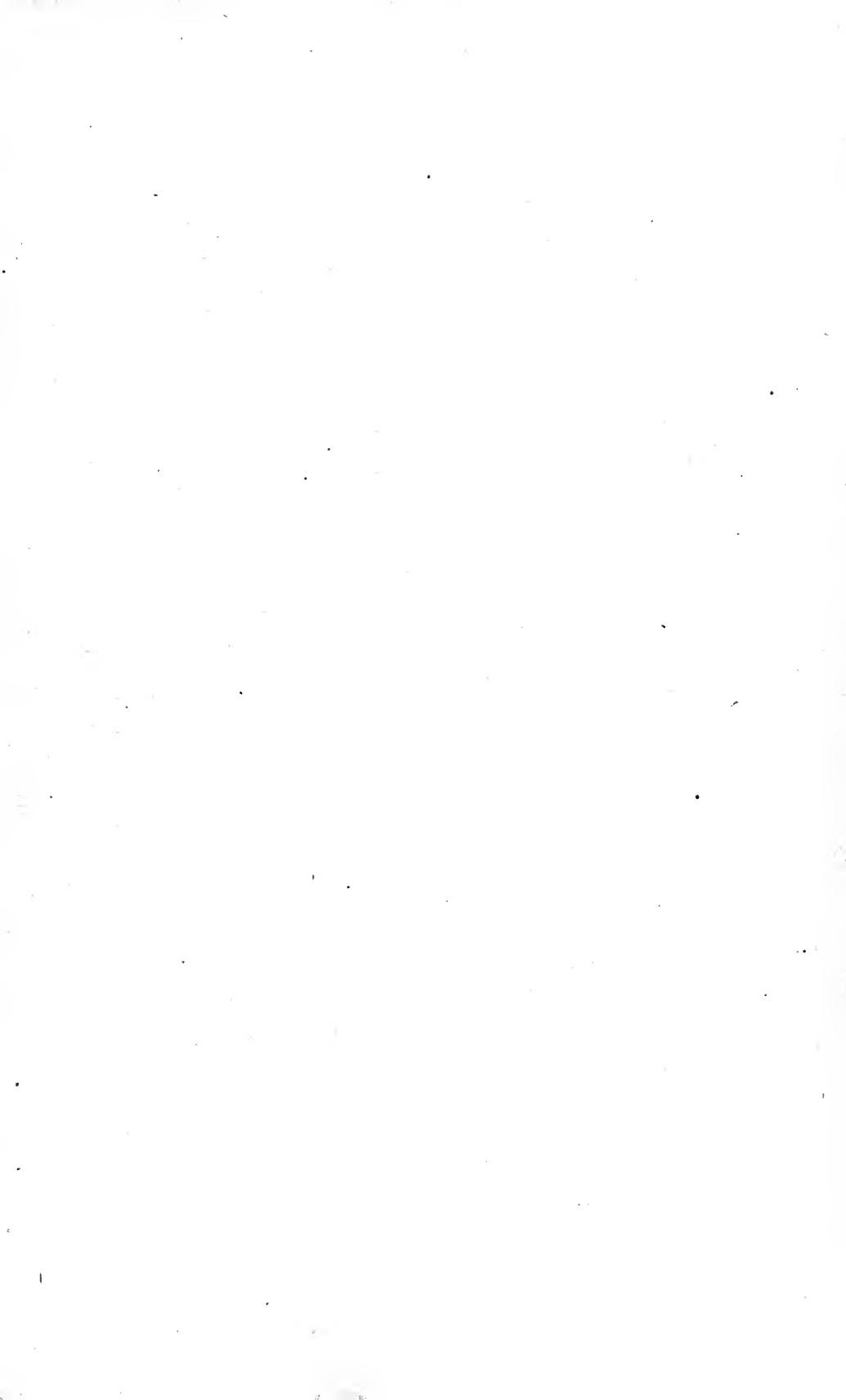


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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, AND CHARLES C. TORREY

Professor in Yale University,
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New Haven.

TWENTY-SEVENTH VOLUME.

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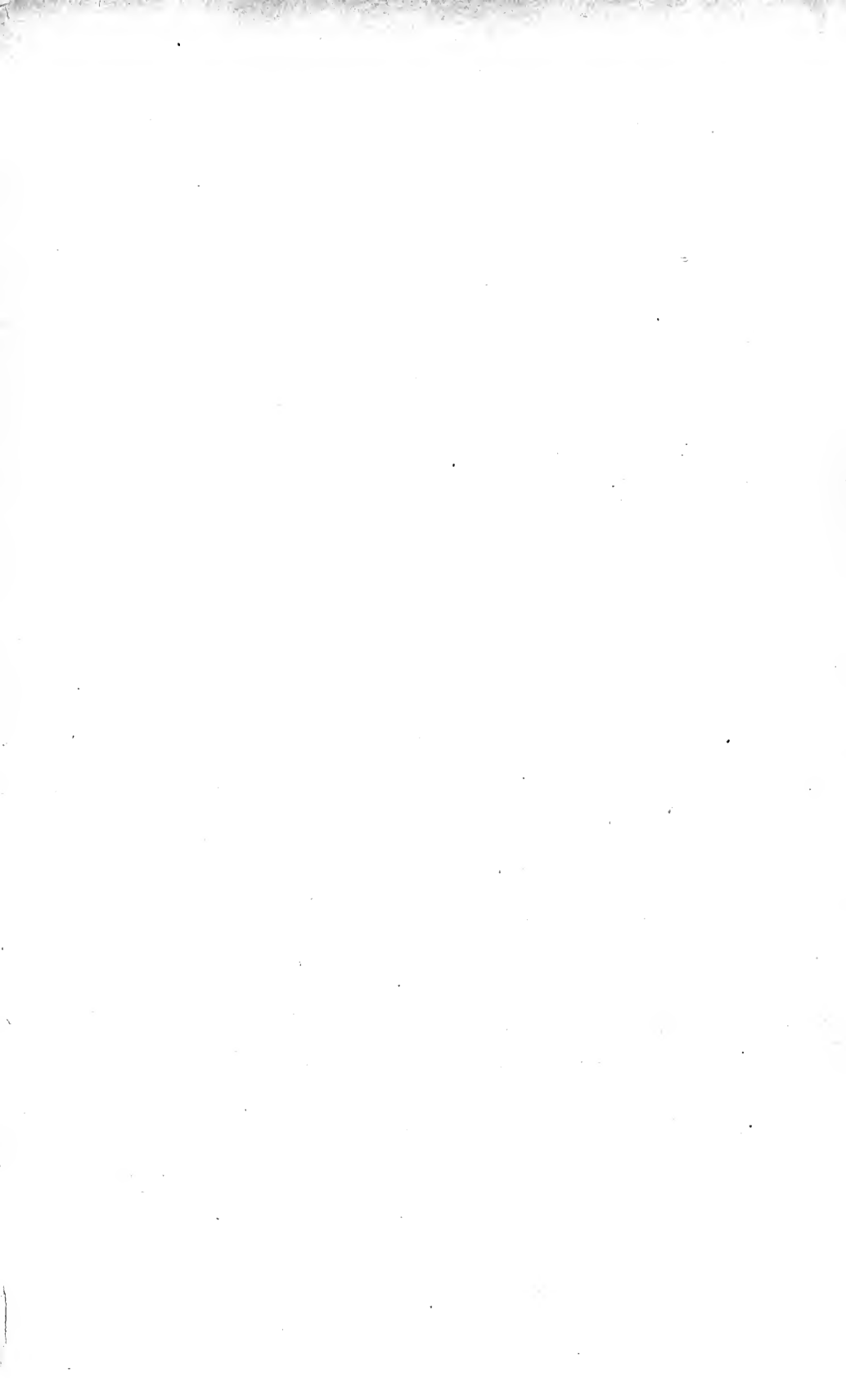
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JOURNAL

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The Viddhasālabhañjikā of Rājasekhara, now first translated from the Sanskrit and Prākṛit.—By Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, Newark, N. J.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the dramatists of ancient India an important place is occupied by Rājasekhara, even though he is justly ranked below Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Harṣa, Śūdraka, and Viśākhadatta. He was the author of four dramas: the *Kārpūramañjarī*, one of the three *sattakas* known to be still extant; the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, a *nāṭaka* in ten acts on the legend of Rāma; the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, a drama in two acts (apparently a fragment) founded on the *Mahābhārata*; and the *nāṭikā* entitled *Viddhasālabhañjikā*, the play which is here translated for the first time. All accessible details concerning the life of the poet have been discussed by Konow and Lanman in their edition and translation of the *Kārpūramañjarī*, and it will therefore be sufficient for me to state merely that Rājasekhara flourished about 900 A. D., that he was the guru of Mahendrapāla and resided as a courtier of this monarch's son at Kanauj, then the capital of the kingdom of Āryavārta, north of the Narmadā, whence he seems later to have gone to the court of the Cedi princes. By birth he was a Yāyāvara Brahman and a Śaivaite in creed. Apparently he was born in the western Deccan, and evidently came of a family of poets, since in *Bālarāmāyaṇa* i. 13 he mentions among his ancestors Akālajalada, Surānanda, Tarala, and Kavirāja (comp. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i. 1, 729, 223, 88), while in

Bālarāmāyaṇa i. 16 = *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* i. 12 he makes the still more significant statement that 'aforetime he was born of an ant-hill [i. e., was the poet Vālmīki], then on earth he became Bhartṛmenṭha,¹ then he bore the guise of Bhavabhūti, and now is Rājasekhara.' This stanza undoubtedly represents what the poet regarded as his literary ancestry, and his mention of Bhavabhūti is the more striking in view of the debt which Rājasekhara owes to him as well as to Harṣadeva. In addition to the four dramas, a number of fragments are cited under the name of Rājasekhara in the anthologies, and verses are quoted from his works by several Sanskrit authors (Konow, 188-191, 197-199).

Of the plays of Rājasekhara the only ones which lend themselves readily to translation are the *Karpūramañjarī* and the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. The *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* is but a fragment, and the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* is too long and too closely analogous in theme to Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*, already translated by Wilson, to repay an English version, despite the favorable criticism of Apte, 31-39. The *Karpūramañjarī* is now accessible in Lanman's masterly rendering, and a version of the first act and half of the second act of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* was prepared by Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr. The pressure of other duties, however, rendered it impossible for him to complete his translation, and he accordingly resigned the task in my favor, placing his material at my disposal.

Four editions of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* are generally available: by Vāmanācārya in the old series of the *Paṇḍit*, vi. Nos. 65-72 (Benares, 1871-1872), pp. 117-124, 146-151, 173-175, 199-202, 225-228, 274-276, 299-302, giving merely the text and a *chāyā*, but no commentary; by Vidyāsāgara with the commentary of Satyaṽrata Sāmaśrami (Benares, 1873) and again with his own gloss (Benares, 1883); and by Arte (Poona, 1886), with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, which ends abruptly in the middle of the Brahmanee's speech in the *praveśaka* of the fourth act.² Manuscripts of the play are not infrequent, sixteen being listed by Aufrecht, together with two commentaries by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and one by Gha-

¹See Aufrecht, i. 397; Apte, *Rājasekhara: His Life and Writings*, 3.

²The edition of the play in the magazine *Pratnakamranandinī*, used by Cappeller for the smaller Petersburg lexicon, is inaccessible to me.

naśyāma (Aufrecht, i. 573, ii. 135, iii. 121; comp. Schuyler, *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, s. v. *Rājasekhara*). Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, son of Raṅganātha Dīkṣita and brother of Bālakṛṣṇa, flourished in the eighteenth century, since he wrote a commentary on the *Uttararāmacarita* in 1764. He was also the author of several other *tīkas*, including glosses on the *Mālatīmādhava*, the *Harumannāyaka*, and the *Vāsavadattā* (Aufrecht, i. 292). Ghanaśyāma, who was the minister of the Marathi king Tukkoji, was a voluminous writer, who boasts of having composed sixty-four works, including seven dramas, and commentaries on an equal number of other plays and on the *Vāsavadattā*. His commentary on the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, which he entitled *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā*, was written, according to his own statement, in three hours, while his two wives, Sundarī and Kamalā, later composed another *tīka* entitled *Sundarīkama-tīya*, which they based on their husband's work (Hultzsch, *Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, iii. pp. ix.-x., 8, 66-68).

If the commentary of Nārāyaṇa may be taken as a guide, the text of the play as given by Vāmanācārya and Vidyāsāgara is far preferable to that of Arte, as is clear from the following examples, in which I have made no attempt to be exhaustive: *sudhāskandinīh* (so also *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, i. 17) instead of *sudhāsyandinīh* (Arte, 9, 5); *virasaḥ* (so also *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, ii. 17) instead of *vimukhaḥ* (14, 6); *dukūlaṃ* instead of *kukūlaṃ* (38, 10); *a sasiarakaraṃ* instead of *asīsirakarakaraṃ* (69, 2); *nīlājaiḥ* instead of *nīlābje* (89, 4); *masī* instead of *malī* (92, 8); *tado* instead of *jado* (96, 8); *viggahaṃto* instead of *viṇihaṃto* (99, 9); and *saṃpuḍāgamā vā* instead of *saṃpuḍābhavā* (108, 2). A critical text of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is, however, still a desideratum.

The Prākṛit, as in most native editions of Sanskrit plays, is very corrupt. I am not altogether sure whether this is due to Rājasekhara's ignorance of the Māhārāṣṭrī and Śāurasenī dialects, as is supposed by Konow, 199-204, and Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, 21-22. The Prākṛit of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, as well as of the *Pracandapāṇḍava* and the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, requires investigation. *A priori*, one would expect a *kāvya*-poet to be scrupulously exact in his linguistic usage, especially when he vaunts himself as being *sarvabhāṣāvīcakṣaṇa*

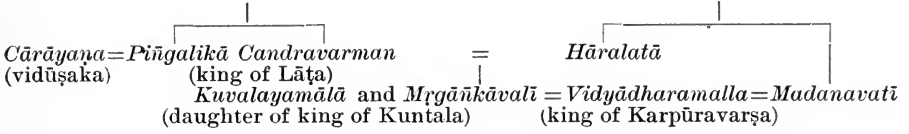
(*Bālarāmāyaṇa*, i. 10, 1) and *savvabhāsācadura* (*Kārpūramāñjarī* i. 7, 1). Judgment on this point must, however, be deferred for the present.

The drama derives its name of *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* from a slight incident as does the *Mṛcchakatīkā*. In a crystal pavilion the vidūṣaka sees a 'statue on a pillar' (*stambhe śālabhañjikām*, *Arte*, 33, 6), which is an effigy of the heroine, and which he later terms *viddhasāncāridasālabhañjiā* (65, 2). Although this word is rendered 'carved wooden statue' by Apte, 24, and although Henry, *Histoire de la Littérature Sanskrite*, 313, declares that the force of *viddha* is unknown, the title of the play should doubtless be translated 'The Pierced Statue,' as is clear from Nārāyaṇa's gloss *avasthāpanāsthale viddhā*, thus showing that the statue (*śālabhañjikā*) was pierced (*viddha*) so that it could be fastened to the pillar.

Detailed analyses of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* have been given by Wilson, ii. 354-359 (on which is based the brief summary of Klein, *Geschichte des Drama's*, iii. 366-367), Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, 245-247, Konow, 185-186, and especially by Apte, 24-27. I can, therefore, omit any minute account of its movement here. The action, however, is rather more involved than in the majority of Sanskrit plays, although the subsidiary plot is but loosely connected with the main theme. This by-plot, which complicates the action until it almost suggests the involution of the New Attic Comedy as represented by Plautus and Terence, deals with a trick played by the queen and Mekhalā on the vidūṣaka. Filled with delight at the prospect of a new bride, he is married in due form to a charming creature who turns out to be a man in disguise. Cārāyāṇa seeks revenge on Mekhalā for her share in his disappointment, and renders her the victim of a most humiliating trick, in which the queen believes her husband to be an accomplice. To be avenged in her turn on the king, Madanavatī dresses Mṛgāṅkavalī, the supposed bridegroom of Kuvalayamālā, in the garments proper to her real, though unsuspected, sex, and marries her to the king, thus outwitting herself by giving him all that he had hoped for, especially as he was then free to wed Kuvalayamālā, his other love, since she could scarcely be considered the wife of another woman. A curious analogy to the marriage of the vidūṣaka to a man in disguise is furnished by Ben Jonson's *Epicæne*; or

the *Silent Woman*, where Truewit, Clerimont, and Sir Dauphine conspire to marry Morose, who cannot bear to hear a sound, to Epicæne, a "silent" woman, whom he soon finds to his dismay to be an exceedingly noisy youth.

The mutual relation of the chief characters of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is not readily apparent at first sight, but may be made clear by the following diagram :



This general scheme of a cousin becoming the co-wife of the queen is a favorite device in the Sanskrit comedy of court intrigue. In the *Karpūramañjarī* the heroine is the queen's maternal cousin, and the same statement holds good of Priyadarśikā and Queen Vāsavadattā in the *Priyadarśikā* of Bhavabhūti, and of Ratnāvalī and Queen Vāsavadattā in Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*.

The time of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* apparently covers about two months. The first act opens at dawn in early spring, and closes at noon. The second act begins in the late afternoon, possibly on the same day as Act 1, although *rātrim akhilān tvanmārgavātāyane . . . sthitir vartate* (66, 10–11) perhaps implies the lapse of a few days. The third act is laid some days later, as is shown by *muddhasasijāmīṇīsu asamañjasaṁ vippla-lādi* (75, 3), and takes place in the early evening of the day of the full moon of Vāiśākha (April–May). Between the third and fourth acts a little over a month elapses, since it is laid in the dawn and the morning of a day in the beginning of summer (*grīṣma*), and consequently about the middle of May.

The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* has been criticized from a dramatic point of view by Lévi, 247–248, and by Apte, 28–31. Both unfavorable, the latter is especially severe, nor can it be denied that his blame is altogether without justification. Allowance should, however, be made for the fact, not generally recognized, that a Sanskrit drama is to be compared with an opera rather than with a play, since the main stress is laid on beauty of diction and versification instead of action. This feature of the Hindu drama is so emphasized in the writings of Rājasekhara that Apte is right when in his criticism, 41–44 (comp. Pischel,

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger, 1883, 1227-1228), he says that he was a *kāvya*-poet rather than a dramatist. Rājasekhara is an artistic juggler with words. He describes externals (in fluent, but somewhat shallow, verse) better than he portrays feelings, suggesting by his conventional learning and his conceits the Greek poets of the late Alexandrian period. The most serious dramaturgic fault in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, however, is the curious ineptitude in consequence of which the heroine does not appear upon the stage until the middle of the third act, and even then does not meet the king face to face for almost a quarter of an act more. The hero's long descriptions of her are monotonous instead of stimulating, while the *praveśikas*, or connecting-scenes, render the baldness of the prologues of Euripides of dazzling interest by contrast. Yet, except for the delay in the introduction of the heroine, this play shows a marked advance over the *Karpūramañjarī*. The hypothesis of Konow, 184, that the *Karpūramañjarī* is the older play, seems, to my mind, to be amply confirmed by the author's progress in stagecraft as shown in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Thus the device by which Mṛgānkāvalī is present at the court as a hostage is far more probable than the introduction of Karpūramañjarī (like Helen in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*) to the hero's presence by magic arts. This hostage idea seems to have been original with Rājasekhara, and the same may be said of the device by which Vidyādharamalla first sees Mṛgānkāvalī in what he supposes to be a dream. In like manner, the double description of the heroine as swinging and playing at ball is superior in rapidity of action to the *Karpūramañjarī*, which represents her as enjoying only the former amusement, while the *dénouement*, which shows the influence of the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī*, has its interest heightened by the success of the royal army, a device which forms no part of Rājasekhara's earlier play.

A most interesting and distinguishing characteristic of Rājasekhara, already noted by Apte, 45, and Lanman, 205-206, is his use of proverbs, which seem to be especially frequent in the *Karpūramañjarī* and the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. As a rule, they are put in the mouth of the vidūṣaka, who thus finds an interesting analogue in Nicholas Proverbs in Henry Porter's *Pleasant Comedie of the Two Angry Women of Abington*.

For these proverbs I have naturally sought to give in my notes what parallels I could find, also adding such analogies with other Sanskrit dramas as are presented by the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*.

In his diction Rājaśekhara affected unusual words and meanings, as has already been noted by Apte, 30, and Lanman, 201. In addition to the material there given, the following words and meanings may be noted as supplementary to the Petersburg dictionaries : *anākara*, 'having no mine' (63, 6), not in lexicons with this meaning ; *asitavasanatā*, 'state of being clothed in black' (89, 4), not in ; *ārabhaṭī*, 'exhibition of bravery' (100, 1 ; omitted by Vidyāsāgara), not in with this meaning ; *ās + vyapa*, 'to take one's seat at a distance' (18, 8), not in ; *kukūṭa*, 'husk' (38, 10 ; Nārāyaṇa and Vidyāsāgara read *dukūṭa*), only lexicographers cited for this meaning ; *kelipāñkaja* 'play-lotus' (61, 12 ; comp. *kelikamala*, *kelikadamba*, and *kelivṛkṣa*), not in ; *gonāsa*, 'kine-snouted' (4, 2 ; comp. Apte, 6), only lexicographers cited for this meaning ; *nṛpurī*, name of a city (128, 17 ; comp. Apte, 46), not in ; *pracaya-vant*, 'heaped, copious' (66, 8), not in ; *prākārāgra*, 'coping of a wall' (26, 2), only lexicographers cited for this word ; *māmsalatā*, 'thickness, fullness' (97, 1), not in with this meaning ; *māmsatikṛ*, 'to thicken' (24, 9), not in ; *rohiniṅvallabha*, 'moon' (1, 2), only lexicographers cited for this word ; *lap + ud*, 'to whisper' (18, 1), not in ; *śvetatā*, 'whiteness' (109, 2), not in.

In my translation, the numbers in parentheses refer to the pages of Arte's edition, and those in brackets to the second text of Vidyāsāgara. My thanks are due to Prof. Lanman for his courtesy in lending me his copy of Apte's pamphlet, which otherwise would have been inaccessible to me, and to Prof. Jackson for pointing out the reference in Hultzsch.

THE VIDDHAŚĀLABHAÑJIKĀ.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

In the Induction

The Stage-Manager.

In the Play

Vidyādharamalla, King of Karpūravarṣa, husband to *Madanavati*, and in love with *Mṛgāṅkāvatī* and *Kuvalayamālā*.*Bhāgurāyaṇa*, a Brahman, Prime Minister to *Vidyādharamalla*.*Cārāyaṇa*, a Brahman, buffoon to *Vidyādharamalla*.*Haradāsa*, Pupil to *Bhāgurāyaṇa*.*Kuraṅgaka*, a Messenger from Vatsa, General to *Vidyādharamalla*.*Messenger*, from Candravarman, King of Lāṭa.*Man-Servant* to *Madanavati*.*Madanavati*, Queen to *Vidyādharamalla*, and niece to Candravarman, King of Lāṭa.*Mṛgāṅkāvatī*, Daughter of Candravarman, King of Lāṭa, and beloved by *Vidyādharamalla*.*Kuvalayamālā*, Daughter to Caṇḍamahāseṇa, King of Kuntala, and beloved by *Vidyādharamalla*.*Piṅgalikā*, Wife to *Cārāyaṇa*.*Mekhalā**Taraṅgikā**Kuraṅgikā**Vicakṣaṇā**Sulakṣaṇā**Hārayaṣṭhī**Kalakanṭhī**Vasantalatā**Maṅgalikā**Kāmakelī**Mṛgāṅkalekhā**Bakulāvatī**Parabhṛtikā**Kālpalatā**Portress.*} *Maid-Servants* to *Madanavati*.

(1) [1]

ACT I.

*(Induction)**(Invocation)*

Lo, unto him that teacheth tender youth
 Entrancing knowledge of impassioned bliss,
 That is the dearest friend the moon doth have,
 Unarmed, yet conquering e'en the God of Gods¹

(2) With arrows flower-tipped, and through his might
 Ruling the drama that mankind call Love,
 To him, aye, Kāma, be all glory given !

(3) And furthermore,

Oh, gentle maiden-eyes! to you I bow,
 Ye that subdue the Lord of Triple Sight,
 And by your glances soft bring back to life
 The God of Love whom Śiva's gaze hath slain.²

(4) [2] *(Meditatively)*

And o'er you, gentles all, may she³ e'er watch
 Girt round with powder 'gainst the snake kine-snouted,
 With magic herbs that fright the serpent-brood ;
 Aye, bearing in her hands those jewels of might
 That quench the venom-fire in Śiva's throat,
 Well knowing mystic mantras muttered low
 By matrons of her kin to guard her safe
 From all the demon-rout about her lord,⁴
 E'en while in ecstasy of bliss and fear
 She trembleth at the coming of her spouse.

(5)

(End of the invocation)

¹ Alluding to Kāma's victory over Śiva, in which, however, the love-god was reduced to ashes by the flame from the defeated deity's third eye. For the association of Kāma with the sentimentalizing moon see *Indische Sprüche*, No. 6145.

² *Indische Sprüche*, No. 2926.

³ Durgā, the wife of Śiva, in her stern aspect.

⁴ Śiva's constant attendants are various sorts of demons, while he wears a necklace of serpents.

(Enter the STAGE-MANAGER)

[3] STAGE-MANAGER (*looking toward the wings*). I know not what is this day's bidding of the council of the noble heir-apparent.¹

(6) (*Song in the wing*)

In anguish at the dying of his love,
That once he nurtured, for the jasmine-spray—
Now faded and insipid in his sight—

(7) The bee doth guard and guide, rock and embrace,
Yea, kiss the soft and wanton mango-bud,
As she were his beloved, all flower-fair.²

[4] STAGE-MANAGER (*listening*). Ah, the song is an allusion to the theme³ of a drama entitled the "Viddhaśālabhañjikā" and written by a scion of Yāyāvāra's house, Duhika's son, [5] the poet Rājaśekhara. (*After reflection.*) Therefore, methinks, the council of the noble heir-apparent doth command it to be given, so I myself shall undertake the rôle of the prime-minister Bhāgurāyaṇa's pupil, Haradāsa, whom his scholars give this name on account of his appearance.⁴

(8) (*Speaking off*)

Good Somadatta, why not portray here the host of virtues of the great-grandson of Akālalajada?⁵

(*Ibid.*) Harken!

No need here to recount with many words
The deeds of him who is devotion's self
To others' weal, and ever still doth teach
Mahendrapāla,⁶ home of every art,
The glory of great Raghu's lineage.

(9) [6] And hear the words of Kṛṣṇaśaṅkaravarman,⁷ the noblest in the assembly.

¹ See, for the identification, Konow, 186.

² The jasmine is an allusion to the queen, Madanavatī; the mango to the king's former flame, Kuvalayamālā; the beloved is, of course, her successor, Mṛgāṅkāvalī; and the bee is the king, Vidyādharamalla.

³ *upakṣepa* (Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, 3, 6; Konow, 180-183).

⁴ Because of his resemblance to the ascetic deity, Śiva.

⁵ Rājaśekhara (Konow, 182).

⁶ Konow, 178-179.

⁷ Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i. 123; Konow, 197.

Would'st have thy draught elixir of delight,
 And write thee poesy that sages praise,
 Wouldst thou swift climb to wisdom's pinnacle,
 And feast upon the fruits of life's great tree,
 Then harken, brother, to th' ambrosial words
 Of Rājasekhara, the bard of Ind.¹

(Exit)

(End of the Induction)

(10) [7] (Enter HARADĀSA)²

HARADĀSA (*shaking his head*). Yes, yes, wisdom most excellent is more worth than all. Thus hath it been said :

Yea, Wisdom is the Kine of Plenteousness,³
 That giveth joy, dispelling sorrow's blight,
 And yieldeth glory rich as creamy milk ;
 All taint of sin and shame it drives afar,
 For in its holy draught dwells purity.

And this very fact is proved in high degree by our teacher's conduct, for,

Great Candravarman, Lāṭa's⁴ prince, doth rule
 O'er all mankind ; but since he hath no son,
 His daughter he hath garbed in youth's attire,
 Whereof the viceroy of our king doth know
 Through trusty spies—and now the minister,⁵
 Whose sight doth cleave to the six qualities,⁶
 Hath brought her hither to behold our lord
 In her disguise that apeth boyhood's grace.⁷

¹ Repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, i. 17.

² The scene is a colonnade of the royal palace.

³ *Kāmadhenu*, the celestial cow of plenty, which yields every wish. The stanza is repeated in *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, i. 9.

⁴ A district of ancient India, corresponding to the modern Gujarat (Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i.² 138; Balfour, *Cyclopaedia of India*,³ ii. 681), or, according to Apte, *Rājasekhara, His Life and Writings*, 49, probably including Broach, Baroda, and Ahmadabad. The name was borne by a historical king of Āryāvarta, who was conquered by Samudragupta about 350 A.D. (Duff, *Chronology of India*, 28).

⁵ Bhāgurāyaṇa.

⁶ Alliance, war, marching, encampments, stratagems, and recourse to protection (*Manu* vii. 160).

⁷ The situation is closely analogous to the device of the prime minister Yāugandharāyaṇa, by which he introduces Ratnāvalī, the princess who will confer universal sovereignty on her husband, to her cousin-in-law, King Vatsa (*Ratnāvalī*, iv).

(11) [8] VOICE OFF STAGE. Good Cārāyaṇa, what is this? Dost thou say, "What but her is lacking to the mighty monarch, surrounded by thousands of inmates of his harem?"

[HARADĀSA] (*replying*) No, not so! Here there is a keynote,¹ and it will be revealed in the *dénouement* of the plot.

(*In the wing*)

Be this a dawn of beauty for the king, awakened by the lovely break of day! Lo, now,

[9] Damsels whose pride the moonbeams may not melt
Nor koel's² sad entreaties reconcile,
Rest now, enwrapping with their tresses soft
The feet of them they love, all anger fled
When pulsing breezes usher in the dawn.

(12) (*Ibid.*) What ho, ye most excellent bards! The folk of the harem, who dwell round about the great king's gynecium, built by his minister, address you: "Is it not time for our lord, Vidyādharamalla, to awake? Why, then, do ye not chant the panegyric of the dawn?"

[10] (*Ibid.*) Victory, victory to the lover of Ujjain? A goodly dawn to thee! For now,

Scattered and dim as pearls of olden time,
The stars grow pale, the while cakoras³ sleep
Deep drunken with the nectar of the moon,
That hastes, wan as a hive reft of its store,
Unto the western mount, but in the east
The limpid dawn, clear as a cat's gray eye.

And furthermore,

Loud calls the clarion of the silvern moon,
Reechoed by the clanking of the chains
(13) Of royal elephants that slowly rise
From mighty beds of dust, while all the sky

¹ Literally 'seed', *bīja* (Lévi, 34).

² The Indian cuckoo, *Eudynamis orientalis*. It is especially associated with lovers, since its cry is chiefly heard in the spring.

³ The Indian hill-partridge or red-legged partridge, *Caccabis ehukor* (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*,² 194). It is conventionally supposed to drink only moonbeams.

Doth ring with music, charming woman's scorn,
Rejoicing e'en the birds that soar in air,
And filling poets' souls with melody.

[11] HARADĀSA. This is the effect of the minister's plan,
methinks, in that our lord awaketh at early dawn ; for,

Lo, this fair colonnade with cunning wrought
By our great viceroy and his artisans,
That here the monarch of Ujjain may rest.

Therefore I myself shall go to the mighty monarch's treasury to supervise the giving of gold and jewels and all else commanded by the minister for the workmen that have built the slumber-chamber with its perforated columns, and for them that shall bring a quadrangle of like adornment.

(*Exit*)

(*End of connecting-scene*)

(14) (*Enter the KING, filled with anxiety, and the VIDŪŚAKA, who stands at the door*)

[12] Beside her face the radiant moon doth wane,
And gold is dim beside her beauty's sheen ;
Blue lotuses are pale beside her eyes,
And nectar is less sweet than her dear smile ;
Her brows more gently curve than Kāma's bow,
And words are dumb to tell her wondrous grace—
Since one like her the Godhead ne'er hath formed,
Nor can create in ages yet to come.¹

VIDŪŚAKA (*approaching*). Hail to thee, Sire.

[13] (KING *repeats the same words*)

VIDŪŚAKA. Well, well, sir ! this sort of matin recitation is almost unprecedented on your part, old chap !

(KING *repeats his words*)

VIDŪŚAKA. Hm ! his heart is distracted ! what on earth can it be ? (*Reflectively*) Well, I'll quiz him. Yes, indeed ! even the knot of a (15) mango-stalk don't yield all its sap without pressing ! (*Standing in front of him*) My heart is bursting with curiosity like a pomegranate fruit with ripeness. So

¹ Repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, ii. 17.

let my dear friend tell what has happened, and honor me with the mystery of the occurrence.

[14] KING (*looking at him*). Why shouldn't I tell it, noble Cārāyaṇa? The mind that shares its secret with a friend becomes as light as if its burden of care were divided.

VIDŪṢAKA. I'm all attention!

KING.

A dream came to me at the dawning day,¹
 With luster brighter far than moonbeams soft ;
 And in a halo tinier than thy hand
 (16) There stood a maid whose loveliness divine
 Surpassed the glory of the Lord of Night,
 Inspiring in my breast o'erwhelming love.

VIDŪṢAKA. Here's a fine how-de-do ! You've had a crush on a girl ever since you saw that Kuvalayamālā coming out of [15] the water of the Narmadā.² While I am considering that problem, here's another swelling on top of a pimple.³ Well, what next ?

KING. Then,

My heart a tablet, whereon Fancy limns
 Her beauty, and where Love doth paint her form,
 I bow me at her feet, her slave, her slave.

(*Again recites: "Beside her face," etc.*)

VIDŪṢAKA. What next ?

KING. Hear nectar for the ears, quaff mead, drink ambrosia for the eyes !

¹ Dreams at dawn are destined to immediate fulfillment (Hall, *Vāsavadattā*, introduction. 30 ; also, for parallels, Gray, in WZKM. xviii. 40-41, 50). Compare the dream of the king in *Karpūramañjarī*, iii. 3. Was that vision the germ from which Rājasekhara afterwards developed the *Vidhāśālabhañjikā* ?

² The modern Narbada, which flows some sixty miles south of Ujjain. Caṇḍapāla likewise falls in love with Karpūramañjarī when he sees her just after her bath (*Karpūramañjarī*, i. 26 ; ii. 24).

³ The same proverb occurs in the Vidūṣaka's speech at the opening of *Śakuntalā* ii. Compare *Mudrārākṣasa*, p. 120, and also the modern Marathi proverb, "Brandings on the top of pain" (Manwaring, *Marathi Proverbs*, No. 908 ; comp. likewise Nos. 822, 1419, 1642, 1747).

- (17) This necklace with its pearls of six months old,¹
 Bright as the smile of dames of Kerala,²
 And with the radiance of the rising moon,
 Once throbbled upon the bosom of a maid
 Whose witching eyes have charmed away my soul ;
 [16] Who swiftly 'bout my throat with the glad cry
 "Hail to the Lord of Love" did hang these gems,
 Whose midmost jewel doth deck the heavens blue
 With saffron glory famed o'er all the world.

VIDŪŚAKA (*touching his Brahmanical cord*). Be thy dream true by the word of me, a mighty Brahman whose necklace is a cord of dry grass! (*Aside*) Alas, wretched whoreson! Thou juggler dream, thou knowest how to work confusion even to them of mighty soul! (*Aloud*) What next?

[17] KING. Then,

- (18) "Who art thou, maiden, wherefore hast thou come?"
 I whispered low and seized her mantle's hem ;
 But softly gliding, lotus-garlanded,
 She vanished from my sight with winsome glance.

VIDŪŚAKA. Well, what did the queen get, going to bed alone?

KING.

Her limbs atremble, stumbling in her haste,
 Her massy girdle beating at her hips,
 The queen, abandoning her lonely couch,
 And clinging unto jealousy's dark thread,
 Sought the zenana with her retinue.

- [18] VIDŪŚAKA. Devil take your manners! Why didn't you calm her down while you were with her? How long are

¹ Comp. *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, ii. 15. In *Karpūramañjarī*, ii. 17; iii. 20 the *chammāsiamottia* is mentioned (comp. *dasamāsia*, iii. 5, as contrasted, perhaps, with *dasamāsappamāṇa*, iii. 3), but it seems to me, with the commentator and Apte, 43, to mean 'a pearl six months old', and hence 'new, fresh, brilliant,' rather than 'a pearl of six māśikas' (see, however, Lanman, 250).

² A realm of ancient India corresponding roughly to the modern Malabar coast (Lassen, 188-191; Balfour, ii. 536). According to Apte, 48-49, it included Malabar as well as Kanara, and extended beyond the Cauvery.

the blue lotuses closed in the pool when the moon sends forth its beams ?

(19) KING (*smiling sadly*). I could not hold her, far less calm her down, for my mind was filled with thoughts of another.

VIDŪṢAKA. You've proved the adage that "when the actor was seen adorned, the husband close by was scorned."¹

KING (*smiling sadly*). Oh, blessed hope, verily thou art not crushed. Pray reflect thou long,

[19] Ah, if there were a land where thirsting souls,
 Beclad in robes of lotus intertwined,
 Might drink their fill of moonbeams² nectarous,
 Or where the perfume of the bakula,³
 All boundless here, should find its measurement,
 Then might a dream, in visions of the night,
 In sooth create this damsel, flower fair.

(20) (*Gesticulating recollection, and gazing at the region of his heart*)

Is this a dream, or do I wake indeed,
 Or yet half ope my eyes, half slumber still,
 For if I saw no maid of glances bright,
 How came this necklace on my throbbing heart ?

[20] VIDŪṢAKA. I have an idea you were fooled by your own necklace which was hidden in the early part of the night.

KING (*gesticulating the pain of love*).

Oh, Lord of Love ! bend not thy mighty bow,
 Nor wing thine arrows keen against my breast ;
 Thy fitting target were great Śiva's self,
 And not my heart with grief śirīṣa-thin ;⁴
 Show thy great mercy to a burning soul—
 Again reveal a vision of my love !

¹ Literally 'shaved' (*muṇḍido*, a jingle with *maṇḍide*, 'adorned').

² *Jyotsnāmṛta*, an obvious allusion to the name of the heroine, *Mṛgāṅkāvalī*, while the king himself is likened by implication to a cakora.

³ *Mimusops Elengi*, Linn., "with small pale brown or white, sweet-smelling, fragrant flowers, of moderate size" (Balfour, ii. 950). According to poetic convention, it blossoms when sprinkled by maidens with mouthfuls of wine.

⁴ *Mimosa sirissa*, Roxb., a tree with fragrant, but very delicate flowers (Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*, Calcutta reprint, 417 ; Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, 221, 325).

[21] VIDŪṢAKA. 'There you go, giving the village an invitation because you've got some sweetmeats in a dream.' Come, let's go jolly the queen. A partridge close by now is better than a peahen a day off.²

KING. Just as you like.

(21) VIDŪṢAKA. Leave the way to the assembly-room with its throngs of thousands of tributary princes making obeisance in their devotion, and let us go to the Makarandodyāna³ by the back door. (*They do so*)

(*In the wing*)

May the advent of spring be for weal to the king, for now,

Within the swelling nodes the flowers lie,
And in the blades the tiny buds are hid;
While in the koel's throat the pañcama⁴
Doth dwell, ere it sob forth in melody;
Nay, were great Kāma's bow long laid aside,

[22] Then bent once more to do his sovereign will,
In three brief days 'twould win the triple world.
Lo, now the blossoms of the mango-tree,
In all the beauty of their tender bloom,
Are gently hidden by fair maiden-hands,
Lest those bereft of lovers should repine.⁵

¹ "Counting your chickens before they are hatched." Compare the Marathi saying, "Calculating at home on the fish in the sea" (Manwar- ing, No. 307), and the analogous Hindi proverb, "The jack fruit is on the tree, but the oil is on the lips," and the Bihari saying, "The father (fire) is not yet born, but the son (smoke) has taken his stand behind" (comp. Christian, *Behar Proverbs*, Nos. 30-32). Analogous is the Sanskrit proverb, "Proclaiming the name of a son before he is born" (Jacob, *Handful of Popular Maxims*, ii. 1; comp. also 56, 57). Comp. also the Hindustani proverb, "He was married last night, and has already named the boy Mahmud" (Roebuck, *Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases in the Persian and Hindoostanee Languages*, pt. 2, sect. 1, No. 662; comp. pt. 2, sect. 2, No. 403).

² Comp. the equivalent proverbs, "Better is a certain *kārsāpaṇa* than an uncertain *nīṣka*," and, "Better is a pigeon today than a peacock tomorrow" (both from the *Kāmasūtra*; see Jacob, i. 32; Konow, 206).

³ The same name is borne by a garden in the *Ratnāvālī*, ed. Cappeller, in Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Chrestomathie*, 294, 10. The scene changes here from the colonnade to the garden.

⁴ The fifth (later the seventh) note of the Indian gamut, conventionally believed to be produced by the koel.

⁵ Repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, v. 39.

KING. Ah, the beginning of spring! Verily this itself is the assemblage of Love's troopers!

VIDUŠAKA. "The beginning of spring," they say, "hath its infant nature sung by poets' words, its tiny expanse shown in gardens of delight;" but isn't this a beginning of spring with vast expanse, where the grounds of the pleasure-park bloom from the sprinkling of unfailing canals?

(22) [23] KING. And then,

How like to pearls new-won the jasmine gleams,
While scarlet as the lips of Bālkhī dames¹
The great aśoka² flaunts its loveliness;
Unto the glowing blossoms of the teak
The bees give semblance of a double stem,
And now, all flashing with its crimson flame,
The trumpet-flower blooms to greet the spring.

(Having reflected)

Oh, radiant maiden-vision of my dreams,
Oh, spring's sweet advent with thy breezes soft—
E'en as a draught of honey and of milk
Ye twain now blend in harmony divine.

(23)

(They walk about)

VIDUŠAKA. Though the flowers of the white sinduvāra³ are pale as rice-pudding and white gourd-melons; though the aśoka-buds are reddened in due season; though the enchanting mādHAVI-flowers⁴ have turned [24] gray and surpass the madder; my roving gaze leaves all these many flowers, and clings to the jasmīnes, like the scum of whey, and to the blossoms of the jasmine delightful as slightly stirred milk.

¹See Schmidt, 316, 323, 329, 537-538; Apte, 50, identifies Bālkhī with the Punjab rather than with Balkh.

²*Jonesia asoka*, Roxb., a tree bearing in spring beautiful red blossoms, conventionally supposed to bloom when touched by a maiden's foot (Balfour, i. 185).

³*Vitex negundo*, Linn., a small tree bearing a beautiful bluish purple flower (Roxburgh, 481-482).

⁴*Gartnera racemosa*, Roxb., a creeper bearing fragrant white flowers. Compare with this description the vidūśaka's stanza in *Kar-pūramañjarī*, i. 19.

KING. Now your tongue gabbles its pet simile.¹

VIDŪṢAKA (*pointing before him*). This pleasure-park is the stage of the creeper-actresses, the race-course of the steed which is the breeze of Malaya,² the hunting forest of Love the hunter, the (24) place of rendezvous of all the flowers, the rain of nectar on the heart. So look at it, old chap, and run along !

[25] KING (*gesticulating the touch of the wind*).

How gently blow the Deccan breezes now,
The witnesses of Love's surpassing might,
Stealing the pañcama from koels' throats,
And joying damsels swinging 'neath the trees,
Cutting the thread of maids' fierce jealousy,
And through the threefold world teaching the art
Of passion's madness and its ecstasy.

And furthermore,

The breeze of Malaya, in deepest joy
That serpent-dames,³ all worn with languorousness,
Quaff its rich fragrance, doth grow thick and sweet
With sighs of maidens 'reft of them they love.

[26] VIDŪṢAKA. Even so,

In revel mood the breezes of the spring
Now steal the hearts of Mahārāṣṭri⁴ maids
And toss the garlands at great Lañkā's⁵ doors,
Stillling the pride of dames of Siñhala ;⁶
(25) The vernal air doth teach Dravidian girls
To weave their footsteps in the dance of Love ;
Karnāṭa's⁶ daughters yield their tresses dark

¹ The vidūṣaka in the Sanskrit drama is invariably hungry and talking of his next meal.

² "The southern portion of the Western Ghats running from the south of Mysore, and forming the eastern boundary of Travancore" (Apte, 48).

³ The dames of the semi-divine race of Nāgas, or serpent-folk.

⁴ A district of ancient India roughly corresponding to the modern Marathi country (or even to the entire Deccan [Apte, 49]).

⁵ Ceylon.

⁶ The "Karnatik," a district roughly corresponding to the plateau of south-central India (Lassen, i.² 206-207; comp. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 37).

Unto its touch, and Lāṭa's damsels know
The tender charm of Kāma's wantonness.¹

BOTH.

In spring's glad hour swarms of happy bees,
Their bodies golden with rich treasure trove,
And softly humming as they wing their flight,
[27] Swift hasten where th' Arabian jasmine gleams,
Girt round with flowers breathing perfume sweet.²

KING (*smiling faintly*). You chatter in Sanskrit, too, old fellow !

VIDŪṢAKA. You yourself have taken the Prākṛit path, suitable for folk like me.³ Come now, let's go see the pleasure-mount with the crystal pavilion the great minister built. (*They walk about*)⁴ Where do I hear that delightful sound of the call of herons ?

(26) [28] KING (*listening and looking upward, following it*).

Ah, gaze upon the summit of yon wall,
And tell me, if thou canst, what is that moon⁵
That circeth in a region not of sky
And knoweth no gazelle, yet whereunto
Cakoras of the pleasure-grove draw nigh
With nectarous radiance drunken, while it sheds
Pellucid light that ripens the lavalī.⁶

VIDŪṢAKA. Oh, ho, old fellow, where's all that ?

KING. There, there. (*Looking with astonishment*) How is it I don't see it again ? (*Reflecting*)

In golden girdles jewels are tinkling low,
And for the honey sweet of maiden sighs

¹ Comp. *Karpūramāñjarī*, i. 17.

² In this stanza the vidūṣaka speaks in Sanskrit, instead of the Prākṛit in which his speeches are conventionally composed.

³ Apparently alluding to occasions on which the king had conversed with the vidūṣaka in Prākṛit.

⁴ The scene changes from the garden to the path leading to the pavilion.

⁵ Of course an allusion to the name *Mṛgāṅkāvalī*. The moon is frequently supposed to contain a gazelle, whence it is often called *mṛgāṅka*.

⁶ *Averrhoa acida*, Linn., a small tree which flowers about the beginning of the hot season, and bears small reddish blossoms (Roxburgh, 684-685).

Bees wing their way unto this happy grove,
 [29] While songs arise in stammering melody—
 And all doth tell that some fair girl, whose face
 OutrivaletH the moon, throbs with delight
 As through the air the swing doth rise and fall.¹

(27) VIDŪṢAKA. Of course you know that, because you see the tops of the poles of the swing from here.

KING (*looking again*). Good friend, there is that marvellous moon !

VIDŪṢAKA. Does the moon play hide-and-seek with us ?

KING (*looking sharply*). Oh, friend ! blessed art thou who with lovely beauty dost seem like to the lotus-face of her whom I did see in sleep !

[30] VIDŪṢAKA. What's she like ?

KING. Like to stalks of reeds all ripely white !

VIDŪṢAKA. She's right on the lips of young elephants!²
 (*After reflection*) Evidently she has gone away, for the sound of the swing has ceased. So come, (28) let's get along. (*They walk about*)³ This is the pleasure-mount. Enter then. (*They do so*)

KING. This is the great hill, delightfully white like masses of cuttle-fish bone.

VIDŪṢAKA. Just let your eyes rest upon the works on the pictured walls of the inner chamber of beauteous [31] crystal. Now here the king is portrayed, intent on dicing with the queen. Here is Nāgavallī, the bearer of the betel-box. Here is Pra-bhañjanikā, who waves the chowry. Here is the dwarf, Nagara-kaṇṭhaka. And this is Ṭapparakarṇa, the stable-monkey.

(29) KING. Old chap, you are painted here yourself !

VIDŪṢAKA (*angrily*). I wasn't meant to be painted here. My wife knows what I am ; she says to me : " Manifestly thou art a god."

KING. What does the parrot in the garden say ?

¹ Comp. the far more elaborate description of Caṇḍapāla watching Karpūramañjarī in her swing in the second act of the *Karpūramañjarī*. Again an allusion to the heroine's name.

² Apparently a slang phrase approximately equivalent to our "She's a peach."

³ The scene changes from the path to the pavilion overlooking the courtyard of the zenana.

VIDŪṢAKA. What's that ?

KING. Thou art a god ; what's Bhr̥ṅgariṭi ?¹

[32] VIDŪṢAKA. Who listens to scoundrel's talk ? (*Pointing with his finger*) Here again is limned a maid whose like hath ne'er been seen, well-nigh surpassing Dēvī² with her wondrous beauty !

KING. Is she unprecedented in our sight and not in that of the Limbless God ?³ (*Looking intently*) Surely this is the digit of the moon in the ocean of our heart ! Ah, her beauty's wealth !

Her eyes more lovely than the lotus blue,
Her face the midnight moon for radiance,
Her crescent brows curving as Kāma's bow,
(30) All grace incarnate in her tender form,
And beauty's lines on body and on lip—
Could Love himself limn all her dainty charm,
Past master of his art in sooth were he.

[33] VIDŪṢAKA (*aside*). Can she be in the retinue of the queen ? (*Reflectively*) Ah, ha ! The queen is very fond of repeatedly dressing Mṛgāṅkavarman,⁴ who has come as a hostage and is her own maternal uncle's son, in woman's clothes ! She was seen, I fancy, and painted in the picture by artists who did not know the truth. But I'm not telling that ! Now I'll surprise the old boy ! (*Aloud*) Let me congratulate you, this is indeed a girl, it's proved by her clothes !

(31) KING. Exactly as you say, old chap !

Her garments' guise proves she is still unwed,
For here is she portrayed with bodice blue,
While matrons' raiment bears the knotted zone.⁵

¹ Name of a follower of Śiva. The implication is that the vidūṣaka, whom the parrot describes correctly, even if his own wife will not, is really no more a god (a Brahman being *ipso facto* a *deva*) than is the deformed demon attendant of Śiva. Comp. also *Karpūramāñjarī*, iv. 4-10.

² An epithet of the wife of the god Śiva.

³ Kāma, who was destroyed by the fire from Śiva's eye.

⁴ Really Mṛgāṅkāvalī in disguise.

⁵ Comp. the knot tied in the *sāri*, or shawl, during the wedding-ceremony, Jackson, JAOS. xxii. 327 ; Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell (Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, xl. 1)*. 64. The Parsis have a similar custom (Modi, *Marriage Customs among the Parsees*, 30, 39-40 ; Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, i. 179).

[34] (*Reflecting*)

What wondrous beauty in the artist dwells !
 In sooth this picture is her other self,
 For well I know it is a maiden's work,
 Delineating all with one soft touch.

(*Looking closely*)

It's clear, therefore, that she who here surpasses the god of the dolphin banner¹ is some maid who painted her own picture.

VIDŪŚAKA. Right you are, for there's a saying in the (32) assembly of the gravest men : "As is the painter, so is the form of the painting outlined ; as is the poet, so is the shading of the poem composed."²

[35] KING. True enough ! qualities go according to form. And furthermore, my dear Cārāyaṇa,

With lines that slowly change from light to dark³
 Life-size she seems, although in miniature,
 So dainty is the shading of her limbs,
 Drawn by a hand of gentle innocence
 Whose skill depicteth all her inmost soul.

VIDŪŚAKA. Why, here's queen Madanavatī portrayed with all her retinue !

KING. Let us now render homage to this jewel of beauty !

VIDŪŚAKA. Here she is herself.

KING (*aside*). Single is the eye—she is in many a place !
 (*To the VIDŪŚAKA*) Where is she ?

VIDŪŚAKA. Here, here !⁴

(33) [36] KING (*looking anxiously*).

Full sure this fawn-eyed maid, whose radiance
 Hath known no equal since the world began,

¹ Kāma, the god of love.

² "By their fruits ye shall know them." Comp. the Marathi proverbs, "As the country, so the dress," and, "A tree is judged by its fruit" (Manwaring, Nos. 504, 1238).

³ Arte notes : "The author seems to have had a knowledge of perspective ;" but the words may refer rather to shading.

⁴ The vidūśaka evidently finds another picture of the heroine (comp. *citre* in the sixth stanza following), although Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, ii. 356, followed by Lévi, 245, and Konow, 185, allows for only a single portrait.

Was formed by him whose hand divine creates
The lotus blue, the moon, the plantain tall.

VIDŪṢAKA (*perceiving a statue on a pillar*). This is she indeed !

KING. This is indeed the moon for the cakora of mine eye !
(*Looking eagerly*)

All fair and creamy pale her slender limbs,
Her eyes long as the leaves of ketakas,¹
Her rounded throat shell-like for radiance,
Great Kāma's weapon is this wondrous maid.

[37] (*Reflectively*)

None other shared with me in this my dream,
Nor could mere fancy limn such loveliness ;
(34) Those eyes, surpassing far the lotus blue,
Must live in sooth, and their similitude
Be given here in all their trancing charm.

(*Having looked*) Come now, let the dream-necklace be deposited in a fitting place once more ; be it laid even at the base of her neck under the guise of a statue ! let a mass of young blossoms adorn the young jasmine twigs !² (*He hangs the necklace around the neck of the statue*)

VIDŪṢAKA. This is the very place where she went [38] into the picture ! (*Joyfully*) I was deceived by the garlands of Mrgāñka's mighty reflection, but this is the moon incarnate³ on its day of full !

KING. Where is she now, that ambrosial unguent of our eyes?

VIDŪṢAKA. Here, here ! With her sidelong glances, white as fragments of the moon, and with the luster of her eyes she illumineth the quarters of the sky ! With the gestures of her hand she brighteneth the aśoka's blossoms, and with the quick-

¹ *Pandanus odoratissimus*, Linn., a tree with leaves "drooping, from three to five feet long, tapering to a very long, fine, triangular point, very smooth, and glossy, margins and back armed with very fine sharp spines" (Roxburgh, 707).

² In other words, let the statue have the adornment needed to make it perfect.

³ An allusion to the name of the heroine.

ness of her steps she confuseth the swarms of bees that take her feet for lotuses !

(35) KING. The dream has actually come to pass as you prophesied ! (*Looking*) She is indeed a means to restore life to him whose banner is a dolphin,¹ and a remedy to free my heart from care.

(*After reflection*)

380 { Her brows adance with sweet vivacity,
 Her eyes aglow with tender, wanton charm,
 Her breast soft-rounded in its loveliness,
 [39] Her waist most slender, and her hips most firm—
 Each part an earnest of some bliss to come,
 Bestowed by youth, great Kāma's wondrous friend.

(36) VIDŪṢAKA. What's she doing there with tremulous slender brows and upraised fingers of her lotus-hand ?

KING.

Full sure to poesy her thought now tends,
 Since trembling are her slender brows so fair
 And each dear tiny finger is upraised,
 The while her eyes are fixed on vacancy,
 And parted are the petals of her lips.

[40] VIDŪṢAKA. That's pretty straight ! There's a row of half written letters in front of her !

KING (*recites*).

Upon what limb doth tender youth write not ?²

(37) (*After reflection*) Oh, the śikhariṇī meter ! Oh, words full of meaning ! Oh, charming Vāidarbhī³ style ! Oh, unequalled sweetness ! Oh, lucidity without a flaw !

¹ See p. 22, note 3, and p. 23, note 1.

² The first lines of a tetrastich, of which two lines are given in the second act (36), three in the third (53), and the complete stanza in the fourth (60). The meter, as the king's next words imply, is *śikhariṇī*, and the style Vāidarbhī.

³ A style characterized by grace, and admitting all poetic qualities, but avoiding long compounds (Regnaud, *Rhétorique Sanskrīte*, 254-255). Apte, 20, sees in this an allusion to the poet's patriotic pride in his native Mahārāṣṭra. It is also noted conspicuously in *Karpūramañjarī*, i. 1 c, under the name *vacchomī*.

[41] VIDŪṢAKA. Well then, look for the fair charmer at the right time. Let the depths of your eyes drink in the moon on the day of its full ; let the caverns of your ears be filled with oceans of goodly speech ; let Love, the master of the dance, be made to dance himself with hands upraised in joy !

KING (*standing a step nearer, looking in the four directions*). Ah, there is no duality of my beloved ! For lo,

Here stands a beauteous maid, there pictures twain,
And this fair statue wrought with wondrous skill ;
(38) Thus doth her loveliness in fourfold wise
Fill all our hearts with Kāma's darts of fire.

[42] Come then, let us draw near, and delight our ears with goodly words ! Truly, even though thou hold the pearl-oyster in thy hand, it will not easily release its pearls ! (*With these words both walk about*)¹

VIDŪṢAKA (*going ahead, gesticulating the exhibition of fear*). Oh ! get out ! get out ! This has got the devil in it, sure enough ! So I'll beat it mightily with this wooden club, bent like the frowning, curving brow of Devī in her rage ! Now see my manly deeds !

KING. You'll make silk of jasmine flowers then !
(39) VIDŪṢAKA. Well, what the devil is this ?

KING. Good friend, methinks that on the further side of the crystal wall she stands, and that she can be clearly seen from here because it is transparent. Come then, let us pay court to her behind the pleasure-mount. (*They do so*)²

VIDŪṢAKA. She's fled in wild haste, for the queen is dimly seen tracing her footsteps toward her apartments.

KING. Oh, heart, good fortune be with thee ! May we be remembered by thee as thou dost follow after her !

¹ The scene changes from the pavilion to a path running by the courtyard of the zenana.

² Comp. the Marathi proverb, "String cannot be made from stone" (Manwaring, No. 1184); the Sanskrit, "Not even by the employment of a thousand different processes can śyāmāka grain be made to germinate as rice" (Jacob, ii. 26); and the English, "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."

³ The scene changes from the path to the courtyard of the zenana.

(*In the wings*)

Victory, victory, oh Lord of Triliṅga.¹ May the midday season be for weal unto thy majesty ! Since now

For lotus-leaves to shield him from the sun
The elephant holds high his flapping ears,
And longing for a holm of tender grass
The peacock hides his head beneath his plumes ;
In hunger vain for lotus-fibers soft
The boar doth lick his tusks, while buffaloes
Yearn for the mire that their own shadows dark
Now counterfeit in burning noontide's glare.

(40) [44] And furthermore,

Now on the banks of pools in pleasure-groves
The waves rise high for hips of fawn-eyed dames
That bathe them there, anon to sink again,
Soft murmuring, in navels cavernous.

VIDĪṢAKA. Come, let's go to the queen's apartment, offer up our midday prayer, and get more news of her !

(*Exeunt omnes*)

END OF ACT I.

(41) [45]

ACT II.

(*Enter two MAID-SERVANTS, meeting each other ; they walk about*)²

FIRST MAID-SERVANT (*seizing the other by the skirt*). Why, Taraṅgikā, you look as though the king's words had gotten into your heart, you're so rattled now and won't speak to me, even when I'm face to face with you !³

SECOND MAID-SERVANT (*embracing her*). Dear Kuraṅgikā, don't be angry ! Gāurī⁴ curse me if I saw you ! My thoughts were on something else !

¹A region of ancient India roughly corresponding to the modern Haidarabad (Lassen, 214-216 ; comp. also Apte, 46 ; Dey, 93 ; Balfour, iii. 840).

²The scene is indefinite, perhaps a part of the royal gardens.

³For a similar situation, comp. the opening of the first act of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and of the second of the *Ratnāvalī*.

⁴A name of the wife of Śiva. Comp. Quartilla's oath, "Iunonem meam iratam habeam" (Petronius, *Satiræ*, 25).

KURĀṅGIKĀ. Ah ! ha ! what are these thoughts of yours
“on something else”?

(42) TARĀṅGIKĀ. They’re such that I’m all in a tremble, even
speaking to you !

[46] KURĀṅGIKĀ. My heart is one with yours, and I’m *so*
anxious ! It’s interest that makes me ask !

TARĀṅGIKĀ. Whatever happens, I won’t hide things ! Love
don’t stick to rights and wrongs.

KURĀṅGIKĀ. That’s the very thing that makes me hesitate !
What were the koel’s spouse if her love for the mango-twigg
were blunted ?¹

TARĀṅGIKĀ. Still, there’s a true saying : “The keeping of
the spell is the earnest of success.”

(43) KURĀṅGIKĀ. Don’t speak so to me ! How can you get
the gold from the chameleon’s brow while it’s alive ?²

[47] TARĀṅGIKĀ. Well then, listen, dear ! There’s a king of
Kuntala³ named Caṇḍamahaseṇa. He lost his kingdom and
came here, and has a daughter named Kuvalayamālā. The king
saw her as she came from bathing in the Narmadā, and she
entered his heart. And the queen received her on account of
Mṛgāṅkavarman, the son of Candrarvarman, her maternal uncle.
So now I’ve been sent to make arrangements for the marriage.
That’s what I was so intent on that I didn’t see you !

(44) KURĀṅGIKĀ. My, but the queen’s smart ! This is her
trick to get rid of the chances of a rival wife, and play the
devoted to her maternal uncle, Candrarvarman.

[48] TARĀṅGIKĀ. But where are you going ?

KURĀṅGIKĀ. The queen’s going to fool Cārāyaṇa, Esq., with
a mock marriage today, and I’m sent to make preparations for
the wedding. Come, then, let’s both go to give our plans
success.

(*Exeunt omnes*)

(*End of the connecting-scene*)

¹ Comp. *Ind. Spr.* 2808, 6987, 7415.

² I’ll keep the secret as long as I live. For the geological conceit,
comp. the English superstition of the toadstone (*Century Dictionary*,
6361).

³ A district of ancient India corresponding roughly to the modern
districts of North Kanara, Belgaum, and Bellary in southern Bombay,
Haidarabad, northwestern Madras, and part of Mysore (Lanman, 213).
The heroine Karpūramañjarī likewise was a daughter of Vallabharāja,
king of Kuntala (*Karpūramañjarī*, i. 34, 8-20).

(45) (*Enter the KING in anxiety, characteristically adorned, and the VIDŪṢAKA*)

KING (*gesticulating the emotion of love*).

[49] Yea, dead the Lord of Love by Śiva slain,
 Yet Brahm another Kāma now creates
 Of darts unperishing, and by his shafts
 That, deep-sunk, bristle o'er my wasted frame
 My body seemeth a kadamba-bud.¹

(*gesticulating distress*)

If that the silvern moon should melt away
 And change to oceans of ambrosia sweet;
 Or could the blemish on its radiant orb
 Become a lotus filling all the sky;
 Then might I lave me in some cooling stream,
 And cease to know the pain Love's arrows bear.²

[50] And, moreover, my dear Cārāyaṇa :

(46) His flower-darts great Kāma gently lays
 Upon a bow of breezes soft and low ;
 Or how could these deep sighs, that shake my robe,
 And long as strings of pearls, flow from my lips ?

So show the way to Tuṣārapuñja, the kadali³-bower that's covered over with expanded atimuktaka⁴-creepers. (VIDŪṢAKA shows it with a gesture)⁵

KING. Why this unwonted seal of silence ?

[51] (VIDŪṢAKA writes characters on the ground)

KING. I know eighteen alphabets,⁶ but I can't read *your* writing.

¹ *Nauclea cadamba*, Roxb., bearing beautiful orange flowers with large projecting white clubbed stigmas, thus answering to the allusion in the stanza (Roxburgh, 172 ; Balfour, ii. 1068).

² *Ind. Spr.* 6184.

³ *Musa sapientum*, Roxb., the plantain, a tree about twelve feet in height, with smooth, vivid green leaves, six feet long by two wide, large purple flowers, and bearing from 150 to 180 plantains (Balfour, ii. 1015).

⁴ A plant of uncertain identification; probably another name for *mādhavī*, or *Gaertnera racemosa*, Roxb.

⁵ The scene changes to the vicinity of the kadali-bower.

⁶ Comp. the eighteen alphabets given in Jain writings (Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, 1-2 ; Weber, in *Indische Studien*, xvi. 280, 399, translated by Smyth, 28, 76-77).

VIDUṢAKA (*stopping his tongue with his teeth*). Sire, I am engaged in a religious ceremony ; I am silent.

(47) KING. How's that ?

VIDUṢAKA. The queen will have me marry at once.

KING. Oh, that old Brahmanee ?

VIDUṢAKA. No, no !

KING. Well, who else ?

VIDUṢAKA. Why, she's the daughter of the family priest of the hostage Mṛgāṅkavarman.

KING. What's the priest's name ?

VIDUṢAKA. He's called Śaśaśrṅga, the mother is termed [52] Mṛgatrṣṇikā, and the future wife, her daughter, is named Ambaramālā.¹

KING (*aside*). I fancy the queen wants to make a fool of him, so I'll keep mum ! Let the vine of mockery grow !²

(*Enter a MAID-SERVANT*)

(48) MAID-SERVANT (*walking around and looking in front of her*). Why here's the king and the Brahman, Cārāyaṇa, near the Tuṣārapuñja, which was built for festivities ; so I'll let them know what the queen wants. (*Approaching*) Victory, victory, sire ! The queen announces that Cārāyaṇa is to make a second marriage, and you must be best man.³ His first wife has prepared the plantain-bower, so let the king enter ! The queen is there with her retinue. (*She gesticulates entrance*)

[53] (*Enter the QUEEN, a SERVANT in the dress of a woman, and a retinue in order of rank*)

QUEEN. Dear Mekhalā, inspect the son-in-law's face.

¹ 'Garland-of-Air' is a worthy daughter of 'Hare's-Horn' and his wife 'Mirage.'

² Comp. the trick played on the viduṣaka in the third act of the *Nāgānanda*, where his face is painted with *tamāla*-juice, and his anger at the maid-servant when he discovers the joke.

³ Literally, 'wooer(s)' (*varaṅkṣhī*) to win the bride for the groom (Schmidt, 657 ; Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, 46 ; Haas, in *Indische Studien*, v. 291-292, 380 ; Weber, *ib.* 181 ; Winternitz, 21, 40). Such disguises are rare in the Sanskrit drama. Comp., however, the trick by which Makaranda deceives Nandana and saves Mālatī from wedding him (*Mālatīmādhava*, vi. end). For parallels in the Sanskrit novel, see Gray, WZKM., xviii. 45-46.

MEKHALĀ (*doing so and smelling of his head*).¹ Honored Cārāyaṇa, doff thou thy mantle red,² gaze ye (49) in each other's eyes! (*The VIDUṢAKA does so*)

QUEEN. Mekhalā, make him walk the deasil quickly, so that handfuls of spelt may be cast into the blazing fire.³

VIDUṢAKA (*doing so*). Oh, second Brahmanee, behold the pole-star and the constellation of the Seven Sages!

SERVANT (*looking*). I am he who seeth the pole-star, who seeth the constellation of the Seven Sages.

VIDUṢAKA. Oh, lovely maid, say : I am *she* who seeth the pole-star, who seeth the constellation of the Seven Sages!

[54] (*The VIDUṢAKA and the SERVANT say this over and over*).

SERVANT. Worshipful Cārāyaṇa, I am a bastard servant of the queen, and your wife! Nowhere else is it customary (50) for a man to marry a man and a woman a woman.⁴ Ambaramālā is "Garland-of-Air" sure enough!

VIDUṢAKA (*to MEKHALĀ*). You brat of a slave! you bawd! you gad-about! you *teim-teim-teim-tā*-squaeker! you associate of scoundrels, you she-blackguard!⁵ you've fooled me! Look out for yourself!

(*All laugh. The VIDUṢAKA walks about*)

KING. My queen, Cārāyaṇa has gone toward the bakula-path offended and angry, and I must go too. Now, (51) [55] by

¹ Comp. Modi, 18. A mark of affection (Wilson, ii. 45) still common in India instead of kissing (Balfour, ii. 579).

² Red garments are still worn at Brahman weddings (Jackson, 323); see also Haas, 295.

³ The *lājahoma* (Haas, 318, 341, 358, 372-373; Winternitz, 22, 57-60 [modern parallels, 62]); Schmidt, 675-678. This is properly done after the marriage, on the evening of the first night (Haas, 325, 346, 359, 367, 374; Winternitz, 23, 77-79, including also modern parallels; Schmidt, 683-684).

⁴ Disguises of this type are exceedingly rare on the Sanskrit stage. Perhaps the closest parallel is in the opening of the *Nāgānanda*, where the viduṣaka clothes himself like a woman to escape the bees, and thus misleads the viṭa, who mistakes him for his love, Nāvamalikā. Comp. also Makaranda's disguise at the end of the sixth act of the *Mālatīmādhava* and that of the spirit in the sixth act of the *Malikāmāruta* (Lévi, 218). For similar disguises in the novel, see Gray, 45-46; Oertel, JAOS. xxvi. 176-188; 306-313; Torrey, ib., 296-305. Comp. also the story of Hassan of Bassora in the *Arabian Nights* (transl. Payne, vii. 202-209).

⁵ Comp. the viduṣaka's insults to Vicakṣaṇā in *Karpūramāñjarī*, i. 18, 6-8, and i. 20, 28.

magic drugs a conjurer from the Camphor-Isle¹ has made a jasmine bower adorned with clusters of red madder,² and I'm going to see this unprecedented sight and to calm my old friend. You can behold this marvel in the evening.

QUEEN. Kuraṅgikā, you stay with the king while he is with his divinity. (*Exit with her retinue*)

KURAṅGIKĀ (*walking about*). Here is the noble Cārāyaṇa in another jasmine-grove, like a peacock with only its head hidden.³

KING. Bring him here, then.

KURAṅGIKĀ (*approaching a little*). Oh, suitor of Ambaramālā, the king speaks! (*Catches him by the edge of his mantle*)

VIDUṢAKA. You slave of scoundrels! you bawd-to-be! you [56] laugh at me, do you? Well, I'll beat you right here with a club-stock crooked as your own heart.

(52) KING. Kuraṅgikā, go to the queen! Cārāyaṇa is angry at her retinue.

(*Exit KURAṅGIKĀ, walking about*)

VIDUṢAKA. The great minister made a quadrangle called Ratnavatī to please you, old chap, but why do you need any at all? This one here seems to hold the divinity.

KING (*looking, aside*). Oh, heart, happy art thou in seeing before thee her whom thou didst see in sleep. (*Addressing him*) My dear Cārāyaṇa, this is indeed the glory of the monsoon which causes the peacock of my soul to dance. I'll tell you something more, she is no creation of hoary Prajāpati,⁴ for,

[57] Could he who chills the moon and plantain-nodes,
And robs the lotus of its azure hue,⁵

(53) Create the wondrous beauty of this maid?

The radiant sun sheds not the moonbeams cold.

¹ Karpūradvīpa is also mentioned in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, lvi. 61 *et seq.*, together with Suvārṇa and Sīmhalā.

² Comp. the similar powers of the magician Śrīkhaṇḍadāsa in the second act of the *Ratnāvalī*. One thinks involuntarily of the twelfth scene of Marlowe's *Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*. For numerous other parallels of a garden suddenly produced by magic arts, see Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, ed. Wilson, ii. 139-140.

³ Comp. the English simile of the ostrich, which thinks itself concealed when its head is hidden.

⁴ The 'lord of creatures,' applied especially to Brahmā as the creator.

⁵ The moon is an allusion to the heroine's face, the plantain-nodes to her thighs, and the lotus to her eyes.

But more than this, I see her youth seems to adorn the position in which she stands, with her mind devoted day and night to thoughts of new adornment.

The heavy parted locks, the tresses long,
All beauteously arrayed, the teeth of pearl,
The knots upon rich robes full featly tied,
The dancing brows and sidelong glances soft,
With artful words where twofold meanings lie—
Such be the signs of dawning womanhood
As girlhood fades ; but what strange sport is this !¹

(54) [58] VIDŪṢAKA (*noting his expression, with a covert smile*). Come along, let's go to the queen !

KING. My dear fellow, let's watch awhile !

VIDŪṢAKA. Why do you stay first in one place and then in another, like a strong but lazy bull ? You can grow fast there like a guḍūcī-stalk,² I'm going to see the queen.

KING. Everything's possible with you ; don't the spring grow flowers ?

[59] VIDŪṢAKA (*smiling and looking before him*). Oh, she's busy jumping and skipping.

(55) KING (*smiling*). She's playing ball, for thus,

In wondrous wise this maid of brows most fair
Doth joy my heart e'en as she plays at ball,
Her jeweled anklets tinkling clear and shrill,
Her lustrous necklace fallen to her zone
That chimeth gently 'neath the pearls' soft stroke,
While trembling bracelets add their music sweet.

VIDŪṢAKA. Right you are—

Her garments shaken with her glancing steps,
Vicakilas and mallikās³ adance
In garlands sweet upon her tossing locks ;

¹ Repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, iii. 23.

² *Cocculus cordifolius*, D.C., a plant with a large spongy root (Balfour, i. 756).

³ Two terms for the *Jasminum zambac*, Roxb., or Arabian jasmine, a twining plant which bears large fragrant white flowers, which bloom chiefly in the rainy season (Balfour, ii. 420). The two words seem to denote the two varieties of the plant, one bearing single flowers and the other double (Roxburgh, 30).

- (56) [60] With tinkling bracelets and with zone-bells clear—
 Full beauteous is the dancing of this maid
 Playing at ball in Love's great theater.

KING.

Each moment doth her beauty charm me more,
 Tossing the tiny ball with measured stroke,
 While to the token that proclaims her faith¹
 The dew of her exertion lends new charm ;
 All lustrous as the moon is her fair face
 As sweet she lisps the words that count the blows
 She giveth to the disk, whose rise and fall
 In rhythmic beat her fawn-soft gaze doth view.

- (57) Furthermore—(*looking again*) Ah, she is in great activity!

Her mantle's hem, her tossing necklaces,
 And massy tresses circling round her brow,
 All whirling in her sport like maelstroms mad,

- [61] Give to this maid of arching brows and fair
 A triple shelter 'gainst the burning sun.

- (58) (*Looking again*)

How beauteous is this slender maiden's ear,
 Like to the quiver of great Kāma's darts,
 And with a beauteous tāli-leaf² bedecked
 There fallen in her sportful vehemence ;
 Sweet thief of hearts, with saffron radiant,
 And as a reed in that pellucid pool
 Wherein the lotus of her eye doth bloom.

VIDŪṢAKA. Oh, she's stopped playing ball!

KING. She has not only stopped ; she has placed a lotus
 hand upon her palm, and now she gazes at us as though she
 knew us. Lo,

- [62] Within her hand the disk all stained with dust
 Seems as the waning moon beside her face,
 And ruddy are her cheeks with eager play ;
 The while she casts on me a witching glance

¹The *tilaka*, or sectarian mark.

²*Borassus flabelliformis*, Linn., the Palmyra-palm or toddy-palm,
 with leaves of considerable size (Balfour, i. 414-415).

From the long corners of her billowing eyes,
Like to the tips of leaves of ketakas
Whereon the dark bees dwell delightsomely.

(59) VIDUṢAKA. Come then, let us approach the maiden fair.
Let Love's dread reservoir be cloven ; let mouthfuls of nectar
be drunk by the sight ; let the hand of Love be upheld ; let the
supremacy of that creature which hath the pañcama-note
increase ;¹ let the host of maid-servants be pained by parting ;
let the peace and war of him whose banner is the dolphin wax ;
the Brahman Cārāyaṇa hath his life in his throat in his great
anxiety.² (*Walking about, the pair gesticulate descending steps*)³
[63] A house of a god without a god, writing without letters,
since she is invisible.⁴

(60) KING. The city of Hariścandra⁵ hath been seen and hath
vanished again.

VIDUṢAKA. Come, let's look carefully. She's hidden behind
a column somewhere. (*Gazing in the four directions*)

[64] KING (*Staring dejectedly at the ground*).

Oh, ground all golden from her saffron feet,
Dear token of her sportful eagerness !
And yet, most piteous thought ! I see her not !
Ah, is she but a phantom love-creature ?

(*Gesticulating distress and looking around*)

Here lies her scarlet crest-jewel on the ground,
And there sweet garlands fallen from her locks ;
Here all the space is covered o'er with pearls
That from her broken necklace strew the earth,
And there a leaf that once adorned her ear.

¹ The koel.

² Similar bombast by the viduṣaka in *Karpūramāñjarī*, iii. 20, 6-11.

³ The scene changes from the vicinity of the kadali-bower to the court-yard of the zenana.

⁴ "Hamlet with Hamlet left out."

⁵ A king of the solar race who was hurled from heaven for his pride. Repenting in mid-air, however, his fall was arrested, and he and his people dwell in an aerial city, which is occasionally visible. Rājaśekhara makes the same allusion in *Karpūramāñjarī*, ii. 40, 5. The Sanskrit legend finds analogues in the Arabic tradition of the city of Iram (e. g., *Arabian Nights*, iii. 334-339), the Baltic story of the town of Vineta, and the Breton legend of the city of Is.

(61) [65] VIDŪṢAKA. Why, here's something good as a well-wrought fan! (*Takes it and proffers it*)¹. What? letters? My dear sir, if you're a scholar, read this!

KING (*reads*).

Upon what limb doth tender youth write not?

Oh, winning wantonness in thy dear eyes!

(*Having reflected*) Old chap, this is a distich, not a tetrastich.

VIDŪṢAKA. How long are we to stand here with knees raised as if lame? Come now, let's sit down on the verandah!

(*They do so. In the wings*)

All pale her face as ripened tālī-leaves,
While from her eyes soft falls a rain of tears,
And her dear lips exhale tempestuous sighs
Like wave-tossed petals of sweet lotuses.

(62) [66] May Gāurī's awful curse upon me rest
Unless within thy thoughts some lover dwell,
Or, else, oh gentle maid, why dost thou hide
Within the circle of thy playmates fair?

VIDŪṢAKA (*with a cry of alarm*). Tie up your hair!² I hear a voice of something more than human!

KING. Somebody's speaking on the other side of the wall!

VIDŪṢAKA. Oh, repeat it to me!

[66] KING. Some enamored, shamefaced damsel has her mystery discovered by her friend!

(*In the wings, with a choking voice*)

Friends, why do you imagine falsehood?

KING. You hear, old pal!

VIDŪṢAKA. He-he! true enough! Through their false
(63) doubts sages—like monkeys that forget the fruit, and never win the root—grasp only sprouts; but fools—like owners of groves of bread-fruit trees—follow the root and gain the fruit!

¹ He evidently sees a leaf on the ground, which he hands to the king as a fan, before he notices the writing on it.

² As a protection against the supposed demon, which would gain power over one whose loose hair it should seize (comp. Croke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, i. 107, ii. 66-67). For a similar exhibition of terror on the part of the vidūṣaka at the sound of a voice, comp. the second act of the *Ratnāvalī*.

Listen, then, I'll tell you ! They are not talking about an ordinary man ; *you're* the subject of discussion ! Leaving him whose mark is the gazelle,¹ the statuette of the moonstone no longer flows, for its cascade's checked.

[68] KING. Then I fancy this is a ruby in a mineless place.²

(*Again in the wings*)

How cease the tears that from thine eyes fast fall,
Washing away their dark collyrium,
Tears bright as pearls new-rent from quivering shells ?

(64) Oh, maid, with eyes fawn-soft, how cans't thou gaze
Upon thy beauty wan and pale as gold
O'er which the silvern mercury hath spread ?

How cans't thou heave such sighs, like unto jewels
Torn from a necklace sweet of sobbing breath,
And shuddering through the tiny lotus-tips ?

[69] All wasted is thy form beneath thy robes
Wherefrom the zone loose falls, and pale thy limbs
As is the gentle moon by garish day.

Nay, thou hast seen the king ; the tale is told—

(65) The radiant lord of night alone evokes
The white śephālikā's³ soft loveliness.

VIDŪSAKA. The girl, seen in a dream, swinging in a swing, transformed into a statue pierced and portable, [70] playing at ball, and writing poetry—she it is that charms you, even as you gaze on her !

(*In the wings*)

Well, then, dear Mṛgānkāvalī, I must be the messenger in full charge of the matter⁴ at once !

¹ An allusion to the name of Mṛgānkāvalī. On the moonstone, which is conventionally supposed to deliquesce under the rays of the moon, see *Ind. Spr.* 1276, 4169, 4289 ; *Karpūramañjarī*, iv. 18, 36 ; *Uttararāmācārīta*, vi. ; and *Mālatīmādhava*, i.

² Comp., for the general idea of extreme improbability, the Sanskrit maxim of a she-mule in foal (Jacob, ii. 5), or "Like a decoration without a wall" (ib., 13).

³ Another name for the *sinduvāra*, or *Vitex negundo*, Linn.

⁴ *ṇisīṭṭhatthāe* (Schmidt, 775).

KING. 'Tis she indeed ! Now Love doth raise on high the five syllables "Mrgāṅkāvalī" in my thought.

(*Again in the wings*)

Listen, dear, to these two stanzas that I have written (66) to show thy sentiments, and to read before the mighty king !

(*Having recourse to Sanskrit*)

[71] With sandal-paste the moon she fain would cleanse,
The while she gnaws the petals of her lips ;
And crying, " Love hath flowery darts in sooth !"
She rendeth blossoms fair from parent stems ;
On mighty Kāma, worthy of all laud,
She raieth loud, biting her tender nails ;
Oh, happy king, surely, these tokens show
A beauteous maid distraught for love of thee.

And furthermore,

Fierce passion's flame hath parched the fount of tears
That o'er her cheeks once plowed their furrows deep,
And faint her sighs as wicks the fire hath seared ;
Yea, all her body's pale and wan for grief.
Yet, what avail my words ? Lo, all the night
Forth from the window where thy pathway leads
She gazeth, while her tender hand doth veil
Her face whose luster shames the crescent moon.

(67) [72] VIDŪṢAKA. But I know some Brahman demons¹ have come to the Golden Quadrangle² to deceive us, and they're what's talking. It's near night, too, when the spooks cut up. Let's get out of this !

KING. As you like. (*They both gesticulate descent*)³

(*In the wings*)

In bitter pain when dies the day he loves,
With fervent heat, and rays as madder red,

¹ *Bamharakkhasā*, comp. Manu, xii. 60. The superior power of the Brahman on earth naturally renders him, if malignant, an especially terrible demon (Crooke, i. 253, ii. 78-79).

² *Suvarṇacaūkkīā*.

³ The scene changes from the courtyard of the zenana to its immediate vicinity.

Slowly the sun descendeth from the sky,
Greeting with burning kiss the western mount ;
While o'er the earth darkness doth spread apace,
Enfolding all in eventide's soft haze.¹

(68) [73] And furthermore,

Attendants swart now draw the tinkling jewels
From rounded arms, and through the darkness glide
Hags weaving love's intrigues of peace and war ;
The hour of wantonness swift draweth nigh,
While joy's fair daughters seek their couches soft ;
And all things yield to mighty Kāma's sway,
What time the sandal-water's fragrance sweet
Perfumes the floors of lofty palaces—
Oh, happy eventide, to lovers dear !

KING. Let us go to the queen's apartment to perform the evening sacrifice.

(*Exeunt omnes*)

END OF ACT II.

ACT III.

(*Enter a MAID-SERVANT*)²

MAID-SERVANT (*walking about*). How long it is since I saw dear Vicakṣaṇā ! And my heart is almost bursting with its awful anxiety, like an ivory pestle with moonbeams ! (70) Now, where can I see her ? (*Looking in front of her*) Why, here she comes, muttering something to herself !

(*Enter a SECOND MAID-SERVANT, as described*)

MAID-SERVANT (*aside*). Oh, what incomparable devotion of the great minister to the interests of his lord !

FIRST. Why, she comes when I think of her, like success to the lucky ! I'll stand behind her now, and cover her eyes. (*Does so*)

SECOND. This seems to be the touch of the hands of [75] my dear Sulakṣaṇā. (*Aloud*) Sulakṣaṇā, my love, I know you, so release my eyes.

¹ Repeated in *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, i. 22.

² The scene is a hedge near the door of the zenana.

SULAKṢAṆĀ (*freeing her eyes ; with affectionate anger*). Dear (71) Vicakṣaṇā, when our love is as great as if bound with a knot of hempen cord sprinkled with water,¹ why do you stand there blindly, like a wag-tail with its crest grown? I'm angry at you!

VICAKṢAṆĀ (*with courtesy*). Dear Sulakṣaṇā, don't be angry! The bidding of the great minister, Bhāgurāyaṇa, causes the mischief, not I!

SULAKṢAṆĀ (*sneeringly*). Nobody but you understands diplomacy!

[76] VICAKṢAṆĀ. That's just what this is, feminine diplomacy, suited for people like us!

SULAKṢAṆĀ. Well, if you can't see a feminine person on account of your feminine diplomacy, then you can't see anybody like me even with your eyes!

(72) VICAKṢAṆĀ. What's *your* feminine diplomacy?

SULAKṢAṆĀ. You talk now, and then I'll talk. The mango shoots bud first, and then the koel kisses them and unseals her throat.²

VICAKṢAṆĀ. Well, listen then. Once the great minister, Bhāgurāyaṇa, addressed me courteously, and said: "Vicakṣaṇā, you must assist us in a mystery concerning the king."

[77] SULAKṢAṆĀ. Oh, what a mind you must have, since even the great minister thinks this possible! "What description of a row of bakula trees is there in the exhalation of the odor of spring?"³ Go on, go on!

(73) VICAKṢAṆĀ. Being a girl of good breeding, I said "I will," and he told me: "This Mṛgāṅkavarman is Mṛgāṅkāvalī."

SULAKṢAṆĀ. Go on! go on!

VICAKṢAṆĀ. "Now, the great king, the noble monarch Vidyādharamalla, sovereign of the world, must marry her. So sometime or other you must make a passage in the wall of his apartment and let him see her, that the king may perceive her in a dream. [78] Haradāsa will tell you the details of what you are to do. In this secret, which involves the future of our

¹ Rājasekhara uses the same proverb in *Karpūramāñjarī*, i. 20, 43.

² Comp. *Karpūramāñjarī*, ii. 2.

³ Comp., for the idea of utter tantalization, the Marathi proverbs, "The stomach cannot be filled with the pickings of the teeth," and, "To give a shellfull of medicine to a sick mountain" (Manwaring, 396, 901).

(74) sovereign, you, her dear friend, are asked to help the king's interests. You know there's no climbing to the roof without a pair of stairs." Then in accordance with the plan described by Haradāsa, I said to her confidentially : "Dear Mṛgānkāvalī, he whose banner is a fish descends in this apartment.¹ And when you see him, you must honor him with a garland of the flowers of pearls drawn from your neck, that you may get a lover like him." She went and did so. Furthermore, he saw her in the swing ; she was made to paint her own picture on the beautiful crystal walls in the chamber of the pleasure-hill, and was made to say and recite this or that through a hole in a column:

[79] SULAKṢAṆĀ. Well, what did the great king get when he saw her with her manifold coquetries ?

(75) VICAKṢAṆĀ. What the wild elephant gets when he's caught by the tricks of the female elephant kept for sport.² Now, on beautiful moonlight nights, clear as the rows of teeth of dark Dravidian dames polished with tender betel husks, he talks indistinct stuff, such as this : (*Resorting to Sanskrit*)

Oh, bring ye black and inky darkness vast,
 [80] With magic spells steal ye away the smile
 That decks the lotus white, and on chill stone
 Grind ye the moon to powder bit by bit,
 That from the zenith of the midnight sky
 The face of her I love may shine on me.³

(76) SULAKṢAṆĀ. But what's *her* state of mind ?
 VICAKṢAṆĀ (*resorting to Sanskrit*).

Her palace she doth hate, and shuns the grove,
 Fearing the gentle radiance of the moon,
 And shrinking from the doors of pleasure's hall ;
 While for the fever that doth parch and burn
 She deemeth raiment as dire venom's pain,

¹ Kāma. The similar idea of a woman beloved by a man who pretends to be immortal is a common one in literature from the time of Josephus and pseudo-Callisthenes to Boccaccio (comp. Dunlop, ii. 93-94).

² Comp. the English proverb, "He got what Paddy gave the drum." See also Oertel, JAOS. xxvi. 313-314.

³ The fault of this stanza, which I have endeavored to reproduce by using "black" as a noun, is according to the commentator, *nyūna*, or ellipsis (see Regnaud, 162-163).

Nor can do aught but toss upon her couch
 All spread with lotuses, and think of him
 Whom dreams depict in tender phantasy.¹

[81] But tell me now what this feminine diplomacy is !

(77) SULAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. Hear what it is. The great king once whispered confidentially in my ear : “ You must not tell the queen this secret.”

VICAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. What is it ?

SULAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. This—Cārāyaṇa, out of humor at the mock marriage, wishes to fool the queen’s foster-sister. So you must climb a kesara tree² in the twilight at the close of day, and say with a nasal twang³ to Mekhalā, as she walks in the garden : ‘ Mekhalā, thou shalt die on the evening of the full moon in Vāiśākhā.’ ”⁴ Well, I said that to her.

(78) [82] VICAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. Go on ! go on !

SULAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. Then, her limbs trembling with awful fright, she managed to turn in my direction, fold her hands tightly, and say : “ Oh, mighty, disembodied voice divine, have pity on me, and as thou dost know my death, know thou my life ! ”

VICAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. Go on ! go on !

SULAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. Then I said to her in the same way : “ If thou dost honor with deep homage a Brahman learned in the Gāndhārvaveda,⁵ fall at his feet, and pass between his legs ; thou shalt receive thy life.”

(79) [83] VICAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. My, but you’re smart ! Even sages say the means of purification lies through a Brahman’s feet.⁶

SULAḶṢAṢAṢĀ (*after reflection*). The artfulness of the Brahman’s deceitful play !

VICAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. Go on ! go on !

SULAḶṢAṢAṢĀ. Now, the queen heard this, and told it in these very words to the king in my presence, while she repeatedly wiped the eyes of the tearful Mekhalā. And the king, calming

¹ Repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, v. 8.

² Probably the *Mesua ferrea*, Roxb., or iron-wood, with a straight and slender trunk, bearing large fragrant white flowers at the beginning of the warm season (Roxburgh, 437).

³ An infallible test of a *bhūt* (Crooke, 237-238).

⁴ April-May.

⁵ See Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*², 291.

⁶ Comp. *Ind. Spr.* 4508.

the queen's distress and carrying out Cārāyaṇa's scheme, said to her : " Don't be distressed, (80) sweetheart ! A Brahman skilled in the Gāndharvaveda is absolute indeed ! Why, then, is that bimba-lip¹ suffused with tears ?" Thus he consoled the queen, and she, [84] declaring : " This is the day of the full moon," sent me to prepare the ceremony of worship.

VICAKṢAṆĀ. Come, then ; let us execute our commands !

(*Exeunt*)

(*End of the connecting-scene*)

(*Then enter the KING, purified by bathing, and in extreme anxiety, and the VIDŪṢAKA*)

KING (*gesticulating meditation*).

· Well I remember how she gazed at me,
On tip-toe standing, clinging to the arms
Of youthful comrades, and her bosom soft
Rounding the more as she raised high her head,
While round her waist the trembling furrows ran.

[85] VIDŪṢAKA. Don't interrupt my meditation ! I must (81) preserve Mekhalā's life in the presence of the queen ! (*Aside*) Oh, you slave of scoundrels ! in his bitter anger, the Brahman Cārāyaṇa will fall upon you ! (KING, *hearing this speech, repeats the same words*) Don't think of her all the time ! As a matter of fact, she's a distressful fiend !

KING. How can she cause distress ? Then the soft notes of the sweet pañcama defile your ears ; the face of the moon burns your eyes while it drips ambrosia ; a stream of sandal-essence parches your frame !

VIDŪṢAKA. Oh, I was joking. You find the quintessence everywhere—the swan gets milk from water !² What's the use [86] of talking ? You forget the queen as a sluggard forgets learning.

(82) KING. How can I forget the queen whom I have loved since childhood ? Moreover,

The love that once my queen alone possessed
What time she triumphed over all her sex,

¹ *Momordica monadelphæ*, Roxb., a plant bearing a smooth berry about two inches long, and red when ripe (Roxburgh, 696).

² See Lanman, JAOS. xix. 151-158.

Now by great Kāma's might is rent in twain
That in its wealth this tender maid may share.

VIDŪṢAKA. So your mind swings in a dooly, as it were, and gets no rest for going and coming ?¹

KING. That's just it, old chap, for,

Thou shalt not crush the fragrant jasmine-wreath
Nor bar the way of gentle Love's approach ;
But thou shalt keep the garland sacred still
[S7] E'en though it fade and wither on thy brow.
So must I guard my queen's devotion still.²

VIDŪṢAKA. What's the use of working off these polite (S3) speeches? A new shoot don't come out without removing an old leaf,³ and the musk-deer that likes to circle round the sprigs of the tender rose-bay, takes no delight in a wormwood meadow !⁴

KING. You're a lawless talker, old chap. You suspect what mustn't be suspected.

VIDŪṢAKA. What's the good of my worrying about [S8] anybody else's affairs? I beg you not to interrupt my meditations! I must bring Mekhalā to life in the presence of the queen.

(Then enter the QUEEN and MEKHALĀ, self-subdued, and the RETINUE in order)

QUEEN. Mekhalā, my noble lord and the Brahman Cārāyaṇa are close at hand in the hedge at the door of the zenana.

SULAKṢAṆĀ. Has your majesty any further commands?

(S4) VIDŪṢAKA. Approximate the hedge, old chap! (They both do so)

QUEEN (approaching). Victory, victory to my lord! Noble Cārāyaṇa, grant the request I make for my foster-sister! Vouchsafe life to Mekhalā!

¹ Comp. the end of the first act of the *Nāgānanda*.

² Comp. the consideration of Purūravas for his Queen Āsūnārī, despite his affection for Urvaśī, at the close of the second act of *Vikramorvaśī*.

³ Comp. the English proverb, "You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs," and the Marathi saying, "The butter cannot be got out [of the leathern bottle in which it is kept] without bending the finger" (Manwaring, No. 450).

⁴ Comp. *Karpūramañjarī*, iii. 20, 3.

VIDŪṢAKA. Here stand I ready !

[89] MEKHALĀ (*with hands folded in entreaty*). Noble Cārāyaṇa, this creature here doth fly for refuge unto thee, a mighty Brahman ! (*With these words she puts both his feet on her head*)
(*In the wing*)

Where, where is that slave of scoundrels ? Here we servants of Death are come to bear Mekhalā away, her neck en fettered fast ! (85) VIDŪṢAKA (*chanting fantastically, raising his staff*). If I, the husband of Piṅgalikā, skilled in the Gāndharvaveda, stand as a protector, then what is Death, what are the servants of Death, or what are the fetters of Death ? (*So saying, he prances about fantastically*)

MEKHALĀ (*going between his feet*). Oh save me !

VIDŪṢAKA (*chanting in a loud voice, wrapping her round*). Oh, mighty king, behold, behold your old chum mounted on Love's chariot in this woman ! (*Rather loudly*) Oh, see ye, see ye my Brahmanhood, whereby the servants of Death are destroyed with their rascally rascalized fetters !

[90] MEKHALĀ. Oh, I am alive !

VIDŪṢAKA (*laughing loudly*). You brat of a slave ! (86) Thus the Brahman, Cārāyaṇa, mocked by a false marriage and in bitter anger, gets his revenge on you ! Well, I *hope* my Brahmanee long may have her marriage-cord unbroken !¹ (MEKHALĀ *weeps in chagrin*)

QUEEN. It's a noble thing, your majesty, isn't it, to play such a trick on my dear Mekhalā ?

VIDŪṢAKA. It's a noble thing in *your* majesty, isn't it, to play such a trick on the great king's old chum ?

[91] QUEEN. She played a trick with you, thinking you were a relative of my lord's.

(87) VIDŪṢAKA. I played the trick, thinking she was a relative too !

MEKHALĀ. The queen *could* answer ! But let him have his way ! The great king is his lord ! There's a different smell to the catechu when it stands among ketaka-flowers !²

¹ I hope the queen won't kill me in her anger at the trick, and thus make my wife a widow.

² "Circumstances alter cases." Comp. the Marathi proverbs, "The castor-oil plant gets water when the sugar-cane does," and, "In a great house even the dog is respected" (Manwaring, Nos. 8, 164).

(Exit the QUEEN, with a gesticulation of anger, together with her RETINUE)

VIDŪṢAKA (*looking toward him*). There are no flies to buzz around you now, old chap!¹

KING. The queen is extremely vexed; she went away crying!

VIDŪṢAKA. Let her cry, let her cry! Will her pearls [92] fall?² Come along, come along! let's go to the garden, old chap! (*They walk about*)³. Come, tuck your fist (88) in mine, and trot along! But walk softly, for the thick darkness, as if formed by many swarms of bees, as if created by flocks of koels, as if produced by masses of collyrium purified with oil, as if made of the pollen of blue lotuses, as if united with the throat of him whose gorge is black,⁴ as if come from the body of Nārāyaṇa,⁵ as if come from the blemish on the moon, as if wrought of petals of blue lotuses, as if issued from the ichor of elephants, makes the court of earth's womb know no distinction of even and uneven, no difference betwixt black and white, no discrimination between short and long, no delimitation of far from near.

[93] KING. Even so,

Fast clinging fall the footsteps of the sky
O'er all the darkening earth, and eventide,
With mist and darkness that thy hand might grasp,
Makes heaven's vault no higher than thy brow.

(89) Furthermore, methinks,

Lo, now, enrobed in dusky hues of night
With peacock-plumes adorning tiny ears,
And smaragd bracelets twining round their arms,
Their bosoms all bedecked with sapphires blue,
And musky fragrance resting on their cheeks,
Yea, garlanded with azure lotuses,
And clad in garments black as midnight's hour,
Fair India's daughters seek their lover's arms.

¹ Comp. the middle of the second and sixth acts of the *Śakuntalā*, where the vidūṣaka says to the king: "You have driven off the last fly."

² It will do her no harm.

³ The scene changes from the hedge near the door of the zenana to a part of the royal gardens.

⁴ Śiva.

⁵ Viṣṇu.

[94] *(In the wing)*

Oh, beauteous moon, that with thy silvern rays
 Dost stir the milky billows of the sea ;
 (90) Great artists' brush of white to purify
 Thy home that filleth all the threefold world ;
 All radiant as some herb of magic power
 To win to perfect bloom the might of love,
 With sandal-sheen bedecking Kāma's court.

And furthermore,

Now shines the moon, that joys the heart of man,
 While stars, like pearls upon the brow of night,
 Soft gleam through all the darkening firmament ;
 (91) [95] And cakravākas,¹ whom stern fate doth part,
 O'erwhelmed with anguish sink 'neath Luna's beams,
 As in their hearts the fire of sorrow burns.

(Again in the wing)

Once gentle to the tender barley awns,
 And fair as petal-tips of ketakas,
 Yea, beauteous as the lotus-fibers soft,
 And changing swift from shining cataracts
 Unto the glory of a zone of stars,
 The moon's soft beams excel staves crystalline.

(92) And furthermore,

Lo, now in heaven's vault doth rise the moon,
 Illumining the sky with sandal-sheen,
 White as the ivory of the mighty tusk
 Of Indra's elephant,² the while its rays
 [96] Seem pendants unto necklaces of pearls
 Wrought by the stars that fill the azure dome—

¹ *Casarca rutila*, Pallas, the Brahminy duck or ruddy shieldrake, a shy and wary bird, about twenty-nine inches long, with a rufous plumage, brilliant green on the wing-coverts. According to the legend, two lovers were transformed for their indiscretion into Brahminy ducks, and condemned to be parted each night by a river, on whose opposite banks they sit, calling to each other in vain (Balfour, i. 594, Yule and Burnell, 112). The allusion is a dramatic commonplace.

² Āirāvata, produced at the churning of the ocean of milk, and presiding over the eastern quarter of the sky.

Oh, lamp of love, where amorous girls may read
Mad passion's letters writ in tender flesh.¹

VIDUṢAKA. Oh, this is Kalakāṅṭhī, the queen's urbane attendant, and through her voice at the rising of the moon on its day of full the bard, Karpūracandra, doth praise the beauteous luster of him whose mark is a gazelle.² So my nose itches! Let me give a description! The liquid chalk of moonlight dripping from the ink-pot of the moon doth black the row of letters of the stars in the tablet of the sky by darkness gloomed.

(93) [97] KING. Old chap, you certainly talk no wiser than a child today!

VIDUṢAKA. Does a monkey ever forget when he gets a chance? I'll give you a childish description now:

Nor bracelets, nay nor earrings to bedeck,
Now stand the brides of heaven's quarters ten,
And now earth's circuit vast doth stretch below
All stripped of saffron and of sandal sweet;
The while the missiles of the god of love
Know neither "parching" nor "bewilderment,"
And in the sky the moonbeam garlands hang.³

[98] KING (*looking all around, gesticulating the emotion of love*). Oh, lordly monarch of the night! What perversity of thine is this?

(94) Born of the milky wave, wherefrom arose
Divinest Lakṣmī and great Viṣṇu's jewel,⁴
And o'er the lotus-pools in friendship true
Shedding thy streams of immortality,
Thou that alone with fawn-eyed maids canst vie—
Ah, radiant moon, bright gem on Śiva's brow,
Why spread thy beams such fever through my soul?

¹ Repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, x. 40. On the allusion in the concluding lines, see Schmidt, 478 ff.

² The moon. The following phrase seems to mean either that the viduṣaka scratches his nose in jealous contempt at Karpūracandra's verse, or rubs his nose to gain inspiration for his own description.

³ Repeated in *Karpūramañjarī*, iii. 26 (see also Lanman, *Karpūramañjarī*, 272). May not this repetition "with childish words" (*taruṇut-tihim*) of a stanza written in another play be regarded both as an indication of the priority of the *Karpūramañjarī* to the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and of Rājaśekhara's consciousness of progress in his art?

⁴ Alluding to the churning of the ocean of milk.

(*Gazing in the four directions*)

Once fair as petals of the ketaka
In showers driven by some engine vast,
And beauteous as a zone of shining pearls ;
Now might the full moon's rays be dipped in pails,
Or grasped by eager hands of mortal men,
And drunk by thirsting blossoms of the lote.

[99] (*Having reflected*) The moon's very spotlessness brings danger to the life of one like me! Lucidity itself is poison's peril. (*Entreatingly*)

(95) Lifting on high your heads, cakoras wan,
With bills that slowly move the while ye drink,
Quaff ye the radiance of the lord of night,
That ye revive your souls by parting pained,
And that o'er me the moon's dread sway may end.¹

(*Looking ahead*) This indeed is Mṛgāñkāvalī.

[100] VIDUṢAKA. Mṛgāñkāvalī indeed! Surely there can be no such wondrous radiance from a single moon!

KING. Here let us lie concealed among the plantain-creepers, and listen to her confidential words. Now let mine ears drink life's elixir to their fill! (*They do so*)

(*Then enter MṚGĀÑKĀVALĪ and VICAṢAṢĀNĀ*)

MṚGĀÑKĀVALĪ (*with a gesture of meditation recites "With sandal-paste the moon," etc.*)²

KING (*anxiously*). Oh, words of hers well spoken with letters of the spell of Love!

(96) VIDUṢAKA. Well I know they are the sharpened darts of slaughtered love!³

KING.

Chaplets of shining pearl about her throat,
And camphor-powder o'er her bosom spread,
Thick sandal-paste perfuming every limb
And in her hand sweet lotuses of blue ;

[101] Yea, clad in silk from China's far-off land
Doth gleam this slender maid in twilight's hour,

¹ Repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, v. 73.

² See above, p. 38.

³ Alluding to the destruction of Kāma by Śiva.

Like to some goddess fallen from the moon
The while he climbs to heaven's pinnacle.¹

VIDŪṢAKA. Right you are! She is indeed a divinity fallen from the moon! And so the center of its disk seems to wither away in defilement from her recent desertion of it on the plea of spots on him whose spot is a gazelle.

(97) KING. Radiant though the moonlight is, old chap, you can see her pallor, born of love. Even her pearl necklace, white as a shell, is visible, for thus,

All tawny as the cloven turmeric,
Yet pale for separation from her love—

[102] How brightly gleam this fawn-eyed maiden's limbs,
As they were wrought of argent and of gold.

VIDŪṢAKA. Like gold kissed by liquid mercury is her aureate loveliness o'er which her pallor slowly spreads.

MRĠĀṆKĀVALĪ. Oh, heart! Mine eyes now see him! Oh, marvel of marvels that *thou* art pained! Nay, rather on the bakula's roots mouthfuls of wine are sprinkled, and the flowers breathe the perfume of strong drink.²

(98) VIDŪṢAKA. What's all that about?

KING. This. Her heart is filled with love, and thus she chideth it.

MRĠĀṆKĀVALĪ. Oh, Vidyādharamalla, cold as a pencil of camphor! What boots it me that thou art agonized? Or what recompense that the jewel of the moon into the fire doth drip?

[103] KING. Glory to me, on whom MrĠāṅkāvalī doth cast her stinging slights!

MRĠĀṆKĀVALĪ. Ah, friend, how could Love bring me to such a pass, were his arrows but of common blossoms? Surely they are venom'd darts!

KING. Snow, though formed of water, burns; Love's five arrows, though made of flowers, are in their nature cruel.

(99) VIDŪṢAKA. I say, old chap! Who wouldn't be down in the mouth, when she's wasting away by the minute like a sugar doll in the rainy season? Yet, even though it fades, the marjo-

¹ Repeated in *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, i. 27.

² She of course compares her heart to the bakula flowers and her eyes to the roots.

ram sprig is fragrant ; and she's a beauty though she pines for pain of parting. Withered like a garland of yellow amaranth flowers, bravely she keeps her ruddy hue.

[104] MRGĀÑKĀVALĪ. Nay, dear one! is there indeed some awful reservoir of love so hard to break? (*Sadly*) Pitiless is he, dear heart! Few in sooth are they who are distressed by others' woe; few of them that hum the new pañcama mode become like masses of faded flowers.¹ Oh, Love, sole archer of the triple world, art thou not ashamed to assail a woman with thine arrows sharpened by the crest-jewel of the moon? Valorous in showing forth thy bravery, I know thou art within this man! (100) KING. O, beauteous maid, exceeding valorous in showing forth my bravery!²

[105] VIDŪŚAKA (*laughing aloud*). I'm laughing at the thought of a battle of the Limbless God!³

KING. Why this loud laughter? You frighten me!

MRGĀÑKĀVALĪ. Dear Vicakṣaṇā, people seem to be moving around!

(101) VICAKṢAṆĀ. Let's hide in the kadālī-thicket, then, and find out what this is! (*They do so*)

VIDŪŚAKA. Come, let's enter. (*They walk around*)⁴

[106] KING (*looking at the refrigerants and gesticulating that he takes them*).

With lotus fibers circling round her wrist,
And tiny twigs of spring in garlands twined,
Yea, clad in petals of the kadālī,
She seemeth fire-o'-love enrobed in green.

So shall I cool me with these refrigerants that she hath lately held and left so short a space ago! (*Does so and sits down; the Vidūśaka also sits down as usual.*)

KING (*gesticulating distress*). Alas! I did not well, for,

The moon to foulest venom is akin,
In sandal trees thrice deadly serpents sport,

¹ The koel does not care enough for the flowers to pine away as they wither.

² Vidyāsāgara omits this line.

³ Kāma.

⁴ The scene changes from a part of the royal gardens to a kadālī-thicket.

While pearls are born of briny ocean's flood,
 And on the sun's cruel rays the lotus dotes ;
 Naught, naught of these can soothe my burning love ;
 Truth's saving power have I left behind
 And outward healing doth but mock my woe.¹

(102) [107] VĪCAKṢAṆĀ. Dear Mrgāṅkāvalī, my embassy bears fruit ! The great king shows indeed a wondrous change of heart !

KING (*gesticulating distress*).

The fan's soft breeze a multitude of sighs,
 Fair Malaya's cool dews but burning tears,
 And all my flower-couch of Kāma's darts—
 Oh, pain of love with two-fold agony,
 When will thy mighty power o'er me cease ?

[108] VIDŪṢAKA. Ah, here's something like a letter sealed !

KING. Not a letter only, but a bond of the peace and war of Love ! Lo, this,

It is a tender palm-leaf, all unsealed,
 With sandal paste that marks the bosom's curve

(103) And wrapped about with lotus-fibers soft ;
 Full surely from some maiden's hand it fell,
 And tender words of love lie hidden there.

VIDŪṢAKA. Her's it is indeed. The cause of its leaving her needs explanation !

[109] KING (*taking the Vidūṣaka by the ear*). *Of course* the land of Vidūra is the land of jewel pencils !² *Of course* your words are the land that drip with nectar ! Therefore look at this then ! (*Vidūṣaka does so ; the KING recites*) “ Ah, cruel one, from a luckless lady ! ”

VIDŪṢAKA. Unseal it ; *I'll* show you. (*Doing so*) Why, the jewel-casket is jewelless, the letter has no letter !³

(104) KING. Nay, this device so deeply piteous makes my mind like to a blossom !⁴ (*Reflecting*) Thou hollow palm-

¹ Comp., for the general idea, *Karpūramañjarī*, ii. 11 ; iii. 20.

² This proverb is again used by Rājaśekhara in *Karpūramañjarī*, i. 34, 18.

³ “ Hamlet with Hamlet left out ” ; comp. above, p. 35.

⁴ I. e., very tender.

[110] leaf! (*Meditating*) Seek a bond of union with it!
Mayhap there is some thread of love sewn there for secret
counsel!

VIDUṢAKA (*doing so—looking joyfully*). Oh, what wondrous
wisdom's yours! But is it praise of the moon to say he is the
spouse of Rohiṇī?¹

KING (*recites, in agitation*).

Upon what limb doth tender youth write not?
Oh, winning wantonness in thy dear eyes
That steals my sight away for ecstasy.

(*Reflecting anxiously*)

All broken by the trembling of her hand
And half-effaced by welling drops of sweat,²
The while her dear tautology reveals
The pain of love, though incomplete her phrase—
(105) [111] Thus, thus the letters that her fingers writ
Bring sweet conviction to my doubting faith,
And show the grief that fills the soul of her
Whose long-lashed glances steal away my heart.

VIDUṢAKA. Does one overlook matters when an elephant's
trunk is strangled by a plantain-sprig? Come, let's follow then!

KING. 'Tis all one! Whether I follow the moon,³ my mine
of jewels, or whether I follow my heart!

VIDUṢAKA (*pointing with his finger*). There, she's entered
[112] the grove of mādhavī creepers, for here is a series of foot-
prints like the path of Kāma's feet. So let's hide ahead of them
and watch them carefully. (*They do so.*)⁴

(106) MRGĀÑKĀVALĪ (*gesticulating the touch of moonlight within
the creepers; having recourse to Sanskrit*).

Thou cold, chill moon, touch not thou e'en in sport
My limbs that burn for absence from my love;
For here thy rays hold fevered revelry,
Though soft their gleam as fibers of the lote.

¹ The favorite wife of the moon. It is no praise to say the obvious.

² Comp. the picture of Śakuntalā blurred by the perspiring fingers of
Duṣyanta in the sixth act of the *Śakuntalā*.

³ *Mrgāñika*, an allusion to the name of the heroine.

⁴ The scene changes from the kadālī-thicket to a mādhavī-grove.

(Repeating this three or four times, she weeps).

KING (to the VIDUŠAKA). Now feast thy gaze !
 [113] Great tears atremble in her beauteous eyes
 And falling slowly from her lashes long
 Reveal the pain that fills her gentle heart.

(107) And furthermore,

Lo, mighty Love hath sped his arrows five
 Of flowers sweet that pierce, though blunt their tips,
 And with great Varun's dart ¹ hath wounded sore
 This tender maid, whose tears as rivers flow,
 And like to brooks threefold slow make their way
 Within the grove about her waist that lies.

(Taking the VIDUŠAKA by the hand, and approaching with
 the courtesy of love.)

[114] Ah, if like broken fibers of the lotè
 Thy limbs slow waste away, then Love doth hold
 His mighty sway forever o'er thy heart.

Thus in supplication I appeal to you with joy and sorrow
 equal !

(108) MRGĀÑKĀVALĪ (aside, and regarding him with eagerness
 and terror). Is this rain from a cloudless sky,² or pearls won
 from an impure cavity? Like a staff of kāñcana³ become a
 mango, like brass turned into gold, seems he whose frame is
 lauded for its handsomeness. (Aside to VICAKṢAÑĀ.) This,
 dear one, is [115] King Vidyādharamalla, loved of Śrī, Sarasvatī,
 and Madanasundarī,⁴ yea, and lover of Śrī, Sarasvatī, and
 Madanasundarī.

VICAKṢAÑĀ. True !

¹ Comp. the beginning of the sixth act of the *Uttararāmacarita* and *Karpūramāñjarī*, iv. 13. The darts of Varuṇa, the water-god, are tears.

² The same proverb occurs in the latter part of the third act of the *Ratnāvalī*; comp. the English saying, "Lightning from a clear sky." In *Karpūramāñjarī*, iv. 18, 8 the vidūṣaka speaks of a "shower of watermelons from a clear sky."

³ A tree variously identified by the native lexicographers with the *Mesua ferrea*, *Michelia Champaca*, *Ficus glomerata*, *Bauhinea variegata*, *Datura fastuosa*, and *Rottleria tinctoria*.

⁴ Beauty, Wisdom, and Venus.

KING. Thus rather should'st thou say, Vicakṣaṇā : "Loved of Mṛgāṅkāvalī, yea, and lover of Mṛgāṅkāvalī !" (*sabuting her*).¹

(109) Beside thine eyes the lotus blue is pale,
And nigh thy lips the coral gleameth white ;
While for thy body's sheen the midnight black
Is changed to gold, and thine uplifted gaze
Doth lend a twofold luster to the sky.²

[116] MṚGĀṆKĀVALĪ (*aside*). Oh, goodly night, adornment of the moon, be thou a hundred watches in thy length ! The constellation of the Seven Sages hath a girdle of the Bright-Haired Ones !³

KING. She should not lack a necklace of pearls, good comrade ! the North shines not without the girdle of the Seven Seers (*thus speaking, he takes the necklace from his neck and places it on the neck of the heroine*).

(110) VIDŪṢAKA. Who doth not rejoice at this delightful union, since this maid, garlanded with rounded pearls, and with innuendo decked, hath the style of goodly bards !

[117] (*In the wing*)

Leave ye the abodes of joy, the bower of creepers and all the rest ! Close ye the doors, and let the bolts be shot ; the watchmen and retainers shall stand without, each in his own place ! Here, like the day produced by the light of a lamp that some mermaid holdeth in her hand, comes the queen to see the bower of mādhavī-creepers adorned with thousands of madder-clusters, that the drugs of a mighty magician made grow.

(111) VICAKṢAṆĀ (*in terror*). Sire, be thy dear friend dismissed !

[118] KING. I pray thee mercy, unless thou dost deny my suit !

¹ Mṛgāṅkāvalī.

² Repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, iii. 25 ; comp. *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, i. 31.

³ The "girdle of Bright-Haired Ones" (*cittasikhaṇḍidāma*) and the "circle of the Seven Sages" (*sattarisimaṇḍala*) are synonyms of the constellation Ursa Major. The sentence is omitted by Arte.

VIDŪṢAKA. Get her out of here at once, old chap! or else we're pigeons caught in a cage.¹ (*Thus speaking, they walk around according to their rank.*)

(*Exeunt omnes*)

END OF ACT III.

(112)

ACT IV.

(*In the wing*)

A blessed dawn unto Karpūravarṣa's² lord, for now,

The silvern moon sinks to the western sea;
Like bubbles vanish all the stars of night;
The lights shine pale as yellow amaranth;
And red as chakors' eyes³ doth gleam the east.

[119] (*Then enter the VIDŪṢAKA awake and the BRAHMANEE⁴ asleep*)

VIDŪṢAKA. Quick, mother of sons! up, and offer your morning prayer! Come, the night is past! Listen to the eulogy of the dawn by the royal bard, Karpūrakhaṇḍa! (*Reflecting*) How is it she doesn't break her slumber even now, sleeping⁵ in exhaustion from the wakefulness engendered by the queen's most weighty words? I'll wait, then, for Brahmans say, one who is sleeping soundly must not be waked.⁶ (*The BRAHMANEE talks in her sleep*)

¹ Compare the English proverb, "Caught like a rat in a trap."

² This word, which seems to be known thus far only here in Sanskrit literature, is doubtless the name of the imaginary realm over which Vidyādharamalla ruled. The smaller Petersburg lexicon is scarcely correct in making it the name of a prince, nor is it to be identified with the Karpūradvīpa mentioned above, p. 32.

³ The eyes of the cakora are supposed to become red at the sight of poison (Kullūka on Manu, vii. 217).

⁴ Her name is Piṅgalikā, see p. 62.

⁵ The scene is the sleeping apartments of Cārāyaṇa. While sleeping is technically forbidden on the Sanskrit stage (Wilson, i. xxvii.), both Vardhamāna and the vidūṣaka Māitreya sleep in the third act of the *Mṛchakatīkā*, and the latter, like Piṅgalikā here, talks in his sleep; Śakaṭadāsa sleeps in the fourth act of the *Mudrārāksasa*, and the vidūṣaka in the third act of the *Priyadarśikā*.

⁶ Manu, iv. 57.

(113) BRAHMANEE. From Vicakṣaṇā's lips the spouse of the queen hath heard¹ that "Mṛgānkāvalī, dear sister of the captive Mṛgānkavarman, is come [120] to see her brother in her love for him. Now, my maternal uncle, the noble Candravarman, and my aunt, Hāralatā, have said that 'this your sister,² Mṛgānkāvalī, is destined, according to astrologers, for universal sovereignty; you must make her win a husband fitting for her.'" Then the queen said to the king: "No spouse but you is fitted for her, since the ruby decks the single string of pearls. So wed her, sire! Your fortune should not pass unto another's hand. Nor is it strange that thy queen should be filled with thoughts for a rival to herself, since they say of daughters of noble lineage, 'What is dear to the spouse is dear, not what to herself is dear.' Nay, already I have caused thee, sire, to wed [121] Anaṅgalekhā, child of the king of Magadha³; Ratnāvalī; and Priyadarśanā,⁴ daughter of the prince of Mālava; Vilāsavatī, the offspring of Pañcāla's⁵ (114) lord; Kelimatī, child of Avanti's⁶ sovereign; Līlavatī, princess of the ruler of Jālandhara;⁷ and Patralekhā, daughter of the king of Kerala." So the great king gave assent, after she had said to him again and again, "The second watch to-day is the auspicious time for wedlock." Thus the king shall be tricked by a mock marriage to get even for the Mekhalā affair, and the retort to my angry brother⁸ will be: "Why, it's a marriage."

VIDŪṢAKA (*laughing*). God or heat⁹ will know who's tricked here! (*Reflecting*) Well, we'll make the old she-cat drink

¹These are quoted by Vicakṣaṇā as the queen's words.

²Really, of course, the queen's cousin.

³Southern Bihar (Lassen, 166-167; comp. Dey, 49-50).

⁴Possibly a direct allusion to the dramas *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā* (Apte, 28; and Konow, 185). Mālava, the modern Malwa, lay between the Vindhya on the south, the Aravalli range on the north, Dohad in the west, and Bhopal in the east (Lassen, 145-146).

⁵The country north and west of Delhi, between the foot of the Himalayas and the Chambal (Balfour, iii. 99).

⁶A district of ancient India corresponding to the modern Ujjain.

⁷The modern Jalandhar in the Punjab.

⁸*kuvidassa me bhāduassa*, Piṅgalikā thus seems to be the sister of Candravarman! Can one compare the fact that the wife of Rājasekhara, a Brahman, was Avantisundarī, a Rajput princess (Konow, 180)?

⁹Comp. the English "God or the devil."

sour gruel for milk for a (115) [122] while yet!¹ It was a fine game for Kuvalayamālā to marry a woman to a woman! (*Looking upward*) It's high time to wake the Brahmanee up! Brahmanee, get up, get up! the queen calls you!

BRAHMANEE (*arising with a gesticulation of awakening*). Oh, it's morning! (*Looking at him*) Here, you son-in-law of Mr̥gatr̥ṣṇikā! you go attend our sovereign lord, and I'll go to the queen. (*Walking about*)

(*Exeunt*)

(*End of the connecting-scene*)

[123] (*Enter the KING and the VIDŪṢAKA*)²

KING (*gesticulating the distress of love and grief*). Friend, now the fervent heat doth pass from out its infant stage!

To Love's behest e'en in the burning noon
Summer doth lure the wanderer of the night,
Yea, hardeneth the milk of cocoanuts,
And ripeneth the royal plantains sweet;
But at the hour of eve it bringeth joy.

And furthermore,

(116) Mantles of tender grass, and bracelets soft
Wrought of the dainty fibers of the lote;
Śiriṣa flowers nigh to rosy ears,
And radiant jasmies in the stead of pearls,
The while in summertime the fawn-eyed maids
Exhale from every limb the sandal sweet—
Nor spell nor charm save these doth Kāma need
That life should throb again throughout his veins.

[124] VIDŪṢAKA. Just so! The summer scorches bald-heads like us!

KING (*smiling dejectedly*). The sun doth parch the brow, and the dust in the path doth burn the feet. Therefore the king's spouse looks not on the sun.³ And furthermore,

¹ The vidūṣaka Gāutama also irreverently compares the queen Dhariṇī to a cat in the fourth act of the *Mālavikāgnimītra*, and the vidūṣaka repeats the proverb here given in *Karpūramāñjarī*, ii. 29, 11.

² The scene changes from the sleeping apartment of Cārāyaṇa to a part of the royal gardens near the courtyard of the zenana.

³ I. e., the heat is so intense that his (future) bride cannot leave her apartments.

Cool to the ear the flutes steal sense away,
 And tempting is the wine with water chilled;
 Yea, like to snow the breasts of fawn-eyed maids—
 While Kāma's grace surpasseth every joy.

[125] And thus, good friend, we hear,

Roots of young shrubs and fragrant jasmine bark,
 Sweet sandal sap, aśoka tendrils moist,
 Śirīṣa flowers tall, and plantains ripe—
 These be the cooling gifts fierce summer gave
 To flame-scorched Kāma in the days of yore.

(*Gesticulating discouragement*)

Two woes there be that coolth alone may heal,
 Yet if they be conjoined no man may bear—
 The burning radiance of the midday sun,
 And grief of parting from the well-beloved.¹

(117) [126] (*In the wing*)

The maids of long and curving feet that love the swing
 remove her anklets bent within their circling fingers. The
 golden bell,² its pearls astart from its circumference for close
 compression of their hands, is taken off and hidden by her
 friends. The mantle, trembling with the plucking, upraised
 fingers, is drawn from her swelling bust, o'er which doth lie a
 robe, loosed slightly from her slender stomach.³

KING (*to the VIDŪṢAKA, perceiving her delight in the swing
 with her friends*). Good friend,

[127] Oh, singer sweet as kinnaras⁴ divine,
 That in thy tossing swing dost take delight,
 Consumed by love, set thou me in thy heart,
 That Kāma's bow may gain the victory.

¹ Repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, v. 25; comp. *Karpūramañjarī*, iv. 2.

² A small golden jingling ornament.

³ Between this speech and the next, one of the manuscripts inserts a long section, translated in the appendix.

⁴ Celestial choristers and musicians, attendants on Kuvera, the god of wealth, and represented with the body of a man and the head of a horse.

VIDUṢAKA. It's pretty plain from Vicakṣaṇā's words that her heart has been given you *before* marriage !

KING. Now the four lines of the stanza are complete!

VIDUṢAKA. Read 'em to me, old chap!

[128] KING (*reads*).

Upon what limb doth tender youth write not?

Oh, winning wantonness in thy dear eyes,

(118) That steals my sight away for ecstasy—

Come, come thou to me, come, ah, come at last!

And furthermore,

From her fair throat she took the chain of pearls

And in my sleep she cast it round my neck;

Lo, thus I give to her her gift again

That on her bosom's circuit it may rest.

VIDUṢAKA (*gesticulating remembrance*). Ah, ha! now I'm going to ask a sticker!

KING. It's answered!

[129] VIDUṢAKA. What's the difference between Mṛgāṅkāvalī and Kuvalayamālā?

KING. Hush! *She's* another man's wife!¹

VIDUṢAKA. Do *I* know anything about the affairs of princes? Any way, the rustic calls the wife of his brother-in-law a half-wife,² so tell me, what's the difference between Mṛgāṅkāvalī and Kuvalayamālā?

KING. What's the difference between Mṛgāṅkāvalī and Kuvalayamālā?

(119) VIDUṢAKA. That's been said over and over; why do you say it again?

KING. Then I'll answer by a simile—as great as is the difference between liquid camphor and liquid aloes.³

[130] VIDUṢAKA. That's clear enough!

KING. This will show you,

¹ The wife of the supposed Mṛgāṅkavarman, who is really Mṛgāṅkāvalī.

² Apparently, since a second wife of his brother-in-law is co-wife with his own sister, so that he feels a strong interest in her.

³ Comp., perhaps, the English "difference between cheese and chalk," (the Sanskrit has *yad antaram ghanasārāgarusārayoḥ*).

All golden as the campak¹ Lāṭī² stands,
 But like to dūrvā-grass³ pale Kuntalī ;⁴
 Here gleam the gems, while there the white pearls shine—
 Fair mansions both for Love's most sweet disport,
 Yet doth the first surpass all earth can give.

It can't be possible, old chap, that the queen will have me marry!

VIDŪŚAKA. What's impossible about it? Such things *have* happened! (*Looking before him*) I see maid-servants of my kinswoman coming this way.

[131] KING. Who is your kinswoman?

VIDŪŚAKA. The queen.⁵

KING. (*smiling*). Come then, let's go to the picture hall. (*They do so*)⁶

(*Enter at the wing MAID-SERVANTS with baskets in their hands; all walk about*).

FIRST MAID-SERVANT. Tarañgikā! where can I see the great king?

(120) SECOND MAID-SERVANT. Where you see a man athrob with eagerness for his approaching marriage, Kurañgikā, my love!

ANOTHER MAID-SERVANT. Oh, Vicakṣaṇā, what's this Tarañgikā says? How can one who has wedded thousands of queens show such eagerness?

YET ANOTHER MAID-SERVANT. My dear Vicakṣaṇā! Don't you know *anything* about the ways of Love? A man in love is always eager!

[132] TARAÑGIKĀ (*looking before her*). There, near the door of the picture-gallery, I see our sovereign, his limbs all wan and wasted, attended by the noble Cārāyaṇa like the full moon at dawn followed by Saturn.⁷ (*All approach*) Victory, victory,

¹ *Michelia champaca*, Linn., a large tree, bearing rich orange flowers of exquisite fragrance (Roxburgh, 453; Balfour, ii. 942).

² Mṛgāñkāvalī.

³ *Panicum dactylon*, Linn., the common panic-grass of India (Roxburgh, 97).

⁴ Kuvalayamālā.

⁵ His wife is the sister of the husband of the queen's aunt!

⁶ The scene changes from a part of the royal gardens near the courtyard of the zenana to the vicinity of the picture-gallery.

⁷ A pale reflex of a shadowy lord.

sire ! The queen declares that the auspicious moment is at hand ! Therefore, array thyself, and hasten to the quadrangle of the nuptials !

KING. As the queen doth bid !

(121) VIDUṢAKA (*looking at himself*). Ladies, what is your reply in raiment and food for a kinsman ?

MAID-SERVANTS. We'll give it !

VIDUṢAKA. What will it be ?

[133] MAID-SERVANTS. What the aśoka longs for, and what the lordly god of triple gaze carries on his head.¹

VIDUṢAKA (*brandishing his staff*). Oh, you slaves ! Do you mock the mighty Brahman, the dear friend of the great king, the beloved of the Brahmanee, Piṅgalikā, and the reader of half a pāda of his sūtras?² I'll make your faces disgust your lovers with this staff, crooked as the souls of servant-girls like you !

TARAṄGIKĀ. Calm, sir, be calm ! The queen's women were jesting with you ; they thought they were your relatives !

(122) ANOTHER MAID-SERVANT. Don't joke any more ; Cārāyaṇa the noble is a Durvāsas,³ for he's illy clad !

TARAṄGIKĀ. He'll be well-clad before long ! That's [134] the reason we're making the regulation marriage festival. Sulakṣaṇā, Hārayaṣṭhī, Kalakaṇṭhī, Vasantalatā, Maṅgalikā, Kāmakelī, Mṛgāṅkalekhā, Bakulāvalī, Parabhṛtikā, Vicakṣaṇā, and Kalpalatā, prepare the deasil⁴ for the marriage with the binding of the bracelet of our sovereign skilled in love.

¹ A kick and a half-(w)ring for your neck. Comp. Vicakṣaṇā's taunt to the viduṣaka in *Karpūramañjarī*, i. 20, 27, and his reply, i. 20, 29, as well as the repartee in i. 20, 15-16.

² Comp. the viduṣaka's boast of his learning in *Karpūramañjarī*, i. 18, 1-2.

³ A pun, denoting both Durvāsas, an ascetic of proverbial irascibility, and 'wretchedly clothed.' The play on words fails, however, in the answering *suṅvāsa*.

⁴ While the canons of Sanskrit dramaturgy forbid the representation of a marriage (Lévi, 57 ; Wilson, i. xxvii.), Parvatī weds Śiva in the fifth act of the *Parvatīpariṇaya*, and Karpūramañjarī is married to Caṇḍapāla in the fourth act of the *Karpūramañjarī* (see also Winternitz, 60). The marriage-thread is also mentioned in the middle of the ninth act of the *Mālatīmādhava*.

(All approach and proffer red garments, saffron, the bracelet, flowers, etc.; the KING puts them on with a gesticulation; the VIDŪŚAKA adorns himself with the unguent, etc., left by the king)

VICAKṢAṆĀ. Why this delay, fair ladies? Let's enjoy things from the very first! Make them perfect! Sing and dance!

[135] VIDŪŚAKA. Ah, ha! I'll sing and dance with them!

KING. As you like.

(All sing and dance with the VIDŪŚAKA).

(In the wing)

Why do Vicakṣaṇā and the rest delay? Bring the great king to the quadrangle! The queen is there with her attendants!

(123) TARAṄGIKĀ. This way, this way, great king!¹

(All walk about, then enter the QUEEN, MRĠĀṆKĀVALĪ dressed as a young girl, and KUVALAYAMĀLĀ)

QUEEN (*aside*). My dear Kuvalayamālā, see how well girlish garb becomes your husband! (KUVALAYAMĀLĀ *laughs, averting her face*)

[136] KING (*aside*).

The noon am I, consumed with parching flame;

She is the eventide, her face its orb;

While this red cloth, that still doth sunder us,²

Is as the twilight, joining night to day.

QUEEN. Noble sire, unveil her face! Let the moon arise within thy mansion!

KING (*approaching and doing so, aside*).

All conquered sinks the moon, the lotus lord,

Before the wondrous radiance of her face,

For that her slender nose is as a reed

Bearing on either side a lotus blue—

So beauteous are the eyes of her I love.

¹ The scene changes from the vicinity of the picture-gallery to the Golden Quadrangle in the vicinity of the courtyard of the zenana.

² The screen set between the bride and groom at the wedding (Jackson, 326; comp. Modi, 29, 31).

QUEEN. Dear Mṛgāṅkāvalī, gaze upon the stars, and spread the couch of flowers! (MṚGĀṅKĀVALĪ *turning her eyes* [137] *hither and thither in abashment, gazes upward a long time*).

KING (*aside*).

Soft on the ground her glances gleam like pearls,
Yea, shine as ketakas through all the world,
(124) And fill the sky with moonbeams radiant.

VIDUṢAKĀ (*aside*). Kuvalayamālā is almost drinking you in with lustrous sidelong glances!

KING. 'Tis so!

Oh, sweet the madding glances of thine eyes,
Long as the conduit of some limpid stream
And curving like a ploughshare or a carp!
'Tis they that fill my soul with all Love's power,
And bring to me thy face beyond compare.

[138] But yet she is another's wife!

VIDUṢAKĀ. She's yours, you mean, in course of love!

QUEEN (*aside, to KUVALAYAMĀLĀ*). See your own husband married by my noble lord! (*Aloud*) Honored sire, now have the deasil walked, and let parched grain be scattered in the fire. (*The KING, having led her around, seats himself*)

PORTRESS (*entering*). Sire, at the door noble Bhāgurāyaṇa stands with the chief messenger of Candrarvarman, the queen's maternal uncle. (*The KING looks toward the QUEEN*)

(125) QUEEN. Let him enter without delay!

[139] PORTRESS. Even so! (*Exit*)

(*Then enter BHĀGURĀYAṆA and the MESSENGER*)

BOTH. Victory! victory to the king, Trilīṅga's sovereign!

BHĀGURĀYAṆA. Here is the messenger from Lāṭa's lord.

KING. Enter! Doth Candrarvarman bid us greeting?

MESSENGER. With the favor of the king!

QUEEN. Greetings from me to Hāralatā, my maternal uncle's wife!

MESSENGER. Thy further pleasure?

QUEEN. Do my elders remember me?

MESSENGER. One's own soul forgets! ¹ (*To the QUEEN*)
Thy maternal uncle's son doth greet thee (*all gesticulate joy*),
and our sovereign bids me say :

“I had no son, so Mṛgānkāvalī
I feigned to be a man-child, and 'tis she
That my chief minister hath brought to you.

[140] “To-day a son doth glorify my house,
And therefore her, most dainty and most fair,
Skilled in all arts and sportsome in her mood,
Yet knowing well decorum's every rule—
Yea, Mṛgānkāvalī, who, fate foretells,
Shall wed a prince to rule o'er all the world,
Shouldst thou now give unto some lord of earth
With glory radiant as great Indra's own.”

(126) BHĀGURĀYAṆA (*aside*). Mine intellect, that twineth around
the tree of politics, beareth fruit.

VIDUṢAKA (*raising his hand*). See, she's given and wedded !
Don't you see on the forearm the circling bridegroom's bracelet
of pink thread belonging to my dear old chum and Mṛgānkā-
valī? ² (*All are astonished*)

QUEEN (*aside*). See what evil tricks fate plays ! My merry
game of feigned device has turned out true ! (*After reflection*)
[141] It can't be helped ! (*Aloud*) Noble sir, even without
my maternal uncle's bidding, I should have her wed !

MESSENGER. Oh, queen, the minds of those like you, even
when they work by chance, achieve success !

VIDUṢAKA (*aside*). Ah, ha ! the queen's sorry now !

KING. Full true ! Fate giveth weal to all according to
desert !

QUEEN (*aside*). Alas ! I've missed the way of my [142]
intent, but their continued fortune lasteth still !

(127) MEKHALĀ. Since the queen's giving us the noble bluff,
let's play the game out ! When the water's gone, what's the
use of a bridge ? When the marriage is over, what's the good
of looking at the stars ! ³

¹ I. e., I forgot all about that !

² This portion of the marriage ceremony seems to be of late develop-
ment (Haas, 311-312, 386 ; Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, i. 223 ;
comp. Modi, 30-31).

³ “There's no use crying over spilled milk.”

VIDUṢAKA. Oh, crest-jewel of ministers, thou art a new Cāṇakya !¹ Bhāgurāyaṇa, Kuvalayamālā, too, belongs to my old chum, for great sages say :

Wife, slave, and son have naught that is their own,
For all they gain belongeth to their lord.²

MESSENGER. Ah, what skill in tradition on the part of Cārāyaṇa, the great king's boon companion !

BHĀGURĀYAṆA. Cārāyaṇa's right ! Come now, oh, queen ! Wed her, too, with this very bracelet !

QUEEN. As the great minister will !

VIDUṢAKA (*taking* KUVALAYAMĀLĀ's *hand and placing it in* (128) *the KING's*). Ah, ha ! The rustic calls the wife of his brother-in-law a half-wife, but [144] you're whole wives ! (*All laugh ; the Queen forces a smile. To the MAID-SERVANTS*) You sing and dance, and I'll sing and dance, for the wedding's all over ! (*They do so*)

MṚGĀṆKĀVALĪ (*aside, smiling*). Come, Kuvalayamālā, embrace me ! Since you're a wife, we're co-wives.

BHĀGURĀYAṆA (*aside, gesticulating a twitching of the right eye*).³ I don't know what other cause of joy there can be !

PORTRESS (*entering*). Your majesty ! At the door stands Kuraṅgaka, come with a letter from Vatsa, the commander-in-chief.

KING. Let him enter ! (*Exit* PORTRESS)

[145] (*Then enter* KURAṅGAKA)

KURAṅGAKA (*bowing*). Victory, victory, sire !
(*Presents the letter*)

BHĀGURĀYAṆA (*takes it and reads*).

“ All hail to thee, oh, king ! In Nṛpurī⁴

Where sound the rolling waves of Narmadā,

¹ A famous Brahman, the minister of Candragupta (Sandrokottos), whom he helped to establish the Maurya dynasty. He is the hero of Viśākhadatta's drama, *Mudrārāksasa* and the putative author of the *Cāṇakyanūti* (comp. Klatt, *De Trecentis Cāṇakyaæ Pœtæ Indici Sententiis*, 15, and Kressler's translation in his *Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit*, 151-195).

² Comp. Manu, viii. 416 (*Ind. Spr.* 4570).

³ A good omen.

⁴ Apte, 46-47, reads, on the basis of a Tanjore manuscript, *Tripurī* and *Kalacurī*. Tripurī seems to be the modern Tevur on the Narmada,

Śrīvatsa, lord of all thy host, doth bend
 Before Karpūravara, his dear lord,
 (129) In love and awe, his hands upon his brow ;
 While widowed dames of haughty Murala
 Abase their eyes unto his lotus feet.”

And something better than that is written here : “ Through the valor of thee, the royal adornment of Karaculi, through the perspicuous understanding of the great minister, Bhāgurāyaṇa, and through the execution of orders on the part of wretched soldiers like me, all the tyrant princes in the eastern, western [146] and northern regions were reduced to subjection. Only the monarchs of the south were still seen to stand. But even there the news was told, and Virapāla, the lord of Kuntala, deprived of his sovereignty by a kinsman, came to the king for refuge, and, in obedience to the king’s command, we placed him at our head, and camped on the banks of the Payoṣṇī.¹ And then,

“ Kārṇāṭa cunning in the fray, Ceylon
 Of lion’s deeds, Pāṇḍya² of deadly blade,
 The lord of Murala³ with horses stout,
 Āndhra⁴ of flawless valor in the field,
 Bold Kuntala, lord of the radiant spear,
 And Koṅkaṇa,⁵ with other monarchs brave
 All, all did band together ’gainst our host.

six miles from Jabalpur. It is possible, however, that the names are intentionally mutilated for purposes of disguise, or that the geography is imaginary. There is little evidence here to show that Nṛpurī was Vidyādharamalla’s capital, as Apte thought. It seems rather to have been a town, perhaps a captured city, whence Vatsa despatched his messenger to the king.

¹ “ Evidently the modern Purna, a feeder of the Tapi ” [in Berar], Apte, 51 ; comp. Lassen, 686-687).

² A district of ancient India corresponding to the modern districts of Tinneveli and Madura in the extreme south-east of India (Dey, 67 ; Lassen, 191-195).

³ A tribe on the banks of Muralā (the modern Narbada, flowing from the Western Ghats to the Arabian Sea), identified by Apte, 51, with the Keralas.

⁴ A district of ancient India between the Godāvarī and Kistna in Madras (Apte, 49, Dey 4).

⁵ The modern Konkan in the Bombay Presidency.

[147] "Meanwhile, our forces joined battle with them."

KING. Valorous in deeds of battle is Kārṇāṭa !

BHĀGURĀYAṆA (*recites*). "Then,

'My love the dead crushed 'neath the tusker's feet ;'

'Ah, dear to me the foe with spears transfixed ;'

'For yon convulsing corpse my soul doth yearn ;'

'This frowning, severed brow my heart's desire ;'¹

Thus cried, as ye have heard, the maids divine

That choose them spouses on the blood-stained field.

"But what need of writing more? We defeated them, and placed Vīrapāla on his throne.² The rest may be learned from Kuraṅgaka's mouth."

KURAṅGAKA. My mouth is like that of a drum, your majesty ; not a sound is there.³

(130) [148] KING. They whose mouths are letters, bear letters.

BHĀGURĀYAṆA. Therefore, now,

Unto the eastern strand where Ganges flows,

And in the south to Tāmraparṇī's⁴ wave,

Where in the west the sea greets Narmadā,

Yea, to the milky ocean in the north

That joys in streams⁵ from dancing Śiva's locks

Doth rule the monarch of Karacūli.

(*Saluting the KING*) Can I do thee service more ?

[149] KING. E'en greater joy than this is mine,

The anger of my queen hath passed away,

Sweet Mṛgānkāvalī, my love, is won ;

¹ Each of these four lines is spoken by a different Apsaras, or celestial hetera, who, like the Norse valkyr, chooses a lover from the heroes slain in battle. The stanza is repeated in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, viiii. 11.

² Comp. the success of Vatsa's troops in the fourth act of the *Ratnāvalī*, the victory of the forces of Vatsarāja, and the restoration of Dṛdhavarman, Vatsarāja's ally, to his throne by his friend's army, at the close of the *Priyadarśikā*. In the *Ratnāvalī*, moreover, as in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā*, the news is told the king by the prime minister, aided by an envoy from the general of the royal army.

³ I do not speak unless desired. The king's answer seems to convey a reproof.

⁴ The modern Tambraparni in Tinneveli (Apte, 48 ; Lassen, 192).

⁵ The Ganges.

Brave Kuntala's fair daughter, once a bride
 Unto another, weds with me at last ;
 While by your wisdom and great Vatsa's might
 My sovereignty doth spread o'er all the world—
 What blessings more than these could heart desire ?¹

So be it then !

As beauteous as the broad and snowy breast
 On the left side of dread Bhavānī's lord ;²
 As eager as great Viṣṇu's arms to twine
 In close embrace about fair Lakṣmī's neck ;
 As skilful as the hands of mighty Brahm
 To shape the forms that move through all the world :
 So goodly and so sweet are sages' words
 That every ear should quaff in ecstasy.

[150] (Exeunt omnes)

END OF ACT IV.

APPENDIX.

Arte's manuscript B, "complete but very badly written," inserts the following passage at 59. It is, in all probability, a late interpolation.

(1) Caught by their hands and in their fingers clasped,
 Yea, resting on their long and rounded throats,
 The cords of pearls, tossed by the lofty swing,
 Now leave the beauteous cirelets of their breasts.

In rhythmic beat their dainty arms are raised,
 While with their slender hands they fain would hold
 Their bracelets that the welling sweat bedews.

Entangled in their nails, their tresses long
 Stream in the breeze and softly kiss their hips,
 Wherefrom their heavy girdles slowly fall.

¹ Comp. *Karpūramañjarī*, iv. 23. The situation and sentiment are strikingly paralleled in the closing speech of the king in the *Priyadarśikā* (comp. also the close of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*).

² Śiva and Pārvatī conjoined in one body, the right half male and the left half female (see Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, plates 7, 24).

Unto their upturned eyes sink massy locks,
Wherein a moment's space the cavern stays
That marks the spot where tiny fingers twined.

With perfumes decked, bright gleams the wondrous place
Encircled by the zone of furrows three,
Where tips of rosy nails full featly write.

(2) Now fast descending, with their hollowed hands
They cleanse the dew of summer's heat away,
And shade averted faces with their palms.

Such be the deeds of those attendant maids
That wait upon thy love, oh, lord of men,
Proclaiming all the summer's weal and woe.

KING (*listening*). Even so,

On his white jasmine bow great Kāma lays
His arrow of the trumpet-flower red,
Eager to conquer all the triple world,
And makes his shrine within the hearts of dames
That bathe them as the eventide draws nigh.

VIDŪṢAKA. You're easily hidden now ! Let's know what
happened last night, for since the day the dream was seen the
queen has been wrathful again and again, and cooled down again
and again, so that Piṅgalikā, my wife, is sour one day and
sweet the next.

KING. Right you are ! When a tendril of the kāravella¹
plant climbs a soap-berry tree and gets sprinkled with sea-water,
do you say that it stays bitter ? It's no wonderful event, but
yet,

That starry chamberlain, the lord of night,
On whom mine eyes are fixed, comes not to me ;
Nor have I heard the wondrous pañcama,
The note of omen good that joys the ear ;

¹ *Momodica charantia*, Linn., a vegetable with a large bitter fruit,
which is eaten before it ripens, especially in curries. The fruit is
soaked in salt and water before dressing (Balfour, ii. 971).

The tender glances of yon maiden slim
 Stray here and there, but look on me askance ;
 And I may never quaff ambrosia sweet
 Drawn from the amorous lips of her I love.

(3) VIDŪṢAKA. Well, lovers are half fools, and girls mock them with their glances and their gait. Tell me what the devil *is* the matter !

KING. Why do you ask me here ? Ask the friend of love there.

Each glance shot from the coign of maidens' eyes,
 Each step while slow their arms sway to and fro,
 Each stammering word of witchery divine,
 Methinks is nectar sweet from Kāma's fount.

VIDŪṢAKA. Say, *she* must be in a funk today !

KING. She *is*, old chap, for with departing day Vicakṣaṇā came to me and told me of her plight.

VIDŪṢAKA. With what letter ?

KING. Listen,

Like to a tossing swing the sighs she breathes,
 And as a waterfall her tearful eyes ;
 All sear her blossom of the tagara,¹
 Yea, pale her cheek, and faint—how faint!—those limbs,
 Nigh which the crescent of the silvern moon
 Seems gross and great, e'en on its natal eve.

And furthermore,

Ah, let the betel climb the betel-palm,
 The night find union with her chosen lord ;
 So yon sweet songstress make thy heart her own,
 And Kāma win him mighty victory.

¹ *Tabernaemontana coronaria*, Roxb., a shrub bearing waxy double flowers of a pure white color and a faint pleasant odor, which becomes delightfully fragrant at night (Roxburgh, 249 : Balfour, iii. 797-798).

Seven Emendations of the Text of the Rig Veda.—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

1. Emend, in RV. viii. 18. 13, ririṣiṣṭa yúr to ririṣiṣṭayúr, as metrical equivalent of prose ririṣiṣṭāyúr = ririṣiṣṭa + āyúr.

One of the most extraordinary bits of RigVeda tradition is contained in viii. 18. 13, which reads as follows:

yó naḥ kás cid ríriṣṭati
 rakṣastvéna mártyaḥ,
 svāīḥ śá évāi ririṣiṣṭa yúr jánaḥ.

The first two pādas are clear: 'The mortal who with demonic practices desires to harm us' We can guarantee beforehand that he who is so minded will himself come to grief. The Pet. Lexs., under 4 *yu*, and Grassmann in his Lexicon, surmise dvayúr for yúr. This yields the following result: 'May that treacherous man come to harm by his practices.' But dvayúḥ occurs twice in the next two stanzas; why should it have been corrupted here to yúḥ? And ririṣiṣṭa, from the reduplicated stem, ought to mean 'do harm,' 'injure,' rather than 'take harm,' 'be injured.'

Ludwig (124) retains yúr as it stands and translates: 'Dieser rührige mensch leide schaden durch seine eigene weise.' Aside from the same fault in the rendering of the causative ririṣiṣṭa the word yúr remains anomalous in form and meaning. I think the passage can be cured without leaving any problematic remnants. The metrical reading of the passage is as follows:

suāīḥ śá évāi ririṣiṣṭayúr jánaḥ,

where ririṣiṣṭayúr is the metrical equivalent of prose ririṣiṣṭāyúr = ririṣiṣṭa + āyúr. The syllable ṣṭā has been shortened metrically to ṣṭā because it is required to be short in the critical final cadence of the verse line, and is besides preceded by a long syllable. The translation of the entire stanza is, 'The mortal who with demonic practices desires to harm us, may that person by his own doings injure his life.' That ririṣiṣṭa is causative and not

intransitive may be seen from RV. vi. 51. 7, closely parallel to our passage: svayám̐ rípus̐ tanvám̐ rírīṣīṣṭa, 'May the rascal injure his own person.' It will be observed that rírīṣīṣṭa in viii. 18. 13, and rírīṣīṣṭa in vi. 51. 7 are metrical doublets in different positions in the verse-line. They also illustrate the domination of metrical need over quantity. A neat parallel, too, from a similar sphere, that is, concerning an impious man, is RV. viii. 97. 3, svāh̐ śá évāir̐ mumurat̐ póṣyam̐ vāsu, 'May he by his own doings destroy the thrift of his property.' Here we notice the causative mumurat as the parallel to the causatives rírīṣīṣṭa and rírīṣīṣṭa.

The emendation in the passage under discussion consists therefore only of making a continuous batch of syllables out of the Saṁhitā's rírīṣīṣṭa yúr, namely, rírīṣīṣṭayúr, and considering it the metrical equivalent for prose rírīṣīṣṭāyúr. We are familiar with these strenuous changes of quantity for meter's sake in single words like adīdīpam and calācala; in two words like pibā-piba. In my articles 'On ṛcīṣama, an epithet of Indra,'¹ and, 'The god Indra and the Sāma-Veda,'² I think I have shown that quantitative metathesis for meter's sake can take place across the seam of a compound. I now note virāṣāt̐ for vīraṣāt̐, 'holding men,' RV. i. 35. 6, in the final cadence of a triṣṭubh: . . . bhūvane virāṣāt̐. Probably also duvasanāso, metrical for duvasānāso in RV. iv. 6. 10, śyenāso ná duvasanāso ártham, 'like eagles going to a distance.' Here the metrical change takes place in the syllable before the final cadence, also a critical place where a short syllable is needed. We may suspect also the word janāyanāḥ in AV. xii. 1. 47. It occurs in the line, yé te pánthāno bahávo janāyanāḥ, and the Padapāṭha analyzes it as jana + āyanāḥ. But this class of compounds generally have yāna for their second member, e. g. devayāna,³ pitryāna, rathayāna, whereas āyana is prevailingly compounded with prepositions, āyana, udāyana, upāyana, nyāyana, parāyana, práyana, etc. It certainly looks as though yé te pánthāno bahávo janāyanāḥ was substituted in a metrically

¹ JAOS. xxi. 50 ff.

² *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xvii. 156 ff.

³ Note in the AV. itself, iii. 15. 2; vi. 55. 1, yé pánthāno bahávo devayānāḥ; in TS. 2. 3. 14. 4, yé te 'ryaman bahávo devayānāḥ; in TS. 5. 7. 2. 3, yé catvāraḥ patháyo devayānāḥ.

too conscientious mood for *yé te pánthāno bahávo janayānāh*. As far as is known, the metrical shortening of a long vowel, when the result of *saṁdhi* in the seam of a compound, is shown here for the first time in *ririṣiṣṭāyúr* for *ririṣiṣṭāyúr*.

2. Emend, in RV. i. 30. 16, *sá no to sáno*=*sánas*, in the sense of 'success.'

RV. i. 30. 16, in the main a good stanza, reads as follows:

śásvad índrah pópruthadbhir jigāya
nánadadbhiḥ śásvasadbhir dhánāni,
sá no hiraṇyathān daṁsánāvān
sá naḥ sanitā sanāye sá no 'dāt.

'Ever does Indra with mightily foaming, neighing, snorting steeds conquer wealth.' Thus the first hemistich. Supposing now that we substitute for the second tautological *sá no* in the fourth *pāda* some accusative, say a word for 'success,' then the second hemistich runs as follows: 'He the wonder-working god has given us a golden chariot; he the successful (*sanitā*) has given us success (*sáno*) unto succeeding (*sanāye*).' This, I believe, is the way the *pāda* once stood. For the second *sá no* we must assume, without changing the sound in any way, an accusative neuter *sáno*=*sánas*, an *as*-stem, which, so far as I know, is not otherwise quotable. Therefore the *Padapāṭha* misunderstood the word, and divided it into *sá no*. The impression that all this is as I have assumed is strengthened not a little by such a passage as ApŚ. xvi. 29. 2, *sanir asi sanāi tvā saneyam*, 'Success art thou, unto succeeding may I obtain thee.' Here *sanāi tvā saneyam* paraphrases fairly well (barring the change of person) the words *sanāye sáno* 'dāt, as I have proposed to restore the RV. passage. A parallel version of the same formula, *sanir asi sanitāsi saneyam*, TS. i. 6. 4. 4; AŚ. i. 11. 1; ŚŚ. i. 15. 12, contains the additional *sanitā* of the RV. passage.

3. Emend, in RV. iii. 5. 5, *ripó* to *rupó*, in the sense of 'ascents.'

An evil fate has attended the tradition and explanation of a feminine stem *rip*, which occurs three times in the *RigVeda*, and after a necessary correction a fourth time. In RV. iii. 5. 5 occurs a stanza, addressed to *Agni*, which is quite clear in form and meaning except for the single word *ripó*.

pāti priyām ripó ágram padám véh
 páti yahvás cáraṇam sūryasya,
 páti nábhā saptásīrṣānam agniḥ
 páti devānām upamádam ṛṣvāh.

The last three pādas are clear : 'He, the young (Agni), guards the course of the sun ; Agni guards at his navel (birth-place) the seven-headed (god) ; he the high one guards the feast of the gods.' Now the first pāda, which contains ripó, occurs a second time in the RigVeda, iv. 5. 8, with rupó for ripó. Yet Bergaigne¹ translates it as it stands by, 'He guards the summit of deceit which is dear to him—the dwelling of the bird.' Ludwig (306) substitutes rupó for ripó, and translates it by earth, following Sāyaṇa (bhūmināma) : 'Er schützt den lieben hochort der erde.' Doubtless rupó is to be substituted for ripó. But the entire stanza describes some kind of solar paradise of which Agni is in charge. The western lexicons, following native scholastic lead, translate rúp by 'cow.' I think we can go less far afield: rúp means 'height,' 'ascent,' being a back-formation from the causative stem ropaya, and therefore the equivalent of rúh 'height,' 'ascent.' Now that fits patly in RV. iii. 5. 5, and also in iv. 5. 8 : 'He guards the dear summit of the height—the dwelling of the bird.' In RV. x. 13. 3 we have páñca padāni rupó ánv aroham. 'Five steps along the ascents I have ascended': here rupó is cognate accusative after aroham. Cf. rúho ruroha, AV. xiii. 1. 4 ; 3. 26 ; róhanti púrvyā rúhaḥ, MS. iv. 12. 2 : 181. 15, and rohám-roham áruroha, TB. 2. 5. 2. 1. In the obscure pāda RV. iv. 5. 7, ágre rupá árupitam jábāru, which is made opaque by the ἀπ. λεγ. jábāru, the word árupitam is certainly not to be derived from rup 'break,' as the lexicons would have it. The words ágre rupá árupitam, one way or another, mean, 'ascend the summit of the ascent.'

The word rúp figures only in the midst of cosmic turgid passages. The presence in our RV. redaction of one and the same pāda, one time with rupó, another time with ripó, would seem to show that the meaning of rupó had become obscure at

¹ *Quarante Hymnes du Rig-Veda (publiés par Victor Henry)*, p. 8. See also Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, vol. ii, p. 77 f.

the time the Sainhitā was put into the shape in which it has come down to us.

4. Emend, perhaps, in RV. viii. 29. 6, pīpāya to pīyāya.

One of the riddle-stanzas of RV. viii. 29, a hymn which seems to me to be a nivid or invitation¹ to ten varieties of gods, is addressed to Pūṣan. It is stanza 6 :

pathá ékaḥ pīpāya táskaro yathāñ
eṣá veda nidhīnām.

Ludwig (231) makes a strong literal translation which would be all right if one could have confidence in the resulting sense : 'Vom wege wird der eine fett wie ein dieb ; er weiss wo die schätze sind.' I cannot believe that Pūṣan is really depicted by the poet as getting fat on highway robbery, even though the word 'robber' is introduced in a poetic comparison. Geldner and Kaegi, *Siebenzig Lieder*, p. 129, translate much more plausibly : 'One lurks on the road like a robber ; he knows where the treasures are.' This must be nearly the correct sense, but how can pīpāya mean 'lurk'. I would suggest pīyāya, from pí=ápi, and iyāya 'goes', and render : 'One travels upon the roads,' etc.

5. Emend, in RV. vi. 49. 15, abhí ca krámāma to abhí cákra-
māma.

The gods collectively are addressed, RV. vi. 49. 15, in the plain words of the following hemistich :

ksāyamañ dātājārañ yéna jánān
spṛdhō ádevīr abhí ca krámāma
vísā ádevīr abhy āśnāvāma.

'Give us imperishable dwellings from which we may advance against the godless enemy, reach the godless enemy.' The word ca in the second of these lines without correlative ca in the third line is certainly to be eliminated by reading cákramāma for ca krámāma. Then the sense is as given above without disturbance.

6. Emend, in RV. i. 119. 8, itá ūtīḥ to itáūtīḥ.

RV. i. 119. 8, speaking of the well-known characteristic of the Aśvins as helpers in need, reads as follows :

¹See the author in the *Transactions of the Congress of Arts and Science*, St. Louis, 1904, vol. ii, p. 486 f.

svàrvatīr itā ūtīr yuvór áha
citrá abhíke abhavann abhíṣṭayaḥ.

Ludwig (30) translates : 'Liechtreich da war eure hilfe, wunderbar in der nähe war euer beistand.' Here itāḥ is rendered, rather lightly, by 'then,' but no real objection can be raised until we note the quite common compound itāūti. This fits even better : 'Your heavenly, wonderful aid, that helped out of this (difficult situation) was then at hand.' The difficult situation is described in the first hemistich of the stanza : Bhujyu, the son of Tugra, is wailing because he has been abandoned in the depth by his own father.

7. Emend, in RV. iii. 36. 7, samudréṇa to samudré na.

Two stanzas of the RV. contain what seems to be one and the same pāda in different orthography: once, vi. 19. 5, samudré ná síndhavo yádamānāḥ; the other time, iii. 36. 7, samudréṇa síndhavo yádamānāḥ. The stanza vi. 19. 5, dealing with god Indra, is as follows:

dhṛtāvrató dhanadāḥ sómavṛddhah
sá hí vāmāsya vásunah puruṣúḥ,
sām jagmire pathyā ráyo asmin
samudré ná síndhavo yádamānāḥ.

'Upholding law, giving wealth, strengthened by soma, he verily richly disposes of pleasant goods. The paths of wealth have met in him as rivers uniting in the sea.' The reading samudré ná here stands unquestioned, because there is a comparison which must be expressed by ná, and because the locative samudré corresponds to the locative asmin. We could not here read by any chance samudréṇa síndhavo yádamānāḥ.

The other stanza, RV. iii. 36. 7, reads as follows:

samudréṇa síndhavo yádamānā
índrāya sóman sūsutam bhárantah,
aṅśúm duhanti, etc.

Ludwig (502) renders the passage as follows: 'Mit dem meere zusammen strebend die flüsse, dem Indra gut gekelerten soma bringend, es pressen den stamm sie . . .' The first pāda thus translated does not connect with the rest, and will not do so until we substitute a reading that contains a comparison; in other words, we must here read samudré ná síndhavo yádamānāḥ.

Then the rendering is as follows: 'Bringing well pressed soma to Indra, as rivers uniting in the sea, they extract (the soma) from the stems (of the soma-plant) . . .' The comparison expresses the well-known notion that Indra's drinking capacity is so great as fairly to require lakes of soma unto its satisfaction. The next stanza states this without circumlocution: *hradá iva kuṣṣáyaḥ somadhánāḥ*, 'His belly-cavities, holding soma, are like lakes.' A good parallel is RV. x. 43. 7:

*ápo ná síndhum abhí yát samákṣaran
sómāsa índram kulyá iva hradám.*

Cf. also RV. i. 8. 7; 52. 7, and the passages under the head of *kuṣṣí* in Grassmann's Lexicon.

The Abolition of the Competitive Examinations in China.—

By JOHN C. FERGUSON, Ph.D., Shanghai, China.

IN a paper read by Dr. W. A. P. Martin before the Society in 1868 at Boston, a brilliant account was given of the examination system in China by which officials were selected. It was pointed out as a model from which useful lessons might be taken by the United States in framing rules for the civil service examinations which were being discussed at that time. In view of the many praises which have been bestowed upon the system by foreign writers, it may be well to record in the Journal of this Society the last judgment pronounced on the system by the leading men of China. During the summer of 1905, the Memorial which follows was presented to the Throne by the men whose names are given and who represent every shade of public thought in China. This Memorial was followed by an Imperial Edict of September 2, 1905, by which the examination system was abolished.

Memorial.

A Joint Memorial by the Tartar General of Moukden, Chao Er Hsuan, the Viceroy of Chihli, Yuan Shih Kai, the acting Viceroy of Liang Kiang, Chow Fu, the Viceroy of Hu Kwang, Chang Chih Tung, the acting Viceroy of Liang Kwan, Tsen Chun-hsien, the Governor of Hunah, Tuan Fang, respectfully presented for Imperial consideration, in which the urgent need of national preservation, due to the strenuous difficulties of the times, is pointed out and the proposal to abolish the system of examinations and to promote the establishment of schools is made, together with careful and safe plans for the carrying out of the scheme.

The defects of the system of examinations have been spoken of in detail by men of ancient and recent times, and your memorialists Shih Kai and Chih Tung have also presented several memorials for Imperial consideration in which it was shown that this system was a hindrance to the establishment of schools. The arguments used in these Memorials need not be repeated.

Recently an Imperial Edict has been issued for the gradual abolition of the system of examinations extending over a period of three triennial examinations, so that after ten years all promotions should be made from schools. This deep and far-reaching plan for the promotion of schools has been published to the people of the Empire as the basis of reform and the need of the times. In meditating upon the general conditions and considering carefully the trend of the times, your memorialists have become aware that the urgency of present circumstances is greater than ever before and that in the united exercise of our utmost strength an hour is worth thousands of gold. As long as the system of examinations is not abolished, students will trust to their good fortune for obtaining the highest degrees, and their desire for the difficult work of real betterment will be diverted. The people will follow their example, and the hope for the establishment of private schools will be very small. The resources of the Government not being adequate, it is certain that there will be no general movement for the opening of schools. If at the present time the system of examinations were abolished and schools were universally established, it would require more than ten years before men of talent could be produced; but if there is a further delay of ten years while the system is being gradually abolished and schools are slowly being opened, it will be more than twenty years before there will be men of talent available for use, since the process of education is one that cannot be hurried. Our strong neighbors are pressing in upon us and can we delay? During recent years all countries have been hoping that we should reform and have been urging us to change our system. They have all had misgivings that we are bound up to old systems, and have ridiculed us as being like a rat looking in both directions, undecided which one to take. While there is this general disbelief and no change has been made in the spirit of contempt, in the twinkling of an eye peace will be restored between Japan and Russia and the affairs of China will be in a still more dangerous condition. Then there will be a rude awakening, which will scatter general disbelief and destroy accumulated contempt. Such a system of examinations has long been considered a source of reproach by foreigners, but schools are considered to be the chief factor in a reformed government. As soon as conservative methods

are boldly and rigorously abandoned and new methods adopted, those who see and hear what is being done will all use their best endeavors to treat with us on a basis of mutual respect, and the students from China who are pursuing their studies in foreign countries will also receive encouragement. Emphasizing the importance of schools will obviate the possibility of being carried away by gross superstition and idle rumors. The value of men of intelligence equipped with useful knowledge cannot be over-estimated. The establishment of schools is not solely for the training of learned men but for the general dissemination of knowledge among the people, so that all may receive the advantages and acquired powers of an elementary education. This will result in patriotic loyalty to the country and in increased ability to earn a livelihood. Those who show that they have higher abilities can be employed as officials, and those of less attainments will not fail to be useful members of the community. Soldiers, farmers, artisans, and merchants will all follow their respective business with intelligent zeal. Women and children will not be left in idleness, but schools will be established in the homes of the people. No place will be without a school and no person without an education. If this method be followed, why should our country not become wealthy and strong? Those who have carefully studied the situation know that the secret of Prussia's victory over France and of Japan's over Russia lay in their primary schools; in fact, the root of prosperity and strength is in the establishment of schools, and in this respect it is now only China that lags in the rear. If the examination system is not abolished and the schools are not established, how can general intelligence grow among students and people? Hence, if it is desired to avert threatening dangers, the commencement must be made in the establishment of schools, and in order to establish schools the examination system must be first abolished. This is the reason that prompts your memorialists to suggest the abolition of the examination system, so that learning may be diffused, literary ability encouraged, the people civilized, good customs established, the country pacified in her internal relations and respected by her powerful neighbors.

Although the examination system may be abolished, there are several important matters to be attended to, and the first of

these in importance is that due regard should be paid to classical learning. There are those who fear that when these examinations are abolished classical learning will be neglected. Under the old system it was necessary to be able to recite and explain the Classics in order to write on the subjects assigned for essays, but apart from the Four Books and Five Classics other classical studies were not pursued. Even all of the Five Classics were not studied and those which were studied were often not understood. How could such a system tend to the encouragement of classical learning? In the present system of education, which has received Imperial sanction, the study of the Classics is emphasized. There will be no lessening of the study or explanation of the Classics either in the primary or secondary schools, the purpose being that pupils who have finished the courses of these schools shall have studied Ten Classics so as to understand them. In the colleges there will be a special department for classical study in which history, literature, and philosophy will be studied. It will thus be seen that all of the ancient learning will be included in the curricula of the schools and none of it will be lost. It might even be said that the schools will make this learning of greater importance. Our only concern is that those who manage schools may pay more attention to the new than to the old learning in disobedience of the regulations. This would result in the production of men who had no moral standards, and would therefore be useless to their country. For this reason we beg that your Majesties will command the viceroys and governors of the various provinces to instruct those in charge of schools to give strict attention to classical learning and to the literature and history of their country. In this way such learning will daily increase in importance and will run no risk of being neglected.

A second important matter which needs attention is that emphasis should be placed upon personal character. Under the old system students were only examined as to the quality of their literary attainments, but no attention was paid to their character, with the result that there was often a feeling of shame as to the attainments of students in this respect. In the present regulations for schools, however, it is provided that in addition to their examination in literary subjects, they shall also be given marks for conduct. These marks will be given

to students for six things, viz: good conversation, careful personal appearance, attention to etiquette, diligence, intercourse with friends, and conduct on the street. When students are examined in their studies an average will be made between these marks and those for daily conduct. This matter should also form the subject of a special edict to viceroys and governors of the various provinces.

A third important matter is the immediate establishment of normal schools. The greatest cause of concern is not that there are no schools or no funds to establish them, but that there are no teachers. A special edict should also be issued commanding the provinces to send pupils who have finished their secondary studies to foreign countries to take courses in normal studies, some longer and some shorter. The selection of men who have already taken their first and second degrees would be still more advisable. If normal schools are established in all the provinces, teachers will be trained and the first step taken toward the advancement of schools.

A fourth important subject is that only students who have finished their courses of study shall be drafted into service. The courses of various schools differ in length, but if students are taken from the schools before their courses have been completed great injury will be done. It is much better that there should be a delay in securing men than that their studies should be interrupted. In the meantime, in addition to employing such men as have finished their studies, a temporary measure should be adopted by which special degrees of Kū-jen (second degree) and Tsing-shih (third degree) should be bestowed upon those who complete shorter normal courses. Such men will thus be encouraged to devote themselves to the establishment of schools. In foreign countries there are no short courses in primary or secondary schools but only in normal schools. This is an excellent plan. After five years there will be many students who have completed their courses of study and are ready for service, all of whom will be versed in Chinese literature and can be trusted. Thus using scholars of the old schools for a foundation, there will be no need of waiting for five years before we have available men, and these schools can retain their pupils until they have finished their courses of study.

Another important matter is that a way of preferment should be left open for scholars of the old school. To this end during

the next nine years students who have already taken their degrees and who also show proficiency in any one of the following subjects, viz: Arithmetic, geography, science of government, political economy, military science, politics, railroads, mining, police work, or western governmental science, may be sent from the various provinces to Peking for examination. If they can pass successfully they will be rewarded with appointments to one of the boards or as magistrates in the provinces. Special degrees may also be granted to such as are not sent to Peking. In this way the country will make the greatest possible use of its scholars both of the old and new schools.

The above five suggestions are all practicable, and we respectfully beseech Your Majesties to command the viceroys, governors, and literary chancellors of the various provinces to put them into immediate execution. Those places in which schools have not been established should commence at once to open schools and in places where some schools have already been opened others should be started. Those in charge of schools should do their utmost to make their schools successful and the provincial authorities should show no laxity in promoting and encouraging the establishment of schools. Everything in these schools should be done according to the rules and regulations which have already received Imperial sanction.

Respectfully submitted for Imperial consideration.

Imperial Rescript.

September 2, 1905.

We have received a Memorial from Yuan Shih Kai, Viceroy of Chihli Province, and other high officials advocating the summary abolition of the old style of literary examinations for the Kū-jen (Master of Arts) degree, in order to allow the expansion of the modern modes of education. In this connection the said Viceroy has also handed up his scheme for the successful accomplishment of the new régime. Before the era of what is termed the Three Dynasties, men for office were selected from the schools, and it must be confessed that the plan produced many talented men. It was indeed a most successful plan for the production of men of talents and for the moulding of character. Indeed the examples before us of the wealth and power of Japan and the countries of the West have their

foundation in their schools. Just now we are passing through a crisis fraught with difficulties and the country is most urgently in want of men of talents and abilities (of the modern sort). Owing to the fact that, of late, modern methods of education have been daily on the increase amongst us, we repeatedly issued our commands to all our viceroys and governors of provinces to lose no time in establishing modern schools of learning in such number that every member of this empire may have the means of going there to study and learn something substantial, in order to prepare himself to be of use to his country. We have indeed thought deeply on this subject.

On a former occasion the Ministers of Education memorialised us, suggesting that the old style of literary examinations should be gradually abolished by extending by three times the period for them. Viceroy Yuan Shih Kai in his present Memorial, however, asserts that unless these old-style examinations be abolished once for all, the people of this Empire will continue to show apathy and hesitate to join the modern schools of learning. Hence if we desire to see the spread of modern education by the establishment of a number of schools, we must first abolish the old style of studying for the examinations. The said memorialist's arguments on the subject show the result of experience and knowledge, and we, therefore, hereby command that, beginning from the Ping-Wu Cycle (1906), all competitive examinations for the literary degree of Kū-jen and Tsing-shih (Master of Arts and Doctor) after the old style shall be henceforth abolished, while the annual competitions in the cities of the various provinces for the Hsiutsai (Bachelor of Arts) or licentiate degree are also to be abolished at once. Those possessors of literary grade of the old style Kū-jen and Hsiutsai who obtained their degrees prior to the issuance of this decree shall be given opportunities to take up official rank according to their respective grades and abilities. We also approve of the other suggestions made by the said Viceroy in his Memorial on the above subject and command that they shall be put into force as proposed. In a word, the methods and aims of our modern schools of learning have the same force as the ancient form of selection of men for office from the schools, as mentioned above, and the methods of rewards in rank and degrees are the same as those hitherto obtained by the old style of

literary competitions. The regulations and rules for the various modern schools of learning and their various branches of studies have for their aims the attainment of substantial and practical knowledge. We are certain that the official classes and gentry throughout the Empire, on learning of this will enthusiastically set about to start as many schools as possible, and thus give the blessings of modern education to every subject of the Throne. The Government being thus enabled to obtain men of talents and abilities, it follows that the cities and towns producing such bright lights of learning will also enjoy a reflected honor therefrom. We hereby further command our Ministers of Education on receiving this our Imperial Decree, to lose no time in distributing at once to the various provinces the text-books for schools that have been prepared, so that we may have a uniform system of teaching in all our schools. We also command our viceroys and governors to insist that their subordinates, the prefects, sub-prefects, and district magistrates, shall make haste to establish primary schools in all the towns, hamlets, and villages within their respective jurisdictions, and that the utmost care be taken to select intelligent teachers for them, so that the minds of all our subjects be open for the reception of modern knowledge. Let all our officials be earnest and diligent in obeying these our commands and let there be no lagging and carelessness, so as to avoid faults and mistakes in the administration of these schools. Let no one fail in deserving the confidence we have placed in each.

The above was followed on September 11th by another Imperial Edict which ordered that the provincial literary chancellors who formerly conducted the competitive examinations should spend their time in promoting schools, and that they should be responsible to the Department of Education, and not as formerly, to the Board of Rites.

It would be easy to show how much more carefully thought out are the above memorial and imperial edict than the hasty ones prepared by Kang Yu Wei in June, 1898. It was nothing short of a revolution in 1898, which would have shaken the stability of the empire to its foundation. In 1905, it was the cul-

mination of a process in which public opinion had begun to catch up with existing facts. One is forced to the conclusion that the delay of seven years in the abolition of the system has been for the good of China.

One curious fact about the abolition of the examination system is that a vast literature which had grown up around the standard essay (the eight-legged essay) is rendered valueless, and hundred of bookstores have been left with large stocks of books which can never be sold. It must be said that this literature was *per se* of no value, and that the philosophy, history, politics, and religion of China lose nothing by its vanishing.

Corrections Babylon II 135/36
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An Assyrian Grammatical Treatise on an Omen Tablet; C. T. 20, pp. 39-42.—By STEPHEN LANGDON, Columbia University, New York City.

ON page 43 of Raw. II was published under No. I what has been supposed to be a list of synonyms. It has been so taken by Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt in their dictionaries, and by Meissner in his *Supplement*. The text has been republished by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., in C. T. 20, pp. 39-42, as K. 2235, with variants of K. 4416, K. 4585 B, Rm. 2, 466 and Bu. 89-4-26, 168, with a small fragment of a Babylonian variant K. 4432 (Plate 41, margin). From a variant reading by Bu. 89-4-26, 168 we know that the series to which this tablet belongs was called *šumma mul-ta-bil-tum*, and that it is the first tablet of the series. It is to be regretted, in view of our imperfect knowledge of this series, that Mr. Thompson did not publish the texts K. 6292 and D.T. 49, which belong to it.

The tablet is arranged, obverse and reverse, in three columns. The lines of the third column commence with *šumma*, which indicates at once that we have here an omen tablet. The catch-line at the end, rev. 33, *šumma kakki-šu Šu-Ru šakin imitti Ši kakku šubmu [] niš kakka ilabbiši* "if its arm places a Šu-Ru at the right of its Ši, arms, success [] in? he shall put on arms," shows that the tablet contains a list of presages taken over some organ of an animal, the liver, kidneys, stomach or intestines.

3cyl 2, 135

When the organ, over which the seer was about to take his omens, was placed before him ready for inspection, he began to observe its movements and the figures made by its parts. The tablets of the class to which the present specimen belongs give long lists of results which would follow upon certain phenomena. For example, choose any of the rules for saying omens over the stomach in the so-called *Gar-Tab* series, C. T. 20, 31 ff. I choose here for the sake of illustration the third rule, line 4.

*Šumma Gar-Tab imitti u šumēli ana šaplānu mīthariš kap-
sat-ma Gir ina libbi-ša šakin rubā matsu ibbalkatsu.* "If the

stomach on the right and left folds itself downward equally on each side and the *Gir* is placed within it—the land of the prince will rebel against him.” Compare also the long list of rules for taking omens from mixing oil in water, edited by Hunger, *Becherwahrsagung, Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, Band I, Heft 1.

These rules consist of a protasis and an apodosis. The scribe who composed K. 2235 has analyzed a tablet of such sentences in a most curious way. For column I, he has extracted the salient feature of the conditional clause, and for column II the salient feature of the result clause. Then for column III he has given the whole rule from which he has made his extract, or an abbreviated copy of it. Thus, suppose I should desire to make such an extract and arrangement from the above cited *Gar-Tab* omen, it might take the form:

Col. I	Col. II	Col. III
<i>kapšatum.</i>	<i>nabalkattu.</i>	<i>šumma ana šaplānu kapšat </i>
		<i>rubu matsu ibbalkatsu.</i>

That is, I choose the verb *kapšat*, fem. perm. of *kapāšu*, as the salient phenomenon of the omen, and make an abstract noun of it by adding *tu*. This I put in col. I. In turn, for col. II, I make an abstract of *ibbalkat*, and give a résumé for col. III. Thus I say: *Folding—Rebellion*, or *Folding means Rebellion*, and then give an illustration.

Inasmuch as the Assyrians and Babylonians delighted to play on words, we frequently find a pun between condition and conclusion. For example, *zakāru* means ‘be high,’ and *zakāru* to ‘mention.’ A pun would then be made by giving the following omen: *šumma rēš Na zu-kur šum rubi izzakir* “If the top of the *Na* be raised, the name of the prince will be glorified.” From such an omen one could make, by choosing the two verbs, two nouns with exactly the same sound but with entirely different meanings. It is this which has confused the compilers of dictionaries in their extracts from this tablet.

Other methods of selecting salient points for cols. I and II besides forming abstract nouns from verbs will be noticed below, as soon as we shall have discussed more carefully the nature of the tablet from which this curious treatise has been compiled.

As noted above, this extract was taken from tablet I of the *šumma multabiltum* series. *Multabiltum* is probably from אכל 'to be full,' a III 2 formation with abstract termination. Why the series should be called *muštābiltum* is not evident. The name of the organ may possibly be intended. The *Gar-Tab*, name of the organ over which were taken the omens on pp. 31-38 [C. T. VI], is a feminine noun, being always construed with the feminine form of the verb. It is not impossible that *Gar-Tab* and *multabiltum* are one and the same organ. Our judgment must be withheld until we have further information.

The tablet containing this peculiar grammatical arrangement contains on the obverse 44 omens, and on the reverse 31, with catch-line and historical notice. We have not all the lines, but 75-80 omens must have been about the average content of each tablet of the *Multabiltum* series. The *Gar-Tab* or stomach series is written on much larger tablets, or much more on each tablet. The obverse of the tablet C. T. 20, 31+32 of the *Gar-Tab* series contains 54 omens alone and the reverse 51 omens.

From col. III of our extract we have the following information about the organ of the *Multabiltum* series. Its parts were called the *Na*, *Šag-Nigin*, *Ši*, *Har*, *Kak-ti*, *Šid*, *Bir*, *Gir*, *Edina* and *nīru* (the latter I take to be the same as the *Gir*). The phenomena which might occur are as follows: The *Na* may be long and reach the *Gir* (obv. 1), its top may be elevated (obv. 6), or be folded over (obv. 16), or be like an *Ud Sar* (obv. 17), or have a blister at its top (rev. 13). The *Šag Nigin* may be in commotion (obv. 2) or may shrink (rev. 21), or may be heaped up (rev. 17). The *Ši* may be depressed (?) (obv. 3), its lower part may be swollen (obv. 8), its left side may be seized (?) [obv. 12], its front may station itself toward the right, its top may have a blister (obv. 24), it may lift itself up (obv. 26), may be enclosed by the flesh (obv. 27), it may be deficient (rev. 19), it may have too much liquid (rev. 20).

The *Har* mentioned in obv. 4 is evidently the Sumerian for *lobe*: it may be closed (obv. 13) and rise up (obv. 25).

The *Kak-ti* may be excessively long toward the side (obv. 5), (obv. 23 ?).

The *Šid* may be wide (obv. 9).

The *Bir* (Sumerian *Maš*) may take the form of a finger (obv. 10), may be like a ? (obv. 30).

The *Gir* may be touched by the *Na* (obv. 1). The *Gir* is probably the same as the *nīru*, see note on rev. 26. In its midst toward its top may be placed a ? (obv. 29).

Another part frequently mentioned in the *Gar-Tab* is the *kakku*, mentioned once in this organ, obv. 20, and probably rev. 30. Perhaps also the *Bal* (rev. 28) is to be regarded as the name of a part of this organ.

The parts of this organ have nearly all the same names as the various parts of the *Gar-Tab*. In the *Gar-Tab* the part called *Har* is not mentioned, but one meets with a right and left *Gir* (l. 82). On the contrary, the *Šalla* is the name of a part of the *Gar-Tab* (ll. 27-39) not found at all among the parts of this organ.

Among the phenomena which may appear we find *dīhu*, blis-ter, *mašum*, liquid drink, and *bubātu*, food, in both organs. The oblique wedge = cavity, which appears frequently on the *Gar-Tab* (cf. ll. 44, 61, etc.), does not appear on this organ so far as we know its phenomena from this tablet.

From these considerations it is evident that if we are not dealing with the same organ, we must consider them as closely allied. The *Gar-Tab* is most likely the stomach. The right and left *Har* mentioned on this organ lead me to think that we have here to do with the *kidneys* or *liver*, more likely the former. Certain it is that the tablet from which is made this grammatical compilation was a tablet of much less content than the *Gar-Tab* series.¹

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY.

1. *a-riḫ-tum. ka-šit-tum. šumma Na ērik²-ma Gir [ik-šu-]
ud rāba ina ḥarrani du-ku ikašša³-ad.*

illa

Lengthening. Attaining. If the *Na* be long and attain unto the 'point', the prince—on his expedition—slaying shall overtake him.

Here the feminine abstract *ariḫtu* is from *arāku* 'to be long,' the verb of the conditional clause, and *kašittum* is from

¹ The *Gar-Tab* series has been recently edited by M. Chas. Fossey, of the École des Hautes Études, as the first number of his *Textes Assyriens et Babyloniens Relatifs à la Divination*; Paris, Geuthner, 1905, cited as T.A.B.

² Id. *gid-da*.

³ Id. *kur*.

kašádu, the verb of the result clause. Delitzsch, H. W., p. 133, gives *ariktum* as a synonym of *kašittum*, p. 358. So also Muss-Arnolt under *ariktum*.

2. *a-lik-tum. ka-šit-tum. šumma Sag-Nigin al-ku¹ ||||| kašit-tum.*

Movement. Attaining. If the *Sag-Nigin* is agitated ? attaining.

3. *uš-šur-tum. ka-šit-tum. šumma Ši ištu imitti ana šuméli Id-Ku-mat² ma*

dī-ki-sa³ [uššu-]ur bél limutti-ka ša idku kata-ka ikašša-ad.

Breaking. Attaining. If the *Ši*⁴ from right to left turns itself and breaks⁵ *its dikītu*, the demon in control of your misfortune, who excites [you], will attain unto your hand.

¹ *al-ku* is the permansive of *alāku* in the sense of 'be agitated.'

² The readings *šat*, *lat* and *mat* are possible. Since no Semitic equivalent of *Id-Ku* has yet been found, it is difficult to choose a reading. Whatever part of the organ *Ši* may be, it is at any rate a feminine noun; cf. the *Gar-Tab* series, rev. 79, *Ši kubarat* = "un *Ši est caché*." After Brit. Mus. 22447 in the *šumma šammu* series, obv. 7, *šammu imittum islimma*, I am inclined to read *salmat* = 'turn itself.'

³ This reading is extremely uncertain. *ša* for *sa* = *ša* the fem. pronoun is not attested. My reading *diki-sa* = *dikit-ša* supposes the word *dikītu* which is also unknown, but the reading seems to me probable as a pun on *idku* = *Zi-ku* in the second half of the line.

⁴ *Ši*, part of an organ of an animal, see Fossey, T.A.B., p. 38.

⁵ The text has *Ur* preceded by an illegible sign. I regard *Ur* as certainly the phonetic termination of the illegible sign, since we must find in the conditional clause the root of *uššurtum*. The loss of this sign is regrettable, for it would give a clue to the root of *uššurtu* and *uštaššir* of 22446, line 30 of the obverse. On the latter passage see Hunger, *Becherwahrtragung*, p. 64, note on l. 30, where he derives *uštaššir* from *ישר* = 'glatten' glide. The ideogram for *išāru* is generally *Si-Di* or *Si* alone (rare). If the root be *ašāru* 'to cast down,' the ideogram *Šu* would be expected, Br. 10825. The question of the meaning of *ušur* and *ušurtum* is complicated. In the *Gar-Tab* series we find *u-šur* in l. 71, *ina tamhartam ilu u-šur rubā*. If we derive from the piel of *ישר* the omen is good, if from the *kal* of *ישר* it is evil. The presence of one *ש*, as well as the vowel *u* in the present tense, is in favor of a derivation from *ישר* in a transitive sense, 'to abase,' 'cast down.' On *u* as the vowel of the present cf. Del. *Gramm.*, par. 90. A reason for regarding the omen as evil is the fact that in the *Gar-Tab* series, where *ušur* occurs in the conclusion, the sign given by the organ is that the *Gir* encloses a *šepu* between the left and right, which must be considered

4. *šu-šur-tum. sa-kap aibi. šumma ina kap-pi Har-ša imitti Gir ina kappi Har-ša šumēli Gab šu-šur parša-at? ina eli harrani¹ aibi-ka šaptiš eliš kame u Šur-Šu Har.* cf. Babyl. P. 55

Pushing down. Overthrow of the enemy. If on the wing of its right lobe² there be a *Gir* and on the wing of its left lobe a rent is torn,³ it is decreed⁴—upon the expedition thine enemy below and above [i. e. everywhere] is bound, and ?.

5. *a-tar-tum. za-kar šu-mu. šumma Kak-ti-ša imitti ana idi at-rat ummani šuma damqa ilak-ki.*

Excess. Renown. If its right *Kak-tu* is enlarged toward the side, my army will receive an honorable name.

6. *zuḫ-ḫur-tum.⁵ za-kar šumu. šumma reš Na zu-ḫur Mu-Sag rubi ummāni šuma damqa ilak-ḫi.*

Elevation. Renown. If the head of the *Na* be elevated, great renown of the prince: my army will receive an honorable name.

7. *sik-ka-tum. li-ki e-li-ti. šumma elānu kal šēri kīma sik-kati izzi-iz kakku šarri ikān umman šarri maḫi-ri la iši.*

Peg. Obtaining the advantage. If, above, all the flesh forms itself like a peg, the arms of the king will be sure, the army of the king will have no rival.

as a bad omen from rev. 26 of our series, where a similar phenomenon occurs accompanied by an evil presage.

u-šur-ta occurs in the *Gar-Tab* series C.T. 20, 34⁷ where the omen is certainly evil: *aibu mat rubi u-šur-ta u-kal-lam* "the foe will cause the land of the prince to see defeat." C.T. 20, 35⁶ *u-su-ur-ti ikaššad* is dubious, but probably means "defeat will arrive."

The probabilities are all in favor of the root *ašāru* in an active sense for the *kal*. Boissier translates 'fendre,' which I accept.

¹ Id. *tu-du*.

² *Har* I take to be one of the lobes of the liver or kidneys. At any rate *Har* must be part of an organ used in divination. Brunnow 8529 = *hašū* liver? cf. *murūš ša hašē* l. c. The sign thus came to mean *tértū* oracle, charm, etc. So already in Gudea: *Gal-Har-ra* = the enchanter. Gud. B, 5¹⁰ and *Har mu-Gab* = I have broken the spell, Gud. B, 7²⁹.

³ *šu-šur* I take to be III¹ permansive of *וִשַׁר* = break.

⁴ *Ka-at* a difficult expression. My version is conjectural. Curious is the fact that the verbs are all in the past tense, *ka-me*, *šu-šur*, implying immediate or present result of the presage.

⁵ From the root *וִקַר*, to be high, a pun on *זַכַּר*, to mention.

8. *ka-bar-tum. e-mu-ku. šumma šapliš Ši ka-bar¹ aplu eli abi-šu ikabbi-it.*

Covering. Strength. If at the left the *Ši* is covered, the son will be more powerful than his father.

9. *ra-pi-š-tum. me-til-lu-tum. šumma Šid imitti pi-šu kīma kur-sin-ni irpe-eš kakku šarri ikān umman šarri i-dan-nin-ma maḥiri la iši.*

Widening. Glory. If the *Šid* on the right widens its mouth as a leg (?), the arms of the king will be sure, the army of the king will be strong and have no rival.

10. *ra-bu-u. ma-šu-u. šumma Bir ma-la ubāni im-ta-ši ardu ma-la bēli-šu i-ma-aš-ši u-[lu] amta bēli-ša i-rām-ši-ma ma-la bēlti-ša i-ma-aš-ši.*

Large. Becoming. If the *Bir* is wide as a finger, the male slave will become as his master, and even the female slave shall be loved by her master and become as her mistress.

11. *ša-bit-tum. kīma išdi² ikānu. šumma šumēli Ši ša-bit^{mid} Gir ō-sa-at³ aibi.*

Fastening. They shall be sure as a foundation. If on the left the *Ši* is fastened, the foot tramples the enemy.

13. *e-pi-ik-tum. kīma išdi ikānu. šumma Har imittu up-pu-uk kīma išdi ikānu.*

Closing. They shall be sure as a foundation. If the right lobe be closed, they shall be sure as a foundation.

¹ This reading seems to me certain from C.T. 20. 32⁷⁹, *šumma ana šumēli Ši ku-bu-rat.*

² Id. *Šuḥ-am.* Here *am = kīma.* *Am = kīma* appears to be an abbreviation of *dam, tam = kīma,* which are apparently *Eme-Sal* for *Gim.* *Am = kīma* is however good classical Sumerian, being found often in Gudea's inscriptions.

³ *alsat* is the verb and is most likely to be explained by *išdu* in col. II. The root was probably *wašadu* = tread upon, fix solidly; permansive *ašid, ašdat, aššat, alsat.* It is likely that *iššas* in C. T. 20. 31²⁴, 32^{75, 76} is from the same root. 20. 31²⁴ *šumma Gar-Tab kaš-ša-at mata rūbū iš-ša-as* = "If the stomach be torn, the prince will tread upon the land." See Fossey, T.A.B., p. 41, who follows Boissier's translation 'depouiller.'

šepu (Id. *Gir*) is here feminine.

14. *e-bi-tum*.¹ *šubtu ne-ih-tum. šumma Bir e(?)ba-at enbi mati išir.* ebir

Darkness. Peaceful habitation. If the *Bir* be dark, the harvests of the land will prosper.

15. a-? . *ta-a-ra-tum. šumma Ši pané-ša ana imitti iškunu ta-a-a-rat ili ana amēli šarra mat-su i-ram-ma.*

? Return. If the *Ši* place its face toward the right, return of the god to the man; the king will be loved by his people.

16. [*ka-bu-*]*uš-su*.² *a-kal nam-ra. šumma rēš Na ka-bi-iš ummani-ka ina rēš ikli-šu zitta ikkal.*

The curving. To eat the best. If the top of the *Na* curves over, your army shall consume provisions of the best of his territory.

17. *šap-liš ka-na-šu. kašit-ti katá . šumma Na kima Ud-Šar ana šaplānu mat aibi Ni-ta*³ *ila-me.* ni-ta qnihu

Bending beneath. Attaining of the hands. If the *Na* be like an *Ud-Sar* beneath, the land of the enemy will gather abundance.

18. *ul-šu. ul-šu-um-ma. šumma Mu rēš Har-ša imitti ul-lu-uš ul-lu-uš libbi ummāni.*

Shutting. Rejoicing. If the opening (?) of the top of its right lobe be closed, rejoicing of heart for our army.⁴

19. *gi-ib-šu. gi-ib-šum-ma*.⁵ *šumma gi-biš imitti Ši Hu-Si* = *ikkal or rakiš* *gi-biš ummāni-ia ana mat aibi.*

Thickening. Mass of the army. If a thickening of the right of the *Ši*?, the mass of my army unto the land of the enemy [will arrive].

¹ *ebītu* may also be read *ekaštu*, which may be explained by Heb. עָכַם to roll; but the passage in col. III, which must contain the same root, although illegible, has almost certainly *ba-at*, which compels the reading *ebītum* in col. I. I have here connected it with אָוֶר, to be dark.

² The root קָבַץ is discussed at length by M. Fossey, T.A.B., p. 38, where he arrives at the meaning *seplier*. His arguments seem to me conclusive.

³ *Ni-ta* probably = *birta*.

⁴ Here a pun is made upon the homophone *ullušu*.

⁵ Why the scribe has given *gibšu*, with the noun formation in *am*, is not evident. The form appears to be rather an adverb = *en masse*, than a noun.

20. *ma-ak-ša-ru.*¹ *da-na-nu. šumma ina imitti Ši kakku šakin-ma šapliš ~~per~~ kakki ma-ak-ša-ru kakku Šamaš.*
 1(-inammit) (15) Rupture. Force. If at the right of the *Ši* a *kakku* be created and beneath upon the front of the *kakku* [there be] a rupture—arms of *Šamaš*.

21. *nu-un-ru. hu-ud lib-bi. šumma* ^{isu} *Ri imitti immir ul-lu-uš libbi ummani.*

Appearance. Gladness of heart. If a *Giš-Ri* appears at the right, joy of heart for our army.

22. *atar*² *nam-ru . hu-ud lib-bi . šumma Har imitti atir namra ul-lu-uš libbi ummāni.*

Brilliant protrusion. Rejoicing of heart. If the right lobe protrude brightly, joy of heart for our army.

23. *Šab-Meš³ Šun-Meš. hušahhu mišit ašaridi-ia. šumma Kak-ti-ša imitti u šumēli? abiktum*

? ? Famine: disaster for my prince. If its *Kak-tu* at the right and left ?, destruction.

24. *di-hu⁴ lib-bu . hu-ud lib-bi, ramhan šami-e . šumma ina reš Ši di-hu nad-di.*
 zana-an šamē (15)

Blister within. Joy of heart, rain from heaven. If at the top of the *Ši* a blister be fixed

25. *hi-iš-ša-tum. ul-lu-uš lib-bi. šumma Har imittu i*
 The mounting.⁵ Gladness of heart. If the right lobe.

¹ To explain the word we are reduced to conjecture. The Arabic *مكسر*, 'break,' from *كسر* offers a plausible interpretation.

² *Dirig*, which may be read *atāru*, 'exceed,' or *malū* 'be full.' In the conditional clause the presage has *Dirig Nig-Lig*. Evidently *Nig-Lig* is for *namru*. I conjecture a Semitic equivalent *namru* for *Nig-Lig*, i. e. *Nig-Lah*. With *atir namra* is to be compared *namra iteši*, to depart successfully, C.T. 20. 32⁵². For the reading *atar* cf. *atartum* and *at-rat*, line 5.

³ I do not understand the conditional clause of the passage nor the words extracted from it for the first column. The verb is evidently in the plural, whereas *Kak-ti*, a feminine singular, is the subject. Compare *Kak-ti atral*, line 5.

⁴ See note on *dihu*, rev. 13.

⁵ From the root *חיש* hasten. See Del., H.W. 2756, where he gives the softened meaning *sich aufmachen*. *Hišša-tum*, p. 295a = 'Fröhlichkeit' must be suppressed so far as this passage is concerned.

26. *nam-ba-tu.*¹ *ul-lu-uš lib-bi. šumma Ši nam-ba-[ta ?-at ?]*
 Arising. Gladness of heart. If the *Ši* arise
27. *li-bu-u. dah-du. šumma Ši šēri li-[bi-i]*
 Enclosing. Abundance. If the flesh enclose the *Ši*
28. *šul-ul-lu.*² *maḥiru nap-šu. šumma ina imitti 30 šul*
 (sic).
 The binding. High price. If at the right ? ?
29. *la nadu-u. ki-šit-tum. šumma kabli Gir ana [eliš-la*
nadi]
 Non occurrence. Booty. If within the *Gir* is not found
 above
30. *ku-ul-tum.*³ *ul-lu-uš lib-bi. šumma Bir kima [isu-kul-*
tum ?]
 The *kultu*. Gladness of heart. If the *Bir* stands as a
kultu
31. *li-pa-tum ? mē . irtāti (?) ētir ilu*
 God hath spared the breasts (?)
32. *tum . maḥ ~~bu~~-ri-e bīt amēli*
 ? . Prosperity of the house of the suppliant. ?
33. *tum . la ka-šit-tum*
 ? . Not to obtain. ?
34. ? . idem ? *lumun libbi*
35. ? . *sa-kip-tum*⁴ *libbi-timni.*
 ? . Overcoming of the evil heart.
36. ?
37. ?
38. ?
39. *tum. a-ru-ur-tum.*

¹ The root נבט seems to have meant fundamentally 'spring forth into prominence.' *nambaṭat* [fem. perm. for *Ši* is fem.] is for *nabbaṭat*. Del., H.W. 4436, *nambaṭu* = 'Heiterkeit,' must be suppressed.

² See line 14 of Reverse.

³ The meaning of *kultu* is unknown to me. In presages over organs it is usual to have an object of wood after *kima*; cf. line 7: *šēru kima isusikkati izziz*; C.T. 20. 32⁵⁹ *Gir-ša imitti šēri kima isuTa issu-uh* = 'if its *Gir* at the right tear the flesh like an *isuTa*.' I therefore conjecture *isu-kultu*.

⁴ The construction of the phrase is difficult. One expects *sakipat* in the construct. *libbi* is apparently a noun of nearer definition, or a kind of accusative of respect.

40. *ša-lah-tum*¹ *maš-la-'a-tum*.²
 Stretching out. Plunder.
41. *šap-liš ka-na-šu. u-šur-tum*
 Bending beneath. Defeat.
42. *tum . u-šur-tum . šumma Šag-Nigin.*
 ? . Defeat. If the *Šag-Nigin*.
43. *šumma Šag-Nigin.*
 idem

Reverse.

2. *dal-lu*
 Vibration. ? ?
3. *di-ru . ur*
 ? ? ?
4. *ia-ar-tum*³ . *ramm-an šami-e*
 Mounting. Rain of heaven.
5. *e-rim-ma-tum . ub*
 Enclosing ? ?

¹ The nature of this tablet forbids any argument based upon similarity of meanings between the words of cols. I and II (see Fossey, T.A.B. note on line 31, p. 42, following Meissner). The words and phrases are not synonyms at all but "jeux de mots," puns on homophones or clever compositions based on the salient words of condition and conclusion of the presage. It seems to me much more likely that *ša-lah-tum* is the true reading, thus giving a pun with *maš-la-'a-tum*. This reading is supported by C.T. 20. 31²³ *šumma Gar-Tab šal-ḫat iabu ummani-ka i-šal-lal*. The verbs which follow are *kaššat* (24-26) and *paṭrū* (27+28), all attended by evil omens. *kašāšu* = tear, *paṭaru* = split must be regarded as synonyms of *šalāhu*. Delitzsch's 'ausreissen,' H.W. 662a, is too general. In IV Raw. 16b, 37 occurs the passage *A-bi Gal-Gal-lu u-mu-e-ni-Sum*, translated by *amelu šu-luḫ-ma*; here *A-bi u-mu-e-ni-Sum* is translated by *šalāhu*. The Sumerian must mean "throw this water" (*bi* shows the case direct, if it were the case indirect 'with this water' it would be a *A-ba*). *Šalāhu* there is the direct equivalent of Heb. שָׁלַח 'stretch out.' *šumma Gar-Tab šalḫat* means "if the stomach be stretched."

² *maš-la'tu* is found in C.T. 20. 30, 31+32 directly after the *šalḫat*, *kaššat* and *paṭrū* passages above, and must be the result of an evil omen. A derivation from *sā'lu* or *šalū*, to send, is impossible. The root is שָׁלַח, Aramaic שָׁלַח, Syriac ܫܠܚ, connected with שָׁלַל to take away. We thus have a pun on שָׁלַח, stretch out, and שָׁלַל take away.

³ יָאֵר go up, flow forth, a synonym of חָיֵשׁ obv. 25. Delitzsch gives the root under אֵר ? .

6. *kakku*.¹ *Zi*
 Weapon. ? *šalma*
šp 100 mi
7. *kar-tum*.² *kar-tu*.
8. *kam-tum*³ *kar-tum* . *da-ša*-[*a-tum*].
9. *kam-tum* *Mi-at*⁴ *kaps-at* . *pirišti nakri ušē*?
 The *kamtu* is concealed, or it folds. The desire of the evening will result ?
10. *kam-tum* *har-ru-ur-tum*⁵ *kišitti kâti* *u-a*
 The *kamtu* is ? Obtaining of the hand.
11. *kam-tum*⁶ *eli kamti*. *Lal-meš* ~~*U-A*~~ *Lal-meš su-nu Lal-meš*.
 A *kamtu* upon a *kamtu*. ? ? ?
12. *bu-bu*-⁷*u-tum*.⁷ *di-im-tum*. *šumma ina imitti*
 ? Tears . If at the right

¹ Part of the organ.

² These two words are another play on homophones. The second is the familiar word in presages for 'dearth,' 'necessity.' The former is perhaps from the same root in a slightly different sense of 'be shortened, etc.' Cf. C.T. 20. 31¹³ *šumma Gar-Tab imitti érik-ma šuméli ikru* = if the stomach be long at the right and short at the left. This sense of כרה has been given by Peiser correctly in *Babylonisches Rechtsleben*, vol. 4, p. 59, *urraqa u ukarrá* = länger und kürzer machen. Cf. also Strassmaier, *Bab. Texte. Nbk.* 368⁹ *li-kar-ri* = may he be cut off. If we had the third column of this text we should certainly find *ikri*, if it be shortened, as the verb of the protasis. The former *kartum* means therefore 'shortening.'

³ *kamtu* must be the subject of the verb of the protasis, כרה, see line 7. Cf. note on line 11.

⁴ *Mi-at* is to be read *šallat*; see Rev. l. 13 note on *dihû*. With this passage of C.T. 20. 32⁹⁹ *šumma ina arki Gar-Tab Gir-ša imitti maštum nadat u Mi-at* = 'if from behind the stomach its Gir deposits drink at the right and it is concealed.' Cf. 20. 33¹⁰³.

⁵ The verb in the protasis must have been חרר: the meaning is unknown to me.

⁶ From this passage it is evident that *kamtu* was the name of some part of the organ; moreover *Lal* in the apodosis has a meaning *kamû*, so that we have here a play on two words both derived from the same root, *kamû* to bind. We can have no hesitation in transcribing *Lal-meš*, etc. *kamâti U-A ikamû-šu-nu kamâti* = ?

⁷ *bubu'tum* occurs four times in the *Gar-Tab* presage 101-104. Regarded by Fossey as having the meaning of 'nourishment,' particles of food found in the organ. This seems to me reasonable and lends great probability to the reading *maštum* 'drink' in the four preceding lines 97-100 in place of *bartum*.

13. *di-ḥu*¹ . *zu-un-nu*² . *šumma ina rēš Na di-ḥu*

14. *šul-lu*³ *a-ku-u* *ḫ₇-al-lad* . *šumma ina imitti 30 šul*

? [She] will bring forth a lame child. .If at the right 30
šul

¹ The word *dihū* occurs also in line 24 ob. *dihū libbu* = a *dihū* within: the result is *ḥud libbi* and *ramm-an šami-e*, i. e. joy and rain. Rev. 23 *dihū* with the result *ri-ih-šu* rain storm. 24 *di-ḥu Mi*. On *Mi* cf. rev. 9 *kamtu Mi-at*. The probable reading for *Mi* in all these passages is *šalālu* or *temēru*, conceal. This is evident from C.T. 20. 32⁶⁵⁻⁶⁸; the word *dihū* is there the basis of four different presages. We read: 'if behind the stomach its *Gir* tear the flesh like an *išu Ta* and in it *dihū nadi* a *dihū* be deposited.' In line 67 the same *Gir* has within it *dihū te-mir u šu-tul* a *dihū*, hidden or concealed. We know the value *šillu* for *Mi*: *šalālu* and *temēru* must be added. Rev. 24 is therefore to be read after C.T. 20. 32⁶⁷ *dihū šulul* 'the *dihū* is concealed.' Rev. 25 *dihū ina libbi dihi* a *dihū* within the *dihū*, the result is *zunnē išū* 'there will be rains.' This presage must have read something like this: *šumma ina libbi iani di-ḥu te-mir u šu-tul* = 'if within any place a *dihū* be concealed'

These are all the passages known to me bearing upon the meaning of *dihū*. It may be placed on an organ, within it, concealed and hidden within, and one *dihū* may be within another. In 20. 32⁶⁵⁻⁶⁸ its appearance is attended by disaster for friend or foe, if on the right for the friend, if on the left for the enemy (?) In all the passages of this tablet obv. 24, rev. 13, 23, 24, 25, it is attended by rains and storms. In 20. 32⁶⁷⁺³⁸ 'submersion in the river' (Fossey) is also a result. The most evident translation is *blister*, *abscess*. I would therefore translate line 13:—

Blister. Rain. If at the top of the *Nu* a blister [be placed?]

² Thompson publishes a Neo-Babylonian duplicate of lines 13-18 as K 4432 on page 41, cf. C.T. 20, right margin. As a variant of *zunnu* this tablet gives *šul-lu ina rēš arhiša*. *šul-lu* is doubtless *Ramman*, i. e., simply 'rain.' In V 12, No. 5, is published a Neo-Bab. bilingual list beginning:

. bu = *zu-ni kir-bu* = rain is near (?).

There follows *lu-u ina arah kislev, namāru, napāhu*, all of which must have to do with storms and rain. Then comes the interesting line:

Giš-Ši-Bar-Ma = *Im-Ur-Nigin*.
šul-lu U *ašamšatum i-za-nu-ma*.

That is *Giš-Ši-Bar-Ma* = *ramman* and *Im-Ur-Nigin* = *ašamšatum i-za-nu-ma*, 'it will rain torrents.' *šul-lu* U is here explained by the gloss in the right column.

³ *šullu*, see note on line 15.

15. *šul-lu*¹ *dak-šu* . *na-pa-aš*² *maḥiri* . *šumma ina imitti* 30
šul
 The *šullu* swelled up? High price. If at the right 30
šul
16. *Nu-Gan-Gan riḥšu*³ . *aššat amēli zikra ul-lad*⁴ . *šumma*
*ina išid Edina*⁵ *ubānu*
 ? ? The wife of the suppliant will bear a male child.
 If at the base of the *Edina* a finger
17. *di-ik-šu*⁶ . *zi-bu*⁷ . *šumma Šag-Nigin*
 Swelling up (?). Wolf. If the *Sag-Nigin* [swell up?]
18. *zi-ik-tum*⁸ . *bar-tum* . *šumma ina šapliš Ši-ša imitti*
zi
19. *ši-ik-šu* . *mur-šu* . *šumma Ši ši-ik-[ša-at]*
 Wanting ? . Sickness . If the *Ši* be wanting?
20. *me-it-ru*⁹ . *ri-iḥ-šu* . *šumma Ši mu-un-* *me-it-ru!*
 Water more than ordinarily. Flood. If the *Ši* ?
21. *um-ša-tum* . *kar-tum* . *šumma Šag Nigin*
 Shrinking . Famine . If the *Sag-Nigin*

¹ *šullu* is evidently some part of the organ like the *kamtu* l. 8: cf. *kamtu kartu* = the *kamtu* shortened, and ll. 9+10. *dakšu* is evidently an adjective from *dakāšu*, cf. *maḥiru napšu*, obv. 28, col. II. From *dakāšu* comes probably the word *dageš*, name of the Hebrew point for doubling letters.

² The Neo-Babylonian variant has for *napaš*, *Ru-at*, which is almost certainly to be read *maḥāt maḥiri* 'fall in pieces,' i. e. *Ru* has constantly the value *maḥātu* in these texts. Cf. C.T. 20. 32⁴⁴ *Elam itebi-am-ma ina libbi mati Ru-ut (imakkut)*. In other words, the Neo-Babylonian pre-
 sage has the opposite conclusion.

³ *riḥšu* from *raḥāšu* 'overflow' is found frequently in the apodosis of presages but to my knowledge not elsewhere in the protasis.

⁴ The Neo-Babylonian variant has in addition to *aššat amēli zikra ullad*, the following, *Ka-šu Sik-it = amāti-šu enši-it = 'his orders will be impotent.'*

⁵ *Edina*, a synonym of *Na*, cf. C.T. 20. 31⁵ *šumma Gar-Tab išid Na ikšud*.

⁶ On the root *dakāšu* see line 15.

⁷ Cf. C.T. 20. 31³⁸⁺³⁹ "a lion or serpent shall come upon the way."

⁸ *ziktum* is probably, like *kartum*, to be derived from a 'ה' root. *bartum*, likewise a 'ה' root, may mean *hunger* √ברא? cf. Del., H. W. 1816. At any rate the omen is evil. The Bab. variant has . . .
Lu-? amē-ma = ?

⁹ *itru* from ותר.

22. *kak-ku-tum*¹ . *biš-la-a-tum*² . *šumma kal kima*
23. *di-ḥu* . *ri-iḥ-ḥu* . *šumma šapla-nu ma*
 Blister (?). Flood. If beneath
24. *di-ḥu šulul* . *ri-iḥ-ḥu dan-nu* . *šumma ina šapliš Ṣi-ša imitti*
 Blister (?) hidden. Great flood. If beneath its *Ṣi* at the right
25. *di-ḥu ina libbi di-ḥi* . *zunné ibaššu* . *šumma ina libbi iḥi*^{MF.M.}
di-[ḥu]
 Blister within a blister? . Rains shall be. If within any place a blister
26. *Kak*³ *Su-u* . *kakku ešū ša Bēl* . *šumma ina birit ni-ri u Na*⁴
 The *Kak radā* (?) . Devastating weapons of Bel. [*ilu Bēl*] *mata i-ra-[ḥi-iš]*. If between the *nīru* and the *Na* . . . [Bēl] will overwhelm the land.
28. *Bal Su-u* . *kakku ešū* . *ša* *ilu*
 Bal protruding (?). Devastating arm. Of the god? .
29. *Di-Di Su-u* . *kakku ešū* . *ša* *ilu*
Di-Di protruding (?). Idem. Of the god?
30. *kakku ana* (?) *šcalti* . *Kakku ešū* . *ša*
 The *kakku* thrice . Idem . Idem.
31. *ud-di*⁵ *Su-u* . *kakku ešū ša* *ilu* *Šamaš*
 Idem . Of *Šamaš*.

¹ An abstract made from *kakku* 'arm,' part of the organ, which doubtless occurred in the protasis, cf. C.T. 20. 31³⁷ *šumma Gir-ša imitti kaka šakin* = 'if its *Gir* at the right produce a *kakku*.'

² *bišlātu*, *pišlātu* (?) cf. *mašlātu*, obv. 40.

³ *Kak*, some phenomenon appearing on the organ. The verb of the condition is rendered by *Su-u*. The line may have read *šumma ina birit nīru u Na Kak nadī* where *Su* = *nadū*. A suitable value for *Su* is not known.

⁴ The organ in question has then a *nīru* and a *Na*. In the *Gar-Tab* series frequent mention is made of a part called the *Gir*. Boissier. *Note sur la nouvelle publication des textes divinatoires du Br. Mus.* p. 12, regards *Gir* as = *nīru* (see Fossey, T.A.B., p. 39, who rejects this value). The citations from Boissier, *Choix de textes*, p. 64, *ina birit Na u Gir*, make it almost certain when put with our passage that *Gir* is translated by *nīru*.

⁵ *ud-di* has been given by Thompson, *Legend of the Worm*. lines 11 + 13, as the equivalent of *is'uTa*, an aromatic plant. The same occurs in the presages C.T. 20. 32^{59,68} in the phrase "If from behind the stomach its

32. *Gab*¹ *Laḥ-ḥu . kakku éšé . Ša [gablaḥḥu]* *ša*^{iu} *E-a.*
 A rent ? Devastating arm ? of Ea.
33. *šumma kakki-šu Šu-Ru šakin imitti Ši kakku šulmu*
 *niš kakki ilabbaši.*
 If its arm produce a *Šu-Ru* at the right of the *Ši*, arms,—
 success he will put on arms.
34. *dup-pu Ašur-bāni-pal šarru rabu-u šarru dannu šar kiš-*
šati šar mat Aššur na-ram ilāni rabūti.
35. *ša Samaš u Ramman uzná rapšátum u-ša-ḥi-zu-šu-ma bár-*
rát pirišti šami-e u irši-tim ni-me-ki Šamaš u Ramman
i-ḥu-zu.
36. *uš-ta-bi-lu ka-ras-su dup-pu tertu iš-tur iš-niḥ ib-ri-e-ma*
ina ki-rib ekalli-šu u-kin.

Gir at the right *šéra kīma Giš-Ta Zi-iḥ (uḥ, aḥ).*" The verb here is *Zi* with phonetic termination *aḥ-iḥ* or *uḥ*; the only possible reading is *nasáḥu*, 'tear,' *issu-uḥ*. I do not know where the above reading has been obtained for *Giš-Ta*. It can have no connection with this passage, for the determinative *Giš* is here wanting.

¹ Evidently the conditional clause had "If a rent (*Gab*) between the *nīru* and the *Na, Laḥ-ḥu*." The ideogram *Gab-Laḥ* means "to tear a rent" and the noun derived therefrom, *gablaḥḥu*, means terror, rage, etc. *Laḥ* equals some Semitic verb as yet unknown. The translation into Semitic would doubtlessly destroy the pun. The same pun is 'aimed at' in C.T. 20. 31³⁵⁺³⁶, where the *Gab-Laḥ* of the protasis is written without the verb *Laḥ*. Meissner, Supplement 26 b, gives *gablaḥu* as = *kakku éšé ša Ea*, citing this passage for its proof. But it must be remembered that col. II. *kakku éšé* is only a paraphrase of the sense of the result clause, and is not an equivalent of the word in column one.

*On Bloody Sacrifices in Palestine.*¹—By HANS H. SPOER,
Ph.D., Meadville, Pa.

Two recent instances of the offering of blood sacrifices have come under my personal observation which may be worth recording.

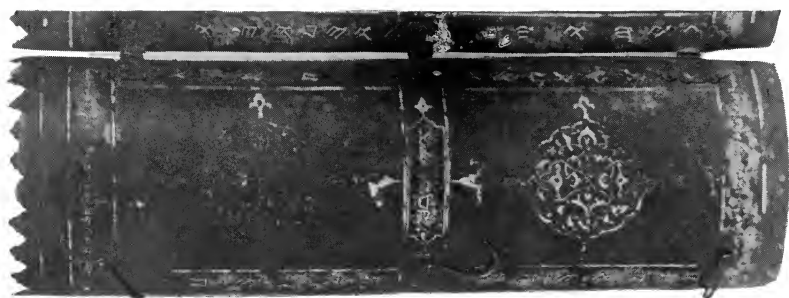
During the last week in July, 1905, a report reached Jerusalem of an accident to the Sultan; some said that he was ill, others that he had been shot, and others again that a bomb had been thrown into the midst of his party on leaving the mosque. I was informed by a member of the Husseini family, the leading Moslem family in Jerusalem, that on the 29th an order arrived from Constantinople for the sacrifice of eight lambs, which was carried out just outside of the Haram area at the gate of the prison. The meat was then given to the prisoners and the poor.

On the 6th of October, 1903, we had the good fortune to bivouac within the walls of the famous palace of Meshetta in Moab. While the sun was setting the moon was eclipsed, and a more magnificent spectacle, in surroundings so beautiful and so solitary, could hardly be imagined. Even the impassive Arab servants, most of whom had been long in European service, were impressed, and crowded together with exclamations of surprise and, perhaps, fear. The lady² of our party went to remonstrate with them because they had taken a cock from out of the fowl crate and were whipping him—they alleged “for making noise”; he also had been surprised by the phenomena, and had crowed. One added, “the people at home, who know no better, will be killing cocks and beating drums”—“this,” pointing to the rival pageants of sun and moon, “will frighten them.”

Professor Euting then recited the “Sura of the Daybreak,” cxiii., which seemed to meet the needs of the case; the men expressed their satisfaction, and the cock was restored to his family.

¹ See Dr. Spoer's *Notes on Bloody Sacrifices in Palestine*, in vol. xxv. of this Journal (1904), pp. 312 ff.—ED.

² Cf. A. Goodrich-Freer, *In a Syrian Saddle*, p. 91.



Description of the Case of the Roll of a Samaritan Pentateuch.—By HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., Meadville, Pa.

DURING the summer of 1905, at Jerusalem, I had an opportunity to examine the case of a Samaritan Pentateuch, brought to me by the son of the high priest at Nablus, who, owing to the impoverished condition of the little Samaritan community, was anxious to sell this,—one of their most treasured possessions. It has since been acquired by Mr. E. K. Warren, of Three Oaks, Michigan.

The case is cylindrical, twenty inches long, of brass, inlaid with silver. It consists of three sections, forming a circle of six and a half inches in diameter. The middle section of the case is connected with the others by three hinges on either side. That the present hinges may be of later date than the case itself seems probable from the fact that, in two places, they conceal letters forming part of the inscription. Several letters are also missing from the perpendicular inscription to the right of the lower central panel, where a fragment of the brass has been lost and a patch inserted. The top and bottom are closed by three segments of brass, forming a circle, so that the MS. was completely enclosed, for its better protection. It is secured by long brass hooks, fastening into faceted knobs, pierced with eyelet holes. The top is decorated with a turreted border.

Every section is divided, horizontally, into two panels, 5×7 inches, separated by a band outlined in silver. A geometrical design in silver decorates the center of every panel; it consists of arabesques contained in a circle running out into four ornamented spear-heads.

The dividing band is one and one-eighth inches wide, inlaid in silver with an inscription, in Samaritan characters, enclosed in a sort of cartouche ending in spear-heads. This inscription continues round the case, as does also a second in smaller characters, in a similar band top and bottom, while a third runs down either side of the panels in characters of the same size as those of the central band. Right and left of the decoration of the lower central panel is an additional inscription, in small

characters. All these inscriptions are in Hebrew, in the Samaritan alphabet. The words are divided by dots.

The legend on the central band reads:

יברכך יהוה וישמרך

Yahweh bless thee and keep thee.

These words, from the Aaronic blessing (Num. 6:24), are of special interest, not only on account of the peculiar sanctity which they would possess for the Samaritans, but also because they are to this day regarded among Oriental Jews as efficacious against the Evil Eye, for which reason they are often inscribed upon articles of property and may have been used here with special intention.¹ The inscription round the top and bottom gives the data of its origin and reads as follows:

(around the top)

בשם יהוה עשה זה הארון למכתב הקדוש
 בדמשק העבד המסכין נשיש בוראי אלה
 אבי הפתח בן יוסף בן

(around the bottom)

יעקב בן צפר דמבני מנשה יהוה יכפר
 [חט] אתו אמן בשנת שלשים ו תשע מאות
 לממלכות בני ישמעאל על יד יצחק
 ה * * * * *

In the name of Yah. This case for the holy writing was made in Damascus by the poor servant, the least of the creatures of God, Abu 'l-Fatḥ ben Joseph ben Jacob ben Zophar, of the tribe of Manasseh. May Yah forgive his sin. Amen. In the year 930 of the kingdom of the beni Ishmael. Under the direction of Isaac

The perpendicular legend (Num. 10:35) reads:

יהוה בנסע הארון ויאמר משה קומה יהוה
 יפוצו אביבך וינוסו משנאיך מפניך

¹ See articles by the author in *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1904, p. 104sq.; also *Occult Review*, London, 1905, p. 144 sq.

² The word looks like הפומה .

And when the ark started, Moses said: Arise, Yahweh! that thy enemies may be scattered, that they who hate thee may flee before thee.

The inscription within the lower central panel is as follows :

כתבו פִּינְחָס בֶּן אֵלְעָזָר

*Written by Phinehas ben Eleazar.*¹

According to the inscription, the case was made in Damascus in the year 930 of the Muhammedan era, = 1524 A. D. ; and one Phinehas ben Eleazar was concerned in the making of it. In the year 1538, a high priest named Phinehas removed from Damascus to Nablus,² and it may have been he who ordered this Torah case to be made in the place of his residence, then as now, famous for inlaid brass-work.

¹ I. e., he was the one who prepared these inscriptions for the case.

² See Cowley, *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. "Samaritan," p. 679.

The Metrical Form of the Songs of Degrees.—By Dr. T. C. FOOOTE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

It is a very general opinion that in the Songs of Degrees are to be found the most beautiful Psalms in the Psalter. While this popular estimation is no doubt due, primarily, to the character of the poetry itself, which is of the highest order, it also depends, in no small degree, upon a certain touching simplicity, brevity and clearness, which cannot fail to attract the reader.

There are many Psalms in the Bible which are far from clear, and apparently devoid of unity. Only an exegete can extract any connected meaning from them. The ordinary reader seizes upon some luminous couplet apart from the context, and values the Psalm for a few disconnected sentiments. The obscurities which disfigure the thought, and the redundancies which destroy the meter, are attributed to the original writer only by a rash reader. But such there are; and it is saddening to think of the years that have been spent by spiritual writers in the vain attempt to render intelligible the chaos which has often resulted from the incorporation, frequently in the wrong place, of superfluous, not to say irrelevant, marginal annotations. To these glosses and the attendant confusion is largely to be attributed that most cherished medieval production known as mystical interpretation.

From these disfigurements, Psalms 120-134 are free, to a remarkable degree; and to this fact we may trace much of their popularity. The thought is generally clear and simply expressed, and the rhythm is so far unencumbered by impossible combinations, that the student is emboldened to step, however tentatively, within the almost unexplored domain of Hebrew meters.

Although Professor Bickell's attempt to explain Hebrew meters on the basis of Syrian accentuation has not been generally accepted, yet he has no doubt forcibly shown that Hebrew poetry must have had a regularly prescribed meter. Nor ought it to require much consideration to convince us that the Psalms,

more than any other part of the Bible, were peculiarly liable to corruption. Copies were no doubt multiplied; and if in Jerome's lifetime his earlier version known as the Roman Psalter was so corrupted as to demand a new translation, how should not the Hebrew original have met with the same fate before the Greek version was made? Naturally a translation of the Psalter would tend to establish an authoritative text. This, however, was not done until many of the Psalms had reached a state which has caused not a few persons to deny to Hebrew poetry any regular meter, or strophic arrangement.

In the Songs of Degrees, however, we have a group of Psalms in which the larger number of lines (69 out of a total of 112) exhibit perfect metrical form, and furnish 21 complete strophes, where no emendation is necessary. Pss. 121, 124, 128 and 134 are almost perfect in metrical form. Ps. 132 seems not to belong to the collection; it has a different meter, is over twice as long as the longest of the other songs, and, according to Duhm, has nothing in common with them except the interest in Jerusalem.

A study of these 14 Psalms shows that they are all written in the elegiac meter—three beats in the first, and two in the second hemistich.¹ The strophe consists of two double hemistichs or M'shalim. The rhythm, as is natural to Hebrew accentuation, is uniformly iambic. In a few instances, which are commented on in the notes, two accented syllables come together, usually at the close of a hemistich. I have not felt justified in emending these lines to make them conform to the general rule. There are also a few lines where the unaccented syllables are rather awkward; but here also I have preferred to pursue a conservative course and let them stand.

In regard to the emendations it is interesting to note that the theory of Olshausen and E. v. Ortenberg as to the use of paseq to indicate a textual corruption, is borne out in these songs. Paseq occurs 17 times, and in 7 places (viz. : 122. 5, 125. 3, 127. 1, 131. 10, 132. 17, 133. 3) it coincides with an apparent alteration. In 4 places (viz. : 129. 8, 131. 1a, 132. 11, 133. 2) the emendation seem to have been added to improve the

¹It need hardly be said that these songs do not invite the application of the name *Qina* to this meter.

meter ; especially in Psalm 133. 2, where the addition of **השוב** was probably made later than the Vulgate.

The English version given in lieu of the Hebrew text makes no claim to present the beauty of the original, but to roughly illustrate the meter. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Duhm for his commentary and metrical version of the Psalms. The name which I have prefixed to my English version is based on the **מעלות** in Ez. 11. 5. The weakness of the other renderings is due to lack of unity in the Psalms themselves. The present rendering does at least represent something which they all have in common.

The notes, which do not pretend to be a commentary, have been, as far as possible, appended to the English version, that they may be useful to non-Semitic readers. It is needless to say that, however dogmatically expressed, the explanations represent merely possible ways of accounting for the corruption of the text.

SONGS OF ASPIRATION.

PSALM 120.

- | | | |
|---|--|-----|
| 1 | In my anguish I cried unto Jahveh | I |
| | and He answered me. | |
| 2 | O Jahveh, deliver my soul | |
| | from lying lips. ¹ | |
| 3 | What shall be sworn against thee | II |
| | thou deceitful tongue ? | |
| 4 | Shafts of the warrior, well sharpened, | |
| | and glowing brands. ² | |
| 6 | My soul hath long had her dwelling | III |
| | with haters of peace. | |
| 7 | When I speak peacefully with them, | |
| | they are for war. | |

¹ ² From a deceitful tongue. Redundant, and so of all the glosses. This seems to be vertical dittography from v. 3.

² 5 Woe is me that I sojourn in Meshech
 and dwell among the tents of Kedar.
Gloss on v. 6, and not the same meter.

PSALM 121.

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 1 | I lift up mine eyes to the hills—
Whence cometh my help? | I |
| 2 | My help is from Jahveh, the maker
of heaven and earth. | |
| 3 | May He keep thy foot from stumbling,
may thy keeper not sleep! | II |
| 4 | Behold, the keeper of Israel
neither slumbers nor sleeps. | |
| 5 | Jahveh is thy keeper and ¹ shade
upon thy right; | III |
| 6 | By day the sun shall not smite thee
nor moon by night. | |
| 7 | From all evil shall Jahveh protect thee,
and keep thy soul; | IV |
| 8 | He ² will keep thy going and coming
from now to eternity. | |

¹ 5 Jahveh.

² 8 Jahveh.

PSALM 122.

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 1 | I was glad when they said unto me,
Let us go to Jah's house. | I |
| 2 | Truly our feet have stood
in Jerusalem's gates. | |
| 3 | Builded is ¹ she as a city
where all are united, | II |
| 4 | For thither the tribes go up ²
³ to praise Jah's name. | |
| 5 | And there ⁴ they sit in judgment
⁵ o'er David's house— | III |
| 6 | O pray for the peace of Jerusalem,
Success to thy tents! | |

- 7 And peace be within thy walls IV
 and wealth in thy palaces.
 9 ⁶ For the sake of Jahveh's house,
 I seek thy welfare.

¹ 3 Jerusalem. ² 4 Tribes of Jah. Explanatory gloss on "tribes."

³ 4 A law for Israel. Cf. Ex. 23, 17.

⁴ 5 Thrones. Gloss on special meaning of "sit," to be throned.

⁵ 5 Thrones. Dittogram.

⁶ 8 For the sake of my brethren and friends
 I bespeak peace in thee.

A reader, not living in Jerusalem, with fraternal sympathy does as v. 6 requests.

PSALM 123.

- 1 Unto thee lift I up mine eyes, I
 Thou dweller in heaven!
 2 As the eyes of servants are raised
 to the hand of their masters,
 As the eyes of a handmaid are raised II
 to the hand of her mistress,
 Even so are our eyes to Jahveh,¹
 until He shall pity us.
 3 Pity us, Jahveh, O pity us, III
 we are² sated with scorn.
 4 Too long has our soul been sated
 with the scorn of the proud.³

¹ 2 Our God. ² 3 Much. ³ 4 With the contempt of the careless.
 Explanatory gloss on v. 4b.

PSALM 124.

- 1 Had Jahveh not been for us, I
 may Israel now say,
 2 Had Jahveh not been for us
 when men rose against us,
 3 Then had they swallowed us living, II
 in fury against us;¹
 5 Then had the scornful waters
 gone over our soul.

6 Bless'd be Jah, who gave us not
a prey to their teeth. III

7 Our soul hath escaped as a bird
from the net of the fowler;

The net is broken in pieces
and we are escaped. IV

8 Our help is in Jahveh's name,
who made heaven and earth.

¹ 4 Then had the waters o'erwhelmed us
the stream had gone over our soul.

Variant of v. 5 in different meter.

PSALM 125.

1 Like Zion which cannot be moved
are those who trust Jahveh,

2 Jerusalem bideth forever
encircled with mountains. ¹

3 For Jahveh will not allow
the sceptre of wickedness
To rest on the lot of the righteous ²
from now to eternity.

4 Jahveh will do good to the good
and upright in heart; III

5 But ³ He will let the unstable ⁴
go on in their waywardness. ⁵

¹ 2 And Jahveh encircles His people. Marginal gloss.

² 3 The wicked shall not put forth
their hand 'gainst the righteous.

Gloss on the previous gloss. See note on Hebrew text.

³ 5 Jahveh. ⁴ The doers of iniquity. Gloss on "unstable."

⁵ Peace upon Israel. Euphemistic appendix.

PSALM 126.

- 1 When ¹ the captives of Zion return I
like dreamers we;
- 2 Then our mouth shall be filled with laughter,
our tongue with singing.
- Then shall they say: ² Great things II
did Jahveh for them.
- 3 Great things hath ³ He done for us,
joyous are we.
- 4 O Jahveh, bring back our captives III
as southern streams,
- 5 No doubt the weeping sowers
shall reap in joy.
- 6 He goeth hither and thither with tears IV
⁴ and scattereth the seed,
With joy shall he come back home
and bring his sheaves.

¹ 1 Jahveh. ² 2 Among the heathen. ³ 3 Jahveh.
⁴ 6 Bearing. Dittograph from v. 6b.

PSALM 127.

- 1 If Jahveh build not the house, I
they ¹ labor in vain;
If Jahveh keep not the city,
they watch in vain.
- 2 In vain do ye rise so early, II
so late take rest,
And eat and worry—He giveth
His beloved ² enough.
- 3 ³ For children are Jahveh's heritage III
and babes His reward;
- 4 As shafts in the hand of the mighty
even so the firstborn.

- 5 Happy the man whose quiver IV
is full of them;
No shame is his when he speaketh
with foes in the gate.

¹ 1 Its builders. ² 2 Sena', sleeping? Taken by Duhm as a gloss on
"take rest" v. 2. See notes on Hebrew text. ³ 3 Behold.

PSALM 128.

- 1 Happy are all who fear Jahveh, I
that walk in His ways;
2 ¹The fruit of thy toil shalt thou eat,
happy and lucky one!
- 3 Thy wife is the fruitful vine II
within thy house;
Thy children like olive branches
about thy board.
- 4 ²For thus the man is blessed III
that feareth Jahveh
5 Jahveh shall bless thee from Zion,
all thy life long.
- Enjoy thou all the wealth IV
of Jerusalem,
6 And see thy children's children
and peace upon Israel.

¹ 2 For. Dittogram. ² 4 Behold.

PSALM 129.

- 1 Right sore hath man oppressed me I
saith Israel now,
2 Right sore from my youth oppressed me
but not subdued me.
- 3 On my back have plowers plowed II
and made long furrows,
4 But righteous Jahveh hath cut
the cord of the wicked.

- 5 With shame are they turned back, III
 all haters of Zion,
 6 Like the grass on the roof are they
¹ that sprouts and withers.
- 7 ² No reaper takes it in hand, IV
 no harvester garners it,
 8 No passer-by shall say of them,
 Jah's blessing upon you. ³

¹ 6 Which before. ² 7 Which. ³ 8 We bless you in Jahveh's name.
 A variant, perhaps a popular quotation suggested by v. 8b.

PSALM 130.

- 1 From the depths have I called to Thee, Jahveh, I
¹ Hear Thou my voice;
 2 O let Thine ears consider
 the voice of my prayer.
- 3 If Thou watch for sins, O Jah, II
² who then can stand?
 4 For there is forgiveness with Thee
 according to Thy law.
- 5 My soul hath hoped ³ in Jahveh III
 and trusted His word, ⁴
 6 ⁵ And that from the morning watch ⁶
 till eventide.
- 7 O Israel, trust in Jahveh, IV
 with Him is mercy,
 8 And Jahveh shall redeem ⁷ Israel
 from all his sins.

¹ 2 Lord. ² 3 Lord. ³ 5 I have hoped. Scribal variant. ⁴ 6 My soul.
⁵ To the Lord. ⁶ Watchers for the morning. For these glosses see
 notes on the Hebrew text.

⁷ 7 And with Him is plenteous redemption. Gloss on v. 8b.

PSALM 131.

- 1 O Jahveh, my heart is not proud, I
 my eyes not haughty,
 I have not walked presumptuously—
 too grandly for me.

- 2 Surely my soul I have stilled¹ II
as a child with its mother;²
3 So, Israel, trust in Jahveh
from now to eternity.

¹2 And I have quieted. Gloss on "stilled."

² As a child with my soul. Dittogram; order changed in attempt to make sense.

PSALM 132.

- 1 O Jahveh, for David's good I
remember all his labors;
2 How he sware unto Jahveh and vowed
to the Mighty One of Jacob:
3 I will not enter my dwelling II
nor lie upon my bed,
4 I will not give sleep to mine eyes
nor slumber to mine eyelids,
5 Till I find a place for Jahveh, III
a dwelling for the Ark.¹
6 ² Its fame we heard at Ephrata
and we found it in Sde Jaar.
7 We will bring it to His dwelling IV
and worship before His footstool.
8 Arise, Jahveh, to Thy resting place,
Thou, and Thy holy Ark!³
11 He swore unto David in truth, V
in no wise will He turn from it:
A king, of the fruit of thy body,
I will set upon thy throne.
12 If thy sons shall keep My covenant VI
and the law that I shall teach them,
Their sons also forever
shall sit upon thy throne.

- 13 For Jahveh hath chosen Zion VII
 and desired it for His abode :
 14 This is My rest forever—
 I have longed for it—here will I dwell.
- 15 I will surely bless her provision VIII
 and content her poor with bread ;
 16 I will clothe her priests with health
 and her saints shall shout for joy.
- 17 ⁴ I will prosper the horn of David, IX
 for Mine anointed I ordered a lamp ;
 18 I will cover his foes with shame,
 but on him a crown shall be radiant.

¹ 5 Jacob.² 6 Behold.

³ 9, 10 Thy priests shall be clothed with righteousness
 Thy saints shall shout for joy ;
 For Thy servant David's sake
 hide not the face of Thine anointed.

These lines seem to have been erroneously copied into the text because they follow—in 2 Chr. 6, 41f—the extract in v. 8.

⁴ 17 There.

PSALM 133.

- 1 How good and pleasant for brothers I
 to dwell in unity !
 2 As precious oil on the head,
 which went down on the beard ;^{1 2}
- 3 As the dew of Hermon descending II
 upon the mountains ;³
 So ⁴ Jahveh commands the blessing—
 of life forever more.

^{1 2} Aaron's beard. Marginal gloss, meaning a patriarchal beard.

² Which went down to the neck (or, as in LXX. and RV., skirt) of his garment. A gloss either suggested by ⁽¹⁾ and intended to describe the length of the beard, as in LXX. ; or, it is independent of ⁽¹⁾ and means that the oil ran down on the neck. The meter rejects it.

³ 3 Zion. A gloss always suggested by "mount."

⁴ There. Added after the gloss "Zion" had given a wrong turn to the original thought. The oil and dew are types of blessing. Harmony on earth is the earnest of unending life.

PSALM 134.

- | | | |
|---|--|----|
| 1 | ' Let all the servants of Jahveh
give praise to Jahveh,
Standing in Jahveh's house
in the night season. | I |
| 2 | Lift up your hands in the Sanctuary
and bless Jahveh, | II |
| 3 | And Jahveh, who made heaven and earth,
bless you from Zion. | |

¹ 1 Behold.

The Hebrew text of these Psalms, arranged metrically, will be printed elsewhere. In the translation here given, the following emendations are presupposed:

120 2, omit **מְלִישׁוֹן רַמְיָה**. | Omit vs. 5. 121 5, om. **יְהוָה** 2°. | 8, om. **יְהוָה**. 122 3, substitute **הִיא** for **יְרוּשָׁלַם**. | 4; om. **יְהוָה**. | **שְׁבַטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**. | 5, insert **וְיָשָׁם** before **יִשְׁבְּנוּ**. | Om. **כַּסְאוֹת**. | Om. vs. 8. 123 2, insert **ו** before **כַּעֲנִי** 2°. | Om. **אֱלֹהֵינוּ**. | 3, om. **רַב**. | 4, om. **לְשָׁאֲנַיִם**. | 124 om. vs. 4. 125 2, om. **וְיְהוָה סִבֵּב לְעַמּוֹ**, and transpose the last clause of the verse, making it follow **הַצְדִּיקִים** 1° in v. 3. | 3, read **יִנַּיִח יְהוָה**. | Om. the second half of the verse (emended) by inserting **עַל** after **יִשְׁלַחוּ**, and reading **בְּנֵי עוֹלָה** for **בְּעוֹלָתָהּ**. | 4, read **יִיטִיב** | 5, read **וְהַמְטִים יוֹלִיכֶם עַל עַקְלָקְלוֹתֵם**, omitting the remainder. 126 1, om. **יְהוָה**, and **אֵת**. | 2, om. **בְּנוּיִם**. | 3, om. **יְהוָה**. | 4, om. **אֵת**. | 6, om. **נִשְׂאָה**. 127 1, om. **בּוֹנִי**. | 2, read **וְאָכְלִי**, and om. **שָׂנְאָה**. | 3, om. **הַנְּהָה**. | 5, om. **אֵת**. 128 2, om. **כִּי**. | 4, om. **הַנְּהָה**. | 6, read **וְיִשְׁלֹם**. 129 6, om. **שִׁקְדַּמַּת**. | 7, om. **ש** in **שְׁלָא**. | 8, om. the last clause. 130 2, om. **אֲדַנִּי**. | 3, om. **אֲדַנִּי**. | 5, om. **קִוִּיתִי**. and transpose the two following words. | Read **הוֹחִילָהּ**. | 6, om. **נַפְשִׁי**, and read **מֵאֲשַׁמְרַת** **וְעַד הַלִּילָהּ**, omitting the rest. | 7, om. the last clause. 131 2, om. **וְדוֹמַמְתִּי**, and the last clause. 132 5, om. **רִנָּן**. | 6, om. **הַנְּהָה**. | Om. verses 9 (emended by inserting **רִנָּן** before **יִרְנְנוּ**) and 10: | 11, insert **מֶלֶךְ** before **לְכַסָּא**. | 17, om. **שֵׁם**. 133 2, read **שִׁירָד** instead of **יִרָד**, and om. all after **הַזִּקְזָן**. | 3, om. **צִיּוֹן**, and read **הַהָרִים**. | Om. **שֵׁם**, reading **כְּצוּהָה**. 134 1, om. **הַנְּהָה**. | 2, read **בְּהַרִישׁ**. | 3, read **וּבְרַכְכֶם**.

NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT.

120

2. **משפת**. It is a recognized principle of Hebrew accentuation that a word in the construct state loses its accent, or rather it is so closely joined to the following word as to form a compound form, the accent being that of the last word. But as in many forms of more than two syllables a secondary accent is found, it seems justifiable to accent a nomen regens where the rhythm seems to require it. As to the *place* of the accent, it seems right to let the rhythm decide. Hence **משפת** instead of **משפת**, which would bring two accents together. Cf. 127², where three instances occur, the accent required by the rhythm being indicated in one case by mahpak, in the others by metheg. See a similar instance in 129⁵.

6. **שכנה-לה**. Haupt has pointed out that a preposition with suffix may be enclitic, as in the present case. So in 122¹, 125¹, 127¹, 128², 129². On the other hand, it is not enclitic in 120¹, 122³, 132^{11, 12, 13}, where, in all but one case, it coincides with the principal pause.

121

1. **שמים-וארץ**. If it is felt that the Hebrew requires two accents here on account of the number of syllables, such forms as **למלחמה** (120⁷) and many others would be impossible. In *idea* the words form a unit.

122

2. For **בשעריך** read **בשערי** with Bickell and Duham.
 3. **היא** seems to be dittography and may have supplanted **ירושלם**. For **שחברנו-לה**, which is surely wrong, I would suggest **שחברנו**, which harmonizes with the following verse. **שם** may have fallen out by haplography.

4. **כי-שם** of v. 5 evidently belongs with v. 4, and **שם** with v. 5, where *pâseq* shows textual corruption. **יה** for the fuller form **יהוה** seems justified, as it was probably abbreviated in MSS.; cf. gloss (β).

5. **ל** \approx s in LXX. and Vulgate.

6. For **אהבך** read **אהליך** with Ewald and Duham.

123

2. **אלהינו** is redundant, perhaps an emended dittogram.

4. **לגאיונים** only here. **שאננים** is explanatory.

124

1. **שהיה-לנו**. Such an aggregation of unaccented syllables is frequently paralleled in single forms, as: **הזיהונים**, **למלחמה**, **ממעמקים**, etc.

3. **אפם בנו**. Cf. 127^{1a·b·}, 128⁴, 132^{1·6·11b·12a·b·13·15·16·17·18·} where two accents are consecutive. The larger number are in Ps. 132 and may indicate that it was originally 3+2 meter. The other instances may be due to intention or carelessness.

4. Bickell and Duhm reject this verse.

125

3. **יניח** for **ינוח** with Duhm.

למען לא ישלחו [על] הצדיקים בני-עולה יריהם. This seems to be a gloss on **לעמו** (v. 2) from which the awkward **למען** may be corrupted. Read **בעולתה** for **בני-עולה** (Cheyne). This corruption caused the omission of **על**, making **הצדיקים** subject.

4. **יוליכם** for **הטיבה**. This harmonizes much better with **בלבותם**. And why should JHVH be asked to do good to the good! under influence of **עקלקלותם** (Cheyne).

5. **עקלקלותם [על]**. Supply **על** as in 1 Sam. 9⁶. For "שלום זור" see K. J. Grimm's Euphemistic Appendixes. Duhm considers this Psalm very awkward; it is only so because of the corruptions.

126

1. **את** omitted, as in Ps. 14⁷, 53⁷, 85². Read **שבות** for **שיבת**.

6. **ילך ובכה**. Pâseq often indicates merely the correct division. **נשא**. Duhm is certainly right in regarding **נשא** as a dittogram from v. 6^a.

127

2. Duhm takes **שנא** for **שנה** as gloss on **שבת** v. 2. It may be a misplaced corruption of **שוא**. It is not necessary, with Duhm, to take **כן**=enough, though I have so rendered it. It may mean: *Thus* (i. e.) by giving offspring) He rewards His beloved. This Psalm ought not to be divided.

5. For **אשר מלא אה** read **שמלאה**, making **אשפתו** subject, **ירנר** and **יבש** sing. with Duhm.

129

6. **שקרמת** added to make sense after **חלף** (so Ortenberg, Wellh., and Duhm) was corrupted to **שלף**. Cf. Ps. 90⁶.

7. **ש** omitted with Ehrlich.

130

2. אַדְנִי in vv. 2, 3, and 6 may be from a later hand.

4. For תּוֹרָא read תּוֹרָה with Vulgate and probably LXX. originally.

6. נַפְשִׁי. Scribal expression as subject for לְאֲדֹנֵי הַחוּלִיָּה. Later addition after הַחוּלִיָּה had become הַחוּלִיתִי and נַפְשִׁי was left out of connection with v. 5.

מֵאִשְׁמֶרֶת לְבַקֵּר. Later dittogram after the corruption of מֵאִשְׁמֶרֶת into מִשְׁמֶרֶת. וְעַד הַלַּיְלָה must have been the original reading as in LXX. and Vulgate.

7. כִּי עִם יי' הַחֶסֶד misread כִּי עָמַד הַחֶסֶד; cf. v. 7^b.

132

5. לְאֲרֹן for לְאֹבֵד, with Duhm.

6. שְׁמַעֲנֵנָה in the sense of 'hearing of,' cf. Ex. 18¹.

7. נְבִיאָה for נְבוּאָה with Duhm.

8. קִדְשָׁךְ for עֶזְךָ with Haupt.

11. Supply מֶלֶךְ, perhaps lost by haplography. A few rather violent changes would make this Psalm of the same meter as the others.

133

2. הַטּוֹב. Was this added later than the Vulgate to improve the rhythm? Had there been any allusion to Aaron's anointing it would no doubt have been הַקֹּדֶשׁ.

When and where was the Code Hammurabi promulgated?—

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I.

IF the first question were, When was the famous monument containing the code, now in the Louvre, set up? the answer would be: Not until the lapse of time enough to accomplish the numerous restorations, victories, etc., referred to in the prologue, which must have required a considerable number of years. More specifically we should have to say: Not earlier than the latest event referred to in the prologue and the epilogue to the code. Many of these events cannot yet be dated. But the unification and pacification of Babylonia described in 40⁹⁻⁵⁸ seem to have been subsequent to the victory over Elam and Emutbal, which, as we know from the important chronological tablets,¹ fell in the 30th and 31st years of Hammurabi's reign.

But must we assume that the promulgation of the code and the setting up of this copy² are contemporaneous events?

Two circumstances suggest a negative answer. The first is the passage in the prologue, introducing the code proper (5¹⁴⁻²⁴), a portion of which has been discussed in this Journal in a note on *Pi Matim*.³ The passage reads:

¹⁴ *i-nu-mà* ¹⁵ *ilu Marduk* ¹⁶ *a-na šu-te-šu-ur ni-ši* ¹⁷ *matim u-si-im* ¹⁸ *šu-hu-zi-im* ¹⁹ *u-wa-e-ra-an-ni* ²⁰ *ki-it-tam* ²¹ *à mi-ša-ram* ²² *i-na pī ma-tim* ²³ *aš-ku-un* ²⁴ *ši-ir ni-ši u-ṭi-ib*, "At the time when Marduk sent me to govern the people, to confer on the land prosperity, I established law and justice in the language of the land, I wrought the welfare of the people." This language seems natural if the promulgation of the law came

¹ *Cuneiform Texts*, vi. 9, 10; King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, ii. 223 ff., iii. 229 ff.; Lindl, *Datenliste der ersten Dynastie von Babylon in Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv. 338 ff.

² The discoverers found part of a second copy at Susa, and there were probably copies in various cities of Hammurabi's realm.

³ xxv. 269 ff., 1904.

shortly after the king's accession, but unnatural if thirty-one years intervened.¹ The only escape from this conclusion is to understand the expression, 'at the time when Marduk sent me,' etc., as referring not to the king's accession, but to some subsequent commission by the god, e. g. to some ceremony or celebration connected with assumption of rule over a united Babylonia, an idea to which I shall return later (pp. 126-128).

The other circumstance suggesting that the code was promulgated early in the reign is the description of Hammurabi's second year (in the chronological tablets referred to above) as the "year in which he established justice in the land," i. e., it seems likely, the year in which he promulgated the code.

King translates the passage: "The year in which righteousness[. . . was established]." A complete form of this date appended to a contract tablet King renders: "The year in which Hammurabi established righteousness"; and a still fuller form: "The year in which Hammurabi (established) the heart of the land in righteousness." In these varying expressions of the title of this year King sees "a reference to the reforms undertaken by Hammurabi at the beginning of his reign."

Lindl, with a complete text of the line giving the title of Hammurabi's second year, thanks to the fragment in the Constantinople museum, renders: "Jahr da er das Wohl des Landes gefördert."

It was impossible for King and Lindl to see here a reference to the promulgation of the code, for the code had not been found when they wrote. Johns, however, with the code in his hands, understands the words, "The year in which Hammurabi established the heart of the land in righteousness," as referring not necessarily to legal, but possibly to religious reforms, and

¹ We know indeed that the interval would have to be greater than 31 years, since enough of the titles of Hammurabi's 32d, 33d, and 34th years is preserved to show that the promulgation is mentioned in none of these. The 35th year, likewise, seems to be named from some building operation. Therefore if the code does not precede the 31st year, it falls not less than four years later still. Nor does it fall in the 38th year. The fragmentary state of the tablet leaves us in uncertainty regarding the remaining years, 36, 37, 39-43. I am assuming that the promulgation of the code was an event of such importance that one of the years of Hammurabi's reign must have taken its name therefrom.

decides that "the code was probably not promulgated this year."¹ His statement that the same formula is used of Sumula-ilu seems to me far from established, a subject to which I return further on.

But even without knowledge of the code one criticism might fairly be passed on all these translations, namely their vagueness. Old Babylonian contracts were not dated from the 'establishment of righteousness,' nor from the 'Fördern des Wohls des Landes,' but from some definite event, as the king's accession, a great victory, a catastrophe, an important building operation, the cutting of a canal, etc. Though we may be obliged, therefore, to translate: 'established righteousness,' we must understand this of some one important act or achievement.

To me it seems more likely than not that the event referred to is the promulgation of the code. The two important words 'righteousness' and 'established' are expressed by those ideograms which often stand for *mīšaru* and *šakānu*, and are to be read here in Babylonian by *mīšaram iškun*, just the phrase used in the code, 5^{20 25}, *ki-it-tam á mi-ša-ra-am i-na pí ma-tim aš-ku-un*, "I established law and justice in the language of the land" (=vernacular). If, as I argued in the paper on *Pī Matim*,² this passage refers in the words *kittam á mīšaram . . . aškun* to the promulgation of the code, it seems not unnatural to understand *mīšaram . . . iškun* in the title of year two as an abbreviated expression for the same idea.

We must now examine the statement of Johns: "The same formula is used of Sumulailu,"³ and this writer's inference that the reform of Hammurabi's second year may have been religious rather than legal. His proof passage is the record of a suit,⁴ brought by one Aliku (and others) to recover some real estate which he had previously sold⁵ to Takumatum, a votary

¹ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. 587, No. 6.

² *Journal* xxv. 269 ff.

³ Hastings, v. 587, No. 6.

⁴ Bu. 91-5-9, 2177 A = *Cuneiform Texts* vi. 42.

⁵ Bu. 91-5-9, 318 = *Cuneiform Texts* iv. 50. There are interesting differences in the spelling of the names in the two tablets. In the record of sale the seller is Ḫaliku and the buyer Takunmatum and in the suit the king's name is written Sa-mu-la-ilu. This tablet is the one which settles the question of the date of Immeru, making him the contemporary of Sumula-ilu.

of Shamash, and her mother, Rabatum. After stating the fact of the claim, the record says ¹³ *da-ya-nu i-na Bit-ilu Šamaš* ¹⁴ *ar-nam i-mu-du-šu-nu-ti* ¹⁵ *ru-gu-me-šu-nu i-su-ḫu-ma* ¹⁶ *wa-ar-ki Sa-mu-la-ilu* ¹⁷ *mi-ša-ra-am iš-ku-nu* ¹⁸ *šum ilu Šamaš ilu Marduk* ¹⁹ *ā Sa-mu-la-ilu* ²⁶ IN-PA-NE-MEŠ (= *itmā*), i. e. "The judges in the temple of Shamash decided against them,¹ made their claim void, and established the right according to Samula-ilu. They [the parties to the suit] swore by the name of Shamash, Marduk, and Samula-ilu" (i. e. to accept in good faith the legal decision).

Another possible way of rendering *wa-ar-ki Sa-mu-la-ilu mi-ša-ra-am iš-ku-nu* is 'after Samula-ilu had established righteousness,' and so Johns apparently understands the passage. But it seems much more likely that we have here three co-ordinate sentences, each ending with a verb, *i-mu-du*, *i-su-ḫu*, *iš-ku-nu*, the second and third connected by *ma*, 'and,' all with the same subject *da-ya-nu*, 'the judges.' The expression *mi-ša-ra-am iš-ku-nu* would accordingly mean that the judges gave a just verdict, and *wa-ar-ki*² *Sa-mu-la-ilu* 'after Samula-ilu,' would most naturally mean that this decision was rendered in accordance with a code Samula-ilu. We should have thus in the code of Samula-ilu one of the forerunners of the code of Hammurabi. We may feel quite sure that Hammurabi did not make the first attempt at codifying Babylonian law. If this interpretation be correct, the passage hardly seems to help us in deciding what *mīšaram iškun* means in the title of Hammurabi's second year.

There remains a passage in the epilogue which has been referred to and must now receive attention.³ Here Hammurabi tells of his victories whereby he drove out the enemy, and established the land in peace and prosperity. He then proceeds :

¹ On *arnam emēdu*, 'to decide against, lay a penalty on,' see Hammurabi Code 43⁴⁷⁻⁵¹.

² For *warki* in the sense 'according to' see also *Cuneiform Texts* viii. 23, 8: *wa-ar-ki ši-im-da-at šar-ri-im* 'according to the royal standard,' and cf. viii. 32, 18: *ki-ma ši-im-da-at šarrim*; Hammurabi Code 14⁶⁴: *a-na pī ši-im-da-at šar-ri-im*. The three expressions *warki*, *kima* and *ana pī* have the same meaning.

Warki, 'after,' in the sense 'after the death of' occurs several times in the Hammurabi Code. Likewise in *Cuneiform Texts* viii. 7, 7 (No. 349); viii. 7, 10 (No. 2183).

³ 40⁹⁻⁵⁸.

“The great gods proclaimed me [*ilāni rabāti ib-bu-u-nin-ni*], and I am the protecting shepherd whose scepter is righteous and whose favorable shadow is cast over my city. In my bosom I bore the people of the land Shumer and Akkad. By the aid of my protecting deity I (as) her brother¹ took them

¹ Lines 53-56 in this passage have troubled all interpreters. The reading is ⁵³ *i-na la-ma-zī-ia* ⁵⁴ *aḥ-ḥi-ša* ⁵⁵ *i-na šu-ul-mi-im* ⁵⁶ *at-tab-ba-al-ši-na-ti*. The following renderings have been given: Scheil, “Par mon génie ‘protecteur, ses frères dans la paix j’ai guidé”; Winckler, “In meinem Schutz habe ich sie ihre Thätigkeit in Frieden ausüben lassen;” Harper, “Under my protection I brought their brethren into security;” Pinches, “By my protective spirit fraternally (?) have I guided them in peace.”

The difficult word here is *aḥ-ḥi-ša*. Scheil (‘ses frères’) makes it object of *attabbal*. But *aḥ-ḥi* if it be the plural of *aḥu*, ‘brother,’ is masculine, whereas the suffix *ši-na-ti* being feminine, must have a feminine antecedent, viz. *nī-ši* in l. 50; cf. *nī-ši sa-ap-ḥa-tim*, ²⁵⁰. I do not understand Winckler’s ‘ihre Thätigkeit.’ In the glossary he puts *aḥ-ḥi-ša* under *aḥu*, ‘brother.’ To Harper’s ‘Their brethren,’ the same objection applies as to Scheil’s ‘ses frères.’ Moreover, *ša* in *aḥ-ḥi-ša* is singular, and cannot mean ‘their.’ Pinches understands the word as an adverb=*aḥḥiš*, ‘like a brother, fraternally.’ This seems to me at least as probable as any of the other renderings proposed. The prologue and epilogue have several adverbs in *iš*, as *ezziš*, ‘angrily;’ *eliš*, ‘above;’ *arḥiš* ‘quickly;’ *dāriš*, ‘eternally;’ *kamiš*, ‘in a bound condition;’ *šalmāniš*, ‘peacefully;’ *šapliš*, ‘below;’ *ūmišam*, ‘daily.’ If the word under examination belongs to the list, we should expect *aḥ-ḥi-iš* rather than *aḥ-ḥi-ša*. The only case in the list with a *ia* is *ūmišam*, which with *ūmišamma* is the regular form of the adverb from *ūmu*, ‘day.’ The form *ūmiš* means ‘by day.’

In offering the rendering ‘her brother’ for *aḥ-ḥi-ša* I make the *ša* a suffix referring to *la-ma-zī*, which according to ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴³⁹⁶ is a feminine noun. The expression *i-na la-ma-zī-ia aḥ-ḥi-ša* then means ‘by (the aid of) my protecting deity, her brother,’ i. e., ‘by (the aid of) the protecting deity of me, her brother.’ The genitive *aḥ-ḥi* is accordingly in apposition with the genitive of the personal pronoun implied in the suffix *ia*. The construction thus understood is the same as in ⁴⁰ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ *i-na ma-ḥar šalmi-ia šarri mi-ša-ri-im*, ‘in front of my statue king of righteousness,’ i. e., ‘in front of the statue of me, king of righteousness.’ Cf. also ⁴¹ ⁶ ⁷.

Hammurabi thus makes himself the brother of the goddess whom he calls his lamassu, perhaps Ishtar as in ⁴³ ⁹²⁻⁹⁷. If this is unexpected, it is paralleled by ² ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷, where he styles himself *ta-li-im* ¹¹⁰ *Za-ma-ma* ‘brother of the god Zamama.’

The serious objection to my interpretation is that elsewhere in this inscription the writing *aḥ-ḥi* with double *ḥ* expresses the plural of *aḥu*,

into security. In my wisdom I shielded them." Then follows the account of setting up in Babylon the monument containing the code.

Now does the expression (40^{40, 41}) 'the great gods proclaimed me' (or 'named me'), although it follows the account of the unification and pacification of the land, refer to Hammurabi's accession? Or are we permitted to see here a ceremony celebrating the completion of his military tasks, his investiture by the gods with enlarged dominion, and may we understand that in connection with this celebration he set up in Babylon a splendid copy of the code which he had already promulgated in his second year?

So it seems to me. But until a tablet is found with a complete list of Hammurabi dates, we cannot dogmatize. Unless such a complete list should show that the code was promulgated in some other year, we must hold that the title of year two in the existing fragments refers to that event.

II.

On the question, Where this first promulgation took place, at Babylon, at Sippar, or elsewhere, it is idle to speculate. But if we limit the inquiry to the question, Where was the copy of the code which we possess set up? we are provided with a definite answer. Hammurabi says expressly that this monument was set up in the temple Esagil in Babylon. "In order that the strong might not wrong the weak, in order to lead aright the orphan and the widow, in Babylon, the city whose head Anu and Bel had exalted, in Esagil, the temple whose foundations are established like the heavens and the earth, in order to

'brother.' The same is true in the contract literature of the time. While the plural is occasionally written with one *h*, as *Cuneiform Texts* vi. 21, 12 (No. 371); viii. 7, 11 (No. 2183), I have not noted any case of a singular with double *h*.

If this constancy of usage force us to take *ah-hi-sa* as plural, then I think we must supply the connective *û* before it, thus: 'by (the aid of) my protecting deity (and) her brothers.' Such absence of the connective occurs in this inscription, as before the name of Bel in 1³. To understand 'her brothers' as referring to the population of Shumer and Akkad (40^{50, 51}), and to make it the object of the verb which follows, seems impossible, especially in view of the feminine suffix *ši-na-ti*.

pronounce judgments for the land, to give decisions for the land, to lead the needy aright, I wrote my precious words on my monument, and I placed it before the statue of myself as king of righteousness." Col. 40⁶⁹⁻⁷⁸.

Winckler's rendering of this passage is: "Dass der Starke dem Schwachen nicht schade, um Waisen und Witwen zu sichern, in Babylon, der Stadt Anu und Bels ihr Haupt zu erheben, in (E-)sagil, dem Tempel, dessen Fundamente feststehen wie Himmel und Erde, das Recht des Landes zu sprechen, die Streitfragen zu entscheiden, die Schäden zu heilen, habe ich meine kostbaren Worte auf meinen Denkstein geschrieben, vor meinem Bildnisse, als des Königs der Gerechtigkeit, aufgestellt."¹

This version has created confusion by mistranslating the relative clause following the word Babylon. Hammurabi calls Babylon *ali ša Anu û Bel ri-ši-šu u-ul-lu-u*, "city whose head Anu and Bel had exalted." This is explained by col. 1¹⁶⁻¹⁹, according to which Anu and Bel named Babylon, and made it great in the world. But to render with Winckler "in Babylon, der Stadt Anu und Bels ihr Haupt zu erheben," gives a new purpose clause where none is intended; assigns Babylon to Anu and Bel, whereas it is the city of Marduk; makes a perfectly clear clause unintelligible; and obscures the connection of Babylon and Esagil with the writing and setting up of the monument.

From R. F. Harper's rendering² one would most naturally deduce this meaning: 'I wrote my laws in order that the strong might not injure the weak . . . in Babylon, in order to pronounce judgments . . . in Esagil.'

Now from either of these renderings, though defective, one might naturally draw the conclusion that the monument was set up in Esagil at Babylon; because if it was set up in order to attain the ends of justice in Babylon and Esagil, the strong presumption is that the city and temple are named as the home of the monument. But we have shown above that the correct version is not ambiguous, as Kohler and Peiser³ have also clearly seen.

¹ *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 75.

² *The Code of Hammurabi*, 1904, p. 99, 100.

³ *Hammurabis Gesetz*, 1904, p. 99, 100. See also T. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light*, etc., ed. 2, p. 516 (1903).

Though Scheil's version¹ is capable of improvement in details, it is not likely to mislead the reader in the point here under discussion.

The sentence of 40⁶⁹⁻⁷⁸, which we are now discussing, is confessedly long and involved, but the code is fond of sentences of that kind. Reduced to simple terms the sentence says, 'I wrote and set up my monument in the temple Esagil at Babylon.' The five purpose clauses in the sentence, two preceding the word Babylon and three coming after the word Esagil, have obscured in some minds the otherwise clear structure of the sentence.

Of course, if one fails to grasp the clear statement of Hammurabi that he set up the monument in Babylon, there is grave danger of misunderstanding another passage near the end of the last column. This most interpreters have done, and one constantly reads that the monument was set up at Sippar. So, for instance, Winckler²: "Die Stele war also im Sonnentempel zu Sippar aufgestellt;" and C. H. W. Johns³: "That it was meant to be set up in Sippara is clear from the words *E-barra šuati*, 'this E-barra,' the name of the temple of Shamash at Sippara (line 76, rev. col. xxviii)."

If the passage already discussed states that the monument was set up in Babylon, it is *a priori* improbable that the latter passage states the contrary.

To this latter passage let us now turn. It is the last but one of the maledictions pronounced against any person, particularly any future ruler, who should injure the monument or neglect the code. The individual gods have already been invoked to destroy such person. Then follows our passage, 44⁷⁰⁻⁸²: ⁷⁰*ilāni rabāti* ⁷¹*ša ša-me-e* ⁷²*ú ir-ši-tim* ⁷³*ilu A-nun-na* ⁷⁴*i-na puḫri-šu-nu* ⁷⁵*še-íd bi-tim* ⁷⁶*libit E-bar-ra* ⁷⁷*šu-a-ti* ⁷⁸*zéra-šu* ⁷⁹*ma-zu šábi-šu* ⁸⁰*ni-ši-šu* ⁸¹*ú um-ma-an-šu* ⁸²*ir-ri-tam* ⁸³*ma-ru-uš-tam li-ru-ru.*

If lines 75 and 76 were absent one would render thus: "May the great gods of heaven and earth, the Annunaki in their totality [i. e. all the Annunaki], curse with a destructive curse him

¹ *Délégation en Perse. Mémoires* iv. 119 (1902).

² *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, p. 82.

³ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. 585.

[*šu-a-ti*], his offspring, his land, his soldiers, his people and his *ummanu*.”

The puzzling question is, how are lines 75 and 76 to be translated and construed? How Winckler and Johns understand them has already been pointed out in part. According to these scholars lines 75 and 76 are the beginning of the object of the verb *lirurá*, ‘may they curse’. Moreover, *šu-a-ti* is a demonstrative, agreeing with *libit Ebarra*, ‘may the gods curse this Ebarra.’ Ebarra, the Shamash temple in Sippar, being spoken of as ‘this Ebarra,’ the monument was of course set up there.

Harper’s rendering is not essentially different: “curse with blighting curses the wall of the temple, the construction of this Ebarra.” Kohler and Peiser the same: may the great gods curse “den Grundriss und die Mauern dieses Ebarra.”

There are weighty objections to this combination of *šu-a-ti* with Ebarra. In the first place, “this Ebarra” would be a most unusual mode of expression, since Ebarra is a proper name. Moreover, it seems extraordinary that the writer should say *this* Ebarra, when Ebarra has not been previously mentioned in the connection. Still further, such expression would imply that in employing it Hammurabi was in or beside the temple, an improbable supposition.

The evident solution is to separate *šu-a-ti* from Ebarra, and take it in the sense ‘him, himself,’ as in the same column 44¹⁹⁻²¹ *šu-a-ti a-na ga-át na-ak-ri-šu li-ma-al-li-šu*, ‘him into the hand of his enemy may she deliver.’

Unless we so understand *šu-a-ti*, the miscreant himself is not cursed at all in this, the most comprehensive of the maledictions. The absence of a word representing the miscreant is in the highest degree improbable. The case is hardly met by taking *zêru* ‘seed, offspring’ in the sense ‘années du regne’ (Scheil) or ‘Regierung’ (Winckler, Kohler-Peiser), as if the ‘rule’ stood for the man himself. True, those who so translate read the sign not as *zêru*, but as *palá*. To this the objections are insuperable. 1. In all other passages in the code where the sign in question occurs it means ‘seed, offspring,’ and is correctly rendered by the translators (2¹³, 5¹, 44⁴⁸). It is also correctly read by them (except that Scheil gives *pal* in 5¹). 2. The code has for *palá*, ‘reign, rule’ a different sign, though very similar to the sign for *zêru* (42^{47,64} 43^{53,98}). Scheil and Winckler read cor-

rectly in all cases, but translate with considerable degree of variety.

The two signs for *palû* and *zêru* are so much alike that one easily suggests the other. Has not Scheil in 44⁷⁶ read *palû* for *zêru* by a lapsus and has he not been followed by other interpreters without sufficient examination of the excellent plates in his edition?¹ Only Harper reads correctly all occurrences of both signs, translating consistently *palû* by 'reign' and *zêru* by 'seed' (except 44⁴⁸, where he renders by 'heir').

But let us return to lines 75 and 76. The difficulty in translating them is not removed by disconnecting the word *šu-a-ti*, 'this'. The question remains, are they a part of the object of the verb *li-ru-ru*, 'may they curse?' So most of the translations. (See above, pp. 131.) That is, this malediction begins by cursing the greatest of the temples of Shamash, the temple Ebarra in Sippar. Is not this an astonishing act of impiety toward the god whom Hammurabi recognizes as the giver of law, the author of right and justice? I will not discuss in detail the translations which have been given of this obscure passage, but propose my own translation, with my reasons.

Let us begin by noting that 41⁵¹ has an expression parallel to 44⁷⁶. It is *libit E-sagila*. The whole passage is ⁴⁸ *še-du-um la-ma-zum* ⁴⁹ *ilâni e-ri-bu-ut* ⁵⁰ *E-sag-ila* ⁵¹ *libit E-sag-ila* ⁵² *i-gi-ir-ri-e* ⁵³ *û-mi-ša-am* ⁵⁴ *i-na ma-har* ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ *Marduk be-lia* ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ *Zar-pa-ni-tum* ⁵⁷ *be-el-ti-ia li-dam-mi-ku*, "May the shedû (and the) lamassu, the gods who enter the temple Esagil, favor daily (his) plans (?) *libit E-sag-ila* before Marduk my lord and Zarpanit my lady."

What is the meaning of *libit E-sagil*? Kohler-Peiser translate: "an der Wand (?) Ísaggils." Winckler renders 48-51: "die

¹ Harper and Winckler have erroneously followed Scheil in another passage, in emending *a-at* to *ša-at* in 41⁵⁰. The three lines should be read: ⁵⁸ *a-na wa-ar-ki* ⁶⁰ *a-at û-mi* ⁶¹ *a-na ma-ti-ma*. Cf. *Cuneiform Texts* viii. 12, rev. 32: *a-na wa-ar-ki-at û-mi*; *ibid.*, ii. 50, 13: *a-na wa-ar-ki-at û-mi*; iv. 42, 10; viii. 21, 10: *a-na wa-ar-ki-a-at û-mi*; viii. 6, 11: *a-na wa-ar-ka-at û-[mi]-im*; viii. 15, 20 *a-na warkât û-mi-im* (the word *warkât* being written ideographically in the last passage). In later times this became *ana arkât ûmi*; cf. Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, under *arkû*. The scribal error lies in drawing a line between *wa-ar-ki* and *a-at*. The form *warki* appears in the Hammurabi Code as adjective and as preposition, but not as a noun after another preposition.

Schutzgottheiten, die Götter des Eingangs von (E)-Sagil (und der Mauer von (E)-Sagil," explaining in a note: "šēdu und lamassu s i n d eben die Gottheiten, die am Eingang und an der Mauer des Tempels stehen (dort dargestellt sind)." These translations do not advance the understanding of the passage. Scheil comes nearer the mark with his "dans les murs d'E-SAG-GIL," and Harper strikes it with "in the midst of Esagila."

The context demands the meaning 'within, in the midst of, Esagil.' The wish is expressed that in Esagil the other gods may intercede with the chief gods of the temple, Marduk and his spouse Zarpanit, in behalf of the needy suppliant of whom the preceding lines treat. But how can the meaning 'in, within' be derived from *libit*?

We may supply in thought *ina*, 'within,' before *libit*. Or we may suppose that the sign here rendered *libit* (the regular sign for *libittu*, 'brick') is used for *libbi* or *ina libbi*, 'in the midst of,' owing to the identity of sounds in the first part of the two words. Such use of ideograms for words of similar sound is not unknown. But however explained, *libit Esagil* must mean 'within Esagil.' The case is not essentially changed if Scheil be in the right with his rendering 'within the walls of Esagil,' because 'within the walls' means 'inside.'

Applying the result thus obtained to 44⁷⁶, we render, *libit E-barra* 'within the temple Ebarra,' as the place in which the gods are to curse the misereant.

There remains l. 75 *še-id bi-tim*, or, as generally read, *še-it bi-tim*.

The second sign is ambiguous. It may be *id* or *it*. In preferring *id* I connect the word *še-id* with *šēdu*.¹ This word *šēdu* occurs also in 41⁴⁸ *še-du-um la-ma-zum*, a passage already discussed in part (p. 132). Both words clearly indicate gods, or at least superhuman beings.

¹ Dr. Pinches (loc. cit. 519) gives no transliteration, but his translation: "the divine bull of the house," shows that he also reads *še-id* and not *še-it*. *Libit E-barra*, however, he renders: "the bricks of *E-babbara*." This makes the temple one of the cursing agents, along with the great gods, the Annunaki and the *še-id bi-tim*, instead of the place of the cursing. The *šu-a-ti* Dr. Pinches translates as I have done above. This article had been sent to the editor of the Journal before my attention was attracted to the translation of Dr. Pinches. It is a pleasure to find my interpretation of this passage in two important points confirmed by such good authority.

In all the passages where lamassu occurs it is in a benevolent capacity. So likewise *šēdu* in 41⁴⁸. But here in 44⁷⁵ the *šēdu* are associated with the great gods and the Annunaki in a destructive capacity, in cursing the miscreant.

Bi-tim, 'house,' in *še-īd bi-tim*, probably stands for temple, not unlikely for the temple Ebarra, though possibly for temple in general. Whether the Shedū of the temple be an individual or a class is not clear.

The discussion may close by repeating the translation of the passage: "May the great gods of heaven and earth, the Anunaki in their totality, (and) the temple Shedū curse with a destructive curse in the temple Ebarra, him, his offspring, his land, his soldiers, his people, and his *ummanu*."

Thus disappears the supposed evidence that the monument was set up in Ebarra in Sippar.

The Seal Impressions on an Early Babylonian Contract
(*Harvard Semitic Museum, No. 109*).—By DAVID G.
LYON, Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge,
Mass.

IN the year 1890 there was bought at auction in London for the Harvard Semitic Museum a clay tablet of the kind commonly known as case tablets. The case or envelope is intact, save for three small breaks, one at one end and two at the other, but the few missing signs are easily supplied from the context. In a duplicate copy bought for Lord Amherst at the same auction, a considerable part of the covering is broken away, thus revealing the inner tablet. As is generally known, the record on the covering of a case tablet is the same as that on the tablet within, the main difference being that the covering is often provided with a considerable variety of scenes made by the impression of the seals of persons named in the writing (contracting parties, witnesses, judges, etc.).

The tablet is dated in the reign of Samsu-iluna (about 2200 B. C.), son and successor of Hammurabi, of the first Babylonian dynasty.

The record is of the division of an inheritance (real estate and personal property) between several heirs, followed by the usual statement that the division is complete, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, and by the pledge that no one of them would ever bring a suit against the others. To this they swore in the name of Šamaš, Aá, Marduk and Samsu-iluna the king. There are five witnesses, including the scribe Šamaš-našir.

The name of the place of the transaction is partly effaced by seal impressions, but the mention of Šamaš, Aá, the Euphrates and Sippar shows that the region is that of Sippar.

In examining this tablet anew recently I was struck by the number of the seal impressions and by the excellence of some of them. Of these impressions there are 25, several of which are made over the written spaces. One side has 7, the other 6; one end 3, the other 2; one edge 4, the other 3. Where impression and writing are mingled each obscures the clearness of the other.

There is much repetition. To show how the impressions are grouped I have prepared a diagram (Figure 1), which may be converted by a little imagination into a solid representing the tablet. A and E are the two ends, B and D the two edges, C and F the two sides. The numbers indicate the position of the seal impressions, the distinction by suspended letters being for ease of reference. The same number indi-

FIGURE 1.

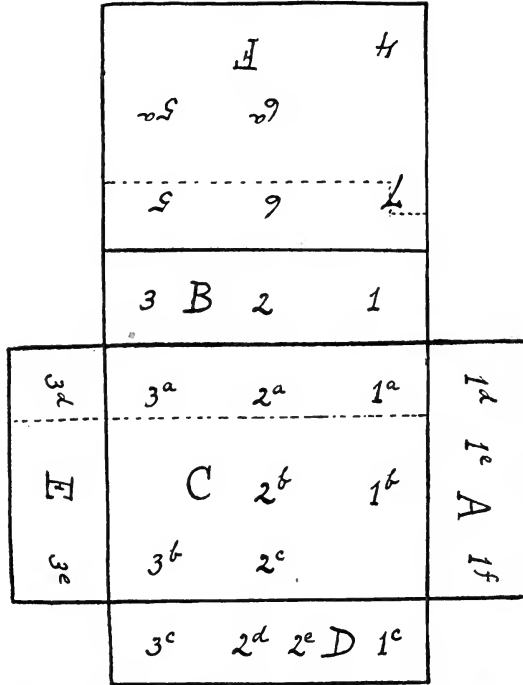


DIAGRAM OF TABLET SHOWING POSITIONS OF SEAL IMPRESSIONS ON THE VARIOUS SURFACES.

icates the same seal. It thus appears that A and the right hand portion of B C D were stamped by the owner of seal 1; the middle portion of B C D by seal 2; E and the left hand portion of B C D by seal 3. On side F four seals were used, two of them twice each. A and B, likewise C E F above the dotted line, at the time of writing were left bare for the seal impressions; also D, except that the lines of writing run over on this edge from C. The record is therefore confined to the space below the dotted lines on C E F.

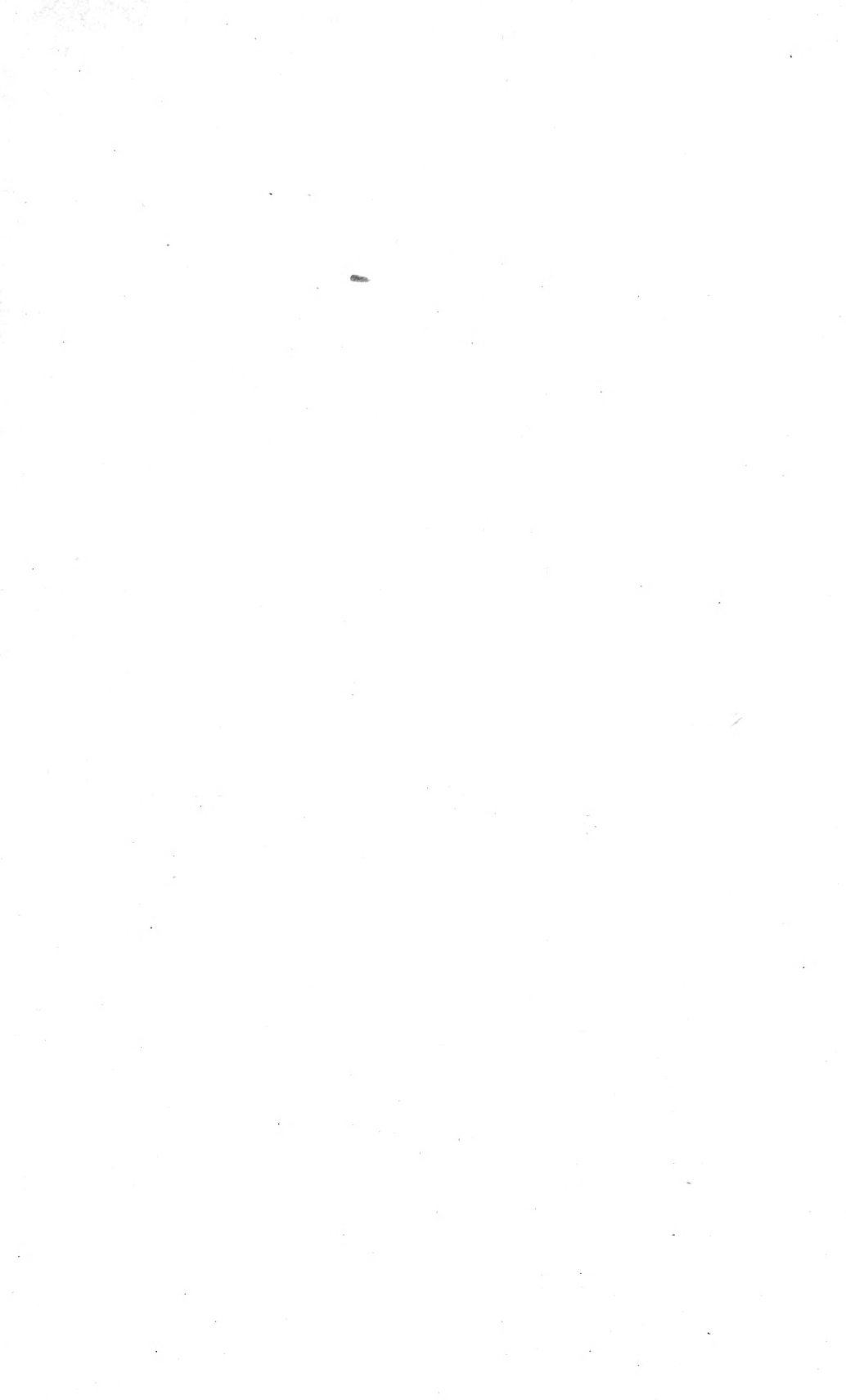


PLATE I.

3

2

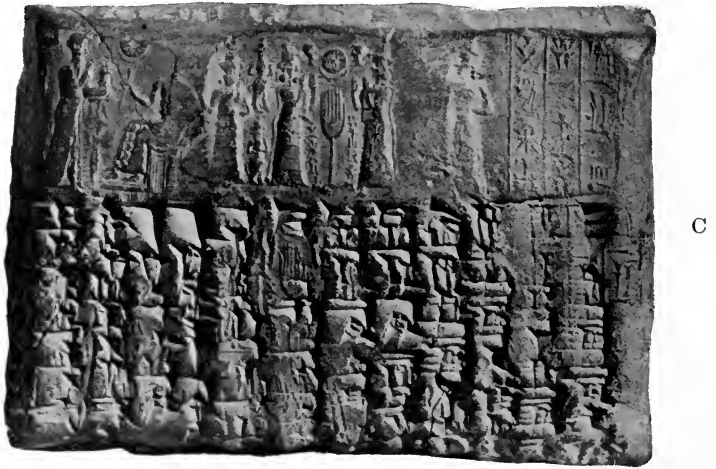
1



3^a

2^a

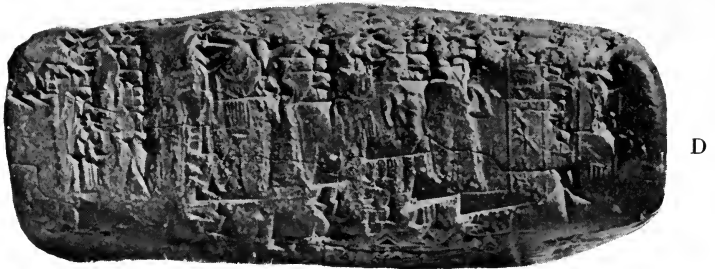
1^a



3^b

2^b
2^c

1^b



3^c

2^d

2^e

1^c

PLATE II.

1^d

1^e

1^f



A

3^d

3^e

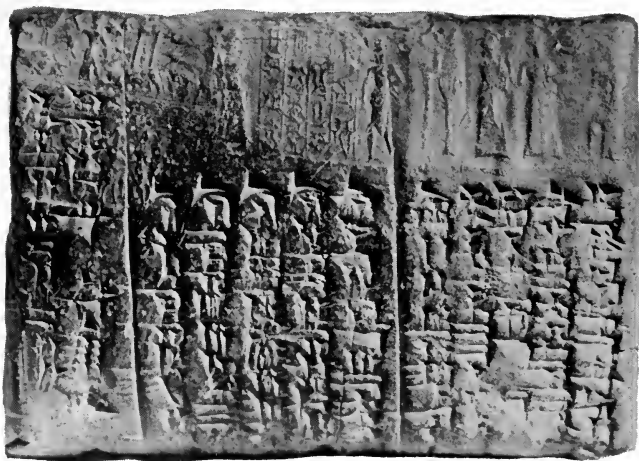


E

7

6

5



F

4

6^a

5^a

The photographic plates representing the six surfaces of the tablet corresponding to the parts of the diagram, A B C, etc., may be readily identified, and must be constantly consulted in order to understand the description of the seal impressions.

Figure 2 is given to show the tablet as a whole. Incidentally it shows the arrangement of the seal impressions on one end (A), one edge (B), and one side (C). In size the tablet is about $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the thickness being about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the ends, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ inch more in the middle of the tablet.

FIGURE 2.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TABLET, SHOWING THE FACE (C),
END (A), AND ONE EDGE (B).

Plate I reproduces edge B, side C (which is the front of the tablet) and edge D.

Plate II gives end A, end E, and side F, on which the inscription ends. Side F may also be dimly seen on Plate I, at the top.

In some cases we do not have the full impression, but the owner meant always apparently to give the most important part of the seal. There are inscriptions on the impressions of only four of the seals, though one of these four (1) is used seven times, the second (2) six times, the third (6) twice, and the fourth (7) once. The other three seals (3, 4, 5) may have been without inscriptions.

The seal most often used (1) belonged to the first witness, Dadu-ša (?) son of Ahum, servant of the god Bel (or Sin?). On one side of the inscription is a male and on the other a female deity, both standing. The pose and attire of the god are well known as characteristic of Adad, the weather god. The goddess is doubtless his spouse, Shala. Each has his back to the inscription, and they consequently face each other. The figure of Adad appears in but one of the impressions (1^d), but that of Shala in four (1, 1^a, 1^c, 1^f). The remaining two impressions of this seal give only the three lines of inscription, except that Shala's elbow can be seen also on 1^b. Of the three impressions on A, that in the middle was made last, and it has partly effaced the figures of the deities made by the two earlier impressions of the same seal.

The second seal (2; 2^a is clearer) is used six times. It has as center what I suppose to be a sacred tree, on either side of which stands a beardless deity, i. e., a goddess, with hands uplifted. Above the tree, an image of the sun, resting in the upturned crescent of the moon. On either side of the sun, looking toward it, a head like that of a man. Behind the deity on the left of the tree are two figures of the Ea-bani type, half man and half bull, placed one above the other. Behind these is a third deity, bearded, looking toward the spectator, the right hand extended. All these deities wear long hair, which appears as a large bushy mass about the neck.

There are three short lines of writing, in all probability cut on the seal after the completion of the carving. The first, on the figure of one of the goddesses, contains the owner's name, but is illegible. The owner is son of Gimil-Shamash (l. 2), and worshiper of the fire god Gibil (l. 3).

The third seal, likewise used six times, presents a sacrificial scene (3). On the right is a deity, presumably Shamash, sitting on a stool or throne with curved seat and paneled sides, his feet resting on a footstool, in his extended right hand a ring and a rod, the whole attitude being just that of Shamash in the bas-relief on the Hammurabi monument containing the code of laws, in the relief on the Abu-Habba tablet, and elsewhere. Above the god's right hand, the sun and the moon, as in seal No. 2.

Facing the god and gazing upon him is the turbaned figure of a man, his right hand held aloft, and in his left a kid or a lamb. His garment, open in front, reveals the left leg.

Beneath the kid is the most interesting figure of the composition. It is a human shape with uplifted hands, the lower part of the body terminating in the tail of a fish (?), and on the back a projection looking like wings.

Behind the sacrificer and facing the same direction, is another deity with uplifted hands, presumably the wife of the Sun god.

Between this deity and the sacrificer are two other figures : above, a beast lying down ; below, a composite creature, fish and man, holding the hands aloft.

The seal 3^b is clearly the same, though only a small part is to be seen, since the impression is made across the written surface. But the winged figure with the kid above it removes all doubt.

Regarding 3^d, 3^e the case was at first not so clear, and I long thought that these came from a fourth seal. The central figure in 3^d with the man-fish before it, and with the hair like a curved cue behind the back, is the same as on 3. Moreover, there stands before this figure a priest offering a kid, as in 3, 3^a, though only the legs of the kid are preserved, the body being lost by a small break. The winged figure is similarly lost. The seated deity on the right is not given in this impression, but in compensation we have four figures on the opposite side of 3^d, namely a standing deity turned toward the left; near his shoulder, a head, that of a demon perhaps; below, the long body of a serpent; and below this a kneeling, diminutive figure in human shape, looking toward the spectator. Just behind the head of the sacrificer are to be dimly seen the fore-legs of the kneeling animal, clearly seen in 3 and 3^a. There is no doubt therefore that 3^d is the same as 3.

Of 3^e and 3^f little is discernible, but quite enough to remove all uncertainty as to their identity. Of 3^e note the lower part of the kneeling figure, and of the two standing figures before him. Likewise the serpent above the kneeling figure. Of 3^f may be seen the serpent, the man-fish, and the uplifted hands of the goddess who stands between them.

Of the seal impressions on side F, three (4, 6^a; 5^a), being made on the written surface, are too faint for description. No. 4 seems to contain two deities, and between them a zigzag symbol of the lightning. The identity of 6^a with 6 seems almost certain, in spite of the faintness of the impression; 5^a seems also to be the same as 5. Fortunately 5, 6, and 7 are clear.

No. 5 is a sacrificial scene, in general similar to 3, though the god in this case is standing. In his extended right hand is a rod, and his right foot is slightly raised, as if resting on some object. Above the kid which the worshiper presents are the sun and the moon, and behind the worshiper a goddess with hands erect. Behind her, a crude tree and part of another figure.

No. 6 contains an inscription in four lines, on the right of it Adad, the weather god, and on the left Shala his spouse, each with back to the inscription, and therefore standing face to face, as was the case in seal 1. (See 1^d, 1^f.)

I have left till the last the most complicated seal of all (No. 7). The impression measures about one inch high by about 1½ inches wide. The seal is divided into two registers, an upper and a lower, separated by that twisted rope-like ornamentation which is occasionally found on seals, and which often enters into the decoration of larger works of art.

The lower half shows traces of an inscription in at least two lines. There are two Ea-bani figures contending, and between them a fish. There is likewise a well shaped nude figure of a man contending with an animal.

In the upper half the central figure is a god facing the right, in his uplifted right hand a rod, as if in the act of striking, or more likely a lance, since it is held not by the end but by the middle. In front of him is a small animal running towards him. Then a door in which stands a human shape with hands aloft. Then a fox running toward the door, and on the extreme right a human figure. Below the door, an obscure shape, an animal (?) possibly, also an obscure figure below the fox, and another near the face of the god with uplifted lance.

Behind this god are four other figures, an ox lying on the ground, a diminutive animal above the ox, then the legs and body of a large bird, and lastly a mouse or a rat of unmistakable form.

I have gone thus into detail because it seemed worth while to illustrate by one example the old Babylonian method of sealing tablets. The significance of a seal impression was the same as among us today. It was an additional security. Its importance among the Babylonians was even greater than among us, because, owing to the absence of curves in the writing, the chirography of a man was not so characteristic. Hence the necessity of a large number of witnesses to an important trans-

action, sometimes a dozen or more. As a safeguard against forgery, witnesses as well as contracting parties of both sexes affixed their seal impressions to the record. Names of men might be forged, but not impressions of their seals.

It may well be that seal impressions not only had this business value of identification and legitimation, but that they were also thought of as possessing talismanic virtue, particularly when, as was usually the case, they contained representations of the gods.

But why duplicate a seal so often, and why cover all blank spaces and even written spaces of the tablet with seal impressions, sometimes to the extent of making the record in places illegible? Perhaps as an additional safeguard against tampering in any way with the record.

But of greater interest than these questions are the seal impressions themselves. In a pictorial way they tell us much regarding the costumes, natural history, religious beliefs and practices, and the development of art at the time when the seals were cut; and we shall not go far astray, I think, in assuming that a seal is not much older than a tablet on which its impression occurs. The study and publication of such seal impressions has therefore an importance hardly inferior to that of the transactions recorded on the tablets.

In one respect dated seal impressions are of fundamental importance, in that they furnish the only sure means for classifying the seals themselves, which exist in such large numbers in the great collections. Seals of different dates will reflect the changing ideas and tastes of the times, and those from different parts of the country may show enough difference of character to justify us in speaking of different local schools of art. But for many of the seals brought from the East, it is impossible to learn their provenance, owing to the conditions under which they are found and exported. A comprehensive study of seal impressions on dated tablets of known provenance is therefore most desirable, since it may furnish data sufficient for both geographical and chronological classification of the seals.

It is believed that the large collections of tablets in the museums would furnish adequate material for such study. One of the most valuable contributions to the growth of Assyriology would be a volume giving in photographic reproduction a large selection from the seal impressions on dated cuneiform tablets.

The Infixes la, li, lo in Tagalog.—By LOUIS B. WOLFENSON,
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IN the Philippine languages most derivative words are formed by means of the various kinds of reduplication,¹ and by combination with derivative particles. The derivative particles are very numerous—so numerous in fact that these languages are sometimes spoken of as “particular” languages. They are for the most part prefixes, but there are some few suffixes and infixes.

In Tagalog the only recognized infixes are *um* and *in*, *um* forming active verbs, e. g., from the root *sulat* ‘write,’ *s-um-ulat* ‘to write,’ and *in* forming the preterite and present of passive verbs, e. g., *s-in-ulat* ‘written,’ from the same root.

In Bisayan, in addition to the verbal particles *um* and *in*, employed as in Tagalog, we find the infixes *la*, *li*, *lo* inserted after the first syllable of words or roots, the vowel of the particle being in many cases the same as that in the first syllable of the root, e. g., *salawayan* ‘that which merits correction, reprehension,’ from the root *saway* ‘correct, reprehend;’ *tilimanan* ‘mark, sign, signal’ from *timaon*, meaning the same; and *tolonan* ‘a lesson to be learned, read or memorized,’ from the root *toon* ‘teach and learn, instruct.’

These particles are used in the following manner. In the Cebuan dialect² they seem to form adjectives and frequentatives, as indicated by the statements in the grammar and dictionary.

In the grammar of the Cebuan dialect written by the Recolet Friar Zueco,³ the statement is made⁴ that adjectives of quality, signifying an accidental property of a person or thing to which they are applied, are formed by inserting these particles, e. g.,

¹ For the various forms of reduplication in Tagalog see W. G. Seiple, *Polysyllabic Roots with Initial P in Tagalog*, JAOS. vol. xxv, 1904, pp. 287, 288.

² The Cebuan dialect is one of the four principal Bisayan dialects, viz., Cebuan, Hiliguayna, Harayan, and Samaro-Leytean. Cf. Dr. Frank R. Blake’s paper, *The Bisayan Dialects*, JAOS. vol. xxvi, 1905, p. 120 ff., especially p. 123 below.

³ *Método del Dr. Ollendorff . . . adaptado, al bisaya*, Manila, 1871.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 146 below.

talamayon 'despicable,' *silingbahon* 'venerable; adorable,' and *tulumanon* 'that which is practicable.' In Encarnacion's Bisayan Dictionary,¹ *li* and *lo* are defined as particles which are infixed after the first syllable to form frequentatives. A frequentative meaning, however, is often not very apparent, the derivative with infixed particle having at times a meaning very close to or practically the same as that of the word from which it is derived, as in the case of *tilimanon* 'mark, sign,' which has the same meaning as the underived word *timaon*.

In partially reduplicated roots with these particles infixed after the first syllable, a diminutive force is clearly evident, not only in the Cebuan dialect, e. g., in *tolotigolong* 'living being somewhat old, approaching old age, oldish,' from *tigolong* 'old of both sexes,' but also in the dialect of Samar and Leyte, the Samaro-Leytean, in which these particles appear as *ra*, *ri*, *ro*,² e. g., *karokabayo* 'little horse,' from *kabayo* 'horse,' and *barobalay* 'little house,' from *balay* 'house.'

The diminutive force in these cases may be due to the reduplication of the root; for in both Tagalog and Bisayan there are instances of diminutive reproduction, e. g., Tagalog *mabuti-búti* 'pretty good,' and Bisayan *tawo-tawo* 'little man.' But it is perhaps more likely that the diminutive force is due to the combination of the partial reduplication and the infixed particle.

The infixes *la*, *li*, *lo* are found not only in Bisayan, but occur also in Tagalog in a considerable number of words, although they are not recognized as such by the Spanish grammarians, e. g., *salaysáy*³ 'explain' from the root *saysáy* 'explain, clear up,' with infixed *la*; *bulitiktík* 'be very full,' from *butiktík* 'be replete with,' with infixed *la*; and *dalotdót*⁴ 'dig a little,' which is probably derived from *doddót* 'stir with the finger,' with infixed *lo*.

The force of these particles in Tagalog is for the most part very indistinct, the meaning of the derivative with infixed particle being often the same as that of the word or root from which it is formed, as in the case of the first two examples cited

¹ *Diccionario bisaya-español y Diccionario español-bisaya*, 3^a ed. Manila, 1885, pp. 199^b, 211^a.

² On the correspondence of *l* in the Cebuan and Hiliguayna dialects with *r* in the Samaro-Leytean, see Dr. Blake's paper, cited above, p. 125.

³ The definitions of Tagalog words in this article are based on Noceda, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, Reimpreso en Manila, 1860.

For the *a* in the first syllable cf. p. 145.

above. There are, however, some traces of a diminutive force as in *dalotdót* 'dig a little,' and in *giligintó* 'the (little) golden eyes that form on soup,' properly 'the little golden ones,' or 'the goldish ones' from *gintó* 'gold,' which must be compared with the Bisayan formations like *tolotigolong* 'oldish' and *karokabayo* 'little horse,' etc., mentioned above.

In a number of cases *la*, *li*, *lo* are infixes in a simple disyllabic root, no definite modification in meaning being apparent, e. g. :

alakóm 'take, seize as much as the fist will hold,' from the root *ákom* 'hold in the hands, contain in the hands,' with infixes *la*.

balokí 'double a point in sailing.' Cf. *báki* 'say something to get from another what one desires' (cf. our "get around" a person), and *bóki* 'speak in a round-about fashion.' The original idea at the base of all these words was probably 'go around, get around,' with infixes *lo*.

halátang 'place something in the way in order that people may not pass through,' from *hálang* 'some obstacle placed in the way,' with infixes *la*.

salágip meaning the same as and formed from *sagíp* 'seize, take something which is in the water; adopt the manner of another; hold as a hostage,' with infixes *la*.

talósok (Supplement¹) 'be wedged in or stuck fast in the mud (of the leg, or *tikin* [governing pole of a skiff])' from *tások* 'a wedge, or peg,' with infixes *lo*.

In *giligintó* 'the golden eyes on soup' from the root *gintó*, we have an example of the same formation as the Bisayan forms with *la*, *li*, *lo* inserted after the first syllable of roots with initial partial reduplication having a diminutive meaning, e. g., *tolotigolong* 'oldish,' from *tigolong* 'old.'

The particles *la*, *li*, *lo* in Tagalog are inserted in a number of cases in roots consisting of two identical syllables, a diminutive force being sometimes apparent, e. g. :

balakbák 'a kind of timber or bark of a tree,' from the root *bakbák* 'strip the bark from trees, peel fruit,' with infixes *la*.

dalayráy 'place things in order in such a way that one shall not be above the other' from the root *dayráy* 'row, file of things,' with infixes *la*.

¹ Supplement.—Noceda, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-417.

salaksák (Supplement¹) 'cram, ram with a rod, piston, or other instrument,' derived from *saksák*, which has the same meaning.

salaysáy 'explain,' from the root *saysáy* 'explain, clear up; place material things in order,' with infixed *la*.

salayósay 'blow gently (of the wind),' from the root *sayósay* with the same meaning, with infixed *la*.

In some cases in which the vowels of the root are *o* or *i*, the first vowel of the derived word or root with infixed particle seems to be changed to *a*. But this *a* may be simply the representation of the indistinct vowel in an unaccented syllable. Thus we find:

ðalogðóg 'beat the kettle-drum,' probably from the root *dogðóg* 'grind, pound,' with infixed *lo* and *a* instead of *o* in the first syllable.

ðalotðót 'dig a little,' vide *dotðót* 'stir with the finger,' with infixed *lo*.

waligwíg 'shake itself (an animal), shake powder, water, etc., with infixed *li*. Cf. *wagwág* 'shake a thing to find out what is in it,' and *wigwíg* 'shake, wander; speak in circumlocutions.' Since both *wagwág* and *wigwíg* occur, *waligwíg* may represent a combination of the two, the *a* in the first syllable being derived from *wagwág* and the final *i* from *wigwíg*. Similarly

walíswís 'toss, sweep the trees with force (of the wind),' with infixed *li*, may be due to a combination of *waswás* 'shake from side to side,' and a hypothetical **wiswis*.

These formations with infixed *la, li, lo* have the appearance of the rather numerous class of roots with peculiar final reduplication, the last syllable consisting of the first consonant of the root and the vowel and final consonant of the second syllable, e. g., *payíd-píd* 'approach gently (of the wind),' probably from the root *payíd* 'carry something with force (of the wing).' It is not impossible that this final reduplication may be modeled after the pattern set by the forms with infixed *la, li, lo*.

Examples of roots with reduplicated final syllable and inserted *la, li, lo* are:

bulítíktík 'be very full,' from the root *butíktík* 'be replete with,' with infixed *li*.

¹ *salaksák*, p. 276^a, is evidently not related to this root.

halomigmig 'something moist,' 'a small mixture; lukewarm',¹ from the root *hámig* 'mix some liquid with another thing,' with infixed *lo* and reduplicated final syllable.

malanġotnġót from *manġotnġót* 'a kind of tree,' with the same meaning.

There is a small class of roots in Tagalog composed of the group *halo* followed by two identical syllables. This *halo* seems to be a prefix and the two following syllables the ultimate root, e. g., *halo-kipkip* from *kipkip* 'cross one hand or foot across the other.' This prefix *halo* contains perhaps the infix *lo*. It is possible, however, that these words are examples of the same formation as *halomigmig*, in which *hámig* is the root, or are at least modeled after forms of that character. But in no other case does a root composed of *ha* and one of the reduplicated syllables, as, e. g., **hakup*, occur, to which these forms might be referred.

The reduplicated roots having initial *halo* are, viz.:

halobaybáy 'small sardine,' perhaps connected with *baybáy* 'shore of the sea.'

halobitbit 'an herb thus named.' A connection with *bitbit* 'raise up something in the hand,' is uncertain.

halokipkip 'fold the arms on the breast,' derived from *kipkip* 'cross one hand or foot over the other.'

halotakták 'tip (metal) of a lance,' derived from *takták* 'the iron which caps a staff,' and *takták* 'weed-hook; a pole with a piece of iron at the point.'

halotiktik 'song of the newt, lizard,' probably connected with *tiktik* 'song of a certain bird.'

In Tagalog then, just as in Bisayan, a number of words containing the infixes *la, li, lo* are found, the words containing these infixes being treated as roots in the various grammars and dictionaries of Tagalog. In general the particles seem to have little or no force, although in some instances traces of a diminutive meaning are apparent. In conclusion I desire to express my thanks to Dr. F. R. Blake for a number of suggestions and explanations.

¹ This definition is taken from Nigg, *A Tagalog English and Eng. Tagalog Dict.*, Manila, 1904, s.v.

Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?—By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE main source for our knowledge of the literature—in the proper sense—produced in ancient Babylonia is still the remarkable collection made chiefly¹ by king Ashurbanapal of Assyria (668-626 B. C.) which was discovered by Sir Austen Henry Layard in 1849 in the king's palace at Nineveh. Layard came across several rooms in the so-called South-West palace at Kouyunjik (opposite Mosul) filled with clay tablets of varying size.² Subsequent excavations and searches for further tablets in the palace in question were made by Rawlinson (1853-55), Rassam (1854, 1877-1883), George Smith (1873, 1874-1876), Budge (1888, 1889, 1891), King and Thompson (1903). Through these combined efforts the number of tablets recovered was considerably increased until at present somewhat over 20,000 tablets and fragments have found their way to the British

¹ Bezold in the Introduction to his magnificent *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* (5 vols. London, 1889-1899), vol. v, p. xiii, accepts as satisfactory the evidence that the collection existed "in a humble form" in the days of Sargon (722-705), the great-grandfather of Ashurbanapal, and that additions were made to it by Sennacherib (705-681) and Esarhaddon (681-668). See also British Museum *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (London, 1900), p. 34, and Bezold's suggestive remarks in his article "Bibliotheks- und Schriftwesen im alten Nineve" (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxi (1904), p. 273). A tablet like K. 3600—a hymn addressed to Nanâ by Sargon—is almost conclusive evidence in favor of this view. Likewise tablets like KK. 9452 and 9487—copies made by contemporaries of Sargon and Sennacherib.

² Layard, in his account of the discovery (*Nineveh and Babylon* [London, 1853], pp. 344-347), speaks chiefly of two rooms but mentions also adjoining chambers containing tablets "but in far smaller numbers." The Library, it thus appears, was stored in several rooms. The size of the tablets varies (see Bezold, *l. c.*, p. xv) from 15 × 8½ inches to 1 × ¾ inches.

Museum.¹ The size of the collection in connection with the large variety of subjects represented,² together with what we know of the manner in which the collection was made, make it in the full sense of the word a Library, and the designation "Ashurbanapal's Library" has therefore become a general one for this royal collection of tablets—and properly so.

When it became evident that the Library as indicated already in a number of the cases by the subscripts,³ apart from internal

¹Of this number about 14,000 constitute the original Kouyunjik collection gathered by Layard, and the rest—marked off by the date or source of acquisition into 29 separate collections—were secured by the subsequent explorations. A small number of tablets from the Library found their way to other museums or into private collections (see Bezold, *l. c.*, p. xv). Numerous inscriptions and inscribed objects (clay cylinders, clay seals, vase fragments, bricks, obelisks, etc.) and other objects (jars, spearheads, nails, ornaments, etc.) included in the Kouyunjik collection have nothing to do with the Library proper, and there are also quite a number of tablets entered as Kouyunjik inscriptions (as e. g., KK. 6697, 8755, 8860, 8866, 9288, 9599, 9920, 11958; DT. 108, 260; Rm 2, 588, 81-7-27, 205, 209, 210, 213, etc., etc.) which do not appear to have come from that place. See Bezold, "Bibliotheks- und Schriftwesen im alten Nineve (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxi. (1904), p. 259, note, and Bezold's catalogue, p. 1952.

²See, e. g., the survey in Bezold's Introduction, *l. c.*, pp. xviii-xxviii, and Menant's *La Bibliothèque du Palais de Ninéve* (Paris, 1880), Chap. iii, though this latter work can no longer be recommended as a guide.

³These subscripts are of two kinds, (1) either a brief indication that the tablet in question is "the property of king Ashurbanapal of Assyria," which, as Bezold (*Bibliothekswesen*, etc., p. 275) has pointed out, appears to have been stamped upon the tablet and often accompanies (2) a longer colophon furnishing the name and number of the series to which the tablet belongs, a more or less stereotyped form of praise for Ashurbanapal for having followed the promptings of Nebo the god of wisdom and of his consort Tashmitum, (or in some instances other gods, e. g. Shamash and Adad in the case of omen tablets; see Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux Présages*, p. 232, and *Cuneiform Texts*, etc., Part xx, pl. 33), to gather the wisdom of the ages in his palace, with further references in many cases that a text represents a copy of an older one, or an extract, while in some instances the name of the copyist or owner is added and the source of the original text—Akkad, Babylon, Cuthah, Nippur and Ashur—specifically stated. That more subscripts are not preserved is due of course to the fragmentary condition of most of the tablets; and while it does not follow that all the tablets were provided with more or less explicit subscripts, this was certainly the case with all the tablets belonging to a series and in many other instances. See further Bezold's article (*l. c.*) p. 275 seq.

evidence, contained copies of texts that were produced in Babylonia and the general dependence of the Assyrian culture,—including more particularly the art, the religion, and the literary activity,—upon Babylonia became manifest, the hope was naturally entertained that when once the excavations should be extended to the mounds in the south, covering the remains of Babylonian cities, extensive literary archives would be unearthed in the temples, furnishing the originals of which the ambitious king had copies prepared by his scribes. This hope has up to the present not been realized, and there are reasons for believing that the temples of Babylonia did not, with perhaps a single exception—possibly two exceptions—possess extensive literary collections. In other words, the only Library as yet found in the Mesopotamian excavations is the royal collection of Nineveh; and in view of the unfortunate confusion that has recently been created in regard to “Temple Libraries,” it seems useful to investigate, on the basis of the material actually found in Babylonian mounds, whether we are justified in assuming that the Babylonian temples even in the important religious centers as a rule had libraries.

Three Babylonian mounds of primary importance have been pretty thoroughly explored—Telloh, Abu Habba and Nippur, while a fourth site—Babylon—has been the scene of active excavations since 1899,¹ so that we are justified in drawing certain conclusions as to the general character of Babylonian mounds, though naturally with that reserve which the factor of uncertainty as to what the future may have in store suggests. Confining ourselves for the present to the first three mounds, it is to be noted that all three represent most important cities of ancient Babylonia, Telloh being the site of Lagash (or Shurpurla), that played a significant rôle in early Babylonian history; Abu Habba, the site of Sippar, which was one of the chief centers of sun-worship and likewise of political importance at various periods; while Nippur, certainly one of the most ancient ✓

¹ By the German Orient Society. See the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, published every few months and containing reports of the progress of the work. A convenient conspectus of explorations in Babylonia and Assyria will be found in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Grammatik* (2d ed., Berlin, 1906), pp. 1-4, which, however, omits to mention the work at Bismya under Dr. E. J. Banks.

cities of Babylonia, was at one time the center of a kingdom of considerable extent, and which, after finally yielding its political prerogatives to the city of Babylon, continued down to a very late period to enjoy sacred distinction as the seat of the worship of Bel—once the head of the Babylonian pantheon. At all three sites a large number of tablets have been found within the precincts of the chief temple at each place—but what is the character of these tablets?

At Telloh, apart from numerous inscriptions on bricks, cones, stones, statues, statuettes, votive objects and sculptured monuments and the like,¹ a large temple archive, but wholly of a business and administrative character, was discovered by De Sarzec in the course of his excavations in 1894–95.² During a temporary interruption of the excavations, the ruins were plundered and most of the tablets scattered through dealers in all parts of the world. It is estimated that above 30,000 clay tablets from Telloh are to be found in the museums of Europe and America and in private collections or still in the hands of dealers, though this number would seem to be somewhat too high. The tablets³ are without exception of a business character, dealing for the most part with the accounts, the sacrifices, the officials and employees and miscellaneous business affairs of the temple of

¹ De Sarzec. *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1889 +). The excavations conducted by De Sarzec from 1877 to his death in 1901 are now being continued by M. Croz.

² Specimens in De Sarzec *ib.* pl. 41. See the account of the discovery of the archive by Heuzey, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv, pp. 65–68.

³ Several extensive publications of tablets from the Temple Archive of Telloh have already appeared, notably, Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh* (Berlin, 1901), Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes* (Paris, 1903), same, *Notice sur la Troisième collection de Tablettes*, etc. (*Revue d'Assyriologie* v, pp. 67–98), also in Parts iii, vii and ix of the *British Museum Series of Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, etc., and Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets* (Phila. 1906), or *Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh*. The first publication of Telloh tablets was by W. R. Arnold, who properly designated his volume as “*Ancient Babylonian Temple Records*” (N. Y., 1896). The texts form part of the Telloh tablets in the possession of Columbia University. A further instalment of this collection will shortly be published by Dr. R. J. Lau. In Radau's *Early Babylonian History* (N. Y., 1900) are included the Telloh tablets in the General Theological Seminary. Virolleaud, *Comptabilité Chaldéenne* (2 parts, Poitiers, 1903), comprises a publication of Telloh tablets in Constantinople.

Ningirsu at Lagash and of other temples at that place, while a small proportion deal with the business of private individuals.¹ All the tablets belong to the older period, i. e. before Hammurabi.

At Abu Habba it is estimated about 50,000 clay tablets have been found through the excavations conducted by Rassam (1881–82) and Scheil (1894), supplemented by extensive private diggings through thievish Arabs. Beside the very large collection of Abu Habba tablets secured through Dr. Budge for the British Museum,² partly by Rassam and partly by subsequent purchases, collections from the Abu Habba archive were purchased by the University of Pennsylvania,³ by the Berlin Museum,⁴ the Metropolitan Museum and other institutions. These tablets, found within the precincts of the temple of the sun-god, are likewise, with the exception of several hundred, of a business character, (a) either connected with the temple administration—contracts, sales, work accounts, etc.—or (b) of a private character, including in both sections letters. Both the older—the Hammurabi—period⁵ and the

¹ See, e. g., Barton, *l. c.*, p. 7.

² See Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht* p. 2, and King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, I, p. xx.

³ See R. F. Harper, *Hebraica* vi, pp. 59–60 and *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iv, pp. 163–164; also Peters, *Nippur*, vol. i, pp. 16 and 297, and Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 302, note. A publication of a considerable portion of this collection by Dr. H. Ranke is now ready for the press. From internal evidence, Dr. Ranke has determined that most of the tablets of the Khabaza collection (purchased in two instalments) come from Abu Habba. See also Peters, *l. c.*, ii, p. 50. Included in the Khabaza collection is the Astronomical tablet which Hilprecht, *l. c.*, p. 532, reproduced as an “Astronomical tablet from the Temple Library” at Nippur, although it was purchased at Bagdad *before even* the Nippur excavations had begun and eleven years before the announcement of the discovery of the Nippur “Library.” The “Lushtamar” tablet, purchased July 5, 1889 at Bagdad and a mathematical tablet bought some time in 1839—both represented by Hilprecht as having been excavated at Nippur in 1900—also come from Abu Habba. See below, p. 159, note 1. Whether the tablets from the Shemtob collection purchased by the University of Pennsylvania in London in 1888 (see Harper, *Hebraica*, v, pp. 74–76) also come wholly from Sippar, as Meissner (*l. c.*, p. 2, note) believes, or in part from Babylon, has not yet been determined.

⁴ Meissner, *l. c.*, p. 2.

⁵ Publications of the documents of the older period in (a) *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, etc. in the British Museum, Parts ii, iv, vi and viii; (b) Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht* (Leipzig, 1893); (c) Scheil, *Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar* (Cairo, 1903), pp. 99, 102,

later—the neo-Babylonian period¹—are richly represented. The mixture of official and private documents suggests that at Sippar, as elsewhere, the temples were the depositories of all kinds of legal documents, and we may assume that, in the larger centers at all events, the temple archives always included these two classes of business documents—official and private.

An interesting feature of the temple archive at Sippar is the evidence furnished by Scheil's excavations for the existence of a temple school within the temple precincts. In Scheil's work *Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar* (Cairo, 1903), a special chapter² is devoted to an account of the school, which contained writing exercises, sign lists, syllabaries, grammatical paradigms, lists of measures and multiplication and other mathematical tablets.³ To the school belong also the astronomical tablets, of

107-115; (d) Thomas Friedrich, *Allbabylonische Urkunden aus Sippar* (Beiträge zur Assyriologie v, Heft 4): (e) Ranke, *Tablets dated in the Reigns of the Rulers of the first dynasty* (ready for the press). See above, p. 151, note 3. (f) Many of the official letters included in King's *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, (London, 1899), vol. ii. are addressed to officials at Sippar and must therefore have come from the archive at that place. See the list in King, *l. c.* II, pp. xiv-xviii. Those not from Sippar come from Babylon. Specimens of business letters of the Hammurabi period, also in Scheil, *l. c.*, pp. 105, 133, etc. and Friedrich, *l. c.*, p. 71. The "Lushtamar" table above (p. 151) referred to is of the Hammurabi period and will, no doubt, when once opened, likewise turn out to be a business letter of just the same character as these specimens. It may be of interest to note, as further confirming the view that this letter comes from Sippar, that the name Lushtamar, of which Ranke in his work *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, p. 119, notes twelve instances—either as an element in a longer name or by itself—is characteristic of "Sippar" business documents. Of the twelve, eleven certainly occur in documents from Sippar and the same probably holds good for the twelfth instance. Two further instances of the name occur in the Sippar tablets published by Friedrich, *l. c.*, pp. 423 and 434. Under the form Lultamar it occurs five times—as Dr. Clay informs me—in the temple documents of the Cassite archives at Nippur.

¹Of the later period many hundreds are included in Strassmaier's series of *Babylonische Texte* (Leipzig, 1889-97) of the days of Nebuchadnezzar II, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyzes and Darius, and in Evetts, *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, and Laborsarchod* (Leipzig, 1892). ²Chap. III, L'École à Sippar (pp. 30-54).

³Specimens of mathematical tablets in Scheil, *l. c.*, p. 48 seq. The multiplication tablet above referred to (p. 151, note 3) is exactly of the same nature as those found at Abu Habba, e. g., Scheil, *l. c.*, p. 132 (No. 289). See also IV Rawlinson (2d ed.), pl. 41, for specimens of such multiplication tables from Ashurbanapal's library.

which a number have been found.¹ In addition, there have also been found at Sippar, a considerable number of texts of a distinctly literary character, such as hymns, prayers, incantations,² a fragment of a deluge³ narrative belonging to the Hammurabi period, a fragment in neo-Babylonian script of an important religious text⁴ which is a duplicate of several Assyrian copies of this text known to us from Ashurbanapal's Library,⁵ and more of the like. In the Khabaza collection from Sippar, purchased by the University of Pennsylvania, there are, similarly, in addition to some syllabaries, a number of hymns, incantations and other religious texts.⁶ These literary texts likewise formed part of the equipment of the temple school, used in connection with the education of the young aspirants to the priesthood, as part of their training for the practical cult.⁷ The conjecture may be hazarded that the portion of the temple set aside for the school would be the natural place, also, in which the texts actually used in connection with the temple ritual in its various ramifications, or consulted in connection with the various functions of the priests, would be stored, just as among the Jews in the Middle Ages, the school generally adjoined the synagogue and served as the place of deposit for the ritualistic handbooks and guides, in addition to the school outfit proper.⁸ At all events, in view of the considerable number of literary texts found by Scheil—apart from such texts in purchased collections from Sippar,—it is not likely that all should have been used as school exercises merely or for purposes of instruction, though we know that this was the case with some of them.⁹ The temple archive at Sip-

¹ E. g., Scheil, *l. c.* p. 118 (No. 95).

² See the selection in Scheil, *l. c.*, pp. 95-141, where about 50 such texts are referred to. See also Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux relatifs a la Philologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, xx, pp. 68 seq.

³ See Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, etc., xx, pp. 55-59.

⁴ Scheil, *l. c.*, p. 18, No. 37.

⁵ Published IV Rawlinson (2d ed.), pl. 60*. See the writer's paper, "A Babylonian Parallel to Job" (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 25).

⁶ See Harper, *Hebraica*, vi, p. 60.

⁷ A survival of the establishment of schools within the temple appears in the Mohammedan schools set up within the precincts of the mosques.

⁸ Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 34.

⁹ E. g., the above-mentioned Deluge fragment, which the colophon states was written by a *dupšar šihru*, i. e., "a young scribe" or pupil (Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, etc., xx, p. 58).

par, therefore, so far as recovered, consists of two divisions: (1) business documents—temple and private, for which the temple served as the place of deposit—corresponding to the office of the Recorder of Deeds in a modern municipal administration building; (2) the temple school with its outfit, including some literary texts and constituting, perhaps, also the place of deposit for the texts needed by the priests in connection with the cult, the guides in the interpretation of omens, the incantation handbooks and the like.

Coming now to Nippur, the excavations conducted there under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania by Messrs. Peters and Haynes from 1889–1900¹ have yielded rich and valuable results—more particularly for the early political history of the Euphrates valley.² The recent unfortunate “Nippur controversy” (as it has been called) must not blind us to these results, for which Assyriological science is under lasting obligations to the institution and to the public-spirited citizens of Philadelphia for having fathered the enterprise, to Messrs. Peters³ and Haynes for having, amid hardships equalled only by the energy, skill and perseverance shown, secured precious material, and to Messrs. Hilprecht and Clay for their publication and partial interpretation of this material.⁴

¹ Divided into four campaigns, the first two (1889-90), under the direction of Dr. Peters, the third (1893-96) under Haynes, and the fourth (1899-1900) again under Haynes with Dr. Hilprecht as “Scientific Director” in the field for about ten weeks (March 1st to about the middle of May, 1900).

² It is only proper to note that the high dates assigned by Hilprecht for some of the historical documents have not been accepted, and there is a wholesome disposition at present among Assyriologists to be extremely cautious in regard to dates beyond 3000 B. C.

³ See Peters' valuable work, *Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates* (2 vols., New York, 1897).

⁴ Two volumes, chiefly of historical and votive texts by Hilprecht (Phila., 1893-1896), and two volumes of business documents of the Persian period (Phila. 1898-1904), the first appearing under the names of Hilprecht and Clay conjointly (though the copies of the texts were made by Clay), the latter by Clay alone. Two further volumes by Clay of business documents from the Cassite period have just appeared; and besides the volume by Ranke above referred to, Hilprecht has since early in 1905 announced three volumes by himself, consisting of syllabaries, writing exercises, etc.

Leaving aside the historical material and confining ourselves to the discoveries made within the precincts of the temple of Bel—the chief deity of Nippur, and at one time the head of the Babylonian pantheon—it appears that in January and February, 1900, Haynes struck a rich vein of tablets within the precincts of the Bel temple at the same locality where already, in the first and second campaigns, Peters had found several thousand tablets.¹ Much to the regret of scholars, the reliable data at our disposal in regard to the 17,200 tablets (or thereabouts) found by Haynes are still so meager, and the facts in the case have been so distorted, that a certain amount of caution is required whenever one touches upon a subject that one would prefer for the present to avoid, if it were possible to do so. So much, however, is certain, that no satisfactory evidence has been furnished for the existence of an extensive *literary* archive at Nippur which alone would merit the designation of a “Temple Library.” As at Abu Habbu (or Sippar), the mass of tablets found by Messrs. Peters and Haynes within the temple precinct are business documents, and just as at Abu Habba, the Hammurabi and the neo-Babylonian and Persian periods appear to be the ones chiefly represented. Again, as at Sippar, school exercises of various kinds were found, pointing to the existence of a temple school at Nippur that differed in no essential particular from that at Sippar; and if it should turn out that a certain number of distinctly literary tablets were unearthed by Haynes² (which is eminently likely), they would have to be judged *precisely* as the literary texts found at Sippar, as forming part of the school outfit, and in part perhaps representing texts kept in the school but used in connection with the cult.

In view of Dr. Peters’³ comprehensive and sober treatment of the misleading character of the description of the so-called

¹ See Peters, vol. i, p. 78. The locality in question is designated by him “Tablet Hill” or Mound No. V. In the plan, attached to Peters’ important paper on “The Nippur Library” (JAOS., vol. xxvi, p. 146), he designates this site by the Arabic numeral 5.

² According to Hilprecht (see below, p. 156) there were some literary tablets found by Peters on “Tablet Hill” in 1889–90, but this is questioned by the latter.

³ “The Nippur Library”—referred to above, and which was read before the American Oriental Society at Springfield, Mass., April 27, 1905.

“Temple Library” given by Dr. Hilprecht in three publications of his,¹ there is fortunately no need of entering into details here. Until a full and satisfactory explanation is furnished of the very serious matters to which Dr. Peters has called attention, his presentation of the case must perforce be accepted. In order, however, to establish the thesis that the character of the finds made within the temple precincts at Nippur is *precisely of the same order* as at Abu Habba, a survey of the situation is indispensable, more particularly in view of certain facts that have come to light since the appearance of Dr. Peters’ paper and which are not as yet generally known to scholars. Apart from a personal disinclination towards all controversies, I should have preferred for various reasons to avoid a decidedly disagreeable topic, but in the interest of science the attempt must be made to clear away the confusion that has been created. It is with this endeavor in view, and because scholars have a right to know the facts in the case, that the subject is introduced here, so far as it bears upon the purpose of this paper.

According to Dr. Peters,² the tablets found on the “Library” site (or mound 5) in the first two campaigns (1889–90) were “of the ordinary so-called contract variety, transactions of barter, sale, and the like.” If Dr. Hilprecht is to be trusted,³ there were, however, among the tablets so found—some

¹ (a) *Explorations in Bible Lands* (Phila., 1903), pp. 508–532 [republished in 1904 as the official history of the Nippur expedition]. (b) *Die Ausgrabungen der Universität von Pennsylvania im Bel-Tempel zu Nippur* (Leipzig, 1903). pp. 52–62. (c) English translation of this monograph under the title *In the Temple of Bel at Nippur*, with the somewhat unusual sub-title, “A lecture delivered before German Court and University Circles,” and published in the official Transactions of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania (1904, vol. i, pp. 67–125).

² *Nippur*, vol. ii, pp. 197–200.

³ *Explorations*, etc., p. 511. Since Hilprecht claims in all three publications above referred to that he had concluded already in 1889 that mound 5 was the site of the “Library,” the question naturally arises why with hymns, etc., turning up in 1889 or 1890, he should not then have announced or at least suggested his view? With so definite a conviction in his mind, it seems strange that he should have allowed the site to remain untouched for ten years. Even in 1900, although the “Scientific Director of the Expedition,” he did not direct Haynes to dig on the site. Haynes struck the rich vein by accident.

4000 in all, so far as can be ascertained—also a few fragments of neo-Babylonian hymns, letters¹ and syllabaries.” From March 1890 till January 1900, this “Library” site *was not touched*. During January and February 1900, Haynes found, according to reports that are probably correct,² about 17,200 tablets in the mound in question. The first accounts of the find were given by Hilprecht in two articles,³ which appeared about the same time, one in the *Sunday School Times* (Phila.) of May 5, 1900, the other in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of May 12 and May 19, 1900. Both communications were written at Nippur towards the end of March—a few weeks after Hilprecht’s arrival at the scene of excavations. In both communications Hilprecht announces the discovery of the “Temple Library,” and in both communications this announcement is made on the basis of his supposed examination of the 17,200 tablets,⁴ of which he gives a general description. Writing in a manner in both communications which distinctly conveys the impression that he was present when the “Library” was found, he dwells “on the absence of contract (or business) tablets,” and describes the “great mass” as consisting of tablets “of a lexicographical and linguistic character, and that it contained astronomical, mathematical and religious texts (hymns, prayers, etc.),”⁵ and so forth. It is not generally known that upon these two accounts rest the subsequent more or less sensational reports, newspaper interviews, notices in popular journals and the like, regarding the so-called “Temple Library.” Even scholars had nothing more at their disposal as a guide until the appearance in 1903 of *Explorations in Bible Lands*, in which pp. 508–521 are devoted to an account of the “Temple Library.” It now turns out that not only was Dr. Hilprecht not present when

¹ Since the letters are no doubt of a business character, they would fall within Dr. Peters’ category of business documents.

² Hilprecht states (*Explorations*, etc., p. 509) that Haynes counted the tablets “as they were gathered day by day,” so that the number may be regarded as reliable.

³ To be quite accurate, one of the articles is in the form of a letter to Prof. Kittel of Leipzig.

⁴ So in the German article, whereas in the English article the number is given at 21,000, and the statement is added that this number “is rapidly increasing by new finds every day.”

⁵ *Liter. Centralblatt*, May 12, p. 834.

the so-called Library was found by Haynes, but by the time that Dr. Hilprecht arrived, i. e. March 1st, 1900, the vein was exhausted, no more tablets were being found, and all the tablets that had been unearthed had been *packed and boxed*, with the exception of a few—not more than twenty—kept out as specimens to show Dr. Hilprecht on his arrival.¹ The exact value, therefore, to be attached to the first announcements of what Dr. Hilprecht called “one of the most far-reaching archaeological discoveries of the last century”² may be judged by any one.

Coming to the accounts of the “Library” in Hilprecht’s *Explorations in Bible Lands*, supplemented by his two other publications, Dr. Peters has shown in his paper³ how in order, apparently, to justify his earlier announcements, Dr. Hilprecht adopted a course for which it is difficult to find a suitable term. Of ten tablets and objects introduced by him in the three publications in question in his account of what was found on the site of the “Library” *not a single one* actually came from the Library. One—a multiplication table—was found by Dr. Peters in April, 1890, after the work on mound 5 had been closed and at a considerable distance from the “Library site,” and two were excavated during the third expedition, when (as Hilprecht himself states)⁴ the “Library” site was not touched; four were found during the fourth campaign, but *before* the “Library” site was touched, i. e., before January, 1900, and have therefore nothing to do with the “Library,” while three were not excavated at Nippur at all but were purchased at Bagdad, one—an astronomical tablet⁵—in January, 1889, *before* any of the

¹ This on the testimony of Mr. C. S. Fisher (who was at Nippur during the fourth campaign as the architect of the expedition), and confirmed by Mrs. Haynes. And yet in the letter to the *Sunday School Times* Hilprecht says that the number of tablets “is rapidly increasing by new finds every day”—this several weeks after the vein had been exhausted.

² *Explorations*, p. 508.

³ The Nippur Library, pp. 153–161. It should be noted that the correct explanation of the origin of the “Lushtamar” tablet (see below, p. 159), was not known at the time that Dr. Peters wrote his paper. It was not until the fall of 1905 that it was *definitely* ascertained that the tablet was purchased at Bagdad on July 5, 1889, by Mr. Noorian.

⁴ *Explorations*, p. 431.

⁵ This astronomical tablet is the one reproduced in *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 530, as “Astronomical Tablet from the Temple Library.” It belongs to the Khabaza collection and comes from Sippar. See above, p. 151, note 3.

excavations of the University had begun; a second—a letter with the address “To Lushtamar”—on July 5, 1889, by Mr. Noorian;¹ the third—a multiplication table,—also purchased by Mr. Noorian in 1889.² Be it noted that in the accounts in which in no less than three publications these ten objects and tablets are described he is speaking *exclusively* of the finds made during the fourth campaign on the “Library” site, i. e., in January and February, 1900. Until, therefore, some satisfactory explanation for such methods is forthcoming, scholars are forced to maintain their present skeptical attitude towards further statements about the “Library” when unsupported by evidence.³ In view

¹ Dr. Hilprecht has claimed that he purchased the “Lushtamar” tablet from one of the Arab workmen at Nippur on April 18, 1889—one day after the first campaign had broken up: but there is *written* evidence that the tablet is one of seventeen purchased by Noorian at Bagdad on July 5, 1889, which is the *date* on the label to the tablet in Dr. Hilprecht’s own handwriting. All seventeen came from Sippar and represent a purchase made out of a fund contributed by Prof. J. D. Prince of Columbia University.

² In regard to this multiplication table and the astronomical tablet, Hilprecht claims that he never at any time asserted, “verbally or in writing, that either of these purchased tablets was unearthed by him or by any expedition of the University at Nippur.” Such a claim is irreconcilable with the perfectly clear and unmistakable manner in which all three tablets are referred to by him in all three publications, as having been excavated in the fourth campaign in 1900. His language admits of no other interpretation.

³ While the question of the existence of a “Temple Library” is involved in the “Nippur controversy,” it is essential to emphasize that the *main* issue is not the existence or non-existence of a “Temple Library” at Nippur, but the *method* pursued by Dr. Hilprecht in the endeavor to establish the existence of such a “Library.” There might be a half dozen “Temple Libraries” at Nippur, and the obligation would still rest upon Dr. Hilprecht to explain to scholars what he meant, e. g., (1) in designating a tablet as an “Astronomical Tablet from the Temple Library” at Nippur which was purchased before even the excavations had begun, or (2) how he came to give a description of 17,200 tablets which he had never seen, or (3) what he meant by declaring that he purchased the “Lushtamar” letter near Nippur on April 18, 1889 (in order to make it plausible that the tablet came from Nippur), whereas it was bought by someone else at Bagdad, July 5, 1889, with a lot of others that came from Abu Habba. The persistent evasion of this main issue by Dr. Hilprecht has put the patience of scholars anxious to get at the truth to a severe test, and naturally has given rise to the suspicion that no satisfactory explanation can be given.

of this, there is no necessity to discuss the statement that besides 28,000 business documents, "23,000 literary tablets"¹ were found at Nippur, until some evidence for such a statement—involving as will be seen a sharp distinction between "business documents" and "literary tablets"—is forthcoming that will offset the wholly negative results to be gleaned from a critical examination of the various accounts given by Dr. Hilprecht of the contents of the "Temple Library."

It is, probably, perfectly safe to conclude that the bulk of the 17,200 tablets unearthed by Haynes will turn out to be documents of a business character, precisely as is the case with the bulk of the circa 4000 tablets found in the same locality in 1889–90. These tablets would therefore constitute a portion of the temple's business archive—precisely as at Telloh and Abu Habba,—and we may expect to find that both classes of business documents will be represented, (*a*) such as are connected with the business affairs of the temple² and (*b*) business documents of a private character deposited in the temple of Bel as the official depository.³ In addition to this, Haynes also appears to have struck the portion of the archive containing the outfit of the temple school—writing exercises, syllabaries, multiplication tables and the like—a condition that forms a complete parallel to the discoveries made at Abu Habba; and if it is true that among the

¹ *Ausgrabungen der Universität von Pennsylvania*, etc., p. 17; English translation, pp. 77 and 80. It may be worth while to note that at the time when Hilprecht was engaged in writing the accounts of the "Library," the boxes containing the tablets found by Haynes were lying unopened in the University Museum in the original packings. Exactly why Hilprecht hit upon "23,000 literary tablets" is not apparent. Did he perhaps take the 17,200 tablets of Haynes and the circa 4000 tablets of Peters and then add a thousand or two "for good measure"? But why 23,000 literary tablets?

² As is the case with the tablets from the Cassite period embodied in two volumes just now published by Prof. Clay, forming vols. 14–15 of the Babylonian series of the University, under the title *Business Documents from the Temple Archive at Nippur during the Cassite period*—dated and undated. These tablets were found in mound 10 of Peters' plan, which appears to have been the site of the archive in the Cassite period.

³ The two volumes of *Business Documents of Murashu Sons, of Nippur*, published by Hilprecht and Clay (1898–1904) represent tablets of a private archive found during the second campaign in mound 10.

circa 4000 tablets excavated during the first two campaigns, there are some syllabaries, hymns, etc., then it follows that Peters had already ten years previously come across the remains of the temple school. This view is confirmed by the official announcement of the Babylonian section of the University,¹ assuming of course that the tablets to be included in the forthcoming volumes represent such as were actually found at Nippur.

To be sure, in Dr. Hilprecht's account of this school we must eradicate all that he says about the instruction in "free-hand drawing, clay modelling, glyptics and sculpture,"² since none of the objects containing designs which are introduced by him in illustration of this supposed feature of the school were found on the site of the "Library"³ and there is not the slightest reason for supposing that any of the designs represent the work of temple pupils. Until, therefore, satisfactory evidence is furnished, scholars must necessarily question whether "clay figurines, terra-cotta reliefs and even fragments of sculpture were discovered in the ruins of the temple library."⁴ There

¹ Three volumes of syllabaries, writing exercises and mathematical and astronomical tablets are announced to appear—i. e. the ordinary texts belonging to a temple school and having nothing to do therefore with a "Temple Library."

² *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 527; *Ausgrabungen, etc., im Bel-Tempel*, pp. 59; English translation, p. 112.

³ Two of the designs (*Explorations*, pp. 528-529) on clay tablets were in the hands of the architect of the fourth campaign several months before Haynes struck the "Library" site, while a third design referred to by Hilprecht (*l. c.*, p. 527) as that of "a poorly executed bird" on a clay tablet and pictured in the German edition of the lecture on the temple of Bel (p. 59) as "the drawing of a temple pupil" ("Zeichnung eines Tempelschülers"), is *not on a clay tablet at all* but is incised on a fragment of a stone vase—apart from the fact that it likewise was unearthed before the "Library" site was reached and therefore has nothing to do with the "Library." When confronted with this, Dr. Hilprecht put in the claim that the bird referred to in *Explorations, etc.* was not the one pictured in the German lecture, but it is only necessary to compare the two passages to see that he is speaking of one and the same object. If not—where is the other bird? A "map of Nippur," also spoken of by Hilprecht (*Explorations*, p. 516) as having been found in a jar on the "Library" site *after* his arrival at Nippur, was actually found several months *before* his arrival, and not in a jar, nor on the "Library" site. See Fisher's recent work, *Expedition to Nippur* (Phila. 1906), Part i, p. 12.

⁴ *Explorations*, p. 527.

remains in Hilprecht's account of the temple school, what he says about writing exercises, sign lists, syllabaries, grammatical paradigms and multiplication tables and which may be taken as reliable, though exactly how many of these tablets were found or how many he has seen, has not yet been ascertained.¹ What Dr. Hilprecht says about the methods followed in the training of young aspirants to knowledge is paralleled in chap. iii of Scheil's work above referred to,² and has substantially been known to scholars for many years from the similar classes of tablets found in Ashurbanapal's library.³ As in the case of the temple school of Sippar, we should also expect to find some distinctly literary tablets in that of Nippur. According to Hilprecht,⁴ some neo-Babylonian hymns were included in the circa 4000 tablets found by Peters in mound 5 in 1889-90. Exactly how many additional literary tablets were found by Haynes in 1900, we, unfortunately, have no means of determining from the data available. Dr. Hilprecht speaks in one place of "many" astronomical, medical and historical tablets,⁵ and in another place, "of hundreds of very large crumbling tablets mostly religious and mythological in character,"⁶ but inasmuch as the only distinctly "literary" tablet introduced by him in his various accounts of the library—

¹ Presumably the 15 or 20 tablets left unpacked by Haynes (see above, p. 158, note 1) for Hilprecht's inspection on his arrival were such writing exercises, syllabaries and multiplication tablets which Haynes, although unable to read the inscriptions, selected because they were not like the ordinary business documents. To these may be added the similar class of tablets found, according to Hilprecht, by Peters in 1889-90. On p. 526 of *Explorations in Bible Lands*, Hilprecht speaks of having seen "hundreds of them [namely, syllabaries, and lexicographical lists] among the tablets which I have cleaned and examined in Nuffar and Constantinople." The statement is misleading, inasmuch as it implies that he saw more than 20 in Nippur, which was not the case. If really hundreds were found (which is not improbable but for which further evidence is desired), why did he not use as illustrations some of those hundred instead of a bought multiplication tablet and a second one, not found on the site of the "Library?"

² P. 153.

³ See, e. g., an article by the writer on "The Text Book Literature of the Babylonians," in the *Biblical World*, vol. ix, pp. 248-268, and Menant's *La Bibliothèque du Palais de Nineve* (Paris, 1880), chap. 3.

⁴ *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 511.

⁵ *L. c.*, p. 529.

⁶ *L. c.*, p. 530.

the astronomical tablet purchased before the excavations began¹—was *not* excavated at Nippur, it is natural that scholars should not be too eager to accept any very large figures without substantial proof.²

Sign lists, writing exercises, syllabaries and grammatical paradigms, mathematical tables and even chronological lists, hardly fall within the category of literary texts any more than modern text-books, though, of course, one may, if one is so inclined, designate them as such. It will, however, avoid confusion to separate a school outfit from literary productions, and, so far as the indications go, there is no reason at present to believe that either the number of school tablets or the number of literary tablets, in the strict sense, found in the temple archive at Nippur exceeds the number unearthed at Sippar. Assuming, however, that it should develop (which in the interest of science is to be hoped) that in reality several hundred literary texts are included in the 17,200 tablets found by Haynes, and in the circa 4000 found by Peters, even this would not justify us in assuming the existence of a "Temple Library" at Nippur in any proper sense of the term, i. e., an extensive and miscellaneous collection of literary texts, gathered as was Ashurbanapal's Library from various centers. Even a few hundred literary tablets might constitute for the greater part merely the practice tablets, or the text books for the temple pupils. As a matter of course, "23,000 *literary* tablets" would constitute a genuine library, and scholars *relying upon this statement* had all along assumed, until disillusioned by recent revelations, that a genuine literary archive, comparable to the royal library of

¹ See above p. 158.

² In a lecture delivered by Dr. Hilprecht before the American Philological Society, March 3, 1905, on the "Temple Library at Nippur," and when specimens of the contents of the "Library" were exhibited, two small incantation fragments were the only ones that could, in the strict sense of the term, be denominated as "literary." A chronological list that was shown might perhaps be included under this term, but even such lists—found also at Sippar (cf. e. g., Scheil, *l. c.*, p. 103, No. 16)—formed part of the school outfit, or were drawn up as guides in the dating of business documents and not prepared from motives of historical interest. See Peiser, *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, viii, pp. 1-6, on the purely practical purposes served by such lists—which, corresponding to our modern calendars, one would hardly class with "literary" products.

Nineveh, had been discovered at Nippur.¹ Since, however, apart from the fact that no evidence for the correctness of the statement has been furnished, the circumstances and facts above set forth speak against the statement, we may for the present dismiss it and rest satisfied with the assumption that what literary tablets have been found at Nippur constitute, as at Sippar, part of the school outfit, with the probability that—again as at Sippar—some of them may have formed part of the collection used by the temple officials in the cult and were kept within the school precincts as the natural depository. There is no more reason, on the basis of what we actually know, for speaking of a “Temple Library” at Nippur than for speaking of a Temple Library at Sippar, and indeed if we take Prof. Hilprecht’s own summary of the results reached at Abu Habba or Sippar, as given by him on pp. 274–75 of *Explorations of Bible Lands* and substitute “Nippur” for “Abu Habba,” we will obtain a fairly accurate view of the character of the find made by Haynes and Peters. To quote this description in part, “For the greater part these documents are of a business character, referring to the administration of the temple and its property . . . Among the tablets . . . there were many of a strictly literary character, such as sign lists and grammatical exercises, astronomical and mathematical text, letters, hymns, mythological fragments.” With the exception that sign lists and grammatical exercises are not of a “strictly literary character,” and that the “letters,” since they no doubt refer to business matters, should likewise not be classed among literary tablets, the description may stand, and applies *precisely* to the Nippur finds. As

¹ I myself until recently accepted Dr. Hilprecht’s accounts in good faith. See the German edition of the writer’s *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, p. 10. Sayce too assumed on the basis of Hilprecht’s announcements that an extensive literary collection had been discovered (*Gifford Lectures on the Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, London, 1902), p. 254, and so did every one else. Fossey (*Manual d’ Assyriologie*, I. p. vii), actually put the Kouyunjik and the Nippur “Libraries” on the same plan. His words “*voilà qu’on annonce de Nuffur la découverte d’une bibliothèque non moins considerable*” (than that of Kouyunjik) may be taken as an illustration of the impression that Hilprecht’s accounts conveyed to the minds of scholars, and which now turns out to have been totally misleading. That under these circumstances scholars should have manifested their indignation is not surprising.

already intimated, until a considerable number of specimens of the business documents found in the temple archive of Nippur have been examined, the question cannot be definitely answered whether they are exclusively concerned with the administration and business affairs of the temple, as is the case with the tablets of the Cassite period found at mound 10,¹ or whether, as at Sippar, they include also business documents of a private character. Analogy would suggest that the temple at Nippur was also used as the official depository of commercial records in general—at least during certain periods—, though we must also assume that business firms kept their own archives.²

However this may be, on the basis of finds made at Telloh, and more particularly of those made at Sippar and Nippur, we are led to the conclusion (*a*) that the temples contained chiefly business archives, and (*b*) that attached to the temples in the large centers there were schools for the instruction of those to be trained as scribes and priests, and (*c*) that in the portion of the temple set aside for this purpose there were kept the textbooks of various kinds, and in considerable number, including mathematical tables, tables of measurement, chronological lists, and astronomical tables, all serving some purpose in the instruction, as well as (*d*) religious texts for the training of those who were being prepared to carry out the various functions of the cult. We have also seen that it is probable that the religious texts—hymns, incantations, omens, and the like—actually used as guides or handbooks for the cult, were also kept in the school, but there is no reason for assuming that the number of such texts was ordinarily very large even in the great centers,—with one exception to be noted presently. So far as we have gone, therefore, there are no grounds for the belief that the Babylonian temples collected libraries in the proper and ordinary sense of the term, i. e., large literary archives like Ashurbanapal's collection.

Coming to the fourth site—Babylon—the disappointment of the scholars has been keen that the excavations conducted there by the German Oriental Society since 1899,³ while extremely valuable for the topography of the city, have not yielded a rich

¹ See above, p. 160, note 2.

² Above, p. 160, note 3.

³ Cf. *Mitteilungen der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*, especially Nos. 1-17.

supply of tablets—as little as the excavations carried on there fifty years previous—1852—by the French expedition under Fresnel and Oppert. Such tablets as have been found, however, by the recent excavations are of considerable value,¹ and bear, as we shall see, upon the main question under discussion. The native diggers and plunderers seem to have been more successful, and, at various times, thousands upon thousands of tablets emanating from Babylon and the neighboring site of el-Birs—the ancient Borsippa—on the other side of the Euphrates have through dealers found their way to the British Museum, to the Berlin Museum, and elsewhere, including museums in this country. Leaving aside the numerous brick stamps, barrel cylinders, and other inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar,² Nebopolassar, Nabonidus, and others, the great majority of these tablets are business documents belonging to the neo-Babylonian and Persian periods;³ and of these the majority again are of a private nature. At the same time there are quite a number that deal with the commercial affairs and transactions of the temples in Babylon and Borsippa. Since no reliable information is at our disposal regarding the exact portions of the mounds whence the Arabs obtained the Babylon and Borsippa tablets,⁴ the question cannot be answered whether they all emanate from the record

¹ Partial publication by Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (Leipzig, 1903).

² On the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and their chronological order, see now Langdon's elaborate work, *The Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire* (Paris, 1906), of which so far vol. i has been issued.

³ Almost all of the texts in the volumes of the Strassmaier and Evetts series (above referred to) that are not from Sippar come from Babylon and Borsippa. Similarly, almost all of the tablets included in Peiser's *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums* (Berlin, 1890), come from Babylon. The Shemtob collection bought by the University of Pennsylvania (see above, p. 151, note 3), also appears to contain tablets from Babylon and Borsippa. The Metropolitan and Harvard Semitic museums also possess business documents coming from these two places.

⁴ Between 1885 and 1888 the Arabs appear to have been particularly active at these two places. In the *Journal Asiatique*, 1888, p. 543, Pognon reported that the Arabs claimed to have discovered a "library" in one of the mounds covering the site of Babylon, but the rumor turned out to be false. (Harper, *Zeits. f. Assyr.*, iv, p. 164.) Were these perhaps the tablets included in Reisner's *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen* See below, p. 167.

offices in the temple of Marduk at Babylon and of Nebo at Borsippa respectively, or whether we are to assume, as at Nippur, the existence of private archives in these places kept by large business firms. We may with considerable confidence assume that such private archives did exist, but, on the other hand, since the temple organizations in Babylon and Borsippa engaged in business transactions, and since the administration of the temples at both these places was at least on as large a scale as at Telloh, Sippar and Nippur, the temples in question must have possessed extensive business archives, and analogy suggests that the temples likewise served (by the side of private archives) as depositories for commercial records of a private character.

The existence of temple schools at both places has also been satisfactorily established by the considerable number of syllabaries included among the tablets that have found their way to the British Museum. So, e. g., Part xii of the *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, etc., in the British Museum contains chiefly syllabaries, copied during the Persian period in the reigns of Cyrus and Artaxerxes from originals at Borsippa¹ and Babylon.² Confirmatory evidence is furnished by the discovery of an important syllabary at Babylon by the German expedition.³ An astronomical tablet found by this expedition⁴ presumably also belonged to the temple school at Babylon, while a sufficient number of distinctly literary tablets⁵ have also been unearthed at Babylon to warrant the conclusion that the temple school at Babylon—and no doubt also at Borsippa—contained religious texts—precisely as at Sippar and Nippur. Furthermore, Reisner⁶ has published about 200 fragments of tablets, chiefly hymns, but comprising also lists of gods, gates and streets in Babylon⁷ and omen texts⁸—united into ninety-four numbers—representing copies of texts prepared for the school during the Seleucidian era in the years 137–81,⁹ and which were said to have been

¹ See the colophons to Plates 3, 7, 9, 11, 15, 17.

² Colophon to Pl. 13.

³ Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, No. xi.

⁴ Weissbach, No. xvii.

⁵ Weissbach, No. xii and xiii. Announcements of others are made in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.

⁶ *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1896).

⁷ Nos. v–ix.

⁸ No. x.

⁹ See Banks, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 4–6.

found together in one place in Babylon.¹ The contents confirm the view that the texts were compiled for use in the Marduk cult, though, as has been shown elsewhere,² they were originally hymns and lamentation songs in honor of Bel of Nippur. Since, moreover, most of the tablets were written according to the colophons³ by members of one and the same priestly family—that of Sin-ibni, of whom three (whose names appear frequently) call themselves *kalū sīḫru*, i. e., temple pupil,⁴ it follows that the collection was actually prepared in the temple school of Babylon, which is thus proved to have flourished close up to the beginning of our era. We may—provisionally, at least—assume in the case of Babylon and Borsippa, as in that of Sippar and Nippur, that in addition to texts prepared in the school by the pupils, or for the instruction of the pupils, the temple schools served also as the depository for the religious texts—hymns, incantations and omen rituals, and the like—used in connection with the cult. When we come to consider the evidence furnished by the tablets in Ashurbanapal's Library, we will find these conclusions and assumptions to be strengthened, more particularly so far as they bear on conditions prevailing in Babylon.

Our investigations, based on the results obtained up to the present time through systematic excavations, so largely supplemented by the unsystematic diggings of thievish Arabs, have thus far led us to the following conclusions: (1) that in the important religious centers, the temples had extensive archives attached to them; (2) that these archives contained, primarily, the records of the administration of the temples and of their business affairs, including official correspondence and business letters; (3) that in addition to temple records, business documents of a private character—contracts, deeds of sale, testaments, marriage settlements, etc., etc.—were deposited in the temple archives, though it is to be borne in mind that in the larger cities there were business firms, corresponding to our

¹ Reisner, *l. c.*, p. xi. See above, p. 166, note 4.

² See the author's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii, p. 7 and 11, seq.

³ Reisner, *l. c.*, p. xi, seq.

⁴ A synonym of this interesting designation, signifying literally "little priest," is *dupšar sīḫru*. See above, p. 153, note 9, and King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. I, p. cxiii seq., and Appendix I for practice tablets and commentaries prepared by and for the temple pupils.

banking houses and syndicates, that kept the records of their commercial instructions in their own archives ; (4) that besides acting as the official record-offices, the temples had schools attached to them for the education of priests and scribes ; (5) that in these schools the outfit for instruction in writing, reading, in mathematics, in measurements and astronomical calculations—sign lists, exercises, syllabaries, grammatical paradigms, mathematical tables, chronological lists, etc.,—were kept, besides practice tablets, commentaries to important texts, copies of religious texts—incantations, omens, prayers, hymns, rituals, ceremonial regulations, etc., etc.—and other material needed in the preparation of the students to conduct the cult and to carry out the various functions—exorcising of demons, purification and atonement rituals, inspection of sacrifices, interpretation of omens and the like—entrusted to the priests. The number of such texts thus covering the two main branches of a priest's education, (*a*) to act as a scribe in drawing up legal documents, and to conduct the business affairs of the temple, and (*b*) to become an adept in the cult with its numerous ramifications, must have been considerable in the temple schools of the large centers, ranging perhaps in the hundreds. At the same time we must beware of exaggerating the extent of the school outfit, for the intensely practical purpose served by these schools—in keeping with the practical aspects presented by the entire Babylonian religion—would act as a deterrent factor in gathering more than what was actually of service in the training afforded. As a sixth conclusion, it may be set down as probable that religious texts of various kinds used in connection with the cult were also kept within the precincts of the schools.

Naturally, every temple must have had somewhere, if not in the school then in some other part of the temple area, a number of religious texts—hymns, incantations, omens, forecasts, legends and myths¹—that were either directly employed in the cult or were consulted as guides in securing oracles and for the prognostication of future events ; but here again a warning is in place against giving our imagination free rein. While such collections made for purely practical purposes may have amounted in

¹ On the use of myths and legends in the cult, see the author's *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, i, p. 462-465, and his paper, "A Babylonian Parallel to Job" in vol. 25 of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*.

the larger temples to several hundred tablets, there is no evidence at present that the Babylonian temples had very extensive literary collections—at all comparable to such a collection as was gathered by king Ashurbanapal in his palace at Nineveh, which is the only collection so far found in Mesopotamia that merits the name of a library, in the sense in which that term is ordinarily understood. At all events, the term having been preëmpted by the general consensus of Assyriologists for Ashurbanapal's collection, we have no right to apply it to what has been found in Babylonian temples as long as no actual evidence is at hand for the existence of an *extensive* literary collection of a similar character in any of them. To do so is to create needless and unwarranted confusion. As a matter of course, the possibility of the existence of genuine temple libraries in Babylonia is not denied; and in view of the surprises that archaeological exploration has furnished in the past, he would be bold indeed who would take upon himself the rôle of a prophet; but the excavations conducted in the mounds of Babylonia have proceeded far enough to warrant a skeptical attitude towards this possibility with the exception of one center—Babylon, and, perhaps also Borsippa as an adjunct to Babylon.

The Babylonian religion, as has already been intimated, was intensely practical in its character, and this practical character is revealed in the religious texts of Babylonia so far as known to us from discoveries in Babylonian mounds and from the evidence to be derived from the texts in Ashurbanapal's library. The practical motive presiding over the constitution of the schools would prompt the priests in each temple to gather and preserve such texts that would be needed for the various branches of the cult, but here the interest in collecting would naturally cease. To go beyond this natural limit a motive would be required, and since an extensive literary collection—a real library—could only be brought together in any one center by gathering, in addition to the texts required for the cult of the particular deity to whom the temple in question was sacred, such as were used elsewhere, it follows that, unless some motive for doing so be apparent, the presumption would be against the prevalence of such a policy.

Before, therefore, even the assumption should be permitted for any particular religious center that an extensive literary col-

lection may have been gathered there, a motive sufficiently strong to warrant the priests, as the originators and preservers of literary productions, to pass beyond the immediate interests of the local cult (which would be satisfied by a comparatively small number of texts), would have to be demonstrated. Now what interest would the priests of Nippur, devoted to the service of Bel, have in gathering the texts used in the cult of Ningirsu at Lagash? Or, why should the priests of Sippar, with Shamash as the patron deity of the place, collect hymns, prayers, ritualistic ordinances, or even incantations and festal legends connected with the cult of Ea at Eridu? Political conditions and religious interests go hand in hand in ancient Babylonia. Until the days of Hammurabi, the Euphrates Valley was divided into a number of independent states or kingdoms, and while, at one time or the other, one center or the other exercised a certain supremacy over one or more of the other states, there was not, so far as the evidence goes, prior to Hammurabi, any central power in control of all of Babylonia. Sargon of Agade, and some of the rulers of Lagash and of Ur, represent the nearest approach to such a power, without, however, achieving the union of the various districts of Babylonia, which was the work reserved for Hammurabi, who thereby laid the foundations of a genuine empire with the city of Babylon as the political center. Unless, therefore, we are to assume a sufficiently strong literary interest among the priests in the collecting of religious and other texts to counterbalance the natural rivalry among the cults which would result from the political rivalry among the different states, there would be no motive to prompt the priests of any particular temple to gather texts produced and used elsewhere. There is, however, nothing to indicate that literature as an intellectual pleasure and stimulus was a compelling factor in ancient Babylonia. The fact that the bulk of the literature is religious, produced directly for the purposes of the cult, and thus serving a purely practical purpose, is a strong argument against such an assumption, and since the only two sciences cultivated in Babylon—astronomy and medicine—were encouraged *because* of their practical bearings, astronomy as a means of forecasting human destinies, and medicine only in so far as it furnished a knowledge of certain remedies ascertained to be beneficial when applied in connection with incantations that continued to be

regarded as no less essential to the healing of disease, we may at the most assume that texts belonging to these two classes would be transferred from one religious center to the other; and even here we have to take into consideration, as a deterrent factor, the jealousy with which such texts would be guarded by the priests of one center to prevent a rival cult from obtaining possession of such valuable treasures.

The conditions, however, for gathering the texts produced in the various temples in some central place would be more favorable after the creation of a Babylonian empire under Hammurabi, and there would also be a strong motive for collecting such texts in the temple of Marduk at Babylon. The political union of the Euphratean states led as a natural result not only to the recognition of the city of Babylon as the political center, but to the endeavor to place Marduk at the head of the Babylonian pantheon, and which in time was accomplished. The process involved the transference to Marduk of the prerogatives enjoyed by the other great gods—notably by Bel of Nippur, but also by Ea, Ninib and Shamash. Under such conditions there would arise a genuine and a strong motive for collecting in the Marduk temple at Babylon, texts produced in other centers—not, to be sure, from any purely literary instincts, but with the specific purpose of adapting these texts to the cult of Marduk. The proof is abundant that this plan was actually carried out; that entire series of incantations compiled originally for the Ea cult were transferred to Marduk with such modifications as were called for;¹ that Bel and Ea hymns² and Bel and Ninib legends³ were transferred to Marduk, and that in so far as any monotheistic tendencies existed at all in Babylonia, they are intimately bound up with this endeavor to assign to Marduk and to concentrate in him the attributes, powers, and prerogatives of the other great gods—Bel, Ea, Sin and Shamash, Ninib and Nergal—each one of which had his own center of worship.⁴ As a single striking and characteristic instance of this centralizing process, the main

¹ See Jastrow, *Rel. Babyl. und Assyr.*, i, p. 295 seq., 329 seq., etc.

² See above, p. 168, and Jastrow, *l. c.*, i, pp. 495 seq., and ii, pp. 19 seq.

³ The detailed proof in the forthcoming Part 13 of the author's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*.

⁴ In this sense the famous monotheistic Marduk hymn (see Jastrow, *l. c.*, i, pp. 421–423) is to be interpreted. See now also Baentsch, *Altorientalischer und Israelitischer Monotheismus* (Tübingen, 1906), p. 33 seq.

version of the Babylonia creation story as set forth in tablets from Ashurbanapal's library supplemented by Babylonian originals¹ may be cited in which two older versions—one belonging to Eridu, in which Ea was regarded as the conqueror of the monster (or monsters) of the deep; another originating in Nippur, in which Bel after the overthrow of Tiamat, becomes the creator of the orderly world,—are combined into a version celebrating Marduk as the great hero among the gods.² The actual transfer of the rôles of Ea and Bel to Marduk is indicated in the explicit statement that these gods gave their names, i. e., according to ancient ideas, their power and essence, to the god of Babylon.³ There are good reasons for believing, therefore, that in the Marduk temple at Babylon there may have been gathered in this way a collection of considerable extent—perhaps, of sufficient extent to justify us without involving us in a confusion of terms, in speaking of it as a veritable “Temple Library,” though it is only proper to add that even on the assumption that this centralizing process assumed the largest possible dimensions, we would still be far removed from such a condition as applies in the case of Ashurbanapal's collection, where the king from motives of pride and ambition and with a view of emphasizing his control of Babylonia, and perhaps also for the purpose of symbolizing the religious preëminence of his capital, Nineveh, carried out on a large scale the policy of having the texts connected with the cult of the gods in the various religious centers of the south copied from the originals into the Assyrian or neo-Babylonian⁴ *ductus* of cuneiform writing and placed in his palace. It may well be doubted whether even the temple of Marduk ever possessed “23,000 literary tablets.” Up to a certain extent, the conditions in Babylon hold good for the adjacent Borsippa. For reasons that need not be

¹ See King's standard edition, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i. Introduction, p. cxi seq.

² See the author's paper “On the Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story” in the *Nöldeke Festschrift* (Giessen, 1906), pp. 970-982.

³ Tablet VII, lines 110 and 118-120 (King's edition).

⁴ A large number of the tablets in the Kouyunjik collection are written in the neo-Babylonian style—an indication that both forms of writing were in use in Assyria, rather than that some of the scribes were Babylonians.

set forth here, the worship of Nebo was closely combined with that of Marduk, and it may be that in Borsippa likewise, as a sort of adjunct to Babylon, a genuine literary collection was formed, though, perhaps, never disassociated from the school, and certainly never attaining the proportions of the collection of Babylon.

The question, then, whether the Babylonian temples had libraries may, on the basis of the actual results obtained through excavations in southern mounds, be answered as follows. The evidence does not point to the existence of extensive literary collections in the religious centers of Babylonia, and what evidence there is favors the supposition that, with the exception of the Marduk temple at Babylon—and possibly of the Nebo temple at Borsippa—the actual number of literary texts in each center was limited to such as were directly connected with the cult of the chief deity in that place, or, where several gods were worshipped, with the worship of these gods in their respective sanctuaries. There may have been a transfer from one center to the other of omen and medical texts to a certain extent, but even with such borrowing the number of literary texts in the Babylonian temples does not as a rule appear to have been very large. There is certainly no reason at present to assume that all the larger temples of Babylonia—and much less those of minor importance—had extensive literary collections—libraries in any proper sense of the term, while even in the case of Babylon there are no good reasons for believing that the literary tablets in the Marduk archive ranged high into the thousands.

There still remains to be considered the testimony furnished by Ashurbanapal's library on the question under consideration. If the originals from which the texts in this library are copied are Babylonian, does not the existence of this large royal collection point to an extensive literature scattered throughout the religious centers of the south? Naturally, conclusions based on the actual number of tablets found in the royal palace at Nineveh must be accepted with due reserve, since we have no means of ascertaining the original extent of the collection. Bezold,¹ whose opinions always merit the greatest weight, inclines to the belief that what has been recovered represents only a small proportion of the original extent, though he assigns no reasons for

¹ *Bibliotheks- und Schriftwesen im alten Nineve*, p. 273, note 3.

this belief. On the other hand, the circumstance that since the discovery of the library by Layard, the ruins at Kouyunjik have been searched more than half a dozen times by such explorers as Rawlinson, Rassam, George Smith, Budge and King,¹ for further fragments and with considerable care and success, lends a presumption to the view that, unless we are to assume the complete disappearance without any traces whatsoever of the greater part of the library, the portion now recovered represents at least the major portion of the collection. Twenty thousand tablets, it must be remembered, constitute a formidable collection, and even the ambition of such a king as Ashurbanapal, whose personal literary interests were presumably not very strong, might have been satisfied with an even smaller collection. However this may be, the recovered part is sufficiently large and covers a sufficiently wide range to enable us to strike an average as to the various divisions of the collection and to place considerable confidence also in the testimony furnished by the portion that has been found.² In the first place, then, attention should be directed to the fact that the proportion of the library which is of Babylonian origin is not so large as has sometimes been supposed. The collection is very far from being exclusively a borrowed product. Included in the somewhat over 20,000 tablets are over 2700 tablets,³ and fragments—or about one-eighth—comprising letters of Assyrian kings and their officials,⁴ and which are therefore of Assyrian origin. There are about 800 Assyrian business documents and about 600 astrological and astronomical reports to Assyrian rulers—likewise, therefore, of Assyrian origin.⁵ Again, there are extensive groups of tablets containing distinctively Assyrian prayers, as, e. g., the prayers of Asarhaddon

¹ See above, p. 147.

² Weber, in his recently published monograph, *Dämonenbeschwörung bei den Babyloniern und Assyrern* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 4, is likewise of the opinion that the proportion to one another of the various subdivisions into which the collection may be divided, can be gathered from the part of the library that has been recovered.

³ My calculations are based on the admirable Index to Bezold's catalogue.

⁴ 876 of these letters have been published by Harper in his magnificent series, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (London 1892-1902, 8 vols.).

⁵ See Thompson, *Report of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon* (London, 1900, 2 vols.), for an extensive publication of such tablets.

and Ashurbanapal to the sun-god, published by Knudtzon.¹ An estimate of 500 tablets of this character will not be regarded as too large. Many of the omen and medical texts, while based on Babylonian prototypes, contain evidence of having been compiled by Assyrian priests.² Again, there is no reason to assume that the more than 2000 fragments of syllabaries, paradigms, lists of all kinds, of gods, stars, names, plants, animals, rivers, countries, temples, cities, clothing, ships, etc., are all copies of Babylonian originals. Indeed many of them may with certainty be set down as the work of Assyrian scribes.³ The Babylonian portion of the collection is still further reduced by the lists of Assyrian eponyms and the historical, building and votive inscriptions of Assyrian kings, included in the library—in all about 400 tablets and fragments—and further by the oracles and hymns of Assyrian origin. Striking a general average from the part recovered, it is safe to say that one-half and probably more than one-half of the collection is of Assyrian origin; and even in the genuinely Babylonian portion, the actual number of distinctively literary texts—subtracting all syllabaries, paradigms and lists—is further reduced by the very large number of duplicate texts copied in some if not in many instances from Assyrian originals.⁴ Thus of the Creation story at least five copies—besides four copies of neo-Babylonian editions not found at Kouyunjik—existed in the royal library;⁵ of the Gilgamesh

¹ *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, etc. (Leipzig, 1893), besides texts like KK. 226, 418, 1285, 1286, 1290, 1291, 2809, 2810(?) 2836, 8361, 8363, 8845, 11367, Sm. 1537, 1630, Rm 2,329, 56-9-9,171, etc., etc., which, according to indications in Bezold's *Catalogue*, are prayers addressed to various deities by Assyrian kings and are, therefore, of Assyrian origin.

² The fact that in some cases the long colophons attached to the omen series do not contain the usual phrase *kīma labirīšu šātir*, etc., "written like the original," etc., points in this direction. So, e. g., *Cuneiform Texts*, Part xx, pl. 33, and Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux Presages*, p. 232. Moreover, a text like K. 102 (Boissier, *l. c.*, p. 47) is proved by the colophon to be an Assyrian product.

³ E. g., the so-called "Lehrbuch des Prinzen Asurbanipal" published by Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke* (3d ed.), pp. 86 seq. See Meissner's note on duplicates of this text in *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, ix, pp. 162-163.

⁴ In this way the colophon *gabri Ašur* (see below, p. 178, note 1) is to be interpreted.

⁵ King, *l. c.*, I, p. cxv.

epic there are likewise several copies; of many hymns two or three copies,¹ and similarly of omen texts, astrological forecasts, incantation fragments, there are numerous duplicates, as well as of syllabaries, paradigms and lists.

All this goes to show that, on the one hand, we have been disposed to underestimate the literary activity prevailing in Assyria, and on the other hand, that the portion of the library recovered does not point to as extensive a Babylonian literature as has generally been assumed. The general dependence of Assyrian culture upon that of Babylonia does not involve the conclusion that Assyria was devoid of intellectual activity, nor that the Assyrian priests did not make contributions to the cuneiform literature that has come down to us; and while the originality of these contributions may not have been striking, the extent may have been considerable. Indeed, the existence of numerous large temples in Assyria is sufficient reason for assuming that the priests of Assyria were as active as those in the south, in compiling the texts needed for the cult, which involved a certain power of original composition, or at all events of adapting texts of various kinds to the specific cult in which they were interested.

Nor do the colophons attached in some instances to the copies, testifying to the place where the originals from which the copies were made, justify any far-reaching conclusions as to the extent of the literary collections in temple archives of Babylonia. In Bezold's catalogue only twelve instances of such colophons are registered, seven furnishing the testimony that the copies were made from originals in Babylon,² three from Nippur,³ one from Cuthah,⁴ one from Ur,⁵ while in some cases the colophon merely

¹ Of IV Rawlinson 60*, there are three and perhaps four copies. See Jastrow, *l. c.*, ii. p. 120, Anm. 1.

² KK. 872, 1812, 2221, 7931 (astrological forecasts); also 81, 2-4, 306 (religious), KK. 3266 (incantation) 3899 (astrological) colophons not given, but indicated by Bezold in his description of the texts.

³ KK. 1363 (incantation) 8668 (school tablet!) 10826 (religious). Official correspondence, as e. g. K. 7467, a letter from Nippur, is not of course included in the enumeration.

⁴ K 5268 (hymn to Nergal). Now published by Macmillan, *Beiträge zur Assyr.*, v, p. 582 seq.

⁵ K. 217, etc.—published by Boissier, *l. c.*, pp. 103-106 (omen).

testifies in a general way that the copies in question were made from other Assyrian¹ and Babylonian editions,² or referring in a still more general way to the fact that the text in question represents a copy³ or an extract.⁴ No doubt there were many more of such colophons attached to the tablets, the fragmentary condition of so many of which accounts for the fact that so few have remained, but it does not of course follow that large numbers of tablets were obtained from all the places mentioned. If the scribes of Ashurbanapal had confined themselves to copying the texts actually used in the cult, in one center or the other, the aggregate would have been considerable, even though the number in each place might not have been comparatively large, and as long as we have no certain criterion for determining the original extent of the royal library, no conclusions whatsoever can be drawn from the colophons as to the number of texts copied from the originals in any place.

More valuable and also more trustworthy is the internal evidence to be derived from the texts themselves, and here the result is to decidedly strengthen the conclusion reached from a different approach, that the Marduk temple at Babylon did actually possess a literary collection of considerable extent. On the assumption that the portion of the royal library recovered is sufficient to enable us to strike an average, it can be shown from internal evidence that the Marduk archive at Babylon constituted the chief source for Ashurbanapal's collection and that the number of texts derived from this source must have been considerable. It will be sufficient for our purpose to present here a portion of this evidence, reserving for a future occasion a more detailed investigation of this phase of the subject.

¹ E. g., *gabri Ašur* KK. 1315 (omen), 9572 (omen), i. e., a copy made from an Assyrian copy, or perhaps from an Assyrian original.

² *Gabri* (?) *Akkad* K. 8263 (astrological forecast) *gabri Ašur u Akkad* K. 2518, i. e., a copy made on the basis of Assyrian and Babylonian copies—indicating the preparation of further copies from copies.

³ E. g., KK. 398, 993 (*pī duppāni labirāti*), 3163, etc.

⁴ *Mukallimtu*, "specimen" which I take in the sense of an extract copied for school purposes or as a school exercise, e. g., KK. 872, 2139, 2177, 7628, 9048; Rm. 2, 103. See also KK. 3479, 4613, 5225, 9288, 9931; also *Cuneiform Texts*, Part xii, pl. 3, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, etc., etc., noted as "incomplete" copies; KK. 2773, 3931, 4630, 10595, 12188 DT. 1, etc., registered as "complete" copies.

Attention has already been directed to the main version of the Babylonian creation story,¹ which in the form preserved to us in Ashurbanapal's texts represents the Marduk version of the ancient myth and must therefore have been derived from originals in Marduk's temple at Babylon. Had Ashurbanapal's scribes obtained this tale from the archive at Nippur, we would have had the Nippur version with Bel as the hero, and if his scribes had struck a version in the Eridu archive, Ea would have played the prominent rôle. Again, in a large proportion of the incantation texts in the royal library, Marduk is prominently introduced, and since the internal evidence points to Eridu as the source for most of the texts of this class, the association of Marduk with Ea, and in many cases the assignment of the rôle of exorciser to Marduk by the express declaration of Ea,² points to the Marduk archive at Babylon as the source whence the incantations in Ashurbanapal's library are derived. Thirdly, the form in which a number of the myths and legends in the royal collection are preserved is the one which would be given to them under the influence of the Marduk priests. Thus, e. g., Adapa, originally an independent figure, is identified in the Kouyunjik version of the legend in which he plays the chief part with Marduk,³ and in the legend of the Zu bird likewise, the version preserved in Ashurbanapal's collection points to the substitution of Marduk for Bel.⁴ A fourth argument is furnished by the texts in Ashurbanapal's collection, to which parallels found in Babylon have been discovered. Thus an important hymn originally composed in honor of Bel of Nippur and transferred to Marduk, which was discovered by the German

¹ It may be worth noting that we have a fragment of an Assyrian version of creation in Ashurbanapal's collection (*Cuneiform Texts*, Part xiii, pl. 24-25) in which the head of the Assyrian pantheon, Ašur—identified by the Assyrian priests though without justification with An-šar—plays the chief part and which must therefore have been produced in Assyria—another bit of evidence for the intellectual activity prevailing in the north.

² In the formula so often occurring, "Ea said to Marduk, my son, what I know thou dost also know," etc.—See Jastrow, *l. c.*, i, pp. 295, 329, 338, 343, 344, Anm. 8, etc.

³ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 548.

⁴ *L. c.* p. 542. The Ira (or Dibbarra) myth, in the form preserved in Ashurbanapal's library, likewise represents a "Babylon" version of the story. See Jastrow, *l. c.*, p. 532.

expedition,¹ is an exact duplicate to a text in Ashurbanapal's collection.² Of the series of texts published by Reisner³ and which are said to have been found together in Babylon, quite a number of duplicates exist in the Kouyunjik collection.⁴ Lastly, the large number of Marduk hymns in the collection,⁵ so much larger than those in honor of other gods, points decidedly in the same direction, since it is only fair to assume that they were all copied from the originals deposited in Marduk's temple at Babylon—the central and in fact the only seat of his worship. Incidentally, Ashurbanapal's library also bears further witness to the existence of an active temple school connected with the Marduk sanctuary, since many of the texts emanating from Babylon are practice tablets and commentaries, prepared for the interpretation of the texts in question.⁶

This circumstance, taken together with the large number of syllabaries, paradigms and school exercises of various kinds in the royal library, and which, in so far as they are not Assyrian originals, must have been copied from the texts in the temple schools of Babylonia, suggests the further conclusion that these schools constituted one of the chief sources of supply of the material gathered by the Assyrian scribes. The numerous lists of gods, objects of all kinds, countries, cities, mountains, rivers, birds, plants, etc., among the texts of the Library fall within the same category, and similarly the large numbers of ritual texts with detailed indications of the complicated ceremonial in

¹ Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, No. xiii.

² IV Rawlinson, 18, No. 2.

³ *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen* (Berlin, 1896). See above, p. 167.

⁴ E. g., Macmillan, *Some Cuneiform Tablets bearing on the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, v), p. 538 seq., 571 seq., 580 seq.

⁵ Hehn, *Hymnen und Gebete an Marduk* (*Beiträge z. Assyr.* v, pp. 307-308), enumerates 25 hymns to Marduk. See, also, Jastrow, *Religion Babylonien u. Assyr.*, i, pp. 495-519.

⁶ See, e. g., the interesting commentaries to the Creation story included in King's edition. If, as is fair to conclude, the Nergal hymns in Ashurbanapal's collection are copied from originals in Cutha—the seat of Nergal worship, then the existence of practice tablets among these, as suggested by Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 50, proves the existence of a temple school at this place likewise.

connection with sin and purification offerings,¹ appear to have been prepared for the instruction of the temple pupils rather than as guide books for the priests, and would thus also revert to the originals—in so far as they were not compiled by Assyrian pedagogues—in the temple schools of the south. The same applies to the considerable number of texts which are designated as extracts or incomplete copies² or bear the designation *nishu*,³ which seems to have been applied to a “school copy”⁴ of a text. In a general way, quite apart from the question from which Babylonian centers the copies in Ashurbanapal’s library emanate, one gains the impression that many of the omen, incantation, astrological, and even medical texts are school exercises, school copies or form part of school collections, belonging, therefore, to the school outfit of the temples rather than to a literary archive in the temple. A careful study of the texts in Ashurbanapal’s library from this point of view, with the purpose of ascertaining more definitely what proportion of the religious and other literary texts proper are to be classed as text-books rather than as parts of the outfit for actual use by priests in the service, has not yet been made. The result of such a study will in all probability tend to confirm the conclusion of a partial examination, that by far the *greater portion* of the literary texts falls within the category of school outfits in the larger sense, that is, texts prepared for purposes of instruction, and not representing part of the collection in the temples for use in the cult, so that, approached from this side, we are led likewise to the main conclusion of this paper, that we are justified in according to the temple schools of Babylonia considerable prominence, but that with the single probable

¹ See Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion* (pp. 81-175). The extensive Shamash-Adad ritual texts, of which Zimmern (*l. c.* pp. 190-219) furnishes specimens, belong to the same class of texts for the instruction of those intended to be trained for the service in the temples. These and other ritual texts are ably utilized by Morgenstern in his monograph, *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion* (Berlin, 1905).

² See above, p. 178, note 4.

³ E. g., KK. 8289, 9270, 9452, 9487, 10205, etc.

⁴ The proof for this view I must reserve for another occasion. The tablets which Bezold designates as “drafts” I am inclined to regard as school exercises also, e. g., KK. 6806, 8664, 80-7-19, 102, 80-7-19, 333, etc.

exception of the Marduk temple in Babylon—and possibly also the Nebo temple at Borsippa—the Babylonian temples do not give evidence of having contained extensive literary collections; that, on the contrary, the number of texts they contained, being in general limited to those used in the worship of the deity to whom the temple was sacred, appears to have been comparatively small, precisely as in the Egyptian temples,¹—altogether too small in extent and range to warrant the use of the term “literary.” For the present, therefore, and until further excavations should compel a revision of the conclusions to be drawn from the data at present available, the term “Library” should be restricted to the collection made by Ashurbanapal. At all events, a promiscuous use of the term “Temple Library,” to describe the contents of the temple archives in Babylonia, is to be discountenanced, not only as unwarranted, but as positively misleading, and as tending to create unnecessary and unjustifiable confusion.

¹ This on the testimony of Prof. W. Max Müller, to whom I am indebted for having called my attention to the fact.

Expression of Case by the Verb in Tagalog.—By FRANK R. BLAKE, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE idea that the case relations of a noun may be expressed by a verb is foreign to the usual grammatical conceptions of the languages of both the Indo-European and the Semitic families of speech. Nevertheless, such a conception is possible, if only to a limited degree, in both speech-families. The active and passive verbs that both families possess indicate respectively that the subject acts, is the agent of the action; or that the subject is acted upon, is the object of the action. That is to say, the active verb may be conceived of as expressing the case of the agent or nominative; the passive as expressing the case of the object or accusative. For example, in the sentence *Cain killed Abel*, *killed* may be said to indicate that its subject is an agent or nominative; while in the sentence *Abel was killed by Cain*, *was killed* may be looked upon as denoting that its subject is the object of the verbal action or accusative.

This function of the verb, however, was not further developed in either of these families of speech. Latin, for example, was brought face to face with the problem of making a verbal form to indicate the dative, when it came to turn into the passive those verbs which take their direct object in the dative, e. g., *obedire* 'obey.' Instead, however, of developing a new form which might take the dative object as subject, it got around the difficulty by using the regular or accusative passive impersonally, and retaining the dative; e. g., *servus domino obedit* becomes in the passive *domino a servo obeditur*.¹

In the Philippine languages, on the other hand, this case-indicating function of the verb is developed to a high degree. The active, as in Indo-European and Semitic, denotes the case of the agent, but the passive expresses not only the accusative,

¹ Cf. Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Latin Grammar*, N. Y. and London, 1898, p. 152. In Greek the dative is treated as if it were an accusative, and made the subject of the passive; cf. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, N. Y., Cincin., and Chicago, p. 77.

but also the dative, instrumental, locative, and ablative; the noun whose case is to be indicated being made the subject of the passive verb.

In Tagalog, which may be taken as a type of these languages, a verb may have an active and three so-called passive forms, which are known respectively, according to the particles with which they are formed, as the *in*, *i*, and *an* passives.

The various case relations are expressed by these verbal forms as follows. The case of the agent is indicated by the active as in other languages, e. g., in the sentence 'the man is writing a letter,' the fact that 'the man' is the agent is expressed by making it the subject of an active verb, viz. *ang táwô'y sunyimusúlat nang súlat*.

The accusative is denoted in general by the *in* passive, which corresponds about to our passive; e. g., 'take this book' is expressed by 'let this book be taken by you' *kúnin¹ mo itó-ng libro*, the object *itó-ng libro* 'this book,' being made the subject of the *in* passive *kúnin*.

The dative idea of 'for' is expressed by the *i* passive; the dative idea of 'to,' by the *an* passive: e. g., 'for you I will suffer all things' is rendered by 'you will be suffered for by me of all things.' *ikáw² ang ipagtitiús ko nang lahát; ikáw*, the person for whom, being made the subject of the passive *ipagtitiús*, which expresses the idea 'to be suffered for:' the sentence 'he gave me the money' is rendered by 'I was given to by him of the money,' or more literally, 'I was his giving place of the money,' *akó'y binigyan³ niyá nang salapí; akó,*

¹ Syncopated passive from the root *kúha* 'take.'

² *Aw* is used to represent the diphthong *ay*, (formerly written *ao*) just as *ay*, to represent the diphthong *aí* (e. g., *báhay* 'house'). The consonantal writing of the final element of these diphthongs is to be preferred, because words ending in these diphthongs are always treated as if they ended in a consonant: (a) in sentence nexus, e. g., *malinaw na túbig* 'limpid water;' apparent exceptions are due to the fact that the diphthong has been contracted to a simple vowel, for example in *ikáo'y* 'thou art' the diphthong has been contracted to *o*: (b) in assonance, words ending in *aw* and *ay* being used in the same stanza with those ending in *al*, *am*, *an*, *ang*; cf. Dr. Seiple's paper on *Tagalog Poetry*, JHU. Circs. No. 163, p. 78, b.

³ Syncopated passive from root *bigáy* 'give.'

⁴ The circumflex accent is used to indicate an accented final vowel followed by the glottal catch.

the person to whom, being made the subject of the passive *binig-yán*, which expresses the idea 'to be given to' or 'giving place.'

The instrumental is denoted by the *i* passive; e. g., 'cut the wood with this hatchet' is rendered by 'let this hatchet be your cutting instrument of the wood' *itó-ng palakól ay ipótól mo nang káhoy*, the instrument *itó-ng palakól* 'this hatchet' being made the subject of the passive form *ipótól*, which expresses a verbal idea that is approximately equivalent to 'cutting instrument.'

The locative and ablative are expressed by the *an* passive; e. g., 'he planted a tree in the garden' is rendered by 'the garden was planted in by him or was his planting place of a tree' *ang halamánan ay tinamnán¹ niyá nang isá-ng káhoy*, the place where *ang halamánan* 'the garden' being made the subject of the passive *tinamnán*, meaning 'to be planted in' or 'planting place;' the sentence 'I bought the house from the priest' is rendered by 'the priest was bought from by me or was my buying place of the house' *binílhan² ko nang báhay ang páre*, the person from whom *ang páre* 'the priest' being made the subject of the passive *binílhan*, meaning 'to be bought from' or 'buying place.'

This case indicating function of the verb is most clearly seen in the constructions with interrogative and relative pronouns, the case of which is almost always indicated in this way in a sentence containing a verb. The interrogative or relative stands unchanged at the beginning of its sentence, and its case-relations are indicated by varying the verb. For example in the case of *sino* 'who?'; 'who calls?' is expressed by the interrogative *sino* followed by the active, viz., *sino-ng tungmatáway*; 'whom are you calling?' by *sino* with the *in* passive, viz., *sino-ng tinatáway mo*; 'for whom are you inquiring?' by *sino* with the *i* passive, viz., *sino-ng itinatanóng mo*; 'from whom did you buy this?' by *sino* with the *an* passive, viz., *sino-ng binílhan mo nitó*. In the case of the relative, which is identical with the ligatures *na*, *ng*, 'the man who came' is expressed by the antecedent joined by the ligature to the active, viz., *ang táwo-ng naparóón*; 'the book that you are reading' by the antecedent

¹ Syncopated passive from root *tanim* 'sow.'

² Syncopated passive from *bili* 'buy'; a root ending in a simple vowel, i. e., one not followed by a glottal catch, takes *h* before the suffixes *in* and *an*; this *h* is retained in syncopated forms.

with ligature and *in* passive, viz., *ang libro-ng binabása mo*; 'the needle with which you sewed' by the antecedent with ligature and *i* passive, viz., *ang karáyom na itinalí mo*; 'the house in which he died' by the antecedent with ligature and *an* passive, viz., *ang báhay na kinamatayán niyá*.

Tagalog is, of course, not confined to this means of expressing the case relations between noun and verb; these may also be indicated by the case forms of those words which have case inflection, i. e., the various pronouns and pronominal adjectives. The cases of words that are uninflected, such as nouns, are indicated by the forms of the articles or demonstratives placed before them. The case forms are three in number, a nominative; a genitive that expresses the ideas 'of,' 'by,' 'with,' and an oblique that expresses the ideas 'to,' 'for,' 'in,' 'from;' e. g., the definite article is declined, nom. *ang*, gen. *nang*, obl. *sa*.

The adnominal genitive is, of course, always expressed by inflection; in a sentence with non-verbal predicate, i. e., in a sentence not containing a real verb, all cases must necessarily be so indicated; and even in a sentence with verbal predicate, case forms are almost always present.

These two methods of expressing case, however, are by no means equivalent. In Tagalog in a verbal sentence, that adjunct of the verb which is of most importance in the eyes of the speaker or writer is made the subject of the sentence, and the rest of the sentence is conformed to the character of this subject, the other adjuncts of the verb, which for the time being are of minor importance, having their case relations expressed by means of inflection. The verb might thus be said to express the case with emphasis; the various inflected forms, without emphasis. The sentence 'he looked for the book with the light in the room,' may be expressed in four different ways according as the agent, the object, the instrument, or the place, are specially emphasized.

If the idea is 'he, and no one else, was the one that did the looking,' the active of the verb would be used with the agent as subject, e. g., *siyá ang hungmánap nang libro nitó-ng úlaw sa silid*.

If the book is uppermost in the mind of the speaker or writer, the book, the object of the action, is made the subject of the *in* passive, e. g., *ang libro ay hinánap niyá nitó-ng úlaw sa silid*.

If the idea is that 'this light, and no other' was used, the light, the instrument of the search, stands as the subject of the *i* passive, e. g., *itô-ng ðlaw ay ihinánap niyá nang libro sa silid.*

If the idea is that 'the room and no other place' is where the search was made, the room is made the subject of the *an* passive, e. g., *ang silid ay hinanápan niyá nang libro nitô-ng ðlaw.*

In all these examples the non-emphatic cases are expressed by inflection: the agent by the genitive, viz., *niyá* 'by him;' the object by the genitive, viz., *nang libro* 'of' the book;' the instrument by the genitive, viz., *nitô-ng ðlaw* 'with this light;' the place by the oblique, viz., *sa silid* 'in the room.'

The development of the numerous passive forms in Tagalog has resulted in restricting within comparatively narrow limits the use of the active, which in Indo-European and Semitic grammar is the most important form of the verb. The passive construction has become the rule, its prevalence forming one of the most characteristic features of the language.² If the agent is specially emphasized, the active may be used in any case, but when the agent is without such special emphasis the active is usually employed only in sentences containing not more than two verbal adjuncts. If the agent is the only adjunct, it must, of course, stand as subject, e. g., 'the boy is reading' *ang bátá'y bungmabása*; if the verb has besides the agent a direct object, the active is only used when that is indefinite and hence less emphatic than the subject, e. g., 'the boy is reading a book' *ang bátá'y bungmabása nang libro*; if the verb is intransitive and has another adjunct besides the agent, the active is used unless the adjunct is specially emphasized, e. g., 'the man went to Manila' *ang táwo'y naparóon³ sa Maynila.*

In all other cases one of the three passive forms is regularly employed, according as one or the other of the remaining ele-

¹ The expression of the direct object by the genitive is due to the fact that the Tagalog verb is little removed from a noun, the relation between the two being practically the same as that between noun and dependent genitive.

² Cf. my paper, *Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar*, to appear in the second half of this volume of the Journal.

³ This *r* might also be written *l*, *r* being usually as in this case derived from an intervocalic *d*; cf. my papers, *Sanskrit Loan-words in Tagalog* and *Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog*, JHU. Circ. No. 163, pp. 64a, 66a; *Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan*, JAOS. xxv, p. 163, ft-nt. 1. It is on the whole, however, better to retain the *r*.

ments of the sentence receives the chief stress, and is made the subject.

The four cases expressed by the four species or voices of the verb do not, of course, correspond exactly in their scope to any of the cases commonly recognized in Indo-European grammar; sometimes two forms are used to express what is ordinarily considered one case, sometimes one form expresses two or more cases.

The active indicates the case of the agent, and requires no further comment.

The *in* passive indicates the case of the direct object of an action which aims at or results in the acquisition of something by the agent, as for example 'to take,' 'to eat,' 'to call,' 'to seek;' or of the direct object of an action which the agent performs without necessarily acquiring or alienating anything, as for example 'to cut,' 'to carry,' 'to destroy,' 'to think,' 'to love;' e. g.,
tawágin mo ang bátà 'call the boy.'

kináin niyá ang tinápáy 'he ate the bread.'

si Mária'y sinisintá ni Pédro 'Pedro loves Maria.'

The uses of the *i* passive may be comprised under three heads. It indicates the case of the object of an action which results in the agent's alienating something from himself or at least in imparting something to some other person or thing, as for example 'to give,' 'to sell,' 'to teach,' 'to tell,' etc., e. g.,

ibigáy mo itó-ng libro sa iyó-ng kapatíd 'give this book to your brother (let this book be given by you to your brother).'

Secondly, it is used in a sentence whose subject is a relative pronoun referring to 'time when,' as for example 'the day when' or 'that he arrived,' *ang áraw na idinátíng niyá*. Thirdly, it indicates the case of anything that can be regarded in the light of a cause, including 'person for or on account of whom,' 'thing on account of which,' and 'instrument with which,' e. g.,

ibili mo akó nitó-ng baríl 'buy this gun for me (let me be bought for by you of this gun).'

ang itinanǵís² ko'y ang kamatáyan ni amá 'I wept on account of my father's death (my father's death was the cause of my weeping).'

¹ The acute accent indicates the stress; the grave, the glottal catch after the final vowel.

² The guttural nasal *ng* is written with a *tilde*, viz., *ñg*, when it stands at the beginning of a syllable.

iginawá niyá ang iták 'he made it with the knife (the knife was the instrument of his making it).'

The *an* passive indicates the case of any person or thing that can be regarded as a place. This place may be 'place where,' 'place whither,' or 'place whence,' including 'person to or from whom,' the difference in the locative relation being due to the meaning of the verbs themselves; e. g.,

sinusul-átan ko itó-ng papél 'I am writing on this paper (this paper is the place of my writing).'

ang Cebú' ang paroróonan niyá 'he is going to Cebú (Cebú is whither he is going).'

bigyán mo kamí n̄gay'ón² nang áming³ kánin sa arawáraw 'give us this day our daily bread (let us be given to by thee today of our bread for every day).'

tinanggápan⁴ kó ang áking³ amán 'I received it from my uncle (my uncle was received from by me).'

The possibility, then, of expressing the case relations of a noun to a verb by varying the verb, which is latent in all languages, is developed to a high degree in Tagalog. By means of its four voice forms, not only the case of the agent and the object may be expressed, as in Indo-European and Semitic, but all the ordinary case relations which may exist between noun and verb. The active expresses the case of the agent; the *in* passive, the case of the non-alienated object; the *an* passive, all local relations of whatever character; while the *i* passive bears the burden of the remaining case relations.

¹ Proper names of places are treated in Tagalog as common nouns, taking the definite article.

² The reversed apostrophe is used to indicate the glottal catch at the beginning of a syllable after a consonant: in the older orthography this was denoted by a dash, viz., *n̄gay-ón*.

³ The final *ng* of these words is the result of the coalescing of a final *n* with the ligature *ng*. The different type is used to indicate this coalescing, and to show that *ng* is not the final consonant of the word, as it is for example in *galing* 'goodness.'

⁴ The spelling *ngg* is to be preferred to the older form *ng*, as in *tinang-ápan*, because it indicates the sound (guttural nasal plus guttural sonant stop) more accurately, and because the simpler form *ng* is more or less liable to be confused with *n̄g*.

Textual Notes on the Old Persian Inscriptions.—By Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York City.

1. OP. *patiyāvahyaiy* (sic) Bh. 1. 55.

THE various editions of the text of Bh. 1. 55, from Rawlinson onward, have read *patiyāvahaiy*, which Bartholomae (*Altiran. Wb.* 1353; cf. also *Grundr. Ir. Ph.* 1. 197, § 329, n. 2; ZDMG. 48. 156; and AF. 2. 106, n. 3) derives from 3 *van-*, ‘wünschen,’ with *patiy* and *ā*, and interprets as ‘anflehen’ or ‘ich pries.’ A similar view is given by Foy, KZ. 36. 67; 37. 518. The true reading of the radical part of the word, however, is *-vahyaiy* (*-v^hy^ai^y*, with *hy*, not *y*) as is plainly shown in a photograph which I took of it when I examined the Behistan Rock in 1903, as described in JAOS. 24. 76–95, and in *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 186–212. The verb *patiyāvahyaiy* (pret. indic. mid.) is therefore naturally to be connected, as a denominative, with Av. *avah-*, *avahya-*, *avahya-*, ‘aid, assistance, support’ (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 179, and see especially Friedrich Müller in WZKM. 1. 122, and Tolman, *OP. Insc.* p. 167), and it is precisely the Iranian equivalent of the Sanskrit denominative *avasya-*, ‘seek for aid, take refuge with,’ in Rig Veda 1. 116. 23 (*avasyate*, dat. pres. ptepl.).

A month after my visit to Behistan I spent the morning of May 3, 1903, in examining the text of the Persian inscriptions at Persepolis, and I shall give here in brief form my memoranda with regard to the more important words as noted in my copy of Weissbach and Bang, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, and of Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften, 2te Aufl.*, both of which volumes I had with me. On my return home, after completing my notes, I compared my memoranda with the photographs that are accessible in Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis*, and have added my comments in square brackets.

2. Dar. Pers. c = Spiegel L.

Regarding the short inscription (Dar. Pers. c. = Sp. L) carved around the stone lintels of the windows through which



THE KERMAN INSCRIPTION OF KING DARIUS

1. The Persian Text

King Darius looked out upon his people, I have noted that the cuneiform letters of the oft-repeated sentence *ardastāna aθaⁿgaina dārayavauš xšāyathiyahyā viθiyā karta* are deeply chiselled, and that the reading *viθiyā* is correct.

3. Dar. Pers. d. = Spiegel H.

1. *auramazdā*: the letter *m* is slightly damaged, as the horizontal stroke is defective, but the character as a whole can still be made out quite clearly. [Compare now also the photograph by Stolze, *Persepolis*, 2. pl. 95.]

7. *auramazdā*: the letter *z* is imperfect, as its first vertical bar is missing because of a break (cf. Spiegel, *op. cit.*, p. 47, n. 7). [See also Stolze's photograph, as already referred to.]

8. *waspā*: the *u* is perfectly distinct; the *v*, although damaged (cf. Spiegel, p. 47, n. 8), can be made out quite well. [Cf. also Stolze, *loc. cit.*]

11. *hacā*: the latter wedge of the *h* is partly damaged, but is legible. Cf. also Spiegel's note.

11. *aniyanā*: the word in this form is clear on the stone. [So also Stolze.]

14. *viθibiš*: each letter I have carefully noted as being correct. [Stolze's plate is cracked at this point.]

17, 19. *dušiyārā*: the *u* is not clear, but can be made out. Compare Spiegel's remarks (p. 48, n. 17) on the reading.

18. *abiy*: this is the correct reading as given by Weissbach and Bang as against Spiegel (p. 49, n. 18) and Westergaard (ZKM. 6. pl. 1). My notes state '*abiy* is plainly on the stone.' [So also Foy in KZ. 37. 559, although the letter *b* is not quite sharply defined in Stolze's photograph.]

20. *dušiyāram*: there is some space between the *i* and the *y*, due apparently to an original defect in the stone before it was lettered. See also next note. [Stolze is not quite distinct here.]

21. *yān m*: there is a slight space between *n* and *m*, apparently due, as in the preceding case, to an original defect in the stone, and not to any lacuna in the tablet. I could see no evidence of any letter being missing, and I believe that the reading *yānam* may be accepted as certain from the explanation I have given. [On gaining access to my books I was interested in seeing that Foy's conjecture *yān(iy)am*, in KZ. 35. 49,

has since been rejected by Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 1285, *yān . . am.*]

21. *jadīyāmiy*: the *m* I have marked in my notes as 'quite plain on the stone;' for that reason the hesitation felt by Spiegel (p. 49, n. 21) was unnecessary, although he rightly followed Rawlinson and Niebuhr's reading of the word. [The letter is not quite clear in Stolze's photograph.]

22. *viθibiš*: the final *iš* is still visible. See also the note in Spiegel, p. 49, n. 22.

22, 23. *ai[tamai]y*: the initial *a* is clear; the *i* may be made out from the dot or dots; the character does not present the appearance of a *d*, as was once suggested (cf. Spiegel, p. 49, n. 22), for there are no evidences of a bar above it. The final *y* is legible; the middle portion of the word is illegible.

23. *dādatuv*: the initial *d* seems likely; the next letters *dā* are plain; the *t* is partly obliterated; the *u* of the imperative ending is very distinct.

4. Dar. Pers. e. = Spiegel I.

11. *arabāya aθurā*: the word-divider between these names is quite clear, although damaged; it is necessary, therefore, to modify the statement 'Lücke statt des Worttheilers' in Spiegel, p. 49, n. 11. [Compare also Stolze.]

12. *-ā*: this final letter of *mudrāyā* (line 11) is imperfect, as the third vertical wedge of the *ā* is indistinct, but is 'durchschimmernd,' as was rightly noted by Spiegel from Westergaard (cf. Spiegel, p. 50, n. 12).

13. *tyaiy*: the comments made by Westergaard on the *i* (cf. Spiegel, p. 50, n. 13) are correct. [So also Stolze.]

15. *paru[ca]iy*: a smooth blank space occupies the place of the letters enclosed in brackets and no character apparently had been engraved. Such was my observation even before seeing that this was precisely the impression of Westergaard also (cf. Spiegel, p. 51, n. 15, and Rawlinson, *JRAS.* 10. 281). [See likewise Stolze's photograph.]

17. *uērazmiya*: the remark of Westergaard on the *y*, as cited by Spiegel, p. 51, n. 17, is accurate. [See also Stolze.]

21. [*ta*]rsam: the beginning of the word is almost obliterated, but the reading is apparently correct.

22. *pāta ahatiy*: between these words there is a space which Westergaard commented upon as 'apparently never lettered,'



THE KERMAN INSCRIPTION OF KING DARIUS

2. The Elamitic Text

but a closer examination of the tablet reveals the remnants of a word-divider between them, and I agree with Holtzmann (followed already by Spiegel) that we must accept the presence of the 'Worttheiler,' as opposed to Westergaard, and also to Rawlinson's 'pátáhatiya' (JRAS. 10. 282-3). [An examination of Stolze's photograph now corroborates my independent observation on this point.]

23. *awāšutā*: each single letter I examined with care and marked in my book as correct.

24. *awā nirasātiy abiy imām viθam*: the reading of each of these words, as ordinarily given in the editions, is also accurate. [Cf. also Stolze.]

5. **Xerx. Pers. a = Spiegel Xerx. D.**

14. *anā*: this reading is correct. [So also Stolze, 2. pl. 89.]

19. *tyamaiy*: correctly read. [So also Stolze.]

6. **Xerx. Pers. b = Spiegel A (p. 62).**

11. *framātāram*: right.

23. *tya manā*: clear and distinct on the stone.

7. **Kerman inscription of Darius.**

By way of supplement to the brief notes given above, I wish to call attention (as I shall also in *Persia Past and Present*, p. 184) to the small Kerman inscription of Darius, previously known, but not easily accessible in the cuneiform characters. The place where the inscription is preserved is the village of Maghan, near Kerman, in the shrine of Nimat-ullah Vali, founder of the order of Nimat-ullah dervishes, but its previous history is unknown. It is carved on three of the faces of a small tetragonal pyramid of dark stone, which is about 4 inches high and 3½ inches square at the base, or approximately 10 cm. by 9 cm. In size it is slightly larger, therefore, than the photographs which I reproduce. These photographs were kindly sent me by the late J. C. Van Roosbroeck, Director of Persian Customs and Post, having been forwarded to him for me through the courtesy of Mr. A. Miller, Russian Consul at Kerman, now at Teheran. The contents of the eight lines are familiar from other inscriptions of Darius, and they read: 'I (am) Darius, the Great King, the King of Kings, the King of Nations, King of

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this Earth, son of Vishtaspa, the Achaemenian.' The same lines are repeated in an Elamitic and a Babylonian version. For a transliteration of the text of this inscription see Weissbach and Bang, *Die altpers. Keilinschriften*, pp. 7, 38, and reference may be made to Gobineau, *Traité*, 1. 323 ff., and Bartold, *Historico-geographical Account of Iran*, pp. 94-95 (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1903, although the two latter happen not to be accessible to me.



THE KERMAN INSCRIPTION OF KING DARIUS

3. The Babylonian Text

Race and Custom in the Malay Archipelago.—By MISS MARGARETTA MORRIS, Philadelphia, Pa.

FIFTY years ago the intrepid world-traveller Ida Pfeiffer commented on the similarity between the Dyaks of Central Borneo and the mountain Alforas of Ceram, saying of the latter that their customs “agreed so much with what I had observed among the Dyaks that I feel convinced that the Alforas may be classed as their descendants or collateral relatives.” It was a ready, rapid, and undoubted conviction on her part. The theory implied in it, that all people whose customs agree are of the same ancestry, seems to have been at that time an axiomatic assumption on which explorers built up the history of the great ethnic migrations. As a result of this method of classifying the relationships of mankind according to likeness of manners, various origins have been suggested for the inhabitants of Borneo. Sir Stamford Raffles declared that the uncivilized tribes of all the islands of the Malay Archipelago approach so nearly in appearance certain inhabitants of Asia, and “exhibit so striking an affinity in their customs and usages, as to warrant the hypothesis” that the population of the Archipelago came from the region between Siam and China. But the same argument works the other way. If custom proved, according to some writers, that the Borneo people came out of the west, it equally assured Brooke and Keppel that they came from the east, so close was the resemblance of their way of living to that of the mountain tribes of Celebes and the more eastern islands, as far as New Guinea. One readily sees to what a tangle this sort of reasoning leads us. I have even heard it rather timidly hinted that all the uncivilized inhabitants of Malaysia came from South America, on account of the likeness of the Dyak usages to those of some tribes of the Amazon. And what, then, are we to think of the Iroquois of North America who live in longhouses like the Dyaks and have many of their habits?¹

¹ Ida Pfeiffer, *Second Journey Around the World*, English translation. N. Y. 1856, p. 227; Raffles, *History of Java*, i. p. 63; Sir James Brooke, quoted by Keppel, *Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido*, American

The assumption of the identity of custom and race seems to be typical of the thought of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The explorers of that time, whose writings are authority for much of our knowledge of the Borneo tribes, were accurate observers, keen thinkers, as a rule not professedly ethnologists, nor strictly scientific. Their whole position is a forcible illustration of the truth of Darmsteter's plaint of the over-use of the idea of race, formed in the first quarter of the century. He speaks of the word race as having been "snatched from the hands of science by the would-be men of affairs and thrown out to the masses." From the complete absorption of the race theory by oriental travellers of the period, one must judge that this idea was more than commonly rapid in percolating through the products of scholarship to the public consciousness.¹

It was not dead in 1880, when the well-known sociologist, Letourneau, wrote that "there is a hierarchy in human races . . . race has a larger influence than the ways and means upon sociological development;" and when Sir Charles Brooke (to return to the Borneo explorers) reiterated from the test of manner of life the earlier statement of a "strong affinity" between the Jakoons of the Malay Peninsula and the forest dwellers of Borneo.² Writers of the latter part of the nineteenth century,

edition of 1846, p. 333. Reasoning from the same likeness of the natives of Borneo and Celebes, Keane came to the opposite conclusion from Brooke and Keppel, viz., that the wild tribes of Celebes were probably descended from those of Borneo, *Eastern Geography*, p. 166. Sir Hugh Low hovered cautiously around the edge of a hinted possible connection with South America, *Sarawak, Its Inhabitants and Productions*, p. 277. Some years later F. A. Allen took hold of the hypothesis more boldly, *The Original Range of the Papuan and Negritto Races*, p. 10.

¹ James Darmsteter, *Race and Tradition*, in *Essays*, translated by Helen B. Jastrow, p. 172.

² Ch. Letourneau, *Sociology based on Ethnography*, translation by Henry M. Trollope, p. 31; Sir Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, ii, p. 251. Cf. also Col. H. Yule in *Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1870, p. 178. Col. Yule here gives an argument for the Asiatic origin of the Malay race, based chiefly on incidental customs collected at random from numerous insular tribes, each of which has some counterpart somewhere between China and India.

Writing at the same time as Brooke, Bock maintained that the Nias Islanders and the Dyaks were evidently descended from the same stock, judging from their religious customs, dress, ornament, etc. *Head Hun-*

however, usually reinforce their arguments by physical tests and other considerations. But that custom still holds a foremost place we may fairly judge by the following sentence from Spencer and Gillen's scholarly work on the tribes of Central Australia: "Over the whole continent, so far as is known, we can detect *a community of customs and social organization sufficient to show* that all the tribes inhabiting various parts are the offspring of ancestors who, prior to migrating in various directions, . . . already practiced certain customs and had the germs of an organization which has been developed along different lines in different localities."¹

In view of the modern tendency to subordinate the culture test of race, and also of the evident lingering desire to hold on to it, it may be worth while to drag it out of the realm of things ignored or instinctively taken for granted and try to make some suggestions toward a clearer analysis of its validity, especially in the light of certain salient facts observable in the Malay Archipelago.

Following in the footsteps of Darmsteter, we must recognize in this region the power of tradition to modify race characteristics. He exemplified it by what are called the Aryan and Semitic races, groups which he showed to be made up of heterogeneous peoples who by conquest or contact came to speak Aryan and Semitic languages. As he urged, one must constantly be on the lookout for adoption of ready-made ideals from abroad.

ters of Borneo, Eng. Trans. of 1881, p. 260. It is true, he reinforced the test of custom by noting similarity of physique, complexion, and features. And in this his position is typical of contemporary theories. Likeness of manners seems still to be considered as a strong evidence of relationship, but arguments of origin are no longer based solely upon this, but take into consideration more carefully than the earlier statements the corroboration of physical appearance, language, probable effects upon migration of formation of the land and currents of wind and water, and, among a certain school of investigators, the character of skull-formation as determined by elaborate measurements. Dr. A. W. Nieuwenhuis argues the common origin of two Borneo tribes from their similarity of language, dress, morals, and customs. *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, March 28, 1903.

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 117.

In the Malays, for example, of the Indian Islands, you have the interesting spectacle of a people ethnically Mongol, their language and ideas greatly modified by contact with Aryans from India and Semites from Arabia. They developed an agricultural civilization, probably in the south of Sumatra. Increasing in numbers, and finding seas at hand easy to navigate, they colonized the Malay Peninsula and became traders and seafarers. Here they came into contact with Hindu culture (if they had not already been visited by Kling merchants) and acquired a large Sanskrit vocabulary. According to their own annals, they had been in their new home about six generations when, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, they were converted to Mohammedanism by Arab traders and colonists, and added the Semitic layer. With this triple foundation they have spread over the entire Archipelago, making trading or colonial settlements on the coasts of nearly all the islands, and acting as middlemen between the savage natives of the interior and the various nations of Asiatic and European merchants, who were drawn to this luxuriant clime by the gold and frankincense and spices, the romantic, fabled wealth of the tropical Orient. The Malays, in their language, their customs, and their religion, give a vivid picture of what one might call a compound, or eclectic civilization. People of the sea, trading from port to port, or retailers in some commercial emporium where all races meet, they offer an interesting field for study of the human powers of assimilation, the breaking down of the barrier of race, and building up of tradition by contact.¹

But it is not of the littoral and the influence from without that I wish especially to speak, but of the problem of race and custom in the remote mountains of the interior, where tribes have remained stationary for hundreds of years with little or no for-

¹ Cf. John Leyden, *Malay Annals*, passim; Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i, p. 134, and ii, pp. 371 ff.; Keane, pp. 8-9, 117-118; Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions*, p. 128; Reinward Brandstetter, *Malαιο-Polynesische Forschungen*, i, p. 21; Aristide Marre, *Malais et Chinois; Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, edited by J. H. Moore, p. 3; Dalton in *ibid.*, pp. 45, 100; Raffles, *History*, i, pp. 211-212; Raffles, in *Introd. to Leyden's Annals*, pp. vii-x; A. Pompe, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche overzeesche Bezittingen*, 2d ed., pp. 13-17; England, Hydrographic Office, *Eastern Archipelago*, 1890-1893, ii, pp. 10-11.

eign intercourse. If in the center of separate, distant islands one finds people strikingly alike in arts, architecture, and traditions, so far apart for centuries that they could not have borrowed from one another, is it not fair to infer a remote common origin, whose heritage has long been preserved? Such likeness does actually exist between the primitive tribes of many islands. Glancing rapidly over the whole Archipelago, one finds a striking uniformity of native custom. Certain types of architecture, prevalent religious ideas, social relationships and form of government, the habit of tattooing, and the curious, famed institutions of taboo and head-hunting are found in astounding likeness of detail, here and there, from the Malay Peninsula, northward through the Philippines to Formosa and southeast, recurring in innumerable islands, at least as far as the western portion of New Guinea.¹

The similarity exists, moreover, in instructive isolation. For while the land-locked seas and favorable monsoons have been an enticement to navigation, which has produced a littoral cosmopolitanism, back from the coast, in almost every island, mountain crags and dense jungles have placed an obstacle to inland invasion.

More closely considered, the inhabitants of this scattered region fall roughly into three great cultural classes, the members of each of which show close resemblances to one another, but wide distinctions from those of the other groups.

The lowest class, of wandering savages found only in the far interior forests, are probably as little above the ourang-outang as any human beings. They build no houses but, like the monkeys, weave themselves temporary shelters in trees. Little is really known of these people, for they are shy as the mountain deer, and only rarely, for barter, leave their jungle retreats. The next higher group is the most numerous. And it is their characteristic manner of life which has given the popular impression of the inhabitants of the Eastern Islands. These tribes also

¹ The Philippines and Formosa do not, strictly speaking, belong to the Malay Archipelago. And the many interesting varieties of human progress, or lack of progress, in those islands have not been taken into consideration in this analysis, with the exception of two, which are included because their likeness to the "wild men" of the Indian Islands is a significant geographical extension of the type.

are called savages, though they live in settled communities and have some agriculture. It is they who are the famous head-hunters. With some local modifications their description might fit almost all the natives of the Malay Archipelago, with the exception of the jungle wanderers before-mentioned, and the three semi-civilized nations which form the third class, the Malays, the Bugis,¹ and the Javanese.

If, now, we compared our three great cultural groups with the known geographical distribution of races in the Archipelago, we should be able to point out the relationship of race and culture. Unfortunately there is not the unanimity of opinion among ethnologists about the racial status of the peoples with whom we are dealing that would make the task easy. Indeed this attempt to analyze a test of race is a little like trying to lift oneself up by the bootstraps. We must first know something of the race affinities. And since we are examining the validity of similarity of custom as a test, we cannot use any conclusions which are based on this argument. Yet turning to other standards generally in use, one by one, falling prey to some critic, they also seem to fail us. Darmsteter has effectually demolished the reliability of the language test; Meyer, Wallace, and others agree that the study of skulls has produced comparatively little result; color of skin can hardly be absolute; and the Dutch scholar, van der Aa, inveighs against Haeckel for trusting to the nature of the hair. In fact, there seems to the layman to be no one infallible standard of distinction by which one can test the doubtful tribes and put each in its proper racial pigeon-hole. If, then, there is no means left of assuring ourselves definitely of race relationships, how are we to tell whether race and culture run parallel?²

¹The dominant people of the Sulu Archipelago, who have perhaps some claim to the appellation "semi-civilized," seem to have been a colony of Bugis from Borneo. Cf. Hunt in *Not. of Ind. Arch., Appendix*, pp. 31 ff.

²Sir Alfred Russell Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*. N. Y., 1869, pp. 601 ff.; P. J. B. C. Robidé van der Aa, *De Verhouding der Papoes en Melanesiërs tot het Maleisch-Polynesische Ras*, p. 8 ff. E. B. Tylor (in Art. "Anthropology," *Enc. Brit.*, Am. ed. of 1892, vol. ii, p. 107) gives seven tests of race distinction, color of skin, structure of hair, stature, shape of skull, type of features, constitution, and, with reservations, language. Of these he thinks the skin and the skulls most important. He recognizes

But not to carry cautious subtleties too far, one may at least venture to say that the bushy-haired Negroid is fairly distant from the round-faced Mongol. And whether we agree with Wallace, that the Malays are Asiatic in affinities, the black Papuans Oceanic, and the brown Polynesians a cross between the two; or with van der Aa, that the Papuan is the original element in all, and the physique of the Malays of the Archipelago the result of much Asiatic intermarriage; we must admit that the yellow Malay type, prevalent in the western portion, the dwarf Negrito of the Malay Peninsula, and the burly black Papuan of the eastern islands can hardly owe their similarity of custom to close family relationship.¹

The race line, roughly speaking, divides the Archipelago into an eastern and a western portion. The culture classification cuts right through the race division, and presents a social and relig-

and deplores the difficulties that have resulted from a lack of a clear comprehension of the relationship of race and custom. "In general," he says, ". . . descriptions of national or racial character are so vitiated by the confusion of peculiarity of natural character with the stage of civilization that they can only be made use of with the greatest reserve" (p. 112).

¹ Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, p. 31; van der Aa, *Verhouding*, pp. 19-20. Wallace divided the Archipelago physically into an Indo-Malayan and an Austro-Malayan region, on the basis of the geology and the flora and fauna. And he maintained that the distribution of races nearly corresponded. In the western portion one finds the Mongoloid Malayan race, with Negritos (also of Asiatic affinity, he believed) in the interior of some islands and of the Malay Peninsula; in the eastern portion the tall, Negroid Papuan race; and between the two a mixed population of settlers from both directions and a brown race with some Malay and some Papuan characteristics. The race line is, however, a little to the east of the physical dividing line, a fact which points to the greater enterprise of the yellow race, who would seem, according to Wallace's theory, to have pushed the black race eastward, besides colonizing on the coasts of some of the far eastern islands. Other writers who differ from Wallace in theoretical explanation of the facts, yet agree with him in the general description of racial distribution. Cf. *May. Arch.*, pp. 20, 30 and 532; Wallace, *Transactions of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1863, p. 107; Keane, *Eastern Geog.*, pp. 116-122; Crawfurd, i, pp. 18-20; Allen, *Original Range of Papuan and Negritto Races*. Allen and Crawfurd do not draw a sharp distinction between the Negritos and Papuans. Dalton, *Not. of Ind. Arch.*, p. 46, found a Bugis tradition that confirmed his theory of the Asiatic origin of the population of at least the western islands.

ious type that prevails in one great sweep in the jungle from Malacca to New Guinea. This, van der Aa said, is the great ethnographic riddle—that between the Papuans and Malaio-Polynesians there is such great inner likeness with so great physical difference.¹ Crawford accounted for it by the similarity of savage life.² But to see the inadequacy of his explanation one has only to turn to Australia and compare with the natives of the Malay Archipelago the equally savage Bushmen whose customs are antipodal.

The true explanation, I believe, lies in the adaptability of human nature and the remarkable uniformity of conditions in the interior of most of the islands. With but few exceptions, Wallace informs us, the islands are physically uniform, having a similar climate, and all covered with luxuriant vegetation. It is true that from a naturalist's point of view New Guinea and the Moluccas have flora and fauna that mark them off as regions totally distinct from the western portion. But viewed as a setting for human life, the disparity of the islands is less. In all, the jungle-covered hills and fertile river valleys afford opportunities for the same sort of agriculture, one that demands some coöperation, and hence the village community; that will not support a large population in one region, so that the tribes are kept about the same size by sending off colonies when their growth presses upon the resources; one that requires only periodical labor and leaves the men free at times to organize hunting, fishing, and warlike expeditions. If in one place rice grows better, in another sago, both require about the same sort of communities for their culture, under the prevailing conditions, and about the same type of mental and physical ability. And though the naturalist's collection of mammals may show great diversity, it is rather in those that are less important for human life. The deer and the pig, the animals which are so greatly

¹ Van der Aa, *Verhouding*, p. 21, "Het ethnografische raadsel, dat er tusschen de Papoes en Maleio-Polynesiërs bij groote innerlijke overeenkomst uiterlijk zulke aanmerkelijke verschillen bestaan."

² Crawford, i, p. 8. Crawford gave some local reasons, which showed keen insight, for the development of particular forms of industry and government among the semi-civilized nations. But he thought these environmental differentiations did not begin to take effect until the people had reached a certain stage of progress; i, p. 230, iii, pp. 4-10, 24.

valued and which play a large part in the religious ritual, are to be found in nearly all the islands.¹

Curiously enough, not only is the physical determination of life fairly uniform, but the changes due to human enterprise, the influences upon the native manner of life that have resulted from the coming of the foreign trader, have not been unlike in the different regions. One may wonder, perhaps, that the foreigners, who settled on the coast almost everywhere, did not oftener draw the people up out of savagery to imitate their customs. But what the traders often wanted kept the natives in their jungles. In one place they had to collect birds' nests from mountain caves; in others, camphor, rattans, guttapercha, or beeswax, from the innermost forest; while in the eastern islands they hunted woodland birds of paradise. And all these undertakings fostered the primitive mental, moral, and physical traits. The same cause also kept them isolated from the influence of the traders, whom they saw only at intervals, when the goods were brought down for barter.²

¹ Wallace, *May. Arch.*, pp. 14-15, 27, 158, 397-398. Pompe (*Geschiedenis*, pp. 2-5) follows Crawford (i, pp. 8-11) in dividing the Archipelago into five regions in which the physical resources gave different opportunities for the development of human institutions. But it is to be noticed that both refer to the "civilized," that is to say, the coast population. Even in the most favored localities the mountaineers have remained savage.

² Cf. for account of foreign trade in jungle products, Ida Pfeiffer, p. 183; Raffles, *Hist. of Java*, i, p. 231, and iii, p. 418; Crawford, i, p. 515-517, and iii, 421-423, and 438. The Kayans of Borneo are reported to be "especially lithe and active. . . . This is the result of an active life spent in the forest, climbing after gutta, rubber, jungle fruit, or beeswax." H. Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, i, p. 59, quoting Burbidge. The Kayans are also noted gatherers of birds' nests, which reach the Chinese markets via the Malays. Sir Spencer St. John, *Forests of the Far East*, i, p. 121.

In some islands, however, the demand for other than jungle products has led to a decided change of native life. Three notable articles of trade that have influenced the savages for better or worse, beside the famous spices, have been coffee, pepper, and sago. The first, introduced by the Dutch into Java in 1723, was there cultivated on their plantation system, to which the natives adapted themselves. Its introduction by the same government into the Minnahassa district of North Celebes completely revolutionized the native communities, which before had been similar to those among the Kayans of Borneo. Crawford, i, p. 486; Wallace, pp. 251-263. Pepper has been for centuries exported from the

There are, of course, many localities in the Indian Islands where opportunity varied. In these there is greater or less divergence from the type. And in most striking development we have the three great nations, the Malays, the Bugis, and the Javanese. These, owing their superior progress undoubtedly in large part to Hindu and Arab teaching, developed in three separate centers, whose local conditions were favorable alike to economic advance and to the influx of foreign influence. The Bugis, whose chief port, Macassar in south Celebes, was, like Malacca, a natural commercial center, developed, as did the Malays, a mercantile civilization, which scattered them to many adjacent coasts and brought them into intimate relations with foreign adventurers. The Javanese, quite differently situated, progressed on other lines. Their island is poor in harbors, but of most marvelous fertility. The inhabitants of Java were less seafaring than the other two nations, and developed an advanced system of agriculture. As for the foreign influence, it came to them. It was perhaps chiefly due to the fact that the interior of Java is far more accessible than that of most of the islands, that first the Hindus and later the Arabs, attracted by its convenient location and enticing wealth, made themselves much at home here, and let their civilizing influence permeate the entire country.¹

coasts of North Borneo, Northern Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula, and for long has been cultivated mostly, if not altogether, under foreign direction on great plantations. Crawford, iii, pp. 357-370, and i, p. 479 ff. A large part of the sago of Europe comes from the western coast of Borneo, where the Milanaus cultivate it, and send it to the markets of Singapore. Through the exigencies of the trade they developed a civilization not unlike that of their neighbors, the Malays, in its complex system of laws, rights of private property, system of slavery and slave debtors, and many social customs. Low, p. 339; Boyle, *Adventures Among the Dyaks of Borneo*, p. 319; Ida Pfeiffer, p. 72.

¹ Raffles, *Hist.* i, p. 64; England, Hydrographic Office, *Eastern Archipelago*, ii, p. 2; Crawford, i, p. 344, and iii, p. 148; Keane, *Eastern Geog.*, p. 119.

These three semi-civilized nations all belong to the so-called Malay race, which Wallace thought inferior to the Papuan in feeling for art and in vital energy. He attributed the Papuan backwardness to a lack of governmental ability. More important than this, I think, is the fact, which Wallace stated (p. 589), that for centuries the Malays have been instructed by Hindu, Chinese, and Arab immigrants. Crawford thought

But generalities, such as have been indulged in in the last few pages for the sake of a broad view of the subject, are always dangerous. I wish rather to take as examples a few definite tribes, whose likeness to the natives of Borneo has been made the basis of various theories, and examine their actual race affinities and environmental conditions.

To take first an instance of our lowest culture type. The Samangs of the Malay Peninsula have often been compared with the Punans, Ukits, and Bakatans, the wandering tribes of the inner forests of Borneo. They are alike in their general manner of life; in building temporary shelters in trees; in their slight family relations; in the perfect equality of individuals, and absence among them of any form of government. These peoples belong, however, to entirely different racial types. The Samangs of Queda principality are described as black, flat-nosed, woolly-haired dwarfs, physically like the Negritos of the Philippines and the Andaman Islanders. The Borneo tribes, like them in habits, are, on the contrary, known to be a branch of the great Malay race. They are taller, well built, with straight glossy hair, and they are described as being even fairer than the usual brownish Malay type, as the result of life in the forests with little exposure to the sun. It is difficult to see how one could group these peoples together as the remnant of one primeval population. Is it not more reasonable to account for their likeness of customs on the ground of similarity of circumstances? For their conditions are almost identical. Both are kept by powerful neighbors in the interior mountain regions, which easily supply a casual nomadic livelihood. The art of agriculture, which almost undoubtedly reached their more accessible relatives from abroad, did not penetrate as far as their fastnesses. Hence they wander because they must for food; in small groups, because there is not enough in one place for large; and their lack of architecture and stable social institutions follows naturally.¹

it noteworthy that the civilized nations were all in the western part of the Archipelago, and immediately afterwards remarked that the great trade routes were in the west; but he did not explicitly follow out the relationship of the two facts (iii, p. 264).

¹ Crawford, iii, p. 5; Wallace, p. 592; Keane, p. 120; Alfred C. Haddon, *Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 304 and 320; Roth, i, pp. 16 and 18, quoting Hose and Maxwell; Molengraaf, *Geological*

If one needed any further proof that their backward state is the result of circumstances rather than of inherited incapacity, it is afforded by the progress of the relatives of both these peoples. Abundant evidence exists that some of the wandering tribes in Borneo are more closely allied to the settled villagers in their respective neighborhoods than they are to one another. In Borneo agriculture was the developer. In the Malay Peninsula coöperation for hunting large game forged a communal link. There a branch of the Samangs, who chance to live in less elevated territory inhabited by the elephant and some large beasts of prey, have learned to unite for hunting, and constructed "a regular form of social polity" under a strong chief.¹

If the woodland savages of different race, when subjected to like conditions, have like customs, while members of their own tribes, given greater opportunities, develop further, the same is equally true in the tribes that make up our second stratum of civilization, the predominant type of the Eastern Islanders, of

Expedition to Borneo, English edition of 1902, pp. 169, 187; Dalton, *Not. Ind. Arch.*, p. 49. Letourneau's theory, *Sociology*, p. 382, based on likeness of custom to the Negritos, that the wandering savages of the inner forests of Borneo are the remnants of an aboriginal Negroid population, is utterly untenable, at least with regard to any of the tribes above mentioned as similar to the Samangs, when one reads the physical description of them given by travellers. Haddon describes the Punans as "slender and pale-colored" (*Nature*, Aug. 31st, 1899, p. 415); Bock, as lighter than the Dyaks, the women having a "yellowish skin." (*Head Hunters of Borneo*, English edition of 1881.) Cf. also Sir Ch. Brooke, ii, p. 303.

In the Malay Peninsula the Negrito remnants of pre-Malay population are not the only savages who lead a wandering life in the far interior. There are the Jakoons, "Malays in the savage state," of a manner of life like that of the Samangs, with physique like the Malays, and a language in which Dr. Leyden could find only 27 words that were not pure Malay. *Notices of the Indian Arch.*, p. 242; cf. also Adolf Bastian, *Indonesien: Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, vol. v, pp. 36-37.

¹Sir Ch. Brooke, ii, p. 301; W. H. Furness, *Home Life of the Head Hunters*, p. 183; Crawford, iii, pp. 5-6. One finds in Borneo tribes known as "Ukits," or "Bukkits" in far distant parts of the island. There seems no more reason to suppose a relationship between them than likeness of custom, which they share with the Negrito Samangs. The name "Bukkit" simply means people of the hills.

which the settled villagers in Borneo are characteristic representatives.¹

Among the Borneo tribes we find a minute correspondence in many customs with the Battas of Sumatra, the natives of Minnahassa in North Celebes, the Galela tribes of North Gilolo, the Alforas of Ceram, the Arfaks of New Guinea, and to go beyond the strict limits of the Archipelago, with the Igorottes of the Philippines and the mountain tribes, the "Chi-Hoan" of Formosa. The social superstructure—what Spencer would call the stage of superorganic evolution—is alike in all. In politics it is the same story throughout; the village chieftain, with more personal influence than actual power; his council of elders, and the respect for age and tradition where there is no reason for change; above the village the loose alliance of neighboring chiefs for aggression or protection. In the family one finds monogamy with easy divorce, chiefs, however, occasionally having two or three wives. The position of women is one of independence and influence, at the same time of hard work, with main responsibility for the agriculture. In religion a common type of spirit worship prevails; but further than this we have an agreement in the customs of head-hunting and many taboos; we have the harvest festival, which belongs no more to Borneo than to Formosa, Ceram, and Celebes, the taking of omens from the flight of birds, and the worship of mountains.²

¹ These tribes are usually said to be like the "Dyaks" of Borneo, an indefinite term used indiscriminately by most writers to mean any natives of the island. In using the Borneo people as an illustration I shall confine myself here to the Kayans, whose customs perhaps most closely correspond to those of the various tribes mentioned.

² Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 4-5, 92-93; Haddon, pp. 387-395; Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 260; Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 170; St. John, i, p. 118; Wallace, pp. 250, 251, 499; B. F. Matthes, Willer, *Het Eiland Boeroe*; Graafland, *De Minnehassa*; R. Padt-Brugge, Major, *India in the XVth Cent.*, and Van der Lith, *Kitâb adjâib al-Hind*, quoted by C. M. Pleyte, *De geographische verbreiding v. het koppensnellen in den Oost-Ind. Archipel*, pp. 912, 913, 923, 927, 931; Ida Pfeiffer, pp. 156, 171, 227-233; Bastian, *Indonesien*, p. 139; *Not. of Indian Arch.*, App., p. 2; J. H. Neumann, quoted by Preuss in *Globus*, 1904, p. 383; Mackay, Formosa, pp. 255-273. The Aboengs of south Sumatra seem to belong to this type, as well as the Battas, cf. Veth, quoted by Pleyte, *Koppensnellen*, p. 913.

Geographically these people are far separated, and between them are numerous civilized and uncivilized nations of varying social genius. Ethnically they present almost every variety known in this part of the world. In appearance and physique, the tribes of Borneo, the Battas of Sumatra, and the mountaineers of Formosa belong to the category of Asiatic Malay; the Igorottes are said to have some Chinese or even Japanese admixture; the tribes referred to in Celebes are probably predominantly Malay, though here, as in the case of some Borneo tribes, reasoning from their more Caucasian features or long skulls, many writers argue an ancient intermingling with the "Indonesians," (the pre-Malay white race whose existence in this region seems fairly well proved); the Alforas of Ceram are what are called "brown Papuans" with bushy Negroid hair; the Arfaks of New Guinea are also Papuan, though lighter than their black neighbors of Dorey Bay; and the tribes of North Gilolo are Papuan, with perhaps some admixture which connects them with the Polynesians of Tahiti.¹ The similarity is evi-

¹ Bastian, p. 81; Keane, p. 119; England, Hydrographic Office, *East Arch.*, ii. p. 98; Wallace, pp. 269, 321, 331, 357, 500, 590, 605, and 606; G. L. Mackay, *From Far Formosa*, pp. 92-98; H. A. Webster, *Enc. Brit.*, xviii, p. 753 (Am. ed. of 1892); Capt. Thos. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas*, p. 117.

Vivien St. Martin was one of those who argued the existence of a pre-Malay white race in the Archipelago. *Bull. de la Soc. Géog. de Paris*, 1871, vol. ii. A few years later Hamy endorsed his position and reinforced it with some ethnographic details, brought by the explorer Raffray from Gilolo. *Ibid.*, 1877, pp. 480-490. Raffray had found, Hamy thought, some pure descendants of this tall "Indonesian" race, in Dodigna, in central Gilolo, who were physically quite different from the black Arafuras of the north described by Wallace. Hamy connected these white Gilolans with the Dyaks of Borneo and the Battas of Sumatra, for like both of these they are intrepid hunters and great collectors of human heads. But so—it is interesting for our argument to emphasize—were the black Gilolans visited by Wallace. Hamy connected the Dodigna Gilolans with the light race in Ceram. But it is important to note that not the lighter race of Ceram, but the mountain tribes which belong to the black race are those whose customs are said to be like the Dyaks.

The idea used by Marsden, Crawford and Raffles, of a Great Polynesian nation (not, I think, the same as the supposed Indonesian race) which at some remote time spread its language and civilization over all this part of the world, has become very generally familiar. The chain of islands, the easily navigable seas, contrasted with difficulties of inland

dently not due to racial inheritance. Nor, in this case, can it be borrowing through contact. Let us examine the environment.

These are all people of the mountains, living among the jungle-covered hills. Between each tribe and the sea are settled hostile nations, generally of higher development, with whom they have alternately slight relations of profitable exchange, and of raid and retaliation. Here we have the first obvious likeness of circumstance, in their natural surroundings and in their relations with the outside world. With all the stage of economic development is the same, for spontaneously, or more likely from their coastal neighbors, all have learned the art of rice or sago culture, and their time is divided between working in the fields and jungle expeditions, in which they hunt the wild pig and deer found in the forests of all these tribes, make war upon neighbors who have tampered with their stores, and collect the rich produce of the jungle for sale to the traders. They all have domesticated poultry, pigs, and dogs. There are, then, in the environments of far separated Dyaks, Battas, and Papuans, the common characteristics of productive forest land capable of easy cultivation; the protecting mountain chain which has prevented complete foreign domination; and rich, hostile neighbors, who are both an enticement to predatory raids, and offer the conflicting attraction of oppor-

communication, would all foster such a spread from coast to coast of some people who had started a course of higher development. The stage of civilization which Crawford supposed the Great Polynesian nation to have possessed, building it up from his linguistic studies of pre-Sanskrit words common to all this region, is about the same as that of the widely separated inland tribes with whose likeness to one another we are here concerned. It can not be that they all represent survivors of the Great Polynesians, for we have seen their racial diversity. It may well be that they all once learned their arts and agriculture from the wonderful hypothetical nation, and thus progressed from the life of jungle wanderers. In Borneo, at least, many legends suggest the introduction of agriculture from abroad. One point, however, it is important for our purpose to emphasize here. These could not have been the only people taught. Their habitat was favorable, equally favorable in the case of all, to so much growth; while their circumstances limited a further development, for which many of their neighbors and kindred, differently situated, found opportunity. Cf. Crawford, i, p. 358, ii, pp. 72-101; Raffles, *History*, i, p. 412.

tunities for lucrative barter.¹ And in the case of these peoples, as of the nomad savages we have mentioned, some of their kin with diverse chances have made strides towards a different development. The Battas of Sumatra belong to the same race, and have the same language as the coast people, who scorn them as savages. In Formosa, though the indigenous population is all Malayan and of the same physical type, it is only the mountaineers who are by chance compared to the Borneo natives, for they alone resemble them in institutions. Others have had chances to produce a more complex society. The very names by which the divisions of Formosan natives are known, those given them by the Chinese, show that the classification is environmental. Translated, they are "the barbarians of the plain," "the barbarians of the south," "the raw barbarians" (of the mountains), and "ripe barbarians" (a few who have settled among the Chinese colonists and adopted their customs). In Borneo itself we have already spoken of the close connection between the Kayans and some wandering forest tribes. This seems to be fairly well established, though it must be confessed that tribal relationship is one of the last and one of the most difficult problems of fact to be solved when a long unknown district is opened to knowledge. The various theories on the subject in Borneo are bewilderingly diverse. Fair agreement, however, may be found on a certain practical grouping of the people, which is here, as in Formosa, not according to genealogy but according to environment. The great divisions, Land and Sea Dyaks, Milanaus, Kayans, etc., geographically correspond to typical surroundings, that afford slightly varying methods of gaining a livelihood.²

¹ Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 159; Charles Brooke, ii, pp. 223, 277 and 307; Low, *Sarawak*, pp. 91, 97, 321-323; Sir James Brooke, in Mundy's *Narrative of Events in Borneo*, i, pp. 263-4; Haddon's *Head Hunters*, pp. 297, 304, and 360; C. J. Temminck, *Coup d'oeil general sur les possessions neerlandaises dans l'Inde archipelagique*, p. 135; Dalton in *Not. of Ind. Arch.*, p. 15, cf. also appendix, pp. 1-2; Mackay, *Formosa*, pp. 41-43, 56-63, 76-80, 251-270; Ida Pfeiffer, pp. 169, 223-229; Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 18; Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea*, pp. 97, 109, 116, 117; Wallace, *Malay Arch.*, pp. 250, 502, 509, 574; Raffles, *History of Java*, Appendix, pp. lxxxvi, xciv.

² For some of the theories of tribal affinity in Borneo, cf. Haddon, p. 327; Roth, i, p. 6; Keane, p. 131; Earl, p. 255; Sir James Brooke in Keppel, p. 61; *ibid.*, in Mundy, i, p. 235; Dalton, in *Not. of Ind. Arch.*, p.

Had we minute knowledge of every custom of the Malaysians, as well as a complete account of their islands, or were there even space here to present some interesting known facts, valuable results might be obtained from a careful comparison of the concomitant variations of land and life.

As one instance of the social effect of local conditions in two tribes mainly alike, one may note the position of women among the Kayans of central Borneo and among the mountaineers of Formosa. While the Kayan women are good looking, well-fed, prosperous, and happy, the Formosan feminine lot is said to be a dreary, hopeless drudgery of overwork. And why? Because in Borneo there were weaker tribes near the Kayans, whose members could be captured and made slaves to assist the women in the farm and house work, the work which wears out the life of the Formosan drudges. And the Kayan women share the prosperity of their whole tribe, the Formosan the poverty of theirs. Though both live in a rich camphor country, the Kayans gather the camphor themselves and sell it at profit, while the Formosan mountaineers are oppressed and downtrodden by the Chinese, who push into their region and monopolize this product. Such discrepancies in the daily routine of the women affect not only their physique, but their minds as well, making the Formosan women, as they have been described, "too dreary for pleasure, too unromantic for tragedy,"¹ and giving the Kayan aristocrats all the charm of the privileged oppressor.

One need hardly urge that mental attainment is directly dependent on whatever determines the daily activities. An illuminating comment of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen on the mentality of the Australian natives might well be applied to

41: Sir Ch. Brooke, i, p. 46; Low, pp. 173, 183, 248, 325; St. John, *Forests of the Far East*, i, p. 120; *idem*, in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, ii, p. 232; the Bishop of Labuan, in *ibid*, p. 26. The group for which the name "Kalamantans," was proposed by Haddon, Hose, and McDougall, is a large scattered collection of inland "weak agriculturists." Haddon says of them: "From the measurements we have made of some of these tribes, there is no doubt that they were not all originally of one stock. Some are distinctly narrow-headed, others are inclined to be broad-headed." The narrow-headed, he thought Indonesian; the broad-headed, Proto-Malay. *Head Hunters*, pp. 321-328. Hose and McDougall, *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, 1894, p. 156, 1901, p. 192.

¹ G. L. Mackay, *op. cit.*

those of the Archipelago: "Whilst in matters such as tracking, which are concerned with their everyday life and upon efficiency in which they actually depend for their livelihood, the natives show conspicuous ability, there are other directions in which they are as conspicuously deficient."¹ By the common necessities of their daily life, the tribes whose institutions we have found to correspond closely have developed a mental type which is broadly very much the same. They have sufficient foresight to watch the seasons and plan for the next harvest; they have few abstract ideas; they are reported to be credulous, ingenuous, and honest; living in constant danger of sudden concealed attack and of many ills of mysterious origin, they are timid, especially afraid of evil spirits. What courage they need for their expeditions must be fostered by display of bravado and fierce war dress; at the same time they have the endurance of hunters, the lithe grace and strength of a forest animal, wonderful agility in scaling dizzy heights for beeswax or birds' nests. The character, which, like the social institutions, belongs to different ethnic types in similar positions, must be more circumstantial than racial.²

¹ *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 25.

² Cf. Pfeiffer, pp. 224-5; Mackay, pp. 262, 275; Keppel, p. 335; Low, p. 336; Boyle, p. 224, and also references above, p. 210. Dr. Nieuwenhuis called my attention to the real timidity of the head hunters, in spite of their bluster and ferocious aspect. In his study of particular tribes, he found fear greater where an unhealthy climate had made the natives deteriorate mentally and physically (cf. *op. cit.*, especially pp. 9, 12, 14). Dr. Hirn agrees with Dr. Nieuwenhuis as to the absence of valour among savages. For a study of the need of primitive art to stimulate lacking courage, as well as to terrify the foe, with particular reference to the natives of Borneo, cf. Yrjö Hirn, *Origins of Art*, pp. 263-265. Dr. Hirn maintains that "contrary to the romantic notions of popular literature, primitive man seems to be timorous rather than brave when not encouraged by adventitious excitement." He thinks this cowardice circumstantial rather than inherent, that it can "to a great extent be explained by defective military organization," which gives the mutual support of *esprit de corps*. Many facts in the Archipelago confirm this point, and especially the contrast in the temperaments of inland and seafaring head-hunters. There are two methods, according to circumstances, of head-hunting warfare—that of the upland forests, carried on in small parties, to kill individuals by stealth; and that of the navigable river and coast dwellers, carried on by concerted attack of warriors in a long canoe. The latter have more *esprit de corps*, more fero-

I shall not stop here to follow the process by which the social and the intellectual phenomena grew out of the local foundations, a process that offers enticing and suggestive possibilities for research. It is enough for present purposes merely to note the facts,—where there are like circumstances, no matter what the race, there we have found a common culture; where circumstances varied, even close relations grew apart.¹

Two points in the custom test that have been made much of in tracing race affinity still remain to be considered. The

city, more courage. An example of this difference in type of warfare and in temperament is found in the gentle and timorous Land Dyaks of the Borneo hills, and the more aggressive seafaring pirates between them and the coast—a difference that Dr. A. Piton described as due to their manner of life (*Un Voyage à Borneo*, p. 17). A lack of coöperation in government and in warfare seems to lead to a timorous temperament. In many cases, and notably in that of the Land Dyaks, the physical conformation of the country prevented union. Dr. Nieuwenhuis does not say whether this may have been an additional reason for individualism and cowardice in the tribe whose lack of government he has shown to go hand in hand with a lack of mental and physical energy due to prevalence of malaria.

Sir Alfred Russell Wallace, in contrasting the Malay type with the Papuan, at first set up his standard of distinction, "details of physical form or moral character." But later when he came to apply it, he rather took back the second part of the test and said that "The moral characteristics of the Papuan do not seem to separate him so distinctly from the Malay as do his form and features." *Malay Arch.*, pp. 31, 589.

¹One of the most striking instances of likeness of manners between peoples of distant race is to be found in the islands of Timor and Rotti. Between these two islands runs the great race line of the Archipelago, so that the mountaineers of Timor are distinctly Papuan, "dusky brown, or blackish, with bushy, frizzled hair" (Wallace, p. 590), those of Rotti "remarkable for having long lank hair" (*Not. of Ind. Arch., App.*, p. 9), which would class them with the Malays (cf. Hydrographic Office, *Eastern Arch.*, ii, pp. 3-4), and they have features of a type like the natives of India, which (with other characteristics) have led to their classification as Indonesian. (Cf. Wallace, p. 606.) The geographical line, on the contrary, running west of the race line, unites both Timor and Rotti to the Australian region of non-forest islands, and makes the conditions of living much the same in both. The agriculture, the useful animals, the foreign trade are similar. And (shall we say consequently?) an explorer, after describing a peculiar burial custom of the people of Rotti, says: "Their religion, customs and belief in auguries are in other respects the same as in Timor." *Not. of Ind. Arch., App.*, p. 9, see also p. 5; and Wallace, 19-20, 210, 214.

first is a likeness in art, in ornament, decoration and conventional patterns;¹ and the second, similarity of architecture. On the first I am not prepared to advance any theory backed by an array of facts; though I am strongly inclined to agree with those who believe that art, like religion, is so closely bound up with life as a whole, that the same impelling motive may lead to the spontaneous production of an identical design in opposite quarters of the globe. But as to architecture, in the Malay Archipelago at least, it depends very naturally on the land they have to build on, the materials at hand, the number of people who want to live close together, the necessary precautions for protection, etc. Where these are the same you have the same type of building, as for instance in the longhouse of the Sea Dyaks of Borneo and of the Dorey Bay Papuans of New Guinea. Here the entire village lives in one or two houses, the cheapest way of building on piles in the water, and the best for mutual defence. The piles are on account of floods and tide, and because water is a better highway than swampy land. And plenty of good timber was in both cases available for the purpose. The housing of the Land Dyaks is at first sight so different from that of their Sea Dyak neighbors, that one might be inclined to attribute it to a different traditional genius. Closer investigation shows that the little cluster of houses that forms a village is nothing more than the longhouse broken up because there was not level space on their hills to build it continuously. Being

¹ Dr. Hirn (*op. cit.*, p. 277) says: "The art-production of military tribes has everywhere, independently of racial and climatic influences, acquired some common qualities; their decorative arts as well as their poetry and dramatic dances, are always characterized by an intense and forcible life, which is often combined with dignified power and graceful elegance." One might use this theory of Dr. Hirn's, making it a trifle stronger in statement, to interpret the exact similarity of the sword dance of the Battas of Sumatra and of the Dyaks of Borneo. (Pfeiffer, p. 171.) Of course it is quite possible that both inherited the tradition of the sword dance from common ancestors and kept it unchanged through their centuries of separation. Of their history I think hardly enough is known to make it safe to assert positively either the primeval relationship or the lack of it. It is important to consider that the two peoples are curiously alike in general conditions and in methods of warfare. I should venture to assert tentatively only so much as this—that from the training of desire and emotion by the same necessities, the dramatic swordplay might have developed separately, and be original with both.

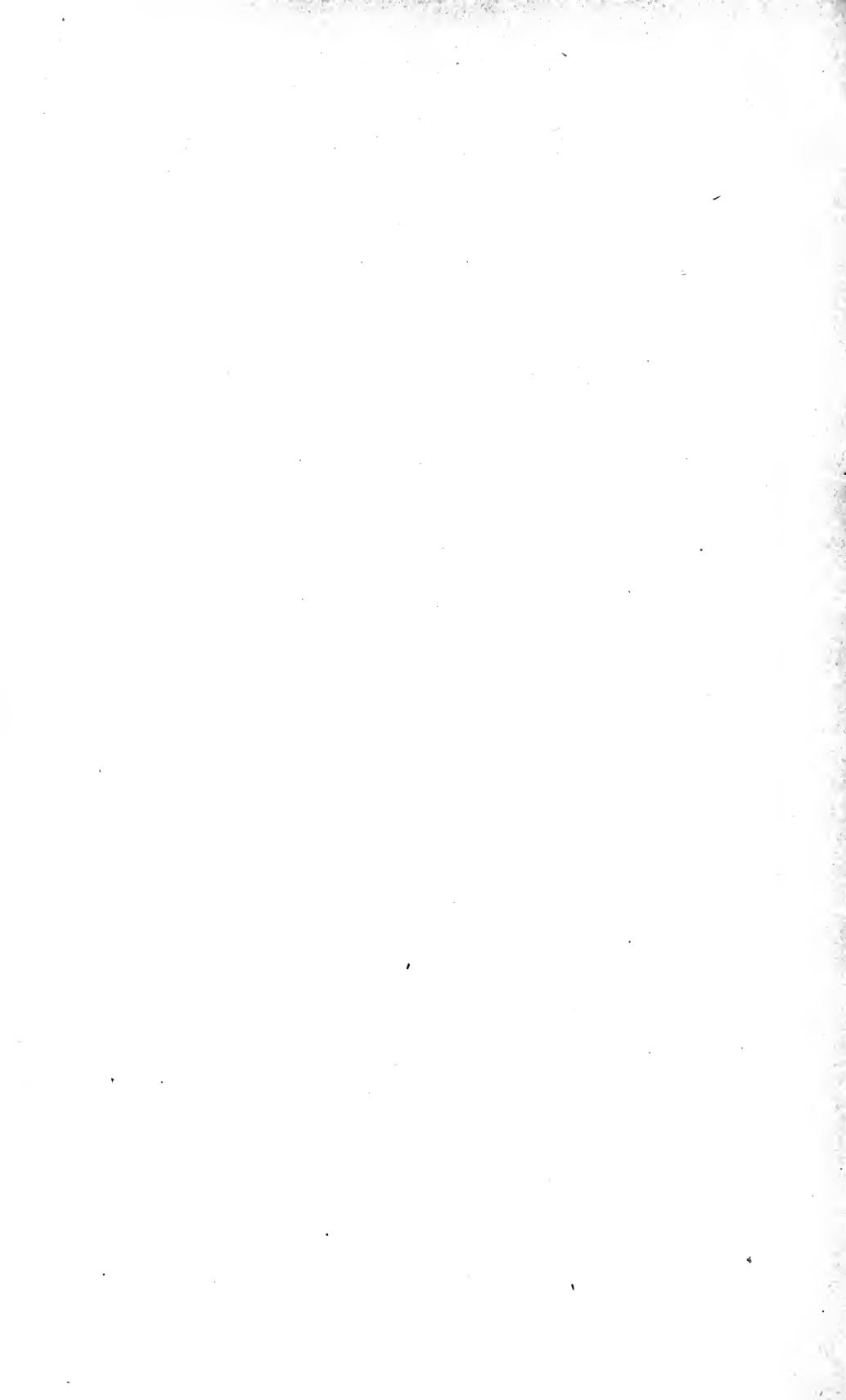
thus scattered, they had to build a "pangah," or village house, where the warriors could sleep together, to be ready to defend the village against surprise by night.¹

People are architecturally thoroughly adaptable to circumstances, as they are politically and socially. If it be true that all race difference was originally due to the effect of physical environment, or, as others hold, that the fundamental race difference is primeval and permanent; in either case we must recognize that there are two classes of human characteristics, the variable, quickly adaptable to local influences, and the more permanent, by which we can follow race identity through a series of changed abodes. This paper has, I hope, contributed some suggestions toward a more accurate classification than is generally made of the plastic and static qualities. As the result of our analysis of facts in the Malay Archipelago, and contrary to frequent assumptions, we must regard as conditional rather than as racial all social phenomena, such as family relationships and form of government; the religious organization; religious beliefs and customs which are of immediate importance; arts and architecture; and I believe, to a very great extent, intellectual ability and moral character. In the more static are above all, physical formation, features, hair, color, build, etc., perhaps skull formation; indifferent religious and social forms, which may persist if not harmful; relics of language, etc. Custom, then, as the word is generally understood

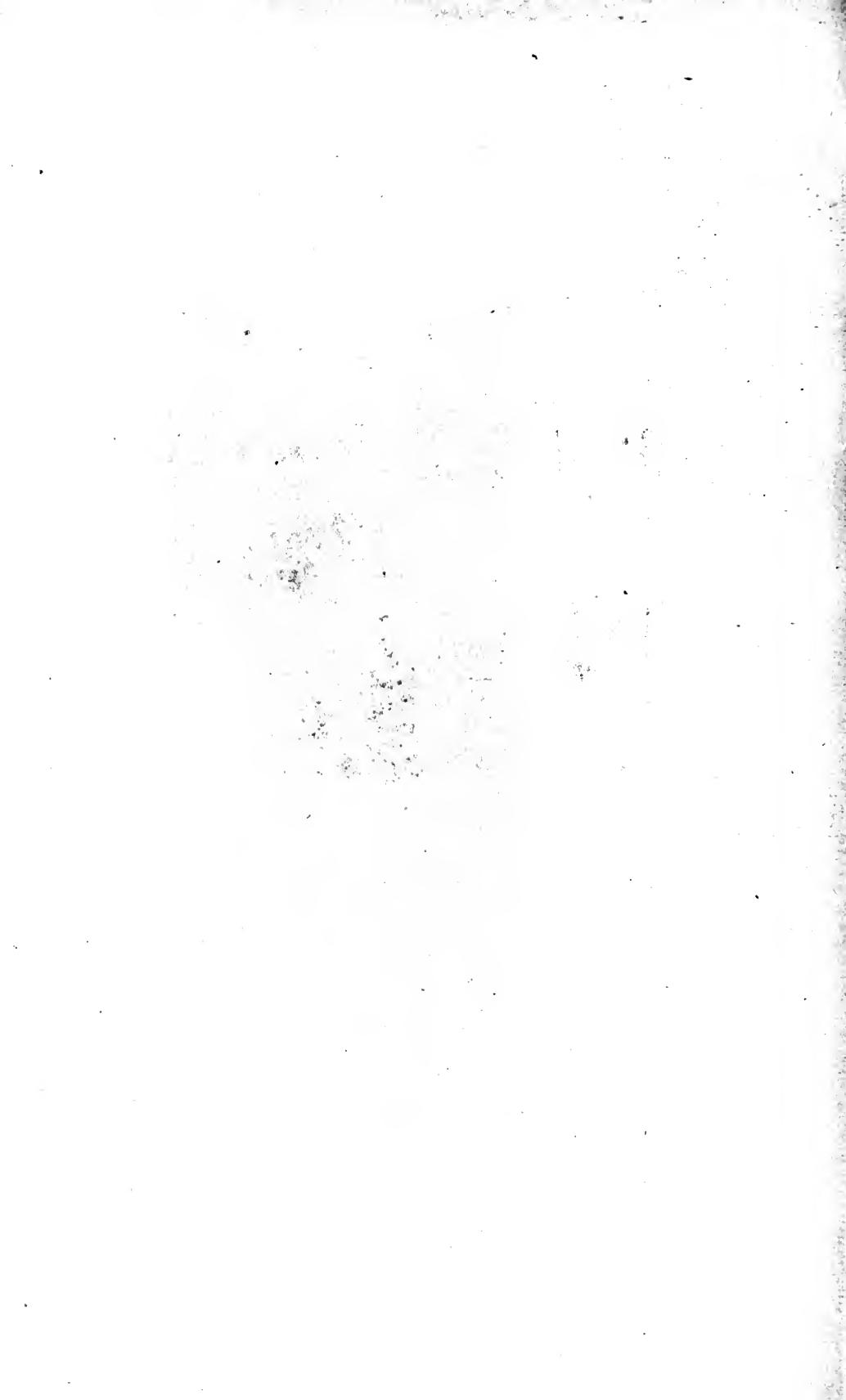
¹ For descriptions of the architecture, cf. Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea*, p. 102; Sir Ch. Brooke, i, pp. 84, 124; Low, pp. 279-282; Pfeiffer, p. 51; Noel Denison, *Jottings During a Tour Among the Land Dyaks of Upper Sarawak*, Ch. ii, iv, and vii. From these descriptions it will be seen that the Land Dyaks do occasionally build longhouses when the ground permits of it. The Papuans of Dorey Bay, though having the longhouse like the Sea Dyaks, have the separate bachelors' building, like the Land Dyaks, Boyle (pp. 63, 197, 219) shows the purpose of the Land Dyak "pangeran" to be defense, and says that latterly in these peaceful times the young men of many villages have allowed them to fall into decay. He gives evidence to show that at one time the Sea Dyaks had similar structures. These have probably fallen into disuse among the stronger Sea Dyak tribes, because with their inter-tribal organization and the protection of the Malays they were too greatly feared to be in much danger of attack. They were more raiders than raided. The Papuans, on the other hand, are in constant expectation of enemies both by sea and land.

to mean social organization and habits, detailed manner of life and religious ritual, can tell us little or nothing of race affinity, since we have seen it to be dependent less on inherited tendencies than on local needs.

The theory that like conditions produce like civilizations is not startlingly new. Yet I think it has hardly been given the full scope it deserves in application to detailed studies. To-day it is a vital question to what degree the long racial inheritance of the past can be modified by a new environment. It is a question of prime practical importance for us in America with our imported Africa. For study of race problems the Eastern Archipelago is a veritable laboratory of sociology. There we find closely related members of the same race in diverse environments, as well as antipodal races and their half-breeds, separated, yet in parallel circumstances. A more detailed comparison of all the different types and their setting would probably bring out a clearer distinction than has yet been drawn between the phenomena due to fundamental race difference and those that have grown immediately out of adaptation to the environment.







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