ordeal as above, § 15.

¹⁵ I. e., survives the ordeal, by not being drowned, which survival apparently saved him only from the death penalty.

¹⁶ He also must submit to an ordeal, because of the denial of the charge that he has brought against his wife and her seducer.

¹⁷ *za-a-ku*.

¹⁸ *gi-im-ri-ša*, literally, 'all of her', i. e., the ordeal on the part of the two men decides her fate.

¹⁹ Which he has a right to do, as above (col. 3, 57) set forth. Schroeder's text by a slip has *aššat-su* 'his wife' (accidentally repeated because of its occurrence in the next line) instead of *uz-ni-ša* 'her ear'.

²⁰ A standing phrase to indicate that she is being supported by her father and does not live with her husband. The Hammurabi Code, § 142, likewise implies that the woman separated from her husband goes to her father's house.

²¹ I. e., the whole of the estate among themselves.

²² *du-ma-a-ki*, a word occurring here for the first time, so far as I can see, and which is found again, Col. 3, 97 (§ 25) and 5, 22 (§ 37). The context makes it clear that it designates what her husband has of his own accord given to his wife during the time that she lived with him. I take the word from the stem *damāku*, 'to be gracious'.

²³ *bal-ku-ú-ni*, literally 'destroy'.

the balance of what the gods have provided²⁴ they are entitled to it.²⁵ They need not submit to a river ordeal or to an oath.²⁶

25

If a woman is retained in her father's house and her husband dies, whatever her husband has voluntarily assigned to her, if there are children, they may take it,²⁷ but if there are no children, she takes it.

26

If a woman is retained in her father's house, her husband may enter it (and) any marriage gift²⁸ which her husband had given

²⁴ A curious phrase, the meaning of which must be deduced from the context. It seems to be the equivalent of our 'what Providence has granted', though it may also have a more technical import.

²⁵ *ba-ar-ru i-lek-ki-û*. Literally: 'they take as seized.' The phrase would seem to indicate that the brothers of the deceased lay their hands on anything which was not explicitly given by the husband to his wife.

²⁶ The brothers need not submit to an ordeal nor swear an oath that they have not taken anything which belongs to the wife. They may settle the estate without further formalities, as handing in a sworn account and the like.

²⁷ I. e., a woman separated from her husband has no claim to the estate of her husband, if there are children. The widow is obliged to give up anything that he may of his own free will have given her during his lifetime. This is consistent with the law of divorce, as set forth in § 36. According to the Hammurabi Code (§ 150), the children have no claim after the death of their father on anything devised by him, by a duly sealed document, to his wife.

²⁸ *man-ma nu-du-un-na-a* used, as in the Hammurabi Code, §§ 171-172, to designate the present which the husband gives to his wife at the time of marriage, whereas the bride's dowry which her father gives her is called *šeriktu* which to be sure likewise means 'a present'. Occasionally (so e. g. Ranke *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, Nos. 84, 33 and 101, 13) *nudunnû* is used for the 'dowry', and this usage is met again in Talmudic literature in the corresponding *nedunya* (see Marcus Jastrow, *Talm. Dictionary*, p. 878a)—applied to the wife's dowry from her father. The term is no doubt borrowed from Babylonian phraseology. As a survival of marriage by purchase, we have a third term *tirḫatu* which, originally given to the father or to the widowed mother, is afterwards 'tied' to the wife's 'girdle', as the phrase runs (see Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, p. 293, and the references there given), and settled upon her by the father or husband. The purchase price appears to have become a mere formality in the course of time, as we may conclude from the sum of one shekel being named in a document as the *tirḫatu* (Schorr, *ib.*, No. 36),

her, he may take, but he has no claim on the house of her father.²⁹

27

If a woman enters a man's house³⁰ as a widow³¹ and removes³² her minor³³ son of her own accord³⁴ from the house of her brother who brought him up, but no document of his adoption had been drawn up, he does not receive any share from the estate³⁵ of the one who reared him³⁶; nor can one take him as a pledge³⁷ (for debt). From the estate³⁸ of his parents he receives the share due to him.³⁹

though in other instances the amount given (19 shekels, Schorr No. 1, and 4 shekels, *ib.*, No. 3) indicates the *gradual* shading over of the 'purchase price' to a money dowry for the wife. By special agreement, according to Babylonian usage (Schorr, *ib.*, No. 1), the *tirhatu* may revert to the wife in case of divorce. We thus have four terms that must be distinguished from one another (1) *nudunnū*, the obligatory gift of the husband at the time of marriage, (2) *dumāku*, 'act of grace' or any voluntary gift given by the husband after marriage, (3) *šeriktu*, the gift of father to bride, and (4) *tirhatu*, originally purchase price and then the marriage settlement on the wife.

²⁹ The phrase used is *a-na šá bīl a-bi-šá la-a i-ka-ar-ri-ib*, i. e., 'he is not to draw near to anything which is of the house of her father,' by which is clearly meant that he has no claim on his father-in-law's property, merely because his wife has chosen to live there.

³⁰ I. e., remarries.

³¹ (*al-*)*ma-at-tu* (= *almantu*) like Col. 4, 71. Cf. the corresponding Hebrew term '*almānāh*.'

³² *na-ša-a-at*, more literally 'plucks away'.

³³ Read *šá ur-da*, from *ridū* 'lead', i. e., one whom one leads, to designate a small child. *Riddu*, from this stem is one of the terms for 'offspring' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 956b.).

³⁴ *il-ti-šá*, as above §§ 8 and 23.

³⁵ *bītu*, 'house', in the sense of 'estate', as in the preceding paragraph.

³⁶ I. e., from the boy's uncle.

³⁷ *hu-bu-ul-li* is the common word for 'interest', but the original meaning of the underlying stem appears to be 'to pledge', as in Biblical Hebrew. The meaning 'interest' would therefore be a derived one, pointing to the view originally taken of 'interest' as a 'pledge' for the return of the debt in full. In fact, what became interest on a debt may originally have been partial payment in lieu of the whole, so that each payment actually diminished the amount of the debt. The intent of the paragraph is to provide that the boy is not to be held as a pledge for the debt of his uncle, since he was not legally adopted and therefore does not belong to him. It is clear from this restriction, that adopted as well as natural sons could be pledged for debt, as well as wives and daughters.

³⁸ Again *bītu*, 'house'.

³⁹ *ki-i ka-ti-šū* 'according to his share'. See Text No. 2, § 1.

28

If a woman enters her husband's house,⁴⁰ her dowry⁴¹ and whatever she removes from her father's house or what her father-in-law upon her entering gave her, is free⁴² for her children. The children of her father-in-law may not touch it,⁴³ and if her husband repudiates her,⁴⁴ then he may give it to his children, according to his pleasure.

29

If a father brings to the house of the father-in-law of his son⁴⁵ a gift of anything that may be carried,⁴⁶ the daughter is not thereby pledged⁴⁷ to his son; and if there is another son whose wife is retained in the house of her father,⁴⁸ and (the son) dies, then the wife of the dead son is handed over as a possession⁴⁹ to his other son.⁵⁰

(Or) if the master of the daughter,⁵¹ whose daughter has received

⁴⁰ I. e., marries him and lives in his house.

⁴¹ *ši-ir-ki-ša*, for which see above to § 25, note 28.

⁴² *za-a-ku*—here used in the sense that the mother has the sole right to will such possessions to her children. So also in the Hammurabi Code, § 150, which specifies that the mother may will it to any child, but not to any brother of hers. It must remain in her husband's family. Presumably, the same liberty was granted the wife in Assyria, though the code does not specify this.

⁴³ *la-a i-ka-ri-bu* as above § 26, etc. Her brothers-in-law have no claim upon what her father-in-law has given to her.

⁴⁴ *i-bu-ak-ši* from *abāku* 'overthrow', here in the sense of 'cast aside'. In case of divorce, therefore, the dowry and all gifts are retained by the husband, though in trust, as would appear, for his children among whom he may distribute such property in any way that he likes.

⁴⁵ I. e., a betrothal gift for the prospective daughter-in-law.

⁴⁶ The phrase is intended legally to define what constitutes movable property.

⁴⁷ *ta-ad-na-at* from *tadānu*. The gift of the father-in-law, though a part of the formal betrothal rites, still customary in the modern Orient (see notes 60 and 61, to § 41 below), yet does not pledge the prospective father-in-law to give his son to the girl if certain circumstances should arise, nor is the father of the girl absolutely pledged by such a gift to give his daughter to the young man. The case is different (§ 30,) if the young man makes a betrothal gift to his prospective wife.

⁴⁸ I. e., the wife is separated from her husband and lives with her father.

⁴⁹ *a-na a-ḥu-zi-ti*, i. e., for marriage.

⁵⁰ I. e., the son, despite the betrothal gift, must marry his deceased brother's widow.

⁵¹ *bēl marti*—here intended clearly as a synonym for *abu* 'father'. He is the *bēl bīti* 'master of the house', as he is elsewhere designated.

the gift is not willing that his daughter should be pledged by it,⁵² he, (i. e., the father of the young man), is free to take away the gift which had been brought to his daughter-in-law,⁵³ (and) to give it to his son. And if he chooses, whatever has been given—in lead, silver, gold, or anything except food, the capital thereof he may take back.⁵⁴ As for food—he has no claim upon it.⁵⁵

30

If a man sends a gift⁵⁶ to the house of his father-in-law⁵⁷ and his wife dies, and if his father-in-law has other (daughters) and the father-in-law is willing, he may marry⁵⁸ another daughter in place of his dead wife, or he is free to take back whatever money⁵⁹ may have been given (sc. to the wife). Grain or sheep

⁵² I. e., he does not wish his daughter to be regarded as pledged by the gift and desires to be free to break the betrothal, which is entirely a matter between the parents of the prospective pair.

⁵³ *kal-la-a-su* = *kallatsu*. *Kallatu* is the ordinary term for bride (as in Hebrew) and then for daughter-in-law, as the bride of a man's son. To her own father, the bride remains the 'daughter', as her father continues to be the *bēl marti*. The underlying stem of *kallatu* designates the wife as the one 'shut in'. Similarly the Sumerian term *E-ge-a*, is 'the one shut in in the house'. She is 'kept' (as the term runs throughout the Assyrian Code) either in the house of her husband, or, if separated from her husband, in the house of her father.

⁵⁴ I. e., the father-in-law has a claim on the *capital* of any gift that he may have sent, if the girl's father does not wish his daughter to be pledged by the betrothal gift. He is not entitled, however, to interest on anything which (like food) may be used.

⁵⁵ Any food sent by a man to his prospective daughter-in-law was intended to be eaten. It is therefore put on a par with interest on which the father-in-law has no claim.

⁵⁶ *zu-bu-ul-la-a*, which, as a betrothal gift of the prospective husband, constitutes a definite pledge to marry the girl, in contrast to the gift of the father of the young man which is not an irrevocable pledge.

⁵⁷ I. e., for his prospective wife living in her father's house.

⁵⁸ *ih-ha-az*, 'takes', i. e., he marries the deceased wife's sister. By the betrothal gift of the prospective husband to a girl, the latter is viewed before the law as a wife, even though she dies before marriage had actually taken place.

⁵⁹ *Ku-babbar*, 'silver', here used as in the Hammurabi Code, or 'money'. The use of the term is purely conventional, just as the Latin '*pecunia*' became a general term for 'money', without reference to its original meaning as possessions in cattle.

or any kind of food is not given back to him⁶⁰; (only) money he receives back.⁶¹

31

If a woman is retained in the house of her father, her gift⁶² which was given to her, whether she takes it [to the house]⁶³ of her father-in-law or does not take it, cannot⁶⁴ serve as an asset⁶⁵ [after the death (?)]⁶⁶ of her husband.

32

(Very fragmentary, with the exception of the closing lines. The paragraph likewise deals with the status of the woman living in the house of her father, whose husband has died⁶⁷ and who has no children. Apparently, if there are no other brothers, she is given to her father-in-law as a possession.⁶⁸ The closing lines read: 'If her (husband)⁶⁹ and her father-in-law have died and she has no son, she has the status of a widow⁷⁰ and may go wherever she pleases'.)

33

If a man marries⁷¹ a widow, without drawing up a formal

⁶⁰ I. e., actual food sent to be consumed is not to be returned if the prospective son-in-law does not wish to marry a sister of his deceased bride. He is pledged by any betrothal gift to marry the girl, but not one of her sisters.

⁶¹ I. e., only cash gifts are to be given back.

⁶² *a-na nu-du-nu-ša*. So the traces at the beginning of the badly preserved line. On *nudunnū*, the marriage gift of her husband, see above, § 25 note 29.

⁶³ So evidently to be supplied in the gap.

⁶⁴ Read [*la-a na*]-*aš-ši*.

⁶⁵ *bu-bu-ul-li* as above, § 27,—as a pledge for debt. A creditor of her husband has no claim on it.

⁶⁶ According to the traces [*ar-ki-ú mi*]-*i-ta*.

⁶⁷ Read [*ú mu-ut-sa me*]-*it mārē* [*la-a i-ba*]-*aš-ši*. That there are no children follows also from the closing lines.

⁶⁸ *a-na e-mi-ša a-na a[hū-zi]-ti i-id-dan-si*—as in note 49. I. e., the father-in-law must marry her, which reminds us of the Judah-Tamar episode in Genesis, 38.

⁶⁹ Read [*mu-ut*]-*ša*.

⁷⁰ *al-ma-at-[tu]* *ši-i-it*, i. e., her legal status is that of a widow, and the law regarding widows takes its course. The bond with the family into which the girl has married is dissolved if, at the time when her husband died, there are no brothers, and the father-in-law is no longer living.

⁷¹ Literally, 'takes'.

contract and for two years she is retained in his house, that woman need not leave (sc. the house).⁷²

34

If a widow enters the house of a man, whatever she brings along⁷³ belongs to her husband, but if the man goes to the widow,⁷⁴ whatever he may have brought,⁷⁵ all of it belongs to her.

35

If a woman is retained in her father's house, albeit that her husband had placed a house at her disposal for shelter,⁷⁶ but her husband has gone to the field⁷⁷ without leaving her oil, wool or clothing or any produce or food or anything, and does not bring her any produce from the field, that woman for five years must be faithful to her husband,⁷⁸ and not go to live with any (other) man; whether there be children, who are hostile⁷⁹ (to her) and have withdrawn themselves (?),⁸⁰ that woman must be faithful to her husband, (and) not go to live with any (other man); or whether there be no children, she for five years must be faithful to her husband, but on the approach⁸¹ of the sixth year she may

⁷² I. e., Living with a man for two years constitutes what we would call a common-law marriage. According to the Hammurabi Code, § 128, the formal contract is essential to constitute a woman as a legal wife, but perhaps this was not meant to apply to marriage with widows.

⁷³ *na-ša-lu-ú-ni*, i. e., transfers from her home to the man's house.

⁷⁴ I. e., goes to live with the widow.

⁷⁵ *na-aš-šu-ú-ni*. The assumption in both instances is that there is no formal marriage by means of a contract. The widow is a free agent and can live with a man without becoming his possession by virtue of a contract. She can dispose of her property if she takes the man into her house and has a claim on what he brings, but if she goes to live with the man in his house, she forfeits the claim to what she had before taking this step.

⁷⁶ *a-na ba-at-ti*, from the verbal stem *bātu*, 'to shelter', from which we get *bītu* 'house'. The case is that of a woman who is separated from husband because of non-support.

⁷⁷ I. e., has gone away.

⁷⁸ *pa-ni mu-ti-ša ta-da-gal*, 'the face of her husband she is to look up to'—a phrase indicating that she must be faithful to her husband. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 240a.

⁷⁹ *in-na-ku-ú-ru* from *nakāru*, 'to be hostile'.

⁸⁰ *e-ik-ku-lu* from *kalū* 'hold back', i. e., do not support her.

⁸¹ *i-na ka-ba-a-si*, 'at the threshold,' from *kabāsu*, 'to tread'.

go to live with the husband of her choice.⁸² Since her husband upon going away has never come near her, she is free⁸³ to take another husband.

(Or) if he delays for a term of five years of his own accord without coming near her, or a distaste (?)⁸⁴ for the city has seized him and he has fled, or he is taken as a rebel⁸⁵ and detained,⁸⁶ (or) on his going away a woman takes hold of him who gives herself (to him) as his wife, and he takes her as his wife;⁸⁷ (or) if the king sends him⁸⁸ to another country and he delays for a period of five years and his wife has remained faithful to him, and has not lived with any (other) man⁸⁹. But if within⁹⁰ the five years she goes to live with (another) man, and bears (him) children, to her absent husband has not been faithful according to the contract,⁹¹ then she must take him⁹² back and as for her children, he (i. e., the second husband) takes them.⁹³

⁸² Literally, 'of her heart', i. e., she may take another husband.

⁸³ *za-ku-at*, i. e., free to decide. It is a clear case of desertion.

⁸⁴ *ka a-li*, 'distaste of the city', corresponding to the phrase *ali-šú i-zi-ru-ma in-na-bi-tu*, 'he hated his city and fled' in § 136 of the Hammurabi Code which forms a parallel to this section of our law. Note that as in our text, so the Hammurabi Code adds 'and fled'. By the side of *ālīšú izir*, it has also the synonymous phrase 'he deserts (*id-di*) his city and flees'. For the underlying stem of *kā* ('to spit out' and then 'despise') see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary* 901b. Perhaps one *a* has dropped out, so that we should read, *ka-a*.

⁸⁵ Read *sa-ar-[ri]*.

⁸⁶ Read *ú-ta-aḥ-[ha-ar]*.

⁸⁷ I. e., he comes across some woman and he marries her. We must supply that in that case his wife is likewise free to take another husband, since it is a clear case of desertion.

⁸⁸ *il-ta-par-šú* from *šapāru*.

⁸⁹ Supply that in that case she is also free to marry, on the assumption that her husband is dead.

⁹⁰ *i-na pa-ni*.

⁹¹ *aš-šum ri-ik-sa*, literally 'because of the contract', i. e., in view of the contract. The marriage contract is meant which probably stipulated that the wife must remain faithful, etc.

⁹² *a-na šú-a-šá*, meaning the first husband.

⁹³ While there is a certain ambiguity in the text owing to the frequent shifting of the subject of the verb, the context as well as the comparison with the Hammurabi Code points to the children of the second marriage remaining as the second husband's property. Desertion is treated in the Hammurabi Code in §§ 133-136, all dealing with the case of the husband being captured. According to the first three paragraphs, if the husband has left maintenance in the house, the wife has no right to go to another man, and if she does,

36

If a man divorces⁹⁴ his wife, if he chooses he may give her something, and if he does not choose, he need not give her anything and she goes away empty-handed.⁹⁵

37

If a woman is kept (in the house of) her father and her husband divorces her, any voluntary gift⁹⁶ that he has bestowed upon her, he may take, but on her marriage settlement⁹⁷ which she brought with her he has no claim⁹⁸; it is free⁹⁹ for the woman.

38

If a man has given another man's daughter¹⁰⁰ to a husband,¹

she is drowned ('thrown into the water'—not a river ordeal, but actually drowned). If the husband has not left maintenance for his wife, then the latter if she goes to another man and bears him children must—as in our Code—go back to the first husband upon his return. The children from the marriage with the second husband belong to the second husband. The woman, however, receives no further punishment, since the first husband left no maintenance for her. If, however, (§ 136) the husband deliberately deserts his wife who thereupon marries another, the husband on his return cannot take his wife, because, as the text adds, 'he took a distaste for his city and fled'. There is no specification of any time limit in the Hammurabi Code.

⁹⁴ *e-iz-zi-ib*, from *ezēbu*, 'forsake'—likewise in the Hammurabi Code the term for divorce §§ 137–141 and 148.

⁹⁵ *ra-ku-ti-e-ša*.

⁹⁶ *du-ma-ki*, as above, §§ 24–25.

⁹⁷ *ti-ir-ja-ti*. See note 28 to § 26. Our passage is conclusive evidence that by the time of the Code the 'purchase price' for the wife had become the marriage settlement, devised for her by her father.

⁹⁸ *la-a i-ka-ri-ib* as in §§ 26, 28, etc.

⁹⁹ *za-a-ku*, i. e., entirely at the disposal of the woman and free of any claim to be made upon it.

¹⁰⁰ Literally, 'one who is not his daughter'. The case is that of a girl held for a debt contracted by her father and who has been handed over by him to a third party as a wife. According to § 47, this cannot be done without the consent of the father if he is living, and if the father be dead, the opportunity must be given to one of her brothers to redeem her, before the creditor can give a pledged girl to a man. Our law assumes that whatever formalities are necessary have been fulfilled, and takes up the question what the husband must do upon receiving the girl from her father's creditors.

¹ *a-na mu-ti*, used for 'husband' throughout this Code.

her father having been at some previous time² a debtor³ for a transaction,⁴ at the settlement⁵ of a former business partnership,⁶ he (i. e., the husband) must go (and) pay against the pledging⁷ of the girl the price⁸ of the girl. If he cannot give the pledge,⁹ then the man¹⁰ takes¹¹ the one pledged.¹²

But if she is living in misery,¹³ she is free¹⁴ to any who rescues her¹⁵; and if the one who takes the girl¹⁶, be it that a document

² *šum-ma pa-ni-ma*, 'if formerly', detailing how the girl came to be held, because at some period in the past her father had contracted a debt which he could not pay.

³ *ḥab-bū-ul*—(occurring again § 47) 'the pledgor', clearly the term for the debtor—as against *bēl ḥubulli*, 'the owner of the pledge', i. e., the creditor.

⁴ *ki-i ša-par-ti*, occurring again § 43 and Text No. 6, obv. 8 and 14. In the latter two passages *šapartu* is used in contrast to *kaspu*, 'money' or cash, from which we may conclude that *šapartu*, literally 'a shipment', from *šapāru*, 'to send', designates a business transaction in products or property as against a money loan or other cash transaction.

⁵ *še-šū-bat*, st. constr. of *šešubtu* from *ašābu*, 'to dwell, settle', etc., is the exact equivalent to our 'settlement'.

⁶ *um-mi-a-nu pa-ni-ū*. On *ummiānu* (also Text No. 6, rev. 21 and 25) as a business partnership, see the passages in Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, Index s. v. p. 557.

⁷ *ina ēli ta-di-na-a-ni*—the latter a substantive formation in *anu* like *naikānu*, 'adulterer' (above § 22), *amirānu*, 'eye witness' (Text No. 1, § 46) and *aḫizānu*, 'the taker' in our law, (see note 16), from *tadānu*, to give as security and the like. *Tadīnānu* is, therefore, the object or person pledged.

⁸ *šimu*, 'price', i. e., the market value of the girl. The husband, who thus receives a girl as his wife, must pay her value to the one from whom he takes her and who had held her as a pledge or security for a debt remaining at the time of a dissolution of a business partnership.

⁹ *a-na ta-da-a-ni la-aš-šū*, more literally: 'it is not to him to pledge,' i. e., he has not the wherewithal to take over the pledge, i. e., the girl.

¹⁰ I. e., the one mentioned at the beginning who held the girl as a pledge for her father's debt. Presumably the father is dead (see § 47), and there was no brother to redeem the girl or none willing to do so.

¹¹ I. e., he retains the girl or takes her back from the husband.

¹² *ta-di-na-na* as above, note 7, i. e., the girl as the one pledged.

¹³ *i-na lum-ni*, a very general phrase to indicate bad treatment on the part of the one who held her for debt, though possibly the husband who obtains her by paying her market value is meant.

¹⁴ Read [*za*]-*ku-at*, i. e., she may be rescued by anyone.

¹⁵ *mu-bal-li-ta-ni-šā*, literally, 'who restores her to life', an interesting expression for the rescuer.

¹⁶ Read *a-ḫi-za-a-[nu šā]-a Sal*, 'the taker of the girl.' See on the formation above, note 7.

is drawn up for him¹⁷ or that a claim is put in for him,¹⁸ settles¹⁹ for the price of the girl, the one pledged²⁰ [is taken away (?)].

39

The first 15 to 20 lines of this law, which deals with the manner in which women of various grades and classes should appear on the street, are badly preserved. So much, however, is clear that the law begins by setting forth that married women and unmarried daughters 'when they go out in the highway'²¹ are to appear with their heads [covered].²² The same applies to a third class of women—perhaps 'concubines' (*šugetim*), who are mentioned in the Hammurabi Code §§ 137, 144–145 and 183–184 by the side of the chief wife. There is a further specification in regard to daughters who should be veiled,²³ —perhaps those betrothed—whether in street dress²⁴ or in [house (?)] garments.²⁵

¹⁷ *ul-ta ru-ú-šu = uštaru-šu*.

¹⁸ Read *ru-gu-[um-ma]-a ir-ti-ši-ú-[ni-e-eš-šu]* (cf. § 53, Col. 8, 14) 'they grant a claim for him'.

¹⁹ Read *ú-šal-lim*, 'he makes good', as against *i-šal-lim*, 'he pays'.

²⁰ One would have expected *ta-di-na-a-na [i-lek-ki]*—i. e., 'he (the rescuer) takes', but the reading is *ta-di-na-a-nu* in the nominative case which, therefore, demands a verb in the passive sense. It is possible, however, that *nu* is a slip for *na*. In any case the meaning is perfectly clear that the rescued girl goes to the rescuer upon his redeeming her by paying her market value.

²¹ Read *ša a-na ri-be-ti [ti-il-la-ku-ú-ni]*. The beginning of the sign *ti* is visible. Cf. ll. 57 and 59.

²² The verb is broken off. We must supply *la-a pa-at-tu u-ni*, 'not uncovered' or some such form as *kuttumūni* from *katāmu*, 'cover'. Cf. the description of the night as the *kallatum kuttumtum*, 'the covered bride' (*Maklū* Series, ed. Tallqvist, 1. 2)—pointing incidentally to the custom of covering or veiling the bride. At all events, the context points clearly to the statement that the women are to go about with covered heads.

²³ Read *pa-as- [šu-na-at-tu-ú-ni]*, followed by *kaḫḫad-si-na [la-a pa-at-tu-ú-ni]* i. e., they must be both veiled and with their heads covered. The covering of the head does not refer to a hat or bonnet, but means that women must conceal their entire head by a drapery, as is still the custom in parts of Syria and in Tunis, Algiers and Morocco. See the illustrations in Ploss-Bartels *Das Weib* (9th ed. Vol. 1, pp. 527 and 531).

²⁴ *Ku* (= *lubuštu*) *ša ri-be-ti*, 'dress of the highway'.

²⁵ Specification broken off. It is reasonable to conjecture that, by way of contrast, house garments were mentioned.

When the text again becomes legible (after two entirely effaced lines), it reads as follows:

.....she need [not]
be veiled.²⁶ In the daytime when on the highway²⁷.....she
goes about, she is to veil herself. The captive woman,²⁸ who
without the mistress [of the house]²⁹ goes about on the highway,
is to be veiled. The hierodule³⁰ who is married³¹ to a man is to

²⁶ Read [*la-a up-ta-aš-ša-[an]*], as in lines 57 and 65 of col. 5, from *pešānu*, which, in the meaning of 'conceal', occurs in the Babylonian text of the Behistun Inscription, line 102 (*lapiššinu*, 'thou coverest up'; see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 815b). The frequent occurrence of this stem in our law and in various forms (*tu-up-ta-aš-ša-an*, *pa-aš-šu-un-ta*, *i-pa-aš-ša*, *u-pa-aš-ša-an*, etc.) leaves no doubt as to the meaning 'to veil'. We are perhaps to supply ['when in the house,] she need [not] be veiled'.

²⁷ *i-na ri-be-ti*, equivalent to our 'in public'. What class of women are here referred to who are to be veiled in the daytime on the highway, but otherwise not, can unfortunately not be determined, because of the break in the tablet—perhaps the widow, for whom, as we have seen, there was a special legislation, e. g. §§ 33-34.

²⁸ *e-si-ir-tu*, i. e., the woman captured in war for whom, it will be recalled, special provision is also made in the Deuteronomic Code, Dt. 21. 10-14. According to our Assyrian Code, a man may recognize the captive woman as his wife (§ 40), just as according to Deuteronomy he is urged to legitimize a captive woman as his wife; and though free to dismiss her, if he no longer cares for her, he cannot sell her. The position of the *esirtu*, not actually married to the master of the house, would correspond to the modern 'mistress'. She would be required to go veiled in public, to mark her as the property of a man.

²⁹ Read *bēliti bīti*, as in § 23.

³⁰ *ka-di-il-tu = kadištu*, 'the sacred one', the well-known name for a class of temple prostitutes or hierodules. According to our Code, the *kadištu* could either be married or unmarried. The Hammurabi Code, on the other hand (§ 181), assumes that Nu-Gig (= *kadištu*, Brünnow No. 3017), like the Nu-Maš (= *zermāšitu*, see Meissner, *OLZ* 8, p. 358), as a rule remains unmarried, for it stipulates that these two classes of votaries receive their 'dowry' from their father just the same. See examples of a *kadištu* holding property in her own name in Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, Nrr. 182 and 280. If the translation of *i-na ir-ši-ti-šá*, 'at her betrothal', in No. 211. 6, is correct, she could also marry; and this is confirmed by the statement in a school text furnishing extracts from a Sumerian Code of Laws (*VR* 25. 10c-d), which takes up the case of a man marrying a *kadištu*, despite her status. The *kadištu* appears to act frequently as a wet-nurse, e. g., Schorr, Nos. 78 and 241, where 'hierodules' appear as witnesses in a case involving the fee to be given to a wet-nurse. From this, we may also conclude that the *kadištu* could marry or could become the mistress of the priest, as intimated by Herodotus, 1. 181. 'The priestess of Marduk', likewise mentioned in the

be veiled on the highway. The one who is not married is to have her head uncovered on the highway.³² The unclean³³ [woman] is to be veiled, the harlot³⁴ is not to be veiled; her head is to be uncovered.³⁵ Whoever sees a veiled harlot shall seize her.³⁶ He shall summon witnesses and bring her to the palace.³⁷

Hammurabi Code, § 182, might also be married, as Schorr, No. 280. 14, shows, but the Nin-An ('woman of a god'), another class of votaries who live in cloisters, it would appear from the Hammurabi Code, § 127, *must* remain virgins, as one may also conclude from § 110, prescribing severe punishment for a Nin-An who enters a wine-shop, which was the brothel in Babylonia and Assyria.

³¹ *ša mu-tu iḫ-zu-ši-ni*, 'whom a man has taken', sc. as a wife, *aḫāzu* being the regular term for taking in marriage.

³² Since she does not belong to any man, she need not be marked as a warning to those who might approach her.

³³ *lu-a-tu*, see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dict.* p. 464b. Because of the demon of sickness or of uncleanness within her, she must warn those whom she encounters not to come near her, as the leper in the Priest Code (Lev. 13. 45) must go uncovered of head, but cover his upper lip and cry 'unclean, unclean'.

³⁴ Kar-lil = *ḫarimtu* (Brünnow, No. 7745) is the common 'woman of the street', as she is called in a Sumerian Code (Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, No. 102, col. 2. 12). She is not a hierodule as Langdon renders (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1920, p. 506).

³⁵ *kaḫḫad-sa pa-at-tu*—which shows that the phrase in the Priestly Code usually translated 'to let the hair of the head go loose' means rather that she is not to go 'covered of head'. So in Num. 5. 18, the case of the woman suspected of adultery—who is for the time being put on a plane with the harlot—must have her head uncovered, while undergoing the ordeal to determine her guilt or innocence. The harlot is to be marked by being both unveiled and uncovered of head. The veiling of women which can now, through our Code, be traced back in the East to the middle of the second millennium, appears to be the custom introduced by a more advanced society and as a protection to the master of the household, so that every one may recognize his wife and his daughters and his mistress as his possessions, and forbidden to everyone else. Hence the harlot as belonging to everyone must not veil herself or cover her head. The veiling naturally leads to the introduction of the social factor. The veil becomes the distinguishing mark of the mistress of the house and therefore slave girls marked as such in other ways are not to be veiled. For a further discussion of this law with its bearings on Biblical passages mentioning the veil, and on the custom of veiling in Mohammedan countries, see an article by the writer on 'Veiling in Ancient Assyria' to appear in the *Revue Archéologique*.

³⁶ Read *i-ša-ba-as-si* = *iṣabat-si*, as shown by the parallel *i-ša-ba-at-si* (line 90). The sign *ša* has dropped out or has been omitted by Schroeder.

³⁷ *a-na pi-i ēkal-lim*, literally, 'to the entrance of the palace'.

Her finery³⁸ they shall not take away, (but) the garment in which she is seized shall be taken away.³⁹ She receives 50 lashes, and pitch⁴⁰ they pour on her head. And if a man sees a harlot veiled and lets her go,⁴¹ (and) does not bring her to the palace, that man receives 50 lashes, his *batikan*⁴² (and) his garment are taken away. His ear they pierce,⁴³ boring it with a drill⁴⁴ and attaching it (i. e., the lobe) to the back⁴⁵ (sc. of the ear) and he must perform one month's royal service. Slave girls are not to go veiled.⁴⁶ If one sees a maid veiled, one must seize and bring her to the palace. They cut off her ear, and the garment in which she is seized is taken away.⁴⁷ If a man sees a maid veiled and lets her go, does not seize her and does not bring her to the palace, they seize him

³⁸ *šú-ku-ut-ta*, 'precious, costly' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 1035a), here seems to refer to the harlot's ornaments.

³⁹ I. e., she is probably exposed.

⁴⁰ *ki-ra-a*, for which Hommel long ago suggested 'pitch' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 432b). Since pitch was used for caulking, the term also acquired the force of 'caulking' in the sense of filling up with pitch. So in the Deluge Story (Gilgamesh Epic XI, 66).

⁴¹ *ú-ta-aš-šar* (also line 95) from *ašāru*, which among many meanings also has the force of 'let go', and from which the intensive form *uššuru* means to 'release, acquit', etc., as used in our code, e. g., § 4.

⁴² *ba-ti-ka-an-šú* (so also to be supplied in line 104) is an implement of some kind made of iron (Muss-Arnolt, p. 206b) but exactly what is meant is hard to tell—perhaps a sword, or possibly the ornamental stick (like a mace-head) which, according to Herodotus, I. § 195, every freeman carried.

⁴³ *ú-pal-lu-ú-šú*, from *palāšu*, 'to pierce'.

⁴⁴ *i-na ib-li*, evidently designating the boring instrument.

⁴⁵ *a-na ku-tal-li-šú*. The pierced lobe of the ear is bent back and attached with an awl to the back of the ear. This is apparently done to disfigure the individual. The piercing alone without the attaching of the lobe to the back of the ear occurs in our text, § 43, as a punishment for the one who retains an Assyrian man or woman in his house for debt. The 'boring of the ear' in the Covenant Code (Ex. 21. 6) and in the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 15. 17) for the slave who declines to accept his freedom, must have been originally a form of branding the slave. Perhaps a clay tag was attached to the pierced lobe, identifying the slave. The Biblical law which proposes to modify the law of slavery by limiting slave service (in the case of Hebrews) to a period of six years—practically an indenture—retains the old custom of thus branding slaves, but limits it to slaves who decide to remain with their master.

⁴⁶ Because belonging to a lower class of society. Slave girls no doubt were distinguished in some other way, perhaps by a tag attached to the ear or by a brand on the forehead.

⁴⁷ As a female slave, she is not supposed to have any finery.

and determine his guilt. He receives 50 lashes. They pierce his ear, boring it with a drill (and) attaching it [to] its [back] (sc. of the ear). His [*batikan*]⁴⁸ and his clothing [are taken away];⁴⁹ [he must perform]⁵⁰ one month's royal service.

40

If a man places⁵¹ his captive woman⁵² veiled among five (or) six⁵³ of his companions' (and) in their presence veils her⁵⁴ and says 'she is my wife',—then she is his (legal) wife. The captive woman, who in the presence of men⁵⁵ is not veiled, and her husband does not say 'she is my wife'—is not a (legal) wife; she is a captive⁵⁶ woman. If the man dies and there are no children to his veiled wife,⁵⁷ the captive⁵⁸ children are regarded as (his) children.⁵⁹ They receive their share.

41

If a man on the day of blessing (?)⁶⁰ pours oil on the head of a

⁴⁸ The traces point clearly to [*ba-ti*]-*ka-an-šu* as above, line 82.

⁴⁹ So the traces as above, line 80. ⁵⁰ So to be filled out as above, line 87.

⁵¹ *u-še-ši-ib*, or as we would say 'introduces her'. ⁵² *e-si-ir-tu-šu*.

⁵³ Expressed by the numeral five, followed by six without any connecting particle. To introduce a veiled woman to five or six individuals is equivalent to a public announcement of her status.

⁵⁴ *u-pa-ša-an-ši*. ⁵⁵ *šabē*, 'soldiers', but used for men in general as in § 18.

⁵⁶ *e-si-ir-tu-ū-ma ši-i-it*, i. e., her status is that of an *esirtu*. She is the man's mistress, not his legal wife.

⁵⁷ I. e., his legitimate wife.

⁵⁸ *es-ra-a-ti*, plural of *esirtu*, i. e., the children of the captive mistress.

⁵⁹ I. e., as the legitimate heirs.

⁶⁰ *i-na ūmi ra-a-ki*—an obscure phrase. The act here referred to of pouring oil on a man's daughter appears to be some ceremony performed by the father on a prospective daughter-in-law, marking his acceptance of the marriage agreement which, in accordance with custom, was arranged by the parents of the young couple. The pouring of the oil might be a form of blessing to symbolize the hoped-for fertility from the union. But what is the *rāku* day? According to IIR 36, No. 3. 72, *ra-a-ku* is entered as an equivalent of the Sumerian *Sar*, which has such meanings as 'blessing, fertility, increase, offspring,' and the like (see Brünnow, Nrr. 8218; 8226–8228; 8231–8232, etc.). Tentatively, therefore, one may assume that the phrase stands in connection with the blessing of the prospective bride by the father-in-law. Among the Moroccans to this day, there are special designations for the days marking the betrothal ceremonies, as the 'day of finishing' and 'the day of fulfillment', etc. See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 31. At all events, the ceremony of anointing the head of the bride constitutes a symbolic acceptance of the marriage arrangement, after which the engagement can not be revoked.

man's daughter, or in a *šakultu* brings products (?)⁶¹ there can be no revocation.⁶²

42

If a man, be it that he pours oil on the head⁶³ or brings products(?), and the son for whom she was intended as a wife dies or flees, he is to give her to anyone whom he pleases among his remaining sons from the eldest to the youngest whose years are 10.⁶⁴ If the father dies, and the son for whom he had intended (sc. the girl) as a wife dies, any son that there may be of a deceased son whose years are ten marries her⁶⁵; and if at the end of ten years

⁶¹ Even more obscure is the second symbolical ceremony here described. To judge from the context, the *šakultu* is a receptacle in which something is carried to the bride, while the word that follows *hu-ru-up-pa-a-ti* (pl. of *huruptu*) would represent gifts of some sort. The only meaning we have for the underlying stem *harāpu* is 'to pluck, tear' and the like (gathered from a Syllabary, S^c. 222; Muss-Arnolt, p. 339b), from which we get *harpu* 'harvest time' (cf. Hebrew *hōreph*). The most plausible guess, therefore, is that *huruppāti* are field products, offered to the bride—perhaps again as a symbol of the hoped-for fruitfulness of the union. Such gifts form part of the betrothal ceremonies among the Moroccans of the present time. See Westermarck *ib.* pp. 33, 43, 45, 47, etc. (wheat, butter, flour, sugar; also sheep).

⁶² *tu-ur-la la-a ú-ta-ar-ru*, literally: 'a revocation they cannot revoke'—the term used being the same (from *tāru*, 'return, restore,' etc.) which is elsewhere in the Code used for restitution, e. g., § 2. The two ceremonies represent the agreement on the part of the prospective father-in-law to the marriage. Hence the obligation resting on the latter—as set forth in the next law—to provide a husband for the girl from among his sons, if the son intended for the girl dies before the marriage takes place.

⁶³ Sc. 'of a man's daughter,' as in the previous paragraph. Note that *ina ūmi rāki* and *ina šakulti* are omitted in this abbreviated description of the ceremony.

⁶⁴ Note the construction, '(a son) who has his ten years', as in Hebrew 'a son of ten years'. The age of ten is, therefore, the minimum age of betrothal for the young man. Early betrothals—even before the age of puberty—are still customary in the East. See, e. g., Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 1, p. 214 (betrothals at 8 or 7 years of age), Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 34–48. 49, and Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib* (9th ed. Leipzig, 1908), 1, pp. 698, 702, 704, etc. The point of our law is that the prospective father-in-law is obliged to provide a husband for the prospective daughter-in-law, after the ceremonies described have been performed.

⁶⁵ *ih-ha-az*—the usual term for 'marriage' as above pointed out. The case assumed appears to be that there are no brothers of the deceased prospective husband living, in which case one of the grandsons must marry the girl, provided he is of age, i. e., 10 years old.

the sons of any son are (still) minors,⁶⁶ the father of the girl may, if he pleases, give his daughter (in marriage),⁶⁷ and, if he pleases, he may make recompense⁶⁸ by agreement⁶⁹; and if there is no (other) son,⁷⁰ whatever may have been received in money(?)⁷¹ or anything except food,⁷² the capital⁷³ (thereof) is to be returned, but any food is not to be returned.

43

If an Assyrian man or an Assyrian woman⁷⁴ is retained⁷⁵ for a transaction,⁷⁶ whatever its amount,⁷⁷ in the house of a man,

⁶⁶ *ši-iḫ-ḫi-ru* 'are small'—still too young to be betrothed. The father of the girl need not wait any longer if he has a chance to marry off his daughter.

⁶⁷ I. e., to any one of these minors, despite their minority.

⁶⁸ *tu-ur-ta u-ta-ar*.

⁶⁹ *a-nū mi-it-ḫa-ar*, which apparently means that the relatives of the one to whom the girl was betrothed must be recompensed for the failure of the marriage agreement.

⁷⁰ I. e., no brother of the deceased prospective husband or no grandson.

⁷¹ The text has *Na*, the sign for 'stone', used as a determinative before stones and metals, but which acquired a more general sense to designate any inorganic substance, as against the sign for 'plant' for organic substances of any kind. In legal phraseology *Na* appears to have been applied to any metal used in coinage, 'lead, silver or gold', as is more specifically indicated in another passage in the Code, § 29 (col. 4, 37).

⁷² As above in §§ 29–30, it is assumed that food given to anyone is for consumption and is not to be reckoned as a betrothal gift that may under certain circumstances be taken back. This would tend to confirm that *ḫuruppāli* (above, note 61) at all events include food products as is the case in Moroccan betrothal ceremonies.

⁷³ *kaḫḫad* as in § 29.

⁷⁴ The specific references to Assyrians in the Code (see above § 23, col. 3. 46) and Text No. 6 obv., 20, in Schroeder's volume and No. 143 (Pl. 89, obv. 8) are of interest as showing that there was not in Assyria 'one law for the native and the stranger', which is the ideal in the Priestly Code (Ex. 12. 49; Num. 9. 14).

⁷⁵ I. e., as a pledge. From this passage it appears that men as well as women were held as hostages for debt, though the purpose of the law is to prevent Assyrians from being so held. Hence the severe punishment meted out to those who committed the crime. The law, however, does not apply to wives, minor sons and unmarried daughters who could be thus pledged—whether Assyrians or not—by the husband and father, and retained by the creditor.

⁷⁶ *ša-par-ti* as above § 38 (also Text No. 143, obv. 7).

⁷⁷ *am-mar šimi-šū*, i. e., for the amount of the transaction.

the full amount is taken away,⁷⁸ and he is obliged to give a quit-tance.⁷⁹ They mutilate his ear by boring.⁸⁰

44

If a woman is pledged⁸¹ [to]⁸² her husband who has been captured by an enemy, and she has neither father-in-law nor son,⁸³ for two years she must remain faithful to her husband.⁸⁴ (But) during these two years she may go and testify that she has not had any support and that she is a dependent(?) upon the palace.⁸⁵ She

⁷⁸ I. e., the creditor as a fine forfeits the value of the transaction by order of the court.

⁷⁹ *i-na-at-tu i-ba-ak-ka-an*. My translation rests on the interpretation of *ibakkan* as a denominative verb of *buḫanu*, which is of frequent occurrence in sale documents dealing with slaves or real estate, to indicate that the transaction is legally concluded. The phrase in business documents reads: 'he has handed over the *buḫanu*'. (See the passages in Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, s. v., p. 516.) The ideographic designation (Giš) Gan, shows that the *buḫanu* was a utensil of some kind (cf. Ungnad, *Zeits. für Assyriologie*, 23, p. 88) used as a symbol and serving, therefore, as a formal recognition of the transaction. If the *buḫanu* was (as is generally assumed) a 'staff', we would have an analogous practice in the *lex salica* to which B. Fehr, *Hammurapi und das Salische Recht*, p. 40, called attention. But whatever the symbol was, it served as a receipt, and our verb (the intensive form points to its being a denominative) is therefore to be taken in the sense of a legally completed transaction. Literally, therefore, 'It is proper (or obligatory) that he (sc. the offender) should hand over the *buḫanu*'.

⁸⁰ *ú-ḫap-pa*, from *ḫipū*, 'destroy'. On the boring of the ear, see above § 39.

⁸¹ *ta-ad-na-at*, Permansive 3d person fem. from *tadānu*, which we encountered above, § 29. The woman is betrothed but not actually married.

⁸² Read *a-na*.

⁸³ She is deprived of support by her husband, and has no one to look after her. Her father-in-law, presumably, is dead and she has no offspring.

⁸⁴ *pa-ni ta-ad-da-gal* as above, § 35, to indicate that she is not free to marry until after the expiration of two years.

⁸⁵ The text is defective at the beginning of the line, so that there is a doubt as to the term to be supplied before *šá ekal-lim*, 'of the palace'. Three signs are clear, to wit: *la-i-tu*. The traces of the one preceding *la* point to *kal*. It may be, therefore, that she is designated as 'a bride of the palace', but this is unlikely for two reasons: (1) the meaning is obscure, and (2) we should expect *kal-la-tu*. Furthermore, there is room for another sign before *kal*. The most probable restoration seems to me to be *tuk-kal-la-i-tu* from *takālu*, 'to entrust', designating the woman as one whose charge falls to the state, in view of the fact that she is left without support in consequence of her betrothed's departure. It is assumed that her betrothed has been captured while in the service of the state (*dan-na-at šarri*, 'service of the king', line 82).

has no one⁸⁶ to support her and whose service⁸⁷ she might do. She is a ⁸⁸.....

(At this point and for seven lines the text is defective. There is apparently a reference to the state(?) stepping forward to 'support her' by placing a field and house—presumably the entailed property of her husband for which she is held—at her disposal. She is represented as again 'going' to testify that she has 'no support'. When the text becomes legible it reads as follows:)

The judges immediately(?)⁸⁹...shall ask the magistrates⁹⁰ of the city that they go to the field in that city and turn over⁹¹ the field and the house to be used for her support for two years. She occupies it and they draw up a document for her. Upon the completion of the two years, she may go to live with the man of her choice.⁹² A document for her as of widowhood⁹³ they draw up. If at any future time her lost husband returns to

Another reading which is possible is *suk-kal-la-i-tu*, a feminine adjectival form for *sukkallu* designating a 'deputy'—some one attached to a high official (see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Vol. 2, p. 88). In any case the term used defines the dependent position of the woman, which is further described in the following line—unfortunately still more defective.

⁸⁶ Read [*la*]-*āš šá*, 'there is not to her', i. e., she has no one.

⁸⁷ In return for her support. Read [*ši-pa*]-*ar-šú ti-ip-pa-aš*, as in § 45 (col. 6, 108).

⁸⁸ Her status is further defined, but the line is too broken to be restored. The word *hu-ub-ši* (genitive), perhaps 'attached', points to another designation of the deserted woman as dependent upon the state, which must step in to 'support her', as is indicated at the close of the following line—likewise defective.

⁸⁹ Read *ha-šiš*, favored by the traces, the meaning of which fits the context.

⁹⁰ (Lu)Gal (Meš) (= *rabūti*) *šá a-li*, a class of officials often mentioned in legal documents of Assyria. See Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 2, p. 155, for their functions.

⁹¹ *up-pu-šu*, literally, 'to be made', i. e., converted to her use. The expression 'field and house', must be taken in the general sense of property—a dwelling and means of support through a cultivated field—placed at the disposal of the deserted woman.

⁹² Literally, 'of her heart,' i. e., she is free to marry anyone whom she chooses if her husband does not return. The paragraphs in the Hammurabi Code (§§ 133-135) dealing with the captured husband (see above, to § 35) mention no time limit.

⁹³ *dup-pa šá ki-i al-ma-ti*, i. e., she is given the status of a widow, free to marry again. The assumption is that her betrothed from whom she had not heard for two years, is dead.

the land, he may take away from his wife what she may have secured on loan,⁹⁴ (but) on her sons whom she bore to her second husband he has no claim.⁹⁵ Her second husband takes (them). The field and the house which for her support at the full value were deeded (to her) as a loan,⁹⁶ if he (sc. her first husband) was not in the service of the king,⁹⁷ he must refund what was deeded to her⁹⁸ and (then) take (it). But if he does not come back and dies in another country, then his field and his house in place of what the king gave⁹⁹ is to be given.

45

If a woman whose husband dies had not left the house of her husband within a year,¹⁰⁰ and if her husband has not assigned¹

⁹⁴ *a-na ki-i-di*, as above, § 6 (col. 1, 71).

⁹⁵ *la-a i-ka-ri-ib* 'he may not draw nigh' in the sense of having no claim, as above §§ 26, 28, 37, etc. This is in agreement with § 135 of the Hammurabi Code—the case of a woman whose husband (without providing for her support) has been captured and who marries another man and has children through him. She must go back to her husband on his return, but the children belong to their father, i. e., to the second husband. The assumption in §§ 134 and 135 is that the husband has been captured while on 'royal service'—as in our text.

⁹⁶ Again *a-na ki-i-di*, which here is equivalent to our loan. The reference is to the action of the state which had placed the field and house at her disposal for two years for her support.

⁹⁷ I. e., had not gone away in public service, whether to war or on some mission as is assumed in the first part of the law. The phrase used, *a-na dan-na-at šarri*, 'the service of the king', occurs a number of times in the Hammurabi Code, e. g., § 27, which also bears on our law. It reads: 'If a garrison officer or constable returns from the service of the king after they have given his field or his plantation to another, upon his return to the city, they restore to him his field or his plantation and he attends to his business (sc. as before)'. Assuming that this was also the law in Assyria, the man who goes away on private business is at a disadvantage, in being obliged to refund the state for the support of his wife during his absence.

⁹⁸ *ki-i ta-ad-nu-ni*, i. e., he must pay the sum 'pledged' or deeded to her before he can get possession of his property—the field and house.

⁹⁹ His estate falls to the State, in return for the support given her for two years by placing a property at her disposal. It is interesting to note that the king in this Assyrian Code is still looked upon as the source and representative of all governmental authority, but the use of the plural verb (*id-du-nu-ú-ni* with *a-šar šarri*) also shows that the term has become a conventional one for the state or the court as a collective body.

¹⁰⁰ I. e., had not separated from him within a year of his death.

¹ *il-tu-ra-aš-še* (= *išturaša*), 'written for her'.

anything to her, in a house of one of her sons, whichever one she chooses, she may dwell. The sons of her husband are to support² her with her food and her drink³. As to a bride whom one loves they should attach themselves to her.⁴ And if she was a second wife⁵ and had no sons of her own, (with those of) the first wife⁶ she is to dwell. Together⁷ they should support her. If she has sons of her own, the sons of the former wife⁸ may decline to support her. In a house of her own sons, whichever one she chooses, she is to dwell. Her own sons are to support her and she shall do their service.⁹ And if among the sons of her husband, the one who had taken her [to support] her

(The rest of the law—four lines—is broken off. Presumably, it stipulated that if the son in whose house she lived dies, then another son must take his place for the support of the mother. the last word of the law, 'support her', is preserved.)

46

If a man or a woman practice sorcery¹⁰ and they are caught in the act, they seize them and determine their guilt. Anyone who

² *ú-šá-ku-lu-ú ši*, literally: 'feed her'.

³ *ú-kuł-ti-šá ù ma-al-ti-sa*.

⁴ *ú-ra-ak-ku-su-ni-eš-še*, from *rakāsu*, 'to bind'. This is the single passage in the Code in which a note verging on a gentle sentimentalism is struck. The sons should treat the widowed mother lovingly and with attachment to her.

⁵ *ur-ki-it-tu*, corresponding to the Sumerian *egirra* in the Sumerian Code (Lutz, *Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, No. 102, col. 1, 2, etc.) to designate a second wife by the side of the first one.

⁶ *il-te-en-tu* = *ištentu*, 'first'.

⁷ *a-na pu-uḫ-ri-šú-nu*, 'together', i. e., each bearing his share.

⁸ *pa-ni-ti*, i. e., the first wife who may still be living, though the term may also imply that she has died.

⁹ *ši-par-šú-nu*- (as in § 44 above), the same expression as in the frequent reference to 'service of the king'. The mother is to render service in return for her support, to assist in the household of the son with whom she lives or in the field.

¹⁰ *kis-pi*, the same term which is used in the second law of the Hammurabi Code dealing with the charge of sorcery preferred against someone and providing a river ordeal for the one suspected, if the charge cannot be definitely established. If he succumbs to the ordeal (i. e., the river-god drowns him), then his property goes to the accuser. If he is proved innocent, he takes the property of the accuser who is put to death. It is characteristic of primitive law everywhere to forbid sorcery and to punish the offender with death. See Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, 2. p. 64-67. See also Ex. 22. 17, and the long list of various classes of sorcerers and demons, Deut. 18. 10-11.

practises¹¹ sorcery is to be put to death. A man who witnessed the performance of sorcery, or the one who from the mouth of an eye witness¹² to the sorcery heard him say about them,¹³ 'I saw it', any one who hears¹⁴ (this), must go (and) report it to the king.¹⁵ If a witness who was (supposed) to report to the king denies it, and in the presence of Mercury,¹⁶ the son of the Sun, declares¹⁷ that he did not say so,—he is free.¹⁸ The eye witness¹⁹ who (is reported to have) said so and denies it, the king interrogates him as much as possible and sees his back.²⁰ The sorcerer²¹ on the day that they bring him (sc. to the king) shall be forced to confess, and one should tell him²² that 'from the oath²³ which thou hast sworn to the king and to his son, he (i. e., the king) will

¹¹ *mu-up-pi-ša-na*.

¹² *a-mi-ra-a-ni*, literally: 'the one who saw', an eye-witness.

¹³ About the man or woman suspected of sorcery.

¹⁴ *ša-mi-a-nu* 'the hearer', i. e., 'an ear-witness.'

¹⁵ I. e., either of these two kinds of witnesses (a) the *amirānu*, the direct witness and (b) the *šamiānu*, the one who heard—and therefore an indirect witness—must report the occurrence to the king. This direct reference to the king—and later on in the law also to the king's son (as the heir to the throne)—may be taken as an indication of the antiquity of the law, just as in the Hammurabi Code the section dealing with sorcery belongs to the oldest stratum of the Code. See Jastrow, 'Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurabi' (*JAOS* 36, p. 32).

¹⁶ The god Gud ('bull') is the planet Mercury, frequently mentioned in Astrological texts. Mercury—as the smallest of the five planets known to the Babylonians and Assyrians and being always near the sun is appropriately designated as the son of the sun-god (Shamash). This reference to 'Gud, the son of Šamaš' occurs again in an omen text, *Cuneiform Texts*, XXVII, 4. 19 (= Pl. 6, 15), describing twins born to a woman, 'with a joint like Mercury, the son of the Sun' (sc. is joined to the sun). It is a case like that of the famous Siamese twins.

¹⁷ I. e., swears.

¹⁸ *za-a-ku*.

¹⁹ *a mi-ra-a-nu*.

²⁰ Exactly what is meant by this phrase is not clear—perhaps 'he dismisses him'.

²¹ *a-ši-pu*.

²² *û šû-ut i-ka-ab-bi*, i. e., warn him.

²³ *ma-mi-ta*, i. e., the clearance oath.

not absolve thee.²⁴ According to the document which is sworn to the king²⁵ and his son, 'thou hast sworn.'²⁶

47

If a man who has retained²⁷ the daughter of a man who is his debtor,²⁸ as a pledge in his house, asks her father, he may give her to a man; (but) if her father is not willing he cannot give (her).²⁹ If her father has died, the owner³⁰ must ask among her brothers. To each one of her brothers in turn³¹ he shall speak, and if one brother says: 'I will redeem³² my sister in one month,'—if at the end of the month he does not redeem (her), the master³³ is at liberty, to declare her free³⁴ and to give her to a man.

(Of the rest of the law—18 lines—only partial lines are preserved. The case of a harlot who dies is referred to towards the close.)

48

(The first six lines of this law are badly preserved. From the first line which may be restored as follows:

'[If a man] strikes [the wife of a man],'

the general subject is revealed. There is also an indication in the sixth line that a miscarriage (or a still birth [?]) has taken place in consequence of the blow. The text then continues as follows:)

He must make restitution for human life.³⁵ And if the woman

²⁴ *la-a i-pa-ša-ra-ku-nu*. The sorcerer is to be warned of the consequences of perjury.

²⁵ I. e., the written testimony.

²⁶ *ta-am-'a-a-ta*, i. e., the written deposition stands against him, if it is found that he is guilty of sorcery.

²⁷ The girl is held for debt.

²⁸ *hab-bu-li-šu*. See above, § 38, note 3.

²⁹ I. e., the father's consent must be given to the girl's being handed over to a third party.

³⁰ *bēlu*, i. e., *bēl bīti*, 'the master of the house', in this case, the creditor.

³¹ *šu-ut*, equivalent here to our 'respectively'.

³² *a-pa-tar*. See note to § 5.

³³ Again *bēlu*. See the above note 30.

³⁴ *ú-zak-ka-a-ši*, here in the sense of not being obliged to undergo any further formalities. He can dispose of the girl freely.

³⁵ *nap-ša-a-ti ú-ma-al-la* (referring to what precedes), set forth in the form of a general legal principle, and, therefore, repeated at intervals in the law as a standing phrase, as the result of the blow. Cf. Text No. 2, § 1, *nap-ša-a-ti ik-mu-ur* 'he destroyed human life'. *napšāti* though a plural is used collectively for 'human life'.

dies, they put the man to death. In compensation³⁶ for her (lost) offspring, he must make restitution for human life. And if the husband of that woman has no son, and they strike his wife so that she has a miscarriage, in compensation for her (lost) offspring, they put the one who struck the blow to death.³⁷ And if what was in her womb was a (developed) foetus³⁸, he must make restitution for human life.

49

If a man strikes the wife of a man not yet advanced in pregnancy³⁹ so that she has a miscarriage,⁴⁰ for that guilt he must hand over two talents of lead.⁴¹

50

If a man strikes a harlot⁴² so that she has a miscarriage, blow for blow they impose upon him. He must make restitution for human life.⁴³

51

If a woman with her consent brings on a miscarriage,⁴⁴ they seize her and determine her guilt. On a stake they impale her⁴⁵

³⁶ *ki-i-mu-û*, 'in place of'.

³⁷ The milder law in § 20, imposing a fine, lashes and public service, applies to a man's daughter. The severer punishment here is for two reasons, (1) it is a man's wife, and (2) there is no male offspring and there may be none in the future, because of injury to the woman.

³⁸ *šu-ḥa-ar-tu*, i. e., 'a little one'—to designate that the woman's pregnancy was advanced to the extent of a developed foetus, close, therefore, to being an actual human life.

³⁹ *la-a mu-ra-bi-ta*, 'not large' through pregnancy, by way of contrast to a woman dropping a *ṣuhartu*, according to the previous instance.

⁴⁰ Afterwards, in consequence of the injury.

⁴¹ The same fine as in § 20, the pregnant daughter of a man, but without the 50 lashes and one month's royal service.

⁴² *Kar-lil* (= *ḥarimtu*) as in § 39; also § 47 towards the close.

⁴³ The law does not specify in what manner. It is hardly to be assumed that in the case of one striking a harlot, the offender is put to death if by a premature birth a human life is lost. The restitution is more probably a fine to be fixed by the court, or by agreement with the woman.

⁴⁴ I. e., by malpractice.

⁴⁵ The Hammurabi Code (§ 153) prescribes impaling for the woman who conspires for the death of her husband.

and do not bury her⁴⁶; and if through the miscarriage she dies, they (likewise) impale her⁴⁷ and do not bury her; and when they curse⁴⁸ that woman because of her miscarriage, they say [to her (?)]⁴⁹.....

(The rest of the law—nine lines—is broken off.)

52

(Of this law only a few signs of the last four lines are left. It likewise dealt with striking a woman, slave girls and perhaps others.)

53

[If a man] takes a virgin from the house⁵⁰ of her father, [and against her will (?)]⁵¹ does not return (her) to him; and if [by force?]⁵² she had not been deflowered⁵³ and had not been handed over⁵⁴, nor held as a claim on the house of her father, any man

⁴⁶ No burial was the worst curse that could be imposed upon any one. It meant that the *etiṃmu*, or shade of the dead, wandered about without a resting place in *Arallu*—the gathering-place of the dead—suffering pangs of hunger and thirst. See the vivid description at the close of the Gilgamesh Epic (Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 512).

⁴⁷ I. e., they impale the corpse—a good instance of Assyrian barbarism. See Post *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, 2, p. 46, for examples of punishment extended even to the corpse—characteristic of primitive society, though it is worth noting that (as Mr. C. H. Burr informs me) the same punishment was imposed on the corpses of suicides in England till 1823, and their personal property was confiscated till as recently as 1870.

⁴⁸ Read [*i-iz*]-*zi-ru-ú-ši*.

⁴⁹ The form of the curse was presumably given.

⁵⁰ Read [*iš-tu bīt a-*]*bi-i-ša* [*uṣ-bu-*]*tu-ú-ni*.

⁵¹ One hesitates between supplying *a-na bi-ti-ša*, 'to her house', which would make a somewhat awkward construction, and *ina pa-ni-ša* (cf. § 23), in contrast to *ra-ma-an-ša*, 'with her consent', in § 54.

⁵² Are we perhaps to read [*ina-e-mu-ka*], 'by force'? The traces of *ka* are clear in Schroeder's copy.

⁵³ *la-a pa-ti-a-tu-ú-ni*, 'not opened', the general term for the untouched virgin or animal. One is reminded of the law in the fragment of a Sumerian Code published by Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, No. 28, §§ 6-7, where a distinction is made between a girl abducted, but not 'known' (i. e., not raped) and one who was abducted and 'known' or actually seduced.

⁵⁴ *la-a aḫ-za-tu-ú-ni*, 'not taken', i. e., 'not taken by any one as a wife,' here applied to the girl captured, but not actually handed over to some man.

who whether within a city or outside, whether at night on a highway or at an eating house,⁵⁵ or at a city festival forcibly (?)⁵⁶ seizes the virgin (and) violates her,⁵⁷ the father of the virgin takes the wife of the seducer⁵⁸ of the virgin and gives her to be ravished. To her husband he does not return her; he takes her away (from him).⁵⁹ The father of the ravished girl gives her as a possession⁶⁰ to the seducer. If the man has no wife, then three times the purchase price of the virgin the seducer must give to her father. The seducer who marries her cannot spurn her.⁶¹ If the father does not wish to receive three times the price of the girl,⁶² he may give his daughter to any whom he pleases.

54

If a virgin with her consent gives herself to a man,⁶³ the man must swear an oath (sc. to that effect). On his (sc. the adulterer's) wife⁶⁴ there is no claim. The seducer gives three times the price of the virgin, and the father can do to his daughter what he pleases.

⁵⁵ *bit ka-ri-e-ti*, 'house of feasting', which seems to correspond to our 'restaurant'.

⁵⁶ *ki-i da'-a-a-ni*, an obscure phrase but for which I suggest a meaning 'duress'. Cf. *di'atu* for 'distress', Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, p. 286.

⁵⁷ *u-ma-an-zi-e- e-ši*, from *mazū*, 'to press'—an euphemistic term to indicate rape. It is not surprising to find so many terms in Assyrian for sexual intercourse. Modern Arabic is full of them, and in fact most languages have a large variety of such terms—some popular, and some of a literary origin.

⁵⁸ *na-i-ka-a-na* used for the adulterer (above § 22), as well as for the seducer of a virgin.

⁵⁹ A curious and barbarous punishment that the innocent wife of the seducer should suffer for the crime of her husband and be made the victim in the same way as the virgin was victimized, but quite in keeping with the crude application of the *lex talionis* which marks this Assyrian Code.

⁶⁰ *a-na a-ku-zi-ti*, 'as a possession'—here, no doubt, in the sense of marriage.

⁶¹ *la-a i-sa-ma-ak-ši* from *samāku*, which from the context, as well as from a passage in an incantation text in which a form of the verb has been found (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 766a), must have some such meaning as 'reject, dispose of,' and the like.

⁶² I. e., he declines to receive the large indemnity which, however, involves his giving the girl to the seducer.

⁶³ I. e., is not taken from the father's house as in § 53.

⁶⁴ *a-na aššati-šu la-a i-ka-ri-i-bu*, i. e., the action set forth in the preceding law cannot be followed, in case the virgin willingly gave herself to the man.

(The text—fourteen lines—is mutilated beyond certain recovery. The law continues the general subject of illicit intercourse, and at the close provides that if the suspected woman is 'released of her guilt,' the husband by a document gives his wife a quittance.⁶⁵ Apparently, it is added that if he had mutilated his wife's ear,⁶⁶ 'there is no guilt attaching to him.')

This completes Text No. 1 in Schroeder's publication. If the colophon had been preserved in full, we would be able to indicate the place of the tablet in the series.⁶⁷ All that is left of the colophon, however, is the date according to the custom of the Assyrian scribes, viz.:

The month of *Sarāli* (6th month) 2d day eponymate of
Sa.....u.....

Such dating prevents us from fixing the reign in which the tablet was drawn up, unless we happen to have a list of eponyms in which the name occurs. That is not the case in this instance.

TEXT NO. 2.⁶⁸

1

(Beginning mutilated. The subject of the first six laws [covering Col. II and III] is the division of an estate among brothers.)

.....ground⁶⁹
[the oldest son] sets aside⁷⁰ and takes two parts⁷¹ [as his share],⁷²

⁶⁵ *i-ba-ka-an*, as above, § 43.

⁶⁶ *uz-[ni-ša] ú-ba-pa*, as above, § 43.

⁶⁷ See the remarks above, p. 4.

⁶⁸ Schroeder, No. 2 (Pl. 14-18) is likewise a tablet of four columns each on obverse and reverse, belonging to the same series as No. 1. It is badly broken. The 1st and 8th columns are entirely gone, and of the other six columns none is complete. Assuming that it contained as many as 55 laws (like Text No. 1), the 18 laws preserved would represent not more than one-third of the tablet.

⁶⁹ *ka-ki-ri* = *ka-kkaru*, 'ground', as Col. 5, 19 (§ 13).

⁷⁰ *i-na-sa-ku*. The elder brother has the first claim, for which in Sumero-Babylonian legal phraseology there is a special term *Sib-ta* = *ēlitum* (Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, s.v., p. 573) as against *Ha-la* = *zittu*, the general term for 'portion' or 'share'.

⁷¹ *ka-a-ta*, 'hands', i. e., two shares. Cf. above, Text No. 1, § 27, *ki-i ka-ti-šu*, 'his share'.

⁷² To be supplied as in Text No. 2, § 2 (line 21) *a-na zitti-šu*.

[and] his brothers afterwards in turn⁷³ set aside and take (sc. their share). From the field any expenditure (?)⁷⁴ and all the outlays⁷⁵, the younger son subtracts (?).⁷⁶ The oldest son sets aside the one part of his share, and in return for his second part⁷⁷ exacts⁷⁸ service to him⁷⁹ from his brothers.

2

If one among the brothers of an undivided estate⁸⁰ destroys⁸¹ human life,⁸² they hand him over to the owner of the human life. If the owner of the human life chooses, he may kill him and if he chooses to be gracious,⁸³ he merely takes away his share.⁸⁴

3

If one among the brothers, of an undivided estate, either [meets

⁷³ *ur-ki a-ḫa-iš*, in which combination the second word has the force of 'brother by brother' and is a variant form to *aḫameš*, 'together'.

⁷⁴ *ši-kil(?) -li mi-im-ma*. *Šikillu*—if the reading is correct,—may be a variant form of *sikiltu*, 'expenditure' (?) (Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, No. 218, 31-32).

⁷⁵ *ma-na-ḫa-a-ti*, plural of *manahlu*, which is of frequent occurrence in legal documents as well as in the Hammurabi Code, (§§ 47 and 49), and has the force of our 'outlay', for the improvements made on a property.

⁷⁶ *uš-sa-ak* for *ušnasak* (?).

⁷⁷ *šá-ni-ti ḫa-ti-šú*.

⁷⁸ *i-ša-al-li* from *šalū*—perhaps in the sense of 'implores' or 'demands'.

⁷⁹ *šú-pur-šú*, 'his work', i. e., his share of the work on the estate, which the brothers must perform at the demand of the older brother.

⁸⁰ *la zi-zu-ú-tu*, i. e., before the settlement is made.

⁸¹ Read *ik-mu-ur* from *kamāru*, a synonym of *dāku*, 'kill' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 397b).

⁸² *nap-šá-a-ti*, 'human life' as above, No. 1, § 48, which here appears to refer to the household or retinue of the estate, just as in Hebrew the corresponding word has this force, e. g., Gen. 12. 5, 'all the *nefesh* which they had acquired in Haran', i. e., the household. Perhaps the livestock was also included in the general term.

⁸³ *im-ma-an-ga-ar* from *magāru*, 'to be favorable', and the like.

⁸⁴ *a-na zitti-šú*. It rests with the elder brother either to kill his brother, or to pardon him and to take his share—again an illustration of the crude spirit of the Code which regards not the crime primarily, but the property loss involved in a human life, and therefore leaves it optional with the 'owner' to exact punishment or not.

with an accident (?)⁸⁵ or flees, his share falls to the king,⁸⁶ [according to] his pleasure.⁸⁷

4

(This law—likewise dealing with an undivided estate—is too badly preserved to permit of a translation.)

5

(Of this law, continuing the same general subject, only the ends of eight lines are preserved.)

6⁸⁸

(The beginning of this law, revealing in a most interesting manner the procedure in ancient Assyria for disposing of an estate, is broken off. When the text becomes intelligible, it reads as follows:)

....for silver⁸⁹ [a man wishes to acquire], he must agree [in regard to the field and] house, not [to acquire it]⁹⁰ for silver, for one month.⁹¹ The [surrogate]⁹² within the city of Asshur shall cause proclamation⁹³ to be made three times. Three times, he shall cause the field and house which is to be acquired to be proclaimed in the city, to wit⁹⁴: the field and house which

⁸⁵ Text defective. Some phrase, indicating that one of the brothers died is demanded by the context, as a comparison with the above text No. 1, § 42 (col. 6. 22), 'he either dies or flees', shows.

⁸⁶ I. e., as we would say, 'to the state'.

⁸⁷ Read [*ki-i*] *li-ib-bi-i-šū*, i. e., the king may, if he chooses, confiscate the share. It reverts to the state.

⁸⁸ More than one law may be missing between the end of Col. 2 and the beginning of the third column.

⁸⁹ A missing line described the prospective purchaser.

⁹⁰ Read *la-a* [*ú-lek-ki*]-*ú-ni*, favored by the traces.

⁹¹ I. e., there shall be a delay of one month.

⁹² The traces point to [*lù*]*íl* (like lines 28, 31, 36, 40, etc.), an official of some kind—perhaps to be read *kinattu*, if the restoration of the determinative *Lù* before *íl* in *Cuneiform Texts* XIX, Pl. 27 (K 2061, obv. 24) is correct. See Meissner, *Seltene Assy. Ideogramme* No. 4385. The restoration finds support from II Rawlinson, Pl. 48. 3a, where *Ner-Gal* with the force of 'lord' is likewise equated with *kinattu*. On the other hand, the official designated by *íl* might also be read *maḥrū*, 'first officer' (Meissner *ib.* No. 4386). In any case the ideographic designation having the value of 'to be high', points to an official of high standing, a surrogate charged with announcing and superintending the disposal of estates.

⁹³ *ú-sa-aš-sa* = from *šasū*, 'to call out'.

⁹⁴ *ma-a*, introducing the formal wording of the official proclamation to be made three times during the month, as a notice to all concerned.

belongs to N.N. the son of N.N.⁹⁵ within the confines⁹⁶ of this city, I wish to acquire [for silver (?)].⁹⁷ Whatever their demands⁹⁸ and (whatever) claims there may be,⁹⁹ let them draw up their documents and in the presence of the recorder¹⁰⁰ let them deposit them, and let them put in a claim¹ so as to make it free² to be disposed of.

If within this month, fixed as the time limit,³ they have not neglected⁴ to produce their documents and in the presence of the recorder have deposited them, then the man shall take to the full extent of his field.⁵

On the day that the surrogate(?) makes proclamation within the city of Asshur, one as a secretary(?)⁶ in place of the king, the city scribe,⁷ the surrogate and the recorder of the king shall assemble⁸ to dispose of the field and house within the city. (With) the prefect⁹ and three magistrates¹⁰ of the city standing by, the

⁹⁵ *an-na-na mar an-na-na*, 'this one, son of this one'. See Meissner, *ib.*, No. 7829.

⁹⁶ *A-Gár = ugaru*, a term of frequent occurrence in legal documents, and here used to indicate that the property lies within the confines of the city.

⁹⁷ *a-na [šarpi] (?)*.

⁹⁸ Read [*la-a*] -*ka-šú-nu*.

⁹⁹ Read *da-[ba]-ab-šú-nu*. Cf. Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* No. 149. 16 (*dibbat*).

¹⁰⁰ *ki-pu-ú-ti*, occurring again lines 24 and 43, evidently designates the office of the recorder.

¹ *li-id-bu-bu*—from *dabābu*, for which see Schorr, *ib.*, p. 372 note.

² *lu-zak-[ki]-ú-ma*.

³ *e-da-nu = adannu*, 'time limit' occurs also in Text No. 143. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 21a.

⁴ I suggest reading *la-a ma-ša-e* and combining *mašū* 'forget, neglect,' etc., with the following verb—*it-ta-al-lu-ni-en-ni* IV, 2 from *elū*, 'bring up' or 'produce'.

⁵ *a-na si-ir ēkli-šú i-šal-lim*, literally, 'completing to the border of his field', i. e., the purchaser shall acquire the full estate.

⁶ Numeral one, followed by *i-na sukkalli ša pa-ni šarri*, which would appear to designate an official acting as the representative of the king. For officials designated by an introductory *ša*, see, e. g., Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 2, p. 165. The addition of *ina sukkalli* I take as a designation of the secretarial bureau, but the entire passage must remain obscure until we find further references to the office intended in some Assyrian legal document.

⁷ *dup-šar āli*.

⁸ *iz-za-zu*, 'stand'.

⁹ *ba-zi-a-nu*, an official of frequent occurrence in official documents and who appears to have been the prefect. See Johns, *ib.*, Vol. 2, p. 148 *seq.*

¹⁰ *Gal (Meš) = rabūti*, as above, No. 1, § 44.

surrogate shall make the announcement. They shall hand over the documents that have been drawn up.

But if within this month, the surrogate three times makes proclamation, and within this month any one's document¹¹ was not brought, (and) in the presence of the recorder was not deposited, then on the field and house he lays his hand.¹² The one who caused the proclamation¹³ of the surrogate to be made is free¹⁴ to act. Three documents of the proclamation of the surrogate which the judges¹⁵ shall draw up [are to be deposited in the presence of the recorder].¹⁶

(Rest of the law is broken off.)

7

(Only partially preserved. It deals with some wrong committed against an owner of a house, for which a fine of one talent of lead, blows and a month's royal service is imposed, besides handing over twice the value of the house.)

8

If a man extends¹⁷ a 'large'¹⁸ boundary¹⁹ from his companion, they seize him and determine his guilt. He must hand over three times the area of what he has extended.²⁰ One of his fingers is

¹¹ Text has 'his document', meaning the document of any interested party.

¹² *ka-su e-li*, 'raises his hand', in the sense of taking possession, as in § 10 of Text No. 2 (col. 4, 32.)

¹³ *a-na mu-sa-as-si-a-ni* from *šāsū*, for *mušassianu*.—i. e., the one who brings about the proclamation.

¹⁴ *za-a-ku*, i. e., all formalities have been complied with and the estate can be disposed of.

¹⁵ I. e., all the other officials involved.

¹⁶ To be supplied and favored by the traces. Read [*a-na pa-ni ki-pu*]-*ū-tu* [*iš-ku-nu-ū-ni*].

¹⁷ *us-sa-am-me-iḥ*, from *samāḥu*, 'to add'. i. e., enlarges his boundary by encroaching on his neighbor's property.

¹⁸ 'Large' in contrast to a 'small' boundary in the following law must refer to an extensive encroachment as against taking only a small section away from some one.

¹⁹ *ta-ḥu-ū-ma*, the same term that we find in Talmudic jurisprudence, no doubt borrowed from Babylonia. See Marcus Jastrow, *Talmudic Dictionary*, p. 1160b.

²⁰ Literally: 'The field as much as he has extended it, three times (as much) he must hand over'.

cut off; he receives 100 blows²¹ and he must perform one month's royal service.

9

If a man removes a 'small'²² boundary of an enclosure,²³ they seize him and determine his guilt. He must hand over one talent of lead and restore three times²⁴ as much of the field as he extended. He receives 50 blows and must perform one month's royal service.

10

If a man in a field that is not his digs a well and makes a trench(?)²⁵ (and) seizes²⁶ the trench for his well, he receives 30 blows and [he must perform] 20 days royal service.

(Of the balance of the law only the beginnings of the lines are preserved.)

11

(Of this law only the beginnings of the last 12 lines are preserved. It deals with a field, which is shared with an *ummiānu*—apparently a partner as in No. 1, § 38 [col. 5. 29].)

12

If a man in a field [which²⁷] lays out an orchard (and) [digs]²⁸ a well, (and) the owner of the field sees

²¹ The highest number of blows named in the Code. The severity of the punishment shows how seriously this crime was viewed. In view of the frequent denunciation in the Old Testament of those who remove boundaries (e. g., Hos. 5. 10; cf. Deut. 27. 17; Prov. 22. 28), this law of the Assyrian Code is particularly interesting.

²² I. e., only takes a small piece of land away from his neighbor. See note 18 above.

²³ *a-bu-ra-a-ni*, from *abāru*, 'enclosure' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 9b).

²⁴ So read according to Schroeder's *errata* to his edition (p. xxviii).

²⁵ *du-un-na*, used for a 'couch' or 'bed', (Muss-Arnolt *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 259b), but here would appear to designate a trench into which the water of the well is allowed to flow.

²⁶ *ka-a-su e-li*, 'he lays his hand', here (as above, § 6, note 12), in the sense of illegally using the trench to fill his well.

²⁷ The ends of the lines in this law are broken off. Evidently the man had no control over the field, but exactly in what relation he stood to it is a matter of conjecture. Perhaps we are to complete the line to *ša-a [a-na za-ka-pi]*, 'a field which was taken for cultivation'. Cf. Hammurabi Code, §§ 60-61.

²⁸ *iḥ-ri* to be supplied as above.

the trees that he (sc. the man) raises without [protesting(?)],²⁹ the orchard is [free]³⁰ for the cultivator.³¹ The field as a field belongs to the owner of the orchard.³²

13

If a man on ground that is not his,³³ cultivates an orchard or digs a well, whether he raises vegetables³⁴ or trees, they seize him and determine his guilt. On the day that the owner of the field goes out (sc. to inspect what has been done),³⁵ he may take away the orchard together with its improvement.³⁶

14

If a man on ground that is not his, breaks it up(?)³⁷ and bakes bricks, they seize him and determine his guilt. He must hand over three times the amount of ground³⁸; and his bricks are taken away from him. He receives 50(?)³⁹ lashes and must perform [one month's]⁴⁰ royal service.

15

[If a man] on ground that is not his⁴¹ and bakes bricks, they take away [the bricks and 50(?)] blows they give him⁴² and he must perform one month's royal service.

²⁹ The word is broken off, but the context points to a term like 'protest', perhaps *la-a ik-bi*.

³⁰ Read *za-[a-ku]*, i. e., he has the right to the crop.

³¹ *na-di-a-ni*, i. e., from *nadū*, the one who cultivated it.

³² I. e., the ground for further cultivation remains in the possession of the original owner of the orchard.

³³ *i-na la-a ka-ki-ri-i-šú*, for *kaḫkaru*, as above, Text No. 2, § 1.

³⁴ *ur-ki*, 'greens'. We still call a dealer in vegetables a 'green grocer'.

³⁵ The assumption being that he voices his protest in contrast to his silent assent in § 12.

³⁶ *ma-na-ḫa-a-ti-šú*, more literally 'the outlays' on it, for which no compensation need be given.

³⁷ *ig-lu-šú-ma* from *galāšu*, the meaning of which is to be gathered from the context.

³⁸ Sc. that he has used.

³⁹ The text is uncertain. The number may be 40 or 50—more probably the latter.

⁴⁰ To be supplied as the usual phrase in connection with fixed labor.

⁴¹ The verb which would have indicated what the man did in addition to baking bricks is broken off.

⁴² Read *{i-ma}- ḫu-šu-ú-uš*, according to Schroeder's *errata* to his text (p. xxviii).

16

(This law is entirely broken away. If we may assume that it extended into Col. VI, we may conclude from the law following that it dealt with providing irrigation for fields adjoining one another, but it is of course possible that there was more than one law included between Col. 5. 39 and the beginning of Col. 6.)

17

[If it is canal]⁴³ water which is collected among them⁴⁴ into a reservoir for irrigation,⁴⁵ [the owners]⁴⁶ of the fields divide up among themselves,⁴⁷ and each, according to the extent⁴⁸ of his field, does (his) work, and irrigates⁴⁹ his field. But if there is no harmony⁵⁰ among them, the judges⁵¹ ask each one⁵² about the agreement⁵³ among them, and the judges take away the document⁵⁴ and (each) one must do (his) work. (Each) must direct⁵⁵

⁴³ Since in the following law it is 'rain water' which is to be used in common, the natural contrast to be expected here would be water from a canal, which is gathered in a reservoir and thence directed into the fields.

⁴⁴ I. e., by agreement among the owners of adjacent fields. The previous law, no doubt, specified who 'they' were.

⁴⁵ Read [šá a]-na ši-i-ki [a-na šá]-ka-a-ni [il-li]-ku-ú-ni, as in the following law (col. 6. 23). Šakānu would appear from the context to be the term for 'reservoir'.

⁴⁶ Supply [Nin](Meš) = bēlē, as in the following law (col. 6. 24).

⁴⁷ iš-tu a-ḥa-iš.

⁴⁸ a-na si-ir, 'up to the border', as above in § 6.

⁴⁹ i-ša-aḫ-ki from šikū 'to water'.

⁵⁰ ma-ag-ru-tu from magāru, which among various meanings has the force of 'to agree'. Such quarrels among those using water in common, must have been as frequent in Babylonia and Assyria as disputes about wells in Palestine. Cf. Gen. 26. 15-32.

⁵¹ Di-Tar(Meš) = daiānē, 'judges', but here used collectively for 'court' and therefore construed in this law and in the following one with a verb in the singular, as e. g., i-šá-'a-a-al, 'asks', iṣ-ša-bat, 'seizes', in our law, and i-leḫ-ki, 'takes away' in the following law (col. 6. 34).

⁵² amelu, here in the sense of 'each man'.

⁵³ ma-ag-ru, i. e., what understanding there was regarding the share each one was to perform. There is the same *double entente* in the Babylonian stem magāru as in the English term 'agree', used for 'harmony', and for 'an agreement'.

⁵⁴ dup-pa, i. e., the written agreement among the owners of the fields.

⁵⁵ i-leḫ-ki, 'take', out of the reservoir and direct into the field.

those waters by himself, and irrigate his field, but any one else's⁵⁶ he is not to irrigate.

18

If it is rain-water⁵⁷ which is collected among them into a reservoir for irrigation, the owners of the fields divide among themselves. Each man according to the extent of his field does (his) work and irrigates his field. And if there is no harmony among them, whatever agreement there may have been among them, the court takes away the document of (each) man, because of the failure to agree.⁵⁸ (The continuation is broken off.)⁵⁹

The balance of the sixth column of the tablet is mutilated and in part entirely broken off. It is not even possible to estimate how many laws are missing—perhaps two. Of the seventh column only the remains of twenty-four lines, comprising two laws, are preserved. Both deal with agricultural matters, showing that the general subject of the previous column was continued.

Of the additional seven fragments of the Code published by Schroeder, while some—particularly No. 6 (Pl. 20-21)—are quite extensive, none is sufficiently preserved to give a continuous text. All therefore that can be done for the present is to indicate the contents of the fragments, so far as this can be determined.

(a) Of fragment No. 3, only parts of seven lines are preserved.

(b) Fragment No. 4 contains portions of five laws. The subject of the first two seems to be injuries, and of the last two, contracts.

(c) Fragment No. 5 contains parts of two laws. The character of the first is uncertain. The second deals with horse herds (*re'u su-gul-li šā sisē*, 'caretaker of herds of horses'). In Assyrian letters, we hear much of furnishing horses for the royal stables and for the army; and we would, therefore, expect stock farms to be introduced into an Assyrian Code.

(d) Fragment No. 6 gives portions of 11 laws. The subjects are, slave girls, the daughter of a man or his wife retained as a

⁵⁶ I. e., in order to avoid further disputes, no work is to be done in common.

⁵⁷ 'Water of the god Adad' = *zinnu*, rain, in contrast, therefore, to the kind of water mentioned at the beginning of the previous law.

⁵⁸ *a-na ēli la-a ma-ag-ru-ū-tu*.

⁵⁹ There is a reference to five magistrates (*rabūti*).

pledge for debt, transactions regarding horses, oxen, and asses; theft, stolen property put on deposit, stolen property restored through a companion.

(e) Fragment No. 7 (No. 143 of Schroeder's edition, Pl. 89) gives portions of four laws covering monetary transactions, individuals held as pledges for debt, and guarantees.

(f) Fragment No. 8 (No. 144 of Schroeder's edition, Pl. 89)—small portion of one law.

(g) Fragment No. 9 (No. 193 of Schroeder's edition, Pl. 107 and 106)—bits of six laws, dealing with agriculture.

[As this article goes through the press, the first volume of Bruno Meissner's very valuable new work, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, Winter 1920), reaches me, in which, on pages 175-179, he summarizes some of the contents of the new code and discusses a number of the laws. Much to my satisfaction, I find that he confirms Professor Montgomery's supposition above set forth that in the term *šaršēn* (§§ 14 and 19) we have the Assyrian term for 'eunuch' and that castration was, therefore, a form of punishment in Assyria as far back as the date of the Code. I also owe to Meissner the correct interpretation of the verb *tadānu* in the sense of being 'pledged' to marry in § 29 of Text No. 1 (which applies also to § 44) and I have embodied this view, as well as one or two other suggestions derived from incidental references to social conditions as set forth in Chapter XII of Meissner's work dealing with 'The family and daily life'.]

BURUÇASKĪ, A LANGUAGE OF NORTHERN KASHMIR

PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

FAR IN THE GREAT NORTHWEST of India, lying close to the borders of Turkistān, is the valley of the Hunza River. Along its northern banks lives a tribe of people who, tho formerly war-like and aggressive, are now industrious and peaceable. On the south side are men of a different sort: quieter, and more orthodox Muhammadans. Yet these two tribes speak very slightly differing dialects of the same tongue. This language, called Buruçaskī by the best authorities, is, like most primitive tongues, possessed of qualities which are very strange to the peoples of the Western World. Indeed, Buruçaskī has one phenomenon which I have been unable to find in any one of some 250 languages and dialects which I have investigated.

The object of this article is to give a brief summary of the main peculiarities of the tongue, and to discuss its possible linguistic relationships and offer some possible explanation of its origin. Later on I hope to be able to offer a scientific grammar.

Buruçaskī possesses two main distinctive features. The most important of these to my mind is the so-called system of pronominalization. And in the second place there is the use of the vigesimal system. Several others might be mentioned, but these seem to me the most important ones. It is these elements, then, that we must look for in other tongues in order to classify the language. This problem has been investigated by Grierson, Leitner, and others, but the verdict so far has been 'unclassifiable'. I say this with the reservation of a statement by Prof. Trombetti which I will discuss later.

Let us now look into this matter and see whether we shall again justify the opinion of Grierson or, failing to do that, offer some constructive criticism of our own.

As I have said before, the 'pronominalized' quality of Buruçaskī is the most striking one. It consists in the prefixing of a particle derived from the personal pronouns, and pronominal in effect, to certain nouns, adjectives, prepositions, and verbs. The principle underlying these several cases is fundamentally the same. (In fact, the actual form varies but slightly, as we shall see.) Dr.

Leitner, the original discoverer of Buruçaskī to the western races of the earth, explains the pronominalization as follows: to the primitive mind the idea of 'head', for instance, is so closely associated with the idea of its possessor that the two can not be separated. Accordingly we find the mental concept reflected in the speech. There is no word for 'head' in the abstract; it is necessary to say *whose* head, either its present owner, or, if separated from the body, its past possessor. Thus we have words for 'my head', 'thy head', 'his head', and so forth, all quite distinct from one another, yet all founded upon the same root by means of prefixes. Nevertheless we do not find this root as a separate entity. It is invariably accompanied by one of the prefixes.

The pronominalization, to continue our abstract from Dr. Leitner, is therefore confined to words of family relationship, parts of the body, and mental conceptions—all of them expressing qualities, be they physical or mental, which can not be separated from their owner. They may be, as remarked above, expressed in a noun, a verb (usually, if not invariably, a compound with one of the pronominalized nouns as a component), an adjective (always a compound), or a preposition (these are very few and no regular rule is deduced). In the case of the verbs, the suffixes for the personal endings may also be derived from the same personal-pronominal roots. Thus in the pronominalized verbs we have the prefix and the suffix both. Such is Dr. Leitner's opinion on the matter.

Important as is the explanation and theory of so distinguished a scholar as Leitner, there seem to me to be some reasons for modifying it. There are, however, few 'first opinions' which survive the erosive effect of time. Facts discovered later contradict even the most logical theories.

Now as regards the Buruçaskī system of pronominalization, which by its very nature causes a lack of certain abstract terms in the language, it is well to observe that, while there are cases of primitive tongues having different words for objects expressed in more advanced languages by a compound formed of a general word plus a specific modifier, these cases do not parallel ours. In them it is a question of an entire lack of abstract terms. In Buruçaskī, on the other hand, altho there is no word for 'head', there is a *root* expressing that idea. Tho various personal prefixes are attached, that does not hide the significance of the existence

of the root idea in the language. To evidence the distinction I am making, I will quote several cases from other tongues. Dr. Romanes¹ cites the following examples: the Society Islanders have different words for 'dog's tail', 'bird's tail', etc., but no word for 'tail'. The Mohicans have different words for various kinds of cutting, but no verb 'to cut'. They can say 'I love you', or 'I love him', and so forth, but they have no way of expressing the simple idea 'to love'. The Choctaws have no word for the genus 'oak'. The Australians have no expression for 'tree' in the abstract, nor for 'bird', or 'fish', etc. The Eskimos can say they are fishing seal, or whale, and the like, but they can not invite anyone to go fishing with them without specifying what, where, when, or how they are going to fish.

I need quote no more of these cases to prove that, with the sole exception of the Mohican verb forms, there is no real resemblance between any of these and *Buruçaski*. In all of them the root too is absent. Not so, however, in the language we are studying. While the Kanjuti's (or *Buruçaski*-speaking man's) mind may not now be able to separate the idea of a part of the body, or what not, from the idea of its owner, his mind must at some time have had the power to conceive the root word to which he has attached his pronominal prefix—and there Dr. Leitner's theory seems inadequate.

Far more likely does it appear to me that the root word once existed and that the constant use of these now pronominalized words with the possessive pronouns led to the unifying of the two parts into one word. Subsequently, probably owing to a contraction, the significance of the possessive prefix was lost, to a certain extent, and the second half of the compound, the general term, lost its individual entity. Then the possessive pronoun was again added, and we find them now saying 'my my head', for instance. It is a similar case to that of the Southerner, who, as the story goes, had heard 'dam-Yankee' used together so much that he reached the age of discretion, so-called, without knowing that the phrase was not a word. I might also cite the use in modern English of 'the hoi polloi' as another example of how easily two words often used together become as one, frequently resulting in the addition of a superfluous particle before them.

¹ Geo. J. Romanes, *Mental Evolution in Man*, New York City, 1898, pp. 350-353.

Some day future nations may be saying that we lacked the mental acumen necessary to understand the original Greek. We too may be classed with the primitive savage.

To return to the subject, my analysis of the pronominalization is further borne out by the fact that the Kanjutis, according to Dr. Leitner, have been a free race, living in the same locality, and governed by the same line of kings, or chiefs, for about a thousand years. Their isolation has been almost complete for a millenium and a half. This is time enough for a language to decay as well as to advance, and their separation from the outside world would probably have not made for linguistic development. Certainly this isolation would have dulled their intelligence rather than sharpened it. Moreover it is generally acknowledged that the people speaking Buruçaskī are an intelligent race, far above the Society Islanders, for instance. Thus the only logical conclusion seems to me to be that the primitive qualities of the language are due to decay. This alone, to my mind, can explain such qualities in a tongue whose speakers, according to all indications, are a very old race.

Turning now to the other main peculiarity referred to above, it will repay us, I believe, to look into this matter of the *vigesimal system*. We may be able to discover some analogies that will be of assistance in classifying, or otherwise theorising about, Buruçaskī. In the first place we are reminded of the peculiar French usage in the instance of 70, 80, and 90. Instead of continuing the decimal system, French suddenly branches out into the *vigesimal*, e. g., 70, *soixante-dix*; 80, *quatre-vingt*; 90, *quatre-vingt-dix*. This is a survival of a former complete *vigesimal* system. Thus we find in early French *treiz vinz*, 'sixty', *treiz vinz et dix*, 'seventy', etc.² It is even continued beyond one hundred, so that we find *six vinz*, 'one hundred and twenty'. In the Keltic languages, also, we find this system,³ and it is generally agreed that it was thru the contact with the Keltic that Old French developed this un-Romance quality. But, if this system is foreign to the Latin tongues, is it not also foreign to the Indo-European in general? The answer is decidedly affirmative. Whence, then, did the Kelts

² Friedrich Diez, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1882, pp. 725-726.

³ Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1913, p. 134.

derive their mode of counting? I will not stop here to go into any detail, but will merely outline a theory that presents itself to my mind. The Kelts may also have inherited the system from still earlier possessors of French soil. These tribes have now all died out, save the Basques who, I believe, are connected with the early (tho not the earliest⁴) inhabitants of Europe. (That the Basques should have invaded Europe later than the Kelts seems to me highly improbable.) Their language still uses the vigesimal system, and that is the only common ground it has to stand on with any language that exists or is known to have existed near the present abode of the Basques.⁴

This is all rather far afield, yet I do not regard it as time wasted, for it illustrates the importance of the numerical system in unraveling linguistic mysteries. Besides this, I regard the numerical system as of considerable importance in the classification of a tongue. Altho Prof. Trombetti,⁵ among others, cites the widespread use of the vigesimal system, still I should be very much inclined to investigate carefully any tongue that was within the limit of possibility geographically, and that made use of that system. The mere fact that the vigesimal system is widespread is no proof that two languages using it are *not* connected. More extensive notice of this will be taken later on.

After these all too few remarks regarding the two distinctive features of Buruḡaskī I will now turn to the discussion of the linguistic affinity of the tongue and see what can be said regarding its classification. Should no classification be possible as yet, I will at least offer some suggestions as regards its more distant relationships; and at the same time see what can be said about its origin.

It is evident from the most superficial survey that Buruḡaskī is not an Indo-European tongue. Authors (such as Sir Aurel Stein in his *Ancient Khotan* and in other works) who have had nothing else to say in regard to it have remarked that the language could not be Aryan. And they mean Aryan in the broadest sense of Indo-European. There is not the slightest resemblance in vocabulary, syntax, or any other way.

⁴ Wm. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, New York, 1898, p. 200. See also page 198 for further information regarding the migrations of the race.

⁵ Prof. Alfredo Trombetti, *Saggi di Glottologia Generale Comparata*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 9.

After ruling out this possibility we may next turn to another great group of tongues that is a near neighbor, namely the Tibeto-Burman group. Of this group the language geographically nearest to the Hunza is Baltī. A somewhat careful comparative study of Baltī and our language reveals not the slightest resemblance. Nor, in fact, can any similarity be traced in the entire Tibeto-Burman stock-in-trade. Here again we are compelled to agree with Grierson and the others. Yet there is one branch of the Tibeto-Burman group, known as the Himalayan pronominalized branch, that has many features quite opposed to the general run of things in its parent. Indeed it was for a time doubtful how to classify these pronominalized languages. They are found in little bunches scattered thru the southern slopes of the Himalayas, reaching as far west as Ladakshān. The dialects spoken there have the greatest number of foreign elements of any of the Tibetan tongues. Yet, strange as it may seem, these idiosyncracies apparently border upon a relationship to Buruçaskī. I will not discuss the resemblances at any length, but will merely remark that these likenesses, far fetched as they seem, are among the few that offer even a slight ray of hope to the comparative philologist in search of a classification for Buruçaskī. The main point is that the western Himalayan pronominalized languages also use the vigesimal system. Their pronominalization is somewhat different from that in the Buruçaskī, however. In the Himalayan tongues a pronominal *suffix* is used on verbs to form a primitive yet regular system of conjugation. Here we find a support for Whitney's theory regarding the origin of verbal endings. The occurrence of the vigesimal system in these languages I regard as important, however, as it is in direct opposition to some of the main principles of the Tibeto-Burman languages. More will be said of this later when I am discussing the Muṇḍā or Kolarian languages.

Turning now to the North, we find the Tartar, Tūrķī, Uigur, and other dialects and languages. Here again we must be disappointed, as regards finding relationships, for these tongues are utterly devoid of the pronominal system, or of vigesimalization, and have so few resemblances in vocabulary that they must be borrowed words. The only word, in fact, that I have so far discovered in common is the Tūrķī *timur* or *temur*, 'iron', which is also found in Buruçaskī in the form *cimr*, *comar*, and with various other spellings. It is undoubtedly a borrowed word,

however, because it is also found in the Indo-Iranian or Piçāca dialects of Afghanistan and the Northwest Frontier Province.

Now we must go farther afield. The other languages of India offer themselves for inspection, and accordingly we turn to the Dravidian group. This is, with the sole exception of Brahūi, limited to the southern part of India. Philologists and ethnologists almost universally agree that the Dravidians came into India from the same direction as did the Aryans, leaving a colony in Baluchistān, which today speaks a Dravidian tongue, Brahūi.⁶ Might not they have left another such island in northern Kashmir? Alas, Brahūi presents striking similarities to the other Dravidian languages, but Buruṣaskī has practically no resemblance at all. It would make a wonderful story if the Buruṣaskī-speaking Kanjutis were a sort of little pond left by the onswEEPing tidal-wave of the great Dravidian racial migration. This would be a source of splendid fiction, but I fear the novelist will have to seek elsewhere for his story.

A page or so above I mentioned, in connection with the Himalayan pronominalized languages, the Muṇḍā or Kolarian group of tongues. It is to this group that we must now direct our glance. Separated as this group is by a dozen degrees of latitude, it does not seem to offer much promise as a related class. Yet here again we find the vigesimal system of counting. We also find a well-developed declension and conjugation, bordering more in type upon the Buruṣaskī. And, more than this, there seems to be a very slight connection in the vocabulary. From this, however, we must be careful in drawing our conclusions. The present-day knowledge of the morphology and etymology of Buruṣaskī is too meager to be sure that we are not mistaking an ending for an essential part of the word. Still I am including a list of the very few resemblances I have been able to trace: Bur. *tsil*, 'water', Himalayan pron. langs. *ti* (which Grierson thinks is related to Sāntālī *dak* and to Bahnar *dak* of the Mōn Khmēr languages); Bur. *haghur*, 'horse', Kanaśī (Him. pron. lang.) *ghora*, Janggali *ghorya*; Bur. (*i*)*mupaṣ*⁷ 'nose', Sāntālī *mū*, Bahnar *mu*; Bur. *sah* 'sun', Sāntālī *siñ*, Selong (Mōn Khmēr lang.) *señ*; Bur. *api*,

⁶ On the general relationship of Brahūi to the Dravidian tongues see D. Bray, *The Brahūi Language*, Part 1, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 8-19.

⁷ I might add that, besides being pronominalized, which I have indicated by parentheses, *paṣ* seems to me an ending, cf. (*i*)*mukaṣ* 'cheek'.

'not', (apparently from or connected with *bē* 'no'), Santālī *bān*, Rengao *bi*; Bur. *hir*^s 'man', Santālī *hār*. These are about the only words out of some two hundred compared that show the slightest resemblance, and the similarity is very, very slight in many if not all of these cases. Yet it is necessary to remember that a great interval of space intervenes and the languages might have so drifted apart that only very slight resemblances should be traceable.

The Mōn Khmēr languages in eastern India and Burma seem to have a basic resemblance to the Muṇḍā, but beyond that and the few verbal analogies presented in the preceding paragraph they offer little similarity. They are monosyllabic, and show some connection with the Chino-Siamo-Tibeto-Burman group on the one hand and the Australo-Indonesian on the other. Slight as are these resemblances, it seems most important that various scholars of world-wide repute accept this fundamental affinity referred to above, and equally able ones have not been able to refute the theory entirely. The Chinese-Siamese group can be dispensed with summarily as it is related to the Tibeto-Burman and is like it in most matters of principle.

As regards the classification of Buruṣaskī, this seems to leave us just where we started.* Yet there are a few more theories and possibilities remaining. An article entitled *The Khajuna Language* by Hyde Clarke in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1. 258, Bombay 1872, suggests a possible connection with the Agaws, Waags, Falashas, Fertits, Dizzelas, and Shankalis of Abyssinia, also the Abxās, in Caucasia, the Roḍiyas, of Ceylon, and the Galelas, of the Indian Archipelago. He also instances 'a Siberian and two American Indian' tongues as possible relatives. He then assumes an autochthonous population of India speaking the parent of this group, presumably driven out by the first comers of the present Indian tongues. Not even a name is lacking: the Siberio-Nubian group. As the name of the Siberian tongue was not given, I was not able to identify the language he had reference to, tho I investigated the Yukaghir and Siberian Eskimo modes of speech with no results. What I could glean from a careful study of the material relating to the Abxās language in R. von Erckert's *Die Sprache des Kaukasischen Stammes*, Wien 1895, failed to convince me of the possibility of any valuable results being obtained there.

* Cf. Lat. *vir*, Skt. *vīra*.

An investigation of the African languages referred to by Mr. Clarke also failed to throw any light on the subject. What relation there is between these languages and Buruḡaski would certainly only be evident to one who could speak all of these languages as a native. Perhaps even he could not trace any connection.

I need go no farther to demonstrate the difficulties of applying this grouping to Buruḡaski. Search as I might, moreover, from the Basque of Western Europe to the *Ra-txa-hu-ni-ku-i*⁹ of the Caxinauás of Brazil, from Ojibway to Finnish, I could discover no tongue having the two particularly distinctive features that I mentioned at the outset. Whatever tongue is connected with Buruḡaski has apparently lost, in the course of time, these valuable identification marks. To me the closest resemblance seemed to lie in the Muṇḍā languages. That is too remote a resemblance, however, to presume any 'blood tie'.

Since the writing of this article I have received a letter from Sir George Grierson in which he referred to a possible connection with Mongolian and Manchu. I had investigated this to some slight extent. The possibility seemed too doubtful to bother to make mention of it. I was pleased to hear that he too had felt it was 'doubtful'. The investigation of the enormous number of languages which might show some small resemblance to Buruḡaski is necessarily a rather superficial one. The two languages mentioned above have been somewhat neglected in this article for that very reason. The letter from Grierson has thus only confirmed the opinion I had received from my own altogether too summary investigations in that line.

Hence we must again come to the same conclusion which Grierson and other authorities have arrived at. There is apparently no language on the face of the earth which is sufficiently closely connected with Buruḡaski to admit of the latter's being classified with it. Such a classification to my mind would require a considerable amount of similarity in fundamental principles, as well as a reasonably large coincidence or resemblance in vocabulary. In other words, it must be possible to draw some philological or morphological laws from these principles for them to be of any real value for grouping. From the preceding paragraphs this is evidently not possible. If, then, clutching as a drowning man at

⁹ Abreu, J. C. de, *Ra-txa-hu-ni-ku-i*, Rio de Janeiro, 1914.

anything, we even enlarge our definition to such an extent as almost to include Nahuatl in the same group as Sanskrit, we shall be but little better off. It may be the lack of material on Burūçaskī that causes this difficulty, however, and it is quite possible that, when new data are acquired, a definite connection may be established. I have, in spite of this, decided to append an outline of a theory which may seem to be a classification of the language. This it most definitely is not. I do not feel that the suppositions entertained in it are a basis for a classification. They are merely attempts to explain the few resemblances and coincidences which I have stated above.

Now in conclusion I have a rather novel and romantic (though I hope not impossible) theory of my own to propose. It is an attempt to account for the presence of Burūçaskī in its present location. If nothing more than the suggestion of a theory more probable than any previous one is accomplished, I shall be content. So I offer it, not without some hesitation, for what it may be worth.

India, by virtue of the fertility of its soil and the equable climate in many of its parts, is the most natural place in the world to expect to find prehistoric remains. The country includes, of course, all varieties of climate and altitude, but in some regions offers unequalled advantages for the development of early man. Almost without doubt, moreover, these qualities always obtained in much the same places as today. We know, by geological evidence, that the Archean or earliest known rock formations are to be found under and at the surface of a large part of India. Hence, taking into consideration its tropical to semitropical location, we may expect to discover burial sites and other evidences of paleolithic man. In this we are not deceived. Such remains are found in the Madras district, for instance.¹⁰ From these earliest traces we have an almost complete scale of remains down thru the neolithic age, etc., to historical times. We therefore know that, long before the historic and protohistoric invasions, man was in India.

The subsequent history of these primitive human beings is not definitely known. It is certain, however, that there were two main groups of them. By far the larger portion was in the Deccan. Smaller communities existed, possibly not so early, in the older

¹⁰ Smith, V. A. *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919, pp. 1-10.

regions of the North. Altho there is no positive proof (indeed compared to Europe there is little proof of such things in India at all), man has probably existed in Kashmir since a very early date. His development there would be more or less like that of man in the South. There would probably, however, have been little mutual influence. The Northern race also was probably fairer, tho not much so, than the Southern.

Resigning ourselves now entirely to theory, it is to be expected that the Gangetic basin would later have become the meeting ground of these races. The Southern type possibly even spread to the Eastern reaches of the Indus. This meeting of the tribes would tend to stimulate progress in both of them and might very likely give rise to a third race. This birth I have assumed as taking place. The race may not necessarily have been separated ethnically from the parent, but may, at the time of the earliest immigrations of foreigners, have merely been a race in the embryo. A linguistic differentiation would have taken place at an early date. This would have been the case particularly if the earliest invasions were taking place at the time of which I am speaking. The presence of another tongue is productive of great changes in a language, even in a comparatively few years: witness the growth of English in the years immediately following the Norman conquest.

From this we obtain the first premise for our theory, namely, that not long before the Dravidian and Aryan invasions of India there existed in Northern India a race possessing a sharply defined language of its own.

At a later date came the parents of the modern Dravidian tongues. There is little doubt that the Dravidians were exogenous. Where did they come from? That they entered from the North-east is highly dubious. Even more so is the theory that they came from the so-called Lemurian continent, which is fabled to have existed in the Indian Ocean to the southwest of India. The only remaining theory is the one that they came from the North-west. Assuming this to be the most logical theory, the Dravidian people and their language must have come in contact with the aforesaid hypothetical race of Northern India. From this temporary nexus there would have resulted some linguistic intermingling. A more important result was forthcoming, however. The people already in the region were pushed apart. The larger portion turned southward while some tribes turned to the North and then,

when they reached the Himalayas, to the West. While in this region they met with the tribes of Tibetan origin and brought about the linguistic change discernible in their languages today. In the meantime the branch that went to the South and later to the East became the fathers or at least the uncles of the modern Mundā tongues. These, however, have undergone great change through their contact with the Mōn Khmēr and other languages of the East.

The forerunners of the Aryan invasions later drove the Northern branch of my hypothetical people up to the North of where the Aryans entered. The main body of Indo-European tribes thus did not come into direct contact with them. The indigenous tribes of the North, however, did come into contact with these more advanced peoples. Thus we have the opposing influences of the Northern and Southern paleolithic tribes on this split race. As the natural result of this, the division soon grew to appalling dimensions. If this theory is anywhere near the truth, it is more surprising to me that there are now any resemblances at all between the modern descendants of those peoples, than that those resemblances are so few.

Our second premise, then, is that this Northern India race was split by successive invasions and gradually drifted apart until one section was finally in the far Northwest and the other in the extreme Southeast.

With the passing of centuries one stream of people after another poured over the Northwest passes until the Northern branch of the race for the greater part lost its individual entity and assimilated the languages of the invaders. A few remnants, however, of the ancient people,¹¹ entering valleys impenetrable to the armies of olden times, continued their now isolated existence down to the present day. The final separation of the race probably dates from about the 5th century after Christ. This is the approximate date set for the beginning of the independence of the Hunza and Nagar tribes by Dr. Leitner in his *Hunza and Nagar Handbook*. The millenium and a half of division from the other related tribes located in the upper courses of the Yassin

¹¹ Sir. G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 8, part 2, p. 551, which I have received since the paragraph referred to was written, also speaks of the fact that the Buruṣaskī-speaking peoples of today are remnants of a former larger race.

River has had but little effect on the language of the two sections. Only complete or nearly complete isolation could have produced such results.

So, as the conclusion and completion of our theory, we may assume that the modern *Buruçaskî* and *Wurçkî* or *Warçikwâr* languages or dialects are the most direct and least-changed descendants of the prehistoric and even pretraditional tribe whose existence was assumed in the first of these statements.

In concluding let me call special attention to two arguments in support of this rather elaborate theory, which may not have been brought out with sufficient clearness above.

In the first place we have the unaccountable resemblance of the Himalayan pronominalized dialects to the *Muṇḍā* group. *Muṇḍā* traditions point to a migration of that race from the North and West, but these traditions are, for the most part, comparatively recent. Hence they would offer but little support to a theory of the *Muṇḍā* peoples coming from beyond the mountains. Moreover, these tribes are typically aboriginal, or endogenous. They are more similar to the autochthonous tribes of the interior of the Deccan than to any of the Northern invaders. Yet they are far more developed than the traces of aborigines found at the present day in that region.

In the second place, the connection of the *Muṇḍā* tribes with the *Mōn Khmēr* and other tribes of the East, in a linguistic way, must somehow be accounted for. This will illustrate the difficulty of accounting for this very complex state of affairs in the compass of one brief article. The other arguments have been mentioned at sufficiently great length in the preceding paragraphs not to necessitate their repeating.

From this it will be seen that some such theory as the one outlined above is required to account for the numerous problems that arise in connection with the presence of *Buruçaskî* and several other languages in their present locality, as well as the peculiar common linguistic substratum of India. As I have said before, my best reward will be the awakening of interest in this problem, which I regard as of considerable importance in settling many linguistic 'mix-ups'. With this I take my leave of a labor that has been the most fascinating I have ever undertaken.

BRIEF NOTES

A Rare Work by Sir Henry Miers Elliot

READERS of the JOURNAL may be interested to know of a work on the history of India which seems to be practically unknown, though by no less important a scholar than Sir Henry Miers Elliot. This work has recently come into the possession of the Cleveland Public Library's John G. White Collection of Folklore and Orientalia, already rich in material on the history and civilization of India, and is herewith called to the attention of historians and Orientalists.

Sir Henry Miers Elliot's life work, the Mohammedan historians of India, has come down chiefly in two works. One is the *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, of which the first and only volume was issued at Calcutta in 1849. After his death his manuscripts were edited by Dowson in eight volumes as *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians* (London, 1867-77). Both works are well known; they are to be found in a number of libraries, and naturally in the White Collection.

In Elliot's last days it appears that he doubted the powers of his mind, and, to test them, wrote the book here discussed. The title-page reads: "Appendix to the Arabs in Sind, Vol. III, part 1 of the Historians of India. Cape Town, Saul Solomon & Co., 1853." This was issued in paper covers, the front cover bearing a note: "For Private Circulation. 40 Copies." It contains 283 pages, plus three preliminary leaves; thus it is a work of some size. It includes essays on the history of Sind, warfare in India, the ethnology of Sind, and a 38-page bibliographical excursus on *Indian Voyages and Travels*—the last a particularly useful compilation.

The White copy came from the library of Sir R. C. Temple, the well-known scholar. It contains a letter, dated 1871, from Elliot's brother, from which I quote the following extracts:

' . . . I send herewith a brochure written by my brother at the Cape during the illness which terminated in his death. He told me that he wrote it to satisfy himself that the powers of his mind were not impaired. It is of course *very rare*; for no more than 40 copies were printed, of which number more than half, I think, were sent into Germany, amongst whose scholars his labours were and are held in the highest estimation.'

If additional testimony of the "Appendix to the Arabs in Sind"

were needed, it may be had in the fact that no allusion to it appears in the introduction to the *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, cited above, nor in Stanley Lane-Poole's sketch of Elliot in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

GORDON W. THAYER

Librarian of the John G. White Collection

Cleveland Public Library

Addendum on a difficult Old Persian passage

IN *JAOS* 35. 344-350, I discussed the difficulty in the Behistan inscription of Darius, col. 4, lines 2-8, part of which reads, in literal translation: 'By the grace of Ahuramazda, in one-and-the-same year after that I became king, I fought nineteen battles; by the grace of Ahuramazda, I smote *him* and took captive nine kings . . .'. The crux lies in *adamšim ajanam* 'I smote him', where we should expect the plural pronoun. Certain editors do indeed emend the text to give a plural form, but in my article above cited I showed that there were certain inconcinnities and concords *ad sensum* even in the Old Persian inscriptions themselves, scanty as is the material which they furnish. I was able also to furnish some parallels from English, from Latin, and from Greek. The conclusion was that *him* referred to a singular collective idea, 'the foe,' extracted from *hamaranā* 'battles.'

The conviction that this interpretation is correct is strengthened by the finding of other parallels sporadically since the writing of that article. *Acts* 8, 5 **Φίλιππος δὲ κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρίας ἐκήρυσσε αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν**, shows (like four passages cited *JAOS* 35. 349) a plural pronoun with its antecedent implied in a city name. Sall. *Cat.* 18.1 *Sed antea item coniuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit; de qua quam verissime potero dicam*, contains *qua* with an antecedent *coniuratio* implied in the verb *coniuravere*. Sall. *Cat.* 56. 5 *Interea servitia repudiabat, cuius initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant*, has *cuius* with the plural antecedent *servitia*, which is doubly peculiar, since *servitium* is properly abstract, 'slavery,' and if made concrete should be collective, as it often is; but as a concrete the word is sometimes made to denote an individual slave, and therefore capable of use in the plural. This seems a favorite use of Sallust (*Cat.* 24, 4; 46, 3; 50, 1; 56, 5; *Jug* 66, 1), though it occurs in other authors also.

The value for the Old Persian passage is that it furnishes a plural antecedent, which is then understood collectively and referred to by a singular pronoun. While one might perhaps take *cuius* as *cuius rei*, the use of the neuter pronoun in this way (where ambiguous with other genders), without express antecedent in the same number and gender, is extremely rare, and that *cuius* is actually feminine with ellipsis of *rei* is even less likely. In the next passage there can be no refuge to such subtleties: Sall. *Hist. frag.* p. 133, § 15, Eussner (in the Oration of Licinius Macer to the plebs) *ne vos ad virilia illa vocem, quo tribunos plebei modo, modo patricium magistratum, libera ab auctoribus patriciis suffragia maiores vestri paravere; quo* has as its antecedent *virilia illa*, thought of as a singular collective. Another passage is Livy 42. 8. 7 *quas ob res placere senatui M. Popillium consulem Ligures pretio emptoribus reddito ipsos restituere in libertatem bonaque ut iis, quicquid eius recipere possit, reddantur curare*: in which the antecedent of the singular *eius* is the plural *bona*, as a logical collective singular. Cf. also the singular use of *news* in English, as in *The news is good*.

These passages lend additional support to the interpretation of *adamšim ajanam*, given JAOS 35. 344-350.

ROLAND G. KENT

University of Pennsylvania

An Emendation to Jer. 4. 29

In Jer. 4. 29, we read as follows **מְקוֹל פֶּרֶשׁ וְרִמָּה קֶשֶׁת בְּרַחַת כָּל הָעִיר בָּאוּ בַעֲבִים וּבְנֶפְתִּים עָלָיו כָּל הָעִיר עֲזוּבָה וְאִין אִישׁ יוֹשֵׁב בָּתֶּן**: 'From the noise of the horsemen and those that shoot with the bow, fleeth the whole city; they go into thickets, and climb up upon the rocks: every city is forsaken, and not a man dwelleth therein.' The word **עָבִים** presents some difficulty as it is not found elsewhere in the Bible in the sense of 'thickets.' We ought to read **בְּנִיבִים** 'into ditches.' Cf. 2 Kings 3. 16, **עָשָׂה הִנְחַל הַזֶּה גְּבִים גְּבִים**: 'Make this valley full of ditches.' As a parallel passage where ditches or caves are mentioned together with rocks as hiding places, Isaiah 2. 19 may be cited; see also 2 Sam. 17. 18. This emendation gains plausibility from the Sept. rendering **σπήλαια**, which has led some to read **פְּחִירִים** or **בְּמַעְרוֹת** neither of which is as near our text.

ISRAEL EFROS

Baltimore

Note on Tantrākhyāyika IV, A 286

A recent textual study of Book IV of the Tantrākhyāyika brings up again the subject treated by Edgerton in his criticism of Hertel's *Das Pañcatantra: seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914), in *AJP* 36.259 ff. Hertel maintained in his Translation of the Tantrākhyāyika (1909) that in numerous cases the true readings of the original Pañcatantra could be proved to be found in the Tantrākhyāyika alone, or even in the sub-recension Tantrākhyāyika α alone,—even sometimes when all other versions of the Pañcatantra agreed on a different reading. He based this conclusion on several points, one of them dealing with the frame-story of Book IV, which I wish to take up briefly. (For Hertel's argument on this point see his Translation of Tantr., *Einleitung*, 88 ff.)

The story of the Ape and the Crocodile, the frame-story of Book IV, is fairly well known, and may easily be obtained from the translation just cited. I shall limit myself to the single point at hand. The treacherous crocodile, in his attempt to get the monkey into his power, offers him—in most versions—the hospitality of his own home and a visit to his family. To this some versions add the sensual joys of the fruit-laden island where the home is alleged to be. Tantrākhyāyika, however, does not depend on these attractions, but is—according to Hertel—far better motivated psychologically, in that it makes the crocodile offer not a visit to his own home, but the delights of an equally charming island inhabited by three young and beautiful she-apes. This gives a very specific and definite turn to the 'sinnliche Vergnügungen' promised, and is used by Hertel as an argument for the greater originality of Tantrākhyāyika. The sentence in question reads: *atra mayā 'bhīnavayāuwanasampannā rūpavatīyas tisro vānaryo* (mss. *nāryo*, Hertel em.) *dr̥ṣṭapūrvāḥ* (so both edd., but Hertel's translation seems to indicate that he intended to read '*dr̥ṣṭa*'°) *pratīvasanti sma*.

On pp. 260 ff. of the article cited above, Edgerton refutes the position of Hertel from the internal evidence of Tantrākhyāyika itself, showing that the following speeches of the monkey are inconsistent with Hertel's assumptions. He does not, however, point out that the sentence quoted above from Tantr., on which Hertel's case rests, is itself an interpolation, or at least an evident borrowing from another passage later on in Book IV.

Namely: in the story of the Ass without Heart and Ears (IV. 2 of Tantrākhyāyika, but the only emboxed story found originally in Book IV, in my opinion), there is a like situation. The jackal who seeks to get an ass for his master, the sick lion, makes a like play on the lecherous nature of the ass in describing the delights of the forest where the lion is waiting for him. In this description occurs the following sentence (Tantr. p. 153 ll. 7 f.): *asyām vanarājyām abhinavayāuwanasampannāś catasro¹ rūpavatyo rāsabhyo 'dṛṣṭapūrvā api manye 'nenāi 'va nirvedenā 'pakrāntāḥ*. The similarity between this sentence and that quoted above seems to be too striking to be accidental, and I believe that the latter passage is the source from which the former is borrowed. Such borrowings from one part of the text to another are not rare in the Pañcatantra. That the borrowing was in the direction indicated, not in the reverse direction, is proved by the fact that the other Pañc. versions are in substantial agreement with Tantr. in the story of the Ass without Heart and Ears, while in the other passage Tantr. stands alone.

This does not mean that the offer of 'specifically sexual pleasures' (I quote Edgerton *l. c.* p. 261) was not made in the story of the Ape and the Crocodile, but rather that the redactor of Tantr. made more clear a veiled allusion of the original version, of which indication is given in the later dénouement of several versions. At any rate, the idea expressed in the words quoted from Tantr. A 286 cannot be used as proof that the original contained such an idea, since it is borrowed practically word for word from the story of the Ass without Heart and Ears.

RUTH NORTON

Johns Hopkins University

¹ The Jain versions read *tisro* instead of *catasro*, and this was probably what the original Pañcatantra had. Indeed, the fact that Tantr. itself reads *tisro* in the borrowing of the sentence, A 286, may be taken as an indication that the Tantr. itself originally had *tisro*. Possibly the reading *catasro* is a mere manuscript corruption (based on an original **ca tisro*?).

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in Baltimore in Easter week, March 29-31, upon the invitation of Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College. The meeting of the Directors will be held on Monday evening, March 28.

A special meeting of the Directors of the Society was held in New York City, November 27, 1920, to consider certain matters of business referred to them by the Executive Committee. The Directors took action, which was corroborated by a vote by mail of absent members, cordially inviting the Asiatic Societies of France, Great Britain and Italy to unite in joint session with this Society at its coming Annual Meeting in Baltimore. The Secretary has accordingly issued the invitations.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

The Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association held their annual meetings at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, December 28-30. Topics of general Oriental interest presented in the program of the Institute were 'Roman Wall Paintings on the Upper Euphrates' by Prof. J. H. Breasted, and 'A Papyrus Manuscript of a Part of the Septuagint' by Prof. H. A. Sanders; in the program of the Philological Association, 'On the Language of the Hittites' by Prof. M. Bloomfield, 'Bellerophon's Tablets and the Homeric Question in the Light of Oriental Research' by Prof. N. Schmidt, and 'A Translation of the *Peta Vatthu*, I and II' by Dr. H. S. Gehman. The officers of the Institute were reelected. The officers of the Philological Association elected for the present year are Prof. W. B. McDaniel, president; Prof. F. G. Allinson and Prof. F. K. Rand, vice-presidents; Prof. C. P. Bill, secretary and treasurer.

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis held its annual meeting at the General Theological Seminary, New York, December 27-28. The Presidential address by Prof. A. T. Clay was an illustrated account of 'A Recent Journey through Babylonia and Assyria.' Other topics of general interest presented were, 'Ensilage in the Bible' by Prof. P. Haupt, 'Canticles as a Conventionalized Tammuz-Ishtar Liturgy' by Prof. T. J. Meek, and an illustrated description of 'A Papyrus Manuscript of a Part of the Septuagint' by Prof. H. A. Sanders. New officers elected are Prof. K. Fullerton, president; Prof. H. A. Sanders, vice-president.

The Managing Committee of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem held its annual meeting in connection with the Biblical Society. The Executive Committee was reelected and Prof. W. J. Moulton was added to it as representing the Society of Biblical Literature. Dr. W. F. Albright was reappointed Acting Director of the School for 1921-22, and Prof. W. J. Hinke, of Auburn Theological Seminary, was appointed Annual Professor for the same year. At a subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee, on January 31, Prof. M. G. Kyle, of Xenia Theological Seminary, who has gone to Palestine for some months' sojourn, was appointed a Lecturer in the

School for this year, and it having been announced that Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, was expected to spend the year 1921-22 in the Orient, he was appointed Lecturer in the School for that season.

The following is the program of the Fourth General Meeting of the Palestine Oriental Society held in Jerusalem January 19: 'Traditions secondaires sur la grotte de Macpélah' by Père Abel; 'Political Parties in Palestine: Qaisi and Yemeni' by Mr. E. N. Haddad; 'Le sacrifice dans le tribu des Fuqara' by Père Jaussen; 'La ville de Ramses d'après les documents égyptiens' by Père Mallon; 'The excavations at Tiberias' by Dr. Slousch; 'The Melodic Theme in Ancient Hebrew Prayers' by Mr. A. Z. Idelson; 'Haunted Springs and Water-Demons in Palestine' by Dr. Canaan; 'A Visit to Petra by an Englishman in 1852' by Mr. L. G. A. Cust.

The Directors of the University of Pennsylvania Museum have decided to excavate Bethshean (Scythopolis) in the Jordan Valley. The funds are in hand and permission has been secured from the local government.

The organization last summer of the Dutch Oriental Society (Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland) is announced, with its seat in Leiden. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje is provisional president, and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (address Noordeindsplein 4a) is secretary.

PERSONALIA

WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3D, M. D., a Member of this Society, died at Wallingford, Pa., August 11, 1920, in his fifty-fifth year. An explorer in the Far East, he was the author of *Head Hunters of Borneo*, *Stone Money*, and other learned publications.

JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN, LL.D., a Member of this Society, died in Philadelphia on January 14, at the age of eighty-five. His life was one of broad-minded devotion to all public causes, civic, educational and philanthropic, and he was a benefactor of Oriental and archaeological enterprises.

It is announced that the remaining manuscript left behind by the late Prof. C. H. W. JOHNS, of Cambridge University, for the completion of his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, will be edited by Mrs. Johns.

In celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the doctorate of Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, fourteen of his pupils have just published a volume entitled 'Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore Maryland' (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1920; pp. xxxii, 312; \$6.00). The volume contains a biographical sketch and bibliography of Professor Bloomfield's writings to date, in addition to the fourteen articles, which are mostly devoted to Indological or Comparative-Philological subjects. The names of about two hundred and fifty 'Subscribers and Cooperating Dedicators', who joined the contributors in honoring Professor Bloomfield, are also printed in the volume.

Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, attached successively to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace and to the U. S. Embassy at Paris, has accepted an appointment at the University of Nebraska as Associate Professor of Philosophy, and is lecturing on Civilizations of the Orient, Oriental Philosophies and Oriental Religions.

Dr. D. G. HOGARTH, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, etc., has been visiting this country in February and March. He has lectured at the University of Pennsylvania, Yale University, the University of Wisconsin, and at Chicago, Cincinnati, and other points. On March 4 he addressed a joint session of the Oriental Club and the Classical Club of Philadelphia.

THE LOCATION OF THE FARNBĀG FIRE, THE MOST ANCIENT OF THE ZOROASTRIAN FIRES

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

1. General Divisions of the Sacred Fires in Avestan and Pahlavi

AMONG THE SACRED FIRES of Zoroastrian antiquity, as reflected in the Avesta and clearly portrayed in the Pahlavi literature of Sasanian times, there seem to be three which stand out as most holy and most ancient.¹ According to a special grouping they represent a threefold division of the sacred element, corresponding to the social division of the community into three classes, priests, warriors, and laborers.

This threefold classification, based on the social order,—as contrasted with a fivefold division of fire according to its manifestation and place of origin (namely, light of heaven, bodily warmth, heat in trees and plants, lightning, and the altar-fire, for example, *Ys.* 17. 11; *Bd.* 17. 5; *Ztsp.* 11. 5-8)—is foreshadowed in the Avesta (*Sīr.* 1. 9; 2. 9) and is often referred to in Pahlavi literature.²

The names of these three specially sacred fires, which undoubtedly had separate temples dedicated to their service from the earliest times, are given in Pahlavi (though with variations in spelling) as follows: 1. Ātarō Farnbāg (or -bāg), the fire of the priests; 2. Ātarō Gūshnasp, the fire of the warriors; 3. Ātarō Būrzīn-Mitrō, the representative fire of the laboring class. Thus among other Pahlavi passages may be cited *Dēnkart* (9th century A. D.) 6. 293, the text of which I here transliterate, retaining the 'Huzvarish' (or *Aūzvārišn*) Semitic forms when they occur in the text, and transcribing them in general according to the traditional manner of reading, but adding in parentheses () the corresponding Iranian equivalents.

¹ Compare *Yasna* 17. 11; *Sīrōza* 1. 9; 2. 9; *Būdahishn* 17. 5-8; *Zat-spāram*, 11. 8-10; and see other citations below; consult also the references to Pahlavi works, Arabic and Persian texts, and the writings of modern authorities, including Darmesteter, referred to in the footnotes to Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 98-100.

² Cf. Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 1. 149-157.

Dk. 6. 293. Ātarō ī Farnbāg pavan (pa) āsravanān gās kartō yegavīmūnēt (ēstēt); vā Ātarō ī Gūšnasp pavan (pa) ārtēštārān gās kartō yegavīmūnēt (ēstēt); va Ātarō ī Būrzīn-Mitrō pavan (pa) vāstryōšān gās kartō yegavīmūnēt (ēstēt).

‘The Fire which is Farnbāg has made its place among the priests; and the Fire which is Gūšnasp has made its place among the warriors; and the Fire which is Būrzīn-Mitrō has made its place among the agriculturists.’³

2. The Location of the Three Oldest Fire-temples

When making the first two of my four journeys through Persia I was able to identify with considerable accuracy, I believe, the site of the second and third of these fires, namely that of the warriors and that of the laboring class. Thus, the seat of the great fire temple Ātar Gūšnasp, that of the warriors, was shown to be located (as Rawlinson foresaw) among the ruins of Takht-i Sulaimān, midway between Urūmiah and Hamadān, which I visited in 1903 and described with full references in *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 124–143. The location of the Mithra fire, that of the laborers, I identified with reasonable certainty, in 1907, as being near the village of Mihr, half-way between Miāndasht and Sabzavar on the Khurāsān road to Nīshāpūr, and gave a detailed account of the probable situation in the volume *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, pp. 211–217.

There still remained open, however, the question of the location of the Ātar Farnbāg, the fire of the priests.

3. The Farnbāg Fire in particular

This sacerdotal fire was probably the most ancient and certainly the most venerated of the holy fires in Iran, because it was the earthly representative in particular of the Avestan *Ātar Spēništa*, ‘Holiest Fire’ (Ys. 17. 11), which, according to the com-

³ *Dk. 6. 293*, text ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, *The Dīnkard*, vol. 12, p. 11–12; tr. p. 12, Bombay, 1911; cf. D. M. Madan, *Pahlavi Dīnkard*, vol. 2, p. 536, Bombay, 1911. On this same threefold division according to the social classes, see also the Pahlavi work *Kārnamak-ī-Artakshshūr-ī-Pāpakān*, 1. 13, ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, pp. 3–4 (text), p. 3 (transl.), Bombay, 1896; ed. E. K. Antia, p. 3 (text), p. 4 (transl.), Bombay, 1900; id. p. 4, n. 8 (citation from the ‘Afrīn-i-Hamkāre’ in the Iran. Bd.).

mentary of the Pahlavi version of the Avesta, *Phl. Ys.* 17. 67 [=11], 'is the one (burning) in Paradise in the presence of Ormazd in a spiritual state,' *zak* (ō) ī *dēn* (*andar*) *Garōtmān pēš ī Aūharmazd pavañ* (*pa*) *mēnōkīh yegavīmūnēt* (*ēstēt*).⁴ The name of this priestly fire, it should be furthermore noted, appears in Sasanian and later Persian times either as Farnbāg, Frōbā, or as Khurrād, Khūrdād,⁵ these two sets of forms being respectively a corruption of a theoretic Avestan form *Hvarenō-bagha or of *Hvarenō-dāta, that is, the fire 'of the Glory (*x^varənah-*) Divine,'⁶ or the fire 'Glory-given'—see Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 1. 153, and Jackson, *Zor.* p. 99.

In the last-mentioned volume (*Zor.* p. 99, n. 4) I noted from the Indian recension of the Būndahishn, 17. 5-6, the tradition that this famous fire existed as early as Yima's reign, having been established in the Khorasmian land, or east of the shore of the Caspian Sea, and was removed by Vishtāsp to Kābul. In other words, according to the reading and interpretation of the Pahlavi name 'Kāvul' as Kābul in the texts of the Indian Būndahishn then available (and adopted by Dr. West in his translation, *SBE* 5. 63), the fire was removed southeastward into what is now the province of Afghanistan. At the same time, however, I observed that Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 1. 153-154, gave reasons for believing that it was not removed eastward but to the southwest of Iran, to a locality in the province of Fārs, or Persis Proper, especially on the authority of some Arab-Persian geographical writers. On the whole, at that time (1899), in favoring the view that the noted pyraeum was located at Kābul, I followed, though with some reserve, the tradition in the current editions of the Indian recension of the Būndahishn by Westergaard and by Justi (afterwards by Unvalla), and the translation by West.

Upon returning from the American Relief Commission to Persia

⁴ Cf. also *Ztsp.* 11. 1, 2, 6; *Dk.* 7. 3. 73, 75, 78; likewise *Bd.* 17. 1, 3, but on the misplacing of the attribute *spēništ* in the latter see Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 1. 150, and Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 88; cf. furthermore, West, *SBE* 5. 61, n. 2.

⁵ On the variety of spellings in the texts see West, in *SBE* 5. 63, n. 3; Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, 2. 83-84. Throughout the present article the transliteration as Farnbāg (with long ā) has been adopted unless there were special occasion to draw attention to a textual reading -bāg (with short ā).

⁶ More literally, 'the Glory (which is) Divinity'.

in 1918-19, I had occasion to take up the entire matter again in the light of the Iranian recension of the Būndahishn, the so-called 'Great Iranian Būndahishn,' which had meanwhile become accessible to me in the photo-zincographed facsimile of the TD manuscript, edited by T. D. Anklesaria and his son Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1908. It is the purpose, therefore, of this paper to review the whole subject of the Farnbāg Fire and present all the data that I have been able to gather from Zoroastrian and Muhammadan sources in regard to the question of its location.

4. The Statements in the Pahlavi Būndahishn regarding the Location of the Farnbāg Fire

Assuming, as above explained, that the Farnbāg Fire of the sacerdotal class is the earthly representative of the Ātar Spōnishta, or 'Holiest Fire,' of the Avesta, I shall take up the most important Pahlavi passage relating to it, which is found in the Būndahishn, giving it first (a) in the Indian recension and second (b) in the divergent Iranian recension, and then (c-r) shall add a general discussion of the subject, drawing from other sources as well.⁷

a. Indian recension of Būndahishn 17. 5-6

(Principal variations from the Iranian recension are indicated by spaced letters)⁸

Bd. 17. 5-6 (Ind. rec.). *Va Yim dēn (andar) xūtāih hamāk kār pavan (pa) aīyyarīh [i] valmanšān (ōšān) kōlā (har) sī ātāš avīrtar kart; az-aš Ātarō Farnbāg val (avō) dāt-gās pavan (pa) gadman (khūrah)-hōmand kōf ī pavan (pa) Xvārazm yet ī b ū n a s t (nišast) yegavīmūnēt (ēštēt). Mūn (ka)-šān Yim barā (bē) kirīnēt⁹ gadman (khūrah) ī Yim min (az) yadman (dast) ī Dahāk Ātarō ī Farnbāg bōžēt. Dēn (andar) xūtāih Vištāsp Malkā (Šāh)*

⁷ On the general characteristics of the Indian and the Iranian recensions of the Būndahishn see West, *Pahlavi Literature*, in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, 2. 91-102; Anklesaria, *Būndahishn*, Introd. pp. xxix-xxxvi.

⁸ The following texts of the Indian recension have been compared—N. L. Westergaard, *Bundehehsh*, p. 41, Copenhagen, 1851; F. Justi, *Der Bundehehsh*, p. 41, Leipzig, 1868; M. N. Unvalla, *The Pahlavi Bundehehsh* (lithographed), p. 48, Bombay, 1897; Pāzand text, ed. E. K. Antia, *Pāzand Texts*, p. 81, Bombay, 1909. For the text of the Iranian recension see below.

⁹ The reading *kirīnēt* 'sawed' is the correct one, see note 12 below.

pavan (pa) *pētākīh mīn* (az) *Dēn az Xvārazm val* (avō) *rōšan kōf*
pavan (pa) *Kāvulistān*¹⁰ *Kāvul*¹⁰ *ī matā* (dēh) *yetībūnast*
(nišast), *cigūn kevan* (nūn)-ic¹¹ *tamman* (ānō) *katrūnē* (mānēt).

‘And in the reign of Yim every action was more fully performed through the assistance of all these three fires; thereupon the Fire Farnbāg was established at the lawful place [i. e. temple] on the glory-having mountain which is in Khvārazm. When they sawed Yim in twain,¹² the Fire Farnbāg saved the glory of Yim from the hand of Dahāk.¹³ In the reign of King Vishtāsp, upon revelation from the Religion, it was established out of Khvārazm, upon the shining mountain in Kāvulistān, the district of Kāvul (Kābul),¹⁴ just as it there even now remains.’

Two deductions may be made so far as the Indian recension is concerned:—

The first is that the Farnbāg Fire was originally located in Khvārazm. This is also in accord with the statement of the Pahlavi *Selections of Zāt-sparam*, 11. 9: ‘The place of the Fire

¹⁰ There seems to be no doubt in the reading in the Indian recension of the Phl. text *Kāvlstān Kāvl*; the Pāzand text (ed. Antia, p. 81) has *Kāvalstān Kāri dēž*—the last two words (instead of Kābul) being noteworthy in connection with the reading of the Iranian recension, as discussed further on.

¹¹ So rightly (Phl. *kevan* or *kanū*) in Westergaard, Unvalla, as against Justi’s text *knpc*; the Pāzand (ed. Antia, p. 81) has *nūnci*.

¹² This is the best reading and rendering of the text (Phl. *karīnēt*), just as in Bd. 1. 5, *Spītūr zak* (ānō)-ī *yehevūnt* (būd) *levatman* (avā) *dām* (? Wg. p. 77, l. 9) *Dahāk Yim barā* (bē) *kirīnēt*, ‘Spītūr was he who, along with the creature (?) Dahāk, sawed Yim in twain.’ See also Justi, *Bund.* transl. pp. 23, 44. The allusion (as was emphasized by Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, 2. 70, 84, Paris, 1883) is to the well-known Iranian tradition, as old as the Avesta (Yt. 19. 46, *Spityurəm Yimōkerəntəm*) that Spityura, the false brother of Yima, together with the monstrous tyrant Dahāka sawed Yima in two. See also Firdausi, *Shāh-nāmāh* (ed. Vullers) 1. 34, *Dahāk b-arrah mar ūrā ba-dū nīm kard*, ‘Dahāk with a saw cut that one (Jamshīd) in two halves’; cf. also Mohl, *Livre des rois*, 1. 47.

¹³ In the somewhat mythological account given in the Avesta (Yt. 19. 47–51) of the struggle between the Fire and Dahāka and Spityura, who sawed Yima in twain, the ‘Glory’ (*Xʷarənah*) when saved by the Fire expands as far as the Sea Vourukasha (i. e. Caspian), thus pointing to the fact that it was originally associated with the Khorasmian region.

¹⁴ The reading Kāvul (Kābul) is correct, see n. 10 above. For a late Rivāyat tradition associating a portion of the Khordāt (Farnbag) fire with Kangra in India, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 1. 154.

Farnbāg was formed on the Gadman-hōmand ('glorious') mountain in Khvārazm.¹⁵ It agrees likewise with the Iranian Būndahishn, cited below, as well as with the traditions, quoted further on, from the Arab-Persian sources. It should be remarked, moreover, that the designation 'glorious (*gadman-hōmand*) mountain in Khvārazm,' which is found equally in the Iranian recension below and is taken by Dr. West (*SBE* 5. 63) as a proper name, refers to the mountain being resplendent through the illumination of the sacred fire, as does also the 'shining (*rōshan*) mountain in Kāvulistān' to which it was removed, although the name and place of the latter are quite different in the Iranian recension.

The second deduction is that the Indian version regards the fire as having later been transferred to the region of Kābul, although some reasons will hereafter be noted for raising the question whether the Indian text, with *Kāvulistān* and *Kāvul*, may not be due in part to a misreading of an older Iranian archetype. However that may be, it is proper, before proceeding farther, to give support for the Indian claim of the removal of the fire to Kābul.

One argument in support of it may be drawn from the fact that an old Pahlavi legend regarding the immortal hero Keresāsp (Av. *Kərəsāspa*), who had once sinned by perpetrating an act against fire, associates his name in part with Kābul, while in the Avesta itself also, in Vd. 1. 9 (33-36), Keresāspa is mentioned in connection with the region *Vaēkarata*, for the Pahlavi version which gives *Kāpūl*, i. e. Kābul.¹⁶ This old Pahlavi legend regarding Keresāsp's affront to fire and his consequent punishment after death is found in *Dk.* 9. 15. 1-4, being briefly summarized from the original Avestan Sūtkar Nask, and is given with fuller details in a Pahlavi *Rivāyat* which in some manuscripts precedes the *Dālistān-ī Dēnīk*. According to this tale the soul of Keresāsp, when barred entrance into heaven by the outraged fire, makes appeal to Ormazd and to Zoroaster, as intercessor in his behalf, beginning his plea with: 'I have been a priest of *Kāpūl(?)*' i. e. Kābul—*aēgh (ku) Kāpūl(?) aērpatō būt hōmanam (am)*.¹⁷ But

¹⁵ See *Ztsp.* 11. 9, tr. West, in *SBE* 5. 186.

¹⁶ Besides Vd. 1. 9, Keresāspa is mentioned in the Avesta also in Ys. 9. 10-11; Yt. 5. 37-38; 13. 61, 136; 15. 27-28; 19. 38-44.

¹⁷ See West, in *SBE* 18. 373, and the text ed. B. N. Dhabar, *The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistān-ī Dīnīk*, p. 67, Bombay, 1913; and consult especially the references to the whole Keresāspa legend in Darmesteter, *Le ZA*, 2. 626, n. 58.

there is some uncertainty as to the textual reading, which is written *K āp ū r* (not with the usual sign for *l*, and with a long *ū*); and another reading of the characters as *K āj li*, meaning 'would that I' had been a priest, has been suggested, which accords with the Persian version which has *kāš kē*, 'would that,' altering the rest of the sentence to match this.¹⁸ There is, moreover, no actual reference to the Farnbāg Fire by name, though it may be implied. So this argument for Kābul as a whole is not entirely convincing.

The second point that may be urged in favor of viewing the transference of the Farnbāg Fire southeastward from Khwārazm is found in the fact of its association with Peshyōtanū (Av. *Pəšōtanū*), the immortal son of Vishtāsp and ruler of Kangdez, which was somewhere in the eastern region.¹⁹ According to the Pahlavi *Bahman Yasht* (*Byt.* 3. 29, 30, 37), Peshyōtanū will appear at the final millennium and celebrate the worship 'of the Gadman-hōmand ("glorious"), which they call Rōshanō-kerp ("luminous form"), which is established at the lawful-place (*dātō-gās*, i. e. temple) of the victorious Farnbāg Fire.'²⁰ This celebration will be accompanied also by the ritual worship of the other two most sacred fires, Gūshnasp and Būrzīn-Mitrō. Dr. West (*SBE* 5. 227 n. 1) saw in the passage quoted an allusion to the removal of the Farnbāg Fire from the 'Glorious' mountain in Khvārazm to the 'shining' mountain in Kāvulistān, of *Bd.* 17. 5, 6, above cited. In the text itself, however, there is no actual mention of Kābul, any more than there is of the locality of the other two fires which co-operate; nevertheless Peshyōtanū, ruler of Kangdez, belongs more particularly to Eastern Iran as does also in general his father Vishtāsp.

¹⁸ See Dhabar, *op. cit.* p. 66, n. 8, and cf. West, *op. cit.* p. 373, n. 5; on the Persian version also see E. K. Antia, *The Legend of Keresaspa*, in Spiegel Memorial Volume, p. 94, Bombay, 1908.

¹⁹ Various conjectures have been made regarding the locality of Phl. *Kangdez* (Av. *Kaṇha*, Pers. *Gang-diz*); for example the region of Tashkend has been suggested by F. Justi, *Beitr. z. alten Geog. Persiens*, 2. 20-21, Giessen, 1869-1870 (Marburg Univ.-program); cf. W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, pp. 52-54, Erlangen, 1852. The territory of Bukhārā, or even Khīva, has been proposed by Darmesteter, *Le ZA* 2. 380, n. 70. It would be fanciful to guess Kūnduz, east of Balkh in Afghanistan, because of the spelling.

²⁰ See text and transliteration of *Byt.* 3. 29, ed. K. A. D. Noshervan, *The Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohūman Yasht*, pp. 17, 20, Bombay, 1900; and cf. translation by West, in *SBE* 5. 227.

Thus much having been said in favor of the removal of the Farnbāg-Fire to Kābul, on the testimony of the Indian Būndahishn, we may now turn to a quite different statement on the older authority of the Iranian Būndahishn.

b. Iranian recension of *Būndahishn* 17. 5-6

(Principal variations from the Indian recension are indicated by spaced letters)²¹

Bd. 17. 5-6 (Iran. rec.). *Va Yim dēn (andar) xūtāwih-ī hamākō kār pavan (pa) aiyyārīh-ī valmanšānō (ōšān) kōlā (har) sī ātāš avīrtar h a m a ī²² kartō; az-aš Ātarō G a d m a n (Khūrah) val (avō) ī dātō-gās pavan (pa) gadman (khūrah)-hōmand, kōfō pavan (pa) Xvārazm n i š ā s t ō. A m a t (ka)-šānō Yim barā (bē) kirīnētō gadman (khūrah) ī Yim mīn (az) yadman (dast) ī Dahākō Ātarō G a d m a n (khūrah) bōžēnēt. Dēn (andar) xūtāwih Vištāspō Malkā (Šāh) pavan (pa) pētākīh mīn (az) Dēnō mīn (az) Xvārazm val (avō) rōšanō kōf- ī K a v ā r v a n d²³ K ā r ō matā (dēh) v a š t (?)²⁴ n i š ā s t ō - h ō m a n d, cigūn kavan(nūn)-ic tamman (ānō) katrūnēt (mānēt).*

It will be observed that a large part of the Iranian recension of *Bd.* 17. 5-6 is the same as the Indian version transliterated and translated above, except that the fire is called Ātarō Gadman (Khūrah), 'Fire of Glory,' which is only another way of saying Ātarō Farnbāg, 'Fire of the Glory-divine' (according as the Semitic or Iranian designation is chosen); and both recensions agree that the fire was originally in Khvārazm. But in the latter part of the passage there is a very noteworthy difference in the Iranian version regarding the place to which the fire was removed. In contradistinction to the Indian Būndahishn, which locates the transferred fire 'upon the shining mountain in Kāvulistān, the district of Kāvul (Kābul),' the Iranian Būndahishn says:

'In the reign of King Vištāsp, upon revelation from the Religion, it became established out of Khvārazm, on the shining mountain of Kavārvand ("vaporous") in the Kār district, just as it there even now remains.'

²¹ See text ed., in photozincograph process, by T. D. Anklesaria with introduction by B. T. Anklesaria, *The Būndahishn, being a Facsimile of the T. D. Manuscript brought from Persia*, pp. 124-125, Bombay, 1908.

²² So ms. adds *hamāī*, 'always'.

²³ So the Pahlavi word *kn ārn n d* is to be read. See below.

²⁴ So at least it seems that this and the following word are to be read.

The old local name of the mountain, which became illuminated when the sacred fire was transferred to it, I decipher from the original Pahlavi script (*k n ārn n d*) as *Kavārvand*,—the Pahlavi sign for *v* and *n* being the same—and suggest connecting it with Mod. Pers. *kavār*, 'vapor, mist which appears in summer nights,'²⁵ and comparing the common suffix *-vand* (*-vant*), 'possessing', in such mountain-names as *Rēvand* (Av. *Raēvant*), *Arvand* or *Alvand* (Av. *Aurvant*), *Damāvand*, and Skt. *Himavant*.²⁶

The next point is to identify the 'Kār district,' or town, indicated by Phl. *Kārō matā* (*dēh*) of our Iranian recension, where the fire was located on the *Kavārvand* mountain. The photo-zincographed copy of the text plainly reads *Kārō matā*, and it should be particularly noted that the Pāzand version even of the Indian *Būndahishn*, ed. Antia, p. 81, as remarked above, p. 85, n. 10, also gives *Kāri dēž* (although preceded by *Kāvalstān*, which in itself may have been due to some original misreading of the obscure *Kavārvand*, unfamiliar in India, as previously hinted). I do not know the source of Darmesteter's reading (*Le ZA* 1. 154) *Kārikān matā*, 'le pays de Kārikān,' regarding which he adds, 'le pehlvi Kārikān serait en persan Kāryān'; but he was certainly on the right track when he went on to suggest that the place was to be identified with *Kāriyān* in *Fārs*, celebrated for its sacred fire which had been transported there from *Khvārazm*, as reported by Mas'ūdī, 4. 76, cf. *Yāqūt*, p. 471.

*Kāriyān*²⁷ is the name of a small town and district of the old province of *Fārs*, being located about ten miles southwest of

²⁵ See F. Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.* p. 1057a. The place is not to be confused with *Kavār* or *Kuvār*, a town southeast of *Shīrāz*, although that is also in *Fārs*, cf. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 253, Cambridge, 1905. It should be added that a Mod. Pers. paraphrase of Avesta *Sīrōza* 1. 9 (cited by Spiegel, *Av. Übersetzt*, 3. 199, n. 2, Leipzig, 1863; id. *Comm. über d. Av.* 2. 697, Vienna, 1868) places the *Ādar Frā* or *Farnbāg Fire* 'on the mountain *Kānkarah*' (*bar kūh-i Kānkarah*), the interpretation being evidently due to a misreading of Phl. *Kavārvand*. Cf. furthermore Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 285, n. 2239.

²⁶ Possibly *Damāvand* (judging from various spellings, Arinen. *Dambāvand*, Arabic *Dumbāvand* beside *Damāvand* and *Dabāvand*, and a Pāzand transliteration as *Dumāvand*, in Paz. *Jāmāspi*, ed. Modi, pp. 67, 114; cf. also Marquart *Erānšahr*, p. 127) may be derived from an original Av. **dunmāvant*, 'having vapor'. So I find Salemann, in *Grdr. iran. Phil.* 1, p. 266; but this is opposed by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* s.v. *dunman*, col. 749.

²⁷ On such formations in *-ān* see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Araber, aus Tabari*, p. 112, n. 1.

Juwa'im (Juwun), roughly midway between Sirāf (Tahirī) on the Persian Gulf and Dārābjird in the interior, or again inland between Jahram and Lārs, and is still marked on modern maps as approximately situated between lat. $28^{\circ} 1'$ and long. $53^{\circ} 1'$, not far from Harm.²⁸ According to the medieval Oriental geographers it was celebrated in antiquity for its strong fortress, crowning a hill-top, and as being the site of an ancient fire-temple from which the Zoroastrian priests distributed the sacred fire to other places.²⁹ As the identification of Kāriyān with the 'Kār district (or town)' of the Pahlavi text seems to be correct, judging from the various old allusions, I shall proceed below to give all the data that I can find regarding the subject in the Arab-Persian geographical and historical sources.³⁰

Before presenting the material from these Oriental sources, however, I shall insert, as a parenthetical paragraph, an important account of Kāriyān by an English traveler who visited it some forty years ago. It is the only modern description of the place that I know, among the long list of travels in Persia, and I found it just after this article was completed and ready to be sent to the press, but happily in time for insertion here. The description is by Edward Stack, of the Bengal Civil Service, who visited Kāriyān,

²⁸ See map at end of Curzon, *Persia*, vol. 2, London, 1892; also Edward Stanford, *Map of Persia*, London, 1887 (Indian Survey); and especially compare Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Map vi. Consult furthermore the map in W. Tomaschek, *Zur Topographie von Persien*, in *Sitzb. d. kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Cl.*, vol. 108, p. 652, Vienna, 1885; likewise the map in E. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, 1. 72, London, 1882 (cited below). It should be observed, in passing, that the name Kāriyān, as *Ramm al-Kāriyān*, 'Tribe of Kāriyān,' appears as a local designation of several places in the Province of Fārs (see Iṣṭakhri 1. 114 l. 6; cf. 1. 99 l. 2; 1. 141 l. 4; Ibn Haukal, 2. 186, l. 7; cf. 2. 180 l. 5; Muḥaddasī, 3. 424 l. 6; 2. 447 l. 8; 2. 454 l. 7); but the tribe in general is not to be confused with our Kāriyān of the Fire-temple, as noted also by Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 284, n. 2237; compare likewise the discussion by Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 2. 91-92.

²⁹ See Le Strange, *op. cit.* p. 255 (with references); P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter aus den arabischen Geographen*, 2. 91-92; 3. 137, Leipzig, 1910, 1912; also A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, p. 65, Copenhagen, 1907. On an old Kurdish tribe of Kāriyān, see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 285; Le Strange, *Description of the Province of Fārs*, p. 13, London, 1912.

³⁰ I may add that I had practically completed collecting these data before having access to G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 281-289, Leipzig, 1880, which served, however, as a most admirable supplement as the footnotes hereafter will abundantly show.

March 19, 1881, and devotes a half dozen pages to the town and its environs (calling it 'Karyun,' correctly enough after the local pronunciation of the name today), in the first of his two volumes entitled *Six Months in Persia*, 1. 117-123 (New York, 1882, Putnams). His record has all the more value when used as a supplement to the Arab-Persian geographers, of a thousand years before, about whom he knew nothing. It unconsciously supports their testimony as to the antiquity of the town, its hills and fertile suburban districts, and especially it mentions 'the fort of the Fire-well, so called from the discovery of naphtha in a well hard by.' The features that are characteristic in Stack's account for comparison with the older Oriental writers are here indicated by spacing the words. He rightly described Kāriyān as three miles distant from Harm, which is also still indicated in the maps; and both places at the time of his visit were suffering seriously from 'the effects of drought and famine' then prevailing in Persia.

E. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, 1. 118-123: 'Harm is a large village, with extensive date-groves, and perhaps two hundred houses. It was deserted and in ruins; we could find no quarters there. Karyun is still larger; it must have had a population of 2000 souls, but we could find only three families in the whole place . . . Two other forts [besides a modern one] stand in the plain, a mile east of Karyun. One is the Mud Fort (*Qala-i-Gili*), built when Karim Khan was reigning in Shiraz (1780); it is a square earthwork with a side of 120 yards, and had a tower every twelve yards. The other is the fort of the Fire-well, so called from the discovery of naphtha in a well hard by; it is a tower girt with a wall, on a mound. Forts and well are in ruins now. Karyun stands in the middle of three rocky hills, and these, also, are said to have been fortified. I went up one hill with some men of the village. They stopped at the foot, picked up bones, and said, "These are the bones of men," and proceeded to tell me the following story:—Shah Kāran was besieged here by 12,000 Mussalmans, when the Arabs first invaded Persia. [The story continues with an account of Shah Kāran's successful resistance at first, until he was betrayed through the treachery of his own wife, and fell into the hands

of the Arabs, and the fortress was taken]. Such was the legend of Karyun. Shah Kāran was, of course, a fire-worshipper [and a footnote adds, "the Chah Tashi (*atashi*) or fire-well, was perhaps a holy place in Shah Qaran's time"]³¹ and [he] seems to be a semi-historical personage. He is credited with having made sixty qanats (underground conduits for water). It is probable enough, too, that Karyun may be an ancient place. In a country like Persia, where the habitable spots have been marked out by Nature from the beginning of the world, the smallest human settlement in the desert may date back thousands of years. It is at least true of Karyun that the ruins of a fort do actually stand on the hill, and that bones are plentiful in the dry torrent beds. What with relics of mortality, ruins, and robbers, Karyun was an eminently cheerful place. My guides said there were twenty inhabited houses; I doubt it. The place was once flourishing and well-built. Conical domes of *abambars* (water-cisterns) rose among the houses, testifying to a large water-supply and large population in former years . . . In good seasons, the plain where these villages [Kāriyān and Harm] (and a few others) are situated ought to be extremely rich. I saw some very fine wheat under Karyun. An ancient qanat waters Karyun, and an unsuccessful attempt has recently been made by Lutf Ali Khan [the governor] to strike out another.'

Keeping in mind this interesting modern account of Kāriyān with its 'fort of the Fire-well,' named from a fountain of naphtha and marked by a ruined wall and tower crowning a mound, and remembering the legend of its hill-top fastness, so long impregnable, we may now turn to the Arab-Persian records of the place, which date a millennium earlier. From their allusions to Kāriyān it will become perfectly clear that the town, like the other places, Dārābjird, al-Baiḍā, Nasā, Fasā, that are mentioned in connection with the sacred fire now under investigation, was certainly located in the Province of Fārs. Concerning that there remains no question.

³¹ The Persian *chāl-ātašt* signifies 'fiery well'.

5. Arab-Persian Allusions to the Farnbāg Fire

c. Ibn Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (903 A. D.)

The earliest Arab-Persian geographer to refer to the Farnbāg Fire, under the title Ādhar-Khurrah, was Ibn Faḳīh of Hamadān, Persia (903 A. D.). In his Arabic account of an ancient fire-temple in the district of Farāhān, near Hamadān, he goes on to mention several other well known sacred fires in different places, one of which was 'The Fire Ādhar-Khurrah and fire of Jamm ash-Shīdh (Jamshīd), which is the oldest.'³² This he also says was originally in Khvārazm, and was removed by the Sasanian monarch Anūshirvān (he does not mention Vishtāsp) to Kāriyān, adding, moreover, that at the time of the Arab conquest a part of it was carried for safety to Fasā, a town which is likewise in Fārs. Ibn Faḳīh's statement (ed. De Goeje, *Bibl. Geog. Arab.* 5. 246, Leyden, 1885) may be translated as follows:

Ibn Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, 5. 246 l. 8 f. 'As regards the fire of Jamm ash-Shīdh (Jamshīd) it is the Ādhar-Khurrah (i. e. Fire Farnbāg). It was in Khwārazm, and Anūshirwān removed it to al-Kāriyān. Now when the Arabs came into power, the Magians were afraid that it would be extinguished. So they divided it into two parts, one part (remained) in al-Kāriyān, and one part was carried to Fasā,³³ thinking that if one of them should be extinguished the other would be left.'³⁴

d. Mas'ūdī (943 A. D.)

The most important passage to be brought into connection with the Būndahishn account is the reference to the fire of Jamshīd (i. e. the Farnbāg Fire) in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab* ('The

³² Lit. 'first', ed. De Goeje, 5. 246.

³³ The town Fasā is some fifty miles west of Dārābjird; but it must be noted that Mas'ūdī (see below) says Nasā (Nisā). Incidentally it may be remarked that Fasā is particularly mentioned in connection with Zoroaster and Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp) by Tha'alībī, tr. H. Zotenberg, pp. 255, 262, Paris, 1900. On Fasā see Le Strange, *op. cit.* pp. 290, 293, 294; Schwarz, *op. cit.* 2. 97-100, but there is no special mention of a fire-temple in connection with this industrial town. It is possible that Fasā in Ibn Faḳīh is misread for Nasā (see below).

³⁴ Ed. De Goeje, 5. 246; cf. also tr. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, p. 45, New York, 1894.

Golden Meadows,' text and French tr. by Barbier de Meynard, *Les Prairies d'or*, 4. 75-76, Paris, 1865). Mas'ūdī, after mentioning ten celebrated pyraea, comes to speak of the fire of Jamshīd, which Vishtāsp (Bishtāsp or Yistāsf), at the direction of Zoroaster, removed from Khvārazm to Dārābjird, the chief city in the land of Fārs. (For this latter sentence in the original, Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 285, suggests reading, 'nach der Stadt [al-Kāriān, einer Dependenz von] Dārābgerd, einer Kūra im Lande Pārs'—giving his reasons for the conjecture in a footnote, n. 2240). Mas'ūdī goes on to state that King Kai Khusrau (who lived between the time of Jamshīd and Vishtāsp) had worshiped this fire while it was in Khvārazm, and he notices also the divergent tradition that it was Anūshirvān who had removed it to Kāriyān,³⁵ repeating likewise that at the time of the Muslim conquest the fire was divided for the purpose of safety, a part being left in Kāriyān and a part removed to Nasā and al-Baiḍā in Fārs. As noted below, both these latter places (or practically the same place) are, like Kāriyān, situated in the Fārs Province. The whole passage from Mas'ūdī is here translated.

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, 4. 75-76. 'Zarādusht directed King Yistāsf (i. e. Vishtāsp) that he should search for the fire which had been venerated by King Jam. He made search and found it in the city of Khvārazm, and Yistāsf then removed it to the city Dārābjird,³⁶ of the land of Fārs and its country. In our time, the year 332 [A. H. = 943 A. D.], this temple is called *Ādharjūy*, and the translation of this is 'Fire-stream' (or Fire-river), *ādhar* being one of the names for 'fire' and *jūy* being one of the names for 'river' in old Persian. The Magians revere this fire in a manner in which they revere no other fires or fire-temples.

'In Persian (tradition) it is reported that when Kai Khusrau³⁷ went forth to make war against the Turks, and marched

³⁵ See the citation above from Ibn Faḥīh al-Hamadhānī; but observe some of the statements given below which would militate against the Anūshirvān tradition.

³⁶ For Hoffmann's suggested emendation 'to the city [al-Kāriān, a dependency of] Dārābjird' see the introductory paragraph above.

³⁷ As remarked above, Kai Khusrau lived about two hundred years before Vishtāsp according to the traditional dates, see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 180.

to Khvārazm, he inquired there about that fire, and when he found it he venerated it and worshiped it.

'And it has been said [by others]³⁸ that Anūshirvān was the one who removed it to al-Kāriyān. The appearance of Islam caused fear to the Magians lest the Musulmans should extinguish it; so they left a part (lit. some) of it at al-Kāriyān and removed a part (lit. some) of it to Nasā³⁹ and al-Baiḍā in the district of Fārs, so that one of them should be left in case the other was extinguished.'⁴⁰

e. Shahrastānī (1086–1153 A. D.)—based largely on Mas'ūdī

Quite an extended notice of various fire-temples and their founders is given by Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ash-Shahrastānī in his well-known 'Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects' (*Kitāb al-Mīlāl wa'l-Nihāl*, text ed. Cureton, part 1, pp. 197–198, London, 1842; German tr. by Haarbrücker, 1, pp. 298–299, Halle, 1850).⁴¹ As Shahrastānī was a native of the large village of Shahrastān in Khurāsān, being born there in 1086 A. D., and had studied at Nīshāpūr, he must have had a good knowledge of Persian traditions regarding the sacred fires. When, however, he comes to speak of the fire of Jamshīd he follows Mas'ūdī rather closely in his statements regarding Khvārazm, Dārābjird, and the tradition mentioned above with respect to Anūshirvān and the transference of the fire to al-Kāriyān (erroneously written in

³⁸ See Ibn Faḳīh, cited above, and Shahrastānī (after Mas'ūdī), cited below.

³⁹ The text here reads *Nasā* (not *Fasā* as in Ibn Faḳīh, cited above); so also Shahrastānī (based on Mas'ūdī) has *Nasā*, as quoted below. *Nasā* and al-Baiḍā (the latter meaning in Arabic 'The White' town) are names for the same town (or possibly for two places merged into one town, like the modern Isfahān-Jul'ah), located about twenty miles northward from Shīrāz in the Province of Fārs (cf. Muḳ., p. 432, 1); the Persians called it also *Nasātak* (Iṣṭ. p. 126, 11 ff.), signifying according to Yāḳūt (1. 791, 20, and cf. 4. 778, 6), Dār-i Isfīd, 'White Palace'—see Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 1. 16–17, Leipzig, 1896; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 280 (and map, p. 249).

⁴⁰ For help in connection with the translation of the various Arabic passages throughout, I am particularly indebted to my assistant, Dr. A. Yohannan of Columbia University; and also to my former pupil, Professor William Popper of the University of California. This special passage from Mas'ūdī is rendered likewise by Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 285–286.

⁴¹ Cf. C. Huart, *Hist. Arab. Lit.*, p. 268, New York, 1903.

the text as al-Kārmān, and not to be confused with Kirmān).⁴² The special passage follows.

Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 197–198 (cf. Haarbrücker, 1. pp. 298–299). ‘Kushtasf gave orders that the fire which Jam venerated should be sought for, and they found it in the city of Khvārazm, and transported it to Dārābjird. It was called Āzar-Khū[r]ā;⁴³ and the Magians venerate it more than (all) the others. And when Kai Khusrau went out to war against Āfrāsiyāb, he venerated it and worshiped it. It is said that it was Nūshirvān who transferred it to Kāriyān;⁴⁴ they left some of it there and carried some of it to Nasā.’

f. Iṣṭakhrī (951 A. D.)

The somewhat earlier geographer Abū Ishāk al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhrī (951 A. D.) alludes to Kāriyān and its impregnable fortress which crowned the Mountain of Clay, and, a few paragraphs beyond, he states that the fire-temple of al-Kāriyān was the most famous in Fārs.

Iṣṭakhrī, ed. De Goeje, 1. 117 l. 2 f. ‘The fortress of al-Kāriyān⁴⁵ is built upon the Mountain of Clay (*Jabal Tīn*).⁴⁶ Muḥammad ibn Wāṣil attacked it with his army (because) Aḥmad bin al-Ḥasan al-Azdī had intrenched himself within it, but he was not able to take it.’ And Iṣṭakhrī continues, some paragraphs further on (p. 118 l. 6 f.) to say: ‘The fire-temples of Fārs exceed my power of enumeration, as there is no city, village, or place without a large number of these fire-temples; but a few of them are more celebrated and surpass the others in importance. Of these is the Fire-temple of al-Kāriyān,

⁴² See also Hoffmann, p. 285, n. 2240.

⁴³ On the reading see Hoffmann, p. 286 (last paragraph), with references.

⁴⁴ See remarks above on the erroneous spelling *Kārmān* in the text instead of *Kāriyān*.

⁴⁵ v. l. *Kāribān*, *Kādhiyān*, *Kāviyān*.

⁴⁶ This is the same mountain as Kavārvand of the Pahlavi text, but there is no connection to be traced between the name in Arabic, *Tīn*, ‘clay’ and Phl. Pers. *Kavārvand*; consult also above, p. 89, n. 25, and the reference to Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 285, n. 2239.

which is known as *Nār Farrā*, and as the Fire-temple ba-Khurrah, that is the Fire Khurrah' (cf. *Ādhar-Khurrah*, above).⁴⁷

g. Ibn Ḥauḳal (978 A. D.)

Ibn Ḥauḳal (978 A. D.) follows the statements of Iṣṭakhrī practically verbatim with regard to the large number of fire-temples in Fārs, the most important being that at Kāriyān;⁴⁸ and (like Mas'ūdī, also above) he says that this pyraeum was called *Nār-jūy*, 'Fire-stream' (with the variant reading *Nār Farrā*, cf. *Ādhar-Khurrah*). The passage follows and should be compared with the others previously given.

Ibn Ḥauḳal, ed. De Goeje, 2. 189 l. 5: 'But the fire temples of it (i. e. of the Province of Fārs) are excessive in number and the mind is incapable of grasping it, as there is no city, village, or place, which has not in it a large number of these fire-temples besides those famous ones which surpass the rest in importance. Of these (latter) is the Fire-temple of al-Kāriyān which is called the temple of *Nār-jūy* i. e. "Fire-stream" (v. l. *Nār Farrā*) and the Fire-temple ba-Khurrah.'

h. Muḳaddasī (985 A. D.)

There is an allusion likewise to the Kāriyān fire-temple in the geographical work of Abū 'Abdallah al-Maḳdasī, or Muḳaddasī (985 A. D.), as he is more commonly called.

Muḳaddasī, ed. De Goeje, 3. 427 l. 12 f.: 'Kāriyān⁴⁹ is small, but its suburban villages are well-populated.⁵⁰ In

⁴⁷ The reading *Nār Farrā*, i. e. 'Fire Farrā' is the correct one as construed from the variants in the Arabic texts. See also especially Hoffmann, p. 284, and his remarks; compare likewise Schwarz, *Iran*, 2. 91, with references not only to Iṣṭakhrī, p. 118, l. 8 (just quoted), but also to Balādhurī, p. 389, l. 13 (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1866), where Kāriyān may be implied though not mentioned.

⁴⁸ For a reference likewise to the 'Zam (town or territory) Kāriyān' see W. Ouseley, *Or. Geog. of Ebn Haukal*, p. 91, London, 1800, and see above, n. 28.

⁴⁹ v. l. *Kāribān*.

⁵⁰ For an idea of the fertility of the suburban districts around Kāriyān see the passage cited from Stack above, p. 92.

it there is a fire-temple that is highly venerated, and they carry the fire from it to (all parts of) the world.⁵¹

i. Yākūt (1225 A. D.)

Similar (and including a repetition from Iṣṭakhri) is the statement of Yākūt in his great geographical dictionary, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 4. 224-225, Leipzig, 1869; cf. French tr. by Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 471, Paris, 1861. The passage runs as follows:

Yākūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, 4. 224-225; cf. Fr. tr. Barbier de Meynard, p. 471: 'Kāriyān is a small city in Fārs, and its suburban villages are well-populated. In it there is a fire-temple which is highly venerated by the Magians, and its fire is carried to (all parts of) the world. Iṣṭakhri says that among the fortresses of Fārs which have never been taken is the fortress of al-Kāriyān, which is on the Mountain of Clay (*Jabal-Ṭīn*). 'Amrū, son of Laith aṣ-Ṣaffār,⁵² attacked it and besieged in it Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan al-Azdī, with his army; but he was not able to take it, and withdrew.'⁵³

j. Ḳazvīnī (1275 A. D.)

This statement is repeated in substance also in the 'Cosmography' of Zakariyyā al-Ḳazvīnī (1203-1283 A. D.), who was a Persian, though writing in Arabic, and derived his name from his native place, Ḳazvīn in Āzarbaijān.

Ḳazvīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 2. 162 l. 5 f., Göttingen, 1848: 'Kāriyān is a city in the land of Fārs, in which there is a fire-temple held in high esteem by the Magians, and its fire is carried to other fire-temples in the world. Iṣṭakhri says: "One of the fortresses that can never be taken is the fortress of Kāriyān; it is situated on the Mountain of Clay (*Jabal min Ṭīn*), and has several times been besieged but has never been taken".'

⁵¹ Besides this passage there are two mere mentions of Kāriyān in Muḵ., pp. 52, 454; see also above, note 28.

⁵² i. e. the Ṣaffārid ruler in the latter half of the ninth century A. D.

⁵³ There is a mere mention of 'the fortress of Kāriyān' also in Yākūt, 3. p. 338.

k. An earlier passage in Albīrūnī (973-1048 A. D.)

There is a long and important earlier passage in the famous 'Chronology' of Albīrūnī (Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad al-Bīrūnī), which has a special bearing on the Ādhar-Khurrah (or Farnbāg) fire-temple in Fārs. It is of particular interest because this celebrated scholar was born in one of the suburbs of Khvārazm (973 A. D.), and his family was of Persian origin. It will be noted that while he does not mention Kāriyān by name, speaking simply of 'the famous fire-temple in Ādhar-Khūrā in Fārs', or again of 'the town Ādhar-Khūrā,' his allusion is undoubtedly to the famous Farnbāg Fire of Jamshīd, referred to several times above, under this or similar forms, as located at Kāriyān; and this is further borne out by the fact that Albīrūnī's statement shows that it was situated somewhere in the general region of Dārābjird. It is expressly to be observed, moreover, that Albīrūnī's account proves that this sacred fane must have been celebrated long before the time of Anūshīrvān, because that Sasanian monarch's grandfather, King Fērōz (Pērōz), who ruled 459-484 A. D., visited it and prayed there for rain to relieve the dire affliction of drought which was devastating Ērānshahr. This fact regarding Fērōz at that time is all the more important as recorded by a chronologist, and it seems to indicate that the Anūshīrvān tradition was a later one or is to be otherwise explained. I select the significant portions, relating to the fire-temple, from the long account which Albīrūnī gives, *Chronology*, tr. E. Sachau, pp. 215-216 (=ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 228-229), London, 1879.

Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, pp. 215-216: 'Once in the time of Fērōz [459-484 A. D.], the grandfather of Anūshīrvān, the rain was kept back, and the people of Ērānshahr suffered from barrenness.' [The account then continues to describe the measures which Fērōz took to relieve the distress of his people, even 'borrowing money from the properties of the fire-temples to give to the inhabitants of Ērānshahr'; it then describes the king's act of veneration at the chief pyraeum as follows.] 'Now Fērōz went to the famous fire-temple in Ādharkhūrā in Fārs;⁶⁴ there he said his prayers, and asked God to remove that trial from the inhabitants of the world.' [After describ-

⁶⁴ Lit. 'to the fire-temple known as Ādharkhūrā in Fārs.'

ing his meeting with the priests, his fervent supplications at the altar, and his pious gifts to the shrine, the account continues.] 'Then he started from the town Ādhar-khūrā in the direction of the town Dārā (i. e. Dārābjird). But⁵⁵ having come as far as the place where is now the village called Kām-Fērōz in Fārs—it was at that time an uncultivated plain—a cloud rose and brought such copious rain as had never been witnessed before, till the rain ran into all the tents, the royal tent as well as the other ones. Fērōz recognized that God had granted his prayer . . . He did not leave this place before he had built the famous village which he called Kām-Fērōz. Fērōz is his name, and *kām* means "wish"; so that it signifies "that he had obtained his wish".'

From the above account it is clear that the fire-temple was somewhat distant from Dārābjird, since he proceeded from it 'in the direction of the town Dārā.'⁵⁶ As the district of Kām-fīrūz lies north of Shīrāz on the map,⁵⁷ Fērōz must have passed a long way beyond Dārābjird, if we are to locate Kāriyān as above indicated. Under any circumstances the Ādhar-khūrā (Farnbāg) Fire was regarded by Albīrūnī (like the other authorities) as situated in the Province of Fārs. So much is clear.

1. Incidental allusions in the Persian Epic of Firdausī (1000 A. D.)

There are a couple of incidental allusions to the Fire Khurrād or Khūrdād (which is the same as the Farnbāg Fire, as noted at the beginning of this article) in the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī.⁵⁸ Thus it is mentioned as one of the three most sacred fires in a verse—*chū Ādhar Gush[n]asp u chū Khurrād u Mihr*—in connection with the history of King Ardashīr of Fārs, the founder of the Sasanian Empire (therefore antedating Anūshirvān), the poetical story running parallel in general with the earlier Pahlavi

⁵⁵ More literally, 'and then when he arrived at'.

⁵⁶ So also Hoffmann, p. 287.

⁵⁷ See Le Strange, p. 249, and cf. p. 280; also Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, I. 40–41.

⁵⁸ Cf. also Hoffmann, pp. 288–289.

work cited below.⁵⁹ But there is nothing definite beyond the general association with Fārs to indicate the precise site of the temple. Pointing to Fārs likewise is the fact that when Ardashīr went out to fight against Bahman, son of Ardavān, as Firdausī has it, he repaired first to the temples of Khurrād and Rām—*sūi Ādhar Rām u Khurrād*—to pray for victory.⁶⁰

m-n. Two later Persian allusions in the *Burhān-i Kāfi* and the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*

Two later Persian works refer to the Farnbāg fire-temple as Khūrdād or Ādhar-Khūrdād (cf. above). Thus:

The *Burhān-i Kāfi*, compiled by Muḥammad Ḥusain of Tabriz, in the middle of the seventeenth century (lithographed edition, India, 1305 A. H. = 1888 A. D.),⁶¹ v. 1, p. 366, col. 2, l. 7, has simply: 'Khūrdād is the name of a fire-temple, very large and high,' but records under another entry (*Burhān*, v. 1, p. 27, col. 2, l. 26): 'Ādhar Khūrdar (sic!) is the name of a fire-temple of Shīrāz; some know it as the fifth (fire-temple), and they write it also as Ādhar-Khūrdād, with long ū.' (On this reference to Shīrāz see especially what is remarked below in the next paragraph.) The *Burhān* (v. 1, p. 28, col. 2, l. 3) has furthermore an entry under the variant Khurīn, as follows: 'Ādhar Khurīn is the fifth of all the seven fire-temples of the Parsis; the details regarding it are recorded under the word Ādhar Āyīn' (where notice is taken of the presumed connection of the seven fire-temples with the planets).

More important is the seventeenth century Persian lexicon *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (lithographed edition, Lucknow, 1293 A. H.

⁵⁹ See Firdausī, *Shāh-nāmah*, tr. G. A. and E. Warner, 6. 212, cf. 391, London, 1912; Mohl, *Le Livre des rois*, 5. 218; and compare D. D. P. Sanjana, *Kārnāme ī Artakshshīr*, p. (88) 2, extracts from the *Shāh-nāmah* (Pers. text).

⁶⁰ See Warner, 6. 226, l. 11; Mohl, 5. 238; and Sanjana, *Kārnāme*, p. (97), 11 (extracts from the *Shāh-nāmah*. Cf. also a mere mention, Mohl, 5. 416.)

⁶¹ The author of the *Burhān-i Kāfi* completed his dictionary 1062 A. H. = 1651 A. D., and dedicated it to Sulṭān 'Abdullah Ḳuṭubshāh b. Ḳuṭubshāh, who ruled at Golkonda, India, 1035-1083 A. H. Besides the India lithographed copy above quoted, there is also a lithographed edition of the *Burhān-i Kāfi*, published in Persia, 1247 A. H. = 1831 A. D., which has also been consulted.

=1876 A. D.), which gives, v. 1, p. 57, ll. 1-3, a list of seven noted Ātash-Kadahs, or fire-temples, the fifth of which is Ādhar-Khurīn, called also (more accurately on p. 58) Ādhar-Khūrdād (i. e. Farnbāg Fire). Its location is placed at Shīrāz—that is in Fārs—which was probably cited as conveying to an Indian reader of the time of the Emperor Jahāngīr somewhat of an idea of the temple's location in that province. At any rate the tradition as to the Province of Fārs seems to be followed. The passage runs thus:

n. *The Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, v. 1, p. 58, l. 11 f.: 'Ādhar-Khūrdād was a very high fire-temple edifice in Shīrāz; it was the fifth of all the seven fire-temples which the Parsis had, and they call it, also Ādhar-Khurīn.' And further on, p. 58, l. 21, he records: 'Ādhar-Khurīn is the name of the fifth⁶² of the seven fire-temples which the Parsis have; it is called also 'Ādhar-Khūrdād.'

6. Supplementary Allusions in Pahlavi Literature

Having sufficiently established the fact that the reference in the Iranian Būndahishn seems to be fully borne out by the Arab-Persian writers in regard to locating the transferred Farnbāg Fire in the Province of Fārs, we may revert once more to the Pahlavi literature and add one or two references which may lend additional weight to this view.

o. Pahlavi *Kārnāmak-ī Artakhshūr-ī Pāpakān* (sixth century A. D. ?)

From the entire context of a passage in the Pahlavi work *Kārnāmak-ī Artakhshūr-ī Pāpakān*, 4. 6, it is evident that 'the Portal of the Fire Farnbāg'—*babā (dār) ī Ātarō ī Farnbāg*—at which Ardashīr, the first Sasanian king, and thus long prior to Anūshīrvān, prayed for victory, was located in Fārs.⁶³ There is

⁶² The text here by an oversight reads 'sixth'.

⁶³ See ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, *Kārnāmē*, Bombay, 1896, text, p. 23, translation, p. 20, and cf. pp. 3, 4, 40; cf. likewise ed. K. A. D. Noshervan, Bombay, 1896, text, p. 14, transliteration, p. 8; and also ed. E. K. Antia, Bombay, 1900, p. 19; furthermore, Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Artachšūr ī Pāpakān*, in *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, 4. 46-47, Göttingen, 1878.

no mention in the text of the place itself where the well-known fire-temple was situated, but as Ardashīr started on his march from a point on the 'sea-coast' of the Persian Gulf, where he founded a new fire-shrine called 'Bukht Artakhshīr,' proceeding by the way of 'Rāmishn-ī Artakhshīr,' from which he went on to the 'Portal of the Farnbāg Fire,' and thence to Stākhar (Persepolis), it is probable that the site of the famous pyraeum may once again be identified with Kāriyān in the Province of Fārs.⁶⁴

p. Mention of the Farnbāg Fire in the *Artā Vīrāf*

In the Pahlavi book *Artā Vīrāf*, 1. 21, 28, the company of priests and people who gather to choose one of their number, destined to behold in a trance a vision of heaven and hell, assemble for this purpose 'in the Portal of the Victorious Fire Farnbāg'—*pavan (pa) babā (dār) ī pērūzkar Ātarō ī Farnbāg*—but nothing definite is stated as to its location, though it should be noted that Stākhar (Persepolis) in Fārs is mentioned incidentally somewhat before (AV. 1. 7), thus pointing apparently to the Fārs province.⁶⁵

q. Mere allusions to the Fire Farnbāg in the
Phl. work *Nīrangistān*

There are several ritualistic allusions to the Fire Farnbāg in the Pahlavi work *Nīrangistān*, but as they are only ceremonial in content they add no information in regard to the location of the fire-temple itself. They are recorded here simply for the sake of fulness: *Nīr.* 2. 6, B, 14–15; 2. 19, 53, 62; 2. 19. A, 21 (transl. S. J. Bulsara, *Aērpatastān and Nīrangastān*, pp. 227, 316, 318, 322, Bombay, 1915).

⁶⁴ See *Kārnāme*, 4. 1–19. Similarly Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 287–288, gives arguments in this connection also in favor of identifying the scene of the visit with Kāriyān. It might be possible furthermore to suggest that the port on the sea-coast was Sirāf; the precise location of Rāmishn-ī Artakhshīr (Rām Ardashīr) appears not to be certain—see Schwarz, *Iran*, 2. 68.

⁶⁵ See Hoshang Haug and West, *Book of the Arda Viraf*, 1. 21, 28, London and Bombay, 1872. It is to be observed that Haug (and West), *op. cit.* p. 146, n. 3, follows the idea (based then on the Indian Būndahishn) that the temple was in Kābulistān; on the other hand, Adrien Barthélemy, *Artā Vīrāf-Nāmāh*, p. 146, n. 10, Paris, 1887, is in favor of Ištākhar, that is, in Fārs, as the probable place. See also Justi's view, below, p. 106, n. 70.

r. A high-priest named Ātūr Farnbāg Farūkhzāt

Merely by way of supplement it may be added that the celebrated Zoroastrian high-priest Ātūr Farnbāg Farūkhzāt of Fārs, who flourished early in the ninth century A. D. and is well known through his share in the work of compiling the *Dēnkart* as well as otherwise in Pahlavi literature, evidently owed his name to his pontifical office in connection with the Farnbāg Fire-temple.⁶⁶ It was he who refuted the 'Accursed Abālīsh,' a heretical Gabar of Stākhar in Fārs, in a religious disputation held, about 825 A. D., before Ma'mūn, Caliph of Baghdād, as told in the Pahlavi treatise *Mātīgān-ī Gujastak Abālīsh*, ed. and tr. into French by A. Barthélemy, Paris, 1887. The 'accursed' heretic, who was a native of Stākhar, had once been a believer, but had received some affront in a fire-temple, in consequence of which he became a renegade to the faith, entering into ardent religious discussions alike with Zoroastrians, Arabs, Jews, and Christians of Fārs. He finally repaired to Ma'mūn's court at Baghdād, where he was utterly worsted in debate by Ātūr Farnbāg Farūkhzāt, who, with other theological scholars, had been summoned thither by the Caliph to dispute with him (cf. *GA* 15-25). Although the fire-shrine at which Abālīsh originally met with the rebuff that turned him into an apostate is not to be identified with the Farnbāg temple, there is no doubt that the great ecclesiastic, Ātūr Farnbāg Farūkhzāt, owed his own name to his ministry upon the famous Farnbāg Fire of Fārs.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Regarding this noted prelate see West, in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* 2. 91, 105; id. in *SBE* 18. 289; vol. 24, introduction pp. 26, 27; vol. 37, introd. pp. 31, 32, 37. He must have been a native of Fārs if we may judge from the context of *Phl. Dāstān-ī Dēnīg*, 88. 2 (cf. tr. in *SBE* 18. 252), and he is mentioned also in the Pahlavi works *Epistles of Mānūshcīhr*, 1. 39; *Shgv.* 4. 107; 9. 3; 10. 55; *Dk.* 4. 2; 5. 1, 2, 3.

⁶⁷ According to the text of *GA*. 2-5, 'Abālīsh of Stākhar . . . went to the Fire-temple of Pūšt (?)', where he received the original affront, but there is uncertainty as to deciphering the name of the temple—*ātāš-gās ī Pūšt* (?); see Barthélemy, *Gujastak Abālīsh*, p. 7, Paris, 1887. Barthélemy doubtfully suggests, with a query, to read *pavan yazdt* (?); but the Pāzand version has *Pūšt* and the Persian gives *Pīšt*. It is not to be confused with Pūšt near Nīshāpūr, or with Bust in Sīstān, because the locality involved appears certainly to be that of Ištākhr or its vicinity—see Barthélemy, *op. cit.* p. 40, n. 3 and n. 4. There is a fire-temple written as Ādhar Pūsh in the lithographed edition of the *Farhang-ī Jahāngīrī*, I. p. 57 l. 2 (see above), but that is apparently a mistake for Nūsh Ādhar in the same work 2. p. 245 l. 4

The material which has been brought together above comprises all that I have thus far been able to find.⁶⁸ We are therefore prepared to summarize it and present the main results.

7. Summary and Conclusion

The traditions regarding the Farnbāg Fire, or fire of Jamshīd, so far as available, seem to agree as to the fact that it was established by Jamshīd originally in Khvārazm (Khīva), but was removed from there later, in the time of Zoroaster, to another locality.

The tradition found in the Indian recension of the Būndahishn, that the fire was transferred to the region of Kābul, appears to have far less authority on its side (even if Vishtāspa was associated more particularly with the east), and it may rest on a mistaken reading of the difficult Pahlavi name of the mountain,—the obscure word 'Kavārvand,' of a more original copy, being wrongly interpreted as a mountain in 'Kāvulistān,' that being naturally better known to a writer in India. Scholars who are familiar with the character of the Pahlavi script will best appreciate this possibility.

The Iranian Būndahishn, on the other hand, which is the older recension,⁶⁹ definitely reads mountain of Kavārvand, and places this in the 'Kār district,' all of which appears to agree with the numerous Arab-Persian writers who locate this sacred fire-temple at Kāriyān in Fārs; it is in keeping also with the couple of other Pahlavi allusions which tend to show that its site was in Fārs. In any case the stronger testimony is to the effect that the temple was situated in the Fārs Province, and thus in south-

(where the other reading Ādhar Pūsh is also noted); cf. likewise *Burhān-i Kātibī*, 2. 457, col. 1. l. 2 (Indian lithographed edition) or 2. 283, l. 23 (of the Persian lithograph), and similarly Nūsh Ādhar in Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmah*, ed. Vullers, 3. 1560, l. 2; 1709, l. 6; 1723, l. 19.

⁶⁸ There are some stray allusions to the general subject of this and other Zoroastrian fires scattered through the well-known work of Thomas Hyde, *Hist. Relig. Vet. Persarum*, Oxford, 1700 (e. g. pp. 102, 104).

⁶⁹ I am fully convinced that the Great Iranian Būndahishn represents the older recension of this notable work even though the chief manuscript in which it is preserved happens to be about 180 years younger than the earliest codex in which the Indian Būndahishn is found, the latter being dated 1350 A. D. For dates see T. D. and B. T. Anklesaria, *Bünd. Introd.* pp. xxvii, xxxv.

western Iran. The whole of the old Oriental testimony is borne out by the ruins of the fire-temple still existing at Kāriyān and the modern account of the town and its legends given in the English passage quoted above.

This fact is of further interest because it connects the religious activity of Zoroaster's patron Vishtāspa with the west as well as the east,⁷⁰ which is allowed also by tradition, as shown by a part of the evidence collected by the present writer in *Zoroaster*, pp. 182-225, to which may be added references in Tha'ālibī, tr. Zotenberg, pp. 255, 262. It may likewise be stated that the tradition which makes Anūshirvān (instead of Vishtāspa) the one who removed the fire from Khvārazm appears certainly to be of later origin.

On the whole, therefore, we may sum up by saying that, even if we were inclined to enter into a compromise by conceding that the original fire of Jamshīd might possibly have been divided, the evidence in favor of the Iranian Būndahishn would still be too strong and would lead us to decide that the Farnbāg Fire, when transferred, was located in the Province of Fārs, and in all likelihood the site was at Kāriyān as shown above.

In conclusion I may add, that while I have had to remove a good deal of old dust to discover the ashes of this most ancient and sacred Zoroastrian fire, I still cherish the hope that I may have kindled some sparks anew so as to inspire others to make further researches and throw more light on this question of interest in connection with one of the great historic religions of the East.

⁷⁰ It should especially be observed that F. Justi, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. 88, pp. 255-259, Berlin, 1897, argues for associating Vishtāspa with the west of Iran, and p. 257 locates the Farnbāg Fire in Persis, i. e. the Province of Fārs, at Istakhr; see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 221-222.

STUDIES IN BHĀSA

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

FORMERLY WITH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

(Continued from JAOS 40. 248 ff.)

II. *On the versification of the metrical portions of the dramas.*

The following notes are the result of an attempt to study intensively certain characteristics of the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas which seemingly distinguish the latter from those of the works of the classical period, and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. The present investigation deals mainly with the metres and the metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages. The analysis of the metres comprises, besides a review of the metres conducted with special reference to the preponderance of the Śloka, a tabular conspectus of the metres (arranged in the order of frequency) showing the number of occurrences of each according to the dramas in which they are found, and secondly, a list showing specifically the distribution of the verses in each metre in the several plays. The section dealing with the solecisms has a twofold purpose: firstly, to ascertain their exact number and nature, and secondly to discuss their significance. Other aspects of versification, such as Alliteration, Rhyme, and Figures of Speech, will be considered in a separate article dealing with the Alaṅkāras.

ANALYSIS OF METRES.

Specifically, the verses¹ in each metre occur in the several plays as follows:

Śloka, Svapna. I. 2, 7, 10, 15; IV. 5, 7-9; V. 6-11; VI. 3, 6, 7, 9, 11-14, 16-19: Pratijñā. I. 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 15-17; II. 5²-7, 10, 11, 13; III. 3, 7-9; IV. 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20-22, 24-26: Pañca. I. 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 24, 26, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 48-54; II. 4, 6, 8, 12-14, 16, 17, 19-21, 23, 25, 28, 34, 36-38, 41, 47-50, 52, 53, 55-59, 61-69, 71; III. 9, 10, 13, 15, 17-21, 23-26: Avī. I. 4; II. 4, 10; IV. 7, 14; V. 3; VI. 3, 6-8, 12-14, 17, 22: Bāla. I. 3, 11-13, 15-17, 20, 25-27; II. 8, 9, 11, 13-19, 25; III. 7-10, 12,

¹ Prakrit verses are marked with an asterisk (*).

² In verse 5 of the second Act of the Pratijñā., b is defective.

TABLE OF METRES

	Svapna.	Pratijñā.	Pañca.	Avi.	Bāla.	Madhyama.	Dūtav.	Dūtagh.	Karṇa.	Ūru.	Abhi.	Cāru.	Pratimā.	Total.
1 Śloka.....	26	29	76	15	37	33	22	22	4	12	68	17	75	436
2 Vasantatilaka....	11	8	9	27	26	6	13	8	6	16	15	12	22	179
3 Upajāti ³	2	4	19	23	19	3	7	7	2	6	10	7	12	121
4 Śārdūlavikrīḍita...	6	5	9	5	4	1	2	8	2	21	15	5	9	92
5 Mālinī.....	..	5	7	3	6	4	7	2	6	7	11	4	10	72
6 Puṣpitāgrā.....	2	3	4	11	2	3	2	..	..	..	22	2	4	55
7 Vamśastha ⁴.....	..	3	12	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	4	4	35
8 Śālinī.....	3	4	6	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	3	22
9 Śikhariṇī.....	2	1	6	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	5	19
10 Praharaṣiṇī ⁵.....	..	..	3	2	2	..	..	1	1	..	4	1	3	17
11 Āryā.....	3	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	11
12 Sragdharā.....	..	..	..	3	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	8
13 Hariṇī.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	4	8
14 Vaiśvadevi ⁶	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	5
15 Suvadanā ⁷.....	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	4
16 Upagiti ⁸.....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
17 Daṇḍaka ⁹.....	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
18 ¹⁰.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
19 Drutavilambita...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
20 Pṛthvī.....	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
21 Bhujāṅgaprayāta ¹¹	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
22 Vaitāliya ¹².....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
23 ¹³.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total.....	57	67	152	97	103	51	56	52	25	66	154	55	157	1092

³ Including Indraavajrā and Upendravajrā. Schema: ≡ — — — —, — — — — —

⁴ Schema: — — — — — — — — — —

⁵ Schema: — — — —, — — — — — — — —

⁶ Schema: — — — — —, — — — — — — — —

⁷ Schema: — — — — — — — —, — — — — — — — — — —

⁸ Schema: a and c 12 moræ; b and d 15 moræ.

⁹ Schema: — — — — — + 7 amphimacers.

¹⁰ 'Abbreviated Daṇḍaka' (24 syllables); its schema: — — — — — + 6 amphimacers. See below.

¹¹ Schema: — — — — — — — — — —; or four consecutive bacchii.

¹² See below, footnote 18.

¹³ Undetermined Prakrit metre. Its schema is:

— — — — — | — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — | — — — — — — — — — —

(a and c 12 moræ; b and d 14 moræ).

13, 16; IV. 10, 12; V. 14, 16-20: Madhyama. 2, 7, 12-23, 28-31, 33-40, 42-45, 47, 49, 50: Dūtav. 1, 2, 7, 8, 16, 17, 20, 25-27, 29-31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 43, 46, 50, 55, 56: Dūtagh. 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 21, 24-26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 37-40, 42, 44, 48-50: Karṇa. 2, 7, 12, 25: Ūru. 33, 37, 41-44, 46, 49, 50, 62, 64, 65: Abhi. I. 3, 8, 12, 15, 18-21, 23, 24; II. 3, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18-20, 23, 24; III. 5, 6, 8-11, 13-15, 18, 20, 22, 24-26; IV. 4, 8-11, 14, 16, 19-22; V. 2, 5, 8-10, 12, 14, 17; VI. 8-10, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25-29, 35: Cāru. I. 7, 19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28; III. 12, 14-17, 19; IV. 2, 3, 5, 7: Pratimā. I. 4, 6, 9-13, 15-17, 19-21, 23, 24, 26-28, 31; II. 3, 5, 6, 8-12, 15-18, 20; III. 4-6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24; IV. 3-5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 26, 28; V. 6, 8, 9, 12-15, 20-22; VI. 5, 9-11, 13-15; VII. 5, 8, 13, 15.

Vasantatilaka, Svapna. I. 4, 6, 11; IV. 2; V. 1-3; VI. 2, 4, 5, 15: Pratijñā. I. 4, 6; II. 2, 9; III. 4; IV. 5, 7, 8: Pañca. I. 18, 29, 34, 37, 39; II. 27, 31, 42; III. 22: Avi. I. 2, 6, 11; II. 1, 2, 7, 13; III. 1, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15-17, 19; IV. 1, 5, 8, 13, 18, 22; V. 2, 7; VI. 1, 11, 19: Bāla. I. 5, 8, 23; II. 1-4, 6, 7, 10, 21, 22; III. 2, 5, 14; IV. 6, 8, 11, 13; V. 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15: Madhyama. 1, 3, 8, 11, 27, 48: Dūtav. 3-5, 11-14, 23, 41, 42, 44, 49, 54: Dūtagh. 1, 5, 11, 14, 23, 35, 45, 52: Karṇa. 4, 6, 9, 16, 21, 24: Ūru. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 22, 31, 32, 36, 40, 54, 59, 60, 66: Abhi. I. 1, 4, 9, 11; III. 21, 27; IV. 7, 13, 23; V. 4, 7, 13, 16; VI. 1, 7: Cāru. I. 2, 5, 8*, 9, 11, 18; III. 1, 2, 5, 10, 18; IV. 4: Pratimā. I. 7, 8, 22; II. 2, 4; IV. 1, 2, 16, 22, 24; V. 10, 11; VI. 4, 6, 7, 12; VII. 4, 6, 7, 9-11.

Upajāti (including *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*), Svapna. V. 5, 13: Pratijñā. I. 5, 12; II. 1; IV. 3: Pañca. I. 1, 10, 13, 19, 23, 27, 31, 40, 43, 46, 47; II. 9, 11, 30, 60, 70; III. 3, 12, 14: Avi. I. 3, 9, 10; II. 8, 9, 12; III. 6, 18; IV. 2, 6, 15-17, 21; V. 1, 5; VI. 2, 5, 10, 15, 16, 20, 21: Bāla. I. 2, 4, 7, 21¹⁴, 22, 24, 28; II. 5, 12, 20, 23, 24; III. 4, 6; IV. 4, 5, 9; V. 2, 7: Madhyama. 9, 41, 51: Dūtav. 9, 18, 19, 22, 28, 52, 53: Dūtagh. 2, 9, 10, 16, 19, 30, 36: Karṇa. 13, 17¹⁵: Ūru. 30, 38, 45, 47, 48, 55: Abhi. I. 26; II. 14; III. 3, 19; IV. 6; V. 1, 11; VI. 14, 21, 32: Cāru.

¹⁴ Pāda a of verse 21 of the first Act of the Bāla. is a Vamśastha line.

¹⁵ Pāda b of verse 17 of the Karṇa. is a Vamśastha line.

I. 4, 10^{*16}, 12*, 23*; III. 3, 7; IV. 1: Pratimā. I. 1, 29; III. 15; IV. 9, 13, 25; V. 3-5; VI. 16; VII. 3, 14.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Svapna. I. 3, 8, 12; IV. 1; V. 4, 12: Pratijñā. I. 8; III. 5, 6; IV. 13, 17: Pañca. I. 4, 5, 9, 55; II. 26, 29, 39; III. 6, 7: Avi. III. 3, 20; IV. 4, 10, 11: Bāla. I. 1; III. 3; IV. 1, 7: Madhyama. 26: Dūtav. 24, 32: Dūtagh. 3, 8, 12, 22, 27, 34, 41, 51: Kārṇa. 10, 15: Ūru. 1, 4, 13-18, 21, 23-25, 28, 29, 34, 35, 51-53, 58, 63: Abhi. I. 5; II. 4, 6, 10, 22; III. 1; IV. 1, 2; V. 6; VI. 3, 16, 19, 30, 31, 34: Cāru. I. 6; III. 6, 8, 11, 13: Pratimā. I. 3, 5; II. 2, 19; IV. 23, 27; V. 1, 16; VI. 3.

Mālinī, Pratijñā. I. 11, 14; II. 3; IV. 4, 14: Pañca. I. 38, 45; II. 5, 15, 45; III. 2, 4: Avi. II. 5; III. 2; IV. 9: Bāla. I. 9, 10; III. 11, 15; IV. 3; V. 12: Madhyama. 5, 6, 32, 46: Dūtav. 10, 35, 39, 40, 45, 47, 48: Dūtagh. 43, 46: Kārṇa. 1, 3, 14, 18-20: Ūru. 6, 20, 26, 27, 39, 56, 57: Abhi. I. 16, 25; II. 8, 9, 21, 26; IV. 15; V. 15; VI. 4, 6, 11: Cāru. I. 13, 14, 17, 29: Pratimā. I. 14, 25; III. 9, 21; IV. 10, 21; V. 7; VII. 1, 2, 12.

Puṣpītāgrā, Svapna. I. 5; VI. 1: Pratijñā. II. 12; IV. 6, 10: Pañca. I. 17, 30; II. 35, 51: Avi. II. 11; III. 4, 9, 11, 13; IV. 12, 20; V. 4; VI. 4, 9, 18: Bāla. I. 14; V. 9: Madhyama. 4, 24, 25: Dūtav. 6, 37: Abhi. I. 6, 14, 22; II. 2, 5, 11, 17, 25; III. 2, 16, 23; IV. 3, 5, 12, 18; V. 3; VI. 2, 12, 13, 17, 24, 33: Cāru. I. 16, 20: Pratimā. II. 21; IV. 18; V. 19; VI. 8.

Vamśastha, Pratijñā. III. 2; IV. 19, 23: Pañca. I. 20, 25; II. 1, 18, 32, 33, 43, 44; III. 1, 8, 11, 16: Avi. IV. 23: Bāla. I. 18: Madhyama. 10: Dūtav. 21: Dūtagh. 13, 33: Kārṇa. 8, 11, 22, 23: Ūru. 8: Abhi. I. 2: Cāru. I. 3, 15*, 26; III. 4: Pratimā. III. 13; IV. 20; VI. 1, 2.

Śālinī, Svapna. I. 13; IV. 6; VI. 10: Pratijñā. I. 13, 18; II. 14; IV. 12: Pañca. I. 22, 28; II. 2, 10, 40, 46: Avi. I. 7; III. 5: Bāla. I. 29: Dūtagh. 20: Abhi. I. 13: Cāru. III. 9: Pratimā. II. 13; III. 18; V. 17.

¹⁶ Pāda a of verse 10 of the first Act of Cāru. is defective. Perhaps we have to read *ṇubandhaantī* instead of *aṇubandhaantī* of the text; cf. the (Prakritic) loss of the initial of *adhi* in epic verse and that of *api* in the compound (*a*)*pihita* (from *api* + *dhā*) even in classical Sanskrit. Or better still, in view of the position of the caesura, delete the final syllable *hi* of *amhehi* and read *amhe'* *aṇubandhaantī*, *amhe* being the shorter form of the Instr. Plu.; cf. Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 415.

Śikharinī, Svapna. I. 14, 16: Pratiññā. II. 4: Pañca. I. 3, 14, 21; II. 7, 22, 24: Avi. I. 5; II. 3; III. 14: Ūru. 61: Abhi. IV. 17: Pratimā. II. 14; III. 1, 2, 22; IV. 7.

Praharṣinī, Pañca. II. 3, 54; III. 5: Avi. I. 8; IV. 3: Bāla. I. 6; V. 13: Dūtagh. 4: Karṇa. 5: Abhi. I. 7, 10, 17; III. 17: Cāru. IV. 6: Pratimā. I. 30; IV. 6; V. 18.

Āryā, Svapna. I. 1; IV. 3, 4: Pratiññā. IV. 1*: Bāla. I. 19*; III. 1*; V. 4*: Cāru. I. 1*, 21: Pratimā. I. 2; II. 7.

Sragdharā, Avi. I. 1, 12; IV. 19: Bāla. IV. 2: Dūtav. 51: Abhi. III. 7, 12: Pratimā. IV. 17.

Harinī, Svapna. VI. 8: Dūtagh. 47: Ūru. 5, 10: Pratimā. I. 18; III. 17; IV. 8; V. 2.

Vaiśvadevī, Svapna. I. 9: Pratiññā. I. 3; II. 8: Abhi. II. 1; VI. 5. — *Suadanā*, Pañca. I. 6: Dūtav. 15: Pratimā. III. 7, 11. — *Upagītī*, Bāla. V. 5*. — *Daṇḍaka*, Avi. V. 6. — 'Abbreviated' *Daṇḍaka*¹⁷, Pratimā. III. 3. — *Drutavilambita*, Abhi. III. 4. — *Prthvī*, Avi. II. 6. — *Bhujamṅgaprayāta*, Abhi. VI. 15. — *Vaitāliya*¹⁸, Pratiññā. III. 1*. — ? (Undetermined Prakrit metre), Pratiññā. IV. 2*.

The lists given above supplement incidentally the data of the metrical collections of Stenzler, edited by Kühnau, *ZDMG* 44. 1 ff., with the material placed at our disposal through the discovery of this important group of dramas. A comparison of our material with that brought together by Stenzler shows that, with the exception of what I have called above the 'abbreviated *Daṇḍaka*' of twenty-four syllables and an undetermined Prakrit metre, the metres of these dramas are those of the classical poetry.

In the Hindu works on Sanskrit prosody we come across a group of metres which have this characteristic in common that they, on analysis, are found to consist of six light syllables followed by a series of amphimacers. The best known variety is the

¹⁷ See p. 112 below.

¹⁸ Read b as: *p̄dim-upādēdum wāt̄hi(d)ā*. The *Vaitāliya* stanza should have 14 morae in a and c, and 16 in b and d; all the pādas, moreover, should end in an amphimacer followed by an iambus. The first part of c is defective, in that it measures only five morae instead of the six, which are necessary. Note that the close of all the four pādas answers correctly the requirements of the definition.

occur only once each. Worth noting is perhaps the fact that there are no examples of these five metres in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas²⁵; for it shows at any rate that they did not figure very conspicuously in them.

A metre which deserves special mention is the Suvadanā, one of the metres which these dramas have in common with the Aśvaghoṣa fragments. Our list includes four instances of this uncommon metre: two in the Pratimā. (III. 7, 11) and one each in the Pañca. (I. 6) and the Dūtav. (verse 15). The Suvadanā²⁶ (a metre of twenty syllables) differs from the Sragdharā (twenty-one syllables) only in its final foot; the first fifteen syllables of both have the identical schema; yet there are far fewer instances of the Suvadanā in Sanskrit literature than of the Sragdharā. Until the discovery of the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's plays there was only one solitary example known of its use in a drama; that was Mudrārākṣasa IV. 16, which, by the way, was mistaken by Stenzler²⁷ for Sragdharā. But now we have besides quite a number of instances in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, to which Prof. Lüders has drawn attention in his remarks on the versification of those plays.

The Āryā, which must originally have been a Prakrit metre, and its varieties, are used very sparingly by our author, though they figure so prominently in the Mṛcchakaṭikā and the dramas of Kālidāsa. In our plays there are only eleven Āryās (of which five are Prakrit) and one (Prakrit) Upagīti. Compare with this Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśī which has as many as 31 Āryās out of a total of 163 verses, and the Mālavikāgnimitra with 35 Āryās out of a total of 96 verses.

There are in this group of plays thirteen Prakrit verses, of which five are Āryās, one Upagīti, three Upajātis, one Vamśastha, a (defective) Vaitāliya, and lastly an undetermined Prakrit measure; the last may be only a piece of rhythmic prose. The versification of the Prakrit verses does not call for any special comment.

We shall now turn to the consideration of a unique feature of the versification of these dramas, namely, the preponderance of the Śloka. The analysis of the metres shows that out of 1092 verses which these dramas contain, 436 are Ślokas: in other words the Śloka forms nearly forty per cent of the total, which, it

²⁵ Lüders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin 1911.

²⁶ Its schema is: — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —.

²⁷ Kühnau, *ZDMG* 44. 1 ff.

will be admitted, is a remarkably high proportion. Indeed in many individual dramas of this group the proportion rises still higher: in some it is as high as fifty per cent, and in a few it is higher still. In the Svapnavāsavadattā there are 26 Ślokas out of a total of 57 verses; in the Dūtaghaṭotkaca 22 out of 52; in the Pañcarātra 76 out of 152; and in the one-act play Madhyamavyāyoga there are as many as 33 Ślokas out of a total of 51 verses. Notably the proportion of this metre is very low in the Avimāraka,²⁸ where there are only 15 Ślokas out of a total of 97 verses.

It is well known that works of the epic, Purāṇic, devotional, and Śāstric or didactic order formed the field par excellence of the Śloka. The dramatists made use of this unpretentious metre rather sparingly; they must have found it too commonplace. The later fixed syllabic metres with their sonorous and complicated rhythms were more suited to their flamboyant style. The greater the number of these in a play the greater the camatkāra, the greater the skill of the playwright. For this reason, it seems to me, the simple Śloka epicus lost ground in the drama, where it must once have figured prominently, in favor of the fancy metres. The old Triṣṭubh of the vedic and epic literature, however, maintained its popularity even in the classical period. A few figures are quoted to show the actual proportion, in different dramas, of the Ślokas to the total number of verses²⁹. Bhavabhūti is the only dramatist of the classical period who employs the Śloka on a large scale in two out of the three plays attributed to him. Out of a total of 385 verses in the Mahāvīracarita, 129 are Ślokas; while in the Uttararāmacarita the ratio is 89 : 253; the Śloka thus forms about a third of the total number of verses in these dramas. This is the highest proportion reached in any one drama or a group of dramas by the same author, except the dramas which are the subject of these Studies. In the Mālatīmādhava the ratio drops to 14 : 224. In the plays of Kālidāsa the Ślokas are few and far between. For the Mālavikāgnimitra the figures are 17 : 96; for Śakuntalā 36 : 230; for the Vikramorvaśī 30 : 163. We may further compare the figures for other dramas. In the Ratnāvalī

²⁸ In the other non-epic dramas of this group the proportion is not so low; in Svapna. it is 26 : 57; Pratijñā. 29 : 67; Cāru. 17 : 55.

²⁹ The figures have been computed from the data of Stenzler's collections, *loc. cit.* They will be of course different for the different recensions and editions.

the ratio is 9:85; in the Nāgānanda 24:114; in the Mudrārākṣasa 22:163; in the Veṇīśaṁhāra 53:204; in the Prabodhacandrodaya 36:190; in the Mr̥cchakaṭikā 85:336: in these dramas the Śloka thus forms on an average about 20-25 per cent of the whole. These figures make abundantly clear that the preference for the Śloka is a feature of metrical technique in which our plays differ from all dramas of the classical age.

As to the structure of the Śloka it may be remarked that the posterior pāda has invariably the diambic close; sometimes even at the sacrifice of grammar as in *Pratimā*. III. 8: *pratimāṁ kiṁ na pr̥chase*, where the final is, as a matter of fact, a syllaba anceps. The prior pāda ends as a rule with the pathyā foot $\sim - - \sim$; occasionally however it ends with one of the vipulā forms. Concerning the vipulās the following particulars will be found to be of interest. There is a complete absence of the fourth vipulā, and comparative rarity of the second; noticeable is also a partiality for the first vipulā which is used about twice as frequently as the third variety. In the third vipulā the cæsura is without exception after the fifth syllable, which usually follows $\sim - \sim -$. The precedent foot of the first vipulā is commonly $\sim - - -$ or $\sim \sim - -$ and only occasionally $\sim - \sim -$, of which latter, as is well known, the post-epic style has increasingly fewer cases³⁰.

The analysis given above shows that the Śloka of our dramas is of the refined type, not different at all from the classical model. The percentage of vipulā forms in these Ślokas is somewhat lower than in the classical epics like the Raghuvamśa, Kumārasambhava, Kirātārjuniya and Śiśupālavadha. One reason for the low proportion may be the following. In epic and lyric poetry, where the Ślokas (whenever they form the running metre of a whole adhyāya or chapter) follow each other in scores and hundreds, the vipulā forms crept in inevitably and may even have been introduced as an agreeable change from the monotonous rhythm of an immutable octosyllabic schema. With the limited number of the Ślokas occurring in a drama it was comparatively easier to produce a larger proportion of 'good' Ślokas; moreover owing to the intervening prose and the sprinkling of fancy metres the need for variation was not as keenly felt.

In connection with this predilection for the Śloka epicus I

³⁰ Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 80 ff.; *ISt.* vol. 17. 443 f.

may draw attention briefly here to certain passages individualised by containing shorter or longer runs of Ślokas. Here the prose is unimportant, while the verses with fancy metres are mostly lyrical; the Śloka is in these passages the dynamic element. A typical instance is the section of the Madhyamavyāyoga from verse 12 to verse 45. This passage, containing 34 verses, includes as many as 28 Ślokas, and only 6 fancy metres. Moreover, it will be noticed, the dialogue is carried on in simple unadorned Ślokas, the contents of which are not at all lyrical but include just what is necessary for the progress of the action of the drama. The prose cannot be entirely dispensed with, but it makes the distinct impression of being secondary in importance. Another such passage is Pañca. Act II from verse 47 to the end. It includes 25 verses of which as many as 21 are Ślokas and only four fixed syllabic metres. A piece shorter still is Pratimā. Act I from verse 9 to verse 28, which includes a group of 16 Ślokas punctuated with 4 fancy metres. These passages rather suggest to my mind rudimentary attempts at dramatisation which are not quite emancipated from the limitations of the epic prototype.

The following list of set phrases and conventional comparisons (the number of which can easily be increased³¹) borrowed by our author directly from the epics illustrates in a striking manner how deeply he is indebted to the epic sources for his inspiration.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (i) acireṇaiva kālena, Pratimā. IV.
26 c; with the variation sucireṇāpi kālena, <i>ibid.</i> 26 a | ³² acireṇaiva kālena, MBh. 9. 2. 58;
Rām. 5. 26. 23; 6. 61. 20, etc. |
| (ii) kampayann iva medinīm, Pañca.
II. 21 | kampayann iva medinīm, MBh. 2.
29. 7; 8. 34. 58; 9. 18. 26, etc.;
Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 37. 101; Rām.
6. 56. 13; 67. 115; and variations,
MBh. 3. 78. 3; 9. 30. 60; Rām.
(Gorr.) 3. 62. 31; Rām. 3. 67. 13.
Also compare such expressions as
nādayann iva medinīm, pūrayann
iva medinīm, and dārayann iva
medinīm occurring in the epics. |

³¹ Only such passages have been enlisted below as occur in both the epics, and occur there very frequently.

³² In this list MBh. refers to the Bombay edition of the Mahābhārata; Rām. to the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa; Gorrerio's edition is distinguished from the latter by the addition of Gorr. in parentheses.

- (iii) śaktiḥ kālāntakopamaḥ, Abhi. VI. 8
sākṣāt kālāntakopamaḥ, MBh. 3. 157. 50; Rām. 6. 88. 2; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 45. 19. Cf. also kālāntakayamopamaḥ, MBh. 3. 22. 31; 27. 25; 4. 33. 25; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 32. 5; 6. 49. 36, etc.
- (iv) nayāmi Yamasādanam, Prati-
mā. V. 22
anayad Yamasādanam, MBh. 6. 54. 81; 7. 19. 15; Rām. (Gorr.) 3. 34. 31; 75. 28. Compare also yiyāsūr Yamasādanam, MBh. 1. 163. 10; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 57. 23.
- (v) prasādaṁ kartum arhasi, Pañca. II. 68
prasādaṁ kartum arhasi, MBh. 9. 35. 72; Rām. 4. 8. 19; Rām. (Gorr.) 2. 110. 7, etc.
- (vi) madasalalitagāmī mattamātaṅ-
galilāḥ, Abhi. II. 9; and, mat-
tamātaṅgalilāḥ, Abhi. IV. 15
mattamātaṅgagāminam, MBh. 3. 80. 14; 277. 9; Rām. 2. 3. 28; Rām. (Gorr.) 6. 37. 61, etc.
- (vii) saṁbhramotphullalocanā, Dū-
tav. verse 7; Cāru. IV. 3
vismayotphullalocanāḥ, MBh. 1. 136. 1; 13. 14. 386; Rām. 7. 37. 3, 29; Rām. (Gorr.) 4. 63. 10, etc.
- (viii) sucireṇāpi kālena, Pratimā. IV. 26 a
(See above the references under no. i.).
- And lastly (ix) with the following phrases from the *bharatavākya*
imām apī mahīm kṛtsnām, in Pratijñā., Pañca., Avī., and Abhi.;
mahīm ekātapatrāṅkāṁ, in Svapna., Bāla., and Dūtav.;
rājā bhūmim praśāstu naḥ, Pratimā.;

compare the hemistich from the Mahābhārata:

ya imāṁ prthivīm kṛtsnām ekacchatrām praśāsti ha.—MBh. 12. 321. 134.

In conclusion I shall add a few words on the structure of the verses. The style of the author is notably simple and vigorous. The lucidity of the verses is due as much to the absence of long and complicated compounds as to the arrangement of words and phrases chosen with due regard to the position of the cæsure; almost invariably the cæsure falls at the end of a complete word. The half-verse is in general independent of the rest of the verse in sense; but often it is connected with it syntactically. Inside the half-verse the pādas are sometimes even euphonicly independent; for instance, Bāla. II. 4 there is hiatus between a and b *viḡāhya ulkāṁ*, a phenomenon common in the epics³³ but rare in the

³³ See Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 197 f.

works of the classical period. On the other hand metre requires the sandhi³⁴ in Pañca. I. 19 (a and b): *mitrāṇy ācāryam*³⁵. Without the sandhi we should have a superfluous syllable in a, and a metrically faulty line; with the sandhi we have a perfect Upajāti line. Pratimā. IV. 24d, which commences with the enclitic *me*, shows again that c and d are to be treated as a single sentence; for, an accentless word cannot stand at the beginning of a pāda any more than at the beginning of a sentence. Instances of the sacrifice of grammar are discussed in a separate section. Here it will suffice to draw attention to the rhythmic lengthening in *anūkarṣa* (Pañca. II. 7) and the use of the uncommon *pārṣṇī* (with the long final) in Svapna. V. 12 and *maulī* in Ūru. verse 59 (see PW. s. v.); the form *pārṣṇī*, it should be added, is not metrically conditioned. Similar lengthening of the stem-vowel is to be observed in *niyatī* (Pratimā. I. 21), in the sense 'destiny', of which only the form with the short *i* is cited in the dictionaries.³⁶

METRICAL SOLECISMS (SANSKRIT)

The list of solecisms in the language of these dramas appended by Pandit Gaṇapati Sāstrī to his edition of the Pratimānāṭaka (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XLII) is a contribution to literary history of which the full import appears not to have been generally realised. The significant thing is not the fact that some solecisms have been found in these dramas. Every Sanskrit work, I suppose, if submitted to a rigorous examination by a competent critic, will yield at least a few grammatical errors, which is not to be wondered at in view of the history of the language and the intricacies of its grammar. The interest about the solecisms in our dramas lies principally in their character and their number. I am persuaded that it will not be possible to name a reputable author of the classical period whose work or works could be shown to contain a proportionate number of grammatical 'mistakes' of the same order as those about to be discussed.

³⁴ Seldom in the Rāmāyaṇa.

³⁵ Compare a very similar instance in Mālatīmādhava X. 1 (a and b): *viśeṣaramyaṇy āceṣṭitāni*.

³⁶ To the word with the long final, a different meaning is assigned by lexicographers.

The first requisite in this connection was to ascertain exactly the points in which the language of these dramas differs from the literary Sanskrit of the classical period. Admirable as the list prepared by the learned Pandit is, it seemed to me that it needed, for the purpose in view, revision and rearrangement in certain respects. The list of Gaṇapati Sāstrī includes, on the one hand, certain items which do not strictly belong there; on the other hand, it omits certain others which have an important bearing on the subject. For instance, the Prakrit examples, to which the rules of Pāṇini's grammar cannot be expected to apply, have been palpably misplaced. It seemed to me also best to separate the solecisms occurring in the verses, of which the form is fixed by the metre, from those occurring only in the prose passages, which are more liable to be mutilated in the course of transmission. Again, certain details in the Pandit's list refer only to metrical³⁷ irregularities and have no connection with grammatical solecisms as such. Lastly, certain positive solecisms, which were explained away by the editor in the footnotes of the text editions of the various dramas³⁸ and therefore not considered at all subsequently, had to be added to the list. Through these additions and omissions a new list resulted. This list, appended below, includes only such metrical forms as offend against the literary Sanskrit as represented in the works of the classical age. It may be added that the dramas contain a few more irregularities in the non-metrical portions, which by their nature are not as certain and in their character not as important; they will be dealt with later in another connection.

Few scholars, if any, will be prepared to accept Pandit Gaṇapati Sāstrī's chronological scheme in which a date is assigned to the author of these dramas prior to the period of Pāṇini, for whom the now commonly accepted date is ca. 500 B. C. The posteriority of these dramas with reference to the Aṣṭādhyāyī is, I may say, axiomatic. Taking our stand on this assumption we have to understand and explain the solecisms as best as we can. It has been surmised that when grammar has been sacrificed we have in the vast majority of cases to do with metrical necessity; obviously the corresponding correct forms would not otherwise have been found in other passages where metrical considerations

³⁷ See Pratimā. IV. 24; Bāla. II. 4; Abhi. VI. 30.

³⁸ See Bāla. II. 11, and Svapna. V. 5.

do not interfere. What has perhaps been lost sight of is that these solecisms are not arbitrary, but that they belong to a well-defined class of irregularities, irregularities which are common enough in certain branches of Sanskrit literature, but which now, for the first time, have been shown to exist in the drama also.

The category of works in which similar deviations have hitherto been met with are of the epic, Purāṇic and Śāstric order. These works are known to contain abundant instances of ungrammatical and almost promiscuous use of the Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada forms; examples of irregular feminine participles, absolutives and a variety of other abnormalities like those met with in our dramas. Such violations of (Sanskrit) grammar are particularly common in the epics; they have accordingly been regarded as forming 'epic Sanskrit'. The free use of the 'epic' solecisms in a drama is, as already observed, a new factor in our knowledge of the Hindu drama, and is particularly worthy of our attention in connection with the theory concerning the part that epic recitations have apparently played in the evolution of the Hindu drama, at least of its epic variety.³⁹

It is plain that our dramatist derives his authority for the use of the irregular forms from epic usage. Such being the case, the question naturally arises whether the author, in exercising this licence, went so far as to invent new and spurious forms as occasion demanded them, or whether he had availed himself merely of such solecisms as were sanctioned by epic usage. The correspondence, if proved, would bring to a sharper focus the dependence of our author upon the epic source. As the following analysis will show, the solecisms of our dramas can indeed, with but insignificant exceptions, be *specifically* traced back to the epics. Quotations from the epic sources have been added in order to facilitate reference and comparison.

The solecisms have been arranged under the following heads: (i) Irregular sandhi; (ii) use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada, and (iii) vice versa; (iv) change of conjugation; (v) irregular feminine participle; (vi) irregular absolutive; (vii) simplex for the causative; (viii) irregular compounds; (ix) irregular syntactical combination; and (x) anomalous formations.

³⁹ Lüders, Die Śaubhikas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas, *Sitzungsberichte d. königl. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 1916.

LIST OF SOLECISMS

Irregular Sandhi

1. *putraḥ + iti = putreti*

jñāyatām kasya putreti.—Bāla. Act II. Verse 11.

Here metri causa the hiatus (between *a* and *i*) required by Skt. grammar has been effaced. The emendation suggested by the editor, *putro 'bhūt* for *putreti*, is uncalled for. This is a clear case of 'epic' sandhi. Instances of the effacement of the hiatus effected by the combination of the remaining final *a* with the following vowels are exceedingly common in epic Skt.; a common example is *tatovāca* (= *tataḥ + uvāca*), quoted by Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 176b; for examples from the Rāmāyaṇa, see Böhtlingk, 'Bemerkenswerthes aus Rāmājāṇa'.⁴⁰ Cf. also no. 2 below. It should be noted that this solecism could not be an accidental slip; it must be the result of a conscious effort. It is needless to add that there are no examples of such a sandhi in the prose of the dramas.

* 2. *Avantyāḥ + adhipateḥ = Avantyādhipateḥ*

smarāmy Avantyādhipateḥ sutāyāḥ.—Svapna. V. 5.

Here again we have a conscious effacement of the hiatus between *ā* and *a*. The editor tries to circumvent the assumption of a 'mistake' by explaining *Avantyādhipati* as a compound of *Avanti + ā + adhipati*, evidently an unsatisfactory explanation. Instances of such effacement are exceedingly common in the epics and the earlier texts. See Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 177b: Holtzmann⁴¹ cites the instances from the Mahābhārata and Böhtlingk from the Rāmāyaṇa⁴², which need not be reproduced here. This is the only instance in these dramas of the effacement of similar hiatus.

⁴⁰ For four books of the Rāmāyaṇa: *Berichte d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1887, p. 213.

⁴¹ See Holtzmann, *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, p. 4.

⁴² Böhtlingk, *op. cit.*

Use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada

3. *gamiṣye*

gamiṣye vibudhāvāsam.—Bāla. V. 19.

Metri causa the Ātm. form is used in order to save a syllable, though, as is well known, in classical Skt. the root *gam* is used exclusively with Parasm. terminations; of course in prose passages where metrical considerations do not interfere, the Parasm. is regularly used by our author. The Parasm. form (*gamiṣyasi*) occurs also in Madhyama. verse 47. In his list of Skt. roots Whitney marks *gamiṣyate* with E. An epic example is

Rām. 5. 56. 29: *gamiṣye yatra Vaidehī.*

4. *garjase*

kiṁ garjase bhujagato mama govṛṣendra.—Bāla. III. 14.

As in the preceding instance the Ātm. form is used metri causa; here in order to secure a long final. In classical Skt. the root *garj*, when used as root of the first class, takes exclusively Parasm. terminations. PW. quotes a number of instances of the use of the middle pres. part. from the epics, but not any of the middle pres. ind. Where the pres. part. is used, the middle prés. ind. could be used with equal justification, if the necessity arose. I therefore explain the solecism on the ground of epic usage.

5. *drakṣyate* (Active)

katham aganītapūrvam drakṣyate taṁ narendrah.—Pratijñā. I. 11.

As in the foregoing instance the Ātm. is used in order to secure a long final; in classical Skt. the future is formed exclusively with Parasm. terminations. Epic examples of the Ātm. future are

Rām. 1. 46. 13: *bhrātāraṁ drakṣyase tataḥ,*

Ibid. 2. 6. 23: *Rāmaṁ drakṣyāmahe vayam,*

Nala. 12. 93: *drakṣyase vigatajvaram.*

Other examples (cited in PW.) are: MBh. 3. 14728; 13. 964; Hariv. 10735; and Rām. 2. 83. 8; 3. 42. 49.

6. *prcchase*

strīgatām prcchase kathām.—Pañca. II. 48.

pratimām kiṁ na prcchase.—Pratimā. III. 8.

In classical Skt. the root *pracch* is exclusively Parasm.; the Ātm. termination is used here in order to have a long final. In

the first example the length is almost imperative for the sake of the compulsory diiambic close of the posterior pāda of the śloka; in the second it is preferred, notwithstanding the fact that the final syllable of the pāda is a syllaba anceps. The medium is used only for metrical reasons, as seen from Pañca. II. 6, which offers an example of the Parasm. *prcchati*. PW. quotes numerous instances of the use of the Ātm. from the epics, the Bhāgavata Pur., and Manu. The epic examples are

MBh. 1. 1451: karmasiddhim aprcchata,

Ibid. 3. 2583: Damayantīm aprcchata;

also MBh. 3. 12070; 13. 297.

7. *bhraśyate*

daivaprāmānyād bhraśyate vardhate vā.—Pratijñā. I. 3.

This is either the third pers. sing. of a root of the fourth class, or a passive form of the root. The classical usage knows only *bhraśyati* and *bhramśate* in the active sense. *bhramśate* could have been used without prejudice to the metre. As the form is not metrically fixed, it is difficult to say whether the author should be held responsible for it; apparently all three mss. of the drama agree in containing the same reading *bhraśyate*. There is abundant authority in the epics for the form *bhraśyate*, whether regarded as active or passive. The epic examples are

MBh. 3. 603: yair naro bhraśyate śriyaḥ,

Ibid. 3. 1048: bhraśyate śighram aiśvaryāt;

Rām. 3. 45. 12: ye tikṣṇam anuvartante bhraśyante saha tena te,

Ibid. 6. 75. 36: kiṁ cic cābhraśyata svarāḥ.

8. *ruhyate*

kāle kāle chidyate ruhyate ca.—Svapna. VI. 10.

Here *chidyate* is passive; but *ruhyate* ('thrives') should be active. The classical Skt. admits only *rohati*. Now the whole phrase *chidyate ruhyate ca* is parallel to *bhraśyate vardhate vā*, Pratijñā. I. 3. It seems to me therefore better to emend the text reading to *rohate*, for which PW. cites Bṛhatsamhitā 54. 95: rohate sasyam. But the pass. *ruhyate* is quoted with the mark E. against it in Whitney's list of Skt. roots and is therefore not absolutely inadmissible. Either form (*ruhyate* or *rohate*) is repugnant to classical usage; and *rohati* is unsuitable here for metrical reasons.

9. *śroṣyate*

katham apuruṣavākyaṃśroṣyate siddhavākyaḥ.—Pratijñā. I. 11.

Metri causa for *śroṣyati*. In classical Skt. the root *śru* is used exclusively with Parasm. terminations; but in the epics the Ātm. forms are remarkably common. The Parasm. form (*śroṣyasi*) occurs in Avi. II. 5. Epic examples of Ātm. are

Rām. (Gorr.) 5. 23, 18: Rāmasya dhanuṣaḥ śabdaṃ śroṣyase ghoranisvanam,

Ibid. 5. 69. 26: na cirāc chroṣyase dhvanim. (Note that the final of *śroṣyase* is prosodically long here.)

Other examples are: MBh. 9. 105, 107; 7. 2725; 13. 1119; 14. 424; Rām. (Gorr.) 2. 120. 22; 5. 23. 18.

Use of Parasmaipada for Ātmanepada

10. *āprecha* (Imp. 2nd pers. sing.)

āprecha putrakṛtakān hariṇān drumāṃś ca.—Pratimā. V. 11.

Metri causa for *āprechasva*, the only form possible in classical Skt. Even in the epics the only Parasm. form used is apparently the Imp. 2nd pers. sing. The epic example quoted in PW. is

MBh. 14. 403: āprecha Kuruśārdūla gamanaṃ Dvārakāṃ prati. Svapna. 16 *āprechāmi* occurs in a prose passage. It is to be noted that the sentence containing this word rests on the authority of one ms. only, and is not essential to the context; it may therefore be corrected or deleted, as deemed advisable.

11. *upalapsyati*

taṃ hatvā ka ihopalapsyati ciraṃ svair duṣkṛtair jīvitam.—Dūtagh. verse 8.

In classical Skt. the root *upa+labh* is never used with any but Ātm. terminations. The epics contain examples of Parasm. The Mahābhārata examples are

MBh. 7. 3070: na te buddhivyaabhīcāram upalapsyanti Pāṇḍavāḥ,

Ibid. 1. 1046: tathā yad upalapsyāmi.

12–14. *pariṣvaja*, *pariṣvajati*, *pariṣvajāmi*

(a) gādhaṃ pariṣvaja sakhe.—Avi. VI. 1.

(b) drṣṭir na tṛpyati pariṣvajatīva sāṅgam.—Avi. III. 17.

(c) putraṃ piteva ca pariṣvajati prahrṣṭaḥ.—Avi. IV. 8.

(d) pariṣvajāmi gādhaṃ tvām.—Bāla. II. 9.

Examples a, b and d are metrically conditioned; in example c the Parasm. appears to have been used on the analogy of the other forms. The present reading in example c is based on the authority of two mss. Compare example d with Madhyama. verse 22: pariṣvajasva gāḍhañ māṃ, where metre does not stand in the way of the Ātm. form. Only epic examples are available for the use of Parasm.

MBh. 4. 513: pariṣvajati Pāñcālī madhyamañ Pāṇḍunandanam,
Rām. 3. 38. 16: Sītā yañ ca hr̥ṣṭā pariṣvajet.

Change of Conjugation⁴³

15-16. *vījanti*; *vījantaḥ* (pres. part.)

snehāl lumpati pallavān na ca punar vījanti yasyām̐ bhayāt
vījanto malayānilā api karair aspr̥ṣṭabāladrūmā.—Abhi. III. 1.
Metri causa for classical *vījayanti* and *vījayantaḥ*, from *vīj-* to fan or to cool by fanning. Epic examples of the use of *vīj* as a root of the first or sixth class are

Hariv. 13092: vījanti bālavyajanaiḥ,

MBh. 7. 307: jalenātyarthaśītena vījantaḥ puṇyagandhinā.

Irregular Feminine Participle

17. *rudantī-*

svairāsano Drupadarājasutām̐ rudantīm.—Dūtav. verse 12.

The classical form is *rudatī*. But in the epics the form *rudantī* is particularly common, whenever metrical conditions call for it.

MBh. 2. 2249: tathā bruvantīm karuṇam̐ rudantīm;

Rām. 2. 40. 29: śuśruve cāgrataḥ strīṇām̐ rudantīṇām̐ mahāsvanaḥ,

Ibid. 2. 40. 44: tathā rudantīm Kausalyām̐.

Other examples are: MBh. 3. 2686; Rām. 2. 40. 29; 3. 51. 42; 5. 26. 42.

Irregular Absolutive

18. *gṛhya*

vyādhāmoṣmañ gṛhya cāpañ kareṇa.—Dūtagh. verse 20.

It is unthinkable that this form could be used by any poet of the classical period. In the epics, however, it is regularly substi-

⁴³ This may be regarded as the use of the simplex for the causative.

tuted for *grh̥tvā* whenever metre requires it. See Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 990a. Other irregular absolutives like this used in the epics are: *arcya*, *īkṣya*, *uṣya*, *tyajya*, *plāvya*, etc. Of these *grhya* is the commonest. Holtzmann cites thirteen examples from the Mahābhārata, adding that there are many more; Böhtlingk (op. cit.) mentions nearly twenty examples from the Rāmāyaṇa.

Simplex for the Causative

19. *sravati*

śaraiś channā mārgāḥ sravati dhanur ugrām śaranadīm.—Pañca. II. 22.

In epic Skt. the simplex is frequently used for the causative stem: Holtzmann (to Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1041) mentions *veysyāmi* (for *vedayīṣyāmi*), *veda* (for *vedaya*), *ramantī* (for *ramayantī*), *abhivādata* (for *abhivādayata*), *cudita* (for *codita*), etc. I have not been able to trace a specific use of *sravati* for *srāvayati*.

20. *vimoktukāmā-*

bhūyaḥ paravyasanam etya vimoktukāmā.—Avi. I. 6.

Metri causa for *vimocayitukāmā*. See the preceding. Specific use is not traceable elsewhere.

Irregular Compounds

21. *sarvarājñāḥ* (Acc. plu.)

utsādayiṣyann iva sarvarājñāḥ.—Dūtav. verse 9.

Used irregularly for *sarvarājñān*, though not conditioned metrically. The reading is based apparently on the authority of three mss. The epics contain quite a considerable number of similar formations. Thus, MBh. 4. 527 *Matsyarājñāḥ*; ibid. 1. 169 *Matsyarājñā*; ibid. 9. 2756 *Yakṣarājñā*; ibid. 14. 1997 *Dharmarājñā*.—Avi. p. 110 we have *Kāśirājñā* instead of the grammatically correct *Kāśirājāya*. This must be set down as the error of a copyist, for we have in the very same play the correct compounds *Sauvīrarājena*, and *Sauvīrarāja-Kāśirājau* (Avi. p. 11); and there is nothing, as far as I can see, that can be added in justification of the use of an incorrect form in a prose passage^{43a}.

^{43a} [Except that the language was, to this author, too much a living thing to be compressed in a grammarian's straight-jacket. F. E.]

22. *vyūḍhoras-*

vyūḍhorā vajramadhyo gajavṛṣabhagatir lambapīnāṁsabāhuḥ.
—Madhyama. verse 26.

Metri causa for *vyūḍhoraska-*, which is required according to Pāṇ. 5. 4. 151, and found used in Raghu. 1. 13 and Kumāra. 6. 51, as also in the MBh. and Rām. But the MBh. supplies itself a precedent for the use of the unaugmented stem *vyūḍhoras*, cf. MBh. 1. 2740, 4553.

23. *tulyadharmā-*

evaṁ lokas tulyadharmo vanānām.—Svapna. VI. 10.

All three mss. of the drama read *tulyadharmo*. According to Pāṇ. 5. 4. 124 *dharma* at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound becomes *dharman*, a rule which is strictly observed in classical Skt. But in epics *dharman* is used freely also in Tatpuruṣa compounds and, vice versa, *dharma* in Bahuvrīhi compounds. Holtzmann cites

MBh. 12. 483: rājan viditadharmo 'si.

—The emendation *tulyadharmā* suggested by the editor is uncalled for.

Irregular Syntactical Combination

24. Use of *yadi* with *ced*

iṣṭam ced ekacittānām yady agniḥ sādhaiṣyati.—Avi. IV. 7.

This pleonasm (of which I have not seen any instances in classical Skt.) is, I think, to be traced also to the epics, from which here are two instances:

Rām. 2. 48. 19: Kaikayyā yadi ced rājyam;

MBh. 1. 4203: yady asti ced dhanam sarvam.

This combination of *yadi* and *ced* recurs in a prose passage of another drama of this group (Pratijñā. p. 70). And though the reading of the text is based on the concordant readings of three mss., the combination seems harsh, and hardly appropriate in prose.

Anomalous Formations

We shall now proceed to consider certain anomalous formations for which there seems to be neither grammatical justification nor literary authority.

25. *pratyāyati*

na pratyāyati śokārtā.—Abhi. II. 24.

Gaṇapati Sāstrī explains it as *prati*+*ā*+*ayati* (from Rt. *ay* to *go*). To me it seems to be merely a confusion between the simplex *pratyeti* and the causative *pratyāyayati*; or rather a haplological contraction of *pratyāyayati* with the meaning of the simplex. A similar ungrammatical contraction appears to be the one to be discussed next.

26. *samāśvāsītum*

Laṅkāṃ abhyupayāmi bandhusahitaḥ Sitām samāśvāsītum.—Abhi. VI. 19.

This is a clear case of a poet's compromise between *samāśvasītum* and *samāśvāsītum*.

The irregularity to be discussed next appears to be as arbitrary as the last two.

27. Stem *yudh* as masc.

mahārṇavābhe yudhi nāśayāmi.—Svapna. V. 13.

As the adjective *mahārṇavābhe* in this pāda shows, the author treats the word *yudh* as a masculine noun. But it always appears as a feminine word in literature, and is quoted as such by lexicographers.

In addition to the above, Pandit Gaṇapati Sāstrī mentions three other metrical forms as irregular. They are indeed irregular in so far that the formations are ungrammatical. But they appear to have been accepted in the literary dialect as good Sanskrit. The Pandit objects to the Ātm. use of *ruṣyate* (Pañca. II. 45). The Parasm. occurs, as a matter of fact, in Pañca. I. 38 and II. 58, 67 in verse and in Madhyama. p. 18 in prose; moreover in Pañca. I. 38 the Parasm. form is not metrically necessary. In spite of all this the Ātm. form is not wrong. Whitney cites it with E+ in his list of Sanskrit roots, and according to Apte's dictionary (s. v. *ruṣ*) the form *ruṣyate* does occur, though 'rarely'. It is thus plain that it was a current form. The Ātm. of *abhikāṅkṣe* (Pratijñā. II. 4) is common in the epics; but even for the classical dialect, the dictionaries cite the root as *Ubhayapadin*. The imp. 2nd sing. *unnāmaya* (Pratimā. IV. 16 = VII. 7) is also included by the editor in his list of solecisms. But *nāmayati* is cited by Whitney with the mark U. S.+; while PW. quotes both *namayāti* and *nāmayati*, adding 'mit präpp. angeblich nur *nāmayati*'.

Index of verses that have been shown to contain solecisms.⁴⁴

Svapna. V. 5, 13; VI. 10
 Pratijñā. I. 3, 11
 Pañca. II. 22, 48
 Avi. I. 6; III. 17; IV. 7, 8; VI. 1
 Bāla. II. 9, 11; III. 14; V. 19
 Madhyama. v. 26
 Dūtav. vv. 9, 12
 Dūtagh. vv. 8, 20
 Abhi. II. 24; III. 1; VI. 19
 Pratimā. III. 8; V. 11

Of the twenty-seven solecisms dealt with above, three (nos. 25, 26 and 27) are anomalous and peculiar to these dramas; two (nos. 19 and 20) belong to a class not unrepresented in the epics; but the remaining twenty-two were shown to be specifically traceable to the epics themselves. Now of these twenty-two some may again be nothing more than instances of individual caprice; others may be the results of lapsus memoriæ, in other words, pure and simple blunders. But it would be, in my opinion, quite wrong to hold that they are all of a form purely arbitrary. And what is of moment is that for the majority of them it would be impossible to find authority in classical works. It seems to me beyond all doubt certain that the author derives his sanction for their use from a class of works different from the dramas of the classical epoch; they involve the deliberate exercise of a liberty which may justly be regarded as the prerogative of the rhapsodists.

Here follows a list of solecisms selected from the above and arranged in the order corresponding to the degree of certainty with which it can be said of them that they lie outside the range of the license enjoyed by classical dramatists: the effacement of hiatus in *putreti* and *Avantyaḍhipateḥ*; the absolutive *grhya*; the Ātmanepada of *gamiṣye*; the compound *sarvarājñah*; the Ātmanepada of *prcchase*; the Parasmaipada of *āprccha*, *pariṣvaja* (ti), and *pariṣvajāmi*; and the fem. part. *rudantīm*.

⁴⁴ It should be noted that the solecisms occur not only in the dramas which derive their plot from the epics and the Purāṇas, but also in the dramas of which the plot is drawn from other sources. No solecisms have been found in *Karṇa*., *Ūru*. and *Cāru*.

I am not oblivious of the fact that the classical rule allowed the use of *maṣa* for *māṣa*, provided the metrical norm was observed; but I am fully persuaded that no playwright of the classical age, who aspired not to pass for an ignoramus, would, to such a degree, indulge in a license which was little more than an unequivocal confession of incompetence. If, therefore, we attempted to find for our group of plays a place within the framework of the classical drama, we should first have to account for this apparent reaction from the tradition of the classical drama implied by the occurrence of the solecisms pointed out above.

SUMMARY

The foregoing investigation leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Sanskrit of the verses included in these dramas, which differs in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama, reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama, which culminates in the works of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. But our conclusions regarding the Prakrit of these dramas, which formed the subject of the first Study, converged to the same point. They revealed in an equally forcible manner a stage of development of the Middle Indian dialects older than that preserved in the classical drama. While the Prakrit betrays its affinities with the Prakrit of the fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas, the Sanskrit of the metrical portions of our plays is found to be linked with the language of the epics.

I will not venture to draw any definite chronological conclusions regarding the dramas from these divergences and affinities, nor attempt to account for them here. I shall content myself for the present with having stated the facts of the case.

Post-scriptum. It should have been made clear that the references to the Svapnavāsavadattā follow the pagination and the text of the *second* edition of the play, Trivandrum 1915.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS ON THE EARLY SUMERIAN RELIGION AND ITS EXPRESSION

Especially in the Nippurian Liturgies published by Prof. George A. Barton in
his *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, Vol. 1.

JOHN P. PETERS

UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH

1. IN THEIR GENERAL NATURE the tablets published in Barton's volume are liturgies, not historical documents, or foundation cylinders containing merely inscriptions of record. They are intended for liturgical use in some form. They contain historical elements, but these are incidental. Neither political history nor natural history, such as the account of creation and the like, are the primary purpose and intention of these documents. They may be intended for one single event, or for stated and regular use, but they are, all alike, liturgies.

2. In studying and interpreting these primitive rituals there are certain special features of Babylonian life which must be taken into account: (a) inundations of the rivers as the great source of fertility on which the land depends; but (b) these inundations may also produce great disaster, drowning people, flocks and herds, unless these have some place of refuge from the inundations or some protection against them. Hence the necessity of the raised mound or terrace for the town or village, dominated by the mountain house of the god, who thru these becomes their protector against the injury of the inundation, and at the same time partner with the inundating stream to secure to the inhabitants and their possessions safety, and to the land fertility. Hence the deity to whom they look for prosperity and safety is double, expressed on the one side in the rivers and that for which the rivers stand, the inundation and fertilization of the land, and on the other in the mountain house and that for which it stands, a protection of the people and their possessions against destruction by these floods. As civilization advanced both of these elements were extended, the rivers and their inundations being magnified in their extent and their benefit by a system of canalization, and the mountain house by the dykes and dams thru which canals, rivers and inundations were regulated and controlled.

(c) The mystery of sex and the propagation of life by procreation profoundly affected early thought in Babylonia. Procreation was in fact creation, and creation was thought of and expressed in terms of procreation. It was the physical act of sex intercourse between gods and goddesses by which all things were brought into being, or were annually or at stated intervals reproduced. Hence these ancient liturgies are full of sex, descriptions of and reference to the act of sex relationship between gods and goddesses or their representatives. Hence also the immense quantities of sexual emblems found at Nippur and elsewhere, connected with the ritual or worship of gods and goddesses. The mounds at Nippur were fairly strewn with phallic emblems, and these were discovered in large numbers in all strata of the excavation.¹

Generally speaking the god element was represented in the mountain-house; the goddess in the rivers and inundations. It was the proper union of these two as man and wife which produced prosperity and security, and toward the consummation of which early Sumerian ritual and liturgy were directed.

(d) Rain was of little relative value in Babylonia, because of the inundations; and in fact the rain, because of its torrential character, injuring the mud buildings and incommoding and distressing the occupants of those and of the still more primitive abodes of reeds and mats, was regarded rather as detrimental than helpful, the more particularly as the rainy season was the period of violent storms of wind, with terrifying thunder and lightning, and hail mixed with the rain. Hence the wind and rain

¹ Prof. Hilprecht, to whom was assigned this work, made a large collection of these emblems, exhibiting a regular series, commencing with the crudest representation of the male member, generally in clay, sometimes in stone, and developing into conventionalized spikes or cones, such as are found inscribed in such large numbers at Tello, but which were more rare and uninscribed at Nippur. Unfortunately, this large and valuable collection of phallic emblems, exhibiting their development from a crude realism to a highly conventionalized form, was destroyed thru the ignorance of the Turkish officials. Our Turkish Commissioner absolutely refused to list with the antiquities discovered this collection, and the similar collection of pottery sherds. We transported them, however, to Baghdad, and they were deposited in the Serai with our other collections, but when those collections reached Constantinople the boxes containing the phallic emblems and the potsherds were missing. As far as we could discover the boxes were opened in the Serai at Baghdad, the contents thrown away or destroyed, and the boxes appropriated by some official of that woodless country as valuable graft.

storms, with thunder and lightning accompanying them, appear in the earliest inscriptions as evils to be averted. They express the ill will of god or goddess, or of demons which are wreaking their spite on men. I attempted to bring this out in an article entitled, 'The Worship of Tammuz,' printed in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36 (1917).²

(e) Besides the injuries to flocks and herds and human beings wrought by the floods when uncontrolled, there is also a further injury in the shape of sickness. As the floods recede, malaria and fever develop. The autumn, after the fall of the water, is the time of fever and sickness thruout Babylonia. Hence some of the references to sickness which occur in these liturgies, and the petitions addressed to both god and goddess to avert it. These sicknesses are of course attributed to evil spirits, but those evil spirits are connected with the floods, hence part of the object of the rituals is to induce the gods and goddesses who bring and control floods to control their consequences, i. e. the evil spirits who produce disease.

(f) In the paper above referred to on the Tammuz cult I discussed somewhat also the relation of these floods and their retrogression before agriculture, and the nature and origin of the Tammuz cult. I endeavored to point out that a number of the liturgies which Langdon has brought together in his *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* are really liturgies connected with the vernal

² 'During the six months November-April rain is liable to fall, often in torrential abundance, and accompanied at times with violent gales, and with thunder and lightning. It is especially, however, the months of January and February in which the storms are most frequent, violent and destructive, constituting at times very calamities, the rain washing down sections of the adobe buildings, and beating thru the flimsy huts of reeds and mats, which latter are sometimes completely torn to pieces by the violent gales.'

'They are really more afraid of the fury of the elements than of the dangers of war, and are absolutely helpless and useless in the face of such a storm.'

'The cold storms of December, January and February are especially trying. For days the people are continually drenched, their huts are wet and dripping, even if they resist the storm; they can light no fires to cook by, and the whole aspect of human life of the region is one of utter misery.'

'It is these winter storms, with their attendant suffering, fear and destruction, which are the ground and motive of a number of old Sumerian penitential psalms and hymns to En-lil, the great god of the storm spirits, at Nippur; and some of these Nippurian psalms are, I fancy, liturgies of what we might call the vernal house cleaning, the repairing and setting in order of the mud built temples year by year after the winter storms were past.'

restoration of the temples and other buildings injured and destroyed by the winter rains and storms.³

2. In these early Sumerian liturgies sun, moon and heavenly bodies play practically no part. As I tried to point out in the above mentioned paper the Tammuz cult was originally associated with the rise and fall of the rivers. It was that which determined the month of Tammuz, which was coincident with the turn of the sun downward at the summer solstice. As the Sumerians began to observe and better understand the heavens, this knowledge was incorporated in the Tammuz myth, and affected the Tammuz cult. He became the child of Shamash. Similarly other cults were affected, until ultimately we have a highly developed moon and astral worship, the beginnings of which we find in the Sumerian period. The question arises whether this cult originated in Sumer, or whether it was brought in by the Semites of the west and north, whose religion had developed in a different milieu. I am inclined to think that the latter was the fact, namely that, having its origin among the Semites, it found the occasion of its adoption in Babylonia in the increased knowledge and observation, among the Sumerians, of the heavens, and their relation to the life of man. It belongs, therefore, to the secondary, not the primary stage of the Sumerian religion, beginning but not yet developed in these liturgies.

3. Originally, apparently, the Sumerians recognized two great deities, male and female, whose union procured prosperity and

³ 'Temples and houses are damaged or destroyed, not by some outside foe, as Langdon supposes, but, as his own translations show, by the rain, the thunder, the lightning and the hail, which work the havoc. It is En-lil, the lord of the storm demons, whose word and whose spirit (better wind) cause devastation thru the celestial torrents of the rainy season, washing down mud walls and bringing disaster on the temples and towns, or who releases the Anunnaki and other similar powers to work havoc in the storms, the hostile agencies mistaken by Langdon and others in some cases, I think, for the Elamites or other fleshly foes. So in Tablet 1 of the liturgy whose name, according to Langdon's translation, is "Like the spirit itself immutable," we find this vivid picture of the destruction wrought by En-lil's word—wind and thunder:—

The word which stilleth the heavens on high.

The word which causeth the earth beneath to shudder.

The word which bringeth woe to the Anunnaki.

His word is an onrushing storm, which none can oppose.

His word stills the heavens and causes the earth to retire.

Mother and daughter like a cane mat it rends asunder.'

security, as described above. These were in essence the same in each place, but assumed various names in different localities. Thus differentiated they came to be regarded as separate deities, and were adopted by one place from another, with a tendency to a specialization of function, making them in the end separate gods. This was true especially of the male element of deity, which seemed, somehow, to lend itself more readily to polytheism than the female, which latter presented itself much more as a unity, merely called by different names.

4. With the development of the city element and the necessity of the enlargement of mound and temple and other human works for the control and utilization of the inundations came the exaltation of the city ruler, the king, thru whom these works were executed and made to function, and hence his deification and his partial or complete assimilation with the male deity as the author and creator of those works.

5. There were also various spirits, largely if not altogether harmful, expressions of animism, which wrought evil in storms, sickness, etc., but which might be and were subjected or propitiated thru the great gods and goddesses and their power. Some of these were ultimately brought into connection or assimilated with the Semitic elemental or heavenly deities.

6. These are the conditions and the concepts of the older Sumerian religion, out of which was developed the Sumerian pantheon and later, thru the intermixture of Semitic gods and religious concepts, that more intricate and elaborate Babylonian religion which connects itself especially with Babylon. The liturgies from Nippur published by Barton, the so-called *Paradise Epic* of Langdon, and the Tammuz and other liturgies commented on by me in the paper in *JBL* above referred to, but more especially some of the first named Nippurian liturgies of Barton, represent the earliest stages of this religious development, which I have felt it necessary to summarize thus briefly as an introduction to, and the basis of my comments on the tablets themselves.

NOTES ON THE LITURGIES

NUMBER 1 is designated by Barton as a foundation cylinder of the nature of an incantation, written at a time when the temple at Nippur was repaired, probably because of a plague which had visited the city, apparently from Kesh. It is perhaps the oldest religious text in the world 'of equal if not greater antiquity than

the Pyramid Texts of Egypt.' In spite of its fragmentary condition it is possible to trace liturgical divisions in this tablet by such cries as that in (i) 5, (v) 14, (vii) 5: 'Unto Šir there is a cry,' which introduces or closes a motive. There are notes here and there of oblations, of water, as in (v) 10, of food as in (v) 12. There are references to the fires for sacrifice, as in (xi) 8, (xiii) 3, which latter, the 'fiery offering' to Enlil, is immediately preceded by the libation to Šir; there are also indications of a progress, that is that this liturgy was in the nature of a processional, somewhat in that regard like Psalm 118 of the Hebrew Psalter; and there is something of a dramatic or semi-dramatic nature in the way the incantation or enchantment which must be used to abate ill is put into the mouth of the deity, as in the first few lines of (v).

This particular liturgical tablet connects itself, as Barton has pointed out, with repairs and restorations of the temple. These were done by the king of Kesh, for which he proclaims, or it is proclaimed for him by the priest, that he receives the food of life from Enlil. So it begins (i) 1-4: 'He came forth, from Kesh he came, the food of life Enlil gives him.' This is followed by the cry to Šir, who is also, as Barton points out, the serpent and Ninkharsag, and indeed the mother goddess in all her different forms, to grant favor and to give life, or because she grants favor and gives life, whichever is the correct translation.

In column (ii) goddess and god are brought together. He is the protector, the man, the husband, the hero, Enlil; she is the Tigris and Euphrates. His praise is continued thru the greater part of column (iii). He is the lord of the sanctuary, whose province it is to make strong the new temple platform, to protect the habitation; but with him in verse 10 is combined the goddess, as the 'well of the mighty abyss.' This was, I should suppose, the ritual well which existed in Nippur, close to the great Ziggurat, in character and meaning similar to the huge bowl in the Hebrew temple, a symbol or expression of the life-giving power of the water from the abyss of waters beneath the earth, the representative of the female or life-producing element in the deity. Then (11 and 12) the garment⁴ and the goat for an offering are made ready, and in column (iv), verse 3, the musicians are directed to

⁴ Does this refer to the donning of other garments for the religious ceremony, or to a gift of garments for temple use?

break into music and singing, the verses following containing their song,⁵ which tells of Enlil as a 'bird' who protects city and temple, who gives the increase of crops, who controls the inundations, against whom the cloud demon is impotent. The complement of this is column (v), the song of Ninkharsag, sung or chanted in her name by the priest *Bada*, a sort of praise of the holy house, bright and pure with the fires of cedar wood. Following this come oblations and libations to *Šir*, the whole ending with the words: 'Unto *Šir* there is a cry,' closing perhaps a section in this processional ritual or liturgy. Column (vi) is an address to the king of Kesh, who is directed to raise his eye 'to the source of life,' if that be a correct translation, and then in verses 13 and 14 the kingly virtues are set forth in connection with him, very much as they are set forth in connection with the Messianic king in Psalm 72 of the Hebrew Psalter. It is the king's part to hold up and strengthen the weak; the king must give protection to the lowly, etc. This motive ends with a reference to the platform, which seems to have been a contribution from the king of Kesh to the temple, of which there is continual praise thruout the poem; following which comes one of the refrains: 'Unto *Šir* there is a cry.'

The fragmentary remainder of columns (vii) and (viii), with the beginning of col. (ix), seems to consist of praises connected with the king of Kesh's work in the restoration of the temple, the glorification of that work, and the setting it before the divinity as a means of procuring favor; or possibly some parts of this are Enlil's answering recognition of the virtue of that work. With verse 9 of column (ix) we are definitely and certainly dealing with the god and with his creation by 'cohabitation with *Šir*, the brilliant wife' of 'a strong one,' 'a full grown ibex, whom he commanded to guard life,' i. e. who is placed as the guardian or representative of life in the temple. This seems to indicate the use in Babylonian temples of something familiar in the Assyrian and Hittite temples, as also in the temple at Jerusalem, those colossal animals which were representatives of the divinity or guardians of the approach to the god.⁶ In column

⁵ Much as in Psalm 68, v. 11 in the Hebrew, where we have a rubric directing that the singers shall sing at that point in the Psalm.

⁶ So in the Hebrew story of Eden Cherubim 'keep the way of the tree of life.' No such figures have been found in Babylonian temples; but we have very old tablets from Nippur representing the ibex in connection with deity.

(x) we pass over from the male to the female deity: 'its lady is strong, its god is just,' in verses 8, 11 and 12, and her praise and her functions are continued in column (xi).

At the close of this column we have a very strong statement of just that relation of the mountain house and the river to one another of which I have spoken, the combination of which brings fortune: 'the great divine river to thy vegetation comes. For the overflow of the divine river the wall thou makest,' i. e. to prevent excessive overflow of that river. It is the combination of these two that produces the fertility which is celebrated in the well-preserved column (xii), which is a description or enumeration of the products of the fields. In (xiii) we come again to the combined offering, once the libation bowl to Šir, the water deity, twice the fiery offerings to Enlil at Nippur, and, inserted between these latter, 'to Ishtar from the land of Aleppo,' and 'to Enki in the deep,' for protection against sickness. It is on account of this that Barton has suggested that the tablet was written because of a plague. I think it is rather a reference to the customary sicknesses which follow the recession of the inundations, which the god is asked to avert (see introductory remarks).

If line 6 of column (xiii) is correctly translated ('Ishtar from the land of Khalab') we have the invocation of a goddess from another region, and in this case a Semitic goddess, representing just that sort of combination and relationship, the existence of which I have suggested in my preliminary remarks, which ultimately brought about a fusion of Semitic and Sumerian cults, and the development of the great Babylonian religion. I suspect that here and elsewhere in this liturgy where we find mention of Enki and Enzu, the gods of Ur and Eridu, these are used interchangeably with Enlil, the interchange evincing that they are one and the same god, under the different names of the chief gods of Nippur, Ur and Eridu. The consciousness of their identity was not yet lost, so that, when the god of one place is named, it is only a difference in name not a real difference in deity. Thus Enlil is called Enki, as god of the deep. But with the foreign goddess I fancy that the case is different.

Column (xiv) begins with Enlil's declaration that 'Removed is the sickness from the land,' and we have that assurance of the favor of the gods, and that the prayers of the suppliants are granted, which is common at the close of Sumerian psalms, and which meets us also over and over again in the Hebrew Psalter.

This is followed by an outburst of praise to the great god by whom it is wrought (xv), which is repeated again in the first part of (xvi). To say over again the same thing which has already been said before is a very common ritual practice the world over. So here we have over again the prayer that sickness may be banished, the assurance of blessing and protection, of the increase of cattle, etc.; then again the prayer against the sickness, promise of good beer, of abundant wool, of flour and garden produce, of the expulsion of sickness, of the driving away of demons from the fold. Back and forth this goes on to the end, with reference to 'the well of the abyss,' the inundations, the libations, offerings, etc. In column (xix) 12 comes the rubric, 'Let the meal offering be abundant,' etc. Apparently the liturgy ends, as do some of the Hebrew psalms, with the declaration of satisfaction and exultation on the part of the 'men,' the worshippers, sure that the prayer of the liturgy is answered.

I think it is plain that this is a liturgy for a processional march thru or about the temple to the altar and the well, with sacrifices, music and singing, in connection with the erection or repair of the great temple platform by a king of Kesh, as a result of which Enlil and Šir are expected to give blessings of fertility and avert the evils caused by the storm demons and the demons of sickness. But such liturgies, composed perhaps on some earlier model or out of some former occasional liturgy for a special occasion and a special temple, were likely to be used again. A stated feast grew out of a special celebration, or the form used for one special occasion was later adapted for other occasions. We have abundant evidence of this in liturgies which have come down to us, where alternatives are given for use at Nippur, Ur, Babylon and the like, and places left for insertion of the names of different gods. It was the possibility or the actuality of re-use or adaptation which led to such careful storing of liturgies like this in the temple archives, and their recopying thru at least three millennia, down almost to the commencement of our era.

NUMBER 2 is difficult and enigmatical, as Barton says. He suggests that it is a liturgy for the inspection of the victim from which the oracle is given for a certain 'Allu-Kal, who wished to rebuild the temple.' So it commences 'The great . . . is cut open, the oracle comes forth'; and later we read: 'May there stand the dwellings of cedar'; and again: 'His god shall fasten the foundation firmly; with cedar he shall build. Strong

are the houses; the dwelling is of aromatic wood, the great dwelling of Enlil.' It is so fragmentary that one can scarcely restore the ritual acts from what remains, but it seems apparent from the above that it was a formula or a liturgy in connection with the erection of a temple.

NUMBER 3. A colophon says that this is the first tablet of a series 'of my great warrior,' and Barton points out that the great warrior thus deified was, from the context, Dungi, king of Ur. The object of this liturgy is indicated, I think, in the very last verses, (vi) lines 36 and 37. Line 36 is of the nature of a rubric directing the pouring of the libation, accompanying which is the cry for blessing for the city: 'Bless it, for the city a blessing.' It is apparently a liturgy to be used at stated sacrificial festivals for or to the divine king, as on his birthday or the anniversary of his accession. He was worshipped, as would appear from (ii) lines 7-14, as the representative of the immediate relation to the city of both the male and female elements in the deity. He is Enlil on earth, line 8, but also he is Ninlil (14); he is the great bull, Enlil's representative (9), and he is the holy *dun*-animal, Ninlil's representative (13); he is the bull of life (ii. 4) and he is the great serpent. In general this liturgy is the glorification of the divine king, Dungi, but it chants his praises more particularly as the warrior and the huntsman. He is also, however, the guardian of the city, it is he who brings justice (ii) 19, (v) 19, and favors the working man (ii) 18, which is somewhat similar to (vi) 13, 14 of Tablet 1. The description of the qualities of the king in this tablet as in that reminds one somewhat of the Hebrew Psalm 72, while the tendency to deification suggests Psalms 2 and 110 of the Hebrew collection.⁷ The titles 'Great bull of the dwelling' (ii. 9), and 'great holy *dun*-animal' (13) suggest colossal guardian animals before the temple, representing the presence of the divinity. It is interesting to observe that the king is not only a bull, a *dun*-animal, a lion, an ox, a shepherd and a steward,

⁷ In answer to my question, is the translation *chariot* correct (ii 6)? What sort of a chariot? This is several hundred years before the supposed introduction of the horse, and the war chariot with the horse. Is this simply a wagon for driving or carrying burdens? By what was it drawn? By bulls or oxen? Dr. Barton says: 'that chariots or wagons (the ideogram is that later used for chariot) are older than Dungi is shown by Gudea. Cyl. A. VI 17 describes a chariot drawn by an ass; cf. col. vii, 19 ff. The temple Enimu has a chariot-house attached (Col. XXVIII, 16).'

etc., but also 'a growing wall,' and 'a grateful shade,' figures used likewise in Hebrew poetry. He is also represented in his relation to Ninlil as the flood, a refreshing, life-giving stream (iv) 25. In (ii) 26 he is the child of the goddess, the most natural sort of identification with the divinity. In (vi) 7, 8, he stands and prays by 'the beam.' Is this a wooden pole like the Asherah, which represented the female attribute of deity in Israelite temples?

In verse 9 and 10 he prays by 'the wall,' and on this I think I can throw some light from personal experience. At the northern corner, or more accurately at the northwest side of the northern corner of the temple enclosure at Nippur was a very striking wall built of baked brick with cement. In front of this all along we found quantities of phallic emblems. It seemed to be a prayer wall. The ritual seems to have been to touch the phallic emblem to the wall in supplication or petition, letting it fall at the foot of the wall, if it did not stick in.

It will be remembered that Loftus found at Erech a wall built entirely of inscribed cones laid one upon another. Now these cones, as our collections of phallic emblems showed, were conventionalized forms of the phallus. That wall built of these emblems was, I think, in its nature or its use similar to the wall of the temple at Nippur just described, the praying wall for this particular ritual. I found a similar wall, a little different in construction, but which suggests a combination of the two, at Tello. When I first visited Tello, in 1889, de Sarzec, who was extremely jealous and suspicious of visitors to his excavations, affected to be ill, and the excavations were discontinued during the day or two of my stay. He did not wish me to see his work, and would not even show me the objects excavated. He was very courteous in other ways. He gave me a very good lunch, and housed me very nicely, but his jealousy prevented me from really seeing his work and his methods. It chanced, however, that my commissioner, who was with me, had formerly been with de Sarzec, and under his escort I went around a small portion of the work. At that time I noted a wall which seemed to have no rhyme or reason, connecting with nothing, in which were embedded some of the inscribed cones. The following year I again visited Tello. The excavations had ceased. De Sarzec had returned to France, and I understood that the excavations had been definitely given up. Accordingly, I felt myself at liberty to make such researches as I wished. I went to the wall which I

had seen the year before, and which I suspected was in nature akin to the wall of cones found by Loftus in Erech, and removed two or three of the large mud bricks. I took out from that very small section of the wall about a bushel of inscribed cones, which had been built into or thrust into the wall. That I suppose was a prayer wall.

Now note that praying by 'the beam' and praying by 'the wall' are placed together. If 'the beam' is, as I have suggested, the pole or the *asherah*, which represents the female element; then praying by the wall would seem to represent the male side. In one case the female and in the other case the male emblem of sex is used.

In (vi) 12 and following lines the reference to the roaring lion, and the lion hunt:

Let the roaring lion come,
He shall not depart:
Let his plan be frustrated!
On the mountain his whelps I verily will seize;
His grown ones with a snare I will verily catch;
As lord I will catch them;
As lord I will hold them!

reminds me of a tablet found at Nippur, of late date, but interesting as showing the important part which the lion played in Babylonian life, namely an *ex voto* for deliverance or success in a lion hunt, representing a man killing or attacking a rampant lion with a dagger or short sword.

NUMBER 4, which Dr. Barton calls 'A myth of Enlil and Ninlil,' was, I think, a liturgy to be used to invoke the flood, particularly to be used, therefore, at the time when the flood ought to come, in order to secure its coming. Sometimes the flood comes a little earlier, sometimes a little later. Whenever there is delay in the coming of the flood, there is naturally very great anxiety. Religiously that is the time for special supplication to the deity to bring the flood. The method of doing this is of the nature of sympathetic magic, telling the story of the coming of the flood, etc. This is one of the most vivid and picturesque of all the tablets, perhaps the most so. It brings out in the strongest way the religious ideas which I have suggested, what the relation is between mountain and dyke, the male divinity on the one hand, and the winding, twisting, serpent-like river, the great inundation, the female deity on the other. Watching from the mountain

house⁸ for the coming of the river is the watching of the god himself, i. e. of the mountain house which represents the god, and the delight and joy of the watcher is the joy of the god himself. There is in this liturgy so vivid a picture of this watching that it made me feel as though I were back on top of the old mountain house, looking out over the plain, watching for the coming of the inundations, seeing the serpent-like, beautiful stream approaching and the glimmering light reflected from its surface, falling in love with it, as it were filled with a passion for it. It was so vivid that I can realize and act it out and feel it in myself; how she entices him, how he takes her as his wife and she yields to him.

- (i) 15. 'The holy river, the woman Idazagga, did not flow.
 Ninlil stood on the bank of the canal Nunbiir;
 With holy eyes the lord of . . . eyes looked upon her;
 The great mountain, father Mulil, of holy eyes, with
 his eyes looked upon her;
 Her shepherd, he who determines fate of the holy
 eyes, with his eyes looked upon her;
 The exalted father rising, ran; he seized her; he
 kissed her;
 The heart of the lady exulted; her heart was cap-
 tivated, she wished it; she gave herself to him;
 He received her; he cohabited with her;
 He caused it to rain.

Then, the same attitude which is depicted in the Hebrew story, historically in the case of Amnon and Tamar, allegorically in the third chapter of Genesis; to the man the relation is one that somehow has in it a sense of sin, of something wrong, of something that weakens or injures; and now that it is accomplished, that she is his, that 'the holy river . . . flowed' (i. 23) he repulses and upbraids her:

- To his wife in anger he said: 'Did I not yield to thee?'
 To Ninlil in anger he said: 'Did I not yield to thee?'
 'did I not embrace thee? Did I not know thee?
 . . . I kissed thee; I knew thee;
 . . . thou didst seize me; I submitted;
 . . . thou didst lie down; thou didst gain the mastery;
 . . . thou wast enticing; thou wast mighty.'

⁸ This term 'mountain house', applied to the old Sumerian temple, is very familiar to the Hebrew student from its similar application in the Hebrew scriptures. Cf. for example, Jer. 26, 18.

To the woman, as represented in (ii), however, it is entirely different. To her it is the completion of her being, joy and the production of offspring. She speaks to Enlil in his wrath, she grasps his hand:

In a dwelling with offspring thou shalt lie down.

To her husband she spoke; to his anger she gave a kiss;

Resting her head on her husband she kissed him.

Standing brilliant by Enlil, her husband, her heart rejoiced.

The liturgies in (ii) 11 and following seem to represent some procession, and some acts of some description, the opening of the gates, as in Psalm 24 of the Hebrew Psalter, and an answering back and forth. So:

Enlil, the hero came;

Enlil, the hero entered;

and with Enlil marched the 50 great gods, and the seven gods of fate. They cast out the evil things from the city; Ninlil came and they stood before the temple and Enlil called:

O man of the great gate! man of the lock!

Man of the strong word; man of the lock!

Thy lady, Ninlil is here, etc.

There is at different points the cry of rejoicing, indicating for what purpose the liturgy is used, as in (ii) 23 'Thy lady, Ninlil,' the coming of the river. Enlil comes into his temple with great power and might and high praise, and Ninlil comes with him (as (iii) 36, 37, and again (iv) 24), giving grass to the flock and clothing the weak, while Enlil, the mighty hero, flashes his weapon and overthrows all foes. The object of the whole is to bring about the union of Enlil and Ninlil, to bring the fertilizing flood to be the wife of the great god Enlil, that so flocks and herds, fields and grain may have blessing. All ends with a burst of praise, as in some of the Hebrew psalms: 'Enlil is lord, Enlil is king'; and the last two verses are 'high praise to mother Ninlil, to father Enlil, praise.'

NUMBER 5. This fragment Barton suggests belongs to an incantation ritual, to avert destructive storms; to which I have nothing to add.

NUMBER 6. With regard to No. 6, however, which Barton calls 'A Prayer for the City of Ur,' I would ask whether it is not in nature precisely the same as 5, and would refer here to my article on the Tammuz liturgies above referred to, where I tried to point out that some of the liturgies published by Langdon, which he

supposed referred to Elamite destructions of Nippur and the like, plainly referred to injury done by storm, and were liturgies for what I called the vernal house cleaning, the vernal restoration of the temples after the destructive winter storms. Naturally in rituals the destruction done is exaggerated, and so it must not be taken literally here as to actual amount. If this suggestion is correct, then Nos. 5 and 6 are twins, and their purpose is practically the same; or perhaps the first is an incantation to avert the storms, the second a litany or liturgy of restoration after the damage done. A few verses will illustrate this, I think:

Joy from the fold is snatched; the storm the cow cuts off.
The thicket of reeds he overthrows.

Joy is borne away by the whirlwind, by the wind no tall
grass is left.

Ekharra utters a curse, and

Its land . . . the whirlwind extends over it.

So they cry to 'my lady,' acknowledge her might, beg forgiveness for the sins of the city, offer Ishtar cakes to Enlil, tell him of the disaster and beg him to intervene, for his 'temples are destroyed like a jar that is smashed, thy city, the second which thou foundedst, is struck down; it cries out. Thy house weeps; O speak, lift it up.'

Then Ninlil becomes the intercessor; as protectress of the city her tears flow; she cries before him, begging respite for the city whose temple has been shattered, whose beloved priests can no longer approach him. Unfortunately the close of this liturgy is wanting. The Ishtar cakes in (ii) 31, which appear again in the following tablet, line 14, naturally remind one of the women who made the cakes for the queen of the heavens in Jeremiah 44. 19, but here they appear, altho called Ishtar cakes, to be offered to Enlil, not to his spouse.

NUMBER 7, entitled by Barton 'A Hymn to Ibisin,' is in its nature and use similar to No. 3, to be used on the birthday or accession to the throne, or at some such stated time, of the king of Ur, in this case Ibisin, who is regarded as divine. It celebrates the good work that he has done, his power, etc. He has built the house of Enlil; he has caused proper sacrifices to be offered; he celebrates the feasts of the gods; he has done everything to make them comfortable and happy, and hence to win their favor for the people; he protects the temple and so thru his benevolent power joy comes to his land. And the pity of it is, as Barton

points out, that he was an inglorious king, who did nothing worth while.

NUMBER 8 is designated by Barton as 'A New Creation Myth,' and I think correctly; but this creation myth is liturgical also, in the same sense as 104 in the Hebrew Psalter, or the psalms preceding and succeeding that. Such psalms sing of the glory of God in the universe, in creation and the like, or in the history of His people, thus magnifying God that so His favor may be won for the suppliants, who make their oblations and offer their sacrifices unto Him. Such compositions are extremely interesting as setting forth the ideas of the people using them with regard to creation and cosmogony, or with regard to the administration by God of the world. Here we have a creation myth which is characteristically Babylonian. That is, I mean to say, to appreciate it, one must see things from the standpoint of the Babylonian conditions of life, climate, rivers and all. First we have the 'mountain of heaven and earth,' and the assembly of the great gods looking down from heaven and observing what happens. There is nothing on earth, just as in the second chapter of Genesis there was at first nothing on the earth, no tree had been born, no grass had sprung up, land and water were not separated. There were no temple terraces, no sheep, no cattle, no crops, no wells, no canals, the very names of the gods and the demi-gods and the demons thru whom these things exist and who exist in connection with them were not known. There was no grain of any sort, no possessions, no dwellings. Then comes procreation, with frank mention of the sexual organs. Thru the act of union of god and goddess mankind comes into the world, but naked and homeless, without houses, without clothing. Then they begin with rushes and reed ropes to make dwellings and form families or tribes; then to water the ground, to get gardens and grow greens. On the reverse we are told of further developments, in no very evident systematic order, to be sure; flocks enclosed in folds, for protection against the storms, a more developed agriculture, civic development, with law given from the gods, increase of wealth, bringing danger of attack, and hence houses and cities of brick; and at the end, what we should expect earlier, man and his helpmeet, as in the Hebrew story. While I have called this a liturgy, and presume that it was sung as such in temple services, there are in it no liturgical and ritual notes such as exist in all the other tablets considered. It is purely a hymn.

NUMBER 9 tells somewhat dramatically the tale of the rise to power as king of Isin of Ishbiurra of Mair, the Sumerian patriot, summoned by Father Enlil to break the bonds of the oppressed, like Moses. Barton calls it 'An Oracle for Ishbiurra, founder of the dynasty of Isin.' I think it is a *Te Deum* or hymn of triumph for Ishbiurra's victories, something like Exodus 15, or 2 Sam. 22, if I may again compare with Hebrew Psalms and liturgies.

NUMBER 10 Dr. Barton calls 'An excerpt from an exorcism.' What is here published, and which Dr. Barton notes is part of a larger text, consists of two fairly equal stanzas, the first closing with a statement that Enlil's priests are making Ishtar cakes, or a direction to them to make Ishtar cakes for his sanctuary; and the second with the bidding to make Ishtar cakes for his temple, Emakh. The first stanza, preceding the clause about the Ishtar cakes, is a glorification of Enlil, as prince who terrifies the land with darkness, and rejoices it with light, who give abundance, who inhabits the mountain, a protector and creator. The second stanza is an appeal to him dwelling in the mountain, the just shepherd, to speak the word of command which brings blessing. I fancy that this is the liturgy for the ritual act of making the Ishtar cakes (lines 12 and 22), the incantation to be sung during the process. If that be so, then we have here also some intimation of the use and purpose of Ishtar cakes, to please, propitiate and strengthen Enlil, that he may speak the word of life.

NUMBER 11 is a fragment of the text misnamed by Dr. Langdon 'Liturgy to Nintud on the Creation of Man and Woman,' which needs for its understanding the remaining portions.

In these notes I have followed Dr. Barton's translations which, considering the difficulties of the language and the fragmentary character of the texts, he would be the first, I fancy, to designate as tentative. I have ventured to comment on them at all only because as I read and studied his translations and his notes I have felt that out of my personal experience in the country of these Liturgies I was able to understand and appreciate some points which the text scholar might overlook.

As elucidating further the liturgical use of these texts I desire to call attention also to the text published by Langdon under the title *The Sumerian Paradise of the Gods*, and recently republished by Mercer in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*. This was a liturgy to be used in connection with a feast either of fertilization, of the coming of the fertilizing floods, or possibly of

harvest or sowing, I am inclined to think the former. As this liturgy itself indicates, bearing out the account which has come down thru Herodotus, and our discoveries of abundant use of sexual emblems at Nippur and elsewhere, and especially of the thrusting of a phallus into a wall, the ritual for procuring the fertilization of the crops was connected with sexual license on the part of the worshippers. This is a 'sympathetic' ritual act, participating in and thus promoting the union of god and goddess by which fertilization is produced. Generation plays a mighty part in such early religious documents, as in early ritual, the perpetual miracle and mystery of the origin of life. Enlil, the great god of Nippur, looks down from his mountain house on the beautiful serpent, the winding river, lying before him, and is enticed, and she becomes his mate. This beautiful goddess, whose floods give birth to trees and grain and flocks and all that man needs, brings also destruction with her storms and floods, and sickness, as the aftermath of her inundations. It is the rule and dominance of the river by the Lord of the mountain house, with his temples and cities and terraces and dikes, which brings to men the blessing of wealth, and worship and ritual must be developed for maintaining and controlling the one and the other. In these texts one gets glimpses of the very foundation conceptions of the religion of Babylonia, speculations on the development of its civilization, and occasional allusions to events of its history.

OBVERSE

1. 2. The salutation to the god and goddess in their holy shrine, the mountain of Dilmun; a sort of 'oyez, oyez.'

3-12. The glorification of the holy sanctuary in which Enki cohabits with his mate. Does this use of 'mountain of Dilmun' imply a legend which goes back of Nippur, ascribing the origin of its shrine and its cult to an older derivation from Dilmun?

13-30. The recital of conditions before the love and copulation of god and goddess; before the god of the mountain house, of cities and terraces and dikes, and the goddess of the river, and its floods made benevolent by canals, were brought together. Nature could not function aright, all was perverted.

31-II. 6. As in the Bible story of the garden of Eden it is the woman who with the serpent entices man to the sexual act which shall make him the producer of life, like to the gods, living on forever, so in this recital it is the female part, the goddess, who

entices the god. A canal there must be, the river must be brought, by the taming of which under him the water of life may be given to the land.

7-19. The recital ends in a burst of prayer and praise for the coming of the water, closing with the assurance of fulfilment of the petition in the usual ritual manner.

20-45. Then comes the impregnation of the goddess and the birth of *Tagtug*. This is not three impregnations and three births, but one, sung three times over in liturgical fashion with variations, to give emphasis and solemnity. Thru it one sees also the kind of ritual acts, symbolical and actual, which were part of the service of this festival.

REVERSE

13-48. This brings the life-giving power of the water, or the product of the water, Ninkur's sons, *Tagtug*, who in some symbolic fashion seems to be brought into the temple and enthroned there, displacing Enki in a sort of feast of misrule. Then Enki comes as a husbandman, a gardener, with similar symbolism, and is admitted thus into his own temple, where he proceeds to honor *Tagtug* and place him on the great throne in the chief sanctuary.

Then follows a recitative, telling of:

II. 7-15, the planting of the fruits, born of the mating of god and goddess, and, 16-36, the blessing, naming and designation of all the fruits sprung from their union.

37-III. 23. Then comes the purposeful and dramatic clash of disharmony, as a foil the better by contrast to bring out the desired effect. *Ninharsag*, wrathful, demands her place and reward and honor in the sanctuary, that she who has born *Tagtug* be received into the shrine and honored there, which is done and she 'sat down in majesty.'

24-42. Then follows a recitative describing the many children born of the happy union of god and goddess, who have power to heal all ills of man; closing with a hymn of praise, 43-50, to all these divine generations, to which is added 51, in behalf of the scribes who write the sacred texts, the god of scribes, *Nidaba*.

NOTE ON DR. PETERS' NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

ON THE EARLY SUMERIAN RELIGION AND ITS EXPRESSION

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THE TEXTS PUBLISHED in my *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions* are most of them extremely difficult, especially in their present fragmentary condition. I have read Dr. Peters' comments on them with much interest and am grateful to him for his attempt to elucidate their meaning from the knowledge gained by his experience in Babylonia. His observations in most instances commend themselves. It is a question whether he has not at times over-worked the liturgical idea. While I have that feeling in reading his notes, I am not prepared to say that he has.

The object of the present note is to discuss Dr. Peters' suggestion that text No. 1 is a hymn or liturgy in part in praise of a king of Kesh, who had rebuilt the temple at Nippur. This possibility, though it occurred to me when editing the text, was not seriously entertained, because so little is known historically of Kesh, that such a consideration seemed to land us in an historical mist. The suggestion is, however, worthy of more serious consideration than was then given it. If it should turn out to point to an historical fact, it might open a new vista in Babylonian history.

The ideogram employed in our text for Kesh is Brünnow, No. 10859 (= *CT* 11.49, 32 ab). The question is, does this ideogram designate a city that was later designated by another ideogram, or does it refer to a city never designated by another ideogram? If the latter alternative is true, then Kesh disappeared at the dawn of written history and we know practically nothing about it. If the former is true, then it is possible that something of its later history is known, or at least ascertainable. Clay (*Empire of the Amorites*, p. 104) identifies Kesh with Opis. He does this on the authority of Thureau-Dangin, who in *SAK*, pp. 20, 21, read the ideogram U $\overline{\text{H}}$ U-Kesh. Later in his work, however, (p. 225 note d) Thureau-Dangin recognized U $\overline{\text{H}}$ U as referring to Opis. Clay's identification is accordingly erroneous. Kesh is designated by quite a different ideogram. If Kesh were the same as Opis,

and this foundation cylinder celebrated the repair of the temple of Enlil by a king of Opis, it might record an historical incident in the work of one of those kings of Opis whose names are recorded on the dynastic tablet discovered some years ago by Scheil. In that case the cylinder would be older by one or two hundred years than the date assigned it in my book. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence known to me for the identification of Kesh with Opis.

A stronger argument for the identification of Kesh with Kish could be made. The ideogram for Kesh (*Ki-e-ēš*, Brünnow, 10859) is also transliterated Kish (*Ki-i-īš*, Brünnow, 10860).¹ The dynasty to which Naram-Sin and Shargalisharri belonged was a dynasty of Kish and Agade, and if Kesh were an archaic designation of Kish, the city might so be referred to in a poetical composition such as our cylinder contains. The identification of Kesh with Kish seems to be accepted by Thureau-Dangin (*SAK* 225 note d), and by Harper, who translated the ideogram by the name Kish (*Code of Hammurabi*, p. 5). In the code, however, the god of Kish is *Za-má-má* (read by Clay, *Za-bà-bà*), while the god of Kesh is *Ma-ma*. As the syllables *má* and *ma* are represented in the two names by different cuneiform signs, and Kesh and Kish are designated by different ideograms, it seems precarious to assume that the two cities were the same.

Kesh was apparently situated somewhere near Kish and Opis (Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*). There is no evidence known to me of a king or dynasty of Kesh that conquered Babylonia. Nevertheless Dr. Peters' idea that the cylinder celebrates the work of a king who rebuilt the temple commends itself as probable. It is not necessary to assume that this monarch was a king of Kesh; if he proceeded to Nippur from Kesh, where he had made some conquest, or repaired some temple, the conditions of our text would be fulfilled.

While, therefore, I am favorably inclined to Dr. Peters' interpretation of the text, I am inclined, while awaiting fuller information as to the locality and identity of Kesh, tentatively to hold as before that in all probability the cylinder is from the time of Naram-Sin.

¹ The city of Kish is usually denoted by a different ideogram (Brünnow, No. 8904 and Meissner, No. 6688). In the one passage known to me in which this ideogram is syllabically defined (Reisner's *Hymnen*, 57. 13, 14) the name is spelled *Ki-ši*, not *Ki-i-īš*.

SOME LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE ABSENCE OF TRAGEDY IN THE CLASSICAL SANSKRIT DRAMA

VIRGINIA SAUNDERS

NEW YORK CITY

EVERYONE who is acquainted with Sanskrit dramatic literature is aware that one of the most striking characteristics of the so-called classical drama is the absence of a tragic ending. The discovery of the manuscripts of the thirteen plays attributed to Bhāsa proves that this was not true of the older dramas, as some of them are real tragedies. But this fact only makes more puzzling and more interesting the problem of the consistency with which the later dramatists avoided the tragic ending.

In a number of the later plays there are many distressing occurrences during the progress of the action, but there is never any tragedy in the sense of calamity which remains at the close of the last act. There are near approaches to this but the tragic outcome is always prevented by the timely assistance of a friend or the intervention of the gods.

As Dr. Lindenau has pointed out in his *Bhāsa-Studien*,¹ there must have been known to Bhāsa a form of the Nāṭya-Śāstra older than the recension we have. In this older form the strict rules concerning the happy ending were probably lacking. In the Bhārata known to us, however, and in other dramaturgical works, the rules on this point of avoiding an unhappy ending are very definite and they were very strictly followed by the classical dramatists.

The text-books of dramaturgy, as we have them, in giving the different conclusions which a play might have, seem to make no provision for anything opposed to the ultimate happiness of the hero and heroine,² and it is distinctly stated that the death of the hero or principal person should not occur anywhere in the play.³

¹ *Bhāsa-studien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des altindischen Dramas*, von Dr. Max Lindenau, Leipzig 1918, p. 29.

² See G. C. O. Haas, *Daśarūpa*, tr. and text (1912), pp. 92 and 145; Lévi, *Le théâtre indien* (1890), p. 86.

³ *DR*, p. 93.

Concerning one type of play⁴ it is stated that the death of a great person must not be presented even though it took place in the legend from which the plot is derived.⁵ Not only must the hero and the heroine suffer no calamity at the end of the play but they must not even be sorrowful.

There were a number of violations of the rules concerning the things considered indecorous to present before the eyes of the audience,⁶ but usually they took place off-stage. Even the death of the hero and heroine occurs but there is always a quick restoration and all ends happily.⁷

I have said that the dramatists of the later plays adhered strictly to the rules regarding the happy ending. I recognize the fact that the rules, as we know them, may have been made after the plays were written, but even if this were so there must have been a strong tradition which had become firmly established, otherwise there would never have been the remarkable consistency we find in the technique of the plays.

Whether written or unwritten there seems no doubt that a deep veneration for these rules is the cause of lack of tragedy in the later Sanskrit drama.

There is no reason, I believe, to think that some of the writers of these plays could not have written real tragedies if they had so wished. There is an abundance of evidence to show that these playwrights were keen psychologists, and they were certainly well versed in the working out of cause and effect. With these qualifications and the ability, so amply proved in numerous passages, to portray deep and noble emotions, we are justified in concluding that the failure to write tragedy was not due to the inability of the writers.

In spite of the fine qualities of many of the Sanskrit plays we are almost sure, in reading those which are essentially potential tragedies, to find ourselves wishing they had continued so to the end. The effect upon us is that of the modern melodrama—the heart may be satisfied but the artistic sense suffers a shock.

It is the purpose of this paper to consider how a few of these

⁴ *Īhāmṛga*.

⁵ *DR*, p. 105; Lévi, p. 145.

⁶ For examples see *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, Act 3, and *Viddhaśālābhāṇjikā*, Acts 3 and 4, Gray tr., *JAOS* vol. 27.

⁷ See *Caṇḍa-Kauśika*, *Nāgānanda*, and *Mṛcchakaṭikā*.

plays could be changed into tragedies without altering the psychology of the characters, in fact changing nothing but the ending, and perhaps making a slight readjustment of scenes.

Let us take, for example, the *Vikramorvaṣī* of Kālidāsa. In order to obtain the invariable happy conclusion the author has greatly changed the original story of *Urvaṣī* and King *Purūravas*, which allowed them to remain together so long as the King did not behold the son to be borne to him by *Urvaṣī*. By removing the inevitable tragedy of such a love Kālidāsa has weakened his drama from the artistic standpoint. Although he had a fine tragic plot all ready for his poetic touch, in order to avoid the tragedy, he lowered his heroine from her divine estate and even caused the great divinity, *Indra*, to break his word.

Practically the only change of any importance needed to make a tragedy of the *Vikramorvaṣī* would be in the last scene. We can easily imagine the fine scene, between *Urvaṣī* and *Purūravas*, that Kālidāsa might have written, in which the king is in a tragic conflict of emotion between his joy in beholding, for the first time, his son and heir, and his agony of sorrow at the loss of *Urvaṣī* resulting from the sight of this same child.

A further example is the *Uttara-Rāma-Carita* of *Bhavabhūti*. Out of the material of this play could have been made a great tragedy. If *Rāma*'s moral conflict between his kingly duties and his love for his wife had been kept the central theme, and the whole play had thus been based upon it; if the banishment of *Sītā*, after much inward struggle and spiritual suffering, had come toward the end of the play, we might have had a tragedy worthy even of Shakespeare. This would have been the more assured through *Bhavabhūti*'s power of description, his tenderness and beauty of thought, and his inherent sense for the dramatic.

The *Nāgānanda* of *Harṣa* could quickly be transformed into a tragedy by changing some of the lighter scenes slightly and eliminating the intervention of the gods at the end. If *Jimūtavāhana* were not restored to life the play would be not only more tragic but more artistic. A fine contrast could have been made between the hero's love for his bride and his devotion to what he felt to be his compelling duty. The hero has sacrificed his life willingly and we feel that, according to all the rules of art, he should not come to life again.

Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* has often been called the *Romeo* and *Juliet* of the Sanskrit drama. To any one who is not familiar

with the subject this comparison with Shakespeare's play would naturally imply that *Mālatīmādhava* is a tragedy. There is a similarity, indeed, between the two dramas in many points, and there are several near approaches to tragedy in this Sanskrit play, but all ends well. This play is very dramatic and the elements of tragedy are strong. To develop these but few changes would need to be made. The father of *Mālatī* should appear as one of the principal characters. His fear of the king's disfavor could be strongly dwelt upon and contrasted with his love for his daughter. By showing this conflict as a moral struggle the tragic note would be established at once. *Nandana*, the king's favorite, to whom the king wishes *Mālatī* married, would have to appear in person in order to give a contrast with *Mādhava*, the hero. The very fine scene at the end, in which *Mālatī* wanders upon the field of the dead and is finally about to be offered as a victim to the dreadful goddess *Cāmuṇḍā*, need not have been changed at all. All that is needed to make the play a real *Romeo and Juliet* is to delay the hero in his arrival upon the field of the dead just about one minute. Such an ending would be just retribution to the father for sacrificing his child's happiness rather than risk the king's disfavor.

The *Caṇḍa-Kauśika* of *Kshemiśvara* is filled with tragic incidents from the time the king is cursed by the angry hermit to the end of the play, when the little prince, whose death occurs as the final overwhelming sorrow, is restored to life by the gods and the king receives again his lost kingdom. Nothing but divine intervention could possibly have saved this play from being a complete tragedy.

These are suggestions simply to show how some of the Sanskrit dramas might have been, without much change excepting the final outcome, made tragedies worthy of high honor, and how these have probably been lost to us through the rules prohibiting unhappy endings.

I have not mentioned the incident in *Harṣa's Priyadarśikā* of the heroine being bitten by a serpent and seeming to be dead, nor in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, ascribed to *Śūdraka*, of the apparent killing of *Vasantasenā*, because they are merely dramatic devices used to further the plot and not the logical tragic result of previous actions. These incidents might be compared to the supposed death of *Hermione* in the *Winter's Tale*, of *Imogen* in *Cymbeline*, or of *Hero* in *Much Ado About Nothing*. I should mention in this connection the *Svapnāvāsavadattā*, one of the *Bhāsa* plays. In this

play the false report of the Queen's death is used to bring about the happy ending. Here the audience knows from the beginning that the Queen is not really dead.

We know that at least as early as Kālidāsa the strict rules, whether written or traditional, barring tragedy from the Hindu stage, were firmly established and closely observed. What caused the introduction of these rules we do not know. Keith has attempted to explain the invariable happy ending by finding its origin in the ritual of the spring festival in which summer triumphs over winter.⁸ Of course in the light of the Bhāsa plays this explanation would lose its force. Lindenau believes the solution is to be sought in the simple fact of the dramatists' yielding to the taste and demand of the public.⁹

I cannot feel that the last word has been said on this very interesting phase of Hindu thought as shown in the drama. The evidence does not seem yet to be sufficient for a final judgment. Perhaps Dr. Belvalkar, in his promised critical edition of the Nāṭya-śāstra, will have some new theory to offer which may help to clear up the problem.

⁸ 'Origin of the Drama', *JRAS* 1912, p. 423.

⁹ *Bhāsa-studien*, p. 31, note 1.

BRIEF NOTES

The Tower of Babel at Borsippa

I am pleased to see that Dr. Kraeling (above, p. 276 ff.) maintains the identification of the Tower of Babel with Birs Nimrud. That has been my view ever since I first saw the remarkable ruins of Birs Nimrud in 1889. They are far more striking to the eye than anything in Babylon, and they lie sufficiently near to Babylon to make the ordinary man connect them with the famous name of Babel, for indeed Borsippa must have seemed to him no more than a suburb of the great city. It seems to me, however, that Dr. Kraeling has omitted the best evidence of his theory, which I cited in *Nippur* (Vol. 1, 217) in 1897. Because it was written so long ago that it has passed out of mind, I venture to quote the passage:

‘In the clay cylinders of Nebuchadrezzar found by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the corners of the Ziggurat of Birs Nimrud, we read:

“Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, the rightful ruler, the expression of the righteous heart of Marduk, the exalted high priest, the beloved of Nebo, the wise prince who devotes his care to the affairs of the great gods, the unwearying ruler, the restorer of Esagila and Ezida, the son and heir of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, am I.

“Marduk the great god formed me aright and commissioned me to perform his restoration; Nebo, guider of the universe of heaven and earth, placed in my hand the right sceptre; Esagila, the house of heaven and earth, the abode of Marduk, lord of the gods, Ekua, the sanctuary of his lordship, I adorned gloriously with shining gold. Ezida I built anew, and completed its construction with silver, gold, precious stones, bronze, *musukkani* wood, and cedar wood. *Timinanki*, the ziggurat of Babylon, I built and completed; of bricks glazed with lapis-lazuli (blue) I erected its summit.

“At that time the house of the seven divisions of heaven and earth, the ziggurat of Borsippa, which a former king had built and carried up to the height of forty-two ells, but the summit of which he had not erected, was long since fallen into decay, and its water conduits had become useless; rain storms and tempests had penetrated its unbaked brick-work; the bricks which cased it

were bulged out, the unbaked bricks of its terraces were converted into rubbish heaps. The great lord Marduk moved my heart to rebuild it. Its place I changed not and its foundation I altered not. In a lucky month, on an auspicious day I rebuilt the unbaked bricks of its terraces and its encasing bricks, which were broken away, and I raised up that which was fallen down. My inscriptions I put upon the *kiliri* of its buildings. To build it and to erect its summit I set my hand. I built it anew as in former times; as in days of yore I erected its summit.

"Nebo, rightful son, lordly messenger, majestic friend of Marduk, look kindly on my pious works; long life, enjoyment of health, a firm throne, a long reign, the overthrow of foes, and conquest of the land of the enemy give me as a gift. On thy righteous tablet which determines the course of heaven and earth, record for me length of days, write for me wealth. Before Marduk, lord of heaven and earth, the father who begat thee, make pleasant my days, speak favorably for me. Let this be in thy mouth, 'Nebuchadrezzar, the restorer king.' "

Nebuchadrezzar describes the condition in which the ziggurat was when he found it. It was built long before his day, and built with very ambitious ideas. It was forty-two ells in height, but the summit had never been completed. The consequence of this failure to erect the summit was that the water struck into the unprotected mud bricks forming the mass of the interior of the ziggurat, dissolved them, and broke and bulged out the casing walls of baked bricks by which the different terraces were held in, reducing the whole to a huge mass of ruins. The water conduits referred to are such as Haynes found on the sides of the ziggurat at Nippur, designed to carry off the water from the surfaces of the upper terraces, and save the whole structure from decay. These conduits are useful only in case proper arrangements are made to carry into them the water falling on the surfaces of the upper terraces. The failure in this case to 'erect the summit', and the consequent soaking of the water into the clay bricks of the interior, soon rendered these conduits useless.

The striking similarities of this story to that of the Tower of Babel are, outside of the site, the extremely ambitious nature of this ziggurat of Borsippa which Nebuchadrezzar found in ruins, and the fact that after it had been raised to a great height the work was abandoned, leaving the building in such an incomplete condition that its ruin was inevitable.

As Nebuchadrezzar found it, the tower was little more than an enormous mass of ruins. He built it over entirely, and made it a seven-staged ziggurat. It is the ruins of Nebuchadrezzar's ziggurat which constitute the present Birs Nimrud, and the explorations which have been conducted there revealed the seven stages still existing.

Now, Nebuchadrezzar gives no similar description of the ruined and incomplete condition of any other ziggurat which he rebuilt. He rebuilt, among other places, the ziggurat of Esagil in Babylon, but he says nothing of its ruined condition. Evidently the ruined condition of the ziggurat at Borsippa, in connection with its great size and ambitious design, made a strong impression upon his mind, or the mind of the writer of his inscription. This is not a positive proof that it made a similar impression on the world at large, yet the natural induction is that the ruined condition of this ziggurat was notorious, and impressed all beholders. How long before the time of Nebuchadrezzar it had fallen into such a condition, it is impossible from our present information to say. Nebuchadrezzar says 'long since', and does not mention the name of the original builder, calling him merely 'a former king', as though its original construction were a thing of the remote past, the details of which were long since forgotten. But whatever the date, Nebuchadrezzar's account of the ruins of this ziggurat corresponds so well with the story of the eleventh chapter of Genesis, that one is inclined to attach that story, at least tentatively, to this ruin. The proximity of the site to Babylon led to its connection with that well-known name, Babel, in the Hebrew story.

JOHN P. PETERS

University of the South

*Note on Angarôs, in Montgomery's 'Aramaic Incantation
Texts from Nippur'*

In Montgomery's *Incantation Texts from Nippur*, page 196, there is the translation of a lengthy charm on behalf of one Mešaršîâ, in which a large number of non-Semitic deities and demons are invoked. In line 7 of this charm occurs the formula, 'In the name of Angarôs'. In view of the fact that certain Indian names certainly occur in these incantations,—Hindu in Nos. 24 and 40, and Hinduithâ in number 38,—it does not seem improbable

that this name is to be identified with that of Angiras, sometimes a deity and sometimes a semi-divine being of Indian mythology. Angiras is frequently identified with Agni, the fire god, in the Vedas, but is also the progenitor of a line of priests. In many passages he is the father of Brihaspati, and in Rig Veda 2. 23. 18 is identified with Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati, the 'Lord of the Charm'. In view of the fact that Angiras is so frequently invoked or utilized in Indian magic, the importation of his name into Mesopotamia would seem quite possible. In the Atharva Veda, 19. 34. 1, we have him identified with a magical plant: 'Jangīḍa, thou art Angiras: thou art a guardian, Jangīḍa. Let Jangīḍa keep safely all our bipeds and our quadrupeds' (Griffith's translation). When one remembers that a common name for this Veda is 'Atharvāṅgirasah,' and even 'Āngirasa Veda', and that this is preeminently the book of the ancient priestly magicians, the probability of the identification seems increased. The *ô* in the final syllable of Angarôs is just what we would expect to represent the *ā* in the nominative Angirās.

Among other proper names which may possibly be Indian, one may note Arši in 37, line 5, which may well be Sanskrit Rishi, and Darši, called the foreigner, in No. 29. This, meaning 'seer', though used ordinarily only in composition in Sanskrit, is used as a noun in Hindi.

GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN

Transylvania College

PERSONALIA

PROFESSOR RICHARD GOTTHEIL, at present on duty at the University of Strasbourg, contributes a note on the death of M. MAX VAN BERCHEM who died in the past winter at his home in Geneva, in his fifty-sixth year. He has been since 1892 the organizer and director of the Corpus of Arabic Inscriptions. The Egyptian division of the work has appeared, and he was engaged in over-seeing in Cairo the printing of the division on Palestine when his last illness overtook him. Dr. Gottheil adds: 'His skill in deciphering the tangled inscriptions upon mosque walls and upon other buildings was wizard-like. But his far-reaching knowledge and his well-poised judgment held his skill in proper bounds; and his writings are fascinating for their historic richness and for the wonderful stories that he forced stone and mortar to tell.'

M. PAUL PASCAL HENRI POGNON, retired Consul General of France, died at Chambéry, France, March 16, 1921. His long diplomatic residence in the East, at Aleppo and elsewhere, gave him the opportunity of firsthand research in antiquities and he contributed several notable works in Assyrian and Aramaic studies and archaeological exploration.

161

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT THE MEETING IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, 1921

The annual sessions of the Society, forming its one hundred and thirty-third meeting, were held in Baltimore, Maryland, at Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, March 29, 30, and 31, 1921.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Adler	Greene, Miss	Norton, Miss
Barret	Hamme	Notz
Barton	Haupt	Ogden
Bates, Mrs.	Hume, R. E.	Patterson
Benze	Hussey, Miss	Pavry
Bernstein	Jackson, A. V. W.	Robinson, D. M.
Blake	Jackson, Mrs.	Rosenau
Bloomfield, M.	Jastrow	Sanders, F. K.
Brown, W. N.	Johnson, N. T.	Saunders, Mrs.
Butin	Kayser	Schapiro
Casanowicz	Macht	Schmidt
Collitz	Mann, J.	Schoff
Danton	Margolis, M. L.	Seidel
DeLong	Matthews, I. G.	Sukthankar
Dickins, Mrs.	Michelson	Swingle
Dominian	Moncure	Wicker, Miss
Dougherty	Montgomery	Williams, T.
Duncan	Morgenstern	Yeaworth, Miss
Edgerton, F.	Muss-Arnolt	Yohannan
Ember	Newell	
Gibble	Nies, J. B.	

[Total: 61]

THE FIRST SESSION

The first session was held on Tuesday morning beginning at 9.47 A. M., at Johns Hopkins University, the President, Doctor Talcott Williams, being in the chair. The reading of the Proceedings at Ithaca in 1920 was dispensed with, as they had already been printed in the JOURNAL (40.204-223): there were no corrections and they were approved as printed.

Professor Haupt, as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented its report in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday afternoon at half past two, Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at half past two, and Thursday morning at half past nine. It was announced that the sessions on Wednesday would be held at Goucher College, and that the session on Wednesday afternoon would be devoted to papers dealing with the historical study of religions, and papers of a more general character. It was announced that the President and Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University would entertain the members at a luncheon at the Johns Hopkins Club on Tuesday at 1 P. M.; that there would be an informal gathering at the same place on Tuesday evening; that the President and Trustees of Goucher College would entertain the members at a luncheon in Catherine Hooper Hall on Wednesday at 1 P. M.; and that the annual subscription dinner would be at the Canary Inn on Wednesday at 6.30 P. M.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Doctor Charles J. Ogden, presented the following report:

During the past year the correspondence of the Society has increased in bulk almost alarmingly; but when the matters of routine are sifted out, the residue of sufficient importance to report is not too large.

From abroad the Corresponding Secretary received notice last September of the organization of a Dutch Oriental Society, entitled 'Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland', for the purpose of promoting in that country the study of the languages, literatures, history, ethnology, and archaeology of the East. The seat of the Society is at Leiden, and the President is Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. The Board of Directors of this Society, at its special meeting in November last, took cognizance of the organization of the Dutch Oriental Society and extended greetings to it officially.

The Secretary regrets to report that the British, French, and Italian Asiatic Societies have been unable to accept the invitation extended to them by the Directors of this Society to participate in this meeting, which would thereby have assumed the character of a joint meeting of the four Societies. The letters of Lord Reay, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of M. Senart, President of the Société Asiatique, indicate the various difficulties, such as the season of the year and the unfavorable conditions for travel, which made it impossible to secure the attendance of representatives of those Societies. The Secretary would in this regard urge upon the Society the advisability of considering with some care the status of its international relations, in order that it may be prepared to co-operate effectively with the Federated Asiatic Socie-

ties abroad. This is the more advisable because it is proposed at the next joint meeting in 1922 to regulate definitely the rotation and the date of those to follow.

The increase in the Society's membership last year, gratifying as it has been, has made the task of keeping a correct list of the members' names and addresses more difficult, particularly when the migratory habits of Americans are taken into account. The Secretary has received much help in this matter from other officers, especially from the Treasurer of the Society and from the former Secretary-Treasurer of the Middle West Branch; but he would ask the members in general to furnish him with any information they possess concerning changes in address, title, academic connection, and the like, both for themselves and for their friends.

Since the last meeting, the death of one honorary member, Professor Oldenberg, has been reported. The corporate membership, which was 356 at the opening of the last meeting, was increased to 478 by the election at that time of 122 new members; but the losses during the year by death (10) and by resignation (10) amount to 20, so that the present number of corporate members is 458. Such a net gain of over one hundred is a welcome augury for the continued growth of the Society.

In concluding this report, it is fitting briefly to commemorate those members whose deaths have been reported since the last meeting.

Professor HERMANN OLDENBERG, for many years of the University of Kiel, but latterly of the University of Göttingen, was one of our honorary members. His scholarly interests were centered about the earlier religious literature of India, both in the orthodox form of the Veda and in the great heresy of Buddhism. His earliest works were editions of Buddhist texts, and his general outline of Buddhism, entitled *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, first published in 1881, went through many editions. Later he occupied himself especially with the criticism and exegesis of the Rig Veda, as his works *Die Hymnen des Rigveda* (1888), *Die Religion des Veda* (1894), and *Rigveda; textkritische und exegetische Noten* (1909-1912), bear witness, altho he surveyed the wider field of Indian literature as well. One of his last books, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus* (1915), was a fitting linking of the two chief lines of his activity. Elected in 1910. Died on March 18, 1920.

Rev. HENRY SWIFT, M.A., formerly rector of St. Peter's Church, Plymouth, Conn., who as a chaplain in the United States Army spent twelve years in the Philippines and made many translations from various languages for the Government. Elected in 1914. Died on January 14, 1920.

T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, of Madras, India, for twenty-five years a fellow of the University of Madras and an active member of the Tamil Lexicon Committee from its beginning. Elected in 1913. Died on February 29, 1920.

Professor CAMDEN M. COBERN, of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., a diligent and enthusiastic scholar, who, before giving up pastoral work for his academic position, had had practical experience in research and excavation in Egypt and Palestine. Tho always interested in the broader aspects of Biblical study, he felt the importance for it of the results of archaeological exploration and wrote extensively on this topic, his latest work being *The New Archeological Discoveries* (1917). Elected in 1918. Died on May 5, 1920.

PROFESSOR ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER, of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City, a profound student of medieval Judaism and Mohammedanism, was killed last summer in the Ukraine while engaged in succoring his distressed coreligionists. He was a member of this Society from 1904 to 1915 and contributed an important article on 'The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm' to Volumes 28 and 29 of the JOURNAL. Re-elected in 1920. Died on July 5, 1920.

RABBI ELI MAYER, Ph.D., of Albany, N. Y., formerly associate rabbi of Congregation Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia. Elected in 1920. Died on July 29, 1920.

WILLIAM HENRY FURNESS, 3d, M.D., of Philadelphia, whose activities were not limited to the medical profession but covered a wide range of scientific endeavor. His interest in the Farthest East, aroused thru his travels, resulted in the publication of *Home Life of Borneo Head-Hunters* (1902) and subsequently of *UAP, the Island of Stone Money* (1910). Elected in 1913. Died on August 11, 1920.

BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, of Philadelphia, one of our oldest members, a geologist, mining engineer, and inventor, who in the pursuit of his profession explored the oil fields in India and spent six years in Japan as chief geologist and mining engineer for the Japanese Government. He maintained his interest in the Far East thruout his life and was the author of many papers on technical subjects. Elected in 1871. A life member of the Society. Died on August 30, 1920.

JACOB H. SCHIFF, of New York City, who in addition to his distinction as a financier was a munificent patron of Jewish learning and had recently testified to his appreciation of Oriental studies by becoming a life member of this Society. Elected in 1920. Died on September 25, 1920.

JOSEPH GEORGE ROSENGARTEN, LL.D., of Philadelphia, who was not only prominent in that city for many years as a man of affairs and a benefactor of education, but also manifested his scholarly tastes by his numerous researches into the part that the earlier immigrants from Continental Europe played in American history. Elected in 1917. Died on January 14, 1921.

JOSEPH RANSOHOFF, M.D., professor at the Medical College of the University of Cincinnati and a surgeon of international reputation. Elected in 1920. Died on March 10, 1921.

Upon motion the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted. Brief remarks were made concerning several of the late members: Doctor Williams spoke of Lyman, Furness, and Friedländer; Professor Montgomery of Rosengarten; Professor Bloomfield of Oldenberg.

A letter of greeting from Professor Lanman was read.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Treasurer, Professor A. T. Clay, and that of the Auditing Committee:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1920

Receipts

Jan. 1, 1920 Balance.....	\$3,707.35
Annual Dues	1,970.15
Dues paid in advance by prospective members.....	52.88
Life Memberships.....	300.00
Interest on Bonds:	
Virginia Ry.....	\$50.00
Lackawanna Steel.....	100.00
Minn. Gen. Elec.....	50.00
	<hr/>
	200.00
Dividends:	
Chic. R. I. & Pac.....	120.00
Interest on deposit.....	187.29
Subscription for Publication Fund.....	1.00
Repayment Author's alterations.....	9.00
Sales.....	1,395.02
For offprints.....	1.73
	<hr/>
	\$7,944.42

Expenditures

Printing Journal Vol. 39, No. 5.....	\$343.09
40, No. 1.....	470.21
40, No. 2.....	528.44
40, No. 3.....	401.48
40, No. 4 on account.....	500.00
J. A. Montgomery, Honorarium.....	100.00
Franklin Edgerton, Honorarium.....	100.00
Contribution to American Council of Learned Societies.....	25.00
Expenses, Committee on Cooperation with Soc. As.	25.00
Library Expense, postage.....	.50
Middle West Branch Expense.....	107.50
Editors' Expense.....	41.56
Corresponding Secretary's Expense.....	\$25.00
Corresponding Secretary, clerical.....	.80
Corresponding Secretary, printing and stationery.....	85.07
	<hr/>
	110.87
Treasurer's Expense:	
Clerical.....	\$21.75
Printing.....	52.48
	<hr/>
	74.23
Membership Committee Expense:	
Printing and stationery.....	\$36.50
Clerical.....	22.78
Postage.....	34.02
	<hr/>
	93.30
Jan. 1, 1921—Balance.....	5,023.24
	<hr/>
	\$7,944.42

The following funds are held by the Society:

Charles W. Bradley Fund.....	\$3,000.00
Alexander I. Cotheal Fund.....	1,500.00
William Dwight Whitney Fund.....	1,000.00
Life Membership Fund.....	2,450.00
Publication Fund.....	78.50

The foregoing funds, the interest on which is used for publication purposes, are represented in the assets of the Society held by Yale University for the Treasurer, which on January 1, 1921, were as follows:

Cash.....\$5,023.24

Bonds:

\$2,000 Lackawanna Steel Co. 5's 1923 (present value).....	1,870.00
1,000 Virginian Railway Co. 5's 1962 (present value).....	820.00
1,000 Minneapolis General Electric Co. 5's 1934 (present value)	840.00

Stocks:

20 shares Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway pfd. (present value).....	1,240.00
(Received in the reorganization of the road in exchange for \$2,000 5% bonds of 1932).	

For the information of the Society it may be added that since January 1, there have been purchased \$4,000 (par value) United States Third Liberty Loan bonds at a cost of \$3,608.60, which will make them yield 5.92%.

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.

CHARLES C. TORREY

F. W. WILLIAMS

Auditors.

NEW HAVEN, March 22, 1921.

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and of the Auditing Committee were accepted.

It was also voted: that the Society extend its thanks to Doctor Grice for the admirable assistance which she has rendered to the Treasurer and Librarian, especially during the last year.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Librarian, Professor A. T. Clay, and upon motion it was accepted.

The books and periodicals received during the year have been catalogued and placed upon the shelves. The accession list, here appended, shows a

large increase over previous years. A number of members have inquired for books during the year, and in most cases have been supplied either from our own Library or from the Yale University Library.

The work of cataloging the books and periodicals was completed several years ago, but owing to the war no steps were taken to publish the catalogue. Through the generosity of Prof. J. R. Jewett and the late Mrs. J. B. Nies, sufficient funds are available, now included in the assets of the Society, to put the material into shape for the printer; but funds are needed for the printing of the catalogue. A supplement to the JOURNAL, similar to the proposed index, of about eighty pages, containing "a title a line," would suffice. If provision were made for this, the printing could begin before Christmas.

Nearly a complete set of the JOURNAL and the PROCEEDINGS of the Society have been sent to the University of Louvain. Unfortunately, owing to missing numbers, and the lowness of the stock of certain parts, there are a few lacunae.

The Librarian's difficulties have been greatly increased in connection with the task of supplying parts of our JOURNAL, missing on account of the war, which have been asked for by European, Asiatic, and American subscribers and exchanges. Such requests are being received almost daily. This necessitates much detailed work on the part of the Librarian. The shipment of the reserve stock from Germany has made it possible to supply our own members with many missing parts, which were lost during the war. The surplus stock of Vol. 40, Part 1, is exhausted. Unless a way is devised to secure copies from members who do not care to preserve them, this will also occasion difficulties.

Through the activities of the Yale University Press the subscription list of the JOURNAL has been greatly increased, especially in certain countries. In certain other lands, where in the past the JOURNAL has been generously distributed, we have had scarcely a single subscription. The exchange list for many years has contained names of institutions, which long before the war ceased to send us their publications, or which have never sent them. The Society, it seems to the Librarian, should have a standing committee on exchanges, which should give due attention to this matter, and to which proposals regarding exchanges could be referred.

The current periodicals received have been catalogued, also the books, with the exception of the Siamese texts and Bibliotheca Indica series. These are to be done.

Accessions to the Library

American school of oriental research in Jerusalem. Bulletin.

Ananda Ranga Pillai. Diary, v. 7.

Ananga Ranga, or, The theatre of Cupid. (Sanskrit text.)

Andrae, T. Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde. 1917.

Bâṇabhaṭṭa. Kâdambarî of Bâṇabhaṭṭa (Pûrvabhâga, pp. 1-124 of Peterson's ed.) with notes by P. V. Kane. 1920.

Bankipore. Oriental public library. Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts, v. 6. 1918.

Bhandarkar Institute. Annals. v. 1, pt. 1. 1918-19.

Bhattoji Dikshita's Siddhantakaumudi, v. 2. 1920.

- Brandsteter, R. *Architektonische Sprachverwandtschaft in allen Erdteilen.* 1920.
- Bushnell, D. I., Jr. *Native cemeteries and forms of burial east of the Mississippi.* 1920. (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 71.)
- Clemen, C. *Fontes historiae religionis Persicae.* 1920.
- Cowley, A. E. *The Hittites.* 1920. (Schweich lectures for 1918.)
- Dastur Meherji-rana and the Emperor Akbar; being a complete collection of the editorials and contributions relating to this controversy conducted in the Indian press. Collected by Kharshedji Manekji Shastri (Nariman). 1918.
- Delaporte, L. *Les monuments du Cambodge; études d'architecture khmère,* livr. 2. 1920.
- Epigraphia Birmanica; being lithic and other inscriptions of Burma. 1919. v. 1, pt. 1.
- Farquhar, J. N. *The religious quest of India, an outline of the religious literature of India.* 1920.
- Feng-Hua Huang. *Public debts in China.* 1919. (Studies in history, economics and public law, ed. by the faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, v. 85, no. 2.)
- Grierson, G. A., *comp.* *Indo-Aryan family, north-western group. Specimens of Sindhi and Lahndā.* 1919.
- Guesdon, J. *Dictionnaire Cambodgien-français.* 2. fasc. 1919.
- Hogarth, D. G. *Hittite seals.* 1920.
- Holy places of Mesopotamia, printed and engraved by the Supt. Govt. press, Basrah. 1920.
- Ibn al-'Arabī. *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabī.* Nach Handschriften hrsg., von H. S. Nyberg. 1919.
- Karlgren, B. *Études sur la phonologie chinoise, I.* 1915.
- Kaye, G. R. *A guide to the old observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Benares.* 1920.
- Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, pt. 1. Transcribed and ed. by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart. 1920.
- Kharshedji Manekjee Shastri (Nariman) pub. by Ervad Dārā S. Dastur Shapur Dastur-meherji-rana. 1918.
- Kohut, A. *The ethics of the fathers.* Ed. by B. A. Elzas. 1920.
- Kolmodin, J. *Traditions de Tsazzege et Hazzega; annales et documents.* 1914.
- Laotze's Tao and Wu wei. Tr. by D. Goddard. Wu wei, an interpretation by H. Borel. Tr. by M. E. Reynolds. c.1919.
- Littmann, E. *Zigeuner-Arabisch; Wortschatz und Grammatik der arabischen Bestandteile in den morgenländischen Zigeuner-Sprachen.* 1920.
- Mahzor Yannai, a liturgical work of the VIIth century. Ed. . . . by Israel Davidson. 1919. (Texts and studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, v. 6.)
- Mehta, S. S. *A manual of Vedānta philosophy as revealed in the Upanishadas and the Bhagavadgītā.* 1919.
- Morgenstern, J. *A Jewish interpretation of the book of Genesis.* 1919.

- Narasimhaachar, R. The Lakshmidēvi temple at Doddagaddavalli. 1919. (Mysore archaeological series.)
- O'Connor, V. C. S. An eastern library. 1920.
- Oriental advisory committee. Report on the terminology and classifications of grammar. 1920.
- Pithawalla, M. Afternoons with Ahura Mazda. 1919.
- Pithawalla, M. If Zoroaster went to Berlin; or, The ladder of perfection. 2d ed. 1919.
- Rabbath, A., *comp.* Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient (XVIe–XIXe siècle) t. 3, fasc. 3, pub. avec notes et tables par le P. F. Tournèize.
- Rangacharya, V. A topographical list of the inscriptions of the Madras presidency, collected till 1915. 1919. 3 v.
- Sushil Kumar De. History of Bengali literature in the 19th century, 1800–1825. 1919.
- Swanton, J. R. A structural and lexical comparison of the Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa languages. 1919. (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 68.)

Siamese Texts

- Abu Hassan, a poem composed by order of H. M. Rama V. B. E. 2462.
- Ancient Cambodian laws on slavery. B. E. 2462.
- Ancient songs from the time of Ayuddhya. B. E. 2463.
- Bang Chang, Genealogy of the family of. (2d ed.) B. E. 2462.
- Bhuvanetr Narindr Riddhi, *prince*. Manibijali, a play. [n. d.]
- Chulalongkorn, *king*. A poem on the names of H. M. Rāma IV'S children. B. E. 2461.
- A collection of chronicles, v. IX–XII, XIV, XVI–XIX. B.E. 2461–2463.
- A collection of plays for marionettes. B.E. 2462.
- A collection of poems composed by H. M. the second king of Siam. B.E. 2463.
- A collection of poetical works engraved on stone-slabs in Vat Phra Jetubon. B.E. 2462.
- A collection of riddles, composed during the reign of H. M. King Rama V. B.E. 2463.
- A collection of travels, pt. II. B.E. 2461.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, *prince*. History of Chinese porcelain. B.E. 2460.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, *prince*. History of the reign of H. M. Rama II. B.E. 2459.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, *prince*. History of the wars between Siam and Burma during the XVIth–XVIIIth centuries. B.E. 2463.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, *prince*. A history of Vat Mahadhatu. B.E. 2461.
- Desanā Mahājāti, a sermon; being a translation of the Vessantara-jataka. B.E. 2463.
- Dhananjai-Chieng Mieng, the Siamese Eulenspiegel, according to the version in the Northern provinces. B.E. 2463.
- The Jataka, or, Stories of the Buddha's former births; tr. from the Pali into Siamese. Book 1, v. 1 (2d ed.); Book 3, pt. 2. B.E. 2462.
- Krom Luang Wongsa, *prince*. A treatise on medical property of various herbs. B.E. 2462.

- A list of royal names and titles, v. 2. B.E. 2463.
 Mahāvamsa, tr. into Siamese, v. III. B.E. 2463.
 Mahāvana, a sermon on an episode of the life of Vessantara. B.E. 2462.
 Manners and customs, pt. II-VII. B.E. 2462-2463.
 Milinda Pañha, the questions of king Milinda; tr. . . . from Pāli into Siamese, v. 1-2. B.E. 2462.
 Nang Manora and Sangkh Thong; two ancient plays from the time of Ayuddhya.
 "Nārīramya." A collection of poems formerly printed in the "Nārīramya". B.E. 2462.
 An old sermon on an episode in the life of Vessantara. B.E. 2461.
 Pāli and Siamese stanzas recited during the Visākhapiyā festival. B.E. 2462.
 Pañhādhammavinichaya, explanations on various points of religious doctrine (2d ed.). B.E. 2462.
 Paramanujit Jinoros, *prince*. Moral precepts of Krishna. B.E. 2462.
 Phya Prajakich Korachakr. The languages and dialects spoken in Siam. B.E. 2462.
 Phya Ratanakul Atulyabhakt. Genealogy of some old Siamese families B.E. 2463. 2 v.
 A poem on the demise of H.M. the second king of Siam. B.E. 2461.
 Poems on the names of the boats conveying lamps and offerings down the river during the "Loi Krathong Pradip" festival. B.E. 2461.
 Poetical record of a journey to India. B.E. 2462.
 A poetical record of the journey of Phya Mahānubhāb to China in B.E. 2324. B.E. 2461.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Akankheyya sutta. B.E. 2462.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Daliddiya sutta. B.E. 2462.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Dhammuddesakathā. B.E. 2462.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Dighajinukoliyaputta sutta. B.E. 2462.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Kalama sutta. B.E. 2461.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Lekhapatida sutta. B.E. 2462.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Namassana gāthā. B.E. 2462.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Parabhava sutta.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Pavaragatha māraovāda. B.E. 2462.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Sangahavatthu and Devatābali. B.E. 2463.
 Pussadeva. A sermon from the Subha sutta.
 Rāja nitisāstra. Pāli text with the Siamese version. B.E. 2463.
 Rāma III. A poem in praise of H.M. Rāma III. B.E. 2462.
 Rāma IV. A collection of letters by H.M. King Rāma IV. B.E. 2462.
 Rāma IV. On the style of royal letters. B.E. 2463.
 Rāma IV. Prologue for the Royal theatre. B.E. 2463.
 Rāma IV. Sermon on the life of Vessantara. B.E. 2463.
 Rāma V. A collection of moral stanzas composed by H. M. Rāma V and other members of the royal family. B.E. 2463.
 Rāma V. A treatise on ceremonial. B.E. 2463.
 Rāmāyana. Fragments of the Siamese Rāmāyana. B.E. 2461.
 The romance of Khun Ch'ang Khun Phēn, a poem for recitation, v. III. B.E. 2461.
 Royal proclamations conferring titles upon members of the royal family during the present reign. B.E. 2463.

Sāsanāyupakkhakathā, a sermon.

Sattāriyadhanakathā, a sermon.

A sermon on chastity. B.E. 2462.

Solasapañhā, pt. V-VI; tr. from the Pali into Siamese by the late Patriarch Pussadeva. B.E. 2461-62. 2 v.

Somdet Phra Vanarstu. Culayuddhakāravamsa, Siamese chronicle . . . Pali text with the Siamese version. B.E. 2463.

Sommot Amarabandhu. Royal decrees appointing Chao Phyas since the foundation of Bangkok. B.E. 2461.

The story of Inao. B.E. 2462.

Bibliotheca Indica: Sanskrit Series

Amara-ṭikā-kāmadhenuḥ, the Tibetan version of Amara-ṭikā-kāmadhenu, a Buddhist Sanskrit commentary on the Amarakoṣa. 1912.

Amarakoṣaḥ, a metrical dictionary of the Sanskrit language, with Tibetan version. Fasc. I-II. 1911-12.

Anumana Didhiti Prasārini, by Krishna Das Sarvabhauma. Fasc. I-III. 1911-12.

Ātmatattvaviveka, or, Bauddhādhikāra, a refutation of Buddhist metaphysics by Udayanācārya. Fasc. II. 1914.

Avadāna Kalpalatā, with its Tibetan version. v. 1, fasc. IX-XIII; v. 2, fasc. IX-XI. 1911-18.

Bardic and historical survey of Rajputana; a descriptive catalogue of Bardic and historical mss. Section I, pt. I-II, Section II, pt. I. 1917-18.

Bardic and historical survey of Rajputana. Vacanikā Rāṭhōra Ratana Singhajī rī Mahesadāsōta rī Khipiyā Jagā rī kahī. Pt. I. 1917.

Bardic and historical survey of Rajputana. Veli Krisana Rukamaṇī rī Rāṭhōra rāja Prithī Rāja kahī. Pt. I. 1919.

Baudhāyana śrauta sūtram, v. II, fasc. IV-V; v. III, fasc. I-II. 1911-14.

The Bhāsāvrittiḥ of Purusottama Deva. v. 1, fasc. 1. 1912.

Bhattadipika, v. II, fasc. II. 1912.

The Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda, with the commentary of Sayanacharya. v. IX, fasc. I-II. 1911-12.

Ṣatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā, a theological and philosophical discourse of Buddha with his disciples. Pt. 1, fasc. XV-XVII; pt. II, fasc. I. 1911-14.

Ṣrī Čāntinātha Caritra, or a biography of Čāntinātha, by Ṣrī Ajitā Prabhācārya. Fasc. IV. 1914.

Dharmabindu, a work on Jaina philosophy, by Haribhadra. Fasc. I. 1912.

Kavi-kalpa-latā, a work on rhetoric, by Devesvara. Fasc. 1. 1913.

Kiraṇāvalī, by Udayanācārya. Fasc. I-III. 1911-12.

Mahābhāṣyapradīpodyota, or, a commentary on Pāṇini's grammar. v. IV, fasc. III. 1912.

Maitrī, or, Maitrāyaṇīya upaniṣad. Fasc. I-II. 1913-19.

Mugdhabodha Vyākāraṇa, by Vopadeva. v. I, fasc. I-VI.

The Nirukta, with commentaries. v. I, fasc. II. 1912.

Nityācārapradīpaḥ, by Narasimha Vājaṇeyī. v. II, fasc. IV. 1911.

Nyāya-bindu, a bilingual index of. 1917.

- Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-parisuddhi, by Udayanāchārya. Fasc. I-V. 1911-18.
- Nyāya-vārttikam, a gloss on Vātsyāyana's commentary of the Nyāya aphorisms. Fasc. VII. 1914.
- The Padumāvatī of Malik Muhammad Jaisi. Fasc. VI. 1911.
- Prajñākaramati's commentary to the Bodhicaryāvatāra of Āntideva. Fasc. VI-VII. 1912-14.
- Prthvīrāja Vijaya, a Sanskrit epic with the commentary of Jonarāja. Fasc. I-II. 1914-18.
- Ravisiddhānta mañjarī, by Mathurānātha Śarmā. 1911.
- Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya, or, A review of the six systems of philosophy. Fasc. III.
- Saduktikarṇāmrta, by Śrīdhara Dāsa. Fasc. I. 1912.
- Samarāṅga Kāhā, by Haribhadra. Fasc. IV-VII.
- Śiva-pariṇayaḥ. Fasc. I-II. 1913-14.
- Smṛitiprakāśha, by Vasudeva Ratha. Fasc. I. 1912.
- Śrī Surisarvasvam, by Śrī Govinda Kavibhusana Samantaroy. Fasc. I-III. 1912-14.
- The Suryya Siddhanta. Fasc. II. 1911.
- The Tantravārttika of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. Fasc. IX-XV. 1911-18.
- Tattvacintāmaṇi Dīdhiti Prakasa, by Bhavananda Siddhanta-vagisa. v. 1 fasc. IV-VI. 1911-12.
- Tattvacintāmaṇi Dīdhiti Vivṛiti, by Gadadhara Bhaṭṭachāryya. v. 1, fasc. III-VIII, v. II, fasc. I-II, v. III, fasc. I. 1911-14.
- Tīrthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati Miśra. Fasc. II-IV. 1911-12.
- The Upamitibhava-prapañcā Kathā of Siddharṣi. Fasc. III, pt. 2, fasc. XIV. 1912-14.
- Vajjālaggam, a Prakṛita poetical work on rhetoric with Sanskrit version. Fasc. I. 1914.
- The Vidhāna-pārijāta. v. II, fasc. V, v. III, fasc. I. 1911-12.
- Viśvāhitam, by Mathurānātha Śarmā. 1913.
- The Yogaśāstra, by Śrī Hemachandrāchārya. Fasc. IV-V. 1916-18.

Bibliotheca Indica: Arabic and Persian Series

- The Akbarnāma of Abu-l-Faẓl, tr. by H. Beveridge. v. III, fasc. II-IV, VI, VIII, IX-X. 1911-18.
- 'Amal-l-Ṣāliḥ, or, Shāh Jahān Nāmāh of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū, Fasc. I-III. 1912-18.
- The Faras-nāma of Zabardast Khān. 1911.
- Farīdatu'l-Aṣr; a comprehensive index of persons, places, books, etc., referred to in the Yatīmatu'l-dahr, the famous anthology of Tha'ālībī. 1915.
- Gubriz, by Agha Muḥammad Kazim Shirazi and R. F. Azoo. 1912.
- Ḥadīqatu l-Ḥaḳīqat, or the enclosed garden of the truth. 1911.
- Haft-Iqlīm, or, The geographical and biographical encyclopaedia of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī. Fasc. I. 1918.
- History of Shūstar. 1914.
- Kaṣḥf al-Ḥujub wal astār 'an Asmā'al-Kutub wal Asfār, or, The bibliography of Shī'a literature. Pt. 1, fasc. I-II. 1912-14.

- The Ma'āshir-i-rahīmī of Mullā 'Abd ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī. Pt. I, fasc. II-IV. 1911-13.
- Marhamu'l-'Ilalī'l-Mu'dila, by al-Imām Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullah Bin As'ad al-Yāfi'i. Fasc. III. 1917.
- Memoirs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. 1912.
- The Muntakhab-al-Labāb of Khāfi Khān, pt. III, fasc. III-IV. 1913.
- Muntakhabu-t-tawārikh, by 'Abdu-l-Qādir Ibn i Mulūk Shāh, known as al-Badāonī. v. III, fasc. II-III. 1913-14.
- The odes of Sheikh Musliḥu-d-dīn Sa'di Shīrāzī. Pt. I. 1919.
- Shāh-'Ālam Nāma. Fasc. I-II. 1912-14.

Bibliotheca Indica: Tibetan Series

- Minor Tibetan texts, I. 1919.
- Prajñā-pradīpaḥ, a commentary on the Madhyamaka sūtra, by Bhāvaviveka. 1914.
- The story of Ti-med-kun-den, a Tibetan Nam-thar. 1912.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Professor J. A. Montgomery, Senior Editor of the JOURNAL, presented the report of the Editors, and upon motion it was accepted.

We have increased the size of last year's volume to 382 pages as against 352 pages for the previous year, and hope this year to make the volume 400 pages. We regret to report that the bill for last year's volume, despite strictest efforts at economy, was extravagantly large. We have changed printers, having given the work to the John C. Winston Company of Philadelphia, and we hope that in the matters of finance and expedition the new arrangements will be satisfactory. We take this opportunity to inform contributors that they will be held strictly to account for all expenses incurred for imperfect copy or for subsequent corrections. In this day of expensive printing it is a boon to the scholar to have his work printed gratuitously but he cannot expect the Society which gives him this opportunity to pay unnecessary costs.

A suggestion was made from the floor that the Editors take note of the desirability of having the date of issue of each part of the JOURNAL printed on its cover.

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee, as printed in the JOURNAL (40.361-2): it was accepted.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected corporate members of the Society; the list includes some elected at a later session:

Mr. Marcus Aaron
 Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman
 Mr. L. A. Ault
 Rabbi Dr. Henry Barnston
 Prof. F. C. Beazer
 Rabbi Louis Bernstein
 Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar
 Mr. Emanuel Boasberg
 Swami Bodhananda
 Rev. August M. Boldue
 Mr. David A. Brown
 Mr. G. M. L. Brown
 Mr. Henry Harmon Chamberlin
 Prof. Ramaprasad Chandra
 Mr. Charles P. Coffin
 Prof. George H. Danton
 Prof. Israël Davidson
 Rev. Edward Slater Dunlap
 Rev. J. F. Edwards
 Rabbi Dr. H. G. Enelow
 Pres. Milton G. Evans
 Mr. George Albert Field
 Dr. Louis Finkelstein
 Rabbi Solomon Foster
 Mr. W. B. Frankenstein
 Mr. J. Walter Freiberg
 Dr. Harry Friedenwald
 Rev. P. B. Gible
 Prof. William Creighton Graham
 Prof. Evarts B. Greene
 Miss Lily Dexter Greene
 Prof. Léon Gry
 Rev. Alexander D. Hail
 Rev. Edward R. Hamme
 Rev. Charles W. Hepner
 Prof. William Bancroft Hill
 Rev. Dr. Charles T. Hock
 Mr. Albert D. Hutzler
 Rev. Dr. Moses Hyamson
 Mr. T. R. Hyde
 Mr. Harald Ingholt
 Mr. Franklin Plotinos Johnson
 Dr. Helen M. Johnson
 Mr. Nelson Trusler Johnson
 Mr. Charles Johnston
 Rev. Dr. Robert Johnston
 Mr. Felix Kahn
 Rabbi Dr. C. E. Hillel Kauvar

Prof. Elmer Louis Kayser
 Rev. James Leon Kelso
 Prof. Anis E. Khuri
 Prof. Taiken Kimura
 Rabbi Samuel Koch
 Pandit D. K. Laddu
 Miss M. Antonia Lamb
 Mr. Ambrose Lansing
 Mr. Simon Lazarus
 Rabbi David Lefkowitz
 Mr. Isidor S. Levitan
 Dr. Robert Cecil MacMahon
 Rev. Dr. Judah L. Magnes
 Dr. Jacob Mann
 Dr. Clarence A. Manning
 Prof. I. G. Matthews
 Rabbi Raphael Hai Melamed
 Rev. John Moncure
 Mr. Robert Mond
 Hon. Roland S. Morris
 Rev. Dr. Philip Stafford Moxom
 Sardar G. N. Mujamdar
 Mr. Adolph S. Ochs
 Mrs. Myer Oettinger
 Prof. Charles A. Owen
 Pres. Charles Thomas Paul
 Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry
 Prof. Marshall Livingston Perrin
 Mr. D. V. Potdar
 Rev. Dr. Sartell Prentice
 Rev. Dr. A. H. Pruessner
 Prof. Alexander C. Purdy
 Rev. Dr. Charles L. Pyatt
 Dr. V. V. Ramana-Sastrin
 Dr. Edward Robertson
 Prof. David M. Robinson
 Hon. Simon W. Rosendale
 Dr. Samuel Rothenberg
 Prof. Henry A. Sanders
 Mr. Gottlieb Schaenzlin
 Mr. Adolph Schoenfeld
 Rabbi William B. Schwartz
 Prof. Helen M. Searles
 Mr. H. A. Seinsheimer
 Prof. W. A. Shelton
 Mr. Andrew R. Sheriff
 Rev. Wilbur M. Smith
 Rabbi Dr. Elias L. Solomon
 Mr. Herman Steinberg

Mr. Max Steinberg
 Mr. Horace Stern
 Prof. Frederick Ames Stuff
 Dr. V. S. Sukthankar
 Rev. William Gordon Thompson
 Baron Dr. Gyoyu Tokiwai
 Prof. Ram Prasad Tripathi
 Prof. Harold H. Tryon
 Rabbi Jacob Turner
 Rev. Dr. L. Leander Uhl
 Rev. John Van Ess
 Dr. J. Ph. Vogel
 Rev. Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J.
 Mr. Felix M. Warburg

Miss Isabella C. Wells
 Mr. O. V. Werner
 Dr. Richard B. Wetherill
 Mr. Fred B. Wheeler
 Rev. Dr. Wilbert W. White
 Miss Ethel E. Whitney
 Miss Carolyn M. Wicker
 Rabbi Johan B. Wise
 Mr. Unrai Wogihara
 Prof. A. C. Woolner
 Mr. John M. Wulfing
 Miss Eleanor F. F. Yeaworth
 [Total: 124]

Professor Jastrow for the Publication Committee reported that the times seemed inopportune for an attempt to secure a publication fund.

After discussion it was voted: that the Society recommend to the Board of Directors that the publication of Blake's Grammar of the Tagalog Language be undertaken.

It was also voted: to refer to the Board of Directors for consideration the matter of use of income from the Society's invested funds for publication.

The Committee on Coöperation with Foreign Oriental Societies reported on its activities.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary send the greetings of the Society to Professor B. L. Gildersleeve.

The President, Dr. Talcott Williams, delivered an address on 'The Caliphate.'

President Goodnow, of Johns Hopkins University, extended a cordial welcome to the Society in a brief address: after which the first session was adjourned at 12.25 P. M.

THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order by President Williams at 2.30 P. M. on Tuesday afternoon. The reading of papers was immediately begun.

Miss RUTH NORTON, of Johns Hopkins University: The Vedic *vr̥k̥s-* declension from a new angle.—Remarks by Prof. Bloomfield, Dr. Ogden, and the author of the paper.

Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, of Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, New York City: The Root *šā'al* and the Etymology of *Šē'ol*.—Remarks by Prof. Haupt.

This paper tries to prove that *šā'al* has also the meaning 'bid,' 'decree.' These connotations, which go back to an original meaning 'cut,' 'split,' make it probable that *Šē'ol* originally meant 'cleft,' 'ravine.'

President CYRUS ADLER, of Dropsie College, Philadelphia: A New Hebrew Press in America.—Remarks by Dr. Williams and Prof. Montgomery.

The object of this paper, besides giving certain information, is to point out the possibility of enlarging this Hebrew Press into a general Oriental press.

Dr. FRANK R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) A New Method of Syntactical Arrangement; (b) The Present Status of Philippine Linguistic Studies.

(a) There are two familiar methods of syntactical arrangement; the formal, in which the use of forms is explained, and the logical, in which various expressions for the same idea are grouped together. A third method of arrangement is the combinatory, where the combinations of each part of speech with all possible modifying ideas are discussed. This is the most important of the three, as it shows how the combinations of which speech consists are actually made. In a good syntax, all the syntactical material of a language should be arranged separately according to both combinatory and formal methods, with occasional shifts in both parts to the logical point of view.

(b) There are between forty and fifty Philippine languages. Up to the time of the Spanish-American War, in 1898, the seven principal languages, Tagalog, Bisaya, Iloko, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Bikol, and Ibanag, and about a dozen of the lesser known tongues had been more or less thoroughly treated, though the work was largely unscientific and incomplete. Since that time the work already done has been broadened and deepened, one new language, Bontok Igorot, has received a comparatively thorough treatment, and the foundations of a Comparative Philippine Grammar have been laid.

Professor GEORGE A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: (a) The Archaic Inscription in *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Pl. I^{bis}; (b) Statement on the Mesopotamian School of Archaeology in Baghdad.

Rev. EDWARD R. HAMME, of Johns Hopkins University: The Ostrich in Job 39, 13–18.—Remarks by Professors Jastrow and Haupt.

V. 18, followed by v. 17, should stand after v. 13 where we must read *kēnāf rannānā* (AJSL 32, 143; ZA 33, 63) *nē'lāmā, ō-ḥasērā ebrā yē-nōqā*; v. 18^a: *Bē-'ēl bam-merôç tasrî* = Arab. *tusri* (ZA 33, 62) or *tu'arriš* (Franz Delitzsch, *Iob* 514, below). *Kî* in v. 17 is concessive, while in v. 14 it is due to vertical dittography; also the *ba* before *bînā*, at the end of v. 17, is dittography. In v. 14^b read *'ālē* and *tēḥammēmēm* = S *mēḥammēmā lēhēm*; in v. 15: *yē-tiškāh* and *raḡlî* (WF 217) *ḡezārēhā*; in v. 16: *tašqîh, kē-lô-lāh, lārîq* = *lē-harîq*, and *bal-tiḡhād* (she fears not to frustrate her labor).

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: On the Doubling of Consonants in the Seam of certain Pāli Compounds, such as *anuddayā*, *paṭikkūla*. (To be printed in the JOURNAL.)—Remarks by Dr. Michelson, Dr. Ogden, and the author of the paper.

The secondary doubling of the consonant in such cases may be due to proportional analogy with other cases in which the second member began in Sanskrit with two consonants, which were simplified to one in Pāli except in compounds, but in compounds appeared with double consonants; e. g., *kama* (Skt. *krama*): *anukkama* (Skt. *anukrama*) = *dayā*: *anu(d)dayā*.

Professor AARON EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Phonetic Value of several of the Egyptian Alphabetic Signs and their Correspondence Etymologically in the other Semitic Languages; (b) Metathesis in Old Egyptian.—Remarks by Dr. Williams, Professors Jastrow and Haupt, and the author.

(a) The 'snake' represents the sound of palatalized *g*. It should be transliterated by *ǧ*. Etymologically it usually corresponds to Semitic *ǧimel* and *ǧādē* (ǧ, ǧ and z). The pronunciation of the *ǧādē* in Egyptian approximated that of the *ǧimel* when palatalized. Occasionally the 'snake' represents a more original *q* (which was palatalized in Egyptian) or 'ajin. In a number of old Egyptian words *d* represents a more original *ǧ*. Parallels in Arabic dialects. The sign usually transliterated by *t* represents the sound of palatalized *k*, and should be transliterated by *č*. At first palatalization of *k* took place only in proximity to an *i*-vowel, but later it was extended to other cases. Parallels in Arabic dialects, etc.

(b) Metathesis is more common in Egyptian than in any of the other Semitic languages. In most cases it is due to the presence in the stem of one or more of the following consonants: l, n, r, ḥ, ḥ, and sibilants. Examples: *ḥnt*, nose < *ḥmt* (partial assimilation) < *ḥtm* = Heb. *ḥōṭām*, Ass. *ḥuṭimmu*, Arab. *ḥuṭm*; *šn'*, granary = Arab. *šaḡlat*, heap of grain; *ḥpd*, thigh = Arab. *faḥid*; *nḡh.t*, tooth (Copt. *naḡhe*) connected with Arab. *naḥid*, sharp, pointed; *ḥnmw*, ram = Arab. *ḥaml*; etc.

Rev. JOHN MONCURE, of Johns Hopkins University: Compensation of Gemination by Insertion of Nasals.

Compensation of gemination by insertion of nasals is due to a reaction against assimilation of antedental *n*. When this reaction set in, an *n* (or, before *b*, an *m*) was erroneously inserted in some derivatives of stems *mediae geminatae* (Assyr. *zumbu*, fly, for *zubbu*) or in cases where the gemination was due to progressive assimilation (Assyr. *ḡumbu*, finger = *ḡubbu* = *ḡub'u*) or to the stress on the preceding vowel (Assyr. *imandad*, he measures = *imaddad* = *imádad*). Cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 23, l. 21; *JHUC*, No. 316, p. 12.

Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.: Some Middle Indic Notes.—Remarks by Prof. Edgerton and the author.

V. S. Sukthankar, *JAOS*. 40, 253, entirely overlooks the fact that thirteen years ago I pointed out that Māgadhi *ahake* occurs a few times in the Devanāgarī redaction of the Śakuntalā.—Śaurasenī *utthido* (with

dental *th*) is additional proof that Shāhbāzgarhi *uthanam* is a genuine native word, and not a 'Māgadhism.'—Mārkaṇḍeya at IX. 63 gives an anomalous form for the loc. sing. in Śaurasenī.

MR. WILFRED H. SCHOFF, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: Aloes.—Remarks by Professors Jackson and Edgerton.

This paper is an inquiry into the migration of a trade-name from a drug to an incense, both used in ceremonial purification, similar in appearance and in manner of preparation for the market; together with some account of the information, wise and otherwise, given concerning them in ancient writings.

DR. DAVID I. MACHT, of the Department of Pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University: A Pharmacognostic and Pharmacological Study of Biblical Incense.

The author has made an inquiry into the botanical and pharmacognostic characteristics of the various ingredients of Biblical incense and has collected pictures and specimens of a number of the same. Following this attempt at identification of the constituents, two series of original experiments were made. In one research the fumes of a number of gum-resins, etc., were examined with respect to their antiseptic properties. In another experimental investigation an inquiry was made into the possibility of narcotic or sedative action of such fumes. The results of these investigations have led to data which will be of interest not only to the pharmacologist, but also to the student of the Bible.

The session adjourned at 5.40 p. m.

THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order by President Williams on Wednesday morning at 9.37 o'clock at Goucher College. The reading of papers was immediately begun:

DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, of New York City: The Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakaṭika: their mutual relationship. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]—Remarks by Prof. Edgerton and Dr. Michelson.

Professor MARY I. HUSSEY, of Mt. Holyoke College: Notes on an Unpublished Ritual Tablet in the Harvard Semitic Museum.—Remarks by Prof. Jastrow and Dr. Rosenau.

Professor MAX L. MARGOLIS, of Dropsie College, Philadelphia: The Text of Sirach 4, 19.—Remarks by Prof. Haupt.

In addition to the obvious correction in verse 19a, delete 19cd, and read in 19b *uḥhisgartihū bejad šōrārō*.

DR. W. NORMAN BROWN, of Johns Hopkins University: Hindu Stories in American Negro Folklore.

About sixty of the stories reported by collectors of American Negro folk-tales are paralleled in Indian fiction. These are of three sorts:

(1) Those which have traveled from India to America either by way of Europe or by way of Africa. The stories first started on their long journeys perhaps before the time of Solomon. (2) Those which have traveled from Africa to both India and America. These are very few. (3) Those which both India and the Negroes have drawn from the universal fiction of the world. The place of origin of the tales of this last class cannot be determined. Illustrations of all three types of tales.

Professor GEORGE H. DANTON, of Tsing Hua College, Peking, and New York University: A Preliminary Announcement of a Study of Chinese Village Names.—Remarks by Prof. Jackson and Dr. Williams.

The announcement contemplates no more than a statement of the problem and of the method used. The object of the study is twofold: first, to examine the Chinese words for village and to work out a study in generalization of terms. A crystalization process is observable. Secondly, an attempt will be made to examine into the bases of Chinese imagination as evinced by the variety and connotations of the terms used for village. The material is mainly from Chihli Province, but there is an ample check-list from the other sections of China.

Mrs. VIRGINIA SAUNDERS, of New York City: Some Allusions to Magic in the Arthaśāstra. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

This paper deals with some allusions to magic in Arthaśāstra, bk. 4, ch. 3; bk. 14, chs. 1-4, as phases of Hindu magic in general.

Mr. LEON DOMINIAN, of Washington, D. C.: The People of Justinian's Capital.—Remarks by Prof. Jastrow and Dr. Williams.

An inquiry into the life of the contemporaries of Justinian in Byzantium must take into account the background provided by the capital's former history and its location on the borderland of two continents. Within the city the consolidation of the policies inaugurated by Constantine was well advanced. Asiatic influence assumed growing importance. This and other influences were reflected in the different levels of Byzantine society. The masses of the plain people exerted considerable power at court. Among leaders progressive thought was not unusual although constantly checked by convention.

Professor RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, of Goucher College: The Goucher College Babylonian Collection.

In 1918 Goucher College secured a collection of nearly a thousand Babylonian tablets, most of which belong to the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. As a part of the temple archives of Erech, they present additional data for the reconstruction of the industrial, social and religious life of that ancient city, and also furnish valuable lexicographical material.

Dr. JACOB MANN, of the Baltimore Hebrew College: On some Early Karaite Bible Commentaries.—Remarks by Prof. Margolis.

Among the Mss. of the Cairo Genizah, now in Cambridge and London, I have found several fragments of Bible commentaries in Hebrew by early Karaite writers, probably of the ninth century. The fragments extend to portions of Genesis, Leviticus, Hosea, Joel, Ecclesiastes, and

Daniel, and are a welcome addition to our very scanty knowledge of early Karaite Bible exegesis. Of the several topics dealt with in these commentaries there should be singled out the Biblical conception of angels, whom one author, probably identical with Daniel b. Moses al-Ḳūmisi, deprives of any influence. This was in opposition to the theory of an Intermediary, akin to Philo's Logos, introduced into Karaism by Benjamin al-Nahawendi.

Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, of Johns Hopkins University: Harel and Ha-ariel in Ezek. 43, 15.—Remarks by Professors Haupt, Morgenstern, Margolis, and Montgomery.

Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, of Columbia University: Notes on Theodore bar Khoni's Syriac Account of Manichaeism.

This paper discusses several of the difficult passages in Theodore bar Khoni's Syriac account of Manichaeism and proposes a somewhat different explanation of them from those previously suggested. Among these crux-passages in the edition of the text (with French translation) by H. Pognon, Paris, 1898, cf. also the French revision by F. Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, Brussels, 1908, are: (1) Pognon, p. 129 (189), cf. Cumont, p. 29, the passage containing *agganī*; (2) Pognon, p. 129 (190), cf. Cumont, p. 29, the simile *vēaikh mēnātha bēlaisha*; also (3) Pognon, p. 128 (187), cf. Cumont, p. 29, *bin Rabbā*.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Directors recommended the election of Père M.-J. Lagrange of Jerusalem as an Honorary Member of the Society: the report was accepted and Père Lagrange was duly elected.

It was also reported that the Directors recommended the election of the following to be Honorary Associates: Charles R. Crane, Otis A. Glazebrook, Frank J. Goodnow, Henry Morgenthau, Paul S. Reinsch, and William Howard Taft: this report was accepted and they were duly elected.

Prof. Jastrow for the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1921 reported nominations for the several offices as follows:

President—Rev. Dr. James B. Nies, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Vice-Presidents—Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University; Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, of Cornell University; Prof. A. T. Olmstead, of the University of Illinois.

Corresponding Secretary—Dr. Charles J. Ogden, of New York City.

Recording Secretary—Prof. LeRoy C. Barret, of Trinity College.

Treasurer—Prof. Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

Librarian—Prof. Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

Editors of the Journal—Prof. James A. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania; Prof. Franklin Edgerton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Directors, term expiring 1924—Prof. George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College; Prof. Julian Morgenstern, of the Hebrew Union College; Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

The session adjourned at 12.45 p. m.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order at Goucher College on Wednesday at 3 p. m. The reading of papers was immediately begun:

Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: Statement on the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: The Language of the Hittites. (Printed in the Journal, 41, 195 ff.)—Remarks by Prof. Jackson.

Professor MORRIS JASTROW, JR., of the University of Pennsylvania: Veiling in Ancient Assyria.—Remarks by Prof. Morgenstern and the author.

Mrs. EDITH P. DICKINS, of Washington, D. C.: Rābi'a, a Moslem Saint of the Eighth Century.—Remarks by Prof. Jackson.

Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Rainbow after the Deluge; (b) The Fall of Samaria.—Remarks by Prof. Jastrow and the author of the paper.

(a) NIM-MEŠ in l. 164 of the Flood-tablet means *muscaria* (Arab. *maḡābb*). When Istar sees the gods gather around the offerer like a swarm of flies (because there had been no offerings during the Flood; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1, 248) she is so incensed that she takes the great fly-brushes of her father Anu to drive away the gods. Fly-brushes are ancient Oriental symbols of sovereignty. Anu is the father and king of the gods (like Zeus). Both in Assyria and Egypt kings were attended by flappers with large fly-brushes. In processions at certain festivals attendants on the Pope still carry flabella. KB 5, 47* Winckler mistook NIM, fly, for BAN, bow (cf. KAT² 517, l. 7). A Jewish priest in Babylonia (c. 500 B. C.) may have made the same mistake, and the rainbow after the Deluge in Gen. 9, 13 (P) may be due to this misunderstanding (cf. also KB 6, 32, 5; ATA⁰ 143).

(b) The prediction of the fall of Samaria (721 B. C.) in Am. 3, 3-4, 3, which should be preceded by 1, 2, was composed about 737; the fall of Arpad (the Galilean stronghold Irbid or Arbela, which appears in the

OT also as Riblah and Beth-Arbel) in 740 and the deportation (2 K 15, 29) of the Galileans in 738 opened Amos' eyes, so that he foresaw the fall of Samaria and the deportation of Israel. This poem of the Israelitish gardener (who lived in Judah after he had been banished from the Northern Kingdom about 743) consists of three sections, each comprising two triplets with 3 + 2 beats (*JBL* 35, 287; *ZDMG* 69, 170, l. 35; *AJSL* 27, 29, n. 37; *Monist* 29, 299, n. 18).

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: Studies in Manichaeism.

The paper presents some of the results of a study of the fragments of Manichaean manuscripts discovered in Chinese Turkistan, as supplementing the previously available sources of our knowledge of Manichaeism. Emphasis is laid on the Zoroastrian elements in the religion of Mani, and an interpretation is given of some of the fragments that relate to the life of this religious teacher of the third century A. D.

Professor ROBERT E. HUME, of Union Theological Seminary, New York City: A Presentation of a New Translation of the Principal Upanishads.

I. The fascination of the work, continued through a period of 255 years, of translating the Upanishads: Chronological lists of translations into different non-Indian languages: Persian, Latin, English, German, French, Italian, Swedish. II. Striking estimates by non-Hindus of the value of the Upanishads: (a) favorable; (b) unfavorable. III. Striking estimates by Hindus of the value of the Upanishads: (a) favorable; (b) unfavorable. IV. An original estimate of the ethical value of the Upanishads on the basis of twelve passages, controverting Deussen's position in the section on 'Die Ethik der Upanishads' in his '*Die Philosophie der Upanishads*.'

Professor JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati: The Seven Fifties, a Study of the Ancient Canaanite Agricultural Calendar. —Remarks by Prof. Montgomery and Dr. Williams.

In certain districts of Palestine the peasants divide the year, beginning with Easter, into seven periods of approximately fifty days each, called 'The Seven Fifties'. Each period begins with a religious festival. A similar practice is observed by the Samaritans and in the Syrian Church. Other instances of the division of time into fifty-day periods are found in different parts of the Semitic world, usually connected with the observance of important festivals. This practice existed also in ancient Israel. It is undoubtedly of pre-Israelite origin, and in all likelihood constituted the practical religious and economic calendar system of the ancient Canaanites, and perhaps also of other ancient agricultural Semites.

Professor NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, of Cornell University: Daniel in the Lions' Den and Androcles in the Arena.

The Old Greek Version, for which Theodotion's was substituted, reveals an older form of the story than the present Aramaic text, and is free from many of the difficulties of the latter. When the translation was made, Daniel was not spied upon and accused before the king by a vast crowd of officials, but only the two fellow-presidents were spies

and accusers, and only they and their families were slain by the lions. The decree did not forbid a petition of any god or man save the king only; it seems to have prohibited the worship of any god without the king's permission. There was no reference to the unchanging law of the Medes and Persians. The story of Androcles, as told by Aulus Gellius in his *Noctes Atticae*, appears to go back to Jewish sources. It is possible that both of these stories, in spite of their legendary character, to some extent reflect observations of the actual habits of lions.

Professor GEORGE S. DUNCAN, of the American University and the Y. M. C. A. School of Religion, Washington: Spittle in the Oldest Egyptian Texts.

In the oldest hieroglyphic inscriptions in tombs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties at Sakkara, spittle plays an important role. Spittle on the face expels the demon of evil. It produces ceremonial purification. It heals wounds. As a preventive of sickness spittle was applied. It was also used to keep people from becoming aged. There appears to be, behind all this usage, the idea that the evil spirit producing the ill must be banished. One may compare the use of spittle by Jesus in curing the deaf, dumb, and blind. Pliny, Suetonius, and Tacitus speak of the medicinal value of human saliva.

The session adjourned at 5.40 P. M.

THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order by the President, Dr. Williams, at Johns Hopkins University on Thursday at 9.35 A. M.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Directors had voted to accept the invitation of the Middle West Branch of the Society for a joint meeting to be held at Chicago during Easter Week of 1922. The report was accepted.

A brief report was received from the delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies.

On recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend Article IV of the Constitution so as to read:

ARTICLE IV. 1. Honorary members and honorary associates shall be proposed for membership by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

2. Candidates for corporate membership may be proposed and elected in the same manner as honorary members and honorary associates. They may also be proposed at any time by any member in regular standing. Such proposals shall be in writing and shall be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, who shall thereupon submit them to the Executive Committee for its action. A unanimous vote of the Executive Committee shall be necessary in order to elect.

On recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend By-Law VIII so as to read:

VIII. Candidates for corporate membership who have been elected shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them, or, in the case of persons not residing in the United States, within a reasonable time. A failure so to qualify, unless explained to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee, shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

A communication from Sir George Grierson was presented by the Corresponding Secretary and referred to the Editors of the Journal as a committee with power to add to their committee.

At ten o'clock the Society paid silent tribute to the memory of Cardinal Gibbons lately deceased.

The presentation of papers was resumed:

REV. DR. JAMES B. NIES, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: Proof that Bashaishdagan is a Place-name.—Remarks by Prof. Jastrow.

REV. P. B. GIBBLE, of Johns Hopkins University: Mistranslated Passages in Job.—Remarks by Professors Jastrow, Haupt, and Ember.

The phrase mistranslated *skin for skin* (2:4) means lit. *a skin in separation from a skin*, i. e., *two separate skins*; Job is protected by two sheepskin coats (DB 1, 625). Even if he has lost his outer coat, i. e., his wealth and his children, he has still his inner coat, his health and his wife, so that he may have children again, and he may recover his wealth. *Uaḡqaddēšēm* (1, 5) means *he made them clean themselves* (JBL 38, 144). *Lē-hiṭṭāqēb 'al Iahyē* (1, 6) signifies *to place themselves over against JHVH*, to line up opposite Him (JBL 32, 112. 121). The name Job is connected with Arab. *ijāb*, return, and denotes *a man who came back* (42, 10), i. e., regained his former condition (SGL 99; SG § 177, b). Uz is the region of Antioch; *al-'Âḡi*, the Orontes, denotes the Uzean (river). For *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans* (1, 15. 17) we must read *šōbā*, raiders, and *pārāsīm*, riders (JBL 38, 157; 31, 67).

MISS ELEANOR F. F. YEAWORTH, of Johns Hopkins University: The Preformatives of the Semitic Imperfect.—Remarks by Prof. Haupt.

Arab. *naqtul* is conformed to *taqtul*; whereas Heb. *tiqtol* is influenced by *niqtol* = *nīni-qtul*; Assy. *nīni*, we = *naḡni* = *nāni* = *nāna* = *na'na* = *ana'na*, a reduplication of *ana*, I, which is shortened from *anāku* (BA 1, 17). *Ḥ* is often secondary (ZA 33, 63, below). In *aqtul* this *ana* is reduced to *a*, just as the prepositions *ana* and *ina* appear as prothetic aleph; cf. Talmud. *abbābā*, at the door = *ina bābi* (JSOR 1, 41). The preformatives of the third person were originally *u* and *i*; *i* became *ia*, and

u, under the influence of *īu*: *īu* (OLZ 12, 212). The generic differentiation of *hū*, *hī* is secondary; cf. Aram. *abāhī*, his father; *īōmēh*, his day = *īōmahī* (contrast VG 303, γ; 310, n. 1; 312, G).

Mr. WALTER T. SWINGLE, of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C.: (a) The Multindex System for Finding Chinese Characters and its Uses; (b) Notes on the Gazetteers and other Geographical Works in the Library of Congress Chinese Collection.—Remarks by Prof. Haupt, Dr. Williams and the author of the paper.

(a) The most pressing need of China today is for an efficient and accurate system of indexing Chinese characters. Only men with superb memories could pass the old style examinations. They did not need indexes. Under the modern educational system indexes became indispensable. A new system has been worked out in the Bureau of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture and in the Library of Congress which, it is believed, offers an easy and certain method of indexing Chinese characters. Examples of this method are shown.

(b) A Chinese district corresponds roughly to the county of America but has four times the population; a prefecture of China corresponds roughly to a congressional district, but has four times the population; and a Chinese province corresponds roughly to a state, but has about eight times the population. Each of these territorial units has its official gazetteer, usually reprinted and even rewritten every 50 or 75 years. These gazetteers are replete with information of great interest to the geographer, naturalist, historian, and sociologist. The Library of Congress has brought together the largest collection of these works to be found outside of China.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Gleanings from the Pañcatantra.

Illustrations of the important results, text-critical and hermeneutic, which careful comparative study of the different versions of the Pañcatantra produces.

It was voted to refer the matter of the publication of Professor Edgerton's reconstruction of the Pañcatantra to the Publication Committee with the recommendation that the publication be undertaken.

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: On a Pre-Vedic Form in Pāli and Prākṛit.—Remarks by Prof. Jackson, Dr. Ogden, and the author of the paper.

Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Egyptian Boomerangs; (b) The Names of Mount Hermon.

(a) In ancient Egypt wild birds were brought down with the throw-stick or taken in a clap-net. Some of the throw-sticks were sickle-shaped, like the Australian boomerangs, so that they resembled a bow; but Heb. *môqēš*, throw-stick, is not connected with *qāšl*, bow: it must

be derived from *īqāš* = *naqāš*, to strike. Syr. *qāfāhlā* (Luke 21, 35) is derived from a causative of Heb. *paḥ*, clap-net, with *ç* for *s* owing to *ḥ*. Am. 3, 5^b means: Does a clap-net fly up from the ground without catching a catch (*lakūd*)? This is preceded by the gloss, or variant, Does a bird ever fall to the ground without a throw-stick?

(b) Cuneiform *Sirāra* = *Sirīōn* (Deut. 3, 9) suggests that the *ī* should stand before the *r*, and that the final *n* is due to dissimilation. *Sī'ōn* (Deut. 4, 48) may represent an Egyptian form of the name, with ' instead of *r* (ÄZ 51, 111, No. 9). Also *Sēnīr* (= *Tāl'at Mûsâ*, BL 51) may be dissimilation for *Šērīr*, so that both *Sēnīr* and *Sī(r)ōn* may be connected with *šarāru*, to shine (JBL 36, 141). All three names mean *shiny*, i. e., white, snowy mountain (cf. *Montblanc*).

Dr. W. NORMAN BROWN, of Johns Hopkins University: The Wonderful Tar-Baby Story: its place of origin.

The 'tar-baby' motif appears seven times in Hindu fiction. This has led folklorists since the time of Joseph Jacobs to assume that India is the home of that story, but the view needs reëxamination. The theme has never taken hold of the Hindu mind; there are no evidences that the Hindus have carried it with them to China, Siam, Cambodia, and the lower Malay Peninsula, or that they have given it to the Semitic world. On the contrary it is the grand theme of Negro fiction, and has been carried by them wherever they have gone. It is likely that the Negroes originated the motif and took it to India, first in very early times and again in modern times.

Professor AARON EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The J. T. Dennis Collection of Egyptian Antiquities; (b) The Etymologies of Hebrew *hām*, 'father-in-law,' and of Egyptian 'ibd, 'month.'

(a) Through the death of the late Mr. James Teackle Dennis the Johns Hopkins University has recently come into possession of a great deal of Egyptian material. In the collection there are about 125 scarabaei of different sizes and materials, some with cartouches. Among other objects we may mention: Several fine necklaces of the 18th and 19th dynasties; several pre-historic slate-palettes; a number of pre-historic jars found at Abydos; alabaster offering jars; diorite dish; head-support; bronze articles found at Thebes; arrows (11th dyn.); ushebti; toys, etc.

(b) The original meaning of *hām* was kinsman, blood-relation. It is connected with Arab. *ḥammal*, kinsmen, relatives, family, and *ḥamīm*, kin, relative, from the stem *ḥamma*, be hot. Semantic development: be hot, glow, ardent, related. Number of parallels for the change of meaning may be cited. Arab. *nasīb* denoted originally blood-relation but came to be used for relation by marriage (brother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law). Cf. *ḡahr*, hot, burning, and *ḡīhr*, relation by marriage: son-in-law, brother-in-law. Egyptian 'ibd, month, meant originally moon. It is connected with the Semitic stem 'bd, to wander.

Dr. Talcott Williams made some informal remarks, based on his personal observations, regarding the veiling of women in the Near East.

The President announced the formal presentation by title of the following papers:

Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, of New York City: Recurrent and Parallel Passages in the Principal Upanishads and the Bhagavad-Gītā.

Dr. JULIUS J. PRICE, of Plainfield, N. J.: Medicine in the Talmud.

The President announced the appointment of the following committees:

On Nominations for 1922—Prof. Jackson, Prof. Allen, and Mr. Dominian.

Auditors for 1922—Prof. F. W. Williams and Prof. Torrey.

On Arrangements for 1922—Prof. Breasted, Prof. Allen, Prof. Price, Prof. Luckenbill, Dr. Laufer, and the Corresponding Secretary.

On motion of Prof. Jastrow the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the American Oriental Society be extended to the President and the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University for welcoming the Society in the Civil Engineering Building during the sessions on Tuesday and Thursday, and for entertaining the members at luncheon on Tuesday; likewise to the President and the Trustees of Goucher College both for hospitably placing their buildings at the disposal of the Society during the Wednesday sessions and for the luncheon tendered to the members on that day. The Society wishes also to record its sincere appreciation of the offer made by the Rector and the Faculty of the Catholic University of America to welcome the members on Thursday in Washington, an offer which, through the sad coincidence on that day of the funeral of his late Eminence, James Cardinal Gibbons, became impossible of fulfilment, to our deep regret. Finally, the members of the Society would express their heartiest thanks to the local members, and especially to the efficient Committee of Arrangements, under the skilled leadership of the Chairman, Professor Haupt, for their hospitality extended on Tuesday evening at the dinner and informal gathering at the Johns Hopkins Club and for their unfailing attention to the comfort and convenience of the members thruout the meeting.

The Society adjourned at 12.43 P. M. to meet in Chicago in 1922.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY
AT ITS FIFTH MEETING AT MADISON, WIS., FEBRUARY 25-26, 1921

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Middle West Branch was held at Madison, Wisconsin, February 25-26, 1921, as guests of the University of Wisconsin. The local committee, consisting of Professors E. H. Byrne, F. T. Kelly, A. G. Laird, G. Showerman, M. S. Slaughter, R. H. Whitbeck, with Professor L. B. Wolfenson as chairman, provided generously for the comfort and entertainment of the members. Through their efforts, practically all of the visiting members were assigned to rooms at the University or the Madison Club, and all meals were taken in common at the former. On Friday evening, Professor Byrne entertained the members at a smoker at his house and on Saturday noon the local members gave the visiting members a luncheon at the Madison Club. At these, the members met some of the local faculty who were most nearly interested in our work. In the absence of President Birge, Dean Sellery gave us a cordial welcome.

The members present were Allen, Breasted, Bull, Byrne, Edgerton (W. F.), Fuller, Kelly, Leavitt, Luckenbill, Lybyer, Morgenstern, Olmstead, Price, Rostovtzeff, Waterman, Wolfenson, Ylvisaker. At the business session, the retiring secretary-treasurer made his last formal report, pointing out that the branch had steadily grown each year, even during the war, until today it had 116 members in its territory. The nominating committee, consisting of Messrs. Byrne, Luckenbill, and Waterman, reported the following who were unanimously chosen: President, Professor A. T. Olmstead, University of Illinois; Vice-President, Professor F. C. Eiselen, Northwestern University; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. T. George Allen, University of Chicago; Executive Committee, Professor A. H. Lybyer, University of Illinois; Dr. Berthold Laufer, Field Museum. Professor Breasted presented an invitation from the University of Chicago, the Field Museum, and the Art Institute, to hold the 1922 meeting in Chicago. On motion

of Professor Morgenstern, the Middle West Branch accepted the invitation and at the same time invited the parent organization to meet with it on this occasion. On motion of Professor Price, the Branch expressed its heartiest thanks to the University of Wisconsin and the local committee for the excellent arrangements, to the local members, Messrs. Byrne, Kelly, and Wolfenson, for the luncheon at the Madison Club, and to Professor Byrne for the smoker held at his house.

Opportunity for informal discussion has always been given at the Middle West Branch meetings, and at Madison two such discussion-groups were formed. After the formal meeting of Friday afternoon, the members adjourned to the University Club, where Professor Rostovtzeff, formerly of the University of Petrograd and now of the University of Wisconsin, presented the chief needs of students of the classical land system which might be supplied by Orientalists. The great question, he believed, was as to the tenure of the land, whether it was held virtually in fee simple, or whether title was vested in the king. Professor Breasted pointed out that the conditions in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt could be traced back much earlier, but the material was scanty. Professor Morgenstern pointed out the Biblical parallels and the light which might be gained from a study of the later Jewish writings. Professors Luckenbill, Price, and Olmstead all discussed the land system in the Tigris-Euphrates valleys, with the general consensus that private ownership appears early and continues constant, although large tracts did belong to the royal domain, and although conditions closely analogous to medieval serfdom were found outside the estates belonging to the citizens of 'free cities' with chartered rights.

A more formal symposium on the Unity of Early History was held Saturday morning. Professor J. H. Breasted, of the University of Chicago, opened the discussion of the general problem.

Professor M. Rostovtzeff discussed the Unity of Ancient Culture in the Copper Age, especially as shown in the pottery and animal style in the neolithic and copper periods.

Close resemblances in the style of pottery and decorations and in plastic reproductions of animals, etc., found in prehistoric remains all over the Near East—in Elam, Turkestan, Baluchistan, and the Caucasus, and as far west and north as the lower Danube and Dniepr—point to a common cultural origin. Yet there are marked differences. E.g. in the east, geometric patterns like the spiral and meander evolved out of

animal motives, while in the west the former precede the latter chronologically. The modes of burial in the two regions are also different: in the east, individual graves; in the west, places that are half sepulchres, half temples.

The discussion was closed by a brief presentation of Babylonian and Assyrian Influences in the Ancient World by Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Illinois.

In the same group might well be placed the Presidential Address, The Four Quadrants of Asia, by Professor A. H. Lybyer, of the University of Illinois.

It is helpful in approaching Asiatic History to bear in mind the obvious geographical subdivision of the continent. Thus many relationships become clearer, and aid is given toward grasping the unity of the whole, which is otherwise in danger of being obscured by the vastness and complexity of the subject. Thus, too, the relations between the fields of different Orientalists become easier of definition.

Starting from the Pamirs as a center, four mountain ranges radiate to the northeast, southeast, south, and west; the Tian Shan, Altai, Yablonai, and Stanovoi mountains, with the height of land which continues on to the East Cape; the Himalaya mountains and the ridges down the Malay Peninsula to Singapore; the Suleiman Mountains to Karachi; and the Hindu Kush as far as the Caspian Sea. Thus Asia is divided into East, South, West, and North Quadrants. The last is largest, approaching twice the size of the United States; the east quadrant is one and a half times, the west quadrant nine tenths, the south quadrant one half the size of the United States.

The mountains vary in effectiveness as barriers. Those between the east and the south quadrants are approximately impassable; each of the others contains a number of good passes. The areas in each quadrant are further subdivided; in the east, China proper, Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan, Thibet; in the south, the plains of North India, the mountain district, and the Deccan; in the west, Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Anatolia; in the north, Russian Turkestan and Siberia. In each case, the subdivision first named was apparently the first to develop a civilization which exercised profound influence over its whole quadrant.

With these fundamental subdivisions in mind, every aspect of Asiatic studies can be located and related to the others, while many old problems are advanced toward solution and many new ones are suggested. Archaeology has made a good beginning only in the western quadrant, and may well give more attention to the others. Anthropology is conditioned by the movements of mankind within and between the quadrants. Languages and the systems of writing, the domestic and the fine arts, folk-lore, scientific knowledge, and philosophy, were all modified in their extension and influence by this fundamental geographical basis. The

history of civilization observes that very diverse systems appeared in the several quadrants. The whole east quadrant had a special quality which may be called Chinese; the south is as clearly Hindu; the west, apparently more diverse in many ways, still as a whole forms in its ancient phase the background of European civilization. The north was the least distinct in the past since much of it was a thinly settled waste: still, Central Asia may have played a greater part than is now proved, as may be revealed in the future by thorough archaeological study of wonderful sites like Merv and Samarkand.

Great religions are related to the quadrants: Confucianism grew up in the east; Hinduism in the south threw off Buddhism which disappeared there but travelled around the Pamirs and across the east quadrant to Japan; the west developed Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and the latter has come near to prevailing there of late; the north has no such claim to originality, unless it should appear that the fundamental religion of the Indo-European peoples developed there.

Historically, the entire story can be given the correct interpretation by remembering the fact of the quadrants. Consider the advances toward and the retreats from political unity in each quadrant; the west quadrant was united under the Persians, under the Macedonians (except Arabia), and under the Saracens (except Asia Minor); the east quadrant, save for some outlying portions, was united as China at several different periods; the south was nearly unified under the Moguls and completely under the English. The north was held for a short time by the Mongols, and again by the Russians. Only one empire, that of the Mongols, has come near to uniting all Asia. It held the east, north, and most of the west quadrant, and on two sides entered the south quadrant for a slight distance.

At the present time, the imperial rule of Britain and Russia sways completely the south and north quadrants, with some tendency to impinge through the mountain barriers upon the other two quadrants. But Britain is endeavoring to retain India within her empire by granting extreme concessions to Hindu nationalism. In the east and west local nationalism is strong. Japan and China no longer seem destined to be ruled from Europe; the ambitions of Russia, Britain, France, and Italy to partition the west quadrant bid fair to fail before the patriotism of Turks, Arabs, and Persians.

General also in its nature was the paper by Professor R. H. Whitbeck of the University of Wisconsin on the Influence of Geographical Environment upon Religious Beliefs.

Influence of geographical environment on the religion of a primitive people is shown in various ways. First, and often most markedly, in the personification of benevolent or malevolent powers of nature which prominently affect the people. Second, in different conceptions of happiness projected into the future life (heaven is warm and hell cold in Norse mythology, the reverse is true in southern climates). Third, in religious phraseology, especially in metaphors drawn from natural surroundings.

Rev. J. Astrup, of Natal, South Africa, presented an interesting account of the ruins of Rhodesia, aqueducts, terraced slopes, gold mines, and buildings. More detailed descriptions were given of the well-known ruins of Zimbabwe, and an attempt was made to connect them with more northern civilizations.

The question of 'Boats' or 'Towns' on Predynastic Egyptian Pottery was discussed by Mr. W. F. Edgerton of the University of Chicago.

Certain paintings on 'decorated' pottery of the so-called Naqada type, were recognized by their first discoverers as boats. The majority of scholars have continued to regard them as boats; but a minority have tried to prove that they represent towns or other enclosures on land. Several details of boat construction can be traced from the earliest known picture of a boat, thru the disputed Naqada paintings and later predynastic boats, down into dynastic times. The curious break in the middle of the bank of oars, and all the other details which have led some scholars to deny that the Naqada paintings represent boats, have their counterparts in other pictures which are admitted to represent boats. This systematic comparison of details with undoubted pictures of boats, therefore, shows that the objects painted on the Naqada vases must also be boats.

Dr. T. George Allen of the University of Chicago told the Story of an Egyptian Politician.

A squeeze brought back from Egypt by the 1919-20 expedition of the University of Chicago adds a new historical text to the few now known from the disturbed period between the Old and the Middle Kingdoms. The stele represented belonged to a Southern general and Chief of Interpreters named Dmy, who was evidently an expert politician. For he states that he got on with 'any general who went down (stream)'; that he made an expedition to Abydos, perhaps under the protection of the lion god Mahesa; that he 'taxed the people of Wawat for any overlord who arose' in his nome, and raided Gwt (Canopus?); and that (as a consequence) he filled his father's house with luxuries. The stele was dedicated by Dmy's first-born son, Hotep, who is shown embraced by his wife N-teshnes.

The Functions of the Officers of the Temple of Ningirsu, by Professor Ira M. Price of the University of Chicago.

Discussed the fifteen officers named by Gudea (Cyl. B.vi.11-xii.25) in the temple of Eninnû at Lagash. The first and last were entrusted with the establishment and administration of government, the second with the food supply, the third and fourth with preparation for and

prosecution of war, the fifth with advice and counsel, the sixth and seventh with the apartments of good things or pleasure, the eighth and ninth with animal husbandry, the tenth and eleventh with music, the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth with irrigation, agriculture, and the royal park system.

Professor D. D. Luckenbill reported briefly on the Babylonian antiquities acquired by the Chicago Expedition to the Near East, and especially on the complete prism of Sennacherib which gives an earlier form of the expedition against Hezekiah than that found in the Taylor Cylinder.

Professor Julian Morgenstern of Hebrew Union College, gave a new interpretation of Exodus 4 : 24-26, and Professor Leslie E. Fuller, of Garrett Biblical Institute, spoke on the Conception of God in the Jewish Apocalypses.

Pre-Israelite Laws in the Book of the Covenant were found by Professor Leroy Waterman of the University of Michigan.

Analysis of sources and analogies of history lead us to anticipate Pre-Israelite laws in the earliest Hebrew Codes. The decalog and pentad structure of the Book of the Covenant emphasizes the early character of the Covenant Code. It is not, however, all equally ancient. The so-called 'Precepts' are to be eliminated as secondary. The 'Judgments' that remain, by every test, point to a very high antiquity. A criticism of the traditions which relate these laws directly with Moses and indirectly with Joshua, confirms the Palestinian origin of the laws themselves. A comparison of the Judgments, in their pentad, decalog structure, with the Code of Hammurabi tends to confirm the Canaanite origin of the Judgments in their present arrangement. The Hebrew tradition itself probably retains a fading memory of the adoption of these laws by Israel.

The Old Testament Attitude toward Labor was the title of the paper of Mr. D. A. Leavitt, of the University of Chicago.

Before the exile, labor is simply taken for granted unreflectively, while only incidentally we get the nomadic interpretation of settled industry as a curse, or the agricultural attitude toward it as a means to a good end. The Sabbath, however observed, was neither cause nor result of a theory of labor. With the exile developed individualism, legalism, and reflection. In Proverbs, labor is a synonym for righteousness, as helping to secure the wealth that betokens God's favor, and is more respectable than idleness. But Qoheleth regards it only as a meaningless drudgery, unless one enjoys the fruits of labor as he goes along. Job is distinctive in bearing witness to deplorable economic conditions so long disregarded. He shows the only socially minded outlook in the Old Testament, outside of Prov. 31.

In the absence of their authors, the following papers were read by title: Divine Service in Ur, Professor Samuel A. B. Mercer, Western Theological Seminary; The Ethical Standards of the Early Hebrew Codes, Professor J. M. P. Smith, University of Chicago; Notes on the Textual Problem of the Arabic Kalila wa Dimna, Professor Martin Sprengling, University of Chicago; Persian Words in the Glosses of Hesychius, Dean H. C. Tolman, Vanderbilt University.

A. T. OLMSTEAD,
Secretary-Treasurer.

THE HITTITE LANGUAGE

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN THE SUMMER OF 1916 there came to the hands of American scholars a report by Professor Friedrich Hrozný, of the University of Vienna, printed in the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Nr. 56 (December, 1915), in which he dealt with the Hittite language. Professor Hrozný was one of a group of Orientalists commissioned by the Berlin Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft to decipher the Hittite cuneiform documents which had been excavated a number of years before by Professor Hugo Winckler in Boghazköi in Cappadocia, and which were then deposited in the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople. No communication of an historical or filological character could have been more startling; Professor Hrozný claimed that Hittite was Indo-European, and inaugurated his thesis by a sensational exhibit of etymological and grammatical illustrations. One thing was clear without further ado: if his illustrations were based upon sound decipherment of the cuneiform characters; if his translations were impeccable; if the resulting speech units admitted of no other linguistic interpretations than those proposed, and if they did not represent merely a small selection of I. E. assonances, such as any language might furnish; then Hittite must be Indo-European.

Hrozný promised a full treatise, but during the troubled years following not much reached our shores, except reviews of his thesis by various European scholars, the majority of whom accepted his conclusions without any kind of reservations, tho a sceptical voice or two could be heard in the midst of the chorus of acclaim. Not until the spring of 1920 were we privileged to see Hrozný's full treatise, entitled 'Die Sprache der Hethiter', published in Leipzig in 1917; and it is this treatise, along with a volume of Hittite cuneiform texts of Boghazköi, in transcription, translated and commented upon by the same scholar, which furnish the main basis of the present discussion.¹ In addition,

¹ *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, in Umschrift mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*, von Friedrich Hrozný. i. Lieferung, Leipzig, 1919. Subsequently appeared a treatise by Carl J. S. Marstrand, entitled *Caractère*

it is quite certain that the Boghazköi inscriptions are closely related to the two Arzawa letters found among the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, containing correspondence between the Pharaoh Amen-hotep iii and the Arzawa potentate Tarhundaraba. Just what Arzawa is—Cilicia, Commagene, Cyprus—has remained uncertain. It was near Hatti; its relationship with Hittite cannot be questioned; and Hrozný uses its evidence on a familiar par with Hittite. In fact, Hrozný may be said to start with certain results or assumptions regarding the character of Arzawa which were made by Knudtzon (supplemented by Bugge and Torp) in his monograph on the Arzawa letters in 1902.² Thus the forms *u-i-e-nu-un* and *up-pa-ah-hu-un* are explained by Hrozný (p. 127), after Knudtzon (pp. 54, 55), as preterites first sing. act., both in the sense of, 'I have sent.'³

Since the appearance of Hrozný's *Language of the Hittites* there have been further important developments. First, I may mention an inscription which contains Sanskrit words, especially the odd numerals from one to seven in the forms *aika*, *tiera*, *panza*, and *šatta*, in close vicinity to the cuneiform signs of these numerals by wedge count.⁴ They occur in composition with a word *vartana*, again obviously Sanskritic, as epithets of horses in a sort of *ἵππικῆ* composed by 'Kikkulī⁵ from the land Mittani', and lend obvious support to the four much-discussed names of Vedic gods (Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas), discovered long ago by Hugo Winckler.⁶ Dr. Forrer thinks that these Sanskrit traces are to be assigned to the 'Urinder', whose original home he places on the right bank of the river Kur (Cyrus) up to the Kaspien sea, and that they crossed the Caucasus into

Indo-Européen de la Langue Hittite, Christiania, 1919, in which the author with even greater assurance treats the same language as Indo-European. His explanations of the phenomena often differ markedly from Hrozný's. Cf. also Ferdinand Sommer, 'Hethitisches', in *Boghazköi-Studien*, 4. Heft = iii. Stück, 1. Lieferung (1920), p. 1.

² *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe, die ältesten Urkunden in indogermanischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1902.

³ Cf. *Arzawa-Briefe*, pp. 132, 133.

⁴ See Jensen, *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1919, pp. 367 ff.; Ferdinand Sommer, 'Hethitisches', pp. 2ff. (*Boghazköi-Studien*, 4. Heft = iii. Stück, 1. Lieferung).

⁵ The name calls up sharply Kilikia.

⁶ *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-gesellschaft*, No. 35.

Hittite land at about 2500 B. C.⁷ More likely they came to the Hittites from Mittani. It seems quite clear that both the god names and the 'horse numerals', as we may now call them, are not 'Aryan', but Sanskrit; the numeral *aika*, as compared with *aiva*, the Achemenidan Persian and Avestan form, as well as the specific Vedic form of the four god names, makes this almost certain.

Simultaneously Forrer, in the paper just quoted, and Hrozný, in an essay published in 1920,⁸ show that the Boghazköi inscriptions contain many languages in cuneiform script. Forrer counts eight, of which the language hitherto designated flatly as Hittite comprises about nine tenths of the entire material. Forrer finds in addition: Sumerian, Akkadian, 'Urindisch', Harrian, Proto-Hittite, Luvian, and Palāic. Hrozný does not differ much. When the texts say 'he speaks Hittite'⁹ they mean not the assumed I. E. Hittite, but the autochthonous Proto-Hettitic, described by Forrer, l. c., p. 1033 ff.; this is neither Indo-European, nor Shemitic, nor at the present time correlated with any other group of languages. On the other hand the supposedly I. E. Hittite seems, according to both authors, to be well entitled to the name Kanesian, named after the city of Kaneš. But this latter designation is never indicated by an ethnical adjective as is the case with the other languages (Harlili, Hattili, Lūili, Palā-umnili). Instead there occurs, more frequently than the mention of Kaneš, the ethnical designation Nāšili, which Forrer takes to be the same as Kanesian, but Hrozný renders it by 'our' (i. e. 'our language', 'the home language'), from a glibly assumed, and more than dubious stem *nas* = I. E. *nos*. Under these circumstances the interrelation, if any, between Kaneš and Nāšili is wholly puzzling, tho it does seem that both refer to the main language whose character we are about to discuss.

The Luvian which seems to have been spoken in the land or the city of Lūjja¹⁰ (MĀT ^{ALU}Lu-u-i-ia) is regarded by Hrozný

⁷ 'Die acht Sprachen der Boghazköi-Inschriften', von Dr. Emil Forrer, *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1918, p. 1036.

⁸ 'Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-Landes', *Boghazköi-Studien*, 5. Heft = iii. Stück, 2. Lieferung.

⁹ *Nu hattili halzai*.

¹⁰ Hrozný shows some reason for identifying Lūjja with Arzawa; see his paper, pp. 39 ff.

as an even more corrupt I. E. language and dialect than Kanesian. I shall refer to its character below.

Hrozný's work will certainly count among the most memorable events in the history of language and ethnology. The acumen, learning, and infinite diligence displayed by the author is excelled only by the depth of his sincerity and the fervor of his conviction which almost reminds one of the prophet. I should say that there is not the least attempt to minimize difficulties, or to bend the object to his purpose. If, nevertheless, his exposition, especially in the matter of etymology, does at times become what we might call teleological, let him who finds himself in the lure of such a theory, yet applies it more objectively, or is more keenly intent upon the all-important truth,—let him throw the first stone.

On the face value of his text-readings, interpretations, and grammatical estimates Hrozný makes out a strong case. There are, however, from the start, difficulties and tangles. Cuneiform is, at the best, a poor vehicle for Indo-European. The Kanesian Hittite inscriptions are unilingual, in the main to be explained out of themselves. But a large part of this Hittite is expressed in Sumero-Akkadian ideograms, as well as in syllabic Akkadian words. It may be presumed that such words were pronounced Hittite, in the manner in which words written in a sort of Hebrew were pronounced by their Persian equivalents in Pehlevi. This has both its good and its bad side. The good side is, that the lexical meaning of many words is relatively clear from the beginning, which often insures a general conception of what a given passage is about. On the other hand it leaves uncertain the pronunciation of these semi-Akkadian words, for they were pronounced Hittite. The final outcome is this: the Akkadian material, by itself fonetically and grammatically indeterminable, really furnishes the start and the concrete basis for Hittite interpretation. The known meaning of the Akkadian words leads on to the interpretation, and to some extent the text reading of the unknown Hittite words. There is in the volume of texts of 1919 scarcely a sentence that is not part Akkadian. I have, however, the impression that there are few sentences whose sense is perfectly clear. Hrozný himself leaves much untranslated, and resorts to many an interrogation mark. Aside from material imperfections, i. e., fractures, lacunas, and indistinct writing, the subject matter is often turgid, or guess-work. In other words, the filological basis of Hittite is by no means stable; it will require

many successive corrections. Under such circumstances even the most conscientious interpreter, who has arrived at a settled theory as to the character of the language, is thereafter sure to be under the influence of that theory. Let us pick at random one or two sentences whose writing is quite clear. P. 168, ll. 16 and 17 of the Hittite texts, we read:

A. BU. IA-ma-kan I. NA. MÂT^{ALU} Mi-it-ta-an-ni ku-it an-da a-ša-an-du-li-eš-ki-it na-aš-kan a-ša-an-du-li an-da iš-ta-an-da-a-it. Hrozný translates this: 'When (*ku*it) my father further in the land Mittani dwelled, he in dwelling therein was hesitating.' The capitals are Akkadian. In the Hittite itself the word *ašanduleškit*, 'dwelled,' is explained as a preterite from a *šk*-stem based upon a present participle *ašand*, extended by a an agent suffix *ul*, the participle *ašand* being from the root *eš* 'to be'. The second occurrence *ašanduli* is explained as an action noun 'in dwelling' from part of the same materials. That is, going about the other way, the root *eš* 'to be', which appears here as *aš*, a by no means agreeable change,¹¹ makes a participle *ašand*, 'being'; this is extended by a suffix *ul* which makes out of it an action noun, 'act of being'; and to this is added the present system ending *šk*. I presume that few students of I. E. speech will think that the term 'monstrous' is too strong for such a bit of formative history. But what is more important is, that everything concerning the word is really guess-work: word-form and meaning—and consequent sense of the entire passage. The verb *iš-ta-an-da-a-it*, which reminds Professor Kretschmer of 'stand', is entirely too glib in its pretense.

One's attention is arrested by p. 180, lines 8 and 9:

Nu-za ANŠU-KÛR-RA^{pl} ni-ni-in-ku-un nam-ma a-pi-e-da-ni MU-ti I. NA^{MÂT} Arzawwa i-ia-an-ni-ia-nu-un-mit

'Now warriors and horses I gathered. Thereupon in this year to the land Arzawa I went'. The two verbs in *-un* mark high water in the assumed I. E. morphology of Hittite, for *-un* is supposed to be I. E. *-om*, first person sing. pret. active, as in Gr. ἔφερον = Skt. *ābharam*. But the lexical matter shows just about how Hittite looks: *yannīyanun* is supposed to be an extension of a verb *yannai* (*i-ia-an-na-i*) 'he goes', whereas *nininkun* 'I gathered', supported elsewhere by forms *niniktat* and *niniktari* in the sense of 'it collected itself', or 'it was collected', is interpreted

¹¹ This interchange between *e* and *a* is, however, not uncommon.

entirely from the connection. And the particle *-mit* at the end of *yanniyanun* and the end of the sentence is also curious.

On the other hand we must not neglect to point out sentences as beguiling as this:

Nu ku-iš A.NA^{ilu} ŠAMŠÎ^f i-da-a-lu-uš tu-uḫ-ḫa a-pa-a-aš i-da-a-luš e-eš-du ma-a-naš A. NA ŠAMŠÎ^{f amél} KUR tu-uḫ-ḫa-aš^{amél} KUR e-eš-du: 'Now he who is evil to my sun (i. e. my majesty) he shall be evil to thee. If he shall be an enemy to my majesty, he shall be thy enemy'. In support of this: ma-an šu-me-eš-ma ku-wat-ḫa i-da-a-lu i-ia-at-te-ni: 'if moreover ye perform some evil' (*Sprache der Hethiter*, pp. 110 and 117).

The Boghazköi inscriptions, as well as the Arzawa letters, go back to perhaps as early a date as 1500 B. C.; yet, according to any showing, both these Hittite forms are in a state of advanced or secondary development, far exceeding e. g. the Gothic of the fourth century A. D., or the Lithuanian of much later date. The archaic quality, or degree of preservation, of an I. E. language, corresponds in general with its antiquity. Yet here is said to be the oldest dated Indo-European in a condition which, if I judge it aright, might be compared to, but hardly reached by, a modern Italian dialect, remembering that such comparisons can be made only in a very general way. The relation of this Hittite Indo-European to the total of Indo-European is entirely passive or parasitic; it is explained from and as Indo-European, it explains practically nothing Indo-European. I must disarm here the prospective argument that Hittite is profoundly affected by the aboriginal or native non-Indo-European Anatolian with which it blended into the existing product. This may be so, but the secondary character of Hittite morphology is practically all due to Indo-European manœuvres. A form like *akkuškinun*, 'I drank', contains the root *aku* or, elsewhere, *eku* (Lat. *aqua*), with the two present affixes *sk* and *nu*, and the personal ending *m*—all Indo-European: root, two present formatives, and personal endings; *za-ah-hi-ia-u-wa-aš-ta-ti* 'thou shalt fight', p. 182, l. 13 of the texts, is explained from a stem *zakhaiš*, *zakhia*, about equal to Skt. *sahas*, 'strength', Goth. *sigis*, with three denominative I. E. formatives *-y*, *-w*, and *-št*. Forms like these abound thruout the texts; even the most plastic secondary developments of I. E. speech in other quarters fail to produce types of this sort.

Another matter is scarcely less striking, tho perhaps more easily accounted for. It concerns the literary and stylistic

quality of the Hittite, which is of the lowest order. I have recently pointed out¹² that Western Asia is at all times, and certainly round about 1500 B. C., practically inarticulate as regards literary contents, expression, and style. There is not in the volume of inscriptions before us a single sentence that rises above banality of contents and crudity of expression and style. This phenomenon is by no means favorable to the I. E. character of the language; it must, if possible, be accounted for by the assumption that the invading Indo-Europeans were, at that early time, so completely absorbed by the Anatolian aborigines as to have given up every trace of their ethnic character. The reverse has happened in India, in Persia, and particularly in Greece, where the invaders found the advanced material civilizations of the Mycenæans and Minoans, who, apparently, were even more inarticulate than the Western Asiatics, but upon whom they impressed their national character so as to result in the final composite of Greek art on the material side, and Greek literature, mythology, and philosophy on the mental side.

Hrozný makes out the feeblest case imaginable on the ground of etymology and fonetics. But if we take his text-readings, interpretations, and grammatical estimates at their face value, his plea for I. E. morphology in Hittite is, on the surface at least, strong enough to captivate, if not to convince.

Let us go *in medias res*.

There is a non-thematic or *mi*-verb *yami*, which means, rather unexpectedly, 'I make' (not 'I go'). Its conjugation in the present active is as follows:

Singular	Plural
1. <i>yami</i>	<i>yaweni</i>
2. <i>yaši, yeši</i>	<i>yatteni</i>
3. <i>yazi, yazzi, yezzi, yizzi</i>	<i>yanzi, yenzi</i>

This paradigm is certainly impressive, and it has impressed. I would remark that the *z* of the third person forms is not as simple as it might seem. We instinctively think with the author that it is for *t*, moullated by *i* (cf. Gr. $\sigma\iota$ for $\tau\iota$). But the participle present in Hittite ends according to the same grammatical theory in *za*, e. g., *adanza*, 'eating'¹³: *adanzi*, 'they eat'. Now the morfo-

¹² *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. L, p. 76.

¹³ The type is nominative singular; one would expect *adanzaš*.

logical connection between these two types in I. E. is everywhere such that the third plural of the present in *-nti* minus the *i* is the stem of the participle (*φέρωντι:φέροντ-*). The explanation of *-zi* thru palatalization, therefore, leaves *za* unexplained. We encounter the same difficulty several times more: *zig* is assumed to be the word for 'thou', where both the *z* and the *i* are difficult (comparison with Gr. *σῦ-γε* is a whitened sepulchre). The assumed root *ad* 'eat' shows the forms *ezzazi*, *ezzazzi*, 'he eats'; *ezzateni* 'ye eat'; *ezzaten*, *ezaten*, 'eat ye'; and *ezzai*, 'he eats', flanked by *adanzi*, 'they eat', and *adanza*, 'eating'. Disturbingly the same type of participle *papranza*, 'cooking', occurs also as *paprandaza* (p. 83), and furthermore the whole class is supposed to have passive, as well as active value. As inspection narrows down to the two elements *zi* and *za*, there steals upon me the sense of the presence of two particles, post-positive conglutinates, adverbial, deictic, or localizing, and this impression is not weakened by the apparent existence of an infinitive-supine in *-wanzi*, *-uwanzi*, which interchanges with a parallel form without *-zi*, e. g. *šu-ma-aš wa-al-ah-hu-wa-an-zi u-iz-zi* 'he comes to annihilate you', and *bi-eš-ki-u-wa-an ti-i-ia-u-e-ni* 'we come to furnish (cavalry)'; see p. 91. It is barely possible that Hittite interpretation will have to contend sooner or later with a different theory, according to which it is not inflectional at all, in the sense of I. E., or even Shemitic. It may be a language which has no morphology in the sense to which we are accustomed, but rather carries on its correlations by means of deictic, modifying, allusive particles of great mobility and freedom of position. I recommend the inspection of the element *za* in a variety of other connections, particularly as imbedded in long groups of other particles: *ZAG -za*, 'to the right side' (which, by the way, varies with *ZAG -az*); see pp. 4, 11, 13, etc.; *nu-za*, and *nu-za-kan*, 'now then'; *ma-ah-ha-an-ma-za-kan*, 'when further for me'; *am-mu-ug-ma-za*, *am-mu-ug-wa-za*, *am-mu-uk-ka-za*, 'I further', and 'me further'; see *za* in the Index to the Grammar, particularly pp. 102, 106.

The present indicative of *yami* as given above is not the only type of present inflection in the singular. There is another, about as glaringly different as can be imagined, in which the three singular forms are represented by *dāhhi*, 'I give', *datti* or *daitti*, 'thou givest', and *dai*, 'he gives'. Many verbs show freely forms of both types. Thus *arnumi*, 'I bring' makes its second

singular either *arnuši*, or *arnutti*; the third person of *dā* 'give' is either *dāi*, or *-dāizzi*, and the inflection of *pā* 'give' or 'draw' is in the singular:

1. *pāimi* or *pahhi*, 'I give',
2. *pāiši* or *paitti*, 'thou givest',
3. *paizzi* or *pāi*, 'he gives'.¹⁴

The thought comes to the mind of the author, well-versed as he is in I. E. organisms, that the inflection *pahhi*, *paitti*, *pāi* represents the *ō*-verb, or thematic conjugation. With *pahhi* he compares I. E. **bherō* (*φέρω*), but this is hardly more than what the physicians call a *placebo*. The *h* of the form is a persistent 'formative' element (p. 177) so that the ending is *hi*. The form *dāi* reminds Hrozný of Gr. *φέρει*, itself problematic; Scheftelowitz thinks of Aryan *e* (= *ai*), the middle ending of the first and third singular perfect (p. 2, note 2). No real conviction of either speaker or hearer goes with this. Again, if we confront *mi* and *ti* as first and second person suffixes, we can hardly fail to remember the same two suffixes in Arzawa at the end of nouns in the sense of 'mine' and 'thine' (Knudtson, *Zwei Arzawa Briefe*, p. 41; Bugge, p. 100; Torp, p. 113). These same suffixes, as well as forms *mu*, and *ta* (*du*), appear also in the Boghazköi documents (p. 120, and p. 128) with the full measure and weight of non-Indo-European conglutinates; explanation of one without the other seems to be illusory. It is as tho in I. E. Greek one could say not only *φημί* 'I say', but also *οἶκο-μι* 'my house'.

Perhaps second in importance as regards organic appearance and breadth of scope are the noun-stems in *a*, *i*, and *u*, making nominatives in *aš*, *iš*, and *uš*. An Indo-Europeanist's mind is sure to respond to the stimulus of *u*-stems. This category, when oxytone, is the very own of primary adjectival function, describing fysical properties. In Latin adjectives in *u* have regularly been extended into *u-i* stems. In order to be on familiar ground I cite first Latin *suāvis*, *brevīs*, *levīs*, *pinguis*, *mollis*, *tenuis*; in order to show both the extent and primary lexical character of the same type I cite in addition Skt. *tr̥ṣús*=Goth. *þaúrsum*, 'dry'; Skt. *pr̥thús*=Avestan *pərəbu*, Gr. *πλατύς*, 'broad'; Skt. *mṛdús*=Gr. *βραδύς*, 'slow'; Skt. *purús*=Gr. *πολύς*, 'much'; Skt. *āśús*=Gr. *ὠκύς*, 'swift'; Skt. *urús*=Gr. *εὐρύς*,

¹⁴ Note the two somewhat different paradigms given by Sommer, l. c., p. 1.

'broad'; Skt. *rjús*, 'straight'; *rbhús*, 'clever'; Greek *γλυκύς*, 'sweet'; *βαθύς*, 'deep'; Goth. *tulgus*, 'firm'. In early I. E., *u*-stems have scarcely a respectable rival in this semantic field, except perhaps the primary adjectives in *-ró* (*ἐρυθρό-ς* = Skt. *rudhirás* = Lat. *ruber*, 'red'; Skt. *citrá-s* = OHG *heitar*, 'bright'). Of both these types of adjectives, which pervade to this day every nook and corner of I. E. speech, not a single one is to be found in this Hittite of 1500 B. C.; yet their type of inflection is supposed to have remained over. It is as though a Parisian salad had been carried through the house of Hatti, and had left behind nothing but its *soupeçon* of onion aroma. The results of speech mixture are varied and not easy to predict, but it is difficult to conceive processes apparently so concerted and intentional as to wipe out all such words as 'sweet', 'short', 'light', 'thick', 'thin', 'soft', 'broad', 'wide', 'dry', 'swift', etc., etc., of the invading language, yet leave behind the inflection of these words as the orphaned result, so to speak.

Something very like this has happened to the *i*-stems. No Indo-European scholar can visualize *i*-stems without the abstract *-ti* stems, like Skt. *gátis* = *βάσις* = Goth. *qumþ(i)s*; or Skt. *mat's*, Lat. *men(ti)s*, Goth. *ga-mund(i)s*; Skt. *sthít's*, Gr. *στάσις*, Lat. *statio*. They still control I. E. abstract expression everywhere, as in English station, convention, mention. There is not, as a matter of fact, among the *u*- and *i*-stems a single etymology which can claim standing; this as part expression of the wider fact that Hittite I. E. etymology rests on a basis whose shakiness cannot easily be overstated.

We come to the *a*-stems, nominative *aš*, accusative *an*. Echoes sound from many quarters of Western Asiatic speech. Kossaeen *suryaš*; Chaldic (Vannic) *-š(e)* (with accusative *nī*)¹⁵; Mittani quasi-nominatives and accusatives in *š* and *n*¹⁶; even Lycian figures in a way¹⁷. This declension, the well-known second declension of Greek and Latin grammar, holds in Hittite for both masc. and fem.; thus: *annaš* 'mother'; ŠAL-*naš* 'woman'; GIM-*aš* 'slave-girl'. Again there is not a single even remotely respectable I. E. etymology for this most pervasive class, involving

¹⁵ Hrozný, p. 27, note.

¹⁶ Bork, *Die Mitannisprache*, p. 46; see especially the proper names in *aš* on p. 88 of the text.

¹⁷ Hrozný, p. 49.

either a noun or an adjective. The paradigms of *a*-stems, on pp. 44, 45, look very good on paper; still, nominative and genitive singular, as well as genitive and dative plural end alike in *aš*; the loc. sing. in *az* is entirely unexplained; the acc. plur. ends in *uš*. Outside the paradigm there is considerable mixture between *aš* and *iš*; the number 'one' in nom. sing. masc. appears as 1-*aš* or 1-*iš* (Hrozný 92), and see in general pp. 16, 24, 29, 36, 38. The like of this is not unknown elsewhere. There is also mixture between *aš* and *uš*; see p. 30. Still there seems no reason to question that *uš*, *iš*, and *aš* figure in subject words very regularly; all three occur together in the sentence, p. 166, line 10 of the text volume: memir A. BU. ŠU-wanaš kuiš LUGAL MÂTHatti ešta nuwaraš UR. SAG-iš LUGAL-uš ešta, 'They said, "His father, who was for us king of the land Hatti, now he was a brave king."' Morfologically this pervades the language as, perhaps, its strongest plea for I. E. character. Still there are notable cross circumstances: all these stems show also a nominative in *ša*: *Telibinuša* 'name of a Hittite god' (p. 3); by the side of IR-*aš* and IR-*iš* 'slave', also IR-*ša* (p. 30); *Mariaša* 'name of a person' (p. 36); *apāša*, 'this one' (texts, p. 100, l. 15); EN-*urtaša*, 'name of a person', (texts, p. 136, l. 8); and in Arzawa first letter, l. 23 *halugalataša*, 'messenger'. There is, moreover, an independent post-positive pronoun nominative *aš*, accusative *an*, which differs in no wise from the nom. and acc. case-endings -*aš* and -*an*; this may be added to an existing inflected expression, as in the expression *kuiš-aš imma kuiš* 'whoever', accusative *kuinan imma kuin*; *tu-uk-ka-aš* 'he to you' (p. 110). Out of this perplexity seems to arise the question whether all these, *aš*, *iš*, *uš*, are not, once more, post-positive deictic particles. With every inclination to follow Hrozný's methodic and brilliant exposition, it seems difficult that the material body of all I. E. *u*-, *i*-, and *a*-stems should have disappeared while leaving behind their ghostly endings; better the opposite alternative, that a variety of cuneiform syllables containing *š* preceded by different vowels chance to lend themselves, in a surprising manner to be sure, to correlation with the endings of these stems current in I. E.

Still, a theory as to linguistic appurtenance derives its strength from cumulation. Hittite exercises its most bewitching enchantment in the domain of pronouns. I have always held that the best test for admission to I. E. membership is thru numerals, pronouns, and nouns of relationship. A puckish prank (as in

Kretan) makes Hittite write its numerals by wedge count; the nouns of relationship are either nursery words, or in Akkadian writing. Not so the pronouns. They appear in syllabic Hittite writing. Thus the personal pronouns, reduced to their lowest terms, present themselves in the following rhythmic shape:

	I	Thou
Nom.	<i>ug, uga, ugga</i>	<i>zig, ziga, zigga, zik̄ka</i>
Gen.	<i>ammêl</i>	<i>tuêl</i>
Dat. Acc.	<i>ammug, ammuga, ammugga, ammuk̄ka</i>	<i>tug, tuga, tugga, tuk̄ka, duk̄ka</i>
	We	Ye
Nom.	<i>anzâš</i>	<i>šumêš, šumâš</i>
Gen.	<i>anzêl</i>	<i>šumêl, šumênzân</i>
Dat. Acc.	<i>anzâš</i>	<i>šumâš, šummêš, šumêš</i>

After recovering from the general effect of this list, there are a few interesting circumscriptions. *ug*, etc., is, of course, assumed to be *ego*, whereas *zig*, etc., are compared with *σύγε*. But it is unlikely that the *g* of one form is not the *g* of the other, and *zi* is not *σύ* nor, as far as can be seen, anything else Indo-European. The forms *ammug*, etc., are both nom. and acc.; they are compared with Gr. *ἐμοίγε*, but it seems far more natural again to identify the final syllable with the fundamental *ug*, etc. Therefore, the same seems true of the sound *ug* in *tug*, etc. The 'ye'-stem *šuma* is not so easily correlated with I. E. *yusme* as the author thinks; and its genitive *šu-me-en-z-an*, by the side of which exists *a-pi-en-za-an* 'eorum', and also an independent *šu-raš en-z-an* 'your', is perplexing (pp. 115, 116). Doubtless some of these difficulties can be ironed out by assuming sundry processes of analogy which will present themselves in different ways to different experts.¹⁸ Perhaps more important is the almost impalpable air of Indo-Europeanism which pervades this sphere of expression, and I personally have felt at times in the mood to capitulate right here.

The question reaches its climax in the relative, interrogative, and indefinite pronoun *kuiš*, neuter *kuit*, genitive singular *kuêl*; nominative plural *kuêš*. The indefinite is expressed also by duplication, *kuiš kuiš*, neuter *kuit kuit*; or by *kuiš ki*, neuter

¹⁸ Cf. Marstrand, pp. 7 ff.

kuit ki. Comparisons are unnecessary. There are here also difficulties in detail, but they may be surmounted in future. It seems well-nigh unimaginable that this part of Hrozný's theory does not hit the nail on the head. Yet with it goes a remarkable corollary which is almost in the nature of a paradox. All students of Lycian seem now agreed that its stem *ti* is the relative stem = I. E. *qi* (Latin *qui-*), and that the combination *ti-ke* is the indefinite; e. g. in the epitaf, *ti ñte hri alahadi tike, ñte ti hrppitadi tike*, 'qui intus violat (?) aliquem, vel intus superimponit aliquem'.¹⁹ Lydian also has the words *his*, *hid*, which Littmann identifies with Lat. *quis*, *quid*; see his Lydian inscriptions. Danielsson, 'Zu den Lydischen Inschriften', p. 41, points out also Lyd. *k* as the enclitic copulative (Lat. *que*). Hrozný, pp. 191 ff. has an appendix of considerable length which deals with correspondences between Hittite and Lydian. A door must be either open or shut: if these comparisons are correct both Lycian and Lydian, as well as Hittite, are Indo-European, and that, too, of a degree of depravation, unparalleled in any pidgin-dialect.

A word as to the 'Luvian'. Forrer, l. c., p. 1034, quotes from unstated sources a number of Luvian grammatical and lexical forms, some of which have I. E. coloring, others being decidedly strange. Thus he quotes as forms of 'a pronoun', *kui*, *kuiha*, *kuiš*, *kuišha*, *kuištar*, and *kuinza*. He notes a number of reduplicated verbs which look Indo-European: *tatarhandu*, *tatarijamman*, *tatarrijamna*, *mimentōwā*, *hōhoijanda* (by the side of *hōijadda*), and, with 'Attic reduplication', *elelhāndu* (by the side of *ēlhādu*). The endings of the verb are *du*, *andu*, *indu*, reminding Forrer of the Lydian *-d* and *ēnt*. For the substantive he quotes *-anza*, and *-inzi* in the plural; they may bear upon our discussion of *-zi* and *-za*, above, p. 201 f.

Hrozný, in his above mentioned essay on the peoples and languages of the Chatti land, pp. 35 ff.,²⁰ quotes one or two Luvian passages and discusses some words. The passages, evidently obscure in meaning, are not translated, but they show some words which resemble Kanesian Hittite. Thus *kuinzi*, 'which,' with plural meaning and ending *-nzi* (see Forrer's statement,

¹⁹ See Vilh. Thomsen, *Études Lyciennes*, p. 9. Hrozný, p. 49, remarks that the Lycian *a*-stems correspond to a remarkable degree with the Hittite *a*-stems.

²⁰ See p. 36, lines 22 ff., 30 ff., and p. 37, lines 36 ff. of the cuneiform texts.

just quoted); *azzaštan*, 'eat ye', which reminds Hrozný of Kanesian *azzašteni*, and *ezzašten*, in the same sense; *vaššantari*, Kanesian *veššanta*, 'they clothe themselves'. Hrozný thinks that Luvian is a dialect of Kanesian, or a language closely related, in which I. E. structure is practically effaced. The problem is very obscure, but it would seem rather to point the other way, namely, that Luvian is not I. E., and that many of the alleged I. E. phenomena of Kanesian are only seemingly so, for the very reason that they reappear in non-I. E. Luvian. The future will decide.

As far as I can see the I. E. aspects of Hittite have no basis in any known historic colonizations by Indo-Europeans of parts of Asia Minor. The Phrygian from Thrace and the Armenian of unknown provenience settled in Anatoliā at a later time. In 900 B. C., Vannic or Chaldic (cuneiform) was still spoken in Urartu, the land later settled by the Armenians. The older Phrygian inscriptions are not earlier than 500 B. C. The Tocharians, Italo-Celtic emigrants, seem to have passed thru Asia Minor on their way to their permanent home in far-away Chinese Turkestan, but we have no record of Tocharian that is not about 2000 years younger than the Hittite age. An I. E. migration from the south-west of Europe must have settled in various parts of Asia Minor many centuries prior to 1500 B. C., and prior to the recorded history of Indo-Europeans in Celtic, Italic, or Hellenic lands. For it must have taken hundreds of years of mixture with the Anatolian aborigines before such languages as Hittite, or Lycian and Lydian (if these two are also I. E.), could evolve out of such a symbiosis. And, be it understood, this Indo-European must then be assumed to be about 3000 years younger in quality than the faint traces of I. E. Aryan which are found in the scant Urindisch of the 'horse numerals' and the four Vedic gods.

My readers will ask point-blank: 'Is Hittite Indo-European?' I answer that it seems to contain an injection of I. E. material in a composite pidgin-Kanesian, but even of this I do not feel quite certain. When Tocharian came to light, the numerals alone settled its status: Hittite has no numerals. They should sound from 2-5: *du-uwa*, *tre-i-eš*, *ke-tu-wa-reš*, *pe-en-ku-we* or *pi-in-ku-we*. When Tocharian came to light the nouns of relationship settled its status: *pācar* 'father'; *mācar*, 'mother'; *prācar*, 'brother'. The Hittite words for father and mother are either Anatolian

nursery words: *addaš* or *attaš*, 'father', *annaš* 'mother', or they are written in Babylonian (Shemitic) A. BU 'father'; AHI-IA 'of my brother'; AHÂTU, 'sister'. The Hittite before us has, with the exception of the noun *wādar*, said to mean 'water', which is also written *widār*; genitive *wedenaš*, *u-e-te-na-aš*, *widêni*, hardly a single noun of I. E. etymology. The inflection of the noun is by no means conclusively Indo-European. The verbal inflections are at points (not all of them brought out here) bewitchingly Indo-European; at other points they are not less bewilderingly mystifying. From the point of view of verb etymology there are not a dozen verbs that are securely Indo-European, and the total of etymology, with the exception of pronominal etymology—and here again really only the interrogative-indefinite pronoun—is the weakest link in the chain. The heaping of conglomerative particles (e. g., *ma-ah-ha-an-ma-za-kan* 'when further mine', p. 39), combined with the conglomerative use of personal pronouns at the end of nouns, is non-Indo-European, and deserves special investigation. Finally, the over-ripe condition of language at the earliest dating known to I. E. speech history (1500 B. C.) bids us hold still a while longer, on the off-chance that we are facing a perplexing illusion.

POSSIBLE NON-INDO-EUROPEAN ELEMENTS IN 'HITTITE'

J. DYNELEY PRINCE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

IN 1915, I published a paper on 'The Hittite Material in the Cuneiform Inscriptions'¹ as set forth by Friedrich Delitzsch in his *Sumerisch-Akkadisch-Hettitische Vokabularfragmente*.² After an analysis of the scanty material of Delitzsch's fragments, I reached the conclusion that this language was probably not IE.³ in character, but showed marked non-Aryan peculiarities, an opinion which Professor Maurice Bloomfield had already expressed in his able treatise on the language of the Arzawa letters,⁴ which is now recognized as the same idiom as that of the 'Hittite' cuneiform inscriptions.

At present the most important contributions towards Hittitology are undoubtedly Ferdinand Hrozný's masterly special plea⁵ for the IE. character of this language and his published texts from Boghazkî, embracing temple, omen and oracle, ceremonial, and historical material.⁶ Since these publications, however, Hrozný has definitely shown that the language designated formerly by him and others as 'Hittite' is not really entitled to this name,⁷ as

¹ *Amer. Journal of Semitic Languages*, 32. 38-63.

² *Kön. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1914.

³ The following abbreviations have been used in this article: A.=accusative; Akkad.=Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian Semitic); Av.=Avestan; BO.=Boghazkî Inscriptions, mentioned here note 6; Cher.=Cheremissian; D.=dative; Esth.=Esthonian; Finn.=Finnish (Suomi); G.=genitive; 'H'=Hrozný's 'Hittite' language; Hr.=Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hethiter*, mentioned note 5; IE.=Indo-European; Lapp.=Lappish; N.=nominative; OHG.=Old High German; San.=Sanskrit; Sum.=Sumerian; *Sum. Gr.*=Delitzsch, *Grundzüge d. Sumerischen Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1914; Szinnyéi=Jozef Szinnyéi, *Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1910; Wotj.=Wotjak.

⁴ *Amer. Journal of Philology*, 25. 1 ff.

⁵ *Die Sprache der Hethiter, ihr Bau in Zugehörigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm*, Leipzig, 1917.

⁶ *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkî*, Leipzig, 1919.

⁷ *Ueber die Völker u. Sprachen des alten Chatti-Landes*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 29-30. Another work on the subject of the multiplicity of languages in these Boghazkî inscriptions, not at present accessible to me, has been recently published by Forrer.

the genuine Hittite or Chatti language, which appears in *BO* 2002, obv. 1, 64, was very evidently a non-Aryan speech entitled *xattili* in Hrozný's 'Hittite' material and not in any way resembling the latter idiom.⁸ We are consequently forced to indicate this supposed IE. 'Hittite' of Hrozný, for which there is as yet no certain designation,⁹ as 'Hittite' (abbrev. 'H') and to use the term *Hittite*, without quotation marks, as denoting the apparently genuine Chatti (*xatti*) or Hittite, known in 'H' as *xattili*.

The object of the following study is to examine especially some important points in the morphology of the 'H' as given, apparently with great correctness, by Hrozný, in order to determine whether or not some of the most salient forms are of non-Aryan, rather than IE. character. I lay especial stress on morphology rather than on similarities in vocabulary or radicals, since many such seeming resemblances may well be based on accident or borrowing, possibilities which render mere *Gleichklang* a dangerous criterion in speech comparison. As is well known, words and even radicals may pass between languages of inherently differing stocks. The same principle seems to be true of the transfer of phonetics, which, as Franz Boas has indicated,¹⁰ occurs not infrequently in American languages of widely varying bases and particularly in the adoption by the African Bantu of the clicks of the Bushmen and Hottentots, in spite of the enmity between these groups and the Bantu. Similarly, morphological characteristics may probably pass from one language to another of a radically variant grammatical system and, as Boas believes, may even modify fundamental structural characteristics.¹¹ Such processes may have been primarily due to the presence of a large number of alien wives and mothers in primitive tribes, and

⁸ Cf. especially the Chatti = real Hittite material in the above cited work, 26; 31-32; 34. Among the Chatti names of occupations, the word (*amēl*) *vi⁴-in-du-uk-ka-ra-am* = (*amēl*) KA-ŠU-GAB (?) -aš 'cup-bearer' is especially striking as apparently containing the elements *vin* (*yin*) 'wine' and the Sum. word *duḫ* 'vessel' + the probably Chatti ending *-aram*, i. e., *vinduḫkaram* 'the one concerned with (*aram*) the wine-cup' *vin-duḫ*(?). This was probably a loan-word. The rest of the Chatti material is at present beyond our range of knowledge for comparison with known elements.

⁹ Unless we accept Hrozný's *našili* 'in our(?) language'; probably 'in this language' (see below, B., I., b). The term 'Kanesian' is suggested by Forrer and is provisionally accepted by some scholars.

¹⁰ *Amer. Anthropologist*, 22. 372.

¹¹ *Ib.* 22. 373.

secondarily to inter-cultural influences. In this 'H', in spite of the apparent IE. morphological basis, it will appear from the present paper that other than Aryan influences seem to have been present in the formation of much of the 'H' morphology.

A. RADICALS

I. Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns

The paradigms of the 1 and 2 personal pronouns, as given by Hrozný, are as follows (Hr.: 1 p. sg., 104-105; 1 p. pl., 114; 2 p. sg., 111; 2 p. pl., 118):

	1 p. sg.	2 p. sg.
N.	<i>ug, uga, ugga; ammug, am- muga, ammugga, am- mukka</i>	<i>zig, ziga, zigga, zikka</i>
G.	<i>ammêl</i>	<i>tuêl</i>
D. }	<i>ammug, ammuga, ammug-</i>	<i>tug, tuga, tugga, tukka, dukka</i>
A. }	<i>ga, amukka</i>	
Loc.	<i>prob. ammêdaz</i>	<i>prob. tuêdaz</i>
	pl.	pl.
N.	<i>anzâš</i>	<i>šumêš, šumâš</i>
G.	<i>anzel</i>	<i>šumêl, šumênzân (surašenzan?)</i>
D. }	<i>anzâš</i>	<i>šumâš, summâš</i>
A. }		<i>šumêš, šummêš, šumâš</i>
Loc.		<i>prob. šumêdaz</i>
Comitative(?)		<i>šumâšila</i>

In spite of apparent resemblances to IE., these pronouns present, none the less, non-Aryan aspects in many particulars. Thus, Hr., 98, connects *ug, uga*, etc., with Lat. *ego*; Greek *ἐγώ*; Goth. *ik*, etc., in spite of the strange initial *u-*, instead of the IE. *e*, a variation not satisfactorily explained by his comparison of the 'unclear' Old Slav. *az* 'I.' It is much more likely that 'H' *ug, uga*, etc., stand for original *mug, muga* (*m=w*, a common phenomenon), especially as the forms *ammug, ammuga*, etc., appear in the N., D., and A. apparently arbitrarily. Furthermore, the 'H' suffix (D. and A.) of the 1 p. sg. is *-mu* (see below, B., I.), showing the same element (*-m-*).

But this *m*-element is not essentially IE.; cf. Sumerian *mae* 'I'; *mara* 'to me'; Asiatic Turkish *men* (Osmanli ben) 'I'; also

Finno-Ugric: Finn. *minä*; Lapp. *mon*; Cher. *měn*, etc., with *m* throughout the dialects. Most striking is also Georgian *me* 'I'; *čemi* 'of me', etc.

With these 'H' 1 p. sg. *mug*-forms should be compared the 2 p. sg. *zig*, *ziga*, etc., returning phenomenally to *tu*- in the oblique relations of the pronoun, and showing the D. (rarely A.) pronominal suffix *-ta*, used with nouns. The sibilant in *zig* can hardly be explained satisfactorily on the basis of Greek *σú*, even with Doric *τú* in the background. Finno-Ugric also has the interchange between sibilant (*s*) and *t*, but this is not seen intra-dialectically, but always between different idioms; cf. Finn. *sinä*; Lapp. *ton*, *don*. On the other hand, in Lakish 1 p. sg., we do find *na* 'I'; gen. *ttul* 'of me' (possibly = **ntul*), which is an intra-dialectic change of consonant in a non-Aryan language, but not, I think, applicable here. It is possible that 'H' *zig* may have been pronounced *žig* or *čig* (thus, Weidner, *Studien*,¹² 152); cf. also the Sumerian interchange of *z* and *ž* possibly = *š* (Prince, 'Phonetic Relations in Sumerian,' *JAOS* 39. 271). The Sum. *z* interchanges also with *s* and even with *n* (*op. cit.* 270). The 'H' *zig*, **žig*, therefore, reminds one more of Sum. *zae* 'thou'; *zara* 'to thee,' than of any IE. form. The 'H' 2 p. verbal ending *-ši* (see below, C., II.) contains perhaps the same *zi*, *ži*-element of the 2 p. pronoun and, although alternating with *-ti* in the second conjugation, rather speaks for the *ži*-pronunciation of *zig*. The difficult problem here is presented by the oblique 'H' *tu*-forms of the 2 p. pronoun. Instead of *tuêl*, *tug*, one would expect *ziêl* (or *zêl*), *zig*, or, at least, *zuêl*, *zug*. The interesting possibility arises that *tuêl*, *tug*, etc., may be a writing representing an aspirated pronunciation of *t*, either as *th* (in *think*), or actually *zu*, *žu*(?). In this connection should be noted the 'H' *d*-form *dukka*, parallel with *tukka*, *tug*, etc., possibly indicating a *dz*-pronunciation(?). Hrozný intimates throughout his work that 'H' is a palatalizing language, witness especially the *-nzi* 3 p. pl. of verbs below, equated by Hrozný with IE. *-nt*, *-nd* (see below C., III, on palatalization). The whole question is shrouded in doubt, especially in connection with the 2 p. pronoun, as even a pure *t*-element here would not necessarily connote Aryan origin (see the Finno-Ugric forms cited just above).

¹² Ernst F. Weidner, *Studien zur Hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1917, unfavorably commented on by Hr., 194-211.

Another problem arising in this connection is the appearance of the *-g* in the 1 p. sg. *mug*, *muga*, etc., and in the 2 p. sg. *zig*, *ziga*, etc. (note also *tug*, *tuga*). The presence of forms in *-k* such as *ammukka*, *dukka*, precludes the possibility of this *g* representing an *ng*-nasal which might remind us of the *n*-element in Finn. *mī-nā* 'I', *sī-nā* 'thou,' Turk. *me-n* 'I,' etc. Nevertheless, the 'H' *-g*-final looks most unlike an Aryan termination. Furthermore, where is the true D. sign of these 'H' pronouns, both in the sg. *ammug*, *zig*, oblique *tug*, and in the pl. *anzāš*, 1 p., *šumēš*, *šumāš*, 2 p. (see below B., I.; B., II.)? These forms seem to appear indifferently for practically all case-relations, even the nominative. Only in *tu-* do we find what seems to be a specific oblique form. Contrast this with Av. 1 p. N. *azem*; G. *mana*; D. *ma'byā*; A. *mam*; San. N. *aham*; G. *mama*; D. *mahyam*; A. *mām*; 2 p. Av. *tūm*, *tū*; G. *tava*; D. *ta'byā*; A. *thwam*; San. N. *tvam*; G. *tava*; D. *tubhyam*; A. *tvām*. Considered in the light of present knowledge, the 'H' 1 and 2 p. sg. pronouns do not seem to show strong IE. characteristics.

The 1 p. pl. element *-nz-* in *anzāš*, etc., is compared by Hrozný (112) with Germ. *uns*, *ons*; Lat. *nōs*, Slav. *n(a)s*. The *s* of these IE. forms is usually regarded as a pl. sign (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, 2. 2. 120, 379, 406) and the question here is as to whether the *z* of the 'H' *anz-* is really a plural. Hrozný (10) is not satisfactory on this point, as his argument amounts to a mere categorical statement. The ordinary 'H' pl. ending is *-š*. The 'H' suffix of the 1 p. pl. is apparently *-naš*, i.e., *n*+*a*+real pl. *š* here (Hr. 130). The resemblance of these 'H' *anz-* and possibly *-naš* forms to IE. is certainly striking (note Av. 1 p. pl. enclitic *no*; San. *nas*) and the forms may really be IE. Note, however, that the prefix *a-* of 'H' *anz-* should be compared with the *a-* of *ammug*, 1 p. sg., as a possible carrier of the characteristic pronominal element. Non-Aryan morphology can hardly be cited in this connection, unless one thinks of Turk. *biz* (= *m-z*) and 1 p. pl. suffix *-miz* 'our'; cf. Finn. *me* 'we' and Sum. *mên* 'we.'

Similarly 'H' *šumāš* 'you,' pl., so strikingly like modern Persian *šumā* (Greek *ὑμεῖς*, Lesbian *ὑμμε*), seems an IE. radical, not at all recalling non-Aryan forms such as Turk. *siz* 'you' (pl.). Probably the 'H' A. suffix was *-šmaš* (Hr. 131-132) derived, as Hrozný supposed, from the fuller *šumāš*. But this suffix *-šmaš* is doubtful for the 2 p. pl., as the 3 p. pl. suffix is also *-šmaš* (see

below, C., I.). Here no decision can be reached with the present material.

There is no direct pronoun of the 3 p. in 'H,' but the demonstrative *apâš* 'this one' serves in this capacity (Hr. 138). Note the declension:

Masc. and Fem. (?)		So-called Neuter (see below C., I.)
N.	<i>apâš</i>	<i>apât</i>
G.	<i>apêl</i>	
D.	<i>apîa; apêdani; apîdani</i>	
A.	<i>apun; apêdan</i>	<i>apât; apêda</i>
Loc.	<i>apêz; apîz; apîaz</i>	
Comitative	<i>apâšila (?)</i>	
pl.		
N.	<i>apûš</i>	(<i>apê</i>)
G.	<i>apênzan</i>	
D.	<i>apêdaš; apîdaš</i>	
A.	<i>apûš</i>	<i>apê</i>

Hrozný himself admits that this *ap*, *ab*-stem may not be of IE. origin (137), but he prefers to connect it with the Lycian pronoun *ebe* 'this one'. His tentative association of *apâš* with the Elamic demonstrative *ap* and even with Lydian *bi-s* 'he' (191) is probably correct; compare also the non-Aryan Sumerian demonstrative *bi*-elements in such forms as *lu-bi* 'that man' (Delitzsch, *Sum. Gr.*, 35). Here then we have what is most probably a non-Aryan element, whereas the 'H' demonstrative pron. *tat* 'that one' (Hr. 136) is highly suggestive of IE. connection; cf. Av. and San. neuter demonstr. *tat*. On the other hand, in this connection must be compared the Finno-Ugric *t*-demonstratives: Finn. *tä*; Wogul *t'e, t'i*, Lapp. *ta*, etc., so that even here the IE. character of the radical is not fully determinable. The 'H' demonstr. *naš*, so-called neut. *nat* (Hr. 134), also used as a 3 p. 'he, she, that one,' may not be IE., as it suggests the Sum. common demonstrative *ne*-element (Delitzsch, *op. cit.* 34), which carries also a *-na* 3 p. suffix in Sumerian. With this 'H' *naš*, cf. also 'H' *eni* 'this one' (Hr. 135), which seems to contain the same *n*-stem, possibly of non-Aryan origin.

II. *Relative, Interrogative, and Indefinite Pronouns*

The 'H' so-called relative, interrog. and indef. pron. *kuiš* (Hr. 144, 147 ff.) is declined as follows:

	Masc. and Fem. (?)	so-called Neuter
N.	<i>kuiš</i>	<i>kuit</i>
G.	<i>kuêl</i>	
D.	<i>kuêdani</i>	
A.	<i>kuin</i>	<i>kuit</i>
Loc.	<i>kuêz</i> (not <i>kuêdaz</i> !)	
pl.		
N.	<i>kuêš, kuîš</i>	<i>kuê, kuî</i> (fem.)
G.	—	
D.	<i>kuêdâš</i> (once <i>kuitaš</i>)	
A.	<i>kuêš, kuê</i> (?)	<i>kuê, kuî</i>

Hrozný compares this with the IE.; viz., Av.: N. *kə*, *kas-*, A. *kəm*; San.: N. *kas*, G. *kasya*, A. *kam* (better Av. N. A. *čiš*, San. N. A. neuter *kim* and the particle *cit*, as showing the *i*-vowel); Lat.: *qui*, *quis*, Greek: *τίς*, *τί* (144). The 'H' *kuiš* seems often to be an unaccented enclitic and may occur thus in the middle and even at the end of a relative clause, a proof, according to Hrozný (144), that the relative was developed from an indefinite. But such a construction may also be suggestive of un-Aryan influence, even though the *kui*-root may itself be of IE. origin; cf., for structure only, the Mitanni apparently enclitic relative *-ne* (H. Winckler in *Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Ges.* 1909; 45; 76), the authenticity of which Mitanni form, however, is rejected by Hrozný (144, n. 3). In Turkic, relative relation is frequently expressed by participles with personal suffixes, as *gördijim adem* 'the man whom I saw,' a construction common to many agglutinative languages. Note the following examples of the use of the 'H' *kuiš*, *kuit*, which seem to indicate that a definite decision regarding it cannot yet be reached: *ki kuit kuš* XU-XAR-RI *xallaranni* 'after these oracles have (had?) been received (?)', *BO* 2. 1. 21. Note also *kuitmanzaškan* 'before (conj.) he', *BO* 2. 1. 31. Observe *kuêdaš* UD-XI-A 'several days', *BO* 2. 142 (is *kuêdaš* dative pl.?). This last example is clearly indefinite, as is *tapaššar* ILUM *kuiški iazi* 'a disease some god or other makes' (*BO* 2. 2. 2). Or, can this mean: 'the god makes (causes)

some disease or other'? Here, however, seems to belong ILUM *kuiški* 'some god,' BO 2. 2. 25. But in BO 2. 2. 21: ILIM-tar *kuit* KIL-DI-at 'when the deity appeared,' we have the *kuit* as a conjunction. Note also the 'H' *kuit* = Akkad. *minû* 'how' (Prince, *op. cit.* 57) and Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, X. rev. 10: = Akkad. *matî* 'how long.' *Kuiš* seems really to be demonstrative in Prince, 57-58: *natta kuiš walkiššaraš* 'one (who is) not strong.' In Delitzsch, IX. I. 18: UD-KAM-aš *anian kuiš eššai* 'that which is the daily offering' (Hr. 205: *anian* is a participle), we have an apparent neuter use of the 'masc.-fem.' *kuiš*, i. e., *kuiš* here = 'that (thing) which' (see below C., I., on gender).

As to the supposed IE. origin of 'H' *kuiš*, note the indefinite-interrogative *k*-element in Finno-Ugric and Turkic: Magyar *ki*; Syryenian and Wotj. *kin*; Cher. *kü*, all = 'who' (Szinnyéi, 113); also Finnish *ku*; Lapp. *ko*, etc., and especially Magyar *hod* (= **kod*) with the meaning 'how,' with which cf. 'H' *kuit*, frequently = 'how.' In short, the *k*-form is in itself alone not a sign of IE. origin. It is quite possible that 'H' *kui-* may originally have meant 'person, thing,' in other words, *kui-* may have been an indefinite, from which its general use was developed. It seems by no means certain that we have an IE. particle in 'H' *kuiš*.

B. CASE-ENDINGS

I. Pronominal Endings

There are certain endings peculiar to the 'H' pronouns which merit a brief discussion at this point. These are (a) G. sg. and pl. *-el*, in *ammêl*, *tuêl*, *anzel*, *šumêl*, *apêl*. (b) Comitative (?) *-ila* in *šumášila* (?), *apášila* (?). (c) G. pl. *-ênzan* in *šumênzan* (= *suraš*[?], *ênzan*), *apênzan*. (d) Loc. sg. and D. sg. and pl. *d*-insert in *ammêdaz*, *tuêdaz*, and (probably) *šumêdaz*; D. sg. *apêdani*, *apîdani*; D. pl. *apêdaš*; also in D. sg. *kêdani*, from *kaš* 'this' (140).

(a) There seems to be no doubt as to the G. character of the 'H' *-el*-endings, none of which are inflected, but which are pure genitives used as possessives. For the inflected possessive suffixes, see below, B. III. These forms *ammêl*, *tuêl*, etc., occur in so many cases prefixed to Akkad. ideographic combinations, indicating respectively the 1 and 2 person, that their possessive meaning

seems perfectly clear; cf. *ammêl-wa*¹³ MU-DI-IA 'my spouse' (Hr. 108); *tuêl* MARE-KA 'thy children', etc., *passim*.

What is this *-el* which has so un-Aryan an appearance? Hrozný points out (191), referring to Kretschmer, that Lydian has a G. *-l* occurring especially in adjectives. But there is a similar referring *l* in Kushite (non-Semitic) Abyssinian (Enno Littmann, *Lydian Inscriptions*, Part 1, 1916, 77). Hrozný devotes a long treatise (50-59) to the 'H' formative *l*-element, connecting it with IE. formative *l* in such words as Lat. *humilis*, from *humus* 'ground', etc. He does this because 'H' seems to show *gentilicia* in *-l* (for examples, see Hr. 51). Hrozný associates this gentile genitive *l* with the participial formative *l* in 'H' *šarnikzi-el*. He also compares IE. *nomina agentis* in *-el*, *-êl*, *-il*, such as Lat. *figulus* 'potter', OHG. *tregil* 'bearer' and the Slavonic preterite participle, as *dělal* 'having done'. But after this argument in favor of the IE. origin of the 'H' *l*, Hrozný mentions (57) that a similar *l* exists outside of IE., i. e., in Etruscan, Lakish and Avar, as Lakish *na* 'I', *ttul* 'of me, my'. He is inclined to the view that this non-Aryan *l* may have had an IE. origin. He compares the 'H' G. *-l* in the pronouns with the G. *-r-* in Gothic *unsara* 'of us, our', Armenian *mer* 'our'. He adds (59) that the Turkic *gentilicia* and adjectives in *li*, *lu* have nothing to do with the 'H' *l*, as Turkic *li*, *lu* come from an earlier *-lik*, *-luk* (thus Bittner). Even admitting this latter statement to be so, the same *l*-formative was present in Turkic *-lik*, *-luk* as in *-li*, *-lu*, since the final *-k* in Turkish was merely a nominal-adjectival termination, used in Osmanli for nouns alone.

(b) Closely connected with this question is that of the supposed 'H' Comitative in *-ila*, as *šumášila*, *apášila*. Hrozný admits (118) the unclearness of the passages containing these forms, which, therefore, may well be doubted. If, however, these were genuine comitatives, they would suggest rather Turkic *-ile(n)* 'with'. Furthermore, the term *našili*, which Hrozný thinks, probably correctly, indicates the language known to us as 'Hittite', he derives from the suffix *naš* 'our' and this derivative *l*-element, seen also in *xattili*=the real *Chatti* or Hittite language (*Völker u. Sprachen*, 3 ff.). Hrozný's rendering of

¹³ The suffix *-wa* is not part of the genitive here, but a mere particle, probably meaning 'indeed'. A similar particle exists in Mongolian (Japanese), as *watakushi wa* 'I indeed', but with nominative force. See, however, below, n. 15.

našili as 'our language', paralleling Slavonic *naški* 'in our speech'; *vaški* 'in your tongue', is probably not accurate, as 'H' *naš* means 'this' as well as 'our,' so that *našili* could simply mean 'in this language' (see above, n. 9).

In view of the un-Aryan appearance of referring *l* and of its widespread use in languages of varying provenance, the IE. origin of the 'H' *l* (*-el*, *-il*, etc.) is very doubtful.

(c) The G. pl. *-ênzan* in *šumênzan*, *apênzan* suggests un-Aryan morphology, but of what origin it is impossible to determine.

(d) What is the origin of the infix *-d-*? Hrozný refers (138, n. 3) to an original *-da*, *-ta*(?), which he associates with the *ro*-element of Greek *οὗτος* 'this', and Slav. *k-to* 'who.' This seems a far-fetched conclusion. The 'H' D. ending *-ni* (= *-anni*), suffixed to this *-da-* in such forms as *kuêdani*, also without *-da-* in *idaluanni* (Hr. 65, n. 4) 'to the evil person,' is far more suggestive of Finnic than of IE.; cf. Lapp. *mu-ni* 'to me'; *tu-ni* 'to thee' (Szinnyéi, 71). It is possible that the *-da-* in 'H' D. and Loc. forms may be cognate with the Sumerian *-da-*, also of locative signification (Delitzsch, *Sum. Gr.*, 127), and may not be IE. at all.

II. Noun Inflection

The 'H' nominal inflection is much more Indo-European in appearance than that of the pronouns. Thus, the very evident occurrence of *a-*, *i-*, *u-*stems, to which case-endings are suffixed, is strongly suggestive of IE. Note the following declensions:

	<i>a</i> -stems	<i>i</i> -stems	<i>u</i> -stems
N.	<i>antuxša-š</i>	<i>xalki-š</i>	<i>Telibinu-š-a</i> (conjunctive <i>-a</i>)
G.	<i>antuxša-š</i>	<i>xalki-aš</i>	<i>Telibinu-w-ašš(a)</i> ; <i>Telibinu</i>
D.	<i>antuxš-i</i>	<i>xalk-i</i>	<i>Telibin-i</i>
A.	<i>antuxša-n</i>	<i>xalki-n</i>	<i>Telibunu-n</i>
Loc.	(<i>antuxša-z</i>)	(<i>xalki-az</i>)	
Abl.	<i>antuxši-t(d)</i>	<i>xalki-t(d)</i>	
		pl.	
N.	<i>antuxš-eš</i>	(<i>xalki</i>)- <i>eš</i>	<i>idalau-eš</i>
G.	<i>antuxš-aš</i>	(<i>xalki</i>)- <i>aš</i>	
D.	<i>antuxš-aš</i>	<i>xalki-aš</i>	
A.	<i>antuxš-uš</i>	<i>xalki-uš</i>	
Loc.	—	—	
Abl.	<i>antuxši-t(d)</i>	—	<i>xarnau-wa</i>

Here it will be observed that 'H' -š resembles Av. San. N. -s, save that in 'H' the so-called N. -š may have a non-Aryan indicative force in some instances, a phenomenon which seems also true of the other 'H' cases. Thus, *xalugatallašmiš* 'my messenger' (109) shows the š-suffix after both the noun and the pronominal suffix. Note also forms like *apâš-ila*, *šumâš-ila*, mentioned above, with -ila affixed to the apparent N. -š, and especially *našili* 'in this language' (see above B., I., b). The same application of the case-ending appears in the accus. *xalugatallanmin* 'my messenger' (124). It must be noted that these pronominal endings -miš, -min are genuine suffixes and not separates like Lat. *meus*, *meum*. Note, furthermore, that in the *u*-class, the G. *Telibinu* occurs without G. -š. The -i-sign of the D., common throughout the declensions, although perhaps corresponding to the IE. locative ending -i, as suggested by Kretschmer (Hrozný, 'H', p. 9), rather than to Av. San. D. -e, is even more suggestive of the Finno-Ugric Locative-Dative -i, as Lapp. *par' nai* 'to the son'; *monnai* 'to the egg'; *johkoi* 'to the river' (Szinnyéi, 71). Note, however, Lycian D. -i in *ladi* 'to the spouse' from *lada* (Hr. 49).

The 'H' Loc. -az is a real puzzle. There is no IE. corresponding form. It is true, Hrozný compares Lycian -azi, -ezi (10, n. 4) formatives of ethnica, but in the pre-Hellenic Lemnos inscription, -asi, presumably also ethnic, occurs in force in a language which was not IE. (Bugge, *Verhältnisse d. Etrusker zu den Indogermanen*, 109 ff.). Hrozný also refers to the Greek adverb *θύρασι* 'before the door', as a possible cognate. But there are locatives in a sibilant (z, s, š) in the Caucasian dialects (Erckert, *Die Sprache d. Kaukas. Stammes*, 2. 223), a comparison which Hrozný arbitrarily rejects. Finno-Ugric shows also a well-marked sibilant locative, as Finn. *ma-ssa* 'in the land'; *kyla-ssä* 'in the village' (-ssa = -sna, Szinnyéi, 78). How far any of these stems may be compared with the 'H' locative -az is, of course, uncertain, but it is probable that this -az is not IE.

'H' Abl. -it(d) seems to be a cognate of Av. San. Abl. -t; original in *a*-stems -āt; and secondary in *i*-stems: Av. -ōit; *u*-stems: Av. -aot.

The 'H' pl. also presents few non-Aryan peculiarities. The coincidence of the G. and D. pl. in -aš is striking, but cf. Goth. G. *unsara* 'of us', *unsis* 'to us' with (i)s- dative.¹⁴

¹⁴ In Goth. the pronominal D. sign is possibly the *i*- or *u*-vowel + s, as *mis* 'to me', *un-sis* 'to us', *izwis* 'to you', *thus* 'to thee'.

I am unable to comment on the so-called 'neuter' 'H' Abl. pl. *-wa*.¹⁵

C. I. Gender

Finally, in this connection arises the question as to the existence of grammatical gender in 'H'. The fact that in Delitzsch (*Vokabularfragmente*, IX. 6) we find *walkiššaraš* = Akkad. *lêu* 'strong,' but GUN *walkiššaraš* = Akkad. *lêtum* 'strong' (fem.) would appear to indicate a lack of feminine grammatical designation for nouns, already mentioned by me (*Hittite Material*, 41). It is highly likely at the present showing that 'H' lacked distinctive feminine and also neuter terminations. Hrozný, throughout his discussion of the declensions, admits the merging of the feminine with the masculine. In the combination GUN *walkiššaraš* 'strong' (fem.), Hrozný reads for GUN, SAL-*za*, implying an unknown 'H' word for 'woman', ending in *-z*, and renders 'strong woman,' but it is much more likely that GUN here = the Sum. ideogram 'heavy, gravid, pregnant', hence 'female' (possibly GUN = Akkad. *biltu* 'tribute' was applied to *bêltu* 'lady, woman'). Even if the preformative of *walkiššaraš* were SAL-*za*, rather than GUN, this is more likely to have been a feminine distinctive and not a qualifying word. Had SAL-*za* (GUN) meant 'woman', the Akkad. rendering would have been *aššatum lêtum* 'strong woman' and probably not *lêtum* alone. Lack of grammatical gender is very un-Aryan and appears in the Turkic and Finno-Ugric group. For such distinctive prefixed gender words, cf. Osmanli *erkek* 'male', used before both human and animal names, as *erkek arslan* 'male lion', and *qyz* 'female' before human names, as *qyz gardaş* 'sister', and *dişi* before animal names alone, as *dişi arslan* 'lioness', etc. While it is true that prehistoric IE. did not make distinctions of gender in forms of personal pronouns, nor of all nouns, there was nevertheless a careful distinction in many pronominal and nominal and most adjectival terminations, although the distinction was not carried so far as in some modern IE. languages. It is a question whether the lack of gender in such modern IE. tongues as Persian, Hindustani and Armenian is not the result of non-Aryan influences, such as that of Turko-Tatar, rather than an independent IE. tendency towards genderlessness, such as appears, for example, in modern English.

¹⁵ Has this so-called Abl. *-wa* any connection with the *-wa* mentioned above in n. 13, this article?

It seems significant also that 'H' 'neuter' forms, especially pronominal forms in *-t*, as *nat*, *tat*, *apat* (see above A., I.) are all capable of being regarded also as masc. pls.; cf. Hrozný, *Völker u. Sprachen*, 26, line 5: *nat paratianzi* 'these ones (masc. pl.) come forth.' In other words, it is doubtful whether there really was a neuter in 'H'. In short, the whole question as to Hrozný's gender distinctions is very doubtful, the probability rather being that 'H' was a genderless idiom, similar in this respect to Asiatic non-Aryan forms of speech.

C. II. Pronominal Suffixes

As has already been noted above (A., I.), the 'H' pronouns have D. and A. suffixes *-mu*, 1 p. sg.; *-naš*, 1 p. pl.; *-ta*, 2 p. sg.; *-šmaš*, 2 p. pl. But the suffix of the 3 p. pl. is also *-šmaš*, so similar to that of the 2 p. pl. as to arouse suspicion, or, at any rate, to awaken confusion in the mind of the student. Hrozný himself admits the danger of misunderstanding in this connection (131), as this *-šmaš*-suffix must mean 'to them' and not 'to you' in many forms (such as those cited in 133). Hrozný's derivation of the 3 p. pl. *-šmaš* from some cognate of San. *asmai* 'to him'; Umbrian *esmei* = Lat. *huic*, seem very far-fetched, especially as there is no established IE. form of the 3 p. pronoun in 'H' (see on *apaš*, above A., I.). Note here, however, the D. suffix of the 3 p. sg. *-ši* 'to him, to her' (132), discussed in the following paragraph.

None of the above mentioned suffixes are possessive in character. The true possessive 'H' suffixes are appended to the nouns qualified and apparently declined with the same case-endings as the nouns, which do not lose their own case-endings (see above on *xalugatal-lašmiš*, B., II.). These 'H' *-m-*, *-t-*, *-s-* possessive suffixes do not necessarily imply IE. connection, as we find precisely the same style of possessives in Finno-Ugric; viz., 1 p. *-m*; 2 p. *-t*; 3 p. *-s*; cf. Szinnyéi, 114: Magyar *karo-m* 'my arm'; *karo-d* 'thy arm'; Lapp. *ahče-s* 'his father'. It is curious that the Finno-Ugric pl. possessives do not show the same analogy with the 'H', as Finno-Ugric simply pluralizes the *-m*, *-t*, *-s* by adding the pl. ending *-k* (Szinnyéi, 114). In 'H' as in Finno-Ugric the 1 and 2 p. possessive suffixes seem to be formed from the pronouns themselves, as 'H' 1 p. *mi-š* from *mug*, 2 p. *-tiš* from *tug*. As to the connection of the 'H' 3 p. suffix *-ši*, *-šiš* with any other 'H' element, this must be left for the present without suggestion, as the 'H' 3 p.

pronoun was *apaš* (see above, A., I.). It is interesting to notice that a demonstrative *s*-element is common to all the Finno-Ugric languages; cf. Finn. *se*, Esth. *sen*, Lapp. *son*, Syr. *si*, *sy*, 'he, they'.

C. III. Verbal Endings.

Lack of space forbids a detailed study of the 'H' verb, but it may be remarked, in connection with the pronominal suffixes just treated, that the problem of the verbal personal suffixes of the present tense is very interesting. There are two distinct 'H' conjugations differing in the present tense as follows:

1 <i>ja-mi</i> 'I make' (not 'go') (152)	<i>dâ-(x)xi</i> 'I give' (160)
2 <i>ja-ši</i> (<i>je-ši</i>)	<i>da-tti</i>
3 <i>ja-zi</i> , etc.	<i>dâ-i</i>
pl.	
1 <i>ja-weni</i>	(<i>dâ-weni</i>)
2 <i>ja-tteni</i>	<i>da-tteni</i>
3 <i>ja-nzi</i> (<i>je-nzi</i>)	<i>dâ-nzi</i>

There can be no doubt that these forms resemble very closely the ancient IE. verbal morphology in the singular; cf. San. *yā-mi*, *yā-si*, *yā-ti*; pl. *yā-masi*, *yā-tha*, *yā-nti*. And yet, on close examination there is some room for doubt even here. How are the 'H' 3 p. sg. *-zi* and the 3 p. pl. *-nzi*, as contrasted with Av. San. *-ti*, 3 p. pl. *-nti* to be explained? The supposition that 'H' *-zi* may be a palatalization of an original *-ti* in these forms, seems strange in view of the presence of *z* in the 'H' participle in *-za*, as *adanza* 'eating', and *adanzi* 'they eat' (cf. Prof. Bloomfield's article 'The Hittite Language' in this volume, p. 201 f.). It is certainly striking to find in Finno-Ugric the personal verbal singular endings 1 p. *-m*, 2 p. *-ti* and, most startling of all, in some idioms, 3 p. *-se*; thus: Magyar *also-m* 'I sleep'; *ese-m* 'I eat'; Finn. *mene-t* 'thou goest', the *t* alternating in the dialects with *l* (Magyar *also-l* 'thou sleepest') and *n* (Wogul *minñe-n* 'thou goest'); Esth. *surek-se* 'he is dying'; Cher. *tolne-že* 'he will come', Wotj. *basto-z* 'he will take', etc. (Szinnyéi, 148-150). Furthermore, the 'H' 1 and 2 pl. endings *-weni* and *-tteni* do not have an IE. appearance; contrast the San. *-masi* and *-tha*, cited just above, and Av. *-mahi* and *-tha*. Were it not for the very evident non-Semitic character of 'H', the casual observer might be reminded of the Semitic (Assyrian) 1 and 2 pl. endings *-ni* and *-tunu*! The 'H' *-theni*, however, has been compared with Vedic 2 p. pl. *-tana* (secondary tenses) or

-thana (primary tenses), a possible connection. Finally, in this connection, how are we to explain the 'H' verbs with 1 p. pres. in -xi,¹⁶ in verbs which have lost the -z- of the 3 p. pres. entirely (see above *daxxi*, 3 p. *dai*)?

The conclusion almost forces itself upon the philologist that 'H' displays a mixed and, at the present moment, in many instances untraceable morphology. It is yet too early, in view of the great uncertainty of many translations from 'H' texts, to come to a definite decision, but it is highly possible that this idiom may have to be classified eventually in a group by itself, perhaps standing half way between IE. and non-Aryan idioms such as Finno-Ugric and Turkic.¹⁷ I am aware that many IE. philologists have already rejected the idea that there can be any connection between non-Aryan languages and IE., preferring to regard radical morphological resemblances, such as those pointed out in the present study, as either accidental or form-borrowings from IE. on the part of ancient non-IE. idioms. Henry Sweet in his striking article on linguistic affinity (*Otia Messejana*, 1900-1901, 113-126) called attention to and laid emphasis upon such radical similarities, and Szinnyéi (20) cites a number of salient examples of apparent root-relationships between Finno-Ugric and IE. Especially noticeable among these are Wogul *wit*, Cher. *wüt*, Finn. *vete-*, Magyar *viz* = IE. *ved-* (cf. Phrygian $\beta\epsilon\delta\eta$) 'water'; Finn. *vetä* 'draw'; Cher. *wüd-* *wid-* 'lead'; Magyar *vázá-* 'lead' = IE. *uedh* 'lead', as Slav. *vedu* 'I lead', etc. Furthermore, the A. suffix in -m, as Finn. *n=m*, Cher. -m, = IE. -m, is of interest in this connection.

In view of the many doubtful points to which attention has been called in the present paper, it would seem advisable to await further developments of Hittitology before the decision is reached that we have in 'H' a regular IE. idiom, standing on the same plane as Sanskrit, Old Persian, or Avestan.

¹⁶ The verbal -xi, 1 p., is a strange phenomenon in 'H'. May it be compared with the Slavonic 1 p. -ch of Aorists, as *bych* 'I were, would be' (*passim*), or is it an entirely un-Aryan form? [The *ch* of Slavonic aorists probably goes back to IE. *s*.—F. E.]

¹⁷ Carl J. S. Mårstrander, Professor of Celtic at Christiania, Norway, published in 1919, *Caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite*, in which he seeks to prove that 'H' belonged to the western group of IE. languages, with Germanic, Italo-Celtic, and Greek, and shows especial affinities with Italic, Celtic, and Tokharian, the recently discovered idiom of the Indo-Scythians. On this latter subject, cf. *Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 39 (1908). 924.

A NEW HEBREW PRESS

CYRUS ADLER

DROPSIE COLLEGE

FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS there has been an increasing demand for Hebrew printing in America principally due to the great increase of the Jewish population. This demand for ordinary purposes has been met by an increase in the amount of hand type in various printing offices and more especially by the creation of linotype machines with Hebrew faces. These latter are without vowel points. They involve in addition the difficulty inherent in the breaking up of an entire line in the case of a single error with all the probabilities of the introduction of fresh errors upon resetting.

Owing to the limited quantity of hand-type, books of any length are usually set up in a single sheet or at best in a few sheets at a time and then either printed off or stereotyped making corrections impossible as the work proceeds.

As is well known Hebrew printing in quantity required for American books and journals was frequently done in Germany, England or Holland. I had felt for some time that this practice was undesirable and reduced Hebrew publication in America to a provincial status.

Some years ago the Jewish Publication Society of America undertook the publication of a series of Jewish Classics (Text and Translation) in twenty-five volumes, and this undertaking together with the interruption of mail facilities due to the war emphasized the need for a Hebrew Press.

Through the generosity of the late Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall, Esq., and a number of other gentlemen in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore a fund was placed at the disposal of the Publication Society for the creation of a Hebrew Press.

After fully considering the subject it was decided to adopt the monotype system. This system, which first came into use in 1899, not only makes type but also sets it in lines justified more accurately than can be done by hand. It is a combination of a type-caster and a type-setting machine equipped with an automatic justifying mechanism. Each monotype character is on a separate body so that corrections and alterations are made as readily as with hand-set type.

In the monotype system two machines are used: a paper perforator and a type-caster. The keyboard, or perforator, produces a ribbon of paper which controls, by means of the perforations, the casting machine just as a paper roll controls an automatic player piano. The keyboard, which is not unlike a typewriter (its key arrangement is the universal typewriter keyboard), consists of a punching and counting mechanism. When a key is depressed the punches for this character perforate the paper and at the same time the width of this character is registered by the counting mechanism; the paper ribbon (about four and one-half inches wide) then automatically advances to receive the record of the next key struck. As in a typewriter, a bell signals the operator to end the line, and when this is done, a scale indicates the keys to be struck to justify the completed line. No calculation whatever is required, for the counting mechanism not only determines the amount the line is short of the required measure, but it also divides this by the number of spaces in the line and indicates the keys to strike to produce the proper size spaces to make this line the correct length. When the ribbon unwinds at the caster, the first perforations for the line are these justifying perforations, which cause the caster to adjust its space-sizing mechanism to produce the proper size spaces for the line.

The Duplex Keyboard is a further development of the Monotype; it introduces a new process to the printing industry. It is like the ordinary monotype keyboard except that it is equipped with two perforating and counting mechanisms and consequently simultaneously produces two different paper ribbons for quite independent type sizes and width lines. With this keyboard an article may be set in 10 point for a magazine while at the same time the same matter is produced in 12 point for publication in book form. Either set of perforating and counting mechanisms may also be used independently of the other set. This matter of different point sizes may be alternated, each on its own ribbon; for example, the text of a book in large type and the footnotes in a smaller type.

The Casting Machine is a complete type-foundry, making type, borders, quads and spaces in all sizes from 5 to 36 point inclusive. This type may be put in cases and set by hand like foundry type, or, when the caster is controlled by a ribbon perforated by the keyboard, the type in any sizes from 5 to 14 point is delivered, in any measure required, up to 60 picas, upon ordinary galleys in

perfectly justified lines. In short, its product is exactly the same as hand-set foundry type and is handled, corrected, and made up in the same way.

Under this general plan two machines have been built to produce Hebrew composition. The keyboard has been provided with keys bearing the Hebrew characters. This was done by exchanging the complete keybanks, key-bars and stop-bars, substituting those carrying the Hebrew characters for the ones with the English characters. The paper ribbon is perforated exactly the same as it would be for English composition. In setting Hebrew composition the characters are set in one line and the vowel points and accents are set in the following line so that they come directly above or below the characters which they affect.

The composition with vowel points required the adoption of an ingenious standardization system which not only constitutes an original contribution to the art of Hebrew printing, but its principles may be applied to other Oriental languages. The set size of the characters or their widths has been standardized into two units: eighteen and nine. English characters have widths ranging to twelve units. Thus—the wide characters like *aleph*, *he*, *mem*, *šade* are arranged in eighteen unit set sizes, while the narrow characters like *nun*, *wau*, *gimel*, are set in nine units. The vowel points have also been standardized to match the eighteen unit characters and another set of vowel points for the nine units. The reducing of the set size to a two unit system, eighteen and nine, eliminates all the possible difficulties which a compositor would otherwise have if he had to match as in English a larger variety of units.

The Hebrew matrix case consists of about 225 characters and includes in addition to all the letters of the alphabet those characters which carry the *dagesh* and *holem*, so that they may be set with one touch. The matrix case also contains the superior characters, the numbers, vowel points, musical accents, and the punctuation marks. Thus all conceivable kinds of Hebrew composition, straight matter, table work, composition with or without vowel points, notes, may be set using but one matrix and on the same keyboard. It will be possible to set scientific articles which require a mixture of English and Hebrew, and all sorts of faces, without making any insertions by hand. The convenience of this can be readily seen when setting glossaries, dictionaries; encyclopedic articles, indexes; in short, wherever several languages

or variations of style of type are required. As many as six different faces of type may be set on one line. The principal change in the mechanism is at the Casting Machine where the type is produced. The matrices of each character are placed in the matrix case upside down. In addition to turning the characters around, the lines as they come out of the machine are assembled in the reverse order from English composition. That is—instead of the lines as they come out being pushed onto a galley or tray toward the right they are pushed toward the left. This combination of turning the characters around and assembling the lines in the reverse order makes the Hebrew composition read from right to left instead of from left to right as in English.

The lay-out of the keyboard could not follow any older system, but was so arranged as to produce the maximum speed and convenience for the compositor.

A work under this plan is always printed from new type. The cost of electrotyping is unnecessary as the paper rolls can be stored away in a small space and new castings made from them if a new edition is required. The space for storing electrotypes is also saved.

In the matter of the economy of time it can be stated that the Jewish Publication Society is employing a skilled type-setter from Wilna who formerly worked for the Romm firm of that city, which published the great Talmud. This man, though a novice on the Monotype machine, nevertheless has set up a galley of Hebrew type with vowels on the machine in forty-five minutes as against four hundred and fifty minutes by hand.

It may fairly be said that a revolution in Hebrew printing has thus been effected. The Jewish Publication Society of America may lay claim to having adapted the Monotype system to the full use of Hebrew composition. It has not only initiated the idea but its special committees on Hebrew printing have contributed nearly all the ideas which have enabled the producers of the machine to utilize it for the purposes of Hebrew printing.

As for the face itself, a word should be said. The original effort was to maintain a tradition of the Hebrew printing as known in America. Faces of early Hebrew type vary, of course, very greatly in Turkey, Italy, Germany, Poland, Russia, Holland and England. In some cases they obviously imitate a local manuscript style. A study of early Hebrew printing in America and especially of works of considerable length made it plain that

the American types were descended from Holland which in its turn seems to have gone back to Venice. Accordingly, some prints were taken of works published by the distinguished Manasseh Ben Israel (1604-1657) who was at once author, printer, and statesman and whose features are known to us by a splendid etching of Rembrandt. From these characters an artist drew the designs for the Monotype machine. These were carefully studied and slight alterations made to prevent possible confusion of letters like *daleth* and *resh*, *gimel* and *nun*, *samech* and final *mem*. A face was thus finally secured which it is believed combines beauty with clearness. The machines are being constructed to carry six sizes of type.

Aside from presenting this statement my purpose in bringing the subject before the Society is to enable the members to consider whether the Society desires to supplement this enterprise.

The Jewish Publication Society has expended some \$14,000 up to now in building two machines carrying six sizes of type. Hebrew is ample for its purpose. I have ascertained that for a maximum cost of \$500 per language any other alphabet which would lend itself to the Monotype system could be added.

This press, which I hope will be ready for practical purposes by the end of May, will be at the service of anyone up to its capacity. Being operated by a Society which does not seek profits, it may aid in solving some of the financial questions connected with the printing of Hebrew and other Oriental texts in America.


March 29, 1921

THE OLDEST DOME-STRUCTURE IN THE WORLD

Fritz Hommel

University of Munich



THE REPRESENTATION of 'the oldest monumental dome-structure' given by Dr. H. F. Lutz in this JOURNAL, vol. 39 (1919), p. 122, from one of the famous 'palettes en schiste', or slate pallets of the beginnings of Egyptian civilization, has a long and interesting history which I will give in outlines in the following pages.

A. The history of 'one of the oldest known temples in Egypt'. In the Pyramid Inscriptions (ed. by Kurt Sethe) two temples are named more than thirty times in close connexion, viz., *pr-wr*  with many slight variants, i. e., 'the house of the prince', or 'the great house', and *pr-nw*, i. e., 'the house of the heavenly ocean', or *pr-nsr*, 'the house of diadem (?)', or, perhaps, 'of watching'.¹ As it is seen easily, the latter is the temple, given by Prof. Lutz from the 'palette en schiste avec scènes de chasse'.

(a) *pr-wr* and *pr-nw* (or *pr-nsr*) named together (I cite the paragraphs of the edition of Sethe):


Pyr. 256a god Min *js hnt pr-wr pr-nw* (var. *jtrt p. p.*, *jtrt chapel* or a similar meaning), comp. below 1998a.

Pyr. 425c the two *pr*, the double ox and the obelisk *thn-b'* together with *sp'* (larva?) in an exorcism-formula, comp. below 669 (the two *pr* and *sp'-wr*).

Pyr. 577c, d (=645b), Osirian text: 'the gods are in brotherhood with thee in thy name *šnwt*,   they do not repel (*twr*) thee in thy name *jtrt pr-wr pr-nw*'. Comp. also 1830c, d.



Pyr. 645b (comp. 577, c, d and 1830, c, d.).

Pyr. 669ab, comp. 425; not the ideograms, but *pr-wr* and *pr-nw* are meant by 'the two *pr*'.

Pyr. 731c (Osirian text). Osiris judging the gods *m hnt jtrt pr-wr* (and) *pr-nw* (ideog. with det. ); comp. 2005a.

Pyr. 757b *jtrt pr-wr pr-nw p-t* (of heaven); comp. 757b (the throne of Osiris).

Pyr. 852bc *pr-wr pr-wr* (here phonetically with id.) *pr-n-s-r* and id. (Osirian text!).

¹ I transcribe  always *pr-wr* (with a hyphen) and  always *pr-nw*.

Pyr. 896c Osiris standing before *jtrt pr-wr pr-nw* like Anubis.

Pyr. 1009a (Osirian hymn) no mourning in *jtrt pr-wr pr-nw* = 1978a.

Pyr. 1068cd the enneas in On *m hnt* (before) *jtrt pr-wr, m qd b-t pr-nw* (comp. 288b, 1362c).

Pyr. 1159b *Hnt jtrt pr-wr pr-nw* (comp. 1157b Osiris and 1159a *špd-wr*).

Pyr. 1182c he goes up-stream to *Hnt-jtrt pr-wr pr-nw*.

Pyr. 1262b they place thee (O Osiris) before *jtrt pr-wr pr-nw* of the souls of On (Osirian text).

Pyr. 1297e (=1369bc and 2017bc) *jtrt pr-wr* in Upper-Egypt (*šm'*), *jtrt pr-nw* in Lower Egypt (*mḥ'-t*)—Osirian text.

Pyr. 1345b Osiris *m hnt jtrt pr-wr pr-nw* (comp. *pr-wr* alone 2572b).

Pyr. 1362c (comp. another variant 2010a) *q' qdbt pr-wr pr-nw pr-nw* (the latter in the dual) *Grgw-b'k²* (comp. 719a). Osirian text; comp. 288b and 1064cd.

Pyr. 1369bc=1297cd=2017bc, Osirian text (see above).

Pyr. 1541b (Osiris) *m jtrt pr-wr pr-nw j'ht* (comp. 1862b, and 1992a).

Pyr. 1552b *Hnt-mnt-f* offers to *jtrt pr-wr* (with two strokes, meaning *pr-wr* and *pr-nw*); comp. 1551a *tph-t pr-nw* hymn to Osiris-Nile.

Pyr. 1830cd (Osirian text) see above 577cd (and 645b).

Pyr. 1862b (Osirian text) he stands in *jtrt pr-wr pr-nw j'ht* (comp. 1541b and 1992a). Comp. also 1867b (Anubis and *pr-wr*).

Pyr. 1978a (Osirian hymn) no mourning in *jtrt pr-wr pr-nw*, see 1009a.

Pyr. 1992a see 1541b and 1862b; and comp. 1992b (throne of Gb before *jtrt pr-wr*).

Pyr. 1998a thou standest on the top (or front, *hntj*) of the brotherhood (*šnwt*) of *pr-wr pr-nw* like Min. Comp. above 256a.

Pyr. 2005a comp. above 731c.

Pyr. 2017bc=1297e and 1369bc (see above).

(b) *pr-wr* alone:

Pyr. 370b with *Nbtj* (= *Štš*, Seth).

Pyr. 627a *Itf'-wr* (Osiris as the great sawer) of *pr-wr* in triumph over Seth.

² *Grgw-b'k* is probably *κερκεύσις* in the Fayoum.

Pyr. 648d Osiris is named *pr-wr pr-wr* (phonetically and id.); folk-etymology with *wr* 'greater' than his enemy.

Pyr. 689c the god *Pr-wr* (only phonet., without ideogr.).

Pyr. 910b *Nḥbt* of *Nḥb-nw*, lady of *pr-wr pr-wr* (phon. and id.).

Pyr. 938a *m hnt jtrt pr-wr wr(-r)-t* (comp. 1251d). The variant gives *pr-nw wr-t*.

Pyr. 1251d *m hnt jtrt pr-wr wr-t* (comp. 938a) and god *Bdw*.

Pyr. 1288a *pr* (pl.) *wr* (pl.) *jmw jwn-nw* (On)—here meaning *pr-wr* and *pr-nw*; lit. the great houses.

Pyr. 1462c *pr-wr* (in a connexion which is obscure to me).

Pyr. 1867b like Anubis upon *x* (man with knife) *pr-wr* (comp. 1862b *pr-wr pr-nw*).

Pyr. 1992b *Gb* before *jtrt pr-wr* (comp. 1992a *pr-wr pr-nw*).

Pyr. 2094b (Osirian text) standing in *pr-wr*, sitting with the two enneads.

Pyr. 2172b Nut bears thee like Orion,³ she makes thy standing place before *jtrt pr-wr* (comp. 1345b the variant *pr-wr pr-nw*, without the passage mentioning Orion).

(c) *pr-nw* alone:

Pyr. 244b 245a bull of Horus and the god *Jm-tpḥt-f* (i. e., he who is in his spring-fountain, or fountain-cavern, with det. *pr-nw*).

Pyr. 268d *hntj tpḥt* with det. *nw* three times repeated (comp. □ = *pr-nw*).

Pyr. 288d *m Dd-t* (det. of local name), var. *m Ddbt* and det. *pr-nw*. Comp. 1064d and 1362c.

Pyr. 444b *tpḥt pr-nw* (charm-text, *sp' Hr*, and house of the bull of the fountain-cavern).

Pyr. 682a god *Jm-tpḥt-f* (here with det. *pr*, instead of *pr-nw*).

Pyr. 810c *tpḥt pr-nw wr. t jwn-nw* (var. □ instead of *pr-nw*; comp. Kees, *Der Opfertanz*, p. 130).

Pyr. 852d *tpḥt pr-nw* are opened, var. □.

Pyr. 1078b *tpḥwt pr-nw* (three times □) are opened.

Pyr. 1139b *hm pr-nw* of the goddess *Jmt-t* (comp. 1128c Osiris).

Pyr. 1438 *Pr nw* and id. *pr-nw* (□); there the birth of the god *Wp-w'wt*, the standing jackal. *Wp-w'wt* must be here a name of the Nile.

Pyr. 1551d (hymn to Osiris-Nile) *tpḥt pr-nw* (= house of *pr-nw* of Osiris).

³ Comp. *R. T.* 2., pl. XVI, No. 116 *pr-wr š'h*, and tomb of *Mtn* (Berlin) G X, (= E, 2 of the other edition) prince of *Pr wr š'h* (here a local name).

Pyr. 1557b (in the same hymn) *tph-t-f* (viz. of the Nile) with det. *Pr* instead of *pr-nw*.

Pyr. 1680b thou (o *Wr*) hast opened *tpht* (det. \sphericalangle instead of *pr-nw*).

In resuming, the following is remarkable: Though some times *Pr-wr* is specialized for Upper Egypt, and similarly *Pr-nw* for Lower Egypt (see above Pyr. 1297e),⁴ originally both sanctuaries belonged closely together and were situated in the neighborhood of Assuan, where the *tpht* (the subterranean source of the Nile) and the *gbhw* had their home.

Both sanctuaries were connected with the corn god Osiris, especially the *pr-wr*, his holy sepulchre, on whose top his son Anubis was lying. Comp. *Royal Tombs*, 2, pl. XVI, No. 116, where the *pr-wr*, originally a granary with a ladder of three degrees, is clearly represented as a house with the lying jackal of Anubis, according to the ingenious interpretation of my son-in-law, Dr. Theodor Dombart. The three degrees of the ladder became here the two fore-legs and the nose of the jackal, and the two funnel-stakes became the two ears. Comp. also Pyr. 896c and 1867b.

Sometimes *pr-wr* is connected with Orion, with Seth Nubti, with Geb, with *Nhb-t* and with Min of Panopolis (Khemmu)—see above.

While *pr-nw*, the birth place of *Wp-w't* (here a symbolic name for the Nile?) is generally connected with the *tph-t*, the holy fountain-cavern of the great river of Egypt.

In *Royal Tombs*, 2, pl. VI A (lot Dyn.) stands the symbol of the goddess Neith before the *pr-wr*, and an ibis (?) upon the *pr-nw*,⁵ while a bull (in the net) is placed before it; comp. the double-ox by the side of the *pr-nw* on the slate-palette, and comp. above Pyr. 425c.

Old pictures of the *pr-wr* are found also in *Royal Tombs* 1, pl. X, No. 11 = pl. XVI, No. 20 (king Den) and *Medum*, pl. IX (tomb of Ra-hotep) and pl. XVII (tomb of Nofer-ma't). Comp. also the seal cyl. of Negadeh, *Aeg. Z.* 34 (1896), p. 160, Abb. 4: three fishes, tree and *pr-wr* (?); the tree is the sycamore of the tomb of Osiris (Pyr. 1485-1491). In later times we find (e. g., in How, 7. nome of Upper-Egypt) the sycamore by the

⁴ And comp. the Palermo chronicle, rev. 3. 1.

⁵ Comp. the great mace of Ner-mer, where we also find the picture of a *pr-nw* with an ibis therein (see e. g., Capart, p. 241).

side of *pr-nw* (instead of *pr-wr*), which is a secondary confusion.

B. That Dr. Lutz is right in saying: 'the pre-dynastic Egyptian dome-structure ultimately goes back to Babylonia', is proved by a series of important discoveries which were published in my '*Beiträge zur morgenländischen Altertumskunde*', pp. 17-32 (II. 'Die beiden ältesten babylonischen and ägyptischen Heiligtümer'), Muenchen, 1920, Franz'sche Buchhandlung (Hermann Lukaschik). Compare especially my remarks on *é-nunna* = *kummu* (variant *kûpy*, dome-structure, German 'Kuppel') in connection with the *naqab apsî* or fountain-spring, and Egyptian *é-nw*, in connection with the *tph-t*, the fountain cavern of the Nile (see above).

BRIEF NOTES

Representation of tones in Oriental languages

A Note on the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages appeared on pp. 453ff. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October 1920, and, at the risk of appearing egotistical, I venture to draw the attention of the Members of the American Oriental Society to the proposals contained therein. I believe that all Orientalists who have anything to do with the Far East have long felt the need of one universal system of representing tones for all languages, instead of the varying systems and confusion that exist at the present day. I in no way assume that the system proposed by me is the best possible, and, if a better and more convenient is suggested, I shall be the first to welcome it. Anyhow, perhaps it may be taken by American Orientalists as a starting point for the consideration of the subject.

The Note is the outcome of a Committee held in London, of which the principal members were Mr. Lionel Giles, of the British Museum, Sir Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, and Dr. Thomas, the Librarian of the India Office, and was drawn up at their request, but on my own responsibility. It was laid before the Joint Meeting of Oriental Societies held in Paris in July 1920, at which were present representatives of the American Oriental Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Société Asiatique. The Proceedings of that Meeting were published in the *Journal Asiatique* for July-September 1920, and on page 192 there will be found, under the heading "Rapport de la Commission des Transcriptions," the following recommendation:

Le Comité donne son approbation cordiale au système de représentation des tons exposé par Sir George Grierson dans un article qui a été communiqué en manuscrit à la Commission (et publié ultérieurement dans le *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* octobre 1920).¹

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

Camberley, Surrey, England

¹ *Editorial Note.*—The Editors commend to the thoughtful consideration of the members of the Society and readers of the JOURNAL Sir George Grierson's illuminating study of a system for representing tones. We hope in the near future to be able to publish an article by a well-known American authority illustrating the use of the proposed system.

Persian Words in the Glosses of Hesychius

1. ἄρξιφος

Our glossographer defines ἄρξιφος as a Persian loan word signifying 'eagle' (ἄετός). It is doubtless the Younger Avesta *arəzifra*, 'darting straight down,' Sanskrit *ṛjipyā*, an epithet of *śyena*, 'falcon', in Rig Veda 4. 27. 4; 38. 2. The *prius* of the compound may have appeared in Ancient Persian as **ardi* (I.E. *r̥ǵi*, Ar. *ṛǵi*), the sound representing Ar. *ṛ* being shown in the cuneiform syllabary regularly as *d*, sometimes as *z*. This distinction involves the mooted question of dialects within the ancient language itself (cf. Meillet, *Gram. du Vieux Persé*, 3-9; Johnson, *Hist. Gram. of Anc. Pers. Lang.*, 157, 158) as well as phonetic influence and formulaic usage (cf. Stonecipher, *Graeco-Persian Proper Names*, 6-8). Without doubt the more correct transliteration of the Persian word would be ἄρξιφος < ἄρξιφιός reproducing as it does the exact form of the original. If we accept the dialect hypothesis it seems that the forms with *z* predominate in the Greek transference even where the Ancient Persian shows the regular *d*, e.g. Ἀριοβαρζάνης < *ariya + vardana*, Μιθροβαρζάνης < *Miθra + vardana*.

2. βίσταξ

An Ancient Persian word which has not survived is βίσταξ described as ὁ βασιλεὺς παρὰ Πέρσαις. We may conjecture that it was a royal title and not the word for 'king.' The *prius* I connect with the Ancient Persian *viθ*, 'royal house,' Avestan *vis*. Its application to the reigning dynasty is clearly shown in the following passages: Behistan Inscription of Darius the Great, I, 70-71, *hamataxšaiy vašnā auramazdāha yaθā Gaumāta hya maguš v'θam tyām amāxam naiy parābara*, 'I labored by the grace of Ahura Mazda that Gaumata the Magian might not take away our dynasty;' Persepolis Inscription of Darius, c, 23-24 *šiyātiš axšatā hauvciy aurā nirasātiy abiṽ imām viθam*, 'Welfare undisturbed will descend through Ahura upon this dynasty;' Naḫš-i-Rustam Inscription of the same monarch, a, 52-53, *mām auramazdā pātuv hacā ga[stā] utāmaiṽ viθam utā imām dahyāum*, 'may Ahura Mazda protect me from evil and my dynasty and this country.'

The same problem is presented in the Greek transliteration of Ancient Persian *θ* < I.E. *k̑*, as in the case of Ancient Persian

$d < \text{I.E. } \hat{g}$. Here again we find σ often representing ϑ , e.g. $\text{Μασιότης} < \text{maðišta}$, $\text{Σατάσπης} < \text{ṣata} + \text{aspa}$.

The *posterius* may be connected with the Middle Persian *tak*, 'strong,' seen as the *prius* in the Ancient Persian proper name *taxmaspāda*, 'possessing a hero-army.' If our conjecture be correct, in addition to the formulaic phraseology of the 'king of kings,' (*xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*) we restore another epithet of despotic arrogance, $\beta\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\acute{\xi}$, 'hero of the royal race.'

3. ὁπαστόν

Hesychius notes ὁπαστόν· τὸ ἐφόδιον. Πέρσαι (MS., not Περγαῖοι, *Philol.* 12. 616; Herwerden, *Lex.* ὁπάζειν). The Ancient Persian word seems clearly to be compounded of the prefix *upā*, 'unto' and the root *stā*, 'stand.' In the sense of 'stand by, aid' the word *upastā* occurs twenty-four times in the Achaemenidan inscriptions and in a special application would convey the meaning contained in $\epsilon\acute{\phi}\acute{o}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$, 'supplies for the road, support, assistance.' As shown in the related Sanskrit *upasthāna* the meaning 'approach' would flow easily from the etymology even if the compound is not found with this signification either in the inscriptions or in the Younger Avesta, and in that sense it would approximate the Greek $\epsilon\acute{\phi}\acute{o}\delta\omicron\varsigma$.

4. ἀμαζακάραν

A curious formation is $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\zeta\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\nu$ defined as $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$. We are reminded of the oft recurring *hamaranam cartanaiy*, 'to make battle' and are tempted to regard $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\zeta\alpha$ - as an incorrect transference of $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\alpha$ - (Anc. Pers. *hamarana*, 'battle' from *ham*, 'together' + *ar*, 'come'). To defend the ζ one must posit **hamaza* (*ham*, + **aza*, cf. Avesta *az* 'drive'). The *posterius* $\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\nu <$ Ancient Persian *kar* 'make' is clear.

H. C. TOLMAN

Vanderbilt University

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

Acting under Article IV, Section 1, of the Constitution, as amended at the last annual meeting, the Executive Committee has, by unanimous vote, elected the following to membership in the Society:

Rabbi Harry H. Mayer,
Prof. H. B. Reed,
Mr. A. K. Schmavonian,
Prof. Jacob Wackernagel.

Rev. Dr. Frank K. Sanders, 25 Madison Avenue, New York City, has accepted the chairmanship of the Committee on Enlargement of Membership and Resources, made vacant by the resignation of Prof. Julian Morgenstern.

At the meeting recently held in Baltimore, the Directors voted that foreign societies and individuals, who were receiving the JOURNAL in 1914, should be permitted to continue or renew their subscriptions, and to fill lacunae in their files since 1914, at pre-war rates of exchange (\$5.00 = 1 Pound = 25 francs = 20 marks, etc.). Notice is hereby given of this ruling, which goes into effect at once. The Executive Committee was empowered by the Directors to apply the principle thus laid down to individual cases at its discretion.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, hitherto in charge of an Executive Committee affiliated with the Archaeological Institute, the Society of Biblical Literature and the American Oriental Society, has been incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia as the American Schools of Oriental Research. This action was approved at a meeting of the Managing Committee (consisting of the Contributors, etc.) held in New York, June 3. Its purpose, as set forth in the Articles of Incorporation, is: "To promote the study and teaching and to extend the knowledge of Biblical literature and the geography, history, archaeology, and ancient and modern languages and literatures of Palestine, Mesopotamia and other Oriental countries, by affording educational opportunities to graduates of American Colleges and Universities and to other qualified students, and by the prosecution of Oriental research and excavations and exploration." The new incorporation will thus include the proposed School at Baghdad and any similar undertakings in the Near Orient. The Trustees number fifteen, three of whom represent the affiliated societies, the remainder being elected by the Contributors in groups of four for three years. The first board of Trustees consists of: James C. Egbert (President of the Archaeological Institute), Warren J. Moulton (Society of Biblical Literature), Wilfred H. Schoff (American Oriental Society), Cyrus Adler, Benjamin W. Bacon, George A. Barton, Howard Crosby Butler, Albert T. Clay, A. V. Williams Jackson, Morris Jastrow, Jr., James A. Montgomery, Edward T. Newell, James B. Nies, James H. Ropes, Charles C.

Torrey. Most of these gentlemen, with John B. Pine, Esq., were the incorporators. The first meeting of the Trustees was held in New York on June 17. The following officers were elected: James A. Montgomery, president; James C. Egbert, vice-president; George A. Barton, secretary and treasurer; Wilfred H. Schoff, associate secretary. Dr. W. F. Albright, present acting director, was appointed director of the School for the coming year.

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis has appointed a committee to inquire into the feasibility of compiling a catalogue of the Biblical manuscripts in this country. The committee consists of Prof. C. C. Edmunds (General Theological Seminary), Prof. A. Marx (Jewish Theological Seminary), and Prof. H. P. Smith (Union Theological Seminary), chairman. A brief questionnaire has been issued inquiring as to the location of manuscripts and the willingness of owners to participate in the catalogue. It is especially intended to obtain knowledge of manuscripts in private hands. Information should be sent to the chairman.

The Palestine Oriental Society held its sixth General Meeting in Jerusalem on May 4. The program of papers consisted of: 'A Year's Work in Palestine,' Prof. J. Garstang; 'Un hypogée juif à Bethphagé,' Le Rev. Père Orfali; 'Solomon as a Magician in Christian Legend,' Dr. C. C. McCown; 'Origine du pluriel simple dans les langues sémitiques,' Mr. Israel Eitan; 'Methods of Education and Correction among the Fellahin,' Mr. E. N. Haddad; 'Sites of Ekron, Gath and Libnah,' Dr. W. F. Albright. It is requested by the secretary, the Rev. Herbert Danby, that newcomers to Palestine who are interested in the Society, should communicate with him.

The name of the École Biblique de St. Étienne of the Dominican Convent in Jerusalem has been changed to l'École française archéologique de Palestine. The change of name is significant of the recognition of the School by the French government.

PERSONALIA

Prof. H. ZIMMERN, of Leipzig, has succeeded Prof. Friedr. Delitzsch at the University of Berlin.

Dr. H. F. LUTZ, of the University of Pennsylvania, has accepted the newly established chair of Egyptology and Assyriology at the University of California.

Prof. JOHN P. PETERS was the lecturer this year on the Bross Foundation of Lake Forest College. His subject was "Bible and Spade."

Prof. OTTO BARDENHEWER, of Munich, professor of the New Testament and Patristic scholar, editor of *Biblische Studien*, died March 19.

Dean ALFRED E. DAY, of the American University of Beirut, has published a circular giving a system of transliteration of Arabic, with primary regard to the usage of that University.

Mr. W. E. STAPLES, of Victoria College, University of Toronto, has gained the Thayer Fellowship in the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem for 1921-22.

Professor FRANZ CUMONT has been visiting this country. He came to deliver the Silliman Lectures at Yale University, his subject being the Astral-Cults. These he repeated at Union Seminary, and he also lectured at the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Wisconsin, and the Pacific School of Religions, Berkeley, Calif.

Professor MORRIS JASTROW, JR., of the University of Pennsylvania, died suddenly at Jenkintown, Pa., on June 22, at the age of fifty-nine years. He had been a member of the Society since 1886, had served it as President, and at the time of his death was a Director.

THE ANTIQUITY OF BABYLONIAN CIVILIZATION

ALBERT T. CLAY

YALE UNIVERSITY

SOME YEARS AGO it was suggested that the scribe of Nabonidus (555-538) made a mistake in stating that Naram-Sin lived 3200 years earlier; that instead, he should have written 2200 years. This would make the date of Naram-Sin about 2750 B. C. Although there were reasons for reducing the older figure, many Assyriologists, including the writer, felt that until conclusive evidence was forthcoming it was inadvisable to lop off 1000 years. Recent discoveries have shown that the date 2750 B. C. is not far from correct.¹ The date of Sargon, the founder of Akkad, following the chronology given in the dynastic tablets which are discussed below, would then be about 2847-2791 B. C.

About twenty-five years ago, when some European savants regarded Sargon and Naram-Sin as legendary characters, Haynes at Nippur was digging through the pavement which was laid in the temple peribolos by one of these kings. Beneath the pavement of Naram-Sin he found thirty feet of accumulations of débris. Everything that was discovered belonging to the time of Sargon and Naram-Sin, letters, legal documents, temple administrative archives, and the art, indicated a highly developed state of civilization. But what is more to the point in this connection, everything which was found in the strata beneath Naram-Sin's pavement, and everything found elsewhere which belonged to the period prior to Sargon, pointed to a long antiquity for the culture represented by what was discovered. The character of the earliest script belonging to this age seemed, on palaeographical grounds, to carry us back to a time many centuries prior to the days of Sargon. The signs of even the earliest known writing are so far removed from the original hieroglyphs that it is only by the help of the values which we know the signs possess that we can make reasonable guesses as to what the original pictures of some of them might have been, while the majority are con-

¹ While there are no data at present to connect the V Uruk dynasty with that of III Ur, the number of kings in the lists given us by the Babylonian historians does not permit a large gap, if any.

ventionalized to such an extent that even this is not possible. The work of the sculptor in stone and bronze had been developed to such excellence that we can only infer that it required a long period to lead up to what had been produced. The artistic ingenuity displayed by the lapidary in metamorphizing a bit of stone into a beautiful gem, an art which even before Sargon's age was greatly conventionalized and at its very height, also forces one to conclude that a long period in the development of this art preceded.

There was a time when it seemed justifiable to take comparatively little notice of the history that preceded Sargon; but so much has recently been brought to light that we are now in a position to clarify our views concerning this earlier period.

During the past two decades a number of tablets and fragments have been found presumably all dating from the third millennium B. C., which have proved to be chronological works by ancient Babylonian historians. In the reconstructed list which follows, this material is marked A to E.

(A) In 1906, Hilprecht published the reverse of a fragmentary tablet which had been found in the Nippur Library, giving the names of kings and the years they ruled, of the Ur and Nîsin dynasties.² This was republished by Poebel, in 1914,^{2a} who, with the help of other texts, succeeded in reading also the obverse of the tablet, which contained the earliest dynasties.

(B) In 1911, Père Scheil published a very important tablet, in the possession of Mr. Bernard Maimon, which, although fragmentary, gives the six dynasties between Akshak and Gutium inclusive, with the names of rulers and number of years they reigned.³

(C) In 1912, Thureau-Dangin published an important tablet of Utu-ḫegal, king of Erech, in which he tells how he terminated the rule of Gutium over Babylonia.⁴ This enables us to restore what is now known as the V Uruk dynasty to its proper place.

(D) In 1914, Poebel published several tablets, discovered in the Library at Nippur, one of which was written by a scribe in the fourth year of Ellil-bani, of the Nîsin dynasty, i. e., about

² *BE* XX. 1.

^{2a} *HGT* V. 5.

³ *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1911, 606 ff.

⁴ *RA* IX. 114 ff.

2200 B. C. These texts give the names of 134 kings who ruled Babylonia prior to his time. Another historiographer, who wrote during the reign of Damiq-ilishu, the last king of the same dynasty, had given a similar list. A summary informs us that there were eleven 'cities of royalty,' one of which had enjoyed five different dynasties, and the others, one, three, and four dynasties respectively; this covers 139 kings who ruled Babylonia. The date of the later scribe brings us close to the beginning of Hammurabi's reign, about 2123 B. C. Unfortunately these tablets⁶ have come down to us in a fragmentary condition, most important parts being missing.

(E) An important fragment of a similar list from the same source, has recently been published⁶ by M. Léon Legrain, in which the three missing cities of the eleven are given, namely, Hamazi, Adab, and Mari, making the list complete.

Several attempts have been made at reconstructing the summary given at the close of the tablet published by Poebel, representing these 'cities of royalty', in the order in which they first became seats of the dynasties.⁷ With the aid of the additional light furnished by the fragment published by Legrain, I offer in the following a new attempt at reconstructing the summary, as well as the list of dynasties.

- 4 kingdoms of Kish
- 5 kingdoms of Uruk
- 3 kingdoms of Ur
- 1 kingdom of Awan
- 1 kingdom of Ha[mazi]⁸
- [2 kingdoms of Adab]
- [1 or 2 kingdoms of Mari]
- [1 or 2 kingdoms of Akshak]
- 1 kingdom of Akkad
- 1 kingdom of Guti
- 1 kingdom of Nisin

⁶ For these texts see Poebel, *HGT* Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

⁶ *The Museum Journal*, 1920, 175 ff.

⁷ Poebel, *HT* 87 ff. Ungnad, *ZDMG* 1917, 162 ff. Hommel in Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, 205 ff. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920, 23 ff.

⁸ In answer to an inquiry Doctor Legrain informed the writer after collating the tablet published previously (see *HGT* 2.25), that the character which is preserved is *Ha*. This unquestionably shows that the tablet read *Hamazi*.

RECONSTRUCTED LIST OF ROYAL CITIES

D	{	I	Kish	23	kings	18,000+	years	
		I	Uruk	11(?)	"	2,171+	"	
		I	Ur	4	"	171	"	
			Awan	3	"	356	"	
E	{	II	Kish	4(?)	"	3,792	"	
			Hamazi	1(?)	"	7	"	
E	{	I	Adab ^{8a}	2(?)	"			
		II	Ur ^{8b}	4(?)	"	108	"	
		II	Adab	1	"	90	"	
			Mari	3(?)	"	30+	"	
			I(?)Akshak ^{8c}	1(?)	"			
		III	Kish ^{8d}	3(?)	"			
E	{	II	Uruk ⁹	3(?)	"			
		II(?)	Akshak	6	"	99	"	3007(?)B. C.
		IV	Kish	8	"	106	"	2978(?)B. C.
		III	Uruk	1	"	25	"	2872(?)B. C.
			Akkad	12	"	197	"	2847(?)B. C.
		IV	Uruk	5	"	26	"	2650(?)B. C.
B	{		Gutium	21	"	125	"	2624(?)B. C.
		V	Uruk	1	"	25(?)	"	2499(?)B. C.
A	{	III	Ur	5	"	117	"	2474(?)B. C.
			Nîsin	16	"	225	"	2357(?)B. C.

^{8a} This dynasty is proposed to account for the kings whose inscriptions were found by Banks at Bismaya.

^{8b} The number of years for this dynasty is obtained by subtracting the number of kings and the years of the first and third dynasties from the total given for all three. On the two known kings assigned to this dynasty, cf. *HT* 196.

^{8c} The existence of two Akshak dynasties rests upon slender grounds. Zuzu of Akshak, whom Eannatum conquered (*SAK* p. 20), may only have been an ally of Mari.

^{8d} It would seem as if Eannatum had founded this dynasty and that Enbi-Ashtar was the last king of it.

⁹ The three kings are only tentatively assigned to this dynasty.

I Kish Kingdom

9	Kalumum	900	years
10	Zugagib	840	"
11	Arwû, son of a <i>mushkenu</i>	720	"
12	Etana, the Shepherd	625	"
13	Baliqam, son of Etana	410	"
14	En-men-nun-na	611	"
15	Melam-Kish	900	"
16	Bar-sal-nun-na, son of Melam-Kish	1,200	"
17	Me-za-mug(?), son of Bar-sal-nun-na		
18	En-gis(?)-gu(?), son of Bar-sal-nun-na		
19	En(?)-...		
20	...-za(?)		
21	En(?)-...		
22	...	900	"
23	Ag(?), son of En(?)	625	"
23 kings		18,000	+ x years

Eanna or I Uruk Kingdom

1	Mesh-kin-gasher, son of Shamash	325	years
2	En-mer-kâr, son of Mesh-kin-gasher	420	"
3	Lugal-Marda, the Shepherd	1,200	"
4	Dumu-zi (or Tammuz), the Hunter(?)	100	"
5	Gilgamesh, son of the Highpriest of Kullab	126	"
6	...-lugal, son of Gilgamesh		
11(?) kings (about 5 missing)		2,171	+ years

I Ur Kingdom

1	Mesh-anni-pada	80	years
2	Mesh-kiag-nunna, son of Mesh-anni-pada	30	"
3	Elulu ¹⁰	25	"
4	Balulu ¹⁰	36	"
4 Kings		171	"

¹⁰The new fragment published by Legrain makes it possible to restore the names E-lu[-lu] and Ba-lu[-lu]; *Museum Journal*, Dec. 1920, p. 179.

Awan Kingdom	
3 kings	356 years
II Kish Kingdom	
Mesilim	
Lugal-tarsi	
Ur-sag	
4(?) kings	3,792 years
Hamazi Kingdom	
1 . . . -ni-ish	7 years
I Adab Kingdom ^{8a}	
Lugal-dalu	
Me-igi- . . .	
2(?) kings	
II Ur Kingdom ^{8b}	
Annani	
Lu-Nannar, son of Annani	
4(?) kings	108 years
II Adab Kingdom	
Lugal-anna-mundu ¹¹	
1 king	90 years
Mari Kingdom	
Ansir	30 “
. . . -gi	
I-[sh]ar-Shamash	
3(?) kings	30+ years
I(?) Akshak Kingdom ^{8c}	
1 Zuzu	
III Kish Kingdom ^{8d}	
1 Eannatum	
Lugal-tarsi	
3 Enbi-Ashtar	
3(?) kings	
II Uruk Kingdom ⁹	
Enshagkushanna	
Lugal-kigub-nidudu	
Lugal-kisalsi	
3(?) kings	

¹ See Poebel, *BE* VI. 2, 130, and *HT* p. 128.

II(?) Akshak

1	...-zi	30 years	3077(?) ¹²
2	...-dalulu	12	" 3047(?)
3	UR-UR	6	" 3035(?)
4	BĀ-ŠA-Saḥan	20	" 3029(?)
5	Ishu-il	24	" 3009(?)
6	Gimil-Sin, son of Ishu-il	7	" 2985(?)

6 kings

99 years

IV Kish Kingdom

1	KU-Bau or Bau-ellit	14 years	2978(?)
2	BĀ-ŠA-Sin, son of Ku-Bau	25	" 2964(?)
3	Ur- ^d Zababa	6	" 2939(?)
4	Zimutar	30	" 2933(?)
5	Uzi-watar, son of Zimutar	6	" 2903(?)
6	El-muti	11	" 2897(?)
7	Imu-Shamash	11	" 2886(?)
8	Nania, the Jeweler	3	" 2875(?)

8 kings

106 years

III Uruk Kingdom

1	Lugal-zaggisi, son of Ukush	25 years	2872(?)
---	-----------------------------	----------	---------

¹² The dates from Utu-beḡal backward are uncertain, because the 25 years assigned that ruler are conjectural and also because it is not known whether any other kings intervened between his time and the reign of Ur-Engur of Ur. The date 2123 B. C., usually accepted for the beginning of Hammurabi's reign, is used as a starting point. Thureau-Dangin, using his conjectural reading of 14 years for *MI* 32 : 15, makes the last year of Larsa 2123 - 29 (43 - 14) = 2094 B. C. as the close of Rim-Sin's reign. As he ruled 61 years, the beginning then would be 2155. Assuming that Rim-Sin overthrew the dynasty of Nisin when he captured the city of Damiq-ilishu, Thureau-Dangin decides that the last year of Nisin was 2132 B. C. This makes the Nisin and Larsa dynasties begin in the same year, 2357. The date recently published by Dr. Grice (*Chron.* p. 20), namely, 'The year he smote with his weapon the army of Elam and Zambia, king of Nisin,' which she conjectured refers to Sin-idinnam, since this king of Larsa used the title of 'King of Sumer and Akkad,' would seem to show that this is at least approximately correct. It is to be noted, however, that according to these dates Zambia reigned one year after the close of Sin-idinnam. Moreover, it is not impossible that the Nisin dynasty came to a close when the Nisin era began. If this should prove correct it will require a modification of the synchronisms, and will probably make Sin-isham the contemporary of Zambia.

Akkad Kingdom

1	Sharru-kin ^{12a}	55	"	2847(?)
2	Uru-mush, son of Sharru-kin	15	"	2792(?)
3	Manishtusu, son of Uru-mush	7	"	2777(?)
4	Naram-Sin, son of Manishtusu	56	"	2770(?)
5	Shargali-sharri, son of Naram-Sin	25	"	2714(?)
6	...			
7	Igigi			
8	Imi			
9	Nanum	3	"	2689(?)
10	Ilulu			
11	Dudu	21	"	2686(?)
12	Gimil-Dur-x, son of Dudu	15	"	2665(?)

12 kings

197 years

IV Uruk Kingdom

1	Ur-nigin	3	years	2650(?)
2	Ur-gigir, son of Ur-nigin	6	"	2647(?)
3	Kudda	6	"	2641(?)
4	BĀ-ŠA-ili	5	"	2635(?)
5	Ur-Shamash	6	"	2630(?)

5 kings

26 years

Gutium Kingdom

1	Imbia	5	years	2624(?)
2	Ingishu	7	"	2619(?)
3	Warlagaba	6	"	2612(?)
4	Iarlagarum	3(?)	"	2606(?)
8	[]-gub ^{12b}			
9	[]-ti			
10	[]-an-gub			
11	[]-bi			

Arlagan

E-ir-ri-du-pi-zi-ir

^{12a} Legrain has quite recently discovered an additional fragment of the tablet published which determines the relationship of the first five kings of the dynasty and the years they ruled. See *Museum Journal*, 1921, p. 75.

^{12b} The same fragment found by Dr. Legrain furnishes the traces of the eighth to the eleventh names of this dynasty.

	La-si-ra-ab			
	Si-ù-um			
21	Tirigan			
	21 kings ¹³		125 years	
V Uruk Kingdom				
1	Utu-ḫegal	25(?) years		2499(?)
III Ur Kingdom				
1	Ur-Engur	18	"	2474
2	Dungi, son of Ur-Engur	58	"	2456
3	Amar-Sin, son of Dungi	9	"	2398
4	Gimil-Sin, son of Amar-Sin	7	"	2389
5	Ibi-Sin, son of Gimil-Sin	25	"	2382
	5 kings	117	years	
Nîsin Kingdom				
1	Ishbi-Urra, a man from Mari	32	years	2357
2	Gimil-ilishu, son of Ishbi-Urra	10	"	2325
3	Idin-Dagan, son of Gimil-ilishu	21	"	2315
4	Ishme-Dagan, son of Idin-Dagan	20	"	2294
5	Libit-Ishtar	11	"	2274
6	Ur-Enurta	28	"	2263
7	Bur-Sin, son of Ur-Enurta	21	"	2235
8	Iter-pîsha, son of Bur-Sin	5	"	2214
9	Urra-imitti	7	"	2209
10	Sin(?)-	$\frac{1}{2}$	"	2202
11	Ellil-bani	24	"	2201
12	Zambia	3	"	2177
13	...	5	"	2174
14	Ea...	4	"	2169
15	Sin-magir	11	"	2165
16	Damiq-ilishu, son of Sin-magir	23	"	2154
	16 kings	225 $\frac{1}{2}$	years	

Like similar lists of other ancient peoples, the years of the early rulers are given in fabulous numbers. Leaving these out of consideration and allowing only an average of fifteen years for each

¹³ Poebel's text as well as the photograph read 21. Legrain's fragment confirms this.

reign, we have a list of rulers extending beyond 4000 B. C. Ungnad's conjectural date for the beginning of the first dynasty of Ur, that is exclusive of the first two dynasties containing thirty-four kings, is 3927 B. C.¹⁴ Meissner also fixes the beginning of this dynasty at about 3900 B. C.¹⁵ The minimum date, therefore, for the I Kish dynasty would be several centuries earlier.

It seems proper in this connection to inquire whether it is reasonable to assume that the early Babylonian historians had adequate data at their disposal upon which to base these chronological lists. Although some progress has been made in excavating the mounds of the land, it can properly be said that this work has only been begun. While in a few of the mounds excavations have been systematically conducted, only the surface of others has been scratched, while hundreds of mounds are practically untouched. Yet, in spite of this fact, we have in our possession the original inscriptions of many of the rulers whose names are given in the lists, as well as a vast amount of material, by the help of which much that has been handed down by these historians can be fully verified. We are justified in concluding, even from the imperfect work as yet done on the mounds, that the historian in the advanced civilization of the Sargon and Nisin eras, as well as centuries earlier, had abundant data at his disposal from which to give us this skeleton of history; and that, except for the longevity of some of the rulers, we may look upon the data as being of a comparatively trustworthy character.

The period in which we are especially interested in this connection is that which is covered by the list of kings prior to Sargon, and which is represented by the thirty feet of accumulations of debris beneath Naram-Sin's pavement at Nippur, and by material found at such sites as Adab, Fara, Tello, etc.

Going backward from the time of Sargon, let us briefly note some of the verifications of the reconstructed list. Sargon's predecessor, named Lugal-zaggisi, who is well known through his own inscriptions, conquered Western Asia from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.¹⁶ Other inscriptions inform us that Sargon conquered him¹⁷ and gained title to his territory. Ku-Bau, or Bau-

¹⁴ *ZDMG* 1917, p. 166.

¹⁵ *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920, p. 28.

¹⁶ *OBI* 87. 36 ff.

¹⁷ *HGT* 34 I. 23 ff.

ellit, as her name is written elsewhere,¹⁸ is known from an omen text, according to which she subdued the land.¹⁹ The names of rulers mentioned in the reconstructed list, such as Eannatum (of the III Kish kingdom), who had been a Patesi of Lagash, and who conquered Mari, Akshak, and Kish, and became the mighty possessor of the whole land, is also a well known figure in Babylonian history.²⁰ While excavations in Mesopotamia proper have not yet been begun, we can verify the statement that there were one or more Mari dynasties. A headless statue of a king of Mari, whose name, perhaps, following Ungnad,²¹ is to be restored I-[š]ar-Shamash, is in the British Museum; and in the inscription engraved on it he calls himself *patesi-gal* of Enlil; from which it may be inferred that he ruled Babylonia.²² An-an-ni (of the II Ur kingdom), the builder of the *giš-šar-mah* of the temple at Nippur, is known through an inscription found in that city, as is also that of his son and successor Lu-Nannar. They are tentatively assigned to a dynasty of Ur, because the latter's name is compounded with that of the god Nannar, the patron deity of that city.²³ We have inscriptions referring to Lugal-anna-mundu²⁴, as well as to Lugal-dalu, Me-igi. . . , kings of Adab. In this city, as also at Lagash, inscriptions have been found belonging to Mesilim, king of Kish.²⁵ The Elamite city, Ḫamazi, we know figured in the early history of Babylonia, for, as already mentioned, it had been conquered by an early patesi of Kish, named Utug.²⁶ Awan, also an Elamitic city, mentioned as a royal city in the dynastic lists, is known to have paid tribute to Sargon.²⁷

In previous years Gilgamesh of the earliest Erech dynasty, the hero of the epic which bears his name, was regarded as a mythical personage; but from a number of sources it is now definitely known that he was an important king of Erech; that he built the *shutummu* of the temple and the wall of that city;²⁸ and that he

¹⁸ VR 44 I. 19.

¹⁹ CT 28. 6.

²⁰ SAK 22. 21 f.

²¹ CT V. 2 (12146).

²² Poebel, *HT* p. 190; Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 104.

²³ See Poebel, *HT*, p. 128.

²⁴ BE VI. 2. 130; and HGT 75.

²⁵ Banks, *Bismya*, p. 201.

²⁶ OBI 102 and 109.

²⁷ Poebel, *HT* p. 128.

²⁸ Cf. SAK p. 222.

also built a part of the temple at Nippur.²⁹ Besides the epic, still other traditions of Gilgamesh have been handed down. Tammuz, about whose name are gathered the wide-spread myths connected with him and Ishtar, was also a king of Erech. The Historical Epic published by Poebel shows that there was an invasion in the time of Tammuz by Elam.³⁰ Sin-idinnam of Larsa informs us that Tammuz built the wall of Dur-Gurgurri.³¹ While the religious literature is full of mythological references to Tammuz, the Babylonian historian, in his list of kings, simply names him as a ruler, stating that he was a hunter, and that he came from the city 𒀭A-A^{ki}.

Going still further back, the dynastic lists inform us that Lugal-Marda, a prominent deity of later times, preceded Tammuz as king of Erech, and that he conquered and destroyed the city 𒀭A-A, and conducted wars 'with Elam below, 𒀭alma above, and Tidnum in the West.'³² The lists also show us that 𒂗tana, the hero of the epic which bears his name, who was subsequently also deified, was the twelfth king of the earliest known dynasty, that of Kish.

We thus find in Babylonia a process analogous to what took place in Greece; epics were directly based on historical personages. Many deities turn out to be deified kings or queens. It is not improbable that even the goddess Ishtar may prove to have been originally some notable human figure; at all events the facts at our disposal assure us that the Babylonian historians, with temple libraries and archives of many cities at their disposal, with royal letters and votive inscriptions in great numbers (of which some have already been recovered), have in these lists furnished us with the names of historical personages and not with fictitious characters. We, therefore, may confidently claim that Sargon was far from being the first ruler to build up a great nation in Western Asia, reaching from Elam to the Mediterranean;³³ and we must reject the statement that the earliest emergence of the Sumerian

²⁹ Poebel, *HT* p. 123.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

³¹ *CT* 15.18.

³² *HT* 116 ff.

³³ Breasted, *Ancient Times*, p. 122; Wells, *Outline of History*, p. 191, etc. P. V. Myers in his *Ancient History* is more guarded in the presentation of this subject, p. 51.

city-kingdom was in the thirty-first century B. C.³⁴ The writer feels, on the basis of the new material, that he is justified in declining to modify his view on the antiquity of Babylonian civilization. Moreover, it is still an open question whether the 'first rise of civilization anywhere on the globe' was in Egypt, as is claimed,³⁵ or even in Babylonia.

It is not possible to give even the barest outline of a history of Babylonia without considering that of Elam, the neighboring country to the east, because the history of the two lands is inseparably connected. A tablet dealing with the reign of Lugal-Marda, king of the I Uruk dynasty, the second known in Babylonian history, informs us of an invasion of a city Ezen+Azak^{ki} by the Elamites. This was the second time that they 'came forth from the mountains'.³⁶ But what is more important, as pointed out, the dynastic lists show that the Elamite city Awan was the fourth of the ruling cities, and that later on Hamazi, another Elamite city, held the hegemony. Utug, one of the early patesis of Kish, tells of his having conquered Hamazi.³⁷

M. de Morgan, a trained archaeologist, employing modern methods, spent more than ten years in excavating at the Elamite city Susa, and at Mussian, about 93 miles west of Susa. At Susa he cut through no less than 25 metres of accumulation, and was able to trace strata which represented a period from the Neolithic to the present time. He noted here two distinct strata in the prehistoric period. The first of these was distinguished from the second by a fine, wheel-made, red pottery which was polished, and decorated with black bands. It was also decorated with designs laid on in brown color. The freely-painted patterns included geometric, spherical, and herring-bone designs. Animal and vegetable forms also were used in these designs. Since no Neolithic period has been noted for Babylonia we scarcely expect to find pottery of this sort in that land; although at Eridu, Thompson, who excavated during the war for the British Museum, informs us he found fragments similar to this Elamite pottery. M. de Morgan

³⁴ Breasted, *Scientific Monthly*, 1920, p. 200.

³⁵ *Chicago University Record*, Oct. 1920, p. 242. It is interesting, however, to note that Wells says: 'At Nippur evidence of a city community existed there at least as early as 5000 B. C., and probably as early as 6000 B. C., an earlier date than anything we know of in Egypt.' *Outline of History*, p. 184.

³⁶ Poebel, *HT* 122.

³⁷ *OBI* 108 and 109.

has shown that the pottery he discovered in Elam has great similarity to that belonging to pre-historic Egypt.³⁸ Attention has been called by Sayce to its resemblance to pottery found in Capadocia, in Turkestan, and in Syria.³⁹

The second pre-historic period of Susa represents a retrogression in development, for the pottery is porous and coarser; but near the close of this period, stone cups and vases appear. The writing found in the early historical period, known as the proto-Elamite, which has no connection with the Sumerian system, appears to have had a long development prior to the earliest known; for the signs have already lost their pictorial character. In the period when Babylonian viceroys ruled at Susa, which is coincident with what we call the age of Sargon, it seems that the Semitic syllabary and even the Babylonian language displaced the early Elamite script and language, although the latter continued to be used for accounts, inventories, and other ordinary purposes. At this early period, therefore, Semites exerted such an influence upon Elam that their language and system of writing were adopted by that land, for we find the native princes using the system in their memorial and monumental records.⁴⁰

The results at Mussian were somewhat different for the Neolithic period, this city apparently having been established at an earlier date than Susa. In this period crude pottery made by hand was used. This was followed by the period of the delicately made pottery, characteristic of the earlier period at Susa; and by a third of a still higher character, when copper was extensively used and displaced the flint and obsidian tools and weapons.

There is no trace of a Neolithic period in Babylonia, although Taylor in his excavations at Eridu found flint implements,⁴¹ as did also Thompson at the same site.⁴² In fact they have been found lying on the surface of other mounds,⁴³ doubtless indicating that in certain periods they were imported as cheap material for the poorer population. It seems that copper was also used in Babylonia at a very early time. Haynes reported having found some of the metal in one of the lowest strata at Nippur. At Fara,

³⁸ *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie*, 1907, p. 410 f.

³⁹ See Sayce, *Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 47.

⁴⁰ See King, *Sumer and Akkad*, p. 289.

⁴¹ *JRAS* 15, p. 410, plate II.

⁴² See Wells, *Outline of History*, I, p. 188.

⁴³ Banks, *Bismya*, p. 103.

the pre-diluvian city of Shurippak, one of the most ancient known in the valley, copper was also found in the earliest strata.⁴⁴

The indications are that in Elam with its valleys so well adapted for agriculture, with its hills for grazing, its quarries for stone, its mines for metal, and its forests, man thrived long before the time when through intelligence, skill, and labor it was possible for him to live in alluvial Babylonia. Moreover, the indications are that Elam developed its civilization as early as Babylonia, if not earlier. From these considerations it becomes apparent why the present writer cannot follow the view that a so-called Egypto-Babylonian culture 'brought forth the earliest civilization in the thousand years between 4000 and 3000 B. C., while all the rest of the world continued in Stone Age barbarism or savagery,' and that the diffusion of civilization from this so-called Egypto-Babylonian culture centre began after 3000 B. C. to stimulate Europe and inner Asia to rise from barbarism to civilization.⁴⁵

What is true of the antiquity of Elam's civilization, to the east of Babylonia, is also true of the antiquity of her western neighbor; it is also impossible to write a history of Babylonia without including that of Amurru. In the light of the material which the present writer assembled from cuneiform and other sources, there can be no doubt whatever that the civilization of Mesopotamia and Syria not only synchronized with the earliest known in Babylonia, but also that these are the lands whence the Semitic-Babylonians came.⁴⁶ Not only do the antediluvian kings of Babylonia bear West Semitic names, but also the first five known rulers of the Kish dynasty. Lugal-Marda, one of the kings of the early Erech dynasty, conquered Tidnum or Tidnum, an early name of Amurru.⁴⁷ This is the land of Humbaba, with whom Gilgamesh fought.⁴⁸ Mari, on the Euphrates, was the capital of I-[sh]ar-Shamash, (previously read ...-um-Shamash), who called himself *patesi-gal* of Enlil.⁴⁹ In the time of Eannatum this city was allied

⁴⁴ King, *Sumer and Akkad*, 24 ff.

⁴⁵ Breasted, *Scientific Monthly*, 1919, p. 577.

⁴⁶ Clay, *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites*, and *The Empire of the Amorites*.

⁴⁷ Poebel, *HT* 117.

⁴⁸ See the *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 87, and Jastrow-Clay, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, p. 25.

⁴⁹ *CT* 5. 2.

with Akshak against him;⁵⁰ and Sargon informs us that he captured Mari.⁵¹ In a paper published more than a decade ago on the study of the names of the Nîsin rulers, the writer advanced the view that Nîsin was ruled by Western Semites.⁵² A few years later Barton published an inscription which confirmed this conjecture, showing that Ishbi-Urra, the founder of the dynasty, was 'a man from Mari.'⁵³ In other words, like Eannatum of Lagash, who made Kish the seat of his Empire, Ishbi-Urra of Mari made Nîsin his capital. Then followed the suggestion, since Ishar-Shamash, king of Mari, called himself *patesi-gal* of Enlil, that possibly Mari may well have been the seat of a Babylonian kingdom.⁵⁴ Such a view is now confirmed by Legrain's fragment of a dynastic list referred to above.⁵⁵ The fragment shows beyond doubt that Mari was the capital of Babylonia centuries before Sargon's time; and that it was one of the eleven capitals of early kingdoms. Amurru thus steps upon the scene as an actual Empire in the fourth millennium B. C.

In this connection still another discovery recently made should be mentioned. In a text published by Schroeder, the city Mari is equated with *shadu erinu*, 'cedar mountain', and with *mātu ḥatti*, which seems to imply that the land of the Hittites and very probably the Lebanon region were at one time dominated by the city Mari.^{55a}

Legrain's tablet not only conclusively shows that the history and culture of Amurru had a great antiquity, settling this matter beyond any further cavil, as well as the fact that the Amorite civilization was already ancient when it is claimed Arabs first began to pour into Syria and Mesopotamia,⁵⁶ but also the fact that

⁵⁰ *RA* III. 106 ff.

⁵¹ *HGT* 34, col 5, and 6. 4.

⁵² *JAOS* 28. 142.

⁵³ Barton, *Babylonian Texts*, 9. 2.

⁵⁴ See Poebel, *HT* 101; and *The Empire of the Amorites*, pp. 104, 107.

⁵⁵ *Museum Journal*, Dec. 1920, 175 ff.

^{55a} See *MDOG* 35. 183 : 11. The writer's attention was called to this passage by Dr. W. F. Albright.

⁵⁶ See Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, 27 ff. Winckler's thousand-year periodical disgorging theory, to account for the Semites in Syria and Babylonia, which has been adopted by so many, finds no support as investigations proceed. The ultimate origin of the Semites may be Arabia, Abyssinia, or Armenia, as certain scholars have maintained (see Barton, *Semitic Origins*, and *JAOS* 35, 214 ff.; Noeldeke, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXVI, p. 640, etc.), but historical

the city Mari, played such an important rôle in Babylonian history furnishes proof for a very important link in the writer's theory concerning the Amorite origin of the Semitic Babylonian culture.⁵⁷

The idea that the Semitic Babylonian was the language brought by the Arabs with them from the desert into Babylonia, and that it there developed, under certain influences, into what was later called Akkadian, finds no support in a study of the language. The close affinity of the Semitic Babylonian to the Hebrew and Aramaic, as against the Arabic, has been fully demonstrated. But what is more to the point in this connection is the fixed character of the grammatical peculiarities of the language in the earliest inscriptions, so distinct from the other Semitic groups, which makes it appear reasonable to infer that it had a long development under Sumerian influences prior to the earliest known period. And what is true of the language is also true of the script. The study of the phonograms used in the inscriptions of the Akkad dynasty, those used in the Semitic inscriptions of the same era found in Elam, and those belonging to the period of the Ur dynasty,⁵⁸ especially in view of the fact that the Semites employed many phonetic values which the Sumerians did not have, permits us to

or archaeological data do not show that a wave from the desert furnished Babylonia with its first Semites, in the dynasty of Sargon, about 2500 B. C., nor Syria and Mesopotamia with Arabs, called Hebrews, Amorites, Moabites, and Edomites about 1500 B. C. (Luckenbill, *Biblical World*, 1910, p. 22, and *AJSL* 28, p. 154); nor that the Hebrews represent one of these 'wild hordes from the Arabian wilderness,' whom a wave of migration brought into Palestine between 1400 and 1200 B. C. (Breasted, *Ancient Times*, pp. 102, 104, 200 f.). For other recent references to the theory see Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 2, p. 6; Macalister, *Civilization in Palestine*, p. 27; King, *History of Babylon*, p. 125, etc.

⁵⁷ In Legrain's discovery support is also found for the idea advanced by the writer that the deity of the city Mari is *Mari*, which is also written *Mar*, *Mar^{ki}*, *Mer*, *Me-ir*, *Mi-ir*; with the common interchange of *mem* and *waw* written *We-ir*, also 𐎠𐎵 (see *Empire*, p. 71 f.). And since *Mar-tu* = *Amurru*, which interchanges with *Mar* (see *Empire*, p. 68), it follows that like Anu and Antu, which apparently were the deities of the city now called 'Anah and Anathoth, below the city Mari on the Euphrates, *Mar* and *Martu* were identified with that city. Further, this discovery supports the view that the name *Amurru*, which was also written 𐎠𐎶 or *Ūru* (see *Amurru*, p. 102), was very probably given to the geographical extension of *Amurru* into Babylonia, doubtless at the time the Amorites held sway over that land; especially because the same cuneiform ideogram *BUR-BUR* stood for *Ūri* (later called Akkad) as well as *Amurru* (or Ari) (*Amurru* p. 104).

⁵⁸ Ungnad, 'Materialien zur altakkadischen Sprache,' *MVAG* 1915, 2.

conclude also that while the Semitic syllabary goes back to the Sumerian, its wide divergence already in this early age implies that it had been adopted long anterior to the period to which the earliest Semitic inscriptions belong.

It must be regarded as unfortunate that such Semitic centres as Opis and Akkad, which did not flourish in later periods, not only have not been excavated, but are not even definitely located; and that only a little work has thus far been done at Kish. Genouillac in 1912 spent some weeks excavating at El Ohemir, the mounds covering that ancient city; but the material he discovered remains unpublished in Constantinople. A Semitic inscription on stone, however, belonging to the archaic period, apparently found at Kish or Delehem, was published by Nies.⁵⁹ It is a list of sales of certain pieces of land, and is one of the earliest Semitic inscriptions known. From paleographical evidence, it appears to have been written many centuries before the time of Sargon. But the Semitic inscription which the ancient scribe copied from a statue of Lugal-zaggisi at Nippur⁶⁰ would be sufficient to show that the Semitic language was written before Sargon's time.

Certainly those who hold that the Semitic inhabitants in Babylonia and Amurru owed their presence there to successive waves from Arabia will find little justification for their views in a study of the Semitic Babylonian syllabary; and especially for the claim that after the conquest of Sargon, his nomad tribesmen from Arabia dropped their unsettled life, forsook their tents, and took up fixed abodes, when 'a Semitic language began to be written for the first time'.⁶¹ Such views must be abandoned.

The glimpse that the early historians give us into the earliest known period in Babylonian history enables us to determine not only that the tribal state had long since passed, and that the days of independent city-states were over, but that imperialism was already well established. We find North and South united, and governed by a central authority. We find the Semite ruling the Sumerian. While, as already mentioned, the first known rulers of the Kish dynasty bear Semitic names, those of the last ten of the twenty-three are written in Sumerian. En-me-nun-na, the first bearing a Sumerian name, is not called the son of Baliqam

⁵⁹ Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts*, No. 2.

⁶⁰ See *HGT* 34, col. 10. 4 ff.

⁶¹ Breasted, *Ancient Times*, p. 123.

(who was the son of Etana), which may mean that he was an usurper. It is not improbable also, although his name was written in Sumerian, that it was Semitic. We find the temple Eanna at Erech, so prominently mentioned in the literature and history of the land, not only already in existence in this early period, but that it gave its name to the second known dynasty. How much earlier Eanna had been established, and how many other of the well-known temples were then in existence, we cannot surmise at present. And it should be added that several of the kings of the earliest two known dynasties had made such an impression upon their age by their powerful deeds that they have been immortalized in literature and art, not confined to the history of Babylonia.

The glimpse we get into this early chapter of Babylonian history not only affords material for reflection, but it is suggestive of many questions that we should like to see solved. We ask ourselves what was the impelling force in the political development which brought about the formation of this Empire? Was this hegemony due to one race or religious centre, desiring power and tribute after having triumphed over the other? Had the open and defenceless character of the country anything to do with the union of the city-states? Was the desire to have a central authority due to prudential reasons, so that their irrigation system could be properly regulated; for we know that in this land, where the rainfall is so small, life is dependent upon the rivers? As investigations proceed and other sites are excavated, more light upon the situation may be expected; but with it more problems to be solved will arise.

It has been assumed by Poebel that the ascendancy of Kish followed the deluge. It is not improbable that the inundation which made such an impression upon the ancient Babylonians did shortly precede; although it is also probable that the list simply marks the beginning of the first hegemony, or the first one of the postdiluvian period. Of course no one would attempt to assert that there was not a period when the settlements of people gradually developed into cities, and existed as independent principalities. Babylonian civilization did not rise like a *deus ex machina*.

In the fragmentary creation myth found in the Nippur library, and published by Poebel, it is said that the creator 'founded five cities in clean places.' All but one⁶² of these cities are known or identified. Larak, the Larancha mentioned by Berosus as the city

⁶² *Bad + nagar-dis*, HT 43.

in which three of the antediluvian kings ruled, does not seem to have been mentioned in the postdiluvian periods, except in the contracts of the time of Artaxerxes I and Darius II. In one of these texts we are informed that the city was on the bank of the 'old Tigris'.⁶³ Shurippak, another of the cities, was the home of the Babylonian Noah. Fara, on the Shatt el-Kar, which was once the Euphrates, is identified as that city.⁶⁴ The excavations at this site by Koldewey and Andrae have yielded inscribed material of a very archaic period.⁶⁵ The other two cities, Eridu and Sippar, are well known; the creation stories prominently mention also Nippur and Erech. Naturally, these myths are based upon late impressions concerning the antiquity of these cities.

Nippur is, doubtless, one of the earliest cities of the plain. The legend connecting Lugal-Marda, a king of the second dynasty, with the theft of the tablets of fate from the palace of Enlil;⁶⁶ the reference in the early Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh epic in which Enkidu tells the hero, 'Enlil has decreed for thee the kingship over men';⁶⁷ as well as references to Nippur and her deity, would seem to imply that the position of Enlil as 'the lord of lands' was established, doubtless, long before the hegemony of Kish was created. We know that when Babylon secured the hegemony in Hammurabi's time, the latter endeavored to rob Enlil of his position. Nippur was so well established long before the ascendancy of Kish as the chief sanctuary of the land, that it had maintained its position until the time of Hammurabi. At present there is nothing known upon which even a plausible conjecture can be based as to why Nippur and her deity came to occupy this unique position in Babylonia. Moreover, when we reflect upon the discoveries made by Haynes in the strata beneath Naram-Sin's level, in connection with other discoveries made elsewhere, we begin to realize that two thousand five hundred years is an extremely low estimate for the period represented by the thirty feet of accumulations below that ruler's pavement.

Whether prior to the establishment of this urban civilization there was a tribal state in Babylonia remains to be determined.

⁶³ Clay, *MrsDrs*, II. 181. 7.

⁶⁴ Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 264.

⁶⁵ See *MDOG* 15. 9 f., 17. 4 f.

⁶⁶ See *KB* 46 ff.

⁶⁷ See Jastrow and Clay, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, p. 68.

Certainly prior to the time when Kish secured the dominancy of the land there must have been a long period, at the beginning of which the Semites entered the country. With their knowledge of irrigation, they gradually harnessed the rivers and made it possible to establish the first settlements in the alluvium. It was during this period that the land was entered by the Sumerians, who, according to the belief of certain scholars, assimilated the civilization of the conquered by adopting their Semitic gods, and imposed upon them at the same time their own advanced culture,⁶⁸ which had its origin and development elsewhere, perhaps in Central Asia.

Egyptian archaeologists inform us that pre-historic man lived in the terraces along the Nile; and that the alluvium was formed only about six to eight thousand B. C. It is not improbable that this was about the time the alluvium of the Tigro-Euphrates valley was ready to receive man. Prior to his entrance upon this deposit it is reasonable to hold that he occupied the regions further up the two rivers. Above Hit, where the alluvium begins, there are natural agricultural districts, not only close to the rivers, but also over widespread areas. For example, Willcox, who has studied the rivers in the interests of his engineering undertakings, was so impressed with agricultural possibilities of the region south of 'Anah that he has attempted to locate 'the Garden of Eden' in this region. Five or six thousand years ago, before the 'degradation of the cataracts', he tells us, in this country there was a free flow for irrigation purposes.⁶⁹ It was here that the Semite who

⁶⁸ See Edward Meyer, *Sumerier und Semiten*, whose chief argument is that the bald and beardless Sumerians pictured their gods with hair and beards after the manner of the Semites. This position seems to be verified more and more as we become acquainted with the material from the early period.

⁶⁹ *From the Garden of Eden to the Crossing of the Jordan*, 3 ff. The statement has recently been made that agriculturally this country could not support a kingdom. This observation must be due to the fact that the road which the observer took is for the greater part far removed from the river. Sir William Willcox's description of this country is: 'Garden succeeds garden, orchards and date-groves lie between fields of corn or cotton, and life and prosperity are before us wherever the water can reach. Though to-day, owing to the degradation of the cataracts—a degradation whose steady progress was noticed by the writers of the Augustan age,—water-wheels are necessary to irrigate gardens, the benches of river deposit above the highest floods of our time prove that in days not very remote the water led off from above the cataracts irrigated with free flow gardens situated a little down-stream of them and out of reach of the floods. Such was the Garden of Eden of the Bible.' 'In the tract stretching from this reach of the Euphrates to Damascus wild wheat, too, has its home.'

moved into the plain of Shinar very probably learned the art of irrigation.

The first people who moved into Babylonia had little or no chance to develop large settlements, because each year the floods would drive them away. The rivers had to be harnessed and the floods controlled before permanent settlements were possible. This involved the intelligent and united effort of many, having considerable knowledge of natural laws, and a people who were amenable to regulations upon which they had agreed. It was necessary not only for the individual to coöperate with his neighbor, but also for the urban communities to coöperate with each other in their effort to control the floods. This being true, no other conclusion can be reached than that civilization had its dawn in a remoter period; nor may we assume that there was a period in Babylonia when people lived in a state of savagery.

The important work that lies immediately before us, besides deciphering and publishing the tens of thousands of records already recovered, is the excavation of a certain number of well-selected sites in Western and Central Asia; so that we can gradually recover knowledge concerning their lost civilizations.⁷⁰ Of the

⁷⁰ In Babylonia there are thousands of square miles of territory which have not even been explored. Captain Bertram Thomas, an Assistant Political Officer, who had been stationed at Kalat Sikar on the Shatt el-Hai, informed the writer that on a journey through the vast territory east of that river he found the dry beds of four great canals paralleling the Shatt el-Hai, the shores of which were lined with hundreds of tells; and yet only three ancient sites are recorded on the maps of that entire region; namely, Tello, Surgul, and El-Hibba. Four expeditions have been conducted at Nippur, lasting a little over five years. With as large a force as has been used, it will require nearly a century to complete the excavations at that site. Erech, Ur, and many other sites will require as much time. While Hall was digging at Ur, two years ago, he sent a gang to attack a small mound several miles north of that city, called Tell Obeid, too small to have been recorded on the maps. Almost at once they came upon bronze objects of the early period, which are more remarkable than any yet found in Babylonia. The country is literally covered with larger and smaller tells. The same is true of ancient Assyria. Some work has been done at a few major mounds, but hundreds remain unrecorded in any form. In digging graves a native found some bronze objects in a low and insignificant mound south of Nineveh, called Balawat, which when later excavated proved to be a palace of Shalmaneser III, where the now famous bronze gates were found. East of Assyria the country is covered with thousands of tells representing ancient civilizations; in one or several of these we may discover the oldest traces of the Sumerian civilization.

thousands of mounds in Western Asia outside of Babylonia and south of Carchemish, systematic excavations have been conducted only at two in Elam; and excepting Palestine, at not a single one in Syria and Mesopotamia proper.

It is the opinion of the writer that when such sites as Aleppo, or some of the many tells in its vicinity, Byblos, Haran, Werdi (the ancient Mari),⁷¹ 'Anah, and other sites on the Euphrates, are excavated, we shall find that the ancient culture of Syria and Mesopotamia, known as Amurru in ancient times, synchronized with the earliest found in Egypt, and that it was indigenous, and not dependent culturally upon what happened to drift in from the so-called Egypto-Babylonian group.

⁷¹ Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 110.

THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA-VEDA, BOOK EIGHT

EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

LEROY CARR BARRET

TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONN.

INTRODUCTION

IN EDITING this eighth book of the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda the material is presented in the manner used in editing Books 5 and 7 (published in volumes 37 and 40 of this JOURNAL). The transliteration (in italics) is not given line for line but is continuous, with the number of each line in brackets. About forty per cent of the ms has now been published. When the numerous unsolved passages are contemplated, little satisfaction can be felt in publishing these successive books: but in the larger aspects, when the Pāippalāda is compared with other texts, the work appears more worth doing and it seems possible that some valuable results will ultimately be attainable.

The abbreviations employed are the usual ones, except that 'Ś' 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; asterisks indicate lacunae.

Of the ms.—This eighth book in the Kashmir ms begins on f104b1 and ends at f111b20—seven and one half folios. There is no defacement of any consequence; most of the pages have 19 or 20 lines, tho 3 have 18 lines and one has 21.

Punctuation, numbers, etc.—Within the individual hymns punctuation is most irregular: the colon mark is a few times placed below the line of letters rather than in it. At f110a, lines 11 and 12, accents are marked on two pādas. The hymns are grouped in anuvākas, of which there are four with five hymns in each: anu 1 no 5 has no kāṇḍa number after it but only anu 5 (sic), and similarly after anu 4 no 5 there is written only anu 5. There are only a few corrections marginal or interlinear. At the end of hymn no 9 stands some prose which does not seem to be a part of the hymn: the ms however gives no indication of this. After the numeral stands 'apnūpavrahmasūktam.1 zz' and in the left margin is a star and the words 'vrāhmasūktam kāraṇam.' At

the bottom of f107b in smaller characters and in parentheses is written a variant of hymn 10 st 12 which is given in lines 17 and 18 of f107b.

Extent of the book.—This book contains 20 hymns of which 2 are prose. The normal number of stanzas in a hymn is clearly 11; 17 hymns are edited as having 11 stanzas each, tho in 5 or 6 of these there is some slight chance for doubts. Assuming the correctness of the stanza divisions as edited below we make the following table:

17 hymns have 11 stanzas each	= 187 stanzas
1 hymn has 12 stanzas	= 12
2 hymns have 13 stanzas each	= 26
<hr/>	
20 hymns have	225 stanzas.

New and old material.—There are 11 hymns of this book which may be called new, tho two of them embody material appearing as complete hymns in Ś, and others contain some stanzas or pādas already familiar. The number of essentially new stanzas is 114 and the new pādas are approximately 467.

Of the hymns of Ś appearing in this book 2 are in Ś 4, 4 in Ś 5, 1 in Ś 6, and 2 in Ś 19; and 2 hymns of the RV appear here. Ś 6.25 is used as part of our hymn 16 and Ś 19.2 as part of our hymn 8.

ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ŚĀKHĀ

BOOK EIGHT

1

(Ś 5.11)

[f104b1] *athāṣṭamaṁ likhyate z z oṁ namo nārāyaṇāya z oṁ
namaś śivābha-[2]gavatyaī z z oṁ kayā diva asurāya pravāmaḥ
kathā pitre harayes tve-[3]ṣunṛmṇaḥ | prṣṇir varuṇa dakṣiṇām
dadāvān punarmaghatvaṁ manasā cikitse | [4] na kāmēna punar-
magho bhavāmi samprṣchi kaṁ prṣchim etām upājet. | kena [5] ma
tvam atharvaṁ kāvyena kena jātenāsi jātavedāḥ satvasaṁ gabhīran
kāvyena satvaṁ [6] jātenāsmi jātavedāḥ ma me dāso nāryo
mahitvaṁ vratar mīmāya yad ahaṁ ha-[7]niṣya na tvad anyāḥ
kivitaro na vedhā anu dhīrataro varuṇa svadhāvaḥ tvam āṅga viśvā
[8] janmāni vettha mataṁ na tuj jano mām vibhāyaḥ z tvam hy
āṅga varuṇa svadhāvo [9] viśvā vettha janmā śraddhadanī te | kim*

enā rajasaṣ paro sti kim avareṇā [10] avaram asūra | ya ekam enā rajasaṣ paro sti parekena dūḍāhyam tyajanyat. [11] tatve vidvān varuṇaṣ pravravīm adhovacasaṣ paṇayo bhavantu nīcīr māsā [12] yā upa sarpantu riprā tvaṁ hy aṅga varuṇa vravīṣi | punarmagheṣv avadyāni bhū-[13]ri so kha pāṇvad bhyavatāvacā bhūr mā tvā vocaṁn arādhassam janāsaḥ ā mā vo-[14]caṁn arādhassam janāsaḥ punas te prṣṇīm janabhīr dadāsi | stotraṁ meṣvam ā yā-[15]hi janeṣv antar deveṣu mānuṣeṣu riprā | yā te stotrāṇi bandhanāni yāni de-[16]hi taṁ mahyam yaditatvam asti | yadyo nas saptapataṣ sakhāsaṣ samāno ba-[17]ndhur varuṇaṣ samā jāḥ vada vāitad vaṁdam samā jā dajāmi tubhyam yaditvatva-[18]m asti | devo devāya grṇate vayodhā vipro viprāya stuvate sumedhāḥ a-[19]jījano hi varuṇa svadhāvam atharvaṇam pitaram viśvadevam tasmā urvā-[f105a]yus kṛṇuhi praśastaṁ sakhā no sti varuṇaṣ ca bandhuḥ z 1 z -

For the introductory phrase and invocation read: athāṣṭamaṁ likhyate z z omṁ namo nārāyaṇāya z omṁ namaṣ śivābhagavatyāi z

For the hymn read: omṁ kathā divyāyāsuraṇāya prāvadaḥ kathā pitre haraye tveṣaṇṛmaṇaḥ | prṣṇīm varuṇa dakṣiṇāṁ dadāvāṇ punarmaghatvam manasā cikitse z 1 z na kāmēna punarmagho bhavāmi saṁprcche kaṁ prṣṇim etām upāje | kena sa tvam atharvan kāvyena kena jātenāsi jātavedāḥ z 2 z satyam ahaṁ gabhīraṣ kāvyena satyam jātenāsmi jātavedāḥ | na me dāso nāryo mahitvā vrataṁ mīmāya yad ahaṁ dhariṣye z 3 z na tvad anyah kavitaro na vedhā anyo dhīrataro varuṇa svadhāvaḥ | tvam aṅga viśvā janmāni vettha sa cin nu tvaj jano māyī bibhāya z 4 z tvaṁ hy aṅga varuṇa svadhāvo viśvā vettha janmā ṡśraddhadanīte | kim enā rajasaṣ paro 'sti kim avareṇāvaram amūra z 5 z yad ekam enā rajasaṣ paro 'sti para ekena ṡdūḍāhyam cid anyat | tat te vidvān varuṇaṣ pra vravīmy adhovacasaṣ paṇayo bhavantu nīcāir dāsā ya upa sarpantu ṡriprā z 6 z tvaṁ hy aṅga varuṇa vravīṣi punarmagheṣv avadyāni bhūri | mo ṣu ṡpāṇv abhy etāvato bhūr mā tvā vocann arādhassam janāsaḥ z 7 z mā mā vocann arādhassam janāsaḥ punas te prṣṇīm jaritar dadāmi | stotraṁ me viśvam ā yāhi janeṣv antar deveṣu mānuṣeṣu vipra z 8 z yā te stotrāṇi bandhanāni yāny antar deveṣu mānuṣeṣu vipra | dehi tan mahyam yad adattam asti yujyo nas saptapadaṣ sakhāsaḥ z 9 z samā nāu bandhur varuṇa samā jā veda vāitad ṡvaṁdam samā jā | dadāmi tubhyam yad adattam asti yujyas te saptapadaṣ sakhāsmi z 10 z devo devāya grṇate vayodhā vipro viprāya stuvate sumedhāḥ | ajījano hi varuṇa svadhāvann atharvaṇam pitaram viśvadevam | tasmā urvāyus kṛṇuhi praśastaṁ sakhā no 'sti varuṇaṣ ca bandhuḥ z 11 z 1 z

In st 1a the correction prāvadaḥ is very uncertain; the ms points rather to a form of brū. Edgerton suggests bravāma. In 5b it is possible that the ms has only a corruption of the Ś form supranīte: and in 6b perhaps durnāsam as in Ś is intended. As the hymn is very unclear it is hard to edit the Pāipp text with any confidence.

2

(Ś 5.13)

vr̥ṣā me ravo [2] rabhasā ni tanyatur ugreṇa taṁ vacasā bādhāi tu te | ahaṁ tam asya grabhir agrabha rasam̐ jyo-[3]tiṣeva tapasod ayatu sūryaḥ |

With na for ni pāda a can stand, tho rabhasā is suspicious; in b read bādhe: in c gr̥bhir agrabham̐ seems good, in d etu.

yat te modaka viṣam̐ tat tābhīr agrabham̐ gr̥hṇāmi madhya-[4]m utāvasam̐ bhiyasā nesad ātu te |

In a modakam̐ would not seem good; read 'podakam̐ with Ś; in b tat ta etābhīr: in c I would supply from Ś and read madhyamam uttamam̐ rasam̐; for d read utāvamam̐ ° neśad ād u te.

balena te balam̐ harmi tarmā sanmi te taṁnū | r-[5]ṣeṇa harmi te viṣam̐ ahe mariṣṭā mā jīvī pratyag arbhetu tvā viṣam̐ |

In a read hanmi, for b (which may be a gloss) tanvā hanmi te tanūm, in c viṣeṇa hanmi: in d I would suggest mariṣyā, and jīvīḥ; in e read abhy etu.

asitasya [6] tayimātasya babhror upodakasya ca | mātrāhastasva manyor jyām ugrasyava dhanyano vi mu-[7]ñcāmi rathān̐ iva |

In a read tāimātasya: in c probably sātrāsāhasya, in d ugrasyeva dhanvano. Pādas ab occur Ppp 1.44.1ab.

kāilāt pr̥ṣṇir upatarni babhūvā me śṛṇutāsitalikā | [8] mā naś cakṣuṣ kāmam̐ apr̥sthātāśyāvayādvāu varṣe ramadhvam̐ |

Probably the reading intended here is that of Ś with slight variations; we might read then: kairāta pr̥ṣṇa upat̥r̥ṇya babhrav ā me śṛṇutāsītā alikāḥ | mā nas sakhyus sthāmānam̐ api ṣṭhātāśrāvayanto varṣe ramadhvam̐.

As given here pāda d lacks one syllable; Ś has ni viṣe.

ālākā ca vyacalu ptvā [9] yas te mātā ca vidma te vidvato baddhato bandhus sa rasaḥ kim̐ kariṣyasi |

For pāda a I can get nothing; read pitā in b: for c read vidma te viśvato bandhu, in d so 'rasaḥ.

udakulā-[10]yā duhi jātā jāśvaśaghnyā pratam̐garta druhaśin̐ uśāhīn̐ arasān̐ akah̐

In a read duhitā, for b probably jātā dāsyā asiknyāḥ as suggested by Whitney: if the first word of pāda c is prataṅkaṁ, as in Ś, the rest of the pāda might be dudruhuṣīr tho the gender of this does not go smoothly with the next pāda.

kaṇvā [11] śvāvid avravīd gired avacarantikā yāḥ kāśyemā khani-
tramās tāsām ara-[12]matamaṁ viṣaṁ |

Possibly pāda a can stand: Ś has karṇā śvāvit tad; in b read girer, in c kāś cemāḥ khanitrimās, in d arasatamaṁ.

tāvucam na tāvucam naḥer asiktam tāvucenārasam viṣam

With nāher and a colon after asiktam this may stand. Ś has tābuvam na tābuvam na ghet tvam asi tābuvam; the naḥer asiktam of our ms, however, is probably only a corruption of na ghed asi tvam.

tastuvam naha-[13]r isiktam trastuvam tastuvenārasam viṣam.z

It would seem possible to read tastuvam nāher asiktam tastuvam.
rasam te he viṣam iyaṁ kṛṇotv oṣa-[14]dhiḥ trāyamāṇām sahamānām
sahasvatīś ahātāyad gor aśvāt puruṣād vi-[15]ṣam z 2 z

Read: arasaṁ te 'he viṣam iyaṁ kṛṇotv oṣadhiḥ | trāyamāṇām
sahamānām sahasvatīm ḥahātāyad gor aśvāt puruṣād viṣam z 11
z 2 z

Our pāda c is Ś 8.2.6c but there iha huve follows: if the words in c were nominatives I would read in d sā ghātāyad.

3

(Ś 4.9)

[f105a15] yad āñjanaṁ trāikankudaṁ jātāṁ himavatas pari | yātṛñś
ca [16] sarvāṁ jambhaya sarvāś ca yātudhānyāḥ utevāsi paripāṇam
yātujambha-[17]nam āñjanaḥ utāmṛtatvesyeśiṣa utāsaṣ pitubhojanam.
parimāṇam [18] puruṣāṇām parimāṇam rakām asi | aśmānām
sarvatāmī pari- [f105b] māñāhi tastiṣe | parimāṇam pari ṇaṣ priyaṁ
pari ṇaṣ pāhy ad dhanam rātiram no mā tā-[2]rīn mā taraṣ kiṁ canā
mamat. na taṁ prāpnoti śapatho na kṛtyā nābhiśocanam. nāinaṁ
ni [3] niṣkandham aśnute yas tvām bibharty āñjanaḥ āsamartnyā
duṣvapnyā kṣettriyaś chapathād uta | dra-[4]hādeś cakṣuṣo ghorāt
tasmān naṣ pāhy āñjana | trayo casāmjanasya takmā balāsā-[5]d
ahe varṣiṣṭhaḥ pakṣatānām trikakun nāma te pitā | vṛtrasyāsyā
kanīnikā parva-[6]tasyāsy akṣāu devebhis sarvāi proktaṁ paridhir
nāma vāsi | vedo hi veda te nāma gandha-[7]rvāparivācanam | yatāñ-
jana prajāyase ta tehy ariṣṭatātaye z yadi [8] vāsa trāikakudaṁ yadi
vāsanum ucyase | ubhaya te bhadrī nāmnīs tābhyan na-[9]ṣ pāhy

añjana yasyañjanah | prasarpasy añgam añgam paruṣ paruḥ tasmād yakṣmaṁ vi [10] bādhadhvam ugro madhyamaśīr iva | nāino ghnantu paryāyaṇo na manvā iva gaśchati | [11] jane ma na pramīyate yas tvām bibharty añjana | idam vidvān añjanas satyam vakṣya-[12] mi nānṛtam . saneyam aśvaṁ gām vāsā ātmānam tava pūruṣaḥ z 3 z

Read: yad añjanam trāikakudam jātam himavatas pari | yātūṁś ca sarvāṁ jambhaya sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ z 1 z utāivāsi paripāṇam yātujambhanam añjana | utāmṛtatvasyeśiṣa utāsaṣ pitubhojanam z 2 z paripāṇam puruṣāṇām paripāṇam gavām asi | aśvānām arvatām paripāṇāya tasthiṣe z 3 z parīmām pari ṇaṣ priyam pari ṇaṣ pāhi yad dhanam | arātir no mā tārīn mā tārīt kiṁ canā mamat z 4 z na tam prāpnoti śapatho na krtyā nābhiśocanam | nāinaṁ viṣkandham aśnute yas tvām bibharty añjana z 5 z asanmantryād duṣvapnyāt kṣetriyāc chapathād uta | durhārdaś cakṣuṣo ghorāt tasmān ṇaṣ pāhy añjana z 6 z trayo dāsā añjanasya takmā balāsa ād ahiḥ | varṣiṣṭhaḥ parvatānām trikakun nāma te pitā z 7 z vṛtrasyāsi kanīnikā parvatasyāsy akṣyāu | devebhis sarvāiḥ proktam paridhir nāma vā asi z 8 z vedo hi veda te nāma gandharvaparivādanam | yad añjana prajāyase tad chy ariṣṭatātaye z 9 z yadi vāsi trāikakudam yadi vāmanam ucyase | ubhe te bhadre nāmnī tābhyām ṇaṣ pāhy añjana z 10 z yasyañjana prasarpasy añgam-añgam paruṣ-paruḥ | tasmād yakṣmaṁ vi bādha tvam ugro madhyamaśīr iva z 11 z nāinaṁ ghnanti paryāyiṇo na sannān ava gacchati | jane sa na pramīyate yas tvām bibharty añjana z 12 z idam vidvān añjana satyam vakṣyāmi nānṛtam | saneyam aśvaṁ gām vāsa ātmānam tava pūruṣa z 13 z 3 z

In st 2d Whitney reports the Pāipp reading as pitṛbhojanam, which is much better than pitu°; the latter is not strong, if indeed possible. Our st 4 is nearly Ś 2.7.4 where prajāṁ stands for our priyam; parīmām is probably correct and the difficulty in priyam. St 9 here is new, and perhaps the whole first hemistich should be enclosed in daggers; pāda b is certainly not satisfactory. St 11 is a variant of RV 10.97.12; the reading of our ms, bādhadhvam, may be due to influence of RV; if so we might do well to follow Ś more closely. St 12ab appears Ś 6.76.4; 13cd appears RV 10.97.4.

4

(Ś 5.16)

[f105b13] *ya ekavrṣo si sṛjāraso si yo divrṣo si | yas trvrṣo si yaś catuwr-[14]ṣo si yaś pañcavrṣo ṣa yaḥ ṣadvrṣo si yas saptavrṣo si yo*

aṣṭavr-[15]ṣo si yo navavrṣo si | yo daṣavrṣo si | yūpodako si srjāraso
[16] si z 4 z

Read: ya ekavrṣo 'si srjāraso 'si z 1 z yo dvivrṣo 'si ° ° z 2 z
yas trivrṣo 'si ° ° z 3 z yaś caturvrṣo 'si ° ° z 4 z yaś pañcavrṣo
'si ° ° z 5 z yaḥ ṣaḍvrṣo 'si ° ° z 6 z yas saptavrṣo 'si ° ° z 7 z
yo aṣṭavrṣo 'si ° ° z 8 z yo navavrṣo 'si ° ° z 9 z yo daṣavrṣo 'si
° ° z 10 z yo 'podako 'si srjāraso 'si z 11 z 4 z

5

(Ś 5.15)

[f105b16] ekā ca me daśa cāpavaktrāroṣadhe yadicāda da-[17]tāvāri
madhu tvā madhulā karat. | dve ca me viṣāntiś ca tisraś ca me triṇśa-
[18]ś catasraś ca me catvāriṣānś ca | pañca ca me pañcāśaś ca | ṣaṭ
ca me ṣaṣṭiś ca | [19] sapta ca me saptatiś ca | aṣṭa ca me aṣītiś ca |
nava ca me navatiś ca | da- [f106a] śa ca me śataṁ ca | śataṁ ca
me sahasraṁ cāpavaktrāroṣadhe yadicāda dhatāvāri ma-[2]dhu tvā
madhulā karat. z anu 5 z

Read: ekā ca me daśa cāpavaktāra oṣadhe | ṛtajāta ṛtāvāri
madhu tvā madhulā karat z 1 z dve ca me viṇśatiś cāpavaktāra
° | ° ° z 2 z tisraś ca me triṇśac cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 3 z catvāraś
ca me catvāriṇśac cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 4 z pañca ca me pañcāśac
cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 5 z ṣaṭ ca me ṣaṣṭiś cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 6 z
sapta ca me saptatiś cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 7 z aṣṭa ca me aṣītiś
cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 8 z nava ca me navatiś cāpavaktāra ° | ° °
z 9 z daśa ca me śataṁ cāpavaktāra ° | ° ° z 10 z śataṁ ca me
sahasraṁ cāpavaktāra oṣadhe | ṛtajāta ṛtāvāri madhu tvā madhulā
karat z 11 z 5 z anu 1 z

In Ś the end of the stanzas runs madhu me madhulā karaḥ.

6

(Ś 4.20)

[f106a2] ā paśyasi prati paśyasi parā [3] paśyasi paśyasi | dyām
antarikṣam ād bhūmim tat sarvaṁ devī paśyasi z tisro diva-[4]s
tisraś pṛthivī ṣaṭ cemas sūdiśo mahī | tathāhaṁ sarvā yātrñ apaś-
yāmi [5] devy oṣadhe | suparṇasya divyasya tasya hāsi kanīnikā |
sā bhūmim āro-[6]her mahyaṁ śrāntā vadhūr iva | tāvan me sahas-
rākṣo devo dakṣiṇe hastādadat. | [7] tenāhaṁ sarvaṁ paśyāmy
adbhūtaṁ yaś ca bhavyaṁ | yathā śvā caturakṣo yathāśva syāvo
rva-[8]tām yathāgnir viśvataḥ pratyaṁ evā tvam asy oṣadhe | kaś-
yapasya caturakṣas syaṁnyā-[9]ś caturakṣā | vīdhre sūryam iva
sarpantaṁ mā piśācam tīras kara | darśaye [10] mā yātudhānān
śavaya yātudhānyaḥ | āpasprg eva tiṣṭhantaṁ darśaya mā [11] kimī-

dinam tad agrabham paripāṇam yātudhānāt kimīdina | tenāham sarvaṁ pa-[12]śyāmy uta sūdrām utāryam | yathā sūryaś candramasyā viśvā bhūtā vipāśyata || [13] evā vipasyatā tvam aghāyun mopagād iha | yo antarikṣeṇa patati bho-[14]mīs copasarpati | divam yo manyate nātham tvam piśācam dṛṣe kuru | āviṣkṛṇu-[15]ṣva rūpāṇi mātmanam api rūhatā | evā sahasracakṣo tvam prati paśyā-[16]my āyata z 1 z

Read: ā paśyasi prati paśyasi parā paśyasi paśyasi | dyām antarikṣam ād bhūmim tat sarvaṁ devi paśyasi z 1 z tisro divas tisraṣ pṛthivīḥ ṣaṭ cemāṣ pradiśo mahiḥ | tathāham sarvān yātūn paśyāmi devy ośadhe z 2 z suparṇasya divyasya tasya hāsi kanīnikā | sā bhūmim āroher vahyaṁ śrāntā vadhūr iva z 3 z tāvan me sahasrākṣo devo dakṣiṇe hasta ā dadhat | tenāham sarvaṁ paśyāmi yad bhūtaṁ yac ca bhavyam z 4 z yathā śvā caturakṣo yathāśvaś śyāvo 'rvatām | yathāgnir viśvataṣ pratyāññ evā tvam asy ośadhe z 5 z kaśyapasya caturakṣaś śunyāś ca caturakṣyāḥ | vīdhre sūryam iva sarpanthaṁ mā piśācam tīras karaḥ z 6 z darśaya mā yātudhānān darśaya yātudhānyaḥ | āpassprg eva tiṣṭhantaṁ darśaya mā kimīdinam z 7 z ud agrabham paripāṇam yātudhānāt kimīdinaḥ | tenāham sarvaṁ paśyāmy uta sūdrām utāryam z 8 z yathā sūryaś candramāś ca viśvā bhūtā vi paśyataḥ | evā vipasyatāt tvam aghāyur mopagād iha z 9 z yo antarikṣeṇa patati bhūmyā yaś copasarpati | divam yo manyate nātham taṁ piśācam dṛṣe kuru z 10 z āviṣkṛṇuṣva rūpāṇi mātmanam apa gūhathāḥ | evā sahasracakṣo tvam prati paśyāsy āyataḥ z 11 z 1 z

In 4a tan would rectify the meter. Stt 5 and 9 are new, also 7cd.

7

[f106a16] *sāukṣejāns tvodāns tumalam patiṣṭhāma upārṣa-[17]tām ahīnām sarveṣām viṣam arasaṁ kṛṇv ośadhe |*

In the first two pādas I can get nothing more than the division of the words; the second hemistich is correct.

aśvakrandasya vāṇḍasya [18] pradākor gonuśer uta | śvitṛāṇām sarveṣā viṣam arasaṁ kṛṇv ośadhe |

In ab we might read aśvakrandasya baṇḍasya prdākor gonaser uta; the lexicons give gonasa (sic) as the name of a snake: read sarveṣām in c.

dyāmpā-[19]kasya gavakasya godhāpiṣṭher aher uta | asitānām etaj jātam ariṣṭe [f106b] rasaṁ kṛdhi |

In pāda a jambhakasya seems possible, and we might possibly accept the next two names as they stand; in d read 'rasaṁ.

etaj jātām svajānām tad a babhro rasam kṛdhi | sarvasya babhro bheṣajyasīya [2] vidūṣaṇī |

In b probably the best correction would be tad u babhro 'rasam'; in c read bheṣajī: pāda d probably begins jyasiya (cf st 11d) but no good suggestion comes to me; perhaps it is connected with jyā 'overpower': read viṣadūṣaṇī.

trāyamāṇā pravravītu sarvaṁ rājño mahīnām tiraścārājāir asitā-[3]n athopasayāś ca ye |

In b ahīnām would seem more probable; in c then we would read tiraścārājer asitād (=Ś 7.56.1a), and in d athopasayāś. But we might also read sarvān rājño ahīnām, and then in c tiraścārājīn asitān.

śānsān yātudhānam sahasa yātudhānyaḥ sahasvān sā-[4]saha maṁ hānāma jagrabha | mahasmākaṁ pāidvenogreṇa vacasā mama |

The following tentative reconstruction is offered: sahasvān yātudhānam sāsaha yātudhānyaḥ sahasvān sāsaha | saṁ ha nāma jagrabha †mahasmākaṁ pāidvenogreṇa vacasā mama. Perhaps māsmākaṁ would be good.

andhāyūn-[5]ś ca hūdayānś ca śapathānś ca ratha vrihaḥ sāmā uta padyatām sarvān arasam a-[6]kaḥ

Probably the first pāda can stand, tho the names(?) are new; for b śapathān saratham vṛhaḥ would be fairly good. For c read samā uta padyantām, and in d arasān.

asitasya vidradasya harito yasya vidradha | imamkṣī vidradhānām yo sr-[7]jām tvayi tā ajjānat. |

In a read vidradhasya, in b yaś ca vidradhaḥ: for the rest I have no suggestions. Pada a = Ppp 1.90.1a.

ya svajānām nīlagrīvo ya svajānām harīr uta | [8] kalmaṣapuścam oṣadhe jambhayāmy arundhatī |

Read yas in a and b, harir in b; in c read °puccham, in d jambhayāsy arundhati. This stanza appears NīlarU 21, which has in a and b svajanān, with variant svajanānām; in d it has jambhayāśv.

*māyam sala*a jahi jaṣṭaḥ [9] pitarasmāt sad viṣam | imā hy asmā oṣadhīm āharāmy arundhatīm |*

For ab I can suggest nothing: in c read imām, in d arundhatīm. *etaj jā-[10]tām pradākūnām arasam jīvale kṛdhi | indrasya bhadrīkā vīruj jyāsī-[11]ya viṣadūṣaṇī z 2 z*

Read: etaj jātām prdākūnām arasam jīvale kṛdhi | indrasya bhadrīkā vīruj †jyasiya viṣadūṣaṇī z 11 z 2

8

(Stt 7-11 are Ś 19.2.)

[f106b11] śatam arvāk prasyandante prasyandante śa-[12]taṁ para
 śataṁ vṛtrasya kāṇḍāni tebhya āpo vidhāvatāḥ antarikṣe pathayi-[13]
 ślavo nabhasaṣ pari jajñire | āpo hiraṇyavarṇās tās te bhavantu saṁ
 hr-[14]de saṁ te santu hṛdayyāya saṁ te hṛdayābhyah | saṁ te akā
 klosadbhyaś cam u te [15] yamīveṣṭebhyaḥ | yad aṅgāir apa sasprśe
 yaś chīrṣṇā yaś ca prṣṭibhiḥ āpas tat sa-[16]rvaṁ niṣ karan tvaṣṭā
 riṣtam. ivānaśaḥ saṁ hṛdena hṛdayam opasena sam opa-[17]śaḥ
 adbhīr muñcāpas sitaṁ tārṣṇebhyaḥ tas sam etu te | ācarantiṣ par-
 vatebhya de-[18]vīr devebhyas pari | āpo yam adya prāpaṁ na sa
 riṣyāt pūruṣaḥ saṁ tāpo hāima-[19]vatīś saṁ te santūśchā śa te
 saniṣyadāpaḥ saṁ u te santu varṣyāḥ san tāpo dha- [f107a] nvinyāś
 saṁ u te santanyapyā saṁ te khanitramāpaḥ saṁ yāś kumbhebhīr
 āvṛtā anabhrayaḥ [2] khanamānā viprā gambhīrepsā bhiṣagbhyo
 bhiṣakvarāpo vatsā vadāmasi z [3] apām aha divyānām māsrodas-
 yānām apām aha praṇejane śvā bhavata vā-[4]jīnaḥ tāpaś śivāpo
 awayakṣmaṁkaraṇīr apaḥ athāiva drśyate mayas tvābhyā-[5]tva-
 bheṣajī z 3 z

In 1c the ms corrects to (kā)ṇvā(ni); also to saṁ ta in st 3,
 and to °dyo in 5d.

Read: śatam arvāk prasyandante prasyandante śataṁ paraḥ |
 śataṁ vṛtrasya kāṇḍāni tebhya āpo vidhāvantām z 1 z antarikṣe
 pathayiṣṇavo nabhasaṣ pari jajñire | āpo hiraṇyavarṇās tās te
 bhavantu saṁ hrde z 2 z saṁ te santu hṛdayāya saṁ te hṛdayā-
 yāpaḥ | saṁ te aha klomabhyaś saṁ u te anuveṣṭebhyaḥ z 3 z yad
 aṅgāir apaṣ pasprśe yac chīrṣṇā yac ca prṣṭibhiḥ | āpas tat sarvaṁ
 niṣ karan tvaṣṭā riṣtam ivānaśat z 4 z saṁ hṛdayena hṛdayam
 opaśena sam opaśaḥ | adbhīr muñcāpa sitaṁ †tārṣṇebhyaḥ 'tas
 sam etu te z 5 z ācarantiṣ parvatebhya devīr devebhyas pari
 āpo yam adya prāpaṁ na sa riṣyāt pūruṣaḥ z 6 z saṁ ta āpo
 hāimavatiś saṁ u te santūtsyāḥ | saṁ te saniṣyadā āpaś saṁ u
 te santu varṣyāḥ z 7 z saṁ ta āpo dhanvanyāś saṁ u te santv
 anūpyāḥ | saṁ te khanitrimā āpaś saṁ yāś kumbhebhīr āvṛtāḥ
 z 8 z anabhrayaḥ khanamānā viprā gambhīre 'pasah | bhiṣagbhyo
 bhiṣaktarā āpo acchāvadāmasi z 9 z apām aha divyānām apām
 srotasyānām | apām aha praṇejane 'śvā bhavata vājīnaḥ z 10 z
 saṁ ta āpaś śivā āpo ayakṣmaṁkaraṇīr apaḥ | athāiva drśyate
 mayas tās tvābhiyantu bheṣajīḥ z 11 z 3 z

In 1d vidhāvata would be nearer the ms. In 2a patayiṣṇavo
 might be better. In 3d anuveṣṭebhyaḥ is a conjecture. Most

of 5cd is somewhat in doubt. In 8d Ś has ābhṛtāḥ which is better, but āvṛtāḥ seems entirely possible. In 9b our ms reading seems to indicate the form given by the Ś mss, which can stand as Whitney points out. In 11a our ms is in the same condition as the Ś mss, and I have adopted the amended text of Roth-Whitney; but in cd have tried to keep close to our ms.

9

[f107a5] *vrahmajyeṣṭhās sambhṛtā vīryāṇi vrahmāgre jyeṣṭham* [6] *divam ā tatānaḥ bhūtānām vrahma prathamō dhi jajñe tenārhati vrahmaṇā* [7] *spardhattim kaḥ*

In a read °jyeṣṭhā, in b ā tatāna, in c 'dhi, in d spardhitum. This is Ś 19.22.21 and 23.30; the Roth-Whitney text has by emendation in c prathamō ha.

vrahmeme dyāvāpṛthivī vrahmcme sapta sindhavaḥ vrahmame sarvadā-[8]*dityā vrahma devā upāsate* |

Read vrahmeme in c.

vrahma vrāhmaṇo vadati | *vrahma rātrī nivasate* | [9] *sāvitre vrahmaṇo jātām vrahmaṇāgnir virocate* |

In a vrahmāṇo vadanti might be better: the ms perhaps reads vadatim.

vrahma oṣadhayo na tiṣṭhanti vra-[10]*hma varṣantu vṛṣṭayaḥ vrahmedaṁ sarvaṁ ātmanvad yāvat saryo vi paśyati* |

For a read vrahmāuṣadhayo ni tiṣṭhanti, in b varṣanti, in d sūryo. For c cf Ś 10.8.2c and 11.2.10c.

vrahma hotā [11] *vrahma yajño vrahmaṇā suro mitā* | *adhvaryur vrāhmaṇo jāto vrahmaṇet tirate* [12] *haviḥ*

In b read svaravo mitāḥ; probably d can stand tho vrahmaṇot tirate might be considered. But this stanza occurs Ś 19.42.1 where the mss have brahmaṇo antarhite, which Roth-Whitney have emended to antarhitam; this is a somewhat easier reading.

vrahma mṛco ghṛtavatīr vrahma ṛṣabho bhadra retā vrahma gāvo haviṣkr-[13]*ta* | *vrahma rathasya devasya yujje yāti svaramkṛtā* |

Read sruco in a, bhadra retāḥ in b, haviṣkṛtāḥ in c, dāivasya in d; for e probably we may read yuje yāti svaramkṛtam. Pāda a = Ś 19.42 2a. The ms corrects to (yā)te in e.

vrahmaṇā sādām vanati vra-[14]*hmaṇā yujyate rathaḥ vrahmaṇā puruṣo bhy apānam vyathate caran*

In c read 'bhy, in d caran.

vrahmaṇo jātā r-[15]ṣayo vrahmaṇo rājanyā uta | vrahmedaṁ vrahmaṇo jātāṁ vrahmaṇo viṣyaṇṇam |

In d I would suggest viṣyaṇṇam annam.

vrahma [16] śūdrā rājanyānām vrahmāiṣām uta cikṣataḥ vrahmāiṣām bhadraṁ sādanaṁ vrahmaṇāi-[17]ṣām sabhā sadā |

In a śūdrā does not seem good and I would read śubhā; in b possibly śikṣitam; possibly d can stand, but consider also sabhāsādām.

vrahma dāsād vrahma dāsād vrahmese kitavā uta | strīpuṁ-[18]sāu vrahmaṇo jātāu strīyo vrahmotha vāvanā |

In a we might read ca sad and cāsād, but this does not fit very well with the rest; in b vrahmeme, in d vrahmota vāvāna.

vrahmobhyato nivato vrahma śarva [19] sarvato vānaspatyā parvatā vīrudhaḥ vrahmedaṁ sarvam antrā

Read: vrahmodvato nivato vrahma * sarvataḥ | vānaspatyāḥ parvatā vīrudho vrahmedaṁ sarvam antarā z 11 z 4 z

The ms has several light strokes over śarva seeming to intend its deletion; in the indicated lacuna a verb might well have stood. The ms does not indicate the end of the hymn at this point, but what follows does not seem to me to be a part of the hymn.

utānām antarā dyā- [f107b] vāprthivī ubhe | vrahmāivābhavad uttaraṁ jātavedo adad vajro yātudhānam ma-[2]hābalam. bhavaśarvāu upuṣiyam hetim asmāi nayaṣitāu viṣṛjatām va-[3]dhāya z 4 z apnūpavrahmasūktam. 1 zz

Read bhūtānām antarā, bhayāśarvāu tapuṣīm and possibly nayiṣṭhāu; with these corrections we seem to have a fair reading. In the colophon the transliteration should perhaps be aprūpa°; possibly aparūpavrahmasūktam is the correct title. In the left margin at the top of f107b is a star and also vrāhmasūktam kāraṇam.

10

[f107b3] *yad aśvinā oṣadhī-[4]ṣv ā siktāṁ puṣkarasrajā vīrudho madhu bibhratīnaḥ tināham asya mūrdhāna-[5]m abhiṣiñcāmi nāyaḥ |*

In b read siktām; in c probably bibhrati (omitting naḥ); for de tenāham asyā mūrdhānam abhiṣiñcāmi nāryāḥ. For b cf Ś 3.22.4f etc., for de cf Ppp 4.10.7de.

aśvinā puṣpād adhi māḁṣikaṁ madhu sambhṛtaṁ | [6] anne lavaṇena madhuma tena |

In a read yad aśvinā °; for c I would suggest anne 'lavaṇe madhumat; read de as in st 1.

aśvinā guggūlum | āñjane madhu sambhṛtaṁ | [7] yad asmin madhugo madhu |

The transliteration at the beginning of b is not sure; the sign after the colon is that for medial ā, not initial ā.

In ab I would read yad aśvinā gugguluny āñjane °; in c madughe: supply de as in st 1.

yad aśvinā kṣa madhu gośv aśveṣu yan ma-[8]dhu | surāyām sic-yamānāyām kīlāle dhi yan madhu tena |

In a the letters kṣa are probably the remains of some word in the locative case, possibly makṣe; in b read gośv, in d 'dhi: for ef read tenāham ° as in st 1.

yad aśvi-[9]nā govarcasam hiraṇyavarcasam hastivarcasam aśvinā | tenāham asyā [10] mūrdhānām abhiṣiñcāmi nāryāḥ

Read mūrdhānam in c; the omission of hiraṇya° would rectify the meter.

abhi nandam abhi mojam abhi ta-[11]lpaṁ kṛṇōmi te | yā te bhagam vattayetām aśvinā puṣkarassrjā |

In a read modam; for c ā te bhagam vartayetām; in d puṣkarasrajā.

yad apsu [12] te varcas subhage jihvāyām te madhūlaka | akṣāu na karaṇī tavat putīkaṁ [13] madhumattaram | āśītasya talāśeva vṛkṣāivāpatikaṣ pati |

It would seem best to omit te in pāda a; in b read madhūlakam. In c read akṣyāu and tava, but for na karaṇī I have no suggestion; in d read pratīkaṁ (the ms seems to make this correction). In e perhaps āśitāsi is possible; in f read vṛkṣa ivāpatikaṣ patiḥ.

tvaṁ samagra-[14]bhūt puṁsaś śyena ivānyān patantriṇaḥ āyi te hārṣam udakam apo bhagā-[15]diṣecanaṁ |

In a read samagrabhīṣ, in b patatrināḥ; for āyi in c I can see nothing; read 'hārṣam, in d possibly bhagābhīṣecanāḥ.

yat te varco pakrāntaṁ manasya praticakṣaṇaḥ punas tad aśvina tvayy ā [16] dattāṁ puṣkarasrajāḥ

In a read 'pakrāntaṁ, for b probably manaś ca praticakṣaṇam; for d ā dhattāṁ puṣkarasrajā.

abhi tvā varcasāsṛjaṁ divyena payasā saha | ya-[17]thā pativinsyaso deva ṛgbhyo manumattarā |

In a read °sṛjan; in c read pativañśyāso, in d devṛgbhyo madhumattarā. Cf Ppp 4.2.7; Ś 4.8.6.

bhagaṃ te mittrāvaruṇā bhagaṃ [18] *divī sarasvatī | bhagaṃ te aśvinobhā dattām | ādattām puṣkarasraja z*

In a read mitrā°, in b devī; in cd aśvinobhā dhattām puṣkara-srajā.

The line beginning with divī is the last line on f107b; but just below in the margin in a sort of parenthesis the ms has the stanza with some variants, thus: *bhagaṃ te mittrāvaruṇāu bhagaṃ divī sarasvatī bhagaṃ te aśvināu devāu adattām puṣkarāsrajam. pāthah.* This marginal text agrees with RV 10.184.3 in having aśvināu devāu in c, where the text in the main body of our ms agrees with Ś 5.25.3c. Cf Ppp 5.11.6.

pati [f108a] *pati te rājā varuṇaṣ patim devo vṛhaspatiṣ patim ta indraś cāgniś ca patim dātā* [2] *dadātu te z 5 z anu 2 z z*

Read: *patim te rājā varuṇaṣ patim devo vṛhaspatiḥ | patim ta indraś cāgniś ca patim dhātā dadhātu te z 12 z 5 z anu 2 z*

With this cf as for last stanza, but particularly MG 2.14.6.

11

[f108a2] *catasras te khala sraktir atho ma-[3]dhyam aham khala | dhārāś catasras toṣyāmi | vedim mānuṣyavardhanim z*

Delete colon at end of c and read probably poṣyāmi.

ūrjasva-[4]tam ā rabhadhvaṃ sphātivantaṃ punīdi naḥ bījasyā-bhyāvodhā bhagāitu puro-[5]gava |

In a read ūrjasvantām, in b punīta, for d bhaga etu purogavaḥ. *bhagasya hanaḍvāhāu yañjāta rāśirvāhanāu adhāṣ prthivyāḥ kilā-[6] lam ihā vahattam aśvinā*

In a read hāna°, for b yuñjāte rāśivāhanāu; in c adhaṣ, in d vahatām.

abhikītaḥ parihito dhānena vibhuṣ prabhuh dhartā ma-[7]nuṣyāṇām jajñe devānām ājyam khala

In b paribhuḥ would seem better in meaning and rhythm; read khalaḥ in d.

srucā sampanī sṛṇikā pa-[8]riṣkrta | kīnāśā sam no tāro bījadāsīd dhaviṣmatih

The long i of “sīd” in pāda d is not perfect.

For the first hemistich I can get nothing more than the transliteration; it lacks four syllables. In c kīnāśās and ‘taro may be possible; in d read dhaviṣmatī.

ihendra mu-[9]ṣṭir dhya sṛjasva pūrṇāv iha sāumanasas sam ṛddhyatām hotāro ye ca gandharvās ta [10] hi sphātim mam ā vahaḥ |

Read: ihendra puṣṭim vi sṛjaśva pūrṇām iha sāumanasas sam
rddhyantām | hotāro ye ca gandharvās te hi sphātim sam
āvahan z 6 z

The emendations are of course only suggestions.

*atipaśyo nṛcāyakaṣaḍṛkaṣ pakvam ā bhara | [11] īśānā gandharvā
bhuvanasya sa vahantu khale sphāti-[12]m ihāsāunṛtām ca |*

In the first hemistich I can make no suggestion. In c ya īśānā
would be better but ya is not necessary; in d read saṁ vahantu;
a fifth pāda is indicated which might possibly be reconstructed
into iha saṁ vahan ṛtaṁ ca, but this is mere guessing.

*ā paścād ā purastād uttarād adharād uta | indrā-[13]ya vasor īśānaḥ
khale sphātim sam āhān*

In c indro 'yam, or yo, would seem better; the ms in the margin
has a correction "dra". In d read sam āvahaḥ: or samāvahan.

*sphātim indraḥ khale bahvī-[14]m ihotprāṇam ut prṇat. | sphāti me
viśve devā sphātim somo atho bhagaḥ | [15]*

In b read prṇāt, and possibly ihotpāraṇam (= complete fulness)
In c read sphātim and devās.

*sphātir me astu hastayoḥ sphātir yatra mā rārabhe | śatahastenam ut
prṇa sa-[16]mudrasyeva madhyataḥ*

In b atra would seem better; for c read śatahastena mot prṇās.

*iha me bhūyā bhara yathāhaṁ kāmāye tathā yatheyā-[17]m udyā
sphāyātāitṛāiva hastinas saha z 1 z*

Read: iha me bhūya ā bhara yathāhaṁ kāmāye tathā |
yatheyam adya sphāyate yatrāiva hastinas saha z 11 z 1 z

Pāda d may need emending. The entire hymn is of course very
uncertain, but it is clear that it belongs in the sphere of Ś 3.24.

12

[f108a17] svadviyaṁ tā aśvinā [18] sure kṛṇutām puṣkarasrajā | yām
asiñcan sāudhanvinā viśve devā maru-[19]dgaṇā yām aśvināsiñcatām
mā munā bahu dhāvatu |

In pāda a we may probably read svādvīm tvāśvinā; in c
asiñcan sāudhanvanā, in d marudgaṇāḥ; in f sā surā.

*svādo svādī- [f108b] yamī bhava madhor madhutarā bhava | atha
rṣyesyayavamārṣyevāktyaṁ subhage bhava |*

In a read svādoḥ svādīyaṣi: in cd I can get nothing satisfactory.
*abhrā jātam [2] varṣā jātam atho jātam vidam pari | atho samudrāj
jātam tat surādagaṇam bhava |*

In a read abhrāj and varṣāj, in b divas; in d probably surā-dharaṇaṁ.

*nā-[3]dīnām āsi januṣā sā surādharāṇi bhava | sakhā hi bhadrasthāsi
vrkṣa svā-[4]du vikaṁgata |*

Read asi in a, śākhā and °sthāsi in c, and for d probably vrkṣaḥ svādur vikaṅkataḥ.

*asuras ta ūrdhvanabhasaś cakāra prathamā svare | sure dāsaś ci
tvā gr-[5]he siraś cāndhasya cakratu |*

Possibly pādas ab can stand; in c I can get nothing out of dāsaś ci; for d possibly we may read sūraś cāndhaś ca cakratuḥ.

*niṣ puṣpakam kaśīkāyā nir dhārāyā surām uta | u-[6]d īhi vājinīvati
kim aṅkatīṣv iśchati |*

Read dhārāya in b, ehi in c, and aṅkatīṣv icchati in d.

*kim etaṁ janyāṣate gaṣṭi-[7]r ābhidhrṣṇava | sure devi pariprehi
mādayantī janam janam |*

In a read janyā āṣate, in b 'gaṣṭir ābhidhrṣṇavaḥ.

*asyā grhṇā [8] sthālena gām aśvam dhānyam vasu sā surā bahu
dhāvatu*

In a read grhṇāmi and perhaps yasyā: if the stanza ever had a fourth pāda I would suspect that it stood as pāda c.

*ācarantīṣ parvate-[9] bhyaṣ khanamānā anabhraya | yāsām samudre
saṁsthānam yāsām nāsti niveśanam | [10] tās te dadatu vudbudam
idaṁ kuru cemām surām*

In b read anabhrayaḥ, in e budbudam: for ab see above no 8.6a and 9a.

*yām hr̥dā kāmāyāmahe tāva-[11]n ma bhagas tām aśvinā tāvan mā
vañ sarasvatī | ayaṁ devo mayūlaśaś śvaśurā-[12]d arāṇam dadat. |*

At the beginning of b and c tām mā would seem to be the correct reading; in c possibly vahat for vañ: for mayūlaśaś I have no suggestion but madhūlakaś.

*saṁsraṇāt parisraṇā giribhyas paryābhṛtaḥ ma-[13]dhye śatasya
mapsiṣko naḍvān ima mehatu z 2 z*

Read: saṁsraṇāḥ parisraṇā giribhyas pary ābhṛtāḥ | madhye śatasya †mapsiṣko 'naḍvān imā mehatu z 11 z 2 z

In a prasraṇā would be somewhat better. [In c sarpiṣo?—F. E.]

13

(RV 4.58)

[f108b13] *samudrād urmi* [14] *madhumān ud ārad upāṇśunā sam amṛtatvam ānat. ghṛtasya nāma guhyaṁ* [15] *yad asti jihvā devānām amṛtasya nābhiḥ hwayaṁ nāmā pra vravāmā* [16] *ghṛtasyāsmiṁ yajñe dhārayāmā navobhiḥ | upa vrahmās chrṇavaś chasya-* [17] *mānaṁ catuśśrṅgo vamiḍ gora etat. | catvāri śrṅgas trayo asya pādā* [18] *dvi śīrṣe sapta hastāso asya | tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti maho devo* [19] *martyān ā viveśa | tridhā hi kaṁ paṇibhir guhyamānaṁ gavi devāso ghṛ-* [20] *tam anv avindan. | indra ekaṁ sūrya ekaṁ jajāna venād ekaṁ svadhayā ni-* [f109a] *ś kṛtakṣuḥ | etā arṣanti hr̥dyāt samudrās chatavrajā nipuṇā nāvacakṣe | ghṛtasya dhārā |* [2] *abhi cākaśīsi hiraṇyayo ritaso madhya āsām samyak sravanti sarīto na devā |* [3] *antar hr̥dā manasā sūyamānāḥ ete arṣanty ūrmayo ghṛtasya mṛgā iva kṣīpaṇo-* [4] *r īṣamānāḥ z oṁ mṛga iva kṣīpaṇor īṣamānās sindhor ivaṁ prādhvane sū-* [5] *ghanāso vātāḥ primayaṣ patayanti yāhvām ghṛtasya dhārā arṣo na vājī kāṣṭhā-* [6] *bhirmarty ūrmibhiḥ pinvamānāḥ abhi pravanti samaneva yoṣāṣ kalyāṇya ssaya-* [7] *mānāso agniṁ | ghṛtasya dhārās samidho nasanti tā juṣāṇo haryati* [8] *jātavedāḥ kanyā iva vātam atetavā u | anya jānā abhi cākaśīti |* [9] *yatra somas sūyate yatra yajño ghṛtasya dhārā abhi tat pavante | abhy arṣa* [10] *suṣṭulim gavyam ājam assāsu bhadrā dravināni dhatta | imaṁ yajñam nayata* [11] *devatā no ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat plavante | dhāman te viśvaṁ bhuvanam adhi śr-* [12] *tam antas samudre hr̥dy antar āyusi | apām anikāt samidhād yābhr̥tas tapa-* [13] *śyāmi madhumantaṁ kur ūrmim. z 3 z*

Read: *sumudrād ūrmir madhumān ud ārad upāṇśunā sam amṛtatvam ānat | ghṛtasya nāma guhyaṁ yad asti jihvā devānām amṛtasya nābhiḥ z 1 z vayaṁ nāmā pra vravāmā ghṛtasyāsmiṁ yajñe dhārayāmā namobhiḥ | upa vrahmā śṛṇavac chasyamānaṁ catuśśrṅgo 'vamiḍ gāura etat z 2 z catvāri śrṅgā trayo asya pādā dve śīrṣe sapta hastāso asya | tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti maho devo martyān ā viveśa z 3 z tridhā hi kaṁ paṇibhir guhyamānaṁ gavi devāso ghṛtam anv avindan | indra ekaṁ sūrya ekaṁ jajāna venād ekaṁ svadhayā niṣ ṭatakṣuḥ z 4 z etā arṣanti hr̥dyāt samudrāc chatavrajā ripuṇā nāvacakṣe | ghṛtasya dhārā abhi cākaśīmi hiraṇyayo vetaso madhya āsām z 5 z samyak sravanti sarīto na dhenā antar hr̥dā manasā sūyamānāḥ | ete arṣanty ūrmayo ghṛtasya mṛgā iva kṣīpaṇor īṣamānāḥ z 6 z sindhor iva prādhvane sūghanāso vātapramiyaṣ patayanti yāhvāḥ | ghṛtasya dhārā aruṣo na vājī kāṣṭhā bhindanty ūrmibhiḥ pinvamānāḥ z 7 z*

abhi pravante samaneva yoṣāṣ kalyāṇyas smayamānāso agnim |
ghṛtasya dhārās samidho nasante tā juṣāṇo haryati jātavedāḥ
z 8 z kanyā iva vahatum etavā u añjy añjānā abhi cākaṣīti | yatra
somas sūyate yatra yajño ghṛtasya dhārā abhi tat pavante z 9 z
abhy arṣata suṣtutim gavyam ājim asmāsu bhadrā draviṇāni
dhatta | imam yajñam nayata devatā no ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat
pavante z 10 z dhāman te viśvam bhuvanam adhi śritam antas
samudre ḥṛdy antar āyusi | apām anikāt samithād ya ābhṛtas
tam aśyāma madhumantaṁ ta ūrmim z 11 z 3 z

In addition to RV this hymn appears in VS, KS; and parts elsewhere. In 4a all others read hitam, in 11c all others read anike samithe: other variants are not so striking.

14

(RV 1.95)

[f109a13] *dve virūpa carata svarthe a*-[14]*nyānyā vatsas upa dhā-*
payete | harir anyasyām bhavati svadhāvān śukro anya-[15]*syām*
dadṛṣe suvarcāḥ z daśemaṁ tvāṣtur janayanta garbham atandrā-[16]
so yuvatayo vibhṛtaṁ | tigmānīkaṁ suyaśasaṁ jāneṣu virocāmānaṁ
[17] *paridhīm nayanti | trīṇi jānat prati bhūṣanty asya samudra*
ekaṁ divy eka-[18]*m apsu | pūrvām anu pradiśaṁ pāṛthivānām*
ṛbhūn praśāsad vi dadhā- [f109b] *v anuṣṭhu z ka imam vo niṇyam*
ā ciketu vatso mātṛñ janayati svadhāvān. | āviṣṭyo va-[2]*vardhate*
cārur āsu jihvānām ūrdhva svayaśām upasthe | ubhe tvaṣtur vi-
bhyantar jāyamā-[3]*t pratīcīm sinham prati joṣayate | ubhe bhadre*
joṣayete na mene gāvo na vāgrā u-[4]*pa tasthur evāi | sa dakṣiṇām*
dakṣapatir babhūvāyujanti yaṁ dakṣiṇato havirbhiḥ [5] *ud ya-*
yaṁ saviteva bāhū ubhe sama yajate bhīma ruñjan. | uś chūkram
asmaḍ dhru-[6]*m ajate samasmā navā mātṛbhyo nasana jāhāti | tveṣaṁ*
rūpaṁ kṛṇuta uttaram [7] *yat samprncānas sadanaṁ gobhir adbhiḥ |*
kavir vradhvaṁ pari samṛjyate dhīmā deva-[8]*tātā savitur babhūva |*
uru te jrayaṣ pateṣu badhnaṁ virocāmānām mahiṣasva dhā-[9]*ma |*
viśvebhīr āgne svayaśor iddho dadbhebbhiṣ pāyubhiṣ pātva asmān. |
dhanvaṁ sro-[10]*taṣ kṛṇate gārbham ūrmim śukrār ūrmibhir abhi*
nakṣati kṣām | viśvā sanāni [11] *jāthareṣu dhatte tun navāsu carati*
prasūṣu z eva no agre samidha ghrṇāno [12] *revat pāvakaś śravasā*
vi bhāhi | tan no mittro varuṇo māmahantām aditis sindhu-[13]
ṣ pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 4 z

Read: *dve virūpe caratas svarthe anyānyā vatsam upa dhā-*
payete | harir anyasyām bhavati svadhāvān śukro anyasyām
dadṛṣe suvarcāḥ z 1 z daśemaṁ tvaṣtur janayanta garbham

atandrāso yuvatayo vibhṛtam | tigmānikam svayaśasam janeṣu virocamānam pari śīm nayanti z 2 z trīṇi jānā prati bhūṣanty asya samudra ekaṁ divy ekam apsu | pūrvām anu pradīṣam pārthivānām ṛtūn praśāsad vi dadhāv anuṣṭhu z 3 z ka imaṁ vo niṇyam ā ciketa vatso mātṛ janayata svadhābhiḥ | bahvīnām garbho apasām upasthān mahān kavir nīś carati svadhāvān z 4 z āviṣṭyo vardhate cārur āsu jihmānām ūrdhvas svayaśā upasthe | ubhe tvaṣṭur bibhyatur jāyamānāt pratiṇi sinham prati joṣayete z 5 z ubhe bhadre joṣayete na mene gāvo na vāśrā upa tasthur evāiḥ | sa dakṣānām dakṣapatir babbhūvāyuñjanti yaṁ dakṣiṇato havirbhiḥ z 6 z ud yamyamīti saviteva bāhū ubhe sicāu yatate bhīma ṛñjan | uc chukram tasmad dhruv ajate simasmān navā mātṛbhyo vasanā jahāti z 7 z tveṣam rūpaṁ kṛṇuta uttaram yat samprcīcānas sadane gobhir adbhiḥ | kavir budhnam pari marmṛjyate dhīs sā devatātā samitir babbhūva z 8 z uru te jrayaṣ pary etu budhnam virocamānam mahiṣasya dhāma | viśvebhīr agne svayaśobhir iddho 'dabdebbhiḥ pāyubhiḥ pāhy asmān z 9 z dhanvan srotaṣ kṛṇute gātum ūrmiṁ śukrāir ūrmibhir abhi nakṣati kṣām | viśvā sanāni jathareṣu dhatte 'ntar navāsu carati prasūsu z 10 z evā no agne samidhā grṇāno revat pāvaka śravasā vi bhāhi | tan no mitro varuṇo māmahantām aditis sindhuṣ pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 11 z 4 z

The text presented here is in almost complete agreement with that of RV; from which our 4cd is supplied, the omission being due to a sort of haplography. In 6cd it may be unwise to retain °āyuñjanti where RV has °āñjanti; in 11a RV has vṛdhāno.

15

[f109b13] *yo jāmādagnya iha kāuśika ātreya u-[14]ta kāśyapo yaḥ | bhāradvājā gāutamā yaṁ vasiṣṭhās tebhyaṣ pravṛma iha ki-[15] lviṣāṇi z*

Read *ye vasiṣṭhās* and *kilbiṣāṇi*.

agastya yaṣ kāṇvaṣ kutsāpasravaṇā viśvarūpāḥ ga-[16]rgā mudgalā ayaskāś śāunakāś samkṛtayo vrāhmaṇā ye na dugdhā-[17]s tadyaḥ pravṛma iha kilviṣāṇi |

Read *āgastyo, gārgā,* and *drugdhās* *tebhyaḥ ° ° kilbiṣāṇi*. A colon should stand before *gārgā*. I suppose that *ayaskāś* is a proper name. Edgerton suggests *yāskāś*.

yo no tiṣṭhād vrāhmaṇo nā-[18]dhamānenātyena tṛpta uta dhāiryena viśve devā upadrasṭāro tra tasmī-[19]n iṣam samnayām kilviṣyam |

I would suggest here 'tiṣṭhad and °ārthyena; read 'tra tasminn,

and at the end samnayan kilbiṣyām. A colon should stand before viśve.

yāropayaṁ kilviṣe vrāhmaṇasyāthā-[20]ni jīnāṁsi bahudhā duṣkṛtāni | anutiṣṭhaṁ proktātmā nu taṁ nidhatte ta-[21]smāi tad devā uta veśayanti |

We might read yāropayan kilbiṣe vrāhmaṇasya yāni jīnāṁsi °; this assumes a form jīnas meaning "misery" or the like. Read anutiṣṭhan and tan nidhatte.

nāśnīyāṁ na piveyaṁ na śāita na niṁśāibhu jā- [f110a] yāṁ nota putraṁ vrahmakilviṣe proktāud eva tiṣṭhesv aritasya panthā

The ms in the margin corrects to (niṁśāi) tu jā.

Read nāśnīyān na pibeta na śayīta na niṁśīta ° ° prokte; after a colon we might read something like ud eva tiṣṭhet sa ṛtasya panthāḥ.

śatarcino sādhyamā [2] ye maharṣayaḥ kṣudrasūktānām uta yā prajeha | ṛṣīṇāṁ yāni janimā-[3]ni vidmas tebhyaḥ pravṛūma iha kilviṣāṇi z

Read mādhyamā, in accord with the margin; vidma and kilbiṣāṇi.

sodaryānām pañcadaśā-[4]nām śatānām trayastrīṁśad uta śiṣyantu devāḥ ekasmin viddhe sarve rupyaṁtv ad vrā[5]hmaṇakilviṣam anv avindam |

At the beginning perhaps sodayānām would be a better reading; for śiṣyantu probably śikṣanti; colon after devāḥ. Read rupyanti tad, and probably avindan.

tasmāi tad druhyād dīdam nāyad yo no tiṣṭhād yo no jā-[6]tāsmīn. | vrāhmaṇasya kilviṣam nāthitasya sodaryatām iśchato vrāhmaṇe-[7]ṣu |

I would suggest druhyad; for dīdam we might think of dīdyan but it does not yield a very good meaning. Read 'tiṣṭhad and jāto 'smin; also kilbiṣam and icchato.

uttiṣṭhad vrāhmaṇās sam vidadhvaṁ jītam yācami punar āitu sarvaṁ indrāgnī vi-[8]śve devās te me jītam punar ā vardhayantu z

For yācami we might read yacchāmi; place colon after sarvam. Pāda c lacks several syllables; jītam is probable in d.

sa dīrgham āyus kṛṇoti supra-[9]jāye jīgiṣchati | yo vrāhmaṇasya vrāhmaṇo huto nnatu kilviṣe |

Read suprajāyāi and probably jīgiṣati in b; for d perhaps hūto 'nnam atti kilbiṣe.

nāśya [10] *prajāṃ śarvo hanti na rudro hanti nāśani z yó vrahma-*
nāśya vrāhmaṇas satyām [11] *vadati kilviṣe* |

In b read *nāśaniḥ*, in c *vrāhmaṇasya*, in d *kilbiṣe*. The margin suggests *satye* in d.

tvām somapītho juguthe nṛcakṣād grāvabhīḥ saha yo vrā-[12]
vrāhmaṇasyāstām hr̥das sūryāivāpālupat tamaḥ

In a we may perhaps read *taṁ* and *jughuṣe*, in b *nṛcakṣā*: in c *yo vrāhmaṇasyāstām*, supposing that *hr̥das* is a corrupted verb form. For d read *sūrya ivāpālupat tamaḥ*.

ya utthāya kilviṣe vrā-[13]*hṁaṇasyāṁnam āiścham̐n avāyate utāinaṁ*
dyāvāprthivī santaptām mathāitv aktasya [14] *panthām z 5 z anu 3 z*

Read: *ya utthāya kilbiṣe vrāhmaṇasyāṁnam ecchann avāyate*
| *utāinaṁ dyāvāprthivī santaptām athāitv ṛtasya panthām*
z 13 z 5 z anu 3 z

The suggestions offered in this hymn will be recognized as tentative; the division into stanzas is not wholly satisfactory. The main outlines are fairly clear but many details are obscure,—at least to me.

16

[f110a14] *nava ca yā navatiś carūḍhā vakṣaṇānu* | *ya-*[15]*das tas sarvā*
niśyanty anuttāṣ pratthajño mayah

In ab read *cārūḍhā vakṣaṇā anu*; for c probably *itas tās sarvā naśyantv* as in Ś; in d *ānuttāṣ* might be possible, and also *manyāḥ*, but *pratthajño* seems hopeless. Stt 1–3 here are similar to Ś 6.25 but vary widely in the b and d pādas.

sapta ja yas saptatiś cārūḍhā [16] *vakṣaṇānu* | *yadas tas sarvā*
niśyanty ānuttāḥ pratthajño mayas

In a read *ca yās*; the rest as in st 1.

pañca ja yā pa-[17]*ñcaśaś cārūḍhā vakṣaṇānu* | *yadas tās sarva*
naśyanty anuttāṣ pratthajño [18] *mayah*

In a read *ca yāḥ pañcāśac*; the rest as in st 1.

ūrubhyām dveṣṭhivadbhyām parṣṇibhyām bhaṁsamah striyā jārāiva
putthagīna pra-[19]*mṛṇēmasi* |

In a read *te* 'ṣṭhivadbhyām, in b *bhaṁsasah*, and cf Ś 2.33.5; for c we might consider *striyā jarāyva*, tho it is short; in d we might read *putthagīn* as an accusative plural, but I cannot deduce a satisfactory meaning for it. The form *pratthajño* of Stt 1–3 is probably a corruption of *putthagi*. Edgerton thinks of *jāra* in c.

anasrptām ahaneṣu pūkṣṇām pāpīyām śamidvatīm [f110b] *tām etām tasyūnām dāsīm pradahataś cyukākāṇi* |

For a I suggest as a possible reading *anasrptām dahaneṣu*, and for b *pūkṣṇām pāpīm samidvatīm*. In c read *dasyūnām dāsīm*, in d *pradahetaś*.

prapatāti sukajñāli śuke-[2]ṣ *kukītako yathā* | *svakve te tripum dhukṣami sā naśiṣyasi putthagī* |

With *putthage* pāda d can stand; I can do nothing with the rest.

yadāsyā-[3]s *sukve dahebhyaḍā mūrdhānam agnīnā* | *tām etā tasyūnā dāsīm pratthagena la*-[4]yīṣyate |

In the margin *dahebhyaḍā* is corrected to *dahed ya* (dā).

In a read *sarakve dahed*; for c we should probably read the same form as in 5c: for pāda d the best I can offer is *putthage* no *laviṣyate*.

saṁvatsaram ajaro surebhyaṣ patam krimīt. | *yatra kṣettrasya dur-gandhi ut te* [5] *taṁ nyañcanam*

For pādas ab I can offer nothing beyond the division of the words. In c read *kṣettrasya*, and for d *tat ta etan nyañcanam*.

nāitat tava mātṛnam sthām na te ta nyañcanam. asmākam etad virebhyo [6] *devāiṣ prajananam kṛtam. z*

In a I would suggest *satṛnam sthāma*, which would seem more probable if *te* stood for *tava*; for b read *na ta etan nyañcanam*. The rest seems correct.

girote smi pūtam udakam himavatsu tatropa praskadya [7] *nṛtu prajāmi yūthega putthagī* |

In a perhaps we may read *karoti te* 'smāi pūtam; in b *tad udakam* would improve the rhythm. In cd we might possibly read *nṛtu prājāmi yūthegān putthagīn*.

sa tvaṁ gobhir aśvāiṣ prajayā prajananam bhava | [8] *yo mā tatra prāhīṣi yatra jīvanīu bhadrayaḥ z 1 z*

Read: *sa tvaṁ gobhir aśvāiṣ prajayā prajananam bhava* | *yo mā tatra prāhīṣīr yatra jīvanti bhadrayā z 11 z 1 z*

It is evident that the emendations suggested are based almost entirely on palæography; the first four stanzas give a hint of the intent of the hymn, but uncertainty as to the word *putthagi* adds to the too numerous difficulties in the rest.

17

(Ś 19.19)

[f110b8] *mittraṣ pr̥thi*-[9]*vyodakrāmat tām puram̐ pra ṇayāmi va |*
tām ā viśat tām pra viśatu śrā va śa-[10]*rma ca varma ca yaśchatu |*
vāyur antarantarikṣeṇos sūryo divaś candramā nakṣattrāi-[11]
r u | soma oṣadhībhr̥t. yajño dakṣiṇābhr̥t. samudro nadībhr̥t.
vrahma vrahma-[12] *cāribhr̥t. indro vīryeṇodakrāmat tām devā-*
m̐tenodakrāman tām puram̐ pra [13] *ṇayāmi va | te mā viśantu te*
mā pra viśantu te | vaś carma ca varma ca yaśchatu | [14] *prajāpatiḥ |*
prajābhir udakrāmat tām puram̐ pra ṇayāmi va | tām ā viśa-[15]*ntu*
tā pra viśantu sā vaś śarma ca varma ca yaśchatu z 2 z

Read: *mitraṣ pr̥thivyodakrāmat tām puram̐ pra ṇayāmi vaḥ |*
tām ā viśata tām pra viśata sā vaś śarma ca varma ca yacchatu
z 1 z vāyur antarikṣeṇodakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 2 z sūryo divodak-
rāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 3 z candramā nakṣatrāir udakrāmat tām
° ° | ° ° z 4 z soma oṣadhībhir udakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 5 z
yajño dakṣiṇābhir udakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 6 z samudro nadībhir
udakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 7 z vrahma vrahmacāribhir udakrāmat
tām ° ° | ° ° z 8 z indro vīryeṇodakrāmat tām ° ° | ° ° z 9 z devā
am̐tenodakrāman̐s tām ° ° | ° ° z 10 z prajāpatiḥ prajābhir udakrā-
mat tām puram̐ pra ṇayāmi vaḥ | tām ā viśata tām pra viśata sā
vaś śarma ca varma ca yacchatu z 11 z 2 z

18

[f110b15] *savyañja*-[16]*ntaṣ prakṛṣanta yad vo devā upocire | tām*
ebhyas satyā māśim indra khalvām [17] *samrddhayāḥ*

For pāda a *saṁvya*jantaṣ *prakṛṣanto* would seem good; pāda b can stand; in c I am not sure of the division of words, but have thought of *māśam* to match *khalvām*; in d read *khalvān samarddhayāḥ*.

anadvāhas satyāvānas sīram̐ śr̥ṇotu me vacaḥ | atrāhīta-[18]*d vijāyate*
taṭ parjanyo bhi vovṛṣat.

Read *kr̥ṇoṭu* in b; in c *atra hy etad* might stand; in d 'bhi *vīvr̥ṣat* seems possible.

divyāpo va śakvarīr anu mantu gahvare | [19] *ūrjasvatī ghṛtavatīṣ*
payasvatīr dṛṣe bhavatha mā guhā |

For pāda a read *divyā āpo vāi śākvarīr*, in b *ramantu*; in c *ūrjasvatīr*.

ud ehi [20] *vājīnīvati pūrṇapātrā tviṣīmatī duhānā pūṣa rakṣatā |*
kā- [f111a] mam eṣām sam ā pr̥ṇaḥ

Read poṣaṁ rakṣathaḥ in c; correct punctuation. Pāda a appeared above in 12.6c.

ahiṁsītā phalavatī śatavalśaṁ virohatu imaṁ saha-[2]srabhogāsyā indra upāvatu |

Read ahiṁsītā in a, śatavalśā in b; in cd we might safely read imaṁ sahasrabhogam asyā °.

aśvinā phālaṁ kalpayetām upāvatu vṛhaspa-[3]tiḥ yathāmad bahu-dhānyam ayakṣmaṁ bahupāuruṣaṁ |

Read phalaṁ in a, yathāsad in c, and ° pūruṣaṁ in d. This stanza occurs also in Kāuś 20.5.

yad vo devā upoṣire | [4] iha bhūyas syād iti | iha tām utprñāṁ vayaṁ devīm upahvayāmahe

In pāda a read upocira without following colon; if utprñāṁ is good pādas cd can stand: but cf above, 11.9b.

i-[5]daṁ va utprñād iti sphātīm va utprñād iti | rāṣīm me vardhayād iti [6] sphātīm cakāro bahukāra sphirasphoṭāya makṣikāḥ

If the colon is left where it is, the first three pādas may stand, tho the change of person is sudden; for de I would suggest sphātīmākāro bahukāras sphirasphoṭāya mākṣikāḥ.

asmiṁ dhām nupyate [7] yavo vṛhīr atho tilaḥ tasya grhṇāta yat kṛtaṁ parikṣāya catuṣṣataṁ

For pāda a read asmiṁ dhāman ny upyate; in d perhaps paricāyā.

śa-[8]rkāryavan nayāvaś ca krāivṛt kiñca yad vṛṣe | tad vāi sphātīr upāyati [9] sarvam evātīricyati |

The following is a possible form for this stanza: śakāraṁ nayavac ca kriyāvat kiñ ca yad vṛṣe | tad vāi sphātīr upāyati sarvam evātīricyate.

sahaṁ jane parā jahi sahasrāpoṣamandaye | [10] bahvī noṣadhī bhava samudrasyeva saṁsrava z 3 z

Read: sahaṁ jane parā jahi sahasrapoṣamandaye | bahvī na oṣadhe bhava samudrasyeva saṁsravaḥ z 11 z 3 z

19

[f111a10] ājyād ajas sa-[11]mabhavad deśebhya odanāya yenātīpaśyan vṛhaspatīḥ sa vāi pañcodano [12] bhavat. | catudhriyatām samabhava | odanas tvaṁ vṛhaspate | ajajyāj jātas sa [13] eṣāṁ pañcamo bhava dhūmena divam āpnoty antyārikṣam adhoṣmaṇā | diśāpno-[14]tū cakṣuṣā ajaḥ pañcamodanasyaḥ | yat te mātā yat te pitā bhrātaro

ya-[15]ś ca mesvā | ajam pañcodanam paktvā sarve tam upajīvita | yat te pūrve [16] parāgatāpare pitaras ca ye | tebhya ghṛtasya kullītu śatadhārām vinṛtīm [17] ye sarvadā dadaty evāra caranty odanam te vāi yamasya rājyād uttare lokāsa-[18]te | nātirātrāpnotu nāinam āpnoty ukthyah nāgniṣṭomāpnoty ajam pañcāuda-[19]nam savam daśarātreṇa samyato dvādaśāhena kalpate | dīrghamātreṇa [20] samyato jaś pañcāudanas savaḥ ya eṣām barhiṣyam sarvaṁ yan naṣṭam yaś ca [f111b] sa | yataṁ yaś ca stenopāyati ya eṣām pañcamo bhava | yā pūrvaṁ patiṁ vitvā yathānnaṁ [2] vindate param. pañcāudanamdanam ca tāv atam pacato na vy āncataḥ | samānaloko [3] bhavati punarbhavāparaś patiḥ ajam ca pañcodanam dakṣiṇya-jyotiṣam dadat. [4] z 4 z

Read: ājyād ajas samabhavad deśebhya odanāya | yenātipaśyan vṛhaspatis sa vāi pañcāudano 'bhavat z 1 z catuś śrāyatām sama-bhava odanas tvaṁ vṛhaspate | aja ājyād jātas sa eṣām pañcamo bhava z 2 z dhūmena divam āpnoty antarikṣam athoṣmaṇā | diśa āpnoti cakṣuṣā ajaś pañcāudanas savaḥ z 3 z yat te mātā yat te pitā bhrātaro yac ca te svasā | ajam pañcāudanam paktvā sarve tam upajīvita z 4 z ye te pūrve parāgatā apare pitaras ca ye | tebhya ghṛtasya kulyāitu śatadhārā vyundati z 5 z ye sarvadā dadati ye vāraṁ caranty odanam | te vāi yamasya rājyād uttare loka āsate z 6 z nātirātra āpnoti nāinam āpnoty ukthyah | nāgniṣṭoma āpnoty ajam pañcāudanam savam z 7 z daśarātreṇa samyato dvādaśāhena kalpate | dīrghamātreṇa samyato 'jas pañcāudanas savaḥ z 8 z yad eṣām barhiṣyam sarvaṁ yan naṣṭam yac ca samyatam | yac ca tenopāyati sa eṣām pañcamo bhava z 9 z yā pūrvaṁ patiṁ vittvāthānyam vindate 'param | pañcāudanam ca tāv ajam pacato na vy āncataḥ z 10 z samānaloko bhavati punarbhuvāparaś patiḥ | ajam ca pañcāudanam dakṣiṇjyotiṣam dadat z 11 z 4 z

In 2a the emendation may not be wholly satisfactory as to form but the intent seems fairly sure. St 5 is Ś 18.3.72, the reading of which is adopted; Stt 10 and 11 appear Ś 9.5.27 and 28, with variation in 10d.

20

[f111b4] sūryo mā varcasokṛtūktām aśvinobhā | āditya ūrdhva [5] uttaram aśu mā varcasokṣatu | varcasā mām pitur agnir varcasā mā vṛhaspa-[6]tiḥ surāyās sicyamānāyāś kīlāla varcasenasā tena mūsaśvino-[7]bhā | ukṣatām puṣkarasraja | varcasvān me sukham astu rocamānam viśāsa-[8]hi | yo mā hiraṇyavarcasam kṛṇomi paśyatā priyam | madhor aham madhu-[9]taro madhumān mad-

humattarah | mām anu praviśantu varca ṛṣabho vāṣitām iva | [10] yada mām janamānam avarcasvasā kanikradam | yathā kanikradas ca-[11]rāṇi varcasā ca bhagena ca | varcasāgni mā dadhati varcaso yadati sū-[12]ryah yāvad varco god dhirhiraṇyas tāvan me varco bhūyāt. z yāvat tvaṁ de-[13]va sūryodyann abhāiva paśyasi | tāvan mā varcasābhy ava paśya parṇo bhagasyā-[14]ham bhūtvā ukṣam varcaso ratham | sa mā vahatu sarvadā | yuṣmantam suvarcasam bha-[15]bhagenāham parihito varcasā draviṇena ca | yathā carāṇi sarva-[16]dā rocamānam vibhāvasuḥ yavā mā bhagāgamad evā mā varcāgamat. [17] evā mā tejāgamad evā mā yaśāgamat. hiraṇyena cakreṇa bhaga-[18]syāpihato grhaḥ tam yugjāpi vrahmaṇā tasya me dattam aśvinā dattam me [19] puṣkarasrajah z anu 5 z ity atharvanikapāippalādaśā-[20]khāyām aṣṭamaṣ kāṇḍas samāptaḥ z z

Read: sūryo mā varcasokṣatūṣatām aśvinobhā | āditya ūrdhva uttarann asāu mā varcasokṣatu z 1 z varcasā mām ṭpitur agnir varcasā mā vṛhaspatiḥ | surāyās sicyamānāyāṣ kilālo varcasā yena | tena mām aśvinobhā ukṣatām puṣkarasrajā z 2 z varcasvan me mukham astu rocamānam viśāsahi | yo mā hiraṇyavarcasam kṛṇomi paśyatām priyam z 3 z madhor aham madhutarō madhumān madhumattarah | mām anu praviśatu varca ṛṣabho vāṣitām iva z 4 z yadā mām janamānam ṭavarcasvasā kanikradam ṭ | athā kanikradac carāṇi varcasā ca bhagena ca z 5 z varcasāgnir mā dadati varcasā dadati sūryah | yāvad varco gor hiraṇyasya tāvan me varco bhūyāt z 6 z yāvat tvaṁ deva sūryodyann abhy ava paśyasi | tāvan mā varcasābhy ava paśya * * z 7 z pūrṇo bhagasyāham bhūtvā takṣan varcaso ratham | sa mā vahatu sarvadāyuṣmantam suvarcasam z 8 z bhagenāham parihito varcasā draviṇena ca | yathā carāṇi sarvadā rocamāno vibhāvasuḥ z 9 z evā mā bhaga āgamad evā mā varca āgamat | evā mā teja āgamad evā mā yaśa āgamat z 10 z hiraṇyayena cakreṇa bhagasyāpihito grhaḥ | tam ṭyugjāpi vrahmaṇā tasya me dattam aśvinā dattam me puṣkarasrajā z 11 z 5 z anu 5 z

ity ātharvanikapāippalādaśākhāyām aṣṭamaṣ kāṇḍas samāptaḥ z

In st 2a ° mānnapatir might be considered as a possibility. All of 5ab seems unclear to me: in 11c yuñje api might be possible. The lacuna indicated in 7d is my conjecture.

THE ELEPHANT AND ITS IVORY IN ANCIENT CHINA

CARL W. BISHOP

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM

FEW MAMMALS, probably, have so forcibly impressed themselves upon the imaginations of the peoples coming in contact with them as has the elephant. Living, he has not only been the noblest of big game animals, but has shown himself susceptible of taming and of utilization in a variety of ways for the purposes of peace, of war, and of religion. Dead, his ivory has been eagerly sought after, and from palæolithic times has formed one of the principal media for the expression of the æsthetic impulses of the artist. It would seem, in fact, that the ancient trade in ivory has not as yet had accorded to it the study which it merits. Trade of a sort, more often than not probably of an intermittent, tribe-to-tribe variety, has of course been going on the world over, from an extremely early period; and in the long run it has no doubt played a more important part in the diffusion of culture elements than any other agency. Early commerce, however, in the very nature of the case was always restricted to certain very definite classes of objects—those, namely, which combined in themselves the qualities of high value, of durability, and of easy transport. Among such were amber, jade, spices, and silk. Such, too, in a preëminent degree, was ivory.

In view of the really great importance of the ivory trade in all ages, it seems rather curious that so little attention has been paid hitherto to the distribution of the elephant in protohistoric and early historic times. It is the purpose of this paper to present a brief synopsis of the available data concerning the Asiatic elephant and the traffic in its ivory during the earlier historical periods in regions where it has now disappeared, and particularly in ancient China.

We are indebted for our first definite notices of the elephant in western Asia to the Egyptian monuments, and especially to those of the XVIIIth Dynasty. These not only mention ivory, both in the tusk and in the form of manufactured articles, among the items of tribute and booty brought to Egypt as a result of the Syrian expeditions of the Pharaohs; but the living animals themselves are spoken of more than once in the same connection.

Thothmes II, for example, received elephants brought to him by his Syrian tributaries, a fact which indicates not merely that the animal existed in western Asia but that it was already being tamed.¹ Again, a little later, Thothmes III is recorded as having slain no less than a hundred and twenty elephants, for the sake of their ivory, in a great hunt in the land of Nii, in northern Syria, not far from the great bend of the Euphrates; the killing of so large a number on a single occasion indicates that the creature must then have occurred in considerable herds.²

It may be suggested in this connection that perhaps the area under discussion was inhabited not by the Asiatic but by the African elephant. For we know that Egypt itself was the home of the latter in predynastic times;³ and it is comparatively but a short distance from the valley of the Nile to northern Syria. This suggestion, however, is definitely negated by the manner of representing the Syrian elephant on the monuments, where it is clearly shown with the high concave forehead and small ears of the Asiatic type, as distinct as possible from the low convex skull and enormous ears of the African form.⁴

The Assyrian notices, dealing with a period somewhat later, tell much the same story. Tiglath-Pileser I (*ca.* 1100 B.C.) tells us that he killed ten elephants and took four alive in the Haran region, along the middle Euphrates, not so very far, in fact, from the scene of the great hunt of Thothmes III on the other side of the same river nearly four hundred years earlier.⁵ Again, in the first half of the 9th century, elephants are mentioned among the animals kept in the menagerie of Ashur-nazir-pal at Kalhu.⁶ Additional and extremely interesting information regarding the former distribution of the Asiatic elephant is also given by the famous Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II, dating from about the middle of the same century. This monument enumerates among the articles of tribute received from the countries of Yakin and Adini, near the head of the Persian Gulf, both ivory and

¹ Dr. J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1905), p. 271.

² Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 304.

³ Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 130.

⁴ Cf. *Revue d'ethnographie*, No. 3 (1884), p. 281; also Gaston Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations* (London, 2nd edit., 1910), p. 285.

⁵ A. T. Olmstead, in *JAOS* 37. 177.

⁶ Olmstead, *JAOS*, 38. 250.

elephant skins.⁷ These items, and particularly the latter, would suggest that the elephant was native to those regions; but on the other hand they might conceivably have been imported overseas from India, so that this evidence is not quite decisive for the former existence of the elephant there. About another statement upon this same monument, however, there can be little doubt. Among the various items of tribute from the land of Musri are mentioned living elephants. Now Musri has, it is true, been somewhat variously located; but in this instance it is apparently to be identified with a region lying somewhere to the northeast of the center of the Assyrian power, and not far from the southern extremity of the Caspian Sea. Most writers who have touched upon this question have taken it for granted that these elephants must somehow have been obtained ultimately from India, merely because that is the nearest land where elephants are now found. That this assumption is a wholly gratuitous one need scarcely be said. Fortunately we have independent confirmation of the Assyrian statements regarding the occurrence of elephants in the south Caspian region. Ancient Persian traditions embodied in the *Sháhnáma* speak of the hero Rustum killing numerous elephants in battle in Mazanderan, in the course of his war with the king of that country.⁸ With the fullest possible allowance for the unhistorical character of these legends, yet, taken in connection with the Assyrian statements, they surely render it probable, if not certain, that, as Sir John Malcolm suggested long ago,⁹ elephants must once have abounded in the warm, humid, and well wooded country about the southern shores of the Caspian Sea.

Of the vast importance of the part played by ivory in the æsthetic life of the ancient peoples of Mediterranean and Mesopotamian regions it is unnecessary to speak here. Much of this ivory we know was drawn from Africa and from India; but part of it, at least in the earlier periods, was undoubtedly of western Asiatic origin, as in fact the monuments show to have been the case in Egypt.

⁷ Cf. article by Rev. V. Scheil on 'The Inscriptions of Shalmaneser II,' in *Records of the Past*, N. S., No. IV., p. 79; also Rev. Wm. Houghton, 'On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures,' *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. V. (1877), p. 348.

⁸ *Sháhnáma* (Trübner's Oriental Series), vol. 2, p. 73 sq.

⁹ Col. Sir John Malcolm, *The History of Persia* (2 vols., London, 1815), vol. 1, p. 35 and note.

Exactly when the elephant finally disappeared from western Asia, although it had apparently done so well before the middle of the first millennium B.C., we do not know. We hear nothing more of its occurrence there for some centuries, until the battle of Gaugamela, in 331 B.C., when an Indian contingent from the west bank of the Indus is recorded to have brought with it fifteen elephants.¹⁰ As a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great, the custom of using elephants in war was borrowed for a season in western regions; but the animals thus employed were all drawn at first from India, and, later on, to some extent from northern Africa, where, although now extinct, the species still survived for some centuries after the beginning of the Christian Era. Indirect evidence of the fact that the elephant had entirely disappeared from those countries in Asia west of India in which it formerly occurred is afforded by the marches of Alexander himself; for as it happens, the route followed by him led through every one of those regions, and yet we hear nothing as to wild elephants being found by him in any of them.

The history of the elephant in India does not fall within the scope of this paper. It is worth remarking, however, that a people called the Seres are mentioned by classical writers as being great elephant users, while the same name was undoubtedly that by which the ancient Chinese were best known to the western world. Greek and Roman writers, from the time of Ktesias downward, mention the Seres repeatedly, in a large proportion of instances in such a way as to indicate conclusively that the people whom they had in mind were the Chinese. That the name was also applied to various Indian peoples, however, is beyond doubt; and it was the latter clearly who were the elephant users—not the Seres of China.

Of any occurrence of the elephant in ancient times in the regions north of India and Iran there is practically no evidence. As will presently appear, the creature once existed, and that well within the historical period, in western China, in an area adjoining what is now the arid Central Asiatic region. And as has been seen it was also in all probability once found at the opposite extremity of this desert belt, in the district around the southern end of the Caspian. Granted that former greater degree of humidity which seems to have prevailed in this now dry central zone, there is no

¹⁰ Arrian, *Anabasis*, Bk. 3, ch. 8.

reason apparently why the elephant might not then have extended from northern Iran right around to western China, through the basins of the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Tarim. But direct evidence that this was actually the case is wanting. True, there are various references to elephants in connection with this region, some of them legendary, others undoubtedly historical. In the *Sháhnáma*, for instance, we are told that one of the allies of Afrasiyab, the king of Chín (which has been conjecturally identified with the ancient Chinese state of Ch'in, occupying the modern Shen-hsi and Kan-suh),¹¹ made use of war elephants. Buddhist records of the post-Christian period also speak of elephants in these parts, while there are occasional references to their being sent by some of the petty Central Asiatic states as tribute to the court of China. All these statements, however, have to do with tame elephants; and in spite of the enormous difficulty of transporting such bulky animals over the passes between India and Turkestan it is perhaps the case that these animals were all originally obtained from the valley of the Indus. The Chinese writer, Ma T'uan-lin, it is true, speaks of the fauna of the land of the T'iao-chi (who were perhaps the people we know as the Tajiks) in such a way as to imply, apparently, that the elephant was native there; but the passage is too ambiguous to build upon.¹²

That the elephant ever existed during the historic period in any of the great Asiatic islands except Ceylon, Sumatra, and Borneo, where it still occurs, and in Sulu, where it was exterminated by the Moros about a hundred years ago,¹³ there is no reason to believe, although fossil forms occur in them as far north as Japan. In China, however, the case is far otherwise. Here once more we come upon distinct and indisputable references to the elephant, and that too within comparatively recent times.

Three or four thousand years ago, when the ancient culture of the country was taking form in the lower Yellow River Valley,

¹¹ *The Works of Sir William Jones* (London, 1807), vol. 3, p. 146.

¹² Quoted by Rémusat, *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques*, 1. 206.

¹³ The elephants of Sulu are known to have been feral, and the same is perhaps true of those in North Borneo, although the evidence here is less conclusive. On the latter, see *The China Review*, 7. 3; upon the former, Dr. N. M. Saleeby, 'The History of Sulu,' in *Publications of the Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology*, vol. 4, part 3, Manila, 1908, pp. 150, 161, 165, 168; also Capt. Thomas Forrest, 'A Voyage to New Guinea,' pp. 320-335; Forrest visited Jolo toward the end of the 18th century.

China north of the Yangtse was a region of wide expanses of grassland, of rolling prairie and flat alluvial plain, with considerable forest, particularly in the hilly districts of the modern Shan-tung and Shan-hsi and western Ho-nan; there were, too, innumerable shallow lakes, reedy meres, and vast extents of swamp. The climate, though continental, was perhaps rather milder than now, and there appears to have been a somewhat greater degree of humidity.

The aspect of the country which we now call southern China was widely different. There, instead of wide alluvial plains, was a picturesque region of mist-veiled hills and quickening streams and blowing woodland, with a warm, moist climate and a very rich vegetation partaking throughout much of the area of a subtropical nature, while in the extreme south its character was, as it still is, genuinely tropical.

This distinction in the aspect of the two halves of the country and the type of their vegetation is reflected too in their fauna. According to Wallace, the bulk of China Proper belongs to the Manchurian subregion of the Palæarctic region, while the south is embraced in the Oriental region, the line between the two zoölogical provinces extending roughly along the southern border of the Yangtse valley.¹⁴ In ancient times, however, the boundary appears to have been farther to the north, for many at least of the larger mammalian forms of the Oriental region are found occurring then throughout the Yangtse valley and even to the north of it; among these were the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the tapir.

At the commencement of their true historical period, a little less than three thousand years ago, the ancient Chinese people formed a congeries of semi-independent feudal states located on both sides of the lower course of the Yellow River, under the sway of a ruler of rather primitive king-priest type, and possessing an archaic but very rich Bronze Age civilization.

This ancient culture has of late been attracting no little notice for its achievements in the realm of the æsthetic. Heretofore it has been best known for its splendid sacrificial vessels of bronze, decorated in a highly conventionalized and largely geometric symbolism and unsurpassed anywhere else for their barbaric

¹⁴ A. R. Wallace, *The Geographical Distribution of Animals* (London, 1876), vol. 1, p. 220 sq., and map at beginning of volume.

grandeur and their monumental simplicity and majesty. For our knowledge of the development of Chinese art in other fields we have thus far been dependent upon surviving literary remains; for archæological excavation upon any adequate scale has yet to be undertaken in China. But these written sources are sufficient to show that the high standards attained by the bronze-founder were equalled by the worker in wood, in jade, in silk, in leather, in featherwork, and notably in ivory.

Chinese ivory workers have always stood in the very front rank of their craft. For intricacy and grace of design, for complete mastery of technique, and for skill in execution, some of the modern products of the Canton shops have probably never been excelled. The ancient Chinese work in ivory, with its roots extending far back into prehistoric time,¹⁵ belonged to an entirely different school of art, with designs based primarily upon the same magico-religious symbolism displayed by the great bronze vessels.

The purposes for which ivory was used by the ancient Chinese craftsman, and his manner of using it, were practically the same as was the case in ancient Babylonia and Assyria and Egypt and the old Aegean lands. This parallelism, in fact, extends so far and in such detail, particularly in point of technique, that it is difficult not to feel that there must have been some interchange of ideas, in all probability along the line of the ancient trade route through Central Asia. For instance, in both regions ivory in early times was very extensively used as a decorative inlay on wood; and in both, as the supply became gradually less, the expedient was adopted of replacing it with mother-of-pearl.

Ivory is mentioned in the *Chou-li*, or 'Ritual of the Chou Dynasty,' as one of the 'eight raw materials.' One of the principal uses to which it was put was the adornment of woodwork of various sorts, including chariots of state, which were decorated with a richness hardly equalled in the cars of the warriors of Pharaoh or the heroes of Homer.¹⁶ It was used too in the manufacture of weapons—for bow-tips, archers' thimbles, and sword

¹⁵ The character for 'elephant' (No. 4287, p. 440, in Giles' Dictionary, edit. 1892) has the secondary meanings of 'ivory' and of 'figure' or 'image'; the latter, in spite of the fanciful conjectures of later Chinese scholars, undoubtedly point to the use of ivory for the carving of amulets and the like in very ancient times.

¹⁶ *Le Tcheou-li, ou Rites des Tcheou* (tsl. Edouard Biot, 1851), Bk. 27. 4.

hilts. It also appears in the form of various articles of dress and the toilet, such as amulets, combs, and hairpins; for the Chinese noble of that day wore his hair long and done up in a knot on the top of the head.¹⁷ In the form of a spike, used for untying knots (the ancient Chinese used no buttons in fastening their garments), it was worn suspended at the girdle, its assumption being one of the tokens of maturity.¹⁸ Ivory goblets are also mentioned;¹⁹ and the tyrant Chou Hsin, last ruler of the ancient Shang dynasty, is said to have been the first to employ ivory as the material for his chopsticks. For the present the earliest extant specimens of Chinese worked ivory which we can even approximately date appear to be those accidentally unearthed some years ago at An-yang Hsien, in northern Ho-nan, on the site of one of the capitals of this same dynasty; these are probably of the latter half of the second millennium B. C., and consist of amulets and minor ornaments of very archaic type.

To meet such a demand the supply must have been both large and constant; and, in view of the conditions governing trade in ancient times, it must in all probability have been drawn from some source close at hand. Such, in fact, from the surviving records, we know to have been the case.

That the elephant formerly existed in ancient China Proper itself—that is, in what we know nowadays as North China—is more than probable.²⁰ But it appears to have become quite extinct there by the time of the earliest contemporary historical records that have come down to us—that is, by the beginning of the first millennium B. C.—and to have survived in popular recollection only as one of the dangerous and destructive wild animals of the region which were subdued by the mighty heroes of old. The story that the mythical emperor Shun had elephants to plow his fields and birds to weed the grain²¹ is of course pure folklore; but it suggests at least that in the days when the legend took form elephants were believed to have existed once upon a

¹⁷ *The Book of Odes* (Legge's translation), Pt. 1, Bk. 4. 3.

¹⁸ *Odes*, Pt. 1, Bk. 5. 6.

¹⁹ John Steele, *The I-li* (London, 1917; Probsthain's Oriental Series), 1. 131, 134, 158.

²⁰ Biot (*Journal asiatique*, Dec., 1843) in placing the northern limit of the elephant in ancient China at 28°, was undoubtedly in error, for it can be shown to have extended at least as far north as latitude 35°.

²¹ The legend is quoted in *The Chinese Repository*, 6 (1837), p. 131.

time in northern China. Better authenticated, perhaps, is the statement that the illustrious Duke of Chou, who is believed to have flourished about eleven hundred years before our era, drove away the tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses, and elephants which infested the land in his day.²² His success with the tigers and leopards, unfortunately, was only partial; but that the elephant, and perhaps, too, the rhinoceros, disappeared from northern China at about that time is probable enough.

This legendary evidence regarding the former existence of the elephant in northern China is confirmed in a measure by the extremely early occurrence of the written character denoting that animal; the importance of the creature in the life of the people is indicated by this very fact that it had devoted to it one of the extremely small number of primitive pictographs which constituted the Chinese system of writing in the days of its beginnings. Its failure however to pass into mythology as did the alligator and the rhinoceros (memories of which undoubtedly contributed to the later concepts of the dragon and the *k'i-lin*) suggests that so far as the ancient Chinese culture area proper was concerned, its extinction and consequent passing out of the popular imagination must have taken place rather early. The same conclusion must be drawn, too, from the relatively unimportant and scarcely recognizable designs to which it gave rise in the ancient symbolic art. The part which the elephant plays in the popular mythology and art of the present day is of course due to much later Indian and Buddhistic influences.

The written evidence, such as it is, is in entire harmony with the foregoing conclusion. Contemporary mention of the elephant as a native of any of the original Chinese states is wholly lacking. References to ivory, both as a raw material and as a worked product, are, on the other hand, very numerous; but these invariably point to southern regions then quite outside the ancient Chinese culture-area as the source of supply. The *Book of Odes*, one of the oldest of surviving literary remains, tells us that the wild non-Chinese tribes of the Hwai river region paid a tribute which consisted in part of ivory. The same is recorded, by the *Chou-li*, of the districts of Yang and Ching, which between them included pretty much the whole of the Yangtse valley below the

²² Legge, *The Life and Works of Mencius* (London, 1875) Bk. 3, Pt. 2, chap. 9.

famous gorges; this name 'Ching,' by the way, means 'the jungle,' and indicates something of the character of the country in those days; it was in this region, about seven or eight hundred years before our era, that the 'barbarian' kingdom of Ch'u arose. The *Yu-kung*, which in its present form probably dates from a time fairly early in the first millennium B. C., speaks of the 'Country of Docile Elephants' (Yu-hsiang Chou²³) in what is now southern Ho-nan; this name, if it means anything at all, rather suggests not only that elephants were found in this section of Central China then, but that they were actually tamed. It is perhaps significant that the non-Chinese state of Ch'u, already mentioned, where, as will presently appear, elephants were tamed, later occupied part of this same region. In the *Shan Hai Ching*, which, whatever the date of its present recension, undoubtedly contains very ancient elements, mention is made of elephants in the Min Mountains, in what is now central Sze-ch'uan, while the *Erh-ya* records them as being plentiful in the Liang range, in the north-eastern part of the same province.²⁴ The *Tso-ch'uen*, a commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* of Confucius, states that there is much ivory in Ch'u,²⁵ and it further tells us that there was a regular trade in ivory and hides—presumably those of the rhinoceros—between Ch'u and China Proper.

It is clear then that whatever may have been the case in prehistoric times, by the middle of the first millennium B. C. the habitat of the elephant in China had become restricted to the Yangtse valley, from Sze-ch'uan to the sea, and the regions still farther south and west, forming a continuous area with those Indo-Chinese lands, such as Burma, the Laos, and Siam, where it still occurs in a native state. It is apparent too that although no part of this vast region came under Chinese political dominance in any real sense of the word until about two centuries before our era, a brisk trade in ivory had long been going on with the more advanced communities of North China, precisely comparable to the old amber trade between the Mediterranean lands and the Baltic.

²³ Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Western Origins of the Ancient Chinese Civilization*, p. 186, note 756.

²⁴ For these and other references to the elephant in the ancient Chinese records, see T. de Lacouperie, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ See Legge's translation, under years 637, 607 B.C.

Although there is some reason to believe that this southern region was originally occupied only by a sparse and very primitive hunting population of negrito affinities, at the time when it begins to come within the purview of history it was inhabited by various Mongoloid stocks, mainly, it would appear, of the Mon-Khmer group. Already, however, the great T'ai, or Shan, race had come into evidence. Exactly where this people originated we do not know; but its strongest and most advanced branches were then located in the valley of the Yangtse.

The latter fact is not without its bearing upon the subject of this paper; for the Shan race has always been associated with the elephant in a peculiarly intimate way. This condition still holds, for nowhere, even in India itself, does this animal occupy such an important place in the life of the people as in the territories still inhabited by the members of the Shan race, such as Siam, for example, or the Shan States. The same, apparently, has been true from prehistoric times, when the center of gravity of the race was in what is now central China, far to the northeast of its present location. The few surviving instances of the taming of the elephant in ancient China refer to regions then under Shan influence. Even the very name used for the creature in many of the languages of eastern Asia is closely akin to, if not actually borrowed from, the Shan word. In Siam it is *chang*; in the British Shan States this becomes *tsang*; in northern China it is pronounced *hsiang*; in Cantonese, *tsöng*; by the Hakkas, *siong*; in Annam, *töng*. The modern Japanese name, *zô*, seems to have come from some form like *dzang*²⁶ and was in all likelihood borrowed from one of the Yangtse River dialects.

The earliest of all the states of the T'ai stock known to us historically was that of Ch'u, already referred to in connection with the ivory trade between the Yangtse valley and ancient China Proper. This state occupied a territory now comprised in the two provinces of Hu-peh and Hu-nan, embracing both banks of the middle Yangtse, and its principal capital was most strategically located not far from the present Ichang, just at the foot of the famous gorges. From the first it was aggressive and warlike, and at various times extended its annexations now northward, at the expense of the old purely Chinese states, now

²⁶ Cf. the Japanese 'Tô,' from the Chinese 'T'ang,' the name of the dynasty which ruled China, A. D. 618-906.

eastward, down the Yangtse, and again far to the south and west, into regions utterly unknown to the ancient Chinese themselves. One of its conquests in the last-named direction looks like a definite and well planned effort to get control of the key to the Indian trade route, the region between the upper waters of the Yangtse and those of the Irawaddy.

Among the various indications pointing to a connection between the ancient inhabitants of Ch'u and the modern peoples of the T'ai stock is the fact that elephants were tamed and kept at their court. Their motive for this does not appear; but we are perhaps justified in surmising that it had a religious basis. Many of the existing branches of the T'ai race believe that every animal has a guardian spirit with mysterious powers for good and ill. There is also a belief among some of the Indo-Chinese peoples that the spirits of deceased chiefs and medicine-men enter into various animals, such as the tiger and the elephant, and continue in these forms to exert their influence on behalf of their people. Ideas such as these occur throughout this region, and are undoubtedly at the back of the custom of reverencing white elephants, as in Burma and Siam. There the Buddhists with their usual syncretizing proclivities claim that the sacred animal is the incarnation of a Buddha;²⁷ but perhaps the Siamese notion that if the white elephant dies the king, too, will die within the year is a trace of an older belief,²⁸ for we are told that anciently the kings of Siam called themselves 'sons of the White Elephant,' and that the proper name of the latter was taboo.²⁹ At all events the peoples of Indo-China are unanimous that the white elephant is a necessary adjunct of royalty, and that the want of one at the court is most ominous.³⁰ Perhaps it was some similar idea that led to the custom of keeping elephants at the court of ancient Ch'u, although it is only fair to say that this is purely surmise. We do know, however, that the beasts were not kept confined, but were tamed, and taught to allow themselves to be driven or led by their keepers.

²⁷ Sir John Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (London, 1857), vol. 1, p. 471; Mrs. Ernest Hart, *Picturesque Burma, Past and Present* (London, 1897), p. 167

²⁸ Bowring, *op. cit.* 1. 473 (quoting Père Bruguière, *Annales de la Foi*, XXV.)

²⁹ *Ibid.* 1. 473 sq.

³⁰ Mrs. L. J. Curtis, *The Laos of North Siam* (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 95.

Toward the close of the sixth century B. C. Ch'u was invaded and for the moment overrun by the state of Wu, or, as the word was perhaps then pronounced, Ngu, another non-Chinese kingdom located lower down the Yangtse with its capital at the modern Soochow. Defeated in the field, the armies of Ch'u took refuge behind the walls of their capital; but these (doubtless of rammed earth) were overthrown by the invaders, who directed against them the waters of the Siang River. As a last resort, we are told, the king of Ch'u then took his elephants and tied torches to their tails and urged them against the intruding enemy, but to no avail.³¹

This is the sole reference, so far as I am aware, to the use of the elephant in war in ancient China. That such use was a customary one seems unlikely; for in the first place, had it been so we should almost certainly have heard of other instances of it, as for example in the great work 'On the Art of War,' by Sun-Tzŭ, written just about this time. Moreover, the defeated king would scarcely, in such case, have turned to his elephants only as a last resort; while the method of urging them against the foe by the use of fire seems rather a counsel of despair. It is curious to note that the general of another Shan state, Siam, in the course of a war with Cochin China, over two thousand years later, made use of precisely the same stratagem, attacking the enemy's camp with several hundred elephants to whose tails burning torches were tied; in this instance the device met with better success, and over a thousand of the enemy were destroyed.³²

The sole trustworthy reference that I have found to the use of the elephant in any of the arts of peace in ancient China relates to the construction of a tomb for a member of the royal family of Wu, the other non-Chinese state just mentioned as being at war with Ch'u; and here we are merely informed that these animals were employed in the execution of the work, no details being given, and no clue of any kind enabling us to learn whether the practice was a usual one or not.³³

All that we can be certain of then is that the ancient non-Chinese peoples of the Yangtse basin not merely hunted the ele-

³¹ P. Albert Tschèpe, S.J., *Histoire du Royaume de Tch'ou* (Changhai, 1903), p. 263 and note 5.

³² Bowring, *op. cit.* 1. 221.

³³ Prof. E. H. Parker, *Ancient China Simplified* (London, 1908), p. 258.

phant for his ivory and perhaps his skin, but that they also caught and tamed him and kept him at court. This, however, seems to have been the extent of their practice, and in fact it is perhaps the case that the two instances just cited of the utilization of the creature in any way further than this have found a place in the records precisely on account of their exceptional character. That certain Indo-Chinese peoples did eventually learn to make use of the elephant in various ways, and notably in war, is true.³⁴ But this development did not take place until considerably later, and appears to have been connected in some way with the great expansion of Indian influence in the Bay of Bengal and adjacent regions, in times shortly preceding and following the commencement of the Christian Era. That it did not take place upon Chinese soil is certain, and although the use of elephants in war and pageantry was later introduced into China, it was only as an exotic custom, which no more took root there than it did in Mediterranean regions.

With the great increase of civilization in the Yangtse valley about the middle of the first millennium B. C. the elephant underwent a swift diminution in numbers. Its complete extinction there before the close of the 4th century B. C. may perhaps be inferred from a remark of a minister of Ch'u, who in the year 308 B. C. is recorded as speaking of the stag as the noblest of the beasts of chase;³⁵ and this he would scarcely have done had animals like the elephant and the rhinoceros still survived in the country.

In the regions farther to the west and south, however, the case was far otherwise. It is perhaps significant that the order in which the elephant disappeared in these various areas coincides exactly with that in which they were taken possession of by Chinese civilization. In the modern Sze-ch'uan, where, as we have already seen, elephants are noticed by the earlier Chinese records as numerous, they must have been found well into the period of the Han Dynasty (206 B. C.-220 A. D.), for we read that they were sent by the native chiefs as tribute to the Chinese

³⁴ MacGowan, *The Imperial History of China*, p. 210, mentions an instance in Cochin China in the 5th century A. D. The terror inspired among the Chinese soldiers on this occasion suggests that the elephant was quite unknown to them at that period.

³⁵ Tschèpe, *op. cit.* p. 318.

court, at Ch'ang-an (in the modern Shen-hsi), where they were kept in the Imperial menagerie.³⁶ It is perhaps worth noting that it was under this dynasty that the elephant was first introduced into Chinese art in a naturalistic way, in distinction from the far more ancient symbolic and almost unrecognizably conventionalized designs to which it had given rise in the old hieratic art. After the Han Dynasty, notices regarding the elephant as indigenous to Sze-ch'uan apparently cease, and no doubt about that time it underwent there too the extinction which had already overtaken it in the lower portions of the Yangtse valley.

The 'Two Kwang' provinces (Kwang-tung and Kwang-hsi) though annexed long before, were not absorbed by the Chinese in any real sense until after the advent of the T'ang Dynasty, in the 7th century. Elephants had always been numerous in these tropical southern regions. It was no doubt because of this fact that the great Ch'in Shih Huang-ti gave to the province into which he erected the extreme southern portion of his vast dominions the name of Hsiang Kiun, or 'Commandery of the Elephants.' Under the Han Dynasty, just mentioned, which succeeded the Ch'in at the close of the 3rd century B. C., a portion of northern Kwang-hsi was known as Hsiang Chou, or 'District of the Elephants.'³⁷ The *Shuo-wên*, of the close of the first century A. D., defines the elephant as 'a large beast with long proboscis and tusks, occurring in Kiang-nan.'³⁸ The province of Kiang-nan under the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A. D.) consisted of the two modern provinces of An-hui and Kiang-hsi, lying athwart the lower Yangtse and representing roughly the old barbarian kingdom of Wu. But the Kiang-nan of the time of the *Shuo-wên* was undoubtedly literally the region 'South of the Yangtse,' as the name signifies. That this was so that work itself indicates in another place, where it states more specifically that the elephant occurs in Nan-Yüeh, a region now represented by the 'Two Kwang' provinces. Here, it appears, it long persisted, for it is said to have been numerous in southern Kwang-tung in the 7th century, while as late as the 10th we find elephants employed in putting to death criminals at Canton,³⁹ then the capital of a semi-independent kingdom.

³⁶ A. Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 11 (1882), p. 113.

³⁷ Dr. S. Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1874), p. 792.

³⁸ Cf. Rev. Frank H. Chalfant, 'Early Chinese Writing' (*Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum*, vol. 4, no. 1, Sept., 1906), plate I.

³⁹ See article in *The Chinese Repository*, 2. (1833), p. 151.

The evidence of place-names, so far as I have been able to trace it, confirms what we glean from the written records. Such names having to do with the elephant are, so far as my notes indicate, almost wholly absent in northern China, while in the south and west they are by no means unknown. Among such are Ta Hsiang Ling and Hsiao Hsiang Ling ('Great Elephant Pass' and 'Little Elephant Pass', respectively) in Sze-ch'uan, west of Mt. Omei; Hsiang Po ('Elephant Neck'), a hamlet in the extreme west of Yün-nan; and Hsiang Shan ('Elephant Hill'), near Canton. Many of these names now have attached to them explanations drawn from the exploits of Buddhist saints or popular heroes;⁴⁰ but in most instances, as is usually true in such cases, the names are doubtless far older than the explanations.

It was in Yün-nan that the elephant survived longer than anywhere else in the region now comprised within the boundaries of the Chinese Republic.⁴¹ It is barely possible, in fact, that it may still occur in the forests at one point just within the south-western border of that province.⁴² In Yün-nan there sprang up, shortly before the Christian Era, another center of Shan culture, which lasted, through various vicissitudes and changes of dynasty, until the 13th century, when it was swamped by the great Mongol flood which overwhelmed so much of Asia and Europe at that time. As in all Shan countries, so here too the elephant played an important part in the life of both rulers and people, in court pageantry, as a riding animal, and as a bearer of burdens.⁴³ That it was native to the region and not drawn from Burma or other Indo-Chinese regions, as was the case with the elephants used by the Chinese emperors in later times, we know from various historical references. It would appear from the statements of Marco Polo that the Shan people of Yün-nan did not employ

⁴⁰ See, e.g., R. F. Johnston, *Peking to Mandalay* (London, 1908), p. 421, note 14.

⁴¹ Cf. Navarette, 'Account of the Empire of China,' in Churchill, *Voyages* (London, 1744), vol. 1, chap. 17 (p. 37); 'In the province of Jun-nan there are very good elephants bred.'

⁴² L. Richard, *A Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and its Dependencies* (Shanghai, 1908; trsl. by M. Kennelly, S.J.), p. 17; A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chryse*, vol. 2, p. 65; Major H. R. Davies, *Yun-nan*, pp. 86, 134; Fred W. Carey, 'Notes of a Journey Overland from Szemao to Rangoon,' *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 36 (1905), p. 6.

⁴³ Prof. E. H. Parker, 'Early Laos and China,' *China Review*, Sept.-Oct., 1890.

the elephant in war; for he asserts categorically that the Mongols encountered war-elephants for the first time at the battle of 'Unciam' (Yung-ch'ang),⁴⁴ which they fought against the Burmese in 1277,⁴⁵ after they had completed the overthrow of the Shan kingdom in Yün-nan. That war-elephants were later used in that province, however, in the Ming Dynasty, we know; notably was this the case with the last scion of that house to offer resistance to the conquering Manchus in the middle of the 17th century; he, we are told, raised in Yün-nan, whither he had fled, an army of 200,000 men and 600 elephants; but the latter, the account goes on to state, did more hurt to their own side than to that of the enemy.⁴⁶ It must have been not long after this period that the elephant practically disappeared from this remote western province, its last refuge on Chinese soil; for the Manchu emperors were forced to draw for those which they maintained at their court in Peking upon regions outside of China Proper.⁴⁷

Thus the fate which overtook the elephant in both the eastern and the western extremities of its ancient habitat has been precisely the same. It would appear, indeed, that it can maintain itself in the presence of man only in regions which have not advanced beyond the hunting and planting stage of cultural evolution, and where the demand for ivory is purely local and relatively slight. Once true agriculture and intertribal commerce are introduced, the creature's fate is sealed. In China, just as in Mesopotamia and Syria, the growth of population and the ceaseless demand for ivory combined to bring about the extinction of this great animal, almost the last of the tribes of giant mammals that roamed over the globe during the Tertiary. While it existed, however, there can be no doubt that the ivory trade played a part in the diffusion of the Chinese type of civilization among the peoples of southeastern Asia quite comparable to the influence of the ancient amber trade in early Europe or to that of the modern ivory trade in Africa, where conditions are no doubt in many respects similar to those which existed in the protohistoric period in what is now South China.

⁴⁴ Colquhoun, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 277.

⁴⁵ Yule and Cordier, *Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 104 and note 3.

⁴⁶ Navarette, in Churchill, *Voyages*, 1. 338.

⁴⁷ Cf. *The Chinese Repository*, vol. 9 (1840), pp. 453, 470.

THE TWO RECENSIONS OF SLAVONIC ENOCH

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH is known to us through an Old Slavonic version of which there are two recensions. One is represented by Codex Chludovianus, written in Southern Russia in 1679 and published by Popov in 1880, and Codex Belgradensis, written in Bulgaria in the 16th century and discovered by Sokolov in 1880. The other is found in Codex Belgradensis Serbius, written in the 16th century and published by Novaković in 1884; Codex Vindobonensis Slavonicus 125, written in the 16th century and collated by Bonwetsch; Codex Moscovitanus Barsovii, written in the 17th century; and a number of fragments published by Popov, Pypin, and Tichonravov, some of them as old as the 14th century. It has become customary to designate the former recension, which is longer, as A, and the latter as B. Of A an English translation was made by W. R. Morfill, which was provided with an introduction by R. H. Charles (*The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, Oxford, 1896). Nathanael Bonwetsch gave a German Version of both A and B (*Das slavische Henochbuch*, Berlin, 1896). Excerpts of A, of sufficient length to give a good idea of its contents, were rendered into Latin by Stephanus Székely (*Bibliotheca Apocrypha*, Freiburg, 1913); and both A and B were translated by Nevill Forbes in R. H. Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II, Oxford, 1913.

Charles, Bonwetsch, and Székely agree in regarding B as a mere resumé of A, or as an incomplete and truncated text, while they consider A, aside from a few minor interpolations, as in the main a dependable rendering of the Greek original. This view has been adopted by Harnack (*Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, II, 1, Berlin, 1897), Littmann (*Jewish Encycl.* V, New York, 1903), Bousset (*Die Religion des Judentums*, Berlin, 1903), and Schürer (*Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, III, 4th ed. Leipzig, 1909). Bonwetsch (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1896, p. 155) called attention to the fact that the question whether A and B already existed as independent recensions in the Greek had not been raised by Charles, but did not discuss it himself, though it may perhaps be inferred from his emphasis upon the substantial

identity of the two recensions in the parts they have in common that he regarded B as the work of a Slavonic excerptor. Bousset, on the other hand, is likely to have thought of two recensions, as he lays much stress upon the superiority of B's readings in a number of places.

On the assumption that A on the whole represents most faithfully the Greek original many passages and turns of expression have been cited to prove that the book was written in Egypt by a Hellenistic Jew. It is a significant fact, however, that all these passages, with a single exception, are wanting in B. From 1. 1 it has been inferred that the author used the Greek version of the Old Testament. A's statement that Enoch was 165 years old when he begat Methuselah no doubt came from this source; but B does not mention this irrelevant circumstance, and only refers to the fact that Enoch was 365 years of age when the story begins. In 1. 10 Gaidad is found among the sons of Enoch, as in the Greek version; he is absent in B, as in the Masoretic text. 50. 4 is said to be a close rendering of the Greek version of Deut. 33. 35. But the expression 'The avenger on the great day of judgment' is not found in any Greek manuscript or daughter-version. It seems to be a phrase coined from the general impression of the Old Testament passage, and may have been suggested by the Hebrew text, just as the paraphrase in Rom. 12. 19; Heb. 10. 30 was from the Greek. Five passages have been claimed to be quotations from the Greek text of Ecclesiasticus, viz. 43. 2, 3 from 23. 7 and 10. 20 ff.; 47. 5 from 1. 2; 51. 1, 3 from 7. 32 and 2. 4; 61. 2 from 39. 25; and 65. 2 from 17. 3, 5. But 47. 5 is not found in B; the 'good houses and evil habitations in the great aeon', mentioned in B (61. 2), are not referred to in Ecclus. 39. 25; in the other three places the language is nowhere closer to the Greek version than to the Hebrew text, and the expressions are of such a general character that it is not even necessary to suppose a dependence on the work of Siracides in Hebrew. An author may certainly affirm that 'none is greater than he who feareth God', counsel men to 'stretch out their (your) hand to the poor', and declare that God has given man 'eyes to see, and ears to hear, and the heart to think', without being suspected of having copied such phrases from some book that happens to be known to us. The suggestion has been put forth tentatively and dubiously that 65. 4 is derived from Wisdom of Solomon, 7. 17, 18. If such a dependence is extremely doubtful as regards A, it is wholly

improbable in the case of B. It cannot be proved that B shows any familiarity with the Greek version.

An important indication of Hellenistic influence in A is the derivation of the name of Adam in 30. 13 from the Greek designations of the four quarters of the world. All the more significant is the fact that this passage is not found in B. In 30. 3, A gives the Greek names of the five planets, Kronos, Aphrodite, Ares, Zeus, and Hermes, besides the sun and the moon. This passage is likewise absent in B. There are several statements concerning the calendar which seem to imply an astronomical knowledge more likely to have existed among Egyptian than Palestinian Jews; such as those referring to the Metonic cycle of 19 years (16. 8), the 28-year period (15. 4), the 532-year period (16.8), and the length of the year as $365\frac{1}{4}$ days (14. 7). Charles at once suspected 16. 8 of being an interpolation in A; very naturally so, as the 532 years' cycle was established by Victorinus of Aquitania in the 5th century A. D. The shorter periods were not unknown to Palestinian writers. But none of these statements are found in B.

Certain doctrines supposed to be distinctive of the Hellenistic Jews of Egypt have been pointed out, such as the pre-existence of the soul (23. 5), the seven natures, or qualities, of man (30. 9), the possibility of seeing the angels (31. 2), the two ways, light and darkness (30. 15); evil being due to ignorance (30. 16), and the divine demand for purity of heart, rather than for sacrifices which are nothing (45. 3). Some of these conceptions were held by Palestinian Jews. But the passages in A in which they are presented are not found in B. The same is true of 30. 16 in which the influence of Platonic thought may possibly be seen. Only one doctrine that may be of Hellenistic origin is met with both in A and B. In 24. 2 both recensions state that God has created the existent from the non-existent, the visible from the invisible. This seems indeed closely akin to the thought of Philo. But whether the statement could not have been made by an Aramaic-speaking Jew in Palestine is by no means certain. It may have been only a protest against the notion that the world was created out of previously existing material, without any connection with Greek speculation. In 25. 1 the statement is wanting in B, but it appears in 25. 2. Influence of Egyptian mythology has been seen in ch. 25. The bursting of Adoïl and the coming forth of the great light remind us of the world-egg out of which the light

breaks forth. This egg-theory of the universe, however, is not limited to Egypt. It underlies the creation-story in Gen. 1. 1-3. Curiously enough, it is a great stone, according to B, that comes forth out of Idoil (*idu il*, 'divine fountain?'). If there is not a mistranslation, this may point to another form of the myth, in which the earth as a huge stone comes out of the watery chaos, 'the fountain of God'. Phoenixes and Chalkydries, serpents with crocodile heads, are mentioned by A (12. 11), but not by B. In 19. 6, however, Phoenixes occur in B; but so they do also in Ethiopic Enoch.

There is an interesting difference between A and B as regards Satan. In the former recension the angels fall 'with their prince' (12. 3) or 'with their prince Satanael' (18. 3); 'one of the arch-angels' falls (29. 4 ff.); and Satanael flees from heaven, enters the serpent, and deceives Eve. Of all this there is not a word in B. Finally, it should be mentioned that neither the prohibition of the oath (49. 1) nor the institution of the eighth day as the first-born, i. e. the chief day (33. 1), is referred to in B.

In view of the character of the material in A, not found in B, it is well-nigh inconceivable that the latter can be a resumé made by a Slavonic writer. How could a Christian Slav, living somewhere in Bulgaria, or even in Constantinople, in the 10th or 11th century, have possessed such a marvelous acquaintance with the peculiar tendencies of thought among the Hellenistic Jews of Egypt which distinguished them from the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Palestine? How could he have acquired such unerring skill as would have enabled him to detect and eliminate practically every expression that revealed the slightest touch of Greek influence? And what could have been his motive? It is, of course, equally impossible to imagine an Old Slavonic writer of that age adding, out of his extraordinary erudition, and to serve some doctrinal interest, all the plus of A. There were, consequently, two Greek recensions, probably translated at different times. B, no doubt, was the earliest version. A later scholar, finding a Greek manuscript containing a longer text, naturally followed the already existing version, except where there was an important divergent reading, and translated independently the additional passages.

As regards the Greek recensions it can scarcely be thought probable that an Alexandrian Jew should have gone to work deliberately to cut out everything that savored of Hellenistic thought, without ever revealing such a doctrinal position as

would make this procedure intelligible, e. g. by preaching the advent of the Messiah or the resurrection of the dead, or by some sign of an anti-Hellenic bias. Every consideration appears to lead to the view that the Greek manuscript used by the author of the Slavonic recension A represented an expanded text made by an Alexandrian Jew who felt that there were many things that could be profitably added to the book he had before him and was copying. This book itself, fortunately, was not supplanted, but found its way into the Slavonic church as well as the interpolated edition.

The peculiar character of the Greek original of B is probably due to its being a translation of an Aramaic or Hebrew work, written in Palestine before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. A Hebrew original of some parts of Slavonic Enoch has been suggested by Charles. He gives two reasons: the quotation of this book in six passages of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs which he regards as having been written in Hebrew, viz., Simeon 5, Levi 14, Judah 18, Dan 5, Naphtali 4, Benjamin 9, and the affinities between this book and a work extant in Hebrew called *ספר הנוך* and referred to twice in Zohar under the title *ספר דהנוך רצין דהנוך*. Schürer (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1896, p. 347 ff.) has convincingly shown that our Slavonic Enoch cannot have been the work quoted in the six passages, that there are three other passages, Levi 10 and 16 and Zebulon 3, where also the book of Enoch is quoted, but nothing even remotely like it is found in Slavonic Enoch, and that the description of the seven heavens differs so radically that there is not a single point on which they agree. The probability is that there are more Enoch books to discover. Charles does not deem it possible to indicate the parts that could have belonged to the Semitic original.

There is nothing that forbids the assumption that practically all of B represents the text written in Palestine. The absence of the Messianic hope has been cited against such a possibility. But there are other parts of the Enoch literature, and many other works besides, undoubtedly written by Jews in Palestine, in which that hope is not expressed. Nor is the peculiar conception of the life to come a valid ground of objection. There is no allusion to a resurrection; the souls of men go to mansions appropriate to their character immediately after death; yet there is a final judgment day. The doctrines of the future life are evidently fluctuating. There is a certain affinity to the Essene teaching;

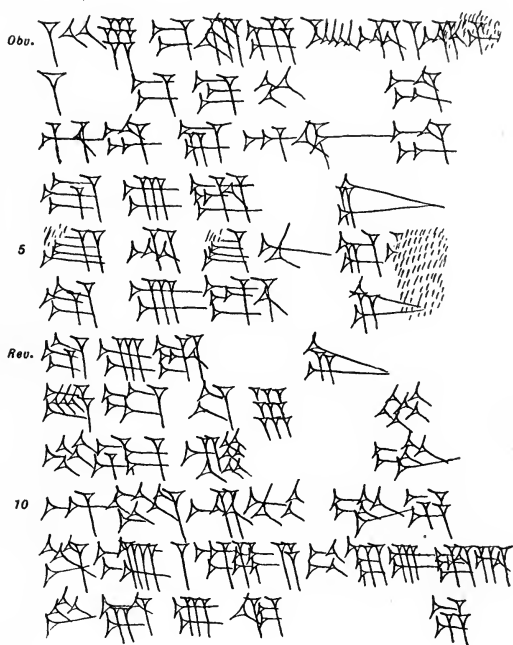
yet the author was not an Essene. He believed in oaths, in sacrifices, and in visiting the temple three times a day, which would scarcely have been possible if he had not lived in Jerusalem. There are no signs in B of distinctively Christian influence. It is impossible to decide whether the book was written in Hebrew or Aramaic. The Greek version may have been made in the 1st century A. D. At any rate, it was earlier than Origen who; referring to the Shepherd of Hermas (*Mand.* 1. 1), says (*De principiis* 1. 3. 2): 'sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur'. That is true of Slavonic Enoch (24. 2; 47. 3), but not of Ethiopic Enoch. Harnack has rightly laid stress on the singular *libro*; Origen found, apparently, Slavonic Enoch as a part of his Enoch book. What this book contained at the time is difficult to determine. In *De principiis* 4. 35 he quotes from it 'ambulavi usque ad imperfectum' and 'universas materias perspexi' which are not found in either Ethiopic or Slavonic Enoch; nor is there the slightest evidence that it contained Eth. Enoch xxxvii-lxxi, a book of which no trace is extant in Patristic literature, as the present writer has shown (*Original Language of the Parables of Enoch*, Chicago, 1908). The copy of the Enoch book from which the first Ethiopic version was made does not seem to have contained either Slavonic Enoch or Ethiopic Enoch xxxvii-lxxi.

The expanded edition underlying A may not be so late as the 5th century, as the reference to the 532 years' cycle may be one of the last interpolations. Additions were probably made at different times. Some of them are open to the suspicion of Christian origin, such as the condemnation of sacrifices (45. 3 A), the prohibition of oaths in very nearly the words of Jesus (49. 1. 2 A), and the statement concerning the establishment of the eighth, i. e. the first day as preëminent (33. 1. 2 A). Because Christian interpolations were sometimes very clumsy, as in *Oracula Sibyllina*, *Testamenta XII patriarcharum*, and other works, which probably Tertullian had in mind when he accused the Jews of removing expressions 'quae Christum sonant' (*De cultu feminarum*, 1. 3), it is not necessary to suppose that they must all have been of this character. A Christian hand may, here and there, have retouched very delicately, yet none the less effectively, a Jewish original which it copied. The fate of the two Greek recensions before the translation of B into Old Slavonic is wholly unknown; but much copying and further corruption from this source are not likely between the 5th and 10th centuries.

BRIEF NOTES

A new king of Babylonia

A small temple document, in the possession of Mr. C. C. Garbett, of London, furnishes us with the name of a new king, presumably of Babylonia. It is from the archives of the Temple of Nergal, in Udani. The writer knows of no other occurrence of this place-name in cuneiform literature. The provenance of the tablet is unknown. The name of the king, Marduk-bêl-zêr, is also unknown. The general character of the tablet resembles some of those belonging to the ninth and eighth centuries B. C., which



have been published by the writer in *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. P. Morgan*, Part I. It is not improbable that Marduk-bêl-zêr is one of the missing rulers of that period. The tablet reads:

88 *shaggullu*, including 1 . . . , and 1 *mashaddu*, the Temple of Nergal of Udani intrusts to Bêlshunu of the Temple of Nergal of Udani. (It is dated) Udani, 9th day of Tebet, of the accession year of Marduk-bêl-zêr, the king. Scribe: Nabû-abi-lûdâri, (who was the) officer of utensils.

ALBERT T. CLAY

Huruppâti, 'betrothal gifts'

In the recently published Assyrian Code (Otto Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, 1920, Nos. 1-6; 143-144 and 193), there occurs in §§ 41 and 42 of Text No. 1 (pl. 8, col. 6, 14-39) a term *hu-ru-up-pa-a-ti* (col. 6, 17 and 20) in a context which makes it quite clear that 'betrothal gifts' of some kind are intended. I suggested this interpretation in my translation of the Code (*JAOS* vol. 41, No. 1, p. 39, note 61), but I did not recognize that an explanation of the term lay at hand in a Talmudic passage, Treatise Kiddushin (Talmud Babli), 6a: *ha-'ômer harupa'i mekuddešet*. 'If a man says (to a woman) my *harûpâh*, she is betrothed'; and the text goes on to say, 'for in Judea they call the betrothed (*'arûsâh*) *harûpâh*.'

Dr. Siegmund Frey (of Huntingdon Park, California) was kind enough to call my attention to this passage which bears directly on the term *huruptu*, of which *huruppâti* is the plural form. Moreover, we have the Niphal form of the stem *hârap* in Biblical Hebrew used in the sense of 'betrothed', in Lev. 19.20, *šiphâh neherpet lā-'îš*, 'A maid betrothed to a man'. Talmud Babli Gittin 43a (see Marcus Jastrow, *Talmudic Dictionary*, p. 500a) discusses the detailed circumstances involved in the term *šiphâh neherpet* while in Talmud Babli Kerithoth 11b *neherpâh* is incidentally explained as synonymous with *b'ûlâh* 'married'. The Talmud itself suggests two explanations for this use of the Niphal of *hârap* in the sense of betrothed; (1) that the underlying stem means to 'grind' so that a *neherpet* is 'one crushed by a man' (Talmud Jerushalmi Kiddushin I, 59a top), or (2) that the term means to 'change one's condition' (Talmud Babli Kerithoth 11a). See Marcus Jastrow *ib.*, p. 505a.

It is questionable whether either of these explanations is correct, and I am inclined to believe that we come nearer to the association of ideas involved if we start from some such meaning as 'pluck, tear', for the stem. This meaning is vouched for in Assyrian *harâpu*, from which we get *harpu* 'harvest' as the plucking season; and similarly *hōrep* in Hebrew is primarily the autumn or harvest season and only by a natural extension applied to the 'winter'. In Talmudic usage, *tar'âh harâpâh* is 'the market soon after crop' (Marcus Jastrow, *ib.* 505a).

The 'plucked (or "torn") maid' might be taken either in the sense of the deflowered or as the one 'gathered in' by a man—

the captive woman who would naturally be reduced to the position of serfdom in ancient society.

At all events, the comparison with the Biblical and Talmudical passage makes it clear that *huruptu* is to be connected with the idea of 'betrothed'. In § 41 of text No. 1 of the Assyrian Code, two ceremonies are described which make the agreement to marry a woman final. It is said that if *ina ūmi rāki* one pours oil on the head of a daughter or if one in a *šakultu* brings *huruppāti*, 'there can be no revocation'. The *ūmu rāku* must be 'the day of betrothal' (see my note 60, *l. c.* p. 38) and the pouring of oil would be an appropriate betrothal ceremony, performed as may be concluded from § 42, by the prospective father-in-law. The *šakultu* is apparently a receptacle in which the *huruppāti* are brought, like the *téne* (Deut. 26. 2, 4) or the *sal* (Jud. 6. 19; Num. 6. 75, etc.), in Hebrew, while the *huruppāti* are clearly betrothal gifts. They may have been fruits, as I suggested in the note to my translation referred to at the beginning of this article, though I would not now press this point. The analogy with the custom still prevailing among Moroccans as described by Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 33, 43, 45, 47, etc., would suggest rather that the *huruppāti* consisted of a selection of provisions for the household, wheat, butter, flour and perhaps also meat. In § 42, the *ūmu rāku* and *šakultu* are omitted, but clearly only by way of abbreviation, for the same two ceremonies are referred to—the pouring of oil and the bringing of betrothal gifts—and as in § 41, it is assumed that either of these two ceremonies (*lu . . . lu* 'either . . . or') binds the father to give his son to a girl picked out to be his wife. The law says that if after either of these two ceremonies has been performed, the son dies or flees, the father is obliged to substitute another son as the husband for the girl.

It appears, therefore, that in Assyria and no doubt also in Babylonia, the betrothal, marked by some ceremony, was binding even before an actual marriage had taken place. In fact the betrothal *was* the marriage, as everywhere in primitive society and down to a late period of social advance. The single act of betrothal through some symbolical act fixed the status of the girl as a wife. The same, as we know, continued to be the case among the Hebrews in Old Testament times and underlies the marriage laws of the Jews in the Talmudic period. See Jacob Neubauer, *Zur Geschichte des Biblisch-Talmudischen* (MVAG Vol. 24, 1919), pp. 185–189. Even when a distinction between betrothal

(*'erûsîn*) and marriage (*kiddûšîn*) set in, the betrothal act continued to be regarded as binding. The formal marriage was merely a fulfillment of the betrothal.

†MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

University of Pennsylvania

Dr. Efros' Emendation of Jer. 4. 29

The emendation by Dr. Efros to Jer. 4.29, to read בְּגִבִּים, 'into ditches', instead of בְּעֵבִים, 'into thickets', published in the JOURNAL, p. 75, is uncalled for. There is no difficulty in the text as it stands. His main objection is, that the term עֵבִים is not used elsewhere in the Bible in the sense of 'thickets'. Is this the only word in the Bible that has no companion? Besides, the term גְּבִים as found in the Bible, denotes a well, cistern, or reservoir, where water is kept, and is not a fit place for hiding or protection (see 2 Kings, 3.16; Jer. 14.3.). The word עֵבָא in Syriac, or אֵבָא in Talmudic Aramaic, means a wood, thicket, or forest. Wherever is found in the Bible the word יֵעָר, 'a wood', the Peshitto renders עֵבָא, e. g., Ps. 96.12.

ISIDOR S. LEVITAN

Baltimore, Md.

The 'two youths' in the LXX to Dan. 6

At the Baltimore meeting of the Society Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt made an argument for the superiority of the Septuagintal form of Dan. 6. over the Massoretic. He found in the Hebrew an absurd midrashic expansion which penalized all the three presidents and 120 satraps with all their families by their condemnation to the lions' den, a hecatomb feast indeed! He pointed out that in the LXX the guilty conspirators are limited to Daniel's two fellow-presidents, and hence the carnage at the end of the story was moderate enough. Now the major premise of midrashic extravagance as necessarily secondary is precarious; midrash is often rationalized by a second hand, and this is often the case with the rationalistic Greek translators. Further, a close examination of the LXX text shows that Dr. Schmidt's preference for it is contradicted. He makes much of the δύο νεανίσκοι v. 4 (Mass. 5), but why should the co-presidents be called 'youths'? The word is appropriate to Daniel and the other three 'boys' in 1.4, and to the harem officials of Xerxes in Est. 2.2 = נְעָרִים, but not to those exalted triumvirs. The LXX does not repeat the absurdity; in v. 24 (25) they appear as 'those two men.'

The text of LXX vv. 3b, 4 is manifestly composite and syntactically disturbed, and 'the two youths' appear to be an arrant insertion. We read (I letter the successive sections for convenience of reference):

(a) Then the king counselled to establish Daniel over his whole kingdom

(b) and the two men (*ἄνδρες*) whom he established with him and 127 satraps.

(c) And when the king counselled to establish Daniel over his whole kingdom,

(d) then took counsel and decision among themselves the two youths

Evidently (b) in its position is absurd, and (c) is a doublet to (a). We have to omit (c). Now the present writer is convinced that the LXX to cc. 3-6 is a translation of a variant Aramaic text (Hebrew in the Song of the Three Holy Children), which accounts for the eccentricities of the LXX in these chapters. If this is the case, (b) contains the subject of the verb in (d). What was a nominative in the original the translator understood as an accusative, the doublet (c) having interfered with the construction. The change in construction having been made, he gratuitously brought in *οἱ δύο νεανίσκοι* as the subject to the verb in (d), itself marked as a gloss by its position at the end of the clause. His *νεανίσκοι* appears to be a reminiscence of the 'three youths' in 1 Esd. 3.4, where mention of them is made after listing the officers of the realm and 'the 127 satraps', which latter item he carried over into his form of Dan. 6.1. He had also probably in mind the rivalry of two of the youths against the third, there Zorobabel, here Daniel. The present passage originally read, 'And the two men whom he established with him and 127 satraps took counsel', etc. That is, the Semitic copy of the LXX made all those officials conspirators, but the Greek translator rationalized. Once again he followed his original contribution by adding '[those] two [men]' in v. 24 (25). The LXX is here, as in general, no authority for an earlier and better text. The earliest form of the story may have made the two men the sole conspirators and can possibly be recovered by a few excisions, but this was early obscured in the existing forms of the tradition.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

Philadelphia Divinity School

Note on Pāippalāda 6. 18

When Edgerton published Pāipp Bk 6 (JAOS 34. 374ff.) he was not satisfied with the form of this hymn as edited. Several times I have attacked it without success; but having recently worked out a good reconstruction it seems worth while to publish it, not because of any particular value in the hymn itself, but rather because it so neatly shows that others than the first editor of the Pāipp text have plenty of opportunities to do good work on the text; and because it is an excellent example of this manuscript's mode of abbreviation of stanzas by omitting not only identical refrain-pādas but also identical words of pādas which are similar and similarly placed in their respective stanzas. Edgerton has discussed this fully (JAOS 34. 377): the best example is Pāipp 4. 30 (JAOS 35. 86). A comparison of the transliteration and the reconstruction will reveal the situation: of course the verse divisions indicated in the transliteration reflect the edited form of the text.

Transliterated text

[f95b13] *saṁ mā siñcantu* [14] *marutas saṁ pūṣā saṁ vṛhaspatiḥ*
saṁ māyam agnis siñcatu prajayā ca [15] *dhanena ca | dīrgham*
āyus kṛṇotu me |

saṁ mā siñcantv ādityās saṁ mā si [16] *ñcantv agnayaḥ indras*
saṁ asmān siñcatu

siñcantv anuṣā saṁ arkā ṛṣa [17] *yaś ca ye | pūṣā saṁ siñcatu*
gandharvāpsarasas saṁ mā siñcantu devatāḥ [18] *bhagas saṁ*
siñcatu pṛthivī saṁ mā siñcantu yā diva | antarikṣaṁ saṁ
[19] *siñcantu pradiśas saṁ mā siñcantu yā diśaḥ āśā saṁ*
siñcantu kṛ [20] *ṣayaḥ saṁ mā siñcantv oṣadhīḥ saṁ mās saṁ*
siñcantu nabhyas saṁ mā si [f96a] *ñcantu sindhavaḥ samudrās*
saṁ |

saṁ mās siñcantv āpas saṁ mā siñcantu vṛ [2] *ṣṭayaḥ satyaṁ saṁ*
asmāna siñcatu prajayā ca dhanena ca | dīrgham āyus kṛ [3] *ṇotu*
me z 1 z

Edited text

saṁ mā siñcantu marutas saṁ pūṣā saṁ vṛhaspatiḥ |
saṁ māyam agnis siñcatu prajayā ca dhanena ca dīrgham
āyus kṛṇotu me z 1 z

saṁ mā siñcantv ādityās saṁ mā siñcantv agnayaḥ |
indras saṁ asmān siñcatu ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ *z 2 z*

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Executive Committee, acting under Article IV, Section 2, of the Constitution, as amended at the 1921 Annual Meeting, has elected the following to membership in the Society:

MR. R. D. BANERJI
MR. EMERSON B. CHRISTIE
PROF. A. B. DHURVA
MR. ABRAM I. ELKUS
PROF. A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR
MRS. H. P. GAMBOE
PROF. SHIVAPRASAD GUPTA
PROF. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL
PROF. FLEMING JAMES
DEAN MAXIMO M. KALAW
PROF. L. H. LARIMER
PROF. JAMES C. MANRY

MR. FREDERICK MOORE
PROF. H. NAU
PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE
MR. NAOYOSHI OGAWA
REV. DR. THOMAS PORTER
MR. G. HOWLAND SHAW
PROF. V. V. SOVANI
MR. J. F. SPRINGER
REV. THOMAS STENHOUSE
FATHER M. VANOVERBERGH
REV. HORACE K. WRIGHT

The Executive Committee has voted that the current volume of the JOURNAL, Volume 41, shall be dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

Notice has been received of the founding of a new periodical entitled *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, published at Vienna by Hölzel. The editors are Prof. Dr. Friedr. Kraelitz and Dr Paul Wittek. Band I, Heft 1, has appeared.

Volume 1 (parts 1-4) of the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, published in Jerusalem, has appeared, under the editorship of Messrs. Dhorme, Danby, Yellin. It contains articles by Lagrange, Albright, McCown, Yellin, Worrell, Raffaeli, Decloedt, Clay, Slousch, Peters, Eitan, etc. Subscriptions, at \$4.00, may be sent to Dr. E. M. Grice, Babylonian Collection, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.

The operations of the University of Pennsylvania Museum expedition at Beisan, Palestine, began June 20, under the charge of Dr. Clarence S. Fisher.

PERSONALIA

PROF. C. EVERETT CONANT, until recently connected with the University of Chattanooga, has accepted a position at Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR has left the United States. His address is 22 Carnac Road, Kalbadevi P. O., Bombay, India.



MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

In Memoriam

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

MORRIS JASTROW JR. AS A BIBLICAL CRITIC

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

IN HIS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1916, Professor Jastrow formulated his conception of the fundamental task of Biblical Criticism and of the methods by which this task must be performed. He entitled his address 'Constructive Elements in the Critical Study of the Old Testament'¹. This title suggests the main thesis of all his Biblical research. He held that Biblical Criticism must be constructive in the truest sense of the term. In this address he said,² 'Because of the bearings of both Old and New Testament criticism on some of the fundamental problems of religious thought, . . . the critic should feel the obligation to correlate the bearings of his results on traditional points of view, which in turn are so closely bound up with current doctrines and beliefs.' And again in the same address,³ 'Our endeavor in the critical study of the Old Testament needs to be directed . . . to a larger extent than heretofore towards determining the conditions underlying a document—if a legal document to the social status and the institutional ideas revealed by it, if a pure narrative to the relationship between the lives of the individuals and the events narrated, if folk-lore to the point of view—tribal or individual—from which the tradition sets out, and if in the domain of religious thought or emotion to the individual thoughts and emotions that called forth the production. The result will be in every case a stronger emphasis on the constructive elements to be extracted from a document or a purely literary production, supplemental to the critical analysis which must as a matter of course precede.'

¹ *JBL* 36 (1917). 1-30.

² P. 3.

³ P. 23.

Manifestly Jastrow was not content to follow mechanically the conventional path of Biblical Criticism. He seemed to feel that in present-day research there was too much sheep-like following in the beaten track which the pioneers of the modern school had marked out, a too unquestioning acceptance of earlier hypotheses and conclusions, a too pronounced tendency to regard the infinite mass of textual emendations and verse assignments as the be-all and end-all of scientific investigation, a too blind intolerance of new methods of investigation and of unorthodox hypotheses and conclusions. In the preface of his *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*⁴ he said, 'One can readily understand how even learned and conscientious scholars through a determination to cling to certain views can acquire an attitude of mind which prevents them from weighing evidence judiciously and fairly. This observation applies particularly to those who deceive themselves by imagining that they are pursuing studies in an open-minded spirit, whereas in reality they are merely seeking a confirmation of views which they hold quite independently of their studies, and generally held antecedent to any investigation. But the observation may be extended also to scholars of a more scientific type who, in a spirit of reaction against views which they have come to regard as untenable, fail to penetrate into the depths of their subject because too much absorbed in the externalities—in textual criticism, or in investigations of special points without reference to the necessary relationship of even the infinitesimal parts of a subject to the subject as a whole.'

It is clear that Jastrow regarded the Bible as far more than a mere book, to be subjected to mere literary analysis and textual emendation; it was the remains of an ancient national literature, varied and noble; it was a precious document of the life, ideals and aspirations of a peculiar people and the record, or at least the earliest and most important part of the record, of their contribution to civilization. And the final aim of the study of the literature and history of any people, he held, must be the better understanding of the life and institutions of that people, their origins, evolutions, achievements and contributions to the world's culture.

Certainly this is no mean program for any science. And certainly Biblical scholars will not question the validity of Jastrow's main thesis. The measure, therefore, of Jastrow's work as a Biblical

⁴ P. x seq.

critic is the determination of the degree to which he adhered to his program and achieved constructive and worthy results.

Jastrow was not primarily a Biblical critic. Rather he was by natural interest and early scientific training a Semitist, particularly in the fields of Hebrew, Arabic and Assyrian languages and literatures. In addition, due largely to the fine influence of his learned father, Jastrow was acquainted with Jewish rabbinic literature, particularly the *Aggada*, with its treasures of ancient tradition. For this reason undoubtedly he knew how to evaluate tradition, and steadily insisted upon its importance as one of the indispensable elements in the constructive study of the Bible.⁵ Nor were his interests in Semitic studies predominantly philological, although in this province, too, he showed himself again and again a complete master. The culture and institutions of the Semitic peoples attracted him most, and above all else Semitic religions in all their manifold aspects. But these very facts made it certain that he would in time concern himself with Biblical research, and that, too, upon a broad and varied scale. And these facts also probably explain why in most of his work in the Biblical field he was so decidedly unconventional both in aim and in method.

His earliest study in Arabic and Hebrew philology appeared in 1885; his first Assyriological study in 1887. But his first constructive investigation of a Biblical problem was not published until 1892,⁶ and even it was in character more Assyriological than Biblical. Other studies of similar nature followed in rapid succession during the next two years and at brief intervals thereafter. These Biblical-Assyriological studies reached their climax in his *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (1914).

Not until 1894 did Jastrow's first specifically Biblical study appear.⁷ This, too, was speedily followed by several similar papers, largely philological in character, yet dealing directly with neither the so-called Lower nor Higher Criticism, but rather with important institutions of the religion of Israel.⁸

⁵ Note his fine use of a tradition recorded in *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* in his paper, 'Palestine and Assyria in the Days of Joshua,' *ZA* 7 (1892). 1-7.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁷ 'The Element "Bosheth" in Hebrew Proper Names,' *JBL* 13 (1894). 19-30.

⁸ 'Hebrew Proper Names Compounded with "Yah" and "Yahu,"' *JBL* 13 (1894). 101-127; 'The Origin of the Form "Yah" of the Divine Name,' *ZAW* 16 (1896). 1-16; 'The Name Samuel and the Stem "Sha'al,"' *JBL* 19 (1900). 82-105, and others.

However, it must not be imagined that Jastrow had no sympathy with the tasks and methods of Lower and Higher Criticism. He merely regarded them and the conclusions which they established, not as ends in themselves, as so many Biblical scholars have done and still do, but only as means to a far greater end; yet they were for him important and indispensable branches of Biblical Science, in every way worthy of consideration and investigation. As might be expected, therefore, in these two fields also he made significant contributions. In the field of Lower Criticism several of his writings may be cited, such as *Note on a Passage in Lamentations* (2:6),⁹ *On Ruth 2:8*,¹⁰ *I Kings 18:2*;¹¹ and especially *Joshua 3:16*.¹²

In the field of Higher Criticism his research was of a far profounder character, and his contribution far more unique and significant. As he worked deeper and deeper into Biblical investigation he developed a theory of literary evolution that, in a way, modified materially the established hypothesis of a number of original independent documentary sources. Jastrow's variant hypothesis might perhaps be called appropriately the theory of systematic literary accretion. He argued that in general the various books or units of Biblical writing began with a single composition or document of a single, pronounced, obvious purpose and point of view; then, as generations passed and new ideas and doctrines developed, different writers in successive ages recast the original work in various ways, by internal changes of words or phrases, by omissions here and there, and above all else by insertions and additions of varying extent and character, which reflect a later and usually orthodox point of view, and which differ so markedly from the original book or document, that their secondary character is readily apparent.

Jastrow applied this hypothesis to Babylonian literature as well as to the Bible.¹³ But he made the most varied and far-reaching application of it to the books and documents of the Old Testament.

⁹ ZAW 15 (1895). 287.

¹⁰ JBL 15 (1896). 59-62.

¹¹ JBL 17 (1898). 108-110.

¹² JBL 36 (1917). 53-63.

¹³ Note his treatment of the Gilgamesh Epic in *The Religion of Assyria and Babylonia* (1898), 467-517, and 'Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature', *AJSL* 15 (1899). 193-214; 'On the Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story,' in the *Nöldeke Festschrift* (1906) 2. 969-982; and 'Old and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurapi,' *JAOS* 36 (1916). 1-33.

Unquestionably the underlying principle of the hypothesis is sound and uncontrovertible in so far as it affects documents of small compass and manifestly single character and scope. Accordingly in some of his first writings in which he applied this theory to its fullest extent he made invaluable contributions to Biblical Science, notably in *Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes*,¹⁴ *The 'Nazir' Legislation*,¹⁵ and *The So-called Leprosy Laws*.¹⁶

But Jastrow carried this hypothesis much farther than this, and argued that the literary history of even entire Biblical books, as for instance Joshua¹⁷, can be reconstructed in quite the same manner. This is the dominant theme of his two late works, *A Gentle Cynic* (1919) and *The Book of Job* (1920). He endeavors to prove that both *Ecclesiastes* and *Job* began each as a document voicing decidedly unorthodox beliefs and questions that were current in certain free-thinking circles in post-exilic Judaism. Then each document was gradually and systematically recast and enlarged by internal emendations and additions of a pronouncedly pietistic character, which so changed, or seemed to change, the doubting, questioning, almost heretical character of the original books that they could be included eventually in the canon of sacred Jewish writings. ¶ A treatment of somewhat similar nature promises to underly Jastrow's forthcoming, posthumous work on *The Song of Songs*.

Certainly the hypothesis is original and striking, and its application to *Job* and *Ecclesiastes* bold and unreserved, just as the conclusions based upon it are far-reaching and significant in the extreme. Whether this hypothesis and this analysis and reconstruction of the text of these books will stand the test of repeated investigation and application by other scholars, it is, of course, still too early to tell. But whatever be the outcome of this test, certainly it can not be gainsaid that far more than any Biblical critic before him, Jastrow has demonstrated that glosses and additions to the original text are not insignificant incidents, merely to be determined and then dismissed as of no importance. Rather, he has shown conclusively, additions, emendations and glosses are frequently, if not generally, purposed and significant, that they

¹⁴ *JAOS* 33 (1913). 180-192.

¹⁵ *JBL* 33 (1914). 266-285.

¹⁶ *JQR* (new series), 4 (1914). 357-418.

¹⁷ 'Constructive Elements in the Study of the Old Testament,' *JBL* 36 (1917). 23, note 24.

reflect the changing point of view and theology of later ages, and have a deep historical value.

And just in this insistence upon the historical significance of glosses, emendations and other accretions to the original text, and upon the importance of tradition as a historical source, Jastrow has promoted greatly the method of the scientific study of the Bible just as by his many investigations of the social and religious institutions of ancient Israel he has enriched our knowledge of the life and achievement of the Hebrew people. Surely this is constructive, scientific study of the highest type. And surely, therefore, we must acknowledge that Jastrow realized his ideal of what Biblical study should be, and that his work as a Biblical critic is of eminent and permanent value.

We are his debtors. We mourn his all-too-early loss, and especially when we think of all that he might have achieved, had he been permitted to fill out the traditional allotted span of human life, and in those remaining years develop his hypothesis and methods further, and apply them to other Biblical books and other problems of Biblical Science. Yet just we who labor in the Biblical field, with its uplifting message of hope and trust, have learned the lesson not to grieve too much for what might have been, but to believe with firm faith that what is, is for the best, and to be thankful for the rich blessings we have enjoyed. And so we shall ever cherish in loving, grateful memory the life, the friendship and the work of that 'gentle' scholar, Morris Jastrow, Jr.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MORRIS JASTROW JR. TO THE HISTORY OF RELIGION

BY GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

PROFESSOR JASTROW'S many-sided abilities were conspicuously manifested in his contributions to the historical study of religion. In this field no American scholar has done so much as he to stimulate an intelligent interest. His own contributions to the subject were of the greatest value, and, as Secretary for many years of the "American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions," and as Editor of a series of "Handbooks on the History of Religions", he became the moving spirit of undertakings which have greatly enriched the literature of the subject by the labors of others.

Before speaking of this more general work, it will be well to think of Professor Jastrow's own contributions to this discipline. In so doing we shall depart somewhat from chronological sequence and mention first his second important publication on the subject, his *Study of Religion*, published in the "Contemporary Science Series" edited by Havelock Ellis (Scribners, 1901). The book fulfilled a two-fold purpose: It was designed to serve as an introduction to the study of religion—an introduction in which a student could learn the limits and aims of the study—as well as to teach a scientific method of pursuing it. In accomplishing this aim Jastrow made an advance at many points over his predecessors and so contributed materially to the development of the science to which he aimed to introduce the student.

The book was divided into three parts. Part I treated of the "General Aspects" of religion. Under this head he gave a history of the development of the science from Alexander Ross's *Religions of the World* (1653) down to the great scholars of the nineteenth century—F. Max Müller, Tiele, Réville, and Pfeiderer. The classification of religions, the character and definition of religion, and the origin of religion were also discussed.

In Part II, Professor Jastrow discussed the relation of religion to ethics, philosophy, mythology, psychology, history, and culture. In these discussions the aim is to teach the reader a scientific method of pursuing the study. In Part III, where such topics as the treatment of sources, and the status of the subject in colleges and universities, and the function of museums in the study of religion are discussed, Professor Jastrow completes the setting forth of a right method and brings his readers abreast of the status of the subject at the time his book was written. It is a work which covers a wide field and reveals the versatility and the universal human interest of its author. Professor Jastrow was the last one to expect his fellow-workers to agree with every position which he took, but those who differed with him on minor points gratefully acknowledged that the book not only supplied a long-felt need by giving us an excellent handbook, but that in many ways its author had made real and permanent advance over his predecessors. Now, after the lapse of twenty years, the book is without peer in its special sphere.

Professor Jastrow's greatest contributions to knowledge were, however, made by his researches into the religion of Babylonia and Assyria. Before he began his work the religion of these two

civilizations, which bear to each other the relation of mother and daughter, had never received adequate treatment. Brief sketches of it had been given in the general histories of these countries, but always in the briefest outline. Jeremias had given a somewhat more extended sketch in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, but that was all too brief. Sayce had in 1887 published his *Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, but his treatment was too chaotic and at many points too unreliable to be of much service. To Professor Jastrow belongs the credit of having given the world the first scientific and adequate account of this religion when, in 1898, he published his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston: Ginn & Company) in the series of handbooks of which he was the editor. The aim of the book was to bring the knowledge of the subject up to date, to discuss contending theories and indicate the author's opinion on mooted points, but to refrain from speculating upon what was uncertain. This aim was so happily realized that the book was at once recognized in all countries as the one standard authority on its subject. The development of the extensive pantheon was traced from the earliest times through all periods of the history till Babylonia and Assyria disappeared, and in a series of chapters on the religious literature of the Babylonians, the reader was given an introduction, by means of translations, to the magical texts, the prayers and hymns, the penitential psalms, the oracles and omens, the cosmology of the Babylonians, the Gilgamesh epic, and to their myths and legends. By means of these translations the student was brought into the religious atmosphere of these ancient peoples as he could have been in no other way. Chapters were also devoted to the Babylonian views of life after death, and to the temple and cult in Babylonia. This last topic had scarcely been treated systematically by any previous writer.

The book placed Professor Jastrow at once in the front line of the world's Assyriologists. Every part of it was based on a first-hand study of the original sources.

A few years later Professor Jastrow was invited to bring out a German edition of this invaluable book. It was to be published at Giessen and to appear in "parts". He began the task and the first "part" was published in 1902. Between 1898 and 1902 a large number of new texts had been published, and, as the years went by, the volume of new material increased. True to his

scholarly instincts, Professor Jastrow made himself familiar with the whole of this as it was published, and incorporated in his book such contributions as it made to the knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian religion. The result was that the "parts" multiplied in number and continued to appear from 1902 to 1912. The volumes increased from one to two, and the second of these was double the thickness of an ordinary book. *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* of 1898 had contained 780 pages; *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* of 1912 contains more than 1650 pages.

In the German edition knowledge of every part of the subject is advanced, but probably the greatest contribution made by the volume was Jastrow's discovery of the part played by hepatoscopy, or divination from the liver, in Babylonian life. That instinct which prompted him to go in all his work to original sources, led him not only to make a prolonged study of the cuneiform divination texts, but to accompany this study with the actual examination of the livers of sheep, the animal whose liver the Babylonians had employed. The result was not only the clearing up of many obscure passages in the divination texts, but the opening of a new vista in our knowledge of Babylonian customs. The work as a whole is monumental. America has had during the last thirty years four or five exceptionally productive Assyriologists, but, of all the works they have produced there is no other single one that compares with this work of Professor Jastrow in range, comprehensiveness, and importance. It will probably be a long time before a work treating of these religions will be written that will at all compare with this great book.

A by-product of Professor Jastrow's *magnum opus* was his *Aspects of Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, which appeared in 1911. It was Professor Jastrow's contribution to the "American Lectures on the History of Religion"—a series the inception of which was due largely to his vision and energy. As one who knew its author expected, this book contained a fresh treatment of Mesopotamian culture and religion, of the pantheon, of Babylonian divination and astrology, of the temple and cult, of ethics and the life after death. At the time it was written Jastrow was fresh from his discoveries in divination and so gave an enthusiastic and full treatment of this and kindred topics. His book is twice the thickness of the other volumes of the series. It is a most valuable compendium in English of the heart of the greater German work.

Professor Jastrow was possessed of a fine sense of humor. It kept all his work sane. He had spent much time on the divination and astrology of these peoples, but he realized that, except that astrology led to a certain degree of astronomical knowledge, the Babylonian systems led to no practical result. They were waste time. Nevertheless he was able to quote with approval, at the end of his chapter on astrology, the remark of Bouché-Leclercq, that "it is not a waste of time to find out how other people have wasted theirs."

Another contribution of Professor Jastrow to the history of religion is his *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, 1914, a volume which presents in an enlarged form his Haskell lectures, delivered at Oberlin college in 1913. For more than a dozen years before its publication a group of German scholars had been claiming not only that all Israel's thought was derived from Babylonia, but that all the important persons mentioned in the Old Testament were not persons at all, but forms of Babylonian mythical stories. Out of the fullness of his knowledge Professor Jastrow presented a sane and scholarly comparison of the traditions of the two peoples, giving to the Babylonians their due in crediting them, as others had done, with furnishing the Hebrews with many of the traditions contained in the early chapters of Genesis, but showing how independent of Babylonian influence many aspects of Hebrew tradition were. His chapters on the "Hebrew and Babylonian Sabbath", "Views of Life after Death", and "Hebrew and Babylonian Ethics", are most interesting and important.

Mention must also be made of the masterly sketch of the Babylonian and Assyrian Religion contained in Chapters IV and V of Professor Jastrow's *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, and that on the same religion in *Religions of the Past and Present*, edited by his colleague, Professor Montgomery. In these sketches his vast stores of knowledge and his rare powers of presentation enabled him to present masterly sketches, scientific in character, and delightful to read.

In the volume last mentioned we have, fortunately, a sketch of the rise and characteristics of Mohammedanism, which exhibits the same qualities at their very best. This masterly lecture, with its analysis of the elements which enter into Islam, its appreciation, its criticism, and the clearness and virility of its presentation, makes one regret that circumstances did not lead Professor Jastrow to write more upon that religion.

Lack of space makes it impossible to speak of Professor Jastrow's services to the history of religion rendered in the publication of numerous articles in periodicals and encyclopedias. These articles were often of great importance. Some of them other men would have made into a book. In conclusion, emphasis should be laid upon the fact that Professor Jastrow's service to the science of religion was not confined to his own weighty contributions to its literature. He rendered an equally great service by organizing enterprises which called forth the contributions of others. It was he who conceived the idea of a series of handbooks on the history of religion, the publication of which was undertaken by Ginn & Company, of Boston. Professor Jastrow became editor of the series and induced the other scholars to write their books. Indirectly, therefore, we owe to him such important works as Toy's *Introduction to the History of Religion*, Hopkins' *Religions of India*, Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Religion of the Teutons*, and Peters' *Religion of the Hebrews*—books which have been of inestimable service to American scholars and have greatly enriched the world's historical literature. It was in this series that Jastrow's own book, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, first appeared.

In addition to this, the organization of "The American Lectures on the History of Religions" was due to Professor Jastrow's energy and initiative. At a meeting of fifteen persons called to consider the subject, held in Philadelphia on December 30th, 1891, it was Professor Jastrow who submitted a plan for establishing such a lecture course, to be given in different American cities. The general scheme was approved, and Professor Jastrow was a member of the committee appointed to work out a plan for carrying it into effect. This committee reported at a meeting held at Union Theological Seminary in New York on February 6th, 1892. Their plan was approved and an association was formed to put it into operation. Professor Jastrow became secretary of this association—an office which he held until his death. As always in such organizations, it is the secretary who has the laboring oar, and Professor Jastrow was the guiding spirit of the association. It is to this association, and therefore to Professor Jastrow, that we owe that series of brief, readable, and authoritative volumes, in which Brinton's *Religion of Primitive Peoples*, Rhys-Davids' *History and Literature of Buddhism*, Budde's *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, Cheyne's *Jewish Religion after the Exile*, Knox's *Religions of Japan*, De Groot's *Religion of the Chinese*,

Bloomfield's *Religion of the Veda*, Steindorf's *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, Cumont's *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans*, and Hurgronje's *Mohammedanism*, have appeared. Professor Jastrow's own contribution to the series has already been mentioned. It is a remarkable series; each, like the volumes of the series which Professor Jastrow edited, is the work of an eminent specialist. The giving of these lectures and the publication of the volumes have done much to educate American people, and have placed within the reach of all an authoritative and readable outline of the great religions of the world.

The task of speaking of the products of Professor Jastrow's many-sided abilities in other fields falls to others. His work in the field of which we have been speaking illustrates one of the finest traits of his character—his stimulating influence upon other scholars and his generosity in appreciating their work. The eminent men who wrote the books mentioned above felt this influence, and the humble and obscure worker, however small his contribution, found in Professor Jastrow, if his contribution possessed any merit, a cheering and encouraging critic and friend. America has had but one other scholar (the late Professor C. H. Toy of Harvard) whose stimulating influence called forth from others a degree of labor at all approaching that which Professor Jastrow elicited. Such men stand far above their contemporaries in the scholarly influence which they wield. They evoke in others a devotion to the search for truth which multiplies many fold the mere labor of their own hands. It is one of life's highest privileges to have known them. The world seems poor without them. Their memory is a precious treasure.

PROFESSOR JASTROW AS AN ASSYRIOLOGIST

ALBERT T. CLAY

YALE UNIVERSITY

WHILE STUDYING ABROAD, Arabic was looked upon by Jastrow as his major subject; however, he paid special attention also to Assyriology, and attended lectures under such scholars as Deitzsch, Oppert, and Halévy.

Three years after receiving his degree at Leipzig we find his first contribution to Assyriology in a note of several pages which

appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* on 'A passage in the Cylinder Inscription of Ashurbanapal'. Two years later, following other brief communications, his first conspicuous article appeared in the text, translation, and commentary of a fragment of 'A Cylinder of Marduk-shapik-zirim.' It is to the credit of Jastrow that by clever reasoning and on palæographical grounds he placed this hitherto unknown king in the Pashe Dynasty, of which only four of the eleven kings had up to that time been identified; and he actually proposed that he be placed as the founder of the dynasty. This was confirmed by an inscription in the Yale Collection published thirty years later (*Misc. Inscr.* p. 49).

In 1891 he published 'A Fragment of the Babylonian Dibbarra Epic,' which appeared in the *University of Pennsylvania Series in Philology, Literature, and Archæology*; and a few years later 'A New Fragment of the Babylonian Etana Legend' in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. Both publications were based upon original inscriptions found in private hands. The latter added materially to our knowledge of the Etana Legend. In both treatises Jastrow showed remarkable scholarly acumen in handling original material. It was his good fortune a few years later to find also another fragment of the Etana Legend in private hands, both of these having come from the Library of Ashurbanapal in Nineveh. This was published in Vol. 30 of this JOURNAL.

Early in his career Jastrow was attracted to the study of the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians. In 1898 he published his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* as the second volume in the Series of Handbooks on the History of Religions, of which he was the editor. It was a very ambitious undertaking owing to the state of our knowledge at that time. He fully realized that the knowledge of the subject was rapidly increasing, and that it was constantly necessary to change the perspective and readjust views, yet he felt there was sufficient reason for sifting the certain from the uncertain and for formulating his opinions, and thus preparing the way for other works that would follow. It was no small task to gather the material, digest and present it. But the work was so successfully handled that it remained the chief treatise on the subject until it was supplanted by his larger work, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, which appeared in seventeen parts, between the years 1903 and 1913. It was first intended that this should be a translation of the English work into German, but during the process of revising and enlarging it, Jastrow became

especially interested in the subject of divination through hepatoscopy and astrology, with the result that as he devoted himself to the study of the many new texts appearing during the time his work grew to such proportions that instead of one volume, three, comprising over 1700 pages of closely printed text and notes, were required to present his contributions on the subject. While others had preceded him in the study of Babylonian divination, Jastrow's interpretation of the many new texts, the study of the religious rites, practices, and beliefs of other peoples, and his wide knowledge of religions in general enabled him to produce a work that will be quoted for years to come. By his philological work and interpretation of omen texts, hundreds of obscure words were discussed, many of which received their explanation for the first time. One important discovery after another was made, resulting in many contributions being presented in our journals, for example, on 'The Signs and Names for the Liver in Babylonia,' 'The Liver in Antiquity and the Beginnings of Anatomy,' etc. In this field Jastrow achieved his greatest success, and left his name indelibly written upon our knowledge of the subject.

In 1911 Jastrow published a volume entitled *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Assyria and Babylonia*, being the American Lectures on the History of Religion, delivered at different institutions. In this work he gives not only a summary, in a popular and readable form, of all researches in the field, but he took the opportunity to recast certain views on the pantheon and the cult, thus making them accord with the new material which had been brought to light. There can be little doubt but that his new presentation of the pantheon in this work is a distinct advance upon all previous attempts. He also attempted to distinguish between what he called the popular religion and the artificial form given to it in the official cult by the priests, in their efforts to bring the beliefs into accordance with their theological speculations. This work is the best compendium at present on the subject.

In 1915 Jastrow published a much needed work on *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*. This is a survey of the entire field on a much larger scale than had hitherto been attempted in English. In it he gives the results of the activities of explorers, decipherers, and investigators in this field of research. It is also a compendium on the customs and manners, the religion, law, commerce, art, architecture, and literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians. In this work he has admirably selected what was

most important for a general view, and also what was most characteristic, and has grouped his material in a very satisfactory form.

His study of some of the legends for his history of the Babylonian religion was, at the time, an advance upon previous efforts, particularly that of the *Gilgamesh Epic*. The acquisition of two tablets of an earlier version of this epic by the Pennsylvania and the Yale Collections naturally aroused his interest, resulting in one of his latest contributions to Assyriology, entitled *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, published in 1920, in the preparation of which the present writer, as joint author, took a minor part. In the study of these two texts Jastrow's critical faculties enabled him to advance materially the interpretation of the epic as well as its analysis into its component parts.

His last contribution to Assyriology was his article on 'An Assyrian Law Code,' which appeared in Part I of this volume of the *JOURNAL* (pages 1 to 59). It was the first translation which appeared of two large texts from tablets discovered at the site of ancient Assur, and published by Schroeder.

The extent of Jastrow's work in Assyriology cannot be appreciated by a glance at his bibliography under that subject, for many of his contributions, listed under other subjects, are based more or less upon his investigations in that field.

Jastrow's erudition, his wide horizon, and his experience in the critical analysis of ancient documents, enabled him to leave the beaten path with its conventional views, and discuss legends, epics, and other texts independently. His excellent preparation gave him a view-point that few enjoyed; and his efforts resulted not only in contributions which are remarkably suggestive, but which are full of discoveries and conclusions, many of which will stand the test of time. Especially in the subject of the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians, Jastrow made himself without doubt the leading authority in the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

COMPILED BY

ALBERT T. CLAY AND JAMES A. MONTGOMERY*

ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.—*BA* Beiträge zur Assyriologie.—*Bib. W.* Biblical World.—*Hebr.* Hebraica.—*Ind.* Independent.—*JAOS* Journal of the American Oriental Society.—*JBL* Journal of Biblical Literature.—*JQR* Jewish Quarterly Review.—*PAOS* Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.—*S. S. Times* Sunday School Times.—*ZA* Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.—*ZATW* Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

(a) ARABIC

Abn Zakarijja Jahja ben Dawud Hajjug und seine zwei grammatischen Schriften über die Verben mit schwachen Buchstaben und die Verben mit Doppelbuchstaben. *ZATW* v (1885), 192-221.

The Grammatical Works of Abu Zakariyya Yahya ben Dawud Hayyug. *PAOS* xiii (1888), 295-296.

On a Fragment of Hayyuj's Treatise on Weak Verbs. *PAOS* xiv (1889), 38-40.

An Arabic Tradition of Writing on Clay. *ZA* x (1895), 99.

Weak and Geminative Verbs in Hebrew by Abu Zakarijja Jahja Ibn Dawud of Fez. . . . The Arabic text published for the first time. Leiden, 1897 (356 pp.).

(b) BABYLONO-ASSYRIAN

Passage in the Cylinder Inscription of Asurbanabal (V R. 2, col. 2, 121-125). *ZA* ii (1887), 353-356.

Notes on the Monolith Inscription of Shalmanessar II. *Hebr.* iv (1887-1888), 244-246.

Note on the Proper Name "Bu-du-ilu." *PAOS* xiii (1888), 146-147.

On Assyrian and Samaritan. *PAOS* xiii (1888), 147-150.

On Ikonomatic Writing in Assyrian. *PAOS* xiii (1888), 168-172.

Corrections to the Text of the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II. *Hebr.* v (1888-1889), 230-242.

On the Assyrian "kuduru" and the Ring of the Sun-god in the Abu-Habba tablet. *PAOS* xiv (1889), 95-98.

* In March, 1910, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Professor Jastrow's membership in the Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, the compilers published the bibliography of their preceptor, colleague and friend. It is with affectionate devotion to his memory, that they reprint that work and add the scientific and literary publications of the last eleven years of Dr. Jastrow's life. They express their obligations to Dr. E. Chiera of the University of Pennsylvania and Miss Kathrine B. Hagy of the University Library, for their valuable assistance in this compilation.
Dec. 15, 1921.

- The Textbooks of the Babylonians and Assyrians. *PAOS* xiv (1889), 170-171.
 The Ashurnasirbal Slabs belonging to the New York Historical Society.
PAOS xiv (1889), 138-140.
- A Cylinder of Marduktabikzirim, Text, Translation and Commentary.
ZA iv (1889), 301-323.
- "Epeshu." *ZA* iv (1889), 406-408.
- The Cuneiform Tablets of Tell El-Amarna. *The Nation*, 1889, 345-346.
- Assyrian Vocabularies. *ZA* iv (1889), 153-162 (1); v (1890), 31-46 (2).
Azuru. *ZA* v (1890), 295-296.
- Ethics of the Assyrians and Babylonians. *Ethical Record*, July, 1890, 65-77.
- A Fragment of the Babylonian "Dibbarra" Epic. "U. of P. Series in Philology," vol. 1, no. 2. (Phila., 1891, 42 pp.).
- Letters of Abdi-Kheba. *Hebr.* ix (1892-1893), 24-46.
- Marduktabikzirim or Mardukshabikzirim. *ZA* viii (1893), 214-219.
- Mushannitum. *Hebr.* x (1893-1894), 193-195.
- A New Fragment of the Babylonian Etana Legend. *PAOS* xvi (1894), 162.
- Note on the term "Mushannitum." *PAOS* xvi (1894), 192.
- A Legal Document of Babylonia, dealing with the Revocation of an Illegal Sale. In "Oriental Studies of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia." Boston, 1894, pp. 116-136.
- The Two Copies of the Tablet of Rammannirari I. *ZA* x (1895), 35-48.
- Ilubidi and Yaubidi. *ZA* x (1895), 222-235.
- Inscription of Rammannirari I. *AJSL* xii (1895-1896), 143-172.
- A New Fragment of the Babylonian Etana Legend. *BA* iii (1895-1898), 363-383.
- Textbook Literature of the Babylonians. *Bib. W.* ix (1897), 248-268.
- New Babylonian Version of the Account of the Deluge. *Ind.* (1898), i, 178 *seq.*, 211 *seq.*
- The Babylonian term Shualu. *AJSL* xiv (1897-1898), 165-170.
- A Legal Document from Babylonia. In "Pennsylvania Law Series," ii (1898), 15-38.
- Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. In "Series of Handbooks on the History of Religions," vol. 2. Boston, 1898, 780 pp.
- Adrahasis and Parnapistim. *ZA* xiii (1898), 288-301.
- Nebopolassar and the Temple to the Sun-God at Sippar. *AJSL* xiv (1898-1899), 65-86.
- The Palace and Temple of Nebuchadnezzar. *Harper's Magazine*, Apr., 1902.
- Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens (in parts beginning 1903). Vol. 1, 1905; vol. 2-3, 1912; with album of plates. Giessen.
- The God Ashur. *JAOS* xxiv (1903), 282-311.
- Revised Chapters on Babylonia and Assyria. In *A History of All Nations*, v. 1. & 2, ed. by J. H. Wright. Lea Bros. & Co., Phila., 1905.
- E-kish-shir-gal. *ZA* xix (1905), 135-142.
- Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Vol. (1904), 531-584.
- A New Aspect of the Sumerian Question. *AJSL* xxii (1905-1906), 89-109.
- A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job. *JBL* xxv (1906), 135-191.
- A Babylonian Job. *Contemporary Review*, Dec., 1906.
- Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries? *JAOS* xxvii (1906), 147-182.

- On the Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story. In *Orientalische Studien*, in honor of Theodore Nöldeke's 70th birthday. 1906. vol. 2, 969-982.
- Notes on Omen Texts. *AJSL* xxiii (1906-1907), 97-115.
- Signs and Names for the Liver in Babylonian. *ZA* xx (1907), 105-129.
- Khabil and Ekha. *ZA* xx (1907), 191-195.
- The Liver in Antiquity and the Beginnings of Anatomy. *Transactions of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia*, xxix, 117-138, and *University of Pennsylvania Medical Bulletin*, Jan., 1908, pp. 238-245.
- Sign and Name for Planet in Babylonian. *Proc. of the Am. Phil. Soc.*, xlvii (1908), 141-156.
- Hepatoscopy and Astrology in Babylonia and Assyria. *Proc. of the Am. Phil. Soc.*, xlvii (1908), 646-676.
- Urumush. *ZA* xxi (1908), 277-282.
- An Omen School Text. In *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, ii (1908), 279-326.
- Dil-bat. *ZA* xxii (1909), 155-165.
- Babylonian Orientation. *ZA* xxiii (1910), 196-208.
- Shu-Bi-Ash-A-An. *ZA* xxiii (1910), 376-377.
- Another Fragment of the Etana Myth. *JAOS* xxx (1909), 101-131.
- Sumerian Glosses in Astrological Letters. *Babyloniaca*, iv (1910), 227-235.
- The Liver in Babylonian Divination (*Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia*), 1907 pp. 23-27.
- Sun and Saturn. *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vii (1910), 163-178.
- Months and Days in Babylonian-Assyrian Astrology. *AJSL* xxvi (1910), 151-155.
- Signs and Names of the Planet Mars. *AJSL* xxvii (1910), 64-83.
- The Etana Myth on Seal Cylinders. *JAOS* xxx, part iv (1910), 101-131.
- Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria. "American Lectures on the History of Religions, 10th Series." New York, 1910. (Also, some forty articles on gods and heroes of Babylonia and Assyria in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.)
- Carl Frank, Studien zur Babylonischen Religion. *AJSL* xxviii (1912), 146-152.
- Bildermappe mit 273 Abbildungen sammt Erklärungen zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens. Giessen, 1912.
- The Medicine of the Babylonians and Assyrians. *The Lancet*, Oct. 18, 1913, pp. 1136-42.
- An Assyrian Mediaeval Tablet in the Possession of the College of Physicians. *Transactions of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* (1913), pp. 365-400.
- Abstract of a Paper on the Babylonian-Assyrian Birth Omens and the History of Monsters. *Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia* (1913), pp. 217-223.
- The Medicine of the Babylonians and Assyrians. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, vii (1914), pp. 109-176.
- Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions. The Haskell Lectures, 1913, Orlin College. New York, 1914.
- Babylonian and Assyrian Birth Omens and their Cultural Significance. *Religions-geschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, xiv, 1914.

- Hebrew and Babylonian Views of Creation. Philadelphia, 1915. In *University of Pennsylvania Lectures*, 1915, pp. 191-240.
- The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria. Its Remains, Language, History, Religion, Commerce, Law, Art and Literature. Philadelphia, 1915.
- Sumerian View of Beginnings. *Revue Archéologique*, 1916, pp. 358-372.
- Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings. *JAOS* xxxvi (1916), pp. 274-299.
- Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurabi. *JAOS* xxxvi (1919), pp. 1-33.
- Sumerian Myths of Beginnings. *AJSL* xxxiii (1917), pp. 91-144.
- Babylonia and Assyria. (Translator with others.) New York, 1917. (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 1.)
- Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. In Montgomery, *Religions of the Past and Present*. 1918, pp. 50-75.
- Ê-Nu-Šub-Bît Sipti. *AJSL* xxxvii (1920), pp. 51-61.
- Assyrian Law Code. *JAOS* xxxi (1921), pp. 1-59.
- Īuruppâti, Betrothal Gifts. *JAOS* xli (1921), pp. 314-316.
- An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic (with A. T. Clay). Yale Oriental Series: Researches, vol. i, part 3. New Haven, Conn., 1921.
- Veiling in Ancient Assyria. *Revue Archéologique*. In press.

(c) HEBREW AND OLD TESTAMENT

- Greek words in the Book of Daniel (translated from the French of Prof. Hartwig Derenbourg). *Hebr.* iv (1887-1888), 7-13.
- Palace at Susa and the Book of Esther. *S. S. Times*, Feb., 1889.
- Old Testament and Recent Assyriological Research. *Ind.* liii (1891), 2449-2453, 2515-2517.
- How to Study Hebrew. *Jewish Messenger*, May, 1892.
- Palestine and Assyria in the Days of Joshua. *ZA* vii (1892), 1-7.
- Egypt and Palestine, 1400 B. C. *JBL* xi (1892), 95-124.
- The Oldest Piece of Jerusalem History. *S. S. Times*, Aug. 26, 1893.
- Excavations at Sendschirli and Some of their Bearings on the Old Testament. *Bib. W.* ii (1893), 407-417.
- The "Men of Judah" in the El-Amarna tablets. *JBL* xii (1893), 61-72.
- The Bible and the Assyrian Monuments. *Century Mag.*, Jan., 1894, 395-411. (Also translation into French by E. Lacordaire, *Revue des Revues*, 1894, 227-235.)
- Hebrew Prophets in their Historical Setting. *Reform Advocate*, Feb. 20, 1894.
- Archaeology as a Factor in Old Testament Study. *S. S. Times*, Aug. 18, 1894.
- The Element Bosheth in Hebrew Proper Names. *JBL* xiii (1894), 19-30.
- Hebrew Proper Names Compounded with "Yah" and "Yahu". *JBL* xii (1894), 101-127.
- Note on a Passage in "Lamentations" (chap. 2, 6). *ZATW* xv (1895), 287.
- On Ruth 2 : 8. *JBL* xv (1896), 59-62.
- Origin of the form Yah of the Divine Name. *ZATW* xvi (1896), 1-16.
- Avenger, Kinsman and Redeemer, in the Old Testament. *Ind.*, Aug. 27, 1896.
- Note on Meshek and Tubal. *AJSL* xiii (1896-1897), 217.
- The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath. *American Journal of Theology*, ii (1898), 312-362.

- I Kings, 18, 21. *JBL* xvii (1898), 108-110.
 Canaan. *Encyc. Biblica*, vol. 1 (1899), 638-643.
 Dust, Earth and Ashes as Symbols of Mourning among the Ancient Hebrews. *JAOS* xx (1899), 130-150.
 Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature. *AJSL* xv (1899), 193-214.
 The name Samuel and the Stem "Sha'al." *JBL* xix (1900), 82-105.
 Genesis XIV and Recent Research. *JQR* xiii (1901), 42-57.
 Hebrew and Babylonian Accounts of Creation. *JQR* xiii (1901), 620-654.
 Hamites and Semites in the 10th Chapter of Genesis. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xiii (1904), 173-207.
 Races of the Old Testament. *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Vol. (1904), 72-83.
 The Tower of Babel. *Ind.* lviii (1905), 822-826.
 Ro'eh and Hozeah in the Old Testament. *JBL* xxviii (1909), 52-56.
 Canaan, Canaanite. In *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, pp. 638-643.
 Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes. *JAOS* xxxiii (1913), pp. 180-192.
 So-called Leprosy Laws. *JQR*, iv (1914), pp. 357-418.
 The "Nazir" Legislation. *JBL* xxxiii (1914), pp. 266-285.
 The Day after the Sabbath. *AJSL* xxx (1914), pp. 94-110.
 Constructive Elements in the Critical Study of the Old Testament. *JBL* xxxvi (1917), pp. 1-30.
 Joshua 3 : 16. *JBL* xxxvi (1917), pp. 53-62.
 A Gentle Cynic, being a Translation of the Book of Koheleth, commonly known as Ecclesiastes, stripped of later additions; also its origin, growth and interpretation. Philadelphia, 1919.
 The Book of Job: Its Origin, Growth and Interpretation; together with a New Translation Based on a Revised Text. Philadelphia, 1920.
 Poem on Job. *Nation*, Jan. 29, 1921.
 The Song of Songs, being a Collection of Love Lyrics of ancient Palestine. Philadelphia, December, 1921.

(d) JUDAICA

- Jewish Grammarians of the Middle Ages. *Hebr.* iii (1886-1887), 103-106, 171-174; iv (1887-1888), 26-32, 118-122; v (1888-1889), 115-120.
 Cities of the Plain in Talmud and Midrash. *S. S. Times*, Feb., 1887.
 Notes on the Jews of Philadelphia from Published Annals. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, i (1892), 49-61.
 The First Publication of a Jewish Character in Philadelphia. *Ibid.*, 63-64.
 The Use of a Jewish Library. *Jewish Exponent*, Nov. 2, 1894.
 Documents Relating to the Career of Isaac Franks. *Ibid.*, v (1896), 7-34.
 References to Jews in the Diary of Ezra Stiles. *Ibid.*, x (1902), 5-36.
 Jewish Philosophy and Philosophical Writers. *Ency. Americana* (1903).

(e) OTHER ORIENTALIA

- The Wolfe Expedition to Mesopotamia. *The American*, Aug., 1886.
 Persian Art in Susa. *N. Y. Times*, Dec. 9, 1888.
 Present Status of Semitic Studies in this Country. *Hebr.* v (1888-9), 77-79.
 On the Founding of Carthage. *PAOS* xv (1890), 70-73.
 Cradle of the Semites. Philadelphia, 1890.
 A Phoenician Seal. *Hebr.* vii (1890-1891), 256-267.

- A New Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions. *S. S. Times*, Jan. 17, 1893.
 Hittites. *Ency. Biblica*, vol. 2 (1901) 2094-2100.
 The Hittites in Babylonia. *Revue Sémitique*, xviii (1910), 87-96.
 Einleitung to Bartels, W. von, *Die Etruskische Bronzeleber von Piacenza*, pp. 3-5, 1910.

(f) HISTORY OF RELIGION

- Mohammedanism. *Univ. of Pa. Publications*. Philadelphia, 1892.
 Recent Movements in the Historical Study of Religions in America. *Bib. W.* i (1893), 24-32.
 Scope and Method of the Historical Study of Religions. *Proceedings of 1st Congress of Anthropology*, Chicago, 1893, 287-297.
 The Jewish Question in its Recent Aspects. *International Journal of Ethics* vi (1896), 457-479.
 The Modern Attitude towards Religion. *Ethical Series*, vol. 4 (1897). no. 8.
 Islamism. *Progress*, vol 3 (1897), no. 6.
 Historical Study of Religions in Universities and Colleges. *JAOS* xx (1899), 317-325.
 First International Congress of the History of Religions. *International Journal of Ethics*, x (1900), no. 4.
 Tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning. *JAOS* xxi (1900), 23-39.
 Study of Religion. In "Contemporary Science Series." London, 1901 (451 pp.).
 Baring of the Arm and Shoulder as a Sign of Mourning. *ZATW* xxii (1902), 117-120.
 Creation Legends in Ancient Religions. *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1902.
 Religions Many; Religion One. In *Publications of New York State Conference on Religion*, no. 1, New York, 1903.
 Ethical and Religious Outlook, 1905. In *Ethical Addresses*, xii (1905), no. 1.
 The Religion of the Semites; being the President's Address, Semitic Section 3d International Congress for the History of Religions, Oxford, September, 1908 (*Transactions*, vol. i).
 Third International Congress for the History of Religions. (*The Nation*, Oct. 1, 1908.)
 Anointing. *Hastings' Dictionary of Religion & Ethics*, vol. 1 (1908), 555-557.
 Astrology. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 1910).
 Omens. *Ibid.*
 The Bearded Venus. *Revue Archéologique*, 4me Série, vol. xv, 1911, 271-298.
 Historical Study of Religions. *Old Penn*, March 11 and 25, 1911.
 The Liver as the Seat of the Soul. *Studies in the History of Religions presented to Professor Toy*, New York, 1912, pp. 143-168.
 On Babylonian, Etruscan and Chinese Divination. *Actes du IV^e Congrès internationale de l'Histoire des Religions*, (1913), pp. 106-111. Also in *Records of the Past*, xii (1913), pp. 13-16.
 Introduction to Goldziher, Ignaz, *Mohammed and Islam*. 1917.
 Mohammedanism. In Montgomery, *Religions of the Past and Present*, 1918, pp. 211-243.
 Religion, the Scope and Method of the Historical Study of Religions. *Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology*. Chicago, pp. 287-297.

(g) POLITICAL

- The War and the Bagdad Railway. Philadelphia, 1917 (with a new preface, Philadelphia, 1918).
 The War and the Coming Peace. The Moral Issue. Philadelphia, 1918.
 Objections to a Jewish State. *Menorah Journal*, 1918.
 Zionism and the Future of Palestine: The Fallacies and Dangers of Political Zionism. New York, 1919.
 Turks and the Future of the Near East. *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 1303, 1919.
 Language Map of Europe and the Near East. Editor. Rand and McNally, Chicago, 1920.
 The Eastern Question and its Solution. Philadelphia, 1920.
 East and West: An Analysis of Eastern and Western Civilizations. 1921.
 (Address in full forms chapter of *The Eastern Question and its Solution*.)
 In *University of Pennsylvania Lectures*, 1918-19, pp. 409-413.

(h) MISCELLANEOUS

- The Pott Library. *PAOS* xiv (1888), 3-4.
 Pen Pictures of Paris Worthies. *Jewish Messenger*, Sept. and Oct., 1887 (five articles).
 The Library of the University of Pennsylvania. *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 14, 1891.
 Magic and Prodigy in the East. *Poet-lore*, iv (1892), 118-125.
 The University Libraries. In *Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania*, ed. F. N. Thorpe. Washington, 1893 (pp. 387-395).
 Selected Essays of James Darmesteter, edited with an introductory memoir. Boston, 1898, 310 pp. (The translation of the Essays from the French by Mrs. Morris Jastrow, Jr.)
 Records of the Past. In *Triumphs and Wonders in the Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia, 1899.
 Cornelius Petrus Tiele, in Commemoration of his Seventieth Birthday. *Open Court*, xiv (1900), 728-733.
 Cornelius Petrus Tiele. *Ind.*, liv (1902), 510-512.
 The 14th International Congress of Orientalists. *The Nation*, Sept. 10, 1908.
 Horace Howard Furness. *Old Penn*, 1913.
 Useful vs. Useless Knowledge. *Old Penn*, 1914.
 Canon Cheyne. *Nation*, March 11, 1915.
 Sir Gaston Maspero. *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, lv (1916), pp. v-xiii.
 William Hays Ward. *JAOS* xxxvi (1916), pp. 233-241.
 World's Highway. *Nation*, August 31, 1916.
 Joseph Halévy. *Nation*, Nov. 29, 1917.
 Study of History and the Value of the Classics. 1919.
 Joseph George Rosengarten. *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, 1921, pp. iii-ix.

(i) EDITORIAL WORK

- Editor of "Handbooks on the History of Religion".
 Editor in conjunction with Prof. Gottheil of the "Semitic Study Series".
 Editor of the Dept. of the Bible in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vols. i and ii.

Editor in charge of the Semitic Dept. of the *International Encyclopaedia* (several hundred articles).

Associate Editor of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*.

Associate Editor of the *American Journal of Theology*.

(j) UNPUBLISHED BOOKS AND PAPERS

Priest, Prophet and Rabbi. University of California Lectures.

The Ancient and the Modern East. (East and West; Greece as the Link between East and West; The Contribution of the Hebrews; The Place of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria.)

The War and the Eastern Question.

Papers and Addresses: Kant on Eternal Peace.—Job and the Mystery of Life.—Woman and Suffrage.—Purim.—English, French and German Culture.—Immortality among the Babylonians and Assyrians.—Biblical Criticism and Biblical Ethics.—The Essentials of Religion.—The Eastern Question at the Peace Conference.—New Lamps for Old.

(It is hoped that many of these compositions may be published.)

SHALMANESER III AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ASSYRIAN POWER

A. T. OLMSTEAD

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

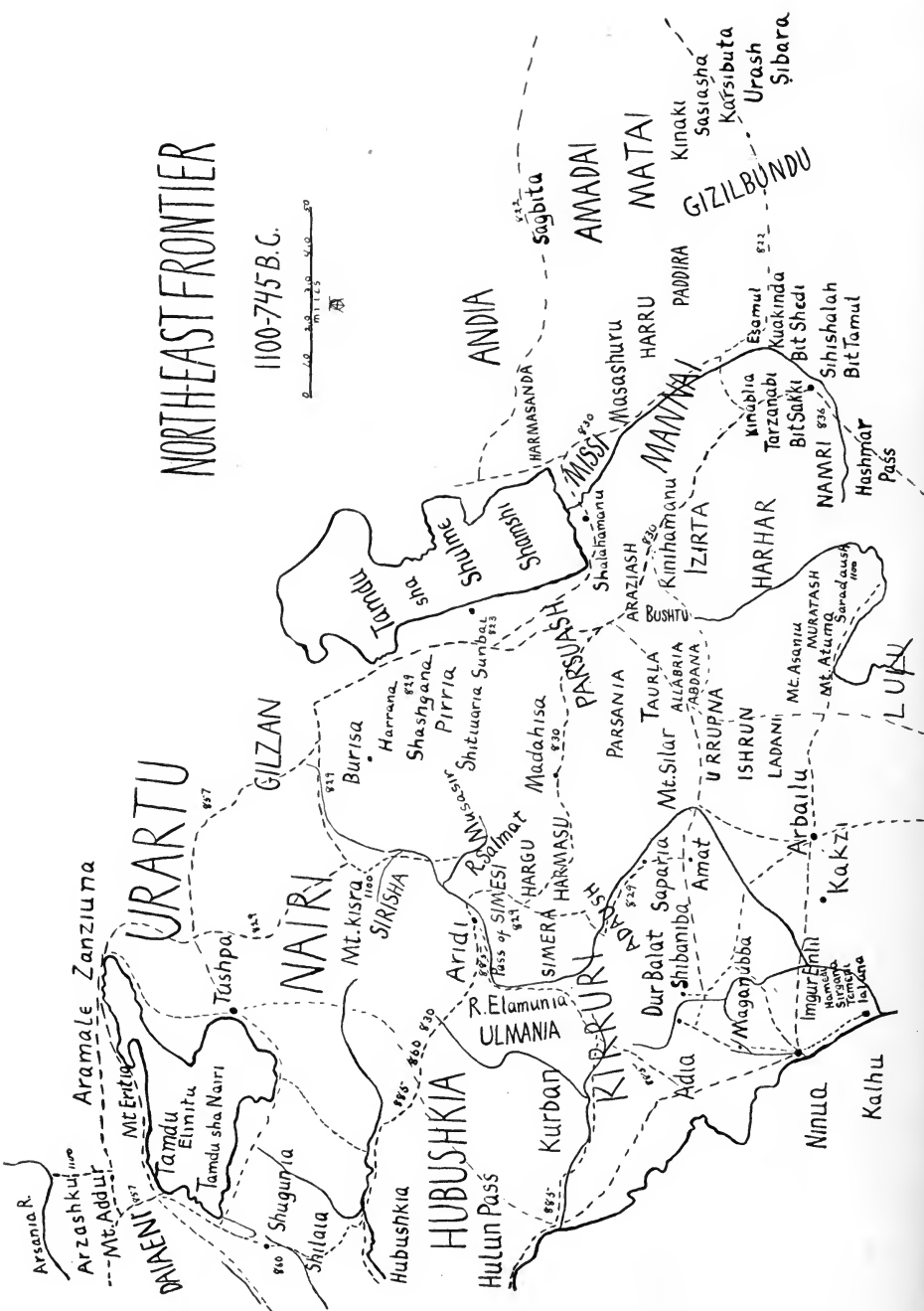
WHEN SHALMANESER III ascended the throne of his father in 860, he was no longer a young man, for the reign of Ashur-nasir-apal had lasted no less than twenty-five years, and he himself owned a son old enough to accompany him on distant campaigns two years later. His first step was to make a clean sweep of his father's officials, who were replaced with others nearer his own age. Ashur-bel-ukin was appointed *turtanu*; Ashur-bana-usur became the chief musician; Abu-ina-ekalli-lilbur, whose name, 'May the father grow old in the palace,' indicated a hereditary position, very appropriately was chosen chamberlain of the palace. Not one of the men who surrounded the person of the king or ruled in the provinces had previously held office high enough to be entered in the eponym lists.¹

Thanks to the efforts of Ashur-nasir-apal, the foreign situation was by no means threatening, though it offered encouraging opportunities for war if the new king cherished such ambitions. During the entire quarter-century, Assyria had enjoyed a peace with Babylonia which had never been formally broken, even when

¹ This article continues previous studies in the earlier history of Assyria in *AJSL* 36. 125 ff.; *JAOS* 37. 169 ff.; 38. 209 ff. The chief sources are the royal inscriptions, best published in N. Rasmussen, *Salmanasser den II's Indskriften*, 1907; for criticism of the sources and further bibliography, cf. Olmstead, *Historiography*, 21 ff. Added material is found in the Assyrian Chronicle, last publication, Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 344 ff. Most valuable are the Balawat Gate reliefs, Pinches, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat*, 1880; King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, 1915; cf. for discussion, Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 1 ff. The Babylonian expeditions are discussed in *AJSL* 37. 217 ff. The provincial development is investigated *JAOS* 34. 344 ff.; *Amer. Political Science Rev.* 12. 69 ff. Lack of space prevents discussion of the scanty cultural data, of the rise of the Haldian kingdom, and of the earlier Hebrew history. A map of the northeast frontier is given at the close of this article; four others will be found *JAOS* 38. 260 ff. My colleagues of the Cornell Expedition, Professor J. E. Wrench of the University of Missouri, and Dr. B. B. Charles of Philadelphia, have drawn my attention to added topographical data found in Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and Byzantine Greek, but all have been verified.

ORARIO

GILZAN



Nabu-apal-iddina violated his neutrality by sending troops to the support of the Assyrian rebels in the middle Euphrates valley. Neither on the east, where the restless Median tribes were just beginning to appear on the Assyrian horizon, nor on the west, where the Aramaean invasion for the moment had been checked, was immediate danger to be apprehended. Syria offered much valuable booty, but it was too disunited and too distant for any fear on the part of Assyria. On the north alone was there cause for concern. Urartu, or, to use the term preferred by the natives themselves, Haldia, was developing a formidable power behind the protection of the Armenian mountains, and had already forced a reluctant notice from the scribes of Ashur-nasir-apal. Indeed, the last recorded campaign of the reign had been necessitated by the intrigues of that state, and the failure of the official historians to mention the part played by Urartu was simply confession of failure to win back the lost laurels.

Nor did his son dare a direct attack on Haldia at first. In the very beginning of his accession year, for he had been enthroned early, Shalmaneser collected his foot-soldiers and his chariots and entered the defiles of Simesi land, the rough Tiyari region where almost to our own day the Christian mountaineers have preserved a hardly-won independence. No opposition had been previously encountered, mute evidence that the wars of his father on this frontier had not been without result, that the country to the immediate northeast of Nineveh now recognized the Assyrian overlordship. The first acquisition of the reign was Aridi, the fortress of Ninni, commanding the valley of the Upper Zab.² The scene of plunder, the pillar of heads, the burning alive of youths and maidens, indicated that the new king was to be no less harsh in dealing with rebels than his terrible father. In consequence, all the chiefs from whom Ashur-nasir-apal had exacted tribute, Hargians, Harmasians, Simesians, Simerians, Sirishians, and Ulmanians, appeared before his son.³

Climbing out of the Zab valley, Shalmaneser descended into Hubushkia⁴ by a mountain pass and over hills which reached to

² Aridi is probably Julamerik.

³ Mon. I. 14 ff.—The chronological difficulties as to separation of the first two years disappear if we use only the earliest source, the Monolith, and take the 'in the beginning of my reign in my first year' as lumping together the first two years, the date Airu XIII marking the dividing line.

⁴ Hubushkia is Sert according to the Sargon tablet, 307, Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, xi. The route was then by the pass back of Julamerik and down the Bohtan Su.

heaven like the point of an iron dagger, where a passage for the chariots could be made only with much labor on the part of the pioneers. The capital of the same name was soon a smoking ruin, and its Nairi prince, Kakia, after a struggle in the mountains, begged the royal pardon. The Haldian frontier was reached at Sugania, a tiny fortress perched upon a high rock at the junction of two small affluents of the Upper Tigris. Around the arched bridge it commanded, the Assyrians constructed a circular camp with a gate at either exit of the road.⁵ The king set forth in his chariots, attended by others in which were carried the standards. Arrived at the doomed city, he dismounted, and, still surrounded by his body guards, shot his arrows against the fortress. The main attack was launched by the archers, but sappers, protected by long leather robes, were employed to loosen the stones in the walls, and other soldiers attempted an assault with ladders. The natives resisted with bow and spear until the houses were fired, when they abandoned the struggle. Opposite the town, a pillar of heads was erected, and the survivors, naked save for the peculiar 'liberty caps' and up-tilted shoes, their necks bound in a yoke to a long rope and their hands tied behind their backs, were dragged before the official who stood, club of office in hand, to receive them.

Operations recommenced with a skirmish in the open. Opposed were the little Haldians, clad in short robes or entirely naked, armed with long or short lances, and defended by the short round shield and greaves. In their formation, pairs of archers and shield-bearing lancers, they had followed Assyrian custom. Fourteen of the surrounding villages went up in smoke, the men were impaled on stakes set in the wall, the severed heads were hung in the gates. The invaders cut down the palm trees, surprisingly far north until we remember that today they still flourish fruitless on the warm shores of Lake Van, and captive horses recall to our minds the fact that Armenia has always been famous for the fineness of its breed. The strangest trophy was a rough platform on wheels, so ponderous that eleven men were needed to pull it along by means of ropes over their shoulders. On it was a huge grain jar, no less than eight feet high, held in place by a man mounted beside it, and guarded by poles in the hands of the three

⁵ Sugania cannot be Shokh, the Kurdish name of Tauk, Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 420, as Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 8, since Hubushkia is now known to be Sert. The troops may have gone, not via Bitlis, but by the valley to the east where Sakh and Sakh Dagh may represent Sugania.

men behind. In camp, the grain was ground, the dough mixed on the floor, and the bread baked in the round mud oven. The eunuch camp-prefect made frequent trips in his chariot to oversee the collection of the booty, which was packed in camp under his business-like direction.

The army descended to a plain for its next encampment, a rectangular walled enclosure, studded with battlemented towers within whose protection, in one corner, stood the royal tent. Quitting this place, the army pushed on over mountains so steep and by roads so execrable that it was necessary for the attendants to drag the chariot horses up the slopes by main force. Without encountering further resistance, Shalmaneser reached Lake Van at a village where the mountains ranged about the curving shore. The procession to the water's edge was formed, first the two royal standards, then the monarch on foot, his high officials, the musicians playing on harps, finally the bulls and rams destined for the sacrifice. The royal effigy had been carved on a low cliff overhanging the water, where Shalmaneser appeared as he was wont to be seen on state occasions, richly robed and with scepter and tiara, but unarmed, in token of the peaceful character of his mission. The standards were set up, with a tall candlestick by their side, the king assumed an attitude of adoration, two bulls and four rams were slaughtered and presented on the three-legged altar before the stele, the libations were set forth in a jar on an ox-footed support. Portions of the slain animals were thrown by the soldiers into the lake to be consumed by the fish, turtles, and wild swine that swarmed the shore or the waters.

The raid had caused much damage to a corner of Haldia, but it was only a corner, and Arame, the Haldian king, had not even been engaged.⁶ Winter was approaching and the passes would soon be closed; Shalmaneser, therefore, decided to return, and by the same route. On his way, Asau of Gilzan brought in his gifts, the horses, cattle, and sheep we have come to expect, and with them two humped camels of the Bactrian breed.⁷ The winter months were utilized by Shalmaneser in securing recognition of his suzerainty in Babylonia. Nabu-apal-iddina made a formal alliance which brought him under Assyrian control as surely as

⁶ Arame is the traditional king of Armenia, Aram according to Moses of Chorene, I. 13 f.; cf. Rawlinson, *JRAS* (OS) 12. 446 n.1.

⁷ Account based primarily on the Balawat sculptures, eked out by the Monolith and by the topographical data.

any 'ally' of Rome; the gods acknowledged his direct rule when he sacrificed to Marduk and Nabu in Babylon and Borsippa.⁸

The Armenian campaign had been a mere reconnaissance in force, but it had indicated with sufficient clearness that it would be no easy matter to develop successes on this frontier, and it had suggested that the material returns might not pay the expenses of equipping an army. If plunder were desired, Syria always lay open to attack, and it was in this direction that the next offensive was planned. Lucky and unlucky days played a large part in Assyrian life; we realize the difference from the modern conception when we find the army leaving Nineveh on the thirteenth of Airu, the beginning of May. Hasamu and Dihnunnu were traversed, and the boundary of Bit Adini was reached at Lalate, whose inhabitants thought only of flight to the hills. A battle was contested under the walls of Kiraqa, and Ahuni, the new master of Adini, was forced to take refuge behind its fortifications. Resistance still continued and the Assyrian troops were in danger of attack from the rear. They did succeed in securing possession of the Aramaic settlement of Bur Marna, the 'Spring of our Lord,' and when the pillar of heads was set up, the threat was sufficient to bring in the contributions of Habini of Til Abni and of Gauni of Sarugi, whose name is connected with the Hebrew patriarch Serug.⁹

Rafts laid on inflated skins carried the Assyrians across the Euphrates to Qummuḥ, the tribute of Qataz-ilu was received as in 867, Paqarhubuni submitted,¹⁰ the domains of Adini were left behind, and the cities of Gurgum were reached in the plain about Marqasi, the modern Marash.¹¹ Shalmaneser was gratified by the gifts handed over by Mutallu, which included his daughter and

⁸ *MDOG* 28. 24 f. places the offerings before the account of the Anu-Adad temple and is dated in the month Muhur ilani, day five, year one of my royalty, that is, 859. The alliance, *Synchr. Hist.*

⁹ Hasamu, the Hasame of the Harran Census, is Hossīwe, on the west end of Jebel Abd el Azīz, Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, 59, n. 2. Schiffer, *Aramæer*, 64, on the basis of the Harran Census, restored Saru... as Sarugi, the well-known Serūj of later times. Kiraqa is restored by Rasmussen, *ad loc.* The country of Giri Adad is missing, but Sayce, *RP*² 4. 59, rightly restored Ashsha on the basis of Ashur nasir apal, Ann. 3. 94, where he is called Giri Dadi.

¹⁰ Here written Pakarruhbuni, identified by Streck, *ZDMG* 1908, 765 n. 2, with the land Paqaiyahubi written on a bone ring, Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 83. It must be near Samosata, as the Diarbekir-Samsat-Marash road was evidently taken.

¹¹ Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 95.

her dowry. When he turned southwest, he found his way blocked by a coalition of all the more important North Syrian chiefs which had come together at Lutibu. Ahuni of Adini, Sangara of Carchemish, Sapalulme of Hattina,¹² and Haianu of Samal were the leaders. The last country had already been known to the Egyptians as Samalua, and its present ruler, Haya, had been preceded by an unnamed father and a grandfather Gabbar.¹³ The conflict resulted in a tactical victory for the Assyrians, but the allies succeeded in preventing the siege of Samal and Shalmaneser had to console himself for the loss of its spoil with the barren honor of erecting a stele under the Amanus at the source of the Saluara River.¹⁴

The way was open to the south. The Assyrian forces crossed the Orontes and appeared before the Hattinian fortress of Alisir, not far from where in time to come was the site of the mighty city of Antioch.¹⁵ Again the allies blocked the way, aided now by Kate of Que or Cilicia,¹⁶ by Pihirim of Hiluka, the name whence came our Cilicia, though at this time it was north of the Gates, and by Bur Anata of Iasbuqa,¹⁷ an Aramaean as his name compounded with the goddess Anath shows. Again the allies went down to defeat and Bur Anata fell into the hands of the conquerors, but once more the victory was followed by no important results and Shalmaneser was forced to content himself with tribute from the 'kings of the sea coast.'

The quadrangular camp with overhanging towers was pitched on the seashore, and the king took his stand before it under an

¹² In *JAOS* 38. 247, I doubted the correctness of the reading Hattina for the more usual Patina. The spelling in the Boghaz Köi document, Ha-at-ti-ni-wi-na, Forrer, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1919, 1032, proves that I was too conservative.

¹³ List of Thothmes III, 314; Tomkins, *TSBA* 9. 251; H. 633; the native record, von Luschan, *Mith. Or. Sammlungen*, 14. 375; Littmann, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1911, 976; Šamālū was taken in 728 by Muawiya, Tabari in Brooks, *JHS* 18. 199; it was a part of the Syrian Thaghr and was taken by Harun al Rashid in 780, see al Baladhuri, 170; Yaqut, s. v. 'Ḍamālu (colloquial Samālu),' Hitti, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 263, but the Assyrian, as so often, proves the pointing of the Arabic.

¹⁴ For the Saluara River, cf. Sachau, *SB Berl. Akad.*, 1892, 329 ff.

¹⁵ Amiaud-Scheil, *ad loc.*, read Alimush.

¹⁶ So restored by Rasmussen on the basis of Obl. 132, as against Harper, *ad loc.*, who reads Kateshu.

¹⁷ Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 89 n. 2, compares the Ishbak of Gen. 25. 2. Add also Ada the *taian*?

umbrella, surrounded by his guards and attendants, the most important of whom were the three turtanus who faced him. The master of ceremonies, turning backward, beckoned for the ambassadors to approach. The two representatives of Tyre and Sidon, accompanied by their sons, thereupon advanced, their hands raised in adoration. Their beards were pointed, their double robes were long and clinging, their turbans were wound with ribbons which fell to their necks, their shoes were upturned. Behind them came the tribute bearers, some with trays filled with oriental sweetmeats, others with boxes on their padded shoulders or huge caldrons carried like caps on their heads. The last of the procession stood in the water to unload their boat, for it was too shallow to permit reaching the land. The boats were long, narrow craft, each with two men, who steered and rowed, or rather poled them along, by oars without oarlocks. Ropes attached to the upstanding heads of camels at the high prows and sterns held them fast to the shore. They were piled high with bales, dark blue wool, wool, lapis lazuli, shamu, ingots of gold, silver, lead, and copper. Cloth was carried on poles suspended from men's shoulders, and one great jar required special attention as it was handed from the boat to the shore. Whole trees and beams of cedar, in themselves sufficient to repay the Assyrians for the long trip, were brought down and piled up. Across the water could be seen a rocky islet, which bore a town with high battlemented walls and possessed two gates. From it came forth, their hands laden with gifts, the chief and his wife, her skirt tucked up, her hair flowing.¹⁸

A second stele was set up at Atalur, on a cliff by the seashore, where one day Antioch's seaport, Seleucia, was to be located, and where the king's predecessor, Ashur-rabi, had already left a memorial of his presence.¹⁹ The return journey was equally prosperous. The Hattinians, clad in short girdled tunics and protected only by round helmets and neck-pieces, were easily defeated in detail. The Assyrian soldiers seized them by the hair, stabbed

¹⁸ Schlumberger fragments, Lenormant, *Gazette Arch.*, 4, pl. 22 ff.

¹⁹ Obl. gives Lallar as the name of the mountain and this has regularly been quoted as if it had as good or better authority than Atalur. Our study, *Historiography*, 26 f., showing the inaccuracy of the Obl. for this earlier period, should forever banish Lallar from topographical discussions. The form Atalur is further confirmed by Mt. Atilur, following Libnanu (Lebanon), II R 51, 1. It cannot possibly be in the Alexandretta region (Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 79 f.), as a glance at the route placed on the map will show.

them, and decorated their chariots with the severed heads. Several of the Hattinian towns, Taia, Nulia, Butamu, fell into the Assyrian hands. Hazazu was a good-sized fort on a low artificial mound which witnessed to the respectable antiquity that already lay behind it. When the troops in heavy armor began the escalade and the town was already on fire, the townspeople could not resist. The king received his prisoners under a canopy held by his servants and placed before the round camp. Great was the contrast between the richly-clad Assyrian officials who introduced them and the long line of captives, some without a stitch of clothing, their necks in a rope and their hands tied behind them, the women with their hair hanging down their backs and clothed in gowns which reached only to elbows and ankles. Tribute from another Arame, the king of Gusi, closed the year.²⁰

The eponym office was assumed by the king himself in 858. Nineveh was again left on the lucky thirteenth of Airu. Accompanied by the crown prince, he hastened by the direct road to Til Barsip, the capital of Bit Adini, which commanded one of the most important fords of the Euphrates, where to this day the islands show in summer and a ferry crosses. The city was large as such cities went, the ramparts on the land side were strong, a quay cut to the river through the conglomerate testified to commerce by water, and the character of the people was indicated by the expected Hittite sculpture in basalt.²¹ Leaving the capital to be reduced in a later campaign, Shalmaneser crossed the stream

²⁰ Mon. I. 29 ff.; for Hazazu, cf. *JAOS* 38. 248 n. 67; F. J. Arne, *L'Anthropologie*, 20. 24, found seeming traces of palaeolithic remains at Tell Azāz. Taia is the Tae of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 144, the modern Kefr Ṭai, not far from Aleppo, Tomkins, *Bab. Or. Rec.*, 3. 6. Nulia may be Niara, Ptol. 5. 14, 10; Hartmann, *ZA* 14. 339. The sea is that of Antioch, Winckler, *Forsch.* 1. 104. Butamu is the Bādāmā of Yaqut, *s.v.*, in the Azāz district, 'its mention being in the tradition of Adam,' that is, it was believed to have had an early origin. For Gusi, note that Heraclius sent his brother Theodore against the Arabs, and they came to Gusit, a village near Antioch, where there was a stylite named Simeon, and here they were defeated by the enemy, Michael Syr., trans. Dulaurier, *JA* 4thS. 13. 321.

²¹ For Til Barsip, the present Tell Ahmar, cf. Thompson, *PSBA* 34. 66 ff.; Hogarth, *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*, 173 ff.; *Liverpool Annals*, 2, 177; Bell, *Amurath*, 28 ff.; Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 174, identifies it with a Greek Barsampse which I do not recognize.

in full flood and collected the plunder of six of the Adini cities.²² While the monarch remained in his camp with his eunuchs, the crown prince led his troops against Dabigu, a double-walled city with battlemented outworks in the plain, and defended against assaults by ladders or through mines by archers armed with short swords.²³ In the siege of Til Bashere, the king seated himself under a canopy erected between the camp and the beleaguered city, that he might watch the operation of a new contrivance, a ram on six wheels, directed by a man in a sort of cupola on the top, which was attacking the tower guarding the lone gate in the long wall. The defenders dropped stones upon it, but in vain; the city on the low mound which gave so commanding a position to the crusading Turbessel was taken, and the inhabitants deprived of hands and feet and impaled about the walls, above which projected the gable of the palace of 'Hittite fashion' so popular among the Assyrians a century later. The citizens of the upper town, bearded men wearing liberty caps, with long double robes open at the side and pointed shoes, were led with ropes about their necks; the matrons, their hair below the waist and bare-legged, followed meekly, and dromedaries and mules brought out the couches and other furniture which were considered worthy of removal. The whole convoy was under the direction of the crown prince, whose uncertain stand in his chariot was made easier by the protecting arm of his attendant. His presence was also indicated by the smaller tent at the side of the larger one occupied by his father and by the double guard which watched the camp.²⁴

²² The other four area(?)ga; Tagi, the Tuka of Tiglath Pileser IV; Surunu, the Saruna of the same, Rost, *Tiglat-Pileser*, 85, possibly Şauron east of Niara, more probably Sārūn northwest of Tell Basher; if the next is read as naturally, Paripa, it may with Sachau, *ZA* 12. 48, be identified with Paphara, Ptol. 5. 14, 10; if Patalpa, with Schiffer, *Aramäer*, 64, it might be connected with Tulupa, six miles from Turbessel (Tell Basher), William of Tyre, 17. 17.

²³ Dabigu is the modern Dābiq, Sachau, *ZA* 12. 48. The caliph Sulēmān followed the custom of his family in making it his headquarters during attacks on Maşşîşa; died here in 717 A. D., and was buried in the tell called Tell Sulēmān, Yaqut, s. v. In 778, Uthman made Dabekon his base against Germanicia-Marash, Theoph., 421, cf. 431.

²⁴ The same curious refusal to accept a reading which might connect with an important later site which has been manifested in the case of Anat and Bagdadu, is seen in Til Bashere. Sayce, *RP*² 4. 62 n. 1, cf. Hüsing, *OLZ* 1. 360, had already made the identification, but Peiser, *KB* 1. 160, after correctly transliterating in his text, in his translation follows Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 264,

Changing his direction, Shalmaneser fell upon the territories of Carchemish. The capture of Sazabē²⁵ brought the coalition to terms, and the narrative for the remainder of the year is made up of the list of tribute furnished by the various princes. That the numbers have grown in the process of transmission is to be expected, but in spite of this, we are given a valuable insight into the economic life of North Syria. The ruler of Hattina or Unqi brought three talents of gold, a hundred of silver, three hundred of copper, the same of iron, a thousand articles of that metal, a thousand dresses and cloaks, twenty talents of purple, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep. For its collection, it was necessary to penetrate the great swamp of Unqi, access to which could be gained only by flat-bottomed boats that could pass anywhere in the shallows. Two men, their long hair bound with fillets and their clothes as abbreviated as might be expected of an aquatic folk, rowed and steered them by oars hung in thongs, while the wild ducks flew before them. Shalmaneser did not trust himself to

with Mabashere. Hogarth, *Accidents*, 165, reports the find of many Hittite cylinders and other small objects, but wrongly calls it Pitru. It is referred to by Matthew of Edessa, 1. 5. Tell Bāshir was a fortified *qal'a* and an extensive *kūra*, inhabited by Armenian Christians, with outlying settlements and markets, well cultivated and peopled, Yaqut, *s. v.* Its greatest claim to fame is that, as Turbessel, it was the capital of the famous Crusader, Jocelyn of Courtenay, Rey, *Colonies franques*, 322. Gregory the Priest, the Armenian historian, *Rec. Hist. Crois., Hist. Arm.* 1. 162 ff., tells us that Masud, after the capture of Marash, invaded the territory of Thil Avedeatz, now called Thlpashar, in 1149; the next year he unsuccessfully attacked it; two years later it surrendered to the son of Zangi, lord of Aleppo, though the inhabitants were allowed to withdraw to Antioch. Dr. B. B. Charles, who visited it in the spring of 1908, writes as follows: 'The mound lies in the rolling plains five hours southeast of Aintab, and is the most impressive object in the whole region. It is long and narrow, about a hundred feet high, and is surrounded by a low ellipse of mound formation which marks the line of an early wall, with gateway at east and west. Just beyond the west gate is the ziarat of Qara Baba, "Black Father." Well-squared blocks of basalt and red pottery may indicate Hittite occupation. The mound is called Seraser or Seleser Hissār, which may be a Kurdish twisting of Sāry Hissār, Yellow Castle, or it may even be a corruption of Jocelyn.' Curiously enough, in 1837, its name was Qyzyl Hissār, 'Red Castle,' Poujoulat, *Voyage*, 1. 438. Sayce, *RP*² 1. 109, followed by Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, 20, is incorrect in connecting the Bishri of Tiglath Pileser I with Tell Basher.

²⁵ Sazabe may be the Shadbō of the Syriac Mār Mu'ain legend, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 268, and the Sesben of Thutmose III, 248, Tomkins, *TSBA*, 9. 245, Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 175.

such uncertain protection, but contented himself with a position on the shore across the water from where, on a low mound in the midst of the swamp, stood the capital, a double-gated fortress with battlemented walls. Under the parasol which the damp heat demanded, he received the Hattinian monarch, aping the Assyrian with his long fringed robe and shawl. With him were his nobles, with long hair on head and face, long robes carefully draped, and the inevitable Hittite upturned shoes. Among them was to be observed a man with a strongly negroid face, mute witness to race mixture. The plundering was thorough, and the attendants carried off their goods in baskets and sacks, skins filled with wine, trays heaped with valuables, tusks of elephants. From a smaller castle, also on a mound in the water, came other suppliants, bearing the same gifts, but with different dress, short robes which exposed their bare limbs, and the regulation shoes, Aramaeans who had forced themselves in by the side of their Hittite neighbors. A third castle in the swamps furnished additional gifts of horses and cattle, the latter to this day driven in huge herds along the watery ways. One of these Aramaeans trudged along, on his back a huge wine jar which was destined to be placed later on a tripod by the table under the tent which Shalmaneser had caused to be pitched some distance back from the shore. The tragedy behind the curt statement of the annals, 'his daughter with her rich dowry I received,' is sensed in the half-grown Hittite maiden, her hair barely reaching to her neck, who stretched out her hands in vain supplication to the relentless conqueror who had determined to immure her in his harem.²⁶

Sangara was not so rich as the king of Hattina, for the commer-

²⁶ References in Egyptian records and in the Amarna letters are to Coele-Syria, not to Unqi. The earliest certain reference is in 832 where the Assyrian Chron. uses it while the Obelisk has Hattina. Tiglath Pileser IV regularly uses Unqi, *Ann.* 92, 145.; 'Amq occurs in the native Zakar inscription. It was known to the Greeks as Amykes Pedion, Polyb. 5. 59, 10; and Amyke, Malalas, 1. 257. The form 'Umqa is said to occur in Syrian Martyrologies. The Romans from Marash sustained a defeat here in 694, Baladhuri, 189, cf. Brooks, *JHS* 18. 207, cf. 189. As a *kūra*, first of Antioch and then of Aleppo, it was the source of most of the grain which supplied the former city, Yaqt, *s. v.* In 1272, it was ravaged by the Mongols, the expedition of Lajin passed through it in 1298, in 1381 it was the scene of a decisive defeat of the Arabs from Aleppo by the Turkumans, Weil, *Gesch.*, 4. 73, 211, 539. Amai was occupied by John Comnenas in 1136, *Chron. L. Arm., Rec. Hist. Crois., Hist. Arm.*, 1. 616.

cial predominance of North Syria was yet to be gained by Carchemish. His gifts were but three talents of gold, seventy of silver, thirty of copper, a hundred of iron, twenty of purple, five hundred weapons, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep, horses, buffaloes, and goats, but he made up the account by presenting a hundred noble maidens, whom the scribe cynically lists between the weapons and the cattle. Four of Sangara's castles, all located along the banks of the Euphrates, on low mounds and without the usual overhanging platforms, were forced to disgorge. The citizens, headed by Sangara himself and his two beardless sons, were not unattractive; profiles less sharp than those of the Assyrians, noses straight, short hair and beards. The common sort had retained their ancestral garb, the conical twisted turbans, the long double robes, the upturned shoes, but Assyrian fashions had conquered the nobility, who wore the long single robe and the coat with plain sleeves which characterized the victors. Haianu of Samal offered ten talents of silver, ninety of copper, thirty of iron, three hundred articles of clothing, the same number of cattle, and ten times that number of sheep, two hundred cedar beams, two homers of cedar BE, as well as his daughter.

Whatever we may think of these indemnities, the direct result if not the direct incentive of the expedition, and however exaggerated these statistics may be, we have no reason to doubt the amount of the yearly assessments, for their very modesty is the best proof of their authenticity. Hattina gave a talent of silver, two of purple, a hundred cedar beams; Samal gave ten manas of gold, a hundred cedar beams, and a homer of cedar BE; Agusi gave ten manas of gold, six talents of silver, five hundred cattle, and five thousand sheep; Carchemish provided but a mana of gold, a talent of silver, and two of purple; Qummuh furnished twenty manas of silver and three hundred beams.

The interest of this passage is great. For the first time, we are afforded, not statistics of booty taken in raids, but a formal tribute list. Noteworthy is the disproportion between the indemnity demanded from those who resisted or rebelled and the annual tribute which was barely one percent of the other. It paid to submit.²⁷

Ahuni of Adini was not one of those who preferred an inexpensive submission, for in the very next year, 857, Shalmaneser was

²⁷ For fuller discussion, cf. Olmstead, *Amer. Political Science Review*, 12. 69 ff.

again called to the west. Inspired by the growing power of Haldia, Ahuni broke his pledges and led the whole of his army against the Assyrian border. The Monolith, erected four years later, describes in detail the manner in which Shalmaneser marched forth at the head of his troops for the third time on the same lucky thirteenth, the thirteenth of July; the contemporary record, set up in Til Barsip itself immediately after its occupation, admits that the operation was entrusted to his general. It was this general who drew nigh to the mountain which the enemy had chosen as a battle ground, who blew like the fierce windstorm that breaketh the trees, let fly his troops like a hawk against his opponents, and drove Ahuni like a thief out of the camp, so that the king might despoil his royal treasures. The name was changed to Kar Shulmanasharidu in honor of the sovereign whose fort it became. Two mighty lions of basalt, inscribed with a record of the conquest, were placed in the southeast gate, while inside the walls was a stele in basalt where Shalmaneser was to be seen addressing the rival prince with his conical cap.²⁸ The other occupied cities were given similar Assyrian names. Chief among them was Pitru on the Sagura river, known to readers of the Bible as Pethor, the home of Balaam, which had its name changed to Ashur-utir-asbat,²⁹ and Mutkinu on the opposite shore, where Tiglath Pileser had settled colonists, only to have them ousted by the Aramaeans in the days of Ashur-rabi.³⁰ Bit Adini was not completely Assyrianized, for a century later Amos saw the cutting-off of the scepter-bearer of Beth Eden still in the future, and its captivity was remembered as late as the days of Sennacherib (Amos 1. 5; 2 Kings 19. 12).

The season was still early and a far-reaching plan of operations had been worked out, with intent to punish the Armenian prince who dared contest the control of the Euphrates crossing. Turning back from the river, the Assyrians filed along the slopes of the

²⁸ Thompson, *PSBA* 34. 66 ff.; Hogarth, *Accidents*, op. p. 175; Bell, *Amurath*, 28 ff.

²⁹ That Pitru is the Pethor in Aram Naharaim of Numb. 22. 5; Deut. 23. 5, has been accepted since the earliest days of Assyrian study. It is the Pedru of Thothmes III, Müller, *Asien*, 291. Sayce, *PSBA* 33. 177, locates it at Seresat. The Sagura is the Sājūr, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 183. The other cities were Aligu (Asbat la kunu); Nappigi (Lita Ashur); Ruguliti (Qibit Ashur); Shaguqa, the Shaqīq Dabbin, a small fort near Antioch, Yaqut, s. v.

³⁰ *JAOS* 37. 180; 38. 211.

huge Sumu mountain down into Bit Zamani, and thence through the wild mountain paths of Namdanu and Merhisu to Enzite in Ishua. At the source of the Tigris, at Saluria and under Mount Kireqi, amidst the most savage of scenery and among tribes as wild today as they were when their ancestors resisted the march of Assyrian armies, the full-grown West Tigris emerges in a gorge whose walls had already been adorned with the sculptures of the first Tiglath Pileser. At this time, Shalmaneser carved the first of the reliefs which were to commemorate his visit to so astounding a spot.³¹

³¹ The Tigris Grotto was visited by the Cornell Expedition, but there is little to add to the excellent account of Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, 1. 430 ff.; *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 226 ff.; Belck, *Zif. f. Ethnologie*, 1899, 248 ff. The question of identifications has not been so successfully handled. The modern name is undoubtedly Belqalēn, as we established by repeated questioning, but this is as undoubtedly a Kurdish corruption of Dhi'l Qarnain, for in the days of Yaqut, *s. v.*, Dijle, the castle above 'Ain Dijle, was known as Ḥiṣn Dhi'l Qarnain, 'Alexander's Castle.' Dhi'l Qarnain, belonging to Amida, was conquered by Iyad in 639, Waqidi, quoted Tomaschek, *SB Wien*, 133. 4, 16, who also quotes Evlia Effendi as giving Shatt i Zhu'l Qarnain as the Tigris source, but I cannot verify the reference. Finally, Taylor, in the middle of the last century, heard the term applied to the whole country beyond the castle, *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 35. 42. In view of all this, it is difficult to see how Lehmann-Haupt can say 'Wenn die Kurden Bylkalēn mit Dhulkarnain in Verbindung bringen, . . . so ist dies eine jeglicher wissenschaftlicher Zulässigkeit entbehrende Volks-Etymologie,' *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 229 n.1. The identification is in its turn a misunderstanding, for which Yaqut himself affords the correction. According to an earlier account, for which he gives an elaborate pedigree, 'the first source of the Dijle is at a place called 'Ain Dijle, two and a half days from Amid, at a place known as Halūras, from a dark cavern.' He then inserts an interpolation referring to Nahr el Kilāb, the Arghana stream, as the first tributary, coming from Shimshat, and to Wadi Ṣalb, between Mayafarkin and Amid, that is, the Ambar Chai. The earlier account then continues 'It is said it issues from Halūras, and Halūras is the place at which 'Ali the Armenian suffered martyrdom.' Then comes a second interpolation taking up the tributaries, beginning with Wadi Sātidamā, which comes from Darb al Kilāb. We must insist on this interpolation, as otherwise our passage would refer to the Wadi Ṣalb which in reality is excluded as being an affluent, not the original stream. Halūras may be traced back to the Syriac Holūris and the Armenian Olorh (Vartan, quoted by Tomaschek, *l. c.*). The name is further seen in the pass Illyrison, near the pass Sapha, and eight miles from Phision, the modern Fīs, Procop. *Aed.* 3. 3; its earliest form is Ulurush, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 177, of 736. We may not compare Saluria, which survives in Salora on the Dībene Su just north of the town of that name. Nor may Illyrison be connected with Lije, for this is the Elugia of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 181, the Legerda (MS. legerat) of Tac. Ann. 14. 25,

The pass of Enzite next saw the advance of the Assyrian forces. Having thus penetrated within the border range, they crossed the Arsania, the eastern branch of the Euphrates, and entered Suhme, stormed its capital Uashtal, and took its ruler, Sua, prisoner. Thence they descended into Daiaeni, where they were again in territory once raided by Tiglath Pileser. Shalmaneser, if we may accept the double testimony of inscriptions and sculptures that he was present in person, was at last before the capital of Arame, Arzashkun, on a rocky elevation north of Lake Van, double walled and with towers. In the ensuing action, the little Haldians, armed with swords and javelins, and wearing helmets, short skirts, and pointed shoes, put up a good resistance, and even dared to seize the bridles of the cavalry and chariot horses in the vain attempt to stop the Assyrian advance. The mounted archers completed their discomfiture, the footmen stabbed them or hacked off the legs of the dead and wounded. They managed to reach the gates, and under the protection of their companions' shields, set fire to the city. The town was soon burning and the main body of the Haldians, hurrying through the mountains, found that they had arrived too late. Arame was driven back in confusion to the hills where he suffered a second defeat. The accustomed pillar of heads and the stakes with impaled prisoners were followed by the erection of a stele on Mount Eretia. Only then could the Assyrians march down to the lake and repeat the ceremonies which had marked the beginning of the reign.³²

as Lehmann-Haupt points out, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 439, n., though in *Ztf. f. Ethnologie*, 1899, 253, he argues that the correct form of the modern place is Lije, Ilije being folk etymology! For Kireqi, cf. Craig, *ad loc.*; Streck, *ZDMG* 1908, 759. Ishua is the Isuwa of the Boghaz Koi tablets, according to Streck, *Babyloniaca*, 2. 245. The identity of Alzi with Enzite is proved by Obl. 42 which gives all the names save Enzite whose place is taken by Alzi.

³² Mon. 2. 40 ff.—The start from the Tigris Tunnel proves the use of the pass called Citharizon in Byzantine times when it had a special official to guard it. Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 39, argues for the Harput pass, but this would be very roundabout from the Tigris Tunnel, and the distance actually traversed north of the barrier chain is too short for an advance from so far west. We ourselves came south through the Harput pass, but we went almost to Diarbekir before turning north again to the Tunnel. The Mush pass is too far east to be connected with Alzi. The Arsania is still called the Arsanias Su, and Suhme must be the region about Mush. Arzashku may well be the Ardzik west of Melazgerd, Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 61, n. 4. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1893, 71, identifies Akuri or Agguri near Ararat with Adduri. Eretia may be Ereshat near Arjish; just before were the cities Aramale and Zanziuna, with a king . . . utu.

Over mountains so high that the attendants must needs lead the chariots, the army continued to Gilzan, where camp was pitched before the chief castle which was situated on a high hill beyond a stream. The inhabitants, led by their chief Asau, were clad in the long double robe, up-turned shoes, and filleted hair, which characterised the Hittites and contrasted so strangely with their Semitic countenances. Some brought kettles on their heads or skins of wine slung over their backs; others drove horses, cattle, sheep, goats, not to forget the seven two-humped camels. To judge from the bronze door representations, they were barely the size of ponies; after the lapse of a generation, the Obelisk presented them grown to twice the height of a man, and the tribute had likewise grown, adding all sorts of minerals and royal robes. Asau was ordered to receive within his temple a stele of Shalmaneser, and the campaign was brought to a close by the capture of Shilaia, the fort of Kakia of Hubushkia.³³

So long-continued an expedition, sweeping around a stretch of territory a thousand miles in an air line, seems almost incredible, and perhaps the task was divided among various armies. Even if the hastiest of raids, it must have completely exhausted the Assyrians. Quite naturally, the year 856 witnessed but two campaigns of decidedly minor importance, in which the king took no part. Ahuni of Adini still persisted in his 'rebellion'; the castle of Shitamrat, on a steep rock by the side of the Euphrates, was taken in three days—according to the scribe who here quotes literally a passage from the records of the king's father.³⁴ The land of Zamua, so often visited by the troops of Ashur-nasir-apal, was now coming to be called Mazamua; the inhabitants fled before the Assyrian advance to a sea on which they embarked in ships of

³³ Mon. 2. 60 ff.—Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 43 f., takes the expedition due east across the boundary mountains, along the Khoi-Dilmun road, then due south and not far west of the Urumia sea, finally back to Assyria by the Keleshin pass. Something is evidently wrong with our source, the topographical confusion is so extraordinary, especially in the concluding statement that after the capture of a Hubushkian fort, the army came out by the pass Kirruri above Arbela. This, of course, is the worst nonsense, as a glance at the relative positions of Hubushkia, Kirruri, and Arbela will show. Perhaps the best conjecture is that the army went down the valley of the Bitlis Chai.

³⁴ Mon. 2. 69 ff.; cf. Ashur-nasir-apal, *Ann.* 1, 50 f.; Streck, *ZA* 19. 236. The Euphrates was not crossed, therefore the identification with Rûm Qal'a, Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 68 n. 3, is impossible.

urbate wood, but the invaders pursued on rafts of skins and 'dyed the sea with their blood like wool.'³⁵

The contemporary Monolith inscription gave no campaign for 855. A few years later, the door sculptures showed the subjugation of Anhite of Shupre. One scene illustrated the siege of Uburi. The main fortification was in three sections, each with a gate, the central portion on a high hill, the others on somewhat lower ones. There were two outforts, one already in the hands of the besiegers. The attack, under the personal direction of the king, was carried on entirely by archers, on foot or in chariots. An unnamed city was also shown, again situated on three hills. On one was an outfort, with the wall extending down to lower ground. From the crest of the next, the walls of the main settlement stretched across a gully and covered all the third elevation. What the captives had already suffered is indicated grimly by a high isolated pillar before which were heaped three piles of heads. The crown prince had already appeared in the battle, well protected by the tall shield in the hands of his squire; he now took charge of the train of captives, the men naked and yoked, the women in long robes, though the only hint of booty was a lone horse. The captives were presented to a high official, the governor of Tushhan, who stood at the gate of the walled city on a low hill. This campaign, which in reality was carried out not earlier than 853, was in later editions of the annals moved forward to fill the gap in the year 855.³⁶

A glance at the Assyrian Chronicle shows why the Monolith placed no foreign expeditions in this year 855. A new turtanu, Dan-Ashur, has by 854 taken the place of the Ashur-bel-ukin of 857, and a new chamberlain, Bel-bana, appears in 851. The former officials, we can hardly doubt, fell into disgrace as a result of a palace revolution, and it was this crisis at home which prevented an expedition.

We cannot too much regret the misfortune which has prevented us from learning more of this Dan-Ashur. We may be sure he was a man of exceptional force, for otherwise he could not have ruled Assyria, in spite of disaffection, for more than a quarter of a cen-

³⁵ Mon. 2. 75 ff.—For Mazamua, cf. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 38 ff.; the sea can only be Zeribor, *ibid.* 47. The route would be that back of Penjwin, Murray, *Guide*, 323, which probably is connected with the Bunagishlu pass. The cities are Nikdime and Nikdera.

³⁶ Bulls, 66 f.; restored from Obl. 52 ff.

ture. Near the end of this long period, from 833 onward, when he and his royal master had both long since passed their prime, the conduct of the wars was regularly entrusted to Dan-Ashur, and, what is still more to the point, the fact was mentioned in the royal annals. With this amazing tribute to the position he had secured, we may bracket the attempted pushing back of the period when he came to power. The same Obelisk edition which gives him such great honor, just once breaks its custom of dating by the regnal years. This is in 856, when the date given is the eponymy of Dan-Ashur, though the official from whom the year was actually named, Ashur-bana-usur, held that office in 826 as he had thirty years before! We shall meet Dan-Ashur again, as the cause for the great revolt at the end of Shalmaneser's reign.³⁷

Affairs at home once more in order, it was possible to turn to foreign conquests. In the opening days of May, the Assyrian armies undertook a new enterprise which was important enough in itself, and was to have still greater significance in the minds of modern students, for in this year 854 Assyria was brought face to face with a little state in Palestine which was to secure undying fame by its religion and its literature.

The first stop was at the river Balih, where a certain Giammu had retained his independence in the heart of Mesopotamia. The inhabitants feared at the royal approach, and themselves, that is to say, the Assyrian partizans, put Giammu to death. Shalmaneser entered the towns of Kitlala and Til sha Balahi, and proceeded to make the land an integral part of Assyria, in sign of which the Assyrian gods were placed in the temple and a ceremonial feast was celebrated in the palace of the late ruler. The booty from his treasury was carried off to Assyria, and the failure to name a new king indicated that the incorporation, long ago demanded by the necessities of the case, was at last being carried into effect.³⁸

The next objective was Kar Shulman asharidu, as Shalmaneser insists on calling Til Barsip, and once more the Euphrates was passed at its flood. At Ashur utir asbat, to which he grudgingly gives its native name of Pitru, he received tribute from the kings

³⁷ See further Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 347; *Historiography*, 27.

³⁸ Mon. 2. 78 ff.—The reading Til sha Balahi, Tiele, *Gesch.*, 200, is finally proved by the Palihi of the Boissier fragments, *RT* 25. 82; Tell Balikh is another name for the Tell Maḥra celebrated in Syriac literary history, Yaqut, s. v.

of the vicinity, among whom were Sangara of Carchemish, Kundashpi of Qummuh, Arame of Gusi, Lalli of Melidia; further up the Euphrates, Haianu of Samal, Kalparunda of Hattina and Gurgum. The goal of all his efforts in this region was Halman, as important then as a religious center as it is today, under its half-westernized name of Aleppo, as a center of trade and transportation. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, it had been brought by Subbi luliuma within the Hittite empire, its king had proved his loyalty by his death at the hands of the Egyptians in the battle of Kadesh, another ruler had made himself a subject ally by a treaty with Dudhalia, and a Hittite inscription still survives. Then there is silence until we find Shalmaneser sacrificing to the local Adad, in the central shrine for that most characteristic of West Semitic deities. In this manner, Shalmaneser made good his title to be considered, by gods as by men, the rightful ruler of North Syria.³⁹

³⁹ The earliest site of Aleppo was at Ain Tell, one hour north of the city, where neolithic remains were found by Neophytus-Pallary, *L'Anthropologie*, 25. 12 ff. The Ḫ'-r'-bw of the Amenemhab inscription may be Aleppo, Müller, *Asien*, 256; *Researches*, I, pl. 33. The chief of Ḫy-r'-b' at Kadesh, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 3. 161; cf. Breasted, *Records*, 3. 154; Ḫy-r'-p' of the Hittite treaty, 27, is taken as Aleppo, *ibid.* 171; but Müller, *MVAG* 7. 5. 38 argues that no North Syrian state is represented, and connects it with Herpa. It is Halba in the Boghaz Köi records, Winckler, *OLZ* 10. 351 n. 1. Petrie argues from its non-appearance in the Amarna letters that Nariba-Nerab is the earlier site, *Hist. Egypt*, 2. 316, but he forgets the Hittite inscription, cf. Olmstead-Charles-Wrench, *Hittite Inscriptions*, 44 ff. In the classical period, the name survived in the name of the stream, Chalos according to the reading of the MSS. in Xenophon, *Anab.* 1. 4. 9, the correct form being probably the Chalbās, Choerob. in Theodos. f. 44, in Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* 1430, the modern Quwēq. Seleucus Nicator changed its name to Beroea, App., *Syr.* 57; Yaqut, s. v. Ḥaleb. Here the Jewish high priest Menalaus was murdered by Antiochus Eupator, 2 Macc. 13 : 4; Jos. Ant. 12. 385. Demetrius II besieged his brother Philip here, and Strato, tyrant of Beroea, called in Mithridates the Parthian to take the Seleucid king prisoner, Jos. Ant. 13. 384. Heracleon of Beroea revolted from Antiochus Grypus in 95 B. C., Posidonius (4)4, *Athen.* 4. 38; Trogus, 39, actually says he reigned, that is, as king of Syria. His son Dionysius was later tyrant of Beroea, Strabo 16. 2, 7; cf. Unger, *Philologus*, 55. 116 ff. In the time of Strabo, l. c., it was a small town. The editors of the Delphine Pliny, ad 5. 19, read a coin of Antoninus Pius as Sy(riaca) Be(roea) L(egionem) E(xceptit), thus proving it the seat of a legion, and that this was at one time the IV Parthica seems indicated by the Kuartoparthoi from Beroea of Theophyl. 2. 6, 9. It was on the road of Julian, Ep. 27. Ptol. 5. 14, 13 makes Chalybonitis and Chalybon distinct from Beroea. As Beroea, it appears in the

Soon after, the invaders were in the territory of Irhuleni of Hamath, and no difficulty was experienced in looting the frontier cities and in burning the royal palaces within. Parga, for example, stood on a low artificial mound defended by a stream and by its high battlemented towers, above whose walls appeared to the wayfarer high buildings with flat roofs and many windows. The assault was launched under the protection of a small fort and was assisted by a moveable ram, or rather sow, with staring eyes, projecting snout, and heavy necklace, moved forward by a kneeling man behind whom stood archers encased in the rear. The defenders were unusually brave, for they fought from the open space in front, as well as from the walls.⁴⁰ Adennu, a smaller fort of the same character and with the same situation, was attacked by the king in person and with all his troops. It was finally taken by escalade,⁴¹ and the Assyrians advanced without further resistance up the Orontes valley, through orchards laden with figs, to Qarqara⁴². Although the fort was small and the mound on which it stood was not particularly elevated, its battlemented towers were much above the average height and its position was strategic, for its loss would permit direct attack upon Hamath.

At this point, Shalmaneser found his way blocked by a coalition of a size rarely seen in Syria. At the head, Shalmaneser places Bir idri or Hadadezer of Damascus, a name which certainly is not

Antonine Itinerary, 193 f., but not as a road center. As Callicome, it is a center to a route to Edessa, 191, and to Larissa, 195. The identity of the two is shown by identity of distance, 18 m.p., of Beroa-Calcida and Callicome-Calcida, cf. also the distance, 24 m.p., Callicome-Bathnas. At first, its church was under Antioch, Geo. Cypr., 861, later it became autocephalic, Nöt. in Gelzer, *Byz. Ztf.*, 1. 250. It last appears as Bārawwā, Yaqut, s. v. Ḥaleb. Among its captivities may be mentioned those by Chosroes, Chron. Edess. 105; by Nicephorus, Glycas, 570; by Timur, Neshri, ed. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 15. 360. The Arabic literature on Ḥaleb is enormous, and we may simply note the vivid picture by Ibn Jubair, 251 ff., and the reference to the Hittite inscription, ascribed to Ali b. Abu Talib.

⁴⁰ Dhorme, *RA* 9. 155, identifies Barga with the place in Amarna, K. 57. The third city was Argana.

⁴¹ Adennu is the modern Dānā in the Jebel er Rihā in the center of one of the ruin fields explored by the Princeton Expedition. It is the Atinni of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 130; and probably the Adinnu of the letters H. 314, 500, 642, as well as the Atinu of H. 762, cf. Johns, *AJSL* 22. 229. Hartmann, *ZDPV* 23. 145, however, identifies with Tell Lotmīn, northeast of Hamath, the al Aṭmīn of Yaqubi, Sachau, *ZA* 12. 47.

⁴² For Qarqara, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 52.

the same as the Biblical Ben Hadad, but whose relation to the other known rulers of that city is shrouded in mystery.⁴³ According to the Assyrian statistics, his troops consisted of twelve hundred chariots, the same number of cavalry, and twenty thousand foot. Irhuleni comes next with seven hundred chariots, the same number of cavalry, and ten thousand foot. Somewhat to our surprise, the third place is taken by Ahabbu of Sirla' or Ahab of Israel, though this particular incident is not mentioned in the sacred book. Exaggerated as the two thousand chariots and the ten thousand soldiers assigned to him may be, they do prove that Israel was a fairly considerable state as states went in Syria, while the fact that Ahab has the largest number of chariots found in the coalition is the more remarkable since the Biblical narrative of the wars with Ben Hadad imply that Israel was particularly deficient in this respect. Of the less important contingents which played a part in this epoch-making conflict, we have five hundred Guai from Cilicia, a thousand Egyptians, whose aid may not be unconnected with the appearance of the name of Osorkon II in Ahab's palace at Samaria,⁴⁴ a series from the Phoenician states, ten chariots and ten thousand foot from Irqanata, two hundred from Mattan baal of Arvad, the same from Usanata, thirty chariots and ten thousand foot from Adoni baal of Shiana, a thousand camels from Gindibu, the Arab, first indication that the true Arabs are following the Aramaeans in their invasion of the Fertile Crescent, and ten thousand foot from Baasha, the son of Ruhubi, the Ammonite.⁴⁵

⁴³ The whole problem is discussed in detail by Luckenbill, *AJS* 27. 267 ff.

⁴⁴ Reisner, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 3. 248 ff.

⁴⁵ Irqanata is the Erkatu ('r-q'-tw) of the 42d year of Thothes III, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 3. 30; Müller, *Asien*, 247; Breasted, *Records*, 2. 214 f., the Irqata of the Amarna letters where the mention of Šumuru (Simyra-Sumra) shows it to be identical with 'Arqa, Gen. 10. 17, which has the same form, 'Arqa, in the annals of Tiglath Pileser IV, 146. For the classical Arke-Caesarea and the modern 'Arqa, cf. Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, 3. 579. Usanata is the Usnu of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 146. The order is Simirra, Arqa, Usnu, Sianu. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 282, identified it with Qal'at el-Hošn, but there is no proof that this was occupied until crusading times; also, it was on the sea shore, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 125. It may be Orthosia-Artuzi, whose earlier name is unknown. Shiana is the Siana of the Tiglath Pileser passage, the Sin of Gen. 10. 17; and the Sinnas of Strabo, 16. 2. 18, in the mountains not far from Botrys-Batrūn. It is usually identified with a certain Syn, 'ein halb Meile vom Nahr 'Arqa,' mentioned by Breitenbach in his *Reise* of 1486-87, quoted, Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, s. v. Sini, but the place is absent on later maps and we heard of no such locality when in this region.

On their own confession, the battle did not begin auspiciously for the Assyrians. The king ensconced himself in a tent set up on a rock near the river. The sculptures make a very unusual admission, for they show the troops of Hamath, archers with pointed helmets or in chariots much like the Assyrian, pressing over the Assyrian dead to meet the main forces of the king. The written record claims a complete victory. The blood of the vanquished was made to flow down over the passes of the district, the field was too narrow to throw down their bodies, the broad field alone availed for their burial, and at that, their corpses blocked the Orontes like a dam. The number of slain grew with the passage of time, from fourteen thousand to twenty thousand five hundred, to twenty-five thousand, to twenty-nine thousand. Pursuit was continued from Qarqara to Kilzau and to the Orontes,—and the Monolith inscription comes to a sudden end. Had this famous conflict, because of its connection with Israel perhaps the best known of Assyrian battles, been the overwhelming victory claimed, we should not have to record the careful avoidance of Syria which marks the last few years.⁴⁶ Immediately after the battle, the coalition fell to pieces, and Ahab determined to attack his late ally, the king of Damascus. With the aid of Jehoshaphat of Judah, Ramoth-Gilead was besieged, but Ahab met his death and the host disbanded (2 Kings, 22).

Our written records give for the year 853 a raid against Habini of Til-Abni. Without the sculptures, we should never have suspected the importance of the expedition or of Habini himself. His reception was in truth very different from that accorded other conquered rulers. He did indeed make obeisance, bowing his head before the king as he stood resting on his bow, but he made his approach from his fully fortified camp, in chariots which in form as in trapping of the horses were in the best Assyrian style, and he was accompanied by attendants who exemplified all the latest fashions of the Assyrian upper classes. Their hair hung in a mass at the nape of the neck, and their beards were long and square cut, like that of Shalmaneser himself, and in sharp contrast to the pointed beards affected, not only by the princes of the other subjugated peoples, but by the lower class Assyrians as well. Habini wore the long fringed robe and the fringed jacket with diagonal opening, and had just laid aside his ornamented Assyrian sandals.

⁴⁶ Mon. 2. 87 ff.; zigat, Delitzsch, *MDOG* 36. 16; Olmstead, *Historiography*, 22.

In him, we obviously have a ruler well out of the ordinary, thoroughly Assyrianized, and too important to be harshly treated.

Turning north, the Assyrians reached the town of Kulisi,⁴⁷ a small castle on the Tigris with double wall and two-storied gateway. The inhabitants, with the short skirts and round Haldian shields, were stabbed and mutilated, their severed limbs piled in heaps, their heads covered the burning city. Their rebel chief and his followers were impaled naked about the walls or along the river.

Up the valley of the Tigris the Assyrians continued until they reached the 'source of the Tigris, the place whence the waters flow, the cave of the river' pictured in the sculptures. In one scene, the mountains sweep in a long curve around the water, on the far side of which is a fortress, with square gateway between towers. Stone pillars with round balls on their tops flank the opening. In the water, a sculptor works, mallet on chisel, at a representation of the king, which is complete save that the surrounding cartouche is still to be incised. So perfect is the royal figure that an official already stands on a platform erected among the rocks and adores his master's effigy. Other Assyrians lead up a ram for the sacrifice and drag on his back a reluctant bull destined to meet the same end. In a second scene, we have a long parade of soldiers, foot and horse, up the course of the stream. At their head is the king, whose sad lack of horsemanship is indicated by his riding straight-legged and with huge stirrups tied to the horse-blanket, not, in the only fashion known to the oriental expert, with hunched-up knees and bareback. The royal chariot and those which bear the standards are, of course, a part of the picture and so are the calf and the ram destined for the sacrifice. Through three openings, we see trees and soldiers, waist-deep in the icy waters, who uphold torches to lighten the gloom. On the rock at the entrance is the niche with the conventional royal figure, while on a smaller rock in the water stands the sculptor putting on the finishing touches under the direction of the official who stands by his side. The accuracy of the picture is proved by the reliefs surviving unto this day, one on the wall of the passage where the Tigris for the moment comes to the light before again plunging into the mountain, the other in a huge upper cave decorated with great stalactites and stalagmites, where in prehistoric times the river once found its

⁴⁷ The royal city of Mutzuata.

outlet. Above still towers the cliff up which lead rock-cut stairs, and on its summit are the terraces that mark the site of the settlement which once dominated the source of the sacred stream.⁴⁸

The two years which followed were occupied by the Babylonian troubles.⁴⁹ From 850 to 837, our information is scanty in the extreme. Such and such an event took place in such and such a year of the reign, that we may confidently set down, but details of strategy and topography elude us. At first, the west demanded attention. The still unconquered cities belonging to Sangara of Carchemish were reduced and then came the turn of Arame, king of Agusi. His capital, Arne, was unusually well-defended. It was situated on a high mound, its walls were of a decided height, and instead of the usual adobe, stone was used in its construction, the resulting slope presenting very real difficulties to the attacking party. An action before the walls forced the natives to retire within their fortifications, but the fight was continued by the bowmen on both sides. The Assyrian reserves hastened from the distant camp over the dismembered bodies which still covered the ground from the former battle, and assaulted the city to such effect that it fell an easy prey with all its animal wealth.⁵⁰

In those days, Shalmaneser contested another battle further south with the twelve Syrian allies, headed again by Bir-idri and Irhuleni. The cities of Sangara and of Arame were raided the next year (849). Passing along the line of the Amanus, he overran Mount Iaraqu and descended into the lower-lying cities of Hamath. He first encamped before Ashtamaku, a double-walled and battle-mented fort on a low mound. The attack was confided to the crown prince, who, at the head of his cavalry and chariots, rode over the dead in pursuit of the fleeing leaders of the enemy. One

⁴⁸ Bulls, 75 ff.; cf. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 455; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, 1. 430 ff.

⁴⁹ Discussed in detail, Olmstead, *AJSL* 37. 217 ff.

⁵⁰ Bulls, 84 ff.; cf. Maspero, *PSBA* 20. 125 ff. Arne, the Arnu of H. 321 and the Arranu of H. 502, may possibly be identified with Qarne, from which we have horses along with those from Kusa (Caesum?), Dana, Kullania, and Isana, all in this general region, H. 372; Pinches, *PSBA* 3. 13. This may be the Qarnini of the revenue list, III R, 53, 36, and the Karna of the Medinet Habu list of Ramses III, Sayce, *PSBA* 25. 310. Agusi appears again in 743, when it was under Mati ilu, Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 60 ff.; and as the Gusit near Antioch of Michael the Syrian, trans. Delaurier, *JA* 4 Ser., 13, 321. The reliefs add *agda*.

of them escaped up the slope to the city, the horse of the other stumbled and the occupant was compelled to stretch out his hands in surrender. The archers shot at the city until the dead hung down over the walls and the defenders begged for mercy. Another city, in a grove of scrub oak near the river, was taken by escalade, and the decapitated heads of its defenders floated along on the waves of the stream. Bir-idri and the allies who had come to the help of Irhuleni were defeated, and ten thousand of their troops destroyed. Irhuleni was shut up in his double-walled fortress with its gable-roofed houses, where he had made himself comfortable on a couch of Assyrian form, with the flay flapper and shawl of the eunuch attendant and with the long fringed robe and drapery of an Assyrian monarch. These could not protect him from the Assyrian fury and he too was forced to ask for quarter. Irhuleni was permitted to retain his Assyrian dress, even to the pointed helmet, provided only he bowed down in worship, and the youthful prince destined to be his successor was allowed to approach in his chariot and surrounded by his fellows; the common people were treated more roughly, their clothes stripped off, their necks inserted in a yoke, their women in too scanty clothing bewailing their disgrace with hand raised to head. On his return journey, Apparanzu, one of Arame's villages, was taken, and the Assyrians received the tribute of the Hattinian Kalparunda, gold, silver, lead, horses, and cattle, sheep and clothes. The campaign was ended, as was many another, by the cutting of cedar beams in the Amanus.⁵¹

Only a raid across the upper Euphrates to Paqarahubuni in the mountains marked the year 848, and the next saw only one against Iatu, reached by the pass of the Ishtars and so in Kashiari.⁵² The year 846 again found Shalmaneser fighting the allies in central Syria. They had proved, in spite of his boasts of victory, no mean enemies, and he now made one supreme effort to overcome them. The 'numberless levies of troops from the whole of his wide extending dominions were called out' to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand, a maximum for the size of the Assyrian armies and an indication of the gravity of the crisis. The supreme effort

⁵¹ Bulls, 90 ff.—Apparanzu is Abarraza of the Antonine Itinerary, on the Ciliza-Zeugma road, a genuine route, though the distances are far too small. Perhaps the Kiepert map identification with the Baraja on the Quwēq is correct.

⁵² JAOS 38, 213.

was made and Syria remained unconquered. Haldia was, therefore, emboldened to adopt a forward policy, and the more pressing needs on this frontier permitted Syria to rest for the present. The sources of the Tigris were again reached, and another rock record was prepared, the barrier range was penetrated by the Tunibuni pass, and the Haldian cities were overrun as far as the sources of the Euphrates. Such sacrifices as the sacred spot demanded were offered, and the rock was inscribed not far from where the tribute of Daieni was received from its ruler Asia.⁵³

An expedition to the Armenian highlands was once more followed by a period of inactivity. The year 844 witnessed merely a brief campaign, into Namri land, across the river Azaba, the Zab, and against Marduk-mudammīq, whose good Babylonian name testified to Babylonian influence in this neighbor land. On the Assyrian approach, he took to the hills, leaving behind his riches and his gods, and his vacant office was granted to a new ruler whom we know only as Ianzu, the native Kashshite word for king.⁵⁴ For the succeeding year, the scribe could think of nothing but a cedar-cutting trip to the Amanus.⁵⁵

Conditions had become more propitious in central Syria by 842. At the instigation of the Hebrew prophet Elisha, Ben Hadad, if he be the same as Hadadezer, had been smothered while sick, and Hazael, the usurping son of a nobody, had taken his place (2 Kings 8. 7 ff.). The confederacy completely broke down as a result and the war with Israel entered a more active phase with the attempt of Jehoram to win back Ramoth-Gilead. Where the Barada breaks through the Anti-Lebanon, under Mount Sanir,⁵⁶ Hazael

⁵³ Bulls, 98 ff.—All the Tigris inscriptions, latest edition, Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, 31 ff., seem to date from this expedition, cf. especially Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1900, 455. The Cornell expedition secured squeezes of these inscriptions, now deposited in the Oriental Museum of the University of Illinois through the kindness of Dr. B. B. Charles of Philadelphia. From the Tigris source, the Assyrians could have entered Armenia only by the Citharizon or the Mush pass; the former is eliminated by identification with that of Enzite, therefore it must be the latter.

⁵⁴ The Kashshite vocabulary, first published Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, 25; better by Pinches, *JRAS* 1917, 102.

⁵⁵ Obl. 93 ff.

⁵⁶ Saniru must be placed about Suq Wadi Barada, where the river of that name breaks through the Anti-Lebanon, with which agrees the location of Sanir north of Damascus by the Arabs, e. g., Baladhuri, 112. The gloss in Dt. 3. 9, in its present form, states that 'the Sidonians call Hermon Sirion and the Amorites call it Senir,' which disagrees with the Assy-

made his stand, but his fortified camp was stormed with a loss of sixteen thousand foot, eleven hundred and twenty-one chariots, and four hundred and seventy cavalry. The Assyrians felled the orchards which filled the fertile valley and appeared before Damascus. The walls were too strong for assault and Shalmaneser had not the patience for a formal siege, so was forced to content himself with a plundering raid in the Hauran mountains, to the east and south, whose rich volcanic soil, then as now, made it the granary of the Syrian area.⁵⁷

Shalmaneser then struck back to the coast, through that plain of Esdraelon which has always been the route from Damascus and the Hauran to the sea. On a projecting cliff which he calls Bali-rasi, 'Baal's Head,' and which may well be intended for the projecting headland of Carmel where Elijah had contended with the priests of Baal a few years before, he placed a stele.⁵⁸ Shortly after, he received tribute from the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and Iaua of the house of Humri, or, being interpreted, Jehu, the son of Omri.⁵⁹

ian and Arab location, unless we attach Senir to the whole Anti-Lebanon including Hermon, which is improbable. The gloss seems to have been earlier than the Chronicler, though the manner in which he states, 1 Chron. 5. 23, that the half tribe of Manasseh increased 'from Bashan to Baal Hermon and Senir and Mount Hermon,' shows that he did not have it in its present form. That the addition of Mount Hermon is not, with Curtis, *ad loc.*, 'a phrase explaining Senir as Mount Hermon,' is shown by the Greek, where Lebanon is added and is no doubt original. The author of Canticles 4. 8, a North Israelite, also realized that they were separate, though closely connected. Ezek. 27. 5 shows the use of fir trees from Senir for ship planks. A striking fact which should not be overlooked is that the Greek on Dt. 3. 9, with the exception of the single MS. x, almost the most Massoretic of all the Greek MSS., Olmstead, *AJSL* 34. 152, does not support the reading Sirion at all but gives the Phoenician name of Hermon as Sanior, that is, the same consonants as Senir.

⁵⁷ *KTA* 30; Rogers, *Parallels*, 298 f.; for death of Hadadezer, cf. Luckenbill, *Exp. Times*, 23. 284.

⁵⁸ Identical in name, though not in location, with the Theuprosopon south of Tripolis, Strabo 16. 2, 15. The current identification is with the Dog River north of Beirut, where we actually have several unidentified stelae, Sayce, *RP²* 4. 44, n. 2; cf. Boscawen, *TSBA* 7. 341. Against it is the lack of proof for the use of the Beirut-Damascus road in antiquity and the difficulty of return from the Hauran by this route; there is no statement that the king visited Tyre and Sidon, though the order of mention might indicate passage from south to north, in which case the old camel route, now the line of the railroad from Damascus to Haifa, would have been followed.

⁵⁹ *III R.* 5, 6; Bulls, Supplement.

After Ahab's death before Ramoth-Gilead, his weakly son Ahaziah reigned two years (853-852) and in want of issue was followed by his brother Jehoram (852-842). The next year, the long reign of Jehoshaphat came to an end and another Jehoram ruled Judah (851-843). Jehoshaphat had been a loyal vassal of Ahab and we can hardly consider the identity of name accidental. Mesha of Moab revolted and declared in his unique inscription that he saw his pleasure on Omri's son, so that Israel perished with an everlasting destruction.⁶⁰ We must be selfishly thankful that he caused it to be inscribed before the episode was finished, when Moab was wasted by the invasion of the three kings, and only the sacrifice of his first-born forced them to decamp hurriedly (2 Kings 3). The usurpation of Hazael offered excellent opportunities to reclaim Ramoth-Gilead, but its successful siege only led to the usurpation of Jehu and the murder of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah (843-842) of Judah.

By the religious reforms of Jehu, Yahweh ruled supreme in the royal court, but it was not so sure that he held first place in men's hearts. Tyre of necessity opposed his rule, and Athaliah, with the manly spirit of her mother, took over the inheritance of her murdered son and Baal's house received the dedications of the Yahweh temple. As Shalmaneser passed through Israelite territory, Jehu appeared before him and the reliefs of the Black Obelisk immortalize the Hebrew ruler as he bowed to the earth before the great king and his attendant eunuchs. A file of men in long double garments brings huge ingots of unworked metals, gold, silver, and lead, small golden pails of not inartistic design, bowls, cups, and ladles. Some carry on their backs sacks filled with precious objects, one holds a scepter, another raises aloft a high thin drinking goblet, others bear bundles of weapons (III R 5, 6).

For the years again succeeding, the Assyrian material is most scanty. A cedar-cutting trip to the Amanus in 841 confirms the success of the year previous, and the invasion of Qaue in the year following was a belated chastisement of the forces which had taken part in the battle of Qarqara fourteen years before. For 839, the official scribe has carelessly omitted the campaign; the Chronicle and the sculptures on the Obelisk show that it was against Marduk-

⁶⁰ Latest edition, S. Sidersky, *Rev. Archéologique*, 5 ser. 10. 59 ff., with bibliography.

apal-usur, the ruler of Suhi on the middle Euphrates.⁶¹ The Obelisk shows the wild beasts in the palm groves along the river, the tribute of golden pails, bowls, the bars of lead, the elephants' tusks, the varicolored cloths draped over poles and carried between two men.

There succeeded a campaign against Danabi in North Syria and a last attempt to reduce the cities of Hazael in 838 was no more of a success. Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus furnished fresh proof that the Phoenicians were prepared to pay any reasonable tribute if their control of the trade routes should be free from interference; Hazael was a different proposition and Shalmaneser was forced to be content with placing on a bit of black marble the ludicrously inappropriate inscription 'Booty from the temple of the god Sher of Malaha, residence of Hazael of the land of Damascus, which Shalmaneser, the son of Ashur-nasir-apal, king of Assyria, brought within the walls of the city of Ashur'.⁶²

The complete failure of Assyria in the west meant ruin for those who had taken her side. Hazael again began to attack Jehu, and

⁶¹ Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 9 ff., has shown that the third line of the obverse of the Chronicle fragment Rm. 2, 97, is to be restored Su(?)—hi instead of Qum-muhi as I have done, that the scribe has omitted this from the Obelisk inscription, although leaving traces in the numbers of campaigns and in spite of the pictured representations. He has also shown that Shulmu-bel-lamur, eponym of 840, should be assigned to Ahi-Suhina. Thus all my attributions of office and place attacked should be shifted one move until the eponymy of Shalmaneser. This is confirmed by the appearance of the same officials in the same office elsewhere and fills the gap of office in 829 in my edition. Unfortunately, he does not know my studies of the Chronicle, published in *Sargon*, 1908, and in *JAOS* 34. 344 ff., 1914. In general, his reconstructions of the various documents were anticipated, but his independent discovery has corroborative value. All dates before 785 are reduced by him one year, as he explains the difficulty in the group 789–785 as due to two eponyms in one year for 786; I still prefer my explanation of scribal error as worked out in the complete edition. He begins the Sargon fragment with 720, ascribes lines eight to ten to 713, and the last four and two respectively to 707 and 706. Again I may state that my earlier reconstruction and dating seem preferable. In particular he notes that while we knew of a trip in 713 to Ellip, 'dass auch eine Unternehmung nach Musasir stattfand ist neu,' though thirteen years ago the whole matter was discussed in my *Sargon*.

⁶² Obl. 99 ff.; *Assyr. Chron.* for Qummuh in 841 and Danabi in 839; the marble 'perle', *KTA* 26; *MDOG* 39. 45. Danabi is Tennib SSW. of 'Azāz, Nöldeke, *ZÄ* 14. 10; the Tinnab, a large town of Aleppo, Yaqut, s. v. It is very doubtful if it is to be identified with the better known Tunip of Egyptian times, cf. Müller. *Asien* 257 f.

the whole of the east Jordan country, Gilead and Bashan, the tribal territories of Gad, Manasseh, and Reuben, to Aroer on the Arnon which a few short years ago Mesha had boasted his own, fell into his hands (2 King 10. 32 ff), and Amos condemned the manner in which Damascus had threshed Gilead with threshing implements of iron (Amos 1. 3 ff). Jehu was more successful in the sister kingdom, where Athaliah (842-837) by her insistence on the ancestral Baal cult had alienated the powerful priesthood of her adopted country. The infant son of Ahaziah had been saved by his aunt Jehosheba from the slaughter of the remainder of the seed royal; her husband Jehoiada, the chief priest of Yahweh, persuaded the foreign body-guard to support the legitimate claimant. Athaliah was slain, and the enraged populace destroyed the Baal temple with the Tyrian priest Mattan.

Jehoahaz (815-799) was still less able to defend himself against Hazael, who took for himself the whole Philistine plain, and Jehoash (837-798) of Judah saved himself from complete ruin only by sending to Hazael all his treasures. The son of Hazael, the last Bar-Hadad, was a man of lesser caliber, and Israel recovered its lost cities (2 Kings 12 f.; 6 f.).

Foiled in the south, Bar-Hadad turned his attention to North Syria, where Hamath was now ruled by a certain Zakar, who in all probability came originally from Laash, the Luhuti of Shalmaneser's record, for he adds it to Hamath as territory ruled. Thanks to his god, Baalshamain, he was made to rule in Hazrak, the Biblical Hadrach and the Assyrian Hatarika, on the Orontes a short distance south of Hamath.⁶³ If before this Hazrak had belonged to Damascus, we can understand why Bar-Hadad formed an alliance against him. Of the ten kings, we have mention of Bar-Gush, king of Agusi or Arpad, the king of Quhweh or Cilicia, the king of the Umq we have learned of as the equivalent of Hattina, the king of Gurgum, the king of Samal, the king of Meliz or Melitene; it is the usual catalogue of the kings of North Syria. They fell upon him suddenly and all laid siege to Hazrak, raised a wall higher than the wall of that city, and dug a ditch deeper than its moat. Then did Zakar lift up his hands to Baalshamain and Baalshamain answered him and sent by the hand of seers and men expert in numbers and thus did Baalshamain say: 'Fear not, for I have made thee king and I will stand by thee and I will

⁶³ For the exact site, concealed by Pognon, cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3. 175.

rescue thee from all these kings who have made siege against thee.' So Zakar appointed men of Hazrak for charioteers and for horsemen to guard her king in the midst of her, he built her up and added a district to her and made it her possession and made it his land. And he filled with men all these fortresses on every side and he built temples in all his land. The stele, written in a curious mixture of Aramaic and Phoenician, did he set up before Al-Ur, not to speak of his other gods, Shamash and Sahar and the gods of heaven and the gods of earth, and upon it he wrote that which his hands had done.⁶⁴

Thus the western policy of Assyria was a failure, her friends suffered, and the only interest of succeeding campaigns lies in the new fields attempted. Through Nairi, the Assyrians marched to Tunni, a mountain of silver, *muli*, and white limestone, took cut stone from the quarries, and left in return a stele. They ended with Tabal or eastern Cappadocia, where twenty-four kings handed over their quota, and with Que, where the lands of Kate, the *nasaru*, were ravaged (837).⁶⁵ The next year Uetash, the fort of Lalli of Milidia (Melitene), was assaulted and the kings of Tabal presented their tribute. With 835, the Obelisk begins to narrate events at first hand, and consequently we have somewhat more detail, but the events themselves are scarcely more important. The Ianzu established in Namri in 844 had become hostile, was driven to the mountains, and made a prisoner. Twenty-seven kings of the Parsua land paid their dues when he appeared in their country, and in the Missi land Shalmaneser found a possession of the Amadai. This at least is worthy of our most careful notice, for it marks the first appearance of the Medes in written history. The return journey saw a stele erected in Harhar and its inhabitants led in captivity to Assyria.⁶⁶

The year following saw the Assyrians on the opposite frontier.

⁶⁴ Pognon, *Ins. sémitiques*, 2, no. 86; I have in general followed the text and translation of Torrey, *JAOS* 35. 353 ff.

⁶⁵ The difficult Obl. 104 ff. is now largely supplanted by the Berlin Ins., 3. 1 ff.; cf. Delitzsch, *MDOG* 21. 52 f.; Meissner, *OLZ* 15. 145 ff.

⁶⁶ Obl. 107 ff.—The Hashmar pass must be that between Bane and Sakkiz, later taken by Sargon, Thureau-Dangin, *Campagne*, iii, which is 2180 m. high. The route would be down the Jaghatu Su. Parsua and Missi are located by the Sargon tablet, cf. the map in Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* The cities of Namri are Sihishalah, perhaps Shlag, Bit Tamul, probably Tamontal, Bit Sakki, almost certainly Sakkiz, Bit Shedi, Kuakinda, Tarzanabi, Esamul, Kinablila. Between the Amadai and Harhar is given Araziash.

Que was entered through the Amanus Gates and Timur was taken from Kate, but this was only a raid, as was the seizure of Muru, a fort of the still independent Arame of Agusi, though a palace was erected therein. A more extensive raid was that of 835 when Tulli, who had just displaced Kate, surrendered as soon as he saw his fort Tanakun in Assyrian possession. His gifts included silver, gold, iron, cattle, and sheep. The inhabitants of Lamena found refuge in the hills and the expedition ended with the capture of Tarzi, Tarsus, which was at this time taking the place of Mallus as the central point in the Cilician plain, as the terminus of the great route which led through the Cilician Gates to the plateau of Asia Minor, and as the outlet of the famous Hittite silver mines to the north of the mountains whose wealth was to make the name of Tarshish world famous. Tulli was in his turn deposed, his place taken by Kirri, brother of the former ruler, and cedars were cut in the Amanus for use in the city of Ashur.⁶⁷

The absence of references to Haldia in the last few years is noticeable and cannot be accidental. A change of rulers which meant a change of dynasty, Sardurish the son of Lutiprish taking the place of Arame, seemed to promise a check for his dangerous neighbor. Strange to relate, Shalmaneser did not himself undertake this expedition, perhaps the most important in the second half of the reign. Stranger still, the official annals emphasize the fact that it was led by Dan-Ashur, the turtanu. First to be reached was Bit-Zamani, whose independence, however qualified, strikes us as a little peculiar, until we examine the state of organization on this frontier. Ishtar-emuqaia, governor of Tushhan at the bend of the Tigris, appears as early as 868,⁶⁸ but Ninib-kibsi-usur in 839 rules only the Nairi lands, and the cities Andi, Sinabu, Gurruna, Mallani, and the land Alzi,⁶⁹ and it is not until 800 that

⁶⁷ Obl. 132 ff.—Tanakun is identified with a Greek Thanake which I cannot locate, Sayce, *Expos. Times*, 15. 284. Its site is probably Topraq-Qale, on the Cilician side of the Amanus Gates. The reference to the mountains and its seeming position on the direct road from the Gates to Tarsus led me to locate it at Yalan Qale at the east end of the pass through the Jebel Nur. For name, we may compare the Limenia of the Teemorian ins., Ramsay *Hist. Geog.*, 413. The Chronicle repeats the 'against Que' a second time under this year; Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 13, may be correct in seeing in this proof of two expeditions in one year, but his identification with Lamos-Lamotis-Lamas Su southwest of Tarsus, though seductive, is not quite sure.

⁶⁸ Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, no. 99.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* no. 47; cf. Forrer, *op. cit.* 12.

Marduk-shimeani- appears as governor of Amedi.⁷⁰ Haldia was entered by the Ammash pass and the Euphrates was crossed. Shalmaneser claims the usual victory over his Haldian opponent, but if it were in reality a defeat, we could understand more easily why Sardurish could induce the Hattinians to dethrone and kill their pro-Assyrian prince Lubarna and place on his throne a usurper named Surri. Again Dan-Ashur was given command. Surri died a natural death which the scribe attributed to the offended majesty of the god Ashur, and his erstwhile followers handed over his sons and accomplices for impalement. Sasi declared his adherence to the Assyrian cause and was made king, subject to heavy tribute of metals and ivory. The royal figure was installed in the temple at Kunulua, but no attempt was made to turn the region into a province.⁷¹

Only a rapid raid against Kirhi and Ulluba is listed for the year 830, and the geography shows that there had been retrocession of the Assyrian sphere of influence under the attacks and intrigues of Haldia. Dan-Ashur crossed the Upper Zab the next year and forced the payment of tribute from Datana of Hubushkia, then produced a similar result in the case of Maggubbi of Madahisa, and drove out Udaki from Zirta, capital of the Mannai. The last reference is of interest, for it affords the first knowledge of the people who were to be associated so constantly with the Assyrians in their last hundred years. The next to be invaded was Haruna, whose capital, Masashura, was taken, and whose prince, Shul-ushunu, was granted peace. Artasari of Paddira is likewise an interesting individual, for his name, compounded with the commonest Iranian element, shows how the new race was coming in. Parsua, still attempting to retain complete independence, was the last to be visited.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* no. 39.

⁷¹ Obl. 141 ff.—The form Seduri is probably due to assimilation to the god Siduri; that he was identical with Sardurish was first indicated by Sayce, *JRAS* NS 14. 404. Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1894, 486 (cf. Lehmann, *ZA* 11. 200 ff.), and often, argues that the Sardurish of the native inscriptions, Sayce 1 f., was earlier and different from our Seduri, but without a shred of proof and contrary to all the evidence, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 36 n. 35, and now also Forrer, *MVAG* 20. 3, 22. For Ammasherub, cf. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 600. Name and location alike prove identification with the Mush pass, the Gozme Gedik of 6645 ft., Lynch, *Armenia*, 2. 396.

⁷² Obl. 159 ff.—Rasmussen, *Indskriften*, 39, identifies our Datana with the Dadi of Hubushkia of Shamshi-Adad, *Ann.* 2. 37. For Zirta or Izirta, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 107, n. 21; Thureau-Dangin, *Campagne*, iv; it may now

Conditions were becoming increasingly bad. The king might celebrate his thirty-year jubilee with all due ceremony,⁷³ but Dan-Ashur was in control of the administration, Haldia was continually increasing in power, and the tribes to the north and west were throwing in their lot with it instead of Assyria. One more effort was made by Dan-Ashur to answer complaints at home by conquests abroad. While the king remained in his palace, the unwearied old man undertook an ambitious expedition. Datana of Hubushkia was the first to feel his heavy hand and then Musasir, another state destined to play a most important part in the next century. The fortress of Sapia captured, he felt that he could venture against Haldia itself. Failing here, he turned east and went down to Gilzan where Upu presented his tribute as did the men of the neighboring states. From Parsua, he descended to Namri, and so through the pass of Simesi above Halman back to Assyria.⁷⁴

be located at Sauch Bulaq. The Mannai are the Minni of Jer. 51. 27; the Minyas of Nicolaus of Damascus, Jos. Ant. 1. 95; cf. Rawlinson, *JRAS*(OS) 12. 446. For the common Shurdia, I read Pad-di-ra, a very easy correction palaeographically, comparing the Paddira of Shamshi-Adad, Ann. 2. 7, and the Paddir of Ashur-bani-apal, Cyl. B. 3. 59. The raid was, therefore, up the Zab to Merwan, then to Kochanes and the Kaliresh pass to Ushnu. Beyond, the course is conjectural.

⁷³ For the second time, the king did something before the face of Adad and Ashur, but the crucial word is doubtful. Norris, *Assyr. Dict.*, 106, quoted Amiaud-Scheil, *Salmanasar*, 70, would read *bu-u-[na]* and Rasmussen makes out the first half of the *na*. With this reading, we would naturally translate with Amiaud-Scheil, 'fixer la face en presence d'Assur et Adad,' cf. for *bunu* Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.*, *ad loc.*, and compare, with Tiele, *Gesch.*, 204, the similar celebrations in Egypt in honor of the completion of the thirtieth year of the reign. The present view seems to read *pu-u-[ri]* which would mean holding the office of eponym a second time, cf. Peiser, *KB* 4. 106 n.; Muss-Arnolt, *s. v.*, for possible connection with the Purim feast. Pleasant as it would be to have an Assyrian prototype of that much-discussed feast, it is certain that Shalmaneser was not eponym until 828, after our inscription had been completed, and thus the *puru* interpretation is thrown completely out of court.

⁷⁴ Obl. 174 ff.—The route taken was up the Zab to about Merwanen where he touched a corner of Hubushkia, and then east to Musasir, the region of the Nihail chain, as the Sargon Tablet shows. The raid across the Haldian border must have taken place about Bash Qala or Khoshab. Sapia is Zibar on the Upper Zab, and may be connected with the older name Subartu. He then went down into Gilzan to the east, about Dilman. The states mentioned after Gilzan are Mannai, Burisai, Harranai, Shashganai, Andiai, a people whose name began with a vertical stroke and ended with . . . rai, and he then still further descended to a state whose name begins with two and then one

With this campaign of 828, the narrative of the Obelisk comes to an abrupt end. The scribe claims the usual great success, but his best skill cannot conceal its virtual failure. There is not even the briefest mention of the numerous structures erected during the reign, though we may be sure that it was the original plan to inscribe their recital on the well-carved stone. When we turn to the Assyrian Chronicle, we find under this same year 828, not an expedition against foreign enemies, but the single ominous word 'revolt,' and the word is repeated for five years more. For a quarter of a century, Dan-Ashur had been the actual ruler of the empire, and so notorious was his usurpation of the supreme power that it was he and not his nominal master to whom was ascribed the glory of successful campaigning in the magnificent series of reliefs which were to commemorate the reign. In contrast to the sharp individuality with which Dan-Ashur stands out, Shalmaneser is a colorless figure. His relations with his turtanu, who held office for a quarter of a century, a term almost without parallel in the east, do not speak for his strength of character. We know how he left the command of armies in his later years to Dan-Ashur, although his turtanu must have been at least as old as himself; in his earlier years, he claims to have exercised the leadership in person, but the more truthful pictorial records make it certain that in some cases he was not present, and of others we may make the same conjecture. When he does appear in the field, he rarely descends from the chariot to engage actively in the fighting. In the chariots, both he and the crown prince require a third man to hold the shield and by an arm thrown about the waist to prevent them from falling to the ground. The one occasion when Shalmaneser appears on horseback, it is with the awkwardness of a man not accustomed to ride and unable to keep a firm seat. In his

horizontal stroke, and took their cities of Pirria and Shitiuaria, evidently along the west shore of Lake Urumia. The Parsua cities are Bushtu, Shalahamanu and Kinihamanu. Bushtu is a common name, and may be identical with others. Burisai may be found in the Burasi-Berozi on the upper Dilman stream with Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 156. Harrania is the Harrana of Knudtzon, *Gebete*, 35, an oracle which asks whether the Ishkuzai who are in the Mannai region will leave the pass of the city of Hubushkia and go to Harrania and Anisus. Andiu is said by Adad nirari to be far distant, Kalhu ins., 9; and Sargon, Ann. 81, confirms its close connection with Hubushkia and the Mannai. Sayce, *RP*² 4. 51, n. 3, identifies Shitiuaria with the Haldian Shati-raraush. The conclusion is topographically impossible; the pass of Simesi is too far north, Halman-Holwan equally too far south. The topography of the preceding marches forces us to believe that the Hashmar pass is meant.

foreign policy, he imitated his father, even to the copying of his father's set phrases in his own formal inscriptions. He was most at home in the audience chamber, where he could hold the arrows gracefully in one hand, the bow in the other, resting on the ground, the ornamental sword remaining at his side, displaying the tiara and fillet, the long hair ribbons, the fringed robe and shawl that came to his sandalled feet.⁷⁵ Significant, too, is the fact that the highest court officers, many of the commanders in the field, the prefect of the camp, all the men most closely connected with his person, were eunuchs, and we may without too much danger of error conjecture that Dan-Ashur himself belonged to the same unfortunate and detested class.

Shalmaneser had been accompanied on his expeditions by his son, the crown prince, as early as 858, and thenceforth the reliefs represent him with considerable frequency. If we are to identify him with Ashur-dan-apal, he must have been by this time no less than forty-five years old. A prince of such mature age could hardly suffer in silence a usurpation of power so great that the turtanu's name was glorified in the official records destined to go down to posterity, while his own exploits, though represented anonymously in the earlier sculptures, were in later times entirely missing. The unanimity with which all Assyria arose is in itself proof of the general feeling that his cause was just. At the head of the revolt stood Nineveh which might find some excuse in the neglect of the king. Ashur had been the special protégé of Shalmaneser. Practically every building of importance, the double wall, the Anu-Adad temple, the Ishtar and Ashur temples, all had been restored in the most generous fashion.⁷⁶ Yet Ashur, too, went over to the enemy. Imgur-Bel had been adorned with the magnificent palace-gates to whose bronze decorations we owe the proof of the age of Ashur-dan-apal, but the gift could not restrain it from revolt. Shibaniba and Dur-Balat in the first range of mountains to the northeast, Zaban with its command of the debatable land, Arrapha with its control of the mountains, the sacred city of Arbela, all of Upper and Lower Assyria acknowledged the new claimant to the crown. The majority of the newly-acquired provinces and dependencies seized the opportunity to free themselves. The Aramaeans in particular, Shima, Tidu, Nabalu, Kapa, Huzirina, Amedi, Til-Abni, Hindanu, Kurban,

⁷⁵ *TSBA* 6. pl. 8.

⁷⁶ *Andrä, MDOG* 54. 21.

all the states whose names have become familiar from the reports of the last two reigns,⁷⁷ swelled the armies of the pretender. A definite understanding between these Aramaeans and the revolting Assyrians existed, as is shown by the letter 'concerning the rebel' which was written in Aramaic by Kabti, the scribe of Ashur-dan-apal.⁷⁸ Only Kalhu remained true to the old king and his eunuchs.

To meet the reproach that the turtanu and not Shalmaneser was the actual ruler, the king had taken upon himself the eponym office in the very year the revolt broke out, but the expected result had not followed and the insurrection continued unabated. In its midst, Shalmaneser passed away, and left the insurrection as a heritage to his son Shamshi-Adad (825-812). Two more years the rebels held out and then the revolt collapsed. Why, with everything in its favor in the beginning, it ultimately failed, is one of the mysteries we so often meet in tracing the history of reform movements. Like so many attempted reforms, the most obvious result was the damage accomplished. Coming at a time when the man-power was already weakening, it marked the definite passage into decline, a decline which ended only with the fall of the dynasty.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Shamshi Adad, Ann. 1. 45 ff.—Shibaniba was the province of the eponym for 787, Johns, *Deeds*, no. 653, and cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 364. It occurs in Sennacherib, *Bavian ins.*, 9, which locates it close to that place. Dur-Balat is the near-by Kurdish hamlet of Balaṭa where we spent a smoky evening protected from a blizzard. Adi is not far away, no less than the Shekh Adi which is the center of the Yezidis or 'Devil Worshippers.' Amat is Amada east of Akra. Kapa is Hassan Kef. Parnunna is the seat of an eponym in 755 and probably in 785, Olmstead, *l. c.* For Kurban, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 152. Others are Ishshibri, Bit Imdira, Shibtinish, Kibshuna, Urakka, Dariga.

⁷⁸ Copy of ancient letter sent to Sargon, H. 872; Johns, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, 6. 631. Hommel, *PSBA* 18. 182, identifies Ashur-dan-apal with Sardanapallus, and Belyses with Marduk-balatsu-iqbi. He might have added the date given by Eusebius to Sardanapallus, 835, yet Sardanapallus must be Ashur-nasir-apal.

⁷⁹ For the provisional government, cf. Olmstead, *Amer. Political Science Rev.*, 12. 69 ff.; add now the scanty information in Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, to the discussion of the officials of the reign, Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 346 ff. No attempt to discuss the buildings or indeed the general culture is made in this article.

AN ANSWER TO THE DHIMMIS*

RICHARD GOTTHEIL

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

IN THE MEMORIAL VOLUME published in memory of our late colleague President William W. R. Harper, I have gone a little into the history of the relation to each other of the three great religious systems which have existed in nearly all Islamic countries, except Arabia, since the foundation of the Moslem Church. In the East that relation still plays a part—often a dominant one—in commercial life. No attempt even is made, as we do in the West, to ‘camouflage’ the situation. The text and translation that I publish in the following pages are a further contribution to the subject.

The little Ms. from which it is taken bears the title: ‘An answer to the Dhimmis and to those that follow them.’ Its author, Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī (i. e. from Wāsiṭ on the Tigris) does not try nor does he pretend to give a presentation of his subject from a technically legal or theological point of view, as many have done who have written upon the subject. He tries, rather, to give a history of that relation from the time of the Prophet down to his own day in a series of stories; citing the chief incidents—as he considers them—that have occurred to point the moral to be drawn from that relation. Of course he is one-sided; so would be a Christian or a Jewish author writing in his day. It is an *ex-parte* statement, designed to prove the excellence of his own people and his own faith, and to expose the obliquity of ‘the others.’ We need not be too hard in our judgment of Ghāzī. He feels strongly for his own side; and, as he is evidently a man

* The Editors and the Author of this article desire to express their acknowledgement of the courtesy of the Mergenthaler Linotype Company of New York in furnishing gratuitously the composition of the Arabic text by the linotype process. They believe it is the first time that a scholarly text in Arabic has been published by that process. The editor of the text would very much have desired to vocalize it in certain cases and to employ the hemza and teshdid. He had especially desired to vocalize the passages in verse, but the linotype process is not yet adapted to expressing the vowel signs. The insertion of the folio pagination in the Arabic text was made after the type lines were cast, and accordingly the foliation is approximate, within half a line.

of some temper, he does not mince matters, nor does he take the edge off his words. But, we must remember that pungent expressions are permitted in the politest near-Eastern society which, with us, would never for a moment be permitted above or beyond the smoking-room. And if we do remember this, we shall not be shocked beyond measure to find the adjective 'cursed' prefixed to every mention of Jew or Christian!

The anecdotes are interesting just because they are trivial. They open the lattice a little, and permit a peep here and there into the private life of the people which too often is guarded from our sight by official and pompous historians. The soreness of the relations between the Copts and the Moslems in Egypt comes clearly into view—even the peculiarity in this relation; for the author—to his credit be it said—is quite conscious of the necessity of the non-Moslem population to the country, if the more important, and especially the Secretarial, positions were to be filled. As is natural, he is particularly violent against such as openly profess Islam, while still at heart remaining Christians. One can understand such feeling; and it is evident that he has in mind some particular persons belonging to this class whose shadows had fallen across his own path, though he does not mention them by name.

About the author I can find nothing in the various books of reference; the one or two facts that can be put down are those that follow of necessity out of his little compilation. The latest datable reference that he makes is in the year 1292, during the reign of the Mameluke Sultan Ḳala'ūn in Egypt. Though living in that country, Ghāzī was for a time in the service—so he himself relates—of al-Malik al-Ashraf Muṭṭahaffar al-Dīn Mūsa of Emesa (1245–1262), the son of al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm, the last of the Ayyūbites there of the line of Shirkūh, the father of Saladin. The coming of the Mogul Khān Hulagu in 1262 evidently ended his services in northern Syria. The treatise, then, must have been written in Egypt towards the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. We should expect it at such a time; for, then, hot-headed Ulemas were apt to make life a burden for both Copts and Jews in the land of the Pharaohs.

The small Ms.—the property of the Library of Columbia University—is, so far as I can tell, unique. It evidently was not so at one time; for the first leaf, giving the title and seven lines of the first section, were added at some later time and from some

other copy; paper and script are glaring evidence of this. How late, I do not know. Upon the inside of this first leaf there is the Turkish sign-manual and the name al-Ḥāj Ḥasan Muḥammad Efendi . . . in the year 1171 [A. H.]—evidently the name and date of a late owner.

The Ms. itself is written with a great deal of care. It is fully—one might say, over-punctuated; and the section-headings are done in large gilded script. This goes so far that the letter *ra* is most often distinguished from the *zai* by a half-circle superimposed; as, in like manner, the *sin* is distinguished from the *shin*. The *ha* is made evident by a superimposed final *ha* and the *ṣād* by a sub-imposed final *ṣād*. Even the vowel letters, when indicating a long vowel preceding, are provided with *jezm*. For this superabundance the scribe, and not the author, is to be blamed—which does not, however, prevent him from making the mistakes natural to a scribe; e. g. he writes—with consistency it must be said—*iblkhân* for *ilkhân*, probably because in one passage the original copy missed a dot under the *yā*. And, it must be added, the multitude of signs makes the reading more than usually difficult.

I have translated quite literally; and only with the idea of giving sense, not with the thought of literary polish. I have added the fewest possible notes—only when they appeared to be absolutely necessary. In some difficult situations, I have profited from the good advice and the knowledge of my colleagues, Dr. Philip Hitti and Prof. William Popper.

هذا كتاب رد علي اهل الذمة ومن تبعم رحم الله مؤلفه امين
تأليف الشيخ غازي بن الواسطي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . الحمد لله على دين الاسلام . والصلاة
والسلام على خير الانام . صلى الله عليه وسلم . وصلى على آله
واصحابه البررة الكرام . وبعد فمذ تعليق لطيف مشتمل على طريقة
اهل السنة ونصرة اهل الدين والحق والرد على من خالفهم وتبع

2a

هواهم بغير علم فاقول ويا لله التوفيق ان الذمة الغير مخفية من
المتصرفين في الممالك المصرية والشامية . من كفره ملة اليهودية .
والطوائف النصرانية . فانهم اشد كفرا واكثر عنادا من اهل بالسيف .
واصرت على الاسلام بظلمهم والحنف . وليظهر لعلومه الشريفة
ما على الاسلام من ضررهم . رجاء ان يطهر ايام سلطنته الشريفة من
وضرهم كما درس ممالكهم الحصينة المنيعة . ومعاقلم الشاهقة
الرفيعة . وجعلهم كامن الذاهب . واطر في صحائف ايام دولته
الشريفة منقبة لم تكن لسلطين المشارق والمغارب . ويسلك بهم
مسلك رسول الله صلى عليه وسلم والخلفاء الراشدين . والسلطين
العادلين .

وقد جعلت كتابي هذا مقدمة وفصلين فالمقدمة ما تضمنه الكتاب
العزیز وما روي عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم . والفصل الاول
فيما ورد عن امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه وعن

2b

التابعين وتابعيهم من بني امية وبني العباس رضي الله عنه والمصريين
وغيرهم . والفصل الثاني في وقائع جرت في عصرنا هذا وشهدها
اكابر الناس .

وعريت ما اورده من لباس الالتباس وختمته بمباحث لا يستطيع
احد ان ينقضها ولا يعارضها ويرفضها . ليعلم من تأمله وعرف جملة
ومفصله . اني لم ابتغي غير نصح سلطاني والقريبى الى الله عز وجل
بما سطرته بيناني . واسئل الله المعونة والتوفيق بمنه وكرمه .

المقدمة فيما ورد في الكتاب العزيز

قال الله عز وجل يا أيها الذين امنوا الا تتخذوا اليهود والنصارى اولياء بعضهم اولياء بعض ومن ولهم منكم فانه منهم . وقال الله عز وجل يا ايها الذين امنوا الا تتخذوا عدوي وعدوكم اولياء . وقال

3a

سبحانه وتعالى قاتلوا الذين لا يؤمنوا بالله واليوم الآخر ولا يحرمون ما حرم الله ورسوله ولا يدينون دين الحق من الذين اتوا الكتاب حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون . والنصارى ادخل في الشرك من اليهود كما ان اليهود ادخل من النصارى في الكفر والعناد فلذلك وسم الله عز وجل بالغضب وهوءلاء بالضلال . وقال الله عز وجل يا ايها الذين امنوا لا تتخذوا الذين اتخذوا دينكم هزوءاً ولعباً من الذين اتوا الكتاب من قبلكم والكفار اولياء واتقوا الله ان كنتم مؤمنين .

خرج مسلم في صحيحة عن عائشة رضی الله عنها قالت خرج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قبل بدر فلما كان بحرة الوبرة ادركه رجل كان يذكر عنه جراءة ونجابة . ففرح به اصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم حين راوه فقال للرسول الله صلعم جئت لا تبعك

3b

واحارب معك . فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم توءمن بالله ورسوله . فقال لا . فقال له رسول الله صلعم ارجع فلن استعين بمشرك . فرجع حتى اذا كان بالشجرة لحق رسول الله صلعم فقال له كما قال اول مرة . فقال لا . فقال ارجع فلن استعين بمشرك . فرجع حتى اذا كان بالبيداء لحقه فقال له رسول الله صلعم اتوءمن بالله ورسوله فقال نعم . فقال اتبعني .

فلذلك قال الامام احمد بن حنبل رضي الله عنه لا يستعان باليهود والنصارى في شيء من اعمال المسلمين مثل الخراج وغيره . وكذلك قال ابو حنيفة والشافعي رضي الله عنهما وغيرهم من الفقهاء انه لا يجوز استعمالهم في شيء من الولايات والامانات . فان

الكفر ينافي الولاية والامانة لان قوله صلعم لن استعين بمشرك يعم الاستعانة بهم في الاستنصار والاستعمال والاستكتاب وغير ذلك.

^{4a} فان القول العام يجري على عمومته ولا يقتصر على سببه وقد تأيد هنا بوجهين احدهما انه علل امتناعه من الاستعانة بالشرك ولذه العلة تولية ولا استيمان ولا اعلى درجة ففي الولاية والمناصب اولى واخرى. ولهذا الى اضيقها فان منع الاستعانة بهم عام معقول المعنى المراد به كل كافر من اهل الكتاب. فعلق الحكم على ايمانه. بالله ورسوله. فان الكتابي لما كذب بدين الله ورسوله وخالف سبيل انبياء الله فلزمه الشرك. ولهذا قال الله تعالى اتخذوا احبارهم ورهبانهم اربابا من دون الله والمسيح بن مريم وما امروا الا ليعبدوا الها واحدا لا اله الا ه وسبحانه عما يشركون.

^{4b} وروى الامام ابو بكر الاثرم رحمه الله وهو من اكابر رواة الحديث. روى عنه الامام احمد بن حنبل رحمه الله وغيره في سننه عن ابي موسى الاشعري رحمه الله امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه امره ان يرفع اليه ما اخذ وما اعطى في اديم واحد. وكان لابي موسى كاتب نصراني فرفع اليه ذلك فعجب عمر رضي الله عنه منه وقال ان هذا لحافظ. فادعه ليقرأ. فقال ابو موسى انه لا يستطيع ان يدخل المسجد. وقال عمر اجنب هو. فقال بل نصراني. قال فاتهرني وضرب فخذي بيده حتى يكسره وقال لا تدنهم اذا افصاهم الله ولا تامنهم اذا خونهم الله ولا تعزهم اذ اذلهم الله.

وروى الامام احمد بن حنبل رحمه الله عن حرب الكرمانى في مسائله عن عياض الاشعري ان ابا موسى استكتب نصرانيا فانكر

^{5a} عمر رضي الله عنه عليه ذلك فقال ابو موسى لى عمله. فقال عمر رضي الله عنه لا تامنوهم اذ خونهم الله ولا تعزوهم اذ اذلهم الله ولا تقربوهم اذ ابعدهم الله.

وقد مر على امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه بعض

المهاجرين بمال من البحرين فقال عمر يا معاشر المسلمين رحمكم الله قد جاءنا مال كثير فان شئتم كلنا كيلا وان شئتم وزنا وزنا وان شئتم عددنا عددا . فقام اليه رجل فقال يا امير المؤمنين قد راينا الاعاجم يدونون دواوين . فامر بوضع الدواوين في الاعمال وكتب الى عماله جميعهم ان لا يستخدموا كافرا يهوديا كان او نصرانيا .

وكتب معاوية بن ابي سفيان رحمه الله الى امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه . اما بعد فان في عملي كتابا نصرانيا لا يتم امر الخراج الا به وكرهت الاستمرار به دون امرك . فرد جوابه عافانا الله واياك قرأت كتابك في امر النصراني والجواب اما بعد .

5b

فان النصراني قد مات ولم ينقل في خبر من الاخبار ولا تاريخ من التواريخ انه استعمل مشرك من المشركين في عمل من الاعمال في زمن النبي صلعم ولا زمن ابي بكر ولا عمر ولا عثمان ولا علي رضي الله عنهم .

وعن ابي مشجعة بن ربيعي من اعيان المحدثين رحمه الله قال لما قدم امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه الشام قام قسطنطين بطريق الشام بين يديه فقال يا امير المؤمنين ان ابا عبيدة بن الجراح فرض علينا خراجا فاكتب لي به كتابا . فانكر عمر ذلك وقال ما الذي فرض عليك . قال فرض اربعة دراهم وعباءة على كل حلحلة يعني جمجمة ولم يكن احد ان يستطيع عند عمر رضي الله عنه ان يتكلم الا باذنه . فالتفت الى ابي عبيدة رضي الله عنه فقال ما تقول في هذا . قال كذب علي ولكني صالحته صلحا . ثم تقدم انت فتكون الفارض . فقال عمر لقسطنطين ابو عبيدة اصلق منك فقال صدق ابو عبيدة وكذبت انا . فقال ما حملك على ذلك . فقال اردت ان اخدعك

6a

ولكن افرض انت . ففرض على المؤسّر ثمانية واربعين درهما وعلى الوسط اربعة وعشرين درهما وعلى المدقع اثنا عشر درهما

وعلى ان لا يحدثوا كنيسة ولا يرفعوا صليباً بين ظهراي المسلمين ولا يضربوا ناقوساً الا في جوف كنيسة وعلى ان نشاطهم منازلهم فيسكن فيها المسلمون فاني لا اطمئن اليكم وعلي ان اخذ الحير القبلي من كنائسهم لمساجد المسلمين فانها اوسط في المدائن وعلى ان لا يعبر بخنزير بين ظهراي المسلمين وعلى ان يقرؤا ضيوفهم ثلاثة ايام وثلاثة ليال وعلى ان يحملوا راجلهم من رستاق الى رستاق وعلى ان يناصحوهم ولا يغشوهم وعلى ان لا يتمالوا على عدو واستحللنا سفك دمائهم وسبي ابنائهم ونسائهم بذلك عهد الله وعقده وذمة المسلمين . فقال قسطنطين اكتب بذلك لنا كتاباً . فبينما يكتب الكتاب اذ ذكر عمر رضي الله عنه فقال اني استثني عليك عشرة الحبش مرتين فقال لك ثيالك . فلما فرغ من الكتاب قال له قم يا امير

6b

المؤمنين في الناس فاخبرهم الذي جعلت لي وفرضت علي . فقام عمر فقال الحمد لله احمده واستعينة من يهدي الله فلا مضل له ومن يضل الله فلا هادي له . فقال ذلك النبطي الملعون ان الله لا يضل احداً . فقال عمر رضي الله عنه ما يقول النبطي قيل يزعم ان الله لا يضل احداً . فقال عمر رضي الله عنه انا لم نعطك الذي اعطيناك لتدخل علينا في ديننا . والذني نفسي بيده لئن عدت لا ضررين الذي فيه عيناك فينبغي الفكر فيما انتقده ذلك الكلب وما قاله امير المؤمنين عمر رضي الله عنه من شرطه وجوابه بالموءاخذة على انتقاده وما يعتده الا ان الاقباط من ترفعهم على المسلمين واتخاذهم الممالك والاماء والعبيد ورفعهم المناظر والبنيان ولبسهم افخر ملابس المسلمين مع اقتناء الجواهر والزرا كش والبساتين والمتاجر برا وبحرا وملازمتهم الملاذ انواعاً . وان احد النصارى ياتي الريف مدقعا فقيرا وهو من اولاد مديار النصارى كالمعيشين فيخدم في اقل الجهات وينهبها

7a

ويرطل بما نهبه ويتقدم الى اعلى منها ويتنقل الى ان يلي الجيش او الايستفاء . فما يمضى عليه اسرمدقا الى ان يجدد البساتين والسواقي

والاملاك المرخمة. فما يصير له ذلك الى ان تنهب اموال بيت مال المسلمين وتقاسمه الخونة والسفل معهم.

ومن عبد الرحمن بن عثمان. قال كتب لعمر رضي الله عنه حين صالح نصارى الشام ما نسخته. هذا كتاب لعبد الله عمر امير المؤمنين من نصارى الشام انكم لما قدمتم علينا سالناكم الامان لانفسنا وذراريها واموالنا على ان لا تتخذ في مدتنا وما حولها ديرا ولا كنيسة ولا صومعة لراهب. ولا نجدد ما خرب منها ولا نحبي منها ما كان حطط من المسلمين ولا نمنع كنائسنا ان ينزلها احد من المسلمين في ليل ولا نهار. وان نوسع ابوابنا للمارة والبناء السبيل وان نزل من مر بنا من المسلمين ثلاثة ايام. ولا نثوى في كنائسنا ولا منازلنا جاسوسا ولا نكتم غشا للمسلمين ولا نعلم اولادنا القرآن

7b

ولا نظرها شركا ولا ندعوا اليه احد ولا نمنع احدا من قرائتنا من الدخول في الاسلام اذا ارادوه. وان نوقر المسلمين. وان نقوم لهم من مجالسنا ان ارادوا الجلوس ولا نتشبه بهم في شيء من لباسهم ولا نتكنى بكناهم ولا نركب السروج ولا نتقلد السيوف ولا نتخذ شيئا من السلاح ولا نحملة ونضرب بنواقيسنا في كنائسنا ضربا خفيا ولا نرفع اصواتنا مع موتانا. ولا نتخذ من الرقيق ما جرت عليه سهام المسلمين. ولا نطلع عليهم في منازلهم. وان نرشدهم الى الطريق. فلما قرأه امير المؤمنين زاد فيه شرطنا ذلك على انفسنا واهلينا وقبلنا عليه الامان. وان نحن خالفنا عن شيء شرطناه لكم وضمناه على انفسنا فلا ذمة لنا وقد حل لكم منا ما حل لاهل الشقاق والمعاندة. فليعتبر المعتبر هذه الشروط ويعاين ملابسهم ومراكبهم وتعرضهم للمسلمين من الاغاني ومن يجري مجراهم. فلا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم.

8a

وكتب عمر بن عبدالعزيز سيد بني امية رضي الله عنه الى عماله في الافاق اما بعد. فان عمر يقرأ عليكم السلام ويقرأ عليكم من كتاب الله المبين. يا ايها الذين امنوا انما المشركون نجس جعلهم

الله حزب الشيطان وجعلهم الاخسرين اعمالا الذين ظل سعيهم في الحياة الدنيا وهم يحسبون انهم يحسنون صنعا اولئك عليهم لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين . واعلموا انه لم يهلك الذين من قبلكم الا بنبعة الحق وبسطة يد الظلم . وقد بلغني عن قوم من المسلمين فيما مضى اذا قدموا الى بلد اتاهم اهل الشرك فاستعانوا بهم في اعمالهم وكتابتهم لعلمهم بالكتابة والجباية وتديير المعيشة والاخيرة ولا تديير فيما يغضب الله ورسوله . وقد كانت مدة قضاها الله تعالى فلا يعلمن ان احدا من العمال ابقى في عمله رجلا متصرفا على غير دين الاسلام الا نكل به . فان محو اعمالهم وانزالهم منزلتهم التي حصم الله تعالى من الذل والصغار وليكتب كل منكم الي بما

8b

فعله في عمله . وامر ان يمنع اليهود والنصارى من ركوب السروج ولا يمكن احد من الذمة من الدخول الى الحمام يوم الجمعة الا بعد الصلاة . وامر الحرس بان يقفوا على رءوس اليهود والنصارى عند ذبحة ما يذبحونه . وان يذكروا اسم الله واسم محمد صلعم . فكتب اليه عامله حيان على مصر . اما بعد . يا امير المؤمنين ان دام هذا الامر في مصر اسلمت الذمة وبطل ما يوخذ منهم . فارسل اليه رسولا جلدا وقال له ايت مصرا واضرب حيان على راسه ثلثين سوطا ادبا على قوله . وقل له ويلك يا حيان من دخل دين الاسلام ضع عنه الجزية فوددت لو اسلموا كافة ان الله بعث محمدا صلعم داعيا لا جاييا .

ولما استنجد بنو امية النصارى في كتابة الا «؟» والسلام كتب محمد بن يزيد الانصاري الى عبد الملك هذه الايات .
بنو امية كفوا السن الغلغا كذاك سن رسول الله والخلفا

9a

لا تجعلوا القبط كتابا بالموتكم فان في ذلك العدوان والجنفا
فاتم للهدى يضيء به بكم على نهجه يجري اذا وقفا
فامر عبد الملك بان لا يستعمل في دولته احد من اليهود والنصارى

واهدر دم من يستعلمهم.

وكتب خالد بن صفوان الى عمرو بن العاص رحمه الله عند ما
ولي مصر.

يا عمرو وقد ملكت يمينك مصرنا وملكنا فيها العدل والاقساطا
فاقتل بسيفك من تعدى طوره واجعل فتوح سيوفك الاقباطا
فبهم اقيم الجور في جناباتها وراى الانام البغي والافراطا
لا تركزن الى النصرارى انهم شعب على دين الاله تعاطا

9b

واذكر امير المؤمنين وقوله ان كنت في طاعاته محطاطا
لا تحفظن لمشرك عهدا ولا ترعى له ذمما ولا احلاطا
فراى في تيك الليلة عمرو في منامه قائلا من النصرارى ينشده ويشير
الية بكفه.

بنت كرم غصيوها امها واهانوها بوطي بالقدم
ثم عادوا حكموها فيهم ولناهيك بخصم يحتكم
فاستيقظ فزعا وقال والله لا حكمتهم في امر نزعهم الاسلام فامر
بعزل الاقباط جميعهم.

وكان الكسائي يقري المامون رحمهما الله القران من وراء ستارة
فاذا غلط ضرب الكسائي بقضيب على مخدة فبلغ المامون الى قوله
تعالى يا ايها الذين امنوا لا تتخذوا اليهود والنصارى اولياء - الآية
فضرب الكسائي بالقضيب فظن المامون انه غلط فراجع القراءة

10a

وقرا كما قرا اولا فضرب بالقضيب ففطن المامون ان مراد
الكسائي التنبيه على معنى الآية الشريفة فامر ان لا يبقى يهودي ولا
نصراني في عمل من الاعمال متصرفا في امور الكتابة والتصرف.
وفي ايام هارون الرشيد ولي الفضل بن يحيى خراسان وجعفر
اخوه ديوان الخاتم عمرا الجوامع والمساجد والمراقق والصحاريج
للسبيل والمكاتب لايام المسلمين واجريا لهم الارزاق. وصرف
كل منهما الذمة عن الدواوين والمناصب وخرب الفضل معاقلمهم

ومعابدهم بخراسان وامر بان لا يمكنوا من يياض شيء مما بقي من
كنائسهم لثلاثين شهرا بمساجد المسلمين في البلاد.

وذكر عمرو بن عبد الله قال استدعاني المأمون عند ما تظلم
المسلمون من الاقباط بمصر فقال يا عمرو اتعرف من اين اصل القبط

^{10b} فقلت هم بقية قوم الفراعنة الذين كانوا بمصر. فقال صف لي كان
امرهم. فقلت يا امير المؤمنين لما اخذ الفرس الملك من ايدي
الفراعنة قتلوا القبط ولم يبق منهم الا من هرب واختفا باضنا
والاقصرين وتعلموا الطب والكتابة. ثم توصلوا وخدم اكارهم
الفرس اطباء وكتابا. ثم تحيلوا وكاتبوا الروم بامور الفرس وعدة
جيشهم واطلعوهم على بواطن امور يملكون بها الديار المصرية
وحرصوا الروم على وصولهم وتملكهم البلاد وبنوا لهم اسباب التوصل
الى الملك. فجمع ملوك الروم وحشدوا وقصدوا البلاد وملكوها
وعملوا على قتل ملوك الفرس ورعاياهم واقاموا كلمة التثليث
وتمكنوا من الاستيلاء على البلاد. ونالوا بمكرهم مقاصدهم وقلعوا
ملك الفرس وفيهم يقول بعض الشعراء

لعن النصارى واليهود فكانهم بلغوا بنا من دهرنا الامالا
خرجوا اطباء وكتابا لئن تنابها الارواح والاموالا

^{11a} وفي ايام المهدي اجتمع الى بعض جماعة من المسلمين وتظلموا
من النصارى وكان ذلك الزاهد يغشى مجلس المهدي وسالوه
الحديث في امرهم فانهم ما بين مظلوم في نفسه ومظلوم في ماله.
فالمظلوم في نفسه من يصرف من شغل ويصرف فيه النصارى.
والمظلوم في ماله من يستضعف. فاجتمع ذلك الزاهد بالمهدي وقص
على المهدي ما ذكره الناس. وانشده

بابي وامى ضاعت الاحلام ام ضلت الاذهان والافهام
من ضل عن دين النبي محمد اله بامر المسلمين قيام
ان لم تكن اسياهم مشهورة فينا فان سيوفهم اقام
وراي الحاكم المنتسب الى الفاطميين في منامه كان الباري

عز وجل في صورة انسان محمول على الايدي الى ان وصل الى باب القصر فمات. ففسره لنفسه وقال الحق يكون في الدنيا كلها حتى اذا وصل الينا بطل فاحتسب على نفسه واهله ثم احتسب على

11b

اليهود والنصارى وامر بهدم كنيسة قمامة بالقدس الشريف. وكتب امرت حضرة الامامة بهدم قمامة فليجعل سماءها ارضا وطولها عرضا. وهدم الدير المعروف بالقصير وامر بهدم كنيسة عظيمة بدمياط وذلك في سابع عشر شعبان سنة احدى وتسعين وثلثمائة. وامر باهانة اليهود والنصارى وحرم عليهم الكتابة وان لا يطببوا احدا من المسلمين ولا يركب احدا منهم فرسا ولا بغلا ولا يركب حمارا الا ببردعة ولا يسمى احد من النصارى ابا شاكر ولا ابا الفضل ولا ابا الفتوح ولا يلبس نساء النصارى واليهود خفافا بل السرايمز احدهما حمراء والاخرى سوداء ولا يدخلن نساؤهم الحمامات الا في رقابهم صلبان الخشب. وقرم لليهود وكذلك رجالهم. ويكون وزن الصليب والقرمة اربعة ارطال. وظهر الخبر المستفاض بين العالم اليهود والنصارى خونة لعن الله من البسهم ثوب عز نزعه عنهم الاسلام. وامر ان يبنى الى جانب كل كنيسة بالديار المصرية

12a

مسجدا وماذنة وان يعلى الماذنة على عمارة الكنيسة بحيث تكشف الكنيسة. وكذلك في كل دير من الديرة بنى في باطنه مسجدا ومن جملة ذلك بنى بدير القصير مسجدا ثم اخفاه النصارى الى ايام السلطان الملك الظاهر رحمه الله وجرى في اموره واسبابه ما ارجو ان يسألني مولانا السلطان عنه ثم تقرر استمراره مسجدا.

وكذلك ظهر في ايام مولانا السلطان ماذنة في الكنيسة المعلقة في قصر الشمع بمصر. فان النصارى سرقوا الماذنة المذكورة واخفوها ودرسوها من جهة الكنيسة وجعلوها من حقوق الكنيسة وكان باتفاق موءذن المسجد من مدة ثلاثين سنة واتفق ان مات ذلك المنافق وفوض الاذان بغيره فوجد صورة خزانة وفيها اثر درج

مقطوعة الى باب مسود. فاحضر سلما وفتح الباب فوجده الى
^{12b} الماذنة فظهر امرها واذن فيها. فعمل النصارى على الموءذن الى ان
 ضرب بالمقارع وصرف من المسجد خدمة لابن فلان و كاتب
 فلان. فبلغت القضية للامير زين الدين كتبغا المنصوري الصغير فقام في
 القضية واوصل الامر للامير حسام الدين طرنتاي المنصوري
 والامير الدين كتبغا الكبير واعيد الموءذن بمرسوم الى المسجد
 المذكور.

وفي ايام المامون بن العباس تقدم بعض اليهود الى ان صار
 يجلس اعلا من الاشراف فتخيل بعض الفضلاء وكتب رقعة
 وصلت الى المامون

يا ابن الذي طاعته في الورى وحقه مفترض واجب
 ان الذي تشرف من اجله يزعم هذا انه كاذب
 فاجابه المامون صدقت وبررت وغرق اليهودي لوقته واورد المامون
 للحاضرين حديث المقداد بن الاسود الكندي صاحب رسول الله
^{13a} صلعم لما سار في بعض اسفاره ورافقه بعض اليهود يوما كاملا. فلما
 انقضى النهار ذكر المقداد رضي الله عنه حديث رسول الله صلعم ما
 خلا يهودي بمسلم الا واضمر له غيلة. فقال المقداد لليهودي والله ما
 تفارقني او تعرفني ما فعلت معي من اذى والا قتلتك. فقال ولي
 الامان. فقال نعم فاستوثق يمينا. ثم قال اليهودي كنت مذ سايرتك
 اقصد ظل راسك فادوسه بنعلي. فقال المقداد رضي الله عنه صدق
 رسول الله صلعم.

وذكر انه كان في زمن بعض الملوك رجل يعرف بالهاروني
 من اليهود وهو عنده بمنزلة رفيعة فلعب معه في مجلس شرابه
 بالشطرنج على التمني لحاجة في نفسه. فلما غلبه سال الملك الوفاء
 فقال له الملك سل. فقال يا امر الملك ان يضع من آي القرآن قوله
 تعالى ان الذين عند الله الاسلام. فضرب عنقه لوقته.

13b

وبلغني من اعيان العلول ان الحكيم موسى مرض فعاده القاضي
الفاضل وكان اليهودي عالما فاضلا. فقال للفاضل قد وجب حقك
على مجرى زيارتي واوصيك ان لا تتطب يهوديا فعندنا من حلل
السبت استبخنا دمه. فحرم القاضي طب اليهود واستخدمهم لذلك.
وذكر عن بعض اليهود انه كان يجيء لبعض المتمولين المغفلين
فيحضر له في الجباية النخاس فيردها عليه فاذا اخذها يقول لعن
الله من دفعها لي فيظن ذلك المغفل ان المراد به غيره.

وبلغني ممن اثق به ان اليهودي يكتب ورقة ويجعلها في عمامته
مضمونها لعن من يلغنه وشتم من يشتمه فاذا لعنه احد يقول له لعنتك
على راسي وانه يدخر في بيته خشبتين ويسمي احدهما السعادة

14a

والاخرى النعمة. واذا وجد المسلم قال له صبحك الله او مساك
بالسعادة والنعمة. ومراده الملعون بالخشتين المذكورتين.

وحكى لي بعض العلول ان بعض اليهود ببليس استاذن
للمصاحب صفي الدين بن شكر في ضيافة يحضرها له فاذن له فعمل
في بيته ما امكنه. فلما تهيأ الطعام قال لزوجته عملتي الشريعة فقالت
لا فقال اعملها فدخلت وخرجت ومعها زبدية فيها اراقة فجعلت
تاخذ بملقة وترشه على الزبادي والطعام فوشي للمصاحب بذلك
فامتنع. وطلب اليهودي واستقره فقال نحن معاشر اليهود من حلل
السبت استحللنا دمه في شريعتنا. ولما لم تقدر جعلنا في الطعام
بولا. فقتل اليهودي صبورا وارق الطعام.

14b

وكان في زمن الحافظ..... موفق الدين بن الخلال من
اكابر العلماء الذي ورد عليه القاضي الفاضل وكان من اكابر
الروءساء والفضلاء وكان يتحدث في امر الدواوين والانشاء وكان
من سنن ملوك مصر ان لا اقطاع لاحد من الجند ينفق فيه من الخزانة
كعوائد العراق وانه عند تخضر البلاد يندب موفق الدين ومن هو
في منصبه من فيه نباهة ومعرفة من الجند ومعه من العلول الموثوق

بهم ومن كتاب النصارى من شهر بكتابة ومعرفة المساحة الى كل اقليم من الممالك المصرية لتحرير ما روي من البلاد وما زرع فيها من اصناف الزراعات على اختلافها ويعمل بذلك مكلفات مستقصاة الشروح بالقطائع والفدن. وتخلد الدواوين بالباب فاذا مضى من السنة اربعة شهور ندب غير اولئك من الجند من فيه حماسة وهمة وبطش ومن الكتاب المسلمين من فيه امانة ومعرفة بمستخرج الاموال وبعض كتاب النصارى لاستخراج ثلث المال المتعين ليحمل

15a

لنفقات الجند. فندب الى بعض البلاد من يسمحها على العوائد. فتوجه الشاد والناظر والعدول واعتذر النصراني بعذريته وقوله ويلحقهم ثاني يوم سفرهم فتقدمت المذكورون وتبعهم. فلما وصل تجاه بلد واراد التعدية في معذية ذلك البلد فلما وصل البر طلب صاحب المعذية الاجرة فنفر فيه النصراني وشمته واغلظ عليه قائلا انا ماسح هذه البلدة تطلبني بحق المعذية. فاجابه ان كان لي زراعة خذها. واخذ لجام دابة ذلك النصراني فاعطاه اجرته واستعاد اللجام. فلما مسح البلدة شد جملة المكلفة بزايد عشرين فدانا وترك في ورقة من الاوراق بياضا. فلما قوبلت كتب العدول عليها فاخذها النصراني ليكتب عليها فكتب في ذلك البياض ارض اللجام باسم صاحب المعذية عشرين فدانا كنانا قطعة اربعة دنانير الفدان. وحملت

15b

المكلفة الى ديوان الباب وانقضت مدة المهمة واستحق طلب الخراج فندب من جرت العادة به لاستخراج المال فوصلوا البلدة المذكورة وطلبوا ارباب الزراعات فطلب صاحب المعذية بثلث المال وهو ستة وعشرون دينارا فامتنع قائلا ان كان لي زرع اخذوه فلم يسمع منه وضربه المشد بالمقارع واستشهد بالمكلفة وخطوط العدول عليها وبيعه المعذية وغيرها واخذ منه المبلغ. فهرب ذلك المظلوم خوفا من طلبه بالباقي وحضر الى القاهرة شارحا امره لعماره طالبا الاعانة باشارتهم كيف الخلاص. فقال له احد الناس للخليفة عادة ان

يجلس عند المسبح في السفينة وبنى منظره بباب القصر وياتيه المتظلم ويلعن في ذلك الوقت قائلاً لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله فيسمع الخليفة كلامه فيامر بما يقدره الله تعالى على يده ولسانه من احضار الشاكي الى بين يديه وسماع كلامه او تفويض امره لوزير او قاض او والي . فبكر ذلك المظلوم الى تجاه

16a

السفينة واعلن بتلك الكلمات . فاستدعاه الخليفة وسمع كلامه واستوضح امره . وطلب موفق الدين بن الخلال واستحضر محلفات ذلك البلد لعدة سنين متقدمة وتصفحت وكشفت سنة سنة فلم يوجد لارض اللجام ذكر . فامر الحافظ باحضار ذلك النصراني ورسم بتسميره في مركب وان يطعم انواع الاطعمة وامراق الدجاج ويسقى اطيب الاشربة المسكرة ويشهر به في الممالك المصرية . وبرزت اوامر الحافظ شاماً ومصرًا بكف يد الذمة عن المباشرات واستمر ذلك الامر وثاق النصراني منه وهلكوا الى ان اتخذ الحافظ منجماً حاذقاً وارتبط عليه وجعل حر كاته مناطة براى ذلك المنجم في كبير امره وصغيره فاعمل الحيلة جماعة من اعيان النصراني واتوا ذلك المنجم وبذلوا له الف دينار عينا واحضروا له شخصاً من النصراني يعرف بالاخرم ابن زكري وقالوا تذكر حلية هذا في احكام طلوع الشورى اليمانية ولا تذكر اسمه وتقول انه يدل على انه ون ولي شخص من النصراني وتذكر صفات هذا ابن ابي زكري زاد

16b

النيل عن عادته ونمت الارتفاعات وزكت الاغنام والزراعات وكثر صيد البحر من البوري والاسماك وقدمت التجار برا وبحرا وجرت قوانين الملك على اجمل الاوضاع واحسن الاحوال . فعمل ذلك الكلب المنجم اكثر مما اقترح عليه من ذلك البهتان والمحال . فعندما وقف الحافظ الدب على احكامه عند طلوع الشورى امر باحضار اعيان النصراني وتصفح حلاهم والنصراني يوعخرون احضار ابن ابي زكري مدة ايام واشتد طلب ذلك الملعون الى ان احضر وتمثل

بين يدي الحافظ فولاه الامر. وعزل موفق الدين المسلم الفاضل
الامين بذلك الكلب الخائن فاعاد استخدام القبط على ما كانوا
عليه واظهروا التكبر والتجبر على المسلمين وتظاهروا بحسن الملابس
الفاخرة وركوب البغال والخيول المسومة. وضايقوا المسلمين في
ارزاقهم الى ان ولي منهم النظر واصحاب الدواوين حتى في
^{17a}
الاجاس الدينية والاقواف الشرعية واتخذوا الممالك والعبيد
والجوار من المسلمين والمسلمات وضودر بعض المسلمين وبيعت
بناته في المصادرة من ظلم ابن دخان لعنه الله واشتراهم بعض
النصارى وتملكهم. فعمل بعض الفضلاء فيه

اذا حكم النصارى في الفروج وغالوا بالنعال وبالسروج
وذلت دولة الاسلام طرا وصار الامر في ايدي العلوج
فقل للاعور الدجال هذا زمانك ان عزمت على الخروج
واستمر امر ذلك الملعون والنصارى الى ايام العاضد المنتسب
للفاطميين ونبغ في زمنه ابو الفضل بن دخان النصراني واستولى على
عقل العاضد وشاع نفاذ امره اكثر من ابن ابي زكري واستولى على
الدولة بجعل القرييين من العاضد وعدم معرفتهم الى ان اسلم في
تلك الايام بعض النصارى واقام على الاسلام مدة ثم ارتد واستنجز
^{17b}

ذلك الملعون ابن دخان امر العاضد بان يستمر نصرانيا ولا يعارض
وان الحاكم في ذلك الزمان انكر ذلك وارصد جماعة لاحضار ذلك
المرتد اليه ليقتله. فوشى النصارى لابن دخان بذلك. فدخل جامع
مصر واعتبر حواضه وعجر بعض اطباق القناديل ورسم على القاضي
واشاع ان القاضي خان واخذ الات الجامع. واتفق عقيب ذلك ان
الشيخ زين الدين بن نجا الواعظ الحنبلي دخل البلاد وبلغته صورة
ما اعتمده ذلك الملعون ابن دخان في امر النصراني المرتد وما
عمله مع القاضي. وكان زين الدين المذكور له قدر كبير عند الملك
العادل نور الدين محمود بن زنكي رحمه الله فامر العاضد للواعظ
المذكور ان يجلس في جامع مصر ويتكلم على عادته. فاحتفل
الخواص من اصحاب العاضد واقاربه والعلماء والقضاة والامراء

والجند والعوام. وقرر الشيخ زين الدين مع القراء بين يديه ان يفتحوا
^{18a} بين يديه بقوله تعالى يوم تاتي السماء بدخان مبين. فشرع الشيخ
 زين الدين يذكر كلما يمكن من رداة الدخان وما يتفرع منه من
 الاذى للعيون والادمغة وفساد الامزجة وما يدخل في هذا الباب.
 ثم انتقل الى ذم النصارى وفساد اعتقادهم واجماعهم على ربوبيته
 من قتل وصلب وقبر. وبين اختلالهم في امر النار المصنوعة في قمامة
 بيت المقدس وضلالهم بقولهم انه نور ينزل على قبر المصلوب وخطا
 الملوك وقبح على وزرائهم ونوابهم استعمالهم في امر الحساب
 والاموال. واقام الدليل على ان من استخدمهم خالف الله عز وجل
 بما ورد في القرآن الشريف في امرهم وما ذكره رسول الله صلعم
 وما اعتمده الخلفاء الراشدون. ثم ذكر ان من يقول الاب والابن
 وروح القدس اله واحد وانشد

كيف يدري الحساب من جعل الله ثلاثا بزعمه وهو واحد

^{18b} وتوسع في الطعن على انسابهم وقلة نحوتهم لا كلهم لحوم الخنازير
 وملازمتهم لشرب الخمر مع نسوانهم وبناتهم واقاربهم من الرجال
 والشباب ونومهم في مكان الشرب ليلا في اختلاط الرجال مع
 النساء. وانشد ايات عمارة اليميني في ابن دخان عندما نكر عليه
 في امر جامكيته

قل لابن دخان اذا جئته	ووجهه يندى من القرقف
حرم جاري ولو انه اضعاف	ما في سورة الزخرف
واصقع قفا الذل ولو انه	بين قفا القسيس والاسقف
ملكك الدهر سبال الورى	افاحلق لحاهم عامدا وانتف
واكسب وحصل وادخر واكثر	واسرق وخن وابطش وخذواخطف
وابك وقل ما صح لي درهم	فرد وصلب وابتهل واحلف
واغتسم الفترة من قبل ان	نفع الانجيل بالمصحف

^{19a} وذكر حديث النصراني المرتد وتحريه على القاضي فنقل المجلس

الى العاضد فامر بامساك ابن دخان ونهب داره . فوجد فيها مئة وخمسة وعشرين كتابا بالقلم الافرنجي وحملت الى شاور وزير العاضد فاحضر التراجمة وقراوها فكانت من الفرنج بعكها وصور وقبرص اجوبة عن كتب الملعون اليهم التي يخبرهم فيها باحوال البلاد وضعف العساكر وقلة حرمة العاضد ويطعمهم فيه ويحث الملك مرى على سرعة حضوره للممالك المصرية ويوشح ويمت انه يبين المسلمين ويرفع كلمة النصارى ورفع شان القسيس والرهبان وترميم الكنائس وعمارة اوقافها والمساعدة على الاجر وزيادتها وانهم شكروه على ذلك واثنوا عليه . وعرفوه انهم على عزم الخروج والوصول الى الديار المصرية . فقتل ابن دخان لوقته وامر العاضد بان يستعاد من النصارى جامكياتهم وجراياتهم لخمس سنين . وان^{19b} لا يترك لاحد منهم الى شهر واحد الدرهم الفرد ومتى عجز يقتل ويمثل به . ولم تنقضى تلك السنة الى ان جمع الملك مرى الفرنجي جموعا كثيرة وقصد الديار المصرية وقتل كل من في بلبس اخذا لثار ابن دخان . ونزل شاور الى مدينة مصر ومعه جماعة من القصرية واحرق ادد النصارى وقتل ونهب . فلما انتقل الملك الى السلطان الملك الناصر صلاح الدين رحمه الله تعالى تحيل النصارى على امرائه الاكراد واستعانوا بمن اسلم منهم ظاهرا الى ان اعيدوا الى الخدم . واوهموا الاكاريد والجهال ان المسلمين عاجزون عن صناعة الكتابة وانهم يصبعون الاموال واستولوا بمكرهم على البلاد والاعمال ونهبوا اموال بيت لمال واخباذ الجند والامراء . وتاخر كتاب الاسلام الامناء الفضلاء . فعمل بعض الفضلاء

برى جسدي حق النصارى بجهلهم وانفهم العالي على كل مسلم وشبهم الغارات في المال ظاهرا ولا يتقون الصفح في ربع درهم ترى كل قبطي لدى اللف عنترا واقلامه تربو على كل لهزم ففازوا من الدنيا بما يطلبونه ومشواهم في الحشر نار جهنم واستمر امر النصارى في التصرف في البلاد والعباد والعمل على

ارواح المسلمين واموالهم ومناصبهم.

وفي ايام السلطان الملك الصالح نجم الدين ايوب رحمه الله وغفر له دخل بعض المسلمين سوق التجار ومعه حجة على بعض الجند بمال مسطرة تحتاج الى الشهادة فوجد نصرانيين عليهما البقاير والاثواب الواسعة الاكمام كلباس عدول المسلمين. فغلب على ظنه انهما من العدول. فقدم الحجة فشهد فيها استهزاء بالمسلمين ونقل ذلك الى السلطان الملك الصالح رحمه الله فامر بان ترفع النصار العذب ويشدوا الزناير وان يلبسوا الغيار ويمنعوا من التشبه بالمسلمين وان ينزلوا حيث انزلهم الله من الذل والصغار. ثم شرعوا في التقدم

20b

والازدياد من اول دولة المعز بطريق انه كل امير متمير في كل دولة لا بد له من كويتب نصراني وانه بمقدار ما ينتشى من ممالك سلطان الوقت من تلوح عليه امارات السعادة والامارة تعلق عليه بعض اولاد النصارى بعناية كتاب الامراء خوشدا شية ذلك الامير وخدمه وهو لا امرة له ولا اقطاع وخدمه ولازمه واوجب حقه عليه امر استجد ممالك وجعل منهم الخزنदार والاستاذ الدار فيشرع ذلك الكويتب في التحيل بانواع الحيل على كل من اوليك كشرب خمر وضيافة واستحسان بما لا يمكن ذكره. وما يتبع ذلك. ثم يغريه في زيادة مال وانشاء ملك وتجديد سواقي ووسايا وتوسيع دائرة وتكبير كلفة فيضطر الى الطمع والموافقة على الخيانة ونهب مال استاذه واشراك ذلك الملعون معه وتارة بالترهيب والتخويف من قوله ان الامراء يصادرون استاذ داريتهم وخزنदारيتهم ويضرب له الامثال بمن اتفق في ذلك ومسك استاذ داره لدبر ظهر

21a

منه ونهب تحققة واشترى ويخيفه من ضرب يحل به وعقوبة يقع فيها وانه لم يكن معه ما يخلص به نفسه والامات تحت الضرب فيضطر الى السرقة الدخول في الخيانة.

ومما وقع لبعض النصارى من كتاب الامراء الكبار واعجزته

الحيلة مع خزن داره لامرين احدهما قرب عهد الكاتب من خدمة الامير والثاني ان الخزندار من صغار الممالك المغل لا يتصرف بنزول ولا ركوب الا مع الامير فاتفق ان الامير سلم لخزانداره ثلاثة الاف درهم. فلما فرغ انفاقها قال للكاتب اعمل لنا حسابها لناخذ خط الامير على العادة بصحة الانفاق. فعمل حسبة وقال له قد فاض المصروف على الثلاثة الاف درهم مائتان وخمسون درهما. فقال له الخزندار ذا جيد لي. فقال له الكاتب انت صبي وما تعرف ما يضرك مما ينفعك وانا صرت رفيقك ووجب حقك علي متى

21b

عملت هذه الحسبة. ووقف الامير عليها طالبك في جميع ما انفقته في كل ثلاثة الاف درهم بمائتين وخمسين درهما وينسبك الى الخيانة. وخوفه من الضرب والعزل عن الخزندارية والتاخر عن رتبته فالبجاء الى ان دخل في الخيانة وسرقة مال استاذة وان اكثر كتاب الامراء يتحيلون على خادم دار استاذة بسماني فارهة في الصباح ويهاديه بكر او سجادة وما اشبه ذلك. ثم يقول له تعرف الدار خدمتي ومجبتني للامير واني اوفر عليه وانصحته واحفظ ماله وغلاله وتحيل في فضلات من نفاصيل سكندري غالي الثمن من طرح مستحسن مختلف الالوان ويقول للخادم تعرف الدار ان هذا طرح جديد خرج. وقد اخترت ان يعرض على الدار فاي شيء اعجبهم منه او من غيره يعرفوني لاشير على الامير ان يسير قمحا من اقطاعه وحواصله الى سكندرية. فيرعبهم الخادم ايضا بقوله ان دار الامير

22a

الفلاني فصلوا من هذا وهذا يليق بالست ان تلبسه فشكر ذلك الكلب ويقال له شر على الامير بارسال القمح الى سكندرية ونحن نقترح ما نطلبه من الذي يعجبنا. ثم يجتمع ذلك الكلب باستاذ دار الامير ويشوقه الى سكندرية وطئتها وبساتينها وتحفها وفرجها ونزهاها مما يوافق استاذداره ويطعمه بانواع الاطعام من حصول راحت وقماش وعشرة وفرجة ويتفق معه ويدخل هو واستاذ

داره على الامير ويقولان ان القمح يسوى في اسكندرية بالورق كذا والورق كل درهمين ونصف بدرهم نقرة يتميز في البيع عن هنا جملة كبيرة وتشتري من سكندرية قماشا ونحضره معنا ونضمن للامير كسب المال بالثلث سيما ان كان الامير يمكنه اخذ كتاب السلطان الى والي اسكندرية ويرمي القمح على الطحنين فيكسب خملة مستكرة والدنيا محبوبة . فيامرهم الامير بالرواح واستصحاب الغلة للبيع . فيتنوع ذلك الملعون في نهب اموال مخدومه انواعا

22b

واستضعف عقل مخدومه وانتفع بعناية اهله ورتب له انواعا من المحبة وشرع في نهب مال مخدومه بوجوه كثيرة منها نهب الغلة عند السوق في المراكب وفي اجر المراكب وعند البيع وما يسرقه منه وفي مشتري القماش وسرقته في الثمن وسرقته من القماش عند حضوره ويستخدم غلمان ذلك الامير المقربين اليه بهدية فوطه ومنديل . ويتقن امره بما يحضره وبما احضره من القماش لدار الامير ويتقلدون المانة بالقماش للمشيخ الكاتب كانه من ماله ويستعين بدار الامير وغلمانه في دفع المضرات عنه . وتستد ابواب من يعرف خيانتة من ان يوشى بها لمخدومه . ثم يسري الخلل الى ما يتعلق بسلطان الزمان . فان كل كاتب من كتاب الامراء لا بد ان يكون من اولاد كتاب السلطان او اقاربهم . فمتى حلت بكاتب من كتاب الدولة كائنة او نازلة

23a

بحياته ونهب واحتكار اموال بيت المال وغير ذلك من قحة النصارى وتطاولهم في ارتكاب الكبائر من التعرض للمسلمات او شرب خمر في شهر رمضان المعظم وما يناسب ذلك استعان بالامراء على خلاصه بطريق كتابهم بانواع مختلفة . منها ان كان من مستوفيين الدولة فيطمع ذلك الكاتب الامير الذي يطلب شفاعا لهم مستوفي بوضع الحقوق السلطانية الواجبة الواجبة على اقطاعه او يطعمه بمشتري بلاد من المقطعين . وانه يلزم نظار تلك البلاد بمساعدته في العمارة والتقاوى . وان كانت معصرة فبالاخشاب من الحراج السلطاني

والتمشية في الزريعة وتوفير الحقوق في الباب والاعمال . وان لم يكن الكل فيكون الغائب . ومنهم من يبذل الذهب والخيول والقماش وغير ذلك . فيسعى ذلك الامير بنفسه وخوشداشيته الى المتحدث للسلطان اذا عجز ذلك الكلب عن اصلاحه . ويحلل امره ويستمر

23b

بذلك الملعون فيخون مطمئنا بمعينيه ويزداد نهبا وخطنا وسرقة لاعتماده على من يحميه بالرشا والبراطيل .

واعرض عن اشيئا لو شئت قلتها . ولو ان لي قوة او آوي الى ركن شديد لاذكرن تفاصيل احوال جماعة من كتاب النصارى ومن اظهر الاسلام منهم ظاهرا خوفا من قتل وعقوبة باسمائهم واشرح سيرة كل مستول بمكره منهم ومتعد بشره من مفسد ملحد شرير خبير نغل نذل وواضح حال كل مظهر لاسلامه مكيدة منه . واذكر حاله عنه من مترفع بهذيانه مخط لكل عالم من المسلمين يبهتانه تترادف عليه الفلج كوقغ السهام وهو في الخيانة والنهب الى قدام ومضاعفة اقدام . وقد استتر بظهور اسلامه وجعله سلما لبلوغ مرامه ابلس من

24a

ابليس اكسير الكذب والتدليس . ويحلف بدين الاسلام كاذبا على امر ما كان . ويصوغ ما لم يكن بالزور والبهتان وانه يكون انجس ما كان نصرانيا واكثر خيانة واقل حياء وامانة واشد فحة . فانه معجول على المخازي والفجور . وقد تحلص ظاهرا من رق النصرانية وذل اداء الجزية ووقهر دخوله في الالهة . فيظهر كلمتي الاسلام لحفظ ماله ونفسه ويزيد اقدامه على الخيانة والنهب ويكون في الظاهر مسلما . واذا دخل بيته وجد زوجته واولاده وبناته واقاربه واقارب اهله نصارى . فيكون معهم نصرانيا على الحقيقة ويصوم لصومهم ويفطر لفطرهم . ولو اعتبر معتبر لوجد عمر احد النصارى دون الخمسة وعشرين سنة . وخدمه ما تكون خمس سنين . ومعلومه ما يكون فيها مائتي دينار في تيك المدة . فتجد املاكه وظاهر حاله ما ينيف عن الاف موءلفة من الدنانير خارجا عن الزراكش

والمصاغ والجواهر والعبيد والممالك والخيول المسومة

24b

والاغنام والجواميس والمتاجر برا وبحرا. ويعتبر حال اكابر المسلمين وامنائهم ومن خدم الملوك والسلاطين من خمسين سنة من ذوي المناصب والجامكيات المتميزة فانهم يودون الامانة في جامكياتهم وانفاقها كل منهم في كلف وظيفته في باب سلطانه وتجمله بالخيول والغلمان وحسن البزة وان ورث شيئا اذهبه وامسى مديونا لعزة نفسه واما نتة.

ولما تملك التتار المخنولون بلاد الشام المحروسة توجه العالم ابو الفضائل بن اخت المكين بن العميد المعروف بكاتب الجيش بدمشق الى هولاء كو ملك التتار واستصحب معه من خاله المكين المذكور ومن ممولين النصاري بدمشق اموالا وتقادم وتحفا. وساعده المختص صاحب اربيل واستنجز فرمانا من هولاء كو يتضمن الامر لاهل الشرق وجزيرة ابني عمر والشام جميعه ان

25a

تظهر كل طائفة من العالم دينها من النصارى واليهود والمجوس والشمسية وعباد الاصنام. ولا ينكر احد من المسلمين على طائفة من الطوائف ولا يتعرض له بلسان او يد. ومن فعل ذلك يموت. ثم تحيل ذلك الملعون ان ارغب هولاء كو بقوله ان المدارس والخوانق والمساجد والزوايا يتناولها المسلمون بالتميم وشهادة بعضهم لبعض. ولا يقومون عنها بشيء من حقوق الملك لكون القاضي منهم والشهود منهم. وقرر ان يؤخذ لهولاء كو الثلث من جميع الاوقاف الدينية. وقرر ان يؤخذ لهولاء كو الثلث من جميع الاوقاف الدينية وكان قصد الملعون بذلك تبطيل شعائر الاسلام باضعاف الفقهاء واهنة القضاة ودرس الشرع الشريف. وحض بفرمان على يده يامر باظهار الدين واخذ ثلث اموال الاوقاف. ونزل سيدنا يا وسير الى النصارى بدمشق يعلمهم بحضوره بالفرمان من هولاء كو ونصرتهم على الاسلام ويقول لهم تتلقوني بالصلبان على العكاكيز والاناجيل

25b

في اثواب الديباج والزربفت والاطمس والمباخر بالعود
مع الشماسية والقسوس بغنا فيهم والمطارنة بحلاهم ومعهم الخمر
مجهرًا. وكان في العشر الاوسط من شهر رمضان المعظم سنة ثمان
وخمسين وستمئة. والخمر في اطباق الفضة والذهب وفي القناني
المذهبة والاقداح. فخرجوا اليه زرافات ووحدانا. ودخلوا مدينة
دمشق نهارا بالطبول والبوقات والصنوج والمباخر الفضة والمطعمة
والاعلان باصوات مرتفعة من ذلك العالم الكثير منهم المسيح عيسى
ابن مريم والصليب المعظم. وكل مسجد مروا به او مدرسة وقفوا
عنده ورشوا الخمر على ابوابه من فضلات الاقداح التي شربوا فيها
الخمر وضجوا بالدعاء بخلود دولة هولاكو الذي امر بنصرنا واظهار
ديننا الحق على اديان الكذابين ولم يبق ذلك اليوم من عوام
النصارى وزطهم واكابرهم ومتمولهم الا من لبس افخر لباس.

26a

وتبرج نسوانهم بالحلى والعقود. وجرى على المسلمين في
ذلك اليوم وهو من شهر رمضان المعظم ومجاهرتهم الله تعالى بالكفر
من الذلة وانكسار القلوب. واجهشوا بالبكاء وجريان الدموع الحارة
وابتهلوا الى الله عز وجل بكشف تيك الغمة عنهم.

وفي ثاني يوم دخول ابي الفضائل الملعون قرىء الفرمان في
الميدان بظاهر دمشق. وفي ذلك النهار حضر اليه شخصان احدهما
يعرف بالعز بن امسينا الواسطي وهو رجل مشهور بنضيلة وكتابة
بالذهب. والثاني القاضي مبشر بن القسطلاني معروف بابواب
الملوك والوزراء وذكر اليه ان النصارى احضروا كتابا تصنيف
المؤمن بن العسال المستوفي بدمشق ايام الملك الناصر وسماه
السيف المرفف في الرد على المصحف. ونودي عليه جهارا بجسر
البلادين بمدينة دمشق وهو عند الشمس الجزري الكتبي المعروف
بالفاشوشة. وانهما تصفحا الكتاب المذكور فتعلق على خاطرها منه

26b

انه خرج منه ذلك الملعون ان باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

يستخرج منها المسيح ابن الله. وجهل ذلك الملعون ان كل حرف او اسم او فعل يتقلب غير صيغته من حرفين فصاعدا وقال انه تضمن الكتاب العزيز ان مثل عيسى عند الله - الاية. وكذلك مريم اخت هارون وابنه عمران وان اسم عيسى عند اليهود ايشوع ومريم ام يشوع كانت بنت يهودي واسم امها حنة ولم يكن لعيسى اسم عندهم ولا يعلم. وقال ذلك الملعون اترى الذي انزل القران ما كان يعلم ان بين مريم وموسى وهارون الالف من السنين. وانكر امر الخضر عليه السلام وقال ليس له عندنا ذكره. وانما النصارى يقولون ان اسمه القديس امير جرجس وكان بعد المسيح بزمان. وانكر ما سواه لغنه الله. وانكر قصة سليمان عليه السلام وبلقيس وجميع ما نسب اليه. وانكر اهل الكهف وانه تجاسر وقال هذا من سخف المحدثين. وكنت في ذلك الوقت في خدمة السلطان الملك

27a

الاشرف مظفر الدين موسى صاحب حمص تغمد الله بالرحمة والرضوان. فتوجهت بنفسى الى جسر اللبادين وامسكت الشمس الكتبي الجزري وطلبت بالكتاب المذكور فحلف انه وداه للمؤمن الملعون وانه قطعة بحضوره وقطع مسوداته. فحضرت الى السلطان الملك الاشرف رحمه الله وسيرت من جهتي من اثق من غلماني من احضره وعرفت السلطان الواقعة فقال لي اطلب الكتاب واحضره وانا اضرب رقبة المؤمن. فطلبت الكتاب من الملعون فانكره وقال لم يكن بخطي وقطعته. ثم اخذته الى دارى وضيق عليه وشددت وهددت. فقام جماعة من نصارى دمشق منهم المكين بن المعتمد والرشيد المعروف بكاتب التفليسي وجماعة من اكابر النصارى ومتموليههم وخرجوا الى البستان الظاهري الى السبان شحنة التتار ويقال انه ابن خاله هولاكو وكان متسلط اسفا كما افرا وقدمواله اموالا جمة وقالوا ان فرمان ايلخان حضر بان يظهر كل

27b

انسان دينه ومذهبه ولا يتعرض اهل ملة لملة وان كاتب السلطان

الملك الاشرف امسك مصنف كتاب في ديننا وهو يقصد قتله .
 فسير السبان الى القاضى شمس الدين القمي النائب عن التتار
 بدمشق وهو بدار السعادة يقول انه يجتمع بالملك الاشرف وتقول
 له ان هذا البتكجي الذي لك خالف فرمان ايلخان وهذا يموت .
 فطلبني القمي من مخدومي وذكر الصورة وقال لي هؤلاء كفره
 فجرة ولا فرق بين المسلم والنصراني فلا تتعرض لهذا النصراني
 توذى انت وينضر مخدومك وتلبسوا عند هولاء كو انكم خالفتهم
 اليسق . ودين الاسلام له من يحمي له غيركم . وهذه واقعة مشهورة
 يعرفها اكابر دمشق وعدولها وحكامها . فقدّر الله تعالى في اقرب مدة
 ابن كسر السلطان الملك المظفر سيف الدين قطز التتار الملاعين
 وامسك المسلمين ذلك الملعون فضول ابن اخت المكين بن العميد
 وسلم للامير شرف الدين قيران الفحري استاذدار السلطان الملك

28a

المظفر رحمه الله عاقبه . وطلب منه اموالا فعمل
 كتاب النصارى وتحيلوا في اطلاق ذلك الملعون وهربوه الى
 الموصل فاتفق مع الرشيد التفليسي وعملوا بالمسلمين من المصائب
 ما لا يمكن ذكره وكانوا سبب قتل اهل الموصل بالسيف صبرا .
 ثم انه في ايام السلطان الملك الظاهر رحمه الله تعالى عرفه
 ناصحوا المسلمين من بلاد التتار ان المكين بن العميد كاتب الجيش
 كاتب هولاء كوبيدة جيش مصر حلقة وامراء فامسكه الملك الظاهر واراد
 قتله فاقف حا له ممن عمل عليهم النصارى من الامراء فاعتقله احدى
 عشرة سنة وكسورا . ثم تحيلوا في خروجه بالدنانير . وينبغي لهذه
 الواقعة ان يستباح اموال النصارى وحريمهم وارواحهم ولا يترك على
 وجه الارض نصراني ولا يهودي . فان سعيد الدولة صاحب ديوان
 بغداد والعراق عمل على اهنة المسلمين واعلاء كلمة اليهود .

28b

ثم عمل على ارغون ودس عليه من سقاء بعد اختزان اموال الاسلام
 ورفع منار اليهود واهان الاسلام وان كلا من هاتين الملعونتين

منتظرون فرصة تلوح والعياذ بالله ويعاملون الاسلام بطلب الثار .
 واذا ظهر تاثير ما الفته اظهرت للدولة الشريفة من تحصيل اموال
 هؤلاء الكلاب التي نهوها من بيت مال المسلمين يتجرون فيها
 ويشاركون التجار برا وبحرا وشاما ومصرًا . وظهر لمولانا السلطان
 خلد الله ملكه جسارة هؤلاء الملاحين على مشرى اسرى طرابلس
 من اولاد ملوك ونساء متمولين واعيان النصارى وما عمل على
 المسلمين في ممالكهم من التميم والاذى بما تصل قدرتهم اليه كما
 قيل .

وضيفة فاذا اصابته قدرة قتلت وذلك عادة الضعفاء

^{29a} وفي ايام مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر رحمه الله تعالى
 عند ما فتح قيسارية وارسوف جهز اهل عكة الى نصارى القاهرة من
 تحيل باتفاقهم في احراق الباطلية واحراق ربع فرح وقف الحرم
 الشريف بمصر واحراق عدة مواضع لاشتغال سر السلطان الملك
 الظاهر واذى المسلمين . وسرى الحريق الى جرون الريف في عدة
 مواضع . وكتب المنتصحوون للملك الظاهر بذلك من بلاد الفرنج
 فامسك النصارى واليهود بالقاهرة ومصر وجمع الجميع ليحرقهم .
 وركب بنفسه في عدة من الامراء ليقف على حريقهم بظاهر القاهرة .
 فبرز اليه ابن الكازروني الصيرفي وقال للسلطان سالتك الله لا
 تحرقنا مع هؤلاء الكلاب النصارى اعدائكم واعدائنا بل احرقنا
 بمفردنا عنهم . فضحك السلطان والامراء لمتسخر ابن الكازروني .
 فدخل عليه الامراء وسالوه ان يقرر عليهم اموالا ويعفو عنهم ولا
 يحرقهم . فقرر عليهم جملا كثيرة ورتب لها الامير سيف

^{29b} الدين بلبان المهراني يستخرج منهم المقررات في كل سنة . واستمر
 الحال الى ايام الملك السعيد عمل الكتاب من النصارى في اختلاف
 الدول واول دولة مولانا السلطان الملك المنصور رحمه الله وقدس
 روحه الطاهرة بالدناير والبراطيل وبطل عنهم ما قرر عليهم .
 وفي الايام الظاهرية ايضا تحقق ان جماعة من النصارى والارمن

والكرج من المجاورين بالكنيسة المصلبة بالقدس الشريف هم جواسيس التتار المخدولين. وانهم يكتبونهم باخبار المسلمين وعساكر مصر ومتجددات الامراء من موت وامساك وحركة او سكون مما يتصل ذلك اليهم من زوار قمامة من نصارى الديار المصرية. فامر بقتل الجواسيس ومن كان يؤيهم ورسم بان تدار تلك الكنيسة مسجداً.

30a

الملك المنصور تغمد الله برحمته

اثبت قاضي صنفه من صنف المنوفية بشهود عدول ان كنيسة استجلت بحروان استجدها النصارى ما بين الدولة المصرية والدولة الصلاحية. فامر الحاكم بهدمها شرعا بعد فتاوي اكابر الفقهاء بالقاهرة بهدمها. فعمل النصارى عند الامير حسام الدين طرناوى المنصوري النائب في ذلك الوقت ورسم باحضاري القاضي المذكور وضرب بالمقاري في باب القرافة واستمر خراب الكنيسة بعد ذلك كما ذكر لي الامير ناصر الدين محمد الجهر كسي والي منوف الى اخر سنة تسع وثمانين وستمائة. وان المحاضر الثابتة عند ناصر الدين ابن الجهر كسي المذكور بذلك. ثم عمرت في سنة تسعين بمساعدة عز الدين القشاش والي الغربية لاجل فلان وابن فلان كاتب فلان. وتحيل العفيف موسى الشوبكي التاجر وروح لتردده الى عكة

30b

صادرا وواردا انى ان نقل الى عكة الجمل الكثيرة من غلال السلطان رحمه الله وغلال بعض الامراء من الديار المصرية في البحر الملح. وكان ذلك اعانة منه للفرنج على المسلمين. ولو اني آوي الى ركن شديد لاذكرن من هو الذي اعان المذكور لامور ظاهرة محققة.

ويقول العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى غازي بن الواسطي مؤلف هذا الكتاب رحمه الله انه لا يحل لاحد من سلاطين الاسلام وملوكهم ونوابهم ووزرائهم الاستمرار على بقاء قمامة التي في القدس الشريف لما يعتمد فيها من اظهار غرور النصارى ان النور ينزل على القبر

الذي تزعم النصارى ان المسيح عليه السلام دفن فيه لاجل الرسم الذي يوءخذ منهم عند الزيارة . فان الجاهل من النصارى يقول له الفتيريك الملعون ان هذا النور يعاينه شهود المسلمين ويباشرونه بانفسهم فيزداد ضلالهم ويفوت عقولهم بان النور لا يحرق ويستمر اقبالهم على دين ابائهم الكفار سيما ومن يولد ويعاينه عند كبره في كل سنة . فيحمل ظهور هذا النور على الطعيان ويجعله دليلا لتمسكه بالمذهب والدين الملعون ويكون نواب سلطان ذلك الزمان معينهم على الاستمرار بالمحال والتماذي على الضلال والكفر والزندقة والارتباط على التدليس فاذا خربت هذه الكنيسة واندرس امر القبر والنور وشاع امره الصحيح المحقق ان مشارف القدس الشريف يستصحب معه القداحة والصوفان والكبرية ويقدح بحضور البترك الملعون ويشعل فتيلة القنديل الملاان بالزيت . فاذا فرغ الزيت انطفئ القنديل المسمى بالنور وتبين لهؤلاء تلك العديمين العقول انه من ابواب المحال والضلال . وكان الموجب لانحلالهم عن دينهم . وربما اسلم الاكثر ممن يظهر لهم زيف تميم كبيرهم الملعون كالبتريك والاسقف والمطران وتبرد همهم وتنحل عقائدهم بعدم هذا النور . كما فعل في زمن معاوية بن ابي سفيان رضي الله عنه لما سير

^{31a}

بعثة الى قبرص ودخل العرب المسلمون الى جزيرة قبرص وملكوها ووجدوا فيها صليبا من حديد واقفا في الهواء بين صاريين عاليين فتعجب العرب منه ومن وقوفه بلا آلة . وكان في العرب من فيه بصيرة . فتقدم وقلع الصاري الواحد فوق الصليب فوجد فيه حجر مغناطيس من اكبر ما يمكن طولا وعرضا . فرمى الصاري الثاني فوجده كذلك وان الحجرين المغناطيس يجذبان بالقوة ذلك الصليب بقوة معتدلة من كل جهة بالخاصية فلا يقغ . فلما وقع الصاري وقع الصليب وبان زيفهم وظهر ما دبره الملاعين اكابر النصارى وعلموا انه هذيان مفتعل . وارجو من الله تعالى الذي اعطى هذا مولانا السلطان بن السلطان الملك الاشرف صلاح الدين من النصر

^{31b}

والفتوحات الميسرة وخذلان الكفرة مالا اعطي لسلطان قبله وجمع له بين حسن الفعال والشجاعة والكرم والاقدام وحسن الصورة ان يسطر في صحائف حسنات ايام سلطنته الشريفة محو اثار ^{32a} يشهد به الديوان المعمور وما اشبه ذلك من هذا الهذيان الذي اصطلاح عليه الاقباط الجبال بمصر والشام. كما قال بعض الفضلاء في قول الحسن بن هانئ المعري

اصاحت فقلت وقع اشرد شيزم

وان كانت هذه الالفاظ من اللغة الغربية مقولة منقولة فهو يشبه رقا العقارب. فانه غاية الامر فيما قاله انها تسمعت مشي حافر فرس. فكذلك اصطلاح الاقباط على تيك الهذيان والخزعات الغربية الالفاظ. فاذا شرحت كانت كاكل مقدمة نحو يحفظها اصغر اولاد المسلمين في المكاتب. واذا سافر الحاذق من الذين اتقنوا ذلك الاصطلاح الى العراق او الروم او العجم لم ينتفع بشيء من ذلك. فان كل اقليم له اصطلاح بعبارة اهله والنسب اليهم وبغير لبس. ان الممالك الحلبية والشرقية كان ترتيبهم في الحساب والاصطلاح في دواوينهم خلاف الاوضاع المصرية عن قرب عهد. فلما

^{32b} تملك الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف بن العزيز المملكة الدمشقية واستخدم بعض الاقباط في البلاد الحلبية والشرقية نقلوا الاوضاع الى الاصطلاح المصري لعجزهم عن الحساب الشامي الذي يشهد اصله لصرفه وصرفه لاصله. فلا يبقى لخائن فيه حيلة ان يغمس فيه حبه الا وظهرت. ثم انه كان في سنن ملوك الشام وسلاطينهم الى اخر الايام الناصرية ان لا يتفق خلو الديوان المعروف بالاستفتاء من مسلمين اكابر عدول جماعة كبيرة من ارباب البيوت المشهورين بالامانة والصناعة بحيث لا ينفرد يهودي ولا نصراني في شيء من ممالك الشام وغيره في كلمة واحدة. ولا يتحدث ولا يكتب الا بعد تحرير المسلم في كل قضية تقع. ثم يسطرها اليهودي والنصراني ويكتب ذلك العدل عليها بالصحة ففي ايسر مدة لطيفة يصرف

المسلمون همهم لاشغال اولادهم في كشف تلفيق هؤلاء السفلة

^{33a} الجاهل ويتقنونه اتقانا جيدا بذكائهم ويتفقهون في اظهار المصالح كما تفقهوا في العلوم الدينية وحنفوا فيها الا فاموءلفة من الكتب ويفرعون وجوها لم يدركها اليهود والنصارى ويعملون في اموال بيت مال المسلمين بكتاب الله تعالى وسنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. وتنمو الاموال بالبركات والعدل وتندرس الاغراض الفاسدة وابواب لمظالم وتغنى معالمهم وتبلى اثارهم القبيحة الفضيحة. ويكون مولانا السلطان الاشرف صلاح الدنيا والدين قد عمل بسنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. ويسير سيرة الخلفاء الراشدين والسلاطين العادلين. فان مالكا رضي الله عنه ذكر في كتاب المدونة الكبرى ان امير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه قال لا يتخذ من اليهود والنصارى حزرون ولا صيارفة ويقاموا من اسواقنا. فقد اغنى الله تعالى المسلمين عنهم. فاذا كان هذا الامر في البيغ ولشراى الذي ليس فيه منصب ولا صورة فكيف

^{33b} في تولية المناصب. فان اليهود يعتقدون ان الربا جائز مع غير اهل ملتهم لاعتقادهم استباحة الاموال. فمن يعتقد استباحة الاموال من المسلمين كيف يجوز توليته عقلا او شرعا. فقد قالت العقلاء العجب من موءمن يستخدم كافرا يخالفه في ارائه ويضادده في دينه واعتقاده. وقالوا ايضا العجب ممن يطرح وليا موءمنا عاقلا ويستكفي عدوا جاهلا كافرا. وقال اخر في المسلم اربغ خصال لا توجد في غيره حسن العفاف وكثرة الانصاف والرقعة على اهل الدين ونصح المسلمين. وفي المشرك اربغ خصال قلة لدين وكثرة الخيانة وغش المسلمين وابعاد اهل الدين.

كمل الكتاب بحمد الكريم الوهاب. الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على محمد وآله الطاهرين وصحبه وسلم. حسب الله ونعم الوكيل.

TRANSLATION

In the name of the merciful and gracious God! Praise be to God for having given us the religion of Islam! Prayer and Praise to the best of all Creatures! Pray God for him—that he grant him peace, as well as his family and his noble and spotless companions. Now, this small treatise demands that we should follow the folk of tradition and gain the victory for the people of the (real) faith and the truth, and that we should answer those who differ with them or who follow their own inclination without possessing any true knowledge. I am of opinion—putting my trust in God—that (fol. 2a) the protected people who, not being subjected to fear, have been allowed to live freely in Egyptian and Syrian regions, some of them unbelievers belonging to the Jewish faith and others to sects of the Christians, are worse unbelievers and more stiff-necked than those who wield the sword and who have kept their hold over Islam by oppression and tyranny.

Now, in order that there may be brought to light by means of (extracts from) the exalted sciences (of Islam) what injuries Islam can inflict upon them in the wish to cleanse the days of the exalted Sultanate of their filthiness, just as it has blotted out their strong and well-defended kingdoms, their lofty and towering fortifications, and has turned them into hiding slinkers—there being disclosed in the accounts dealing with the reign of his excellent majesty a degree of merit which did not belong to (any other) Sultan of the East or of the West, so that in doing so he trod the paths of the Prophet of God, of the Righteous Caliphs and the noble Sultans—(in order to do this) I have composed this Preface and two Sections. The Preface will contain whatsoever the Holy Book has to say on the subject and whatsoever has been handed down in tradition from the Prophet. The first section will include that which has come to us from the Prince of the Faithful, Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, his immediate followers (fol. 2b) and those of the Banû Umayyah who followed them, as well as the Banû Abbās, the Egyptian rulers and the like. The second section will deal with events that have happened in this our own time and the truth of which is fortified by the testimony of leading men. That which I have written I have divested of all possible ambiguity. I have made it certain by investigations that no one will be able to counter, oppose or throw upon a side; so that any one who reflects upon all this and studies the matter in its whole

and its various parts, will know that I have sought nothing more than to earn the good will of my Master and to draw nearer to Allah in all that I have set down with my fingers. I ask God's help; for all must rely upon His favor and His mercy.

Preface; that which is found in the Splendid Book.

God said¹: 'O ye who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as partners, one with the other—for those of you who do so practically belong to them.' Further²: 'O ye who believe, do not take as partners those who are inimical to me.' Further³: 'Make war upon those who do not believe (fol. 3a) in Allah, in the Last Day and who do not hold forbidden that which Allah and his Messenger have so held—as well as those to whom a revelation has been given, who do not judge justly—until they pay the poll-tax willingly, being few in number.' The Christians are worse than are the Jews in the matter of Polytheism, just as the Jews are worse than are the Christians in the matter of unbelief and stiff-neckedness. For this reason Allah has branded the one with his anger and the other with error. Further⁴: 'Allah said, O ye that believe, have nought to do with such as make sport and fun of your faith—to whom a revelation was given prior to your own. Indeed, the rank unbelievers are to be preferred. Fear Allah, if you are true Believers.'

Traditions handed down from the Prophet.

Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* says, on the authority of 'Āishah: Once the Prophet went out—it was before the battle of Badr; and when he was in *Ḥarrat-al-Wabrah*,⁵ a man came up to him of whom it was said that he was daring and generous. The friends of the Prophet were glad to see him. This man said to the Prophet (fol. 3b.): 'I have come in order to be one of your followers and to share your fate.' The Prophet answered: 'Dost thou believe in Allah and in his Prophet?' The man said 'No!' To which the Prophet replied: 'Go whither thou camest from. I can take no help from an idolater.' So he went his way until, one day, he met the Prophet under a tree, and the same conversation took place. Again, he went his way until he met the Prophet in the desert,

¹ *Qurān* 5. 56.

² *ib.* 60. 1.

³ *ib.* 9. 29.

⁴ *ib.* 5. 62.

⁵ *Yāqūt* II. 253 gives both forms 'Wabrah' and 'Wabarah'. He also mentions Muslim as his source.

when the latter said to him: 'Dost thou believe in Allah and in his Prophet?' To which the man answered 'Yes.' 'Then, follow me,' said the Prophet.

For this reason the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said: 'No help must be accepted from either Jews or Christians in any of the official acts of the Muslims, e. g. the poll-tax.' In like manner 'Abū Ḥanifah, al Shāfi'ī and other legal authorities hold that it is not lawful to appoint one of them to a position of influence in any province or to any station of trust; for unbelief is inconsistent with authority and with trust. The injunction of Allah: 'Do not ask help of an idolater' includes asking them for help in defence, employing them as governors, as clerks, and the like (fol. 4a). The general term used must be applied in all cases and can not be confined to a special case. In saying this he strengthens his position by two considerations. The one is that he gives their idolatry as a reason for withholding the appeal for help; and this reason applies equally to all such appeals. The second is that since he has not asked help from them in military matters, in which there is neither official appointment, nor raising him to a position of trust, nor elevating in rank—when it comes to positions of authority and of dignity, it is even less meet and proper. For this reason the legal authorities are agreed that it is impossible to put them in governing positions or in stations of power or in places of weight in a council; nor can they be allowed to build their houses higher than those of Muslims, nor can they be greeted first. When they are met on the road, they should be compelled to take to the narrowest part of it. It will be seen that the prohibition of asking them for help is general in its tenor—it being understood to refer to all unbelievers (living) among the People of the Book. This decision he bases upon his belief in Allah and in his Prophet. For just as soon as any one of the People of the Book declares the law of Allah and of his Prophet to be untrue, and disobeys the demands as laid down by the Prophet of Allah, idolatry adheres to him.

In this respect Allah says⁶: 'They have taken their clergy and their monks as their masters, but not Allah and the Messiah son of Mary. They were commanded to serve only one God; there is none other than He. Praise be to Him; far be He from that which they associate with him' (fol. 4b).

⁶ *Qurān* 9. 31.

We have a tradition that has come to us from Abū Bakr al-Athram⁷, one of the most important traditionists; it comes down to us through the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and others and is cited in the (former's) collection of traditions, on the authority of Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī, to wit: The Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ordered him to bring an account of that which he had received and that which he had expended (written) upon a piece of parchment. Now, Abū Mūsa had a Christian for scribe; and this man brought the account to the Caliph. 'Umar wondered at Abū Mūsa employing such a man and said: 'Verily, this man is very careful; call him that he read the Koran for me.' But, Abū Mūsa answered: 'He will not be willing to come to the mosque.' 'Is he ritually unclean?' asked 'Umar. 'No,' answered Abū Mūsa, 'he is a Christian.' Whereupon 'Umar upbraided me, struck my thigh so hard with his hand as almost to break it, and said: 'Have nothing to do with the Christians, seeing that Allah has put them at a distance; have no faith in them, seeing that Allah distrusts them; and do not esteem them, seeing that Allah has humbled them.'

The Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal has the following tradition—coming from Ḥarb al-Kirmānī, in a group of questions that he put to 'Iyād al-Ash'arī —: Abū Mūsa had taken a Christian for scribe; of which action 'Umar disapproved. Abū Mūsa objected: 'But his work is bound to be of service to me' (fol. 5a). 'Umar retorted: 'Have no faith in them, seeing that Allah distrusts them; do not esteem them, seeing that Allah has humbled them; have nothing to do with them, seeing that Allah has put them at a distance.'

Some Muhājirs came to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb with wealth gotten at Al-Baḥrein. 'Umar said to them: 'O Company of Muslims—may Allah have mercy upon you—much riches have come into our hands. If you desire, we can measure it. If you desire, however, we can weigh it. Again, if you desire, we can count it.' One of the men, however, came to him and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, we have seen how the Persians have instituted a system of Dīwāns⁸.' So, 'Umar commanded that Dīwāns should be instituted in the various governmental districts; and when instituting such Dīwāns, he wrote to all his governors not to appoint in the service any unbeliever, be he Jew or Christian.

⁷ Who he is I am unable to find out.

⁸ For the general traditions concerning such Dīwāns and their origin, see Bilādhurī *Futūḥ*, p. 193.

Mu'āwīyyah ibn Abī Sufyān wrote to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, as follows: 'In my district there is a Christian scribe, without whom I can not complete the taking of the poll-tax. I am unwilling to continue employing him without some word from you.' 'Umar answered his letter as follows: 'May Allah keep us and you in good health! I have read your letter concerning the Christian. My answer is this. The Christian is to be considered as if he were dead and gone; (fol. 5b) in no tradition and in no narrative is there any mention of an idolater being given an administrative charge during the times of the Prophet, of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān or of 'Alī.'

The following tradition comes from Abū Mashja'ah ibn Rabī, one of the leading traditionists: When the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, came to Syria, Constantine the Patriarch of Syria⁹ appeared before him and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, Abū 'Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrāḥ has put a poll-tax upon us; do you write a note to me concerning it.' 'Umar refused to do this, saying: 'What tax has he laid upon you?' Constantine answered: 'He has laid a tax of four dirhems and a woolen cloak upon every chief of tribe; and not a single man has dared to speak with 'Umar except with Abū 'Ubaidah's permission.' Whereupon 'Umar turned to Abū 'Ubaidah: 'What have you to say to this?' 'He has lied about me,' said Abū 'Ubaidah; 'I came to equitable terms with him. Do you yourself come and assign the rate of tax.' 'Umar said to Constantine: 'Abū 'Ubaidah is more trustworthy than are you.' 'Yes,' answered Constantine: 'Abū 'Ubaidah has told the truth; it is I who have lied.' Then said 'Umar: 'What induced you to do so?' 'I wanted (fol. 6a) to deceive you,' said Constantine, 'but you were too clever for me.' So 'Umar laid a tax upon the wealthy of 48 dirhems; upon those of middling fortune, of 24 dirhems, and upon the poor of 12 dirhems. He also gave orders that the Christians should not build new churches nor erect crosses, where Muslims lived, and that they should not ring their church-bells except in the interior of their churches; (saying) 'we ought to have the power to divide up their dwellings with them, so that Muslims may share these with them.' (He added): 'I do not trust you; I shall take the southern part of the land around their churches as places for

⁹ Who is this Patriarch? Is he Constantine the son of Heraclius? Abū 'Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrāḥ had command over the Syrian army and conquered Damascus.

Mohammedan Mosques, as they are situate in the very middle of the various cities.' It was, further, ordered that they should not drive swine amongst the Muslims; that they should entertain any guests that might come to them for three days and three nights; that they should carry those who came on foot from one village to another; that they should give such ones good advice and not maltreat them, and that they should not show too much consideration for an enemy.' He said further: 'We consider it lawful to shed their blood and to take captive their children and their wives. In such manner a compact and an agreement are made with Allah, and proper protection is assured the Muslims.'

Constantine answered: 'Put this down in writing for us!' While the document was being drawn up, 'Umar bethought himself and said twice: 'I must make an exception for you in regard to a whole army of difficulties.' Then he added: 'Here are your two times.' Now when the document was finished, (fol. 6b) Constantine said: 'Come, O Commander of the Faithful, go among the people; tell them that which you have done for me and about the poll-tax that you have set in my case.' So 'Umar went and spake as follows: 'Praise be to Allah! I render praise to him and I ask him for aid. He whom Allah leads can not go astray, and he whom Allah does lead astray, for such a one there is no (other) leader.' But that cursed Nabatean injected: 'Allah leads no man astray.' Then said 'Umar: 'What sayeth the Nabatean?' The answer came: 'He says that Allah leads no man astray.' To which 'Umar replied: 'Verily, we have not given thee that which we have given with the idea that thou shouldst attack us in our faith. By him in whose hands is my soul, if thou doest such a thing again, I shall strike that in which are thy two eyes (i. e., thy face).' We must keep in mind that which this dog has criticized as well as that which the Commander of the Faithful 'Umar has said, the terms he laid down and the return given to him when the Caliph answered his criticism; how he warned Constantine that some of the Copts were lording it over the Muslims; that they were holding Muslims as bond-men, bond-women and slaves; that they were raising their watch-towers and buildings too high; that they were arraying themselves in the finest clothing possessed by the Muslims—not to mention that they had acquired precious stones, brocades and gardens, as well as merchandise brought from over land and sea, and how they pursued doggedly pleasures of various kinds. He complained,

also, about a certain Christian coming from Morocco, destitute and moneyless; one of those poverty-stricken Christians like those who make begging their livelihood.¹⁰ He did chores (fol. 7a) in the meanest of places, which places, afterwards, he plundered—using that which he had stolen for the purpose of giving bribes. Finally, he was able to raise himself to the highest position there, being transferred from one post to the other until he was placed in charge of the army and the finances. It needed only a little time and he was rebuilding the gardens, the irrigation canals and various broken-down properties. But in order to accomplish all this he had to plunder the treasury of the Muslims, which he divided up with the lowest and the vilest among them.

The following comes to us upon the authority of ‘Abd-al-Rahmān ibn ‘Uthmān: This letter was written to ‘Umar when he made peace with the Christians of Syria.¹¹

‘This letter is sent to ‘Abd Allah ‘Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, by the Christians of Syria. Verily, when you came to us, we begged safety for ourselves, our children and our possessions on condition that we would not build in our cities and in the country near them either monastery, church or monk’s cell; that we would not rebuild any such that may be in ruins, nor raise up that which Muslims have torn down; that we would not refuse permission to any Muslim to enter our Churches, either by day or by night; that we would open their gates to passers-by and to travellers, and grant hospitality for three days to any Muslim that passes by our door; that we would not receive into our churches or into our dwellings any spy; that we would not practice any deception to the prejudice of the Moslems; (fol. 7b.) that we would not teach the Kurān to our children; that we would neither preach the Trinity nor invite anyone to accept the doctrine; that we would not restrain any of our relatives from becoming Moslems if they so wish; that we would show proper deference to the Moslems, offering them our seats if they desire to sit down; that we would not try to imitate them in any part of their dress; that we would not use the same fore-names that they use; that we would not ride upon saddles, nor wear swords,

¹⁰ Evidently a monk.

¹¹ Several recensions of this letter have come down to us. Probably most of them are spurious, as Miednikoff and Caetani hold rightly. See the latter’s *Annali* 3^e p. 958. Even the name of the chief ecclesiastic at Damascus is held to be unknown. See de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la Conquête de la Syrie*, p. 83.

nor bear nor carry any form of weapon whatsoever; and that we would strike the clappers softly in our churches. When we accompany our dead, we will not raise our voice in chanting. We will not run to the aid of a slave when the weapon of the Moslems is ready to fall upon him; we will not visit such in their dwellings nor set them right upon the road.'

Now, when the Commander of the Faithful had read this communication, he added these words: 'We make this agreement for ourselves and for all our people. For doing so, we receive protection. Should we deviate from any condition upon which we have agreed with you and for which we in our persons have become guarantees—then, we no longer are to enjoy protection; and you can do with us as riotous and uproarious people are dealt with. Let those who reflect consider these conditions with care; let them be thoughtful of their dress and their mounts and how they address the rich and such ilk among Moslem men and women. Verily! There is no real power excepting such as resides in Allah, the High and the Mighty!'

(fol. 8a) 'Umar ibn al-'Azīz, the chief of the Banū Umayyah wrote to his lieutenants in the various provinces as follows: 'Umar sends you greetings. He cites to you from the Book of Allah, about which there is no uncertainty¹²: 'O ye who believe! The non-Moslems are nothing but dirt. Allah has created them to be partisans of Satan; most treacherous in regard to all they do; whose whole endeavor in this nether life is useless, though they themselves imagine that they are doing fine work. Upon them rests the curse of Allah, of the Angels and of man collectively.' Know, then, that they who have gone before you died simply because they refused to accept the truth and stretched out the hand of wickedness. I have heard of some Moslems in times gone by, that when they arrived in a certain country, the non-Moslems came to them and asked them for assistance in their municipal affairs and in keeping their books, because the Moslems were expert in book-keeping, in tax-gathering and in running business affairs. There can be no prosperity, nor can there be any real management when one makes use of anything that angers Allah or his Prophet. Indeed, there was a time—Allah has brought it to an end—when one did not know of a governor who, having a single man living in his province connected with any religion

¹² *Qurān* 9. 28.

other than Islam, did not visit him with exemplary punishment. For the abolition of their own governments, and their having reached the low station to which Allah had degraded them was in itself abasement and derogation. Let every one of you write to me (fol. 8b.) what he has done in his province.

He commanded that both Jews and Christians should be forbidden to ride upon saddles; that no one belonging to the 'Protected Peoples' should be allowed to enter a public bath on Friday, except after Prayer-time. He ordered, further, that a guard should be set to watch both Jews and Christians whenever they slaughtered an animal, so that the guard should mention the name of Allah and of his Prophet (at such slaughter). His governor over Egypt, Ḥayyān¹³, wrote to him: 'O Commander of the Faithful! If things continue as they are now in Egypt, all the 'Protected Peoples' will soon become Moslems and then we shall cease to get any money (taxes) from them.' Whereupon 'Umar sent to him a messenger strong in character saying: 'Go down to Egypt and give Ḥayyān thirty stripes with a whip upon his head as a punishment for that which he has written, and tell him as follows: "Take care, O Ḥayyān; whosoever has become a Moslem, do not ask the poll-tax from him. I only wish that the whole bunch of them would become converted. Verily! Allah has sent Mohammed as a preacher, not as a tax-gatherer."'

When the Banū Umayyah once again admitted the Christians as scribes in their various provinces and countries, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Anṣārī¹⁴ wrote the following verses to 'Abd al-Malik:

'O ye sons of Umayyah, drive away the uncircumcised tongues, as ordained by the prophet of Allah and the Caliphs;
Do not appoint Copts to be scribes for your government work;
doing so constitutes wrong and sin. (fol. 9a)
You should be leaders, from whom a light shines over one's tracks,
continuing to be bright even when one stands still.'

Then, 'Abd al-Malik gave orders that as long as he ruled, neither Jew nor Christian should be appointed to office; and he finished off in cold blood all those who had appointed such.

¹³ I. e. Ḥayyān ibn Shuraiḥ.

¹⁴ He was official scribe of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik; Tabari, *Annales* 2, 1168.

Khālīd ibn Saḡwān wrote to 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ, when the latter was governor of Egypt:

'Oh 'Amr! thy right hand has charge of our Egypt; and thou art all-powerful over it in all righteous and just action.

Kill with thy sword anyone who opposes thy will, and make the Copts the conquered of thy sword.

Through them wrong-doing has become established within her borders and her people have seen oppression and excess.

Rely not upon the Christians; they are folk who are opposed to the very law of the Almighty. (fol. 9b)

Remember the Commander of the Faithful and his behest; if thou desirest to be obedient to him,

Do not keep any engagement made with an Unbeliever; do not observe any compacts arrived at with him or any agreement.'

During that very night¹⁵ 'Amr saw in his sleep a Christian talking and reciting certain verses, while he pointed at 'Amr with his hand:

'A noble girl—they robbed her of her mother and reviled her by treading her with their feet.

Then they set her as ruler over them; but beware when your enemy becomes your ruler.'¹⁶

'Amr awoke in fright and said: 'By Allah! I have not given them jurisdiction over any subject that Islam has withdrawn from them'; and he gave command that all the Copts should be removed from office.

Al-Kisā'i¹⁷ used to teach al-Ma'mūn how to read the Koran, he (al-Kisā'i) standing behind a curtain. Whenever the prince made a slip, al-Kisā'i was accustomed to beat with a stick upon a pillow. Al-Ma'mūn had reached the passage: 'O ye who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as leaders, etc., etc.' Al-Kisā'i beat with his stick, and al-Ma'mūn thought that he had made a mistake. So he commenced to re-read the passage in the same manner as he had read it the first time. Again al-Kisā'i struck; (fol. 10a) and then al-Ma'mūn understood that

¹⁵ Evidently, the night on which he had received the verses from Khālīd.

¹⁶ I am told that these are popular verses sung over the wine-cups. The vine is apostrophized as a girl and sung to as such.

¹⁷ Evidently, the great philologist, Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah, who taught also Ma'mūn, the other son of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

al-Kisā'i wished to call his attention to the meaning of the holy verse, and he gave orders that neither Jew nor Christian should remain in a position of authority in any province, either in secretarial nor financial matters.

During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥya¹⁷ was appointed to be governor in Khorassān, and Ja'far his brother was placed in charge of the Diwān of Seals. The two built private and public mosques, established other public benefactions, [and constructed¹ the cisterns connected with the public fountains, as well as schools for the Moslem orphans, to whom they gave all the substance at their disposal. Both of them removed the non-Moslems from the Diwāns and from all other offices. Al-Faḍl destroyed their strongholds and their places of worship in Khorassān, and gave orders that it should be made impossible for them to paint white anything that might be left of their churches, lest they should look like the Mosques of the Moslems in the various countries.

'Amr ibn 'Abd Allah mentions the following: Al-Ma'mūn consulted me in connection with certain complaints made by the Moslems regarding their treatment by the Copts of Egypt, saying: 'O 'Amr, do you know anything about the origin of the Copts?' I answered: 'They are the remnants (fol. 10b) of the people of the Pharaohs who (at one time) were in Egypt.' He said: 'Tell me something about them.' I answered: 'O Commander of the Faithful! When the Persians wrenched the power out of the hands of the Pharaohs, they killed all the Copts; and those only were left alive who were able to flee and to hide in Esne and in al-Ukṣurain.¹⁸ There they studied medicine and secretarial work. Then they returned; and the best among them served the Persians as physicians and as scribes. But they acted deceitfully and corresponded with the Greeks, telling them all about the Persians, the number of soldiers they had; informing them of the secret counsels of the Persians in that which concerned their rule over Egypt and urging the Greeks to come to their aid and possess

^{17a} Al-Faḍl and Ja'far, grandsons of Khālīd the Barmecide. Al-Faḍl was governor of Khorasān between 794 and 796 A.D.

¹⁸ The text has *أشنة* —but the writer must refer to *أشنة*, Yāqūt i. 265, in the farthest part of Ṣa'īd or Upper Egypt (Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 148). Al-Uksurain was also in that region. Cfr. Ibn Dukmāk, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, v. 31; though I am not at all sure of the pronunciation. De Sacy, *Abdallatif*, p. 702, 'Aloksorein'.

themselves of the land. They made clear to them the reasons why they ought to arrive at power. So the Greek kings came together, mustered an army, invaded the country, took possession of it and presided over the killing off of the Persian kings and their followers, setting up the faith of the Trinity. They were able to gain the country into their power. By the deception that they practised, they attained their full desire and destroyed the rule of the Persians. One of the poets said in regard to them:

‘Cursed be both Christian and Jew; in our generation they have accomplished amongst us their every desire;
They have gone out as physicians and as scribes, in order to steal souls and to gain riches.’¹⁹

It happened in the days of al-Mahdī that a lot of Moslems came to one of the ascetics, (fol. 11a) complaining about the Christians. This ascetic belonged to the entourage of al-Mahdī. He was asked to tell what he knew about these Christians: for some of the Moslems had been hurt in their person, others in their pocket. Those who felt injured in their person were those Moslems who had lost their positions and had been superseded by Christians. Those who felt injured in their pockets were those who had been brought to financial ruin. The ascetic had an interview with al-Mahdī, to whom he told what he had heard the people say. Then he recited to him the verses:

‘By my father and my mother, either my dreams have led me awry, or both my mind and my thought have gone astray.
Whosoever is unfaithful to the religion of the prophet Mohammed—can such a one have anything to do with the affairs of the Moslems?

If their swords are not drawn against us, then are their pens, which are as sharp as swords.’

Al-Hākim, who claimed descent from the Fatimides, saw in a dream how the Creator, in the form of a man, was borne upon hands until he reached the gate of the castle, where he died. He tried to explain this dream to himself and said: The truth can be seen plainly all over the world; but, before it reaches us, it has become corrupt. He thought little of himself and of his family. He thought equally little of Jews and Christians. So he

¹⁹ I. e. the physician stole the souls and the scribes the riches of the people.

ordered that the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem should be destroyed, (fol. 11b)²⁰ sending the following word: 'His Highness the Imām commands that the Resurrection be destroyed, making its top level with its bottom and its length with its breadth.' He also caused the convent called 'al-Ḳusair to be demolished, as well as a large church in Damietta. This occurred in the year 391(A.H.),²¹ on the 17th of Sha'bān. Further, he sent word that Jews and Christians should be reviled; making it unlawful for them to accept secretarial positions, to act as physicians to any Moslem; ordering that not one of them should ride upon a horse or a mule—being permitted to mount an ass only when seated upon a pack-saddle; that no Christian should be given the [by-] name Abū Shākir, Abū al-Fadl or Abū al-Futūḥ; that neither Christian nor Jewish women should wear boots of yellow leather, but gaiters, one red and the other black. Further, he ordered that their women be allowed to enter the public baths only if wooden crosses were suspended from their necks; and that Jewish women should suspend pieces of dried camel's-skin²² from their necks. The men were to do likewise; the weight of each cross and of each piece of skin to be four pounds. It was he that published broadcast, so that the word spread out over the whole world, that the Jews and the Christians were treacherous folk, and that Allah would put his curse upon anyone that gave them a beautiful robe to wear, Islām having deprived them of such dress. Then he gave orders that by the side of every church in Egypt a mosque and a minaret should be built, (fol. 12a.) the minaret being raised higher than any part of the church, wherever that church could be seen. In like manner, he built within the grounds of every monastery a mosque. One of these he built in the Monastery al-Ḳusair, which the Christians however kept closed until the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Thāhir, when there happened in connection with it something, the reason for which I can only desire that our Lord the Sultan will ask me about. Then the Sultan insisted upon its use as a mosque.

In such manner there appeared in the days of our Master the Sultan a minaret in the church al-Mu'allakah in Ḳaṣr al-Sham'

²⁰ Al-Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ* (1st ed.), II. 287; Ibn al-Kalānisi, *Hist. of Damascus* (Ed. Amedroz), pp. 67-8.

²¹ Ca. 1000 A.D. On the general treatment accorded to non-Moslems by al-Hākim, see Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, pp. 179, 198; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, pp. 126 seq.

²² Perhaps better, 'a piece of wood'.

in Cairo. Now, the Christians had [as it were] stolen the Minaret just mentioned, having hidden it and made it unseen from the side of the church, making it a part of the church itself. This had been done in connivance with the man who had been Muezzin of the Mosque for a period of thirty years. When the scoundrel finally died and the duties of Muezzin came into other hands, the new Muezzin found what looked like a closet and traces of steps leading up to a closed door. So he brought a ladder, opened the door and came upon the minaret. He made the affair known (fol. 12b) and took his stand in it proclaiming the *Idhān*. But the Christians worked the people up against the Muezzin, so that he was beaten with whips, driven from the Mosque and forced to earn his livelihood acting as servant for one man and as scribe for another. The matter came to the ears of the Amīr Zain al-Dīn Katbugha the younger brother of al-Manṣūr, who took it up and referred it to the Amīr Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Ṭurnūṭāi²³ of al-Manṣūr and to the Amīr Zain al-Dīn Katbugha the Elder.²⁴ The Muezzin was reinstated by definite order at the above-mentioned mosque.

In the days of al-Ma'mūn al-'Abbāsī a certain Jew rose in position so that he came to sit in a station more elevated than even the Mohammedan dignitaries. One of the nobles of the court played the following trick upon him. He sent a scrap of paper to al-Ma'mūn on which was written:

'O Son of him, loyalty to whom was to be found among all people, and whose word was law binding upon us,
We who feel thus believe that he whom thou honorest is nothing but a Liar.'

Al-Ma'mūn answered him: 'You are right! You have done well to call my attention to it'—ordering at once that the Jew should be drowned. Then al-Ma'mūn told those who were present the story of al-Miḡdād ibn al-Aswad al-Kindī, (fol. 13a) a friend of the Prophet²⁵—how, when he was on one of his journeys, he was accompanied for a whole day by a Jew. When morning broke, al-Miḡdād remembered the saying handed down from the Prophet: 'No Jew is on good terms with a Moslem unless he has

²³ So punctuated in ms. Perhaps better, Ṭurnūṭāi, the chief vizier of the Mamluke Khalīl, ca. 1290 A.D.; Van Berchem, p. 319.

²⁴ Viceroy, and afterwards virtually Sultan.

²⁵ Especially concerned in driving the Jews out of Khaibar. Ibn Hishām, p. 779.

up his sleeve some scheme to trap him.' Then al-Miḡdād said to the Jew: 'By Allah! When you leave me you will have to tell me what crime you are meditating against me, or else I shall have to kill you.' The Jew answered: 'If I tell, have I your promise to do me no harm?' Al-Miḡdād said: 'Yes'—binding himself by an oath. Then the Jew added: 'Since I have been traveling with you, I have been planning for you to loose your head, so that I might trample it under my foot.' 'How right was the Prophet of Allah—Allah grant him peace!', rejoined al-Miḡdād.

The story is told that during the life of one of the kings a Jew known as al-Hārūnī (the Aaronide), who enjoyed high rank at his hands, played a game of chess with him in his drinking-room, on the promise that (if he won) he might ask something for himself. Having won the game, he asked the king to redeem his promise. The king then said: 'Ask what you wish.' The man answered: 'May the king order that the verse reading "Verily, the true religion is Islām"'²⁶ be stricken from the Koran.' Straightway the king cut off his head. (fol. 14a)

I have it from most trustworthy sources that the physician Moses was ill and the Kāḍī al-Fāḍil²⁷ went to pay him a visit. Now, the physician was an intelligent and decent fellow. So he said to al-Fāḍil: 'Your good manners have led you to come and visit me. I beg of you not to let any Jew doctor you; for, with us, anyone who dishallows the Sabbath has forfeited his life to us.' So the Kāḍī forbade the practice of medicine by the Jews or that they should be employed in its service.

The story is told about a certain Jew that he was accustomed to come to one of the financiers—a witless sort of a fellow—bringing him in place of taxes due a certain amount of copper. But the financier refused to accept it of him. When the Jew took it back he said: 'Allah curse him who gave it to me'; and that simpleton thought that he referred to someone other than himself.

I have heard tell by someone in whom I have trust that a Jew wrote upon a piece of paper which he put in his turban to the effect that he who cursed him should be cursed, and he should be reviled who reviled him. Then, whenever anyone cursed him he would say to that person: 'Your curse is upon my head!' At another time he put by in his house two pieces of wood, giving to

²⁶ *Qurān* 3. 17.

²⁷ The celebrated chancellor of Saladin.

one piece the name 'prosperity' and to the other (fol. 14a) 'grace.' Whenever he came across a Moslem, he would greet him with the words: 'God grant you in the morning or in the evening prosperity and grace.' The cursed Jew meant, of course, the two pieces of wood.

A trustworthy fellow told me that a Jew in Bilbais asked permission from the governor Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr to take in a guest who had presented himself. This permission was granted. The guest did in the house whatsoever he desired. When the time came to prepare the meal, the Jew said to his wife: 'Do as the (Mosaic) law prescribes!' She said: 'No!' He answered: 'I command you to do so.' So she went into the house and came out carrying a dish containing urine. She began to take of it with a spoon and to throw it all over the dishes and the food. The governor was told about this and cited the Jew before him, who confirmed the truth of the story, saying: 'We Jews believe that whosoever desecrates the Sabbath has forfeited his life according to our Law. When we can not kill him, we put urine into his food.' The governor had the Jew bound and killed and the food thrown away.

At the time of al-Ḥāfiṭh (fol. 14 b.)²⁸ there lived Muwaffaḳ-al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, a very learned man. The Ḳādi al-Fāḍil came to visit him; he being one of the most influential and important men of his day having jurisdiction over the Dīwāns where the records were kept.²⁹ Now it was a custom of the kings of Egypt not to allow any property to be apportioned to the soldiery, but that the soldiers should be paid out of the public treasury as was the custom in Mesopotamia. From the day that al-Fāḍil had come into the country, he had sent Muwaffiḳ al-Dīn and such members of the army in his retinue who had vision and understanding, together with trustworthy Muslim notaries and Christian scribes who were known for their scribal talents and their com-

²⁸ A second hand has added: 'who was descended from the Fatimides'. The whole story is to be found in Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* (1st ed.) I. 405; (2d ed.) II. 248.

²⁹ The text has *الدواوين والانشاء*. Is this simply a mistake for *دواوين الانشاء*? For the use of the plural, see the decree of Ḳait-Bey (874 A. H.) in an inscription found at Hama, in Van Berchem, *Inscripfien aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, 1909 [B. A. vii], p. 25; *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicorum*, I. 507. Maḳrīzī reads: *يتحدث في امور الدواوين*.

petence in surveying land, into all the various provinces of Egypt in order to verify the reports brought concerning the various sections, and to find out the kind of planting that was done in regular rotation. In regard to these, registers were drawn up—worked out with painstaking study—of the lands held as fiefs and of the fields. The copy of these registers was deposited with the government.³⁰ Now, when four months of the year had gone by, other men of the army who had exhibited bravery, heroism and courage were sent out; as well as Muslim scribes who had been proved trustworthy and understanding in dealing with the accounts of state, together with some Christians, to gather the one-third tax appropriated (fol. 15a) to be used to pay the expenses of the army. Others were sent out to some of the districts, in order to survey them as was the custom. So, overseers, inspectors and notaries set out; but [one of] the Christians gave all sorts of excuse that had prevented his coming, and overtook the others only on the second day of their journey. The rest preceded him, he following after them. When he came opposite to a certain section of land and desired to take a ferry-boat to reach it, having come to the other side, the owner of the ferry-boat asked him for his fee. Then the Christian had a fuss with the man, reviled him, and addressed him in coarse language, saying: 'I am the surveyor of this piece of land; would you ask me to pay for crossing this ferry?' To which the man replied: 'If I have any tillable ground—take it.'³² At the same time he seized hold of the bridle of the beast upon which the Christian was riding. So the Christian paid the fee and the ferryman gave back the bridle. Now when the Christian surveyed this piece of land, he added twenty faddān on to the whole amount; and in one of the accounts—the one dealing with it—he left a blank space. When this account came to be revised, the law clerks called attention to the omission. Whereupon, the Christian took it back in order to fill out the blank space, in which he wrote: 'The land of a bridleman—adding the name of the ferryman, twenty faddān of cotton-land, to be taxed four dīnār a faddān.' The document was taken to the official bureau,³³ where it was decided to grant the man a

³⁰ Text: *وتخلد الدواوين بالباب*. I am guessing somewhat in my translation.

³¹ Literally⁷ 'in collecting the riches'.

³² 'But the ferry is mine, and you must pay the fee'.

³³ For *ديوان الباب* in our text, Maḳrīzī has *ديوان الاصل*.

certain leeway in the matter of payment. (fol. 15b.) Then, when the proper time to demand the poll-tax had come, those who were accustomed to gather the money were sent out. They came to the aforementioned place and sought contributions from those who possessed arable lands. The owner of the ferry-boat was asked to give one-third of his wealth, i. e. 26 *dīnār*. This he refused to do, saying: 'If I have any standing corn—why, come and take it.' No attention was paid to him, but the overseer gave him a thorough beating with whips, asking him for evidence regarding his rating and the reasons why the authorities had so rated him. He forced the man to sell the ferry, as well as other property that he possessed, and took the sum he had demanded originally.

Now, the one who had been treated so unjustly fled out of fear that he would be asked to give the remainder of what he possessed. He came to Cairo, explaining the predicament in which he found himself to his friends and asking their help to suggest to him the means to extricate himself from this difficulty. One of these friends said to him: 'The Caliph is accustomed to sit near the "Prayer-leader" in the *Saḳīfah*,³⁴ so as to have a good view through the gate of the Citadel. Let the fellow who thinks he has been misused come to him at that moment and call attention to himself saying: "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah; 'Alī is the vice-gerent of Allah." The Caliph will then hear what he says and will believe that God has enabled the man in his person and with his tongue, to bring his complaint before him. He will listen to what he has to say or he will turn the matter over to some vizier, some *Ḳāḍī* or some *Wālī*.' So the man hastened to place himself opposite the *Saḳīfah*, and cried aloud in the terms suggested. The Caliph did indeed call to him, (fol. 16b) heard what he had to say, and asked for an explanation of the whole matter. He summoned *Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭṭāb* and had the account sheets dealing with the

³⁴ Who, or what is *المسبح*? The reading here *السفينة* must be wrong. *Maḳrīzī* in the companion passage has *السقيفة*; though in his general description of Cairo at the time of the Fatimides (2d ed. 2. 181), he also has the reading *السفينة* —or, I ought to say the ms. upon which the two editions are based. From the citations in Dozy, s. v. *مقيفة*, it is quite evident that it was a sort of covered portico. It was near the *Bāb al-Īd* on the one side, and the *Khazānat al-Bunūd* on the other.

district in question brought to him covering a number of years back. These were gone over and compared, year by year. No mention whatsoever was found of any 'land of the bridle-man.' So al-Ḥāfiṭh ordered the Christian to be brought before him and prescribed that he should be nailed in a boat, given all sorts of food to eat and chicken-broth, as well as the choicest drinks mixed with musk to drink. He became the talk of the whole of Egypt; and it soon became noised over the whole of Syria and Egypt that al-Ḥāfiṭh was engaged in preventing the 'Protected Peoples' from reaching high positions.³⁵

This practice continued; the Christians suffered under it and commenced to die off. Finally, al-Ḥāfiṭh got hold of a skilled astrologer, to whom he bound himself hand and foot, making his every act depend upon the opinion of this astrologer, whether the matter was of much or of little import. A lot of the leading Christians imagined that they would play a trick. They came to this astrologer, and offered him two thousand *dīnārs* cash, presenting to him one of their number known as al-Akhram ibn Abī Zakariyyah, and said: 'We want you to recognize the lineaments of this man in the rising of the southern Sirius star; but, do not mention his name. You will add that this points to the fact that if some Christian—giving here a description of this Ibn Abī Zakariyyah—(fol. 16b) be appointed Wālī, the Nile will rise above its usual height; prices will mount; flocks and vegetables will thrive; the sea-catch will be great with whiting and other kinds of fish; business-men will come over land and over sea; and the King's laws will rule over the finest places and the very best situations.'

Now, this dog of an astrologer did even more than had been suggested to him by the slanderer and crooked fellow. For, while that bear al-Ḥāfiṭh waited for his decisions connected with the rising of Sirius, the other fellow asked that the leading Christians be brought—whom he looked over very carefully. The Christians, however, did not put forward Ibn Abī Zakariyyah for many days. But the demand for this cursed fellow became so insistent that, finally, he was produced and stood before al-Ḥāfiṭh. The Sultan appointed him in authority and put out Muwaffaq al-Dīn—a Moslem, an excellent, truthful man, for the sake of such a treach-

³⁵ My translation is in the nature of a guess. Maḳrīzī says:

بكف ايدي النصرانية كلها عن الخدم في سائر المملكة

erous dog as he. In such manner he gave back to the Copts the power they had possessed previously and made it possible for them to be haughty and proud over the Moslems. The Copts proceeded to dress in the most elaborate style, to ride upon mules and upon piebald horses. They made it hard for the Moslems to earn their livings; until out of their own midst came the inspectors and the heads of the various government departments, even in matters dealing with the religious mortmain and legal bequests.³⁶ (fol. 17a). They even made retainers, slaves and prisoners out of Moslem men and women. One of the Moslems was so importuned that he was led to sell his daughters—and this through the disgraceful conduct of Ibn Dukhkhān,³⁷ God's curse be upon him—who were bought by a Christian and actually taken possession of by him. In regard to this a learned man wrote the following verses:

'When the Christians decide to rejoice and become intoxicated
because they ride upon mules and use saddles,
When the whole Empire of Islam is humbled and the command
rests in the hand of the unbelievers,
Then say to the one-eyed Imposter³⁸—if you ever had an idea to
come forth, now is your time to do so.'

The state of affairs with this damned fellow and with the Christians endured down to the days of al-Ādid,³⁹ who was descended from the Faṭimides, when Abū al-Faḍl ibn Dakhkhān, the Christian, came into prominence and dominated the mind of al-Ādid. The force of his influence became greater than that of Ibn Zakariyyah so that he was a powerful authority in the government, because of the foolishness shown by those who were near to al-Ādid. They were so wanting in intelligence that when—just at this time—a Christian turned Moslem and remained so for a time but then repented, this damned Ibn Dukhkhān was able to persuade al-Ādid to (fol. 17b) allow the man to remain a Christian and not be opposed. The Governor of the day did not approve

³⁶ In general, on the position of the Copts at this time, see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* p. 169.

³⁷ I can find no further reference to this man.

³⁸ I. e. anti-Christ. On his one-eyedness cf. e. g. al-Mutakkī in his *Muntakhib Kanz al-'Umāl* on the margin of Ibn Khalil's *Musnad*, 6, 37:

عن فاطمة بنت قيس الا ان المسيح الدجال اعور العين اليمين

³⁹ 1160-1171, A.D.

of this and set a lot of people on the renegade, to bring him so that he (the governor) might put him to death. The Christian told this to Ibn Dukhkhān, who went into the Mosque at Cairo, took a good look over the treasures it contained and stole⁴⁰ the dishes of some of the lamps. This act he then ascribed to the Kāḍi, and made it known publicly that the Kāḍi was a thief and had appropriated the appurtenances of the Mosque. The result of all this was that the Sheikh Zain al-Dīn ibn Najā, the Ḥanbalite preacher, coming into town was told what this cursed Ibn Dukhkhān was doing in the matter of the reconverted Christians, as well as about his dealings with the Kāḍi.

Now, the aforementioned Zain al-Dīn had great influence with al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zankī⁴²—God have mercy upon him! Al-ʿĀḍid commanded the aforementioned preacher to take his place in the Mosque of Cairo and commence his discourse, as was his custom. Intimate friends of al-ʿĀḍid would then come in together with relatives of his, some wise men, Kāḍis, Emirs, soldiers and common people. In the meantime, Zain al-Dīn had arranged with the Koran-Readers that were on duty that they should commence by reciting the verse: 'On the day (fol. 18a) that Heaven shall bring obvious smoke.'⁴³ [This took place] and the Sheikh Zain al-Dīn began to relate all that he possibly could about the wickedness of al-Dukhkhān and to detail the harm that was being occasioned through it to the eyes and the minds of the people, the injury to their constitutions—and more to this effect. Then, he went on to blame the Christians in general, to criticize their faith and their agreeing to recognize as Master one who had been killed, crucified and buried. He explained how they were mixed up in the matter of the fire that had been lit at the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem;⁴⁴ and how they had led people astray by saying that it was a fire that had come down [from heaven] on to the grave of the Crucified One. Further, he charged Christian kings with errors; and he showed how their viziers and lieutenants had erred in the matter

⁴⁰ From the context, this must be the meaning; though the use of *عجز* in this connection is peculiar.

⁴¹ His full name was Zain al-Dīn ibn Najā. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, 11. 263.

⁴² Atābeg of Syria, 1146–1173.

⁴³ *Qurān* 44. 9.

⁴⁴ This refers evidently to the occurrences on the Sunday before Easter.

of accounts and property. He adduced proof that those whom they had taken into their service had done contrary to the will of Allah as laid down in the Holy Koran in regard to them and in the authentic sayings of the Prophet of Allah, as well as contrary to the practices of the righteous⁴⁵ caliphs. Then he mentioned that there are some who say that 'the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are one God,' and he recited the Verse:

'How does he square the count who makes God three, while still maintaining that He is One?' (fol. 18b.)

The preacher continued to attack the lineage of the Christians and the little regard they had for their own persons, in that they ate swine's flesh; how they were addicted to taking strong drinks in the company of their wives, their daughters and other members of their families, both grown up and young; and how at times they slept in their drinking-houses for a whole night—men and women mixed together. He, then, cited the verses of 'Umāra of Yemen⁴⁶ in regard to Ibn Dukhkhān, in connection with his disapproval of his conduct in the matter of his allowance⁴⁷:

'Say to Ibn Dukhkhān when you meet him and his whole face is sweating because he is filled with wine,

May my competitor be condemned even if he is much more than those mentioned in the Sūrah al-Zukhruf;⁴⁸

Strike him down into the lowest depths, even though he carry himself high between priests and archbishops.

Time has put you in authority over the destinies of man; therefore, shave off their beards resolutely and pluck out their hair;

Acquire money and pile it up. Stock up goods, gain much and steal, be treacherous and rob, plunder and filch;

Weep and say, "not a dirhem has come into my possession"—make the sign of the cross, sing ribald songs and swear;

Seize what you can while you have the opportunity and before the Evangel is superseded by the Koran.' (fol. 19a)

Then he began to tell the tale of the converted Christian and what he had done to the Kādi. The whole assembly made off

⁴⁵ I. e. the early ones.

⁴⁶ Umara of Yemen, 1121–1175. See Brockelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Lit.*, 1. 333. In the edition of Derenbourg, p. 215, the verses against Ibn Dukhkhān can be found.

⁴⁷ For the following verses, see Derenbourg's ed., p. 294.

⁴⁸ I. e. 43, referring to Pharaoh, Moses and Jesus.

to al-'Āḍid and forced him to arrest Ibn Dukhkhān and seize all the contents of his dwelling. There were found in it one hundred and twenty-five letters written in non-Arabic characters.⁴⁹ These were carried to Shāwar, the Vizier of al-'Āḍid. The official translators were summoned. They read these letters; and, lo and behold! it turned out that they had come from the Franks in Acre, Tyre and Cyprus as answers to letters of the cursed rascal to the writers, in which he had told them all that was happening in the various parts of the land—how there were but few soldiers, how al-'Āḍid was poorly protected, [thus] emboldening them to take action against him, and instigating the King Murri⁵⁰ quickly to make an incursion into Egypt. He so adorned the undertaking and spoke so well of it as to make the Moslems appear despicable; but giving dignity to the word of the Christians and elevating the position of the priests and the monks. [He, also, spoke about] repairing the Churches, rebuilding their community property, as well as aiding in the increase and the growth of their pay. They [it turned out] had thanked him for all this [information], had praised him and had told him of their firm intention to come and to settle in Egypt.

Ibn Dukhkhān was put to death upon the spot; and al-'Āḍid gave orders that there should be demanded of the Christians to return the pay and the poor-tax that they had received during [the last] five years, and that there should be left to each single one (fol. 19b) of them not more than a single dirhem each month; and that when he grew old, each one should be put to death, in order that his fate might serve as an example to others. But that very year did not come to an end without the Frank King, Murri, collecting a large army and invading Egypt.⁵¹ He had every person in Bilbais killed, being roused to indignation by the lot that had befallen Ibn Dukhkhān. Shāwar came to the city of Cairo with many men from al-Ḳaṣriyyah⁵² and burned the houses of the Christians, killing and plundering as he went.

When the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Salāḥ al-Dīn came into power, the Christians corrupted his Kurdish lieutenants and

⁴⁹ Probably in Latin, as they came from the Crusaders.

⁵⁰ Muri, Ibn Iyās, *Ta'riḫ Miṣr*, 67, 3 f. b. = Amalric, King of Jerusalem. I have not been able to find any other account of this treacherous action laid by our author at the door of the Christians of Egypt.

⁵¹ September, 1163.

⁵² I can not find any such place mentioned in any of the reference books.

asked help of those of them who had openly professed Islam,⁵³ that they should return to their service. They made these foolish Kurds believe that the Moslems were unable to fill the offices of scribes; that they squandered whatsoever money they possessed; and in such manner, by their craftiness, they succeeded in securing control over countries and territories—seizing whatsoever was to be found in the treasury and whatsoever food there was for the soldiers and the officers. However, some of the Moslem scribes, trusty and faithful, were not carried away; and one of them composed the following verses:

‘The stupidity and foolishness of the Christians have exhausted me bodily—and the high nose they point at every Moslem.

They make an incursion into the Treasury quite openly—nor do they fear giving one a hit for the sake of stealing a quarter of a dirhem. (fol. 20a)

You can see a Copt at the buzzing of every fly; and his pens are more numerous than anything else that is sharp-pointed.

It is true they gained in this world that which they sought; but their final resting-place, together with the multitude, is Hell Fire.’

The Christians remained free to do as they pleased in the various countries, among the various tribes and in government positions—masters over the persons of the Moslems, over their property and over their situations.

In the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, a Moslem went into the Sūḵ al-Tujjār⁵⁴ in Cairo. He had with him a title-deed to some money owing to him by a soldier. The document was all finished, and needed only the necessary signatures of the witnesses. The man came across two Christians. They were clothed in bodices and in garments that had wide sleeves, just as Moslems of the noble class are dressed. The Moslem thought really that they were nobles. He spread the document out before them and they signed it—their very act being a jeer at the Moslems. This fact was brought to the attention of the Sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ; and he gave orders that those Christians should receive a beating, that they should be

⁵³ The text has: *الى ان اعيدوا الى الخدم*. Perhaps one ought to translate: ‘until they were forced to return to their service’.

⁵⁴ The ‘Merchants’ Bazaar’—or, ‘Street’.

forced to wear girdles and to put on the distinctive mark that they were not Moslems; that they should be prevented from making themselves look like Moslems, and that they should take the proper low and humble station to which Allah had degraded them.

But, [despite these regulations] the Christians began to make their way again and to increase in influence from the beginning (fol. 20b) of the reign of al-Mu'izz⁵⁵—in such manner that it was necessary for every Emir, as he came and went in each reign, to have a Christian scribe.⁵⁶ Just as soon as it would be found out from the slaves of the Sultan of the day who it was whose face exhibited the features of rule and of power,⁵⁷ some Christian fellow would get in touch with him through the assistance of the scribes of the Emirs—a lieutenant or his servants, though the latter had no authority over him and no title. Yet he was serviceable to the Emir, he accompanied him and carried out the obligation under which he was to him. [For this reason,] whenever the word was passed to him, he would change his servants; he would make one of them his secretary or his chamberlain. This went so far, that his secretary was able to have his say over such things as the drinking of wine, the inviting of guests, the giving of charity—in a manner that can not even be recorded; not to mention other things that went even beyond this. He, then, made him wish to increase his wealth, to proffer counsel, to repair water-wheels and estates⁵⁸, to enlarge the administration, to increase expenditures—so that [in the end] he was compelled to become covetous, to fall into breaches of trust, and to rob his master of his money, the while associating this cursed fellow with him. At times he inspired him with fear and trembling—saying that the Emirs would importune their chamberlains and secretaries. He gave him various examples of cases like this that had occurred to him. He even seized his chamberlain (fol. 21a) on account of the wrongs he had done and the spoliations he had been able to verify and make certain as having been committed

⁵⁵ 1250-1257 A.D.

⁵⁶ The ms. here, and a little further down, has an impossible form: كويتب —unless it is used in derision as 'scribelet'.

⁵⁷ A somewhat free and uncertain translation of the Arabic:

من تلوح عليه امارة السعادة والامارة

⁵⁸ Text has وسايا . Is this a pl. of وسية ?

by him—instilling into him fear of the punishment that would come to him and the chastisement he would suffer because of it; even showing him that he, when he would have no proofs by which to free himself from suspicion, and without which he would die under the punishment, would be forced to steal and to commit breaches of trust.

The following was accomplished by one of the most powerful and eloquent of the Christian secretaries of the Emirs; the cunning that he exhibited in connection with his chamberlain was successful for two reasons. One reason was the close acquaintance of the scribe with the entourage of the Emir. The second was that the chamberlain, being one of the youngest of the Mogul Mamluks, was not free to ride anywhere or to stop anywhere except in the company of the Emir. Now it happened that the Emir had entrusted the chamberlain with three thousand dīnārs for the expenses of the two. When this money was spent, the chamberlain said to the secretary: 'Make up the accounts for us, in order that we may get the signature of the Emir in the customary manner, verifying the expenditure of the money.' So, he made out the accounts, and said to the chamberlain: 'Why, the expenses amount to two hundred-and-fifty dirhems above and beyond the three thousand.' To this the Chamberlain said: 'I'm glad of it.' But the Secretary answered: 'You are a mere boy, and are not able to distinguish that which is hurtful to you from that which is of advantage. Now, I am going to do you a friendly service. When it turns out that you were cognizant (fol. 21b) of this accounting, and the Emir becomes aware of it—why, he will ask you to make good that which you have spent, two hundred-and-fifty in every three thousand dirhems; and he will accuse you of perfidy.' In such manner he filled him with fear of receiving a beating, of being discharged from his chamberlainship and of being degraded in his rank. He worked on the chamberlain for so long a time, that he at length misused his trust and actually robbed his master of money.

Further, most of the scribes of the Emirs would acquire power over a servant of the palace by giving him presents of beautiful crowing quails, or by sending him—say—a carpet, a prayer-rug or the like. Then he would say to him: 'Tell the household of what service I have been, and that I love the Emir so much that I should like to do much for him—to give him advice, to care for his property and his crops.' Then, in order to carry out his

cunning, he would use pieces of Alexandrian cloth, quite expensive, made of pleasing stuff⁵⁹ and of variegated hue. He would say to this servant: 'Tell the household that this new stuff has just come out and that I wanted it to be offered to the household. Whatsoever part of it pleases them—or, even, if they should desire anything else—they should let me know; in order that I advise the Emir to send grain from his lands and his warehouses to Alexandria.' Then, the servant would make the rest of the household desire things by saying: 'The household of a certain Emir has large quantities of this stuff (fol. 22a); and this something would do splendidly for the dress of such and such a lady.' The dog would be thanked for this his advice and would be told: 'Advise⁶⁰ the Emir to send the grain to Alexandria, so that we may have the good fortune to pick out for ourselves some of it that pleases us.' Then, this dog got together with the Chamberlain of the Emir, told him so much about Alexandria as to make him yearn for it—for the good things found there, for its gardens and its precious objects, its delights and its pleasures, just those things that the Chamberlain liked. He excited his taste by letting him have samples of various kinds of enjoyment—enjoying rest, using fine cloth, keeping company and seeing sights.

The two came to an agreement, that both he and this Chamberlain would go to the Emir and tell him that in Alexandria grain was worth so-and-so-much in coined silver; and that the value of every dirhem of molten silver was two-and-a-half in the coined; and that there would result from such trading quite a tidy sum. [He added]: 'Let us then purchase in Alexandria linen, bring it back with us, guaranteeing to the Emir the grain of a third of the money spent—especially if the Emir will procure a letter of the Sultan to the Wālī of Alexandria that he should turn over the wheat to the millers. Thus, an increasing number of people will make money, and the whole world will be in good humor.'

The Emir ordered the two to go ahead, and to take also the [other] crops for sale. The cursed fellow went ahead, stealing in various ways the property (fol. 22b) of those whom he was serving. The intelligence of those whom he served was not great; he, also, profited by the care of his friends, who showed him various instances of friendship. So, he went ahead, robbing those

⁵⁹ طرح . See Dozy s. v.

⁶⁰ Ms. has "Shir" in place of اشر , iv. conj, of حار .

whom he served in many directions; e. g. withholding some of the wares as they were being laden in ships; in the hiring of ships; stealing when buying and selling wheat. He stole when buying the cloth, he cheated in the price, and he stole again from the cloth when it was received. He got into his own service the young men of this Emir who were attached to him, by making presents to them of handkerchiefs and head-bands.⁶¹ He bettered his own condition by that which he brought [from Alexandria] and by the linen goods that he carried to the palace of the Emir. They clothed⁶² . . . with cloth for the chief scribe, as if the money for it had come out of his own pocket. He asked help from the household of the Emir and from his young men in preventing troubles from coming upon him, in order that the gates should be closed against those who knew of his perfidy, lest he be betrayed to his master.

This disorder increased until [news of] it reached the Sultan of the day; for every one of the scribes of the Emirs had to be either a child of one of the Sultan's scribes or a relative. Now when any one of the scribes attached to the court had an occasion or chance to cheat or to rob or to take to himself money (fol. 23a) belonging to the public treasury, or to do any other of the shameless or high-handed tricks of the Christians—e. g. when they committed heinous crimes by interfering with Moslem women or drinking wine in the month of holy Ramaḍān—he would ask help of the Emirs to rid him of his troubles by means of their scribes in various ways. Thus, if he were one of those accused⁶³ by the Government, this scribe would tempt the Emir whose help he had demanded for the one accused by vacating the royal laws governing his feudal estates. He would tempt him still further by making him desire to buy land from the feudal lords; and by offering to force the attendants on the land to aid him in cultivating and seeding it; and if it were a place proper for wine-pressing, that he should receive wood from the royal demesne; that he should be assisted in producing seed, in paying all that was due the government and in carrying out all measures neces-

⁶¹ مندیل might mean one of various things.

⁶² The text gives no sense: ويتقلدون المانة بالقماش. I do not know what المانة is in this connection.

⁶³ Read مستوفيين الدولة and not as in ms., مستوفيين.

sary. If everything could not be done, he hoped that the greatest part could be effected.

Some of them gave money liberally—horses, linens and the like. Now the Emir to whom I am referring went so far as himself to go, together with his officer, to have a personal interview with the Sultan,⁶⁴ whenever the dog of a fellow saw that he was not succeeding. He overrode his authority, persisting with the help of the cursed fellow, so that he betrayed the trust (fol. 23b) of those who had had faith in him. He even increased his robberies, his seizures and his plunderings, relying upon those who protected him because of the bribes they received and the presents.

Turn away from other [and similar] stories that I might relate to you if I wanted. Had I the power, or could I rely upon sufficient strength, I would relate particulars of many circumstances connected with the scribes of the Christians, and how many of them would have proclaimed Islam openly, had they not been afraid of being killed or punished—even giving their very names. I could recount the story of every one of them taken in by his own artifice, or by his own evil conduct counted among the trespassers—doing wrong, straying from the right path, a big fool, a bastard and one despised. I could disclose the state of every one who professed Islam [merely] with some trick in mind. I could explain the condition in which he was, due to those who were haughty in their ravings—by their lies condemning⁶⁵ every learned Moslem as faulty, so that calamities came upon him like the falling of arrows—always going further in his treachery and robbery and increasing in his greed. In reality, his profession of Islam was only a blind. He was using it as a ladder to reach the height at which he was aiming—more devilish than the devil, the very elixir of lying (fol. 24a) and fraud. He would take an oath on the faith of Islam—which constituted an untruth. Out of clean cloth he would fashion that which never had occurred, by means of falsehood and misstatement. He had been amongst the lowest of the low among the Christians, the biggest liar, the one who possessed least shame and truthfulness, the greatest in impudence, with an inborn disposition to do things disgraceful and vicious. By such means he was able ostensibly to free himself

⁶⁴ My translation is free; the text, الى المتحدث للسلطان, does not seem to be right.

⁶⁵ Reading Mukhaṭṭ'ian. Ms. has Mukhaṭṭin.

from the lower position accorded the Christians, the ignominy of paying the head-tax, and to prevent himself from falling into despite.⁶⁶ Openly, he would converse just like a Moslem—in order to preserve his fortune and his person, and that he might have an opportunity to cheat and to despoil. In fact, publicly he was a Moslem; but, as soon as he entered his house he found his wife, his sons, his daughters, his relations and the relations of all his people Christian—and he was a Christian with them in very truth, fasting during their fasts, and breaking the fast at the same time they did. Had anyone taken the trouble to observe him, they would have found that he had led the life of a Christian for more than twenty-five years. Now, his appointment had lasted only for five; and during these years his fees could not have amounted to more than two-hundred *dīnārs* for all this time. Yet, you would have found his possessions and his manner of living to be such as to require thousands of *dīnārs*; not to mention the brocade, the dyed-goods, the precious stones that he had—the servants, the slaves, the marked horses, (fol. 24b) the flocks, the buffaloes, and the merchandise that had come over land and sea. On the other hand, imagine the condition of the greatest and most loyal Moslems, who have done service to kings and to sultans during the last fifty years—functionaries with high pay and of distinction—how they turned their pay and the moneys they expended into expressions of loyalty; each one of them spending the money received in his office in the interests of the Sultanate and in increasing its splendor by means of horsemen and young men and by his own fine experience. If ever these inherited anything, they spent it. Indeed, at the end of their life they were in debt and poor, because of the strength of mind they had shown and their fidelity [to the ruling house].

Now, when the un-eyelashed Tartars obtained possession of Syria the well-guarded, the learned Abū al-Faḍa'il⁶⁷ ibn Ukht al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd, known as Secretary of War in Damascus, went to Hulagu, King of the Tartars. He carried with him much money from his uncle, the afore-mentioned al-Makīn, and from the rich Christians in Damascus, as well as presents and gifts. He was aided especially by the governor of Irbīl,⁶⁸ who succeeded in

⁶⁶ Both here and further on ms. has *اهانة*, where one would expect *الاهانة*

⁶⁷ I am unable to identify this man. Ms. has *العالم* for *العالم*.

⁶⁸ Ms. *اربل*.

obtaining a firmān from Hulagu, sending his command to the inhabitants in the eastern part of the Empire, in Jazīrat-ibn-'Umar⁶⁹ (fol. 25a) and the whole of Syria that every religious sect could proclaim its faith openly—whether Christian, Jew, Magian, Sun-worshipper or idolater; and that no Moslem should disapprove of any one of the faiths or oppose them in language or in deed. Whoever should do anything like this was to be put to death. Then, this cursed fellow was able to make Hulagu covetous by telling him that the schools, business-quarters, Mosques and hospitals were all to be in the hands of the Moslems; and that, because of collusion one with the other, they do not pay that which is due to the King; the Kāḍī being one of their own men, just as the witnesses are of their body. He [the Secretary of War] therefore laid it down that one-third of all the religious mortmain should be seized and given to Hulagu. In doing this, the intention the cursed fellow had was to destroy the forms customary in Islam by weakening the legal lights, by throwing despite upon the Kāḍīs, and by trampling under foot the holy law. He returned with a firmān in his favor, ordering him to allow the various faiths to practise their religion openly and to seize one-third of the religious mortmain. He stopped at Ṣaidanāyā,⁷⁰ and sent to the Christians in Damascus to tell them that he was coming with a firmān from Hulagu and that they had won a victory over Islam. He said to them: 'Come out to meet me with the crosses on the croziers, with *Evangels* (fol. 25b) clothed in brocade, shining white cloth⁷¹ and satin—the censers full of aloes-wood, with deacons and priests in their capes, the Metropolitan bishops decked out with their jewels, and with them the holy wine uncovered.'

This occurred during the middle days of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 658.⁷² The wine was on trays of silver and gold and in golden flasks and bowls. They came out to meet him in parties and singly. In such manner the fellow and those with him entered the City of Damascus in open daylight, with drums and trumpets, cymbals, silver-inlaid censers.⁷³ . . . raising cries in a loud voice,

⁶⁹ Ms. *جزيرة ابني عمر* !

⁷⁰ Yāḳūt, 3. 441.

⁷¹ A guess. The text has *زر* ; *زر* = glisten, and *بفت*, calico.

⁷² I. e. 1259 A.D.

⁷³ Ms. has *والمطعمة* 'and incrustations'. I believe the conjunction must be a mistake.

carried by this large multitude—the most frequent of which were: ‘the Messiah Jesus son of Mary!’ and ‘the Holy Cross!’ Whenever they passed by a Mosque or a Madrasah, they halted there and sprinkled upon the doors [of these buildings] wine from the residue in the flasks out of which they had drunk, loudly wishing ‘long life’ to the dynasty of Hulagu: ‘who has pledged victory to us, and the triumph of our true religion over the religions of the Liars.’ On that day there was not one single Christian—of the common people and the lowest, or of the highest and the wealthiest—who did not put on his finest apparel. Their women decked themselves out with jewels and necklaces (fol. 26a). On that day—it was in the sacred month of Ramaḍān, when Allah openly showed their godlessness—the Moslems suffered abasement and anguish of heart. They broke out in weeping, in the shedding of hot tears; and they besought Allah to remove from them all this sadness.

Upon the second day after the entrance of the cursed Abū al-Faḍā’il, the firmān was read out publicly in the Maidān of Damascus. On that day two persons came to me. One of them was named ‘Izz ibn Amsainā al-Wāsiṭī. He was a man known for his attainments—especially, for his ability to write in gold. The second was the Kāḍī Mubashshir ibn al-Kaṣṭalānī, acquainted in government circles and with Vezirs. They told me that the Christians had exhibited a treatise composed by al-Mu’tamin ibn al-‘Assāl al-Mustaufi in Damascus in the days of al-Malik al-Nāṣir.⁷⁴ This treatise [the author] had entitled: ‘The Whetted Sword, an Answer to the Koran.’ A summons was issued against him publicly on the ‘Bridge of the Feltworkers’⁷⁵ in Damascus. But, at that moment he was paying a visit to al-Shams al-Jazarī, the bookseller, known as al-Fāshūshah (Mr. Irresolute); and the two were studying carefully the aforementioned book. That which had struck their minds especially in the book was how this cursed fellow had tried to prove in it (fol. 26b) that the expression: ‘Bismillahi-rraḥmān-ir-rahīm’ can be interpreted as containing the words: ‘The Messiah, son of God.’⁷⁶ The cursed fellow did not know that any particle,

⁷⁴ Probably Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf of Aleppo, 1250–1260, who ruled over Damascus.

⁷⁵ I can not find mention of *جسر اللبادين* ‘Bridge of the Feltmakers’ in al-Kalānāsī’s description.

⁷⁶ By some sort of Atbash?

noun or verb that contains two letters or more can be mutated [to mean something else]. He said that the Holy Book contains the passage:⁷⁷ 'Verily, the like of Jesus with Allah, etc. '; that it also mentions Mary the sister of Aaron, whose son was Imrān (Amram). He added that the name of Jesus among the Jews was Joshua; that Mary the mother of Jesus was the daughter of a Jew; that her mother's name was Hannah; and that no such name as 'Isa was used by them or was known to them. The cursed fellow added further: 'Did not he who gave the Koran know that between Mary on the one hand and Moses and Aaron on the other there were thousands of years.' He declared the story of al-Khidr (St. George), Peace be upon him!, to be untrue, saying that we had no mention of him [in the Koran]. The Christians say that his name was the Holy St. George,⁷⁸ and that he lived a long time after the Messiah. Cursed fellow! he declared many similar stories to be apocryphal; e. g. the history of Solomon, Peace be upon him!, and Bilkis, and all the other events that are connected with his name. He threw doubt upon the 'Cave-Dwellers.'⁷⁹ He went even so far as to say that this was merely the foolish talk of storytellers.

Now, just at this time I was in the service (fol. 27a) of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Muṭṭahaffar al-Dīn Mūsā,⁸⁰ the ruler of Emesa—God keep him in mercy and favor! So, I went in person to the 'Bridge of the Feltnakers,' and interviewed al-Shams al-Jazarī the bookseller; and I asked him to let me see the aforementioned book. He swore that he had given it to the cursed al-Mu'tamin; and that, in his presence, the latter had torn it to pieces and destroyed the very paper upon which it was written. Then, I presented myself before the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf—sending, of my account, one of my servants in whom I had full trust, to bring al-Jazarī. I related to the Sultan what had happened; and he said: 'Get the book and produce the fellow. I'll have the head of al-Mu'tamin cut off.' I asked the cursed fellow for the book. He denied that he had it; saying: 'It was not at all in my own handwriting; and, [anyhow], I tore it to pieces.' Then, I took him to my own house and questioned him minutely. I threatened him and frightened him. The

⁷⁷ *Qurān* 3. 52.

⁷⁸ القديس امير جرجس 'the holy Emir George'.

⁷⁹ The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

⁸⁰ 1245–1262.

while, a number of Damascus Christians—among whom were al-Makīn ibn al-Mu'tamid and al-Rashīd, known as Kātib al-Tafīṣī, as well as a number of the leading and wealthy Christians—arose and went to the Ṭhāhirī Garden, to al-Sibbān,⁸¹ the Tartar general. It was said that he was a cousin, on the mother's side, of Hulagu. He was authoritative in tone, bloodthirsty and an unbeliever. The Christians brought him a goodly sum of money; and told him that a firmān of the Īlkhān⁸² had appeared to the effect that everyone should have the right to profess his faith (fol. 27b) openly and his religious connection; and that the members of one religious body should not oppose those of another; further, that the Secretary of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf had seized the author of the book written against our faith, and that he intended to have him put to death. Thereupon, al-Sibbān sent to the Kāḍī Shams al-Dīn al-Ḳummī, the Tartar representative in Damascus—who was then in the Dār al-Sa'adah Palace—telling him to have an audience of al-Malik al-Ashraf and to say to him: 'This . . . ⁸³of yours has disobeyed the firmān of the Īlkhān; he shall die!' Al-Ḳummī asked my master for my services; related to me all that had occurred, and said: 'These fellows are unbelievers and wicked. There is no difference between a Moslem and a Christian. If you thwart this Christian you yourself will be hurt; your master will be harmed; and you both will get the reputation with Hulagu of having done that which is prohibited. The faith of Islam has claims upon whomsoever asks its protection, even if he is other than you [i. e. not a Moslem].⁸⁴ This whole affairs has become notorious; the great, the prominent, the learned men in Damascus—all know about it.'

Allah, however, made it possible—a very short time after this—for the Sultan al-Malik al-Muṭhaffar Saif al-Dīn to break the tail of the cursed Tartars; and the Moslems were able to seize this cursed fellow, Faḍā'il⁸⁵ ibn Ukht al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd.

⁸¹ Who is Sibbān?

⁸² Ms. has ابلخان . These Īlkhāns formed a dynasty in Persia; and for many years disputed the power of the Egyptian Mamluke Sultans of Egypt.

⁸³ Ms. has بتكجي . Is it composed of بتك , pl. of بتكه , 'a part cut off', and the ending جي ?

⁸⁴ I have translated somewhat literally.

⁸⁵ Ms. has فضائل . I have restored the former reading فاضائل . I should perhaps, have put 'Abu al-Faḍā'il'.

He was given into the custody of the Emīr Sharaf al-Dīn Kairān al-Fahrī, head of the household of the Sultan al-Malik al-Muṭṭaffar, who punished him (fol. 28a), and made him pay a fine. But, the Christian scribes worked secretly and had this cursed fellow gotten out of prison and hurried to Mosul. There he met al-Rashīd al-Taḥṣīṣī; and they did all manner of things to the hurt of the Moslems, the mention even of which is impossible. In fact, they were the cause why the people of Mosul were put to the sword while in chains.

In the days of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṭḥāhir,⁸⁶ a lot of sincere Moslems from the country of the Tartars told him that al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd, the Secretary of War, was corresponding with Hulagu in reference to the Egyptian army, its men and its commanders. Al-Malik al-Ṭḥāhir had him seized, with the intention of having him put to death. His condition was much worse than that of those who were governed by Christian Emīrs—he was confined in prison for more than eleven years. Then, through payments of money, his release was effected. In order to put through this release, it was considered proper by Moslems to seize the property of Christians, their wives and their very lives. In the end, not a single Christian and not a single Jew remained in the land. Now, Sa'īd al-Daulah,⁸⁷ Chief Minister in Baghdad and Mesopotamia, was busy doing whatever injury he could to the Moslems and elevating the status (fol. 28b) of the Jews. Then [Sa'īd] struck at Arghūn⁸⁸ and plotted against him with someone who gave him poison, after he had impounded the wealth of Islam, raised the condition of the Jews, and brought Islam into despite. Indeed, these two cursed religions were always on the lookout for an occasion to arise in which—Allah forbid!—they could do some injury to Islam by picking a quarrel.

Now, when a knowledge of that which I have related had

⁸⁶ I. e. al-Ṭḥāhir Rukn-al-Dīn Baybars, Bahri Mamluke, 1260–1277, the founder of the dynasty. William of Tripoli says that 'he was just to his own people and even kind to his Christian subjects'. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 263. His Empire was threatened by the Persians.

⁸⁷ Usually called Sa'd al-Daulah, 'who was hated by the Moslems as a Jew, and unpopular with the Moslem grandees; during Arghūn's last illness, a few days before his death, he was deprived of his office and his life by his enemies'; *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 430. He was killed March 5, 1291; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v.

⁸⁸ Fourth Ilkhān of Persia, 1284–1291.

^{88a} March and April, 1265. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* p. 267.

become common property, I suggested to the high government to seize the wealth of those dogs which they had stolen from the treasury of the Moslems, and through which they had been able to establish businesses and to have dealings with merchants on land and on sea, in Syria and in Egypt. Our Master the Sultan became thoroughly informed of the audacity of these cursed peoples, who bought the captives of Tripoli—royal princes, rich women and Christian notables—as well as of the hurt and the affliction that was being wrought by them upon the Moslems, in their various provinces and to the very limit of their power. So the poet says:

‘How many a weak person, when once he attains power, kills;
this is the customary fate of the weak!’ (fol. 29a)

During the rule of our Master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṭḥāhir, when he was in the act of conquering Caesarea and Arsūf, the people of Acre sent to the Christians in Cairo some men who were secretly to plot with them to set fire to al-Bāṭiliyyah,⁸⁹ to burn the quarter of Farāḥ,⁹⁰ a mortmain in Egypt belonging to the Ḥarām al-Sharīf, and many other places—for the sole purpose of putting a thorn in the path of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṭḥāhir and of injuring the Moslems. The fire spread to a number of places up to Jurūn al-Rīf.⁹¹

People, ready to offer good advice, wrote about this to al-Malik al-Ṭḥāhir from European countries. Whereupon, the Sultan seized the Christians and the Jews in Cairo and in Miṣr, gathering them all together for the purpose of burning them in a heap at the stake.⁹² He himself rode out, accompanied by a number of his Emirs to be present at the burning just on the outskirts of Cairo; but Ibn al-Kazrīnī al-Ṣairafī made his way to the Sultan and said to him: ‘I beg of you, in the name of God, not to burn us in company with these dogs of Christians—your

⁸⁹ A street in the Eastern quarter of Cairo, not far from the Azhar Mosque. Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, 2. 111 بَخط الباطلية .

⁹⁰ I can not identify this quarter of Egypt.

⁹¹ جرون الريف . Is this the name of a place; or is جرون pl. of جرن ?

⁹² This must be the event referred to by Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.* I. 104, as having occurred in the year 663. A more detailed description will be found in Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, 2. 16; though, according to Maḳrīzī, it was the Atabek Fāris al-Dīn Aktai who interceded for them.

enemies as well as ours. Burn us by ourselves and away from them!' Both the Sultan and the Emirs laughed at such buffoonery on the part of Ibu al- Kāzrīnī; and some of the Emirs came to him and asked him [simply] to place a fine upon them, to let them go and not burn them at the stake. The Sultan fixed upon a heavy ransom and appointed (fol. 29b) the Emir Saif al-Dīn Balbān al-Mahrānī⁹³ to come to definite agreements with them to pay a certain amount each year. This arrangement held good until the days of al-Malik al-Sa'id,⁹⁴ when a new agreement was come to with the Christians, limiting their liability up to a change in reigns; and just as soon as our Lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr⁹⁵—may Allah sanctify his pure spirit!—began to reign, the [whole] matter was arranged by money and other bribes, and that which had been laid upon them was removed.

During the reign of al-Ṭhāhir, also, it was found out that all the Christians, Armenians and Georgians who lived near to the Church of the Crucifixion in Jersusalem the Holy were nothing more than spies of the un-eyelashed Tartars, and that they were accustomed to keep these informed concerning the affairs of the Moslems and the armies of Egypt and all the things done by the Emirs—about those that had been put to death or imprisoned, when there was an uprising and when affairs were quiet; in fact, whatever came to their knowledge through the Christian pilgrims from Egypt who visited the Church of the Resurrection. Therefore he ordered that these spies should be put to death together with those with whom they associated. He, also, had that church turned into a mosque. (fol. 30a.)

King al-Manṣūr—⁹⁶ May Allah, in his mercy, grant him forgiveness!

The Kāḍī of one of the Manūf districts,⁹⁷ upon the basis of unimpeachable testimony, determined that a new church had

⁹³ Ibn Iyās, *loc. cit.* 1. 99, speaks of one بلبان الهاروني at this time. Is this a mistake of Ibn Iyās? Ibn Duqmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, 4. 119, has also 'al-Mahrānī'.

⁹⁴ Evidently, Sa'id Nāṣir al-Dīn Baraka Khān, Bahrī Mamluke, 1277-1279; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* pp. 227 ff.

⁹⁵ Al-Manṣūr Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Lājīn, 1296-1298.

⁹⁶ Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Ḳalā'ūn, 1279-1290.

⁹⁷ In no dictionary is this word to be found in this sense; but see Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, pp. 214, 219. Lane gives ناحية as a synonym. Manūf is between Ṭanta and Ashmūn in the delta of the Nile.

been built in Ḥarwān,⁹⁸ and that Christians must have built it between the 'Egyptian' dynasty and that of Saladin⁹⁹. The judge ordered that it should be pulled down, in accordance with the law on that subject, after having obtained legal opinions from the most prominent jurists in Cairo in regard to its destruction. But the Christians brought much influence to bear upon the Emir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāī¹⁰⁰ al-Manṣūrī, who was lieutenant-governor¹⁰¹ at the time, so that he had the Kāḍī cited before him and beaten with cudgels at the gate al-Karāfah. But the church remained in ruins—as I am told by the Emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jaharkasī, Governor of Manūf—until the end of the year 689.¹⁰³ [He added that] the supporting documents in regard to this were in the possession of the aforementioned Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Jaharkasī. Then in the year [6]90, it was rebuilt with the help of 'Izz al-Dīn al-Kashshāsh, Governor of the Gharbiyyah province, for the sake of Mr. Someone and the son of Mr. Someone, scribe of Mr. Someone. Now the incorruptible Mūsa al-Shaubakī, the merchant, formed a plan and commenced to pay frequent visits to Acre, going and coming (fol. 30b), until he had carried to Acre all the crops of the Sultan and of some of the Egyptian Emirs that they possessed in the region of the Dead Sea. This was the manner in which he brought aid to the Franks against the Moslems. Could I seek shelter under some strong pillar, I would relate who it was that gave the aforementioned help—[which I do not do] for reasons that are self-evident.

Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī, the author of this book, says that it is not proper for any Islamic Sultan, King, Governor or Vizier to permit the Church of the Resurrection that is in the Holy Jerusalem to remain as it is; since there the deception is practised by the Christians which makes it appear that fire descends upon the grave in which the Christians think that the Messiah—upon whom be peace!—was buried; a deception that is practised simply

⁹⁸ I can not identify this place. Ibn Duḡmāk, *loc. cit.* 5. 107, has a جروان !

⁹⁹ What is meant by these two terms?

¹⁰⁰ Chief Vizier of Lājīn; Lane-Poole, p. 285; Van Berchem, p. 319.

¹⁰¹ طرنطاي نائب السلطنة ; Ibn Iyās, 1. 116, below. [Read third word *nā'ib*.]

¹⁰² On باب القرافة see Maḡrīzī (2d ed.) 2. 151, 185; Van Berchem, p. 521.

¹⁰³ I. e. 1290. Jaharkasi = Circassian.

because of the tax that is levied upon them at the time of the [annual] pilgrimage. Then, the cursed Patriarch says to the fool of a Christian that Moslem witnesses watch this fire, trying how to produce it themselves—but that their perplexity only increases and they lose their senses, because their own fire will not catch. In this way they are more confirmed than ever in the faith of their unbelieving fathers. This is true especially of those who are born [there] and see this occurrence every year at his rising. (fol. 31a.) In addition, the appearance of this fire drives the Christian as a missionary to the erring ones; and it is made a proof [which is used] to hold people attached to the accursed faith and religion. [By permitting such things] the representatives of the Sultan would be their supporters in the persistence in absurdity, the perseverance in error, unbelief and atheism and the attachment to cheating. If this church were destroyed, and the affair connected with the grave and the fire made impossible, the whole truth would come out, to wit, that [one of the] leading men of Jerusalem takes a flint, two woolen threads and brimstone, and in the presence of the cursed Patriarch, strikes fire and lights the wick in a lamp filled with oil. When the oil is finished and the lamp which was called 'al-Nūr' goes out—then, a little sense will come to those poor fellows, and they will realize that they have been fooled, lied to and led astray. The circumstance would be a powerful influence leading them away from their own faith. It would happen that the majority of those would turn and become Moslems who had witnessed the fraud practised by their very highest cursed ecclesiastic, e. g. the Patriarch, Bishop and Metropolitan. Their aspirations would become cooled and their faith would wane [simply] because they missed this fire.

Thus it happened in the time of Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān when he sent his army into Cyprus.¹⁰⁴ The Moslem Arabs penetrated (fol. 31b) into the island of Cyprus and became its rulers. They found in it an iron cross standing upright between two high posts. The Arabs [naturally] wondered at this, and how it was able to stand upright without any support. But, there was one man among them who had excellent sight. He came forward and pulled up one of the posts. The cross fell over. Attached to this post there was found a magnetic stone of the greatest possible magnitude, both as regards length and breadth. He,

¹⁰⁴ According to al-Bilādhurī, p. 153, in the year 28 or 29 (648–649). I can find no confirmation of the following story (e. g. in Ṭabari, I. 2826).

then, threw down the second post, and found the same to be the case with it. The explanation is that the two magnetic stones drew the cross, each to its own side, with equal strength, producing an equilibrium, so that it did not fall. But, when one of the posts fell, the cross was bound to fall also. In such manner a fraud that had been practised became discovered, and what had been done by these cursed leading men among the Christians. People recognized that the whole affair was an insidious fraud.

I ask Allah the Most-High, who has granted to our Master the Sultan, son of the Sultan, the glorious King Salāḥ al-Dīn,¹⁰⁵ victory, many conquests and desertions of their faith on the part of the unbelievers—such as he has never granted to any Sultan before him—, and who has united in his person good actions with the qualities of bravery, generosity, perseverance and fine personality, that he cause to be written upon the pages dealing with the noble deeds done during the days of his excellent Sultanate, the [account of the] erasure of the traces (fol. 32a) in the official Diwāns and the like of the nonsense practised by the ignorant Copts in Egypt and in Syria. In illustration of this an eminent man cited the verse of al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ma'arri:¹⁰⁶

‘She listened and said, Lo and behold⁹ this is the tread of the foot of a walking horse.’

Although these words are strange they have been said and repeated [in common parlance], so that they are similar to [the use of the expression] ‘the scorpion’s charm’ denoting the limit of possibility, in that he said that she ‘hears the tread of the horse’s hoof.’ Just so are the technical terms of the Copts, seemingly nonsensical expressions and strange terms.¹⁰⁷ When they are explained, they are as easy as the simplest rule in grammar, which the smallest Moslem children learn in their schools. Now, when a clever man from among those who have studied this technical language goes to Mesopotamia, to Asia Minor or to Persia, it serves him in no way at all. Every country has technical terms that are peculiar to its own people, or to a tribe inhabiting that country, and are without any ambiguity whatsoever. Now, in the

¹⁰⁵ I. e. Khalīl ibn Qilā'ūn, 1290–1293.

¹⁰⁶ This can hardly refer to Abū Nuwās, whose name was al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī. The verse is quite unintelligible in this connection.

¹⁰⁷ Ms. has الخربلات. Evidently, the author is making fun of the Copts.

region of Aleppo and Mesopotamia, the manner in which accounts are kept and the records in their *Dīwāns* had, even recently,¹⁰⁸ been the very opposite of that used in Egypt. (fol. 32b.) When the victorious King *Salāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn al-'Azīz*¹⁰⁹ came to rule over Damascus and placed some Copts in various positions in the provinces of Aleppo and Mesopotamia, these Copts changed the manner of keeping the accounts to that of Egypt—for the simple reason that they were unacquainted with the method used in Syria; according to which latter the relation of the original amount to the exchange and of the exchange to the original amount is so regulated that it is impossible for a cheat to use any guile and come off well with it,¹¹⁰ without its coming to light at once. Up to the end of the *Nāṣirite* dynasty, it was the custom of the Kings of Syria and of their Sultans not to permit the *Dīwān* known as the *Dīwān al-Istifā*¹¹¹ to be without Moslems, some of the most prominent headmen belonging to the leading families who were renowned for their good faith and for their activity. In such manner, no Jew nor Christian was alone in laying down the law in any matter relating to Syria. He was unable to speak or write [officially] about an event that had happened, except after the truth had been established by a Moslem. So, the Jew or the Christian would prepare the account; and the prominent [Moslem] would countersign the reliability of the document. Then, in the shortest possible time the Moslems turned their attention to accustoming their children to uncovering the lies of these vile and ignorant people, and, by their sagacity, to perfecting themselves to a great degree (fol. 33a) and to excelling in unearthing the guile [of others], as they already excelled in the religious sciences. Along this line they composed thousands of works, wherein they developed points of view which neither Jew nor Christian could reach. They were able to deal with the contents of the Moslem treasury as dictated by the Moslem Scriptures and the traditions of Allah's prophet.

In this manner the contents of the treasury increased—through the blessings [of Allah] and the equity [of the treasury's governors].

¹⁰⁸ Ms. *عهدي به قريب ؟ عن قرب عهد* ? Lane, s. v. : 'I met him a short time ago.'

¹⁰⁹ 'Azīz must be a mistake for 'Ayyūb—i. e. Saladin.

¹¹⁰ Literally: 'to plant his seed' in it.'

¹¹¹ I. e. Treasury-General.

All noxious prejudices were rooted out, and all avenues of injustice closed. Their guide-posts were battered down; their disgraceful and shameful traces were extinguished. Our Master, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Salāh al-Dīn, [in doing all this] acted according to the traditions of the Prophet, and did exactly as did the righteous Caliphs and the just Sultans. Verily, Mālik writes in his *Kitāb al-Mudawwanah al-Kubra*,¹¹² that the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: 'There must not be chosen, either from among the Jews or the Christians, diviners or money-brokers; they must be removed from our market-places; Allah has made them unnecessary for the Moslems.'

Now, if this is so in questions of [ordinary] buying and selling, which are matters to which no importance and no [ethical] value can be attached, (fol. 33b) how much the more should it be the rule when the question of leadership in an affair is at stake! The Jews hold that interest may be taken from those who are not of their religion; for, according to their principles, the collection of fortunes is permitted. How, then, can anyone who holds it is permissible to gain money out of Moslems be put in a superior position—either in argument or in law? Intelligent men have said: 'What a wonder it is to see a believer take as a servant an unbeliever who differs from him in opinion, who is opposed to him in faith and belief!' They also have said: 'What a wonder it is to see someone put aside a believing, intelligent friend and be contented with a foolish, unbelieving enemy!' Still another has said: 'In a Moslem are to be found four qualities which you will not find in anyone else—excellent self-restraint in regard to women, plenitude of equity, consideration for people of [other] faiths, and liberality in advice to Moslems. In a Polytheist are also to be found four qualities—want of faith, abundance of perfidy, willingness to deceive Moslems, keeping at a distance people with faith.'

Finished is the book through the favor of the Kind One, the Giver. Praised be Allah! Pray Allah for Mohammed and his family of Pure Ones and his Companions! Sufficient is Allah, the trustiest Agent.

¹¹² I. e. 'The Great Decretal.' This is really not the work of Mālik himself, but a résumé of his legal system prepared by his disciple 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kāsim who died in 806.

BRIEF NOTES

Ancient Teimâ and Babylonia

An Aramaic inscription found at Teimâ, Arabia, is the source of our knowledge of the influence of Egypt and particularly Babylonia upon ancient Teimâ at the beginning of the 5th Century B. C. See Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 195-199. Delitzsch in *Wo lag das Paradies?*, pp. 301ff, shows the connection between Arabian Taimâ', Biblical Têmâ' and Assyrian ^{al}*Te-ma-a*, from which is derived the Gentilic term ^{al}*Te-ma-a-a*, mentioned by Tiglathpileser IV in the 8th Century B. C. Teimâ was recognized as an important city in antiquity and is called *Θαίμα* on Ptolemy's map of Arabia Felix. Hogarth in *The Penetration of Arabia*, p. 280, emphasizes the fact that Teimâ was 'on the old route from the Gulf of Akabah to the Persian Gulf' and 'a dividing point of roads from Petra to Gerra in the east and Sheba in the south.'

A tablet in the Goucher College Babylonian Collection is of unusual interest in this connection. It shows that a man was sent on a journey from Babylonia to ^{mat}*Te-ma-a* in the 6th Century B. C. The term ^{mat}*Te-ma-a* is equivalent to 'the land of Tema' found in Isaiah 21.14. Cyrus in his Chronicle states that Nabonidus was in ^{al}*Te-ma-a* in the 7th, 9th, 10th and 11th years of his reign. Cf. *TSBA*, Vol. 8, pp. 139-176, and *KB*, Band 3, 2. Hälfte, pp. 128-135. Up to the present the ^{al}*Te-ma-a* of this Chronicle has not been connected with Arabian Teimâ. Cf. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, Part 1, p. 470f. However, the clear intimation of the record is that Nabonidus was outside of ^{mat}*Akkadu* in the years mentioned, and as a result certain religious ceremonies were not performed in Babylon. Furthermore, Nabonidus is not mentioned as taking part in the mourning in Akkad for his mother who died in the 9th year of his reign.

Three Yale documents throw additional light upon the situation. Text 134 in *YBT*, Vol. 6, dated in the 10th year of Nabonidus, indicates that food for the king was taken to ^{mat}*Te-ma-a*. Texts 11 and 150 in the same volume are royal leases of land. The former, dated in the 1st year of Nabonidus, was obtained from the king himself. The latter, dated in the 11th year, was obtained from Belshazzar. Thus all the documentary evidence now at our

disposal tends to confirm the conclusion that Nabonidus was absent from Babylonia during at least a part of the 7th, 9th, 10th and 11th years of his reign. It seems to the writer not only possible but highly probable that the ^{al}*Te-ma-a* visited by Nabonidus was ancient Teimâ in Arabia. That the Neo-Babylonian empire included a large part of Arabia is not unlikely. Nabonidus may have looked after administrative affairs in Arabia, while Belshazzar, as crown prince, directed the government at home. Such a situation would be entirely in harmony with the high position accorded Belshazzar as the second ruler in the kingdom. We can only infer that a close relationship existed between ancient Teimâ and Babylonia. This preliminary note will be followed by a fuller discussion in a future number of the JOURNAL.

RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY

Goucher College

Note on Māgadhi ahake

V. S. Sukthankar, *JAOS* 40, p. 253, while discussing *Māgadhi ahake* and noting that Pischel brackets the form as not being actually quotable, overlooks the fact that thirteen years ago I pointed out in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 23. 129 f. that as a matter of fact it occurs a few times in the Devanāgarī redaction of the *Śakuntalā*: see Monier Williams' edition, pp. 218, 219, 221, and Goḍābole's edition (1891), pp. 183, 184; and note the comment of Rāghavaghaṭṭa: *ahake*: 'ham. 'Aham arthe 'hake hage' ity ukteḥ.

TRUMAN MICHELSON

Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C.

A New Creation Story

In a volume of tablets published by H. F. Lutz (*Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*. PBS, Vol. I, Pt. 2) are found two very important documents which have hitherto escaped the attention of scholars. The first (No. 103), referring to the Fall of Man, will probably appear in *ATSL*. I am here giving a summary of the contents of the second (No. 105); a complete discussion of it will be found in a future issue of this JOURNAL. It is a creation story, notwithstanding the fact that Eridu appears to be regarded

as a city already in existence. It has points of contact with the well-known account of the Marduk-Tiamat fight, which it antedates, since this Sumerian document can be safely placed about 2000 B. C. A summary is as follows:

The god Midimmud speaks to his messenger Zubarra about Eridu, the place loved by the god Enki. There the sea meets with no opposition, the large river spreads terror upon the land, and the abyss is covered by great storm clouds. The messenger is directed to bring to Enki the crafty waters of incantation, and his own mighty monsters, as big as rivers. Weapons are prepared, the combat against the sea follows, and, as a result of this, the safety of Eridu is insured. The god then proceeds to create vegetation, birds and fishes. This done, Enki establishes rain for the ocean, overflow for the abyss, winds for the sea. For the river Euphrates he makes a river bed, so as to control its course.

EDWARD CHIERA

University of Pennsylvania

Once more Shāhbāzgarhi uthanaṃ

I have previously tried to show that Shāhbāzgarhi *uthanaṃ* was a true native word, and that the dental *th* was not merely graphical for lingual *ṭh*: see JAOS 30. 85, 86 and IF 29. 224-226. The publication of Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛtasarvasva in the Grantha Pradarśanī, and Hultzsch's paraphrase of the section dealing with Śaurasenī in ZDMG 66. 709-726 makes it possible to support this claim with additional evidence. Observe that Mārkaṇḍeya distinctly prescribes Śaurasenī *utthido* (with dental *tth*) but Māhārāṣṭrī *utthio* (with lingual *ṭth*) as correspondents to Sanskrit *utthitas* (for *ud*+*sthitas*): see III. 15, IX. 40, IX. 137. Hence we may infer a Śaurasenī word *utthānaṃ* (with dental *tth*) which would exactly correspond to Shāhbāzgarhi *uthanaṃ*. That Rājaśekhara does not conform to the rule laid down by Mārkaṇḍeya that in Śaurasenī *sthā* when combined with *ud* becomes *utth-* (with dental *tth*) proves nothing; for years ago both Pischel and Konow proved in detail that he frequently confuses Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī, and Jacobi implied the same thing; more recently (AJP 41. 266, 267, 269) I have pointed out a couple more of such blunders. Sir George Grierson in a letter dated November 15th,

1920, calls my attention to Mārkaṇḍeya VI. 4 where Rājaśekhara is rebuked for confusing Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī.

TRUMAN MICHELSON

Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C.

The locative singular of masculine and neuter i and u stems in Śaurasenī Prākṛit

Mārkaṇḍeya at IX. 63 gives the rule that *i* and *u* stems in the locative singular have the termination *-mmi*. Now of course this means that a pronominal ending has been extended to nouns. And this is precisely where there is a difficulty: for it should be noted that in the pronouns we have Śaurasenī *-ssim*, Māgadhi *-śsim*, Ardhamāgadhi *-ṃsi*, but Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī *-mmi*. Thus Sanskrit *tasmin*, Śaurasenī *tassim*, Māgadhi *taśsim*, Ardhamāgadhi *taṃsi*, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī *tammi*; Sanskrit *etasmīn*, Śaurasenī *edassim*, Māgadhi *edaśsim*, Ardhamāgadhi *eyamsi*, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī *eyammi*, Māhārāṣṭrī *eammi*; Sanskrit *yasmin*, Śaurasenī *jassim*, Māgadhi *yaśsim*, Ardhamāgadhi *jaṃsi*, Māhārāṣṭrī *jammi*; Sanskrit *kasmin*, Śaurasenī *kassim*, Māgadhi *kaśsim*, Ardhamāgadhi *kaṃsi*, Māhārāṣṭrī *kammi*; Sanskrit *anyasmin*, Śaurasenī *aṇṇassim*, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī *annammi*; **imasmin*, Śaurasenī *imassim*, Māgadhi *imaśsim*, Ardhamāgadhi *imaṃsi*, Māhārāṣṭrī *imammi*.¹ Observe also that Mārkaṇḍeya explicitly states (IX. 62) that in Śaurasenī nominal *a* stems have the locative singular in *-e*, which is confirmed by the best texts. Both Pischel and Konow have pointed out that Rājaśekhara violates the dialect by using *-ammi* as well as *-e*, for in Māhārāṣṭrī the locative singular of *a* stems ends in *-ammi* as

¹ I regard the Ardhamāgadhi locatives in *-mmi* (which occur mostly in verse, as can be seen from Pischel's fine collections) as simply Māhārāṣṭriisms, due to scribal efforts to make the dialect coincide with the dialect mostly used in literature. The locatives in *-ṃmi* are not easily explained. See Pischel, §313 end. For Māhārāṣṭriisms in Ardhamāgadhi see also Pischel, §17 near the middle. Ardhamāgadhi *kamhi*, beside *kaṃsi*, is evidently an error for *kammi*: see Pischel, §366^a near the middle. Amg. *assim* is an anomaly; it is explicable in Ś. Note that Rājaśekhara, in the Karpūramañjarī, twice uses Śaurasenī *jassim* for Māhārāṣṭrī *jammi*. This is another instance (hitherto unreported) where the author confuses his dialects.

well as *-e*.² This last is intelligible as it has the pronominal ending *-ammi* as a point of departure, whereas in the case of Śaurasenī there is none. And it should be noted that in Māhārāṣṭrī *i* and *u* stems the same analogical extension takes place, thus *girimmi*, *pahummi*. Accordingly either Māhārāṣṭrī, as the literary Prākṛit *par excellence*, has influenced Śaurasenī, or else Mārkaṇḍeya has made a mistake, or else the manuscripts of his grammar are to be corrected, for forms such as **aggissim* and **vāussim* in Śaurasenī would be natural analogical extensions, having pronominal *-ssim* as the point of departure. Observe that Pischel quotes no actual form in the literature for the Śaurasenī locative singular of *i* stems and but two (in *-uṇi*) for that of *u* stems. Till we have further materials it is impossible to decide with absolute certainty which of the above hypotheses is correct; but the first is the most likely.

TRUMAN MICHELSON

Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C.

*On the doubling of consonants in the seam of certain
Pāli compounds*

anuddayā, 'compassion': Skt. *anu* + *dayā*.

paṭikkūla (beside *paṭikūla*), 'contrary': Skt. *prati-kūla*.

abhikkanta, 'lovely': Skt. *abhi* + *kānta* (not *abhi-krānta*; cf. Childers s. v., and Geiger, *Pāli Grammatik*, in the *Grundriss*, §33, p. 53).

paribbūha, 'strong', etc.: Skt. *pari-br̥ḍha*.

vikkhāyitaka, one of the ten *asubha kammaṭṭhānas*, obtained by contemplation of a corpse gnawed by beasts of prey: Skt. *vikhādītaka* (with Prākṛitic loss of *d*; etymology guaranteed by simple *khāyita*, 'eaten'; Geiger, *op. cit.* § 36, p. 55).

More or less plausible attempts have been, or may be, made to explain the double consonant in some (or even possibly all) of these words individually. Thus Anderson suggests that *anuddayā* is influenst by *niddaya* = *nirdaya* (the analogy is imperfect, since *anuddayā* is a noun, *niddaya* an adjective and a *bahuvrīhi*

² In Māgadhī the regular ending of *a* stems for the locative singular is *-e*; in verse the Māhārāṣṭrīsm *-ammi* also occurs: see Pischel, §366^a. Similarly *-ammi* in Amg.: the regular terminations in Amg. are *-e* and *-amsi*.

cpd.), and that *paṭikkūla* goes back to an imaginary Skt. **pratīkūla* (which theory is the less likely because Pāli *paṭikkūla* is also actually found). One might possibly—at a pinch—think of influence from the homonym *abhikkanta*=*abhikrānta* ‘advanst’ in the case of *abhikkanta* ‘lovely’, and of a vague influence from the root *kṣi* in *vikkhāyitaka*.

But a unitary explanation is always preferable in the case of a group of forms showing such obviously similar phenomena. Meter cannot be concerned; the words occur predominantly in prose. The iambic law is not likely to apply; in four out of the five words quoted above the next syllable is long. Such suggestions as the influence of recessive accent (Geiger *op. cit.* §24, p. 49) are most dubious; many of the forms quoted under this rubric can be explained otherwise, and the whole idea seems to me not much more than a *petitio principii*. I think that most of the ‘vowel-lengthenings’ in the seam of compounds mentioned in Geiger §33, p. 53, are different in character (e. g. *sakhībhāva*, cf. the *ī* regular in compositions of root *bhū* and their derivatives, Whitney *Gr.* §1094; *rajā-* in *rajāpatha* stands for Skt. *rajah*, which rules it out; etc.).

I suggest that the explanation is this. There were countless cases in Pāli in which a simple ‘root’ beginning in one consonant appears to begin with a double consonant as soon as it is compounded. Of course, the original Sanskrit had two consonants in both cases. E.g. Pāli *kama*=Skt. *krama*, but *anukkama*=*anukrama*. From the point of view of Pāli—which neither knows nor cares what the Sanskrit had—such forms suggest that the second element of a (primarily verbal! see below) compound should have its initial single consonant doubled. It is a case of proportional analogy: *kama:anukkama*=*dayā:anuddayā*.

It is quite to be expected that this phenomenon should be nearly or quite restricted to verb-compounds and their noun derivatives, or at least to words which look like derivatives of compound verbs, because their prior member is a preposition. For in noun compounds, even when the second element originally began with two consonants, we find it frequently beginning with only one in Pāli, as is well known. This is of course due to the comparative looseness of noun, as contrasted with verb, composition; noun compounds tend more to behave like separate words. Yet note *jālassara* ‘natural lake’: Skt. *jāta-saras* (Geiger, *op.cit.* §33, p. 53).

The list given at the head of this Note does not by any means

claim to be exhaustiv. I am certain that there ar other cases: these ar simply the most certain instances of those which I hav discovered, mainly from the lexicons and vocabularies. Systematic serch of the texts will undoubtedly bring to light more. Before closing I should like to refer to a few more questionable cases.

paggharati, 'trickles', would be a case in point if from Skt. *pra-ghr*; no forms of root *ghr* occur with two initial consonants. But the derivation cannot be considered certain. Geiger (*op.cit.* §56. 2, p. 67) derives from Skt. *kṣar*, and deduces (apparently from forms of this root and *jhā=kṣā*, 'burn', alone) a fonetic law which seems to me to hav a rather questionable basis, positing a special treatment of *kṣ* in Pāli-Prākṛit when *kṣ*=Indo-Iranian *žz*. It must be admitted that Prākṛit *pajjharai* lends some support to this theory.

vissussati, 'is dried up', Skt. *vi-śuṣ*, is quoted by Childers from a single passage only, and there, as Ch. notes, it is immediately preceded by *ussussati*; the *ss* may be due to direct influence from this adjoining form. Yet I suspect that the case belongs under my rule. Other occurrences, if there ar any, would presumably decide.

Compounds beginning with *su-* followd by a doubled consonant ar open to the suspicion of having been influenst by their opposits in (Sanskrit) *dus-*; e.g. *subbaca*: Skt. *su-vacas*: *subbatta*, *supatha*. So also *suddiṭṭha* according to Anderson, *JPTS* 1909 p. 193: *su-drṣṭa* (which seems a more likely derivation than that of Geiger, *op.cit.* §24 n. 1, p. 49, from *su+uddiṭṭha*=Skt. *uddiṣṭa*).

Compounds of the Skt. root *srj* and their derivativs, showing *ss* (e. g. *vissajjati*), hav no dout been partly influenst by Sanskrit forms beginning in *sr* (aor. *asrākṣīt* etc.); they would then be blend forms (*sraḥ* and *sarj*). Yet it seems possible that such forms as these may hav helpt in the creation of the psychological predisposition to double an initial consonant of a root preceded by a preposition.

Probably not pertinent at all ar such forms as *okkatṭha*: Skt. *avakṛṣṭa* and the like; they presumably involv mere compensatory lengthening of the consonant attendant on shortening of the *o*-vowel.

Certainly not pertinent ar blend forms like *upakkilesa*: Skt. *upakleśa* (blend of **upakkesa* and **upakilesa*), *sassirika*: Skt. *saśrīka* (blend of **sassīka* and **sasirīka*), etc.

Finally, the question would naturally arise whether the Prākṛit dialects show tendencies of this same sort. I have examined this question in a somewhat superficial way, but do not feel like expressing an opinion. The matter of doubling of consonants in Prākṛit is much more confused than in Pāli, and requires a special study.

The tendency which I assume never acquired anything like universal prevalence in Pāli. But this cannot be counted as a disproof of the thesis. Pāli fonology is full of such tentative leads, never fully carried out.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

University of Pennsylvania

On a possible Pre-Vedic Form in Pāli and Prākṛit

The Pāli-Prākṛit root *kaḍḍh*, 'draw', 'plow', is the lexical equivalent of Sanskrit *karṣ*, *krṣ*,¹ but cannot be derived from its presumptive source by any known fonetic process. Analogical infection, or blend with any other root does not suggest itself, the possibilities of that sort are not entirely precluded by mere negation. But it is possible to explain root *kaḍḍh* by an historical process of another kind.

The 'root-determinative' *d* attaches itself with great predilection in the Aryan tongues to roots ending in sibilants. Thus in Vedic the root *īḍ*=*iṣ-d*, from *iṣ* (*ichati*), for which see *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* 1906, pp. 13 ff.²; *pīḍ*=*piṣ-d* (*JHUC*. l. c.) from *piṣ*, 'crush' (*πῖέζω* has nothing to do with the case); *māl*, from **mīḍ*=*miṣ-d* from *miṣ*, both in the sense of 'shut the eyes' (Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* i. 221 ff.).

Some of those formations are Indo-Iranian, or even Indo-European: Avestan *khraoḍdaiti*, 'harden', *khruḍda*, 'hard'; Sanskrit *krūḍayati*, 'thicken', *kroḍas*, 'breast': Greek *κρυσ-ταίνω*, 'congeal'. Sanskrit *heḍ*, *hīḍ*, 'hate', Avestan *zoīḍda*, 'ugly', OHG. *geist* (cf. ON. *geisa* 'be infuriated'): Goth. *usgaisjan*, 'make beside one's self'. Especially as regards the sounds *ḍd*, preceded by *r*, cf. Aryan *mṛḍ*, in Sanskrit *mṛḍ*, Avestan *mərəḍd* 'pity', either from root *mṛṣ*, 'forget', or I.-E. *mṛġ* 'wipe off'.

¹ Hemacandra 4. 187; the basis *kaḍḍh* is probably continued in the modern Hindu dialects; e. g., in Marāṭhī *kāḍhnem*; see Bloch, *Langue Marathe*, §§112, 231, and p. 308.

² Persistent identifications with Lat. *aestumo*; Goth. *aistan*; OHG. *ēra*; or with Skt. *yajati* (*iṣṭa-*) are all wrong.

It seems hardly possible that Pāli-Prākṛit *kaddh* does not contain this same additional *d* (*kṛṣ-d*, *kṛz-d*), tho there is no trace of it in Iranian and Vedic. The form should be Aryan *kṛzd* (Avestan *kərəzd*; Vedic *kṛd*). From this otherwise defunct Aryan *kṛzd* the Pāli-Prākṛit *kaddh* is derivable by impeccable fonetics. The assumption is daring but not impossible when we remember that the Middle-Indic dialects have certainly preserved some Vedic forms that are lost in Sanskrit; see Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, §6 (with bibliography).

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

Johns Hopkins University

Gobryas, governor of Babylonia

In *Revue d'assyriologie* II. 165 ff., Père Scheil published a letter from Erech, written by Anu-shar-uṣur to Nabû-mukîn-apli and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, in which reference is made to soldiers who are on the *lī'ū* 'roll' of Nebuchadrezzar and Neriglissar; and the fact that the captain was anxious that the depleted ranks of these soldiers should not become known to Gubarû. From this Scheil concluded that Gobryas had already exercised a high command in the army at the time of Nebuchadrezzar. (See also King, *A History of Babylon*, p. 281.)

The mention of soldiers' 'rolls' of Nebuchadrezzar and of Neriglissar when Gobryas was in control would at once suggest that the time the letter was written was not in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, but when he was governor, in the reign of Cyrus; and from what follows this is shown to be correct.

In the writer's *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech* (YBT III) there is one, No. 45, in which the *lī'ū* 'rolls' of Neriglissar and Nabonidus are referred to in connection with food for the soldiers of Cyrus. From what follows this was written in the same reign, namely that of Cyrus. See also No. 81, written by the same man. No. 106 also refers to the *lī-ē* of Nebuchadrezzar, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus, and was written by the same man, Innina-aḥê-iddin, but probably in the following reign because of the references to Cambyses (see line 34).

In Tremayne's *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses* (YBT VII), which is ready for the press, the names of Nabû-mukîn-aplu and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, the two addressees in Scheil's tablet, frequently occur together as two officers, the former as the

shatammu of Eanna, and the latter as the *shaqū sharri* and *bēl piqittu* of Eanna (see 47 : 2, 3/84 : 18, 19/94 : 3, 4, etc.). Nabû-mukîn-aplu as the *shatammu* occurs in these texts first in the sixth year of Cyrus (*YBT* VII 54 : 5), having followed Nidintum-Bēl in this office, which he continued to hold until the sixth year of Cambyzes (190 : 13). Nabû-aḥ-iddin held this office from the seventeenth year of the previous reign (Dougherty *YBT* VI 156 : 3) unto the fourth year of Cambyzes (Tremayne *YBT* VII 172 : 10). The writer of Scheil's tablet, Anu-shar-uṣur, was the *qīpu* of Eanna in the reign of Cyrus (*YBT* VII 7 : 7). This office was apparently higher in rank than the other two that have been mentioned (see *YBT* VII 7 : 7; *YBT* III 10 : 2/61 : 10).

These facts show that the letter published by Scheil was written in the reign of Cyrus, when Gobryas was governor of Babylon; and also that, until other evidence is obtained, we can only conclude that the activity of Gobryas in Babylonia began with the reign of Cyrus. It would seem also from the references to soldiers as belonging to rolls of Nebuchadrezzar, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus during the reign of Cyrus that this was a method of classification of men in the army at that time.

ALBERT T. CLAY

Yale University

A new method of syntactical arrangement

Grammars fall roughly into two classes, the so-called scientific grammars, in which an attempt is made to marshal all the phonological, morphological, and syntactical facts of the language in question, with little or no regard for vocabulary and idiom, and the so-called practical grammars, in which vocabulary and idiom occupy the center of the stage, and as little attention as possible is devoted to the study of forms and constructions.

Many works of both classes are excellent in their way, but in no single instance does any grammar, so far as I know, accomplish what I believe should be the real purpose of every grammar, namely, to actually teach the language in question. By the term language here I mean at least that portion of it which is the common possession of all the people who speak it, the language of every-day life. The reason for this failure of grammar to teach language is not to be sought in the treatment of phonetic or morphological phenomena; there are many practically perfect pho-

nologies and morphologies. It lies in the unsatisfactory arrangement of syntactical material, and in the lack of a good plan for a systematic study of vocabulary and idiom.

The aim of the present paper is to outline a plan for the improvement of the first of these defects, the unsatisfactory arrangement of syntactical material. At a later time I hope to offer some suggestions with regard to the systematic study of vocabulary and idiom.

There are two well-recognized methods of syntactical arrangement.¹ First, the formal method, in which the uses of the various important words and forms of the language are explained from the point of view of the individual word or form, such matters being treated as, e. g., the use of the article, the uses of the various case forms of the noun, and of the various tense and mood forms of the verb, etc. Secondly, the logical method, in which the arrangement is based on the idea involved, all the various expressions for the same idea being grouped together, e. g., all the ways of expressing the definite state of a noun, all the ways of expressing the various case relations of a noun, the various tenses and moods of a verb, etc. Of these two methods the formal is the one which usually forms the basis of the ordinary syntax.

A third principle of arrangement, which is also employed to some extent in many syntaxes, tho I have never seen it formally recognized as a principle of arrangement, is what may be called the combinatory principle. Here the material is treated from the point of view of the combination of a word with its modifiers, and not from that of the individual form making up the combination. This third principle of arrangement, this practically unrecognized principle, must be regarded, I have come to believe, as the fundamental principle of any good syntactical treatment.

This conviction on my part is largely due to my study of Philippine languages. When I came to write a grammar of Tagalog, one of the chief of this group, a language in which words that stand to one another in the relation of modifier and modified are usually joined together by connective particles (e. g., *ang mabuti-ng tawo* 'the good man', guttural nasal *ng* being the connective particle) my attention was necessarily attracted to the importance

¹ Cf. *Die Sprachwissenschaft* . . . von G. von d. Gabelentz, 2^{te}, verm. u. verb. Aufl. herausg. von Dr. Albrecht Graf von der Schulenburg, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 85, 86; H. Sweet, *The Practical Study of Languages*, N. Y., 1900, pp. 125, 126.

of the combination in syntactical study, and ultimately I found it both advisable and necessary to arrange the whole syntactical material of the language on the combinatory principle.

This method of arrangement may be spoken of as combinatory syntax or syntax of combinations. The combinations it treats may be briefly summarized as follows: Most of the parts of speech may, in addition to their use as separate words, form the dominant element of composite ideas, each consisting of a modified word and one or more modifying ideas; the modified word is, of course, in each case the dominant element. For example, in the English phrases 'this good man', 'which old man', 'any old man', the word 'man' is the dominant element. The modifying idea may be expressed by inflection or agglutination, e. g., Hebrew *kalb-î* 'my dog', *hakkeleb* 'the dog'; by a single word, as 'this' in English 'this man'; by several words, as *ce(t)-ci* in French *cet homme-ci*; or it may be indicated by some peculiarity of the construction, e. g., in Hebrew 'I have no bread' is rendered by 'ên lî *lehem*, where the construction of the negative 'ên with the indefinite noun, expresses the indefinite adjectival idea 'no'. The element that expresses the modifying idea is not always grammatically dependent on the noun, e. g., in Hebrew *kol hā-'anāšîm* 'all the men', *hā anāšîm* 'men' is genitive after *kol* 'all'. The noun may be combined with about a dozen of these modifying ideas²; the verb, with a half dozen or more; the adjective, with three or four; and so on. The phrases thus formed may now be combined in the relation of subject and predicate to form simple sentences, and simple sentences may be combined to form compound, complex, and involved sentences. In other words combinatory syntax shows how to combine linguistic atoms, i. e., words, into linguistic molecules, i. e., phrases, and how to form from these linguistic molecules linguistic mixtures, i. e., sentences, of varying degrees of complexity. It is evident that such a treatment consistently carried thru will reach all the possible combinations in the language, and it is also clear on the other hand that any conceivable combination in the language must find its place all ready for it in the system.

The lack of adequate attention to the combination as such is a weak point in most grammars that deal with highly synthetic forms of speech, as, for example, Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit.

² Cf. my article *Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic*, JAOS, 32 (1912), p. 136.

Here, too much of the same ground is covered in connection with the study of the syntax of forms, the points made very largely lose their full effect, because they are out of their proper connection. It would serve, for example, to give more concreteness and vividness to the teaching of Latin if the combinations of the noun with the various pronominal adjectives, demonstrative, interrogative, etc., were learned more or less as units, viz., *hic homo*, *qui homo*, etc., instead of practically the whole attention of the student being riveted on the pronominal adjective, with the indefinite knowledge added by way of appendix, that it may be employed on occasion to modify a noun. Similarly in Sanskrit instead of studying exclusively in a formal way the compounds which make up so important a part of the language, and which constitute one of the chief stumbling blocks to the beginner, how much more concrete and definite it is to regard them as variant ways of expressing the combination of noun or adjective with different modifying ideas, to teach a student, for example, that he can express the phrase 'his man' either by a compound, viz., *tat-puruṣaḥ* or by two words, viz., *tasya puruṣaḥ*. Moreover the eagerness with which the mind, working thru the mazes of a formal Greek syntax, seizes upon and holds such a statement as that the phrase 'the wise man' may be expressed in the three ways *ὁ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ*, *ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός*, or *ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός*, indicates the naturalness and vividness of the method in question.

One special advantage inherent in the combinatory method, in which, as we have seen, all the possible combinations of a language are catalogued and discussed in a regular order, is the facility with which the syntactical phenomena of languages so arranged can be compared; and no one will deny that real progress in syntactical study is contingent on such comparisons.

The combinatory method, however, in spite of its manifest advantages is not meant to supersede entirely the formal and logical methods. The three methods must work hand in hand in order that all the phenomena of the language may be adequately treated. I believe that a good syntax should consist of two parts. First all the material of the language should be treated from the combinatory point of view; secondly, the same material should be discussed again from the point of view of the use of the various forms. Theoretically a third part, in which all the material of the language would be treated from the point of view of the idea involved, would be necessary to complete the scheme of a perfect

syntax, but in practise this is usually not necessary. It will, in most cases, be found sufficient occasionally to exchange the combinatory or formal points of view for the logical in parts one and two respectively. For instance in the case of such topics as indefinite pronominal ideas, and modal auxiliary ideas such as *may*, *can*, *must*, etc., it is well for the sake of completeness to add a logical treatment to the combinatory and formal statements.

Of course such a method of syntactical treatment cannot be carried thru mechanically; its successful application requires not only a thoro knowledge of the language in question, but also an acquaintance with the fundamental principles of linguistic science, and a reasonable amount of common sense.


I am thoroly convinced, after rather prolonged thought on the subject, and after using the method here outlined in my own study of a number of tongues, that there is no language which will not gain greatly by the application of this method to its syntactical phenomena.

FRANK R. BLAKE

Johns Hopkins University

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Editors, acting upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, have made arrangements for printing the JOURNAL in Germany, on account of the very reasonable rates that can be procured there. This arrangement will begin with the next volume, which will appear in two parts. But it is hoped, as soon as postal conditions warrant, to publish quarterly.

 Members and subscribers are requested to note that there will necessarily be considerable delay in issuing the next number of the JOURNAL, which, as just stated, will be a double number and will be printed in Germany. Its issuance can hardly be expected before *May or June, 1922.*

On September 27, 1921, the Executive Committee received a report from the Publication Committee on the cost of printing in Germany Blake's Tagalog Grammar and Edgerton's Pañcatantra Reconstructed. The publication of these books was recommended by the Society to the Directors (JOURNAL, 41. 175, 185), and the Directors had entrusted the matter to the Executive Committee with power to act. The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, that the Executive Committee, having heard the report of the Publication Committee regarding the cost of publishing the books by Dr. Blake and Professor Edgerton, votes to refer the publication of these books to the Publication Committee with power to act and with power to draw upon the Treasurer for the amounts involved, not exceeding \$1000.

On the same date the Executive Committee also passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, that the Executive Committee recommend to the Editors that they make arrangements to print the JOURNAL abroad as soon as they deem it advisable.

Resolved, that the Editors take under consideration the advisability of publishing an Oriental Review and report thereon to the Executive Committee or the Board of Directors at their next meeting.

Resolved, that the President and the Treasurer be authorized to purchase such an amount of German marks as may be needed to cover the cost of publication of the JOURNAL during the coming year and of the two books recommended for publication.

The President was authorized by the Executive Committee to appoint a delegate to represent the American Oriental Society in the American Council of Learned Societies, in place of Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., deceased, such delegate to serve until the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

By unanimous vote of the Executive Committee, the following have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mrs. Frances Crosby Bartter	Mr. Merton L. Miller
Dr. Joshua Bloch	Rev. Omer Hillman Mott
Mr. Cecil M. P. Cross	Prof. H. R. Purinton
Mr. Benjamin Fain	Prof. S. B. Slack
Rev. Dr. L. Legrain	Prof. Hutton Webster

In accordance with By-Law VIII (as amended in 1921), providing that, "if any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be dropped from the list of members of the Society," the following members, reported by the Treasurer to be in arrears for two years or more, have been, by vote of the Executive Committee, suspended until their back dues shall be paid.

Francis C. Anscombe
Miss Effie Bendann
Dr. E. W. Burlingame
Edwin Sanford Crandon
Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis
Dr. Viccaji Dinshaw
Louis A. Dole
Dr. Henry C. Finkel
Prof. John Fryer
Robert Garrett
Rev. F. Georgelin
Rev. K. K. Haddaway
Mrs. Ida M. Hanchett
Dr. Edward H. Hume
T. Y. Leo

Prof. Enno Littman
Walter C. Maier
Dr. Riley D. Moore
Rev. Hans K. Moussa
Prof. Hanns Oertel
Dr. Julius J. Price
Prof. George H. Richardson
Prof. H. Schumacher
Dr. Charles P. G. Scott
Dr. Henry B. Sharman
Rabbi Emanuel Sternheim
Dr. Walter T. Swingle
Tseh Ling Tsu
Rev. Samuel W. Wass

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

A special meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences was held in Boston, October 5-7, to receive delegates from the Royal Asiatic Society and the Société Asiatique and to confer on cooperation in the promotion of Oriental studies. The foreign delegates present were A. E. Cowley, M.A., Prof. S. Langdon, Lee Shuttleworth, Esq., of Oxford; M. Alexandre Moret, director of the Musée Guimet; Prof. Paul Pelliot, of the Collège de France.

The School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University announces in connection with courses in Commerce, Diplomacy, etc., courses in Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese.

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis met at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, December 28-29. In addition to the usual program of papers there was a Symposium on Biblical Eschatology. An evening was devoted to illustrated addresses on Palestinian and Babylonian Archaeology. New officers elected are: President, Prof. W. R. Arnold (Harvard); Treasurer, T. J. Meek (Meadville Seminary); Editors, Professors Porter, Bacon, Dahl (Yale).

In conjunction with the meeting of the Biblical Society, the corporation of the American Schools of Oriental Research held its first meeting. The trustees and officers were reelected. President J. A. Kelso (Western Theological Seminary) and Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt (Cornell) were appointed Honorary Lecturers at the School in Jerusalem for 1922-23, and Prof. Paul

Haupt (Johns Hopkins) Annual Professor for 1923-24. It was decided to raise a library endowment fund in memory of Dr. Jastrow and a fund for the endowment of the Bagdad School in memory of Dr. Peters.

The Archaeological Institute of America met at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, December 28-30. New officers elected are: President, Prof. R. V. D. Magoffin (Johns Hopkins); Secretary, Prof. D. M. Robinson (Johns Hopkins).

PERSONALIA

News has reached this country of the death of Professor IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, of Budapest. Professor Goldzieher, the noted Arabist and student of Islam, became an Honorary Member of this Society in 1906.

The Rev. Professor JOHN P. PETERS died in New York, November 10. Dr. Peters became a member of this Society in 1882. He was successively professor in the Philadelphia Divinity School and the University of Pennsylvania, rector of St. Michael's Church, New York, and professor in the University of the South. He was the excavator of Nippur and the author of many books and papers on biblical and archaeological research.

A meeting in memory of the late Professor MORRIS JASTROW, JR., was held in the hall of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, November 22. Addresses were made by Provost Penniman of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. George A. Barton, Dr. W. W. Keen, the Hon. Roland S. Morris, Dr. Horace H. Furness, Miss Agnes Repplier, and Dr. Felix Adler; and a portrait of Dr. Jastrow was presented to the University of Pennsylvania on behalf of the donors by Dr. James A. Montgomery. The meeting was under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society, the University of Pennsylvania, the American Oriental Society, the Archaeological Institute, the Society of Biblical Literature, the American Schools of Oriental Research, the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, and several local societies. The committee representing the Oriental Society were President Nies, Drs. F. Edgerton, R. G. Kent, A. T. Olmstead, N. Schmidt, Talcott Williams.

Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, Director of the American School in Jerusalem, has been elected president of the Palestine Oriental Society.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for Oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The membership of the Society shall consist of corporate members, honorary members, and honorary associates.

ARTICLE IV. SECTION 1. Honorary members and honorary associates shall be proposed for membership by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

SECTION 2. Candidates for corporate membership may be proposed and elected in the same manner as honorary members and honorary associates. They may also be proposed at any time by any member in regular standing. Such proposals shall be in writing and shall be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, who shall thereupon submit them to the Executive Committee for its action. A unanimous vote of the Executive Committee shall be necessary in order to elect.

ARTICLE V. SECTION 1. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, two Editors of the JOURNAL, 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.

SECTION 2. An Executive Committee, consisting of the President, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, and two other Directors each elected for a term of two years, shall be constituted by the Board of Directors. The

Executive Committee shall have power to take action provisionally in the name of the Society on matters of importance which may arise between meetings of the Society or of the Board of Directors, and on which, in the Committee's opinion, action cannot be postponed without injury to the interests of the Society. Notice of all actions taken by the Executive Committee shall be printed as soon as possible in the JOURNAL, and shall be reported to the Directors and the Society at the succeeding annual meeting. Unless such actions, after being thus duly advertised and reported, are disapproved by a majority vote of the members present at any session of the succeeding annual meeting, they shall be construed to have been ratified and shall stand as actions of the Society.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the two Editors of the JOURNAL shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or

near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. All members shall be entitled to one copy of all current numbers of the JOURNAL issued during their membership. Back volumes of the JOURNAL shall be furnished to members at twenty per cent reduction from the list price. All other publications of the Society may be furnished to members at such reductions in price as the Directors may determine.

VIII. Candidates for corporate membership who have been elected shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them, or, in the case of persons not residing in the United States, within a reasonable time. A failure so to qualify, unless explained to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee, shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS

I. FOR THE LIBRARY

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian,

pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice-President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

II. ON THE ORGANIZATION OF BRANCHES

1. 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.

2. 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.

3. 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.

4. The President and Secretary of any branch duly authorized as provided under Section 1 shall have the right to sit *ex officio* with the Directors at their meetings and to take part in their deliberations.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.
 † designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
 Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, Ettlingerstr. 53, Karlsruhe, Germany. 1878.
 Sir RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, K.C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.
 Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Südstr. 47^{II}, Leipzig, Germany. 1893.
 Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
 Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
 Prof. RICHARD v. GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
 Prof. ADOLF ERMANN, University of Berlin, Germany. (Peter Lennéstr. 36, Berlin-Dahlem.) 1903.
 Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
 Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Honorary, 1905.
 †Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, University of Budapest, Hungary. (vii Holló-Utca 4.) 1906.
 Prof. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Cotterstock, Chipstead, Surrey, England. 1907.
 Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Mommsenstr. 7, Gross-Lichterfelde-West.) 1908.
 EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François 1^{er}, Paris, France. 1908.
 Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Collège de France, Paris, France. (1 Avenue de l'Alma.) 1909.
 Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, Germany. (Niebuhrstr. 59.) 1909.
 Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Rapenberg 61.) 1914.
 Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris, France. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, V^e.) 1917.
 Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.
 FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.
 Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.
 Prof. V. SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 4^{bis} Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.
 Dr. F. W. THOMAS, The Library, India Office, London S. W. 1, England. 1920.
 Rév. Père M.-J. LAGRANGE, Ecole française archéologique de Palestine, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1921.

[Total: 24]

HONORARY ASSOCIATES

- Hon. CHARLES R. CRANE, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. OTIS A. GLAZEBROOK, American Consul, Nice, France. 1921.
 Pres. FRANK J. GOODNOW, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU, The Plaza, New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Dr. PAUL S. REINSCH, 204 Southern Building, Washington, D. C. 1921.
 Chief Justice WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, The Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1921.

[Total: 6]

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with * are those of life members.

- MARCUS AARON, 402 Winebiddle Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
 †Mrs. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.
 Pres. CYRUS ADLER (Dropsie College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 Prof. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR (Univ. of Madras), Sri Venkatesa Vilas, Nadu St., Mylapore, Madras, India. 1921.
 Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Director, American School of Oriental Research, P. O. Box 333, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1915.
 Dr. RUTH NORTON (Mrs. W. F.) ALBRIGHT, care of American School of Oriental Research, P. O. Box 333, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1918.
 Prof. HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. 1921.
 Dr. T. GEORGE ALLEN (Univ. of Chicago), 5743 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Dr. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
 Prof. SHIGERU ARAKI, The Peeress School, Aoyama, Tokyo, Japan. 1915.
 Prof. J. C. ARCHER (Yale Univ.), 84 Linden St., New Haven, Conn. 1916.
 Prof. KAN-ICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
 L. A. AULT, P. O. Drawer 880, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
 Prof. WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÈ (Pacific School of Religion), 2616 College Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1920.
 CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, Box 296, Lancaster, Cal. 1916.
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 RAKHAL DAS BANERJI, M.A., 415 Malcolm House, Poona, India. 1921.
 *Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 *PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR, care of Mercantile Trust Co., San Francisco, Cal. 1917.
 Rabbi HENRY BARNSTON, Ph.D., 3515 Main St., Houston, Texas. 1921.
 Prof. LEROY CARR BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
 Mrs. FRANCES CROSBY BARTTER, Box 655, Manila, P. I. 1921.
 Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.

- Prof. LORING W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 3 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
- F. C. BEAZER, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1921.
- Miss ETHEL BEERS, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
- *Prof. SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR (Deccan College), Bilvakunja Bhamburda, Poona, India. 1914.
- Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
- E. BEN YEHUDA, care of Zionist Commission, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1916.
- Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
- OSCAR BERMAN, Third, Plum and McFarland Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- PIERRE A. BERNARD, Rossiter House, Braeburn Club, Nyack, N. Y. 1914.
- ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, Inter So. Bldg., Louisville, Ky. 1920.
- Rabbi LOUIS BERNSTEIN, Har Sinai Temple, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- 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.
- Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR (Univ. of Calcutta), 16 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta, India. 1921.
- WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, M.D., 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. FREDERICK L. BIRD, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1917.
- CARL W. BISHOP, 81 N. Washington St., Tarrytown, N. Y. 1917.
- Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 109 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, 1155 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1898.
- Dr. JOSHUA BLOCH (New York Univ.), 346 East 173d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, 1080 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1916.
- EMANUEL BOASBERG, 1296 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1921.
- Swami BODHANANDA, care of The Vedanta Society, 117 West 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Genève, Switzerland. 1897.
- Rev. AUGUST M. BOLDUC, S.T.B., The Marist College, Brookland, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Ohio State Univ.), 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
- Prof. CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.
- Prof. EDWARD I. BOSWORTH (Oberlin Graduate School of Theology), 78 South Professor St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Miss EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS, 124 Third St., Lakewood, N. J. 1920.

- Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1920 (1906).
- Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
- Mrs. BEATRICE ALLARD BROOKS, Summit Road, Wellesley, Mass. 1919.
- MILTON BROOKS, 3 Clive Row, Calcutta, India. 1918.
- DAVID A. BROWN, 60 Boston Boulevard, Detroit, Mich. 1921.
- G. M. L. BROWN, 22 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1909.
- LEO M. BROWN, P. O. Box 953, Mobile, Ala. 1920.
- Dr. W. NORMAN BROWN, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1916.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- LUDLOW S. BULL, Haskell Oriental Museum, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- *Prof. JOHN M. BURNAM (Univ. of Cincinnati), 3413 Whitfield Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- Prof. 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.
- Prof. EUGENE H. BYRNE (Univ. of Wisconsin), 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY (Andover Theol. Seminary), 1075 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Ph.D., 3055 Kingsbridge Ave., New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. ISAAC CANNADAY, M.A., Ranchi, Bihar, India. 1920.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY, 50 Rue des Joyeuses Entrées, Louvain, Belgium. 1916.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- HENRY HARMON CHAMBERLIN, 22 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, Sunnyside, Rayapettah, Madras, India. 1899.
- Prof. RAMAPRASAD CHANDRA, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, India. 1921.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Dr. EDWARD CHERA (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 1538 South Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
- EMERSON B. CHRISTIE (Department of State), 3220 McKinley St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, Box 222, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- *ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 820 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- CHARLES P. COFFIN, 1744-208 South LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- ALFRED M. COHEN, 9 West 4th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Dr. GEORGE H. COHEN, 120 Capitol Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1920.

- Rabbi HENRY COHEN, D.D., 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas. 1920.
 Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHON, 6634 Newgard St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Prof. KENNETH COLEGROVE, (Northwestern Univ.), 105 Harris Hall, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
 Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1027 Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.
 Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1905.
 Dr. MAUDE GAECKLER (Mrs. H. M.) COOK, Baylor College, Belton, Texas. 1915.
 Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
 Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
 CECIL M. P. CROSS, American Consulate, Aden, Arabia. 1921.
 Prof. GEORGE DAHL (Yale Univ.), 51 Avon St., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
 Prof. GEORGE H. DANTON, Tsing Hua College, Peking, China. 1921.
 Prof. ISRAEL DAVIDSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 92 Morningside Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
 Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.
 Prof. IRWIN HOCH DELONG (Theol. Seminary of the Reformed Church), 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
 ROBERT E. DENGLE, 226 South Atherton St., State College, Pa. 1920.
 Pro-Vice-Chancellor A. B. DHURVA, The Benares Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
 Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
 †Rev. Dr. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
 LEON DOMINIAN, care of American Consulate General, Rome, Italy. 1916.
 Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 North Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
 Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 †Rev. WALTER DRUM, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1915.
 Rev. WILLIAM HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
 Prof. F. C. DUNCALF, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
 Prof. GEORGE S. DUNCAN (American Univ., Y. M. C. A. School of Religion), 2900 Seventh St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
 Rev. EDWARD SLATER DUNLAP, 2629 Garfield St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
 Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 107 Bryn Mawr Ave., Lansdowne, Pa. 1910.
 WILLIAM F. EDGERTON (Univ. of Chicago), 1401 East 53d St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Mrs. ARTHUR C. EDWARDS, 309 West 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Prof. GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS (Missouri Bible College), 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
 Rev. JAMES F. EDWARDS, Gordon Hall House, New Nopada Road, Bombay, India. 1921.
 Dr. ISRAEL I. EFROS (Baltimore Hebrew College), 2040 East Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.

- Rabbi ISRAEL ELFENBEIN, L.H.D., 128 West 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ABRAM I. ELKUS, 111 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- ALBERT W. ELLIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. AARON EMBER, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
- Rabbi H. G. ENELow, D.D., Temple Emanu-El, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Rabbi HARRY W. ETTelson, Ph.D., Hotel Lorraine, Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- Pres. MILTON G. EVANS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. CHARLES P. FAGNANI (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
- BENJAMIN FAIN, 1269 President St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1921.
- Rabbi ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, Temple Keneseth Israel, Broad St. above Columbia Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.
- GEORGE ALBERT FIELD, P. O. Box 304, Station B, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1921.
- Rabbi JOSEPH L. FINK, 540 South 6th St., Terre Haute, Ind. 1920.
- Dr. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- Dean HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Rabbi SOLOMON FOSTER, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N. J. 1921.
- Prof. JAMES EVERETT FRAME, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- W. B. FRANKENSTEIN, 110 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Rabbi LEO M. FRANKLIN, M.A., 10 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1920.
- Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, 3426 Burnet Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- †J. WALTER FREIBERG, 701 First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- MAURICE J. FREIBERG, 701 First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- SIGMUND FREY, 632 Irvington Ave., Huntington Park, Cal. 1920.
- HARRY FRIEDENWALD, M.D., 1029 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
- Prof. CARL GAENSSLE (Concordia College), 3117 Cedar St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India. 1921.
- ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Mrs. H. P. GAMBOE, Kulpahar, U. P., India. 1921.
- Mrs. WILLIAM TUDOR GARDINER, 29 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1915.

- Rev. FRANK GAVIN, S.S.J.E., 637 Marshall St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.
Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, 5720 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.
Miss ALICE GETTY, 75 Ave. des Champs Elysées, Paris, France. 1915.
Rev. PHARES B. GIBBLE, 112 West Conway St., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1002 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
DWIGHT GODDARD, Lancaster, Mass. 1920.
Rabbi S. H. GOLDENSON, Ph.D., 4905 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, 55th and Scoville Sts., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
PHILIP J. GOODHART, 21 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1912.
Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
Prof. HERBERT HENRY GOWEN, D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Wash. 1920.
Prof. WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM (Wesleyan Theol. College), 756 University St., Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1921.
Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
Prof. LOUIS H. GRAY, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1897.
Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, care of University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1907.
Prof. EVARTS B. GREENE (Univ. of Illinois), 315 Lincoln Hill, Urbana, Ill. 1921.
Miss LILY DEXTER GREENE, 2844 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
M. E. GREENEBAUM, 4504 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1920.
Prof. ROBERT F. GRIBBLE, Mercedes, Texas. 1918.
Dr. ETTALENE M. GRICE, care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, Violet Hill Farm, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.
Rev. Dr. HERVEY D. GRISWOLD, Saharanpur, U. P., India. 1920.
Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.
Prof. LÉON GRY (Université libre d'Angers), 10 Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M.-et-L., France. 1921.
Babu SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA, Seva-Upavana, Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
Pres. WILLIAM W. GUTH, Ph.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1920.
*Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 323 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
Rev. ALEXANDER D. HAIL (Osaka Theol. Training School), 946 of 3. Tezu-kayama, Sumiyoshi Mura, Setsu, Japan. 1921.
Dr. GEORGE ELLERY HALE, Director, Mt. Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Cal. 1920.
Dr. B. HALPER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
Rev. EDWARD R. HAMME, 1511 Hanover St., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
Prof. MAX S. HANDMAN, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.

- DANIEL P. HAYS, 115 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Rabbi JAMES G. HELLER, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. MAXIMILIAN HELLER (Tulane Univ.), 1828 Marengo St., New Orleans, La. 1920.
 PHILIP S. HENRY, Zealandia, Asheville, N. C. 1914.
 Rev. CHARLES W. HEPNER, Woodstock, Va. 1921.
 Prof. WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, 1321 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
 Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. EMIL G. HIRSCH (Univ. of Chicago), 3612 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 BERNARD HIRSHBERG, 260 Todd Lane, Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Haimhauserstr. 19, München, Germany. 1903.
 Prof. PHILIP K. HITTI, American University, Beirut, Syria. 1915.
 Rev. Dr. CHARLES T. HOCK (Bloomfield Theol. Seminary), 222 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1921 (1903).
 Rev. Dr. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 9 Sumner St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
 THEODORE HOFELLER, 59 Ashland Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
 G. F. HOFF, 403 Union Building, San Diego, Cal. 1920.
 Miss ALICE M. HOLMES, Southern Pines, N. C. 1920.
 *Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
 SAMUEL HORCHOW, 1307 Fourth St., Portsmouth, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER (Dropsie College), 3220 Monument Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
 HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 *Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 Prof. ISAAC HUSIK (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 408 South 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
 ALBERT D. HUTZLER, 3 Carroll Road, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. MOSES HYAMSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 115 East 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 67 Boulevard Lannes, Paris, France. 1909.
 Prof. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
 HARALD INGOLT, Graduate College, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1921.
 Prof. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL (Forman Christian College), Waris Road, Lahore, Panjab, India. 1921.
 Rabbi EDWARD L. ISRAEL, Springfield, Ill. 1920.
 MELVIN M. ISRAEL, 50 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.

- Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. FREDERICK J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), Dana Place, Englewood, N. J. 1920.
- Prof. FLEMING JAMES, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1921.
- Rev. ERNEST P. JANVIER, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, India. 1919.
- †Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
- Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 421 Washington St., Norwichtown, Conn. 1916.
- FRANKLIN PLOTINOS JOHNSON, Osceola, Mo. 1921.
- Dr. HELEN M. JOHNSON, care of Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay, India. 1921.
- NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- CHARLES JOHNSTON, 80 Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, Chang Wang Hutung, The Old Drum Tower Road, Peking, China. 1919.
- FLORIN HOWARD JONES, Box 95, Coytesville, N. J. 1918.
- Mrs. RUSSELL K. (Alice Judson) JONES, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- FELIX KAHN, Hotel Alms, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- JULIUS KAHN, 429 Wick Ave., Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.
- Dean MAXIMO M. KALAW, University of the Philippines, Manila, P. I. 1921.
- Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, 780 East Ridgeway Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- Rabbi C. E. HILLEL KAUFMAN, Ph.D., 1607 Gilpin St., Denver, Colo. 1921.
- Prof. ELMER LOUIS KAYSER (George Washington Univ.), 3129 O St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Rev. JAMES L. KELSO, 501 North Walnut St., Bloomington, Ind. 1921.
- Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- LEEDS C. KERR, Royal Oak, Md. 1916.
- ISADORE KEYFITZ, 4920 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. ANIS E. KHURI, American University, Beirut, Syria. 1921.
- Prof. TAIKEN KIMURA, Tokyo Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- EUGENE KLEIN, 1318 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi SAMUEL KOCH, M.A., 916 Twentieth Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1921.
- Pres. KAUFMANN KOHLER (Hebrew Union College), 3016 Stanton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Rev. EMIL G. H. KRAELING, Ph.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- Rev. GEORGES S. KUKHI, care of Y. M. C. A., Davies-Bryan Building, Cairo, Egypt. 1917.

- Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
- Pandit D. K. LADDU, 833 Sadashiva Peth, Poona, India. 1921.
- HAROLD ALBERT LAMB, 7 West 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Miss M. ANTONIA LAMB, 212 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. GOTTHARD LANDSTROM, Box 12, Zap, Mercer Co., N. Dak. 1917.
- *Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- AMBROSE LANSING, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. L. H. LARIMER, D.D., Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio. 1921.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Rabbi JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, Ph.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- SIMON LAZARUS, High and Town Sts., Columbus, Ohio. 1921.
- DARWIN A. LEAVITT (Univ. of Chicago), 5757 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Rabbi DAVID LEFKOWITZ, 1833 Forest Ave., Dallas, Texas. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. LÉON LEGRAIN, Univ. of Penna. Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Rabbi GERSON B. LEVI, Ph.D., 5000 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Rabbi SAMUEL J. LEVINSON, 522 East 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- ISIDOR S. LEVITAN, 124 North Fremont Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Mrs. LEE LOEB, 53 Gibbes St., Charleston, S. C. 1920.
- Prof. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, 2272 South Filmore St., Denver, Colo. 1918.
- Rev. ARNOLD E. LOOK, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1920.
- Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, Jr., 267 Clarendon St., Boston, Mass. 1916.
- Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Prof. HENRY F. LUTZ, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1009 West California St., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTHGOE, Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, D.D. (Pacific School of Religion), 2223 Atherton St., Berkeley, Cal. 1920.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- DAVID ISRAEL MACHT, M.D., The Johns Hopkins University Medical School, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- RALPH W. MACK, 3836 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Dr. ROBERT CECIL MACMAHON, 78 West 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. JUDAH L. MAGNES, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rabbi EDGAR F. MAGNIN, 2187 West 16th St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1920.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.

- Prof. HENRY MALTER (Dropsie College), 1531 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Dr. JACOB MANN (Baltimore Hebrew College), 1819 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, 92 Linden St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Dr. CLARENCE A. MANNING (Columbia Univ.), 144 East 74th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rev. JAMES CAMPBELL MANRY (Ewing Christian College, Allahabad), 54 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1921.
- Rabbi JACOB R. MARCUS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- RALPH MARCUS, 531 West 124th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ARTHUR WILLIAM MARGET, 157 Homestead St., Roxbury, Mass. 1920.
- HARRY S. MARGOLIS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 152 West Horticter St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- JAMES P. MARSH, M.D., 1828 Fifth Ave., Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- Pres. H. I. MARSHALL (Karen Theol. Seminary), Insein, Burma, India. 1920.
- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. D. ROY MATHEWS, Northwestern Military Academy, Lake Geneva, Wis. 1920.
- Prof. ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921 (1906).
- Rabbi HARRY H. MAYER, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD (Univ. of Chicago), 2132 West 110th Place, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK (Meadville Theol. School), 650 Arch St., Meadville, Pa. 1917.
- HENRY MEIS, 806 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rabbi RAPHAEL H. MELAMED, Ph.D., 1295 Central Ave., Far Rockaway, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Seminary), 2738 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- R. D. MESSAYEH, 49 East 127th St., New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
- Rev. Dr. MARTIN A. MEYER, 3108 Jackson St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Rabbi MYRON M. MEYEROVITZ, Alexandria, La. 1920.
- Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- MERTON L. MILLER, care of International Banking Corporation, Cebu, P. I. 1921.
- Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, 3407 North 5th St., Des Moines, Iowa. 1892.
- Rabbi LOUIS A. MISCHKIND, M.A., Tremont Temple, Grand Concourse and Burnside Ave., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Rev. JOHN MONCURE, Box 179, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Dr. ROBERT LUDWIG MOND, 7 Cavendish Mansions, Langham St., London W. 1, England. 1921.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.

- FREDERICK MOORE, Japanese Embassy, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- *Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Rev. HUGH A. MORAN, 221 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 3988 Parker Place, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- *EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS, "Tyn-y-Coed," Ardmore, Pa. 1920.
- Hon. ROLAND S. MORRIS, 1617 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. OMER HILLMAN MOTT, Belmont Abbey, Belmont, N. C. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. PHILIP STAFFORD MOXOM (International Y. M. C. A. College), 90 High St., Springfield, Mass. 1921 (1898).
- Sardar G. N. MUJAMDAR, 187 Kasba Peth, Poona, India. 1921.
- Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 203 Radnor Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, 245 East Tremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1887.
- Prof. H. NAU (Luther College), 324 South Jefferson Davis Parkway, New Orleans, La. 1921.
- Prof. EDOUARD NAVILLE (Univ. of Geneva), Malagny near Geneva, Switzerland. 1921.
- Prof. THOMAS KINLOCH NELSON, Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1916.
- Professor WILLIAM ROMAINE NEWBOLD, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Rev. Dr. JAMES B. NIES, 12 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, care of Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
- Mrs. CHARLES F. NORTON, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. 1919.
- Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 1727 Lamont St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1915.
- ADOLPH S. OCHS, The New York Times, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rt. Rev. DENIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFELE, 326 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- HERBERT C. OETTINGER, Eighth and Walnut Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Mrs. MYER OETTINGER, Rose Hill and Redbud Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- NAOYOSHI OGAWA, Bureau of Education, Government of Formosa, Taihoku, Formosa. 1921.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Dr. ELLEN S. OGDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD (Univ. of Illinois), 706 South Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
- Prof. CHARLES A. OWEN, Assiut College, Assiut, Egypt. 1921.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, Shields, Allegheny Co., Pa. 1920.
- Pres. CHARLES T. PAUL, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1921.

- JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY, 21 Claremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 DR. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
 Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
 HAROLD PEIRCE, 222 Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
 DR. JOSEPH LOUIS PERRIER, 315 West 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. MARSHALL LIVINGSTON PERRIN (Boston Univ.), Wellesley Hills, Mass. 1921.
 Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
 DR. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2414 East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
 †Rev. DR. JOHN P. PETERS, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1882.
 Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, Westminster College, Fulton, Mo. 1909.
 ROBERT HENRY PFEIFFER, 39 Winthrop St., Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
 Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.
 Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, American Legation, The Hague, Netherlands. 1917.
 JULIAN A. POLLAK, 927 Redway Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 PAUL POPENOE, Thermal, Cal. 1914.
 Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
 Rev. DR. THOMAS PORTER (Presbyterian Theol. Seminary), 3 Rua Padre Vieira, Campinos, Brazil. 1921.
 D. V. POTDAR, 180 Shanvar Peth, Poona, India. 1921.
 Rev. DR. SARTELL PRENTICE, 127 South Broadway, Nyack, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
 Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), American Legation, Copenhagen, Denmark. 1888.
 CARL E. PRITZ, 101 Union Trust Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Rev. DR. A. H. PRUESSNER, Kramat 19, Weltevreden, Java, Dutch East Indies. 1921.
 Prof. ALEXANDER C. PURDY, Earlham College, Earlham, Ind. 1921.
 Prof. HERBERT R. PURINTON, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. 1921.
 Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, S.T.L., Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Prof. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. 1921 (1917).
 DR. G. PAYN QUACKENBOS, Northrup Ave., Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
 Rev. DR. MAX RAISIN, 1093 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
 DR. V. V. RAMANA-SÂSTRIN, Vedaraniyam, Tanjore District, India. 1921.
 Prof. H. M. RAMSEY, Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minn. 1920.
 MARCUS RAUH, 951 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), 185 College Ave., New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
 Prof. HARRY B. REED, 812 North 10th St., Fargo, N. Dak. 1921.
 DR. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
 JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.
 Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUER, Meiji Gakuin, Shirokane Shiba, Tokyo, Japan. 1920.
 Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.

- Rt. Rev. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER, 251 So. 22d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1908.
 Prof. ROBERT THOMAS RIDDLE, St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. 1920.
 Dr. EDWARD ROBERTSON, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. 1921.
 Rev. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Christ Church, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.
 Prof. DAVID M. ROBINSON, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
 Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
 HARRY L. ROSEN, 831 South 3d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
 Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
 *JULIUS ROSENWALD, care of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
 SAMUEL ROTHENBERG, M.D., 22 West 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
 Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 115 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Dr. ELBERT RUSSELL, Woolman House, Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.
 Rabbi SAMUEL SALE, 4621 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
 Rabbi MARCUS SALZMAN, Ph.D., 94 West Ross St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 1920.
 Rev. FRANK K. SANDERS, Ph.D., 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
 Prof. HENRY A. SANDERS, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1921.
 Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Prof. HENRY P. SCHAEFFER (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1016 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.
 GOTTLIEB SCHAEENZLIN, 2618 Oswego Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
 Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
 Dr. JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, care of Kerkhoven and Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Netherlands. 1906.
 JOHN F. SCHLICHTING, 1430 Woodhaven Boulevard, Woodhaven, N. Y. 1920.
 †A. K. SCHMAVONIAN, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
 ADOLPH SCHOENFELD, 321 East 84th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 WILFRED H. SCHOFF, The Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
 Rabbi WILLIAM B. SCHWARTZ, Montgomery, Ala. 1921.
 WILLIAM BACON SCOFIELD, Worcester Club, Worcester, Mass. 1919.
 Prof. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.
 Prof. JOHN A. SCOTT, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
 *Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 Prof. HELEN M. SEARLES, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1921.
 Dr. MOSES SEIDEL (Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theol. Seminary), 9-11 Montgomery St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 H. A. SEINSHEIMER, Fourth and Pike Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Mosher St., Baltimore, Md. 1902.
 O. R. SELLERS, Wentworth Military Academy, Lexington, Mo. 1917.
 MAX SENIOR, 21 Mitchell Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.

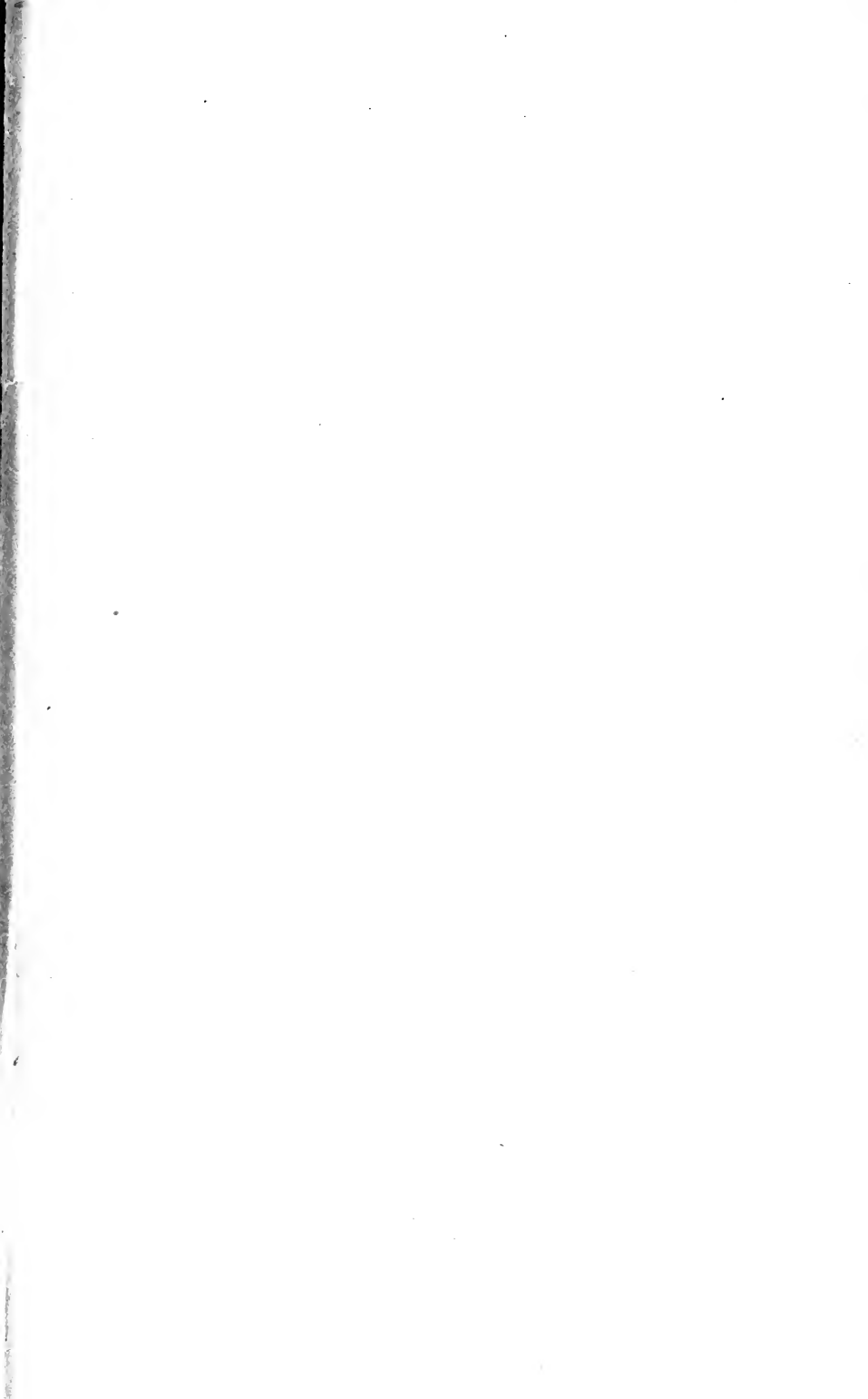
- G. HOWLAND SHAW, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
 Rev. WILLIAM G. SHELLABEAR, 43 Madison Ave., Madison, N. J. 1919.
 Prof. WILLIAM A. SHELTON, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga. 1921.
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square,
 New York, N. Y. 1907.
 ANDREW R. SHERIFF, The Chicago Club, 404 South Michigan Ave., Chicago,
 Ill. 1921.
 CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 447 Webster Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1904.
 GYOKSHU SHIBATA, 330 East 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
 Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER, The Temple, East 55th St. and Central Ave.,
 Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
 HIRAM HILL SIPES, Rajahmundry, Godavery District, India. 1920.
 JACK H. SKIRBALL, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 Prof. S. B. SLACK, Arts Building, McGill University, Montreal, P. Q.,
 Canada. 1921.
 *JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14^{bis} Rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
 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.
 Dr. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.
 Rev. WILBUR MOOREHEAD SMITH, Ocean City, Md. 1921.
 Rev. JOSEPH E. SNYDER, Box 796, Fargo, N. Dak. 1916.
 Rev. Dr. ELIAS L. SOLOMON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 1326 Madison Ave.,
 New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. EDMUND D. SOPER, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
 Prof. VENKATESH VAMAN SOVANI, Meerut College, Meerut, U. P., India.
 1921.
 ALEXANDER N. SPANAKIDIS. 1920.
 Dr. DAVID B. SPOONER, Assistant Director General of Archaeology in India,
 "Benmore," Simla, Panjab, India. 1918.
 Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 JOHN FRANKLIN SPRINGER, 618 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Prof. WALLACE N. STEARNS, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. 1920.
 Dr. W. STEDE, Osterdeich 195, Bremen, Germany. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.
 HERMAN STEINBERG, 103 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 MAX STEINBERG, 103 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
 Rev. Dr. THOMAS STENHOUSE, Mickley Vicarage, Stocksfield-on-Tyne,
 England. 1921.
 M. T. STERELNY, P. O. Box 7, Vladivostok, East Siberia. 1919.
 HORACE STERN, 1524 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
 MRS. W. YORKE STEVENSON, 251 South 18th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
 Rev. Dr. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, West Stockbridge, Mass. 1900.
 Rev. Dr. JOSEPH STOLZ, 4714 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Prof. FREDERICK ANNES STUFF (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A 1263, Lincoln,
 Neb. 1921.
 Dr. VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, 22 Carnac Road, Kalbadevi P. O., Bombay,
 India. 1921.
 Hon. MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
 A. J. SUNSTEIN, Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.

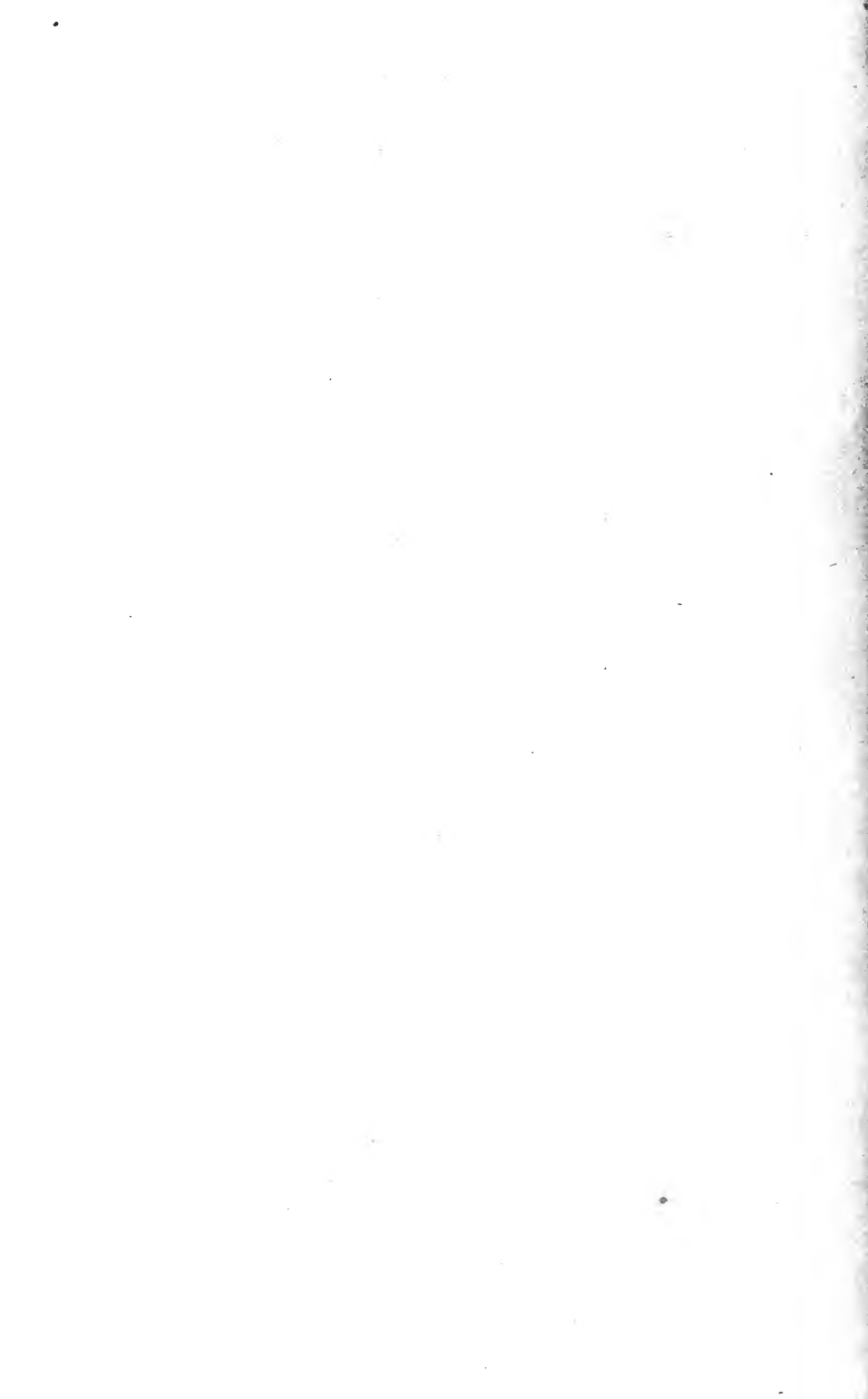
- Prof. LEO SUPPAN (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 2109a Russell Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
- Prof. GEORGE SVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
- Prof. FRED J. TEGGART, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1919.
- EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
- Rev. WILLIAM GORDON THOMPSON, 126 Manhattan Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Baron Dr. GYOYU TOKIWAI (Imperial Univ. of Kyoto), Isshinden, Province of Ise, Japan. 1921.
- Dean HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1917.
- *Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
- I. NEWTON TRAGER, 944 Marion Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. ARCHIBALD TREMAYNE, 4138 Brooklyn Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1918.
- Prof. RAM PRASAD TRIPATHI, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, India. 1921.
- Prof. HAROLD H. TRYON (Union Theol. Seminary), 3041 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rabbi JACOB TURNER, 4167 Ogden Ave., Hawthorne Station, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Rev. DUDLEY TYNG, 37 Congress St., Milford, Mass. 1920.
- *Rev. Dr. LEMON LEANDER UHL, College Bungalow, Arundelpet, Guntur, Madras Presidency, India. 1921.
- Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, 44 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Rev. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH, Ph.D. (Columbia Univ.), 55 Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1908.
- Rev. JOHN VAN ESS, Basra, Mesopotamia. 1921.
- ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
- Rev. M. VANOVERBERGH (Bangar Catholic School), Bangar La Union, P. I. 1921.
- Mrs. JOHN KING VAN RENSSELAER, 157 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. J. Ph. VOGEL (Univ. of Leiden), Noordeindsplein 4a, Leiden, Netherlands. 1921.
- LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. JACOB WACKERNAGEL (Univ. of Basle), Gartenstr. 93, Basle, Switzerland. 1921.
- Regent EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J., School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 506 E St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- *FELIX M. WARBURG, 52 William St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- †Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
- Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.

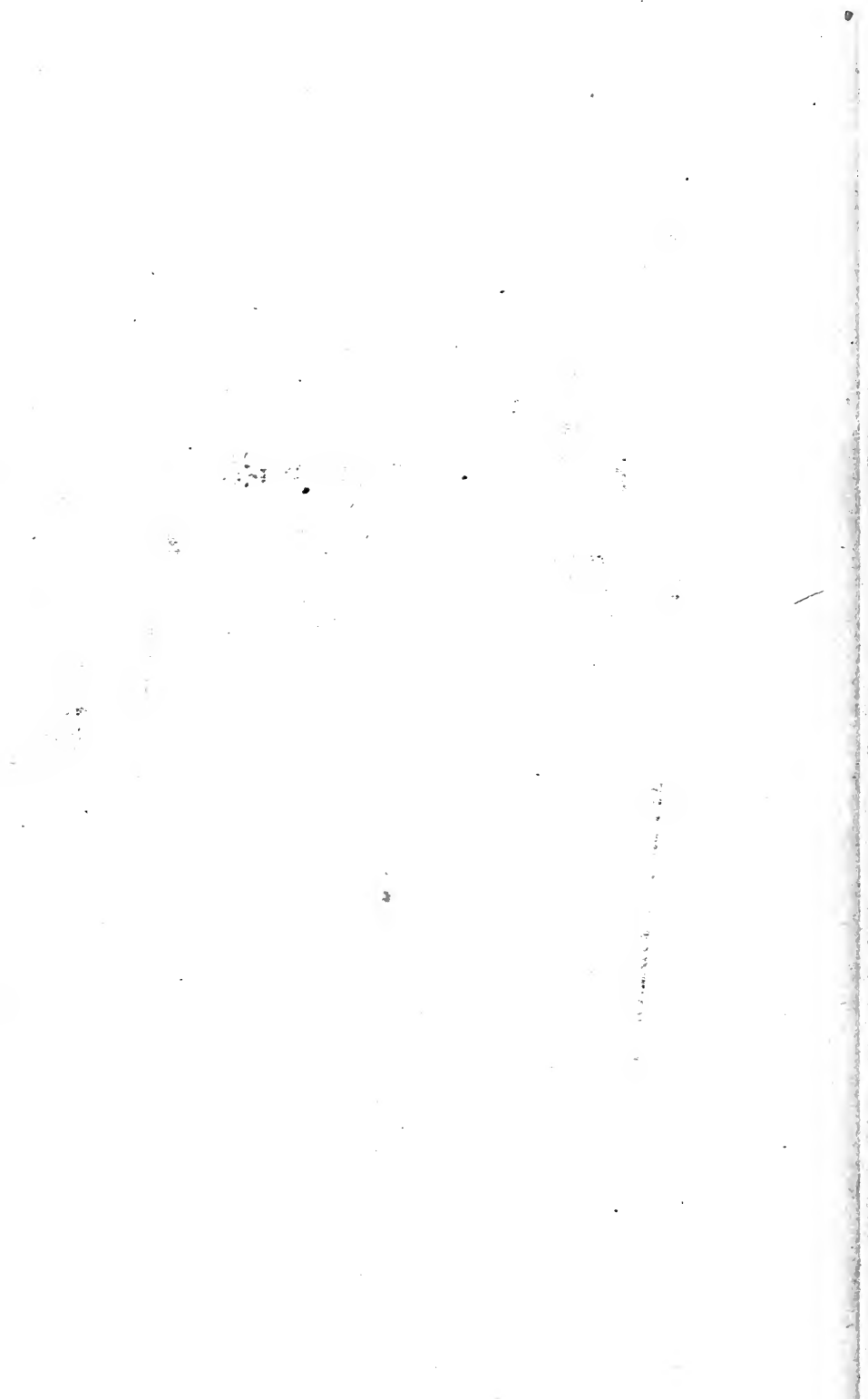
- *Prof. HUTTON WEBSTER (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
- Miss ISABEL C. WELLS, 1609 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Rev. O. V. WERNER, 1507 Metropolitan Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 12-16 John St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- MORRIS F. WESTHEIMER, Traction Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. MILTON C. J. WESTPHAL, 2348 Seneca St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- RICHARD B. WETHERILL, M.D., 525 Columbia St., Lafayette, Ind. 1921.
- Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
- FREDERICK B. WHEELER, R. F. D. No. 1, Seymour, Conn. 1921.
- JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
- Pres. WILBERT W. WHITE, D.D., Bible Teachers Training School, 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Miss ETHEL E. WHITNEY, Hotel Hemenway, Boston, Mass. 1921.
- *Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- Miss CAROLYN M. WICKER, 520 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- PETER WIERNIK, 220 Henry St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- HERMAN WILE, Ellicott and Carroll Sts., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. HERBERT L. WILLETT (Univ. of Chicago), 6119 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, The Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. CLARENCE RUSSELL WILLIAMS, St. Stephen's College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y. 1920.
- Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS (Univ. of California), 1410 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1901.
- Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- Mrs. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
- Prof. CURT PAUL WIMMER, Columbia University, College of Pharmacy, 115 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Major HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
- Rabbi JONAH B. WISE, 715 Chamber of Commerce, Portland, Ore. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. JOHN E. WISHART (Xenia Theol. Seminary), 6834 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1911.
- HENRY B. WITTON, 290 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ont., Canada. 1885.
- Dr. UNRAI WOGIHARA, 20 Tajimacho, Asakusa, Tokyo, Japan. 1921.
- Prof. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON (Univ. of Wisconsin), 1113 West Dayton St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
- Dr. HENRY A. WOLFSON, 35 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1919.

- Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD (Dartmouth College), 23 North Main St., Hanover, N. H. 1917.
Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 16 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
Prof. A. C. WOOLNER, University of the Panjab, Lahore, India. 1921.
Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH, (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
Rev. HORACE K. WRIGHT, Vengurla, Bombay Presidency, India. 1921.
JOHN MAX WULFING, 3448 Longfellow Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo. 1921.
Miss ELEANOR F. F. YEAWORTH, 6237 Bellona Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
Rev. Dr. ROYDEN KEITH YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.
Rev. S. C. YLVISAKER, Ph.D., 1317 Dayton Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 1913.
Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
LOUIS GABRIEL ZELSON, 427 Titan St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911.
JOSEPH SOLOMON ZUCKERBAUM (Mizrachi Teachers' Institute), 2 West 111th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
Rev. Dr. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, Holland, Mich. 1920.

[Total: 567]







PJ American Oriental Society
2 Journal
A5
v.40-41

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

