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The Mystery of Fu-lin.—By Friedrich Hirth, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

The several accounts we possess in Chinese literature of that mysterious country in the extreme west called Fu-lin declare it to be identical with the country known in ancient times as Ta-ts'in. The texts of the T'ang dynasty speak of "Fu-lin, that is the ancient Ta-ts'in," or of "Tats'in, also called Fu-lin," and it appears that the two names were interchangeable. From the Chinese point of view the question would, therefore, be simple enough. If Ta-ts'in is Syria, Fu-lin must be Syria. I am nevertheless disinclined to be guided by this kind of logic and fully admit the difficulty of the Fu-lin problem.

My present view, which in its main features has undergone little change from the one expressed twenty-five years ago in my first study of the subject,[1] is briefly this: Ta-ts'in is the Roman empire with all its grandeur emanating from Rome, its capital; but the detail placed on record in the contemporaneous Chinese texts is confined to its Asiatic provinces, for which reason not Rome, but Antioch is described as the capital city. Its relations to China were of a commercial kind. Fu-lin is the Eastern empire of Byzantium, but as in the case of Ta-ts'in, the Chinese accounts are confined to certain Asiatic portions of it, and its relations to China were chiefly ecclesiastical. This at least is the impression I have received from the study of the Fu-lin chapters in the Chinese standard histories. I admit that Chinese literature contains a few passages, to which I hope to revert on some future occasion, which seem to involve that, besides the countries described in the standard accounts, a Greater Ta-ts'in and a Greater Fu-lin were not unknown in China.

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[1] *China and the Roman Orient: Researches into their Ancient and Mediæval Relations as represented in old Chinese records.* Shanghai, 1885. I shall in the course of these notes refer to this book by the letters *R. O.*

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This view has been recently abandoned by my esteemed friend Professor Éd. Chavannes, who thinks that Fu-lin is after all Constantinople and not Syria.[1] His arguments are briefly these.

1. The name Fu-lin represents the Greek accusative πόλιν in εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Istan-polin, according to Mas'udi the origin of the name Istambul.

2. The name Fu-lin appears in Chinese literature previous to the arrival of the Nestorians in China.

3. It may have been brought to China during the Sui period by the Western Turks, who had been visited by Byzantine ambassadors in 568 and 576 A. D.

4. The king of Fu-lin who sent ambassadors to China in 643 was called *Po-to-li* (波多力). By substituting 悉 for 多, the name would appear as *Po-si-li*, which may stand for βασιλεύς.

5. The Arab general *Mo-i*, who was sent to effect the siege of Fu-lin, may be identical with Muawia's son "Yézid ben Muawia," one of three emirs who attacked Constantinople.

6. The king of Fu-lin who sent an embassy to China in 1081 *Miĕ-li-i-ling-kai-sa* may have been identical with the pretender Nicephorus Melissenus, the character 伊 *i* in that name being a mistake for 俟 *ssï*.

Professor Chavannes justifies the changes he suggests in connection with such names as *Po-to-li* and *Miĕ-li-i* by the frequency of errors in the tradition of Chinese texts. I quite admit this argument as applying to certain works, such as the *Ts'ö-fu-yüan-kui*, from which his "Notes additionelles" have been mainly derived. This work bristles with mistakes; but I would be much less inclined to assume such errors in the texts of the standard histories, the tradition of which, as regards names, compares not unfavourably with that of our me-

[1] In his paper entitled "Notes additionelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux" in *T'oung-pao* , 1904, p. 37, note 3, in which he says: "J'ai identifié ce pays [Fou-lin] avec la Syrie, parce que j'acceptais la théorie soutenue avec beaucoup de talent par Hirth (*China and the Roman Orient*) qui voit dans le terme *Fou-lin* (anciennement *but-lim*) le nom de Bethléhem, et qui considère *Po-to-li*, roi du Fou-lin, comme le *bathrik*, c'est-à-dire le patriarche des Nestoriens. Un nouvel examen de la question me conduit cependant à reprendre l'ancienne identification de *Fou-lin* avec Byzance."

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diæval Greek and Latin classics.[1] Conjectures of this kind may occasionally become necessary, but they ought in all cases to be supported by strong circumstantial evidence and ought also to admit of some plausible paleographic explanation.

I have called this paper "The Mystery of Fu-lin," and I wish to indicate thereby that I do not by any means pretend to have removed all doubt from what may remain a mystery for ever. I cannot, however, refrain from placing on record the arguments which have induced me to maintain my original view. I welcome Professor Chavannes' criticism as the best means throwing light on the problem, and I shall be happy to hear of his further researches in the direction indicated. There still remain quite a number of important points to be settled in connection with both Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin, and who knows whether some unexpected discovery will not some day either shake, or confirm, our present views, if not furnish clues which nobody has thought of.

1. The old sound of the name Fu-lin (拂 菻).

The first character 拂, now pronounced *fu* in the Mandarin, and *fat* in the Canton dialect, has a final *t*, according to all the mediæval authorities quoted by K'ang-hi (Rad. 63, 5). In the *Tsi-yün*, a work which appeared as late as the Sung Dynasty, its sound is described as 薄蜜切, i. e., *p*(ok-m)*at*, or *pat*.

The second character 菻, now pronounced *lin* in the Mandarin, and *lam* in the Canton dialect, was according to the *Tsi-yün* pronounced 力錦切, i. e., *l* (ik-k) *am*, or *lam*, and K'ang-hi quotes the name *Fu-lin* (*Fat-lam* or *Pat-lam*) as an example of that pronunciation (Rad. 140, 8).

As a further example of the old sound ending in *m*, and not in *n*, I may quote the name of one of the priests which appears in estrangelo characters as *Ephraem* (read Abraham by Kircher) in the Syriac part of the Nestorian inscription with the Chinese transcription 拂林, = *fu-lin*, *fat-lam* or *pat-lam*. I need not say that 林 and 菻 are identical in sound. Certainly the final of this character was *m*, and not *n*. In

[1] Cf. my remarks on the "Textkritik" of Chinese authors, *R. O.*, p. 8 seq.

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order to express the syllable *lin* in πόλιν, a Chinese transcriber of the sixth century would have selected some such character as 鄰, *lin*, the old final of which is *n*, rather than a sound ending in *m*. In the *T'ang-shu-shï-yin*, chap. 24, p. 3, ad vocem *Fu-lin*, the sound of the character 菻 is described as 力稔, i. e. *l* (ik-n) *am* = *lam*.

As may be seen from *R. O.*, p. 287, note 2, I do not doubt the correctness of the etymology of the name Istambul = Istanpolin (εἰς τὴν πόλιν) as suggested by Mas'udi;[1] but we have to take into consideration that, as Professor Chavannes says himself, it applies to about the year 344 H., i. e., the tenth century A. D., whereas the name Fu-lin was first used in the sixth, or seventh, century. But, even granting the Byzantine Romans of that early period having called their capital "Istanpolin," this need not force us to identify the name with Chinese "Fu-lin."

2. First occurrence of the name Fu-lin.

I quite agree with Professor Chavannes about the *Sui-shu* being the oldest record in which the name Fu-lin is mentioned. Indeed I called attention to it on p. 17 and p. 288, note, of my book. The biographical portion, including the records regarding foreign countries, of that historian was completed in 636 A. D., as we are told in the Catalogue of the Imperial Library,[2] that is just a year after the arrival at Ch'ang-an of the first Nestorian mission under O-lo-pön (probably a transcription for *Rabân* or Rabban,—id est, monasterii propositus, Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, III Pt. ii, pp. 911 and 913—also very common as a name). It seems to me quite possible that the name Fu-lin was just then substituted in the final revision of the *Sui-shu* text for that of Ta-ts'in, which may have been the original reading. But even if this had not been the case, why could not the Chinese have received notices of the country under its new name Fu-lin from sources not connected with the arrival of its natives, just as well as Ta-ts'in was known to them at the time of the general Pan Chau's campaign long

[1] For a careful compilation of material regarding the origin and history of this name *see* E. Oberhummer in Pauly-Wissowa's "Real-Encyclopädie," s. v. "Constantinopolis."

[2] *Tsung-mu*, chap. 45, p. 53.

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before the first Ta-ts'in mission reached China in 166 A. D.? We know that the emperor Yang-ti tried in vain to have intercourse with Fu-lin. Could not he, or his representative Pei K'ü, the author of the *Sui-si-yü-t'u* (隋西域圖), have heard the name as being identical with that of Ta-ts'in through the Nestorians in other western countries which had then come into contact with China, such as Persia, which is described with considerable detail in the *Sui-shu*, with its city of Madain, then the see of Nestorian patriarchs? Certainly the appearance of the name Fu-lin in Chinese literature previous to that of the Nestorians in China does not argue against the identity of the country with Syria. Professor Chavannes refers to the three trade routes quoted from Peï K'ü's work in the *Sui-shu* (chap. 67, p. 12), the northern one of which leads by way of I-wu (Hami) past P'u-leï-hai (Lake Barkul), the T'ié-lö (Tölös) tribes, the court of the Great Khan of the Turks, and, *crossing the rivers that flow north, to the country of Fu-lin* and to the western sea." The route thus described is in my opinion not the later road to Constantinople, which skirted the Aral, the Caspian and the Pontus, since the several rivers to be passed in it *flow south*; "the *rivers that flow north*" must be the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and I take it for granted that this northern route would have taken travellers to Antioch as the capital of Fu-lin. Neither John of Montecorvino nor Rubruck had to cross the "rivers that flow north," nor does Pegolotti recommend such a route except to those who may have merchandize to dispose of at Urgendj (*see* Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. 288).

3. Who were the informants through whom the name Fu-lin became first known in China?

We know from the *Kiu-t'ang-shu* (*R. O.*, pp. 55 and 105, K 33) that the emperor Yang-ti wished to open intercourse with Fu-lin, but did not succeed. Professor Chavannes, who thinks of Constantinople, maintains that the name Fu-lin became known in China through the Western Turks, and he refers to the relations of those Turks with the Byzantine Court. "A Chinese envoy at the court of the Turkish Great Khan," he says, "may have met some of these Greeks, or heard them spoken about; and thus the name of Constantinople came to

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China in its form *Polin*, given to it by the Greeks themselves according to Mas'udi." I wish to offer a somewhat different explanation. In the introduction to the chapter on the western countries the *Sui-shu* (chap. 83, p. 1) confirms the emperor Yang-ti's desire to have communication with as many countries as possible; the emperor, therefore, sent expeditions under Weï Tsié (韋節), author of a lost work, called *Si-fan-ki* (西蕃記) and quoted in the *T'ung-tién* in connection with the Ephthalites, and Tu Hing-man (杜行滿). The latter visited the regions of Western Turkestan. Other officials were sent to Japan, Siam, etc.[1] After that he appointed Peï K'ü to a special post in north-west Kan-su with a view of inducing foreign countries to send envoys to China. From the account of Po-ssï (波斯, i. e. Persia, chap. 83, p. 16) we learn that Yang-ti had deputed an envoy by the name of Li Yü (李昱) for the special purpose of persuading the Persians to send a mission to China, and Persian ambassadors actually came to China together with Li Yü, offering tribute to the court. This Persian embassy, according to the *Ts'ö-fu-yüan-kui* (chap. 970, p. 3), arrived with the envoys of quite a number of other states in 616 A. D., probably a few years earlier, since the wording of this record, though entered under that special year, seems to involve the Ta-yé period (605 to 617 A. D.) generally as the date of arrival.

When Yang-ti's envoy Li Yü arrived in Persia, the Persian throne was occupied by Khosru II, the bitterest enemy of all the Christians, including his political opponent, the emperor Heraclius. Syria was again held by the Romans, after it had been devastated by the Persians a generation ago. Antioch, already reduced to great straits by the earthquake of 525 A. D., had been sacked and destroyed by Khosru I in 540 A. D. If Antioch was the capital of old Ta-ts'in, or as I maintain, of its equivalent, Fu-lin, the fall of this city would mark an event in the interpretation of the name inasmuch as a second Antioch had been built on Persian ground. Much of the mystery surrounding the Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin question may be explained thereby. I quote Rawlinson's *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy* (London, 1876, p. 395):

"The Persian prince [Khosru I] after the fall of Antioch

[1] See *Ts'ö-fu-yüan-kui*, chap. 662, p. 22 seq.

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passed the winter in building and beautifying a Persian Antioch in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon, assigning it as a residence to his Syrian captives, for whose use he constructed public baths and a spacious hippodrome, where the entertainments familiar to them from their youth were reproduced by Syrian artists. The new city was exempt from the jurisdiction of Persian satraps, and was made directly dependent upon the king, who supplied it with corn gratuitously, and allowed it to become an inviolable asylum for all such Greek slaves as should take shelter in it, and be acknowledged as their kinsmen by any of the inhabitants. A model of Greek civilization was thus brought into close contact with the Persian court." Rawlinson adds in a footnote: "Here the Oriental accounts are in entire accord with the Greek. Mirkhond and Tabari relate at length the construction of this new Antioch in the vicinity of Al Modain, adding that the name given to it was Rumia (Rome), and that it was an exact copy of the town upon the Orontes."

The captivity of the Antiochian christians is referred to by Barhebræus[1] and in Mar Amr's biographies of the Nestorian patriarchs.[2] Tabari describes the new city in two passages[3] with some detail. The great Persian king had endeavoured to build this new Antioch just like the old city in Syria, and when the captives entered its gates, everyone of them found a home so similar to the one he had left in Syria that he might imagine to be there. Khosru I did not, at least at first, interfere with their Christian idiosyncracies, but the history of the Nestorian patriarchs in the sequel abounds with examples of that tenacity with which the heroes among them would rather

[1] J. B. Abbeloos and Tho. J. Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebræi Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, Paris 1877, II 86: "Hic (Chosroës Anuschervan) post annos octo Antiochiam invasit incenditque, ejus vero incolas captivos abduxit atque eis Mahuzam condidit, quam Antiochiam appellavit, eosque illic habitare jussit." Mahuza is explained by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* III Pt. ii, p. 761) to be a city in Babylonia "apud Ctesiphontem ex altera fluminis parte, ad provinciam patriarchalem pertinens, eademque Bagdadi suburbium, et Carcha, Corch seu Charch, appellatur." Professor Jastrow tells me that *mahuza* is Babylonic for *city*.

[2] Henricus Gismondi S.J., *Maris Amri et Slibae De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, Part II, containing the Latin version, Rome 1897, p. 24.

[3] Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, pp. 165 and 239.

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undergo martyrdom of any kind than cease to be faithful to their traditions. Many of them are recorded to have suffered death and torture under the threats of Persian kings and Arabic caliphs. It is to this virtue of the Syrian captives that Tu Huan, the author of the *Hing-king-ki* (杜環行經記), who had been made a prisoner and retained in Persia for ten years after the battle of Tharaz in 751 A. D., refers when he says of the people of Fu-lin, which country he places in the west of Sham (苫, = Damask): "*If they live as captives in foreign states they will rather accept death than change their national customs.*" I have adopted Mr. Playfair's improved translation of this passage, though I do not with him apply it to the Israelites in exile, but to the Christians in their second Antioch near Madain.[1] A prominent case of Christian martyrdom has been recorded in Mar Amr's work (*op. cit.*, p. 37) as having occurred in the third year of Abul-Abbas (752 A. D.; "per id tempus martyrium fecit Israel medicus, cui Deus requiem concedat"). Assemani (II, p. 432) refers to it in connection with the imprisonment of the patriarch Jacob (754—773 A. D.) by the caliph Abu-Jafar, under whose reign, just at the time when Tu Huan himself lived as a captive in Persia, the Syrian Christians suffered more than ever under the persecutions of Mohammedan potentates. These were the outposts of the people of Fu-lin, who may have furnished the Chinese envoy to Khosru II, Li Yü, with the accounts of their country in Syria, and if the envoy's visit to the Persian court, placed in the Ta-yé period by the Chinese historians, took place in the earlier part of it, when Syria was still protected by the Roman army, this would be a sufficient reason why Yang-ti's wish to communicate with the mother country Fu-lin could not be fulfilled. Such certainly was the state of things previous to the year 611 A. D., when Apameia and Antioch were sacked by the Persians under Khosru II. The Emperor's commissioner in Central Asia, Peï K'ü, who shared his master's ambition to see ambassadors of all the great countries of Asia at the steps of the dragon throne, succeeded in a wonderful manner; for he communicated with all, "only T'ién-chu (India) and Fu-lin (Syria) he did not reach to his regret."[2]

[1] Cf. Playfair, "The Mystery of Ta-ts'in" in *Journal of the China Br., R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, 1885, p. 78, referring to *R. O.*, pp. 83 and 116, Q 45.

[2] 獨天竺拂菻不至爲恨, *T'ang-shu*, chap. 221A, p. 25B.

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4. The king of Fu-lin Po-to-li.

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I have always been of opinion that Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin have to be looked upon as the representatives of the Christian world. Even in the early accounts of Ta-ts'in we may notice an ecclesiastical colouring. "Their kings are not permanent rulers, but they appoint men of merit. When a severe calamity visits the country, or untimely rain-storms, the king is deposed and replaced by another. The one relieved from his duties submits to his degradation without a murmur."[1] This is clearly neither a Roman Emperor, nor a praetor or proconsul, but a patriarch of the Christian Church, the patriarch of Antioch as the head of all the Christians in Asia. With the settling of so many Syrian Christians in Persia after the fall of Antioch in 540 A. D., the Nestorian patriarch in Persia could perhaps lay claim to that dignity.[2] His residence in exile was merely a makeshift; to his own flock and to the Chinese behind them he was the patriarch of all the Christians, whatever the heterodox clergy in the west may have thought of it. It was the Nestorian patriarch who sent the first Christian missionaries to China, and whether he did so under orders from a still higher patriarch in Antioch, or on his own authority, it seems not easy to decide. We have a direct allusion to this crux by a Byzantine author, the archimandrite Nilos Doxopatres, a notary in the service of the patriarch of Constantinople, who in 1143 A. D. wrote, for king Rogers II of Sicily, a short treatise on the patriarchal thrones.[3] Doxopatres may have been a biassed judge owing to his connection with the orthodox church, for he seems to ignore the schism when he says that "the patriarch of Antioch was in charge of all Asia and Anatolia and even India, whither he had sent a katholikos ordained by himself, styled the one of Romogyris, and also of Persia and Babylon, called Bagdad in his time,

[1] *Hóu-han-shu*, R. O., pp. 41 and 100, E 19 and 20.

[2] According to Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, III Pt ii, p. 617, the Nestorian Archbishop at Seleucia and the Metropolitan of Persia had to proceed to Antioch for their ordination by the Patriarch previous to 498 A. D., after which time the "Catholicus" of the Nestorians claimed the title of Patriarch, in order to be relieved of the perilous journey to Antioch.

[3] Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byzantin. Litteratur*, 2nd ed., München 1897, p. 415 seq.

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and that he had under him altogether thirteen metropolitans."[1] We know that the early Christians in India were Nestorians. The discovery of crosses resembling in shape the one appearing above the Nestorian tablet of Si-an-fu and, moreover, surrounded by Pehlevi inscriptions[2] points to the Nestorians in Persia as their originators.

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Doxopatres' statement seems to show that the patriarch of Antioch (i. e. of Syria or Ta-ts'in) was at least the *nominal* head of the Christians of Asia and that the several metropolitans, including those of the Nestorians in Persia and in India, were nominally appointed under his authority. If the patriarch of the Nestorians appointed his own men to the Persian sees and to those of India and China, as we have every reason to assume, he may either have had this power delegated on him, or he may have acted on a self-assumed authority, looking upon himself as *the* patriarch of Antioch living in exile. According to my personal view it is the patriarch at the head of the Christians in Asia who is meant by the term "king of Fu-lin," or „of Ta-ts'in," in the later texts. To support this theory I wish to refer to an account of Ta-ts'in dating within scarcely a generation after the time when Nilos Doxopatres wrote that treatise according to which the "patriarch of Antioch" appoints the heads of all the other churches in Asia, including the one of the Christians in India. This it appears to me we may infer from Chau Ju-kua's texts regarding Ta-ts'in and T'ién-chu (usually translated by India, but here covering the Christian settlements in that country). Chau Ju-kua says of his T'ién-chu: "The country is subordinate to the country of Ta-ts'in and its chiefs are selected *by* Ta-ts'in."[3] I have endeavoured to explain this, at first sight startling, assertion by the relations existing, previous to the arrival of the Portuguese, between the Indian church of St. Thomas and the Nestorian patriarch as the ecclesiastical "King of Ta-

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[1] Πάλιν ὁ Ἀντιοχείας κατεῖχεν ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἀνατολὴν αὐτήν τε τὴν Ἰνδίαν, ὅπου καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν Καθολικὸν χειροτονῶν στέλλας τὸν καλούμενον Ῥωμογύρεως καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Περσίαν, ἔτι καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Βαγδὰ κἀκεῖ γὰρ ἔστελλεν ὁ Ἀντιοχείας ἔχει οὖν μητροπολεῖς σήμερον δεκατρεῖς. Varia Sacra Stephani le Moyne, Leiden 1685, II, p. 211 seq. Cf. Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, London 1733, p. 119.

[2] J. Richter, *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, Gütersloh 1906, p. 36.

[3] 天竺國隸大秦國所立國主悉由大秦選擇.

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ts'in."[1] On entering deeper into the subject I am encouraged in maintaining this view,[2] though there seems to be some doubt as to who the real chief of the church has been, whether the patriarch of Antioch or the one of the Nestorians in Persia. The Nestorian primate, to whom part of his jurisdiction may have been ceded by the Patriarch of Antioch (Privilegium a Patriarcha Antiocheno concessum Primati Seleuciensi ut Episcopos ordinare possit. Assemani, III Pt i, p. 145), seems to have been more settled in his authority in later centuries, when the extension of his dominion had grown too much for his western colleague, than in ancient times. I do not venture to say that Nestorian patriarchs called themselves "Patriarchs of Antioch." There is, however, a strange synchronism between the statement, said to be the result of an error by Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.*, III Pt. i, p. 289: "Golius apud Hottingerum in Bibl. Or., p. 62") to the effect that Elias III, catholic of the Nestorians 1176—1190, was

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[1] *See* "Chao Ju-kua's Ethnography" in *Journ. of the R. Asiat. Soc.*, July 1906, pp. 496—499.

[2] Ample material will be found in W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gütersloh, 1877, and Richter's *Indische Missionsgeschichte*. The following sentences are selected from Capt. Charles Swanston's paper "A memoir of the Primitive Church of Malayala, or of the Syrian christians of the Apostle Thomas from its first rise to the present time" in *Journ. of the R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. i, pp. 172—192, and Vol. ii, pp. 51—62 and 243—247.

"In 825, a merchant named Job conducted into Malabar, from Babylon, two Syrian ecclesiastics, Mar Saul and Mar Ambrose, sent by the Nestorian patriarch to rule over the church of St. Thomas." "These prelates governed the church in Trovancór for many years." "They were followed by a succession of teachers from Syria, who ruled over the church" (i, p. 178). "The authority of the Syrian bishops extends to all temporal and spiritual matters" (p. 180—181). "The Nestorian patriarch of Babylon,—a vague appellation, which has been successfully applied to the royal seat of Seleucia, of Ctesiphon, and of Bagdad" (p. 183). "Whatever credit may be thought due to the current tradition of these Christians, that the Apostle Thomas planted the seeds of the Gospel among them, so much may be considered established beyond contradiction, that they existed in Trovancór as a flourishing people, connected with the Syrian church, from the first centuries of the Christian era" (ii, p. 234). "Their liturgy is that which was formerly read in the churches of the *Patriarch of Antioch*, and their language is the *Syriac*" (p. 237). "They hold in the highest respect their *Patriarch of Antioch* or *Mosul*, and make mention of him in their prayers" (p. 239).

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called "Patriarch of Antioch," and Chau Ju-kua's source, the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*, published in 1178, which says that the king of Ta-ts'in ("Patriarch of Antioch") appoints the lord of T'iénchu (here ruler over the Christians in India). Assemani (l. c.) admits that the Melchite, Maronite and Jacobite Syrians gave that title to their patriarchs, but by no means the Nestorians. For Assemani's views on the patriarchal title among Nestorians see also *Bibl. Or.*, III, p. 57 seq.

Chau Ju-kua's account of Ta-ts'in[1] is mixed up with a good deal of ancient lore, of which it has to be freed before being taken into consideration. Thanks to the discovery of Professor Tsuboi of Tokio, who drew attention to the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* by Chóu K'ü-feï,[2] we are able to trace about one-third of the substance of Chau Ju-kua's work to this earlier writer, who had collected notices from personal enquiries, but did not publish them for a number of years, until he became tired of so many questions addressed to him about them by his friends. Thus the preface of his work, which may have been partly written some time before its publication, happens to be dated 1178 A. D., i. e. thirty-five years after the time in which Doxopatres wrote his treatise. It contains the account of Ta-ts'in partly copied by Chau Ju-kua, and in its simplicity makes the impression of a contemporaneous record.[3]

Chóu K'ü-feï says (chap. 3, p. 1): "The king is styled Ma-lo-fu" (王號麻囉弗, in Cantonese *ma-lo-fat*, or giving the last character its probable old sound: *ma-lo-pat*). Since *fu* 弗 occurs in a Sanskrit transcription for *bha* (see Julien, *Méthode*, etc., p. 104, No. 309), we may read: *ma-lo-pa*. This I look upon as the title by which "the king," or in this case the patriarch, was known to Chóu K'ü-feï's informants. It seems to correspond to Syriac *Mar-Aba*, which was indeed one of the titles by which the patriarch could be addressed. *Mar* is a title of honour given to learned devotees among the Nestorians, somewhat like our "Venerable,"[4] *Aba* means "father." Mar-Aba may thus be translated by "Venerable Father." Its

[1] *R. O.*, pp. 92—96 and 120—122.

[2] "Cheu Ch'üfe's Aufzeichnungen über die fremden Länder", etc., in *Actes, XIIe Congrès Int. des Orient.*, Rome 1899, II, pp. 69—125.

[3] Tsuboi, *op. cit.*, p. 107—110.

[4] "*Mar*, Syriace, Dominus meus, ut post Assemannum observant docti Hagiographi", Ducange, *Glossarium*, etc., ed. L. Favre, s. v. Mar.

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Greek and Latin equivalent was *Patricius* (πατρίκιος, *patrik*).[1] "Patricius," as a title, may be applied to a number of high positions in the ancient west. Petros Patrikios, the emperor Justinian's ambassador to the Eastern Goths in 534 A. D. and to king Kosru of Persia in 550 and 560, held this dignity.[2] Roman prefects and even church dignitaries could hold this title after Constantinus the Great, its supposed creator.[3] But I cannot quote any particular instance in which it applies to an oriental patriarch of either Antioch or Madain.[4] The root *patrik* would be an excellent equivalent for Chinese *po-to-lik*. But the Aramean form for the word "patriarch" itself, *batrirk*, would be fully as good from a linguistic point of view and would suit even much better on account of its sense. I do not, therefore, hesitate to adhere to my original identification of the old sound *po-to-lik* with *batrirk* against Chavannes' βασιλεύς.

Two years before Chóu K'ü-feï published his accounts of Ta-ts'in and T'ién-chu, in 1176 A. D. the Nestorian church of Bagdad was under its patriarch Elias III, elected and ordained at Madain, where he was endowed with a greenish cloak, "pallio amictus *pistacini* coloris" (Mar Amr, ed. Gismondi, II, p. 64). The sacred gown here translated by pallium is by later authors described as a kind of "pluviale," or rain cloak. The mistaken description of this gown may have caused the Chinese author to speak of a "green" (青) umbrella, by which the "king of Ta-ts'in" is protected when appearing in public. Elias III distinguished himself by his architectural works. He re-built the patriarchal palace together with the

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[1] "Quem enim Graeci Latinique *Patricium* vocant, is dicitur Syriace *Aba*, et praefixo *Mar*, seu Domini titulo, *Mar-Aba*," Assemani, *op. cit.* III, Part ii, p. 92 (quoting Bar Hebraeus).

[2] Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[3] Du Cange, s. v. Patricius.

[4] As a title, though it seems certain that Cosmas Indicopleustes (Migne, p. 125) speaks of a "Catholic of Persia," i. e. the head of the Nestorian church, under the name of Πατρίκιος at a time when, according to other sources (Amr, p. 23), Mar Aba occupied the patriarchal see (536—552 A. D.). This may be the basis of Assemani's identification of the titles Patricius and Mar Aba (cf. also J. W. Mc Crindle's note on the passage referred to in *The Christian Topography of Cosmas*, London 1897, p. 24).

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Church ("cellam in aedibus Romanorum reaedificare coepit unâ cum ecclesia,"—says Mar Amr, cf. Barhebraeus' *Chronicon*, Abbeloos and Lamy, Vol. iii, p. 370), while according to the Chinese account of 1178 the king of Ta-ts'in had a subway built from his palace to the Hall of Worship (*R. O.*, p. 93). Although the Nestorian patriarchs were even at this time crowned at Madain, their place of residence had since the eighth century been at Bagdad, for which reason Chóu K'ü-feï, and with him Chau Ju-kua, speak of Ta-ts'in as "the general meeting ground for the nations of the Western heaven and the place where the foreign merchants of Ta-shï [Arabs and Persians] assemble." *R. O.*, R 1.

The king of Fu-lin, who in 643 A. D., more than five hundred years before the time of Elias III, sent an embassy to China, did so at a time when Nestorians were in full grace with the Chinese court. The emperor T'ai-tsung favoured them with a message under his imperial seal and graciously granted presents of silk.[1] The king's name, as entered in the two versions of the *T'ang-shu*, was *Po-to-li* (波多力, in Cantonese *Po-to-lik*). What I consider to be the Syriac transcription of this title could, of course, apply to the orthodox patriarch Mar Joannes, the pontifex of Antioch, who died after eighteen years' government in 649 A. D.,[2] and who is distinctly described as *batrirk* ܒܛܪܝܪܟ. In his case—at that early time—the title *batrirk* seems certainly unquestionable, whereas his Nestorian contemporary Jesujab II is styled *katulik* ܟܬܘܠܝܟ.[3] On the other hand I observe that the Nestorian chiefs are styled *batrirk* in Mar Amr's biographies throughout, and that the Nestorians who erected the tablet of Si-an-fu say that this was done at the time when "the father of fathers" Mar Hanānjesus was the catholic *patriarch*.[4] This shows that the title, whether accorded to their primate by orthodox writers or not, was claimed for him by his own

[1] *R. O.*, K 34 and L 41.

[2] Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, I, p. 279.

[3] Barhebr., II. p. 114. Regarding the titles by which the early Nestorian chiefs have been referred to *see* Christ. Harder, *Historiae Primatium ecclesiae Nestorianorum ab Amro filio Matthaei Arabice scriptae versionis specimen.* Neumünster, 1890, p. 4.

[4] *batrirkis* in estrangelo characters, *see* Havret, *La stèle chrétienne*, etc., I, p. LXXIX.

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subordinates, and thus circumstances may also favour the identification of the person called *Po-to-lik* with the patriarch Jesujab II, who was at the head of the Nestorian church from 627 to 646,—a man of great political importance, who had acted as ambassador of the Persian court to the emperor Heraclius. To whichever of the two dignitaries we may give the preference, we have to consider the ecclesiastical character of certain subsequent missions to China. One of these was sent in 719 A. D., when "their lord" (其主) deputed a chief of T'u-huo-lo (Tokharestan) on a mission to the Chinese court.[1] The Nestorian patriarch was probably in a position to do so through one of his subordinates, some bishop of Balkh, a city of T'u-huo-lo or Tokharestan. For only sixty-two years later the Nestorian chorepiscopus of Kumdan, Mar Idbuzid, who had his name engraved on the Nestorian tablet with those of his fellow priests in estrangelo characters, calls himself "son of Milis, priest of Balkh." This Milis was evidently, like his son, a Nestorian priest, and since Idbuzid probably did not attain the dignity of chief of the church of Kumdan as a young man, which was the exception among Nestorian prelates, it would appear that the Nestorians actually had a church with priests in the city of Balkh about the time when the Fu-lin embassy of 719 A. D. came to China.[2] I am not aware that the Byzantine Romans had any relations with Tokharestan in 719 A. D., when they had a narrow escape of seeing their capital sacked by the moslems. A few months later Fu-lin sent "priests of great virtue" with tribute to China, a further reason for regarding these relations as more of an ecclesiastical than a political character. The *Ts'ö-fu-yüan-kui* places a mission of priests in the year 742 A. D., while in 744, according to the Nestorian Inscription, "*there was* (it is not said when he had arrived) the Ta-ts'in priest *Ki-ho*, who had an audience with the Emperor."

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[1] R. O., K 38.

[2] Cf. Assemani, III Part ii, pp. 482, 550 and 727 seq: "In notitia Metropoleon apud Amrum *Halac* vigesimum locum occupat, quae eadem est ac Balcha."

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5. Political facts stated in Chinese records excluding identification with Constantinople.

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The *Kiu-t'ang-shu* says: "Since the Ta-shï [Arabs] had conquered these countries they sent their commander-in-chief Mo-i [Muawia] to besiege the capital city [of Fu-lin]; by means of an agreement they obtained friendly relations, and asked to be allowed to pay every year tribute of gold and silk; *in the sequel they became subject to the Ta-shï* [Arabs]."[1]

Professor Chavannes agrees with me in explaining the name Mo-i (摩拽) as a mutilation of the sound Muawia. He does not, however, refer it to the great Muawia, who, before he became caliph, had been appointed Governor of Syria (Fu-lin) under Othman, but to his son Yezid, in order to show that the passage refers to one of the sieges of Constantinople. In doing so he seems to overlook the fact that Fu-lin was not only *conquered*, but "*in the sequel became subject to the Arabs*;" and that this means much more than a mere temporary conquest may be shown from a passage of the *Kiu-t'ang-shu* (chap. 198 p. 29), which states that the Ta-shï, i. e. the Arabs of the caliph empire, "in the beginning of the Lung-so period (661—664 A. D.), on having defeated Po-ssï (Persia) and Fu-lin, began to be in the possession of rice and bread stuff."[2] Fu-lin can in this case only refer to Syria. Constantinople was never subject to the Arabs, nor did the imperial dominions outside of Asia supply them with grain.[3]

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[1] 遂臣屬大食. *R. O.*, K 35; cf. L 43.

[2] 初擊破波斯又破拂菻始有米麵之屬.

[3] Something similar is remarked in the *Sung-shï*, ch. 90, p. 18, in the account of a mission from the Ta-shï having arrived at the Imperial court in 995 A. D.; but the country is there referred to under its old name Ta-ts'in. The emperor asked the Ta-shï (Arab, or Persian, of the Caliph empire, then divided into numerous branches) about his country, upon which he replied: "It is conterminous with the country of Ta-ts'in, and considering it a dependency, it is now my native country which has control over it" (與大秦國相鄰爲其統屬今本國所管之). Since Syria had been conquered and was being held by the Fatimide Caliphs residing at Cairo at the end of the tenth Century, the mission referred to seems to have come from the Fatimide portion of the Ta-shï territories.

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6. Fu-lin = Bethlehem.

My identification, which may at first sight seem strange, is based on the Nestorian inscription, in which it is shown that the priests, with their "luminous religion," came from Ta-ts'in, and that "*a virgin gave birth to the holy one in Ta-ts'in* (室女誕聖於大秦)."[1] Since Ta-ts'in, according to all Chinese accounts, is identical with Fu-lin, this is equivalent to saying that "a virgin gave birth to the holy one in Fu-lin." The old sound of these two syllables, as shown above, was, or could be, *pat-lam*; and it seemed to me that "Bethlehem" is a much more appropriate etymology than *polin*. In those days, when an ecclesiastical current ran through the politics of the world, east and west, Chinese literature called the great nations by the birth-place of the founders of their religions. Thus the *T'ang-shu* account of India (chap. 221[A], p. 24[B]) is introduced by the words "The country of T'ién-chu, also called Mo-k'ié-to,"[2] because Mo-k'ié-to, i. e. Magadha, was the little country where Buddha was born. Later on Arabia received its name *T'ién-fang* (天方, "the Heavenly Square," i. e. the Kaaba) from the sanctuary in Mohammed's birth-place. Similarly we read in Chinese books: "Ta-ts'in, also called Fu-lin," i. e. Bethlehem, because it was the birth-place of Christ.

7. The Language of Fu-lin.

We possess about a dozen transcriptions in Chinese characters said to represent words of the language of Fu-lin. They occur in the eighteenth chapter of the well-known cyclopædia *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* (酉陽雜俎) by Tuan Ch'öng-shï (段成式), who died in 863 A. D.[3]

The most reliable edition of this work, the quotations from which in cyclopædias, dictionaries and concordances of the present dynasty contain a number of fatal misprints, is the one published in the Ming collection *Tsin-tai-pi-shu* (津逮祕書), a rare work, of which there is a copy among the Chinese books of Columbia Library in New York. It appears that a

[1] *See* Havret, *La stèle chrétienne*, I, p. XXIII.

[2] 天竺國或曰摩伽陀.

[3] Giles, *Chinese Biogr. Dict.*, p. 788.

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bibliophile by the name of Hu Chön-hiang (胡震亨) had planned the publication of a collection of rare prints under the title *Pi-ts'ö-hui-han* (祕冊彙函), but that before the work saw the light, the blocks from which it was to have been printed were partly destroyed in a conflagration, when the damaged stock of blocks fell into the hands of Mau Tsin (毛晉, 1598—1657 A. D.), who published it under the above title with a number of additions constituting the greater part of the collection, in all 144 works. The texts added by Mau Tsin bear on every page the name of his studio *Ki-ku-ko* (汲古閣), and the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* is among them.[1]

The best edition next to this is the one of the collection *Hiau-tsin-t'au-yüan* (學津討原), published in 1805 by Chang Hai-p'öng (張海鵬) in Chau-wön near Soochow,[2] who copied his text from Mau Tsin's edition, which he compared with original sources.

The eighteenth chapter of the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* is inscribed *mu-p'ién* (木篇), i. e., "chapter on trees," and treats chiefly on exotic trees and shrubs, many of which are said to be indigenous of India, Persia, or Fu-lin, giving the names used in those countries in the shape of transcriptions. I have tried to identify some of these names with the assistance of my colleagues Professors R. Gottheil and A. V. W. Jackson, and have come to the conclusion that they are neither Latin nor Greek, but Syriac.

As to the question who may have supplied the information regarding these foreign words, we receive a clue in the description, on p. 9,[3] of the Asa foetida tree, called *a-weï* (阿魏). Having said that it comes from K'ié-shö-na (伽闍那) in Northern India, i. e. Ghazna in the present Afghanistan, where it is called *hing-yü*,[4] and that it also comes from Persia, where it is called *a-yü* (阿虞), and having outlined his description of the tree, the author continues: "This is identical with what the priest Wan of the Fu-lin country says; the priest Ti-p'o [Dêva?] of the Mo-kié-t'o [Maghada] country says, etc. (拂林國僧彎所說同摩伽陁國僧提婆言 etc.)."

[1] *Hui-ko-shu-mu*, IV, pp. 54—63.

[2] *See* my "*Die Länder des Islam nach chinesischen Quellen*," p. 17.

[3] I shall quote numbers of pages from the edition of 1805.

[4] 形虞 = Skt. *hingu*, Hind. *hing*, Dakh. *hingu*, and similarly with various foreign writers. *See* Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s. v. Hing.

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We may be allowed to assume from this passage that the information on plants growing in Fu-lin and their native names were supplied by a priest coming from Fu-lin called Wan. Here two priests, the one of Fu-lin (Bethlehem), the other of India (Magadha), are placed in contrast with each other as representing Christian and Buddhist sources of information.

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The following extracts are from the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu*. The headings ("The Olive," "The Fig," etc.) have been added by me.

1. *The Olive* (p. 10B).

"The *ts'i-t'un* tree (齊暾, Canton Dial. *ts'ai-t'ün*) comes from Po-ssï (Persia). It also comes from Fu-lin. In Fu-lin it is called *ts'i-t'i* (齊盧, Canton Dial. *ts'ai-t'ai*). The tree measures two or three chang (= 15 1/2 or 23 1/4 feet[1]) in height. Its bark is green; it has white blossoms like the pumelo (*yu*, 柚), and these are very fragrant. The fruits are like those of the *yang-t'au* (楊桃, Actinidia chinensis, Pl., "a climbing shrub which bears edible fruit about the size of a plum," Henry, "Chinese names of Plants," in *J. of the China Branch, R. As. Soc.*, 1887, p. 281) and ripen in the fifth month (June). The inhabitants of the west press them into oil used for frying cakes and fruits, as we in China use *kü-shöng* (巨勝, a kind of hemp seed? Very doubtful, cf. Bretschneider, *Botanicum Sinicum*, III, pp. 376—378)."

There can scarcely be any doubt about the identity of this tree with the olive. *Ts'ai-t'ün* is Persian and Turkish *zeitun* زيتون, and *ts'ai-t'ai* of the language of Fu-lin is Aramean *zaita* ܙܰܝܬܳܐ. *See* Immanuel Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 136, who says that the word applies both to the tree (Olea europaea, L.) and its fruit. No such name is known in Greek.

[1] The foot of the T'ang Dynasty, during whose reign the text of the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* has originated, was much smaller than the present Chinese foot. Cf. my notes in "Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur," *T'oung-pao*, Vol. vii, pp. 502—505. The Chinese foot, *ch'i*, 尺, of the K'ai-yüan period (713—742 A. D.) measured about 23 1/2 cm., or say 9 1/4 inches English measurement. This has to be taken into account in forming an approximate idea of the several sizes placed on record in our text. The *chang*, 丈, or Chinese rod, which is now usually taken as 11 3/4, would thus correspond to scarcely 7 3/4 English feet in the T'ang period.

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2. *The Fig* (p. 12B).

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"*A-i* (阿𩕳, Canton Dial. *a-yik*). In the country of Po-ssï (Persia) they call it *a-i* (阿駾, C. D. *a-yik*; the second character was read *jit* or *yit* during the T'ang period, see *T'ang-shu-shï-yin*, chap. 13, p. 4). In Fu-lin it is called *ti-ni* (底㮈; the second character appears as 珍, *chön*, in all the other editions and quotations I have seen, a mistake which has clearly arisen from a variant of the second character 柃, K'ang-hi, Rad. 75, 5, being confounded with 珍, another form for *chön*). The tree grows to a height of 14 or 15 *ch'ï* (about 11 feet). Twigs and leaves are plentiful and luxuriant. Its leaves have five lobes (葉有五出) like those of the *peï-ma* (椑麻 = 蓖麻, Ricinus communis). The plant has no flowers,[1] but fruits. The fruit is reddish like the *peï-tzï* (椑子 = 椑柿子, the Chinese Diospyros glutinifera?), and its taste resembles that of the sweet persimmon (甘柿, *kan-shï*). Once a month there is a crop."

The *Pön-ts'au-kang-mu* (chap. 31, p. 26) has under the head of *wu-hua-kuo*, the "flowerless fruit," the name *ying-jï-kuo*, 映日果, representing the old sound *ang-it* and apparently a transcription of Hindustani *aṅjir*. The Persian name, according to the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* is *a-yit* = *ayir*, which is near enough, though not as perfect a transcription as *ang-it*, to Persian *anjīr* انجير, a fig. The Aramean name, according to Löw, p. 390, is *te(n)ta* ܬܐܬܐ, or *tēna* ܬܝܢܐ, cf. Biblical *teēnah* תְּאֵנָה. Our Chinese transcription *ti-ni* is certainly much nearer the Aramean word than the Greek συκῆ for fig, or ἐρινεός for caprificus.

3. *The Myrtle* (p. 11B).

"The *mo* tree (沒, Canton Dial. *mut*, used up to the present day as a transcription for *mur*, the name given to the "myrrh" in several western Asiatic languages, but here clearly resorted to as a transcription for Persian, or Pehlevi, *mūrd* مورد, which

[1] A botanical prejudice, which has caused the Chinese to call the Ficus carica the "flowerless fruit" (*wu-hua-kuo*, 無花果) and induced Albertus Magnus to say of the fig-tree: "fructum profert sine flore" (*De vegetabilibus*, ed. Meyer and Jessen, Berlin 1867, p. 386).

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Professor Jackson informs me occurs in the Bundehesh in the sense of "myrtle") comes from Po-ssï (Persia). In Fu-lin it is called *a-tz'ï* (阿糸, the last character being also read *so*, *tso* and *tsok*, K'ang-hi, Rad. 120, 10, and Chalmers' *K'ang-hi*, p. 219). It grows to a height of one chang (7 3/4 feet) and more. Its bark is greenish (or, blueish) white. Its leaves resemble those of the *huai* (槐, now Sophora Japonica L., but possibly differing in ancient times, *see* Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.*, II, p. 379), though they are longer. The flower resembles that of the *Kü* (橘, Citrus of some kind), and it has large seeds (or, berries), black in colour, resembling in size those of the *shan-chu-yü* (山茱萸, Cornus officinalis, S. & Z., *see* Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.* II, p. 326 and III, p. 507 seq.). Their taste is sourish sweet and they are eatable."

I do not hesitate to identify the botanical features of this plant with those of the myrtle, the Aramean name of which is *asa* ; Löw, p. 50: myrtus communis, L.

4. *Galbanum* (p. 11).

"*Pi-ts'i* (薜齊, Canton Dial. *pīt-ts'ai*) comes from Po-ssï (Persia). In Fu-lin it is called *han-po-li-t'o* (頇勃梨吐; this is the reading of the *Tsin-tai-pi-shu* edition; other editions have substituted 毛頁 *tu*, or *tuk*, for the first character, and the *T'u-shu-tsi-ch'öng* gives it this sound, which is clearly an error easily explained by the similarity of the two characters, by adding in a scholion: 音奪, 'having the sound *to*,' C. D. *tüt*; the edition of 1805 prints 頊, *hü*, or *huk*. Regarding *han*, 頇, *see* K'ang-hi, Rad. 181, 3). It grows to a height of fully one chang (7 3/4 feet) and has a circumference of more than a ch'ï (9 1/4 inches). Its bark is green, thin and very glossy. The leaves are like those of the *a-weï* (Asa foetida), each three leaves growing on the twigs. It has neither flowers nor fruits. The inhabitants of the west usually cut them in the eighth month (September), and till the twelfth month (January) further trimming takes place. The new twigs are thus extremely rich and juicy, whereas without the trimming they would wither and die. When cut in the seventh month (August), the twigs yield a yellow juice somewhat like honey and slightly fragrant, which is used as a medicine for certain cures."

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The Cantonese sound *pīt-ts'ai* is an excellent transcription of Persian *birzay* بِرْزَي "Galbanum" (Johnson, p. 267). Its Aramean equivalent is *chelbānita* ܟܠܒܢܝܬܐ, the product of Ferula galbaniflua, Boiss. & Buhse, according to Löw, p. 163. The defenders of the identity of Fu-lin with Constantinople might point to Greek χαλβάνη, which is indeed its botanical equivalent, but Professor Gottheil informs me that *-ita* is a characteristic Aramean ending, which distinguishes it from other semitic dialects (bibl. *chelbenah* חלבנה, etc.) as well as from the Greek and Latin forms of the word, χαλβάνη and galbanum.

5. *The Nard* (p. 12).

"*Nai-chï* (榛 祇. The first character according to K'ang-hi, Rad. 75, 9, could be read 乃 曷 切 = *not*; the second, as equivalent to 祇, could be read 丁 尼 切 = *ti*, Rad. 113, 4; the *Tsin-tai-pi-shu* edition confounds it with 祇, Rad. 113, 5. The old sound may thus be reconstructed as *not-ti*, which may stand for *nar-ti*, or *nard*) comes from the country of Fu-lin. It is a herbaceous plant (*miau*, 苗), three or four *ch'ï* in height. Its roots are of the size of duck's eggs, its leaves are like garlic (*suan*, 蒜, Allium sativum L.). From the centre of the leaf rises a twig of great length, and on the stem there is a flower, six-lobed, of reddish white, with a brownish calyx, forming no fruit. The plant grows in the winter and dies in the summer, and it is related to our greens or wheat cereals. Its flowers are pressed into oil used as an ointment against colds. The king of Fu-lin and the nobles in his country all use it."

The name of this plant may be the Persian *nard* نرد, or Biblical *nard* נרד, or belong to any other dialect or language, since it seems to be international. Our author does not say anything about the language of Fu-lin, as he does in other accounts, and it apparently "comes from Fu-lin," because it is so largely used there. Löw, p. 368, gives *shebbalta* ܫܒܠܬܐ as its Aramean equivalent.

6. *Jasmine* (p. 12).

"*Yé-si-mi* (野 悉 蜜, Canton Dial. *yé-sik-mat*) comes from the country of Fu-lin. It also comes from the country of

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Po-ssï (Persia). It is a herbaceous plant, seven or eight *ch'i* in height. Its leaves are like those of the plum-tree and grow ample all the year round; its flowers are five-lobed and white, and they form no fruits. When the blossoms open out, the whole country is filled by their flavour resembling (in this respect) the *chan-t'ang* (詹糖, a doubtful tree with fragrant flowers, Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.* III, p. 467) of Ling-nan (Canton). The inhabitants of the west are in the habit of gathering its flowers, which they press into an oil of great fragrance and lubricity."

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Persian *yasmin* یاسمین and Aramean *yasmin* ܝܣܡܝܢ are clearly the equivalents of this name *yé-si-mi*, which has been known in China since about the year 300 A. D., when it was described in the *Nan-fang-ts'au-mu-chuang* (南方草木狀, chap. 1, p. 2) as being introduced by foreigners in Canton under the name of *yé-si-ming* (耶悉茗). In another passage of this work (chap. 2, p. 3) the Henna plant is said to have been introduced by foreigners together with the *yé-si-ming* and *mo-li* from the country of Ta-ts'in. The Jasmine plant and the *mo-li-hua* (茉利花) are now synonyms, but since *mo-li* is described in a separate paragraph, in which it is said that "its flowers are white like those of the *ts'iang-mi* (薔薇, 'wall rose', Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.*, III, p. 302) and its fragrance exceeds that of the *yé-si-ming*", it appears that in 300 A. D. it denoted some other fragrant garden plant, imported from Syria together with its name *mo-li*. The latter might be connected with molo, ܡܠܐ (= μῶλυ, Löw, p. 317: Peganum Harmala L.?). The old work referred to contains a number of other botanical names clearly of western origin, such as *hün-lu* (薰陸, old sound *hun-luk*), for "frankincense," which may be a transcription of Turkish *ghyúnluk* كونلك (cf. *R. O.*, p. 266 seq.), or *ho-li-lo* (訶梨勒, Canton Dial. *ho-li-lak*), the Terminalia Chebula, Retz, or Myrobalan, called *halilag* הלילג and similarly in old Hebrew medicinal works (Löw, p. 129). But since they have no immediate bearing on the Fu-lin problem, I shall not attempt to trace these names.

I do not wish to commit myself to identifications about which I do not feel tolerably confident both from the botanical and the linguistic point of view; but I hope to return to the subject as soon as I can offer some plausible suggestions

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as to the five remaining plant names said to belong to the language of Fu-lin, viz: *a-po-ch'ön* (阿勃參), *a-pu-to* (阿蔀覃), *kün-han* (群漢), *a-li-ho-t'o* (阿梨訶陁) and *a-li-k'ü-fa* (阿梨去伐?).

As to *a-pu-to*, stated (p. 9B) under the name *po-na-so* (婆那娑) to come from Persia, the *Pön-ts'au-kang-mu* (chap. 31, p. 25) refers this name to the Jack fruit (*po-lo-mi*, 波羅蜜, Artocarpus integrifolia), and gives as its Fu-lin equivalent *a-sa-to* (阿薩覃). But I doubt whether the Jack fruit tree occurs in Syria, to say nothing of Greece. Mr. W. F. Mayers, in 1869, took up this subject in *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, Vol. iii, p. 85, where he says: "It may be remarked *en passant*, that an identification of the above and other sounds attributed in the *Pön-ts'au* to the language of Fu-lin might be of service in determining the precise region that is indicated by this name in Chinese literature." The few examples I have endeavoured to trace to their real linguistic origin seem to contain a broad hint as to the language of Fu-lin being Aramean, and to the country where it was spoken not being Constantinople, but Syria. Pure Syriac, or Aramean, was particularly the vernacular in use with the Nestorians not only in Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldæa and Persia, but also in India, Tartary and China, whereas other denominations used a kind of Syriac mixed with Arabic and even Greek elements. *See* Assemani, *op. cit.*, p. 377 seq.

8. Pseudo-Fu-lin.

The account of Fu-lin as placed on record during the Sung dynasty, probably in connection with an embassy of 1081 A. D., has puzzled the Chinese as it is liable to puzzle us, if we compare its detail with that of older texts. It occurs in the *Sung-shï* (chap. 490, cf. *R. O.*, pp. 62—64, 108—109) and has been reproduced by Ma Tuan-lin (*Wön-hién-t'ung-k'au*, chap. 330, cf. *R. O.*, pp. 88—91, 119—120). Ma Tuan-lin refers to "the historians of the Four Reigns" (四朝國史, cf. *R. O.*, p. 91, note), who held that "this country had not sent tribute to court up to the time of Yüan-föng [1078—1086], when they sent their first embassy offering local produce", and he draws attention to certain discrepancies in the accounts of the T'ang and Sung dynasties.

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In the interpretation of this mysterious text which I offered twenty-five years ago (*R. O.*, pp. 298—301) I had pointed out the possibility of its covering the Seldjuk dominions in Asia Minor. I am still inclined to maintain this view on geographical grounds, but venture to suggest a few slight changes in the text, which would place us in the position to adapt its contents to the political condition of the country in 1081 A. D., when its ruler is said to have sent ambassadors to China. The king, in the text referred to (*R. O.*, pp. 62 and 108: N 3) is styled *Miĕ-li-i-ling-kai-sa*, 滅力伊靈改撒, in Cantonese *mīt-lik-i-ling-koi-sāt*. I still think that the two last characters, the old pronunciation of which must have been *kai-sāt*, stand for Greek καῖσαρ, and that *ling*, 靈, is a somewhat imperfect attempt to render the sound *Rūm*.[1] "Rūm kaisar" would have to be looked upon as the equivalent of the title "Emperor of Rome, or the Romans" placed before the Chinese court in the garb of a Turkish combination analogous to such titles as "Türgäsh kakhan," i. e. "the Great Khan of the Türgäsh" and many others occurring in the Old-Turkish stone inscriptions. The three first characters *miĕ-li-i* would represent the name of the ruler who calls himself "Emperor of Rome." I have (*R. O.*, p. 299) drawn attention to the anachronism committed by the several learned sinologues who identified the name with that of Michael VII Parapinaces, who had been deposed and withdrawn into a convent since 1078 A. D. This was the reason which had induced me to think of the Seldjuk Soliman as the ruler adding the title "kaisar" to his own as "king of Rūm." I did not realise then that in 1081, when that embassy arrived in China, another person lived in Asia Minor who actually claimed, and was subsequently granted, the title καῖσαρ; and I now agree with Chavannes in referring to Nicephorus Melissenus, the pretender who claimed to be emperor just about the time when the embassy referred to arrived in China. Michael VII Ducas had withdrawn into the convent of Studion early in 1078, when one of this generals, Nicephorus Botaniates, who had been stationed in Phrygia, came to Constantinople and was crowned as Michael's successor on the 13. April 1078. He had to fight a number of claimants who would not

[1] It may not seem to be a scientific proof, if I refer to a Pïdjin-English conversation with a Chinese cook, who asked for "one bottle that *leng* (rum)" to be served with a plum pudding.

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recognise his authority. Chief among these was Nicephorus Melissenus, the descendant of a powerful family and husband of the sister of Alexius Comnenus, the emperor who succeded Nicephorus Botaniates. Nicephorus Melissenus had made an agreement with the Seldjuk Turks of Iconium to the effect that, in consideration of their assisting him in gaining the throne, he would divide with them the provinces conquered by their united forces. No sooner was he sure of this support than he clad his feet in purple shoes, the insignia of Imperial dignity, and began to march about in Anatolia with the troops of his allies, the Turks. All the cities he approached opened their doors and recognised him as emperor, though he on his turn declared these same cities to belong to the Turks, so that through his treason the entire former proconsular part of Asia, Phrygia and Galatia fell into the hands of the Turks. From Nicaea he prepared an attack on Constantinople. Alexius, then a mere general, was instructed by Botaniates, the emperor, to meet him, but for reasons of his own he did not proceed and handed over command to a feeble eunuch, who had to withdraw from Nicaea at the end of 1080. Melissenos intended to attack Constantinople early in 1081, when after a medley of intrigues his brother-in-law Alexius was elected emperor by the acclamation of his army. Melissenus then joined arms with him, and after the two armies had taken the capital, the two relatives divided the empire between them. Alexius got the European provinces, *Melissenus received* an apanage and *the title* καῖσαρ (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Schopen, Vol. i, p. 116. For further details see the historical works of Anna Comnena, Jo. Cinnamus and Nicephorus Bryennius in Niebuhr's *Corpus Scriptt. Hist. Byzant.*, and the abstract in W. H. Waddington's paper "Nicéphore Mélissène, prétendant au trône de Byzance" in *Revue numismatique*, Nouv. sér., Vol. viii, pp. 393—400).

Although the title "kaisar" is thus shown to have been officially conceded to Melissenus in the beginning of April 1081, the entire political situation seems to suggest that he actually claimed it, and probably had coins cast in his name as kaisar, ever since his commencing to pose as a pretender some time in 1078. If the embassy that arrived at the Chinese court in 1081 started from Asia Minor some time in 1080, there were at the time practically two rulers in the country dividing

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supreme power between themselves, viz.: 1, Melissenus, the pretender, who considered himself emperor of Rome and claimed the title "kaisar", and 2, his ally, the Sultan of Iconium, who supported his claims and whose name was Soliman. Taking all this into consideration, we cannot well assume Soliman to have represented himself as *kaisar* in his credentials to the court of China. The one man who was a *kaisar* in Asia Minor by usurpation, if not by right, at that time, was Melissenus. This has led me to again examine the three characters preceding the words *ling-kai-sat* (= Rūm kaisar), and which I think might be a transcription of the kaisar's name, viz. *Miéli-i*, 滅力伊, in Cantonese: *mīt-lik-i*.

The stumbling block in this name, it appears to me, is the third character 伊, *i*. In trying to find a solution to help us out of the difficulty I beg to call attention to a practice, occasionally noticeable in the prints of the Sung dynasty, by which some characters may be deprived of their radical or written with the wrong radical. Thus the character 獅, *shï*, "lion," in the *Hóu-han-shu* (*R. O.*, p. 101, E 39) appears as 師 in the Sung edition of 1242 (*see* facsimile, *R. O.*, p. 9). Chau Ju-kua (chap. 1, p. 17B) has 碇, *ting*, for 靛, *tién*, "indigo". In the ethnical name *Siê-yen-t'o*, which is clearly the equivalent of the name *Sīr Tardusch* in the Old Turkish stone inscriptions, the second character 延, *yen*, must have been substituted for some character read *tan* (= *tar*), e. g. 誕, the original radical being suppressed (*see* my *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, passim). If we assume, therefore, that the 伊 in the kaisar's name stands for what in its original transcription may have appeared as 𠂤, the radical No. 140 being suppressed, such a change would not be without precedent. According to the *Chöng-tzï-t'ung* (quoted in K'ang-hi, Rad. 140, 6) 𠂤 was used by mistake for 𠂤, and this character again, according to the *Tsi-yün*, could have the sound *sin*, or *sun* (聳尹切音笋, K'ang-hi, Rad. 140, 4; cf. Chalmers' *K'ang-hi*, p. 206B, where among other sounds *sun*, 心盾, is given to the two interchangeable characters 𠂤 and 𠂤). The kaisar's name may thus in its transcription be reconstructed into *Miê-li-sun*, or Cantonese *Mīt-lik-sun*, the finals *t* and *k* of which may disappear by elision so as to leave us as the equivalent of the probable old sound some such name as *Mīlissun*. This I venture to look upon as the equivalent, trans-

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mitted probably by an interpreter who spoke some Turkish dialect, of the Greek name Μελισσηνός.

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I am encouraged in this view by the mention of a coin the description of which, after a slight, but plausible change in the text, seems to be traceable. The passage I refer to, *R. O.*, N 16) speaks of gold and silver coins without holes being cast in this country, which the people are forbidden to counterfeit and which are described by the following words:

面鑿彌勒佛皆爲王名

The change I wish to suggest in the text is the substitution of the character 背, *peï*, "the back," for 皆, *kiê*, "all, alike;" "that is." The two characters are quite similar to each other and may easily be confounded. Moreover, *kiê* gives a poor sense, whereas *peï* is constantly used in opposition to 面, *miên*, "the face," the two terms in numismatic texts meaning the "obverse" and "reverse" of a coin. I do not, therefore, look upon the words *mi-lö-fo* (彌勒佛), the standard transcription for "Maitrêya Buddha," as the king's name, but translate: "on the obverse [of the coin] is engraved a Maitrêya Buddha, on the reverse there is the king's name." It is quite probable that the ambassadors of 1081 brought coins with them to China and on enquiry declared that the legend on the reverse represented the king's name, and that some of these coins had been preserved in the Imperial collections at K'ai-fŏng-fu, since according to Edkins (*Chinese Buddhism*, 2nd ed., p. 117, note) "the *Kin-shï-t'u-shu-pu* contains a rude representation of a gold coin of Mi-li-i-ling-kai-sa." I regret not to have had an opportunity of seeing the illustration referred to, because it might have given us a chance, rude though it probably is, to compare notes with a silver coin of Melissenus the pretender actually preserved to our days. The coin, which has been described by Waddington in the paper quoted from the *Revue numismatique*, is now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Mr. Waddington's illustration and description (Fig. 1) shows on the obverse the bust of the Virgin, facing, with hands held up in prayer, nimbus and the usual dress, the figure being described as μήτηρ θεοῦ in the customary abbreviation. On the reverse we find the legend Νικηφορω δεσποτη τω Μελισηνω in five lines.[1]

[1] Cf. Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. ii (London 1908), p. 539, and the illustration No. 11 on Plate LXIII.

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M-P [ΘΥ]. Buste de face et nimbé de la Vierge, les mains élevées; le tout dans un grènetis.

℞ [KЄ·BOHΘЄI] NIKHΦOPω ΔЄCΠOTH·Tω MЄΛI-CHNω, en cinq lignes; le tout dans un grènetis.

Fig. 1.
Coin of Melissenus the pretender and Mr. Waddington's description.

It looks as if this coin has something to do with the one described in the *Sung-shï*. The Chinese scribe who first placed on record the details regarding it was, of course, not able to read the Greek legend on the reverse, but he must have been told by the ambassadors that it represented the king's name Melissenus. The portrait on the obverse may have been mistaken for that of Maitrêya, the Buddha of the future world so familiar to Chinese Buddhists,—a male deity, it is true, but generally represented as a beardless youth and very frequently with the nimbus round his head (cf. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Berlin, 1893, p. 141: "in Schmuck und Tracht eines indischen Gottes oder altindischen Königs *meist in sehr jugendlichem Alter*").

I do not venture to throw out any guesses as to the motives which may have caused the Byzantine pretender and ally of a Seldjuk sultan to send a special mission to China. Nor am I in the position to throw light on the names mentioned in connection with the embassy of 1081. According to the Chinese text (*R. O.*, N 3) the king sent "*ta-shóu-ling*[1] *Ni-ssï-tu-ling Ssï-mŏng* (大首領你厮都令厮孟), which may stand for "the governor Nestorius Simeon", or "the governors Nestorius and Simeon." The two names, if we are not mistaken in explaining them thus, are followed by the words 判來, *p'an-lai*, which I now believe means that they came in company,

[1] Clearly a high official, since in the passage N 12 we are told that "the towns and country districts are each under the government of a *shóu-ling*." The *ta-shóu-ling* must have been superior to these local governors.

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—bringing as tribute saddled horses, swords and pearls. I do no longer look upon the character *p'an* as part of the name. 判, now pronounced *p'an*, must have been identical in sound and tone with 伴 *pan*. K'ang-hi, Rad. 9, 5, quotes several T'ang authorities to say that the two characters are identical in sound (伴音判). This would entitle us to look upon the two characters as interchangeable and to assume that 伴來 may be a verb meaning "to come in company" similar to 伴遊, *pan-yu*, which is backed by passages in *P'ei-wön-yün-fu*, chap. 26[A], p. 63[B], e. g. 誰伴老人遊, "who traveled in the company of the old man?" I am encouraged in offering this explanation by a passage of the *Sung-shï* (chap. 490, p. 16[B]), where an Arab embassy is stated to have consisted of 1. the ambassador (*shï*, 使), 2. an assistant ambassador (*fu-shï*, 副使), and 3. a *p'an-kuan* (判官), or "companion officer," "attaché." Possibly the passage involves that "the king sent a *ta-shóu-ling*, accompanied by the Nestorian Simeon, or Simon, as attaché."

Professor Chavannes in his recent note on Fu-lin (p. 39) has made an important discovery in connection with the ruler of what I call Pseudo-Fu-lin, and this may, quite reasonably, have induced him to fall back on the former identification of Fu-lin with Constantinople. But since the Sung historians maintain that this Fu-lin had never sent any embassies to China before, this seems to involve its non-identity with the Fu-lin of the seventh and eighth century. Although merely a pretender, Melissenus was closely related to the Imperial court and his representatives ought to have been aware of the fact, if court missions had gone forward from Constantinople to China. The ambassadors, when cross-examined as to former relations between their government and the Chinese court, might have referred to the Fu-lin embassies of 643, 667, 701 and 719 A. D.[1] On the other hand, if these former missions had been sent by Christian patriarchs, whether of Antioch, Madain, or Bagdad, the kaisar's messengers could not well refer to them as having represented the Roman emperors whom they had to look upon as the predecessors of their chief. Their silence as to former relations would thus be explained. The *Sung-shï* account describes a mission from Fu-lin, it is true;

[1] See *R. O.*, p. 126: Index to Translations, s. v. "Embassies".

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but I think this name had in the course of time grown into a general term applied to the Christian world at large. Originally designating the Nestorians as representing the Latin population of Syria or Ta-ts'in, the cradle of their faith, it was later on applied to other Christians, those of Byzantium under the Sung, and even the Pope of Rome under the Ming dynasty. It had grown into a term which covered a multitude of nations and of governments, like our "America," which may mean the United States in one sense and all possible countries in another.

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Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu.—By Friedrich Hirth, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

In his paper "Dr. F. Hirth and the Hiung-nu," published in the *Journal of the China Branch, R. A. S.*, Vol. xxxiv, pp. 137—141, Mr. T. W. Kingsmill tries to show that the Hiung-nu and the Huns were different nations. He refers to my paper, presented to the philological section of the Royal Academy of Munich, entitled *Über Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu* (München, 1900). The main object of that paper was to establish the literary proof, based on a text of the *Weï-shu*, for the identity of the Hiung-nu of Chinese history with the Huns of Europe. Mr. Kingsmill denies this identity, but, as I propose to show in the following pages, fails to prove his point.

A subsequent paper, presented by me to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest and published in the *Revue Orientale pour les études Ouralo-Altaïques*, Vol. ii, 1901, pp. 81—91, under the title of "Hunnenforschungen," and a third paper, "Die Ahnentafel Attila's nach Johannes von Thurócz," published in the *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, Fifth Series, Vol. xiii, pp. 220—261, were apparently not known to Mr. Kingsmill. A study of the Chinese sources quoted in them might have prevented several serious errors in his criticisms. These I consider interesting, because they illustrate better than anything else the difference in our methods of research. I have on several occasions discussed the principles by which I am guided in this respect (cf. my *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 152, 170 et passim). In identifying the ancient Chinese accounts of foreign countries, we should above all endeavour to recognize facts, and only after these have been established, should the linguistic explanation of names be considered as furnishing additional evidence. Mr. Kingsmill's method is the reverse of

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this. He is unfortunately possessed of a regular mania to discover etymologies, and his mind once being set on what he considers similarity in sound, all passages in Chinese contemporaneous authors which might warn him as being on the wrong track are ignored.

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As an example we may consider the city of Ku-tsang (姑臧), mentioned in the short, but important text of the *Weï-shu* reproduced below on p. 42. In this text it is said that the merchants of this country (Su-tö, or Suk-tak, 粟特, Alans) often went to the country of Liang (Liang-chóu-fu in Kan-su) for trade[1] and that at the capture of Ku-tsang they were all made prisoners (先多詣涼土販貨及克姑臧悉見虜); and that "in the beginning of the reign of Kau-tsung [452—466 A.D.] the king of Su-tö (Suk-tak) sent ambassadors to ask for their ransom, which was granted by cabinet order (高宗初粟特王遣使請贖之詔聽焉)."

Mr. Kingsmill's imagination here forestalls all further research, so necessary in Chinese historical reading, by jumping immediately to one of his linguistic conclusions. "*Ku-tsang*," he says "*here is* the country called by Ma Tuan-lin Kweishwang, and by the Armenian writers *Kushan*. It formed the most powerful of the five states into which the Ephthalite kingdom was divided," &c. This is a characteristic example illustrating the dangers of basing historical inferences on mere similarity of sound. It is typical of Mr. Kingsmill's method: the sound of a word takes possession of his mind to such a degree that all logical reasoning is temporarily forgotten in the pursuance of a mere phantom. The nation known as Kui-shuang, or Kushan, is by Armenian writers referred to Bactria, by the Arabo-Persian reports to Tokharestan, Transoxania, &c. (Th. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 115 note 2; cf. Éd. Specht, *Études sur l'Asie centrale*, I, p. 8 seqq.) and has nothing whatever to do with the Liang country of the *Weï-shu*. Liang was the seat of an independent prince of Hiung-nu extraction by the name of Tsü-k'ü Mu-kién (沮渠牧犍), who followed his father

[1] The Aorsi (Alans) carried on considerable trade, bringing Indian and Babylonian wares, which they received from the Armenians and Medians and transported on the backs of camels from the Caspian to the Palus Maeotis. By this means they had amassed considerable wealth, and wore ornaments of gold (Strabo, XI, 5, 8 p. 506, Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, London 1883, Vol. ii, p. 278).

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Tsü-k'ü Möng-sun (蒙遜), as Prince of Ho-si (河西王) in that little dynasty known as "the Northern Liang," and whose biography is contained in the *Weï-shu* (chap. 99, p. 14[B] seqq.). His troubles with his brother-in-law, the Toba emperor T'ai-wu, which have been described in my "Hunnenforschungen," led to the siege and final capture in 439 A.D. of Mu-kién's city of Ku-tsang. Before attempting guesses of any kind Mr. Kingsmill ought to have consulted the *P'eï-wön-yün-fu* (chap. 22[C], p. 150). There he would have found a number of passages concerning the city of Ku-tsang, the analysis of which would have revealed the real historical basis of this simple passage. But apart from this he might have read the whole account in plain French in Deguignes' *Histoire des Huns*, Vol. i, Part ii, p. 273. It was at this capture of Ku-tsang that merchants hailing from the distant west were made prisoners together with 20,000 inhabitants of the city, who were transferred to the Toba capital in Shan-si (*Weï-shu*, chap. 4[A], p. 21). Ku-tsang was the residence of the Tsü-k'ü princes, and according to the *Shen-si-t'ung-chï* (quoted in the *T'u-shu-tsi-ch'öng*, Sect. 6, chap. 578, ku-chï, p. 2) its ruins at some time or other were known to exist in close vicinity to the present city of Liang-chóu-fu in Kan-su.

With such fundamental errors before us we can understand why it is impossible for Mr. Kingsmill to arrive at correct results in the most simple question of Chinese research. To expose his errors would require a volume, and would entail more valuable time than we can afford. Moreover, it is difficult to contradict him, because he makes mere assertions and seldom supports his opinions by reasons based on literature. The following is another characteristic example.

Of the country of *K'ang-kü* (康居) he says: "As a general mess has been made by translators over this country of K'angku, a few words may be useful. *K'angku* first appears in Sz'ma Ts'ien, and is there, and, *in the early Chinese authors, invariably Kashgar.*" No proof follows this startling assertion, but he goes on to speak about the descendants of Seldjuk in the eleventh century, winding up with a sly hit at those wicked Sinologues who venture to differ, in saying: "A little knowledge, says Pope, is a dangerous thing, and in no instance do we find a better exemplification of the general truth of the aphorism

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than in our would-be Chinese authorities." I cannot say that this kind of logic will convince me that ancient K'ang-kü is Kashgar. Has Mr. Kingsmill ever come across the following passage, describing the road from Tun-huang to the west along the southern slope of the T'ién-shan to Su-lö [疏勒, i. e., the real Kashgar], "which is the northern road;" "west of the northern road," the account continues, "you cross the Ts'ung-ling, whence you come out to Ta-yüan [Ferghana], K'ang-kü [Sogdiana] and An-ts'ai [the Aorsi; 北道西踰葱嶺出大宛康居奄蔡焉[1]]"?

This passage occurs in the *Ts'ién-han-shu* (chapter 118, p. 6) and is certainly somewhat older than Mr. Kingsmill's story of the Seldjuks. Or does Mr. Kingsmill maintain that the Ts'ung-ling is not the Ts'ung-ling? I do not intend to recapitulate the arguments which have induced Chinese scholars to identify K'ang-kü with Sogdiana or some territory in this neighbourhood, but west, not east, of the Ts'ung-ling. These scholars, I have reason to believe, are perfectly satisfied with the "little knowledge" so dangerous to them according to Mr. Kingsmill.

Another fatal mistake committed a generation ago and repeated *usque ad nauseam* up to his recent effusion about the Hiung-nu, is his identification of Ssï-ma Ts'ién's An-ts'ai, also transcribed as Yen-ts'ai (奄蔡), the country of the Aorsi, subsequently called by western and Chinese authors alike Alan, or A-lan-na, with Samarkand. To arrive at this idea he has to do violence to a perfectly plain and simple passage in the *Shï-ki* (chap. 123, p. 5B). It occurs in Ssï-ma Ts'ién's account of An-si (安息, in Cantonese *On-sak*), i. e. Parthia, the linguistic basis of which name was, I am glad to observe, first correctly recognized by Mr. Kingsmill as *Arsak*, the Chinese account substituting the name of its kings for that of the country (*Journal, China Branch,* etc., Vol. xv, p. 8, note 11). Unfortunately later editors have broken this text into two parts, 1. An-si (Parthia), and 2. T'iau-chï (Chaldæa). But

[1] The character 耆, *k'i*, after 焉 *yen*, found in the present standard editions, has been clearly interpolated. It does not appear in the King-yu edition (1034—1038 A. D.; *Han-shu-si-yü-chuan-pu-chu*, chap. 1, p. 5). Chavannes (*T'oung-pao*, 1907, p. 170) is, therefore, right in not translating it at all.

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since T'iau-chï is represented in the text as forming part of the Parthian empire, I presume that the line being broken before T'iau-chï is due to a misunderstanding. To me the passage reads as follows: 安息 &c. . . . . 其西則條枝北有奄蔡。黎軒條枝在安息西數千里臨西海 &c.

Speaking of An-si (Parthia), the author says in this passage: "West of it there is T'iau-chï (Chaldæa), in the north there is An-ts'ai (the Aorsi, or Alans); Li-kan (Syria) and T'iau-chï (Chaldæa) are several thousand *li* west of An-si (Parthia) near the western sea," &c.

The name *Li-kan* (黎軒) of the *Shï-ki* occurs in another transcription in the *Ts'ién-han-shu* (chap. 96[A], p. 14[B]), according to which ambassadors from An-si (Parthia) brought as tribute to the emperor Wu-ti "big birds' eggs," i. e. ostrich eggs, and "jugglers[1] from *Li-kién* (犁軒眩人)." Since this passage is clearly copied from a parallel passage in the *Shï-ki* (p. 13[B]), the two names *Li-kan* and *Li-kién* must have been identical in sound, though written with different characters in the two parallel passages. K'ang-hi's mediæval authorities also describe the two characters as being identical in sound.[2] The name occurs again in the *Hóu-han-shu* (chap. 118, p. 9[B]), which says: "The country of Ta-ts'in (Syria) is also called Li-kién (大秦國一名犁鞬)." Since this third transcription is linguistically identical with that of the *Ts'ién-han-shu*, I do not hesitate to look upon the *Li-kan* of the *Shï-ki* as a variant of the name which, in the *Hóu-han-shu* and later records, is declared to be another name for Ta-ts'in, or Syria.

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[1] A specialty of Syrian cities often sent abroad. Cf. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, 2. Aufl., p. 338, and Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, V, p. 461. Jugglers and musicians came from Ta-ts'in (Syria) to China in 120 A. D. (*China and the Roman Orient*, p. 37).

[2] It appears, however, that the character 軒, *kién*, had two ancient sounds, 1. *kan*, or *kin*, 2. *kem*. I refer to the work of Yang Shön (楊愼, died 1529 A. D.), reprinted in the *Han-hai* collection, Section 14, under the title *Chuan-chu-ku-yin-lio* (轉注古音略), where the character 軒 appears under the rhyme *yim* (十四鹽) with the following note: 漢地理志驪軒縣名在張掖力虔二音. I do not quite understand on what authority this statement is made; but if *kién* 軒 can be shown to have been read *kem* during the Han period, this would tend to support from a linguistic point of view my conjecture, made on commercial grounds, as to the identity of Chinese *Li-kan* with *Rekem*, or Petra (see *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 157 seqq. and 171).

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Now Mr. Kingsmill, who is so fond of fanciful and ingenious combinations, has an entirely different idea. He combines the two names An-ts'ai and Li-kan, each of which may be shown from ancient texts to have a distinct sense, and gives the following explanation (*Journal, China Branch*, &c., Vol. xiv, 1879, p. 7, note 9): "Im-ts'ai-li-kan 奄蔡黎軒. It seems most likely here that the two first characters are inverted and that we should read Ts'ai-im-li-kan, in the old pronunciation Sal-im-ar-kand for Salmarkanda, modern Samarkand, the Marakanda of Strabo and Ptolemy." And that in the face of the *Shï-ki* itself, on page 4, describing the country of "An-ts'ai" under this name pure and simple without any inversion and without the alleged appendix Li-kan. This description reads as follows: "An-ts'ai, about two thousand *li* northwest of K'ang-kü, is a nomad country and has in the main the same customs as K'ang-kü. Its archers number fully a hundred thousand. It lies close to a great *ts'ö*, which has no shores; for they say it is the 'Northern Sea' (奄蔡在康居西北可二千里行國與康居大同俗控弦者十餘萬臨大澤無崖蓋乃北海云)."

Sü Sung (*Han-shu-si-yü-chuan-pu-chu,* chap. 1, p. 30) makes the following remarks in connection with the last sentence of my translation: "The *Shuo-wön* defines the word *ai* (崖) as meaning 'a high border;' this means that, since in looking into the far distance you do not see high shores, the raised parts must appear as low." A *ts'ö* (澤) thus described cannot be an ordinary "marsh." This, it is true, is the standard sense of the word; but broad sheets of deep water have also been called *ts'ö*, e. g. the T'ai-wu Lake near Soochow, which is known as "Chön-ts'ö" (震澤), or the Lob-nor, which is called Yen-ts'ö (鹽澤), i. e. the "Salt Lake," or Lake Balkash, which is called "the biggest *ts'ö* in the north-western territories (西北境最大澤;" *Si-yü-shui-tau-ki,* chap. 4, p. 42). Moreover, the text adds distinctly that "they say it is the 'Northern Sea' (北海)," which would involve a gross exaggeration, if *ta-ts'ö* meant a mere marsh. It is for these reasons that I have translated "a great sea," and not "a great marsh," as Mr. Kingsmill does.

I do not, of course, object to the more literal translation, as long as it is understood that, since it is said to be "the Northern Sea," we must not think of a marsh in the or-

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dinary sense of the word. I have, in my first paper on the subject, thought of the Black Sea as being covered by this *ta-ts'ö*, but since its first mention goes clearly back to the oldest notice of the An-ts'ai (Aorsi), as placed on record in the *Shï-ki*, we have to look for their seats in their original homes between the banks of the Sea of Azof and the Caucasus. The Sea of Azof is described as a *palus*, i. e. "a swamp," by Pliny and other Romans. Early Greek writers speak of a Μαιῶτις λίμνη (Dionysius in C. Müller, *Geogr. Graeci Minores*, II, p. 111), and Jordanes (Mommsen, p. 89 seqq.), in his account of the Hunnic irruption, also styles it *Palus Mœotis*. This corresponds to what we know about the physical condition of its shores, which prompts Karl Neumann (*Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*, p. 536) to say: "Es verrät Sachkenntnis, wenn die Griechen die Maitis nie ein Meer, sondern stets eine Limne nannten." Herodotus (IV, 86) held that the Mæotis was not much smaller than the Pontus itself, and Ptolemy exaggerates its northern extension through more than six degrees of latitude (Bunbury, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 591 seq.). This may have been a popular error among the ancients long before Ptolemy, repeated also at the court of the Indoscythians, where Greek traditions had been taken over from Bactria, and where Chang K'ién in 127 B. C. collected his notices of western countries subsequently reproduced in the *Shï-ki*. The Mæotis is said to be frozen in its northern part during the winter (K. Neumann, op. cit., p. 65), and this, too, may have helped to challenge comparison with the "Northern Sea" (北海), if this term refers to the Arctic Ocean as it apparently does in a passage of Pliny (II, 67), who says: "Ingens argumentum *paludis Mœoticae*, sive *ea illius oceani sinus est*, ut multos adverto credidisse, sive angusto discreti situ restagnatio."

It appears to me that the chief mistake made by Mr. Kingsmill in his attempts at identification is the ignoring of information, placed on record in notices quite as valuable as, though later than, those of Ssï-ma Ts'ién. I am, of course, fully aware that the *Shï-ki*, in its chapter 123, is the very oldest source regarding the Chinese knowledge of Western Asia; but we should not forget that between the time when Chang K'ién laid his first report before Wu-ti (126 B. C.) and the time of Ssï-ma Ts'ién's death, not much more than forty years may have elapsed and that much of the geographical

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knowledge of the Chinese during the earlier Han Dynasty was placed on record soon after the *Shï-ki* was completed. Pan Ku's account in the *Ts'ien-han-shu*, though compiled towards the close of the second century A. D., was based on records dating from the earlier Han Dynasty itself. Pan Ku's own brother, Pan Chau, must have returned from his famous expedition to the west with a tolerably complete knowledge of the facts placed on record in the *Hôu-han-shu*, and during the period of the Three Kingdoms, at the beginning of the third century A. D., the knowledge of the west gained three hundred years before cannot have been forgotten, though added to and modified. Even the geographers of the Sui and the T'ang dynasties (the latter with one notable exception, the division of foreign territories into nominal Chinese administrative districts), being so much nearer in time than we are to the Han period, must have been in the possession of traditions much more valuable as a source for identification than the linguistic speculations of a modern European. Mr. Kingsmill's Sal-im-ar-kand is one of these speculations. Why ignore what later, though still ancient, traditions tell us about An-ts'ai? That so-called "old tradition which made Selm, the son of Feridun, the eponym of Samarkand" is extremely doubtful. The mention of a number of other supposed founders such as Alexander the Great and Shamar Abu Karib of South Arabia (Yakut, Vol. iii, p. 133), shows how little we know about the origin of the city, so that nobody can tell whether or not such a name existed at all during the second century B. C. Of An-ts'ai, however, we read in the *Hôu-han-shu*, chap. 118, p. 13: "The country of An-ts'ai has changed its name into A-lan-liau (奄蔡國改名阿蘭聊國)." Professor Chavannes has proved beyond a doubt that by this name two different countries are covered, the one being called *A-lan*, the other *Liau* (*T'oung-pao*, 1907, p. 195 note 2, and 1905, p. 559 note 1); and according to the *Wei-lio* (l. c., p. 32) An-ts'ai is also called A-lan (奄蔡國一名阿蘭).[1]

[1] Chavannes (*T'oung-pao*, 1905, p. 558, note 5) remarks with regard to this passage: "Hirth a bien montré (*China and the Roman Orient*, p. 139 note 1, et *Über Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu*, p. 249—251) que le nom Yen-ts'ai (prononcé *An-ts'ai*) pouvait être la transcription du nom du peuple que Strabon appelle les Ἀορσοι. Le témoignage du *Wei-lio* que

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But we have yet another transcription of the foreign name represented in Chang K'ién's An-ts'ai. In the biography of the General Ch'ön T'ang (陳湯, *Ts'ién-han-shu*, chap. 70, p. 7B) we are told that Chï-chï, the legitimate Shan-yü of the Hiung-nu, whom I look upon as the founder of Hunnic power near the confines of Europe (*Über Wolga-Hunnen*, &c., p. 269 seqq.) and who had been assigned to an unclaimed territory by his father-in-law, the king of K'ang-kü (Sogdiana), had attacked the capital of the Wu-sun and terrorized the population by his violence; that the Wu-sun were afraid to pursue him to his retreat, because an uninhabited waste on the western frontier obstructed the road for a thousand *li* (烏孫不敢追西邊空虛不居者且千里); and that, after having committed all possible atrocities, he built a fortified city and "sent ambassadors to exact annual tribute from the countries of Ho-su (the Aorsi) and Ta-yüan (Ferghana), which these did not dare to refuse (遣使責闔蘇大宛諸國歲遺不敢不予)." The scholiast Yen Shï-ku refers to Hu Kuang (second century A. D.) as having said that "about a thousand *li* north of K'ang-kü there is a country called An-ts'ai, another name of which is Ho-su (闔蘇)," and on this basis he concludes that the names An-ts'ai and Ho-su are identical. The two syllables *ts'ai* and *su* can easily be explained, both representing in their initials a sibilant in the transcription of foreign names and both representing a possible *sai, sa, so* or *su*. The *ho* of *Ho-su* (闔蘇) is read *hōp* in Canton, and *hak* in Foochow. This latter sound could easily be proved to stand for *har* or *ar*. But Chinese sound authorities class the character with the rhyme "27. 合," i. e. *hōp*, and this is precisely what they do with a number of characters having the same final as *an* 奄, e. g. 淹, which is even now read both *im* (英奄) and *yap* or *ap* (英業; see *T'ang-yün*, chap. 20 et passim; Eitel, *Cantonese Dictionary*, p. 190). Though quite different in sound at the present day, the two characters may have been interchangeable at some time or other, the old final

les *An-ts'ai* (Aorsi) ont pris plus tard le nom d'*A-lan* (Alani) explique d'ailleurs fort bien le terme *Alanorsi* qui, chez Ptolémée, embrasse à la fois les Alani et les Aorsi; il est vraisemblable que ce royaume comprenait deux peuples distincts, les Aorsi et les Alani, et qu'il fut connu d'abord sous le nom du premier d'entre eux (Aorsi), puis sous les noms de tous deux combinés (Alanorsi), enfin sous le nom du second seul (Alani)."

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possibly holding the middle between *m* and *p*.[1] Yen Shï-ku is, therefore, probably right in assuming the identity of the two names. The crux in the identification with the Ἄορσοι of Strabo is the old final *m* in the first syllable of *An-ts'ai*. Precedents like *Tam-mo*, 曇磨, for *Dharma* do not help us, because this transcription may stand for Pali *Dhamma*. I am in doubt about Sam-fo-ts'i (三佛齊, Palembang in Sumatra), which as suggested by Groeneveldt (*Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, p. 62, note 3) might be identical with Arabic *Sarbaza* of doubtful tradition. It is possible, though not certain, that the hill-name *T'am-man*, 貪漫山, the Saïan range, stands for *Tarban*, or *Tärmäl*, of the Old-Turkish inscriptions (see my *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, pp. 41 seq. and 87 seq., and Parker in Thomson, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, p. 196). But why must we have a linguistic precedent for *m* = *r* at all in the face of so much circumstantial evidence? We have other Chinese representatives of final *r*, which in their way might be called ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, e. g. Hüan Ts'ang's 耐秣陀, *nang-mot-to*, which stands for Skrt. *Narmmada*, the River Nerbudda (Eitel, 2nd ed., p. 107). Altogether I lay more stress on historical, than linguistical identification. The transcription *A-lan* (阿蘭) in the *Hóu-han-shu* and *Weï-lio* is clear and as little dependent upon differing ancient and dialectic sounds as any foreign name in Chinese records; it is as safe as if it were written in some alphabetic language to look upon it as representing the sound *Alan*, which in this neighbourhood and at the period of its first appearance in classical and Chinese literature alike can only apply to the Alans as a nation. According to the *Hóu-han-shu*, we have seen, the name *A-lan* had been changed from that of *An-ts'ai*, and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, IV, 80), speaking of Scythic tribes says: "alias Getae, Daci, Romanis dicti, alias Sarmatae, Graecis Sauromatae, eorumque Hamaxobii aut *Aorsi*, alias Scythae degeneres et a servis orti aut Trogodytae, mox *Alani* et Rhoxa-

[1] Pliny (VI, 38) refers to the Aorsi in one passage as *Abzoae*, and it appears that the codices here offer no variants of this exceptional form (see *Nat. Hist.*, rec. Detlefsen, I, 1866, p. 238), which may possibly be a mistake for *Arzoae*. But if this were not the case, it might help to explain the finals *m* and *p* in the two Chinese transcriptions. *Abzoae* might thus be a Latin mutilation of the Greek name heard with the digamma as Ἄϝορσοι.

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lani." In other words, he holds that the Alani were nearly related to, or formerly called, the Aorsi. This view, supported by quite a number of other arguments, has been adopted by modern European scholars (cf. Tomaschek in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, etc., s. v. "Alani," "Alanorsoi" — wahrscheinlich ein Konglomerat von Ἀλανοί und Ἄορσοι, — and "Aorsoi"). That part of the Alans which figures in the history of western Europe during the fifth century soon disappeared without leaving traces of its existence; but the eastern Alans continued for generations "in their old seats in the steppes between the Caucasus, the River Don and the lower Volga, right among the Bulgars, the successors of the Huns; in Tauris, too, we find traces of them in the towns of Sugdæa [Sogdak], and Theodosia (Kafa), about the year 500, had an Alanic name Abdarda (Tomaschek)." Under the Mongols the Alans were termed *A-su* (阿速), and sometimes A-ssï, (阿思), the name *A-lan* occurring only once (Bretschneider, "Notices of the Mediaeval Geography," &c., in *Journal, China Branch,* &c., 1875, p. 261). These two forms may possibly be connected with the ancient names *An-ts'ai* and *Ho-su.*

自 及 其 在 粟
後 克 國 康 特
無 姑 至 居 國
使 滅 王 西 在
朝 悉 忽 北 葱
獻 見 倪 去 嶺
虜 巳 代 之
高 三 一 西
宗 世 萬 古
初 矣 六 之
粟 其 干 奄
特 國 里 蔡
王 商 先 一
遣 人 是 名
使 先 匈 溫
請 多 奴 那
贖 詣 殺 沙
之 涼 其 居
詔 土 王 於
聽 販 而 大
焉 貨 有 澤

With this material in hand we are now prepared to analyse what Mr. Kingsmill thinks an "improved" translation; for, with regard to my own, he says: "it is difficult to understand how he has been misled in the translation of a sufficiently simple passage, which refers to the Hiung-nu only incidentally, and to the Hunni not at all."

I here insert Mr. Kingsmill's so-called translation of the Chinese text reproduced above.

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"Su(k)te(h) is situated west of the Ts'ung-ling; it was the ancient Im-ts'ai and was also known as Wannasha. It lies close to a great marsh to the north-west of K'ang-ku, and is distant from Tai 16 000 *li*. In former days the Hiung-nu killed its king, and held possession of the country for three generations up to the time of King (H)wui'rsz."

"Formerly the merchants of this country went in numbers to dispose of their wares in the land of Liang: [a party] having entered Kutsang were made prisoners, and at the beginning of the reign Kao-ts'ung [of the Wei] the king of Su(k)te(h) sent a mission requesting their enlargement."

"After this period no further diplomatic intercourse took place."

Before attempting any rectification I have to make a slight correction in the text. The character 已, *ssï*, should read 已, *i*, "a sign of the past," the two characters being easily confounded (cf. Giles, *Synoptical Studies in Chinese Character*, Nos. 966—968). I have adopted this view through the perusal of a paraphrase furnished in a recent Chinese treatise on the subject, the *Han-si-yü-t'u-k'au* (漢西域圖攷, chap. 6, by Li Kuang-t'ing, 李光廷, of Canton, preface dated 1870), which says: 文成帝太安初匈奴王忽倪得國已三世矣遣使贖之詔聽焉, i. e., "In the beginning of the T'ai-an period of the emperor Wön-ch'öng [in reality 457 A. D. according to *Wei-shu*, chap. 5, p. 5B] the Hiung-nu prince Hu-ni, [his ancestors] having conquered the country three generations ago (已), sent ambassadors to ransom them [the prisoners], which was granted by imperial edict." It is with this one change in the text that I now add my own translation as first laid before the Munich Academy.

"The country of Suk-tak lies in the west of the Ts'ung-ling. It is the ancient An-ts'ai and is also called Wön-na-sha. It lies on a big sea [ts'ö] in the north-west of K'ang-kü [Sogdiana] and is 16 000 *li* distant from Tai. Since the time when the Hiung-nu killed their king and took possession of their country up to their king Hu-ni three generations have elapsed. The merchants of this country often went to the country of Liang for trade, and at the capture of Ku-tsang they were all made prisoners. In the beginning of the reign of Kau-tsung [452—466 A. D.] the king of Suk-tak sent ambassadors to ask for their ransom, which was granted by cabinet order. From

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this time onward they sent no more tribute missions to our court."

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It will be seen that Mr. Kingsmill's mistakes are those of interpretation rather than of translation, though he was apparently not satisfied with my rendering 克姑臧 by the German "bei der Eroberung von Ku-tsang." 克, *k'o*, means "to conquer," whether you conquer a city, a country, or your own self. Cf. Giles, No. 6115: 攻城不克, "to attack a city and not conquer it," or "to make an unsuccessful attack upon a city." Mr. Kingsmill's "a party having entered Ku-tsang" is an absolute mistake. The relative clause 詔聽焉 is left untranslated. Apart from the different spelling of names, his mistakes are thus the only points in which Mr. Kingsmill's rendering differs materially from the one he found in my German paper. I, therefore, fail to see what induces him to say: "it is difficult to understand how he has been misled in the *translation* of a sufficiently simple passage."

As regards his interpretation, the one point of his disagreement, the identification of the country called An-ts'ai, is, of course, the pivot on which the entire question turns. Chang K'ién, in his report, merely placed on record what his friends at the Indoscythian court had told him. They were the same informants who supplied him with that interesting word *p'u-t'au* (葡萄), "the grape,"=Greek *βότρυς* according to Mr. Kingsmill's own happy idea, and who are known to have used coins with Greek legends as shown in Cunningham's papers on the "Coins of the Indoscythians" in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Chang K'ién's report on An-ts'ai is in my opinion the oldest example of the introduction into Chinese literature of a piece of classical lore, to wit, the story of the *Μαιῶτις λίμνη* with its vast extension to the north and its connection with the *Ὠκεανός*, here "the Northern Sea."

According to my view *Hu-ni* (忽倪, *Hut-ngai*) is Hernak, the youngest son of King Attila, who after the death of his father in 454 A. D. withdrew to the extreme parts of Scythia Minor ("Hernac quoque, junior Attilae filius, cum suis in extrema minoris Scythiae sedes delegit." Jordanes, ed. Mommsen, p. 127), which Strabo identifies with the present Crimea, and here according to Tomaschek the Alans had their city of Sogdak (Sudak, Soldaia, &c.) since 212 A. D. All this is, however, immaterial. The main point I wish to contest against Mr. Kingsmill is the

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identification of the term An-ts'ai, so sadly misunderstood by him. If once we are convinced that An-ts'ai, A-lan and Suk-tak must be the Alans of western sources, we are justified in drawing the following logical conclusions:

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1. Of the Alans we know from European sources that, just about three generations before the embassy sent to China by the state of Suk-tak (former Alans) in 457 A. D., they were conquered by the Huns.

2. Of the Suk-tak nation we learn in the *Weï-shu* that their ancestors, the An-ts'ai (Aorsi, Alans), three generations before their embassy of 457 A. D., were conquered by the Hiung-nu.

3. Since the same nation cannot at the same time be conquered by two different nations, the result is that **the Huns and the Hiung-nu are identical.** Q. E. D.

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Early Chinese notices of East African territories.—By Friedrich Hirth, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

The earliest accounts in Chinese literature of Western territories contain no allusions of any kind that we might interpret as referring to any part of the African Continent. The name Li-kan, or Li-kién, which occurs in Ssï-ma Ts'ién's *Shï-ki* (about 86 B. C.) is there coupled with that of T'iau-chï (Chaldaea), and since in records that date from a few generations later the term is persistently declared to be identical with that of Ta-ts'in, the Roman empire in its eastern provinces, I do not hesitate to look upon it as covering the Roman Orient, possibly including Egypt. This is also the case with the accounts of Ta-ts'in contained in the *Hóu-han-shu*,—applying mainly to the first century A. D.,—in which the direction of the silk trade via Antiochia Margiana, Ktesiphon, Hira and, by the periplus of the Arabian peninsula, to the silk-buying factories of the Phenician coast, such as Tyre, Sidon and Berytos, is clearly indicated.[1] Yet no mention of African ports can be traced back earlier than the beginning of the third century A. D., when fresh information, though transmitted unfortunately in sorely disfigured texts, had reached China. I refer to the account of the *Weï-lio*,[2] where the city of Alexandria is manifestly meant by the name Wu-ch'ï-san. I admit that the *Weï-lio* is not very clear in its details regarding the dependencies of Ta-ts'in; but the one passage I refer to leaves but little doubt that Wu-ch'ï-san is Alexandria. It says: "At the city of Wu-ch'ï-san, you travel by river on board ship one day, then make a round at sea, and after six days'

[1] For texts and translations *see* my *China and the Roman Orient*, Shanghai, 1885, passim.

[2] An historical work referring to one of the so-called "Three Kingdoms," the state of Weï (535 to 557 A. D.) and compiled between 239 and 265 A. D. *See* Chavannes, "Les pays d'occident d'après le Weï-lio" in *T'oung-pao*, Série ii, Vol. vi, No. 5, pp. 519, seq.

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passage on the great sea, arrive in this country [Tats'in, or its capital Antioch]." This, I hold, describes the journey from Alexandria to Antioch. The first character of the Chinese transcription, *wu* (black), may stand for *o* and *u* in the rendering of Indian sounds;[1] and it also represents the vocalic element of the first syllable (*a*, *o* or *e*) in the several west-Asiatic forms for "ebony," such as Persian *abnus*, in their Chinese equivalent *wu-man-tzï*.[2] The second character *ch'ï* (slow) stands for *di*,[3] and the three characters may be said to stand for *adisan* or *odisan*, thus furnishing a still recognizable distortion of the name *Alexandria*. Unfortunately Chinese texts have preserved nothing beyond that name, assuming our interpretation of its transcription is at all correct.

In point of age the next mention in Chinese literature of an African territory is an account applying probably to the beginning of the T'ang dynasty. It occurs in a text devoted to the Ta-shï, i. e., the Arabs of the Khalif empire, in the *T'ang-shu* (chap. 221B, p. 19), in a passage describing the extent of the Ta-shï dominions, "in the east of which there are the T'u-k'i-shï," i. e. the Türgäsh of the Old-Turkish stone inscriptions, the "south-west being connected with the sea." The Türgäsh being mentioned as the Eastern neighbors of the Ta-shï seems to indicate that the account belongs to the early part of the eighth century. It reads as follows:

"In the south-west [of the Ta-shï, or Arabs] is the sea and in the sea there are the tribes of *Po-pa-li* [in Cantonese and old Chinese *Put-pat-lik*, which I look upon as a transcription of *Barbarik*[4]]. These do not belong to any country, grow no grain, but live on meat and drink a mixture of milk and cow's blood; they wear no clothes, but cover their body with sheep-

[1] St. Julien, *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanscrits*, etc., Nos. 1313 and 1314.

[2] See my "Aus der Ethnographie des Tschau Ju-kua" in *Stzb. der philos. Klasse der K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1898, III p. 491, note 3.

[3] Julien, op. cit., p. 204 No. 1876; cf. Schlegel, "The Secret of the Chinese Method of Transcribing Foreign Sounds" in *T'oung-pao*, II, Vol. i, p. 249, who says it is pronounced *ti* at Amoy.

[4] *See* my paper "Chinese equivalents of the letter R in foreign names" in *Journ. of the China Branch, R. A. S.*, Vol. xxi (1886), p. 219. As there shown, final *t* in old Chinese stands for final *r*; *l* stands for *r*; and *t* before *l* (or *r*) becomes *l* (or *r*) by assimilation (*see* Schlegel in *T'oung-pao*, 1900, p. 109).

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skins. Their women are intelligent and graceful. The country produces great quantities of ivory and of the incense *o-mo* [in Cantonese *o-mut* = *omur*, standing for Persian *ambar*, i. e. ambergris]."

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"When the traveling merchants of Po-ssï (Persia) wish to go there for trade, they must go in parties of several thousand men, and having offered cloth cuttings and sworn a solemn oath (lit. "a blood oath") will proceed to trade."

Another account written generations before the *T'ang-shu*, the work of Óu-yang Siu completed in 1060 A. D., occurs in the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* by Tuan Ch'öng-shï, who died in 863 A. D. The transcription here used is identical with that of the *T'ang-shu*, viz: *Po-pa-li* (*Put-pat-lik* = Barbarik). Tuan Ch'öng-shï says (chap. 4, p. 3B seq.):

"The country of Po-pa-li is in the south-western sea. The people do not know how to grow grain and live on meat only. They are in the habit of sticking needles into the veins of cattle, thus drawing blood, which they drink raw, on having it mixed with milk. They wear no clothes, but cover their loins with sheep-skins. Their women are clean, white and upright. The inhabitants make their own countrymen prisoners, whom they sell to the foreign merchants at prices several times [more than what they would fetch at home]. The country produces only elephants' teeth and *a-mo* [ambergris]. If the Persian merchants wish to go to this county they form parties of several thousand men and make gifts of strips of cloth, and then everyone of them, including the very oldest men and tender youths, have to draw their blood wherewith to swear an oath, before they can dispose of their goods. From olden times they were not subject to any foreign country. In fighting they use elephants' teeth and ribs and the horns of wild oxen made into halberds, and they wear armour and have bows and arrows. They have 200,000 foot soldiers. The Ta-shï (Arabs) make constant raids upon them."

My identification of these two short accounts, which appear to be derived from a common source earlier than the year 863, is based chiefly on the great similarity which the Chinese transcription bears to the name of Berbera, the city and country on the east coast south of Abyssinia, and on the mention of ivory and ambergris as the chief products. Ambergris was as a matter of fact exported from the coast

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of Berbera.[1] The identification is, however, further supported by a later account of the same country in the *Chu-fan-chï* of Chau Ju-kua, who describes it under the name *Pi-pa-lo*, in Cantonese: *Pat-pa-lo*, which is another intelligible transcription of the foreign sound *Barbara*.

Chau ju-kua[2] describes the country as follows:

"The country of Pi-pa-lo contains four *chóu* (cities), the remaining places being villages rivalling each other in influence and might. The people worship heaven, they do not worship Buddha. The country produces many camels and sheep, and the ordinary food of the people consists of camels' flesh, milk and baked cakes. The country has ambergris [*lung-hién*, lit. "Dragon's Spittle," the standard word for ambergris, *see* Giles, No. 4508], big elephants' tusks and big rhinoceros horns. There are elephants' tusks which weigh over a hundred catties and rhinoceros horns of ten catties and more. There is also much putchuck, liquid storax, myrrh, and tortoise-shell of great thickness, for which there is great demand in other countries. Among the products there is further the "camel crane" [*lo-t'o-hau*, i. e., the ostrich]. It measures from the ground to the top of its head six or seven feet. It has wings and can fly, but not to any great height. There is an animal called

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[1] *See* Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du levant au moyen-âge*, ed. Furcy Raynaud, Leipzig, 1886, Vol. ii, pp. 571—574. The best quality is found on the coast of Berbera and Zinj (Renaudot, *Ancient accounts of India and China*, London, 1733, p. 64).

[2] Regarding this author *see* my papers "Die Länder des Islam nach chinesischen Quellen", *T'oung-pao*, Supplément, Vol. v, Leiden 1894, p. 12 seqq., and "Chao Ju-kua, a new source of mediaeval geography" in *Journal, R. A. S.*, 1896, p. 57 seqq. Chau Ju-kua probably wrote at the time of the last Abbaside caliph Mustasim (1242 to 1258 A. D.), since in his description of Bagdad ("Die Länder des Islam," etc., p. 41) he describes its king as a linear descendant of Mohammed the Prophet, and adds that the throne was handed down to his own times through twenty-two generations. If we look upon Cossai as the genealogical head of the several generations the sixth of which saw the prophet himself, the twenty-second was that of the caliph Mustasim. The latest date mentioned in Chau Ju-kua's work is 1210 A. D. In the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* by Chóu K'ü-feï, published in 1178, which goes over the same field as the *Chu-fan-chï* and from which about one-third of the matter placed on record by Chau Ju-kua has been copied (*see* K. Tsuboi, "Cheu Ch'üfe's Aufzeichnungen," etc., in *Actes, XIIe Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes, Rome*, 1899, Vol. ii, pp. 69-125). no mention is made of Pi-pa-lo.

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tsu-la [in Cantonese: *tso-lap*, a transcription of Arabic *zarafa*, the giraffe]. It resembles a camel in shape, an oxen in size, and it is of a yellow colour. Its front legs are five feet long, its hind legs only three feet. Its head is high up and turns upwards. Its skin is an inch thick. There is also a mule with brown, white and black stripes around its body. These animals wander about the mountain wilds; they are a variety of the camel. The people of the country are great huntsmen and hunt these animals with poisoned arrows."

Mr. W. W. Rockhill, who has collaborated with me in the publication of my translation of Chau Ju-kua's ethnographical sketches, holds that the "four cities" referred to are Berbera, the Malao of the Periplus, and Zeyla, the mart of the Aualites of the Periplus to the west of it; and to the east of Berbera, Mehet or Mait, the Moundon of the Greeks, and Lasgori or Guesele, the Mosullon of the Greeks. He refers to Ibn Batuta (II, 180), who says of Zeyla that it was an important city, but extremely dirty and bad-smelling on account of the custom of the people of killing camels in the streets. He also notes that the sheep of this country are famous for their fat. At Mukdashau, our Magadoxo or Mugdishu, he says, they killed several hundred camels a day for food. In the first century A. D. the Periplus mentions myrrh, a little frankincense, tin, ivory, tortoise-shell, odoriferous gums and cinnamon among the exports of the Berbera coast.

The Chinese name "camel-crane" is a translation of the Persian name of the ostrich, *shutur-murgh*, meaning "camel-bird" (Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, London 1888, Vol. i, p. 144, note 392). Chóu K'ü-feï refers to the "camel-crane" in similar terms in his account of the Zinj tribes, but he adds that it eats all possible things, even blazing fire or red-hot copper or iron. In other words he justifies its wellknown characteristic, which is conveyed in the popular adage the "stomach of an ostrich." The Chinese author speaking of the camel as the animal from which the "striped mule" is descended would seem strange, if we did not assume that his remark on that point refers to the three animals, the ostrich, the giraffe and the mule. It certainly holds good for the giraffe, which, as Mr. Rockhill points out, was held by some to be a variety of camel, e. g. by Mas'udi (*Prairies d'or*, III 3). Mr. Rockhill has the following note regarding the striped mule of Pi-pa-lo: "This, I suppose,

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is the same animal as the *hua-fu-lu*, or "spotted *fu-lu*," of the *Ming-shï*, 326. Bretschneider (*Ancient Chinese and Arabs*, 21 note 7) says that "the *hua fu-lu* is probably the Hippotigris Burchelii, or Douw, the *Tiger-horse* of the ancients, which was brought several times to Rome from Africa. It inhabits the deserts of Eastern Africa, between the equator and the tenth degree of northern latitude, whilst the two other species of this genus of the horse family, the *Zebra* and the *Quagga*, are to be met with only in Southern Africa." Mr. Rockhill refers to Barbosa, who says that the people of Magadoxo "use herbs with their arrows."

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There can be but little doubt that the Chinese account of Pi-pa-lo refers to Berbera, and this involves a broad hint as to the identification of another sketch of Chau Ju-kua's which is found in the *Chu-fan-chï* under the designation *Chung-li*. It reads as follows:

"The people of the country of Chung-li go bareheaded and barefooted; they wrap themselves about with cotton stuffs, for they dare not wear jackets, since wearing jackets and turbans is a privilege reserved for the ministers and courtiers of the king. The king lives in a brick house covered with glazed tiles, the people live in huts of palm-leaves thatched with grass. Their daily food consists in baked flour-cakes, sheep's and camel's milk. There are great numbers of cattle, sheep and camels."

"Among the countries of the Ta-shï (Arabs) this is the only one which produces frankincense."

"There are many sorcerers among them, who are able to change themselves into birds, beasts or fish and by these means keep the ignorant people in a state of terror. If some one of them while trading with a foreign ship has a quarrel, the sorcerers cast a charm over the ship, so that it can neither go forward or backward, and they only release the ship when the dispute has been settled. The government has formally forbidden this practice."

"Every year countless numbers of birds of passage alight on the desert parts of the country. When the sun rises they suddenly vanish so that one cannot find a trace of them. The people catch them with nets and eat them; they are remarkably savoury. They are in season till the end of spring, but as

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soon as summer comes they disappear to return the following year."

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"When one of the people dies and they are about to put him in his coffin, his kinsfolks from near and far come to condole. Each person flourishing a sword in his hand, goes in and asks the mourners the cause of the person's death. 'If he was killed by someone', each one says, 'we will revenge him on the murderer with these swords.' Should the mourners reply that he was not murdered, but came to his end by the will of heaven, they throw away their swords and break into violent wailing."

"Every year there are driven on the coast a great many dead fish measuring as much as twenty *ch'ang* in length, and two *ch'ang* through the body. The people do not eat the flesh of these fish, but cut out their brains, marrow and eyes, from which they get oil, often as much as three hundred *töng*. They mix this oil with lime to caulk their ships, and use it also in lamps. The poor people use the ribs of these fish as rafters, the back-bones as door-leaves and they cut off the vertebræ to make mortars with."

"There is a *shan* [hill, range of hills, island, promontory, or high coast] in this country which forms the boundary of Pi-pa-lo [Berbera]. It is 4,000 *li* in circumference; for the most part it is uninhabited. Dragon's blood is obtained from this *shan* [hill, island, etc.], also aloes, and from the waters, tortoise-shell and ambergris [*lung-hiên*, lit. Dragon's Spittle]."

"It is not known whence ambergris comes; it suddenly appears in lumps of from three to five catties, driven on the shore by the wind. The people of the country make haste to divide it up, lest ships run across it at sea and fish it up."

The essential point in the identification of this country of Chung-li is the mention of a *shan*, which may mean "a range of hills," at the boundary of Pi-pa-lo (Berbera). This port, well-known to the Arabs of the thirteenth century, was indeed separated from the adjoining high plateau by a range of hills, the natural boundary between the territory of Berbera and Somaliland. The extent of the *shan*, in this case "a plateau," being stated to be 4,000 *li*, would point to a large tract of land. I would not lay too much stress on the name Chung-li;

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but final *ng* has been used to transcribe final *m* (*see* Julien, *Méthode*, etc., Nos. 485 and 486: *kang* for Sanscrit *kam* and *gham*); *chung*, middle, is pronounced *tsung* at Shanghai, and *ts* is quite commonly interchanged with initial *s*, e. g. in the title *sengün*, "a general," of the Old-Turkish stone inscriptions, which stands for Chinese *tsiang-kün*. Chung-li may thus possibly be a transcription of the sound *Somali* or *Somal*. Another important characteristic is the remark that this country is the only one among the Ta-shï, or Arab, territories which produces frankincense. This, even if we admit the coast of Hadramaut to have participated in this industry, is a broad hint as to its identification with Somaliland[1].

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Mr. Rockhill is of the opinion that the island of Socôtra corresponds to Chau Ju-kua's Chung-li, and in support of this view he quotes a number of interesting parallels from mediaeval authors. Thus the aloe, mentioned as one of the products of Chung-li, is referred to by Mas'udi (III, 37), who calls it *socotri* from the name of the island; Marco Polo (II, 398-399, Yule, 2nd ed.) says of its people, "they have a great deal of ambergris," and he relates the almost identical story told by Chau Ju-kua more than a century before him in connection with his Chung-li. He says (p. 399): "And you must know that in this Island there are the best enchanters in the world. It is true that their Archbishop forbids the practise to the best of his ability, but 'tis all to no purpose, for they insist that their forefathers followed it, and so must they also. I will give you a sample of their enchantments. Thus, if a ship be sailing past with a fair wind and a strong, they will raise a contrary wind and compel her to turn back. In fact they make the wind blow as they list and produce great tempests and disasters; and other such sorceries they perform, which

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[1] F. A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*, 3rd. ed., Berlin 1891, p. 45 seqq.: "Die Bäume, welche den Weihrauch liefern, wachsen im Lande der Somalistämme, im äußersten Osten Afrikas, sowie auch auf den jenseits liegenden südostarabischen Küstenstrichen Hadramaut, Schehr und Mahrah." "Der meiste und geschätzteste Weihrauch wird im nordöstlichen Somalilande gesammelt." "In Arabien eingeführter oder dort gesammelter Weihrauch nimmt auch die Namen arabischer Landschaften an, z. B. Schehr, Morbat, Dhofar." In a special chapter on frankincense Chau Ju-kua mentions just these three places as producers of the drug.

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it will be better to say nothing about in our Book." Chau Ju-kua is less discreet, when he informs us that the sorcerers of Chung-li changed themselves into birds or fish, in order to terrorize the population. According to him "the Government has forbidden such practices." This applies in Socotra to the "Archbishop,"—in reality as late as 1281 a bishop ordained by the Nestorian patriarch of Bagdad (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* IV, p. 780). Rockhill quotes two other stories of sorcerers, one from Purchas' Pilgrims (IX, 254), who quotes Friar Joanno dos Santos (A. D. 1597) as describing quite a similar trick practised by a great sorcerer on the isle of Zanzibar, and another, mentioned by Ibn Batuta (IV, 227), of sorcerers on an island in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, who "raised storms by enchantment when vessels did not pay the customary tribute."

Taking into account the parallels to which Mr. Rockhill has drawn attention, I feel tempted to accept his suggestion as regards Socotra. The translation of *shan* by "a rocky island" is certainly unobjectionable, and since nearly all that can be shown to apply to Socotra from western sources occurs in the text after the words "there is a *shan* in this country," etc., the concluding part of the chapter may be regarded as an appendix to the account of Chung-li describing this outlying island of Socotra. The *shan* being stated to measure "four thousand *li* in circumference" fairly corresponds to the ideas current among western geographers of the period, if we look upon the *li* not as the Chinese *li*, but as the thirtieth part of a parasang, or a stadium, in which sense I have shown it is to be taken in the identifications of several western Asiatic itineraries (*see* my *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 222-225). Four thousand *li* would thus be equal to 133 parasangs. This may be an exaggerated estimate of the size of the island, but scarcely more so than the statements of Yakut (Wüstenfeld III p. 102, quoting al Hamadani) and Abulfeda (*Geogr. d'A.*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, p. 371,—kindly furnished to me by Prof. Gottheil),—who state that the length of Socotra alone was "eighty parasangs."

This part of the coast of Africa was certainly well-known and much frequented by Arab and Persian traders during the thirteenth century. Chau Ju-kua is well acquainted with its products such as frankincense, aloe, dragon's blood

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and ambergris, and since all these were staple articles of the Chinese market, we may infer that direct commerce was carried on through the mediation of Arab skippers plying between Ts'üan-chóu-fu (Zaitun) and Canton in the Far East and the several ports *en route*, including those of Africa, and their Arabian homes. We need not be astonished, therefore, to find that remnants of the mediaeval intercourse between the coasts of China and Eastern Africa have actually been discovered. In April 1898 two small collections of Chinese coins were sent to me for identification, one by Dr. F. L. Stuhlmann, now at the head of the biological and agricultural Institute at Amani (East Africa), the other by Mr. Justus Strandes, both well-known African travellers. Dr. Stuhlmann wrote me that his collection of eight coins had been excavated in the neighbourhood of Mugdishu on the Somali coast together with a great many broken pieces of Chinese céladon porcelain, vitreous paste and Arabic coins; Mr. Strandes, who had purchased his collection of seven coins at the same place, wrote in similar terms. Both collections are now in the "Museum für Völkerkunde" of Berlin. The several coins were unfortunately in a bad state of preservation, but they were without exception of the Chinese type, i. e. round with a square hole and of bronze.

Those coins the legends of which I was able to identify are all dated from before the beginning of the thirteenth century, the eleventh and twelfth centuries being chiefly represented. I am, therefore, inclined to ascribe them to the very period covered by Chau Ju-kua's account of Chung-li, which, owing to the fact that the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* of 1178 contains no mention of these territories, must be placed between this date and Chau Ju-kua's time, *i. e.* about 1242 A. D. Chinese junks have visited Mugdishu in 1430 (*see* my *Ancient Porcelain*, Shanghai, 1888, p. 62 and note 155), but since no coins of the Ming Dynasty could be traced in the two small collections, unless they were among the few hopelessly disfigured unidentified specimens, I conclude that these unique traces of Chinese intercourse so far discovered had nothing to do with that later period.

Of the east coast south of Somaliland we possess short accounts of an island called *Ts'öng-pa* and of a country *K'un-lun-tsöng-ki*, both by Chau Ju-kua.

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Ts'öng-pa, in Cantonese *Ts'ang-pat*, may be a transcription of *Zanguebar*, or *Zanzibar*.

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Chau Ju-kua's text runs as follows:

"The Ts'öng-pa country is an island of the sea south of Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat]. On the west it borders on a great mountain."

"The inhabitants are of Ta-shï stock and follow the religion of the Ta-shï. They wrap themselves in blue foreign cotton stuffs and wear red leather shoes. Their daily food consists of meal, baked cakes and mutton."

"There are many villages and wooded hills, and lines of hills rising one above the other."

"The climate is warm, and there is no cold season. The products of the land include elephants' tusks, native gold, or gold bullion, ambergris and yellow sandalwood."

"Every year Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat] and the Ta-shï settlements along the sea-coast send ships to trade white cotton cloth, porcelain, copper and red *ki-pei* [cotton] in this country."

The chief difficulty in the explanation of this account is the mention of sandalwood among the products of the country, since it is not likely that Indian, Timorese, or far-eastern varieties were brought to this out-of-the-way part of the Indian Ocean as a market. I do not know whether the dye made of the rock-moss, or orchil, of Zanzibar may possibly be confounded with some dye made of sandalwood. The mistake might perhaps be accounted for in this way.

On the other hand we have unmistakeable evidence of the importation of Chinese porcelain. The late Dr. W. S. Bushell, in a review of my book on "Ancient Porcelain" (*North-China Daily News*, May 9th, 1888) has the following remarks on this point:

"Arabian writers tell us of fleets of large Chinese junks in the Persian Gulf in the eighth century, and the return voyage of Marco Polo in the suite of a Mongol Princess from Zayton to Hormuz is well-known. The "Chu Fan-chi," a book on foreign countries by Chao Ju-kua, an author of the Sung Dynasty, was published a century before the time of Marco Polo. Dr. Hirth quotes this to trace the export of porcelain even as far as the coast of Zanzibar, the great African mart of ivory and ambergris, which is described

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under the name of Ts'eng-p'o. I may add that Sir John Kirk during his residence as Consul-General at Zanzibar, made a collection of ancient Chinese céladon porcelain, which he took to the British Museum last year. Some of it was dug up, I believe from ruins, mixed with Chinese cash of the Sung Dynasty, a striking confirmation of the Chinese writer, who was Inspector of Foreign Trade and Shipping in Fuhkien Province."

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A Door from the Madrasah of Barḳūḳ.—By Richard J. H. Gottheil, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

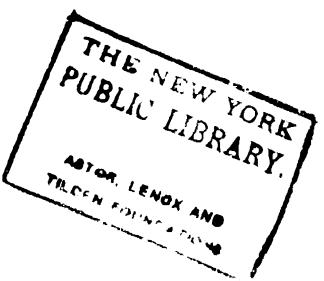
The doors, of which a separate photograph for each wing is here given, are to-day placed in the entrance to the Hispanic Museum in New York City. They were bought in Cairo some years ago by Mr. Archer Huntington and belong to the finest period of Egypto-Muhammedan metal work. The doors are in a perfect condition; and though it looks as if in one or two places they had been restored, the restoration has been so cleverly done that it is hardly apparent. Each wing is made of wood completely covered with bronze. Along the sides the metal is very thin, and artistically kept in place by nails forming diminutive rosettes. The rest of the wood is covered with thick pieces of metal so cut as to form polygonal rosettes the angles of which are filled up or embossed so that the rosettes stand out in relief. All of the embossed work, again, is damaskeened with silver and part of the unembossed surface is damaskeened with gold. Each leaf has a finely chiseled knocker placed about two-thirds of the way up. The inscription commences at the lower end of the right-hand leaf and is of silver damaskeened in placques of bronze. It is in the late Naskhi form of the Mameluke period, and reads as follows: عز لمولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر سيف الدنيا والدين ابو سعيد برقوق سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين ذُخر الايتام والمساكين نُصرة الغُزات والمجاهدين وكان الفراغ فى شهر ربيع الاول سنة سبعماية وثمان وثمانين هجرية.

"Glory to our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Saif al-dunya wal-dīn Abu Sa'īd Barḳūḳ, Sultan of Islām and the Muhammedans, the one who is munificent to orphans and to the poor, the help of warriors and of those who fight for the faith. It was finished in the month Rabī' al-Awwal in the year seven hundred and eighty eight of the Hijra."

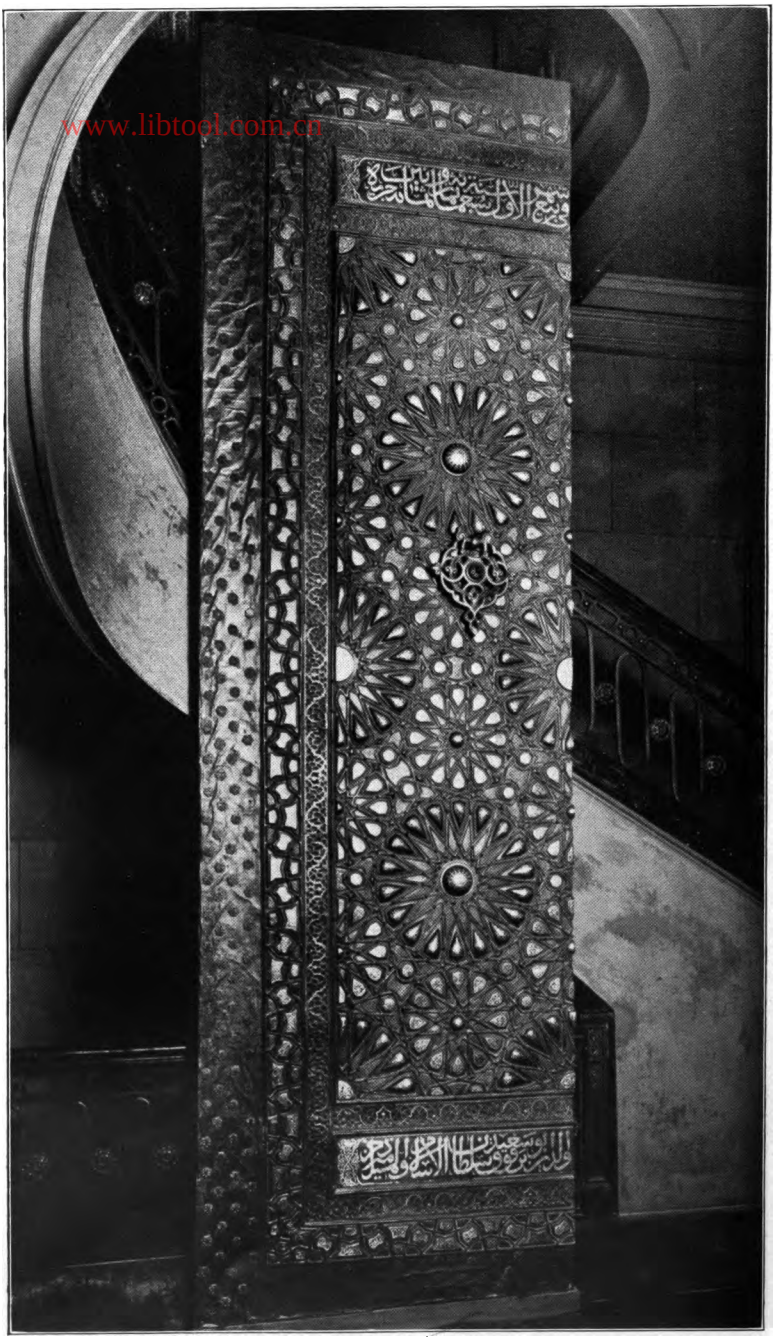
On the bosses of the four central rosettes is the name برقوق. In the centre of the rosettes in the middle which are

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A door from

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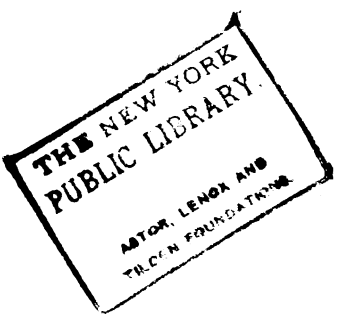


the Madrasah of Barḳūḳ.

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divided into halves there are also inscriptions which I have not been able to decipher satisfactorily.

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It is quite evident that we have here a door from a building put up by the Burjī Mamluke Ẓāhir Saif al-Dīn Barḳūḳ who came to the throne in 784 A. H. (= 1382 A. D.). The doors were finished in April of the year 1386. It is also evident that the doors come from the Barḳuḳiyyah[1] or, as it is called, the Ẓāhiriyyah al-Jadīdah—the Madrasah built by Barḳūḳ in the Sūḳ al-Naḥḥāsīn, which served also as a convent for the Sufis. Van Berchem has given in his Corpus a number of other inscriptions similar to the one on these doors. The Madrasah has been often restored; within recent years by Herz Bey.

The inscription, however, contains one or two difficulties which it is to hard surmount. I do not refer to the form ابو for ابى; that is not at all uncommon; but to the manner in which the date is expressed. The hundreds placed first is not an impossible construction, as compound numbers in Arabic can be expressed either in an ascending or a descending scale. But here the units are placed between the hundred and the decade, which will not do at all. Indeed, the whole order of the numerals is unusual in inscriptions. In many hundreds of inscriptions coming from Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia I have not found one case in which the order of the numerals is other than that of the ascending scale.

In addition to this, the last word of the inscription هجرية is uncommon. The expressions used are: للهجرة and للهجرة المحمدية, من الهجرة النبوية المحمدية, من الهجرة النبوية المحمدية. The only other case in which I have found it used is in the inscription of Aḥmad ibn Muẓaffar al-dīn ʿUthmān ibn Mankūrus on the fortress of Muhēlbah in Northern Syria.[2] The want of space may have occasioned the use of the shortened form in our inscription.

It would be hazardous to pronounce a judgment upon the genuineness of this door. But, it is surprising that Van Berchem in his Corpus of the Arabic inscriptions at Cairo[3] mentions

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[1] See Van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pp. 297 et seq.; Baedeker, *Egypte*, (1903), p. 64; *Manuel d'art Musulman*, I (par H. Saladin) pp. 140 et seq.; II (par G. Migeon), pp. 196, 209, 232.

[2] Van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie* (Le Caire 1897), p. 86.

[3] *loc. cit.* p. 304.

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the fact that in the year 1893 a dealer, Hatoun, in the Mouski of that city, had for sale a door very similar (to judge from the description given by Van Berchem) to the one at present under discussion. The inscription is exactly similar to the one I have given, only with the word هجرية omitted. Van Berchem could not find any reason for the slightest suspicion and pronounced the door to be genuine; but Herz Bey pronounced it to be a piece of modern work manufactured in the selfsame year 1893, and his judgment was supported by others on the spot.[1]

To add to the difficulty, Migeon, in his *Manuel d'art Musulman*, II, p. 196, gives a reproduction of a mosque door which in every artistic particular is an exact copy of the one under discussion, with the exception of the outer border which has less rows of nails than has the door in the Hispanic Museum. The inscription, however, is different and is similar both in the upper and lower bands:

عز لمولانا السلطان المجاهد محمد الناظر سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين

"Glory to our master the Sultan, the fighter for the faith, Muhammad al-Nāẓir Sultan of Islām and the Muhammedans," i. e. Nāsir al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Ḳalā'ūn, who ruled several times in Egypt towards the end of the 13th century. Migeon states that these doors are in the Arabic Museum in Cairo; but I can not find them mentioned in the latest edition of the Catalogue of that Museum.[2]

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[1] *loc. cit.* p. 770.

[2] *Catalogue raisonné des monuments exposés dans le Musée Nationale de l'art Arabe* . . . par Herz Bey (2nd Ed.). Le Caire 1906. pp. 173, 177, 212.

Postscript (August 18. 1908). In a letter, dated July 15. 1909, Herz Bey confirms my suspicions in regard to the genuineness of the doors. He writes that they were made in the year 1892 by an Arab workman named ʿAlī al-Shiyashī (علي الشيشي) for the Cairo Street of the Midway Plaisance in the Chicago World's Fair. ʿAlī, however, could not come to an understanding with the managers of the "Street" in regard to the price, and the doors remained in Cairo, where they passed into the possession of the dealer Hatoun.

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A Hymn to Bêl (Tablet 29623, CT. XV, Plates 12 and 13).—By Frederick A. Vanderburgh, Ph. D., Columbia University, New York City.

The following is one of the collection of twelve unilingual non-Semitic Babylonian hymns copied from tablets in the British Museum by Mr. L. W. King, M. A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, and published in "Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum by Order of the Trustees," Volume XV.

Dr. J. Dyneley Prince, Professor of Semitic Languages in Columbia University, and myself have now translated the whole collection. Professor Prince has published three: viz., "To the Goddess Bau;" "To the God Nergal," and "To the Goddess Girgilu." "I have published in my "Sumerian Hymns" four: "To Bêl;" "To Sin;" "To Adad;" and "To Tammuz." I have another "To Bêl" that is expected to appear in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, and still another "To Bêl" is in preparation. The one of which a transliteration, translation and commentary are given in this Article is the fourth and last one "To Bêl" in the collection.

I am not aware that the hymn treated in this Article has ever been translated before or published.

This hymn in which Bêl is addressed in both the Eme-Ku and the Eme-Sal dialects of the non-Semitic literature of Babylonia must be recognized as very ancient. It is evident that Bêl is invoked here as the ruler of the nations in the same spirit in which he is honored in the inscriptions of the kings of the predynastic and early dynastic periods from the time of En-šag-kušanna until the time of Ḫammurabi. When the hymn was composed, Nippur, Ur and Larsa, the three cities therein mentioned, were flourishing towns.

Our copy of the hymn, however, is not Old-Babylonian, but New-Babylonian. While the composition is very old, the copy is not. For example, GIR or ELIM, MA, LUL, TA, KAN, BU are Old-Babylonian, but the following signs are New-

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Babylonian: BIT, ZI, UN, AN, KIT, GA, DA, MI, TUR, IM, EN, NE, DAMAL, AZAG, KA, MAḪ, ŠIŠ, BI.

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This hymn is apparently the most beautiful and interesting one of the four addressed to Bêl in CT. XV, 7-30. The conception of the subject is very picturesque and the lyrical quality characteristic of the religious literature of the Semitic race is fully as apparent here as in other Babylonian hymns. The thought is wrought into rhythmic stichs for recitation in divine service with some traces of strophic division. The essential attributes of the god and the power he exercises over the lands are dwelt upon, but, above all, attention seems to be focused on the heroic administration of Bêl in the conquest of an insubordinate city.

As to thought and form of statement, the hymn is clearly divided into three parts. Lines one to nine contain descriptive epithets of Bêl's divine attributes. (1) Bêl is known as the 'mighty one,' expressed by the Assyrian *kabtu*, synonymous with either *gùr* or *elim*, and suggestive of the Scriptural idea 'almighty.' (2) Bêl was 'lord of the lands;' this *umun* corresponds to the Semitic *bêlu*, 'proprietor' of the lands: a 'lord' was an 'owner.' As Anu was the heaven god, Sin the moon god, Šamaš the sun god, Ištar the star deity, so Bêl was the earth god. (3) Bêl was a 'righteous' god, being called 'lord of righteous command.' (4) Bêl was a god of 'providence,' being 'father of the word of destiny.' (5) Bêl's particular care reached over the Babylonians; he was 'shepherd of the black-headed.' (6) Bêl was a god of vengence, a 'wild bull executing judgment on the enemy.' (7) Bêl was omniscient, 'the all-seeing one.'

Lines ten to twenty particularize the location of Bêl's dominion. The seat of his cult was Nippur, but he was honored also in Ur and Larsa. His temple, E-kur, was located in Nippur, whither kings and princes from distant lands came to do him homage.

In lines one to twenty it may be noticed that with a single exception a characteristic praise-refrain is observed in every stich.

At the end of line twenty there is a decided change in style. Lines twenty-one to thirty-four delineate the experiences of a city in siege under the surveillance of Bêl. Water and corn supplies are cut off. Scenes of famine are sketched and also

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of conflagration and pillage. As the result the fear of Bêl extends over the lands.

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Transliteration and Translation.

Obverse.

1. *ni-tuk gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-zu igi*(ŠI)-*ê*(BIT) — — — —
Thou art the mighty one of old; thy desirable city — —
2. *elim-ma ni-tuk gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-zu igi*(ŠI)-*ê*(BIT) —
O king, thou art the mighty one of old; thy desirable city — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
3. *ù-mu-un kúr-kúr-ra-ge*(KIT) *gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-* — —
O lord of the lands, the mighty one of old; city — —
4. *ù-mu-un sag-ga zi-da gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-* — — — —
O lord, head of life, the mighty one of old; city — — —
5. *dimmer mu-ul-lil*(KIT) *a-a ì*(KA) *na-âm-mă*(MAL) — *ne*
O Bêl, father of the word of destiny; — — — — — —
6. *siba sag gìg*(MI)-*ga gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-* — — — — —
O shepherd of the black-headed, the mighty one of old; city — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
7. *i-de gaba nì*(IM)-*te-na gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-* — — — —
O thou who art by thyself the all-seeing one, the mighty one of old; city — — — — — — — — — — —
8. *ama erim*(ṢAB)-*na di-di gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-* — — —
O thou wild bull executing judgment on the enemy, the mighty one of old; city — — — — — — — — — —
9. *ù-lul-la ma-ma gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-* — — — — — —
O thou powerful one of the countries, the mighty one of old; city — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
10. *eri-zu en-lil*(KIT)-*ki-zu gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) — — — — —
In thy city thy Nippur, the mighty one of old; — — —
11. *še-ib ê*(BIT)-*kúr-ra-ta gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) — — — — — —
In the foundation of E-kur, the mighty one of old; — —
12. *ki damal ki gal-ta gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) — — — — — — —
In the broad land the great land, the mighty one of old; —
13. *dú*(TUL) *agaz ki azag-ta gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) — — — — —
In the glorious dwelling of the glorious land, the mighty one of old; — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

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14. *šà*(LÌB)-*ê*(BIT) *dîm-ma-ta gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) — — — —
In the midst of the house of the king, the mighty one of old; — — — — — — — — — — — — —

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15. *ê*(BIT) *ká maḫ-ta gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) — — — — — — —
In the house of the high gate, the mighty one of old; —

16. *ê*(BIT) *gà*(MAL) *nun maḫ-ta gùr* (KIL) *šâ*(Ù) — — *ka*
In the firm house of the exalted prince, the mighty one of old; — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

17. *ma-mu šu-a-ta gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) — — — — — — — *ka*
In the entrance of my land, the mighty one of old; — —

18. *ma ê*(BIT)-*gal maḫ-ta gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) — — — — — *ka*
In the land of the exalted temple, the mighty one of old; — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

19. *še-ib ùru-unu-ki-ma-ta gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-* — — *ne ka*
In the foundation of Ur, the mighty one of old; — — —

20. *še-ib utu-unu-ki-ma-ta gùr*(KIL) *šâ*(Ù) *eri-zu* — — *ne ka*
In the foundation of Larsa, the mighty one of old; — —

21. *eri a-dug*(KA)-*ga a-gi-a-zu*
A city striveth; it is turned away by thee.

22. *a-dug*(KA)-*ga a-ta gár*(ŠA)-*ra-zu*
It striveth; it is shut off from water by thee.

23. *eri še-kud*(TAR)-*da ki-lal-a-zu*
It is a city with corn cut off; it is blocked by thee.

Reverse.

24. [*nu*]-*nag nu-nag-a ud-zal*(NI)-*zal*(NI)-*la dì*(RI)
They drink not, they drink not; the morning dawneth.

25. *dam tur-ra-ge*(KIT) *dam-mu mu-ni-ib-bi*
To the young spouse, one crieth "My spouse."

26. *dû*(TUR) *tur-ra-ge*(KIT) *dû*(TUR)-*mu mu-ni-ib-bi*
To the little child, one crieth "My child."

27. *ki-el-e šes-mu mu-ni-ib-bi*
The maid crieth "My brother."

28. *eri-ta damal gan-e dû*(TUR)-*mu mu-ni-ib-bi*
In the city the bountiful mother crieth "My child."

29. *dû*(TUR) *bàn*(TUR)-*da a-a-mu mu-ni-ib-bi*
To the strong man one crieth "My father."

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30. *tur-e al-è*(UD. DU) *maḫ-e al-è*(UD. DU)
The small (flames) break out, the great (flames) break out.

31. *e-sir*(BU) *e-gub*(DU)-*ba mu-un-sar-ri-ni*(NIN)
On the street they stand, they cry.

32. *sal-la-bi ur-e ám*(A. AN)-*da-ab-lá*
Their booty men bear away.

33. *sìg*(PA) *gan-bi mu bar-ri ám*(A. AN)-*da-ab-lá*
The staff of their youth the king of judgment beareth away.

34. *ki e-ne ki-zu-ge*(KIT) *ba-e-nì*(IM)
Those lands are in fear of thy land.

ušu(EŠ) *za êr*(A. ŠI) *lìm*(*b*)(LUL)-*ma dingir en-lil*(KIT)-*a-kam*
34 (lines) Penitential hymn to Bêl.

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Commentary.

1. *ni-tuk*: *ni*, a common pronominal verbal prefix of the second person; tuk means primarily 'seize,' 'have,' and then in an intransitive relation, 'be present,' 'be.'

gùr(KIL): the question might arise whether the sign is not IZ; it occurs nineteen times in the tablet; the wedges seem to make an enclosure of an equilateral rectangle, as is always intended in KIL, but usually in the sign IZ, the horizontal dimension is greater than the vertical. For examples of IZ in this collection of hymns in CT. XV, see Plates 10 : 24; 11 : 13, 14, 15 and 16; 14 : 35; 16 : 6; and 19 : 25. For examples of KIL, see Plates 7 : 27; 9 : 2 and 3; and 19 : 24, 27 and 28. Also cf. sign-lists of Delitzsch in Assyrische Lesestücke, vierte Auflage, and Amiaud in Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babylonienne et Assyrienne Archaiques et Modernes, *gùr* equals *kabtu*. If the sign is IZ, the value is *geš*, equal to *idlu*, 'hero.'

šâ(Ù) equals *labîru*, 'old;' see Prince's Hymn to Nergal in JAOS, XXVIII, pp. 168-182. Brummer, in Die Sumerischen Verbal-Afformative nach den ältesten Keilinschriften, explains Ù as a compound sign, equal to ŠI, 'eye,' plus LU, 'take away;' giving the meaning 'take away the eye,' 'become old,' 'elderly.'

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eri or the Eme-Ku *ŭru* equals *alu*, 'city,' and *zu* is the common pronominal suffix 'thy,' phonetically cognate with the personal pronoun *za-e*; the value *eri* for ER occurs in the ideogram for *eridu*; see Creation Legend, Tablet 82-5-22, 1048, CT. XIII, 35-38, Obverse, line 8, *eridu* (ERI. ḪI) *ul ba-ni.*

igi (ŠI)-*ê* (BIT): the erasure of the last end of this line precludes satisfactory explanation of this word, although ŠI. BIT is sometimes equal to *amâru*, 'see,' *igi* commonly having the meaning 'eye' and *ê* the meaning 'house;' i. e. 'eye-structure.'

2. *elim-ma*: by the process of gunation, several signs have developed from GIR; for example, KIŠ by the addition of MIN, ANŠU by the addition of PA, ḪUS by the addition of ḪI, AZ by the addition of UD, UK by the addition of ZA, and ELIM, or more exactly ALIM, by the addition of ÊR (A. ŠI). The sign in the text is somewhat indistinct; it appears to be GIR, but MA as a phonetic complement would indicate that the sign was ELIM. GIR equals 'power'. ELIM means 'lord,' 'king.'

3. *ù-mu-un*, phonetic representation, is sometimes ideographically represented by the corner wedge Ù; the value *umun* may be shortened to *u* or *mun* or *un*, or it can be lengthened to *ù-mu-un-e*, having the defining vowel *e*, as in Plate 10 : 3 where Bêl is spoken of, and Plate 17 : 2 and 3 where Sin is spoken of. *umun* equals 'lord' (*u*) plus 'being' (*mun*).

kúr, 'mountain,' 'land,' is probably etymologically connected with *ku*, *ašâbu*, *šubtu*, 'dwell,' 'dwelling': *ku* being possibly a shortened form of *kúr. ge* (KIT) is a common sign of genitive relation: 'lord *of* lands.'

4. *sag-ga*: the sign is quite clearly SAG, but perhaps the clause is the same as the last clause in Plate 10 : 4, if so, the reading should be, 'lord of righteous command,' with *dug* (KA)-*ga* instead of *sag-ga*, *dug-ga* being equal to *ḳibîtu*, 'command,' and *zi* (*d*)-*da* being equal to *kênu*, 'righteous;' see Vanderburgh, Sumerian Hymns, p. 27.

5. *mu-ul-lil* (KIT) is Eme-Sal for *en-lil* (*el-lil*), *mul* (*wul*) being dialectically equal to *en* (*el*). The meaning of *lil* is somewhat confused by the word's having been wrongly connected with *zaḳîḳu*, 'wind;' it more properly means 'structure,' 'fulness.'

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a-a is the common word for 'father,' how it comes to mean 'father' is somewhat obscure; it may be shortened from *ad-da*, where *ad* equals *abu*. *a* primarily means 'water,' but also means 'father,' perhaps as 'seed-producer.' *a-a* is probably a phonetically lengthened *a* equal to *abu*.

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ì(KA): the meaning of KA here is not distinctly indicated. KA is a sign which has many meanings, but the one sometimes represented by *ì* gives tolerably good sense here. *na-àm-mă*(MAL) is phonetic and is a lengthened form for *nam* which equals *šîmtu*.

6. *siba* means 'he who grasps the staff,' and is the common word for 'shepherd,' though LAḪ. BA sometimes stands for 'shepherd.' *sag-gìg*(MI)-*ga*, equal to *ṣalmât ḳaḳḳadi*, is an often repeated designation for Babylonians, as subjects of Bêl or some other ruler.

7. *i-de* is Eme-Sal for *igi*(ŠI), equal to *înu*, 'eye.' *gaba* equals *pitû*, 'open.' *nì*(IM)-*te* equals *ramânu*, 'self,' although the original meaning is 'fear,' yet when applied to the one who causes fear it comes to mean 'self.' *nì-te* literally means 'fear a fear.' *i-de gaba nì-te-na* then means 'open eyed by thyself,' *na* being a pronominal suffix equal to *-ka*.

8. *ama*: AMMU originally represented the 'bull of the mountain,' while the same form ungunated by the addition of the sign KÚR, 'mountain,' being a picture of the bull's head. represented the domestic bull. *erim*(ṢAB)-*na* equals 'warrior,' 'soldier,' 'enemy,' and *di*, 'to judge.' The whole expression ama *erim-na di-di* occurs in Plate 10 : 7.

9. *ù-lul-la*: *ù* is sometimes a nominal prefix, having a determinative force, like *a* in *a-lig*; see Plate 19 : 2 and 3, also Plate 20 : 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9; see MSL. p. XVII, and *ù-tu*, Br. 1070. LUL sometimes equals *dannu*, see Br. 7268 and 7276. Its original form was that of a gunated GIR; in the copy of Tablet 13963, Plate 10 : 8, it has been mistaken for GIR, as this line clearly shows.

ma-ma: MA is not so common an ideogram as KÚR; MA means 'earth,' KÚR means 'mountain.' MA. DA, 'strong land,' seems to be original and the Assyrian *mâtu* a loan-word. Besides MA and KÚR there seem to be two other Sumerian ideograms for *mâtu*, namely KALAM and sometimes KI.

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10. *en-lil*(KIT)-*ki*, 'land of Bêl,' common ideogram for 'Nippur.'

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11. *še-ib* equals *šeb*, the Eme-Sal value for GAR which is equal to the Eme-Ku *šeg* no doubt; the Assyrian equivalent is *libittu*, 'layers of brick,' from *labânu*. *ta* equals 'in,' meaning 'source,' as is shown by the expression *kúr babbar è-ta kúr babbar šu-šù*, 'from the land of the rising sun to the land of the setting sun.'

12. *damal*, Eme-Sal for *dagal*, equals *rapšu*, 'broad,' and *gal* equals *rabû*.

13. *dú*: TUL meaning 'to cover,' readily yields the meaning *šubtu*, 'dwelling,' with the value, however, of *dú*; *dú-azag* sometimes has the meaning of *šadû*, 'mountain.'

14. *šà*(LÌB) is a proposition or rather noun in the construct state followed by the genitive *ê*(BIT). *dim-ma* equals *šarru*, 'king.' Br. 4254.

15. *ká* equals *bâbu*, 'gate,' while *ka* equals *pû*, 'mouth.' *ká* must be pronounced differently from *ka*. KÁ represented 'entrance to a house,' but KAGU first represented 'head,' then 'mouth.' The meaning 'high' for *maḫ* is derived from that of being 'important' or 'great.'

16. *gà*(MAL) equals *šakânu*, 'establish,' and *nun* equals *rubû*, 'prince.' Br. 2629.

17. *šu-a-ta* means 'in the entrance,' or 'when he enters,' *šu* being equal to *erêbu*.

18. *ê*(BIT)-*gal*, 'great house,' the Sumerian form from which the Assyrian *êkallu*, 'temple,' is derived.

19. *ùru*(ŠIŠ)-*unu-ki-ma*, Ur, apparently signifies the 'protected dwelling place,' *uru* being equivalent to *naṣâru*. But it is to be noticed that the ideogram for Ur sometimes takes the form *uru-ab-ki*; see Code of Ḫammurabi, 2 : 17. It also takes the form *uru-um-ki-ma* in which *ma* becomes a true phonetic complement; see Hilprecht's Old Babylonian Inscriptions chiefly from Nippur, Nos. 14, 15, 18, 19 and others. Ur was chiefly famous as being the seat of the cult of Nannar whose temple was called E-gišširgal.

20. *utu-unu-ki-ma*, the ideogram for Larsa which was one of the old seats of the cult of Šamaš, means the 'dwelling place of light.'

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21. *dug*(KA) is a verb with the meaning here of *maḫâṣu*; the primary significance of the sign suggests that the meaning might originate from a contention of words, *zu* as a suffix here is subjective, considered as a relative pronoun the antecedent does not appear in the line.

22. *a-ta* means 'from water.' *gár*(ŠA) equals *esêru.*

23. *še-kud*(TAR)-*da* means 'with corn cut off,' *kud* being equal to *parâsu*, and *ki-lal* equals *sanâḳu*, 'blockade,' literally 'raise up the ground.'

24. *-nag*: no doubt the text should be *nu-nag. nu-nag-a*: *a* is a vowel of prolongation; 'to drink no water' would be *a nu-nag. ud-zal*(NI)-*la* means *šêru*, 'morning,' *ud* is equal to 'light,' and *zal* to 'shine,' while *la* is a phonetic complement. *dì*(RI) equals *nabâṭu.*

25. *dam* equals *hâiru*, 'spouse.' *tur-ra* equals *ṣiḫru*, 'young.' *ge*(KIT) is sometimes represented by *ana* although always secondarily. It is more commonly the sign of the genitive. *mu-ni-ib-bi* equals 'one speaketh to him,' *ni-ib* being an infix that represents a dative, the *ni* representing the 'him' and the *ib* the 'to'. *bi* equals *ḳibû*, 'speak.'

26. The sign DUMU as equal to *mâru* or *mârtu* has the value *dû.*

27. *ki-el-e* equals *ardatu*, 'maid,' *ki* being a prefix of determination, while *el* means 'shining one.' *šes* equals *aḫu*; there is doubt whether the archaic form meant 'protection' or 'other one.'

28. *damal* equals *ummu*, 'mother.' *gan-e* equals *alidu* or *alidtu.*

29. *dû*(TUR) may equal *amêlu* and TUR with DA equals *bàn-da*, 'strong.'

30. *al-è*(UD. DU) equals *nabâṭu*, 'light up,' 'break out,' the prefix *al* being the same as *an.* Probably the city is set on fire, so it is the flame that breaks out.

31. *e-sir*(BU) equals *sûḳu*, *gub*(DU) equals *nazâzu*, and *sar-ri* equals *ṣaraḫu*; the *ní*(NIN) at the end may be a phonetic prolongation although the full force of the syllable is not very clear.

32. *sal-la-bi*: *sal-la* equals 'booty,' and *bi* is a pronominal suffix. *ur-e* equals *amêlu.* In *ám*(A. AN)-*da-ab-la da-ab* is an

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infix referring to the object *sal-la* and *lá* is the verb equal to *našû.*

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33. *sìg*(PA) may equal 'staff,' *gan* 'youth,' *mu* 'king,' and *bar-ri* 'judgment.'

34. *e-ne* equals *šunu.*

35. *lìm*(*b*): the sign is probably LUL which sometimes means 'woe;' see Brünnow's Classified List, 7271. *êr* (A. ŠI or A. IGI, 'water of the eye') commonly equals *bikîtu.*

Glossary.

a-a, 5
a-a-mu, 29
a-dug(KA)-ga, 21
a-gi-a-zu, 21
al-è(UD. DU), 30
azag, 13
ama, 8
ám(A. AN)-da-ab-lá, 32
a-ta, 22
i-de, 7
igi(ŠI)-ê(BIT), 1
ì(KA), 5
e-gub(DU)-ba, 31
e-sir(BU), 31
elim-ma, 2
e-ne, 34
en-lil(KIT)-a-kam, 35
en-lil(KIT)-ki-zu, 10
eri-zu, 1
eri-ta, 28
erim(SAB)-na, 8
ê(BIT), 15
ê(BIT)-gal, 18
êr(A. ŠI), 35
ud-zal(NI)-zal(NI)-la, 24
ur-e, 32
ùru(ŠIŠ)-unu-ki-ma-ta, 19
utu(UD)-unu-ki-ma-ta, 20
ušu(EŠ), 35
ù-lul-la, 9
ù-mu-un, 3
ba-e-nì(IM), 34
bàn(TUR)-da, 29
bar-ri, 33
gaba, 7
gal-ta, 12
gan-bi, 33
gan-e, 28
gà(MAL), 16
gár(ŠA)-ra-zu, 22
gìg(MI)-ga, 6
gùr(KIL), 1
dam, 25
dam-mu, 25
damal, 12
di-di, 8
dimmer, 5
dingir, 35
dì(RI), 24
dím-ma-ta, 14
dú(TUL), 13
dû(TUR), 26
dû(TUR)-mu, 28
ká, 15
ki, 12
ki-el-e, 27
ki-lal-a-zu, 23
ki-zu-ge(KIT), 34
lìm(b)(LUL)-ma, 35
ma, 18

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ma-ma, 9
ma-mu, 17
maḫ-e, 30
maḫ-ta, 15
mu, 33
mu-ul-lil(KIT), 5
mu-un-sar-ri-ní(NIN), 31
mu-ni-ib-bi, 25
na-àm-mă(MAL), 5
ni-tuk, 1
ni(IM)-te-na, 7
nun, 16
nu-nag, 24
sag, 6
sag-ga, 4
sal-la-bi, 32
siba, 6
sìg(PA), 33
šà(LÌB)-ê(BIT), 14
šâ(Ù), 1
še-ib, 19
še-kud(TAR)-da, 23
šes-mu, 27
šu-a-ta, 17
tur-e, 30
tur-ra-ge(KIT), 25.

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Festivals, India, Satara

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The Dasara Festival at Satara, India.—By Lucia C. G. Grieve, New York City.

It is difficult for a mere European, brought up on a dictionary and accustomed to define everything accurately, to grasp the Proteanism, the fluidity, if I may so speak, of the Hindu divinity called for the most part simply Devi, the goddess, or Mai, the mother, or more simply still, Bai, the woman. Her names are legion: Mahalakshmi, Mahasaraswati, Jogeshwara, Kali, Bhawani, and many another, often strange and uncouth. But in the ultimate analysis, each female divinitiy, however different her attributes and forms of worship, is a manifestation of the same "eternal feminine," the goddess, the mother, the woman.

In every Hindu household in the Maratha country, Devi is one of the panchāītana, or set of five gods—the others being Ganapati, Vishnu, Sāmbh and Surya—represented by five small stones of appropriate colors and set on a tiny table in a particular order, according to the chief object of the householder's devotion. These are worshiped every morning directly after the Sandhya; but they may each and all be worshiped separately besides; and each has his particular day of the week and a high annual festival. Devi's days are Tuesday and Friday, when she is worshiped with red and yellow powder, marigolds, sweetened milk and a Sanskrit prayer.

Her great festival occurs in Ashwin (Sept.-Oct.) during the first ten days of the new moon, and is called Navarātra. Among the Maratha Brahmans are three classes: Deshasthas or hill Brahmans, Konkonasthas or Brahmans of the western slope, and Karhādās, so called from their chief town. These last, being devotees of Kali, observe this festival with great solemnity. During the whole nine days they do not shave; and they arrange a little vessel, called abhishakpātra, so that water or oil may run continually on the head of the image of Devi. On the tenth day they kindle the hōm fire (with a Swedish safety match) in the presence of many Brahmans, and end the day with a great feast.

In every Hindu house this festival is observed. The image of Devi is set up on its little throne. Every day the worshiper

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makes a wreath of flowers, usually marigolds, and placing one wreath on the neck of the image the first day, adds another each day. In front of the image a square is made of corn, gram or barley, mixed with dry earth. In the midst of this is set an earthen water-pot (gāger or ghat), and on this they hang a wreath of flowers, adding another each day. Every day cakes of wheat are prepared for offering; and if the family be sufficiently rich, a married woman, a Brahman and an unmarried girl are brought in to be fed and worshiped. Every day in Brahman households, a Sanskrit prayer, Saptaçatti, is read after bathing, and the worshiper must not yawn nor leave his place on any pretence, nor make a mistake in a single letter. On the tenth day the worship is concluded by a great feast, in which the different castes follow different customs.

This tenth day, the Dasara, is the great day of the festival, and in Satara the greatest feast-day of the year. Shivāji, the liberator of the Marathas from the Mohamedan yoke, was a devotee of Kāli, or Bhāvāni, and of course made much of her high festival. There was sound reason in this; for it occurred at the end of the rainy season when the crops were all in, and settled dry weather might be expected. Furthermore, this tenth day, the Dasara, commemorated the setting out of Rāma on his march against Rāvana; and what more appropriate and auspicious day for summoning his army to march against foes, who were not only their enemies in religion, but, like Rāvana, had frequently carried off their women? Assembling his soldiery, who were mostly farmers cultivating little patches of ungenerous soil on the rough hillsides, he personally inspected every man and horse and had an inventory made of all their possessions. Then their horses and arms were worshiped, and a day set for their departure to the predatory warfare which was their joy and strength.

During the latter days of Satara's independence, when wealth had increased and valor departed, the Dasara procession was a grand sight. Starting from the Rang Mahāl, or chief palace of the Maharaja, on the upper road, the procession, numbering as many as 75 elephants in their gay housings, with instruments of music, chanting priests, prancing horses and gorgeously apparaled courtiers and servitors, marched to the Poyiche Nāka, or city limit, two miles away; and frequently the head of the procession had reached that point long before the rear

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had started. Now a solitary unhappy elephant and a few ponies represent the kingly state.

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But to the people, recalling as it does the great days of old, the festival is as dear as ever. On this day every house is whitewashed or painted; wreaths of marigolds are strung across the tops of the doors; and every man puts on a new white dress. Those who have horses wash them in warm water and give them an offering of food; wine, or eggs, or something supposed to be specially acceptable. A corner of the house is swept clean and washed with cowdung; and instead of swords and guns and other weapons whose use the Government has prohibited, axes, hoes and other farm-implements are carefully washed and placed on this spot, and are given offerings of flowers and sandalwood oil and red and yellow powder. Brahmans bring a drink offering, and other castes an offering of flesh; and after showing it to the tools they divide it up among the members of the family.

In the afternoon the horses have cloths, generally the housewife's best sari, strapped on their backs; wreaths of flowers are placed around their necks; and the ladies of the family lend their anklets and even strings of gold and pearls to adorn the horses' hoofs; and if there be a light-colored creature, patterns are traced on his flanks.

In these degenerate days, if the horse belongs to a white man, the owner is supposed to worship the animal by giving a coin to the horse-boy; and this particular form of worship is not confined to Hindus but shared by Mohamedans and outcastes. Even the Sahib's cats and dogs have their wreaths of marigolds on this great day.

Early in the afternoon, the gaily dressed horses, and litters containing images of the gods, in small irregular processions, are brought to the Rāj-wādā, or chief market-square. Here booths are erected for the sale of cakes and sweets, and especially of great bundles of branches of kānchan, mountain ebony. Athletic sports of all sorts are carried on, interspersed with songs and recitations called kīrtans. A large male buffalo, reda, has been fed up for ten days, or even as many months. At the appointed time he is led out in front of a temple of Bhāvānī, and after the proper ceremonies some descendant of Shivāji's family, always a man with the surname of Bhonsle, strikes off the beast's head with a sword. Two strokes may

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be given, but the act is more meritorious if only one suffices. The meat is then cut up and distributed to any who will take it. Goats and hens are sacrificed by the farmer caste.

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The sacrifice of these animals on this day is common throughout the Maratha country and in many other parts of India. Indeed, the Dasara festival is a national one, and on it soldiers of every faith worship their arms; but beyond that, its significance and mode of observance are different in the different parts of the country.

As soon as twilight begins to fall, the great procession is formed in front of the Rang Mahāl. Bhāvānī, Shivāji's sword, which he considered an incarnation of the goddess, and which is now kept in a small temple in the Rani's Palace, is placed on a palanquin and leads off, followed by the Rajah's elephant and ponies, the Rajah or his representative in an open carriage, the bloody sword with which the reda was slain, and the usual oriental rabble. Crowds of people of all sorts line the route, and congregate especially at the Nāka, or sentry-box marking the city limit. For Satara is an unwalled town, Shivāji believing, like the King of Sparta, that soldiers are better than bricks for defence.

In former days the procession went farther, for the purpose of worshiping an apṭā or kānchan tree, the mountain ebony, which was then cut down and the leaves distributed to the crowd. This object has now been lost sight of; the procession merely passes a little beyond the city limit and then turns and goes back. Throughout the Maratha country, everyone, to keep the festival properly, must walk at least beyond the limits of his town or village, to commemorate the starting out of the army on that day. When the procession has passed the Nāka, a man comes running through the crowd with his arms full of kānchan branches, which he distributes to the hundreds of eager hands reached out to him. The recipients pull off the leaves and bestow the mon their friends and acquaintance, saying, "This is gold!" This little ceremony is eminently Hindu; kānchan, besides being a name for the ebony and champak trees, also means "gold," and the leaves of the kānchan, which in size and shape resemble gold coins, are called "soni," the ordinary word for gold. This giving of "gold" leaves is said to represent the distribution of money among the crowd "in the brave days of old."

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The deepening darkness is put to flight by colored lights, sky-rockets and other fire-works; and the crowds return home to feast and make merry.

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This festival has in some places a darker side. The Karhādā Brahmans are strict worshipers of Devi; and her most acceptable sacrifice is a human being. This caste is perhaps one of the last vestiges of the dreaded Thugs who used to infest India; but in some respects their organization is quite different, though on that I need not dwell. The Government has attempted to suppress this sect, but has not fully succeeded. A favorite sacrifice is a son-in-law, who is invited to the house of his wife's parents and there poisoned. The best sacrifice is a wedded wife, and in return Kali promises her devotees great wealth. The proper method of conducting this sacrifice is to invite the lady to visit her mother-in-law for the whole ten days' festival. There she is made much of, given presents, bathed in perfumes, clad in fine new garments, and wreathed with flowers. Meanwhile, in the god-room, a hole has been dug in the floor in front of Devi's image, the sacred hōm fire is kindled, prayers are said into the hole, and a lighted lamp set in each corner. At the right moment the unsuspecting victim is brought in and suddenly thrown into the hole, and the earth piled in on top. While I was in Satara an attempt was made to perform this sacrifice in a nearby village; but at the last minute the girl discovered the plot, and, escaping, fled to her father's house, where she was protected against her too religious friends.

Since the British Government is so inconsiderate and oppressive as to interferre with these little family matters, the usual method now is by poison; and such masters in the poisoning art are the Hindus that the dose may be administered many days previous to the intended death of the victim. It is even said that as long as six months before the festival, poison may be given which will cause the victim to die on the proper day. Though currently believed, this is not easy to credit; and by its nature is a matter not susceptible of investigation.

Next after their kindred-in-law, the best sacrifice is a Konkon Brahman; and in such dread do the Konkonasths hold their Karhādā fellow-castemen, that they would rather die of starvation than risk taking food at their hands.

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The Interrelation of the Dialects of the Fourteen-Edicts of Asoka. 1: General introduction and the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions. — By TRUMAN MICHELSON, Ph. D., Ridgefield, Conn.

IN investigating the dialects of the Fourteen-Edicts of Asoka, it is necessary to remember that the Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra, and Girnār redactions are translations of an original composed in a dialect essentially the same as the dialects of the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī (edicts i—ix) recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts and the dialects of the six versions of the Pillar-Edicts; and that the dialect of this 'Māgadhan' original has left traces in them. The dialect of the Kālsī redaction presents a rather curious problem: in edicts i—ix the dialect is practically pure 'Māgadhan,' with but few traces of the local dialect, but in edicts x—xiv the local peculiarities are prominent; yet at the same time the dialect is intimately related with the dialect of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa texts—for these two redactions are practically the same in both content and language. And as a matter of fact we can find a few faint traces of the local dialect in even the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa texts. Examples are Dhauli *vuḍhī* for 'Māgadhan' *vaḍhiṃ*; Dhauli and Jaugaḍa *bābhana-* for *baṃbhana-*. (That *baṃbhana-* was the 'Māgadhan' correspondent to Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa*—is shown by the invariable *baṃbhana-* of the Kālsī text as well as by the occurrence of *baṃbhana-* in Dh., J. also.) If *savatu* at J. ii, 9 is not a mere blunder for *savata* (Sanskrit *sarvatra*)—which is found several times in J. as well as Dh., and the 'Māgadhan' portion of K.— it is a local peculiarity. The 'Māgadhan' dialect was undoubtedly the official imperial language, and hence—as Pischel has very justly remarked—understood even where it was not spoken as a vernacular. How far the 'Māgadhan' dialect as a koine had influenced the other local vernaculars, is impossible to say with certainty: but the 'Māgadhisms' in the Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mansehra recensions give the impression that they were taken over bodily from the original manuscript, and were really foreign to the spoken vernaculars.

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The dialect of the fragment of the eighth edict of the Sopārā version (ed. by Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, JBOAS. xv, 282—288) must be passed over in the present paper for two reasons, to wit, that the fragment is extremely small, and that it fairly bristles with easily recognizable 'Māgadhisms.' Examples of these are: *nikhamithā*, line 5; *heta, baṃbha*[*na*]-, *iyaṃ, hoti*, line 6 (*hoti* also line 9); *dasane*, line 7; *vuḍhānaṃ, paṭividhāṇe*, line 7; *ye* (read *bhūye*), line 9; *ane* (i. e. *aṃne*), line 10. It may be mentioned, however, that the dialect agreed with that of the Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra and Girnār recensions in maintaining *r* as opposed to the *l* of the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī versions as is shown by *rati* in line 9. This fact enables us to interpret *hiraṃna-* in line 7; it is a cross between native *hiraṃṇa-* (so the Girnār text) and 'Māgadhan' *hilaṃna-* (so the Jaugaḍa and Kālsī redactions). Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra *dhraṃma-* has long been recognized as a cross of the same type (cf. Shb. and Mans. *dhrama-*; and Dh., J. and K. *dhaṃma-*); and I have tried to show in IF. xxiii, pp. 240, 241 that Shāhbāzgarhi *praṭi* is to be judged the same way; moreover I hope to show in my forthcoming paper mentioned below, that crosses of this type are far commoner than supposed. It is perhaps worth while noting that *-jina* in line 10 is to be read *rājine*, and so is identical with Mansehra *rajine* which has been recognized as standing for native *raño* (i. e. *rāño*) through the influence of 'Māgadhan' *lājine*.

Another point that must be born in mind is the fact that the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra recensions is practically identical. In my opinion if we had texts absolutely free from 'Māgadhisms,' it would be absolutely identical. It may be remarked that the evidence of both texts makes it comparatively easy to detect 'Māgadhisms' in either individual text. Thus Shāhbāzgarhi *prati* shows that Mansehra *paṭi* is a 'Māgadhism;'[1] similarly Mansehra *spagraṃ*, i. e. *spargaṃ* (Sanskrit *svargam*) shows that Shāhbāzgarhi *spagaṃ* is a partial 'Māgadhism' (cf. J. and K. *svagaṃ*): the evidence of Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra *vagrena* (i. e. *vargena*) confirms this.

There are certain points of interest to the general Indo-European comparative philologist in the dialects of the Four-

[1] See Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 240.

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teen-Edicts of Asoka. For example long syllabic *m̥* appears as *ā*—and this only—in the dialect of the Girnār version, e. g. *atikrātam* (Sanskrit *atikrāntam*). This shows that this dialect is not a linear descendant of Sanskrit. Again the short *ŭ* of Girnār *susrŭsā*, *susrŭsatāṃ* is noteworthy in view of Avestan *susrušəmnō*. Moreover Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra, and Kālsī *kiti* come from *kid+iti*, not *kim+iti* as Johansson (Shb. ii, p. 52) has shown,[1] Likewise it is worth while noting that Girnār *sruṇāru*, Shāhbāzgarhi *śruṇeyu*, Mansehra *śruṇey[u]* agree with Avestan *surunaoiti* in structure as opposed to Sanskrit *śr̥ṇoti* as I shall shortly demonstrate in Zverg Sp. Furthermore the fact that the dialects of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions have *st* corresponding to Sanskrit *ṣṭ(h)* would seem to indicate that the lingualization of *t* and *th* respectively in Aryan *št* and *šth* (Avestan *št*) was Pan-Indic and not Proto-Indic. (We may say Pan-Indic, even if this is not strictly accurate, for nearly all the Indic languages point to this: cf. Sanskrit *ṣṭ(h)*, Girnār and Māgadhī Prākrit *śt*, Pāli and ordinary Prākrit, Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, Kālsī, etc. *ṭṭh* (written *ṭh* on the Asokan inscriptions).

But in fairness I should remark that Girnār *usṭāna-* and other Middle-Indic words cited by Johansson to demonstrate his thesis that I. E. *tst(h)* became *st(h)* in the I. E. period, in reality are not valid evidence, quite irrespective of the correctness or falsity of his contention, as I hope soon to show in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*.

It is proper for me to state that with Johansson and Franke, I reject Senart's theory of historical and learned orthography in the inscriptions of Asoka.

Certain linguistic facts mentioned by me in the present paper will be proved at length in my 'Linguistic Notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra Redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts of Asoka' which is to appear in the American Journal of Philology, presumably in numbers 119 and 120. The same applies to the value of certain symbols used in these texts; certain linguistic statements concerning the dialect of the Girnār redaction will also be fully discussed in the same paper.

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[1] According to Dr. Bloch the reading *kīti* on the Rāmpūrvā Pillar is really *kiṃ ti*. If *kīti* were correct we should connect it with Shb., etc. *kiti*: see IF. xxiii, p. 253.

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Where there is dispute regarding the precise values of certain characters in the Girnār recension, I have in most cases briefly indicated the value I think should be assigned to said characters, and the reason thereof. But I expect to take these up systematically later.

In certain cases it is not easy to determine whether a given form in the Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra, and Girnār redactions is a 'Māgadhism' or is really native to the dialects of these texts. For example in the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions two different formations in the gerund are to be found, namely, one in *ti* (i. e. *ttī*, Vedic *tvī*) and one in *tu*. Now there is but one form of the gerund in Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī recensions, to wit, that in *tu*. It therefore seems plausible to consider the gerunds in *tu* in Shb. and Mans. to be 'Māgadhisms,' especially as but one form of the gerund, that in *tpā* (Sanskrit *tvā*), is native to the Girnār redaction. Yet as the dialects of the Shb., Mans., Dh., J., and K. texts are in concord as opposed to the dialect of G. in some particulars—few, to be sure, when contrasted with the linguistic agreement of the dialects of Shb., Mans. and G. as opposed to the dialects of Dh., J., and K.—this conclusion does not necessarily follow.

It will be understood that in giving the characteristics of the dialects, the 'Māgadhisms' are for the most part passed over in silence. Where there is room for doubt, I have tried to demonstrate briefly whether the form is a 'Māgadhism' or not. Where a long elaborate proof is necessary to decide the point involved, I have given reference to my paper which is to appear in the AJP.

The orthography of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions, as well as that of the Kālsī recension, limit our investigations to a certain degree. Thus it is impossible to say whether Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra *puna* is the equivalent of Girnār *puna* or Kālsī *punā*, or both; for vowel quantities are not distinguished in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet; nor is *ĭ* distinguished from *ī*, *ŭ* from *ū* in the Kālsī redaction.

Bühler's editions of the Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra, and Kālsī recensions in Epigraphia Indica ii, 447 ff.; and his ed's of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa redactions in ZDMG. 39, 489 ff. and 37, 87 ff. respectively have been made the bases of our investigations; though his ed's of Shb. and Mans. in ZDMG. 43 and 44 have been consulted; as well as his ed's of Dh.

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and J. in the 1st vol. of the Archaeological Survey of Southern India.

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Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 108ff. should also be consulted for dialectic peculiarities. Johansson's essay on the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi (and incidently the Mansehra) redaction is a systematic exposition by a comparative philologist. I have consulted it constantly, but the material in this paper is drawn from the inscriptions themselves. It should be noted that Johansson does not state what the characteristics of the dialect are, and treats the general relations of this dialect with the dialects of the other redactions only in a general way (see ii, pp. 24, 25). The present paper and my "Linguistic Notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts of Asoka" which is to appear in AJP. (presumably in no's 119 and 120), are designed to supplement Johansson's work.—Konow's treatise on the dialect of the Girnār recension is descriptive only, and nearly neglects the phonology.—Senart's treatment of the various Asokan dialects is now nearly antiquated, though valuable at the time.

With this general introduction ended, we will now proceed to investigate the separate dialects.

Dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions.[1]

The most important characteristics of this dialect are: three sibilants which correspond as a whole to the same sounds in Sanskrit, though subject to certain phonetic laws which have a slightly modifying effect[2] (*paśu-*; *śramaṇa-*; *aśilasa*; loc. pl. *-eṣu*; etc.); *r* is not assimilated to any adjacent consonants whatsoever[3] (*śravakaṃ*, *śramaṇa-*, *suśruṣa*, *sahasra-*, *mitra-*,

[1] In the following citations, the forms are found in both versions, unless expressly stated to the contrary.

[2] These laws are: 1. *ś-* is dissimilated to *s* if the next syllable begins with *ś*, 2. intervocalic *s* is assimilated to *ś* if the preceding syllable contains *ś*, 3. *ṣiy* and *ṣy* become *śś* (written *ś*), 4. Aryan *št* and *šth* become *st*. Exceptions are 'Māgadhisms'. The whole matter is taken up in detail in my paper which is to appear in the AJP. Examples are: *suśruṣa*, *anuśaśiśaṃti*, *manuśa-*, Shb. *tistiti*, Mans. [*ti*]*stitu*.

[3] Such is the view of Johansson. In AJP. I hope to show that we can hardly avoid assuming that *r* was in fact assimilated in the combinations *ărṣ* and *ărṣy* (in this case *ṣṣ* not *śś* is the result).—In the same periodical I take up the entire question as to whether *dhrama-* is merely

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parakramena, agrena, vagrena, i. e. *vargena, athrasa,* i. e. *arthasa, dhrama-,* i. e. *dharma-, pruva-,* i. e. *purva-, savraṃ,* i. e. *sarvaṃ,* etc.); vocalic *r* becomes *ir* ordinarily, *ur* after labials (Shb. *kiṭraṃ,* i. e. *kirṭaṃ,* Mans. *vudhrana, vudhreṣu,* i. e. *vurdh-,* Shb. *mrugo,* i. e. *murgo*);[1] *h* in the combination *hm* is assimi-

graphic for *dharma-* (as Senart, Bühler and Johansson hold) or really represents *dhrama-* (as Pischel holds), and similar combinations. I come to the conclusion that those who hold that *dhrama-* is merely graphical for *dharma-* are right. The matter is an exceedingly complicated one, and not to be disposed of in a few words. I therefore ask the reader to consult my article in AJP.—Johansson holds that *r* is assimilated to dental stops (which then become linguals) in the dialect of Shb. (He does not discuss the dialect of Mans. in this connection.) I have exhaustively taken up this problem in the previously mentioned paper. My conclusions are that *r* in fact is retained before dental stops in both Shb. and Mans. but that 'Māgadhisms' have largely supplanted the true vernacular forms in both texts. Briefly my arguments are as follows: it being agreed that the language of Shb. and Mans. is practically identical, it would be strange if Mans. and Shb. should differ in such a point. Now in Mans., *athra-* (merely graphic for *artha-*) occurs a dozen and a half times; so there can be no question but that in the dialect of Mans. *r* is not assimilated to an immediately following *th,* for no other correspondent to Skt. *artha-* is found ins Mans. This makes it certain that the single *athra-* of Shb. is the true native form, and that *aṭha-* (i. e. *aṭṭha-*), found more than a dozen times, is a 'Māgadhism' as *aṭha-* and this only is the correspondent to Skt. *artha-* in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions of the Fourteen-Edicts as well as in the six recensions of the Pillar-Edicts. As a parallel where a 'Māgadhism' has nearly driven out the native form in Shb. but never occurs in Mans., we have *sava-* (the true native form is *savra-* which is found several times in Mans. and a few times in Shb.). The word *aṭhra-* in Shb. is a blend of native *athra-* and 'Māgadhan' *aṭha-* exactly as Shb. and Mans. *dhraṃma-* is a cross between *dhrama-* and *dhaṃma-* (this last has long been recognized). Mans. *vadhrite* (i. e. *vardh-*) and *vadhrayiśati* (i. e. *vardh-*) show that *r* was not assimilated to an immediately following *dh*; but 'Māgadhisms' have largely usurped the place of the true native forms in Mans., and exclusively obtain in Shb. (On Shb. *diyadha-* see AJP.) 'Māgadhisms' or crosses between 'Māgadhisms' and the true native correspondent to Indic *rt* have ousted the vernacular correspondent in both Mans. and Shb.

[1] The history of Indic *r̥* in both Shb. and Mans. is treated in detail in the paper mentioned above. Scholars are divided as to whether *mrugo* represents *murgo* or *mrugo.* Bühler holds the latter, Johansson the former. Likewise there is dispute as to whether *vudhra-* represents the actual pronunciation or is merely graphical for *vurdha-.* I have tried to show that the view of those who hold that *mrugo* and *vudhra-* are respectively merely graphical for *murgo* and *vurdha-* alone is tenable. I have also tried to demonstrate that all other apparent products of Indic *r̥* than *ir*

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lated (*bramana-*); *tm* is retained[1] (Mans. *atma-*); *sm* before *i* becomes *sp*[2] (loc. sing. of *a*-stems, taken from the pronominal declension, **aspi*, **-asmi*, cf. Avestan *-ahmi* as opposed to Sanskrit *asmin*); *suv-* and *sv-* become *sp-*[2] (*spamikena*, cf. Dh. J. K. *suvāmikenă*, Shb. *spasunaṃ*, Mans. *spasuna*,[3] Skt. *svasar-*, Mans. *spagraṃ*, K. etc. *svagaṃ*, Skt. *svargam*); *viy* and *vy* become *vv*[4] (Shb. gerundive *-tava-*, i. e. *tavva-*, e. g. *vatavo*, Skt. *vaktavyàs* [see Whitney, Skt. Gr.[3] § 964c end], *divani*, Skt. *divyāni*); *dv-* becomes *b-*[5] (Shb. *badaya-*, a mistake for *badaśa-*); *tv* becomes *tt*, written *t* and *tt* (gerund in *ti*, Vedic *tvī*; *tadattaye*, Skt. *tadātva-*); *my* becomes *mm* (Shb. *samma-*, Skt. *samyak-*); Aryan *št* (Skt. *ṣṭ*, Av. *št*) and *šth* (Skt. *ṣṭh*, Av. *šť*) alike become *st* (Shb. *asta-*, so probably in the 13th edict, Shb. *dipista*, Skt. *(a)dipiṣṭa*; Shb. *tistiti*, Skt. **tiṣṭhitvī*, Mans. *tistitu*, Skt. **tiṣṭhitu*); *ñj* becomes *ññ*, written *ñ* (Shb. *vañanato*, Skt. *vyañjanatas*); *d* is retained in the Iranian loan-word *dipi*; intervocalic *j* becomes *y*[6] (Shb. *raya*, *samaye*, *Kaṃboya-*, *Kaṃboyeṣu*, *prayuhotave*;

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and *ur* in both Shb. and Mans. are either 'Māgadhisms' or blends of 'Māgadhisms' and native forms; and that *r* does not lingualize following dental stops in the true native forms of both Shb. and Mans. The whole problem is exceedingly complex and can only be summarized here.

[1] Native *tm* in Shb. is completely ousted by 'Māgadhan' *tt* (written *t*) exactly as native *prati* by 'Māgadhan' *paṭi* in Mans. (See Michelson, IF. xxiii, pp. 240, 241.)

[2] The exact value of the symbol which Bühler transcribes by *sp* is in dispute. Provisionally I follow Bühler. The 'Māgadhan' loc. sing. *-asi* has largely taken the place native *-aspi* in both Shb. and Mans.

[3] Graphically *ṃ* is often omitted.

[4] In Mans. the 'Māgadhan' gerundive *-taviya-* has completely usurped the place of native *-tava-* as Franke already has said; it is found a few times in Shb.

[5] In my judgment (contrary to the opinion of Johansson), Mans. *duvadaśa-* is a Māgadhism as well as Shb. *duvi* and Mans. *duve* (cf. Kālsī *duve*, etc.)

[6] Johansson, Shb. i, p. 177, 63 of the reprint, judges Shb. and Mans. *uyanaspi* (so for his *-asi*) wrongly. According to him it is 'eigentl. wohl *ujana-* st. *ujjana*." Shb. and Mans. *uyanaspi* is merely graphical for *uyyāna-*. That is to say that *-d y-* in word-composition have a different history than *-dy-* when not in word-composition (per contra, note *aja*, i. e. *ajja*). The same holds true for the dialects of the Girnār, Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts; cf. G. *uyānesu*, Dh. (*u'yān*[*asi*], J. and K. *uyānasi* as contrasted with G., Dh., J. *aja*, K. *ajā* (Skt. *adya*, Vedic *adyā*). That the *y* is purely graphic for *yy* and the *j* for *jj* is shown by Pāli *uyyāna-*, *uyyāma-*, *ajja*. See Henry, Précis, section 87, 3 and E. Müller, Pāli Gr. p. 49; and for the principle

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Mans. *pra[yuho]taviye*); intervocalic *h* is either lost, or weakly pronounced (*ia*, Mans, *maa* as contrasted with Shb. *ma[ha]*); Indic *niḥ* appears as *ni* in compounds (Shb. *nik[r]amatu*, Mans. *nikramaṃtu*, *nikramiṣu*; Shb. *nikramaṇaṃ*);[1] *h* as the correspondent to Indic *dh* in Shb. *iha*; Indic **utthānam*[2] is retained

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Jacobi, Erz. section 36. Windisch in his essay on Pāli (in the transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Algiers) overlooks this fact when he takes Pāli *uyyāna-* as a Māgadhan relic. In Prākrit *-d y-* in word-composition necessarily has the same history as *-dy-* when not in word-composition, i. e. *jj*, Māgadhī *yy*. Against Johansson's supposition that where we have *y* for *j* in Shb. (and Mans.), it can be safely considered a 'Māgadhism' is the following important fact, viz, that *y* for *j* is never found in the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, or Kālsī redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts, and yet it is agreed that the dialect of the 'Māgadhan' original—of which Shb. and Mans. are translations—was composed in a dialect essentially the same as the dialects of these redactions. That *j* becomes *y* in Māgadhī Prākrit according to the native grammarians proves nothing, for Māgadhī Prākrit has only two noteworthy agreements with the Māgadhan dialects of the Asokan inscriptions, namely that *l* takes the place of *r* and *-e* of original *-as* (*-o* in the other dialects): but Māgadhī Prākrit has one special agreement with the dialect of the Girnār redaction, namely that Aryan *št* (Skt. *ṣṭ*) and *šth* (Skt. *ṣṭh*) fall together in *st*. I take Shb. and Mans. *majura-* to be a 'Māgadhism': cf. the correspondent in the versions of Dh., J., K.

[1] Johansson (Shb. ii, p. 17) is in error when he places *nikramiṣu* in the same category as *dukaraṃ*, Shb. *[du]kataṃ*, Mans. *dukata* (final *ṃ* graphically ommitted). In the first place *[du]kaṭaṃ* and *dukaṭa* are 'Māgadhisms' as I shall show in AJP. (cf. Kālsī *dukaṭaṃ*), and so must be left out of consideration. In the second place, note the difference in Kālsī *dukaṭaṃ*, *dukale* and *nikhamaṃtu*, *nikhamisu*, *nikhamiṭhā* (possibly *-thā*), *vinikhamane*; cf. also Dhauli and Jaugaḍa *nikhamāvū* (for the formation see Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 89, footnote 2). Shb. *joti-kaṃdhani* is certainly a 'Māgadhism' as is shown by Mans. *agi-kaṃdhani*, K. and Dh. *agi-kaṃdhāni*; Girnār *agi-khaṃdhāni* points in the same direction, cf. the contrast with *dukaraṃ*, *dukataṃ*. Johansson read Girnār *agikaṃdhāni*, and so offered an explanation which he thought preferable to the one given, but the *kh* is absolutely certain: see the plate in Epigraphia Indica ii.

[2] I see no reason why Shb. *uthanaṃ*, i. e. *utthānaṃ*, should not be considered the true native word, and hence the exact equivalent of Skt. *utthānam*. The fact that the termination in any case is the vernacular one, supports this view. Per contra note the 'Māgadhan' endings *-e* and *-asi* in Mans. *uthane*, Shb. *uṭhanasi*, Mans. *u[ṭhanasi]*. That these last cited forms are 'Māgadhisms' is absolutely certain as Johansson previously saw. Johansson regards Shb. *uthanaṃ* also as a 'Māgadhism'. This is highly improbable because **uthāna-* never is found in any of the so-called Māgadhan versions of the Fourteen-Edicts. That the *th* of Shb. *dhramadhithanaye* and *dhramadhithan[e]* is not a careless writing for *ṭh* is shown

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(written *uthanaṃ*); *śc* appears as *c*[1] (graphical for *cc*? *paca*)[:] the *r* of *Kerala-*; the nom. sing. masc. of *a*-stems a few times apparently ends in *-a* (Shb. *jana*, etc.); original *r*-stems become *u*-stems (*pituna*, Shb. *bhratunaṃ*, Shb. *spasunaṃ*, Mans. *spasuna*, Shb. and Mans. *matapituṣu*); nom. pl. of the cardinal number 4 *caturo* (Shb. *cature* with 'Māgadhan' *-e* for *-o*); the locative plurals *paṃcaṣu* (Shb. *pa[ṃca]ṣu*, Mans. *paṃ[caṣu]*) and *ṣaṣu* by the analogy of *a*-stems; the genitive sing. of the first personal pronoun *maha* (Shb. *ma[ha]*, Mans. *maa*:[2] see above); *ayo*[3] as a nom. sing. (only in Shb.); the peculiar optatives

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by Mans. *dhramadhithanaye*, *dhramadhithane*, Kālsī *dhaṃmādhithānāye*. [For the views of Johansson, see his treatise on the dialect of the Shb. recension, i, pp. 165, 166 (51, 52 of the reprint), 168, 169 (54, 55), 170 (56); ii, pp. 17, 18.] These forms are 'Māgadhisms.' On 'Māgadhan' *uṭhāna-* and Girnār *usṭāna-*, see my coming paper in IF.

[1] So Bühler reads in the two occurrences of the word in Shb. as well as Mans. in his ed's of these recensions in ZDMG. 43, 44; but in his ed's in Epigraphia Indica ii he reads *pacha* for the occurrence in the 13th edict for both Shb. and Mans. (Bühler in EI. *chh* for *ch*); so that I am not sure but his readings in EI. are really a mistake. The devanāgarī transcript in ZDMG. settles the reading in the 1st edict. If not a blunder, then Mans. and Shb. *pacha* (his *pachha*) in the 13th edict are 'Māgadhisms;' cf. Kālsī [*pa*]*chā* (B's [*pa*]*chhā*). [His reading *pacā* (*pachā* in his transcription) in the 13th ed. of G. in ZDMG. 43 is an error.]

[2] Johansson, Shb. ii, section 118 (end) explains this as 'wohl eine Kontusionsbildung von *mama* und *ahaṃ*.' This does not strike me as convincing. The same form is found in Prākrit. Pischel's explanation (Gr. section 418) that it corresponds to Skt. *mahyam* is phonetically impossible. The simplest solution seems to me is that *maha* is for **mama* by influence of **mahyam*. If we cared to go outside the Indic sphere, other solutions —all more or less bold—readily would suggest themselves.

[3] According to Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 46, under different accentual conditions *-am* becomes *-aṃ* and *-o* in our dialect. I am not convinced of this. To begin with, a considerable portion of the material brought forward in reality is not decisive as Johansson himself admits (see p. 45, footnote 1). If the law be correct, extensive levelling must have taken place. It should particularly be observed that *ay*[*aṃ*] is found as well as *ayo*. In my opinion *ayo* is for *ayaṃ* by the analogy of the nom. sing. masc. of other pronouns such as *so*, *yo*, etc. The form *ayi*, I hold to be a hyper-Māgadhism: see IF. xxiv, p. 55. *Iyo* is a blend of native *ayo* and 'Māgadhan' *iyaṃ*, and is directly comparable to *dhraṃma-* a cross between native *dhrama-* and 'Māgadhan' *dhaṃma-*. The sole support for Johansson's theory according to the text of Bühler in EI. seems to be *dhramo*, acc. sing. at Shb. xii, 6; and it is not venturesome to pronounce this a simple error (cf. Mans. *dhramaṃ* in the corresponding passage as well as the quite numerous other accusative singulars of masculine

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siyasu and *haṃñeyasu* (Mans. has lacunas where the forms would otherwise occur); gerund in *ttī* (written *ti*) corresponding to Vedic *-tvī* (Shb. *tistiti*, Mans. *darśeti* **darśayitvī*); certain lexical features such as *atra*, *apagratho*[1] (Mans. has a lacuna in the corresponding passage), Shb. *meñati* (if not a blunder for *ma-* it corresponds to Gothic *mainjan*, Old Bulgarian *měniti*), Shb. *joti-* (Skt. *jyotiṣ-*), Shb. *vuta* (i. e. *vuttā*, Skt. *uptāni*), Shb. *vidhenam* (if not a mere blunder; see Johansson, Shb. i, p. 134, 20 of the reprint), Shb. *vracaṃti*, Shb. and Mans. *tathaṃ*,[2] Mans. *vaṃ*, Shb. *vo*,[3] Mans. *aśatasa*, Shb. *aśamanasa*, Mans. *spasuna*, Shb. *spasunaṃ*, Shb. *yo*,[4] Shb. *yamatro*.[5]

From the above it will be seen how much nearer to Sanskrit the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions is than the dialects of the other versions of the Fourteen-Edicts. Geographically this is just what we should expect.

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a-stems in both Shb. and Mans.). On the gender of *ayo*, see Johansson, l. c., ii, pp. 34 (footnote 2), 79. *Iyaṃ* in both Mans. and Shb. is a 'Māgadhism'. I may add that J's [*imo*] vanishes in the ed. in EI. and is replaced by *imaṃ*; his *im*[**o**] by *im*. which can be for *imaṃ*; and *ayi* is read at Shb. vi, 1, *ayo* at Shb. xiii, 11.

[1] On the etymology of this word, see Bühler, ZDMG. xliii, p. 174.

[2] On *tathaṃ*, see Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 39.

[3] On *vo*, see Johansson, ii, pp. 44, 45; Franke, Pu Skt., pp. 105, 151. Mans. *vaṃ* corresponds to Skt. *evam*; cf. Johansson, Shb. i, p. 154, 40 of the reprint.

[4] The etymology of this particle has not yet been solved. Johansson, Shb. i. pp. 154, 155 (40 and 41 respectively of the reprint) rightly saw that Bühler's explanation was untenable. The suggestion of Johansson that *yo* stands for **yava*, a doublet of *eva*, is too far-fetched. His alternative will not be taken seriously. *Yo* is a fossilized nom. sing. masc. of *ya-* as is shown by the correspondents to Shb. *yo* (not the particle) at x, 21 in the Mansehra and Kālsī redactions, namely, *yaṃ*. Similarly Shb. *so* and 'Māgadhan' *se* as adverbs are fossilized nom. sing. of *sa-* as is shown by the Girnār correspondent *ta* (**tad*). (Shb. *so* and 'Māgadhan' *se* are treated by Johansson, Shb. ii, pp. 42—44 without coming to any definite decisions. However brilliant his suggestions are, his combinations are strained and complicated as compared with the solution offered above.) Shb. *cayo* (also hitherto unsolved) is simply *ca*+*yo*.

[5] On the etymology of this word, see Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 98. Here again, I think Johansson goes too far afield in turning to extra-Indic Indo-European languages to explain this difficult word, admitting that occasionally we must do so to properly explain certain Middle-Indic words. I see no reason why *yamatro* may not be analized as *ya*+*mātro*, a possessive adj. compound meaning 'as many as.'

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Indeed the dialect of Shb. and Mans. hardly belongs to the Middle-Indic stage of developement.

We have next to take up the general relations with the dialects of the other recensions.

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Special points of contact with the dialect of the Girnār version.

These are very numerous. It is instructive to notice how much more striking the points of contact are between the dialect of Shb. and Mans. and the dialect of G. than between the dialect of Shb. and Mans. and the 'Māgadhan' dialects.

Examples are: final *-as* appears as *-o*;[1] *st* is retained (Shb. Mans. *nasti*, Girnār *nāsti*; Shb. *dhramasaṃstave*, G. *dhaṃmasaṃstavo*; Shb. *[ha]stino*, Mans. *hastine*, G. *hasti-*; Shb. *vistriṭena*, G. *vistatana*, etc.); the sound *r*; the sound *ṇ*[2] (Mans. *dhramacaraṇa*, Shb. *dhramacaraṇaṃ*, G. *dhaṃmacaraṇaṃ*; Shb, Mans. *bramaṇa-*, G. *brāmhaṇa-*, etc); *ññ* (written *ṃñ* and *ñ*) from Indic *ny*[3] (Shb. G. *aṃña-*, *aña-*, Mans. *aña-*); *jñ* becomes *ñ* initially, and either *ññ* or *ñ* medially (Shb. *ñatinaṃ*, Mans. *ñatina*, G. *ñātīnaṃ*; Shb. *raña*, *raño*, G. *rāñā*, *rāño*);[4] *ll* (written

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[1] In Mans. 'Māgadhan' *-e* has entirely wiped out native *-o*.

[2] In cases endings *ṇ* is replaced by *n* through the analogy of other words where dental *n* is obtained phonetically. This is true for Mans., Shb., and G. There are a couple of cases where the same phenomenon takes place in suffixes in the dialect of Shb. See Johansson, Shb. i, p. 166 (52 of the reprint), and Michelson, AJP. xxx, l. c. J's *ka[lanaṃ]* vanishes in Bühler's ed. in EI. ii; I take *garana* to be a blunder for **garaha*, following Bühler. On *Taṃbapaṃṇi*, see Michelson, IF. xxiv, p. 55; also on *Pitinika-*. On Bühler's reading *kāranaṃ* in G. see Michelson, l. c. p. 53.

[3] In Mans. we have doublets with *ṇṇ* (written *ṇ*); e. g. *aṇa-*, *aña-*, *maṇati*, *mañati*. Similarly Mans. *puṇaṃ*, *puñaṃ* but always Shb. *puñaṃ* (G. *puṃñaṃ*, Skt. *puṇyam*). I know no thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the doublets. The best I can offer at present is that as *ṇ* and *ñ* alike were foreign to the dialect of the Māgadhan scribe, he was careless in distinguishing the two or was ignorant of their proper usage. The forms with *ṇ* then are purely fictitious. For the possibility of the principle, see Johansson, Shb. ii. p. 43.

[4] The alphabets of Shb., Mans., and G. hinder us from being positive in the matter. For Shb. *raña*, *raño* can be either *rañña*, *rañño* or *rāñā*, *rāño* (and conceivably *rāñña*, *rāñño*); while G. *rāñā*, *rāño* can be either *rāñā*, *rāño* or *rāñña*, *rāñño* (it will be recalled that long vowels are not shortened before two consonants in the dialect of G.). Pāli and the various Prākrit languages point to *ññ* in the forms. Shb., Mans. *aṇapemi*,

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l) from Indic *ly* (Shb. Mans. *kalaṇa-*, G. *kalāṇa-*; cf. Pāli *kallāṇa-*); *bh* is retained in the correspondents to Skt. *bhavati, bhūta-*[1] [as a participle] (Shb. Mans. *bhoti*, G. *bhavati*; Shb. Mans. *bhuta-*, G. *bhūta-*); partial agreement is not assimilating *r* to adjacent consonants[2] (Shb. Mans. *savratra*, i. e. *sarvatra*, G. *sarvatra*; Shb. Mans. *parakrameṇa*, G. *parākramena*; Shb. G. *priyo*, Mans. *priye*; Shb. Mans. *śramaṇa-*, G. *sramaṇa-*; Shb. *śatasahasra-*, G. *satasahasra-*; Shb. Mans. *bramaṇa-*, G. *brāmhaṇa-*, etc.); Indic *kṣ* becomes *cch*, initially *ch*[3] (written *ch* in both cases), e. g. Shb. *achati*, G. *achatiṃ*, Shb. [*chaṃ*]*ti*, G. *chāti*[*ṃ*]; *ty* becomes *cc* (written *c*), e. g. Shb. *apaca*, G. *apacaṃ*; initial *y* is retained in relative pronouns and adverbs (frequently omitted in the 'Māgadhan' versions; so it would appear that it was either wholly lost in actual pronunciation or very weakly pronounced); *evaṃ* not *hevaṃ* is the correspondent to Sanskrit *evam*; the inflection Shb. *raña, rano*, G.

Shb. *aṇapayami*, Shb. *aṇapitaṃ*, Mans. *aṇapita*, Shb. *aṇapeśaṃti*, Mans. *aṇapayiśati* offer some difficulty when contrasted with G. *āñapayāmi, āñapitaṃ, āñapayisati*. Johansson (Shb. i, p. 165, 51 of the reprint) considers the initial *a* as long and that *ñ* phonetically became *ṇ*. Note that we have the same phenomenon in Pāli, e. g. *raññā, rañño, yañño, āṇāpeti, āṇatti*. In ordinary Prākrit *jñ* becomes *ṇṇ* (initially *ṇ*), in Māgadhī and Paisacī *ññ*. For the agreement of Pāli with Shb. Mans. in this point as opposed to G., note Pāli *hirañña*ṃ, Shb. [*h*]*i*[*ra*]*ña-*, Mans. *hiña-* (read *hiraña-*), G. *hiraṃṇa-*.

[1] 'Māgadhan' *hoti* has nearly everywhere usurped the place of native *bhoti* in Mans.; similarly *hūta-* (written *huta-*) the place of *bhūta-* (written *bhuta-*); *hotu* has everywhere taken the place of *bhotu*. In Shb. *hoti* is found a couple of times. In G. *hoti* is found a few times but *bhavati* is greatly predominant. That *hoti* is a 'Māgadhism' is shown by the fact that the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī redactions have *hoti* and this only as the correspondent to Sanskrit *ḅhavati*. Similarly regarding *huta-* and *hotu*.

[2] The law for the retention or assimilation of *r* in conjoint consonants in the dialect of G. is: *r* is retained after stops and sibilants; and before *v*; is assimilated to following stops, sibilants, and nasals. Exceptions are 'Māgadhisms.'

[3] Where we have *kh* in G., Shb., Mans., these are 'Māgadhisms' as is shown by the fact that in the dialects of the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī recensions, *kkh* (written *kh*, *kh* and not *kkh* of course initially) is the regular correspondent to Indic *kṣ*. Cf. Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 23. [According to Johansson, Bühler reads *saṃ*[*chi*]*tena* in ZDMG.; in EI. he reads *saṃkhitena*.] I may add that I reject Pischel's 'law' as Johansson and, I think, Bartholomae before me. As to whether Aryan *ź̌ź̌h* is reflected by *jjh* in Middle-Indic languages, at present I am not able to judge.

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rāñā, *rāño* (and not *-jin-*); *mayā* (written *maya* in Mans. and Shb.) as the inst. sing. of the 1st personal pronoun (and not *mamayā*); *ahaṃ* (and not *hakaṃ*) as the nom. sing. of the 1st personal pronoun; *y* (and not *h*) in the ending of the 1st person sing. of the optative (Shb. *vracheyaṃ*, G. *gacheyaṃ*); *o*-conjugation of *karoti*, *prati* (not in Mans.), and not *paṭi*, corresponding to Skt. *prati* (see Michelson, IF. xxiii, pp. 240, 241).

In the American Journal of Philology I shall show that it is possible that the law in the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions that *ś* converts a following intervocalic *s* to *ś* is to be connected with the law that in the dialect of the Girnār redaction original *ś* (historical *s*) converts a following *st* to *sṭ*; it is also probable that Shb. Mans. *st* and G. *sṭ* from Aryan *šth* are to be brought into correlation: observe the retention of the sibilant and the deaspiration in both cases, even if the final result is different. It is certain that in the dialects of all three recensions that Indic *sth* becomes *st*, but 'Māgadhisms' by chance take the place of the native sounds in the case of both the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions.

It is more problematic if the law that in the dialect of the Girnār recension that original *ărṣ* and *ărṣy* become *ās* (Michelson, IF. xxiv, pp. 53, 54) should in any way be united with the apparent law that in the dialect of Shb. and Mans. that *r* is assimilated to an immediately *ṣ* after *ă* (Michelson, AJP. xxx), as vowel quantities are not distinguished in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet nor are geminations. If the two are to be brought into rapport with one another, the law would be as follows: *r* is assimilated to an immediately following *ṣ* in the combinations *ărṣ* and *ărṣy* in the dialects of Shb. Mans. and G. becoming *ăṣ(ṣ)* in the dialect of Shb. Mans., *ās* in the dialect of G.; original *ārṣ* remains in Shb. Mans.[1] but becomes *ās* in the dialect of G.

[1] Cases where the *r* is ommited are probably 'Māgadhisms.' Yet it is possible that the process which was completed in the case of *ărṣ*, was beginning to take place in the case of *ārṣ*, and hence the graphic fluctuation. The fact that *r* is assimilated before *ṣ* but not before other consonants in the dialect of Shb. and Mans., may be accounted for by the fact that *ṣ* as well as *r* is a lingual consonant: *r* would naturally be more readily assimilated to a consonant of its own class than other consonants. I call attention to the fact that in the American Journal of Philology I have shown that, contrary to the opinion of Johansson, *r* is not assimilated to immediately following dental stops in our dialect, nor are the dental stops converted to lingual stops by the influence of the preceding *r*.

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Special points of contact with the dialects of both the Kālsī and Girnār redactions.

These are but few in number. Examples are: the contraction of *ayi* to *e*[1] (Shb. Mans. *pujetaviya*, K. *pujetaviya*, G. *pūjetayā*, a blunder for **pūjetavyā*; Shb. *lekhapeśami*, K. *lekhāpeśāmi*; Mans. *hapeśati*, Shb. [*hapeśati*], G. *hāpesati*; Shb. [*vadhe*]*śaṃti*, *aṇapeśaṃti*; Shb. *aloceti*, G. *alocetpā*, Mans. *draśeti*; Shb. *vijetavi*[*ya*]*ṃ*, G. *vījetavyaṃ*; Shb. *praṭivedetavo*, *paṭrivedetavo*,[2] G. *prativedetavyaṃ*); the phonetic correspondent to Sanskrit *manuṣyà-*, Shb. Mans. *manuśa-*, i. e. *manuśśa-*, G. *manuśa-* i. e. *manussa-*, K. *manuṣa-*,[3] i. e. *manuṣṣa-*; *-eyu* (and not *evu*) as the ending of the 3d person pl. of the optative active (Shb. *avatrapeyu*, *śruṇeyu*, Shb. Mans. *vaseyu*, *suśruṣeyu*, Mans. *śruṇey*[*u*], Mans. *haveyu*, G. *vaseyu*, K. *ṣuneyu*, *ṣuṣuṣeyu*, *huveyu*, *-neyu* i. e. **haneyu*).

It is an acknowledged fact that in edicts i—ix, the dialect of the Kālsī recension is practically pure 'Māgadhan,' with but few traces of the native dialect. In edicts x—xiv the local dialect is prominent, but 'Māgadhisms' are not infrequent. It is probably due to this that we are unable to point out more special points of contact of the dialects of Shb., Mans., G., and K.

Special points of contact with the dialect of the Kālsī recension.

For the reason stated above, few special points of contact can be shown, even if they existed. Examples are: the con-

[1] In Dh. and J. *ayi* is uncontracted; as also in the 'Māgadhan' portion of K. 'Māgadhan' *ayi* for *e* has forced itself into several words in Shb., Mans., and G. I consider that Johansson's attempt to formulate a law determining under what circumstances *ayi* is retained and when contracted in the dialect of Shb. and Mans. (the dialect of G. is not treated) is a failure. In my judgement *ayi* phonetically contracts to *e* in the dialects of G., Shb., and Mans. under all circumstances. The fact that Shb. and Mans. are not always in agreement in the use of *ayi* and *e* distinctly points in this direction. For the principle involved, see Franke, Pāli and Sanskrit, p. 109.

[2] On Shb. *praṭi* and *paṭri*, see Michelson, IF. xxiii, pp. 240, 241.

[3] This is the true native word. *Manusa-*, in the 'Māgadhan' portion is due to the influence of 'Māgadhan' *munisa-* which is also found in the 'Māgadhan' portion of K. This does not affect the fact that 'Māgadhan' *munisa-* itself is a contamination of **manusa-* and **pulisa-* (Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 254ff.).

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traction of *aya* to *e* in the 3d sing. indicative and 3d pl. of the imperative of the causative[1] (Shb., Mans., K. *pujeti*, Shb. *paṭ[r]ivedetu*,[2] Mans. *paṭivedetu*,[2] K. [*paṭi*]*vedeṃtu*, Shb. *rocetu*,[2] K. *locetu*,[2] Shb. Mans. *aradhetu*,[2] Shb. *aradheti*, Mans. *aradheti*, Shb. *vaḍheti*, Shb. *anuneti*); Shb. Mans. K. *kiti* from **kid* **iti* (Johansson, Shb. ii, p. 52); *imaṃ* (written also *ima* in Shb. and Mans.) as nom. acc. sing. neutre; *i* in the gen. sing. of Shb. Mans. *etisa*, K. *etiṣā* (as shown by Shb. *imisa* we should expect this in Mans. and the corresponding form in K., but 'Māgadhisms' have usurped the place of the native words).

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Special points of contact with the dialects of the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī (edicts i—ix) recensions.

It will probably always be a matter of dispute as to what are special points of contact between the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions on the one hand and the dialects of the 'Māgadhan' versions on the other. For it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the seeming points of contact are not after all nothing more than 'Māgadhisms' in the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions. In some cases absolute tests are wanting, and the matter becomes more or less subjective. For example, I am persuaded that gerunds in *tu*, the *iy* passive, the word *cu* 'but' in Shb. and Mans. are really 'Māgadhisms', and not special points of contact with the dialects of the 'Māgadhan' versions.[3] I am confident that

[1] The contraction of *aya* in these forms is foreign to the dialects of the Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts. Hence where *aya* remains uncontracted in these forms in Shb. Mans. K., we can safely conclude that these cases are 'Māgadhisms.' (Exactly as where *ayi* remains uncontracted to *e* in the dialects of Shb., Mans., G., and K.) Johansson, Shb. i, p. 141, 142 (27 and 28 of the reprint) attempts to formulate a law determining under what circumstances *aya* phonetically remains or is contracted to *e*- successfully in my judgment, only he does not make use of the principle of 'Māgadhisms' in explaining the apparent exceptions. *Anuneti* included for convenience.

[2] 3d pl.; *ṃ* graphically omitted.

[3] For an argument in favor of holding such gerunds in *-tu* as occur in Shb. and Mans. to be 'Māgadhisms', see above p. 82. An argument to show that the *iy* passive in Shb. and Mans. is a 'Māgadhism' is that we should otherwise have to assume that *iyi* remained or was contracted to *ī* in both Shb. and Mans. under unknown conditions; whereas *iyi* remains in Dh., J., and K. Moreover the present passive in *iy* is the only present

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the following are real points of contact and not 'Māgadhisms': the contraction of *ava* to *o* in the correspondents to Skt. *bhavati*, *bhavatu* (Mans., Shb. *bhoti*, Shb. *bhotu*; Dh. J. K. *hoti*, *hotu*); original vocalic ṃ̄ appears as *a*+a nasal (Shb. Mans. *atikraṃtaṃ*, Dh. J. K. *atikaṃtaṃ*); the initial *i* of *iti* is lost after immediately preceeding vowels; the dat. sing. of *a*-stems ends in *-āye* (written *-aye* in Shb. and Mans.); the oblique cases in the sing. of *ā*-stems ends in *-āye*[1] (written *-aye* in Shb. and Mans.); *saṃtaṃ* as a nom. sing. of the present

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passive found in the dialects of the Pillar-Edicts. The fact that Mans. *ara. isu* (i. e. *arabhisu*) corresponds to Shb. *a*[*rabh*]*i*[*yisu*] points in the same direction. 'Māgadhan' *ś* for native *ṣ* should be observed in the termination of both words. Note too the Shb. passive *haṃñaṃti* (**hany-*) with active ending.—It should be noticed that *cu* (and not *tu*) alone is found in the Kālsī redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts as well as the various recensions of the Pillar-Edicts. The *tu* of the Dhauli redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts then would be a trace of the true local vernacular (cf. above). — This does not make it possible to declare *cu* the phonetic equivalent of Skt. *tu*, as *t* before *u* remains in the dialect of the Delhi-Sivalik version of the Pillar-Edicts (cf. *tuṭhāyatanāni*, Skt. *tuṣṭyāyatanāni*) On the etymology of *cu* see Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 256 ff. I may add that I hold Shb. and Mans. *hida* to be a 'Māgadhism' also. Similarly Mans. *hidaṃ*, if not a pure blunder.

[1] Johansson's explanation of this form is wholly erroneous. As Pischel (see his Gr. d. Pkt.-Sprachen) rightly saw, *āye* corresponds phonetically to Sanskrit *āyāi*. For the use of *āye* (**āyāi*) as a gen. sing. no question will be raised. The use of *āye* as an inst. sing. is thus to be explained **iyās* and **iyā*, the gen. and inst. sing. of *ī*-stems respective phonetically fell together in **iyā*; likewise **uvās* and **uvā* of the *ū*-stems; after the syncretism of the gen. and dative, *iye* did duty as a gen. also: now as *iyā* had the function of both gen. and inst., *iye* was made to serve as an inst. Hence *āye* of *ā*-stems also was used as an inst. It would be possible to assume that *āye* simply levelled *ayā*. Another hypothesis that is also plausible is: the inst. *ayā* was levelled to *āyā* by influence of the gen. sing. *āyā* (**āyās*); so when *āye* came to be used as a gen., it also was used as an inst As a matter of fact all the above forces may have played a part in bringing about the result.—The original loc. sing., whatever it may have been, was simply wiped out in favor of *āye*. For *āya* in the oblique cases of *ā*-stems in Pāli, and in the Girnār redaction of Fourteen-Edicts; as well as in the dialects of the Pillar-Edicts see my forth-coming essay on the dialect of the Girnār redaction. The dat. sing. of *a*-stems in *āye* is simply borrowed from the *ā*-stems. Pischel (see his Gr. d. Pkt.-Sprachen) already saw the possibility of this explanation, but rejected it on what appears to me insufficient grounds. Johansson's explanation is untenable as Pischel presumably saw. See also Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 243.

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participle (written *saṃta* once in Mans.); similarly Shb. Mans. *karaṃtaṃ* (written also *karataṃ* in both Shb. and Mans., *karata* in Shb.), Kālsī *kalaṃtaṃ* (written also *kalaṃta*, *kalata*); the optative *siyā* (written *siya* in Shb. and Mans.). It should also be noted that in these dialects the nom. sing. neutre of *a*-stems is frequently replaced by the nom. sing. masc. (Shb. *-o*, Dh., J., K. *-e*; in Mans. 'Māgadhan' *-e* replaces native *-o*). And the vocalism of *ucāvuca-* (written *ucavuca-* in Shb. and Mans.) in the dialects of J., Dh., and K. is deserving of mention in contrast with Girnār *ucāvaca-*. (Such is the reading of J. in ASSI.)

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A Hymn to Tammuz (Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum, Tablet 15821, Plate 18) with translation and commentary by Professor J. Dyneley Prince, Ph. D., Columbia University, New York.

Transliteration and Translation.

Obverse.

1. — — — — — — — — *ama-mu-ra nu-un-ti*
   (Lament) for my mighty one who liveth no more.
2. — — — — — — — *nu-un-ti ama-mu-ra nu-un-ti*
   — — — — who liveth no more, for my mighty one who liveth no more.
3. — — — *mu-lu* — — — *nu-un-ti ama-mu-ra nu-un-ti*
   — — — — who — — — liveth no more; for my mighty one who liveth no more.
4. — — — — — — — — *du mu-ud-na-mu nu-un-ti*
   — — — — — — — — — my spouse who liveth no more.
5. — — — — — — *mu mu nu-un-ti*
   — — — — — my — — — — — who liveth no more.
6. — — — — *dimmer gal mu-an-na nu-un-ti*
   — — — — great god of the heavenly year who liveth no more.
7. *ù-mu-un-e a-ra-li nu-un-ti*
   Lord of the lower world who liveth no more.
8. *ù-mu-un-e sar-ra lamga ki nu-un-ti*
   Lord of vegetation, artificer of the earth, who liveth no more.
9. *lax*(?)*-ba en dimmer dumu-zi nu-un-ti*
   The shepherd, the lord, the god Tammuz who liveth no more.
10. *ù-mu-un-e ba-ta*(?)*-ba nu-un-ti*
    The lord who giveth gifts who liveth no more.
11. *mu-ud-na-bi-ta* (*an-na*)*-ka nu-un-ti*
    With his heavenly spouse he liveth no more.
13. — — — — *mu-tin-na nu-un-ti*
    (The producer of) wine who liveth no more.
14. — — — — *lum-lum-ka na-àm-mal nu-un-ti*
    Lord of fructification; the established one who liveth no more.

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15. *ù-mu-un (gir)-ka na-àm-mal nu-un-ti*
The lord of power; the established one who liveth no more.
16. *gud kala-a-dim alam-ne-en dib* (LU)*-dib* (LU)*-bi ù-ša* (Ù)*-a-dim ne-tuš* (KU)
Like a mighty bull is his appearance; the forceful one, like an ancient bull he coucheth.
17. *gud kala-a-dim alam-ne-en má bir-bi ù-ša* (Ù)*-a-dim ne-tuš* (KU).
Like a mighty bull is his appearance; in his ship of plenty like an ancient bull he coucheth.
18. *me-e-zu* (?)*-da* (?) LI *ga-a-an-ma-kud*
In accordance with thy word(?) the earth shall be judged.
19. *su-gir-ma* LI *ga-a-an-ma-kud*
(Thus) the high parts of the earth verily shall be judged.
20. — — — — *mu-lu* — — — *me-a ga-a-an-ma-ab-gu* (KA)
— — — — — who — — — — verily they shall cry out for it.
21. [*šuku* (PAD) *nu*]*-kú-a-mu ga-a-an-ma-ab-gu* (KA)
For food which they have not to eat they shall verily cry out.
22. (*a*) *nu-nag-a-mu ga-a-an-ma-ab-gu* (KA)
For water which they have not to drink they shall verily cry out.
23. (*ki*)*-el šag-ga-mu ga-a-an-ma-ab-gu* (KA)
Verily the maiden who is pleasing shall cry out for it.
24. (*kala*) *šag-ga-mu ga-a-an-ma-ab-gu* (KA)
Verily the warrior who is acceptable shall cry out for it.
25. — — — — *a*(?)*-zu gir-e kur aš ba-šub* (RU)
— — — — thy — — — — the mighty one, the land with a curse is destroyed.
26. — — — — — *gir-e kur aš ba-šub* (RU)
— — — — — the mighty one, the land with a curse is destroyed.

Reverse.

27. (*gir*) *kur-ra i-de ugun* (DAR) *nu ugun* (DAR) *kùr-e*
Power of the land (is he). With (his) gift no gift can vie.
28. (*gir*) *kur-rá gu* (KA) *xu-tu-ul-xu-tu-ul-e*
Power of the land (is he). The Word which overcometh disease.
29. *gir ù-mu-un-da ù-mu-un-da*
Power he exalteth, exalteth.

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30. [*šuku* (PAD)] *nu-kù-a-mu ù-mu-un-da*
Food which they have not to eat he raiseth up.
31. *a nu-nag-a-mu ù-mu-un-da*
Water which they have not to drink he raiseth up.
32. *ki-el šag-ga-mu ù-mu-un-da*
The maiden who is pleasing he raiseth up.
33. *kala šag-ga-mu ù-mu-un-da*
The warrior who is acceptable he raiseth up.
34. *kala mu-lu-zu-ne mu-da-ab-xa-lam-ma*
The mighty one who destroyeth your people.
35. *dimmer ab-u tur mu-lu-zu-ne mu-da-ab-xa-lam-ma*
The god Ninib destroyeth even the least among your people.
36. *i-de-bar šag-ga-ni Nina nam-ba-e-bi-bi*
With her gracious aspect Ninâ speaketh.
37. *sar-bar šag-ga-ni xu-ub-na-an-ni-bar-ri*
In her gracious rising verily she shineth forth.
38. (*ki*) *âm-dirig-ga-na ur-ba kala*(?) *alam*
Where she waxeth full, her procreative power is mighty of aspect.
39. *mu-lu-mal* PA *gubu* (KAB)-*gub*(DU)-*bi-na šam-elteq-ga xu-ba-e-ku*
The creative one (with) the staff of her left hand, verily she establisheth the cleansing *uxulu*-herb.
40. *gi-sa* (DI)-*da-ni im-e-a-an-me*
With her sceptre of judgment she commandeth.
41. *mu-lu-mal li-du-ni im-mi-ir-ri-a-an-me*
The creative one with her firm voice she speaketh to him.

XLI. *er-lim-ma dimmer dumu-zi-da*

XLI lines. A hymn for the god Tammuz.

Commentary.

The present hymn to Tammuz in Eme-sal is one of a series found in Cun. Texts from the British Museum, Vol. xv, plates 10ff. Of these Dr. F. A. Vanderburgh has published in his thesis "Sumerian Hymns" (Columbia University Press, 1908) Plates 10, 15—16, 17, 19 and also Plates 11—12 in the JAOS, 1908. I have published Plates 14, 22, and 23 in the AJSL, while Dr. Vanderburgh, who is at present preparing for publication Plates 7, 8, 9, and 13—12, has aided me with the present text by many valuable suggestions.

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Obverse.

Line 1. *ama* = AM 'bull' I render 'mighty one.' Note that the god Ea is also called a bull in ii, 58, 52.

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Line 3. *mu-ud-na* = *xâ'iru* 'spouse;' cf. Br. 1304. Here the bereaved Ištar is probably speaking.

Line 6. *dimmer gal mu-an-na* 'great god of the year (lit. 'name') of heaven,' in contradistinction to the present condition of Tammuz as lord of the lower world *arali*, line 7, whither he had been transported, leaving the heavenly (or upper) year destitute of vegetation.

Line 8. *u-mu-un-e sar-ra* 'lord of (spring) vegetation.' Note that *sar* = SAR = *kirû* 'plantation,' Br. 4315 and see Prince, Materials, p. 283.

The mourning ceremonial for Tammuz took place just before the summer solstice which was followed by a season of rejoicing at his re-appearance. For this mourning-ceremonial which was evidently practised at Jerusalem in the time of Ezekiel, cf. Ezek. viii, 14:

ויבא אתי אל פתח שער בית יהוה אשר אל הצפונה והנה שם הנשים ישבות מבכות את תמוז׃

Probably also in Zech. xii, 10, the words מספד על היחיד refer to the ritual lamentation for Tammuz.

lamga ki; he was the artificer of the earth, because he was the cause of plant life especially. For *lamga*, cf. Prince *op. cit.* 221.

Line 9. *lax*(?)-*ba*. Although the first sign is obscure, it is most probably *lax* of the combination *lax-ba* = *rê'u* 'shepherd,' IV, 27, 1a.

The Sumerian form *dumu-zi* 'son of life,' i. e., 'life itself' = the god of life *par excellence*, is clearly the original of the Semitic corrupted name of this god *Tammuz*, which appears also as the name of the fourth month. Note the fuller form *dumu-zi-da* in line 42, showing that the full form of the word for 'life' in Sumerian was *zid*.

Line 10. *ba-ta*(?)-*ba*. This seems clearly *ba* verbal prefix + the locative infix *-ta-* + the root *ba* = BA = *qâšu* 'give, bestow,' Br. 107.

Line 13. I assume that some word meaning 'producer,' i. e. 'of wine' has been erased here.

Note the ES. form *mu-tin-na* for *geš-tin*. See Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 247 = *karânu* 'wine.'

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Line 14. On *lum* = LUM, see Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

na-ám-mal seems to consist of the abstract prefix *nam-* + *mal* = GA = *šakânu*, Prince, p. 231.

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Line 15. This line evidently contains *gir-emûqu* 'power,' Br. 9184 + the genitive suffix *-ka*.

Line 16. The second sign here must clearly be read *kala* owing to the following vowel of prolongation *-a*, and not *lig*, as is frequently the case. The suffix I read *dim* and not *gim*, as the hymn is in ES.

On *alam*, see Prince, 29. This is not a certain reading for the sign ÇALAM. Note that Hrozný reads this sign with value *alana*, probably associating it with Sem. *lânu* 'appearance,' Br. 7299, which seems to be its meaning here.

The suffix *ne-en* seems to consist of the demonstrative element *ne-* + the verbal *-en*, seen in *mên* 'to be.'

Note that the combination *dib* (LU)-*dib* (LU)-*bi* has the meanings *šitpûru*, Br. 10740; *šitbuçu*, Br. 10741; and *šitmarru*, Br. 10742. Hence my translation.

ù-ša(Ù)-*a-dim* consists of *ša* = Ù = *labîru* 'ancient,' Br. 9465, + the prolonging vowel *-a* + the suffix *dim* (GIM) = 'like unto.'

tuš (KU) = *ašâbu* 'sit, dwell', Br. 10523. The god is conceived of as sitting, i. e., couching like a powerful bull resting. The couchant attitude is no doubt suggested by the fact that the god's power is temporarily *at rest* in the lower world.

Line 17. *má* = *elippu* 'ship,' Br. 3683. This is his ritual ship of state or wealth; *bir* = *çibtu* 'wealth,' Br. 2029, probably referring to the ceremonial of carrying the image of a god in a small symbolical ship.

Line 18. *me-e-zu*(?)-*da* 'in accordance with thy word;' *me* = *qûlu* 'utterance', Br. 10370. LI means *erçitu* 'earth,' Br. 1104; perhaps this is correct here in connection with the verb-root *tar-kud* = *dânu* 'judge,' Br. 364. The prefix *ga* although precative properly, I render here as 'shall,' expressive of the singer's hope and thus also in the following lines.

Line 19. *su-gir* I render as 'highlands'; see Br. 233 = *Elam-tu* = *ma* = *mâtu* 'land', Prince, 228. This combination seems to be in genitive apposition to the following LI = *erçitu* (see just above on line 18).

Line 20. *me-a* here is perhaps the cognate accusative of *gu* (KA) and means 'they cry a crying' = 'they cry lustily for it.'

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Line 21. *šuku* (PAD) = *kurmatu* 'food,' Br. 9929. In *nu-kù-a-mu*, *kù* = *akâlu* 'eat,' Br. 882, *passim*. I supply this mutilated line from kindred passages. Note also below line 30.

Line 22. Note the parallelism here with line 21. *nag* = *šatû* 'drink,' Prince 251.

Line 23. *ki-el* = *ardatu* 'maid-servant.' For full discussion, see Prince 204. In *šag-ga-mu*, *šag* = *damqu*, Br. 7291 + the relative suffix *-mu*, in this case probably not the *-mu* of the first person, but the indeterminative relative possessive *-mu* discussed Prince, p. XXI.

Line 25. *aš* = *arratu* 'curse,' see Prince, 41. *šub* (RU) = *maqâtu* 'overwhelm,' Br. 1432. Literally: 'the land he overwhelmeth (with) a curse.' I render it passively "is destroyed" here, because the curse is negative on the part of Tammuz, consisting in his absence.

Reverse.

Line 27. The first sign here must be *gir* = *emûqu* 'power' fully discussed, Prince, 149. (*gir*) *kur-ra* seems to me to be an epithet of the god. *i-de* I take as prepositional; cf. Br. 4005: *maxar*; here = 'before' or 'in comparison with.' *ugun* (DAR) = the abstract prefix *u-* + *gun* = *biltu* 'gift, tribute.' See Prince, 341. In the last part of the line *pap* must be = *nakâru*; here = 'vie with,' Br. 1143.

Line 28. *xu-tu-ul xu-tu-ul-e* by repetition means 'to overcome disease thoroughly.' Note *xutul* = *xatû ša murçi*, Br. 2056: 'overcome disease.' Here Tammuz is the life giving Word, a conception which has many parallels in early Semitic literature and which culminated in the Word of the Gospel of St. John.

Line 29. I must regard *-da* here as a verb = *našû* 'lift up;' see Br. 6654 = *šaqû* 'be lofty.'

Lines 30—33 incl. are parallel with lines 21—24 incl. above.

Line 34. The suffix *-zu-ne* ought to mean "your people" (*mulu* = *nišû*, Br. 1339). See Prince, p. XXIII § 10 on *-zu-ne* which can sometimes but incorrectly mean 'their.' *xa-lam-ma* must signify 'destroy'; see Br. 11850: *xa-lam* = *xulluqu* 'destroy.'

Line 35. The god *ab-u* = *Ninib*, Br. 3836.

Line 36. *i-de* = *naplusu* 'look, aspect,' Br. 4010. *bar* = *namâru* 'shine forth,' Br. 1775. *i-de-bar* is a combination which means 'aspect' in this connection. *šag* = *damqu* 'gracious,' Br. 7291. *nam-ba-e-bi-bi*; the prefix *nam* is not necessarily negative; cf.

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Prince, p. XXIX § 34: it merely serves here to strengthen the ordinary *ba*-prefix. *bi-bi* = *qibû* 'speak', Prince, 57.

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Line 37. *sar* = *nipxu* 'rising,' as of the sun or a planet, DW 474. *sar-bar* is a synonym or a parallel of *i-de-bar* of the preceding line. I render the precative force of *xu-* in *xu-ub-nani-bar-ri* as '*verily* she shineth forth;' note that *bar* = *namâru* 'shine forth,' Br. 1775. *pitû* 'open out,' Br. 1791.

Line 38. (*ki*) really = 'place;' here probably = 'where, wherever.' *àm-dirig* = 'fullness,' with abstract prefix *àm* + *dirig* 'be full,' Prince, 81. I render *ur-* here as *bultu* 'procreative power,' Br. 11258 + the 3 p. suffix *-ba*. The sign after BA is probably *lig* or *kala*, as it seems to be pronounced in this hymn (note above line 16 LIG *-a* = *kala-a*). *kala*(?) + *alam* must mean 'mighty of aspect.'

Line 39. *mu-lu-mal* 'she who' (relative *mulu*) + *mal* = *šakânu* 'establish, make,' Br. 5421. This must be an epithet applied to Ninâ. PA can only indicate the goddess's sceptre of power; Br. 5573: *xaṭṭu* 'sceptre, staff.' *kab* = *gubu* = *šumêlu* 'left hand,' Br. 2684. I believe that DU = *gub* is a gloss giving the reading of KAB = *gub*(*u*). *šam-nag-ga*; this *nag* = *elteq* = *uxulu* 'a cleansing plant like a soap,' DW. 43; the prefix *šam* = U is the determinative for 'plant.' *ku* here must = *nadû* 'put in a specified place,' Br. 10542.

Line 40. In *gi-sa* (DI)-*dan-ni*, *gi* = 'reed,' Prince, 138; *sa* (DI) = *milku* 'counsel, judgment,' Br. 9531; *da* is probably the infixed postposition before the suffix *-ni* 'her.' *me* = *qâlu* 'speak,' Br. 10361.

Line 41. *li-du* appears in *li-du an-na* = *elîtum ša zamâri* 'high voice in singing.' It is probable that LI was pronounced *ngu*(*b*), a cognate of *me* = *qâlu* 'speak.' *du* in *li-du* = *kânu* 'firm,' Br. 4884. In *im-mi-ir-ri-a-an-me*, 'unto him' is contained in the *-r-* element.

It should be noted that in lines 36—41 the goddess Ninâ, the consort of Tammuz, is represented as being the revivifying power acting against the destructive force of Ninib. Ninâ is thus associated with Tammuz in this hymn as a life-giver after the winter solstice. While she and Tammuz are away, all vegetation ceases.

Line 41. *er-lim-ma*; the second syllable is really *lib*, probably pronounced *lim* in conjunction with the following *-ma*.

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Another Fragment of the Etana Myth.—By Morris Jastrow jr.

I.

By a fortunate chance the Berkshire Athenaeum of Pittsfield Mass. has come into possession of one of the tablets of Ashurbanapal's library.[1] Like the other specimens known to exist in this country,[2] this one also was brought to this country by the Rev. Dr. W. F. Williams, who, being at Mosul while Layard was conducting his excavations in the region, obtained some tablets from native Arabs. Three fragments are now in the possession of Dr. Talcott Williams of Philadelphia (son of Rev. Dr. Williams), a fourth after passing through several hands came into the hands of Mr. George Harding, a Trustee of the Berkshire Athenaeum who about two years ago presented it to the institution. My attention was called to it during a visit to Pittsfield, and I wish to express my obligations to Mr. H. H. Ballard, the curator of the Athenaeum who kindly placed the very interesting specimen at my disposal for study and copying. It measures $8^1/_2 \times 10$ cm. and contains parts of 31 lines on the obverse and parts of 24 lines on the reverse together with a colophon showing parts of 6 lines. By comparison with similar colophons, the one on our text can be completed, adding about 3 more lines. Completing the tablet in this way, we are enabled to estimate the number of lines missing at the top of the obverse at about 9 lines. How many lines are missing at the bottom of the obverse and at the top of the reverse, it would, of course, be difficult to say,

[1] Discovered at Kouyunjik by Layard (1849). See Jastrow, *Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries* (*PAOS.* XXVII, 147 seq.) and Bezold's Introduction to his *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection* etc. (Vol. 5).

[2] Two have been published by me (1) "A Fragment of the Babylonian Dibbara Epic" (Phil. 1891) and (2) "A New Fragment of the Etana Legend" (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Bd. III, pp. 363–383).

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but from the comparison of this fragment with the twelve others known to us and a study of the various editions of the text that they represent, the conclusion may be reached that the obverse of our fragment covered about 70 lines and the reverse about 54.[1] The tablet when received contained considerable incrustation. Thanks to careful treatment at the Chemical Department of the University of Pennsylvania (for which I am under obligations to my colleague Prof. E. F. Smith and to his assistant Mr. Wallace) and to a thorough soaking of the tablet in water, many lines or individual characters that were at first obscured became entirely legible, or sufficiently so as to enable me to practically make out all of the tablet that has been preserved. Conjectural restorations are indicated in the transliteration and translation by being placed within brackets. The clay of the tablet is of the reddish color that is characteristic of so many of the tablets of Ashurbanapal's collection. The characters are carefully written but often difficult to read especially in the crowded portions. An interesting feature is the small double wedge frequently appearing in some of the lines,[2] indicating that in the copy from which our tablet was copied a line ended at the mark in question. The bearing of this feature on the interpretation will be shown further on. As to the holes evidently inserted into the clay *before* the characters were inscribed, scholars still waver between the supposition that they were made to protect the tablet from cracking in the course of baking, or as receptacles for wooden pegs on which the tablet rested while the one side was being inscribed. Probably neither supposition is correct. Tablets can be burned without air holes—witness the large historical clay cylinders and the business documents—and the attempt to steady the tablet by means of pegs at the places indicated by the holes would hardly prove very effective. The holes are both too close together and too irregularly distributed to make this supposition a plausible one. I have sometimes thought that they were inserted as a kind of guide to the scribe in copying his tablet, but this thesis also encounters objections.

[1] The colophon takes up 9 lines and these being more widely spaced, the reverse contains fewer lines than the obverse. See below pp. 113—123.

[2] On the reverse ll. 3. 12. 16. 17. 19. 20. 21. 22.

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That the tablet belongs to the Etana myth follows from the colophon and is confirmed by the context. It is therefore a curious chance that two of the four fragments of the royal library that found their way to this country should form parts of one and the same series.

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II.

The fragment reads as follows:[1]

Transliteration.

Obverse

[about 9 lines wanting].

1. [*it-ti(?)*]*ka* — — — — *ru-'a-u-*[*tu*][2]
   [*lu*] *it-ba-ru a-*[*-na-ku*]
   [*erû*] *pa-šu i-pu-šam-ma* [*a-na ṣiri izakkar*]
   — — — — — *ša ru-'a-u-tu* — — — —
5. [*lim-ni-ta*][3]*-ma kab-*[*ta-ti nu-u-ri-is*][4]
   il [*GAL-la*][5] *ša ilâni* [*a-šak-ku ni-kul-ma*][6]
   al-ka(?)[7] *ni-zaḳ-pa-am-ma* — — —
   ni-it-ma-a irṣitim — —
   ina maḫar (*il*) *Šamaš ḳu-ra-di ma-mit it-*[*mu-u*]
10. [*ša*] *i-ta-a ša* (*il*) *Šamaš* [*it-ti-ḳu*]
    (*il*) *Šamaš lim-niš ina ḳa-at ma-ḫi-ṣi* [*limaḫḫiṣ(?)*][8]

---

[1] Restored portions and conjectural readings in brackets.

[2] A variant writing to *ru-'-u-tu*. Cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dictionary*, p. 941[a] where it is used of the friendship between ox and horse.

[3] Restored according to rev. l. 8. Traces of *lim* and *ta* are discernible.

[4] Restoration likewise based on rev. line 8 only that—since it is Shamash who is bringing the charge against the eagle,—rev. l. 8 reads *tu-u-ri*, whereas here where the eagle and serpent are forming a plan, we must read *nu-u-ri*, corresponding to the verbs in ll. 7—8 which are in the first person plural.

[5] Traces discernible. Cf. rev. l. 9.

[6] Restored according to rev. l. 9 but *nikul* again instead of *takul*.

[7] The first sign can hardly be anything else than *al*, though Geštin (Brünnow Nr. 5004) is possible. The second sign is very puzzling. I have settled upon *ka* as the most likely, though it looks as though the scribe had started to write a different sign—perhaps Šun (Brünnow Nr. 250).

[8] Compare for lines 10—11, the parallel in the other fragment of the Etana myth published by me obv. l. 13 (*Beiträge zur Assyr.* III, p. 364), where we can now restore after *ḳa-at* the word *ma-ḫi-ṣi* and which on the other hand enables us to restore the end of ll. 10 and 12 of our text. Note also that in the other fragment ll. 10—11 appear as one line,

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ša i-ta-a ša (il) Šamaš [it-ti-ḳu]
li-is-su-šu-ma ni-ri — — —
kak-ku mur-tap-pi-du êli-šu — —
15. *giš-par-ru ma-mit (il) Šamaš lib-bal-ki-tu-šu-ma [li-bar-ru-śu]*[1]
iš-tu ma-mit [(il) Šamaš] it-mu-u iṣṣitim — —
iz-zaḳ-pu-nim-ma ša-da-a e-lu-[u ur-ḫa e-te-ḳu-u]
ûmu I (kam) ta-a ili i-na-ṣa-ru[-u][2]
alpu rimu pu-ri-mu erû[3] *i-bar-ram-[ma]*
20. *ṣiru ik-kal i-ni-'i-u ik-ka-lu mârê [ṣiri(?)]*
ar-mi ṣabitê ṣiru i-bar-ram-[ma]
erû ik-kal i-ni-'i-u ik-ka-lu mârê [erî(?)]
sa-ap-pa-ri di-da-ni erû i-bar-ram-[ma]
ṣiru ik-kal i-ni-'i-u ik-ka-lu mârê [ṣiri(?)]
25. *— — — ḳaḳ-ka-ri ṣiru i-bar-ram-ma*
[erû ik-kal i-ni]-'i-u ik-ka-lu mârê [erî(?)]
[erû ir-bi ak-]-kul-li mârê erî ir-bu-u i-ši-ti
[ištu mârê erî] ir-bu-u i-ši-ti
[ištu mârê erî][4] *li-mut-tu ik-pu-du-ma*
30. *[erû lib-ba-]*[5]*šu li-mut-tu*
[ik-pu-ud-ma a-na a-ka-li ad-mi ša ru'a][6]*-šu iš-kun*
[number of lines lacking about 30].

Reverse.

[number of lines lacking about 30].

— — — — — — — — — ri — — —
— — — — — — i i-pu(?) — — —

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though with the indication that in the text from which it was copied there were two lines as in our text. The word *limût* is of course conjectural but some such word must have stood there.

[1] Parallel line in the other fragment obv. 12 which suggests the restoration at the close.

[2] Cf. the phrase *la na-ṣir mamit ilâni rabûti* (*VR.* 8, 67).

[3] So the compound ideograph Id-Ḫu is to be read and not *našru*, as is shown by the phonetic writing *e-ru-u* in the fragment published by Scheil (*Rec. des Travaux*, xxiii, p. 21; rev. ll. 2 and 4). This is confirmed by [*e*]-*ru-u* in the fragment K. 1547 rev. 20 (*Beiträge zur Assyr.* ii, p. 445) which in turn corresponds to rev. 21[a] of our fragment where the ideographic writing Id-Ḫu occurs.

[4] Restoration suggested by the other fragment obv. 2 which itself may now be restored as follows: *ištu mârê erî [li-mut-tu ik-pu-du-ma]*.

[5] The restoration *[lib-ba-]šu* is quite certain. Traces of *ba* discernible. Cf. the other fragment obv. 3 where no doubt *limuttu* is to be added.

[6] Restored according to the other fragment obv. 5.

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— — — — — [*u-mi-*]*šam-ma im-ta-na-ḫa-*[*ra* (*il*) *Šamaš*]
[*i-na*] *šu-ut-ta-ti a-ma-ta-ma man-nu i-di-ki i-šak-na tuš-še arad-ka*

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5. [*ia-*]*a-ši erû bul-liṭ-an-ni-ma*
a-na u-mi da-ru-u-ti zi-kir-kalu-uš-te eš-me
(*il*) *Šamaš pa-šu epuš-ma a-na erî i-zak-kar-*[*šu*]
lim-ni-ta-ma kab-ta-ti tu-u-ri-is
(*il*) *GAL-la ša ilâni a-šak-ku ta-kul*
10. *ta-ma-ta-a-ma la a-sa-an-ni ḳa-aḳ-ḳa-*[*ri*][1]
a-lik a-me-la ša a-šap-pa-rak-ka ḳat-ku li-iṣ-[*bat*]
(*il*) *E-ta-na u-mi-šam-ma im-ta-aḫ-ḫa-ra* (*il*) *Šamaš*
ta-kul (*il*) *Šamaš ku-bur šu-'-e-a irṣitim*[2] *miṭḫar-ti*[3] *i-da-am az-li-*[*ia*]
ilâni u-kab-bit e-dim-ma ap-kid
15. *ig-dam-ra maš-šak-ki-ia* (*ŠAL*)*EN-ME-LI* (meš)
az-li-ia ina tu-ub-bu-ḫi[4] *ilâni ig-dam-*[*ru-*]
be-lum ina pi-i-ka li-ṣa-am-ma id-nam-ma šam-ma ša a-[*la-di*]
kul-li-man-ni-ma šam-ma ša a-la-di bil-ti u-suḫ-ma šu[*-ma šuk-na-an-ni*][5]
(*il*) *Šamaš pa-šu i-pu-uš-ma a-na* (*il*) *E-ta-na i-zak-*[*kar-šu*]
20. *a-lik ur-ḫa e-ti-iḳ šad-a a-mur šu-ut-ta-tum ki-*[*rib-ša bi-ri*][6]
ina lib-bi-ša na-di erû u-kal-lim-ka šam-[*ma ša a-la-di*]
a-na zi-kir (*il*) *Šamaš ḳu-ra-di* (*il*) *E-ta-na il-lik* [*ur-ḫa e-ti-iḳ šad-a*]
i-mur-ma šu-ut-ta-tum ki-rib-ša ib-ri ina lib-[*bi-ša na-di erû*][7]
ul-la-nu-um-ma ul-taḳ-ḳa-aš-[*šu*][8]

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[1] From this line on to the middle of l. 21 we have a duplicate in Harper's 2d fragment, *Beiträge zur Assyr.*, II, p. 394 (K. 1547 Rev.). Lines 5 to 10 of this fragment may now be restored according to our text.

[2] The reading confirmed by *ir-ṣi-*[*ti*] in Harper's fragment l. 9. Note that line 13 of our text covers two lines in Harper's fragment (ll. 8—9).

[3] Brünnow Nr. 11261 or perhaps *rapašti* as Harper restores (ib. p. 392, line 10).

[4] Correct Harper's reading accordingly. Cf. IV R[2] 20 Nr. 1, 27 *az-lu ṭu-ub-bu-ḫu.*

[5] Restored according to the duplicate l. 16.

[6] Restoration based on l. 23.

[7] According to l. 21.

[8] See the line before the colophon to K 2606 rev.—parallel to our text [*ul-*]*la-nu-um-ma uš-ta-ḳa-aš-šu.* Correct Harper's reading of the line accordingly. For *ullanum* in the sense of "recently just now," see e. g. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, Sin Nr. III, 4; xviii, 29 etc.

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Colophon.

25. *erû pa-šu i-pu-šam-ma ana (il) Šamaš beli-šu [i-zak-kar]*
duppu II (kam) ala i-ṣi tum(?) — — —
êkal Ašur-ban-apal šar [kiššati šar mât Ašur(ki)].[1]
ša (il) Nabu (il) Tāš-me-tum uz-nu ra-[pa-aš-tum išruḳû-šu]
i-ḫu-uz-zu ênâ na-mir-tum [ni-siḳ dup-šar-ru-ti]
30. *ša ina šarrâni a-lik maḫ-ri-ia [mimmu šip-ru šu-a-tu la*
i-ḫu-uz-zu]
[ni-me-ḳi (il) Nabu ti-kip sa-an-tak-ki ma-la ba-aš-mu
ina duppâni aš-ṭur as-niḳ ab-ri-e-ma
a-na ta-mar-ti ši-ta-as-si-ia ki-rib ekal-ia u-kin].

Translation.

[*Obverse.*]

1. [Let us form (?)] friendship [you and I (?)][2]
Verily, a friend I [to thee will be (?)]
[The eagle (?)][3] opened his mouth and [to the serpent (?) spoke],
[An agreement (?)] of friendship [let us make (?)],
5. The wicked and mighty (?) let us crush (?)[4],
[The *gallu*][5] of the gods, [the *ašakku* let us destroy],

[1] Restored according to II R 21, 26—34; 33; 38; IV R² 55 etc. etc.

[2] While the restorations in this and in the 4th line are of course purely conjectural, it is evident that the serpent and eagle are proposing to form an alliance.

[3] Room for two signs—hence the suggestion to read *ID-ḪU*, though of course it is possible that the serpent is addressing the eagle.

[4] *nu-u-ri-is* (like *tu-u-ri-is* rev. 8) from *arâsu*(?), perhaps related to *rêsu* (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 104ᵇ) like *arašu* to *rêšu*. One is naturally inclined at first to take *limnita* and *kabtati* as permansives "evil and wicked art thou" but there are various obstacles in the way. One should expect *kabtata* as in the 4th tablet of the Creation Story l. 3. To denounce one as "evil and mighty" would be a strange combination. I prefer to take both words as descriptive epithets. The force of the *ma* which as the combining element outside of verbs is not infrequent in divination texts (see e. g. IV R² 34 Nr. 1, obv. 4) seems to be that of conveying a compound term "powerfully wicked" or "wickedly powerful."

[5] The addition of *la* to *Nun* points to the reading *gallu* and I have no hesitation in identifying this with the well-known designation of a particular demon, for which, to be sure, the ordinary ideographic designation is *Te-Lal* (Brünnow Nr. 7732) but which is also written phonetically *gal-lu-u* and *gal-lu*. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 217ᵃ. The juxtaposition with the demon *ašakku* leaves no doubt as to the identification.

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— — let us set up — — —
Let us lay a ban on the earth — —
In the presence of Shamash, the warrior, the ban they laid.
Whoever [transgresses] the bounds of Shamash,
May Shamash grievously through the destroyer[1] [cut off]!
Whoever [transgresses] the bounds of Shamash,
May he remove him and — — —
May the overpowering weapon [fall] on him — —
May the sling, the ban of Shamash hit him [and catch him]!
When they had laid the ban [of Shamash] on the earth — —
They set up, they ascended the mountain [they took the road(?)].
For one day they kept the charm[2] of the god.
An ox, a wild ox, a wild ass, the eagle caught,
The serpent ate,[3] drew back, the young [of the serpent(?)] ate.
A mountain goat, gazelles, the serpent caught,
The eagle ate, drew back, the young [of the eagle(?)] ate.
A wild mountain gazelle,[4] a *didanu*,[5] the eagle caught,
The serpent ate, drew back, the young [of the serpent(?)] ate.
— — — of the ground[6] the serpent caught,
[The eagle ate, drew back], the young [of the eagle(?)] ate.

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[1] For *mahiṣu* in the sense here taken it is sufficient to refer to the passage in the hymn to Shamash *ZA.* IV, p. 31, col. III, 29 where the word appears in juxtaposition with *mu-tir-ru bûli* "destroyer of cattle."

[2] Instead of *ta-a* one is tempted in view of the preceding lines to read *i-ta-a*, the accidental omission of the *i* being due to its resemblance to the preceding *kam*. However, *tû* as a synonym of *mamîtu* is no doubt correct.

[3] The reading *ik-rib* "drew near" is of course possible here and in the succeeding lines, but in view of *ik-ka-lu*, the preference is to be given to *ik-kal*, just as in the Deluge myth (Gilgameš XI, 155) *ik-kal i-ša-aḫ-ḫi* "ate and went away" which is a partial parallel to our passage. Cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 34[b]. Whether at the end of the line we are to restore *erû* or *ṣiru* is also open to question, though the general sense is not affected whichever reading we adopt.

[4] Cf. II R 6, 6d. Our passage fixes the correct reading of the term with an *s* and not *šap-pa-ru* as has been hitherto assumed. Delitzsch in his *Assyrische Tiernamen*, p. 48 read correctly *sapparu*, but his comparison of a very doubtful Arabic term شفر "young gazelle" is not acceptable.

[5] Or *di-ta-nu* as II R 6, 7[d].

[6] It is tempting to restore *šaḫ ḳaḳḳari* in view of II R 24 Nr. 1 rev. 19, but the traces do not favor this.

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[When the eagle stirred up] tribulation(?),[1] the young of the eagle raised an uproar.[2]
[When the young of the eagle] raised an uproar,
[When the young of the eagle] planned evil,
[The eagle directed his heart] in evil design.
[To eat the young of his friend] he determined.[3]

— — — — —

[*Reverse.*]

— — — — — [the eagle] daily faced Shamash.
[In] the hole I will die and he who stirred up, should settle the strife[4] of thy servant.
Me the eagle let me live and
Eternally, I will glorify thy name.
Shamash opened his mouth and spoke to the eagle.
The wicked and mighty one didst thou carry off.
The powerful one of the gods, the *ašakku* didst thou consume.
Therefore thou shouldst die[5] and to the unseen(?)[6] land
Go! The man whom I shall send to thee may he seize hold of thee.[7]
Etana daily faced Shamash,[8]

---

[1] The reading *ak-kul-li* is suggested by the following *išitu*.

[2] Cf. *e-ši-ti mâti* (I R 40 col. IV, 36) by the side of *ešitu* and *i-šit-tu* (see Jastrow, *Religion Babyl. u. Assyr.*, I, p. 480 note 12 and II, p. 54 note 7). The general sense is "uproar." "Geschrei" as I rendered it II, p. 54, is perhaps better than "Vernichtung" (I, p. 480), though destruction is also involved.

[3] While the restorations in these lines are again purely conjectural, the general context has, I think, been correctly caught with the help of the fragment above (p. 103, note 8) referred to.

[4] For *tuš-še* in connection with *dikû* see the Hammurabi Code col. VIII, 2 *tu-uš-sa-am-ma id-ki*. The contrast to *dikû* would naturally be *šakânu*.

[5] The emphatic form *ta-ma-ta-a-ma* conveys the force of deserving death; it is a threat rather than a mere assertion.

[6] *asannu* is a new word and evidently a description of the dwelling-place of the dead. One is reminded of the *a-šar la a-ri* "unseen place" in the incantation IV R^2 16, 47^a which, as l. 51 *a-šar la a-ṣi-e* shows, refers to the nether world.

[7] Evidently in the sense of furnishing assistance, as in the passages quoted by Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 861^a.

[8] The phrase implies an appeal to the god (as above l. 3)—making the direct statement that Etana opened his mouth etc. superfluous.

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Thou hast consumed, o Shamash, the strength (?) of my sheep,
in the whole earth the young (?) of my lambs.[1]
The gods I have honored, the shades, I have regarded,
The priestesses[2] have put an end[3] to my offerings.[4]
My lambs through slaughter[5] the gods have put an end to.
O lord! By thy command may some one go out and give me the plant of birth!
Show me the plant of birth, tear out the fruit[6] and [grant me] an offspring!
Shamash opened his mouth and spoke to Etana.
Take the road, pass to the mountain, seek out the hole, [look] within it.
Wherein the eagle has been thrown, I will show thee the plant [of birth].

---

[1] A difficult line. The parallelism with *az-li-ia* leaves no doubt as to the force of *šu-'e-a*. In the Gilgameš epic, *ku-bur* (VI, 123, 147, 188) written as in our passage, occurs in connection with the "horns" and "tail" of the divine bull, and the general sense of "strength" fits the context. The "strength of my sheep" would be equivalent to "my strong sheep." As a parallel to this, I am inclined to take *i-da-am az-li-ia*, connecting the former with *admu* "offspring". Naturally, this is merely offered as a suggestion. To take *idâm* as a verbal form from *da'amu* "dark" gives no good sense. Shamash being addressed could not be the subject, as little as *irṣitum* which is feminine. If my interpretation is correct, *idâm* as a parallel to *kubur* would have more specifically the force of "vigorous." Is this perhaps the underlying sense of the stem *adâmu* from which we get *admu* in Assyrian "young, vigorous" and אָדָם in Hebrew, —parallel to *vir* "the strong one" as the designation of "man"—by the side of the other word for man among the Semites אֱנוֹשׁ إِنسان etc. = Assyrian *enšu, nišê, tenišêti* etc. as the "weak" one?

[2] Our text shows that "priestesses" are introduced—not priests as Harper assumed—hence the feminine plural *igdamrâ*. The syllabary V R 13 rev. 49 is, accordingly, to be restored [*Šal En*-]*Me-Li* = *ša-il-tu*. In the text IV R 60* B obv. 7 we have the masculine equivalent with *mašša̯ku* as in our case. See Jastrow, *A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job* (*Journal of Bibl. Literature*, XXV, p. 159 notes 84—85).

[3] *igdamra* I take in the sense of "destroy" as implying the rejection of the offerings. IV R 60* C rev. 99 *šaḫâtu* "destroy" is employed in the same way.

[4] *maš-šak-ki-ia*. Cf. Jastrow ib. note 85.

[5] Not as a sacrifice but as an actual destruction.

[6] *biltu* I take as a reference to the tearing out of the plant—not to the birth of a child as Harper assumed.

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On the order of Shamash the warrior Etana took [the road passed to the mountain],
Sought out the hole, looked within it, [wherein the eagle was cast],
(Where) recently he had been left to perish.[1]

Colophon.

25. The eagle opened his mouth and to Shamash his lord [spoke].
2nd tablet of the series *ala i-ṣi tum* (?) — — —
Palace of Ašurbanapal, king [of the universe, king of Assyria],
Whom Nebo and Tašmit [have granted wide] understanding,
Endowed with clear vision [for the glorious art of writing][2],
30. Whereas among the kings before me [none had acquired that art].
[The wisdom of Nebo, the grouping (?)[3] of all extant collections (?)[4],
On tablets I wrote, compiled and revised, to be seen and to be read in my palace I placed.[5]]

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[1] II, 1 from *šaḳâšu.*

[2] *nisiḳ dupšarruti* is to be taken as a compound term "writing-art" and to be connected directly with the preceding *êna namirtum.* The latter phrase might be rendered "clear insight." To separate *nisiḳ dupšarruti* from what precedes as Myhrman does (*ZA*, XVI, p. 167), following Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, p. 293, is to lose the force of the whole line.

[3] *ti-kip*—for which Delitzsch's explanation (*Assyr. Thiernamen*, p. 8), connecting it with talmudic תִּכֵּף "join" still seems to be the most satisfactory. Cf. also II R 49, Nr. 1 obv. 13 and III R 57, Nr. 6, 52 seven *ti-ik-pi* stars = seven "joined" stars.

[4] *santakku* is certainly to be derived from *satâku* with inserted *n*, as the variant *sa-tak-ki* (V R 51, col IV, 55) shows. My suggestion for *santakku* is based on the circumstance that the ideograph for the word is the sign Tiš (Meissner, Nr. 7563) in S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, I, p. 112, 15 = V R 13 and elsewhere (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 787[b]) in the phrase *ṣabê santakkika* = "thy collected troops."

[5] It is of course possible that the colophon contained several additional lines like IV R[2] 56 and V R 51. A collection of all the various colophons and a careful renewed study of them is much to be desired, as a supplement to Delitzsch's discussion in his *Assyrische Thiernamen*, pp. 6—11 and in the *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, pp. 293—294. Such a study would show that the various classes of texts had distinctive colophons. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, p. 226 note 1 for the form characteristic of divination texts.

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III.

The general character of the contents of the fragment is clear. The obverse evidently opens with a scene between the serpent and the eagle, in the course of which the two agree to form a friendship in order to carry out some plan of attack together. That plan involves the capture and destruction of demons and, apparently also, of placing the entire earth under a ban. The serpent and eagle swear a powerful and binding oath in the name of Shamash who is here viewed in his usual rôle of judge and punisher of those who do wrong.

The next scene leads us to the mountain whither the serpent and eagle have gone. During the one day that they kept the agreement, they succeeded in capturing a number of animals and sharing them together. Then the catastrophe occurs. Prompted apparently by a suspicion of the serpent's fidelity, the eagle plans an attack upon the young of the serpent. At this point, unfortunately, the obverse of the fragment breaks off, and when the thread of the narrative is again taken up on the reverse, we find the eagle thrown into a hole and in a state of utter despair appealing to Shamash to help him out of his predicament. The sun-god reproaches him for what he has done, but acceding to the eagle's prayer to let him live, declares that he will send a man to his assistance. The third scene introduces us to the man who is none other than Etana. He is a shepherd[1] whose flocks have evidently suffered through the ban that has been laid upon the earth. They have failed to bring forth young and Etana, accordingly, appeals to Shamash to show him the plant of birth. Shamash in reply tells Etana to go to the mountain to the hole wherein the eagle has been thrown and there he will see the plant of birth. The fourth scene takes us back to the mountain but with the meeting of Etana and the eagle, our tablet—the second of the series—closes.

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[1] See K 2606 obv. 6 *ri-e-um-ši-na* (Harper, *Beiträge zur Assyr.*, II, p. 399). It is interesting to note that on cylinders representing Etana's flight, a shepherd with his flocks is pictured as looking at the eagle bearing Etana aloft. According to Dr. W. H. Ward's plausible explanation, the accompaniments to a scene on a cylinder stand in a direct connection with the main representation, symbolizing other episodes that belong to it. In this case, therefore, the shepherd would be Etana feeding his flocks.

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In order now to understand the purport of these four scenes it is necessary to pass to a consideration of the other fragments of this myth that are known to us. It is the merit of Dr. E. J. Harper[1] to have added to the three fragments dealing with a story of the eagle, serpent and Etana found by George Smith[2] among the tablets of Ashurbanapal's library, seven others in one way or the other connected with the two. An eleventh fragment—also from this library was published by me as indicated above[3] and a twelfth—in the older Babylonian script—by Scheil.[4]

Harper divided his ten fragments into three groups as follows:—(1) containing a story of the serpent and the eagle together with what he calls—erroneously however—a prayer of Etana for his son,[5] (2) the story of Etana's ride on the back of the eagle, (3) an assembly of the gods. In my publication of the 11th fragment, I suggested[6] a somewhat different order but Jensen's discussion of the fragments[7] together with the study of the 13th fragment, herewith published, has led me to a modification of my views. The new fragment shows that Jensen was right in his suggestion that the 11th fragment though ending with the consignment of the eagle to a hole in which he is to die does not necessarily involve the death of the eagle. My contention, therefore, that the episode of the eagle with Etana must be placed *before* the discomfiture of the eagle was erroneous. I now accept Harper's view which is adopted by Jensen that the story of the serpent and the eagle comes *before* that of the eagle and Etana. There is now also no reason for questioning[8] the connection of K 8578 with Rm 79, 7—8, 43 as proposed by Harper, but on the other hand the new fragment while confirming my suggestion that the first line of K 8578 obv. is to be completed in accordance with the colophon to K 2606 rev., raises the question whether K 8578 represents the 4th tablet of the series?

[1] *Die Babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dibbarra* (*Beiträge zur Assyr.*, II, pp. 391—408).

[2] Chaldaean Genesis (5th ed.), pp. 138—144. [3] See above p. 101, note 2.

[4] *Recueil des Travaux*, xxiii, pp. 18—23.

[5] It is an appeal of Etana to the sun-god.

[6] *Beiträge zur Assyr.*, III, p. 371.

[7] *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 1, p. 100 note 2.

[8] As was done by me in *Beiträge zur Assyr*, II, p. 370. See Jensen's strictures *KB*, VI, 1, p. 102.

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Attention has already been called to the fact[1] that the colophon of our fragment contains as the opening line of the following tablet the same words as in the colophon to K 2606 rev. Moreover, the last line of K 2606 rev. would appear to be identical with the last line of our fragment. In the case of our fragment, however, the colophon states that this tablet is the 2nd of the series, whereas K 2606 is entered as the 3rd tablet of the series.[2] It follows that we have here two different editions of the text and that what covered only two tablets in the one copy covered three tablets in the other. The marks on the reverse of our tablet indicating the ends of lines in the copy from which our fragment was copied shows, as a matter of fact, that the 12 fragments from Ashurbanapal's library represent different copies. Since K 2606 represents on the obverse the account of the assembly of the gods—Harper's third episode—we would have to assume in order that K 2606 rev. and our fragment should represent duplicates of one another, that the broken off portion of the obv. and the rev. of K 2606 contained considerably more than the episodes which in our fragment cover the obverse and reverse. A consideration of this thesis will show that it is improbable. The new fragment, as will presently be shown belongs to a tablet much longer than any of the others and to assume that K 2606 should represent part of a tablet again twice as long (at least) as the new one is certainly highly improbable. Moreover, if K 2606 belongs to a tablet so much larger than the one of which the new fragment forms a part, we would certainly not expect—since the tablets of any edition of a series are of the same size—that what covered two tablets in the edition of which the new fragment is a part should require three tablets in the other edition but rather the reverse. A simpler solution will be suggested in the course of this discussion.

IV.

The analysis given of the new fragment shows that it belongs to Harper's first group. The next point to be made clear is its relationship to the other fragments of this group.

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[1] See above p. 105, note 8.

[2] A renewed examination of the fragment kindly made by Mr. L. W. King confirms Harper's reading (3 wedges).

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Taking up K 1547 first, we note that the reverse is a duplicate of the reverse of the new fragment which we will designate hereafter as the 13th,—ll. 5—20 of the former = ll. 10—20[a] of the latter, i. e. 16 lines against 11 1/2 lines, indicating that we have two different copies before us. The indications in ll. 16, 17, 18 and 19 of the ends of lines in the text from which the 13th fragment was copied show that the scribe had an original before him in which the lines agreed with the length of those in K 1547. The obverse of the latter shows no points of agreement with the obverse of the new fragment but corresponds with the rev. of K 2527,—ll. 23—42 of K 2527 = ll. 1—24 of obv. of K 1547. Now, the obverse of K 1547 begins with the appeal of the serpent to Shamash for revenge upon the eagle who has eaten the young of the serpent. The lower edge of the obverse of K 2527 is preserved so that we have on the reverse, as on the obverse of K 1547, the continuation of the story—the advice of the sun-god to the serpent to enter the carcass of a wild mountain bull and to pounce upon the eagle as he swoops down to eat the flesh of the carcass. The immediate continuation of this episode is furnished by the reverse of the 11th fragment. Evidently the first seven lines[1] correspond to K 2527 rev. 35—42 and to K 1547 obv. 17—24. The practical agreement in regard to lines (7 as against 8) shows that these three fragments belong to tablets of about the *same* size.

The strategy succeeds, the eagle is caught, stripped of his feathers and altogether badly battered is thrown into a hole and there left to die. This hole is evidently in the mountain, for it is to this hole to which Etana is sent by Shamash. The two tablets therefore,—K 2527 and the 11th fragment—closed with this episode, while the reverse of K 1547 represents the continuation. The obverse of the 11th fragment contains the incident of the treachery of the eagle and joins on to the end of the obverse of the 13th fragment—ll. 2—5 of the 11th fragment = ll. 29—31 of the 13th fragment, though the lengths of the lines do not correspond. The new fragment thus furnishes a piece of the narrative that takes precedence to what is contained on the other three—namely, the alliance between the eagle and the

[1] Some of my readings must be corrected as Jensen (*K. B.* VI, 1, p. 106 seq.) very properly pointed out.

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serpent, and their adventures until the point of treachery. Again, the obverse of K 2527 represents the episode after the destruction of the young of the serpent by the eagle, namely the appeal of the serpent to Shamash, but we have no means of accurately determining the size of the gap between where the obverse of the 11th fragment breaks off and where the obverse of K 2527 takes up the thread, but it was probably not large. At the top of the obverse of the 11th fragment only a few lines are missing, for the end of the reverse represents in all probalities the last line of the tablet, followed by the colophon. Assuming that K 2527 and the 11th fragment represent parallel texts, both must have begun at the point represented by l. 27 of the obverse of the 13th fragment, which marks a new phase in the narrative—the beginning of the treachery. We thus obtain for these two tablets (a) obverse = 20 lines of the 11th fragment plus 20 lines of K 2527 = 40, to which we may add as a maximum a gap of say 10 lines = 50 lines and (b) reverse = 21 lines of K 2527 plus 17 additional lines of the 11th fragment = 38 lines which with 3 or 4 lines of the colophon would bring the total to about 42 lines. The break of circa 30 lines at the end of the obverse of the 11th fragment and the beginning of the reverse (20 of which are filled up by the obverse of K 2527) must of course be distributed between the two sides. We thus obtain for the total length of each of the two fragments between 90 and 100 lines, both covering the following episodes: (1) treachery of the eagle and destruction of the young of the serpent, (2) appeal of the serpent to Shamash, (3) advice of Shamash, and (4) success of the strategy and the discomfiture of the eagle. The new fragment covers this entire field and, in addition, starts at a point further back—the story of the alliance and of the adventures of the eagle and serpent in the mountain. It also continues the story after the discomfiture of the eagle, furnishing three new episodes: (1) the appeal of the eagle to Shamash for rescue, (2) the appeal of Etana for the plant of birth, (3) the coming of Etana to the place of the eagle in the mountain. The length of this tablet must therefore have been considerably greater, namely, 27 lines till the obverse of the 11th fragment plus 90 to 100 lines, and since at the top of the obverse only a few lines are missing,—inasmuch as we have the close of the reverse preserved—we may estimate the length of the

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tablet to which the 13th fragment belongs at about 130 lines —perhaps only 124 lines divided between the two sides. The episode of the alliance and of the adventures of the eagle and serpent with which the obverse of the 13th fragment begins —say from 33 to a maximum of 36 lines—not being sufficient to cover an entire tablet, we are justified in assuming that in the editions to which K 2527 and the 11th fragment belonged, the tablet that preceded began at a point further back than the account of the alliance and the adventures, which could have been narrated on the reverse. In other words the relation of the edition of K 2527 and the 11th fragment, which we may call edition A, to the edition of the 13th fragment, which we may call B, is about the same as the edition of K 1547—the obverse of which = reverse of K 2527, and which we may call C, is to A; i. e.

(a) obverse of A in tablet no x of the series = rev. of B, and

(b) obverse of C in tablet no x of the series = rev. of the preceding tablet in A,

which means that the tablets of edition B contain much more than edition A, and the tablets of edition C much less than A. What therefore would be the 2nd tablet in B would be the 3rd tablet in A, while a part of it in C would even run over into the 4th tablet. The point is of importance for the relationship of the two remaining joined fragments of Harper's first group K 8578 and Rm 79, 7—8, 43.

Before taking these up, attention must be called to the relationship of K 1547 to the 13th fragment. Just as K 2527 and the 11th fragment end with the same episode—the discomfiture of the eagle,—so K 1547 and the 13th fragment end with the coming of Etana to the eagle, but while the first pair represent parallel texts, this is not the case with the latter pair, for the obverse of the 13th fragment begins at a point considerably further back than the obverse of K 1547 which (so far as preserved) starts with the advice of Shamash to the serpent. Since at the most six lines on the bottom of the reverse are missing to bring it to the point where the 13th fragment closes, there are (making allowance for a colophon on the reverse) at the most 10 lines missing at the top of the reverse. As a matter of fact, counting 8 lines back on K 2527, line 22 (= top of obverse of K 1547) would bring us to the beginning of Shamash's answer to the

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appeal of the serpent and with which K 1547 in all probabilities began. The total length of K 1547 would thus be 8+24+17 (additional lines on the 11th fragment) up to the discomfiture of the eagle = 49 lines. Then the 24 lines of the reverse of the 13th fragment plus a few lines missing at the top would make the total length of this table about 80 lines. The three editions would thus be made up of tablets as follows:

Edition A = Tablets of 90 to 100 lines
Edition B = Tablets of 124 to 130 lines
Edition C = Tablets of about 80 lines.

The calculation is naturally only approximate for the length of the lines differs somewhat also in the three editions but it is close enough for our purposes. The result reached above is thus confirmed that what corresponds to the 2nd tablet of the series in B would reach into the 3rd tablet in A and perhaps into the 4th tablet in C.

Coming now to the two joined fragments, they evidently contained the second address of the eagle to the sun-god promising to do all that was asked of him,[1] and the dialogue that ensued between the eagle and Etana upon the coming of Etana to the hole wherein the eagle lay. Etana asks the eagle to show him the plant of birth[2] but here, unfortunately, the fragment breaks off. The colophon to the 13th fragment, however, shows that the 3rd tablet of edition B began with an address of the eagle to Shamash and since K 8578 etc. begins with *erû pi-i-šu*, Jensen accepts my suggestion, made at the time of the publication of the 11th fragment, that this line is to be restored according to the colophon of K 2606 which tallies with that of the 13th fragment. Through the contents of this fragment the conjecture is strengthened, if not indeed definitely confirmed, since, as we have seen it contains an episode to which K 8578 etc. naturally joins on. We may therefore with perfect safety assume that K 8578 represents either

[1] ll. 5–6 "whatever he will say to me [I will do], whatever I will say to him [let him do]. See Jensen *KB* VI, 1, p. 110. The reference is to Etana. L. 7 "according to the command of the warrior Shamash, [Etana took the road]" begins the episode of Etana's coming to the eagle, accompanied, apparently, by a young eagle to show him the way.

[2] Line 12 seq. evidently repeats in substance rev. 17 seq. of the 13th fragment—the same appeal being made by Etana for the plant of birth, but this time addressed to the eagle.

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the beginning of the 3rd tablet of edition B or the 4th (or more probably the 5th) of edition C. To which of these two editions it actually belongs, it is of course impossible to say. Dividing the contents of all the fragments of the first group now known to us (KK 1547, 2527, 8578 etc.) and the 11th and 13th fragments into episodes we obtain the following survey:

(1) The alliance between the eagle and serpent and the adventures of the two recounted on the obv. of the 13th fragment ll. 1—26.

(2) The treachery of the eagle proposed and carried out despite the warning of a "very wise" young eagle recounted (a) on the remaining portion of the 13th fragment, ll. 27 seq. and (b) on the 11th fragment obverse.

(3) The appeal of the serpent to Shamash for revenge on the eagle, recounted on K 2527, ll. 1—14.

(4) Advice of Shamash to the eagle recounted (a) K 2527 obv. 15—28 (including 6 missing lines), (b) K 1547 obv. 1—9 (circa 8 lines missing).

(5) The carrying out of the strategy proposed by Shamash and ending with the discomfiture of the eagle recounted (a) on the reverse of the 11th fragment (end of tablet) (b) rev. 30—42 of K 2527 (circa 17 lines missing to end of tablet) (c) K 1547 obv. ll. 10—24 (circa 17 lines missing of episode).

(6) The appeal of the eagle to Shamash for rescue and the latter's decision to send Etana to help the eagle out of his plight, recounted (a) on the reverse of the 13th fragment ll. 1—11 and (b) on the rev. of K 1547 ll. 1—6 (circa 6 lines missing).

(7) Etana's lament and request for the plant of birth recounted (a) on the reverse of the 13th fragment ll. 12—18 and (b) on the reverse of K 1547 ll. 7—16.

(8) Address of Shamash to Etana and the order to the latter to go to the hole in the mountain into which the eagle has been cast, recounted (a) on the reverse of the 13th fragment ll. 19—24 (end of 2nd tablet of edition B.) and (b) K 1547 rev. 17—20 (circa 6 lines missing to end of tablet).

(9) Second address of the eagle to Shamash, the coming of Etana and the dialogue between the eagle and Etana recounted on K 8578 + Rm 79, 7—8, 43 (3rd tablet of edition B or 5th(?) tablet of edition C).

Let us now take up the fragment K 2606 which contains in the colophon the indication that it is the third tablet of

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the series *ala i-ṣi* "he left the city". Scheil does not appear to have noticed that the fragment published by him, which I designate as the 12th, runs parallel to a considerable extent with K 2606,[1] so that in part the latter can be restored through comparison with the former,[2] and vice versa some readings of Scheil can be corrected. But on the other hand the two fragments are not duplicates. Not only do they diverge from a certain point,[3] but Scheil's fragment is a large tablet dating from the Hammurabi period with two columns to each side.[4] The two accounts appear to stand in the relation to each other of the beginning and end of an episode. In both a state of anarchy is described, due apparently to the hostility of the Igigi.[5] The land is without a ruler. Authority is lacking, habitations and sanctuaries are not built, and the city[6] is besieged by the Igigi, but while the description of the terror

[1] ll. 10—16 of K 2606 correspond to ll. 1—9 of the 1st col. obv. of the 12th fragment.

[2] In K 2606 l. 9, we must evidently read [*ra*-]*bu-tum*; ll. 9—11 can now be restored according to ll. 1—3 of the 11th fragment. In l. 4 of the 12th fragment we must read according to K 2606, 12 *kali-ši-na i-lu i-gi-gu*. For the latter we have in K 2606 the ideographic form. In l. 2 of the 11th fragment read *im-ta-li-ku*. The traces of an additional line seem to have been omitted by Harper between lines 12 and 13. Scheil's reading for the beginning of l. 7 can hardly be correct, while if we substitute *ina u-mi-šu-ma* (like K 2606 l. 14) we get a perfect sense. In l. 9 of the fragment we must read *la ba-nu-u kib-ra-ti ni-iš pa-ra-ak-ki* like l. 16 of K 2606. L. 8 of the fragment evidently contains the phonetic writing *uk-ni-a-am* for the ideograph Za-Gin (= *uknu*, Brünnow, Nr. 11776) in l. 15 of K 2606. Cf. Scheil, *Recueil des Travaux*, xxiii, 22 who wrongly, as it now turns out, rejected the proposed reading. At the close of l. 10 of the 12th fragment we must evidently read *e-lu da-ad-nim* = *êlu da-ad-mi* (l. 18 of K 2606). At this point the two texts divide. It should be noted that this 12th fragment now in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection in New York (see Johns, *Catalogue of the Collection* p. 22) is not only badly preserved but very difficult to read, so that without a parallel text one easily misreads certain signs.

[3] See close of preceding note.

[4] Apart from palaeographic evidence, the tablet has also the ear marks of the Hammurabi period in the expanded phonetic writings like *uk-ni-a-am*, *ma-a-tam ši-im-tim* etc. The determinative for deity is omitted before Etana—also characteristic of the Hammurabi period. The tablet is a valuable indication of the age of the Etana story.

[5] Seven in number. Cf. l. 17 of K 2606 (*il*) *si-bit-tum* with l. 19 (and 12) the ideographic form 5 + 2.

[6] l. 19 *ala Igigi šu-tas-ḫu-ru*[*-u*]. The city is evidently the one referred to in the opening line of the series *ala i-ṣi*, and where the subject is some god

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in regard to which the Annunaki hold counsel is continued in the 12th fragment, in K 2606 the goddess Ishtar[1] is represented as intervening. She looks about for a king and places him in control, while En-lil looks out for the sanctuaries of the gods(?).[2] It would be in accord with the character of the Babylonian style of poetic composition to repeat at the close of an episode the description of the conditions existing at the beginning, witness the frequent descriptions of primaeval chaos in the Babylonian creation myth. Unfortunately, the reverse of K 2606 is not preserved with the exception of the closing line and a part of the last line. The colophon furnishes as the opening of the 4th tablet, a line that agrees with the one given in the 13th fragment for the 3rd tablet, and since the preserved portion of the closing line in K 2606 agrees with the closing line of the 13th fragment,[3] it would be too strange a coincidence if the two tablets did not close with the same incident—the coming of Etana to the place where the eagle lies.

On the other hand, if what covered three tablets in one copy corresponds to two tablets in another, the tablets of the former must have been of a smaller size and we cannot therefore assume that from the point where the obverse of K 2606 breaks off to the end of the reverse there should have been included all the eight episodes covering about 125 lines embraced in the 13th fragment. We are thus confronted with a problem for which no definitive solution can be offerred until more fragments of the narrative come to light, but the most reasonable conjecture is to assume that various versions of the tale existed, differring considerably from one another and in which episodes were included in one version that were *omitted* in another. So much is clear that the anarchy described in the 12th fragment and in K 2606 must have preceded the rescue of the eagle by Etana, and since the narrative can now be carried back continuously to the alliance

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who is represented as deserting the city. If, as is possible from the reference in l. 24, the god is Enlil, the city in question might be Nippur.

[1] Also designated as In-nin-na in l. 22.

[2] The reading l. 24 *pa-rak-kê ilâni,* seems to me preferable to *parakkê schamê* which Harper proposes. The photograph(p. 505)favors either reading.

[3] In the 13th fragment we have as the closing line *ul-la-nu-um-ma ul-taḳ-ḳa-aš-*[*šu*] and in K 2606 . . . *la-nu-um uš-ta-ḳa-aš-šu.*

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between the eagle and the serpent, the state of anarchy must have preceded this incident also. There is every reason, therefore, to believe that Scheil[1] is right in his supposition that the state of anarchy represents the beginning of the entire narrative,[2] just as the Gilgamesh epic opens with a description of terror and confusion existing in Uruk.

Accepting this as a working hypothesis, we would have to assume that the first tablet of the copy of which the 13th fragment represents the 2nd, contained the episode of the state of anarchy and the restoration of order. Then followed the eight episodes covered by the 2nd tablet, after which came another address of the eagle to Shamash—perhaps a second appeal—then presumably an answer of the sun-god and, finally, the coming of Etana to the eagle. The joined fragments K 8578 + Rm 79, 7—8, 43 represent the beginning of this immediate continuation of either the 13th fragment or of K 1547.

The episode in the 12th fragment and with which K. 2606 begins must therefore be removed from the position assigned to the latter by Harper as a third group and placed before the nine episodes into which we have divided the first group. Harper's second group consisting of the joined fragment and supplemented by three further fragments and recounting Etana's flight on the back of the eagle remains where it is and would thus form the conclusion of the tale. The flight naturally follows the rescue of the eagle by Etana. Taking the joined fragment Rm 2, 454 + 79, 7—8, 280 as one, it is clear that this and K 8563 are duplicates or parallels and that both began with the story of the flight.[3] K 3651 of which only a part of the obverse is legible, joins on at l. 18 to the reverse of Rm 2, 454 etc. while Rm 522 (only one side preserved) duplicates K 3651, beginning with l. 12 of K 3651 and extending

[1] l. c. p. 18.

[2] If this be so, it must be borne in mind, as above pointed out, that K 2606 being the 3rd tablet of the series represents the *repetition* of the description as an introduction to an account of the restoration of order by Ishtar and Enlil.

[3] Harper has confused the obverse and reverse of K 8563. In K 8563, the beginning of the obverse is preserved. Lines 6—17 of K 8563 = ll. 1—16 of obverse of Rm 2, 454 etc. The reverse of K. 8563 refers to the "death" of the king(?) Etana (l. 4) and to his shade (*e-dim-mu-šu* l. 7) and therefore furnishes some incident that followed upon the flight.

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5 lines beyond the latter, ll. 26—30 of Rm 522 corresponding to ll. 24 to 27 of the reverse of Rm 2, 454 etc.[1] If we are to assume that these two fragments (K 3651 and Rm 522) also began with the account of the flight, we would have to suppose for the former at least 40 additional lines at the top, which would give us a tablet of at least 130 lines and for the latter an addition of 50 lines at the top which would give us a tablet of 160 lines. This is most unlikely and it is much more probable that both fragments began with the second—and fatal—flight to the place of Ishtar, the first ending successfully with the arrival at the gate of Anu, Enlil and Ea.[2] This second flight forming a new episode would be an appropiate place at which to begin a new tablet. The joined fragment and K 8563 would thus contain both episodes, while the other fragments would begin with the second flight—the same relationship therefore as between K 2527 and K 1547. If we assume (as above suggested), that the story of Etana's coming to the eagle extended into the 5th tablet of edition C, we may suppose that the episode of the first flight was still told in this tablet and that the two fragments therefore represent the beginning of the 6th tablet of this edition—and in all probabilities the last tablet of the series.

The larger size of the tablets of edition B (to which the 13th fragment belongs) warrants us in assuming that both flights were included in one tablet. Rm 2, 454 might, therefore, represent the 4th tablet of edition B though this would assume a long narrative in the 3rd tablet before the actual flight began. Perhaps here too it may be more reasonable to suppose that the other two fragments represent the 4th tablet of edition B and the 5th of edition A, while Rm 2, 454 which is a much broader tablet than the others (see the photographs in Harper, *BA*, II, p. 509 compared with p. 503) would then represent a fourth edition of the narrative—complete perhaps in three or at the most in four tablets. Certainly, the fatal issue of the second flight must bring us to the end of the narrative. The result of our examination thus shows that the fragments so far recovered represent five and probably six different copies of the text:

[1] Note also that ll. 18—23 of reverse of Rm 2, 454 etc. = ll. 17—25 of reverse of Rm 522 = ll. 18—24 of K 3651 obverse.

[2] ll. 34—36 of reverse of Rm 2, 454 etc. See also below p. 125.

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(1) Edition A in 5 tablets
(2) Edition B in 4 tablets
(3) Edition C in 6 tablets
(4) Edition D in 3 or 4 tablets
(5) A fragment of an edition (K 2606)

which may not have contained all the episodes. All these are in the Kouyunjik collection, to which is to be added the (6) fragment of the Hammurabi period—a large tablet with two columns to each side—representing the beginning of the story and which probably told the whole story in one tablet.

V.

Combining now to the various fragments of the story and leaving aside the possibility that in some version or versions certain episodes were not included, we may reconstruct the story so far as known to us up to the present as follows. The scene is laid in a city which has been deserted by its patron deity or possibly by the gods in general. A state of confusion and anarchy exists, due apparently to the hostility of the Igigi. The Anunnaki hold a counsel in order to put an end to this state of affairs. The goddess Ishtar and the god Enlil appear to be the ones designated to come to the rescue. A king is put in control on earth by the goddess, while on high Enlil aids in re-establishing order. As in so many of the Babylonian myths, we thus have a correspondence between occurrences on earth and phenomena in the heavens. Confusion and anarchy below is paralleled by disturbances on high. During this state of anarchy, productivity ceases on earth. The sheep do not bear young, the gods are deaf to appeals or powerless to intervene against the ravages committed by hostile powers.

Eagle and serpent are next introduced as forming an alliance to carry on a work of destruction. They defy the authority of Shamash who represents order and justice. From the fact that the king whom Ishtar places in control is also designated as *re'u* "shepherd" and that Etana appears in the story as a shepherd,[1] we may perhaps be permitted to conclude that the king who is installed or possibly re-installed by Ishtar is none other than Etana. However this may be, there is certainly a

[1] See above p. 111.

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direct connection between the ravages committed by the eagle and serpent and the distress of Etana, both being due to the general confusion that exists through the lack of control on the part of those higher powers that represent order and the harmonic working of the laws of nature. The state of affairs reminds one somewhat of the conditions that prevail during the period that Ishtar is retained as a prisoner in the lower world, during which time likewise the animals do not bring forth their young.[1] In this case we have, as is generally recognized, a nature myth portraying the change of seasons; and in view of the frequency with which this *motif* reoccurs in Babylonian myths, it is not improbable that the conditions portrayed at the beginning of the Etana story rest on the same general basis—a portrayal of the rainy and stormy season in the heavens and on earth, which could be symbolically represented as a time of confusion and disorder.

All this, however, must be viewed as merely conjectural until a fortunate chance shall bring to light more fragments of this part of the narrative.

The alliance between the eagle and the serpent comes to an untimely end. They go into the mountains to hunt for food. Each is accompanied by a young brood. First the eagle kills an animal and shares it with his young (or with the young of the serpent), then the serpent kills an animal and shares it with his young (or with the young of the eagle), but the eagle seizes the opportunity while the young of the serpent are engaged in eating to pounce down upon them. He does this despite the warning of one of the young eagles, described as "very clever" or "very wise", who urges him not to break the laws of Shamash i. e. not to run counter to the laws of righteousness and justice. The eagle consumes the young of the serpent and the latter appeals to Shamash for revenge for the injury inflicted. Shamash listens to the serpent and proposes a strategy. He advises the serpent to conceal himself within the carcass of a wild bull—one of the animals slain during the alliance between the eagle and the serpent—and then when the eagle swoops down upon it, to seize him and tear him to pieces. The strategy succeeds. Again the young eagle warns the father eagle and again the latter pays no heed to the

[1] Cun. Texts XV, Pl. 46 rev. 6—7.

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warning. He lands upon the bull, the serpent jumps out, tears the wings and feathers of the eagle and the latter is left to die in a hole in the mountains. He does not die however. It is now the eagle's turn to appeal to Shamash to whom he promises eternal obedience, if only the sun-god will help him out of his plight. At the same time Etana "the shepherd" daily appeals to Shamash to again bring about fertility among his sheep. He asks the sun-god to show him the plant of birth that he may give it to his flock. Through the new fragment the meeting of the eagle and Etana is for the *first time made clear*. The plant of birth grows in the mountains in the very hollow into which the eagle has been cast. Shamash reveals this to Etana who takes the road to the mountain and, guided by one of the young eagles (if Jensen's restoration *KB* VI, 1 p. 110, 8 is correct), comes across the eagle. The eagle appeals to Etana to release him from the hole and as a reward promises to fly with Etana to the dwelling of the gods. We are unfortunately left in doubt whether Etana secures the desired plant and the gap in the narrative at this point also prevents us from ascertaining the purpose of the flight. In a general way we may conjecture that the eagle holds out the hope to Etana of being placed among the gods, in other words of securing immortality like e. g. Ut-napishtim, the hero of the deluge. This is a favorite theme in Babylonian myths which, it will be recalled is introduced into the Gilgamash epic.[1] Etana mounts on the back of the eagle and together they fly upwards. They reach the heaven of Anu and at the gate of Anu, Enlil and Ea—i. e. the ecliptic,[2] they make a halt. So far so good. Again a gap occurs in

[1] See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (English ed.) pp. 494 *seq.*

[2] The ecliptic, known as the *ḫarran Šamši* "road of the sun" (see Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel.* I, p. 259; Thompson, *Reports of the Astrologers* etc., Nrr. 88, 103; Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne, Ishtar*, Nrr. XXI, 73; XXV, 57, 58 etc. etc.), is divided into three sections, known as the "road for Anu," "road for Enlil" and "road for Ea" respectively (Virolleaud, Ishtar Nr. IV). The gate of Anu, Enlil and Ea is therefore synonymous with the entrance point of the ecliptic. The Etana myth thus assumes the established astrological system, as is also indicated by the goal of the second flight—the station of Ishtar, identified in the astrological system with the planet Venus. See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, pp. 441 and 444 *seq.* In the Adapa myth, the hero also reaches the gate of Anu (Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.*, VI, 1, p. 96).

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the narrative and when the thread is once more taken up, we find the eagle urging Etana to continue the journey in order to reach the place where Ishtar—i. e. the planet Venus—dwells. As in the case of the first flight, a distance of three *kasbu* or six hours is covered. Whether at this point the eagle's strength is exhausted or whether the goddess herself intervenes, at all events the precipitous descent begins. The eagle falls through the space of three double hours and reaches the ground. The close of the narrative is missing but clearly the purpose of the flight has failed. We are left to conjecture what happened to Etana and to his ancient "airship."

In view of the composite character of so many of the stories that have come down to us from ancient Babylonia,[1] it will not seem hazardous to assume that in the Etana myth two originally independent tales have been combined, one based on a nature myth and describing a state of anarchy and confusion in a city which was deserted by its patron deity or by the gods in general. During this period all fertility ceases. The Igigi are hostile to the city and among those who suffer from the anger of the gods is Etana, the shepherd whose sacrifices to the gods are of no avail in bringing about fertility among his flocks. Order is restored through the intervention of Ishtar—the goddess of fertility in cooperation with Enlil. After the restoration, Etana appeals to Shamash—or perhaps originally to Ishtar to show him the plant of birth of which he has heard and through which his sheep can again be brought to bear young. The request is granted. Etana, it would appear, is also reinstated as ruler over his people and it is reasonable to suppose that the tale ended with the transfer of Etana as a favorite of the gods—like Ut-napishtim—to a place among the immortals.

A second tale is that of an alliance formed by the eagle and the serpent, the treachery of the former and his punish-

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[1] For the creation story see the author's paper "On the Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story" in the Nöldeke Festschrift Vol II, pp. 969—982; for the Gilgamesh epic, the author's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (English edition), pp. 513*seq.* and Hermann Schneider, *Die Entwicklung des Gilgameschepos* (Leipziger Semitistische Studien, V, 1) who (p. 83) calls attention also to the parallels between Etana and Gilgamesh which led to the later confusion of the two by Greek writers.

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ment through the intervention of Shamash—the representative of justice and order. This tale appears to be a piece of ancient folklore rather than a myth, to which there has been added after the manner of folk tales a moral—not to break the decrees of Shamash.

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These two tales—the modified nature myth and the folk-tale with a moral—were combined, just as in the Gilgamesh epic the two independent series of tales of Gilgamesh and Etana were combined.[1] The alliance of eagle and serpent who join forces in a warfare against the animals of the mountains is made a feature of the confusion that reigns while the gods manifest their anger or hostility. The serpent's appeal to Shamash for vengeance suggests Etana's appeal to the god for the plant of birth and the complete link between the two tales is brought about by the meeting of Etana and the eagle in the mountain where the sought for plant is to be found. The transfer of Etana to the gods leads to the episode of the eagle carrying him thither as a reward for helping the eagle out of his sad plight. That through the combination both tales underwent a modification is surely natural. So it is a reasonable conjecture that in the story of the eagle and the serpent, the former actually dies after being torn to pieces by the serpent. Indeed if one reads the description, it is difficult to see what else can happen to the eagle except death. There seems to be nothing left of him after the serpent finishes his work. In order to connect the two tales, the eagle is revived and is rescued by Etana. Similarly, in the original tale of Etana, there is every reason to suppose that he was actually placed among the gods. This is shown by the success of the first flight in which the goal is attained, since the heaven of Anu—the highest part of heaven[2]—is reached. The second flight is clearly a duplicate of the first and betrays in the language used its dependance upon the former. It is a favorite theme with the Babylonian theologians to whom we owe the preservation and final form in which the old folk tales and popular myths were cast, that man cannot come to the gods, nor can he find out what is in store for him after death, beyond the certainty that he will be condemned to inactivity in a

[1] See the references in the preceding note.

[2] Gilgamesh Epic, XI, 115.

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gloomy subterranean cavern. There may be exceptions but that is the general rule. It would be quite in keeping with this spirit if in the combination of the two tales, Etana is pictured as prevented from attaining his goal. Instead of being brought into the presence of Ishtar he is thrown down to the earth. Just as he appears to be approaching his goal, the eagle with Etana on his back falls through the great space of three double hours[1] that he has traversed—just as Gilgamesh after all his wanderings comes back to Uruk whence he started out with his main purpose—the securing of immunity from death—unaccomplished. The two tales thus combined are made to teach a lesson or rather two lessons,—(a) one that the laws of Shamash cannot be transgressed without entailing grievous punishment and secondly—and more important—(b) that man cannot be immortal like the gods. It is this lesson which the Babylonian theologians made the burden of the composite Gilgamesh epic, as is shown by the close of the tale on its present form. It is this lesson likewise which is illustrated by the tale of Adapa who through a deception practised on him forfeits immortality;[2] and it is this same lesson which, as it seems to me, the Etana myth in its final form was intended to convey.

In view of the new and important fragments of the myth that have been found since Harper published his study of the text fifteen years ago, it would be profitable to reconsider in detail the many parallels of the story found among other nations and to some of which Harper already called attention.[3]

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[1] That the 2nd flight is merely a duplicate of the first is seen in the persistance of the "three double hours" as the distance traversed. In reality the two flights cover six double hours and the eagle ought to fall this distance before reaching the earth.

[2] See Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.* VI, 1, pp. 94—101.

[3] *Beiträge zur Assyriologie,* II, pp. 404—407. In the story of the Kai Kaus or Kavi Usan, the King of ancient Iran (990 B. C. according to traditional accounts), who attempts to fly to heaven with the help of eagles and comes to grief, we can see the influence of the myth of Etana, transformed and adapted to teach the lesson of punishment for heaven-defying pride. In a paper on this story, read before the American Oriental Society, April 21st, 1909, under the title "A Legend of Aerial Navigation in Ancient Persia," Professor Jackson gave the various Persian and Arabic sources for the tale, viz: The Pahlavi Dinkart 9. 22, 5—12 (translation by West in Sacred Books of the East, v. 37, pp. 220—223); Tabari's Annales (ed. de Goeje I, pt. 1, p. 603); Firdusi, Shahname (ed. Vullers & Landauer 1, 411—412, ll. 461—486; 2, 1638, ll. 2018—2019);

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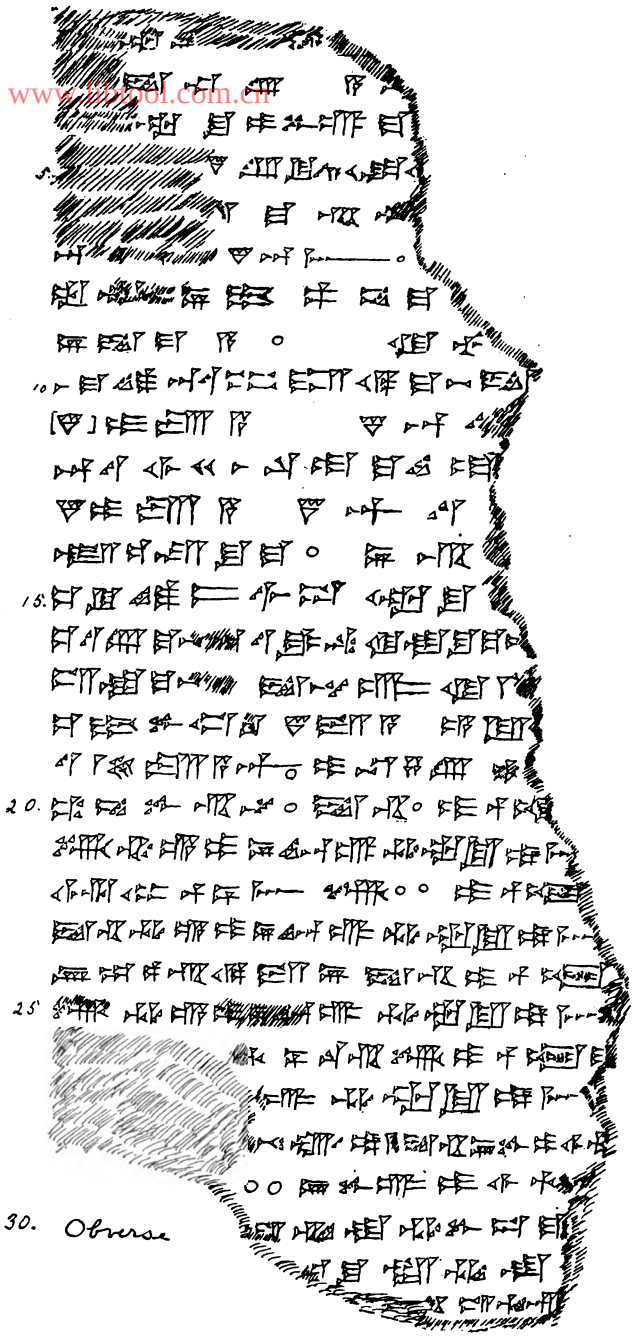
To do so, here, however, would carry us too far and must be left for some other occasion.

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Al-Tha'alibi, *Histoire de Rois des Perses* (ed. Zotenberg, Paris, 1900, p. 165), told in connection with Kai Kaus' building of a high tower in Babylon, from which the attempt to reach heaven by means of eagles was made. This interesting combination of the aerial flight with a tale that is evidently suggested by the biblical story of the Tower of Babel, is a direct consequence of the introduction of the moral element in the old nature myth. The biblical story, voicing the same warning against ambitious pride, was associated with the tale of Kai Kaus and the latter made the central figure of the combined tales.

May we perhaps see in the flight of Ganymede with the eagle to the seat of the gods and in Psyche's flight with the winged Cupid and her fall to earth, (as told in Apuleius' beautiful tale of Cupid and Psyche —Metamorphoseon V, 104) traces with modifications of the episode in the Etana myth? Cf., moreover, Meissner, *ZDMG.* 48, p. 190, note 5 about the story of Kai Kaus.

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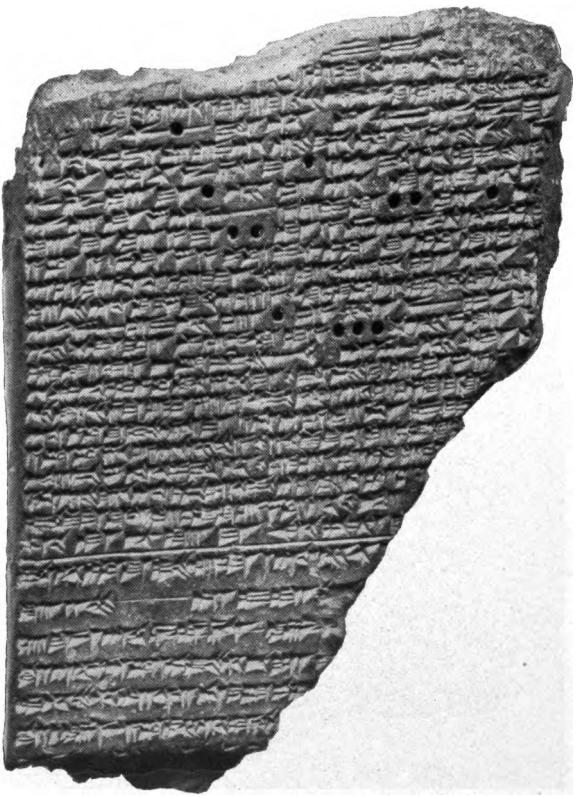
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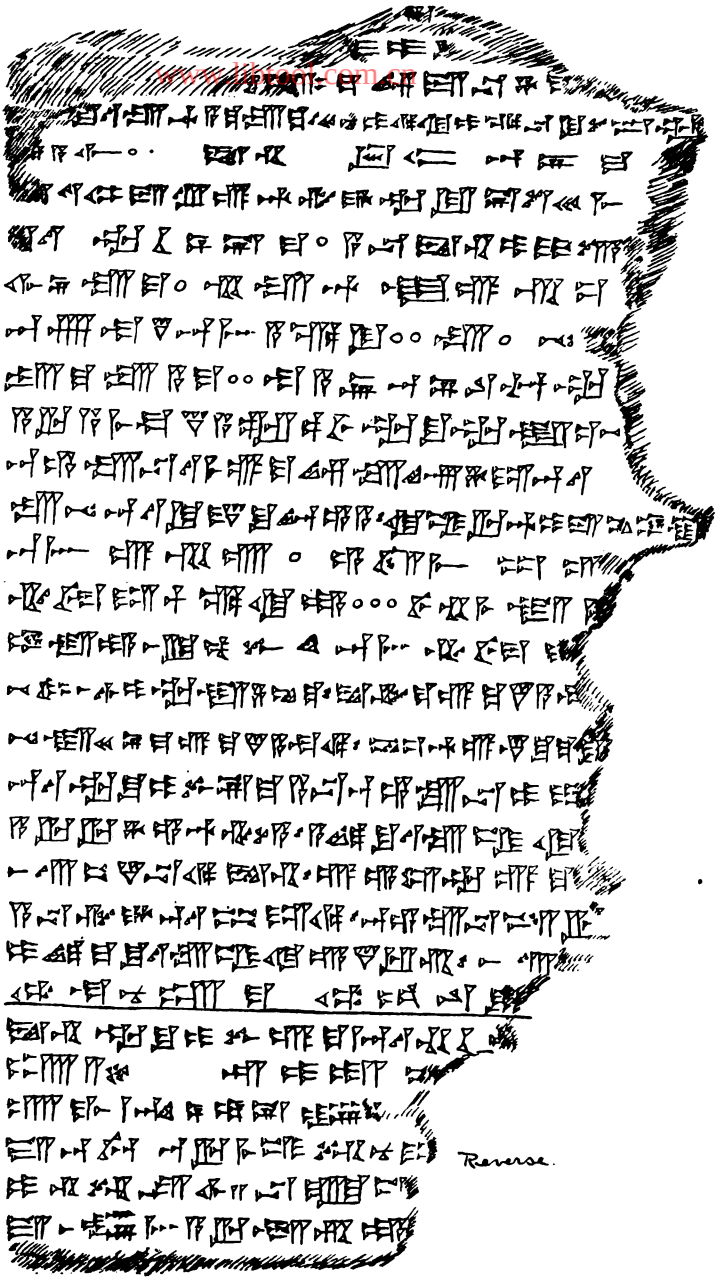


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The Origin and History of the Minaret.—By Richard J. H. Gottheil, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

The minaret is usually considered to be one of the most distinctive features of the Muhammadan mosque and the history of its origin is naturally of interest to the student both of Islam and of the history of architecture. But unlike the Miḥrāb (prayer-niche) and Minbar (pulpit), the references to the minaret in Arabic literature are very few; and the traditions that have gathered around it are so scarce as to make one feel that the religious significance that attaches to the Miḥrāb and the Minbar are entirely wanting in the Minaret. Indeed, the name itself is strange, and in no way expressive of the purport for which the object was built. The word منارة can have meant originally only "an object that gives light". As such, it is used in old Arabic poetry for the oil lamp or rush light used in the cell of the Christian monk, exactly parallel to the Syriac *mᵉnārtā*;[1] from which, however, it is not necessary to derive the word, as Guidi and Fraenkel[2] have done, seeing that the formation is perfectly regular. It is then used for a "light-tower" or "light-house";[3] the signification "a monk's cell or chamber for retirement", given by Lane[4] from the *Kanz al-Maʿrūf* must be a late and a local one. Schwally has suggested,[5] and he is followed by Douttée,[6] that the application of the word *manārat*ᵘⁿ to the tower of a mosque is due to the light held by the Muezzin as he recites the call to prayer at night which gives the onlooker below the idea of a light-tower; but the explanation strikes one as involved and far-fetched. The transfer of the name from a light-tower

[1] Guidi, *Della sede primitiva dei popoli Semitici*, p. 38. Cfr. e. g. Imrulḳais (ed. Ahlwardt) 148, 37. Ibid. 152, 20 منارة = مصباح.

[2] Guidi, *loc. cit.*, p. 37; Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter*, p. 270.

[3] See, e. g., the description of the lighthouses of the coast of Syria in al-Muḳaddasi (Ed. de Goeje), p. 177.

[4] p. 1728. [5] *ZDMG.* 52, 145.

[6] *Les Minarets et l'appel à la prière* in *Revue Africaine*, 43, 339.

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to the tower of a mosque must have been occasioned by the resemblance of the one to the other. It is impossible to fix the time at which this transfer was made. The earlier and more significant designation of the minaret is *mi'dhanah* or *mīdhanah* (pronounced in the language of the street *ma'dhanah*)[1] —"a place from which the time of prayer is *announced*"; but it occurs seldom in the literature of the Middle Ages, and seems to have been driven out completely by the more common word *manāraḥ*.

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It is generally conceded that the earliest mosque in Islām had no minarets at all.[2] The mosques built in the days of Mohammed at Kúbā and Medinah were so simple that there was no place for building anything like a tower, even if the means and the necessary skill had been available. Caetani, in his monumental *Annali di Islam*,[3] has shown that the mosque at Medinah was, at first, intended simply as a *dār* or private dwelling for the prophet and his family: there was no intention to build a place of assembly for the faithful. A court with a portico around it, through which one entered into the living-rooms of the family was all that it contained. The whole was surrounded by a wall which was to preserve the privacy of the *dār*. We have here, in embryo, the open Ṣaḥn and the closed *Līwān* of the later mosques. Bilāl, the first Muezzin, was in general the herald of Mohammed, not only the caller to prayer. The *Adhān* itself was copied from the Christians and the Jews.[4] Ibn Hishām tells us that when

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[1] Or *mād'na*; Lane, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, p. 78. In a story told in *Kitāb al-Aghānī* xx, 85 مئذنة, منارة and صومعة are used promiscuously.

[2] The historians of architecture, then, go too far when they say, as does Adamy, *Architektonik auf historischer und ästhetischer Grundlage*, II, 16: "Ein oder mehrere Türme, Minarets, waren gleichfalls notwendige Bestandteile für die Moscheen". So, also, Adolf Fäh, *Grundriß der Geschichte der bildenden Künste* (Freiburg 1897) p. 272: "wesentlich waren endlich die Minarets"; and Lübke, *Grundriß der Kunstgeschichte*, 13th ed. II, 70: "Minarets . . . sind ebenfalls unumgänglich". The *Adhān*, itself, however, is necessary; Dardīr, *Sharḥ aḳrab al-masālik* p. 46: الاذان سنة مؤقدة بكل مسجد.

[3] I, 438 et seq.

[4] Of course, Mohammedans do not admit this: in fact, the Jews are presumed to have been surprised; al-Zurkānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭa*, 121: وذكر اهل التفسير ان اليهود لما سمعوا الاذان قالوا لقد ابدعت يا محمد شيء لم يكن فيما مضى. Mohammedan Scholastics have all sorts of conceits in regard to the origin of the *ādhān*, e. g. that Gabriel was

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the first Moslems came to Medinah they prayed without any preliminary *adhān*.[1] But the Moslems heard the Jews use a horn,[2] and the Christians the *Nāḳūs* or clapper (the so-called *ἄγια ξύλα* or *σημεντρόν*, a long piece of wood struck with a flexible *wabīl*, the Aramaic *nākōshā*, which is still in use among the Nestorians[3]); and they wanted something similar for their own use. So Mohammed gave the command "Rise, O Bilāl, and summon to prayer!" Later tradition has embellished this simple account. Al-Nawawī gives the words in this wise "Go to some prominent place and summon to prayer".[4] It was quite natural that Bilāl should make use of a position from which he could best be seen and heard. Upon one occasion, during the *Umrat al-Ḳaṣā* in the year 7, Mohammed ordered Bilāl to recite the *Adhān* from the top of the Ka'bah;[5]

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the first to recite it in heaven (al-Sharkānī, *Ḥāshiyah* I, 231), and that Adam or Abraham was the first on earth to follow the custom (al-Zurkānī, *loc. cit.*).

[1] ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 347: وقد كان رسول الله حين قدموا انما يجتمع الناس للصلاة بغير دعوة كان المسلمون حين قدموا المدينة يجتمعون فيتحينون الصلاة ليس ينادى لها. Cfr. Muslim, *al-Saḥīḥ* (Delhi 1309), p. 164; al-Zurkānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭa*, p. 121.

[2] As far as we know, the Jews used the horn (shōfār) only on certain festivals. On the Arabic pronunciation of شَبّور see al-Ḳasṭallāni (*loc. cit.*) ويسمى الشبور بفتح الشين المعجمة تشديد الموحدة المضمومة (= שיפורא; cfr. Jawālīḳī, ed. Sachau, p. 94; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld II, 108). The earlier traditions use the word قرن (Muslim, *al-Saḥīḥ*, p. 164) or بوق (Ibn Hishām I, 348; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭa*, p. 121; al-Ṣi'ūṭī. *al-Ḥaṣā'is al-Kubra*, Hyderabad 1319, I, 196). Another word used appears in various forms: قنع, قبع, قتع, قثع (Ibn Hishām II, 108). *Lisān* (X, 131, 174) and *Tāj al-'Arūs* (V, 478) decide for قنع, though there are authorities against them. Another, and later, tradition mentions a fire-signal: ذكروا ان يعلموا وقت الصلاة بشىء يعرفونه فذكروا ان ينوّروا نارا او يضربوا ناقوسا وامر بلال ان يشفع الاذان Muslim *loc. cit.*; al-Bukhārī (ed. Krehl) I, 75; Zurḳānī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Hishām II, 108 (note in one Ms.).

[3] Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* 2466. The Nāḳūs was indeed used at first for the early morning *ādhān* in Fostat; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2nd ed., iv, 8. On the use of the word in the older poetry, see Jacob, *Das Leben der vorislam. Araber*, pp. 85, 122 and Douttée, *Les Minarets*, passim.

[4] الى موضع بارز: al-Ḳasṭallānī, *ibid.* p. 3; Zain al-'Ābidīn, *al-Baḥr al-Rā'ik*, p. 268 ويسنّ الاذان فى موضع عال.

[5] Ibn Saad, *Biographien*, ed. Sachau, III, 1, p. 167; Wellhausen, *Mohammed in Medinah*, p. 302. Ibn Hishām, p. 822, says only that Mohammed ordered Bilāl to recite the *adhān*; but see *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iv, 109.

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which to some of the Meccans appeared to be an unholy act. Upon another occasion, so the tradition runs, Bilāl issued the call from the top of a high house that happened to be in the neighbourhood of the mosque;[1] and in the time of the Umayyads, the poet al-Farazdak still speaks of the *Adhān* as being pronounced "on the wall of every city".[2] Even in the later law books it was laid down that "the Muezzin, if he is on the road, may call to prayer while riding; if he descends (from his beast) he must halt, but if he is riding, he need not halt".[3] The example set by Mohammed, and especially by Bilāl, was followed; even though no formal prescription can be found in reference to the ceremony. If the Mosque is large, says a later authority, "there is no harm if a Muezzin call to prayer from each one of its sides, so that all that are near it may hear him at one and the same time."[4]

There is then, as will be seen, no mention of a special place for the Muezzin. We first hear of minarets in connection with the mosque of Medinah under the Umayyad Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (86-96 A. H.).[5] This holds good, also, for the early mosques built outside of the *Balad al-Ḥarām*.[6] The mosque of Kufah was built by Saʿd ibn abī al-Waḳḳās in the year 17;[7] and that of Basra by Abī Mūsa al-Ashʿarī in the same year;[8] but in connection with neither of these is anything said about a minaret. The one attached to the Basra mosque is said to have been added by Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān during the Caliphate of Muʿāwiyah.[9] One of the earliest mosques built was that of ʿAmr ibn al-Āṣī in Fostat, Egypt. It was,

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[1] Ibn Hishām p. 348; Zain al-ʿĀbidīn, *Al Baḥr al-Rā'ik* p. 268 ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḳāsim, *Kitāb al-Mudawwanah* I, 60 in the name of Mālik ibn Anas., al-Shāfiʿī. *Risālah* II, 152 وقد رايت بعض المؤذنين يصلى على ظهر المسجد الحرام بصلاة الامام. Cfr., also, al-Ṣiʿūṭī, *al-Ḥaṣā'is al-Kubra* I, 196 (but only حدثنا اصحابنا).

[2] وحتى علا فى سور كل مدينة منادٍ ينادى فوقها باذان; cited on the authority of Ibn Barrī, *Lisān* XVI, 150.

[3] ʿAbdal-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḳāsim in note 1.

[4] al-Ḳasṭallānī II, 17.

[5] Schwally in *Z. D. M. G.* LII, 143, citing al-Samhūdī.

[6] For the mosques built in the Maghreb, see W. and G. Marçais, *Les monuments arabes de Tlemcen* (Paris 1903), p. 46.

[7] al-Bilādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 275; Yāḳūt IV, 325.

[8] al-Bilādhurī, pp. 346, 347; Yāḳūt I, 640.

[9] al-Bilādhurī, p. 348.

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to judge from the accounts, a very simple building, without even a concave *miḥrāb* and with a very low roof:[1] and certainly, it had no minaret. There is a definite tradition that before the time of Maslamah ibn Mukhallid, one of Muʿāwiyah's governors in Egypt (ca. 36 A. H.), there was no elevated place at all for the Muezzin. Muʿāwiyah ordered him to increase the size of the mosque and "to build *ṣawāmiʿ*" for the *adhān*. So Maslamah constructed for the *jāmiʿ* four *ṣawāmiʿ* at its four corners. He was the first one to construct them in it; they having not existed before this time . . . the stairway, by means of which the Muezzins mounted was in the street, until Khālid ibn Saʿīd transported it inside the mosque". What the *ṣaumaʿah* was, we do not know. The Arabic lexicographers derive it from a root meaning "to be sharp, pointed" or "to be provided with points or teeth";[2] but the root is one that is very rare in Arabic and it has no congener in the other Semitic tongues[3]. The word seems to have come to the Arabs from the name given to the cell of the Christian monk—perhaps in connection with the Stylites who lived on the top of a pillar. At least, both Bar ʿAlī[4] and Bar Bahlūl[5] gloss

[1] al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2nd ed. IV, 6; Abu-l-Maḥāsin 1, 76; Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 42. The same is true of the Jāmiʿ al-Askar, the second mosque built in Cairo.

[2] *Tāj al-ʿArūs* V, 411: الصومعة كتجوهر بيت النصارى ومغار للراهب ... سميت لدقة راسها وقال سيبويه الصومعة من الاصمع يعنى المحدد الطرف المنضمّ; Lisān X, 76: والصومعة منار الراهب. Zain al-ʿĀbidīn, *al-Baḥr al-Rāʾik*, p. 268: والصومعة المنارة وهى فى الاصل متعبد الراهب. Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāghah* s. v.: ومن المجاز قولهم للثريدة اذا ارفع وسطها وحدد راسه ودقق الصومعة يقال لا تهوّر الصومعة وجاؤا بثريدة مصمعة وجاؤا عليهم الصوامع والصومعة البرانس i. e. a sort of cloak: so, also, al-Jauharī s. v.: كتجوهرة بيت النصارى لصوّمع لدقة فى راسها والعقاب لارتفاعها والبرنس وذروة الثريد. In some traditions, the word is used for the place of the Muezzin; al-Sarakshī, *al-Masbūṭ* I, 138: ولا اكره ان ينطوى فى صومعته; and cfr. Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, 139. 9.

[3] Georg Hoffmann (*Z. A.* IX, 336) connects with it the word زوبعة "a whirlwind of dust". Similar formations are discussed by al-Ṣiʿūṭī, *Muzhir* II, 77.

[4] Ed. Hoffmann, No. 968.

[5] Ed. Duval 221, 26. Al-Kindī, in his account of ʿAin Shams, says that the figures upon the obelisks are covered by a صومعة; which, of course, can mean only "a pointed hat" or "tapering hood" (Oestrup in *Bulletin de l'Acad. Royale de Danemark*, 1896, No. 4. p. 200) whence the

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the Syriac *estōnā* by *ṣauma'ah*; and when the Caliph al-Walīd mounted up to the southern tower of the great Church in Damascus before demolishing it, he found a monk living there in a sort of hermitage (*ṣauma'ah*), which he refused to leave.[1] In the twelfth century the traveller Ibn Jubair found the custom still prevalent; a Mohammedan anchorite inhabited the western minaret,[2] which place the philosopher al-Ghazāli used as a retreat. It is only in the Maghreb that the term *ṣauma'ah* remained in use among the Mohammedans.[3] Ibn Abi Zar' in his description of the mosque of the Kairuanese at Fez uses it interchangeably with *manārah*.[4] It has gone over into Spanish as "zoma".[5]

Nor does it seem that all mosques, even in later times, had minarets;[6] and the historians of architecture go too far when they describe them as necessary parts of the building. Al-Nu'aimī, who lived in the fifteenth century (or his epitomizer), in his description of the city of Damascus,[7] gives us a more or less complete account of two hundred and one mosques; to which he adds twenty-eight by name only. He is very careful to mention the peculiarities of each building. But only twenty of the whole number are said to have had minarets. It is difficult to imagine that he makes mention of the fact only when the minaret was in some way noteworthy:

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note has gone, through Ibn Zūlāḳ, into Yāḳūt III, 763, and from here into al-Maḳrīzī I, 31, al-Kazwīnī I, 149 and indirectly into al-Ṣi'ūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Mukhāḍarah* I, 32. Ibn Iyās (in Arnold, *Chrestomathia* p. 56) has صومعة for قلنسوة.

[1] Al-Nu'aimī, *Tanbīh al-Ṭālib* in *J. A.* ix Ser. VII, p. 189; Muḥammed ibn Shākir, *Uyūn al-Tawārīkh* in Quatremère, *Histoire des Mamlouks* II, p. 264. On al-Walīd's activity in building mosques, see de Goeje, *Fragmenta* pp. 4, 3; 12, 7.

[2] Ed. de Goeje p. 266, 19; Fr. Schiaparelli p. 257.

[3] W. and G. Marçais, *Les Monuments arabes de Tlemcen* (Paris 1903), p. 45.

[4] الانيس المطرب ed. Tornberg, pp. 30-32.

[5] P. de Gayangos, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* I, notes p. 499; though this is doubtful. The word was entered in the first ed. of Engelmann, *Glossaire des Mots espagnoles* (Leiden 1861) p. 99, but it is omitted in the second ed. (1869) by Dozy.

[6] Therefore, if there is no minaret, the *adhān* is to be recited at the door; al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-Muḥtāj* (Cairo 1886) I, 305: لو لم يكن للمسجد منارة سنّ ان يؤذن على الباب.

[7] See Sauvaire in *J. A.* ix Ser. VI, 409 et seq.

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for, in most cases, the mere fact is adduced or the additional note that it was made of wood or was recently constructed. The conclusion to be drawn is that out of the large number of mosques in the city, only very few were provided with minarets.

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In the same manner at Jerusalem, neither the *Ḳubbat al-Sakhrā* nor the *Masjid al-Aḳsā* had a minaret; the style of their architecture, of course, made it impossible. At a later time, four were added on the Ḥaram area. The only author that seems to mention them is Mujīr al-Dīn (a late writer of the fifteenth century), who asserts that those that were to be seen at his day occupied the same position as did their predecessors during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (72 A. H.).[1]

The origin of the minaret is not apparent at first sight. Franz Pascha, in his "Baukunst des Islam"[2] sees no connection with the architecture of any other faith or race: "Ohne Vorbild wurden die Minarete ... erfunden"; with which Pool is[3] in substantial agreement: "With Christians, bells doubtless led to the idea of towers, and with Moslems the call to prayers by the human voice led to minarets". Schwally,[4] however, looks for some outside influence, but does not find it: "Wahrscheinlich sind die Muslime nicht von selbst auf diese Gebetstürme verfallen. Aber wo sind die Vorbilder, durch die ihre Architekten oder Bauherren bestimmt wurden, zu suchen?"

From what has preceded it is evident that the idea of the minaret arose during the ʿUmayyad dynasty and in Syria. In part, it was copied from the towers of the Christian Churches. Whether the *ṣawāmiʿ* which Muʿāwiyah ordered his lieutenant in Egypt to build on the mosque of ʿAmr, were towers of any pretentions, we know not. But the suggestion of a tower as the place from which the call to prayers was to be made, or as belonging to a religious edifice seems to have come from the great church in Damascus which al-Walīd finally turned into a mosque. Mohammad ibn Shākir says expressly[5] that

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[1] *Uns al-Jalīl* (Cairo 1283), p. 379.

[2] *Handbuch der Architektur*, 1886, II, 17.

[3] *Studies in Mohammedanism*, 1892, p. 336.

[4] *Z. D. M. G.* LII, 144.

[5] Quatrèmere, *Histoire des Mamlukes* II, 273; *J. A.* 1896, ix Sér. VII, 423. In fact "at each angle of this temple there was a small tower erected

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the western and eastern minarets existed a long time before the days of al-Walīd. Al-Walīd built the northern one called *ma'dhanat al 'Arūs*, after a favourite designation of the city as "the bride of the world".[1] What these towers had been used for is not certain; the variations in Mohammedan traditions seem to evidence this uncertainty. The one upon which al-Walīd mounted is said to have been called *al-Sā'ah*, which would suggest a clock tower. Yāḳūt has the tradition that this same minaret was originally a fire-temple and that a flame rose up from it into the air.[2]

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But there was a more general influence at work, of which the towers on the Damascus church are only one expression. The earlier explorations of de Vogüé and the more recent ones of the Princeton expedition to Northern Syria leave little doubt that the Church at Damascus merely followed, in respect of its towers, an older Syrian and (we may add) Mesopotamian tradition. In the basilica of Tafḥa, which competent authorities date from the fourth and fifth centuries, de Vogüé sees the transition from the Roman basilica used for civil purposes to the Christian Church: "to the right of the façade", he says, "there is added a tower in three stages" —a style of architecture common in the Ḥaurān.[3] One has only to study the construction of the other Syrian Basilica— e.g. at Ḥāss (fourth century),[4] at Ḳaṣr al-Banāt (fifth century),[5] of Kalb-Luzeh and Termānīn (sixth century) to see here the origin of the church steeple.

This Syrian and Mesopotamian tradition leads us back—of course—to the Ziggurats of the old Babylonian and Assyrian shrines. With regard to the Syrian Christians, the evidence is not more direct than that sketched above. Even if such Ziggurats had been standing in their day, they were too fervent anti-idolaters to have adopted anything as specially heathen as a Ziggurat would have appeared to them. In building towers they merely followed the architectural tradition as it

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by the Greeks for astronomical purposes"; Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 230.

[1] Muḳaddasī, p. 159. [2] II, 596.

[3] *La Syrie Centrale*, I, 57; Butler, *The American Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, p. 409.

[4] See illustration in Butler, *loc. cit.* p. 220; who, however, places it in the sixth century. [5] Butler, *loc. cit.* p. 156.

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was current in the country; for such towers were not uncommon in other than religious edifices—in large houses and even in connection with funeral monuments.[1] It was different with the Mohammedans. They showed very little distaste to accept ideas, formulas, as well as architectural and other traditions from systems that had preceded them or were even their rivals. What originality Islam possesses lies more in the ethical and religious fervour which they imported into that which they borrowed. The proof of this, in the present connection, is to be seen in the two minarets of Samarra: the so-called Mauliyyah and the minaret of the mosque of Abū Dulaf.

During the last two years, these have been the subject of careful investigation on the part of two travellers—the General de Beylié and Ernst Herzfeld. De Beylié's *Prome et Samarra*[2] is valuable especially because it gives us, in addition an observant description of the mosque of Abū Dulaf, about fifteen kilometres north of Samarra in the very heart of the desert, and which has, also, a helicoidal minaret. Herzfeld's work is[3] strong on the historical and archaeological side. Herzfeld holds that the architects of al-Mutawakkil, in building the minaret of Samarra (850) followed a tradition which they had brought with them from Persia, and that this minaret goes back to the Ziggurat through Persian affiliations—more specifically through the celebrated Ṭirbāl of Gōr or Phiruzābād. He seems to deduce this from the fact that this was the only Ziggurat at the time that had retained sufficient of its old form to serve as a model. The point must remain undecided. At least as late as the fourth century—as Herzfeld himself admits—Ammian mentions such a tower at the Nahar Malka near Ctesiphon and Zozimus knew of several at Bersabra, i. e. al-Ambār. The Borsippa tower which was described by Harpocriton in his Cyranides 365-355[4] B. C. and which was in use under the Seleucid kings up to 296 B. C. was still recognized as a Ziggurat by the Jewish traveller Benjamin

[1] De Vogüé, *loc. cit.*; Kraus, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst* I, 308 speaks of these small towers as "die zu den Emporen führenden Treppen aufzunehmen." [2] Paris 1907.

[3] *Samara*, Berlin 1907. An illustration of the Samarra minaret can also be seen in Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, p. 86.

[4] De Miely in *Revue Archaeologique*, 1900, p. 412.

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of Tudela in the twelfth century.[1] That which distinguishes the Samarra minarets from the tower at Gōr and from the relics mentioned by the writers of the fourth century is the fact that it is helicoidal or round. Dieulafoy says expressly of the tower at Gōr[2] that "each of the stages is square and less in size than the preceding one". Ammian compares the tower at the Nahar-Malka with the Pharos at Alexandria, which evidently was not purely helicoidal. The idea that is peculiar to them all is that of a tower with an outside ramp; and it seems evident that we must look for the original of both the helicoidal and the square or staged tower in the Babylonian Ziggurat.

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It must, however, be confessed that cogent proof of this statement can not at present be given. Herzfeld believes that the Ziggurat was simply a massive pile of bricks with an outer ascending ramp and that the Babylonians and Assyrians did not build what we are accustomed to call "staged-towers". He also holds that they were not merely portions of the Temple proper or adjunct to it; but that they also served as fortresses and were used for astronomical purposes. But it seems to me that he is mistaken in his interpretation of what evidence we have regarding the Ziggurat. When one commences to sift that evidence, it becomes surprisingly meagre; and we can reasonably doubt whether—as is currently believed—every temple had a Ziggurat. The following, however, seems to me to be sufficient to prove that the Ziggurat was indeed a stage-tower.[3]

a. The ruins of the so-called "observatory" at Khorsabad. This is distinctly stated to contain evident traces of three stages and a part of a fourth—each stage receding from the one below it.[4]

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[1] *J. Q. R.* XVII, 519.

[2] *L'art antique de la Perse,* IV, 52.

[3] I have omitted those remains that have not been definitely examined; e. g. at Kalah Shergat—"Trümmer etwa von einem Tempel, einem Stufenturm oder einem anderen monumentalen Bau"; Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris,* p. 113.

[4] On the authority of Place, Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité,* II, 403. At Assur the height neither of the older towers nor of that of Shalmanezer II can now be determined; W. Andrae, *Der Anu-Adad Tempel in Assur* (Leipzig 1909), pp. 13. 64—though in the reconstruction four stages are given.

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b. The ruins of the stage-tower at Borsippa brought to light by Sir Henry Rawlinson. Three stages are said to be clearly defined. Hilprecht speaks of the "six or seven stages still to be recognized";[1] but upon what authority, I do not know. Its Babylonian name was E. UR. IMIN. ANKI, which Sumeriologists translate either as "Temple of the seven planets of Heaven and Earth" or "Temple of the seven directions (spheres) of Heaven and Earth" (*bīt sibitti ḫammamē šāmē u'irsitim*).[2] The name, however, need not necessarily stand in any relation to the architectural features of the tower or Ziggurat.

c. At Mughayyar Loftus[3] seems to have found traces of two storeys of the Ziggurat, though his description is not at all clear. The second storey "recedes several feet from the lower wall", though it is closer to the edge of the first at its North-West end than at the South-East. He speaks of a gradual stepped incline between the two storeys, though its connection with the entrance in the lower storey is not defined. Taylor[4] describes a staircase, three yards broad, leading up to the edge of the basement of the second storey; but no further traces appeared. There seems to be no positive evidence that we are at all in the presence of a Ziggurat.

d. For Birs Nimrūd we are dependent upon the general description given by Rich,[5] who saw traces of at least four stages, each one receding from the one below. No mention is made of a rampart.

e. At Abu Sharain, also, there is little positive evidence of a Ziggurat. There is a large basal substructure upon which some edifice has been erected, and to which an inclined plane led up[6]. Too little has remained of the upper part to determine its character.

f. At Tell-Loh the excavators are said to have found the remains of some sort of a building with terraces receding one

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[1] *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 184.

[2] Schrader, *K. A. T.*[3] p. 616. Langdon, *Building Inscriptions of the New-Babylonian Empire* I, 57 translates: "House of the oracular deity of the seven regions of earth and sky".

[3] *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, p. 128.

[4] *J. R. A. S.* XV, 261.

[5] *Babylon and Persepolis*, p. 167.

[6] Taylor in *J. R. A. S.* XV, 404.

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from the other.[1] It is quite doubtful whether this is part of a Ziggurat at all.

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g. At Nippur Hilprecht assumes that there was a Ziggurat of five stages, but no reason is given for this assumption; and I am not aware that the special monograph on the subject "E-kur, the Temple of Bêl at Nippur" has ever been published. He confesses that very little is left of the higher stages of the Ziggurat of Ur-Gur.[2] Haynes found only considerable remains of a sloping second terrace. Peters, however, thinks that there is sufficient warrant for supposing an original Ziggurat of two stories, upon which Ur-Gur built one of three.[3] He confesses, however, that the two upper stages of Ur-Gur's Ziggurat "were so ruined by water that it was difficult to trace or restore them".[4] Of the supposed causeway, only so much was found as lead up "to the top of the first terrace of the Ziggurat".[5]

h. At Bismaya, too, the results have been very unsatisfactory and hardly warrant the supposition that traces of a real Ziggurat have been found. According to Banks,[6] the small amount of the rubbish in the place in which it is supposed to have been would warrant, at best, the conjecture of a Ziggurat of two or three stages. In fact, not more than one stage, in reality, was found with a flight of steps leading up and this may be nothing more than an elevated platform for some building. Further down in the so-called plano-convex temple, the base only of some building was unearthed: nothing compels us to hold that this was part of a temple-tower.

i. The so-called Ṭirbāl of Jaur or Gōr (Firuzābād). Herzfeld represents this to be also merely a tower "von quadratischem Grundriß mit äußerer Wendelrampe". But Dieulafoy, who has examined the ruins minutely says distinctly that the tower "is composed above the platform, of four stages ... Each stage is square and recedes from the preceding one by a space equal to $^1/_{10}$ of the base".[7]

j. The account of the temple of Bel at Babylon given by Herodotus[8]. Whatever value we may place upon his trust-

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[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, II, 398; Hilprecht, *loc. cit.* p. 232.
[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 374.
[3] *Nippur*, II, 122, 124.
[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 162.
[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 147-8.
[6] *A. J. S. L.* 1905, pp. 30-32.
[7] *L'art antique de la Perse*, IV, 79, 85.
[8] I, 180.

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worthiness, there can be no doubt of the idea that he intended to convey. After mentioning the first tower, he speaks of an ἄλλος πυργος = another tower having been erected upon this first one (ἕτερος, i. e. πυργος), and so on up to the eighth.[1] He would hardly have described each one of these as an individual tower, if the whole had been one massive structure. Harpocriton, also, mentions three towers superimposed as still standing in his days; and he did not regard it as one single tower.[2] And finally, Benjamin of Tudela, though much too succinct in his account, speaks of the outer rampart as if it were not continuous: ובין עשרה ועשרה אמות דרכים ובהם שם עולים בעיגול "and every ten cubits there are ways (or slopes), by means of which one goes in a circle, encircling it until one reaches the top".[3] He seems evidently to have a stage-like arrangement in mind. Unfortunately it is impossible to verify these statements. The bricks have all been carried off to be used in other buildings; and all that remains to mark the spot is a depression called by the Arabs *al-ṣaḥn*, "the bowl".[4]

k. Representations in Babylonian and Assyrian art; two of which only have come down to us: the representation on the so-called Loftus boundary-stone and the relief from the wall of the palace of Sargon at Nineveh. The first of these Herzfeld ignores entirely; yet there can be little doubt as to the stage character of the tower it is meant to represent.[5] As regards the second, Herzfeld[6] is at pains to prove that it does not represent a Ziggurat at all; but his argument is not at all convincing. The rather crude manner in which the Assyrian artists expressed themselves need not deter us from seeing in the two curves that flank the portal an attempt to picture the inclined planes of a Ziggurat. Herzfeld suggests that they represent two towers; but then there would be no reason for the curves. And the portal reminds us of a similar portal which is part of the Ṭirbāl of Gōr, as described by

[1] Zehnpfund, *Die Wiederherstellung Nineves* (*A. O.* V, 4; 1903) p. 23 speaks of six stages; but does not give his authority for the statement.

[2] *Revue Archaeologique*, 1900, p. 412 et seq.

[3] Adler's translation, *J. Q. R.* XVII, 527; *The Itinery of Benjamin of Tudela* (1907), p. 43 is not quite exact.

[4] Hilprecht, *loc. cit.* p. 553.

[5] See e. g. Hommel, *Babyl. Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 19; Hincke, *A New Boundary-Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I from Nippur*, Phil. 1907, pp. 17, 239.

[6] *Loc. cit.* p. 27.

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Dieulafoy: "on passait d'abord sous une porte signalée actuellement par les naissances d'un arceau de 60 cm. d'épaisseur, puis on s'engageait sous une galerie recouverte d'un berceau en partie conservé".[1]

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A reminiscence of the Babylonian stage-tower may also be seen in the stories told about the famous tower in the castle of Ghumdān in Ṣan'ā. The ordinary report was that it was seven stories high; i. e. that it had seven stages;[2] though al-Hamdānī, in his Iklīl, is certain that it had twenty, and not seven, stories.[3] A glance at the picture of the castle given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*[4] will show how the mistake arose. The rock has evidently been built upon in terrace-like formations.

The evidence here adduced does seem sufficient to permit the view that real stage-towers did exist in connection with Babylonian and Assyrian temples. But it may be wrong to assume that these were the only kind of towers constructed there. The two round towers in the mosques of Samarra and Abū Dulaf seem to point to the possibility that some of the Babylonian Ziggurat may have been built in a similar round form.

It is, however, in another part of the Mohammedan world that we are able to trace the further influence of the old Mesopotamian tradition. All through the Middle Ages, Egypt stood in close connection with Irāḳ and with Persia: until the Ottoman Turks brought the influence of Constantinople to bear upon the land of the Nile. The great centres of literary and of artistic development in Iraḳ made their influence felt in

[1] I am not able to follow Jeremias in attributing a cosmic character to the Ziggurat; *Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie*, 1908, pp. 32-34. Max von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf* II, 240, speaks of the tower of 'Aḳar ('Aḳr) kūf, to the north-west of Bagdad as a relic of the Babylonian period (cfr. also, Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung* II, 305; Rich, *Narrative of a Journey to the site of Babylon*, p. 80; Ker Porter, *Travels*, II, 275; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* p. 476). But Peters, *Nippur*, I, 188, 354, is probably right in holding that it does not contain the remains of a Ziggurat. The Arabic legends in regard to its origin can be read in Ṭabarī II, 917 etc.; Yāḳūt I, 863; al-Hamadhānī pp. 196, 210; *Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium Libri X*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 35.

[2] Yāḳūt III, 811; al-Ḳazwīnī II, 33. Cfr. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai* I, 75.

[3] D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens* I, 13, 15, 56.

[4] Vol. IV, 1. Tab. 1.

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the land which has so seldom been ruled by men of its indigenous races. One of the earliest monuments of Arab architecture is the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo.[1] There can be little doubt of the connection of its "corkscrew tower" on the one hand with the Pharos[2] in Alexandria, on the other with the minaret of Samarra. We can have some correct idea of the form of the Pharos from the description left us by Arabic writers, from a mosaic in St. Mark at Venice (twelfth century) and from a curious representation found in some manuscripts of two noted Arabic writers—Yāḳūṭ[3] and al-Ḳazwīnī.[4] It was of three storeys; the first square, the second octagonal and the third round.[5] The minaret of Ibn Ṭūlūn, also, has three storeys, but the forms of the second and the third are reversed. Now, it is quite possible that in building his minaret, Ibn Ṭūlūn was partly inspired by the Pharos at Alexandria. We know that he repaired it and added a *Ḳubbah* or dome on the top.[6] But there is a distinct tradition, upon the authority of al-Ḳudā'ī (died 454-5 A. H.) that Ibn Ṭūlūn fashioned both his mosque and its minaret

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[1] See e. g. Coste, *Architecture Arabe*, plate XXXVII; Lane, *Story of Cairo* p. 73; K. Corbet, *The Life and Works of Ahmad ibn Ṭūlūn* in *J. R. A. S.* 1891, p. 527; De Beylié, *Prome et Samara*, p. 122; Saladin, *Manuel d'art Musulman*, I, 81; Kaiser and Roloff, *Ägypten Einst und Jetzt*, 1908, p. 199. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 65 adds "Architects, however, throw doubts on the antiquity of Ibn Ṭūlūn's minaret"; but no arguments are adduced.

[2] Alfred H. Butler was the first to suggest that the Pharos served as a model to the workmen of Ibn Ṭūlūn; see *Academy*, Nov. 20 1880; *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 398. Van Berchem (*Corpus*, p. 481) holds the same view. On the other hand, Herzfeld (*loc. cit.* p. 35) thinks that the Pharos was rebuilt in accordance with the form of the minaret of Ibn Ṭūlūn.

[3] I, 263.

[4] II, 98.

[5] Hardly *four*, as Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 391 asserts. See *Khiṭaṭ*, 2nd ed., I, 254. The earliest coins containing a representation of the Pharos are dated in the year 15 of Domitian, i. e. 80 A. D. Here it has in reality only two stages, seemingly square. On the coins of Commodus the representation is strictly conventionalized: three round towers superimposed. See E. D. J. Dutilh in *Bulletin de l'Institut Egypt.* 1897, p. 24. Herzfeld (*loc. cit.* p. 33) suggests that the form of the Pharos itself is not Greek, but that it was inspired by Babylonian precedents.

[6] *Khiṭaṭ*, 2nd ed. pp. 253, 254 (cfr. al-Si'ūṭī, *Ḥusn* I, 44). The text is not quite plain: "Ahmad ibn Ṭūlūn made some repairs in it and placed on the top a *Ḳubbah* of wood, that whoever entered it (the *manārah*) might be able to go to the top. It was spacious, but without a stairway".

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after those of Samarra. There is little reason to doubt the correctness of this tradition, or to call it—as Herzfeld does—"Geschichtskonstruktion". Al-Ḳudā'ī stood in high renown among Mohammedan historians of Egypt,[1] and his work was used liberally by all who have written on the history and the antiquities of the country. Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn had spent part of his youth in Samarra;[2] and when he succeeded in swinging himself upon the throne of Egypt, he kept up connection with his friends in that city.[3] It was with him that commenced that artistic influence of Mesopotamia in Egypt which had formerly belonged to Syria. It was one more avenue opened through which that artistic influence of late oriental civilization was to affect the early Middle Ages, on which Strzygowski has dwelt so often.[4] And one is tempted to see both in the Pharos and in the minaret of Ṭūlūn nothing more than a combination of the square or angled Ziggurat and the round one that has been presupposed in order to account for the Samarra towers.

But in one important particular the minaret of Ibn Ṭūlūn differed from the Pharos; and here we must see the direct influence of Mesopotamia. In the Pharos, the ascent was covered and was, therefore, an integral part of the building. Yākūṭ says "It has a wide stairway which a horseman can ascend with his horse";[5] "The ascent is roofed over[6] with slabs that rest upon the two walls that enclose the staircase. One mounts up to an elevated platform with encircling battle-

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[1] See Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, I, 20; idem in *Z. A.* XXII, 430; N. A. Koenig, *The History of the Governors of Egypt by al-Kindi* (N. Y. 1908), p. 23. Strzygowski (*Jahrbuch der Königl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1904, p. 246) also accepts the testimony of al-Ḳudā'ī.

[2] Ṭabarī III, 1670; Vollers, *Fragmente aus dem Muġrib des Ibn Sa'îd*, p. 7; Abūl-Maḥāsin II, 6. [3] Vollers, *loc. cit.* p. 47, 15.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 237. Cfr. René Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (Paris 1907), p. 45. On the general question, see Migeon, *Manuel d'Art Musulman* II, 71, 102, 459 et seq.

[5] Consequently, there were no steps. Ibn Khurdādbeh, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, (ed. de Goeje) p. 114, 16 has بغير درج, which reminds him of the ascent in the minaret of the Samarra mosque. Mas'ūdī has the same expression; and the doubt of Butler (*Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 392, note 2) "it does not seem quite clear whether there were actual steps or an inclined plane for mounting the tower", is not justified.

[6] Yākūt has سقّفت and not the unintelligible سقفت of al-Ḳazwīnī.

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ments, from which one has an outlook over the sea. In this there is a space as if it were a square tower which one ascends by another series of steps unto another place from which one can look down upon the roof of the first. It is also surrounded by battlements. In this space there is a pavilion like a watchman's cabin". That he is speaking here of an inner staircase[1] is plain from his statement a little further on that this staircase winds around "something like an empty well"—a fact that is also reported by the Chinese author of the thirteenth century Chao-Yu-Kua in his ethnographic work *Chu-fan-chah*: "in the middle of the tower there was a spring".[2] Idrīsī (twelfth century) says explicitly: "one mounts by means of a wide staircase, constructed in the interior, just as is the custom in mounting mosques".[3] The minaret of Ibn Ṭūlūn, however, has its ascent outside, in the form of a rampart, just as was the case with the Ziggurat.[4] The persistence of this tradition in Mesopotamia itself is seen in the tower built at Bagdad by the Caliph al-Muktafi in the eleventh century (the *Ḳubbat al-ḥimār* or "Cupola of the Ass") "ascended by a spiral stair of such an easy gradient that the Caliph could ride to the summit on a donkey trained to an ambling gait".[5]

The combination of the square or angled base surmounted by a circular tower remained the predominant type of the Egyptian minaret; though the ascent has been placed inside. This general character, of course, admitted of certain variations. The minaret upon the tomb-mosque of Kalā'ūn is made up of a square base, surmounted by another square retrocessing and by a circular top; that on the tomb-mosque of Barḳūḳ

[1] Hirth, *Die Länder des Islām nach chinesischen Quellen.* Supplément au Vol. V du *T'oung-Pao*, Leiden 1894, p. 53.

[2] *Description de L'Afrique*, p. 139.

[3] Van Berchem, Saladin and de Beylié have correctly described the Pharos as telescopic in form; while the minarets at Samarra and Abū Dulaf are helicoïdal. See *Prome et Samarra*, p. 115, note.

[4] Guy le Strange, *Bagdad during the Abbasid Califate*, p. 254. A similar tower "up which four horses could be driven" is mentioned by Chao-Yu-Kua as existing at Lu-Mei, which Hirth supposes to be Damascus. If this is so, the author must confound the tower to which he refers with some other—perhaps the Pharos itself, as de Goeje suggests: *loc. cit.* p. 47.

[5] Coste, Plate IX; Saladin I, 112. Cfr., also, the minaret of al-Ghūrī, Coste, Plate XXXVI; Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art Arabe*, plate XXVI.

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of a square base, followed by a circular construction, and then by a round top resting on pillars.[1] Sometimes the circular part was broken into an hexagonal or an octagonal. The minaret on the mosque of al-Ḥasan has a square base surmounted by an octangular tower; which is followed by a second octangular tower; the whole surmounted by a top piece resting upon columns.[2] This is also the form of the minaret on the madrasah of Muḥammad ibn Naṣr. The minaret of the tomb-mosque of Ḳait-Bey has a square base that develops before the first stage is finished into an hexagonal. Upon this is a circular tower, surmounted by a round top resting on pillars.[3] At other times the square base was broken as in the minaret of the mosque of al-Muʿayyíd, where it is hexagonal;[4] or in that of the Azhar where it is also hexagonal—surmounted by a decagonal, and this is crowned by two towers that support the top piece.[5]

Both forms, the square and the round tower, have, however, persisted uncombined in various parts of the Moslem world; the cleavage is rather marked. The square minaret persisted in Syria[6] (whenever Egyptian influence was not at work), as can be seen in the "Ma'dhanat al-ʿArūs" in the Cathedral mosque at Damascus[7] and even in the general character of the "Minaret of Jesus" there. That of the mosque of Zakariyya (the cathedral mosque) at Aleppo is a simple square all the way up.[8] The Umayyads carried this form into Spain; the most noted example to day being the Giralda at Sevilla,[9] which has been copied faithfully in the tower of the Madison Square Garden of New York City. It was also carried into Africa, where, to this day, the usual form of the minaret is square. Witness the Jama Zaitoun at Tunis, the minaret of the Kalaä Beni Ḥammad (the Berber capital of North Africa); the Katubia in Morocco, the Mosque at Oran or the Manṣurah

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[1] Coste, Plate XIV.

[2] E. T. Rogers and Miss Rogers in *Art Journal*, 1880, p. 77.

[3] Coste, Plate XXXII.

[4] Coste, Plate XXXI; Saladin I, 144.

[5] Coste, Plate XXXVII.

[6] Mukaddasī (ed. de Goeje), p. 182.

[7] Saladin I, 72. The top of the "Minaret of Jesus" is evidently a later addition.

[8] Saladin I, 105.

[9] Saladin I, 232; Adolf Fäh, *Grundriß der Gesch. der bildenden Künste*, p. 280; Lübke, *Gesch. der Architektur*, p. 81; W. and G. Marçais, *Les Monuments Arabes de Tlemcen*, p. 45.

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at Tlemcen.[1] Only in a few cases, as at Hamonda Pasha in Tunis, is the absolute square broken into a hexagonal.

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On the other hand, the round minaret is generally found in Mesopotamia and the countries further east.[2] Some of the great mausoleums, it is true, seem to represent an angular base surmounted by a short,[3] pointed tower—such as the tomb of Zubaidah the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd near Bagdad with its pyramidal stalactite top or the tomb of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī at Zobair near that same city, with its tower curiously formed of eight stages in telescopic arrangement.[4] Nor are peculiar forms wanting; e. g. the minaret in the Sūḳ al-Ghazal at Bagdad,[5] which though round increases in width towards the top where it finishes in a beautiful stalactite top (similar to the minaret at Amadieh[6]), or the minaret at al-Ānah with its eight regular storeys,[7] which reminds one forcibly of some of the towers recently found at Axūm.[8] In some cases, but at a later period, the round form was frankly discarded—as in the minaret of the Bibi Khanūm at Samarcand[9]—that noble structure erected by Tīmūr to his much-beloved wife—which is octagonal in form, or in that of the Royal Tekië at Teheran, which is square.[10] But in general, one will find round minarets of one sort or another from Mesopotamia up to the confines of China. There is, of course, much variety in the details of these round minarets, and their architecture has been affected by local taste and racial traditions. The Minār Kalān (the great minaret) at Bokhara is an immense structure "36 feet at the base and tapering upward to a height of 210 feet".[11] At times a sort of spiral is worked into the tower, as at the Imperial mosque of Ispahan,[12] or at the "Gūr Amīr", the mausoleum of Tamerlane. In the Minar of

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[1] Saladin I, 198, 217, 224, 228 etc. [2] Saladin I, 289.

[3] Saladin I, 320; de Beylié, *Prome et Samarra*, p. 32.

[4] *Revue du Monde Musulman* VI, 645.

[5] De Beylié, *Prome et Samarra*, p. 48.

[6] Binder, *Am Kurdistan*, p. 207. [7] *ibid.*, p. 69.

[8] *Jahrb. des Kaiserl. deutschen Archäolog. Inst.* 1907, pp. 45, 46. Cfr. *Am. Journ. of Archaeol.* XI, 340.

[9] Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, p. 392.

[10] *Revue du Monde Musulman* IV, 483; Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 417.

[11] Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, p. 374.

[12] Saladin I, 397.

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the Kutab mosque at Delhi, the smooth surface is broken by projecting ribs which form flutes which are alternately angular and circular up to the first storey;[1] circular in the second and angular in the third. The fourth storey is plainly round.[2] It is this round form, though much smaller in circumference, that has been adopted by the Turks and which they evidently learned in Mesopotamia. It is this style that is found, again with very few exceptions, in Constantinople and the Balkan Peninsula.[3]

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But it is not only in Mohammedan countries that the idea first expressed in the Babylonian Ziggurat has survived. I should not like to be misundertood as falling in with the Babylonian exaggerations of some of our most learned Assyriologists and of seeing everything through spectacles coloured by the grandeur of the antique world. But in matters of art and of architecture especially, the borrowings and the influences have been so numerous, that one civilization may be said to stand upon the shoulders of its predecessor. It is a well-known fact that the early Christian basilica had no towers attached or superposed. The same is true of the earliest Byzantine churches in Italy—the classic home of the campanile. Even to this day there are none attached to the cathedral of Parenzo (535-543), of Prado (571-586) or to that of San Lorenzo at Milan (6th century), which are among the earliest examples of church architecture in the West. It is true that some of the old Italian churches have at present campaniles adjoining. This is the case with a number of the Ravenna churches—the Basilica Ursiana, Sant' Apollinare

[1] Ferguson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 505. A similar method is employed in many of the grand palaces of Mesopotamia and in the Minar, or lighthouse at Beni Hammad in North Africa. See De Beylié in *J. A.* XII (1900) p. 197.

[2] Ferguson, *loc. cit.* John J. Pool, *Studies in Mohammedanism* (1892) p. 336 "It is not exactly a minaret, that is to say, it is not now, if it ever was, connected with a mosque, but it is a lofty turret or tower which is called a minar".

[3] One might go still further and examine the connection that exists between the Babylonian Ziggurat and the stage-temples found in Turkestan, at Turfan, Astana and Syrchab (Grünwedel, *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung* in *Abhandl. Phil. Philol. Klasse der Bayer. Akad.* 1906, p. 49; Regel in *Petermann's Mitteil.* for 1879, 1880 and 1881); but such an examination would be foreign to the scope of the present paper.

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Nuovo, Sant Apollinare in Classe. San Vitale is even surmounted by two towers. It must be noted, however, that the towers on San Vitale are not campaniles in the true sense of the term, but merely means for reaching the gallery.[1] As regards the campaniles themselves, all authorities agree that though the main edifices of the churches are of the fifth and sixth centuries, the campaniles were erected at least two centuries later.[2] The dating of the campanile is in no way affected by the undoubted fact that the bell was used in connection with early Christian churches. Gregory of Tours, towards the end of the sixth century, seems to be the first to mention it as part of the church paraphanalia.[3] The Chronicle of the abbots of Fonteinelle, speaking of the years 734-738, mentions the "Campanum in turricula collocandum ut moris est ecclesiarum".[4] Some of the belfries (e. g. of St. Satyrus) are supposed to be as old as the sixth century.[5] But belfries are not towers. The oldest campaniles are supposed to date from the beginning of the ninth century—those of Santa Maria della Cella at Viterbo and Sant Ambrogio at Milan: though that of Sant Apollinare in Classe is held by some to be of the eighth century.[6] The campanile of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo is however reliably dated between 850 and 878.

It is therefore a pertinent question—whence did this addition to church architecture come? The writer of the article "Kirchenbau" in the *Protestantische Real-Encyclopädie*[7] is of opinion that it was an original conception both in Italy and in the Frankish Empire, and that it had no connection whatsoever with the East. I understand this to be also the meaning of Adolf Fäh's words: "Ein neues Element bilden

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[1] "... le torri della basilica di San Vitale, dalla muratura sincrona ad essa, furono erette per dare accesso alla gallerie superiore"; Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana* (Milan 1902) II, 160.

[2] G. T. Rivoira, *Le origini della architettura Lombardia* (Rome 1901), I, 49 et seq.; Venturi, *loc. cit.*; Ch. Diehl, *Ravenne* (1903) p. 48.

[3] Venturi, *loc. cit.* II, 149; *Protest. Real-Encycl.* VI, 704.

[4] Cited from Eulart, *Manuel d'archéologie française* p. 174 in Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Mediaeval Architecture* (N. Y. 1909) I, 81, note 3.

[5] Raffaele Sattaneo, *Architecture in Italy* (London 1896) p. 255.

[6] Dehio and Van Bezold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, I, 135.

[7] X, 786.

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die meist kreisrunden Türme".[1] But one might well ask in return—if they were not necessary as belfries, what purpose did they serve? In Ravenna they could hardly be needed as towers of defence, since the whole city was enclosed by a wall. Nor could they be used as light-houses; for that purpose they were too far distant from the shore. It is certainly peculiar that the rise of the campanile or church tower synchronizes with the coming of the Arabs into the Mediterranean. The first Arab raid upon Sicily is said to have taken place in the year 701;[2] and though Sicily and certain parts of Southern Italy did not come under their direct rule until the Aghlabites were strong in Africa during the ninth century,[3] Arab influence permeated the Eastern Mediterranean long before that. I do not know what authority there is for the statement that the columns for the basilicas at Ravenna were made in Istria by oriental workmen;[4] but Ravenna was a great centre from which Oriental influences passed on into Europe—not only in art, but also in decoration, in mosaics, and in miniatur-painting as well.[5] The basilica of St. Mark at Venice, supposed to contain the remains of the saint brought thither in 828 from Alexandria, is adorned with columns garnered in the East; and the campanile has an "ascent by a continuous inclined plane built between an inner and outer wall and turning with a platform at each angle of the tower" which reminds one at once of the ascent in the Pharos at Alexandria. Like the minaret, the campanile could be either round or square. Most of the early examples are round; but square ones are not wanting, e. g. at San Giovanni Evangelista, San Francesco and San Michele in Affricisco in Ravenna. And like the minaret,[6] the campanile was at first not an integral part of the church building. It was generally placed near to it, sometimes even leaning upon it; until in the church

[1] *Grundriß der Gesch. der bildenden Künste*, p. 228.

[2] Weil, *Chalifen* I, 478.

[3] Weil, *loc. cit.* II, 249; Müller, *Islam* I, 551.

[4] Baedeker, *Italie Septentrionale* (1892), p. 301.

[5] Ch. Diehl, *Ravenne*, pp. 107-109; Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana* II, 110, 127; Corrodo Ricci, *Ravenna* (Bergamo 1902), pp. 5, 7, 64.

[6] Lane, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, p. 108 "... not otherwise connected with the mosque than by an arch, over which is a way to the terraces above the arcades".

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spire it became almost a necessary part of every Christian place of worship.

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It seems to me, therefore, that a possible explanation of the sudden appearance of the campanile in Italy during the eighth and ninth centuries, would be that they are due to Mohammedan influence. Whether this influence came from Egypt, or from Syria and Mesopotamia, or even from the Maghreb, is a point upon which I should not like to insist. But this much does seem to follow from a study of the history of the monuments, that the old idea of the Ziggurat or tower in some way connected with worship at a shrine has filtered down to us through the Mohammedan minaret and finds its expression to day in our church steeple.

April 1909.

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The Vedic Dual: Part I., The Dual of Bodily Parts.—By Dr. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Professor in Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.

Neither native nor occidental grammarians have adequately defined the scope of the dual in Sanskrit, but both agree on the general strictness of its use. The great Pāṇini states the general rule for grammatical number with the utmost simplicity,—*bahuṣu bahuvacanam | dvyekayor dvivacanāikavacane* (I. 4. 21 f.), *i. e.*: In the case of many, the plural; in the case of two (or) one, the dual (or) the singular (is used). As regards the dual he appears to know only two exceptions. In I. 2. 59, he states:—*asmado dvayoç ca*, or that the plural of the first personal pronoun may be used of two, and in the next section he adds:—*phalgunīproṣṭhapadānāṁ ca nakṣatre*, or that the plural may be used instead of the dual of the lunar mansions *phalgunī* and *proṣṭhapadā*. We may add that both of the Pāṇinean exceptions are found in Vedic.

Whitney (Sk. Gr. § 265) admits "only very rare and sporadic exceptions" to its strict use "in all cases where two objects are logically indicated, whether directly or by combination of two individuals." Speijer (Sk. Syn. § 26) states:—"In all periods of the language the dual is the proper and sole number by which duality is to be expressed". He thinks it not improbable that in the voluminous mass of Sanskrit literature sundry instances may be found of duality expressed by the plural number but he is confident that "the number of such exceptions cannot be but exceedingly small".

Students of Vedic syntax, however, occasionally observing some of the phenomena to be presented in this study, have had an idea that this strictness of use was not as well maintained in the older period of the language. Professor Delbrück, for instance, in his Altind. Syn. (p. 102) asks: „Steht der Plural als allgemeiner Mehrheitskasus auch da, wo man den Dual zu erwarten hätte?" and adds: „Es giebt unzweifelhaft im Veda Stellen, an welchen der Plural auffallend erscheint".

The first instance he cites is that of RV. III. 33, which we notice here as it does not recur in the subsequent study. In

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this hymn the two rivers, Vípāṭ and Çutudrí, are described in stanzas 1—3 in the dual. In stanzas 4, 6, 8 and 10, the rivers speak in the first plural, but this is an exception recognized in all periods of the language. (Cf. Pāṇ. *l. c.*; Speijer, *op. c.* § 25). In 5, 9, 11 and 12 they are addressed in the plural, a not uncommon mark of great respect in the later language, though Speijer (Ved. u. Sk. Syn. 10g.) pronounces it post-Vedic and post-Pāṇinean. In the closing 13th stanza the waters are addressed in the plural, naturally enough as *āpas* is *plurale tantum*. The latter half stanza returns to the dual as the address is dropped and the two rivers are compared to two bulls. Surely everything is normal enough, with the exception of the unusual plural of the second person in address in the Vedic. Had we plurals in the descriptive stanzas 1—3 and plural and dual transposed in 13, Delbrück might well have thought the numbers remarkable. He is still less happy in his citation of RV. IV. 38. 3, for he overlooks the fact that the *paḍbhis* belong to a horse, in which case the dual is hardly to be expected. The other instances he cites are fully considered in § 6 of the present study.

With truer insight Professor Bloomfield has long been of the opinion that for some reason or other the hieratic language of the RV. admitted the dual more freely than the Atharvanic or popular speech. This needed closer definition.

It was, then, to investigate the phenomena associated with the Vedic dual and to determine the extent of the supposed encroachments of the plural upon its domain that this study was undertaken. In its preparation all the dual substantives and adjectives, including participles, have been collected from the entire Rig and Atharva Vedas. These have been grouped into several parts as follows: 1, The dual of natural bodily parts; 2, the dual in comparisons; 3, the dual of implemental pairs; 4, the dual of cosmic pairs; 5, the dual of conventional, customary or occasionally associated pairs; 6, the elliptic dual; 7, the dual dvandva compounds; 8, the anaphoric dual; 9, the attributive dual. These have been studied each as a unit and also in its relation to the others.

The present paper is concerned only with the first of these, the dual of natural bodily parts, for these have been the center of the doubt and the controversy. The study has for convenience of treatment been subdivided into seven parts, three

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of which have to do with the supposed use of the plural for the dual. We shall consider first the duality of bodily parts, naturally dual, (a) when associated with an individual; (b) with a duality of persons; (c) with a plurality of persons:—and then a plurality of bodily parts, naturally dual, associated (a) with a plurality of persons; (b) with a duality of persons; (c) with an individual. The seventh section on a duality of naturally singular parts is added for completeness. The conclusions reached from the study of each section will be presented at the end of the section.

§ 1.

A duality of bodily parts, naturally dual, ascribed to an individual.

áṅisa, 'shoulder'. RV. 0—3—6 (§ 4)[1]; AV. 1—6—0.

áṅsāu, RV. I. 158. 5[d], (dāsásya); AV. IX. 7. 7, (ṛṣabhásya); X. 2. 5[c], (púruṣasya); X. 9. 19[b], (aghnyáyās); XI. 3. 9, (odanásya): áṅsābhyām, RV. X. 163. 2[c] = AV. II. 33. 2[c], (yakṣmíṇas). See also § 2 (AV.) and § 3 (RV.).

akṣán, 'eye'. RV. 1—0—9 (§§ 4, 6); AV. 0—1—0.

akṣṇós, AV. XIX. 60. 1[b], (mantrakṛ́tas).

ákṣi, 'eye'. RV. 1—0—0; AV. 3—2—1 (§ 4).

ákṣiṇī, AV. X. 9. 14[b], (aghnyáyās); XI. 3. 2, (odanásya).

akṣí, 'eye'. RV. 0—7—0; AV. 0—14—0.

akṣí, RV. I. 72. 10[b], (divás); I. 116. 16[c], 17[c], (ṛjrā́çvasya); X. 79. 2[a], (agnés):

akṣyāù, AV. I. 27. 1[d], (paripanthínas); IV. 3. 3[a], (vyāghrásya); V. 23. 3[a], (kumārásya); V. 29. 4[a], (piçācásya); VI. 9. 1[b], (vadhūyós); VI. 9. 1[c], (vṛṣaṇyántyās); XIX. 50. 1[c], (vṛ́kasya): akṣíbhyām, RV. X. 163. 1[a] = AV. II. 33. 1[a], (yakṣmíṇas); AV. XI. 3. 34[ad], (odanādatas): akṣyós, AV. V. 4. 10[b], (takmagṛhītasya); VI. 24. 2[a], (ā́dyuttasya); VI. 127. 3[b], (āmayavíṇas). See also § 2 for one RV. and two AV. duals. The remaining dual will be included in pt. II.

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[1] For the sake of convenience this section is made a repertory of all the terms indicating parts of the body of which the dual is found in either Veda and a statement is given of the number of times the word is used in each grammatical number. References are given to the following sections or to the parts of the study, for the use of the plurals and of such duals as do not fall within the scope of this section.

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anūkyà, "aṅsayor madhyadehasya ca saṅdhī" (Sāy.), AV. 2—1—0.
anūkyè, AV. XI. 3. 9, (odanásya).
anūvŕj, 'flank'. AV. 0—1—0.
anūvŕjāu, IX. 4. 12ᵇ, (ṛṣabhásya).
aṣṭhīvát, 'knee'. RV. 0—2—0; AV. 0—8—0.
aṣṭhīvántāu, RV. VII. 50. 2ᵇ, (mantrakŕtas); AV. IX. 4. 12ᶜ; 7. 10, (ṛṣabhásya); X. 2. 2ᵇ; XI. 8. 14ᵃ, (púruṣasya); X. 9. 21ᵃ, (aghnyáyās):
aṣṭhīvádbhyām, RV. X. 163. 4ᵃ=AV. II. 33. 5ᵃ, (yakṣmíṇas); AV. XI. 3. 45ᵃ, (odanādatas), 45ᵈ, (tváṣṭur).
āṇḍá, 'testis'. AV. 0—1—0.
āṇḍāú, IX. 7. 13, (ṛṣabhásya).
āṇḍī́, 'testis.' AV. 0—1—0.
āṇḍyāú, VI. 138. 2ᵈ, (púruṣasya).
īrmá, 'fore-quarter.' AV. 0—1—0.
īrmābhyām, X. 10. 21ᵃ, (vaçáyās).
uchlakhá, 'sole.' AV. 0—1—0.
uchlakhāú, X. 2. 1ᵈ, (púruṣasya).
upástha, 'lap.' RV. 61—2—0; AV. 15—0—0.
See § 7 and pt. IV.
ūrú, 'thigh'. RV. 1—6—0; AV. 1—13—0.
ūrū́, RV. X. 85. 37ᶜ=AV. XIV. 2. 38ᶜ, (vadhūyós); RV. X. 90. 11ᵈ=AV. XIX. 6. 5ᵈ; RV. X. 90. 12ᶜ, (púruṣasya); X. 162. 4ᵃ, (striyās); AV. VIII. 6. 3ᵇ, (kanyáyās); IX. 7. 9, (ṛṣabhásya); IX. 8. 7ᵃ, (āmayavíṇas); X. 2. 3ᶜ; XI. 8. 14ᵃ, (púruṣasya); X. 9. 21ᵃ, (aghnyáyās); XI. 3. 44ᵇ, (odanādatas): ūrúbhyām, RV. X. 163. 4ᵃ=AV. II. 33. 5ᵃ, (yakṣmíṇas); AV. XI. 3. 44ᵃ, (odanādatas): ūrvós, RV. VIII. 70. 10ᶜ, (índrasya dāsásya vā); AV. XIX. 60. 2ᵃ, (mantrakŕtas). See § 2 (AV.) for the remaining dual.
oṇí, 'breast'. RV. 0—1—0. Cf. pt. III.
oṇyòs, IX. 101. 14ᵇ, (mātúr).
óṣṭha, 'lip'. RV. 0—1(pt. II.)—0; AV. 1—1—0.
óṣṭhāu, AV. X. 9. 14ᵃ, (aghnyáyās).
kaphāuḍá, 'elbow'. AV. 0—1—0.
kaphāuḍāú, X. 2. 4ᶜ, (púruṣasya).
karâsna, 'fore-arm'. RV. 1—2—0.
karásnā, III. 18. 5ᵈ, (agnés); VI. 19. 3ᵃ, (índrasya).
kárṇa, 'ear'. RV. 5—8—3 (§§ 4—6); AV. 2—11—0.

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kárṇā, RV. IV. 23. 8[d], (āyós); IV. 29. 3[a]; VI. 38. 2[a], (índrasya); VI. 9. 6[a], (mantrakṛ́tas); VIII. 72. 12[c], (gharmásya); AV. X. 2. 6[b], (púruṣasya); X. 9. 13[b], (aghnyā́yās); XII. 4. 6[a], (vaçā́yās); XII. 5. 22, (brahmagavyā́s); XVI. 2. 4, *bis*, (mantrakṛ́tas): kárṇābhyām, RV. X. 163. 1[b]= AV. II. 33. 1[b], (yakṣmíṇas); AV. IX. 4. 17[c], (ṛṣabhásya); IX. 8. 2[a], (āmayavíṇas): kárṇayos, AV. VI. 141. 2[b], (vatsásya); XIX. 60. 1[b], (mantrakṛ́tas). See part II. for the other two duals (RV.).

kárṇaka, 'outspread leg'. AV. 0—1—0.

kárṇakāu, XX. 133. 3[a], (kumāryā́s).

kaçaplaká, 'buttock.' RV. 0—1—0.

kaçaplakāú, VIII. 33. 19[c], (āsaṅgásya).

kukṣí, 'flank, loin.' RV. 4—5—1 (§ 6); AV. 3—5—0.

kukṣí, RV. II. 11. 11[c]; X. 28. 2[d]; 86. 14[d]; AV. II. 5. 4[b], (índrasya); AV. IV. 16. 3[c], (váruṇasya); IX. 5. 20[d], (ajásya); X. 9. 17[b], (aghnyā́yās): kukṣíbhyām, AV. II. 33. 4[c], (yakṣmíṇas): kukṣyós, RV. III. 51. 12[a]; VIII. 17. 5[a], (índrasya).

kulphá, 'ankle.' RV. 0—1—0. Cf. gulphá.

kulphāú, VII. 50. 2[b], (mantrakṛ́tas).

kroḍá, 'breast.' AV. 2—1—0.

kroḍāú, X. 9. 25[a], (aghnyā́yās).

gábhasti, 'hand.' RV. 6—23—0.

gábhastī, VI. 19. 3[a]; VII. 37. 3[c], (índrasya): gábhastyos, I. 82. 6[b]; 130. 4[a]; III. 60. 5[b]; V. 86. 3[c]; VI. 29. 2[c]; 45. 18[a]; VIII. 12. 7[b]; X. 96. 3[b], (índrasya); IX. 76. 2[a], (sómasya). See § 3 for the other twelve duals.

gavínikā, 'groin.' AV. 0—2—0.

gavínike, I. 11. 5[b], (náryās); IX. 8. 7[b], (āmayavíṇas).

gavīní, 'groin.' AV. 0—5—0.

gavīnyós, I. 3. 6[a], (āmáyavíṇas), V. 25. 10[b]—13[b], (náryās).

gulphá, 'ankle.' AV. 0—2—0. Cf. kulphá.

gulphāú, X. 2. 1[b], 2[a], (púruṣasya).

cákṣan, 'eye.' AV. 0—1—0.

cákṣaṇī, X. 2. 6[b], (púruṣasya).

cákṣus, 'eye.' RV. 36—0—1 (§ 4); AV. 78—1—3 (§§ 4, 6).

cákṣuṣī, AV. IX. 5. 21[a], (ajásya).

jaghána, 'buttock, haunch.' RV. 1—1—1 (§ 4); AV. 1—0—0. The one dual belongs to part II.

jáṅghā, 'leg.' RV. 2—0—0; AV. 0—2—3 (§ 6).

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jáñghe, AV. X. 2. 2c, (púruṣasya): jáñghayos, XIX. 60. 2a, (mantrakṛ́tas).

jánu, 'knee.' RV. 1—0—0; AV. 1—3—0.

jánubhyām, IX. 8. 21a, (āmayavíṇas); X. 2. 3b, (púruṣasya): jánunos, X. 2. 2d, (púruṣasya).

dánṣṭra, 'tusk, molar, fang.' RV. 0—1—1 (§ 6); AV. 0—4—1 (§ 6).

dáṅṣṭrā, RV. X. 87. 3a = dáṅṣṭrāu, AV. VIII. 3. 3a, (agnés): dáṅṣṭrābhyām, AV. X. 5. 43a, (vāiçvānarásya): dáṅṣṭrayos, IV. 36. 2c; XVI. 7. 3, (vāiçvānarásya).

dánta, 'deciduous middle incisor'. AV. 0—4—0.

dántāu, VI. 140. 1c, 2d, 3b, 3d, (çíços).

doṣán, 'fore-leg.' AV. 0—2—0.

doṣáṇī, IX. 7. 7, (ṛṣabhásya); X. 9. 19a, (aghnyā́yās).

nás, 'nose, nostril.' RV. 0—1—0; AV. 2—1—0.

nasós, RV. V. 61. 2c, (áçvasya); AV. XIX. 60. 1b, (mantrakṛ́tas).

nā́sā, 'nose, nostril.' RV. 0—1(pt. II.)—0; AV. 0—1—0.

nā́se, AV. V. 23. 3b, (kumārásya).

nā́sikā, 'nose, nostril.' RV. 0—1—0; AV. 1—4—0.

nā́sike, AV. X. 2. 6b, (púruṣasya); X. 9. 14a, (aghnyā́yās); XV. 18. 4, (vrā́tyasya): nā́sikābhyām, RV. X. 163. 1a = AV. II. 33. 1a, (yakṣmíṇas).

nāḍī́, 'retovahe' (Sāy.), 'seminal ducts.' AV. 0—1—0.

nāḍyāù, VI. 138. 4a, (púruṣasya).

nṛbāhú, 'arm of man.' RV. 0—1—0.

nṛbāhúbhyām, IX. 72. 5a, (sotúr).

pakṣá, 'wing.' RV. 3—5—2 (§ 4); AV. 1—6—1 (§ 6).

pakṣā́, RV. I. 163. 1c; VIII. 34. 9b, (çyenásya); X. 106. 3a, (çakunásya): pakṣāú, AV. IV. 34. 1c, (odanásya); VI. 8. 2b, (suparṇásya); VIII. 9. 14b, (yajñásya); X. 8. 18a; XIII. 3. 14a, (haṅsásya); X. 9. 25c, (aghnyā́yās). See § 3 for the other two RV. duals.

paṭāurá, 'side, costal region.' AV. 0—1—0. See § 3 for the only dual.

pativédana, 'husband-finder, breast?' AV. 0—1—0.

pativédanāu, VIII. 6. 1b, (kanyā́yās).

pā́d, 'foot.' RV. 16—10—8 (§§ 4—6); AV. 11—13—7 (§ 6).

pā́dā, RV. I. 24 8c, (sū́ryasya); VI. 29. 3a; X. 73. 3a, (índrasya); X. 90. 11d = pā́dāu, AV. XIX. 6. 5d; pā́dāu, RV. VI. 47. 15c, (púruṣasya); AV. I. 27. 4a, (mantra-

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kṛtas); VI. 9. 1ª, (vadhūyós); X. 1. 21ª, (kṛtyás); XI. 8. 14ª, (púruṣasya); XIX. 49. 10ª, (stenásya): padbhyắm, RV. X. 90. 12ᵈ, 14ᶜ = AV. XIX. 6. 6ᵈ, 8ᶜ, (púruṣasya); AV. V. 30. 13ᵈ, (āmayavíṇas); XII. 1. 28ᶜ, (mantrakṛ́tas): padós, RV. X. 166. 2ᶜ, (sapatnaghnás); AV. I. 18. 2ª, (striyás); XII. 4. 5ª, (viklíndvas). See also § 6 and pt. II.

pāṇí, 'hand.' RV. 0—2—1 (§ 6); AV. 1—1—0.

pāṇī́, RV. IV. 21. 9ª, (indrasya); VI. 71. 1ᶜ, (savitúr): pắṇibhyām, AV. II. 33. 6ᶜ, (yakṣmíṇas).

pā́da, 'foot.' RV. 2—0—2 (§ 6); AV. 1—5—1 (§ 6).

pā́dabhyām, AV. IX. 8. 21ª, (āmayavíṇas); XI. 3. 46ª, (odanādatas): pā́dayos, XIX. 60. 2ᵇ, (mantrakṛ́tas). See also §§ 2 and 3.

pādaká, 'little foot.' RV. 0—1—0.

pādakāú, VIII. 33. 19ᵇ, (āsaṅgásya).

pārçvá, 'side.' RV. 1—0—0; AV. 2—5—0.

pārçvé, IX. 4. 12ª, (ṛṣabhásya); IX. 5. 20ᵈ, (ajásya); IX. 8. 15ª, (āmayavíṇas); XI. 8. 14ᶜ, (púruṣasya): pārçvā́bhyām, II. 33. 3ᵇ, (yakṣmíṇas).

pā́rṣṇi, 'heel.' RV. 1—1—0; AV. 2—3—1 (§ 4).

pā́rṣṇī, AV. X. 2. 1ª, (púruṣasya): pā́rṣṇibhyām, II. 33. 5ᵇ = RV. X. 163. 4ᵇ, (yakṣmíṇas): pā́rṣṇyos, VI. 24. 2ᵇ, (ā́dyuttasya).

prápad, 'forepart of foot.' AV. 0—1—0.

prápados, VI. 24. 2ᵇ, (ā́dyuttasya).

prápada, 'front part of foot'. RV. 0—1—1 (§ 6); AV. 1—3—1 (§ 4).

prápadābhyām, RV. X. 163. 4ᵇ = AV. II. 33. 5ᵇ, (yakṣmíṇas); AV. X. 3. 47ª, (odanādatas); XI. 3. 47ᵈ, (savitúr).

barjahyà, 'nipple.' AV. 0—1—0.

barjahyè, XI. 8. 14ᶜ (púruṣasya).

bāháva. 'arm.' RV. 0—3—0.

bāhávā, II. 38. 2ᵇ, (savitúr). See § 2 for the other two duals.

bāhú, 'arm, fore-leg.' RV. 2—50—10 (§§ 4—6); AV. 2—19—7 (§ 4).

bāhū́, RV. I. 95. 7ª; X. 142. 5ᶜ, (agnés); I. 102. 6ª; III. 51. 12ᶜ; VI. 47. 8ᶜ = AV. XIX. 15. 4ᶜ; VIII. 61. 18ᶜ; 77. 11ᶜ, (indrasya); I. 163. 1ᶜ, (hariṇásya); I. 190. 3ᵇ; IV. 53. 3ᶜ. 4ᶜ; VI. 71. 1ᵇ, 5ª; VII. 45. 2ª; 79. 2ᵈ, (savitúr); V. 43. 4ª, (somasútvanas); X. 90. 11ᶜ, 12ᵇ = AV. XIX.

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6. 5a, 6b, (púruṣasya); X. 102. 4d, (vṛṣabhásya); X. 121. 4c; AV. IV. 2. 5c, (hiraṇyagarbhásya); AV. VI. 65. 1b, (çátros), VI. 99. 2c, 3a; XIX. 13. 1a, (índrasya); VII. 70. 4a 5a, (pṛtanyatás); IX. 4. 8a, (váruṇasya); IX. 7. 7, (ṛṣabhásya); X. 2. 5a, (púruṣasya); X. 9. 19a, (aghnyáyās): bāhúbhyām, RV. II. 17. 6a; IV. 22. 2b, (índrasya), VII. 22. 1c, (sotúr); X. 81. 3c, (viçvákarmaṇas) = AV. XIII. 2. 26c, (sū́ryasya); X. 163. 2d = AV. II. 33. 2d, (yakṣmíṇas): bāhvós, RV. I. 51. 7c; 52. 8c; 63. 2b; 80. 8c; II. 11. 4b, 6c; 20. 8c; 36. 5b; III. 44. 4d; IV. 22. 3c; VI. 23. 1d; 46. 14d; VII. 25. 1c; VIII. 96. 3b, 5a; X. 52. 5c; 153. 4b, (índrasya); V. 16. 2b, (agnés); VII. 84. 1c, (yájamānasya); AV. VII. 56. 6a, (çarkóṭasya); XIX. 60. 1d, (mantrakṛ́tas). For the other duals, six RV. and one AV. see §§ 2 and 3.

bhurij, 'hand, arm.' RV. 0—4—0; AV. 0—1—0.

bhuríjos, RV. IX. 26. 4a, (sotúr). The other four duals belong to part III.

bhedá, 'pudenda.' RV. 0—1—0.

bhedāú, IX. 112. 4c, (náryās).

bhrū́, 'brow.' RV. 0—1—0.

bhruvós, IV. 38. 7d, (dadhikrā́yās).

mátasna, 'lung.' RV. 0—1—0; AV. 0—2—0.

mátasne, AV. X. 9. 16a, (aghnyáyās): mátasnābhyām, II. 33. 3c = RV. X. 163. 3c, (yakṣmíṇas).

muṣká, 'testis, pudendum.' RV. 0—1—0; AV. 0—7—0.

muṣkāú, AV. IV. 37. 7c, (gandharvásya); VI. 127. 2b, (āmayavíṇas); XX. 136. 1c, 2b, (náryās mahānagnyás): muṣkábhyām, VIII. 6. 5c, (kanyàyās): muṣkáyos, RV. X. 38. 5d, (índrasya); AV. VI. 138. 4d, 5d, (náryās).

? *rají*, 'pudendum?' RV. 0—1—0.

rají, X. 105. 2c, (pátnyās). So GRV. and BRV. GWB. and LRV. take it as some kind of a maned animal. PWB. merely cites Sāyaṇa's two guesses—*rajasī dyāvāpṛthivāv iva* or *mahantāu rañjakāu sūryācandramasāv iva*.

vártman, 'eyelid.' AV. 0—1—0.

vártmabhyām, XX. 133. 6c, (kumāryás).

vṛkká, 'kidney.' RV. 1—0—0; AV. 0—2—0.

vṛkkāú, VII. 96. 1d, (púruṣasya); IX. 7. 13, (ṛṣabhásya).

çíprā, 'lip.' RV. 0—6—2 (§ 4).

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çípre, I. 101. 10[b]; III. 32. 1[c]; V. 36. 2[a]; VIII. 76. 10[b]; X. 96. 9[b], (índrasya): çíprābhyām, X. 105. 5[c], (índrasya).

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çīrṣakapālá, 'cranial hemisphere.' AV. 0—1—0.

çīrṣakapālé, XV. 18. 4, (vrátyasya).

çṛ́ṅga, 'horn.' RV. 2—6—5 (§§ 4, 6); AV. 2—8—1 (§ 4).

çṛ́ṅge, RV. V. 2. 9[d] = AV. VIII. 3. 24[d]; RV. VIII. 60. 13[b], (agnés); IX. 5. 2[b]; 70. 7[b]; 87. 7[c], (sómasya); AV. II. 32. 6[a], (kṛ́mes); VIII. 3. 25[a], (agnés); IX. 7. 1, (ṛṣabhásya); X. 9. 14[b], (aghnyā́yās); XX. 130. 13, (pṛ́dākavas, cf. 129. 9, 10): çṛ́ṅgābhyām, IX. 4. 17[a], (ṛṣabhásya); XIX. 36. 2[a], (maṇés). See part II. for the other RV. dual.

çrṓṇí, 'hip.' RV. 0—1—0; AV. 0—6—0.

çróṇī, AV. IX. 4. 13[b]; 7. 9, (ṛṣabhásya); X. 2. 3[c], (púruṣasya); X. 9. 21[b], (aghnyā́yās): çróṇibhyām, RV. X. 163. 4[c]; AV. II. 33. 5[c], (yakṣmíṇas); AV. IX. 8. 21[b], (āmayavíṇas).

çrótra, 'ear.' RV. 2—0—0; AV. 19—4—0.

çrótre, AV. XI. 3. 2[a], (odanásya); XIV. 1. 11[c], (sūryā́yās, cf. RV. X. 85. 11[c]—çrótram): çrótrābhyām, XI. 3. 33[ad], (odanādatas).

sákthi, 'leg.' RV. 1—0—0; AV. 1—1—0.

sákthibhyām, X. 10. 21[b], (vaçā́yās).

sakthí, 'leg.' RV. 0—2—0; AV. 0—3—0.

sakthyà, RV. X. 86. 16[b], 17[d] = sakthyāù AV. XX. 126. 16[b], 17[d], (índrasya); sakthyāù, AV. VI. 9. 1[b], (vadhūyós).

saṅdhí (*jā́nunos*), 'knee-joint.' AV. 1—1—0.

saṅdhí, X. 2. 2[d], (púruṣasya).

stána, 'nipple, teat.' RV. 3—1(pt. II.)—0; AV. 1—3—5 (§ 6).

stánāu, AV. IX. 1. 7[b], (madhukaçā́yās); X. 2. 4[c], (púruṣasya).

See § 6 for the other dual.

hánu, 'jaw.' RV. 1—5—1 (§ 6); AV. 1—6—0.

hánū, RV. IV. 18. 9[b]; V. 36. 2[a], (índrasya); X. 79. 1[c], (agnés); X. 152. 3[b] = AV. I. 21. 3[b], (vṛtrásya); AV. VI. 56. 3[b], (svajā́sya); X. 9. 13[b], (aghnyā́yās); XIX. 47. 9[a], (vṛ́kasya): hánvos, RV. I. 52. 6[d], (vṛtrásya); AV. X. 2. 7[a]. 8[c], (púruṣasya).

hásta, 'hand.' RV. 29—17—5 (§§ 4, 6); AV. 22—18—4 (§ 4).

hástā, RV. IV. 21. 9[a]; VIII. 68. 3[c], (índrasya); hástāu, RV.

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X. 117. 9[a]; AV. XI. 8. 14[b], 15[a], (púruṣasya); AV. VI. 81. 1[a], (nā́ryās); VII. 26. 8[c], (víṣṇos); VII. 109. 3[c], (kitavásya); VIII. 1. 8[d], (āmayavínas); XIX. 49. 10[b], (stenásya): hástābhyām, AV. III. 11. 8[c], (satyásya); VI. 102. 3[c], (bhágasya); XI. 3. 48[a], (odanādatas); XI. 3. 48[d], (ṛtásya); XIX. 51. 2, (pūṣṇás): hástayos, RV. I. 24. 4[c], (savitúr); I. 38. 1[b], (pitúr); I. 55. 8[a]; 81. 4[e]; 176, 3[a]; VI. 31. 1[b]; 45. 8[a], (indrasya); I. 135. 9[c], (vāyós); I. 162. 9[c], (çamitúr); IX. 18. 4[b]; 90. 1[d], (sómasya); AV. I. 18. 2[b], (striyás): XVIII. 3. 12[c], (mantrakṛtas). For the other duals see § 3 (1 RV., 4 AV.) and pt. II. (2 RV.).

In this section are listed 146 of the 191 duals of the natural bodily parts, found in the RV., and 212 of the 225 such duals in the AV.

Of the RV. instances, 96 pertain to the various gods. Indra leads with 65. Savitar follows with 10 and Agni is close behind with 9. Only 39 pertain to human beings, and of these 11 pertain to the *yakṣmín* (consumptive) of X. 163, a hymn distinctively Atharvanic and at home in AV. II. 33. Seven pertain to animals, 3 to demons and 1 to the inanimate *gharmá*.

The different sphere of the AV. is well shown in its contrasts to these numbers. Humanity comes to the front with 124 duals and the sick still lead with 30. The animals get 49 duals and the gods drop to the third place with only 24 duals in all. Indra still leads them, but with a paltry 7. Agni is a close second with his 6 and Savitar has but a single dual. The demons have 5; inanimate objects 9, of which 4 pertain to the *odaná*.

Thus these duals clearly establish the hieratic character of the RV. and the demotic character of the AV. The importance of this distinction will appear later.

Only in 4 instances out of these 358 duals is there the slightest need to comment upon any grammatical usage. In three instances the dual is predicate to a singular—AV. IX. 7. 9—*bálam ūrū́* (strength his thighs) and *id.* 13—*kródho vṛkkāú manyúr aṇḍāú* (anger his kidneys, wrath his testes). In RV. X. 85. 11[c]—*çrótram te cakré āstām* (thy chariot wheels were an ear) shows the reverse, a singular predicate to a dual. The AV. XIV. 1. 11[c] has this pāda with the normal *çrótre*.

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§ 2.

A duality of bodily parts, naturally dual, associated with a duality of persons.

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The RV. has five instances of this phenomenon:—*akṣí* (*açvínos*), *I. 120. 6*c,—ákṣi çubhas patī dán, (Hither your eyes, ye lords of splendor); *bāhávā* (*mitrā́váruṇayos*), *V. 64. 2*a,—tā́ bāhávā sucetúnā prá yantam asmā árcate, (Stretch forth with kindly thought those arms unto this one that sings); *VII. 62. 5*a,—prá bāhávā sisṛtam jīváse na, (Stretch forth your arms to grant us life); *bāhúbhyām* (*mitrā́váruṇayos*), *VIII. 101. 4*d, —bāhúbhyām na uruṣyatam, (Keep us in safety by your arms); *bāhvós* (*mitrā́váruṇayos*), *V. 64. 1*c,—pári vrajéva bāhvór jagan-vā́ṅsā svàrṇaram, (As in the pen-fold of your arms encompassed ye the realm of light).

The AV. also has five instances:—*áṅsāu* (*açvínos*), *IX. 4. 8*b —índrasyāújo váruṇasya bāhū́ açvínor áṅsāu marútām iyáṁ kakút, (Indra's strength, Varuna's arms, the Açvins' shoulders, this Marut's hump); *akṣyāù* (*vadhūyór vadhúaç ca*), *VII. 36. 1*a,—akṣyāù nāu mádhusaṁkāçe, ánīkam nau samáñjanam, (Of honey aspect be our eyes, an ointment be our face); *ūrúbhyām* (*mitrā́váruṇayos*), *XI. 3. 44*d,—tátaç cāinam anyā́bhyām ūrú-bhyām prā́çīr yā́bhyāṁ cāitám pū́rva ṛ́ṣayaḥ prā́çnan | ūrū́ te mariṣyata ity enam āha | tám vā́ °/ mitrā́váruṇayor ūrúbhyām tā́bhyām enam prā́çiṣaṁ tā́bhyām enam ajīgamam | ('If thou didst eat this with other thighs than those with which the Rishis of yore did eat it, thy thighs will die', thus says one to him. — — — 'With the thighs of Mitra-Varuṇa, with these I ate this', etc.); *pā́dābhyām* (*açvínos*), *XI. 3. 46*d,—tátaç cāinam anyā́bhyām pā́dābhyām °/—°/—°/ açvínoḥ pā́dābhyām °/ °/ ('If with other feet', etc.— — —'With the feet of the Açvins, etc.); *bāhúbhyām* (*açvínos*), *XIX. 51. 2*b,—açvínor bā-húbhyām pūṣṇó hástābhyām prásūta ā́ rabhe (With the Açvins' arms, with Pushan's hands, I, impelled, seize thee).

It will be noticed that nine of these ten passages refer either to the Açvins or to Mitra-Varuṇa. Though it is true that of all the Vedic pantheon the deities of these respective groups are the ones most intimately associated, that Mitra is so closely assimilated to Varuṇa that, as Macdonell (Ved. Myth., p. 27) observes, he has hardly an independent trait left, that only on the rarest occasions are the Açvins separable,

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yet there is never a unification of the members of either dual. Nowhere are they invoked in the singular; nowhere described by a singular epithet; nowhere is a singular verb predicated of them. The immediate context in at least seven of our passages would positively forbid such an hypothesis as an explanation of the dual.

Nor are they *metri causa*, as the plural will scan in each of the eight metrical passages. That they are mere grammatical *lapsus linguæ* or due to laxity of thought on the part of the Rishis, should be our *dernier ressort*. We hold that this interpretation is unworthy and unnecessary and that a study of the passages, both by themselves and in contrast with those of § 5, in which a plurality of these same bodily parts is associated with these same dual divinities, reveals a conscious purpose in the selection of the grammatical number. In the passages before us this purpose is the dissociation and individualization of the members of the duality. Such an assumption is made imperative by AV. VII. 36. 1, where the eyes and singular face must individualize the bride and the groom. Each *nāu* receives its full interpretation only in "of each of us."

In AV. IX. 4. 8, the phrase *marútām iyáṁ kakút* requires the individualization of the Maruts, for they can possess no collective *kakút*. The natural extension of this distributive idea to the former part of the pāda gives the clearest and best explanation of the dual, açvínor áṅsāu.

If we compare the five RV. passages, each having the idea of duality so strongly explicit in it, with those of § 5, we can hardly decide otherwise than that in the passages with the dual, the Rishis address the deities with an implied 'each of you', and in those passages that have the plural, with an implied 'both of you'.

We have thus a logically consistent and satisfying explanation of the eight such duals found in the metrical portions of the Vedas. In each of the two passages from the *Odana Sūkta* (AV. XI. 3), the same explanation may apply, if not so obvious and compelling, or the duals may in each instance be echoic of the perfectly normal duals of the same words immediately preceding.

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§ 3.

A duality of bodily parts, naturally dual, associated with a plurality of persons.

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We find twenty instances in the RV.:—(1), *áṅsayos* (*marútām*), *V. 57. 6*[a],—ṛṣṭáyo vo maruto áṅsayor ádhi sáha ójo bāhvór vo bálaṁ hitám | nṛmṇá çīrṣásv áyudhā rátheṣu vo víçvā vaḥ çrír ádhi tanúṣu pipiçe ‖ (Lances are on your shoulders twain, O Maruts; energy and strength are placed together in your arms; manliness on your heads, weapons on your cars, all majesty is moulded on your forms); (2), *gábhastyos* (*marútām*), *I. 64. 10*[c],—ástāra iṣuṁ dadhire gábhastyoḥ (The archers have set the bow in their hands); (3), *I. 88. 6*[d],—iṣá syá vo maruto 'nubhartrí práti ṣṭobhati vāgháto ná vāṇī | ástobhayad vṛthāsām ánu svadhāṁ gábhastyoḥ ‖[1] (This invigorating hymn, O Maruts, peals forth in praise to meet you, as the music of one in prayer. Joyously did Gotama make these sing forth a gift of praise unto your hands); (4), *V. 54. 11*[c],—áṅseṣu va ṛṣṭáyaḥ patsú khādáyo vákṣassu rukmā maruto ráthe çúbhaḥ | agníbhrājaso vidyúto gábhastyoḥ çíprāḥ çīrṣásu vítatā hiraṇyáyīḥ ‖ (Lances on shoulders, spangles on feet, gold on your breasts, splendor on your car, fire-glowing lightnings in your hands, visors wrought of gold arranged upon your heads); (5), *gábhastyos* (*somasútvānām*), *IX. 10. 2*[b],—hinvānáso ráthā iva dadhanviré gábhastyoḥ | bhárāsaḥ kāríṇām iva ‖ (Driven on like chariots the Somas flow in the hands, like hymns of the singers); (6), *IX. 13. 7*[c],—dadhanviré gábhastyoḥ (they flow in the hands); (7) and (8), *IX. 20. 6*[b]; *65. 6*[b],—mṛjámāno

[1] The passage is difficult and has no satisfactory explanation in commentator or translator. The principal mooted points are the substantive implied in *a*, the subject and object of *ástobhayad* in *c*, the syntax and reference of *āsām* in *c* and of *gabhastyos* in *d*. Stanzas 4 and 5 are replete with the idea of the excellence and potency of Gotama's former hymns. Here he expresses his confidence of continuing merit and the consequent acceptance and approval of the present effort, the *anubhartrī* of *a*. *Astobhayad* has the Gotama of 4 and 5 for its subject, and its object is implied in *āsām*, the antecedent of which is *eṣā anubhartrī* of *a*. The case of *āsām* is the partitive gen. after the idea of 'give, present' implied in *astobhayad* (cf. Speijer's Sk. Syn. § 119 and E. Siecke, *De gen. in ling. Sansk. imp. Ved. usu* § 7, p. 36). *Gabhastyor* depends upon same idea of 'present' in the verb, and refers to the Maruts. This gives at least a consistent sense and a possible syntax.

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gábhastyoḥ (cleansed in the hands); (9) and (10), *IX. 36. 4*[b] and *64. 5*[b],—çumbhámāna ṛtāyúbhir mṛjámāno gábhastyoḥ (made radiant by pious men, cleansed in their hands); (11), *IX. 71. 3*[a], —ádribhiḥ sutáḥ pavate gábhastyoḥ (Soma pressed by the stones becomes clear in the hands); (12), *IX. 107. 13*[d],—tám ım̀ hinvanty apáso yáthā ráthaṁ nadíṣv á gábhastyoḥ (Skilful men drive him as a car, in streams in their hands); (13), *IX. 110. 5*[c],—çáryābhir ná bháramāno gábhastyoḥ (Borne on by the arrows, as it were, of the hands); (14), *pakṣá* (*vīnám*), *VIII. 47. 2*[c],—pakṣá váyo yáthopári vy àsmé çárma yachata and (15), *VIII. 47. 3*[b],—vy àsmé ádhi çárma tát pakṣá váyo ná yantana (Spread your protection over us as birds spread their wings); (16), *bāhúbhyām* (*áṅgirasām*), *II. 24. 7*[c],—té bāhúbhyāṁ dhamitám agním áçmani (They leave upon the rock the fire enkindled with their arms); (17), *bāhúbhyām* (*āyūṇám*), *X. 7. 5*[c],—bāhúbhyām agním āyávo 'jananta (With their arms did men generate Agni); (18), *bāhvós* (*marútām*), see no. 1 above; (19), *bāhvós* (*nṛṇám*), *VI. 59. 7*[b],—índrāgnī á hí tanvaté náro dhánvāni bāhvóḥ (Indra-Agni, men are stretching the bows in their arms); (20), *hástābhyām* (*mantrakṛ́tām*), *X. 137. 7*[a],— hástābhyām dáçaçākhābhyām (With our hands of ten branches we stroke thee).

The AV. furnishes these six instances:—(1), *paṭāurāú* (*strīṇám*), *XI. 9. 14*[b],—pratighnānáḥ sáṁ dhāvāntu úraḥ paṭāurā́v āghnānáḥ (Let them run together, without anointing, smiting each her breast and thighs); (2), *pā́dābhyām* (*devā́nām*), *X. 7. 39*[a],—yásmāi hástābhyām pā́dābhyām vācā́ çrótreṇa cákṣuṣā [Unto whom (Skambha), with hands, with feet, with voice, with hearing and with sight (the gods continually render tribute)]; (3) and (4), *hástābhyām* (*mantrakṛ́tām*), *IV. 13. 7*[a and c],—hástābhyām dáçaçākhābhyām .... anāmayitnúbhyāṁ hástābhyām tā́bhyām tvābhí mṛçāmasi ‖ (With our hands of ten branches, ... with hands that banish disease, with these we stroke thee); (5), *VI. 118. 1*[a],—yád dhástābhyāṁ cakṛmá kílbiṣāṇi akṣáṇāṁ gaṇám upalípsamānāḥ (If we have committed sins with our hands, in our desire of the troop of the dice); (6), *X. 7. 39*[a], see no. 2 above.

An examination of these passages in detail will readily show in twenty-two of them the same clearly marked individuality of action among the plurality of actors that we found in the preceding section in the case of the duality of actors.

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In fifteen of the twenty instances in the RV., it will be seen at once that the specified act naturally and imperatively demands the exercise of both of the given bodily members for its performance. Such are the acts in nos. 2 and 19, aiming the bow; in nos. 16 and 17, kindling fire with the fire-sticks; in nos. 14 and 15, birds spreading their wings; in nos. 5 to 13 inclusive, the pressers cleansing the soma. In all the AV. passages we have evidence of the individual element in the action. In no. 1, the sg. úras and dual paṭāurāú serve this purpose; in nos. 2 and 6 the singulars of *b* as well as the duals of *a* indicate the individual rather than the collective homage of the gods; in no. 5 the gamblers seek forgiveness each for his own sins, not for their joint offences; in nos. 3 and 4 and in RV. no. 20, it is the shaman that acts. It may be that in AV. nos. 3, 4 and 5 and RV. no. 20, we have a single subject speaking in the first plural and that these really belong in § 1 rather than here.

It remains to show that the same explanation holds in the other four passages. We should remember that the Rishis have all the Oriental exuberance and liveliness of fancy, love of variety and of profuse ornamentation. They excel also in the use of the swift, bold and sometimes startling transition. They were often consummate artists, masters of word-painting. They exhibit their skill now throughout an entire hymn, now in a stanza that is a miniature master-piece, now in a single word that is athrill with poetic concept. The difficulty is for the cool, logical and too often phlegmatic Occidental mind to appreciate the riotous luxuriance of their imagination and the art that is in its expression.

In our no. 4 of the RV. the swift transition from the plurals of *a* and *b* to the duals of *b* and *c* and then back to the plurals of *d* is but a part of the Rishi's artistic equipment, of his professional stock in trade, by which he presents to view now the group, now the individual member of it and now again the group. To us, unfamiliar with the real nature of the *vidyut*, it may seem to accord ill with the imagery of the context and even to make the picturesque almost grotesque, to represent the individual Maruts as clutching with both hands their missile bolts, but surely there is nothing incongruous in this to the Hindoo familiar with that magnificent but appalling electrical display by which the whole arch of

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heaven, from zenith to horizon, is made to glow with such continuous flashes of flame that the intense inky blackness of the monsoon night is made to rival the brilliance of the tropical noonday.

In nos. 1 and 18 of the RV., which are from successive *pādas* of the same *ṛc* and separated only by our alphabetic scheme of listing, the transition from the plurals of *a* and *b* to the duals of *c* and *d* may be compared in effect to a painting in which individual Maruts are strongly limned in the foreground and the Marut host sketched in more vague and shadowy outlines in the background. Too fanciful? There are scores of such artistic transitions in the RV. Again as the lances are the *vidyut* flashes the Rishi is not without skill in his art when he makes them in their play rest upon both shoulders of the individual Maruts. In no. 3 of the RV. a like interpretation presents an individualistic touch at the close of the *ṛc* that has opened with a collective plural address. Gotama's gift of song is unto you, O Maruts, yea unto you individually as well as collectively.

So in every instance cited the use of the dual resolves the plurality of persons and presents the component individuals. The art of the hieratic Rishi is pronounced in at least four of the passages and the demotic shaman of the AV. shows no parallel. The results accord with those of § 2 and are the proper contrast to those derived from the study of the next section.

§ 4.

A plurality of bodily parts, naturally dual, associated with a plurality of persons.

We find these thirty-five instances in the RV.:—(1), *áṅseṣu (marútām)*, *I. 64. 4c*,—áṅseṣv eṣāṁ ní mimṛkṣur ṛṣṭáyaḥ (The lances on their shoulders beat down); (2), *I. 166. 9c*,—áṅseṣv ā́ vaḥ prápatheṣu khādáyo (Spangles on your shoulders in your journeys); (3), *I. 166. 10c*,—áṅseṣv étāḥ pavíṣu kṣurā́ ádhi (On shoulders, buckskins; on fellies, knives); (4), *I. 168. 3c*,—āíṣām áṅseṣu rambhíṇīva rārabhe (On their shoulders rests, as it were, a lance); (5), *V. 54. 11a*,—áṅseṣu va ṛṣṭáyaḥ patsú khādáyo (Lances on your shoulders, spangles on the feet); (6), *VII. 56. 13a*,—áṅseṣv ā́ marutaḥ khādáyo vo (On your shoulders, O

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Maruts, are spangles); (7) *akṣáṇi*, (*púruṣāṇām*), *VII, 55. 6*c,—yấ ấste yáç ca carati yáç ca páçyati no jánaḥ | téṣāṁ sáṁ hanmo akṣáṇi (Of him who sits and him who walks and him who looks on us, of these we close the eyes); (8), *akṣábhis* (*yájamānānām*), *I. 89. 8*b,—bhadrám paçyemākṣábhir yajatrāḥ (May we with our eyes behold the good, ye adorable ones); (9) and (10), *I. 139. 2*fg,—dhībíç caná mánasā svébhir akṣábhiḥ sómasya svébhir akṣábhiḥ (Not with the thoughts, the mind, but with our own eyes, our own eyes of Soma given, have we behold the golden one); (11), *IX. 102. 8*a,—krátvā çukrébhir akṣábhir ṛṇór ápa vrajáṁ divấḥ (With our eyes clear with wisdom unbar the stall of heaven); (12), *apikakṣébhis* (*devấnām*), *X. 134. 7*c,—pakṣébhir apikakṣébhir átrābhí saṁ rabhāmahe (To your wings, to your shoulders, there do we closely cling); (13), *kárṇebhis* (*yájamānānām*), *I. 89. 8*a,—bhadráṁ kárṇebhiḥ çṛṇuyāma devā (May we, O Gods, with our ears hear the good); (14), *câkṣūṇṣi* (*púruṣāṇām*), *V. 1. 4*b,—cákṣūṇṣīva sűrye sáṁ caranti (As the eyes of men turn to Sūrya); (15), *jaghánān* (*áçvānām*), *VI. 75. 13*b,— á jaṅghanti sấnv eṣām jaghánāṉ úpa jighnate (He lashes their backs, lashes their haunches); (16), *pakṣấn* (*vīnấm*), *I. 166. 10*d,—váyo ná pakṣấn vy ánu çríyo dhire (As birds their wings, the Maruts spread their glory out); (17), *pakṣébhis* (*devấnām*), same as no. 12 above; (18), *paḍbhís* (*yájamānānām*), *IV. 2. 14*b,—paḍbhír hástebhiç cakṛmấ tanúbhiḥ (We have done with our feet, our hands, our bodies); (19), *X. 79. 2*c,—átrāṇy asmāi paḍbhíḥ sám bharanty uttānáhastā námasấdhi vikṣú (With their feet they gather food for Agni, with upraised hands and reverence in their dwellings); (20), *patsú* (*marútām*), see no. 5 above; (21), *bāhávas* (*nṛṇấm*), *X. 103. 13*c,—ugrấ vaḥ santu bāhávo (Strong be your arms, O heroes, in battle); (22), *bāhűn* (*yātudhấnām*), *X. 87. 4*d,—pratīcó bāhűn práti bhandhy eṣām (Break their arms raised against you); (23), *bāhúbhis* (*marútām*), *I. 85. 6*b,—prá jigāta bāhúbhiḥ (Advance with your arms); (24), (*agnimánthanānām*), *III. 29. 6*a,—yádī mānthanti bāhúbhir ví rocate (When they rub Agni with their arms, he shines forth); (25), (*maható mányamānānām*), *VII. 98. 4*b,—sákṣāma tấn bāhúbhiḥ çáçadānān (We shall subdue them confiding in their arms); (26), *bāhúṣu* (*marútām*), *I. 166. 10*b,—bhűrūṇi bhadrấ náryeṣu bāhúṣu (Many goodly things are in your manly arms); (27), *VIII. 20. 10*b,—rukmáso ádhi bāhúṣu (Golden ornaments upon their

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arms); (28), *çíprās* (*marútām*)[1], *V. 54. 11*[d],—çíprāḥ çírṣasu vítatā hiraṇyáyīḥ (Visors of gold arranged upon their heads); (29)[1], *VIII. 7. 25*[b],—çíprāḥ çírṣán hiraṇyáyīḥ (Visors of gold upon their heads); (30), *çṛ́ṅgāṇi* (*çṛṅgíṇām*), *III. 8. 10*[a],—çṛ́ṅgāṇīvéc chṛṅgíṇāṁ sáṁ dadṛçre caṣálavantaḥ sváravaḥ pṛthivyắm (The sacrificial posts set in the earth and adorned with knobs, seem like the horns of horned creatures); (31), (*sakthắni* (*marútām*), *X. 61. 3*[c],—ví sakthắni náro yamuḥ putrakṛthé ná jánayaḥ (The heroes spread their thighs apart like women in childbirth); (32), *hástebhis* (*yájamānānām*), see no. 18 above; (33), *hástāir* (*manīṣíṇām*), *IX. 79. 4*[d],—àpsú tvā hástāir duduhur manīṣíṇaḥ (Sages have with their hands milked the soma into the waters); (34), *hásteṣu* (*marútām*), *I. 37. 3*[b],—ihéva çṛṇva eṣām káçā hásteṣu yád vádān (The whip in their hands is heard as if here, when they crack it); (35), *I. 168. 3*[d],—hásteṣu khādíç ca kṛtíç ca sáṁ dadhe (A ring and a dagger are held in their hands).

The AV. has fourteen instances of its own:—(1), *cákṣūṁṣi* (*çátrūṇām*), *III. 1. 6*[c],—cákṣūṁṣy agnír á dattām (Let Agni take their eyes); (2), *cákṣuṣām* (*púruṣāṇām*), *V. 24. 9*[a],—súryaç cákṣuṣām ádhipatiḥ (Sūrya is overlord of eyes); (3), *párṣṇīs* (*durṇámnīnām*), *VIII. 6. 15*[b],—puráḥ párṣṇīḥ puró múkhā (Whose heels are in front, in front their faces); (4), *prúpadāni* (*durṇámnīnām*), *VIII. 6. 15*[a],—yéṣām paççắt prápadāni (The fore-parts of whose feet are behind); (5), *bāhávas* (*nṛṇắm*), *XI. 9. 1*[a],—yé bāhávo yấ íṣavo (What arms, what arrows!); (6), (*çátrūṇām*), *XI. 9. 13*[a],—múhyantv eṣām bāhávaḥ (Let their arms fail); (7), (8) and (9), *bāhún* (*çátrūṇām*), *III. 19. 2*[c], *VI. 65. 2*[c], *XI. 10. 16*[c],—vṛçcắmi çátrūṇām bāhún (I hew off the arms of the foemen); (10), *çṛ́ṅgāṇi* (*durṇámnīnām*), *VIII. 6. 14*[b],—yé púrve badhvò yanti háste çṛ́ṅgāṇi bíbhrataḥ (Who go before a bride, bearing horns in the hand); (11), *hásteṣu* (*yájamānānām*), *IV. 14. 2*[b],—krámadhvam agnínā nákam úkhyān hásteṣu bíbhrataḥ (Stride ye with fire to the vault of heaven, bearing potfires in your hands); (12), (13) and (14), (*brahmáṇām*), *VI. 122. 5*[b], *X. 9. 27*[b], *XI. 1. 27*[b],—brahmáṇām hásteṣu prapṛthák sādayāmi (I place these separately in the hands of the Brahmans).

[1] Sāy. glosses the former by *uṣṇīṣāmayyas* (consisting of head-dresses), the latter by *çirastrāṇāni* (head protectors). The name is doubtless due to some resemblance to the real *çíprās*, 'lips'.

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The AV. has also three repetitions from the RV.: *ákṣīṇi*, IV. 5. 5^{c} = *akṣáṇi* RV. VII. 55. 6^{c}; *bāhávas*, III. 19. 7^{b} = RV. X. 103. 13^{c}; *bāhūn*, VIII. 3. 6^{d} = RV. X. 87. 4^{d}.

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A comparison of these passages with those of § 3 in which the dual is associated with a like plurality of persons, shows that in these the plural is thought of as general and collective. The Rishis here view the concert rather than the individualization of the action. In nos. 18 and 32 of the RV. *tanúbhis* shows there is no idea of individuality. So do *vikṣú* of no. 19, the plural simile *jánayaḥ* of no. 31, and the context of no. 27, which has *tanūṣu* in 12^{b}, *rátheṣu* in 12^{c} and *çríyas* in 12^{d}. In no. 7 *téṣām* is plainly "of all these", not "of each of these". Nos. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 21, 22, 25, 32 and 33 are obviously general and collective, not specific and individual. In nos. 1 to 6, 20, 23, 26 to 29, 34 and 35 the Rishis refer to the Marut host, not to individual members of it. A comparison of no. 15 with the no. 14 of § 3 shows that here the simile looks to the *ensemble* of wings. So the comparison in no. 31 is general. In nos. 16, 24 and 31 the use of both the bodily members is indeed necessary in any single case, but comparison with nos. 16 and 17 of § 3 shows that the Rishis by the plural generalize the act that the dual would individualize. So with the remaining passages, nos. 12, 15 and 17 of the RV. and all of the AV., the plural is general and synthetic where the dual would resolve the group into its components.

§ 5.

A plurality of bodily parts, naturally dual, associated with a duality of persons.

There are but three instances of this phenomenon, all in the RV. The passages are:—(1), *kárṇāis* (*açvínos*), *I. 184. 2*^{d}, —çrutám me achoktíbhir matīnám éṣṭā narā nícetārā ca kárṇāiḥ (Hearken, ye heroes, to the invocations of my hymns, ye who are worshipped and are observant with your ears); (2), *paḍbhís* (*mitrávāruṇayos*), *V. 64. 7*^{d},—sutáṁ sómaṁ ná hastíbhir á paḍbhír dhāvantaṁ narā bíbhratāv arcanánasam (As to the soma finger-pressed, hither speed with your feet, O heroes, supporting Arcanānas); (3), *bāhúbhis* (*mitrávāruṇayos*), *VI. 67. 1*^{d},—sáṁ yá raçméva yamátur yámiṣṭhā dvá jánāň ása-

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mā bāhúbhiḥ svāíḥ (The peerless twain who by their arms as with a rein, best control the peoples).

Concert of action is clearly indicated in all, but most clearly in the third passage. The invocation of the first and second passages has an implied "both of you." Compare and contrast the passages in § 2.

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§ 6.

A plurality[1] of bodily parts, naturally dual, ascribed to an individual.

We expect the plural when a plural numeral is added. There are these instances: RV. *akṣábhis* (*agnés*), *I. 128. 3*[d],—çatáṁ cákṣaṇo akṣábhiḥ (Observant with a hundred eyes); *X. 79. 5*[c],—tásmāi sahásram akṣábhir ví cakṣé (He looks on him with a thousand eyes); *pā́dās* (*ghṛtásya*), *IV. 58. 3*[a],—catvā́ri çṛ́ṅgā tráyo asyo pā́dā (Four are his horns and three his feet); *bāhū́n* (*úruṇasya*), *II. 14. 4*[b],—náva cakhvā́ṅsaṁ navatíṁ ca bāhū́n (Showing nine and ninety arms); *bāhúṣu* (*brámāṇḍasya*), *VIII. 101. 13*[c],—citréva práty adarçy āyaty àntár daçásu bāhúṣu (Radiant Uṣas is seen advancing amid the ten arms); *çṛ́ṅgā* (*ghṛtásya*), *IV. 58. 3*[a],—see *pā́dās* above; *hástāsas* (*ghṛtásya*), *IV. 58. 3*[b],—dvé çīrṣé saptá hástāso asya (Two are his heads and seven his hands).

AV. *padbhís* (*púruṣasya*), *XIX. 6. 2*[a],—tribhíḥ padbhír dyā́m arohat (With three feet he climbed the sky); *cákṣūṁṣi* (*bha-*

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[1] The plural is the natural number in the following instances: RV *paḍbhís*, IV. 38. 3[c] (áçvasya dadhikrás); *pāṇíbhis*, II. 31. 2[d] (= çaphá áçvasya); *pā́dās*, I. 163. 9[a] (áçvasya); *prápadāis*, VI. 75. 7[c] (áçvasya).

AV. *jáñghās*, IX. 7. 10 (ṛṣabhásya); X. 9. 23[a] (aghnyáyās); *jáñghābhis*, IV. 11. 10[b] (anaḍúhas); *pakṣā́ṇām*, IX. 3. 4[c] (=sthūṇā́ viçvávārāyās); *padás*, IV. 15. 14[d], (maṇḍū́kasya); IX. 4. 14[c] (ṛṣabhásya); *padbhís*, III. 7. 2[b] (hariṇásya); IV. 11. 10[a] (anaḍúhas); IV. 14. 9[d] (ajásya); *patsú*, VI. 92. 1[d] (áçvasya); *pā́dān*, XIV. 1. 60[a] (āsandyás); *stánās*, IX. 7. 14; X. 9. 22[b]; 10. 7[d] (aghnyáyās); *stánān*, XII. 4. 18[b] (vaçáyās); *stánebhyas*, X. 10. 20[d] (vaçáyas).

Twice in AV. such a plural is resolved into two duals:

pā́dāu, XV. 3. 4 (āsandyás vrátyasya).

tásyā grīṣmáç ca vasantáç ca dvāú | pā́dāv ástāṁ çaráç ca varṣáç ca dvāú. (The summer and the spring were two of its feet, the autumn and the winter were two).

stánān, VIII. 10. 13 (virájo vaçáyā iva).

bṛháç ca rathaṁtaráṁ ca dvāú stánāv ástām | yajñāyajñíyaṁ ca vāmadevyáṁ ca dvāú. (B. and R. were two of her teats, Y. and V. were two).

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vásya) *XI. 2. 5*[b],—yáni cákṣūṅṣi te bhava[1] (To the eyes that thou hast, be homage, O Bhava). In this latter instance the numeral is expressed in the *sahasrākṣa* of 3[d], 7[b] and 17[a].

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That these plurals are due to poetic tropes or to mythic or mystic creations of Hindoo fancy admits of no question. No one thinks of a literal interpretation. The hundred or the thousand eyes of Agni are the bright flames that dart forth beams of light in all directions. The metaphor requires the plural. The numeral is intensive. By its use Agni is represented as sharp-sighted or omnivident. The nine and ninety arms of the Asura Uraṇa mean only that the demon is many-armed or strong-armed. The ten arms of *brahmāṇḍa* are, as Sāyaṇa says, the ten *diças* or regions of the universe.

It is liturgical mysticism that turns the *ghṛta* into a *gāura*, or Indian buffalo, and then proceeds to invest it with the symbolism of such an odd plurality of natural members, four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands. Speculation as to the interpretation of these symbolic members was rife among the native commentators[2] and their inability to think the Rishi's thoughts after him is shown in the great variety of conclusions reached. Without undertaking to decide among them we know that the plural members are mystic and symbolic and that the Rishi had no conscious conception of the resultant zoomorphic incongruity of his fancy. The addition of the hands shows that the idea of an actual *gāura* is not present to his consciousness.

In AV. XIX. 6, the shifting mythic symbolism produces an almost continuous change in the anatomy of the cosmic *púruṣa*. In 1 he has a thousand arms, a thousand eyes and a thousand feet; in 2, three feet; in 4, four feet; in 5 and 6, two arms and two feet; in 7, one eye. There are similar changes in the corresponding RV. X. 90, but they do not come so apace.

Of the same nature are the plurals implied in *dvígu* compounds. Thus in RV. I. 31. 13[b], Agni is *caturakṣá*; in I. 79. 12[a], *sahasrākṣá*; in V. 43. 13[d], a *tridhátuçṛṅgo vṛṣabhás*; in V. 1. 8[c],

[1] Bhava is identified with Rudra. Cf. VS. 16. 18. 28; 39. 8 and ÇB, 6. 1. 3. 7. In RV. 2. 1. 6; AV. 7. 87. 1; TS. 5. 4. 3. 1; 5. 5. 7. 4 and ÇB. 1. 7. 3. 8; 6. 1. 3. 10 this deity is identified with Agni.

[2] Vid. TA. 10. 10. 2[a]; GB. 1. 2. 16; Sāyaṇa on RV. *l. c*; and Mahīdhara on VS. 17. 91. The last is especially rich in alternatives.

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a *sahásraçṛṅgo vṛṣabhás*; in VIII. 19. 32^{b}, a *sahásramuṣko devás*; in I. 97. 6^{a}, he is *viçvátomukha*; in III. 38. 4^{d}, *viçvárūpa*; etc., etc. These *dvigu* compounds are figurative allusions to the phenomena of fire, celestial or terrestrial. A similar interpretation explains all such in either Veda.

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Closely akin to these plurals with numerals are those in metaphors and poetic symbolism in which the number is obviously determined by the figure. A clear instance is RV. X. 127. 1,—*rā́trī vy ākhyad āyatī́ purutrā́ devy ākṣábhis* (The goddess Night, as she approaches, looks about in many a place with her eyes). Her eyes are the stars and the plural is as natural here as is the dual in RV. I. 72. 10^{b}, in which *akṣī́ divás* (eyes of the sky) are the sun and moon.

A number of such instances cluster about Agni. In RV. I. 146. 2 he is transformed into an *ukṣā́ mahā́n* that *urvyáḥ padó ní dadhāti sā́nāu* (Plants his feet upon the broad earth's back). The tauropœia justifies the plurality of feet. In III. 20. 2, the Rishi says to Agni—*tisrás te jihvā́ .... tisrá u te tanvò* (three are thy tongues, ... three also thy bodies), in which the plurals are due to the symbolism of the metaphors. Sāyaṇa identifies the three tongues as the three sacrificial fires, *gārhapatya*, *āhavanīya* and *dakṣiṇa* and makes the three bodies *pāvaka*, *pavamāna* and *çuci*. Other interpretations have been given but none that impugns the figure which justifies the plurals. Our principle becomes clear, if we compare two such passages as V. 2. 9^{d}—*çíçīte çṛ́ṅge rákṣase vinīkṣe* (He whets his horns to gore the Rakṣas) and I. 140. 6^{d}—*bhīmó ná çṛ́ṅgā davidhāva durgṛ́bhis* (Like one terrific he tosses his horns). In the former the tauropœia is complete and the duality of horns naturally follows; in the latter the simile in which Agni is compared to a bull rampant in the jungle suggests the metaphor by which the tips of flame are called his horns. The flames are uppermost in thought and the plurality of horns inevitably follows. Sāyaṇa well says *çṛ́ṅgā çṛṅgavad unnatā jvālās* (flames shooting up like horns) and Yaska (Nir. I. 17) gives *çṛṅgāṇi* as one of the eleven synonyms of 'flames.' In II. 2. 4$^{c\,d}$,—*pṛ́çnyāḥ patarám citáyantam akṣábhiḥ pāthó ná pāyúm jánasī ubhé ánu* (The bird of the firmament, observant with his eyes, as guard of the path looks at both races). The first metaphor avifies the celestial Agni and suggests the second, in the transition to which the first

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fades away as the plurality of phenomena comes to the front in thought and leads to the plural eyes in the new metaphor. Sāyaṇa's *svakīyair jvālārūpair avayavāiḥ* (his own members having the form of flames) expresses the idea.

Similar is RV. X. 21. 7^{cd},—*ghṛtápratīkam mánuṣo ví vo máde çukrám cétiṣṭham akṣábhir vívakṣase* (With butter-smeared face you are merry in spirit, bright, observant with your eyes, you wax great). In *a* Agni is an *ṛtvij* (priest); in *c* the personification is fading from thought in the transition to the new figure in *d*. Sāyaṇa's *vyāptāis tejobhis* (far-extending, radiant flames) well explains the metaphor in *akṣábhis* and its plural form. Parallel to this is VIII. 60. 13,—*çíçāno vṛṣabhó yathā agníḥ çṛ́ṅge dávidhvat | tigmā́ asya hánavo na pratidhṛ́ṣe sujámbhaḥ sáhaso yahúḥ* (Like a bull Agni doth whet and toss his horns. Sharp are his jaws and not to be withstood, with good teeth, strong and swift). The simile in *a* and *b* shows the proper duality of horns. In *c* comes the new figure and its natural resultant in the plural *hánavo*. So in X. 79 we have a shift from *hánū* in 1^{c} and *akṣī* in 2^{a} to *sahásram akṣábhir* in 5^{c}.

The sacrificial aspect of Agni in II. 13. 4^{c},—*ásinvan dáṅṣṭrāiḥ pitúr atti bhójanam* (Insatiate with his tusks he eats his father's food) should be contrasted with the zoomorphic Agni of X. 87. 3^{ab},—*ubhóbhayāvinn úpa dhehi dáṅṣṭrā hiṅsráḥ çíçāno 'varam páraṁ ca* (Apply thy tusks destructive, whetting both, the upper and the lower). The dual of the latter is required by the personification; the plural of the former is as necessary to the metaphor of the consuming flames. In it the personification is arrested and the metaphor predominates. There is no need of disregarding the usual distinction between *dáṅṣṭra* and *dánta*, as is so often done in the interpretation of the former passage.

One passage relating to Agni remains. This is the much mooted [1] IV. 2. 12,—*átas tvám dṛ́çyāṅ agna etán paḍbhíḥ paçyer*

[1] For a summary of the earlier discussion of this passage and of the word *paḍbhíḥ*, see M. Bloomfield in A. J. P. XI. 350 ff. and in Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes, I., or the Johns Hopkins University Circulars, 1906, no. 10, p. 15 ff. In the latter paper Professor Bloomfield concludes:—"Shocking as may seem the paradox, we shall, I think, have to endure it, that Agni is here said to see with his feet; of course, the pun as well as the paradox between *paḍbhíḥ* and *páçyer*

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ádbhutāñ aryá évāiḥ. We believe that Sāyaṇa's gloss on *paḍbhíḥ—pādāis svatejcbhiḥ paçya* (He sees with his feet, his own bright flames)—embodies the Rishi's meaning so far as the noun itself is concerned. We do not, however, feel compelled to construe it with *paçyer.* It is not so unusual for words at the beginning of successive *padas* to be syntactically connected that we may not construe *paḍbhíḥ* with *átas* or with the implicit idea of motion in *átas.* The passage would then mean:—Hence (speeding) with thy feet (*i. e.*, thy nimble jets of flame) mayst thou, O Agni, noble one, behold those wondrous ones (*i. e.*, the gods) in visible presence (*i. e.*, go thither carrying our oblations and prayers). In either case the passage swings right into line with all the others considered relative to Agni and the metaphor affords ample explanation of the plural. In the latter case the paradox and supposed difficulties of the passage vanish.

We shall next consider the passage X. 99. 12 that has so long proved a puzzle for the commentators: *evá mahó asura vakṣáthāya vamrakáḥ paḍbhír úpa sarpad índram | sá iyānáḥ karati svastím asmā íṣam úrjaṁ sukṣitiṁ víçvam ábhāḥ ‖* (Thus, Asura, for his exaltation did the great Vamraka crawl upon his feet up to Indra. That one, when supplicated, will give him a blessing; food, strength, secure dwelling, all will he bring him).

Bloomfield has shown (*ll. cc.*) that *paḍbhís* everywhere means primarily "with the feet" and has argued plausibly for an occasional secondary meaning, "quickly, nimbly, briskly, etc." Cf. our colloquial "with both feet." This word may, then, be considered to lie within this range of meaning. *Vamraka,* too, is a mooted word. Its possibilities are, however, either an ant,[1] or a Rishi, or a demon. In a study to be published separately the writer has maintained that *Vamraka* is here Ant, the personified type of his genus. If, then, *vamraka* is ant, the plural *paḍbhís* is natural; if Rishi or demon, the plural is

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may have invited an unusually daring poet to this *tour de force.* Of itself the likening of the nimble jets of flame to moving feet is not out of the Rishi's range. The exact sense of the passage is not quite clear, but its obscurities are not likely to affect our judgment of *paḍbhíḥ* either one way or another."

[1] So PWB. and GWB. Sāyaṇa, Griffith and Ludwig take it as name of a Rishi; GRV. as that of a demon.

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the intensive with Bloomfield's secondary meaning or else due to a paronomasia upon the literal meaning of his name. In any case the difficulty of the plurality of feet is removed.

In I. 163. 11^{cd}, it is said of the horse:—*táva çṛ́ṅgāṇi viṣṭhitā purutrā́ áraṇyeṣu járbhurāṇā caranti* (Tossing thy horns outspread in all directions, thou rangest in the wildernesses). With this we must compare 9ª preceding:—*hiraṇyaçṛṅgó 'yo asya pā́dā* (Golden-horned is he, of iron are his feet). Sāyaṇa explains the implied *çṛ́ṅgāṇi* of 9^{a} by *unnata çirasko hṛdayaramaṇa çṛṅgasthānīya çiroruho* (Prominent hairs of the head made fast at its centre and occupying the usual place of horns) and the expressed *çṛ́ṅgāṇi* of 11^{c} by *çiraso nirgatāḥ çṛṅgasthānīyāḥ keçāḥ* (Hairs growing out from the head in the usual place of horns). Sāyaṇa is thus consistent and we believe him alone of the commentators [1] to be correct. He undoubtedly means the foretop. As *hari* is the predominant color of the Vedic horse, *hiraṇya* is a natural epithet for the foretop. What could better suggest the comparison in 11^{cd} than the waving, tossing hairs of a heavy, shaggy foretop? The metaphor alone is ample reason for the plural horns. We have also the additional reason that in this hymn the horse is a celestial animal actually identified in 3ª with Āditya, the sun, and coursing the heavens in 6 and 7. This identification is more or less prominent throughout the hymn. The foretop, then, represents also the beams of the sun.

In IX. 15. 4^{ab}, the Rishi says of Soma in the press:—*eṣá çṛ́ṅgāṇi dódhuvac chiçītē yūthyò vṛ́ṣā* (He brandishes his horns; he whets them as a bull of the herd). Oldenberg's identification of the horns of soma here with the horns of the moon affords no explanation for the plural and seems otherwise in-

[1] LRV. renders 9^{a} "mit goldenem [vorder] hufe erz die beiden [hinter] füsze" and in 11^{c} renders *çṛṅgāṇi* by "hufen." We believe the *pā́dā* of 9^{a} is the *pā́dās* of the *padapāṭhi*, not the dual of LRV. GRV. renders 9^{a} "Goldhufig ist er, Eisen seine Füsse" and *çṛṅgāṇi* of 11^{c} by "Hufe". This reduces the poetic figure to a mere comparison of material composing horn and hoof. Wilson renders 9^{a} "His mane is of gold," etc., and 11^{c} "The hairs of thy mane," etc. This does not render Sāyaṇa properly. On top of the head "in the usual place of horns," i. e. between the ears, is the foretop, not the mane. Griffith translates literally "horns" in both passages, citing Sāy. in 9ª for "mane" and commenting on 11^{c} "Meaning, here, perhaps, hoofs." The meaning must, of course, be the same in both passages.

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consistent with the entire context. Occidental commentators are silent. Sāyaṇa glosses *çṛ̃ngāṇī* by *çṛ̃ngavad unnatān añçūn abhiṣavakāle* (Stalks or filaments of the soma plant that project like horns at the time of the pressing). This suits the case admirably. The figure explains the number and leads on naturally to the simile of *b*.

The omnific Viçvakarman is the universal father and the architect of the world. In X. 81. 3 the Rishi says:—*viçvátaçcakṣur utá viçvátomukho viçvátobāhur utá viçvátaspāt | sám bāhúbhyām̐ dhámati sám pátatrāir dyávābhūmī janáyan devá ékaḥ* ‖ (With eyes and face on every side, and arms and feet on every side, with twain arms and with wings he kindles the fire, that lone god creating heaven and earth). The implied plurals of the compounds of *a* and *b* are hyperbolic and intensive. Cf. our "He is all eyes, all ears," etc. The dual of *c* is noticeable. Though the god may have multiple arms yet in twirling the fire-sticks naturally but two are used. The plural *pátatrāir* may best be considered as poetic hyperbole again, akin to the implied intensive plurals of *a* and *b*. With two arms Viçvakarman starts the fire; with many wings he fans into fervent heat the flames that are to fuse heaven and earth for his welding. There is the prosaic alternative that *pátatrāir* may mean "pinions," i. e. "wing-feathers" rather than "wings."

There is a poor imitation of the passage in AV. XIII. 2.26 —*yó viçvácarṣaṇir utá viçvátomukho yo viçvátaspāṇir utá viçvátaspṛthaḥ | sám bāhúbhyām bhárati sám pátatrāir dyávāpṛthivī́ janáyan devá ékaḥ* ‖ The diversity of bodily members in *c* may mean that the god, Sūrya this time, bears heaven and earth in his two arms and that the poet gives him the hyperbolic plurality of wings to indicate the swiftness and strength of his flight.

In a description of Indra in RV. III. 36. 8 we have: *hradā́ iva kukṣáyaḥ somadhā́nāḥ sám ī vivyāca sávanā purū́ṇi* (Like lakes are his flanks, soma-containing; verily he holdeth full many a libation). In the RV. *kukṣí* occurs only in connection with Indra. It is found five times in the dual and only here in the plural. This unique plural may be considered as a hyperbole in thorough keeping with 6c, in which the soma-filled Indra is too vast for heaven to contain him.

But one more instance remains. This is the AV. XI. 6. 22c

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—*yá devíḥ páñca pradíço yé devá dvádaça ṛtávaḥ | saṁvatsarásya yé dáṁṣṭrās té naḥ santu súdā çivấḥ* ‖ (The five divine regions, the twelve divine seasons—the fangs of the year, let these ever be propitious to us). The numerals in *a* and *b* and the metaphor sufficiently warrant the plural. There is the alternative of taking *dáṁṣṭrās* as the equivalent of *dantās.* So V. Henry, Les Livres X, XI et XII de l'Atharva Veda, has: "En totalisant probablement, soit donc $5 + 12 = 17 \times 2$ (parce que toute entité céleste a son double terrestre et réciproquement) = 34, ce que qui donne une denture à peu près normale".

Excluding from the count the natural plurals, the plurals with numerals attached and those implied in the *dvigu* epithets, we have left in the RV. a total of thirteen instances in which a plurality of bodily parts, naturally dual, is ascribed to an individual. The AV. contributes one independent instance and one adaptation from the RV. These include in their number nearly all the mooted instances of plural for dual in Vedic.

It was some of these that raised Delbrück's question [1] and led him to remark:—"Es ist merkwürdig, daß vom Soma gesagt wird *çṛ́ṅgāṇi dodhuvat* [2], 9. 15. 4, während es von Agni [3] 8. 60. 13 heißt *çṛ́ṅge davidhvat.* In derselben Stelle wird von den *hánavas* des Agni gesprochen. Ich möchte dahin auch *paḍbhís* [4], 4. 38. 3, rechnen, bemerke aber, daß Ludwig das Wort durch 'Schlingen' übersetzt. Diese und ähnliche Fälle ließen sich wohl so erklären, daß man sagt, der Dual stehe eben nur da, wo die Beidheit hervorgehoben wird, man könne *çṛ́ṅgāṇi* sagen, wenn nur die Mehrheit ausgesprochen werden soll, *çṛ́ṅge* wenn man 'beide Hörner' sagen will".

Our study of the passages shows how utterly unsatisfactory is Delbrück's conclusions. As there was need of caution in entering upon this disputed matter we have considered each instance separately and in detail and we think an ample reason for the plural has been found. The numerical plurals and the *dvigu* compounds furnished the key as their figurative interpretation is beyond question. The next advance was the extension of a like exegetical method to the interpretation of

[1] See p. 1 above. [2] See p. 39. Cf. RV. I. 140. 6, p. 36.
[3] Sed p. 37. [4] See n. on p. 34. The reference is to the *feet* of the mythical horse, Dadhikrā.

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the passage referring to the eyes of Rātrī, which is indisputably correct; then to the seven passages referring to the plural members of Agni, and then to the remaining five passages of the RV. and the two of the AV. Every instance yields readily to the same solvent. The poetic figure,—metaphor, paronomasia, hyperbole, etc., or a combination of these,—that flits before the Rishi's mind at the moment or the mythic concept of his imagination, fixes the plural. In not a single instance could the dual have been used without a decided poetic loss.

It is in this section alone that any plural of bodily parts could be considered as an encroachment upon the domain of the dual. So far as these fifteen instances out of the entire five hundred and fifteen considered in these pages are concerned, the encroachment, if it may be so termed, is purely artistic and not syntactical.

The disparity of instances between the RV. and the AV. is but another indication of the enormous difference between these two Vedas in poetic power and artistic skill. The study of the "Dual in Comparisons" reveals the same striking difference in the use of figurative language. We have in this section the same principles operating in metaphors that we find there to be operative in similes. The two studies illumine each other and together show that the mooted use of plural for dual in Vedic is simply the difference between the highly figurative and richly poetic language of the hieratic Rishi and the more prosaic diction of the Atharvan Shaman, the difference between the imaginative conceptions of a poet and the mechanical composition of a versifex.

It is but simple justice to the much-contemned Sāyaṇa to note that, whatever may be his lack of merit in some other respects, in several of these passages he alone of all commentators has caught the spirit and meaning of the ancient Rishis. Our method of interpretation was wrought out before reading his commentary, but we are glad it is supported by him.

§ 7.

A duality of bodily parts, naturally singular, associated with a duality of persons.

The RV. has these eight instances:—(1), *upásthā* (*pitrór uṣásas = divásp*ṛ*thivyós*), *I. 124. 5*^{d},—óbhā pṛnántī pitrór upás-

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thā (Filling both laps of her parents); (2), *tanvà (açvínos), I. 181. 4*ᵇ,—arepásā tanvà nắmabhiḥ svāíḥ (Unblemished bodies, with marks their own); (3), *VII. 72. 1*ᵈ,—spārháyā çriyắ tanvà çubhānắ (Radiant in body with an enviable beauty); (4), *tanvà (ménayos), II. 39. 2*ᶜ,—méne iva tanvà çúmbhamāne (Like two dames adorning their bodies); (5), *tanvà (uṣásos), III. 4. 6*ᵇ,—á bhándamāne uṣásā úpāke utá smayete tanvà vírūpe (Night and Dawn, closely united, come hither beaming and smile; different in hue are their bodies); (6), *tanvà (divásprthivyós), IV. 56. 6*ᵃ,—punānć tanvà mitháḥ (Making pure their bodies alternately); (7), *tanvà (índrāgnyós), X. 65. 2*ᵇ,—mithó hinvānắ tanvà sámokasā (Speeding each the other, having bodies with one dwelling); (8), *çépā* (=[1] *hárī yájamānasya*), *X. 105. 2*ᵇ,—hárī yásya suyújā vívratā vér árvantánu çépā (Whose twain dun steeds, well-yoked, swerving apart, thou seekest after, fleet stallions).

There is no clear instance in the AV., as the *tanū́* of IV. 25. 5ᵇ, like that of RV. X. 183. 2ᵇ, is better taken as a loc. sg. Some consider tanvà in our nos. 2 and 3 to be inst. sg.

These eight duals are obviously normal and need no comment in explanation or justification. They make the list of the duals of the bodily parts entirely complete for the two Vedas.

Our study of the dual of the natural bodily parts has been based only upon the two oldest monuments of the language, the Rig and the Atharva Veda. Among the results we may repeat by way of summary the following.

We have found 191 such duals in RV. and 225 in AV., also 62 plurals in RV. and 37 in AV. referring to the same bodily parts. Of the duals, 158 in RV. and 212 in AV. pertain to individuals and the dual expresses in each instance the natural number of the bodily parts specified. Of these as duals, there is no need of comment, as they are admittedly characteristic of the language at all periods. Their numerical distribution, however, has been found to indicate strongly the

[1] A much mooted passage. Because of the close similarity of *a* to I. 63. 2ᵃ,—*yád dhárī indra vívratā vér*—we prefer Bergaigne's (II. 256) interpretation, and incline to modify it by accepting Sāyaṇa's *çepavantāu* as the sense of *çépā*. Cf. *hastin* as an analogous synecdochical metonym.

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marked contrast between the hieratic character of the RV. and the demotic nature of the AV. An attentive scanning of the list will reveal many interesting and not unimportant details which neither our space has permitted nor our special theme has required that we should indicate. These have been thought an ample justification for the publication of the entire list, which is also more complete than Grassmann's and contains several corrections of his.

We have found only eight duals, all in RV., of bodily parts naturally singular, referring to a duality of persons. The number of such "pure" duals seems rather surprisingly small, less than two percentum of the Vedic duals. Their entire absence from the AV. in also striking.

We have found only two instances, both in AV., of a phenomenon natural enough, yet so rare, duals arising from the resolution of natural plurals.

We have found that of the naturally dual parts of the body, both duals and plurals are used in reference to a duality or a plurality of individuals, that the dual resolves the group and presents the acts of the component individuals, that the plural merges the individual into the concert of the group, that of a dualic group the dissociative dual is far more frequent than the synthetic plural (10 to 3), while of a plural group the plural is just twice as frequent as the dual (52 to 26), that the resolution of a plural group is far more numerous (20 to 6) in the RV. than in the AV. and is sometimes attended by distinctively hieratic and artistic characteristics and that its "ambal" nature is very marked.

We have found that 24 plurals in RV. and 20 in AV. refer to individuals, but in 4 instances in RV. and 16 in AV. this plural expresses the natural number of bodily parts and in 7 in RV. and 2 in AV. plural numerals are attached showing the figurative or symbolic nature of the plurals. For the remaining 15 instances we have found a simple logical and consistent explanation, based not upon any preconceived notions but upon ample evidence furnished by the Vedas themselves. Contrary to the impression of eminent scholars we find that Vedic Sanskrit does not admit plurals for duals with any marked freedom and that the supposed encroachment of plural upon dual is purely an artistic phenomenon in

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every instance and one characteristic of the higher reaches of hieratic art.

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Incidentally we have given a new or a modified interpretation to several passages, the more important of which have been briefly noted.

Finally, and by way of anticipation also, we may add that the conclusions drawn from the remaining parts of our study give ample confirmation to our main conclusions from the foregoing.

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The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Two. — Edited, with critical notes, by LeRoy Carr Barret, M.A., Ph.D., Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.

Prefatory.— The second book of the Kashmirian AV. is here presented, elaborated upon about the same methods and principles as was the first book, published in volume 26 of this Journal. As in the first book so here the transliteration is regarded as of first importance: the publication of Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* makes it unnecessary to report variants in full as was done for the first book, but if a hymn or a stanza appears in the *Concordance* then at least one reference is given, so that practically all the new material is immediately evident.

It will be noted that sometimes the transliteration of an entire hymn is given followed by an emended version, while again transliteration and emendation proceed stanza by stanza: no strong objection will be made to this freedom, if it is remembered that the work is still in an experimental stage. But it may be objected that while the word "experimental" is used here in the preface, further on the emendations are proposed with an air of considerable certainty: for I am sure it has not been possible to indicate successfully just the shade of certainty I feel concerning the proposed readings. Let us discuss the situation. Here is a manuscript, the sole and only one of its kind, written in such a slovenly fashion and so corrupt that in many places the true reading can never be attained: some of the hymns it presents are known in other texts, the rest are not known in any other text. In editing a hymn which appears both here and elsewhere one is constantly tempted to think that the Pāipp. reading is only a corruption of the reading given by the other text, because one gets to feel that any and all mistakes are liable to appear in this manuscript. The easy thing then is simply to set down the reading of the other text as the correct reading of

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the Pāipp., but just because it is easy it creates a tendency that needs to be restrained. When we take up new hymns there is always a temptation to indulge freely in conjectural emendation, which is indeed a pretty pastime, but not productive of firmly founded results: when a pāda or a stanza seems senseless (a conclusion which may sometimes be reached too readily) it would not be difficult, at least in some cases, to write one sensible and suitable to the context. But this is not criticism. Emendations are suggested here which are pure conjecture and not to be regarded in any other light; surely here if anywhere conjectural emendation has its opportunity but here as everywhere its value is very slight. Such are the principles I have tried to follow in editing this text: this statement of them may be taken too as a protest against certain methods of textual criticism, the methods of those who so gaily chop or stretch texts to make them fit a preconceived theory.

The transliteration is given in lines which correspond to the lines of the ms.; the division of words is of course mine, based upon the edited text. The abbreviations need little explanation: Ç. is used to refer to the AV. of the Çāunikīya School, and ms. (*sic*) is used for manuscript to avoid confusion with the other abbreviation MS. The signs of punctuation used in the ms. are pretty faithfully represented by the vertical bar (= colon) and the "z" (= period): in transliteration the Roman period stands for a *virāma*. The method of using daggers to indicate a corrupt reading is that familiar in the editions of classical texts.

Introduction.

Of the ms.—This second book in the Kashmir ms. begins f. 29b, l. 6 and ends at the bottom of f. 48b,—19½ folios; of these f. 43 is badly broken and from f. 42a the larger part of the written surface has peeled off: other than this there is practically no damage to the ms. in this part. There are as many as 20 lines to the page and as few as 15, but the most of the pages have 17 to 19 lines.

Numbering of hymns and stanzas.—In this book there are no stanza numbers and furthermore the end of a stanza is not regularly indicated by a mark of punctuation; often a visarga or virāma is the only indication of the end of a hemistich. Most frequently the colon is the mark used if any

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mark appears. Except when rewriting a stanza corrections of punctuation have not been mentioned regularly.

The hymns are grouped in anuvākas, all properly numbered save the tenth. The anuvākas consist of five hymns each save that the sixth has six. Practically all the hymns are numbered,—only three times is the number omitted and only five times is the wrong number written. At the end of No. 49 stands a sort of colophon, imaṁ rakṣāmantraṁ digdhandhanaṁ (*sic*); after some formulae which are thrust into the middle of No. 50 stands iti agnisūktam; and after No. 69 stands iti ṣaḍṛtasūktam (*sic*).

Accents.—The accentuation in this book is about as poorly done as the punctuation. Accents are marked more or less fully on 30 stanzas of 12 different hymns, not counting a very few cases where an accent stands lonesomely on one single word: in no hymn is the accentuation marked on all the stanzas. No marks appear after f. 36b. I have marked the accents in transliterating, but have not attempted to edit them in the emended portions because they seem to have no value.

Extent of the book.—This book contains 18 anuvākas each having 5 hymns, except that anu 6 has 6, so that I have numbered 91 hymns: but hymns 1 and 2 of anu 17 seem to be in reality only one. The lacunae in f. 42 and f. 43 have not concealed the fact that anu 12 and anu 13 had 5 hymns each,—provided of course that the numbers written are correct, as they seem to be. The mutilation of the two folios has taken away No. 63 entire and parts of Nos. 60, 61, 64, and 65.

The word "hymn" means kāṇḍa whether verse or prose, and there are at least 20 hymns that are non-metrical. The 90 hymns as they now stand in the ms. present approximately 470 stanzas, thus showing an average of 5 stanzas which is clearly the norm here as well as in Ç. 2 for 65 hymns here certainly have 5 stanzas each; only 4 have more than 6 stanzas.

1	hymn	has	3	stanzas		= 3	stanzas
3	hymns	have	4	„	each	= 12	„
65	„	„	5	„	„	= 325	„
10	„	„	6	„	„	= 60	„
1	„	„	7	„	„	= 7	„
1	„	„	8	„	„	= 8	„
2	„	„	11	„	„	= 22	„
83	hymns					437	stanzas

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83 hymns have	437	stanzas
2 hymns possibly have 6 stanzas each =	12	stanzas
5 hymns (uncertain) show about	17	„
1 is entirely lost		
91 hymns	466	stanzas.

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Counting in the 5 formulae which appear in the middle of No. 50 we have the approximate total of 470 stanzas.[1]

In Book One we saw that 67 out of 112 hymns clearly had 4 stanzas so that it seems that the verse-norm for Books One and Two is the same in Ç. and Pāipp.

New and old material.—In Book One about 150 stanzas out of 425 were new material: here in Book Two about 270 out of the 470 are new. There are 50 hymns which may properly be called new though a number of them contain pādas or even stanzas which are in the *Concordance.* The greater part of the new material is in the second half of the book; 17 of the first 46 hymns are new and 33 of second 44 are new. Perhaps it is also worth while to note here that of the 36 hymns in Ç. 2 18 appear in Pāipp. 2 in fairly close agreement just as 19 of the 35 in Ç. 1 appear in Pāipp. 1.

This book contains hymns and stanzas which appear in Books 1—7 and 19 of Ç.;—1 hymn of Ç. 1; 18 of Ç. 2; 3 of Ç. 3; 2 of Ç. 4; 8 of Ç. 5; 4 of Ç. 6; 2 of Ç. 19; and some scattered pādas of Ç. 7. Of the RV. there are 2 hymns and some stanzas, of MS. 2 hymns and some stanzas, of TB., Vāit., and Kāuç. 1 hymn each.

ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ÇĀKHĀ.
BOOK TWO.

1. [f. 29 b l. 6.]

Ç. 4. 7. 2—6.

oṁ nama stiḥ
lotamāyāi z z oṁ rasaṁ prācyaṁ viṣam arasaṁ yad udīcyaṁ yatheḍaḥ

[1] It will be understood that the figures given are not minutely exact, —could not be and need not be: the total, 470 stanzas is a minimum. The ms. shows about 900 stanzas for Books 1 and 2; from this we may roughly estimate 5500 stanzas for the entire manuscript.

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s adharācyaṁ karambheṇa vi kalpate karambhaṁ kṛtvā
turīyaṁ pivassāka:
m udāhṛtaṁ kṣudhā kṛtvā juṣṭano jakṣivīpyasya nu rūrūpaḥ
vi te madaṁ:
sarayati çantam iva pātayāmasi | pari tvā varmive çantaṁ
varcasā:
sthāpayāmasi | pari grāmyavācitaṁ pari tvā sthāpayāmasi |
tva:
ṣṭā vṛkṣāiva sthāsaṁ abhiṣāte na rūrupaḥ pavastvaṁ yas
tvā pariy akrī:
ṇaṁ duruṣebhir ajanīr uta | prakrīr asi tvam oṣadhī atiṣāta
na rū:
namaḥ z ı z

The invocation may be read oṁ namo 'sti lotamāyāi. The stanzas may be read thus: arasaṁ prācyaṁ viṣam arasaṁ yad udīcyam | athedam adharācyaṁ karambheṇa vi kalpate z 1 z karambhaṁ kṛtvā turīyaṁ pīvaspākam udāhṛtam | kṣudhā kila tvā duṣṭano †jakṣivīpyasya na rūrupaḥ z 2 z vi te madaṁ sārayati çarum iva pātayāmasi | pari tvā varmeva çantvaṁ vacasā sthāpayāmasi z 3 z pari grāmam ivācitaṁ pari tvā sthāpayāmasi | tiṣṭhā vṛkṣa iva sthāman abhriṣāte na rūrupaḥ z 4 z pavastaṁ tvā pary akrīṇan dūrçebhir ajināir uta | prakrīr asi tvam oṣadhe 'bhriṣāte na rūrupaḥ z 5 z 1 z

2. [f. 29b l. 14.]

āvidyad dyāvāpṛthivī āvidya bhagam açvinā|:
āvidya vrahmaṇaspatiṁ kṛṇomy asaṁ viṣaṁ

Read āvedya in a, b, and c; arasaṁ in d.

vaso hedada viṣaṁ yad ena:
d aham āçitham utāir adadyāt praruṣo bhavādi jagadaṣ punaḥ

Pāda d may be read bhavāmi ◦ ◦, but for the rest I see nothing.

mā́ bibhe:
r ná mariṣyasí pári tvā māsi viçvátaḥ rasaṁ viṣasya nāvidam
udhna:
[f. 30a.] ṣ phena madann iva z

Read pāmi in b, ūdhnaṣ phenaṁ in d. Pāda a = Ç. 5. 30. 8a; c = SMB. 2. 6. 18c.

apāvocad apavaktā prathamo dāivya bhiṣak. sam aga:
cchasindragā yavayāva co viṣadūṣaṇiḥ

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In VS. 16. 5 and elsewhere is a variant of ab; a possible reading for cd is sam u gacchāsīndrajā yavayāvā ca viṣa-dūṣaṇaḥ: read dāivyo in b.

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yaç ca piṣṭaṁ yaç cāpiṣṭaṁ :
yady agṛhaṁ yaç ca dehyaṁ devās sarvasya vidvaṁ so
raṣaṁ kṛṇutā viṣaṁ | :

z 2 z

Read: yac ca piṣṭaṁ yac cāpiṣṭaṁ yac ca gṛhyaṁ yac cādehyam | devasya sarvasya vidvān so 'rasaṁ kṛṇutāṁ viṣam z 5 z 2 z

3. [f. 30a l. 4.]

Ç. 2. 10.

kṣettriyā tvā nirṛtyā jahāsiçaṁsa druhó múñcasi :
váruṇasya páçāt. | anāgasaṁ vrāhmaṇā tvā kṛṇomi çiva te :
dyāvāpṛthivīha bhūtāṁ çan te agnis saha dhībhir astu maṁ
gāvas sa :
hoṣadhībhiḥ çam antarikṣaṁ sahavātam astu te çaṁ te
bhavantu pradí :
çaç cátasraḥ yā devīṣ pradiçaç catasro vatapattīr abhi
sūryo vi :
caṣṭe | tāsv edaṁ jarasa ā dadami pra kṣyam eta nirṛtiṣ
parācaḥ :
sūryam ṛtaṁ camaso grāhyā yathā devā muñcantu asṛjan
pare :
tasaḥ évā tvā́ṁ kṣettriyāṁ nirṛtyā jahā́miçaṁsā drúho múñcā :
mi váruṇasya pā́çā ahómóci yākṣmā́ duritā́ vadadyā́d druhaḥ :
pātrad grāhyāç cod amóci juhārivartim avidat syūnām apy
abhūta :
bhadre sukṛtasya loke z 3 z

This hymn appears also in TB. 2. 5. 6. 1—2, and all but the fifth stanza in HG. 2. 3. 10; 4. 1: it will be noted that our version is more like these than the Ç. version. For Ppp. version read:

kṣetriyāt tvā nirṛtyā jāmiçaṁsād druho muñcāmi varuṇasya pāçāt | anāgasaṁ vrahmaṇā tvā kṛṇomi çive te dyāvāpṛthivīha bhūtāṁ z 1 z çaṁ te agnis saha dhībhir astu çaṁ gāvas sahāuṣadhībhiḥ | çam antarikṣaṁ sahavātam astu te çaṁ te bhavantu pradiçaç catasraḥ z 2 z yā devīṣ pradiçaç catasro vātapatnīr abhi sūryo vicaṣṭe | tāsv etaṁ jarasa ā dadhāmi

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pra yakṣma etu nirṛtiṣ parācāiḥ z 3 z sūryam ṛtaṁ tamaso grāhyā yathā devā muñcanto asṛjan paretāsaḥ | evā tvāṁ kṣetriyān nirṛtyā jāmiçaṁsād druho muñcāmi varuṇasya pāçāt z 4 z amoci yakṣmād duritād avadyād druhaḥ pātrād grāhyāç cod amoci | ahā avartim avidat syonam apy abhūd bhadre sukṛtasya loke z 5 z 3 z

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4. [f. 30a l. 14.]

Ç. 2. 14.

nissālāṁ dhiṣṇyaṁ dhiṣaṇam ekāvā:
dyāṁ jighatsvaṁ sarvaç caṇḍama napatiyo nāçayāmas sadātvā | yā:
devāgha kṣettriyād yadi vā puruṣeṣitā | yad astu daçvibhyo jātā:
naçyatetas sadātvā pari dhāmāny āsām āsrar gāṣṭhām ivāsaraṁ ||:
[f. 30b.] ajīṣo sarvān ājin yo naçyatetaḥ sadātvā nira vo goṣṭhād ajāmasi:
nir yonin nṛpānaça | nir vo magumdyā duhitaro gṛhebhyaç cātayāmasi |:
amuṣminn adhare gṛhe sarvāsvant arāyaḥ | tatra pāpmā ni yacchatu sa:
rvaç ca yātudhānyaḥ z 4 z

Read: nissālāṁ †dhiṣṇyāṁ dhiṣaṇāṁ ekavādyāṁ jighatsvam | sarvāç caṇḍasya naptyo nāçayāmas sadānvāḥ z 1 z yā devā aghāṣ kṣetriyā yadi vā puruṣeṣitāḥ | yadi stha dasyubhyo jātā naçyatetas sadānvāḥ z 2 z pari dhāmāny āsām āçuḥ kāṣṭhām ivāsaram | ajāiṣaṁ sarvān ājīn vo naçyatetas sadānvāḥ z 3 z nir vo goṣṭhād ajāmasi nir yoner nir upānasāt | nir vo magundyā duhitaro gṛhebhyaç cātayāmasi z 4 z amuṣminn adhare gṛhe sarvās santv arāyyaḥ | tatra pāpmā ni yacchatu sarvāç ca yātudhānyaḥ z 5 z 4 z

Our ms. offers no help towards solving the troublesome st. 1a.

5. [f. 30b, l. 4.]

Ç. 2. 12.

dyāvāpṛthivī urv àntárikṣaṁ kṣé:
ttrasya pattrír gāyo dbhūtaḥ utántarikṣam úrvātagopaṁ teṣu tápyantāṁ ma:
yí tasyamāne z

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For b read kṣetrasya patny urugāyo 'dbhutaḥ; in cd read uru vātagopaṁ te 'nu ◦◦ tapyamāne.

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yadam indra ṣṇuhi somapa ya tvā hṛdā çocatā : johavīmi | vṛçcāsi taṁ kuliçeneva vṛkṣaṁ yo smākaṁ mana i: daṁ hinasti |

In a read idam and çṛṇuhi, in b yat tvā, in c vṛçcāmi, and in d 'smākaṁ.

idaṁ devāç çṛṇute yajñiyā sta bharadvājo ma : hyam uktyāni çaṁsatu | pāçe sa baddho durite bhy ucyatāṁ yo smākam :

mana idaṁ hinasti

In a read çṛṇuta ye yajñiyā stha, in b ukthāni, in c 'bhi yujyatāṁ, and in d yo 'smākaṁ.

açītibhis tisṛbhis sāmagebhir āditye : bhir vásubhir áṅgírobhiḥ | iṣṭápūrtám ávatu naḥ pítṝṇáṁm āmuṁ :

dade harásā dāivyéna

In c read iṣṭāpūrtam and pitṝṇām.

dyávāpṛthivī anú mā díḍhyatāṁ : viçvé devāso anu mā́ rabhadhvaṁ | áṅgirasaṣ pitáras somyā́saḥ | :

pāpas āricchatv apakāmasya kartā z

In a read dīdhyāthāṁ, in d pāpam ārcchatv.

atīva yo maruto manyate no : vrahma vā yo nimdviṣataṣ kriyamāṇaṁ tapūṁṣi tasmāi vrajanāni santu vra :

hmadviṣám abhí taṁ çóca dyāúḥ

In b read nindiṣat kriyamāṇam, in c vṛjināni.

ā dadāmi te padaṁ samiddhe jātavedasi | :

agni çarīraṁ veveṣṭu imaṁ gacchatu te vasu |

In a read dadhāmi, in c agniç and veveṣṭv.

sapta prāṇān aṣṭāu majña :

[f. 31 a.] s tāṁs te vṛççāsi vrahmaṇā yamasya gaccha mādanam agnito araṁkṛtaḥ z z :

z 5 z prathamānuvākaḥ z z

Read: sapta prāṇān aṣṭāu majjñas tāṁs te vṛçcāmi vrahmaṇā | yamasya gaccha sādanam agnidūto araṁkṛtaḥ z 8 z 5 z prathamānuvākaḥ z

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6. [f. 31 a, l. 2.]

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Ç. 2. 1.

venás tát paçyantá páramaṁ padaṁ yátra : víçvaṁ bhávaty ékanaḍāṁ | idaṁ dhenur aduhaj jāyamānās svarvido bhyanukti : r virāṭ.

The simplest emendation in a would be venās, but to let venas stand and read paçyat as in Ç. is possible. In b read ekanīḍam. Reading idaṁ dhenur aduhaj jāyamānā we have the same pāda as RV. 10. 61. 19d. I am inclined to think that the reading of d in our ms. is only a corruption of Ç. abhy anūṣata vrāḷ.

pṛthag voced amṛtaṁ na vidvān gandharvo dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat. | | : tríṇi padấni hatā gúhās* vás tấni véda sá pitúṣ pitấsat.

In a read pra tad and nu, in c nihitā guhāsya, and in d yas.

sa no : bándhur janitấ sá vidhartấ dhấmani véda bhúvanāni víçvā yátra devấ : amṛ́tām ānaçānấ samấne dhấmann addhírayanta |

In b read dhāmāni, in c amṛtam ānaçānās, and in d dhāmany adhy āirayanta. In the margin the ms. gives "to ba."

parí víçvā bhúvanā : ny āyam úpācaṣṭe | prathámajấ ṛtasyá vācas ivāktri bhuvaneṣṭhā dhā : sraṁn eṣa ṇatv eṣo agniḥ

In b read upātiṣṭhe, in c vācam iva vaktari, and for d dhāsyur eṣa nanv eṣo agniḥ.

pari dyāvāpṛthi sadyāyam ṛtasya ta : ntuṁ vitataṁ dṛkeçaṁ | devo devatvam abhirakṣamāṇas samānaṁ bandhuṁ : vi pariçchad ekaḥ z ı z

Read: pari dyāvāpṛthivī sadya āyam ṛtasya tantuṁ vitataṁ dṛçe kam | devo devatvam abhirakṣamāṇas samānaṁ bandhuṁ vi pary āicchad ekaḥ z 5 z 1 z

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7. [f. 31a, l. 11.]

Ç. 2. 5 (in part).

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indra juṣasva yāhi çūra pivā su :
taçca madhoç cakāna cārun madathaḥ | ā tvā viçantu mutāsa
indra :
pṛṇasya kukṣī viḍhy açatrū dhehy ā naḥ indra jaṭharaṁ
pṛṇasva madho :
rasya sutasya | | upa tvā madeṣu vājo stu | indras turāṣāḍ
jaghāna :
vṛtraṁ sāsahā çatrūr mamuç ca | vajrīr made somasyāç*
ti hava me :
kiro juṣasya indra syagubhin matsa madāya mahe raṇāya
z 2 z :

Read: indra juṣasvā yāhi çūra pibā sutasya madhoç ca | cakānaç cārur madāya z 1 z ā tvā viçantu sutāsa indra pṛṇasva kukṣī | viḍḍhy açatro dhiyehy ā naḥ z 2 z indra jaṭharaṁ pṛṇasva madhurasasya sutasya | upa tvā madās suvāco 'sthuḥ z 3 z indras turāṣāḍ jaghāna vṛtraṁ sasahe çatrūn †mamuç ca | vajrī made somasya z 4 z çrudhī havaṁ me giro juṣasvendra svayugbhir matsva | madāya mahe raṇāya z 5 z 2 z

8. [f. 31b, l. 1.]

Ç. 4. 3.

ud itye kramaṁ trayo vyāghraḥ puruṣo vṛkaḥ hṛg veda
sūryo hṛg devo :
vanaspatir hṛṇ maṇavantu çattravaḥ parameṇa pathā vṛka
pare :
ṇa stenor arṣatu | tato vyāghraṣ paramā akṣāu ca te hanū
ca te vyāghraṁ :
jambhayāmasi | āt sarvāṅ vṛṅṣatin nakhāṁ yat saṁnaso
vi yan na :
so na saṁnasa | pūrṇā mṛgasya dantā upaçīrṇā u pariṣṭayaḥ
vyāghraṁ :
datutām vayaṁ prathamaṁ jambhayāmasi | ād iku stenam
ahyaṁ yātu :
dhānam atho vṛkam. | nāivaraspasāin na gṛhaṣ paraç cara
dvipāc catu :
ṣpānto mā hiṅsīr indrajās somajāsīḥ z oṁ indrajas somajā :
asiḥ z 3 z

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Read: ud ito ye 'kraman trayo vyāghraḥ puruṣo vṛkaḥ | hṛg devas sūryo hṛg vanaspatir hṛn me namantu çatravaḥ z 1 z parameṇa pathā vṛkaḥ pareṇa steno arṣatu | tato vyāghraṣ parameṇa z 2 z akṣyāu ca te hanū ca te vyāghra jambhayāmasi | āt sarvān viṅçatiṁ nakhān z 3 z yat saṁnamo na vi namo vi yan namo na saṁnamaḥ | mūrṇā mṛgasya dantā upaçīrṇā u prṣṭayaḥ z 4 z vyāghraṁ datvatām vayaṁ prathamaṁ jambhayāmasi | ād ittha stenam ahiṁ yātudhānam atho vṛkam z 5 z †nāivaraspasāin na gṛhaṣ paraç cara dvipāc catuṣpānto† mā hiṁsīr indrajās somajā asi z 6 z 3 z

In st. 1 hiruk, as in Ç., might just as will be written. If st. 2 and 3 were combined we would have a hymn of five stanzas, the norm of Bk. 2. In st. 6 we get good meaning by writing dvipāc catuṣpān no mā ◦ ◦; the meter is correct without no: paraç cara is a good ending for pāda b, but the rest seems hopeless.

9. [f. 31 b, l. 9.]

Ç. 1. 34. 1 (partly).

yaṁ vīru madhujātā madhune tvā panāmasi | : madhor adhi prajāto si sā no madhumadhas kṛdhiḥ jihvāyāgre me : madhu jihvāmūle madhulakaṁ | yathā māṁ kāminy aso yaṁ vā : vā mām anv ā yasī pari tvā paritannuteyakṣanākām avi : dviṣe | yathā na vidvāvahi na vibhavāva kadā cana rājñi : vrūhi varuṇāyāçvāya puruṣāya ca | pathā me pathye revati : jāyām ā vaha sādhunā | jāyām me mittrāvaruṇā jāyāṁ : devī sarasvatī | jāyān me açvināubhā dhattāṁ puṣkarasṛja : z 4 z

Read: iyaṁ vīrun madhujātā madhune tvā khanāmasi | madhor adhi prajātāsi sā no madhumataṣ kṛdhi z 1 z jihvāyā agre me madhu jihvāmūle madhūlakam | yathā māṁ kāminy aso yaṁ vā mām anv āyāsi z 2 z pari tvā paritatnunekṣuṇāgām avidviṣe | yathā na vidviṣāvahe na vibhavāva kadā canā z 3 z rājñe vrūhi varuṇāyāçvāya puruṣāya ca | pathā me patye revati jāyām ā vaha sādhunā z 4 z jāyāṁ me mitrāvaruṇā jāyāṁ me devī sarasvatī | jāyāṁ me açvināv ubhā dhattāṁ puṣkarasrajā z 5 z 4 z

For st. 5 cf. below, 35. 5.

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10. [f. 32a, l. 1.]

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daçavṛkṣa saṁcemam ahiṁsro grāhyāç ca | atho yenaṁ vanaspate :
jīvānāṁ lokam un annayā |

Read muñcemam in a, enaṁ in c, and lokam unnaya in d.

yaç cakāra mu niṣkarat sa eva suviṣa :
ktamā sa eva tubhyaṁ bheṣajaṁ cakāra bhiṣajāti ca |

Read sa (for mu) in a, subhiṣaktamaḥ in b, and bheṣajāni in d (or possibly with Ç. bhiṣajā çuciḥ): but bhiṣajāti ca might stand.

cātaṁ te devāvi :
daṁ vrāhmāṇam ud vīvṛdha cātaṁ te bhy ottamām avidaṁ bhūmyām adhi |

Read devā avidan in a, vrahmāṇa uta vīrudhaḥ for b; ʻbhy uttamam avidan in cd.

āgā :
d ud agād ayaṁ jīvānāṁ vrātam apy agāt. abhūta putrāṇāṁ pitā :
nṝṇāṁ ca bhagavattamā

Read abhūd u in c, and bhagavattamaḥ in d.

adhītam adhy agād ayam adhi jīvapurāgāt. :
çataṁ te sya vīrudhas sahasram uta bheṣajaḥ z 5 z anuvākaṁ 2 z :

Read: adhītim adhy agād ayam adhi jīvapurā agāt | çataṁ te ʻsya vīrudhas sahasram uta bheṣajā z 5 z 5 z anuvākaḥ 2 z

11. [f. 32a, l. 8.]

Ç. 2. 4.

dīrghāyutvātha vṛhate ráṇāya ṛṣyámbho ṛkṣamāṇās sadāiva |
ma :
ṇis sahasravīryaṣ pari ṇaṣ patu viçvataḥ

Read in a ᵒyutvāya, in ab raṇāyāriṣyanto rakṣamāṇās; pātu in d.

idáṁ víṣkandhaṁ sāte :
ayaṁ rakṣopa bādhate | ayaṁ no viçvabheṣajo jaṅgiṇaṣ pātv aṅha :
saḥ |

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Read sahate in a; rakṣān apa seems best in b. Our ms. here spells the name of this amulet with a nasal instead of jaṅgiḍa as in Ç.; I am retaining it as possible peculiarity of the Ppp.

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devāir dattena maṇinā jaṅginena mayobhuvaḥ viṣkandhaṁ sarvā ⁝
rakṣāṅsi vyāyama sāmahe |

For b read jaṅgiṇena mayobhuvā; for d vyāyāme sahāmahe.

khanaç ca tvā jaṅgiṇaç ca viṣkandhād a
bhi muñcatāṁ | araṇyād aty ādyataṣ kṛṣyānyo rasebhyaḥ
z 1 z ⁝

Read: çaṇaç ca tvā jaṅgiṇaç ca viṣkandhād abhi muñcatām | araṇyād anya ābhṛtaṣ kṛṣyā anyo rasebhyaḥ z 4 z 1 z

In a çaṇas, the reading of Ç., seems better; but khanas is not impossible.

It will be noted that our st. 1 is composed of hemistichs which are st. 1ab and st. 2cd in Ç.; Whitney suggests that the two hemistichs between have fallen out in the ms.: inserting them would bring this hymn to the norm of five stanzas. They read maṇiṁ viṣkandhadūṣaṇaṁ jaṅgiḍaṁ bibhṛmo vayam, and jaṅgiḍo jambhād viçarād viṣkandhād abhiçocanāt.

12. [f. 32a, l. 14.]

Ç. 2. 26.

yeha yantu paçavo yeyur vāyur yaṣāṁ mahatāraṁ tujoṣā |
tvaṣṭā ye ⁝
ṣāṁ rūpayeyāni veda asmiṅs tāṁ goṣṭhe savitā ni yacchāt. | ⁝

Read eha and ye pareyur in a, yeṣāṁ sahacāraṁ jujoṣa in b; in cd rūpadheyāni vedāsmin tāṅ.

imaṁ goṣṭhaṁ paçavas saṁ sravantu vṛhaspatir ā nāitu prajānām. | si ⁝
nīvālīṁ nayatv agram eṣām ājinmukhe anumatir ni yacchāt. | ⁝

Read nayatu prajānan in b, āgram in c: probably ājimukhe in d.

saṁ sáṁ sravantu paçavas sám āçvā́ huta pāúruṣāḥ saṁ dhānyasyā sphā ⁝
tibhis saṁsrāveṇa haviṣā juhomi |

In b read açvā uta pūruṣāḥ; in c we probably have only a corruption of dhānyasya yā sphātis, which is the reading in Ç.

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saṁ siṅcāmi gavāṁ kṣī :
[f. 32 b.] raṁ sam ājyana balaṁ rasaṁ saṁsiktāsmākaṁ vīrā
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mayi gāvaç ca gopa :
tāu

Read siñcāmi in a, ājyena in b, saṁsiktā asmākaṁ in c.

In the top margin of f. 32 b is written gāṁ ṛcāṁ°.

ahnāmi gavāṁ kṣīram aharṣaṁ dhānyaṁ rasaṁ aharişam
asmākaṁ :
vīrān ā patnīm edam astakam z 2 z

Read: ā harāmi gavāṁ kṣīram āhārṣaṁ dhānyaṁ rasam | āhārṣam asmākam vīrān ā patnīm edam astakam z 5 z 2 z

13. [f. 32 b, l. 3.]

Ç. 3. 14.

sáṁ vat sṛjātv aryamā́ sáṁ pū :
ṣā́ saṁ vṛ́haspátiḥ sám indrá yo dhanañjaya ihá puṣyati
yád vasu | :

In a read vas, in c dhanaṁjaya; in d read puṣyata as in Ç., or puṣyatu as Whitney suggests.

ihāiva gāva yeneho ṣakā iva puṣyata | iho yad ya pra
jāyadhvaṁ ma :
yi saṁjñānam astu vaḥ

In ab read etaneho; in c I would incline to the reading gāvaḥ for yad ya.

mayā gāvo gopatyās sacadhvaṁ mayi vo goṣṭha iha :
poṣayāti | rāyas poṣeṇa bahulā bhavantīr jīvā jīvā :
ntīr upa vā sademā |

In a we might read gopatayas (= bulls), but gopatinā as in Ç. is better; read jīvantīr upa vas sadema in d.

saṁ vo goṣṭhena suṣadā saṁ rayyā saṁ sapuṣṭyā a :
harjātama yan nāma tena mas saṁ sṛjāmasi |

Read aharjātasya in c, and tenā vas in d.

saṁjñānānāṁ vihṛtām a :
smin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇīṁ bibhratīs somya havis svāveçā sa éta :
naḥ z 3 z

Read: saṁjagmānā avihrutā asmin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇīḥ | bibhratīs somyaṁ havis svāveçā mā etana z 5 z 3 z

This stanza and the first appear MS. 4. 2. 10; the readings of st. 5a and d are similar to those in MS.

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14. [f. 32b, l. 11.]

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Ç. 2. 32.

udyánn adityáṣ krimīn hantu sūryo nimrocaṁ raçmi :
bhir hantu ye ntaṣ krimayo gavī naḥ

Read ādityaṣ in a, nimrocan in b, and 'ntaṣ and gavi in c.

yo dviçīrṣā caturakṣaṣ krimi :
ç çārgo arjunaḥ hato hatatrātā krimin hatamahatā hataçvasā | :

In b read krimis sārañgo, in c hatabhrātā krimir, and for d hatamātā hatasvasā.

hato rājā krimīṇām 'utāi*āṁ sthapacir hataḥ | hatāso sya
veṣa :
so hatāsaṣ pariveçasaṣ

In b read utāiṣām sthapatir, in c 'sya veçaso; in d pariveçasaḥ.

pa te ççṛṇāmi çṛñge yābhyā yattaṁ vi :
tadāyasi | atho bhinaddi taṁ kumbhaṁ yasmin te nihataṁ
viṣaṁ | :

In a read pra te çṛṇāmi, for b yābhyāṁ vitudāyasi; in c bhinadmi, and in d nihitaṁ viṣam.

a :
ttrivat tvā kṛme hanmi kaṇvavaj jamadagnivat. agastyaṁ
vrahmaṇā :
sarve te krimayo hatāḥ z 4 z

Read: atrivat tvā kṛme hanmi kaṇvavaj jamadagnivat | agastyasya vrahmaṇā sarve te krimayo hatāḥ z 5 z 4 z

15. [f. 32b, l. 18.]

Ç. 2. 31.

indrāda yā mahi dṛṣa :
[f. 33a.] t krimer viçvasya tarhaṇī tayā pinaçma saṁ kṛmīṁ
dṛça vakhalvāñ iva | dṛ :
ṣṭam adṛṣṭam adruham atho kurīram adruhāṁ | algaṇḍūna
sarvā çalūlāna :
krimaṇa vacasā jámbhayāmi | algaṇḍūna hanmi mahatā va-
dena :
dunāddunārasā bhuvaṁ | sṛṣṭām asṛṣṭī ny akilāsi manācā
vācān ya :

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thā krimīṇāṁ nyakhilaçchavātāiḥ atvāhaṁtnyahaṁ çīrṣaṇyam a:
tho pārçvayaṁ kṛmiṁ avaskavaṁ yaraṁ krimīṇa vácasā jámbhayāma:
si | ye krimayaṣ parvateṣu ye vaneṣu | ye oṣadhīṣu paçuṣv apsv antaḥ:
ye smākāṁ tanno sthāma caktrir indras tān hantu mahatā vadhena | 5 z:

z a 3 z

Read: indrasya yā mahī dṛṣat krimer viçvasya tarhaṇī | tayā pinaṣmi saṁ krimīn dṛṣadā khalvāṁ iva z 1 z dṛṣṭam adṛṣṭam adruham atho kurīram adruham | algāṇḍūn sarvān çalūlān krimīn vacasā jambhayāmasi z 2 z algāṇḍūn hanmi mahatā vadhena dūnā adūnā arasā abhūvan | sṛṣṭān asṛṣṭān ni kirāmi vācā yathā krimīṇāṁ †nyakhil açchavātāiḥ† z 3 z anvāntnyaṁ çīrṣṇyam atho pārṣṭeyaṁ krimīn | avaskavaṁ vyadhvaraṁ krimīn vacasā jambhayāmasi z 4 z ye krimayaṣ parvateṣu ye vaneṣu ya oṣadhīṣu paçuṣv apsv antaḥ | ye ʿsmākaṁ tanvo sthāma cakrur indras tān hantu mahatā vadhena z 5 z 5 z anuvākaḥ 3 z

The reading of our ms. in st. 3c does not force upon us anything different from the reading of Ç., — çiṣṭān aciṣṭān ni tirāmi; and in st. 3d we probably have only a corruption of the reading of Ç., — nakir ucchiṣātāi.

16. [f. 33a, l. 9.]

Ç. 2. 27.

yaç catṝn saṁjayāt sahamānābhibhūr asi | sāmūn pratiprāço:
jayarasā kṛṇv ovadhe | suparṇas tvāṁn avidadat sukhacas tvākhanaṁ na:
sā | indras tvā cake hvo asurebhyas tarītave | pāyas indro vy āṣṇān ha:
ntavā asurebhyaḥ | tayāhaṁ çatṝn sakṣīye indraç cālāvṛkān i:
va rudra jalājabheṣaja nīlaçitva karmakṛt. pṛṣṇaṁ durasyato:
jahi yo smāṁ abhidāsati | tasya pṛṣṇaṁ jahi yo na indrābhidā:
sate | ádhi no vrūhi çáktibhiṣ prāçi mām uttaraṁ kṛdhi z 1 z:

Read: yā çatrūn saṁjayāt sahamānābhibhūr asi | sāmūn pratiprāço jayārasān kṛṇv oṣadhe z 1 z suparṇas tvānv avindat

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sūkaras tvākhanan nasā | indras tvā cakre bāhāv asurebhyas starītave z 2 z pāṭām indro vy āçnād hantavā asurebhyaḥ | tayāhaṁ çatrūn sākṣya indras sālāvṛkāñ iva z 3 z rudra jalāṣabheṣaja nīlaçikhaṇḍa karmakṛt | prāçaṁ durasyato jahi yo 'smān abhidāsati z 4 z tasya prāçaṁ tvaṁ jahi yo na indrābhidāsati | adhi no vrūhi çaktibhiṣ prāçi mām uttaraṁ kṛdhi z 5 z 1 z

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In Ç. the second hemistich of st. 1 is used as a refrain for six stanzas to which our st. 5 is added as a seventh; it is not beyond our ms. to fail utterly to indicate a refrain, but I have preferred to arrange in five stanzas. For st. 1a Ç. has nec chatrūn prāçaṁ jayāti; elsewhere our ms. follows it closely.

17. [f. 33a, l. 16.]

Ç. 2. 30.

yathedaṁ bhūmyādi vātas tṛṇaṁ mathāyathi | eva maçnāmi te mano ya:
thā māṁ kāmity aso evā mam atvāyasī |

In a read bhūmyā adhi, in b mathāyati; in c mathnāmi, in d kāminy, and in e mām abhyāyasi.

yemagaṁ patikāmā:
janikāmo ham āgamām. açvaṣ kanikradad yathā bhagenāhaṁ sahā:
gamaṁ |

In a read eyam agan, in b 'ham āgamam; in d sahāgamam.

sa cen nayātho açvinā kāminā saṁ ca neṣitaḥ sarvāñ ma:
[f. 33 b.] **nāsy agmata maṁ cakṣūṁṣi sama vratā |**

In a read saṁ cen, in b neṣathaḥ; for 'cd we may read saṁ vāṁ manāṁsy agmata saṁ cakṣūṁṣi sam u vratā.

yád antáraṁ tadá bāhyaṁ yad bā́hyaṁ tad anta:
ram. kanyānāṁ viçvarūpāṇāṁ mano gṛṇādh oṣadhe |

In a read tad; in d gṛhṇītād is probably nearest to the reading of the ms.;—Ç. has gṛbhāya.

yas suparṇā rakṣā:
ṇa vā na vakṣaṇa vā ttrātānpitaṁ manaḥ | çalyeva gulmalūṁ yathā | :

z 2 z.

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Read: yās suparṇā rakṣaṇā vā yās suparṇā vakṣaṇā vā | tatra ta arpitaṁ manaç çalya iva kulmalaṁ yathā z 5 z 2 z

This version of this stanza is fully as good as the version in Ç. but it does not help to relieve the obscurity.

18. [f. 33b, l. 4.]

Ç. 6. 38.

siṁhé vyāghrá utá yấ pṛ́dākāu tvíṣir ágnāú vrahmaṇé sū́rye : yấ | índraṁ yā devī́ subhágā vavárdha sấ ấ nāítu várcasấ saṁvi :

dānā |

Read vrāhmaṇe in b; in d we might read sā ā na etu, but sā na āitu, as in Ç., seems much better.

yấ hastíni dvīpíni yấ yấ hiraṇyayé tvíṣir áçveṣu pú : ruṣeṣu goṣú | índraṁ yā devī́ subhagā vavardha sā ā nāitu varca :

sā saṁvidānā |

In a read dvīpini yā hiraṇye: d as in st. 1.

yấ rājanyè dundubhấv áyātāyāṁ tvíṣi : r áçvenāyāṁ stanáyitnā goṣu yấ índraṁ yā devī́ subhagā vavá :

rdha sā ā nāítu varcasā saṁvídānā |

In b we may safely read stanayitnor ghoṣe, but for açvenāyāṁ I find nothing satisfactory,—unless perhaps āçvināyāṁ; to omit yā after ghoṣe would improve the metre. Read d as in st. 1.

ráthe ákṣíṣu paribhásva vấ : je parjányе vấte váruṇasya çúṣme | índram yấ divī́ subhá : gā vavárdha sấ ấ netu várcasā saṁvidấnā |

In a read akṣeṣu vṛṣabhasya vāje; d as in st. 1.

yā rudreṣu yā : vasuṣv ādityeṣu marutsu yā | tviṣir yā viçveṣu deveṣu sā nāi : tu varcasā saṁvidānām. z 3 z

Read: yā rudreṣu yā vasuṣv ādityeṣu marutsu yā tviṣir viçveṣu deveṣu | indraṁ yā devī ∘ ∘ ∘ ∘ saṁvidānā z 5 z 3 z

This restoration of st. 5 is not entirely satisfactory but is fairly plausible; it has no parallel in Ç. or in TB. 2. 7. 7. 1 and 2 where the rest appears.

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19. [f. 33b, l. 14.]

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yadi gādānāṁ yadi nā :
vyānāṁ nadīnāṁ pāre nṛpatis sakhā naḥ viçve devāso abhi :
rakṣatemaṁ yathā jīvo vidatham ā vidāsi | yady avāre ya :
di vāgha pāre yadi dhanvini nṛpatis sakhā naḥ yady at sudṛ :
tyāṁ yadi samṛtyāṁ nṛpatis sakhā naḥ adhasparmyatām
adhane :
[f. 34a.] bhavānv ena sūryaṁ maghavānaṁ pṛtanyāṁ víçve
devā́so bhi rakṣatemaṁ | yá :
thā jīvo vidátham ā vidāsi | imaṁ mṛtyu māinaṁ hiṁsīr
yo māṁ :
hṛdām anu sāca gopā | yo mahaṁ pipanti yom ahaṁ pi-
parmi su :
prajasā vāṁ maghavā́ṁ sūrír astu z 4 z

Read: yadi gādhānāṁ yadi nāvyānāṁ nadīnāṁ pāre nṛpatis sakhā naḥ | viçve devāso abhi rakṣatemaṁ yathā jīvo vidatham ā vidāsi z 1 z yady avāre yadi vāccha pāre yadi dhanvani nṛpatis sakhā naḥ | viçve devāso ◦ ◦ z 2 z yady āt svadhṛtyāṁ yadi samṛtyāṁ nṛpatis sakhā naḥ | viçve devāso ◦ ◦ z 3 z †adhasparmyatāṁ adhane bhavānv ena sūryāṁ maghavānaṁ pṛtanyāṁ† | viçve devāso ◦ ◦ z 4 z imaṁ mṛtyo māinaṁ hiṁsīr †yo māṁ hṛdāṁ anu sāca gopā | yo māṁ piparti yam ahaṁ piparmi† suprajasāṁ maghavān sūrir astu z 5 z 4 z

For st. 4ab we might perhaps write adhaṣ pātyantām adhare bhavantu ye nas sūriṁ maghavānaṁ pṛtanyān; but one could hardly insist upon it.

20. [f. 34a, l. 4.]

imā́ nā́vam ā́ rohatā :
ácchidrāṁ pārayiṣṇúvaṁ nárāçaṁsasya yā gṛhé çatā́ritrā
bhágasya :
ca | upadho gulgunā yakṣmas saṁtv aghnyā | rudrasyeṣvā
yātudhānā :
n atho rājño bhavasya ca rudrā vāiçāte dvipadāṁ catūṣ-
padāṁ tayor va :
yam aguvāke syāma | paktrīr vithvī pratibhūṣantī no vayaṁ de :
vānāṁ sumatāu syāma | pratīcī nāma te mātā çatavāro ha te :
pitā | tato ha jajñiṣe tvam amirity arundhatī mātā nāmā :
si mātṛtāu amṛtasyāiva vāsi arundhati tvāṁ sarvam abhijī :
vam adhāyudham. z 5 z anu 4 z

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For the first stanza we may read, imāṁ nāvam ā rohatācchidrāṁ pārayiṣṇvam | narāçaṁsasya yā gṛhe çatāritrā bhagasya ca. With much hesitation the following is proposed for the second stanza: upabaddhā gulgulunāyaksmās santv aghnyāḥ | rudrasyeṣvā yātudhānān atho rājño bhagasya ca.

To emend the rest and divide it into stanzas seems impossible; but a few points are clear. A stanza probably ends with vayaṁ devānāṁ sumatāu syāma, and for the first pāda of this we might read rudro vā īçāte catuṣpadāṁ; for the other two pādas I can suggest nothing. Beginning with pratīcī we have three good pādas of eight syllables each; in the rest, which amounts to about one stanza I can suggest only the possibility of reading mātṛto amṛtasyāivāsi.

We seem to have here a charm for protection of cattle; and there are indications of the use of an amulet.

21. [f. 34 a, l. 12.]

Ç. 2. 36.

ā no agne sumatiṁ ska:
ndaloke idamāṁ kumāryāṁ mā no bhagena juṣṭā vareṣu suma:
neṣu valgur oṣaṁ patyā bhavati snuṁbhageyaṁ |

In ab we may probably read with Ç. saṁbhalo gamed imāṁ kumārīṁ saha no; in c read samaneṣu and in d bhavāti subhageyam.

yam agne nārī pa:
tiṁ videṣṭas somo hi rājā subhagaṁ kṛṇotu suvānā putrā:
n mahiṣī bhavāsi gatvā patiṁ subhage vi rājā |

In a read iyam and videṣṭa, in b subhagāṁ kṛṇoti; in d vi rājaḥ.

somoju:
[f. 34 b.] **ṣṭo aryamnā saṁbhṛto bhaga dhātur devasya satyena**
kṛṇomi patirvedanam. ||:

For ab read somajuṣṭaṁ vrahmajuṣṭam aryamṇā saṁbhṛtaṁ bhagam, and in d pativedanam. Perhaps however the nominative may stand in ab.

yathākhaṁraṁ maghavaṁ cārur eṣu priyo mṛgāṇāṁ suṣadā
babhūva | yaṁ:
vayaṁ juṣṭā bhagasyāstu saṁpriyā patyāvirādhayantī

For a read yathākharo maghavañç cārur eṣa; in c iyaṁ vadhū.

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bhagasya nāḥ
vam ā ruha pūrṇām anuparasvatīṁ trayopaḥ pūṣāhitaṁ
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yaṣ pati ḥ
ṣ patikāsyaṁ

In a read roha, in b anupadasvatīm; for c tayopa pūṣāhito, and in d pratikāmyaḥ.

idaṁ hiraṇyaṁ gulguluv ayas ūkṣo atho bhaga | e ḥ
te patibhyas tvām adhuḥ patikāmāya vettave z 1 z

Read: idaṁ hiraṇyaṁ gulgulv ayam āukṣo atho bhagaḥ | ete patibhyas tvām aduṣ pratikāmāya vettave z 6 z 1 z

22. [f. 34 b, l. 6.]

Ç. 3. 17 (in part).

yunákta ḥ
sīrā ví nu yugā́ tanotu kṛté kṣéttre vápatehá bájaṁ | vírā-
jas su ḥ
níṣṭas sabharāçchin no nedīya ít sṛṇyaḥ pakvám ā yuvaṁ sī ḥ
rā yuṁjánti kaváyo yugā́ ví tanvate pṛthak. dhīrā devéṣu su ḥ
mnayo anuḍvāhāṣ puruṣā ye kṛṇanti | lāñgalaṁ phālaṁ su ḥ
mana jisphātyā çunaṁ kenāço anv etu vāhāṁ çunaṁ phālo
vina ḥ
dann ayatu bhūmiṁ çúnāsīrā́ havíṣā yó yájātrāi supíppalā́ ḥ
óṣadhayas santu tásmāi çunán naro lā́ñgalena ánaḍúdbhiḥ ḥ
parjanyo bījam irya do | hinotu çúnāsīrā́ kṛ ḥ
ṇutaṁ dhānyena índraḥ sītaṁ ni gṛhṇātu tā́ṁ pūṣā́ máhyaṁ
rakṣa ḥ
[f. 35 a.] ntu sā́ naḥ páyasvatī duhām úttarām uttarā́ṁ sá-
māṁ | úd asthād rathajíd go ḥ
jíd açvajíd dhíraṇyajít sūnṛ́tayā párīvṛtaḥ | ékaçcakreṇa savi ḥ
tā́ ráthanorjo bhā́gāiṣ pṛthivī́n ety āpṛṇáṁ z 2 z

There are just 24 pādas here but they do not fall readily into stanzas; the first two are st. 2 and 1 in Ç. but our second adds a pāda to Ç. 1: our third must end with santu tasmāi but this gives five pādas the first of which seems out of place here; in st. 4 it seems almost necessary to insert a pāda b in accord with MS. We may read as follows:

yunakta sīrā vi nu yugā tanota kṛte kṣetre vapateha bījam | virājaç çnuṣṭis sabharā asan no nedīya it sṛṇyaḥ pakvam ā yuvan z 1 z sīrā yuñjanti kavayo yugā vi tanvate pṛthak | dhīrā deveṣu sumnayāv anaḍvāhaṣ puruṣā ye kṛṇvanti z 2 z †lāñ-galaṁ phalaṁ sumanaji sphātyā† çunaṁ kīnāço anv etu vāhān

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çunaṁ phālo bhindann etu bhūmim | çunāsīrā haviṣā yo yajātāi supippalā oṣadhayas santu tasmāi z 3 z çunaṁ naro lāṅgalenānaḍudbhir bhagaḥ phālāiḥ sīrapatir marudbhiḥ | parjanyo bījam irayā no hinotu çunāsīrā kṛṇutaṁ dhānyaṁ naḥ z 4 z indraḥ sītāṁ ni gṛhṇātu tāṁ pūṣā mahyaṁ rakṣatu | sā naḥ payasvatī duhām uttarām-uttarāṁ samām z 5 z ud asthād rathajid gojid açvajid dhiraṇyajit sūnṛtayā parīvṛtaḥ | ekacakreṇa savitā rathenorjo bhāgāiṣ pṛthivīm ety āpṛṇan z 6 z 2 z

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Stanzas 1, 2, 3, and 5 here are 2, 1, 5, and 4 in Ç.; the other two appear MS. 2. 7. 12 and elsewhere. The omission of 4b can easily be accounted for by the similarity of endings. It might be a better arrangement to put the colon after sumnayāu and take lāṅgalaṁ • • in as st. 2e.

23. [f. 35a, l. 3.]

gavāṁ gṛhā :
ṇāṁ rasam oṣadhīnāṁ anujyeṣṭhaṁ varca āyur vikalpyas
ma mā hiṁsīḥ :
pitáro várdhamāno bhadrā́ gacchāṁsim abhí lokam ehi |

Read oṣadhīnām in a, vikalpayaḥ in b: for c I am inclined to propose mā mā hiṁsiṣuḥ pitaro vardhamānā, although the second person in d makes somewhat against this; in d I believe aṁçam is the third word so we might read bhadrā gacchāṁçam abhi lokam ehi, though bhadraṁ would seem better in some respects.

yádīdaṁ bhaktaṁ :
yadi vā́ vibhaktáṁ kṣettraṁ devā́nāṁ yadí vā pitṛ́ṇāṁ |
ud u sūrya :
ud ite divā manuṣyavaç chivā no stú pṛthiví uta dyāuḥ.

With kṣetraṁ in b the first hemistich may stand: at the end of c one naturally thinks of the contrast, gods and manes, so we might read ete devā manuṣyā vā or ud it te • •; for d çivā no 'stu pṛthivy uta dyāuḥ.

ūrjo vāṁ :
bhāgo varā́ pṛthivyāṁ devāir dvāro vrahmaṇā́ vāṁ dhārayāmi | çivaṁ ça :
gmaṁ avasānaṁ no stu ratiṁ devebhiḥ pitṛbhir manuṣyāiḥ

In a I think bhāgaṁ should be read, and varāya seems possible; in b perhaps devīr would be good: read 'stu in c, and in d rātir might stand.

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viçvāvaso :
stv āsadanaṁ kulāyāṁ gandharvā sovedaso mahyam ūcuḥ
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mā mā hiṁ :
sīç cheva dhīyanta heto çantaṁ himāṣ pari dadhmo manuṣyaṁ

In a I think we may read 'stv āsādanaṁ kulāyaṁ, in b gandharvās suvedaso: in c if we have second person we should write mā mā hiṁsīç çivā, but hiṁsīc chivā if third person; I do not think hetoç is possible; at the beginning of d çataṁ himān is probable.

rudrā utse sa :
dam akṣīyamāṇe devā madanti pitaro manuṣyāḥ yaṁ bhāgo bhā :
gapateç ca devā urvīras taryā çaradas taremā z 2 z.

Read: rudrā utse sadam akṣīyamāṇe devā madanti pitaro manuṣyāḥ | yaṁ bhāgo bhāgapatiç ca devā †urvīras taryā† çaradas tarema z 5 z 3 z

In some respects these stanzas seem to have a connection with funeral rites, but their meaning and intent is wholly unclear; the corrections proposed are based almost entirely on palaeographic possibility and cannot be regarded as compelling, or even satisfactory.

24. [f. 35a, l 13.]

yaṁ a :
smin yakṣmaṣ puruṣe praviṣṭa iṣitaṁ dāivyaṁ saha | agniṣ ṭaṁ ghṛ :
tavodano apa skandayatv atidūram asmāt. | so nyena sap ṛçchatāṁ :
tvam asmāi pra savāmasi | yas tvā yakṣmo deveṣita iṣitaṣ pi :
[f. 35 b.] tṛbhiç ca yaḥ tasmāt tvā viçve devā muñcantu pary aṁhasaḥ te te yakṣma :
m apa skandayatv adhi | ya tvam eno nyakṛtaṁ yadā tvam akṛtam āhṛtaḥ ta :
smāt vā viçvā bhūtāni muñcantu pary aṁhasaḥ | tāni te yakṣmam apa :
skandayatv adhi yad vā sādṛçā yad vā cakāra niṣṭyā tasmāt tvā pṛ :
thivī mātā muñcatu pary aṁhasaḥ sā te yakṣmam apa skandayatv ādhi | :

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apaskandena haviṣā yakṣman te nāçayāmasi | tad agnir
āha tad u :
soma āha vṛhaspatis savitā tad indraḥ te te yakṣmam apa
skandaya :
tv adhidūram asmāt. so tyena mapṛçchatāṁ tvam asmāi
pra suvāmasi z :

z 3 z.

Read: yo asmin yakṣmaṣ puruṣe praviṣṭa iṣitaṁ dāivyaṁ sahaḥ | agniṣ ṭaṁ ghṛtabodhano apa skandayatv atidūram asmāt | so 'anyena samṛcchatāṁ tvām asmāi pra suvāmasi z 1 z yas tvā yakṣmo deveṣita iṣitaṣ pitṛbhiç ca yaḥ | tasmāt tvā viçve devā muñcantu pary aṁhasaḥ | te te yakṣmam apa skandayantv atidūram asmāt z 2 z †yat tvam eno 'nyakṛtaṁ yad ā tvam akṛtam āhṛtaḥ† | tasmāt tvā viçvā bhūtāni muñcantu pary aṁhasaḥ | tāni te yakṣmam apa skandayantv atidūram asmāt z 3 z yad vā dadarça yad vā cakāra niṣṭyam | tasmāt tvā pṛthivī mātā muñcatu pary aṁhasaḥ | sā te yakṣmam apa skandayatv atidūram asmāt z 4 z apaskandena haviṣā yakṣmaṁ te nāçayāmasi | tad agnir āha tad u soma āha vṛhaspatis savitā tad indraḥ | te te yakṣmam apa skandayantv atidūram asmāt | so 'nyena samṛcchatāṁ tvām asmāi pra suvāmasi z 5 z 4 z

The first stanza appears in the Pariçiṣṭas of the AV. 1 b. 1. 5. In stanza 3ab the sense seems to be "whatever sin or evil has laid hold on thee;" as a possibility consider yat tvām eno 'nyakṛtaṁ yad ā tvām akṛtam āhṛtam. The two pādas which stand at the end of 1 and 5 should doubtless stand at the end of the others also.

25. [f. 35 b, l. 9.]

agne agrā indra balā ādityā ya ido iduḥ yudho :
idhi pratiṣṭhitāya hotā jāitrāya juhuti | abhiyuktasya pradhane :
naya vo rdhāram icchatāṁ havīṣy agre vidyatāṁ prati-
gṛhṇāta juhvatāṁ :
jayatrā rājñā varuṇena jayatrā rudreṇa keçinā | bhavena ji :
ṣṇunā jayeta parjanyena sahīyasā astrā tāṁ preṇa vṛṁhatā :
astrā sarvye ni yudhyatā | gandharveṇa tviṣīmatā rathenā
upayo :
dhinā | sinīvāly anu matir vāhāçvān iṣañgiṇaḥ jayanto
bhi :
prathatāmitrāṁ sākam indreṇa medinā z 5 z anuvākam
5 z :

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For the first hemistich of st. 1 no reconstruction works out satisfactorily but for the second hemistich we might read yudho adhi pratiṣṭhitāya hotā jaitrāya juhoti. Pāda a of st. 2 seems good as it stands but the rest seems past mending. For the other three stanzas the following reading may be found acceptable: jaitrā rājñā varuṇena jaitrā rudreṇa keçinā | bhavena jiṣṇunā jayeta parjanyena sahīyasā z 3 z astrā †tāṁ preṇa† vṛṁhatāstrā sarveṇa yudhyatā | gandharveṇa tviṣīmatā ratheno-payodhinā z 4 z sinīvāly anu matīn vāhāçvān iṣāṅgiṇaḥ | jayanto 'bhi prathatāmitrān sākam indreṇa medinā z 5 z 5 z anuvā-kaḥ 5 z

Possibly mandreṇa might stand in st. 4a; and in st. 5b iṣvaṅgiṇaḥ might seem a good reading. This is surely a charm for success in battle.

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26. [f 35b, l 17.]

yat svapne ni jagattha yad vā çepiṣe nṛtam agniṣ ṭāt tasmād enaso :

[f. 36 a.] **vrahmā muñcatv aṁhasaḥ yad akṣeṣu dudrohitaṁ yad vā mitrebhyas tvaṁ somas tvā :**

tasmād enaso vrahmā muñcatv aṁhasaḥ yada kumāraṣ kumāreṣu yad vā jyāya :

s tareṣu nimeta kṛtvā çepiṣe taçat kṛṇvo agadaṁ çivaṁ | pratīdīniphalaṁ :

ha tvām apāmārga babhūvyathaḥ sarvāṁ gaccha pathām adhi maryo yāvayā tvaṁ | :

prā apāmārga oṣadhīnāṁ viçvāsām eka ut pati tena te mṛjum āsthi :

tam atha tvam agadaç caraḥ z ı z

Read: yat svapne ni jagantha yad vā çepiṣe 'nṛtam | agniṣ ṭvā tasmād enaso vrahmā muñcatv aṁhasaḥ z 1 z yad akṣeṣu dudrohitha yad vā mitrebhyas tvam | somas tvā tasmād ◦ ◦ ◦ z 2 z yat kumāraṣ kumāreṣu yad vā jyāyāṁs tureṣu | †nimeta kṛtvā çepiṣe †taçat kṛṇvo† agadaṁ çivam z 3 z pratīcīnaphalo hi tvam apāmārgo babhūvitha | sarvān mac chapathāṁ adhi varīyo yāvayās tvam z 4 z apāmārga oṣadhīnāṁ viçvāsām eka it patiḥ | tena te mṛjma āsthitam atha tvam agadaç cara z 5 z 1 z

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In st. 2d it would probably be safe to read kṛṇve. St. 4 occurs Ç. 7. 65. 1, and st. 5 is Ç. 4. 17. 8.

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27. [f. 36a, l. 6.]

Ç. 19. 36.

çatavāro anīnaçad rakṣamāṁ rakṣāṅ: si tejasā | āroham varcasā saha maṇir dunāmaçātanam

In b read yakṣmān rakṣāṅsi, in c ārohan, and in d durṇāmacātanaḥ.

çṛṅgabhyāṁ rakṣo: nudate mūlena yātudhānyaḥ | madhyena yakṣmaṁ bādhate nāinaṁ papmāti tatrati | :

In a read çṛṅgābhyāṁ, and in d pāpmāti tarati.

ye yakṣmāso arbhakā mahāṁco ye ca çapathinaḥ | sarvān dunnāmahā maṇi:

ç çatavāro anīnaçat.

In b read mahānto, and perhaps we should read çabdinaḥ as in Ç.; in c read durṇāmahā.

çataṁ vīrāṇi janayaç chataṁ yakṣmann amāvapat.: dunnāstris sarvās tridhvā apa rakṣāṇsy apakramīm. |

In a read vīryāni janayañ, as suggested by Whitney; for b çataṁ yakṣmān apāvapat: for cd durṇamnas sarvāṅs tṛḍhvāpa rakṣāṅsy apākramīt.

çatam ahaṁ dunnāmaṇi: nāṁ gandharvāpsarasāṁ çataṁ çataṁ sunvatīnāṁ çatavāreṇa vāraye z 2 z:

Read: çatam ahaṁ durṇāmnīnāṁ gandharvāpsarasāṁ çatam | çataṁ ca çvanvatīnāṁ çatavāreṇa vāraye z 5 z 2 z.

28. [f. 36a, l. 13.]

Ç. 6. 71, with additions: TA. 2. 6. 2.

viçvaṁ vijmi pṛthivava puṣṭam āyad āyatu prati gṛhṇāmy annaṁ vāiçvānarasya ma:

hato mahimnā agniṣ ṭad viçvā suhitaṁ kṛṇotu |

For this stanza cf. MS. 4. 11. 1. In a read vivyajmi pṛthivīva, in b anyad āyat; in cd mahimnāgniṣ ṭad viçvaṁ suhutaṁ.

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yad annam adbhir bahudhā:
virūpaṁ vāsu hiraṇyam açvam uta gām ajām aviṁ yad
annam admy ānṛtena de:
vā udāsyan uta vā kariṣyan. |

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In a read admi, in b vāso and avim; in c anṛtena, and in d dāsyann adāsyann uta °.

yan mā hutaṁ yad ahutam ājagāma ya:
smād anna manasod rārajīmi z yad devānāṁ cakṣuṣāka-
çīnāgniṣ ṭad dho:
tā suhutaṁ kṛṇotu |

In b read annān; in cd it seems best to read with TA cakṣuṣy āgo asty agniṣ ° °.

jamadagniṣ kasyapas sādv etad bharadvājo madhv annaṁ ||:
kṛṇotu | pratigṛhitre gotamo vasiṣṭho viçvāmitro naḥ prati-
ranty āyuḥ:
pāṭhena pratirady āyuḥ zz 3 zz:

Read: jamadagniṣ kaçyapas sādhv etad bharadvājo madhv annaṁ kṛṇotu | pratigrahītre gotamo vasiṣṭho viçvāmitro naḥ pra tirantv āyuḥ z 4 z 3 z

29. [f. 36 b, l. 1.]

ágne yajñásya cakṣur edáṁ vidámi yathedaṁ bhávisyáti
sváhā | ágne yajñasya:
çrotraṁ agne yajñasya prāṇa | agne yajñasyāpanaḥ agne
yajñasyātmaṁ agne:
yajñasya sarva idaṁ vidāmi yathedaṁ bhaviṣyati svāhā
z 4 z:

Read: agne yajñasya çakṣur edaṁ vidāmi yathedaṁ bhaviṣyati svāhā z 1 z agne yajñasya çrotram edaṁ ° ° ° z 2 z agne yajñasya prāṇa edaṁ ° ° ° z 3 z agne yajñasyāpāna edaṁ ° ° ° z 4 z agne yajñasyātman edaṁ ° ° ° z 5 z agne yajñasya sarvam edaṁ vidāmi yathedaṁ bhaviṣyati svāhā z 6 z 4 z

In the margin the ms. has agni ṛcāṁ.

30. [f. 36 b, l. 4.]

RV. 1. 89. 2, 3; 10. 15. 2 (= Ç. 18. 1. 46); MS. 4. 14. 17.

devánāṁ bhadrá sumatír ṛjuyatáṁ devánāṁ rātrír abhí nu
ni vártatām.:

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devā́nāṁ sakhyám úpa sedimā vayáṁ devā́nām ā́yuṣ prá tirantu jīvā́ḥ
se |

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In a read ṛjūyatāṁ, in b rātir abhi no; and in d devā na āyuṣ.

tā́n pū́rvayā nivídā hūmate vayáṁ bhagaṁ mittráṁ aditir dákṣam asrídham |
aryamnáṁ váruṇaṁ somam açvínā sárasvatī nas subhágā máyas karat. | ḥ

In a read hūmahe, in b mitram aditiṁ and asridham; in c aryamaṇaṁ.

idáṁ pitṛ́bhyo námo astv adyá yé pū́rvāso yé párāsāṣ pareyúḥ yé pā́rthi ḥ
ve rájasy ā́ níṣatā yé vā nūnaṁ súvṛjínāsi vikṣú

In b read ye 'parāsaṣ pary īyuḥ; in c niṣattā, and in d suvṛjanāsu.

pratyañco agne sarvaḥ ḥ
patantu kṛtyākṛte ripave martyāyaḥ kravyād etṛ́na sā me mṛḍa krivi ḥ
ṣṇu mā dhehi nirṛter upasthe

In a read sarvāḥ, in b martyāya. In c kravyād and me mṛḍa seem clear, and probably kraviṣṇo at the end of c; perhaps a subject for dhehi should be supplied before mā. This stanza has no parallel.

jā́yassaç çáṁsād utá vā kánīyasaḥ sajā ḥ
taççaṁsā́d utá jamiçaṁsā́ ánādiṣṭam anyákṛtam yád énas tán nas tásmā ḥ
j jātavedo mumugdhi z 5 z

Read: jyāyasaç çaṁsād uta va kanīyasas sajātaçaṁsād uta jāmiçaṁsād | anādhṛṣṭam anyakṛtaṁ yad enas tan nas tasmāj jātavedo mumugdhi z 5 z 5 z

31. [f. 36 b, l. 13.]

imāu pādāu pra harāmy ā gṛhebhyas tvāsta ḥ
yendraṣ paççād indraṣ purastād indro naṣ pātu madhyataḥ

Read svastaye in b; indraṣ paççād in c.

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indraṁ bhayaṁ viçvaḥ
taḥ çūdrā ca nāryā ca indraḥ pathibhir adrava asamṛddhā-
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ghāyaḥ
vaḥ

Read bhayan in a, cānāryā in b; in cd ā dravat asamṛddhā aghāyavaḥ.

indraṁ haṣyatāṁ vidhi vi naṣ pāçān ivā carat. | idamaṁ
panthāḥ
m adukṣāma sugo svastivāhanaṁ |

In a we might read hṛṣyatāṁ vidhir, or possibly harṣayatāṁ; for b vir naṣ •: for cd emaṁ panthām arukṣāma sugaṁ •, which is Ç. 14. 2. 8 cd.

yatra viçvā pari dviṣo vṛṇakti
nindatesv āntam ety anāhataḥ parāvrajata kiṁ tat tava
kāṁ vakṣana
nn iva |

Read viçvān in a, and with ninditeṣv in b we have a possible reading. In the rest I see no good reading; perhaps parāvṛñjata is intended.

vicvañco yantaç çaphalā viçvaṅcaḥ parimanthinaḥ viçvak.
[f. 37 a.] punarbhavā mano asāmṛddhāghāyavaḥ z

Read: viṣvañco yantu †çaphalā viṣvaṅcaḥ paripanthinaḥ | viṣvak punarbhuvā mano asamṛddhā aghāyavaḥ z 5 z.

In a çabalā would seem very good: pādas cd occur Ç. 1. 27. 2 cd which has connections into which our stanzas evidently fit (cf. Whitney's Trans.).

svasti vyacākaçaṁ svasti pratyucā
kaçaṁ svasti paridigdhaṁ ny apa svasty apsaṁtaḥ pari-
vrajaṁ svarija svastena sa me
bharad vājaṁ svasti punarāyaṇam z 6 z anu 6 z

In the top margin the ms. gives svasty ṛca •.

Out of this I have been unable to make anything more than the division of words may indicate, except that apsaṁtaḥ is probably for apsv antah.

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32. [f. 37a, l. 3.]

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ye uttārā ṛjā ḥ
yate madhugo madhugād adhi vedāhe tad bheṣajaṁ jihvā madhumatī piva | ḥ
madhumat ye pāurṇamāsi madho çṛñgo adho puṣpakaṁ madhumān parvatām asi | ḥ
yato jātasy oṣadhe | garbho sy oṣadhīnām apāṁ garbha utāsitaḥ atho soma ḥ
sya trātāsi madhurā prāva me vaca | çruṇaṁ vahaṁ madhugasya pitṝṇām eva ḥ
jagrabhaḥ yo mā hiraṇyavarcasaṁ kṛṇomi pāuruṣaṁ priyaṁ | priyaṁ mā kṛ ḥ
ṇu deveṣu priyaṁ rājasu mā kṛṇu priyaṁ sarvasya paçyata uta çūdra u ḥ
tārya z ı z

Read: ya uttarād ājāyate madugho madughād adhi | vedāmahe tad bheṣajaṁ jihvā madhumatī piba z 1 z madhumatī pāurṇāmāsī madhoç çṛñgo atho puṣpakam | madhumān parvatām asi yato jātāsy oṣadhe z 2 z garbho 'sy oṣadhīnām apāṁ garbha utāsitha | atho somasya bhrātāsi madhunā prāva me vacaḥ z 3 z çroṇiṁ vahaṁ madughasya pitṝṇām eva jagrābha | yo mā hiraṇyavarcasaṁ kṛṇoti pūruṣaṁ priyam z 4 z priyaṁ mā kṛṇu deveṣu priyaṁ rājasu mā kṛṇu | priyaṁ sarvasya paçyata uta çūdra utārye z 5 z 1 z

In st. 1a the ms. might be transliterated uttarād ajā °. The last stanza occurs Ç. 19. 62. 1.

33. [f. 37a, l. 10.]

udnā vana hṛdā vana mukhena jihvayā vana | prapīnā ḥ
payasā vanaṁ

Read ūdhnā in a, vana in c.

vāccha se padāu tatvaṁ vācchakṣyāu vāṁccha ṣaktāu | vīccham a ḥ
nu pra de vano nimnaṁ vār iva dhāvatu z

Read: vāñccha me pādāu tanvaṁ vāñcchākṣyāu vāñccha sakthyāu | vīcim anu pra te vano nimnaṁ vār iva dhāvatu z 2 z

For ab see below No. 90. 2 and Ç. 6. 9. 2; for cd cf. Ç. 3. 18. 6.

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ūrdhvāni te lomāni tiṣṭhanty akṣāu :
kāmena çiṣyataṁ simida vatsena gāur iva udhnā surāiva
paçyatāṁ |

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In a read tiṣṭhantv, for b akṣyāu kāmena çuṣyatāṁ; in c çimīvatā and probably gor, in d ūdhnas and sṛjyatām rather than paçyatām.

imā :
gāvas sabandhavas samānaṁ vatsam akrata | hiññati kani-
kratīr āddhārā ni :
ravid vasā

A possible reading for c would be mahimnābhikanikratīr, which carries one on to think of something like arāvīd vṛṣā at the end of d.

çṛṅgopasā galabhūṣā aghnyāç carmavāsinī | gavo ghṛta :
sya māturas tā vatsevā nayāmasi z 2 z

Read: çṛṅgāupaçā galabhūṣā aghnyāç çarmavāsinīḥ | gāvo ghṛtasya māturas tā vatsa ivā nayāmasi z 5 z 2 z

34. [f. 37a, l. 16.]

yaç ca varcaṣ kanyāsu yaç ca :
hastiṣv āhitaṁ hiraṇyeṣu tad varcas tasya bhakṣī iha var-
casaḥ

Read yac ca in a and b; in d bhakṣīya or bhakṣīha.

yaç ca :
varco rājarather yaç ca rājasv āhitaṁ niṣke rukṣe yad
varcas tasya bhakṣī i :
ha varcasaḥ

Read yac in a and b; d as above; in a rājarathe seems good.

yad apsu yad vanaspatāu yad agnāu yaç ca sūrye |
yajñe dakṣi :
ṇāyāṁ varcas tasya bhakṣī iha varcasaḥ

Read yac ca in b; d as above.

varcasvān me mukham astu va :
[f. 37 b.] rcasvatāṁdu me çiraḥ varcasvāṁ viçvataṣ pratyañ
varcasvāṁ varṇo stu me z

Read varcasvan in a, varcasvad uta in b; varcasvān and pratyañ in c, and varcasvān varṇo 'stu in d.

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subhagaṁ :
me mukham astu subhāgam uta me çiraḥ subhāgo viçvataṣ
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pratyañ subhāgo va :
rṇo stu me z 2 z

Read: subhagaṁ me mukham astu subhagam uta me çiraḥ | subhago viçvataṣ pratyañ subhago varṇo 'stu me z 5 z 3 z

35. [f. 37 b, l. 3.]

ud amāu sūryo agāt sahavat ta nāma ma | ahaṁ te madhuma :
tī madhugāṁ madhumattarā |

Read asāu in a, tan nāma mama in b; madughān in d.

yad girīṣu parvateṣu goṣv açveṣu yan madhu | :
surāyāṁ sicyamānāyāṁ kīlāle madhu tan mayi |

Read girișu in a.

yathā surā ya :
thā madhu yathākṣā adhidevane yathāha gavyato mana
evā sām abhi te :
manaḥ

Read mām in d. Cf. Ç. 6. 70. 1 for ab.

yā te padam padena ṛṣyataṁ manasā manaḥ pratyaṁcam
agrabhaṁ tvā a :
çvam ivāçvābhidhānyā |

Read yathā in a, padenarṣyatāṁ in ab; pratyañcam in c, and tvāçvam in cd.

mahyaṁ tvā dyāvāpṛthivī mahyaṁ devī sarasva :
tī | mahyaṁ tvā madhyaṁ bhūmyā ubhāv antāu sam
asyatāṁ z 4 z

Read: mahyaṁ tvā dyāvāpṛthivī mahyaṁ devī sarasvatī | mahyaṁ tvā madhyaṁ bhūmyā ubhāv antāu sam asyatām z 5 z 4 z

For this last stanza cf. below, No. 90 st. 5, and Ç. 6. 89. 3.

36. [f. 37 b, l. 9.]

yā vāiçvade :
vīr iṣāvo yā vasūnāṁ yā rudrasya somasya yā bhagasya |
viçve devā i :
ṣavo yāvatīr vas tā vo agninā çarmaṇā çamayāmi |

Read iṣavo in a.

yā ādide :
vīr iṣavo yā vasūnāṁ yā rudrasya açvino yāvatīs tāḥ viçve
devā iṣa :
vo yāvatīr vas tā vo devas savitā çamayāti |

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Read in b rudrasyāçvinor; the visarga indicates that the hemistich ends with tāh and yāvatīs seems out of place here, where another genitive would be appropriate; a possible reading might be yā vṛhaspateḥ.

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yas te gniṣavo vāta yāḥ te apām uçchrityām uta vā marutsu | indrasya sāmnā varuṇasya rājā tāḥ vat sūryo vṛhatā çamayāti |

Read for a yās te 'gna iṣavo vāta yās te, in b probably utsṛṣṭyām; in c rājñā, and in d tā vas seems better than tāvat.

mā vṛhy ādityo mā vasubhyo mā rudrāyāḥ gnaye pāktivāya | indrasya çuco varuṇasya yā çucis tā vo devy aḥ ditiç çamayāti |

In a mā bibhṛhy āditya seems possible, in b pārthivāya.

yaç ca vāte viçvagvāte yaç ca rudrasya dhanvani | agniḥ ṣ ṭva vasor īrāçānas tvā sarvā bheṣajaṣ karat. z 5 z anuvā 7 z:

Read: yāç ca vāte viṣvagvāte yāç ca rudrasya dhanvani | agniṣ ṭvā vasor īçānas tvā sarvā bhiṣajaṣ karat z 5 z 5 z anuvā 7 z. In cd ṭā and tās would improve this very uncertain reconstruction.

37. [f. 37 b, l. 19.]

cittiṁ yaktāsi manasā cittin devāñ ṛtāvṛdhaḥ jātavedaṣ pra ṇas ti:
[f. 38 a] ra agne viçvāmarudbhiḥ

In view of MS. 2. 10. 6 it seems clear that in yaktāsi we have the root yaj; yakṣasi might be the reading, but yakṣyāmi may be worth consideration. If viçvāmarudbhiḥ is not acceptable, we might read vidvan or viçvān.

yavayāyavayāssad dveṣāṅsi yavamayeḥ na haviṣā yas te mṛta dviṣvapnīyasya bhāvas sa te tudanta etaṁ praḥ hiṇmaḥ

In a read yavayāsmad; in c dussvapnyasya, and perhaps mṛto rather than mṛta. In Ç. 19. 57. 3 occurs the phrase sa mama yaḥ pāpas taṁ dviṣate pra hiṇmaḥ; imitating this we might reconstruct dviṣate tudanta ◦ ◦, and this would call for bhāvo.

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yathā kalāṁ yathā çapharn yatharṇo son nayanti | evāḥ dussvapnyaṁ sarvas apriye sun nayāmasi z

This is Ç. 6. 46. 3 (= 19. 57. 1); read yatharṇaṁ saṁ in b, sarvam in c and saṁ in d.

araro hīç çatam adya gaḥ gavāṁ bhakṣīya çatam ajānāṁ çatam avīnāṁ çatam açvānāṁ puruṣāḥ

ṇāṁ tatrāpi bhakṣayāmum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ patraṁ tam ahaṁḥ

nirṛtaye prekṣyāmi taṁ mṛtyoḥ pāçaye badhnyāmi sa baddho hato stu | ḥ

sa tato mā mociḥ z 1 z

This prose portion falls into two parts thus giving the normal five stanzas to this hymn. At the beginning araro might be vocative of araru (cf. Ç. 6. 46. 1) and hīç might conceal some form of the root hīḍ: read †araro hīç† çatam adya gavāṁ ◦◦◦◦ puruṣānāṁ tatrāpi bhakṣīya z 4 z

For the rest there are similar passages in Ç. 16. 7. 8 and 8. 1ff. Read: amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṁ tam ahaṁ nirṛtaye preṣyāmi taṁ mṛtyoḥ pāçe badhnāmi | sa baddho hato 'stu sa tato mā moci z 5 z

With this hymn cf. Ç. 6. 46 and 19. 57.

38. [f. 38a, l. 8.]

ye naç çapanty apa te bhavantu vṛkṣān vaḥ vṛhṇāṁ api tāṁ jayāma | bhrājīya āyuṣ pratiraṁ dadhānāṁ vaḥ yaṁ devānāṁ sumatāu syāma

In b I think we must read vṛkṇāṁ api tān; the margin corrects to drāghīya in c, and we must read dadhānā: pādas cd occur frequently but not together.

kṛtyākṛtaṁ payasvān adarçata agneḥ | ḥ pratyasva nu dhuddhyasva prati sma rāivataṁ dahaḥ |

For b, a possible reading is ā dharṣāta agniḥ; in c prathasva and yudhyasva are probable; d can stand, but riṣato, or the like, would seem better.

yas tvā kṛtye pratighāḥ ya vidvāñ aviduṣo gṛham. | punas tvā tasmā dadhimo yathā kṛḥ kṛtaṁ hanaḥ

In pratighāya, I think, lies the verb of the first hemistich and we might read pra jaghāna as a possibility: in c it would seem safe to restore tasmāi dadhmo, and in d kṛtyākṛtaṁ hanat.

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punaṣ kṛtyāṁ kṛtyākṛte hastigṛhya parā ṇaya uto tvaḥ
m uttamā punas tatarmāiva sudanaṁsvaṁ |

Read hastagṛhya in b; uto tvaṁ uttamā punas is probably a good pāda but for d I see nothing. Pādas ab occur Ç. 5. 14. 4 ab.

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kṛtyā yantu kṛtyākṛtaṁ vṛkīḥ
vāvimato gṛhaṁ stokaṁ pākasva vardhatāṁ ma vṛvṛṣṭa |
oṣadhīr iva | :

Read: kṛtyā yantu kṛtyākṛtaṁ vṛkīvāvimato gṛham | stokaṁ pākasya vardhatāṁ saṁvṛṣṭā oṣadhīr iva z 5 z 2 z

Ç. 6. 37. 1 d reads vṛka ivāvimato gṛham.

39. [f. 38a, l. 16.]
Vāit. 24. 1.

yat te grāvā bāhucyuto cakro naro yad vā te hastayor
adhukṣaṁ tat tāpyāḥ
yatāṁ ut te niṣṭyāyatāṁ soma rājan. z

In a read 'cucyon, in b adhukṣan; ta āpyāyatāṁ tat in c.

yat te grābṇā cicṛdas soḥ
ma rājin priyāṇy aṅga sukṛtā paroṇi | tat saṁjatsvājeneto:
vardhayasvā anāgamo yathā sadam it saṁkṣiyema z z oṁ
anāḥ
[f. 38b] **gamo yathā sadam it saṁkṣiyema**

In a read grāvṇā cicchidus and rājan, in b purūṇi; for cd tat saṁdhatsvājyenota vardhayasvānāgaso • •.

yāṁ te tvacaṁ babhrutāṁ ta yonir hṛdyāṁḥ
sthānā pracyuto di vāsuto si tasmāi te soma luptam asmākam
etad uḥ
pa no rājan sukṛte hvayasva |

In a read bibhidur yāṁ ca yoniṁ, in b sthānāt and yadi vāsuto 'si with yad vā (as in Vāit.) for hṛdyāṁ; in c we may read guptam as in TB. 3. 7. 13. 3.

saṁ prāṇāpānābhyāṁ saṁ cakṣuṣā saṁḥ
çrotreṇa gacchasya soma rājan. | yat te viliṣṭaṁ sam u tanv
ayattaj jāḥ
nītāṁ nas saṅgamanī pathīnām.

In b read gacchasva; in c viriṣṭaṁ sam u tat ta etaj, in d jānītān and saṁgamane.

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ahaç çarīraṁ payasā sam etv a:
nyo nyo bhavati varuṇosya | tasmāi tado haviṣā vidhemaḥ
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vayaṁ syāma:
patayo rayīṇām.

In a read ahāç and sam ety, in b anyo 'nyo and varṇo 'sya; in c ta indo and vidhema.

abhyakṣaranti jihvo ghṛtenāgā parūṅṣi ta:
vardhayantī | tasmāi te soma nasa yad viṣaṭ vapa no rāja
sukṛte hvaya:
sva z 3 z

Read: abhikṣaranti juhvo ghṛtenāṅgā parūṅṣi tava vardhayanti | tasmāi te soma nama id vaṣaṭ copa no rājan sukṛte hvayasva z 6 z 3 z

40. [f. 38 b, l. 9.]

ihata devīr ayam astu pantha ayaṁ vo lokaç çaraṇāya:
sādhuḥ idaṁ havir juṣamānā ud ita kṣiprā jñā varuṇena
prasūtā z:

In a read ihāita and panthā; in d kṣiprā rājñā and prasūtāḥ.

ihata rājā varuṇo dadābhir devo deveṣu haviṣo juṣātāḥ kṛṇu:
ṣva panthā madayān dūrdibhir anena babhro mahatā pṛthivyām.

In a the reading of the ms. may be ṛdābhir. Read in a ihāitu; in this context dadhabhir seems to be possible but it is hard to give up the thought of some form or compound of ṛta; in MG. 2. 11. 17 occurs prāitu rājā varuṇo revatībhiḥ: in b juṣatām ought to stand. In c read panthāṁ, and we might consider dṛtibhir as a possibility.

pri:
yad dhriyad va madayān abhuñja tīrokoghānām iha rāṇītu | a:
neneve gāṁ mṛjata dviṣīmato jahy osrāṁ çabhūm ajanāṅ
adhṛṣṇataḥ | :

Out of this all I can get is tviṣīmato jahy and perhaps çatrūn ajanān ādhṛṣataḥ.

ye pārato madhyato ye ca yanta ye apsumado nihatās tīre
agnayaḥ:
te devajā iha no mṛdunn āpaç cā jihvan ubhaye sabandhavaḥ

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Opposite the first of these lines the margin gives saṁcayaṁ, and there is a correction to jinvan over jihvan. In a read yanti, in b apsuṣado nihitās, in c mṛdann and in d ta ā jinvan.

idaṁ :
vāpo hṛdayam ayaṁ vasv aritāvarī iha tvām eta çakvarī
yatrāivaṁ :
veçayāmasi z 4 z

Read: idaṁ va āpo hṛdayam ayaṁ vatsa ṛtāvarīḥ | ihettham eta çakvarīr yatrāivaṁ veçayāmasi z 5 z 4 z

This is Ç. 3. 13. 7; we might read idaṁ vasv in b; for d Ç. has yatredaṁ vèçayāmi vaḥ.

41. [f. 38b, l. 18.]

RV. 10. 159; ApMB. 1. 16.

ud asāu sūryo agād ud ayaṁ māsako :
bhagaḥ tenāhaṁ vidvalā patim abhy a :
[f. 39a.] **sākṣi viṣāsahiḥ |**

Read māmako in b.

ahaṁ ketur ahaṁ mūrdhvā aham ugrā viṣāda :
ni | named apa kradaṁ patis sehānāyā upacarā |

Read mūrdhāham in a, viṣādanī in b; mamed apa kratuṁ in c and upā carāt in d.

mama putrā :
ç çattruhaṇo vo me duhitā virāṭ. | utāham asmi saṁjayā :
patyār me çloka uttamaḥ

Read çatruhaṇo 'tho in ab; patyur in d.

yena devās surebhyo bhavanti marmattarā :
idaṁ utakra devāsapattrā kilābhuvaṁ

In a a good reading would be devā asurebhyo; for b read bhavanty amarmantarāḥ, and for cd idaṁ tad akri devā asapatnā kilābhuvam.

sapattrā sapatnyaghnī :
jayaty abhibhūvarī muṣṇāmy anyāsāṁ bhagaṁ vāmo yaste-
yaçā :
m iva z 5 z anu 8 z

Read: asapatnā sapatnaghnī jayanty abhibhūvarī | muṣṇāmy anyāsāṁ bhagaṁ varco astheyasām iva z 5 z 5 z anu 8 z

In d vāmam would be about as good as varco. This hymn has a sixth stanza in the other texts.

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42. [f. 39 a, l. 7.]

Cf. Ç. 2. 24.

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ṣarabhaka ṣeraçabha punar bho yā ⁝
nti yādavaṣ punar hatiṣ kimīdinaḥ yasya stha dam atta yo va prā ⁝
hī tam utta mmā sāṁsāmany atā çevṛka çevṛdha sarpān- sarpa ⁝
srokān mro jyarṇyatro jarjunva paprado punar vo yanti yādavaḥ | ⁝
punar jūtiṣ kimīdinaḥ yasya stha dam atta yo na prā | hī tam utva ⁝
smā māṁsāṇy attā z ı z

Read: çerabhaka çerabha punar vo yantu yātavaṣ punar hetiṣ kimīdinaḥ | yasya stha tam atta yo vaḥ prāhāit tam atta svā māṁsāny atta z 1 z çevṛdhaka çevṛdha punar vo ◦ ◦ | ◦ z 2 z sarpānusarpa ◦ ◦ | ◦ z 3 z mrokānumroka ◦ ◦ | ◦ z 4 z †jyarṇyatro jarjunva paprado† punar vo yantu yātavaṣ punar jūtiṣ kimīdinaḥ | yasya stha tam atta yo vaḥ prāhāit tam atta svā māṁsāny atta z 5 z 1 z

At the beginning of 5 it would be impossible to emend with any certainty; it is barely possible that jūrṇi (Ç. st. 5) is there and perhaps also arjuni (Ç. st. 7); yet it is fairly clear that these should all be grouped in one stanza, and that they are names of male demons. Cf. our No. 91 and the comments.

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

Ç. 2. 16.

dyāvapṛthivī upaçrute mā ⁝
pātaṁ svāhā ⌈dhanāyāyuṣe prajāyāi mā pātaṁ svāhā | prāṇā ⁝
pānāu mṛtyor mā pātaṁ svāhā | sūrya cakṣuṣī mā pāhi svā ⁝
hā | agne viçvambhara viçvato mā pāhi svāhā |

Read dyāvāpṛthivī upaçruter: the kāṇḍa is no. 2.

44. [f. 39 a, l. 15.]

Cf. Ç. 2. 17.

āyurmā ⁝
agni āyur me dhā svāhā varcodāgner varco me dhā svāhā tejo ⁝
dāgnis tejo me dhā svāhā | sahodā agnes saho me dhā svāhā | ⁝
baladā agnir balam me svāhā z 3 z

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Read: āyurdā agna āyur me dāḥ svāhā z 1 z varcodā agne varco me dāḥ svāhā z 2 z tejodā agne tejo me dāḥ svāhā z 3 z sahodā agne saho me dāḥ svāhā z 4 z baladā agne balaṁ me dāḥ svāhā z 5 z 3 z

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45. [f. 39 a, l. 18.]

Ç. 2. 17.

āyur asyā ā ⁝

[f. 39 b.] **āyur me dhehi svāhā | varco si varco mayi dhehi svāhā | tejo ⁝**

si tejo mayi dhehi svāhā | saho si saho mayi dhehi svāhā | ⁝

ballam asi balaṁ mayi dhedhi svāhā | 4 z

In 1 read āyur asy āyur mayi; in 2, 3, and 4 read ʻsi; in 5 balam and dhehi.

46. [f. 39 b, l. 3.]

Ç. 2. 18.

piçācakṣī ⁝

ṇam asi piçacajambhanam asi svāhā | yātudhānakṣīṇam a ⁝

si yātudhānajambhanam asi svāhā | sadānvākṣīṇam asi ⁝

sadānvājambhanam asi svāhā | sapattrakṣīṇam asi sapattra ⁝

jambhanam asi svāhā | bhrātṛvyakṣīṇam asi bhrātṛvyajaja ⁝

mbhanam asi svāhā z 5 z a 9 z

Read ◦kṣayaṇam in each formula, piçācajambhanam in 1, sapatna◦ in 4, and bhrātṛvyajambhanam in 5. The kāṇḍa is no. 5.

In the margin the ms. has rakṣāmantraṁ vā agniḥ.

47. [f. 39 b, l. 8.]

ā te sāuvīryaṁ ⁝

dade mayi te sāuvīryaṁ | a sāuvarco dade mayi te sāuvarcaḥ | ⁝

a sāutejo dade mayi te sāutejaḥ a sāunṛmṇaṁ dade mayi ⁝

te sāunṛmṇaṁ | ā te sāuçukraṁ dade mayi te sāuçukraṁ z 1 z ⁝

At the beginning of 2, 3, and 4 read ā te.

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48. [f. 39 b, l. 12.]

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oṁ agna yat te tapas tena taṁ prati tapa yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vaya ⁝
n dviṣmaḥ z te haras tena taṁ prati hara yoḥ te çocis tena taṁ prati ⁝
çoca te rcis tena taṁ praty arca | agne yat te jyotis tena taṁ prati da ⁝
ha yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmaḥ z 2 z

Read: agne yat te tapas tena taṁ prati tapa yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmaḥ z 1 z agne yat te haras tena taṁ prati hara ◦ ◦ ◦ z 2 z agne yat te çocis tena taṁ prati çoca ◦ ◦ ◦ z 3 z agne yat te 'rcis tena taṁ praty arca ◦ ◦ ◦ z 4 z agne yat te jyotis tena taṁ prati daha yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmaḥ z 5 z 2 z

49. [f. 39 b, l. 15.]

prācī di ⁝
g gāyatraṁ devatā yad deveṣu pitṛṣu manuṣyeçu naç çakārāya ⁝
ttaṁ tasyāvedanam asi z svaṁ cemam asmād yakṣa tasmād āma ⁝
[f. 40 a.] yetu svāhā | dakṣiṇā dig rathantaraṁ devatā pratīcī dig vāmadevaṁ ⁝
devatā udīcī dig yajñāyajñiyaṁ devatā ūrdhvā dig vṛhaddeva ⁝
tā yad deveṣu manuṣye | çva naç cakārāyattaṁ tasyāvedanam asi z muṁ ⁝
cemam asmād yakṣa tasmād āmayatu svāhā z 3 z imaṁ rakṣā ⁝
mantraṁ digdhandhanaṁ z z

Read: prācī dig gāyatraṁ devatā yad deveṣu pitṛṣu manuṣyeṣu naç cakārāyattvaṁ tasyāvedanam asi | saṁ cemam asmād yaccha tasmād āmayatāt svāhā z 1 z dakṣiṇā dig rathaṁtaraṁ devatā ◦ ◦ ◦ z 2 z pratīcī dig vāmadevyaṁ devatā ◦ ◦ ◦ z 3 z udīcī dig yajñāyajñiyaṁ devatā ◦ ◦ ◦ z 4 z urdhvā dig vṛhad devatā yad deveṣu pitṛṣu manuṣyeṣu naç cakārāyattvaṁ tasyāvedanam asi | saṁ cemam asmād yaccha tasmād āmayatāt svāhā z 5 z 3 z

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These formulae are suggestive of the sphere of the Yajur Veda. The emendation proposed is open to a number of objections, but it is fairly close to the ms. and offers a reasonable meaning. In the colophon we might read digdhanam.

50. [f. 40 a, l. 5.]

agniṁ vayaṁ trātāraṁ havāmahe imaṁ trāyā ḥ
tāsmād yakṣmā tasmād āmayata juṣāṇo agnir ājyasya trātā ḥ
trāyatāṁ svāhā |

Read ya imaṁ trāyate 'smād yakṣmāt tasmād āmayatāt | juṣāṇo ∘ ∘ z 1 z

mitrāvaruṇāu vayaṁ trātārāu havāmahe yā ḥ
v ayimaṁ trāyīte smād yakṣma taṣmād āmayata juṣāṇāu
mitrā ḥ
varuṇāv ājyasya trātārāu trāyetāṁ svāhā |

Read yāv imaṁ trāyete 'smād yakṣmāt tasmād āmayatāt | juṣāṇāu ∘ ∘ z 2 z

marutān vayaṁ trātrī ḥ
n havāmahe imaṁ trāyāṁta smād yakṣmād āmayata |
juṣāṇāu maru ḥ
tājyasya trātāras trāyantāṁ svāhā z

Read maruto vayaṁ trātṝn havāmahe ya imaṁ trāyante 'smād yakṣmāt tasmād āmayatāt | juṣāṇā maruta ājyasya ∘ ∘ z 3 z

agnaya ghṛtapataye svāhā | ḥ
agnināgni gṛhebhya svāhā | vājasyān agniye svāhā | agniṁ ḥ
vayaṁ svāgnaya svāhā | tena vrahmaṇā tenaç chandasā
tayā devatayā ḥ
ñgirasvad devebhyas svāhā z z iti agnisūktam. z z ḥ

It is almost impossible to believe that these formulae belong in this place, thrust into the midst of five stanzas so symmetrical; but we cannot throw them out entirely. The first and last are in the Concordance: in 1 read agnaye, for the second perhaps agninägne gṛhebhyas svāhā can stand, vājasya is good at the beginning of 3 and agnaye should be read, in 4 svagnayas is probable, and in 5 read tena for tenaç; perhaps in 5 we should insert dhruvās sīdata (or the like) before devebhyas, as these words appear in the numerous occurrences of this formula.

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pitṝn vayaṁ bhrātṝn havāmahe | imaṁ trāyantāmmābh
yakṣmā tasmā:
d āmayata || juṣaṇāṣ pitarājyasya trātāras trāyantāṁ svāhā z:

Read vayaṁ trātṝn and the rest as in st. 3 except juṣāṇāṣ pitara.

vṛhaspatiṁ vayaṁ trātāraṁ havāmahe imaṁ trāyātāsmād
yakṣmā:
tasmād āmayata juṣāṇo vṛhaspatir ājyasya trātāraṁ trā:
yatāṁ svāhā z 4 z

Read: vṛhaspatiṁ vayaṁ trātāraṁ havāmahe ya imaṁ trāyate 'smād yakṣmāt tasmād āmayatāt | juṣāṇo vṛhaspatir ājyasya trātā trāyatāṁ svāhā z 5 z 4 z

51. [f. 40 a, l. 19.]

agniṁ vayaṁ tratāraṁ yajāmahe meni:
[f. 40 b] hana valagahaṇaṁ juṣāṇo agnir ājyasya menihā
valagahā:
trātā trāyatāṁ svāhā z indraṁ vayaṁ juṣāṇa indra ājyasya z:
somaṁ vayaṁ trātāraṁ yajāmahe menihalaṁ valagahanaṁ
juṣā:
ṇas soma ājyasya menihā valagahā trātā trāyatāṁ svā:
hā z viçvān devāṁs vayaṁ trātṝn yajāmahe menighno valaga:
ghnās trātāras trāyantāṁ svāhā z vṛhaspatiṁ vayaṁ trātāraṁ:
yajāmahe menihalaṁ valagahanaṁ juṣāṇo vṛhaspati | :
r ājyasya menihā valagahā trātā trāyatāṁ svāhā z 5 z:
z anu z

Read: agniṁ vayaṁ trātāraṁ yajāmahe menihanaṁ valagahanam | juṣāṇo agnir ājyasya menihā valagahā trātā trāyatāṁ svāhā z 1 z indraṁ vayaṁ ∘ ∘ | juṣāṇa indra ājyasya ∘ ∘ z 2 z somaṁ vayaṁ ∘ ∘ ∘ | juṣāṇas soma ājyasya ∘ ∘ z 3 z viçvān vayaṁ devāṁs trātṝn yajāmahe menighno valagaghnaḥ | juṣāṇā ājyasya menihano valagahanas trātāras trāyantāṁ svāhā z 4 z vṛhaspatiṁ vayaṁ trātāraṁ yajāmahe menihana valagahanam | juṣāṇo vṛhaspatir ājyasya menihā valagahā trātā trāyatāṁ svāhā z 5 z 5 z anu 10 z

52. [f. 40 b, l. 9.]

TB. 2. 7. 17.

ye keçinaṣ prathamās satram asita yebhir ābhṛtaṁ:
yad idaṁ vi rocate bhyo juhomi haviṣā ghṛtena açvān goma:
mān ayam astu vīrāḥ

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In a read āsata, in c tebhyo; in cd ghṛtenāçvavān gomān • • vīraḥ. Our pāda d is very nearly Ç. 6. 68. 3 d; TB. has rayas poṣeṇa varcasā saṁ sṛjātha.

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nante rānās tapaso mucyate ṣudvinā:
vnīyaṁ dīkṣāṁ viçanīyaṁ hy etat. prāpya keçāstuvate kā:
ṇyano bhavantu teṣāṁ vrahmeçe vapanasya nāmnyā

In a read narte vrahmaṇas, and ṣudvināmṇīyaṁ vaçinīyaṁ hy etat would give a good pāda b; TB has dvināmnī dīkṣā vaçinī hy ugrā. For the rest it seems best to read with TB pra keçās suvate kāṇḍino bhavanti teṣāṁ vrahmed īçe vapanasya nānyaḥ z 2 z

yenāvapat sa:
vitā çīrṣṇo agre kṣureṇa rājño varuṇasya keçān. | :
tena vrahmāṇo vapatedam asyāçyāmo dīrghāyur ayam astu:
vīraḥ z

In cd asyāyuṣmān seems the most satisfactory. Cf. Ç. 6. 68. 3 and Whitney's Translation.

ma te keçām anugada vanta etat tayā dhātā dadhā:
tu te | tubhyam indro varuṇo vṛhaspatis savitā varco dadhaṁ | :

In a read mā te keçān anugād varca, in b tathā; in d 'dadhan. This stanza appears MG. 1. 21. 8.

ā roha proṣṭhaṁ viṣahasya çatṝn ājasrādīkṣāṁ vaçinī:
hy ugrā | dehi dakṣiṇāṁ vrahmaṇebhyo atho mucyasva varu:
ṇasya pāçāt. z 1 z

Read: ā roha proṣṭhaṁ viṣahasva çatrūn ajasraṁ dīkṣā vaçinī hy ugrā | dehi dakṣiṇāṁ vrahmaṇebhyo atho mucyasva varuṇasya pāçāt z 5 z 1 z

53. [f. 41 a, l. 1.]

MS. 2. 6. 3.

ye devāṣ purassado gninetrā rakṣohaṇas te naṣ pā:
ntu tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā | ye devā dakṣiṇāsado
yamanetrā rakṣohaṇa:
s te naṣ pāntu tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā | ye devāṣ
paççātsado marunnetrā rakso:
haṇas te naṣ pāntu tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā | ye devā
uttarātsadas somanetrā:

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rakṣohaṇas te naṣ pāntu tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā | ye devā antarikṣāssado :
vṛhaspatinnetrā rakṣohaṇas te naṣ pāntu te no vantu tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā | | :

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z 2 z

In 1 read 'gninetrā in 2 dakṣiṇātsado, in 5 antarikṣātsado vṛhaspatinetrā and 'vantu; it seems probable that the phrase te no 'vantu should be read in each formula as it occurs in each one in MS.

54. [f. 41 a, l. 7.]

KS. 15. 2; MS. 2. 6. 3.

agnaye purassade rakṣoghna svāhā | yamāya dakṣiṇātsa :
de rakṣoghne svāhā | marudbhyaṣ paçcātsadbhyo rakṣohābhyas svāhā | somāya :
uttarāsade rakṣoghne svāhā | avaspate divaspate rakṣoghne svāhā | | :
vṛhaspataye antarikṣasade rakṣoghne svāhā *z* 3 *z*

In 1 read rakṣoghne, in 3 rakṣohabhyas, in 4 somāyottarātsade; a possible reading in 5 is avaspataye divassade; in 6 read antarikṣātsade.

55. [f. 41 a, l. 10.]

divo jāto diva :
s putro asmāj jātaṁ sahat saha açvattham agre jāitrāyāt sahadevaṁ dāma :
si | taṁ tvām ā yathā ratham upa tiṣṭhantu rājānas sumatibhyo vi vabhuve | :
tvayā vayaṁ devajātas sarvāṣ prā çocayāmasi | uta satyā utānṛ :
taḥ yo açvatthena mittreṇa sumatīr iva gacchati jayaç ca sarva :
ṣ pṛtanā yāç ca satyā utānṛtaḥ adharāñco ni druvantu sumatyā :
ululākṛta | açvattha mittraṁ puruṣaṁ ye vātā pṛdanyā *z* 4 *z* :

The following seems a possible reading: divo jāto divas putro asmāj jātaṁ sahat sahaḥ | açvattho agre jāitrāyāt sahadevaṁ dāmāsi z 1 z taṁ tvām ā yathā rathaṁ upa tiṣṭhantu rājānaḥ | samṛtibhyo vāi vibhuve z 2 z tvayā vayaṁ devajāta sārvāṣ pra çocayāmasi | uta satyā utānṛtāh z 3 z yo açvatthena

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mitreṇa samṛtīr iva gacchati | jayac ca sarvāṣ pṛtanā yāç ca satyā utānṛtāḥ z 4 z adharāñco ni dravantu samṛtyā ululākṛtāḥ | açvattha mitram puruṣam ye 'vātāṣ pṛtanyanti z 5 z 4 z

The emendations are rather bold but in keeping with the evident intent of the charm: cf. Ç. 3. 6.

56. [f. 41 b, l. 1.]

Cf. TS. 5. 5. 10. 3 and 4; Ç. 3. 26 and 27.

ugrā nāma stha teṣāṁ vaṣ puro grahāḥ prācī dik teṣāṁ vo agnir iṣavaḥ:
te no mṛḍāta dvipade catuṣpade teṣāṁ vo yāny āyudhāni vā iṣavas tebhyo:
namas tebhyas svāhā z kravyā nāma stha teṣāṁ vo dakṣiṇād gṛhā dakṣiṇā di:
k teṣāṁ va āpa iṣavaḥ virājo nāma stha teṣāṁ vaḥ paççad gṛhā pratīcī:
dik teṣāṁ vaṣ kāsa iṣavaḥ avasthā nāma stha teṣāṁ vā uttarād gṛhā udī:
cī dik teṣāṁ vo vāta iṣavaḥ uttare ṇāma stha teṣāṁ va upari gṛha:
ūrdhvā dik teṣāṁ vo varṣam iṣavaḥ te no mṛduta dvipade catuṣpade te:
ṣāṁ vo yāny āyudhāni yā iṣavas tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z 5 z:
z anu II z

Read: ugrā nāma stha teṣāṁ vaṣ puro gṛhāḥ prācī dik teṣāṁ vo agnir iṣavaḥ | te no mṛḍata dvipade catuṣpade teṣāṁ vo yāny āyudhāni yā iṣavas tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z 1 z kravyā nāma stha teṣāṁ vo dakṣiṇād gṛhā dakṣiṇā dik teṣāṁ va āpa iṣavaḥ | te no • ◦ ◦ z 2 z virājo nāma stha teṣāṁ vaḥ paççād gṛhāṣ pratīcī dik teṣāṁ vaṣ kāma iṣavaḥ | te no • ◦ ◦ z 3 z avasthā nāma stha teṣāṁ va uttarād gṛhā udīcī dik teṣāṁ vo vāta iṣavaḥ | te no ◦ ◦ ◦ z 4 z uttare nāma stha teṣāṁ va upari gṛhā ūrdhvā dik teṣāṁ vo varṣam iṣavaḥ | te no mṛḍata dvipade catuṣpade teṣāṁ vo yāny āyudhāni yā iṣavas tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z 5 z 5 z anu 11 z

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57. [f. 41 b, l. 9.]

yadīdaṁ divo yady avājagāma yady antarikṣād ya:
di pārthivoyaḥ yadi yajño yajñapate sargas tebhyas sarvebhyo
manasā:
vidhema |

Read ava jagāma in a, perhaps pṛthivyaḥ at end of b; yajñapates in c, and namasā in d.

yam indram āhur yaṁ mitram āhu yama somam
āhuḥ yam agnim ā:
hur yam āhus tebhyas sarvébhyo namasā vidhema |

Read āhur at end of a, yaṁ somam āhur yam agnim āhuḥ for b; for c we might read yaṁ varuṇaṁ vṛhaspatim āhus.

yad indriyā jalpyāḥ:
prordhnavanti svapunaṁ durbhūtam abhi ye ṣinanti | ye
devānām ṛtvijo:
yajñiyānāṁ tebhyas sarvebhyo namasā vidhema |

For a yad indriyayā jalpyā prārdhnavanti would seem possible; in b read svapnaṁ.

ye çsaçāṇā nanama:
sā ni yanti sūryasya raçmīr anu saṁ caranti | ye devānāṁ
dharmadhṛto babhū:
vus tebhyas sarvebhyo namasā vidhema |

In a read çaçamānā namasā, in b raçmīn.

svarbhisiyer abhi ye bhāyanti yebhyaḥ:
[f. 42 a] kṛṇvānti yo rodayanti ye vā strīṇāṁ pratirūpā babhū-
vus tebhyas sarvebhyo namasā:
vidhema z ı z

Read: sūriṣu ye rabhanti ye bhānti †ye bhyaḥ kṛṇvanti† ye rocayanti | ye vā strīṇāṁ pratirūpā babhūvus tebhyas sarvebhyo namasā vidhema z 5 z 1 z

The reading suggested for pāda a is of course only a bare possibility. Several of the pādas of this hymn occur elsewhere also but in dissimilar context.

58. [f. 42 a, l. 2.]

vyāvṛttāu payāu gāvāu viçvāu vijñātata vidveṣaṇaṁ kilāsi:
tayatāināu vy ata dviṣaḥ vi kilīnāv ata dviṣat vāsatībhyas
samābhyaḥ atho:

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lmukam iva khādiram agnir vām astv antarā siṅhas te
cakṣuṣo vyāghraḥ pari:
ṣuṁ jane agnir vastv anterā yathā vāṁ naçāsati vi dyāur
vy ata tad vayās tata ka:
paṭyavaḥ vyā oṣadhe praraspasy agnir iva tam dahaḥ |
vyavāyyaṁtu hṛdayāni vi ci:
ttāni manāṅsi ca atho ya taṁno sañgataṁ tad vām astu
vidhulakam | asti vāiṣāṁ:
vidviṣam ubhāu sannetarā viçvañcāu pary ā vartayetāṁ
yathā vāṁ naçāsati:

z 2 z

The transliteration praraspasy in line 5 is not certain.

It seems pretty clear that six stanzas are intended here, the first to end vy ata dviṣaḥ but out of it I get nothing. Pāda a of st. 2 I cannot reconstruct out of vi kilīnāv ata dviṣat but for bcd it seems possible to read vāsantībhyas samābhyaḥ | atholmukam iva khādiram agnir vām astv antaraḥ. The second hemistich of st. 3 is probably to be read agnir vām astv antaro yathā vāṁ naço asati. St. 4 d is clear as it stands agnir iva taṁ dahaḥ and for pāda a vi dyāur vy ety tad vayas seems possible. For st. 5 we may read vy ava yantu hṛdayāni vi cittāni manāṅsi ca | atho yat tanvo sañgataṁ tad vāṁ astu vidhulakam; it seems possible to connect vidhulakaṁ with vidhura. Though not wholly satisfactory we may read for st. 6 c d viṣvañcāu pary ā vartayetaṁ yathā vāṁ naço asati; and the words ubhāu sannetarā seem good in pāda b.

Other than the above I am unable to suggest anything; it is fairly clear that this is a charm to drive away a disease or demon, perhaps one afflicting cattle.

59. [f. 42a, l. 9.]

Ç. 5. 28. 3—11, 1, 12.

trayaṣ poṣa trivṛtaç çrayantās anaktu pūṣā payasā ghṛtena | :
anyasya bhāumā puruṣa bhāumā bhūmā paçūnāṁ dahi
çrayantāṁ z

In a read poṣās and çrayantām, for c annasya bhūmā puruṣasya bhūmā, and in d ta iha çrayantām.

imam ā:
dityā vasunā sam akṣatesam agne vardhayāmāvṛdhānaḥ
yasmiṁ ttrivṛç chetāṁ:
pūṣayiṣṇur imam indra saṁ sṛjā vīryeṇa |

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Read in ab ukṣatemam, in b vardhaya vāvṛdhānaḥ; in c trivṛc chrayatāṁ poṣayiṣṇur.

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bhūmiṣ ṭvā pātu haritena viçva:
bhir agniḥ pipartu payasā majāiṣā vīrudbhis te arjuno saṁ-
vidānaṁ va:
rco dadhātu sumanasyamānaṁ

In a read viçvabhṛd, in b sajoṣāḥ; in c arjunaṁ, °mānam at end of d.

dvedhā jātaṁ janmanedaṁ hiraṇyaṁm agner ekaṁ:
priyataṁ babhūvaḥ somasyāikāṁ hiṁsitasya parāpatad apām
ekaṁ ve:
daso retāhus tat te hiraṇyaṁ trivṛtāstv āyuṣe

In a read tredhā and hiraṇyam, in b priyatamaṁ babhūva, in c somasyāikaṁ and parāpatat (before colon); in d vedhaso reta āhus, in e trivṛd astv.

triyāyuṣaṁ jamadagneṣ ka:
çyapasya triyāyuṣaṁ tredhāmṛtasya cakṣaṇaṁ trīṇy āyūṁṣi
nas kṛdhi |

In b read triyāyuṣam, in d naṣ.

tra:
yas s*parṇās travitāyam ekākṣaram abhisaṁbhūya çakrā
praty ūha mṛ:
* * * * *na viçvā z divas tvā pātu haritaṁ ma:

In a read suparṇās trivṛtā yad āyann, in b çakrāḥ; for the second hemistich praty āuhan mṛtyum amṛtena sākam antar dadhānā duritāni viçvā.

Inasmuch as f. 42 b is badly defaced I give now all that is legible on it.

*na viçvā z divas tvā pātu haritaṁ ma
*ya pātu pra harād devapurāyaṁ imāsti
*taḥ tāṁs tvaṁ bibhratāyuṣmān varcasvān utta
*amṛtaṁ hiraṇyaṁ yābhedeḥ prathamo devo a
*ṇomy anu manyatāṁ trivṛtā vadhena | nava prā
*īr*āyutvāya çataçāradāya harite trī
ṇ rajasāviṣṭitāni | a ta tritattva
*harjātassa yan nāma tena te ci çṛ
*z 3 z yajñentam tapasā vṛ
*y*niḥ upah*tāgne jarasaṣ parastā
*pati gṛhṇāti vidvān vṛ
*s*ād a

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Drawing on Ç. to fill the lacunae we may read the remaining stanzas as follows: divas tvā pātu haritaṁ madhyāt tvā pātv arjunam | bhūmyā ayasmayaṁ pātu prāharad devapurā ayam z 7 z imās tisro devapurās tās tvā rakṣantu sarvataḥ | tās tvaṁ bibhrad ayuṣmān varcasvān uttaro dviṣitāṁ bhava z 8 z puraṁ devānām amṛtaṁ hiraṇyaṁ ya ābedhe prathamo devo agre | tasmāi namo daça prācīḥ kṛṇomy anu manyatāṁ trivṛd ābadhe me z 9 z nava prāṇān navabhis saṁ mimīte dīrghāyutvāya çataçāradāya | harite trīṇi rajate trīṇy ayasi trīṇi rajasāviṣṭitāni z 10 z ā tvā cṛtatv aryamā pūṣā vṛhaspatiḥ | aharjātasya yan nāma tena te 'ti cṛtāmasi z 11 z 3 z

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60.

Ç. 6. 122. 4 and 1.

The visible fragments of the last four lines of f. 42b (given above) are clearly parts of Ç. 6. 122; Whitney reports st. 2 and 3 as being in Pāipp. 16. Drawing from Ç. we may get the following possible reconstruction: yajñaṁ yantaṁ tapasā vṛhantam anv ā rohāmi manasā sayoniḥ | upahūtā agne jarasaṣ parastāt tṛtīye nāke sadhamādaṁ madema z 1 z taṁ prajānan prati gṛhṇāti vidvān vṛhaspatiḥ prathamajā ṛtasya | asmābhir dattaṁ jarasaṣ parastād acchinnaṁ tantum anu saṁ tarema z 2 z * * * * * * * * *

61. [f. 43a, l. 1.]

* * * * * * * * *

ne | paspāri viçvā bhuvanāni g*pā antarikṣasya * * * vi * * *
nā bilaṁ te ghṛtaççutaṁ nadīnāṁ pathe suçrutaṁ juhomi | pravidvān * *
mumugdhi pāçānyasya pattri vidhavā yathāsat. | anātureṇa varuṇ* *
the no svastibhir ati durgāṇi veṣyat. | tam açvinā pratigṛhyā svast*
doṣavena pūṣa se saṁ pra yacchāt. z 5 z anuvākaṁ 12 zz

Read: * | paspāra viçvā bhuvanāni gopā antarikṣasya mahato vimānaḥ z z * *nā bilaṁ te ghṛtaççutaṁ nadīnāṁ patye suçrutaṁ juhomi | pravidvān* *mumugdhi †pāç anyasya patnī vidhavā yathāsat z z anātureṇa varuṇ* *the no svastibhir ati durgāṇi vikṣat | tam açvinā pratigṛhyā svastaye †doṣavena pūṣā me saṁ pra yacchāt z z 5 z anuvākaḥ 12 z

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Of course it is impossible to know how many stanzas preceded these, but it seems probable to me that the hymn originally contained five; for six, or possibly seven, lines stood after the last line visible on f. 42 b and probably not more than two lines are broken from the top of f. 43: about that amount of space would be required for the last three stanzas of no. 60 (if it had five) and the first two and a half of no. 61.

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62. [f. 43 a, l. 5.]

ye piç*
cā imāṁ vidyam ākūtiṁ mohayantu naḥ teṣāṁ tvam agne
nāçaya varca*
ttam atho prajāṁ nāçayāgne piçācānaṁ varcaç cittam atho
prajānāṁ yath*
çāṁ mahyaṁ dhārayathāhaṁ kāmayantu me | āçāṁ myahaṁ
rādhatv indriyeṇa
* *tāṁ tvam agne kravyādas sarvāṅ piçācāṅ arciṣā daha
prati dah*
* *dānāṅ sūra devāṅ vicarṣaṇa yo no durasyād veṣaṇa
yathāçaṁ
* *naḥ enaṣ paçugmitsaṅty āçāyāṁ puruṣeṣu ca | tāṅs
tvaṁ sahasra
* * *pi* *i* ṣā* *ha z * z* * * * * *

Read: ye piçācā imāṁ vidyām ākūtiṁ mohayanti naḥ | teṣāṁ tvam agne nāçaya varcaç cittam atho prajām z 1 z nāçayāgne piçācānāṁ varcaç cittam atho prajām | yathāçāṁ mahyaṁ dhāraya yathā ha kāmayantu me z 2 z āçāṁ mahyaṁ rādhayatv indriyeṇa * * *tām | tvam agne kravyādas sarvān piçācāṅ arciṣā daha z 3 z prati daha yatudhānān sūra devān vicarṣaṇīn | yo no durasyād veṣaṇaṁ yathāçāṁ * * * naḥ z 4 z ye naṣ paçūn agna icchanty āçāyāṁ puruṣeṣu ca | tāṅs tvaṁ sahasracakṣasaṣ piçācāṅ arciṣā daha z 5 z 1 z

64. [f. 43 b, l. 1.]

* * * * * * * * * *
mi rekṣatiṁ devānāṁ sarveṣāṁ sajātānā * d*v* nirṛtir h* *:
*açyapasya pratisaro dyāuṣ pitā pṛthivī mātā yathābhi
cakru devā :
s tathābhi kṛṇutā punaḥ yāṣ kṛtyā nīlavatī yāṣ kṛtyāṣ
paçyāvatīḥ :

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kṛtyā yāç cakrun lohinīs tā ito nāçayāmasi | yadivā yad i :
mā jāhur ime bhadrāsi sunvati | kṛtyāsi kalyāṇy asi sāmuṁ
kartā :
rasvaṁ jahi z 3 z.

Beginning with the second line visible on this page we have the last three stanzas of the third hymn in anuvāka 13; the first one of these is very near Ç. 3. 9. 1. The following gives some emendations which seem possible: kaçyapasya pratisaro dyāuṣ pitā pṛthivī mātā | yathābhi cakra devās tathābhi kṛṇutā punaḥ z z yāṣ kṛtyā nīlavatīr yāṣ kṛtyāṣ peçyavatīḥ | kṛtyā yāç cakrur lohinīs tā ito nāçayāmasi z z †yadivā yad imā jāhur ime† bhadrāsi sunvatī | kṛtyāsi kalyāṇy asi sāmuṁ kartāramyaṁ jahi z z 3 z

The first stanza varies decidedly from Ç in pāda a, where Ç has karçaphasya viçaphasya. The form peçyavant is not in the lexicon, but it seems a possible formation from piç. For pāda a of the last stanza we might read yad devā yad imāç cāhur; aramyam in pāda d is not satisfactory. The general sphere of the hymn seems to be indicated in the second stanza.

65. [f. 43 b, l. 6.]

vṛhat te varcaṣ pṛthatām apa dyāṁ mittrebhy eti :
sudubhis suvarcaḥ ṛte rājā varuṇo vravītu tasmāt tvaṁ
haviṣā bhāga :
dāma z çataṁ heman tāṁ daçayā sapattrāṁ viças tvā sarvān
guṅguvo bhava :
ntu z ya stotipānāṁ praty ut pātayas tvā sujāto vilahā
tvam n*ica z :
indras tvaṁ yoktre adhime vinakty asmāi yas tvā yacchan-
daṁ pratyuṁ si* * :
sbhā jigīṣāṁ pṛtanas saparye vṛhas tam avajaṅghanī* * * :
rāsya te baliṁ soma sṛjātān upa saṁ * * :
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
[f. 44 a.] ro abhya prayuñga damayā sapatnān. | ṛte rājā
varuṇo vravītu tasmāt tvaṁ :
haviṣā bhāgadāsa z çataṁ heman tāṁ damayā sapatnāṁ
viças tvā sarvā :
n guṅguvo bhavantu z 4 z

The number of lines lost from f. 43 cannot be ascertained, but it is probable that this hymn contained not less than six stanzas. In the last stanza it may be possible to read in b

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bhāgadhā asaḥ, in c hemān tān damaya, in d viças tvās sarvā guñgavo. In the first stanza in pāda a it seems possible to read prathatām abhi, in b mitro 'bhy and suvarcāḥ (but I see nothing for sudubhis), and the next two pādas as in the final stanza. Further than these I cannot make suggestions: this seems to be a charm for the increase of a king's glory and dominion.

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66. [f. 44 a, l. 3.]

bhagāya rājñe prathamaṁ juhomi viçve devā ḥ
uttare mādayantāṁ z uçaṁ patnībhya uçatībhya ābhyaḥ
patim agni ā vaha ḥ
rātahavyā |

In b read mādayantām followed by colon; in d agna and rātahavya.

patiṁ vṛṇīṣva haviṣā gṛṇānas tam ā vahat savita tam te a ḥ
gniḥ tam iṁdra masmi çataçāradāya bhagabhaktā bhaga-
vatī suvīrāḥ | ḥ

In a gṛṇānā is probably the better reading, in b savitā: in c we seem to have indra but masmi I cannot solve; in d read suvīrā.

yam arṣā saṁ patim asye dideṣita janed icchantaṁ tam iyā
vahāsi | ḥ
sumañgaly apatighnī suṣevā rāyas poṣeṇa uciṣā sutasva

In a we may read asyāi dideçitha, but for arṣā I have nothing; in b it seems clear that we must read tam ihā vahāsi and icchantaṁ fits the connection very well, but jane dhitsantaṁ is a possibility, I think. In d we may read sam iṣā sṛjasva.

yat te pa ḥ
tim aryamā jāyamānāṁ yāṁ dhātā ca kalpajam ihā vahāsi | a ḥ
bhi vareṇa haviṣā juhomi | prajāṁ nāitu sumanasyamānāṁ

In a read jāyamānaṁ, in b yaṁ and kalpajām; in d nayatu.

patiṁ te dyā ḥ
vāpṛthivī a dhātāṁ patiṁ mittrāvaruṇā vāto gniḥ saptar-
ṣayo di ḥ
tis soma indras te tvā devāṣ pativatnī kṛṇvantu z 5 z anu
13 zz ḥ

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Read: patiṁ te dyāvāpṛthivī ā dhātāṁ mitrāvaruṇā vāto ʿgniḥ | saptarṣayo ʿditis soma indras te tvā devāṣ pativatīṁ kṛṇvantu z 5 z 5 z anu 13 z

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67. [f. 44 a, l. 13.]

yaç tvārāya pra viveça jānur jānivāṭ uta | atho tanvaṁ
paspṛça ta :
m ito nin nayāmasi.

The ms. is slightly cracked and the first of pāda a is not clear. In a read yas tvārāyaṣ, for b I have no suggestion: in c read pasparça, in d nir.

niṣ ṭvārāya nayāmasi | ya imān pra vive :
çataḥ ātmānam asya mā hiṅsīr anyatra cara meha bhūḥ |

For b read ya imāṁ pra viveçitha, with colon following: in c asyā.

yejarā :
yemām upāyasi dhehasyāi rayipoṣaṇam. prajāṁ ca tasyā
mā hiṅ :
sīr anyatra cara meha bhūḥ |

In a I think we must read yo ʿrāyemām, in b dhehy asyāi rāyas •.

yejarāye vihāyasi hanāmi vī :
rudhā tvā | atho khanatramīs tvā varṣeṇa yathā bhagaṁ

For a we might read yo ʿrāyemāṁ vyāyasi; for the second hemistich I have no suggestions.

yejarāyā :
[f. 44 b.] sūryaṁ stṛṣu yam āvato kyaṁ yat pāutṛṣadyaṁ
dāurbhāgyaṁ tam ito ṇir nayāmasi z 1 :

For a we might read yo ʿrāyas sūryaṁ strīṣu, but b seems hopeless and so leaves us uncertain about a: with pāutrasadyaṁ the second hemistich can stand. The stanza is number 5, the hymn number 1 (in anu 14).

68. [f. 44 b, l. 2.]

agner vo balavato balena manyu vya nayāmasi | indrasya
vas somasya vaḥ vṛhaspa .
ter vaṣ prajāpater vo balavato balena manyur va nayāmasi |
yat te sūryaṁ divi deve :
ṣu varcas tasya no dehi tamasi pracetāṁ ahaṁ ca vigras
tviṣitas tviṣīmān i :
māṁ vācaṁ vi çākṣīya z 2 z

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Read: agner vo balavato balena manyum ava nayāmasi | indrasya vo • • | somasya vo • • | vṛhaspater vo • • | prajāpater vo balavato manyum ava nayāmasi | yat te sūrya divi deveṣu varcas tasya no dehi tamasi pracetasaḥ z ahaṁ ca vigras tviṣitas tviṣīmān imāṁ vācaṁ vi cakṣīya z 2 z

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We might also read vi nayāmasi, and dhehi might be even better than dehi. If the formulae are to be numbered it seems that we must count six.

69. [f. 44 b, l. 5.]

vātaṣ purastāt pavamena bhasvān namas te : vidma te nāmadheyaṁ mā no hiṅsīḥ tapodaṣ puro dakṣiṇataḥ pavamena bhasvā : n namas te vidma te nāmadheyaṁ mā no hiṅsīḥ | viçvāyur viçvajanīnaṣ pratī : cyā diçaṣ pavamena bhasvān. namas te vidma te nāmadheyaṁ mā no hiṅsīḥ z : çivo vāiçvadeva udīcyā diçaṣ pavamena bhasvān. namas te vidma te nāmadhe : yaṁ mā no hiṅsīḥ z atiṣṭhāvā bārhaspatya ūrdhvāyā diçaṣ pavamena bha : svān. namas te vidma te nāmadheyaṁ mā no hiṅsīḥ z 3 z iti ṣaḍṛta : sūktam. z z

Read: vātaṣ purastāt †pavamena bhāsvān namas te vidma te nāmadheyaṁ mā no hiṅsīḥ z 1 z tapodāṣ puro dakṣiṇataḥ †pavamena • • z 2 z viçvāyur viçvajanīnaṣ pratīcyā diçaṣ †pavamena • • z 3 z çivo vāiçvadeva udīcyā diçaṣ †pavamena • • z 4 z atiṣṭhāvā bārhaspatya ūrdhvāyā diçaṣ †pavamena bhāsvān namas te vidma te nāmadheyaṁ mā no hiṅsīḥ z 5 z 3 z iti ṣaḍṛcasūktam z z

In the margin opposite this hymn is written ṣaḍṛtasūktaṁ vātā purastāt. Probably pavamanena should stand for pavamena.

70. [f. 44 b, l. 12.]

apa dyor apā utanad apaskadya vaded ahiṁ kalyāṇy āyatāḥ : smṛtaṁ sumanas santu vidyataḥ |

In a it seems possible to read apo dyor apa uttarād, in b apaskandya vadhed ahim: in c I think we should have kalyāṇī, followed by āyātāḥ rather than āyatāḥ; smṛtaṁ is hardly

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satisfactory and I have thought of ṛtaṁ, but no suggestions can be made with confidence; for d it seems as if we must read sumanasas santu vidyutaḥ.

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yat parjas tayitnussa saṁ saṁ vyatate jagat. pa : tantu dvitīyā trayāvatī pṛthivī prati modate |

The transliteration of pāda a is not certain owing to a crack in the ms. We may read for ab yat parjanyas tanayitnus saṁ saṁ vyathate jagat: in c patanti would seem better, and if a form of dvitīya is to stand it would probably be dvitīyās; trayāvatī cannot stand, I think, and tṛṣyāvatī would be a pretty emendation though the change to twelve syllables for d is rather sudden; if tṛṣyāvatī seems worth consideration I would be inclined to push conjecture a little further and read in c udanvatīr yās. Cf. RV. 5. 83. 9.

eṣenābhy arkam dīvṛkāçve : dhenuṁ kām iva ahiṁs tvaṁ vidyutāṁ jahi māsmakaṁ puruṣāṁ vadhīḥ |

Pāda b seems to end with iva, before which gām is probable though dhenukām is possible; one may suspect that the syllables ṛkāçve are a corruption of ṛṣabho or else of a verb-form from the root arc, while the letters dīv could lead us in several directions: I think the import of the hemistich is 'the thunders roar lustily.' For cd we may read ahīṁs tvaṁ vidyutāṁ jahi māsmākaṁ puruṣaṁ vadhīḥ.

abhikra : ndāḥ stanayitnor avasphūrjad açanyā uta | devā maruto mṛdata naḥ pātu no : duritād avadyāt.

Read abhikrandaḥ in a and avāsphūrjad in b; the hemistich in this form is slightly asymmetrical but it results from the simplest emendation: in c read mṛḍata (the ms. so corrects), in d pāntu.

vīcite pari ṇo nama ādityaç carma yacchata | yūyata : parṇino çaram utāparṇo ṛṣādaça z 4 z

Read: vṛjīte pari ṇo nama ādityāç çarma yacchata | yuyota parṇinaṁ çaram utāparṇaṁ riçādasaḥ z 5 z 4 z.

The first pāda is a variant of Ç. 1. 2. 2 a.

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71. [f. 44b, l. 18.]

Cf. Ç. 5. 14.

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kṛtavyadhana vidva taṁ yaç ca:
kāra tam ij jahi da tvām icakliṣe vayaṁ vadhāya çaṁ sasī-
mahe yathā:
[f. 45a] tvā devy oṣadhaṁ pratīcīnaṁ phalaṁ kṛtaṁ evā tvāṁ
kṛtyane kṛtaṁ hastigrīha parā:
yanaḥ punaṣ kṛtyāṁ kṛtyākṛte pratīcīnaṁ phalaṁ kṛtam.
evā tvaṁ kṛtyane kṛ:
taṁ hastigrī parā nayaḥ punaṣ kṛtyā kṛtāṁkṛtī go dhenukā
vaṭuṁ muṁ nayat. | :
çaktur vyaçaktupeçyaṁ pratīcīṣ prati tad vasat. yān te
cakrur vantaneṣu va:
ntā kūkhur vratāsu ca maṇḍūke kṛtyāṁ yāṁ cakrus tayā
kṛtyākṛto jahi:
agnir vāituṣ pratikūlām anukūlam ivodakaṁ çuke rathāi-
vartatāṁ kṛtyekṛtyā:
kṛtaṁtāḥ z 5 z anu 14 z

It will be noted that the ms. writes the four pādas beginning pratīcīnaṁ phalaṁ twice; evidently a dittography. Stanzas 1 and 5 here are 9 and 13 of Ç. 5. 14, and Ç. 5. 14. 4ab also appears; with st. 4 cf. Ç. 4. 17. 4.

Read: kṛtavyadhani vidhya taṁ yaç cakāra tam ij jahi | na tvām acakruṣe vayaṁ vadhāya saṁ çiçīmahi z 1 z yathā tvaṁ devy oṣadhīnāṁ pratīcīnaphalaṁ kṛtam | evā tvaṁ kṛtyena krtaṁ hastagṛhya parā nayaḥ z 2 z punaṣ kṛtyāṁ kṛtyākṛte gāur dhenukā †vaṭuṁ muṁ† nayat | †çaktur vyaçaktupeçyaṁ† pratīcīṣ prati tad vasat z 3 z yāṁ te cakrur vartaneṣu †vantā kūkhur vratāsu ca† | maṇḍūke kṛtyāṁ yāṁ cakrus tayā kṛtyākṛto jahi z 4 z agnir ivāitu pratikūlam anukūlam ivodakam | sukho ratha iva vartatāṁ kṛtyā kṛtyākṛtaṁ punaḥ z 5 z 5 z anu 14 z

In st. 2b the neuter is difficult but not impossible, I think. In st. 3b vatsaṁ nayat would be a good reading; and in 3d perhaps pratīcī would be better.

72. [f. 45a, l. 7.]

agnir dyumnena sūryo jyotiṣā dyāur mahi:
mnā antarikṣa vyacasā diçāçābhiṣ pṛthivī payobhir idaṁ
rāṣṭraṁ vardhaya:
ntu prajāvat. |

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Read antarikṣaṁ, diça āçābhiḥ and payobhiḥ, punctuating after each pair of words down to idaṁ.

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tvāṣṭā rūpeṇa savitā savena ahar mittreṇa varuṇena rātrī: pūṣā puṣṭīr bhagaṁsena bhagaday idaṁ rāṣṭraṁ vardhayantu prajāvat.

Read mitreṇa, puṣṭibhiḥ, and possibly bhāgadheyena bhāgadhā.

yāni vi: çvakarmāṇi jaghāna medimaṁtarā dyākāpṛthivī ubhe | tasyāhuḥ kṣa: ttriyaṁ garbhaṁ pari mā vapathā mūrdhani cārayasva

We may feel certain in reading dyāvāpṛthivī, kṣatriyaṁ and dhārayasva; viçvakarmā ni would seem a better reading: it is probable that antarā stands before dyāvā°, and sedima is possible palaeographically, giving sedimāntarā.

çchandāṁsy ābhito mayūkhā[sto: mā tumā ya jarasyāḥ purīṣaṁ tasyāhuḥ kṣattriyaṁ nirmitaṁ pari mā va: patthā mūrdhani dhārayasva |

We might read: chandāṁsy abhito mayūkhās stomān †tumā ye jarasyāḥ | purīsaṁ tasyāhuḥ kṣatriyaṁ nirmitaṁ° °z 4 z

parāṇi tasya vratathā yāpi mahati madaspa: daṁ kṛṇuṣva durdharāya vā mā tvā dabhaṁ sapattrā dipsatus tava rāṣṭra: m uttamaṁ dyumnam astu z 1 z

Read: parāṇi tasya †vratathā yābhi sahate sadaspadaṁ kṛṇuṣva durdharāya vā | mā tvā dabhan sapatnā dipsatas tava rāṣṭram uttamaṁ dyumnam astu z 5 z 1 z

73. [f. 45a, l. 16.]

idaṁ taṁ mittrāvaruṇā havir vāṁ yenāgre: devā amṛtatvam āyan. | yenāsmāi kṣattram adhi dhārayojo sapattrāṣ pra: diças santv asmāi |

Read tan mitrā° in a, kṣatram in c, and dhārayāujo 'sapatnāṣ in cd.

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ghṛtasya dhārā mittrāvaruṇā duha vāṁ dhenur anupa:
[f. 45 b] sphurantī deva savitota vāyur agnir bhūtasya patir iha
www.libtool.com.cn çarma yacchāt. |

Read mitrā• in a, duhe in b; devas in c.

çaṁ nas taṁ:
mittrāvaruṇā gṛṇītāṁ tredhā mitrā bahudhā vaçerāṁ jayate
seno apa gho:
ṣa etat pṛthak satvāno bahudhā bhavantāṁ

In a read tan mitrā•, in b vaçeran; in c read eti, and if seno (= senā) does not seem acceptable we will have to read senāpa or jayante senā.

hanāma mitrāvaruṇā samitrāṁ bha:
vāsa bhadre sukṛtasya loke pārayān nas savitā devo agnir
jayāmedaṁ ha:
viṣā kaçyapasya |

In a it almost seems that we must read amitrān; in b read bhavāma, in c parāyan.

vāto yaṁ mittrāvaruṇā tad āha haviṣy antaraṁ
nirmitaṁ ka:
çyapasya adhvaryavo marutā yasyāsan tena devebhyo varu-
ṇāni cakruḥ:
oṁ tena devebhyo varimāṇi cakruḥ z 2 z

Read: vāto yan mitrāvaruṇā tad aha haviṣy antaraṁ nirmitaṁ kaçyapasya | adhvaryavo maruto yasyāsan tena devebhyo varimāṇi cakruḥ z 5 z 2 z

74. [f. 45 b, l. 7.]

Ç. 3. 3.

asikrat svapā iha bhava:
d agne dambha rodasī urūcī | amuṁ naya namamā rāta-
havyo yuñjanti supraja:
saṁ pañca janāḥ |

For this stanza cf. RV. 6. 11. 4 and MS. 4. 14. 15. Read in a acikradat, in b dambhaya where Ç. has vyacasva; in c namasā rātahavyaṁ.

dūre diçchantam arçāsa indraṁ ā çyāvayantu
sakhyāya ri:
puṁ yadi gāyatriyaṁ vṛhatīm arkam asmāi sāutrāmaṇyā
dadṛçantu devāḥ | :

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In a read cit santam aruṣāsa, in b cyāva° and vipram; in c yad gāyatrīṁ, and in d dadhṛṣanti.

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adbhyas tvā rājā varuṇo juhāva somas tvāyaṁ hvayati parvatebhyaḥ indras tvā :
yaṁ hvayati viḍbhyābhyaḥ çyeno bhūtvā viṣā patemaç

In c read viḍbhya ābhyaç, and in d viça ā patemāḥ.

çyeno havin nayatv ā para :
smād anyakṣettre aparuṣyaṁ carantaṁ açvināṁ panthāṁ kṛṇutāṁ sajan te garbhaṁ :
sajātā abhi saṁ ṣaṁ viçadhvaṁ

In a read havir, in b anyakṣetre aparuddhaṁ carantam; in c açvinā and sugaṁ, in d abhi saṁviçadhvam.

çyeno haviṣ kaçyapasyopa çikṣe indraṁ vātaḥ pra : hito dūtā vā viṣi ya catrun. | senāgrāī viṣo vṛṣaṇāno adharā kāsī :

Reading çikṣaty we can get a good pāda a; and for pāda d we might consider as a possibility viço vṛṣan ā no adharāñ carāsi: the form viṣi is probably for viçi, and senāgrāi for senāgre, but for the rest I have nothing.

yas te havaṁ prati niṣṭyāt sajātā uta niṣṭyā z 2 z apāta indra tāṁ :
mītvāyatheham ava gāyaḥ

Read: yas te havaṁ prati tiṣṭhat sajātā uta niṣṭyaḥ | apāñcam indra taṁ mītvāthemam ava gamaya z 6 z

hvayanti tvā pañca janyāḥ pati mitrāvarṣa :
ta indrāgnī viçve devā viçi kṣemam adhīdharaṁ z 3 z

Read: hvayantu tvā pañca janāḥ prati mitrā avṛṣata | indrāgnī viçve devās te viçi kṣemam adīdharan z 7 z 3 z

75. [f. 45b, l. 18.]

prajāpatir a :
nuvartis sa prajābhir anuvantiḥ sa mānuvarti anuvantiṁ kṛṇotu | :
[f. 46a] **indro nuvantis sa vīryeṇānuvartis somo nuvantis sa oṣadhībhir anuvartiḥ :**
āpo nuvartayas tāṣ parjanyenānuvartayaḥ tā mānuvartayor anuvartiṁ kṛṇo :

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tu | devānuvartayas te mṛtenānuvartayaḥ te mānuvartayor anuvartiṁ kṛ:
ṇotu z 4 z

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Read: prajāpatir anuvartis sa prajābhir anuvartiḥ | sa mānuvartir anuvartiṁ kṛṇotu z 1 z indro 'nuvartis sa vīryeṇānuvartiḥ | sa • • • • z 2 z somo 'nuvartis sa oṣadhībhir anuvartiḥ | sa • • • ◦ z 3 z āpo 'nuvartayas tāṣ parjanyenānuvartayaḥ | te mānuvartayo anuvartiṁ kṛṇvantu z 4 z devā anuvartayas te 'mṛtenānuvartayaḥ | te mānuvartayo anuvartiṁ kṛṇvantu z 5 z 4 z

76. [f. 46a, l. 4.]

payo mahyam oṣadhayaṣ payo me vīrudho dadhaṁ | apāṁ payasvā:
d yat payas tenve varṣantu vṛṣṭayaḥ

In b read dadhan, in c payasvad and in d tad me.

payo mahyaṁ parasvanto hastino me payo dadhaṁ | pa:
yaṣ patatriṇo mahyaṁ vīṇayā me payo dadhaṁ |

In b read dadhan, also in d.

payasvāndre kṣettram astu paya:
svad ṛtu dhāṁ | ahaṁ payasvān bhūyāsaṁ gāvo mota payasvatīḥ

For ab read payasvan me kṣetram astu payasvad uta me dhāman; read ma uta in d.

payo mahyam a:
psarasaṁ gandharvā me payo dadhaṁ | payo me viçvā bhūtāni vāto dadhātu me pa:
yaḥ

In a read apsaraso, in b dadhan.

payo mahyaṁ dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣaṁ payo dadhat. | payo me viçvā bhū:
tāni dhātā dadhātu me payaḥ

payaṣ pṛthivyāṁ paya oṣadhīṣu payo dhi:
vy antarikṣa payo dhaḥ payasvatīṣ pradiças santu mahyam. z z:
z 5 z anu 15 z

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Read: payaṣ pṛthivyāṁ paya oṣadhīṣu payo divy antarikṣe dhāḥ | payasvatīṣ pradiças santu mahyam z 6 z 5 z anu 15 z

For the last stanza cf. VS. 18. 36; MS. 2. 12. 1, and others.

In the margin opposite st. 1 is written payaṣ pṛthivyāṁ •.

77. [f. 46a, l. 12.]

ahaṁ bibharmi te mano ahaṁ cittaṁ ahaṁ vra:
vrataṁ mamed apa kratāv aso mamāsaç ced asīdapi | āmnā-
sāistrā saṁhi:
te ramatāṁ mano mayi te ramatāṁ manaḥ āṁjanasya
madhuṣasya kuṣṭhasya na:
latasya ca | vīrodīkasya mūlena mukhena mardanaṁ kṛtaṁ
madhu me antar ā:
sya mukhena mandanaṁ kṛtam. | tatro tvaṁ vivartasva
narācī iva vartasi | :
yathā nemī rathacakraṁ samantaṁ pari ṣasvaje evā pari
ṣasva mā yathā:
[f. 46b] **saṁ payite manaḥ z 1 z**

The sphere of this is clear, it is a love-charm; cf. Ç. 6. 102 and the many others. The division of the pādas presented by the ms. into stanzas, and the details of emendation raise many difficulties which cannot be convincingly settled. The last stanza is perfectly clear and is equivalent to Ç. 6. 8. 1: read ṣvajasva māṁ in c and payate in d. We may feel sure, I think, that the next to the last stanza begins madhu me; it seems possible to read for the first hemistich madhu mayy antar ā syān mukhena mardanaṁ kṛtam: in pāda c, read tatra, and at the end of d perhaps vartāse, but for narācī I can suggest nothing unless we take an entirely different turn and read the hemistich tatra tvaṁ vāi varcasvān araṇī iva vartasi.

Another stanza is as follows: āñjanasya madughasya kuṣṭhasya naladasya ca | vīrudhas tasyā • • kṛtam; but the emendation in pāda c is not very forceful. To start now with the first words, reading vratam in b and mamed aha in c we get three pādas of st. 1, and in view of Ç. 1. 34. 2 I think we might read for d mama cittam ā sīdāsi (Ç. • upāyasi). In the remaining part we find a whole pāda written twice, the correct form being mayi te ramatāṁ manaḥ (Ç. 6. 102. 2d has veṣṭatāṁ) which would be a good fifth pāda for st. 1 were it not for the intervening letters āmnāsāistrā and these seem beyond emendation.

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78. [f. 46 b, l. 1.]

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yathedam açvinā triṇaṁ vāto havatu bhūmyāṁ e:
vā vayaṁ vahāmasi yāṁ vayaṁ kāmayāmahe |

Read tṛṇaṁ in a, vahati bhūmyām in b.

utvā mātā sthāpayatu pra:
tvā nudatām açvinā | dā çvaçur iva mātaraṁ mām evājotu
te manaḥ

Read ut tvā in a, probably sā çvaçrūr in c and evārṇotu in d.

yathā:
kṣīraṁ ca sarpiç ca manuṣyāṇāṁ hṛye priyam. | evāham
asyā nārīyā:
hṛdo bhūyāsam uttamaḥ

Read hṛde in b, nāryā in c.

agneṣ ṭvā tapas tapatu vātasya vrāji mā spṛkṣa tā:
ni ṣadanāni mādhava ut tiṣṭha prehy agnivat te kṛṇomi

In b read dhrājir mā spṛkṣat, in c sādhāva.

sūryas tvā tapas tapa:
tu vātasya vrāji mā spṛkṣa tāti ṣadanāni mādhava ut tiṣṭha
prehi sū:
ryavat te kṛṇomi z 2 z

Read: sūryas tvā tapas tapatu vātasya dhrājir mā spṛkṣat |
tāni ṣadanāni sādhāva ut tiṣṭha prehi sūryavat te kṛṇomi z 5
z 2 z

79. [f. 46 b, l. 8.]

hiraṇyapuṣpī subhagā rūpaç cāyaṁ sumaṅgala:
tāv enāṁ bhadrayā dattām amṛtāv amṛte bhage

Read sumaṅgalaḥ in b.

hiraṇyapiḍvaṁ haritaṁ tat te aṅge:
ṣu rohati tenemām açvinā nārī bhagenābhi ṣiñcataṁ

In a read hiraṇyapiṇḍaṁ, in c nārīṁ, in d siñcatām.

yathā rūpasudhṛta:
s tṛpyanto yanti kāminaḥ evā tvā sarve devarāḥ petayo
yaṁtu kāminaḥ:

In d read pretāro yantu.

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hiraṇyākṣa madhuvarṇo hiraṇyaparicantane aṅkaṁ hiraṇya yas tuva tenā:

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syāiḥ patim ā vaha

Read: hiraṇyakṣo madhuvarṇo hiraṇyaparicchandanaḥ | aṅko hiraṇyo yas tava tenāsyāi ◦ ◦.

yadi vāspa dirocanaṁ yadi vā nabhyas tira | yaṁ tvā ma:

hyam oṣadhir aṁkena ma nyānaya z 3 z

This stanza appears Ç. 7. 38. 5, which has tirojanam in a; this seems to me better than the tirocanam of the commentator. Read: yadi vāsi tirojanaṁ yadi vā nadyas tiraḥ | iyaṁ tvā mahyam oṣadhir aṅkena me nyānayat z 5 z 3 z

80. [f. 46 b, l. 14.]

punaṣ prāṇaṁ punar apānum a:

smāi punar vyānam uta soma dhehi | ātmānaṁ cakṣur udite samānas tam anu pā:

hi tam anu jīva jāgavi |

Read apānam in a, adite in c and probably samānaṁ; in d jīvaṁ jāgṛhi: the omission of the second anu would improve the metre.

tvāṣṭā rūpeṇa savitā savena ahar mitreṇa:

varuṇena rātrī indro jyeṣṭhena vrahmaṇāya vṛhaspatiḥ pūṣāsmāi puna:

[f. 47 a] r asaṁ dadhātu

Read asuṁ in d; dadātu would be better too, in view of st. 5 d and RV. 10. 59. 7 a punar no asuṁ pṛthivī dadātu.

yathādityā vasavo ye ca rudrā viçve devā aditir yā ca rā:

trī yajño bhagas savitā ye ca | devā yamo smāi punar asaṁ dadhātu |

Read 'smāi and asuṁ in d; the colon should follow rātrī.

somo rājā:

asucit te punar mā indro marudbhir açvinā te bhiṣaj yad agnī rudro vasuvi:

t ta punar dāt.

The first pāda of this stanza seems to have been lost; for pāda b I read somo rājā vasuvit te punar dāt: pāda c begins with indro; read te in d.

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punar dyāur devī punantarikṣam agnir vātaḥ pavamāno bhiṣajya:
tu | grāhyāṣ pāçāṁ nirṛtyāṣ pāçāṁ mṛtyoḥ parçād vāk ca devī punar da:
dātu z 4 z

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Read: punar dyāur devī punar antarikṣam agnir vātaṣ pavamāno bhiṣajyatu | grāhyāṣ pāçān nirṛtyāṣ pāçān mṛtyoḥ pāçād vāk ca devī punar dadātu z 5 z 4 z

81. [f. 47 a, l. 6.]

idaṁ cakṣur paṭāvarī mā hiṁsīt purāyuṣaḥ yad vāṁ :
tamo yad u lapiṣam apa vācaṁ ni dadhmasi |

Read ṛtāvarī in a, in b pura āyuṣaḥ might be better: at the end of c I would read yat kilbiṣam, in d vācā (with apavācaṁ as an alternative).

idaṁ dhehy ada gaṇaṁ yatho :
rmāti rohati | ayasmayas tarāṅkuço akṣāur araṁ saṁ apu laṁpatu z

In a we may read adhiguṇaṁ or adhi gaṇḍaṁ, in b yathormyādhi or better yathormir adhi; in d upa limpatu seems probable, and the locative dual might stand at the beginning; I would suggest then akṣyo rasam upa limpatu.

yama :
hy ābhyam ujayaṁ nṛcakṣā yaṁ çaṁsenaç çakta nir yaṁ suparṇā ud āhuç cakṣu :
r uditer anantaṁ somo nṛcakṣā mayi tad darmaṁ dhātu |

The first two pādas do not connect well with either the preceding or following, and it is possible that they were pādas c d of a stanza whose first hemistich has fallen out: a possible reading would be yamo hy ābhyām uj jayan nṛcakṣā yaṁ çaṁsena. It seems possible to read nir ayan suparṇā with some form of çakti at the beginning of the pāda; read uditeḥ and insert colon; the last two words are probably dharmaṁ dadhātu.

yathā cakṣus suparṇa :
çca yathā çvaçrū yathā çunaḥ evā me açvinā cakṣuṣ kṛṇutaṁ puṣkara :
sraja |

Read suparṇasya in a, çvaçror in b; kṛṇutāṁ puṣkarasrajā for d: with this stanza cf. Ç. 3. 22. 4.

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yasyas suparṇaṁ prapataç cakṣuṣā cakṣur ā dadhe
tasyāha samu :
draje uva cakṣuṣā cakṣur ā dadhe z 5 z anu 16 z zz :

The second pāda looks as if pāda d had displaced a more appropriate pāda b; yet if we might read for a yas suparṇasya prapātaç perhaps b could stand: in c we might read samudraṁ jetave. This is stanze 5 of hymn 5 in anu 16.

There are suggestions in the first two stanzas of healing some disease of the eye, in the last two the suggestions are rather of a charm for keenness of vision; of course both could stand in the same hymn.

82 and 83. [f. 47 a, l. 14.]

agnis te hāras siṣaktu yātudhāna svāhā vātaṁ te prāṇas
siṣaktu :
sūryaṁ te cakṣus siṣaktu antarikṣaṁ te çrotraṁ siṣaktu
paramāṁ te parāvataṁ :
manas siṣaktu yātudhāna svāhā z 1 z apas te rasas siṣaktu :
yātudhāna svāhā | oṣadhīs te lomāni siṣajantu samudraṁ
de vā :
s siṣaktu yātudhāna svāhā z 2 z

Read: agniṁ te hāras siṣaktu yātudhāna svāhā z 1 z vātaṁ te prāṇas siṣaktu • • z 2 z sūryaṁ te cakṣus siṣaktu • • z 3 z antarikṣaṁ te çrotraṁ siṣaktu • • z 4 z paramaṁ te parāvatāṁ manas siṣaktu yātudhāna svāhā z 5 z 1 z

apas te rasas siṣaktu yātudhāna svāhā z 1 z oṣadhīs te lomāni siṣajantu • • z 2 z samudraṁ te †vās siṣaktu yatudhāna svāhā z 3 z 2 z

In 83. 3 vāk would seem a good reading.

The ms. so clearly separates these formulae into two groups that I have not felt it advisable to unite them in spite of their unity as regards content. Opposite 83 the margin has rakṣāmantraṁ ha 4.

84. [f. 47 a, l. 18.]

idaṁ te çiro bhinadmi yā :
tudhāna svāhedaṁ te mastiṣkaṁ ni taraṇanaddi bhūmyāṁ
te hano bhina :
[f. 47 b.] **dmi yātudhāna svāhedaṁ te jihvā ni te grīvā**
bhinaddi yātudhāna svāhedaṁ :

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te skandhā ni idaṁ te sāu bhinadmi yātudāna svāhedaṁn te bāhū ni te hṛda :
yaṁ bhinaddi yātudhāna svāhedaṁ te pariṣūr ṇi te çroṇī bhinaddi yātudhā :
na svāhedaṁ te klomā ni te pṛṣṭhe bhinadmi yātudhāna svāhedaṁ te vastā ni :
idaṁ ta ūrū bhinaddi yātudhāna svāhedaṁ te jaṅghe bhinaddi yātudhāna svā :
hedaṁ te gulhāu bhinaddi yātudhāna svāhedaṁ te pādāu ni te tvacaṁ bhinaddi :
yātudhāna svāhedaṁ te prāṇaṁ ni idaṁ te parūṁṣi bhinaddi yātudhāna svā :
hedaṁ te majjo ni tarāṇenaddi bhūmyāṁ z 3 z

Read: idaṁ te çiro bhinadmi yātudhāna svāhā | idaṁ te mastiṣkaṁ ni tarhaṇena bhinadmi bhūmyām z 1 z idaṁ te hanū ◦ ◦ | idaṁ te jihvām ni ◦ ◦ ◦ z 2 z idaṁ te grīvāṁ ◦ ◦ | idaṁ te skandhān ni ◦ ◦ ◦ z 3 z idaṁ te hastāu ◦ ◦ | idaṁ te bāhū ni ◦ ◦ ◦ z 4 z idaṁ te hṛdayaṁ ◦ ◦ | idaṁ te parçūr (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* § 51) ni ◦ ◦ ◦ z 5 z idaṁ te çroṇī ◦ ◦ | idaṁ te kloma ni ◦ ◦ ◦ z 6 z idaṁ te pṛṣṭhe ◦ ◦ | idaṁ te 'vasthaṁ ni ◦ ◦ ◦ z 7 z idaṁ te ūrū ◦ ◦ | idaṁ te jaṅghe ni ◦ ◦ ◦ z 8 z idaṁ te gūlhāu ◦ ◦ | idaṁ te pādāu ni ◦ ◦ ◦ z 9 z idaṁ te tvacaṁ ◦ ◦ | idaṁ te prāṇaṁ ni ◦ ◦ ◦ z 10 z idaṁ te parūṁṣi bhinadmi yātudhāna svāhā | idaṁ te majja ni tarhaṇena bhinadmi bhūmyām z 11 z 3 z

85. [f. 47 b, l. 8.]

nandasodalam anta :
kajiṣṇu hāparajitā amuṁ bhruṇāny arpaya svayaṁ pāçān yāyatī a :
srar āitu sahakratur ātu mā prāṇo ātho balaṁ mano dadhātu bhadrayā agni :
r viçvād vāsu mā svastaye dakṣiṇā mā dakṣiṇato dakṣiṇā pātu sa :
vyataḥ paççād anaṁ vyadhāt pātu sarvasyā bhavahebhyā çatam āpo divyā mittra :
sya ca dakṣiṇaḥ | dhātā savitā rudras te no muñcantv aṁhasaḥ | çataṁ pāçā :
tu varuṇasya vrahmanaspateç ça te māntan pāçāṁ no viçya çatāt pāçe :
bhyo vayantāṁ z 4 z

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This seems little more than words and phrases put together without connection, though there is in several places indication of prayer for protection; such as vyadhāt pātu, muñcantv aṅhasaḥ. It does not seem to be metrical.

At the very beginning I think nandasodaram is not improbable, then probably antakajiṣṇum and aparajitam, these being in agreement with amuṁ; doubtless we should read bhrūṇāny, but it seems hardly possible to construe two accusatives with arpaya. If asrar is a verb, as seems possible, we would want to read yāyaty asraḥ (followed by a period). Reading āitu mā prāṇo and bhadrayāgnir we would get a fairly good sense for āitu sahakratur ∘ ∘ ∘ viçvād vasuḥ (followed by period), though it would be quite possible to put the period after bhadrayā and then read vasur mā ∘; enaṁ vyadhāt pātu would be the last words which can stand, but it seems that a full stop comes after bhavahebhyā. Of course dhātā ∘ ∘ ∘ aṅhasaḥ is good but of the rest I can make nothing though many of the words are obvious.

The above suggestions really offer no help in solving this hymn, for there is nothing in it that gives a solid base from which to work; at least I cannot see it.

86. [f. 47 b, l. 15.]

prācīṁ diçam āsthām agnir māvatv ojame ba ⁝
lāya diçāṁ priyo bhūyāsaṁ anu mitvā me diço bhavantu ghṛtapratīkā ⁝
dakṣiṇāṁ diçam āsthām indro māvatv ojase balāya pratīcīṁ di ⁝
çam āsthāṁ varuṇo māvatv āujase balāya udīcīṁ diçam āsthāṁ ⁝
somo māvatv āujase balāya dhruvaṁ diçam āsthāṁ viṣṇur māvatv āuja ⁝
[f. 48 a] se balāya ūrdhvāṁ diçam āsthāṁ vṛhaspatir māvatv āujase balāya ⁝
diçāṁ priya bhūyāsāṁ anu mittrā me diço bhavantu ghṛtapratīkā z ⁝

z 5 z a 17 z

Read: prācīṁ diçam āsthām agnir māvatv ojase balāya | diçāṁ priyo bhūyāsam anu mitrā me diço bhavantu ghṛtapratīkāḥ z 1 z dakṣiṇāṁ diçam āsthām indro māvatv ∘ ∘ |

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diçāṁ • • • z 2 z pratīcīṁ diçam āsthāṁ varuṇo māvatv • • |
diçāṁ • • • z 3 z udīcīṁ diçam āsthāṁ somo māvatv • • |
diçāṁ • • • z 4 z dhruvāṁ diçam āsthāṁ viṣṇur māvatv • • |
diçāṁ • • • y 5 z ūrdhvāṁ diçam āsthāṁ vṛhaspatir māvatv ojase balāya | diçāṁ priyo bhūyāsam anu mitrā me diço bhavantu ghṛtapratīkāḥ z 6 z 5 z anu 17 z

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87. [f. 48 a, l. 3.]

Kāuç. 107.

manāyī taṅtu prathamaṁ paçced aṅvyātanvata taṁ :
nārī pra vravīmi va çādīr ṇā santurvarī sāḍurvyas tantur bhavati sādhu :
n oḍur ito vṛkaḥ atho horvarīr yūyaṁ prāttar voḍheva dhāvajā kharga :
lā yurva paturīr apā agram ivāyanaṁ | patantu pratvarīr ivorvarīḥ :
sādhunā pathā avacyu tāutubhyete tedevāçvatarāv iva | pra stomas u :
rvarīṇāṁ khaṣayānām astvāviṣaṁ | nārī pañcamāyoṣaṁ sūtravat kṛ :
ṇutaṁ vasu ariṣṭo sya vasthā priyaṁda vāsi tatāutira z ı z :

Read: manāyāi tantuṁ prathamaṁ paçyed anyā atanvata | tan nārīḥ pra vravīmi vas sādhvīr vas santūrvarīḥ z 1 z sādhur vas tantur bhavatu sādhur otur etu vṛtaḥ | atho horvarīr yūyaṁ prātar voḍheva dhāvata z 2 z khargalā iva patvarīr apām ugram ivāyanam | patantu patvarīr ivorvarīḥ sādhunā pathā z 3 z avācyāu te totudyete todenāçvatarāv iva | pra stomam urvarīṇāṁ çaçayānām astāviṣam z 4 z nārī pañcamayūkhaṁ sūtravat kṛṇutaṁ vasū | ariṣṭo 'sya vastā †priyaṁda vāsi tatāutira† z 5 z 1 z

The reading of 2b may not seem good but I regard it as probable; Bloomfield reports sādhur otu as the reading of three mss. but reads in his text sādhur etu ratho. In 2d Bl. reads voḍhave. In 5b Bl. reads kṛṇute vasu, though all but one of his mss. have kṛṇutaṁ; in his note he suggests the reading here given. For priyaṁda in 5d we should probably read prendra as in Kāuç. but for the rest our reading seems as hopeless as that of Kāuçika.

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88. [f. 48a, l. 10.]

RV. 10. 152.

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çāsa itthā mahaṅ asy āmittrakhāghāto adbhutaḥ na yasya hanya :
te sakhā na jīyate kadā cana

In a read mahāṅ, and in b amitrakhādo.

vṛkṣo vi mavṛdho jahi vi vṛttrasya :
hanū ruja vi manyumanyu vṛttrahann amittrasyābhidāsati |

Read: vi rakṣo vi mṛdho jahi vi vṛtrasya hanū ruja | vi manyum indra vṛtrahann amitrasyābhidāsataḥ z 2 z

vi nī :
ndra vi mṛdo jahi nīdā yatsva pradhanyataḥ adhamaṁ gamayā taso yo :
asmā abhi dāsati |

Read: vi na indra mṛdho jahi nīcā yaccha pṛtanyataḥ | adhamaṁ gamayā tamo yo asmāṅ abhi dāsati z 3 z

svastidā viçāṁ pati vṛttrahā :
vi mṛdo jahi vṛṣendraṣ pura etu nas somapā abhayaṅkaraḥ :

In a read patir, in b vṛtrahā and vi mṛdho or vimṛdho; jahi does not fit in well here, and the reading of RV. is much preferable • vimṛdho vaçī.

apendra dviṣato mano pa jijyāsato vadham vi mahaç çarma yaccha va :
rīyo yavadhā vadhaṁ z 2 z

Read: apendra dviṣato mano 'pa jijyāsato vadham | vi mahac çarma yaccha varīyo yavayā vadham z 5 z 2 z

89. [f. 48a, l. 17.]

yo titaro maṇis tenāti taru :
ṣva saḥ sapattrāṅ dviṣato maṇe pṛṇutasva pṛdanyataḥ |

In a read devo yo 'titaro; in b I think taruṣva dviṣaḥ is the best of several possibilities: in c read sapatnān, and for d pra nutasva pṛtanyataḥ.

pṛṇu :
[f. 48b] tasva pra dahasva sapattrāṅ dviṣato maṇe tarāpi mahataṁ duṣvasāṁ varco bhaṅkti :
pradanyatāṁ

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In a read pra nutasva, in b sapatnān; in b ati or ava would be better and then mahatvaṁ dviṣāṁ is at least possible; in d read bhandhi pṛtanyatām.

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varco jahi manyuṁ jahy ākūtiṁ dviṣatāṁ maṇe | devo yo ti:
taro maṇis tenāti tara dhūrvatā |

In c read 'titaro and in d dhūrvataḥ.

ye dhūrvanti ye druhyanti ye dviṣanti pra:
tanyataḥ | sarvāṁ sapattrās te manir ṇa manyuṁ dviṣatas karat.

In b read pṛtanyantaḥ; in cd sarvān sapatnāṁs te maṇir nir.

tava citte ta:
va vrate tavāivādhaspadam carāṁ | devo yo nyataro maṇis tenāti tara duṣvamā:
z 3 z

Read: tava citte tava vrate tavāivādhaspadaṁ karam | devo yo 'titaro maṇis tenāti taruṣva dviṣaḥ z 5 z 3 z

For 5d and 1b tenāti tara duṣṭarān might seem as good as the reading given above.

90. [f. 48b, l. 6.]

Ç. 6. 9.

ā te manaç cakṣuç ca ā mā te hṛdayaṁ dade padoṣ ṭe padyam ā:
dade yathā tiṣṭhāsi me vaçe vaçe

In ab read manaç cakṣuç cā; in c pādoṣ, and in d vaçe only once. This stanza and the last one do not appear in Ç., nor elsewhere.

vāñccha se pādāu tanvāṁ vācchākṣūr vāṁ:
ccha sakṣnyū akṣo vṛṣaṇyantyāṣ keçā oṣṭhāu māṁ te kāmena āṣyatāṁ

For a read vāñccha me •, for b vāñcchākṣyāu vāñccha sakthyāu; in c akṣyāu and in d çuṣyatāṁ: the sign transliterated ā in āṣyatāṁ might be a poorly formed çu.

māi tvā:
dūṣanimṛgāṁ ṇomi hṛdayaspṛgam mamed apa kratāv aso mamāsa:
ç ced asaç ced asīdapi

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For the first hemistich I think we may read mayi tvā doṣaṇispṛçaṁ kṛṇomi hṛdayaspṛçam; in c read aha, and for d see hymn 77 where I suggested mama cittam ā sīdāsi.

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yasāṁ nābhir ārohaṇaṁ hṛdi saṁvananaṁ kṛtaṁ | :
gāvo ghṛtasya mātaro amu saṁ vānayantu me

In a read yāsāṁ, in d amūṁ.

mahyaṁ tvā dyāvāpṛthi :
vī sahyaṁ devī sarasvatī mahyaṁ tvendraç cāgniç cāhoratre
ni yacchatām. z :

Read: mahyaṁ tvā dyāvāpṛthivī mahyaṁ devī sarasvatī | mahyaṁ tvendraç cāgniç cāhorātre ni yacchatām z 5 z 4 z

For st. 5 cf. above Nos. 9. 5 and 35. 5.

91. [f. 48b, l. 13.]

Cf. Ç. 2. 24.

bhūlir mūly arjunī punar vo yanti yādavaḥ punar jūtiṣ kimīdinī :
yasya stha ¦dam atta yo va prahīt tam utta ma saṁsāny attaḥ acchavo jigha :
cchavaḥ haviṣyavaṣ pāçyavaḥ sphātihārī ramahārī vāta jūte sa :
nojavaḥ punar vo yanti yādavaḥ punar jūtiṣ kimīdinī yasya stha da :
m atta yo va prāhīt tam utta māṁsāny attaḥ z z oṁ tvam utta smā :
māṁsāny attaḥ zz 5 z anuvā 18 z z iti atharva :
[f. 49a] ṇi pipalādaçākhāyāṁ dvitīyaṣ kāṇḍas samāptaḥ z z

Ç. 2. 24 is a hymn of eight stanzas divided between male and female kimīdins; above in No. 42 we have a hymn, seemingly of five stanzas, devoted to the male kimīdins and here are the stanzas against the females. An arrangement in five stanzas may be made with some degree of reason, but to emend the words which are supposed to be names of the demons is not possible: feminine vocatives are called for, and I can only suggest as more or less plausible arjuni, jighatsavaḥ, sphātihāri, ramahāri, manojavāḥ. Taking up these suggestions we may read as follows: bhūli mūly arjuni punar vo yantu yātavaḥ

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punar jūtiṣ kimīdinīḥ | yasya stha tam atta yo vaḥ prāhāit tam atta svā māṅsāny atta z 1 z acchavo jighatsavaḥ punar • • • z 2 z haviṣyavaṣ pāçyavaḥ • • • z 3 z sphātihāri ramahāri • • • z 4 z vātajūte manojavāḥ punar vo yantu yātavaḥ punar jūtiṣ kimīdinīḥ | yasya stha tam atta yo vaḥ prāhāit tam atta svā māṅsāny atta z 5 z 5 z anu 18 z z ity atharvaṇi pāippalādaçākhāyāṁ dvitīyaṣ kāṇḍas samāptaḥ z z

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Notes on Village Government in Japan After 1600, I.—

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Introduction.

In the year 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu, through his victory at the battle of Sekigahara, became the virtual ruler of feudal Japan, and proceeded to elaborate that careful system of government which, with remarkably few changes, continued to exercise an undisputed sway over the nation till the middle of the nineteenth century. In this system culminated, and with it ended, the feudal régime of Japan. Each of the larger phases of the system,—its relation to the Emperor and civil nobility, to religious institutions, and to the military, agricultural, and mercantile classes of society, and its moral, intellectual, economic and institutional contributions to the present era of Japanese history,—presents a field of fruitful study. It is the aim of this essay to analyze some of the leading features of the rural aspects of the great system.

Generally considered, the main objects of this system can hardly be said to have been entirely selfish. Coming after nearly three centuries of continual civil war, Ieyasu was as eager to restore at last the peace and order for which the nation had long yearned, as to perpetuate the political power of his own family. It was in fact the primary motive of his policy that the power of his house should depend upon the stability of the realm[1]. It may indeed be said that every important phase of the political system which he built was so designed as to subserve this double purpose.

It is this full consciousness of its aims that characterizes the Tokugawa régime and distinguishes it from its predecessors in the history of feudal Japan. Ieyasu and his councillors would run no risk and leave nothing to nature, wherever their human intelligence guided them. They made every effort to

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avail themselves of the wisdom to be derived from the study of the past political experience of both Japan and China[2], and sought to adapt it to the peculiar conditions prevailing in the feudal Japan of the early seventeenth century,[3] always with the steadfast purpose of insuring peace and of perpetuating the new régime.

The general system so framed was characterized, in all its phases, by a studied balance of two elements seemingly contradictory to each other, namely, government by rigid laws and government by discretion. The historian who sees only the former, in which an elaborate machinery was set in motion, as it were, regardlessly of the men operating it, would be puzzled to meet everywhere almost an excess of liberty that was left for the exercise of the personal sense of equity and proportion of the individual administrator. Nor would one succeed in regarding the latter element the only basic principle of the Tokugawa rule. It would seem that largely by a harmony of the two, the one not less important than the other, was served the primary aim of Ieyasu's government.

1. Government by rigid laws, which one might term institutionalism, may be conveniently discussed as in the following analysis. In the first place, a Chinese political idea was used to explain and emphasize the actual division of social classes. The nation was conceived as falling into two main classes, rulers and ruled, with a broad division of labor between them: the rulers to govern and in return to be supported, and the ruled to support and in return to be governed.[4] True to the feudal nature of the society, the rulers were mostly warriors,[5] and the ruled were mostly tillers of the soil. The separation between the noble functions of the former and the ignoble services of the latter was distinct and decisive, each class living a separate life from the other, with its own laws, education, taste and views of life.[6] Less than two millions of the fighting class were thus superimposed upon more than twenty-four millions of the producing class.[7]

In the second place, let it be noted that in each of the two classes, and in their mutual relationship, there had developed in the course of previous history an ill-defined but important division of sub-classes, which the Tokugawa rulers now organized in a minute and rigid gradation of rank. To enumerate but a few of the chief steps in the hierarchy, such

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as concern the subject of this essay. The Suzerain[8] appointed about forty Intendants[9] with regular salaries over his own Domain Lands.[10] He also received allegiance of more than two hundred large and small Barons,[11] who, with some of their vassals, ruled over their respective Fiefs.[10] The suzerain's domain lands were assessed as equivalent to about a fourth of the aggregate of the fiefs of all the barons.[10] His intendants stood in their respective districts in immediate relation with representatives of the peasants, but the barons and their larger land-holding vassals were removed from the rural population under them by one or more intermediate grades of officials,[12] whom we might conveniently designate Bailiffs.

The peasants of each Village[13 & 14] were themselves divided into classes, according to their tenures.[15] They, however, were all under their Village-Head,[16] usually one but sometimes more, either elected or hereditary, and, holding office annually, for a term of years, or for life. He was assisted by several Chiefs,[16] and was, with the latter, under the counsel and supervision of one or more selected Elders.[16] In larger fiefs there frequently were District-Heads, who, being also of the peasant birth, each discharged in a group of villages functions similar to those of the heads of individual villages.[17]

In the third place, all these grades were held together by a carefully studied system of checks and balances. These were evidently conceived in accordance with the two familiar principles that have characterized many a bureaucratic government in history, and were especially developed in China,[18] namely, the principles of responsibility and of delegation,—the delegation of the suzerain's powers to his subordinate officials, and the responsibility of each functionary for his official conduct to those above him. Each official was inviolable,[19] so long as he acted within the powers delegated to him, and each law was sacred,[20] so long as it embodied the just will of the highest authorities. Every person, however high, was answerable for his act to his superiors, and the suzerain's punishment for wrongs committed by even the greatest baron was swift and was witnessed by all men under him.[21] It was very common that the officials or even all the members of a corporate body were punished for a grave offence committed by one of the latter, or otherwise held responsible for the due performance of public duties enjoined on them. This was especially

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the rule with rural communities, with city wards, and with merchant and artisan gilds.[22] It would not be difficult to see that the double chain of delegation and responsibility was forged in order to hold the society solidly together.

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2. Beside these rigorous institutional arrangements of the Tokugawa régime, the latitude it carefully and generously left to the individual administrator for the exercise of his sense of equity and right proportion is all the more remarkable by contrast. Unless the suzerain's motive of deliberately balancing these two opposite principles is thoroughly appreciated, the story of his government is apt to baffle us at every turn, and has in fact betrayed many writers into inevitable errors. Rule by discretion should be absent in no form of government, and is likely to play a large part in a feudal government, which usually comprises arrangements essentially private and personal in origin. In the Tokugawa régime, discretionary conduct of affairs formed a predominant feature of its operation, and, what is more important, was maintained side by side with a rigid institutionalism, some phases of which we have analyzed, both elements supplementing and rectifying each other. The law was framed, or, at least, such was the ideal, with the conscious intention at the same time to guide the blind magistrate by its provisions and to allow the wise magistrate to supply them with his wisdom.[23] Once promulgated, therefore, the law was a ready instrument in the hands of benevolent and experienced rulers.[24] Not seldom was it expanded, bent, or even overridden, to give free play to a higher sense of equity.[25] This was, in short, a system of government one half of whose success depended upon the skill and the justice of the individual official, the other half being provided for by minute laws. The first half, it is easy to see, was ever liable to be turned to abuses by corrupt men, and the second always tended to become mechanical and unwieldy. The careful combination devised by the Tokugawa rulers served their aims with rare success, but failed them in the end, for, indeed, no human hand could strike an even balance and effect a complete organic union of the two factors for all time.

So much for the general system. We are now ready to devote our attention to that part of the Tokugawa régime which concerned the rural population, and observe how it

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illustrates the general reflections we have made, and how its peculiar conditions reacted upon the entire system.

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The peasants were a class destined, as has been said, to be ruled by warriors and in return to support them with fruits of their labor. It was first of all necessary to keep them submissive. There was no thought of ever allowing them to take part in the government of the country or even of the fief. Not only would they be incapable of the work, but it would in all probability result in breaking the very fabric of feudal society. Nor was it a difficult problem to enforce passive obedience upon the peasants, for, habitually employing dull wood and metal as tools, as they do, and depending on mute but irrestible forces of nature, the peasants are always the mildest and most patient class of people. The rank and dignity of the authorities command from them more genuine respect than from merchants in the cities. Political ideas grow but slowly among the peasants. Their mental horizon is apt to be limited to their own interests, which are at once circumscribed and protected by custom. Only when these interests, their only citadel, are unreasonably attacked, they would be seen to lose their equanimity and become as ferocious as an enraged ox. So long as their interests are safeguarded, however, peasants would be a malleable material in the hands of a wise ruler. This was especially the case with the Japanese peasants. They had for centuries been inured to passivity. They were in most instances accustomed to a gregarious mode of living in old hamlets,—a fact which tended to develop fixed social forms and sanctions and a cordial spirit of mutual dependence and assistance among themselves. It will be seen later that this tendency was promoted by the Tokugawa rulers with extreme care. Altogether, this was not a life conducive to independence of thought and action.

Obedience, however, might not be contentment. It was necessary to control the peasants in such a way as to render them, not only submissive, but also contented,—so contented, if possible, that they would counterbalance whatever unstable elements of society there existed in and out of their circle, and throw the weight of their native desire for order and conservatism in the interest of peace and of the perpetuation of the régime.

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This double task was at once imperative and difficult, for the Japanese peasants of the seventeenth century were less easily contented and should therefore be appeased with all the greater solicitude, than the serfs of the thirteenth. Not only did they form the bulk of the nation, and were, from the economic standpoint, the support of the entire body politic;[26] not only was there a degree of community of interest between them and the warriors, as against the rising burgher class;[27] but also, more important than these circumstances, the peasants' position in relation to the land they tilled and to the warriors who drew revenues from the land had materially risen since the earlier period. Under the stress of the continual civil strife that raged before 1600, warriors found that they could no longer retain their rôle of seigneurs over landed estates, where they had for generations lived, in time of peace, amid their serfs, and, in time of war, defended their castles with their retainers. They were now obliged to betake themselves to the castles of the greater lords, to remain in their immediate neighbourhood, and to leave their land to be managed largely by the tillers themselves. From this time on, political conditions[28] accelerated the change already begun. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, most serfs had turned freer tenants, and many of the latter had become proprietors employing tenants and laborers.[29] A long experience had led the peasants to feel that the lord—and the lord became an impersonal being in the eyes of the peasants living on the suzerain's domain lands—cared much less for the land they tilled than for the dues levied upon it. This was in fact a fundamental point: the fiscal obligation of land, rather than the land itself, was now a controlling principle of the institutional life of the peasant. Between the lord and his land, the tilling of which he had overseen, had now stepped forth the peasant, who had formerly stood behind the land, and the lord's eye had turned perforce from the land to what the peasant should bring to him from it. The peasant had become the virtual, though not theoretical, owner[30] of cultivated land.[31] This was a transitional state of things betokening a greatly advanced social position of the tiller of the soil. For although the process could not in all cases have resulted in his improved material condition, he must nevertheless under these circumstances have become more mindful of his rights and interests.

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To illustrate. The lord's right of seizure over land[32] had vanished, and even his right of escheat or mortmain, as the medieval jurist of Europe would call it, was very imperfect.[33] Succession by testament was common;[34] a collateral relative of the deceased to whom the latter had willed his holding inherited it without purchase-money ever being paid to the lord, and was, in default of a will and of a nearer relative, even compelled to do so, in order that the same dues as before would be forthcoming from the estate. As regards these dues, they were almost all levied on the productive capacity of each holding,[35] capitation or house taxes being unpopular and unimportant, a fact indicating how far was the peasant removed from personal servitude to the lord. Regulations concerning alienation of land by sale, gift, or mortgage,[36] and its division, were primarily actuated by the motive that the act should not affect the fiscal issues of the land.[37] In matters of personal rights, also, the same consideration largely prevailed. Change of residence between different parts of the country was discouraged, mainly because it might introduce elements tending to disturb the unity of village customs, and thereby conduce to unrest and a consequent fiscal derangement.[38] Marriage[39] was in no way interfered with, so long as it did not directly or indirectly tend to diminish the public revenue of the village. When, in later years of this period, the running away of impoverished peasants became frequent, the lord seldom exercised a right of pursuit,[40] provided the land deserted by the absconders was taken care of by their relatives or by the village and yielded the same dues as before.

All this points to a condition that deeply and radically affected all classes of the feudal society, and exercised a specially profound influence upon the rural policy of the period. The peasants were, indeed, still the "ruled" class, but it is easy to see that their interests called for the most scrupulous consideration of the suzerain's government. The barons, too, on their part, would court the good-will of the village population within their fiefs, for no lord could hope to wield influence for a long time over discontented peasants. The latter would often find a ready listener in the suzerain himself, who, while openly discountenancing popular riots and direct appeals, would eagerly punish the baron for maladministration and

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indirectly right the wrongs of the aggrieved peasantry. Whether the suzerain or the baron, the inevitable criterion of distinguishing a good from a bad lord was the one's regard and the other's disregard for rural interests.[41] And these interests could be studied only with sincere zeal and sympathy, for the peasants would not express themselves until it was too late—until their long pent-up grievances burst forth in violant mobs. The greatest stress was, therefore, laid everywhere upon the need of studying agricultural conditions and ministering to them with justice and skill.[42] Under these circumstances, it was exceedingly difficult at once to secure from the peasants the degree of submission, and to grant them the degree of satisfaction, which were both absolutely necessary for the success of the régime. The ingenious and thorough manner in which this delicate work was generally contrived to be done by the feudal authorities is worthy of a careful study.

In the first place, the Tokugawa's village administration was an example of extreme paternalism at once kind and stern. It was here that the greatest care was taken in balancing law and equity, inflexible justice and generous discretion. The fundamental conception was that the peasant was at once too passive and too ignorant to provide for the morrow, so that his ills should receive official attention even before he himself perceived their symptoms.[43] It was unnecessary, and sometimes dangerous, that he should understand what the authorities were doing for him, for they were afraid that his too much knowledge might interfere with their exercise of equity and arbitrary adjustment. He "should be made to follow," as said Confucius, and as was habitually repeated by the Tokugawa rulers, "but should not be made to know".[44] The peasants, accordingly, should not be allowed to become over-wealthy, for "if they grew too rich," said a practical administrator, "they would cease to work, and employ poor warriors to till their land, and so the distinction between the classes would pass away;"[45] yet the moderate holdings of the peasants were zealously protected by law and by precept, so that they would not become too poor. They should know in general, but not in exact detail, how their lands were valued, how their taxes were remitted or reduced in hard years, and what were the finances of the entire fief or domain land.[46]

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Nor was the penal law given publicity among them,[47] and most legal provisions came to them in the form of moral admonitions.[48] Yet the peasants were fairly well advised as to the general nature of the rights and obligations of their own class and of the officials directly concerned with their affairs. This knowledge was further reinforced by a qualified right granted the peasants to appeal from an unjust official to the baron or intendant, and thence to the suzerain's council.[49]

Much of this paternalism and this limited publicity and protection was extended to the rural population by the rulers, and was utilized by the latter, in a manner at once effective and characteristic of their general policy. Ever since the Reform of 645, the Chinese village institution known usually as *pao* or *lin* had been familiar to Japan. It consisted in dividing the inhabitants of each village into groups each comprising a certain number of house-fathers, who were held responsible for the order, the good behavior, and the performance of the political obligations of all the members of the respective groups.[50] The institution was copied in Japan after the seventh century,[51] and, despite the general social changes which followed, lingered till the beginning of the seventeeth. Then the early Tokugawa government seized upon it, and forced it on the lower warrior classes and the entire village and municipal population throughout the realm.[52] The normal group of peasants, usually termed the five-man group, consisted of five land-holding house-fathers living near together, with all their family-members, dependents, and tenants.[53] It was continually ordered, and the order was well carried out, that every inhabitant in the village, no matter what his status or tenure, should be incorporated into the system.[54] That this old institution should now be, as it was, so eagerly resuscitated and so universally extended, was evidently due to a belief based upon the past experience in China and Japan, that the system would enable the rulers to attain with the least possible cost and friction a large part of the aims of village administration—to secure peace and order, to afford the exact degree of control and freedom that was deemed necessary, to insure a prompt return of the taxes, to inculcate the moral principles most desirable in an agricultural society under a feudal régime, and, above all, to hold the people responsible for most of these results.

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Let us observe how these things were done through this simple institution. The responsibilities and the rules of conduct of the villagers were made known to them through edicts, public sign-boards, and also oral exhortations given by the intendant or bailiff and the village-head.[55] The more important of these rules were re-iterated to the peasants with great persistence.[56] Gradually, from about the middle of the seventeenth century, the older custom of certain warrior-officials to present to their lords written pledge under oath to fulfil their orders, repeatiug them as nearly as was practicable in the form they had been given, was extended to the five-man group in the village with respect to its duties. By the end of the eighteenth century, there probably were few villages in Japan that did not keep their so-called group-records (*kumi-chō*).[57] The record began with an enumeration of such laws and precepts as had been repeatedly given to the villagers, and ended with an oath that those would be strictly obeyed and enforced in the village. All the house-fathers put their names and seals after the oath in the order of their groups in the village. The record was then periodically—in some instances as often as four times in the year or even once a month—read and fully explained by the village-head to all the people in his charge. As new laws were enacted, or as the village population changed, the record was revised and made anew, with the usual oath and affixed seals.[58]

These laws,[59] which were thus published among the people through edicts, sign-boards and group-records, and for the execution of which the peasants were held responsible by means of the system of the five-man group, are among the important sources for the study of our subject. Attempts may be made to reconstruct the rural government under the Tokugawa upon the basis of these laws. It should be noted, however, that they were never the whole of the laws relating to village administration. As has been stated, the penal side of the laws was, except in a few rare cases, carefully concealed from the peasants, the latter being merely told what to do and what not to do.[47] Nor should it be forgotten that, even after studying penal laws from other sources, we could not be certain that all the law thus collected presented a sound basis for a discussion of the entire subject. In order to obtain a comprehensive survey of the institutional life of the village, it

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would seem that one should do three more things from a vastly greater amount of materials. The laws should be interpreted in the light of the social and political conditions which called them forth. Then it should be studied how far the laws were actually enforced, how much they accomplished the result they were purported to bring about, and how they reacted upon the society. Finally, one should carefully examine if there were not certain conditions in the life of the village and of the nation that were too universal or too vital to find expression in the laws or to be materially affected by their operation.

From these points of view, it may almost be said that the first problem of the village administration under the Tokugawa, —of the paternal rule over the responsible village and the five-man group,—concerned its financial affairs, and that most of its other features were so modelled as to facilitate the collection of the taxes. Simple morals were inculcated for the sake of peace and order, and economic life was carefully regulated for the maintenance of moderate prosperity, but the peace and the prosperity subserved steady fiscal returns of the village. Nor is this strange when we consider that the peasants constituted the large class of people whose foremost part in the life of the State was to furnish the means to carry on the government of the nation. The warriors ruled the peasants, and the peasants fed the warriors and themselves. Few provisions of the laws for the village had no bearing, direct or indirect, upon the subject of taxation; few phases of the entire structure of the feudal rule and of national welfare were not deeply influenced by the solution of this fundamental problem. It is, therefore, not impossible, as we are about to do, to treat the whole subject of village government with its financial problem as its center.

If we might be allowed to anticipate a conclusion of this discussion, we should venture to say: it was probably inevitable, but it was none the less a tragic outcome of the Tokugawa régime, that, between the mounting expenses of the government and the falling or, at best, stationary productivity of the soil, the taxes should, as they did, grind upon the peasants with increasing weight, and that this fundamental malady should gradually sap the vitality, not of the nation, but of the whole system of government. It has often been said that had there

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been no pressure from foreign Powers causing the downfall of the Tokugawa government in 1868, its days had then been all but numbered, and the statement seems the most tenable on the financial side of the question. That such a result was inevitable appears to have been due primarily to the fact that, from the economic standpoint, the feudal system in general was costly, and that the Japanese feudalism after 1600 was particularly wasteful.

It needs no reminder that feudalism as such would afford too inefficient an economic organization for a government whose growing budgets must be supported only by an increasing wealth of the nation. Agriculture, upon which the feudal society was built, was at the mercy of natural forces, and at its best could not support a large population. What few people subsisted therein could not hope to increase their wealth at a rapid rate or on a large scale, because they were encumbered by regulations designed to maintain rigid and stable classes of society, and by customs which frowned upon sudden departures from the settled routine of life, and because the intercommunication between the fiefs was inadequate, if not restricted. Even when it was tolerably free, its economic value was small, in proportion that money was scarce, credit undeveloped, and capital immobile. Under these conditions, both the population and the wealth of a normal feudal society would, as long as it retained its character, remain almost stationary.

It will, however, require an explanation that the economic organization of Japan under the Tokugawa was abnormally wasteful even as a feudal society. Out of the many circumstances that may be thought to have contributed to this state of things, we may introduce three at this stage of discussion, namely:—the separation of the warrior from land; an exhaustive degree of paternalism, attended by some serious errors, in the economic policy of the government; and finally, a long reign of peace breeding luxury and extravagance. The first of these conditions awaited the Tokugawa at their accession to power in 1600.

(1) Separation of arms from land. It has already been alluded to that the continual turmoil during the period of feudal anarchy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had forced many a warrior to become a professional fighter, and to leave

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the country and to live near his lord's castle. The introduction of gun-powder about 1543, and the consequent progress in organized tactics, accelerated this process. A further impetus was given by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, who for political reasons forced large bodies of warriors to migrate from one place to another. During the period of civil wars, the military service of the vassal was often compensated for in money or in rice. When a baron apportioned a piece of land to his vassal, it often meant that the latter was granted the right over the dues from the land (所當の知行), instead of over the land itself (下地の知行). In this case, he was far from overseeing its cultivation in person, for he lived in his lord's castle-town.

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This custom had so long been established in 1600, was so strongly reinforced by the increase of dispossessed warriors of the Osaka party in that and subsequent years, and indeed so much facilitated the control of the warrior class, that the Tokugawa found it not only impossible, but also impolitic, to return to the older system of feudal arrangement.[60]

It was a natural order of things that the congregation of warriors in the castle-towns, and, as it was now required of a large number of warriors in each fief, in the assigned quarters in Edo, should tend toward a greater cost of living than before. What was more important, the separation of arms and land made the collection of taxes more indirect and expensive than in former days. It was common in the early years of the fourteenth century that a knight with his attendants on foot could be maintained on seven acres of the average rice-land. Such a condition was, however, regarded unthinkable in the Tokugawa period,[61] and the difference was generally attributed[62] to the greater cost of living and of tax-collection due to the warrior's absence from the country. It will be seen later how the otherwise expensive system of indirect collection through several grades of officials led, also, to inevitable leakage and corruption.[63]

(2) Economic paternalism. In their zeal at once to secure rural tranquility and to insure steady returns of the taxes, the Tokugawa rulers continued throughout the period to enact and enforce minute regulations of agriculture, which must have had a benumbing effect upon the economic sense of the people. In one fief, the hereditery estate of the peasant

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family was limited to between 500 and 5000 *momme* in productive value, representing probably about 1.25 to 12.5 acres of the average rice-land, and in few places in Japan estates smaller than 10 *koku* in assessed productive value, or perhaps about 2.5 acres of the same quality of land, were allowed to be divided amongst children.[64] Agriculture was encouraged with great care. The villagers should look after the fields of those who were unable to work, and all should equally share the disaster of a drought or an inundation. Subsidiary occupations, especially the production and manufacture of silk, were in many places fostered and controlled.[65] Careless cutting of bamboo and trees,[66] the raising of useless and harmful crops, including tobacco,[67] the building of new houses upon cultivated land, and a host of other actions, were forbidden on pain of joint punishment of the village or the group. Public granaries[68] were established everywhere, and the manufacture of *sake*[69] was kept within bounds.

Other occupations received perhaps more interference and certainly much less fostering care than did agriculture. The change of a peasant into a merchant was not permitted.[70] The dimensions of woven fabrics, the output of merchandise, and the scale of wages of several forms of labor, were often fixed by law, while commercial transactions at rates higher or lower than current prices were declared illegal.[71] The repeated debasing of coins by the Edo government, and the unfortunate custom of allowing certain cities to issue copper coins and many fiefs to circulate paper currency,[72] must have seriously interfered with the growth of credit and legitimate commerce, and reacted unfavorably upon the economic life of the village.

Most stringent were restrictions relating to communication. There were many barriers at strategic points on the approaches to Edo, and, besides, minor passes impeded travel between and even within fiefs.[73] Indeed, the very village could be considered a barrier in itself, for no unknown character should find in it even a night's lodging, it being illicit even for a hotel to keep an unaccompanied stranger for more than one night. Nor should the peasant go out of the village to pass a night elsewhere without an explicit understanding with village officials. There is reason to believe that the regulations of communication were enforced with a large measure of success.[74]

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It would be unjust, however, not to appreciate the probable motives which had compelled the authorities to issue these paternal measures of economic control. The prosperity of the warrior and the peasant depending on the success of the rice harvest, their interests were, especially in bad years, largely common, but antagonistic to that of the rice merchant.[27] If, in years of rich crops, the peasant rejoiced and the warrior suffered, for the latter's income in rice would sell cheap, even then the merchant, who bought the grains at a low price, pleased neither the one nor the other. It was considered essential for the officials to insure the steady, mild prosperity of the farmers, and, at the same time, to prevent the merchants from profiting at the expense of the rulers and the bulk of the ruled. Few things were more dreaded as a dissolvent force of social organisation, than the passing of the control of the economic life of the nation from the warrior to the merchant.[74a] It is an important phase of the history of this period, which falls beyond the scope of this paper, that this perilous situation steadily grew up despite all the effort of the feudal government to arrest its progress. The presentiment felt by the authorities of this impending crisis is reflected in the nervous zeal with which they continually issued strict economic measures, some of which have been described.

(3) Peace and luxury. It would be difficult to gage the evils of so extreme a form of economic paternalism, for, immense as they must have been, they were largely negative. Flagrant, positive evils resulted from the long period of peace lasting for more than two and a half centuries,—the golden peace for the creation of which the founders of the Tokugawa régime had exhausted their wisdom, with so large a degree of success, and which enabled the brilliant civilisation of the Edo period to rise.

We have space enough merely to allude to the enormous expenses which the peace policy of the suzerain entailed upon all the barons throughout Japan. The baron's own income, after deducting from it the emoluments for his retainers, was seldom large, and yet he had to bear sundry expenses very onerous in proportion to his means, and, besides, render his regular, though seemingly voluntary, dues to the suzerain. Other occasional requisitions from the latter for special purposes were a source of continual embarrassment to the baron.

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Many a baron was thus obliged to borrow heavily from his vassals, who could rarely expect reimbursement. Unfortunately, when the circumstances of the baron and the vassals became more straitened, their luxurious habits had advanced too far to be checked, much less to be eradicated. What had greatly tended to bring about this condition was the fact that each baron was obliged to pay his annual visit to the suzerain's court at Edo with his full retinue, and to maintain two establishments worthy of his rank, one at the Capital and the other at his castle-town. Edo was the fountain-head of luxury and extravagance, and its fashions were through this system of continual communication quickly diffused into all the chief centers of culture. There was little doubt that the system helped the prosperity of the Capital and of the towns on the high roads, but at the expense of the warriors and peasants. It was the suzerain's policy to impoverish the barons, and it was the barons' part to replenish their coffers from the peasants. The periodic absence of the baron and some of his vassals at Edo had also resulted in many a case in conspiracy or corruption among the retainres in the fief, which again bore heavily upon the tax-paying class.[75]

In the meantime, the suzerain's own finances at Edo, despite the great care with which the fiscal administration of his domain lands through his intendants was supervised, showed deficits that swelled as the luxury of his court progressed. They were barely balanced by the seigniorage derived from an increasing adulteration of the gold and silver currency.[72] Many of the suzerain's immediate vassals residing at Edo were plunged into abject poverty.[76]

Nor should it be forgotten that there was something radically anomalous in the very idea of a perpetual tranquillity of a feudal society—an "armed peace," or, peace of an agricultural community guarded exclusively by a warrior class which did neither fight nor produce. All the numerous sumptuary laws[77] enacted during this period for the warrior classes could not check the growth of luxury and extravagance of the unproductive and unoccupied men of arms. Indeed, sumptuary laws in a society where one class produces at best a fixed amount of wealth, and the other spends it on an increasing scale, are highly significant. Here they are always necessary and always ineffective.

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All these evils were greatly intensified by the luxurious habits that had seized upon the peasants themselves. Before we discuss the effects of peace and luxury upon the economic life of the village, let us first observe how the peace itself had been secured therein.

Here, again, the paternalism of the government was, for evident reasons, hardly less exhaustive than in other matters of village administration. The family institutions—marriage, adoption, succession, and inheritance—were well guarded and controlled. The group and the entire village were made to be actively interested in the peace and in the maintenance of each household.[78] The peasants should watch and correct one another's conduct,[79] and disputes should as far as possible be adjusted by mutual conciliation.[80] Private expulsion of an unruly member was rarely permitted,[81] while sales of persons were illegal.[82] Virtues which were inculcated among the villagers, and for the practice of many of which they were made responsible, were: filial piety, concord within the family, diligence, patience, obedience, charity, and mutual helpfulness in the hamlet.[83] It was a common duty of the village to provide necessary measures for preventing and extinguishing fires, and arresting robbers and disorderly persons.[84] Most heinous were riots of all kinds; for the mobbing of an intendant's office, for example, not only were the culpable parties beheaded, but also the village-officials were fined, deprived of land-holdings, or banished.[85] Peasants were strictly forbidden to own fire-arms or to carry swords.[86] It has already been shown that no one might without permission lodge a stranger or himself stay out of the village even for one night.[74] All the servants hired into the village had personal sureties responsible for their good behavior.[87] Catholic converts were excluded most rigorously.[88] Dealings in smuggled foreign wares were forbidden.[89] No books interdicted by the censor were to be admitted,[90] while the study of Confucian classics by the peasants was discouraged.[6] Festivals should not be celebrated on a larger than the usual scale, and no novel religious sects or practices should be initiated. The Buddhist church, whose rights were very narrowly circumscribed, was utilized as an agent of peace and contentment.[91] It is not possible to enumerate other details of the careful measures which were provided for the purpose of maintaining the unity of village customs and population.

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It is more important to know that not only did these measures successfully insure the social stability for which they were intended, but the effects they produced contained evils which could not have been entirely foreseen, but which, once grown, no new laws could eradicate. The artificial, dead peace, together with the debased currency of the period, had continually tended to breed luxury even among the toiling population of the village, and, furthermore, luxury did often so operate as to reduce the productive capacity of the peasant family. The logic of this serious condition is clearly shown in an outspoken memorial[92] written in 1790 by a man in the Sendai fief who was familiar with rural conditions of the period and strove to improve them.

"Formerly", says he in one passage of this interesting document, "when the farmer could bring up two, three, four or five sons, all the younger sons were hired out by other farmers as soon as they were old enough, saved their wages, and married or were adopted into families. There was everywhere an abundant supply of cheap labor for the field. The farmers could also keep horses, which yielded manure. The productive power of the soil was therefore large, and rice was plentiful. They could likewise afford daughters. Marriage was inexpensive, the population increased at the normal rate, and the Heavenly Law was fulfilled." But now, continues the writer, marriages cost the man nearly 30 *kwan* and the woman's family almost 40. It being increasingly hard to maintain a household, the average peasant seldom had more than three children, and the poorer tenant only one child. Labor was scarce and dear, having risen from 5 or 6 *kwan* to more than 10, and rising every year. Horses were fewer, and manure less. It being in many instances impossible to take care of one's own holding, it was rented to some one else who seemed willing to till it, but who would be inclined to neglect the land that was not his own. In recent years most land yielded on the average only 15 to 16 *koku* per *chō* (74.5 to 79.5 bushels per 2.45 acres), instead of the former average of 20 (nearly 100 bushels). Yet the peasants understood little the cause of their trouble, and did not abate their thoughtless extravagance.

It is true that this document speaks of conditions in a particular fief, but, while some districts fared better, there

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were others whose lot was still worse.[93] The universal and persistent enactment of sumptuary regulations for the rural population[94] has led some writers to fancy that the Japanese peasants must have been a model of frugality, but it is another evidence of the prevailing trend for needless luxury and the increasing difficulty of checking it. The village life under the Tokugawa would, of course, be considered extremely simple, according to the modern standard, but it was in many places positively extravagant in proportion to their limited earning capacity.[115]

To sum up the forgoing discussion of the wastefulness of the Tokugawa feudalism. Peace and luxury led the peasants to spend, and the same condition, added to the peculiar feudal arrangement of the period, impelled the warriors more and more to absorb, the wealth of the nation that, owing to the exclusion of foreign trade and to the inadequate economic organisation of society, could not be increased correspondingly, and did in many instances diminish. We shall discuss briefly how these conditions influenced the system of taxation, and how the latter reacted upon the life of the village.

The taxation of the Tokugawa period clearly reflects the important characteristics of its feudal system. The separation of the warrior from land had resulted in the peasant's financial obligations acquiring the general appearance of being public taxes to the government, rather than personal dues to the lord. The State as a whole was largely feudal, but smaller districts were more bureaucratic than feudal, and it is here that one has to discover the working of the system of taxation. There was very little in the whole system that savored of obligations due directly from the peasant to the lord. There were no banalities; whatever corvée originated in the personal relationship had become overshadowed by or incorporated into the corvée for the public; the peasant had no opportunity to entertain the lord at his own house, and was explicitly forbidden to entertain his agents; and confiscations of land were rare and meant merely changes of cultivators.

The principal tax was the land-tax, levied, as has been said,[35] not upon each peasant as an individual person, but on the officially determined productive capacity of each holding. From the purely fiscal point of view, the peasant would be

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considered an instrument to make the holding continue to yield what it should.

The Tokugawa inherited this system from the earlier feudal ages, which in their turn had accepted, though with serious changes, the Chinese notion of land-tax adopted in Japan in the seventh century. We are unable here to trace the interesting evolution of this tax in Japanese history, but the following data would be necessary for an understanding of the Tokugawa system. The land-tax was originally, when it was copied from China, a capitation-tax, paid by the head of each family as a unit, but assessed on the basis of the equal pieces of land alloted to all the peasants in the family above five years of age. From thus being a personal imposition levied through the family, the tax changed, during the transitional and the first feudal periods, into a tax still levied through the family (now nearly identical with the house)[51] but assessed on its land-holdings. From this point on, this fundamental nature of the tax remained constant, but the method of its assessment, which had been made uncertain at the aforesaid change in the nature of the tax, gradually tended to become uniform and definite. At length, under Hideyoshi, at the end of the sixteenth century, the principle had been firmly established that the tax on each holding should be assessed at a certain rate upon the annual productive capacity measured and recorded in terms of hulled rice.[95]

In the meantime, the ratio between the tax on land and its annual productivity, which in the eighth century was at most 5 per cent., had risen high during the thirteenth, due largely to the fact that the land-tax superseded other taxes, and then remained substantially the same till 1600 at 50 per cent. more or less. A strong tradition had grown up that the tax should not be raised much beyond this limit. Nor could this rate, high as it may seem, be considered extortionate from the point of view of the period. For, it should be remembered that, in the conception of the feudal lawyer, the peasant was the virtual but not the theoretical owner[30] of the land he tilled, and his land-tax was rather a rent than a tax. Even as a rent, the rate could not be said to have been always excessive. When, after the fall of the feudal government, a complete survey of the cultivated area of Japan was made between 1873 and 1881, it was discovered that an

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annual tax of 3 % of the average assessed value of agricultural land would give a sum equal to the land-tax levied under the feudal rule.[96]

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In 1600, when the Tokugawa came to power, they accepted in general the current method of assessing the productivity of land and the prevalent tax-rate, and modified and elaborated them with their characteristic care. While they were in no position to initiate a much lower rate of taxation, they showed an unmistakable disposition to lighten the burden of the peasant by various devices, some of which follow.

(1) The annual productive power of each land-holding was measured with scrupulous care, and determined usually a little below its actual capacity.[97] What was more, there was a constant tendency to make the tax-rate itself definitely fixed beyond the caprice of the collector. This rate, even including the minor levies[98] connected with the main tax, was, at least in the domain land, often below 50 %.[99] The assessment was probably at the time considered as not unreasonable. The apparent iniquity of the feudal tax arose, not so much from its rates, as from the method of its collection, and from the too infrequent revision of the recorded productivity of the holdings. The former of these difficulties will be discussed in the Notes[102 & 103]. As regards the latter, the probably complete records made during the first half of the seventeenth century, and the confessedly partial revision of the early eighteenth century, seem to have remained unaltered except in cases of urgent need. It is easy to see that both the area and the productivity of most pieces of land must have changed much during the more than two centuries of the régime. That such was the case was abundantly proved during the recent survey just referred to.[100]

(2) The Tokugawa government allowed a greater freedom than in the earlier period of partially commuting the land-tax into money. Local customs varied on this point, but frequently as much as half the tax was thus paid in money.[101] That this was an important gain for the peasant will be seen when we note that the village was held responsible for the collection[102] of the tax, and for its transportation, either to Edo, if the village was situated in a domain land, or to the lord's store-houses, if it formed a part of a fief.[103] This burden remained oppressive, for no region was permitted to commute

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all its taxes into money, but the burden would have been greater but for the limited commutation allowed.

(3) The old system of remitting taxes for special reasons was minutely elaborated under the Tokugawa. Remissions partial or entire, temporary or permanent, were granted to wood and waste land, land reserved for public purposes, newly tilled land, land once recorded but long since non-existent, land wasted by natural calamities, and the like.[104] In this connection may also be mentioned the loans of seed-rice and rice for food issued by the authorities in bad years.[105]

In fact, the land-tax could not, from its very nature and from the strength of the customary law, be increased beyond, say, 60 per cent., at most, of the estimated productivity of the soil. There were other items of taxation, however, which could be and were, especially in fiefs, expanded almost indefinitely. These were: corvées, sundry customary taxes, and special taxes on products and occupations. Generally speaking, all the three kinds of taxes were apt to be more uniform in the domain land than in the fief, and, within the latter, in the baron's own land than in the land granted to the vassal.

The corvées were of two different kinds: labor for the baron or his vassal, whichever it may be, who had the superior right over the land in which the peasant lived, and labor for the public. The former was rendered in repairing the fences and thatched roofs of the lord's buildings, transporting his wood for fuel, and the like; the latter consisted mainly in repairing roads, bridges and other public works. The corvées were levied either on the holding in land or on the adult peasant, and were often commuted in money. They were sometimes, in the first part of the period, partially paid for, and the expenses for extraordinary public works, as, for example, after a flood or an earthquake, continued to be supplied by the authorities. The general tendency in the fiefs was, however, toward a gradual increase of the imposition of unpaid labor. In 1616, the corvée in the Akita fief was 236 day-men per 100 *koku*; in 1845, it was in the Sendai fief as high as 6000 or more day-men. In 1799, the Mito fief employed nearly two million day-men out of the peasant population of two hundred thousand.[106] These figures do not include the poorly paid service of the post-horse system, which proved a great burden to peasants near the high roads.[107]

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Of the customary taxes, some, as, for example, straw, bran, hay, and wood for fuel, seem originally to have been used, at least in part, in connection with the corvée for the lord, but were later commuted into rice and money, and became independent dues. There were several other taxes, including dues for the baron's groceries, for the bait for his hawks and fodder for his horses, for the performance of Shinto ritual services at Ise, and the like, which, beginning as incidental or local dues, became customary and universal within the fief. The villages of the domain lands paid fixed taxes whose issues were intended for the maintenance of the post-horse system, of the officials in charge over the suzerain's store-houses in Edo, and of men employed in his kitchen, all levied on the peasant holdings. On the same basis were imposed, in both domain lands and fiefs, dues paid in beans, a kind of sesame, millet, and glutinous rice, as well as those levied nominally on certain domesticated plants, on the use of grass on waste-land and of ponds and rivers, and many other items. These taxes would be considerable in the aggregate, even if each was small and did not increase, but in many a fief some of them were neither small nor fixed. At Mito, for instance, the bean, sesame, and millet taxes alone amounted to nearly 10 per cent. of the recorded annual productivity of land; at Akita, the bran, straw, and hay taxes, converted into money, increased from 4.8 lbs. of silver per 100 *koku* of the productive value of the holding about 1650 to 32.3 lbs. about 1860. These were conspicuous, but not extreme, examples. Perhaps not the least objectionable feature of the customary taxes was that frequently they were collected by officials specially despatched to the villages at a time when the latter had already paid their annual land-tax and were again almost as poor as before the harvest. The fear that the main tax might suffer if the customary dues were collected at the same time with it was so great that the latter were usually preceded by the former. Nor were they always consolidated, as they sometimes were, to a large saving of the expense of collection. Commuting in money was not always a blessing, for the rates would be unfovorable, particularly when the taxes had been, as they often were, farmed out to private collectors.[108]

The evils of farming were probably more frequent with the taxes on various secondary occupations and products other

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than the grains. These dues were extremely numerous in every fief or domain land. They did not always fall directly on the farmers, but nevertheless redounded to them in the form of increased prices of articles. As we come nearer the end of the period, especially after 1800, we see barons' governments recklessly multiplying the kinds of taxes of this class.[109]

Over and above these multifarious taxes, there were expenses of the village administration to be borne, including the salaries of village-officials, repairs of the public works of the village, cost of policing the village against fire and robbery, of entertaining visiting officials, of making petitions, and the like. They were levied either on the holding, on the individual peasant, or on each peasant family. They were at first almost negligible, and, in the suzerain's domains, where the accounts of the village were to be open to the inspection of the peasant, continued to be comparitively light. In some fiefs, however, it was not uncommon that, owing to the venality of village and higher officials, the village expenses equalled or exceeded the total amount of taxes for the fiefs.[110]

That the bribery of the officials was a frequent and serious evil is reflected in the continuous repetition of the instructions issued to them on this point and in the persistent order to the peasants to impeach corrupt officials. Unfortunately, however, there was every temptation for corrupt practices to grow up between the feared but ill-paid official on the one hand and the passive and blindely self-interested peasant on the other. For a considerate though illegal act of an official at the assessment or collection of a tax, a farmer would be induced to entertain him at his house, to bribe him, to sell him things at a nominal cost, or to borrow from him at usurious rates. Examples of self-denying rural administrators were not wanting, but more frequently both people and officials came to regard taxation as a field for secret dealings and understandings.[111] These easily escaped the notice of special supervisers that the suzerain and the baron occasionally sent in circuit about villages,[112] and continued to raise the expenses of the peasant.

Moreover, it should be noted that, both the suzerain and the baron ordered special irregular requisitions in addition to the regular taxes. Indeed, it was one of the suzerain's favorite methods of weakening the barons to impose requisitions upon the fiefs for extraordinary needs, such as the building

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and repairing of the temples at Nikkō and Edo and of the Imperial palace, his own journeys to Kyōto, the reception of foreign envoys, and, in the later years, the defense of the coast against European aggression. Besides these requisitions from Edo, which were borne ultimately by none but the tax-payers, the people of specially ill-governed fiefs were subjected to illegal and irregular exactions by warrior-officials, some of whom even went to the extent of collecting the next years' taxes in advance.[113]

All these numerous taxes—levied in so complex a manner on the peasant holdings, families and individuals, paid at so high rates in money, labor, rice and other products, and, above all, increased so continuously in many of their secondary items,—were, nevertheless, insufficient to meet the growing expenditures of the government.[114] Still more unfortunately, when the tax-rates, originally high enough, were being raised, the productive power of the peasant family was, as will be remembered, already declining. If, in 1650, from his holding of 1 *chō* (2.45 acres) of rice-land, a peasant paid out of the average crop of 20 *koku* (about 100 bushels), 5 *koku* of the land-tax, 2 or 3 of the other taxes, and netted the remaining six-tenths of his income, he would, in 1800, be able to raise but 15 *koku* on the same land, while his land-tax and other dues had risen to 10 or more and village expenses absorbed at least 5. He had become a mere tool to move the spade.[115] How was he to provide for his farming implements, horse and harness, incidental expenses, irregular imposts, sickness, and calamity? Where was the money to buy the very manure? This last question was serious, for although, it is true, the Japanese peasant was fortunate in being able to rely so largely on human labor and human manure, it was none the less becoming more and more difficult to go without buying other manure, as new land was tilled, rotations of crops were discarded, and the farming was growing yearly more intensive.[116] When the farmer wished to borrow, he had to submit to rates of interest as high as 25 or 30 per cent. per annum, so that, it was said about 1720, a debt of five *ryō* would ruin his family in five years.[117] That the average peasant did subsist despite these alarming conditions was due to the sundry crops of cereals and vegetables he was obliged to raise, and to such subsidiary industries, including the silk-culture, as he was

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compelled to pursue.[118] These, of course, if they brought to him the needed income, also made his otherwise arduous life toilsome to the extreme.[119] Signs of his weariness, both material and moral, are visible from the early years of the régime, and continued to multiply through the period.[120] Conservative as he naturally was, his fortune altered and his land changed hands with much ease.[121]

One will now be able to appreciate the deeper significance of those minute measures of economic and moral paternalism of the feudal authorities which were discussed earlier in this paper. It was by dint of these measures that the meagre prosperity of the peasant might be maintained at all. The government was not, however, content with negative orders alone, but also eagerly encouraged the tilling of new land, putting restrictions only where they were necessary,[122] and, it must be admitted, succeeded in making the acreage of cultivated land probably twice as large at the end of the period as at the beginning.[123] It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this great fact, and yet it was not a pure gain to the peasant. The consequent decrease of waste-land deprived him much of the manure which Nature had afforded in the form of decayed hay, while at the same time more manure than before was needed in his increasingly intensive farming.[116] Also, enlarged crops of rice throughout Japan tended, except in years of famine, to check the price of this cereal, which the farmer sold, from advancing in proportion to the continual adulteration of coins and rise of prices of other things, which he bought.[124] Unfortunately, too, there was little outside market to which surplus rice could be exported, for Japan's door was closed almost totally against foreign trade. Nor should it be forgotten that so long as the principal form of agricultural labor remained manual, the very limit of the working capacity made an indefinite expansion of the cultivated area a physical impossibility. Small as was the average landed estate in Japan, it seemed in general to have been even too large for the holding peasant to manage.[125] It is highly interesting to see that this fundamental condition served to make Japan persist as a country of essentially small farming, in spite of the universal need for more wealth. This condition not only tended to limit the size of the estate of the average peasant, but also, together with the taxes too

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high in relation to the rent, made it an unprofitable investment for the rich to enlarge their landed properties.[126] This natural equilibrium was only the more strongly insured by the restrictions imposed by law upon the alienation of land.

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The selling and mortgaging of land was, indeed, a necessity for the penurious peasant. The authorities, in their anxiety to prevent aggrandisement by the rich few, forbade a permanent sale of old land, and restricted mortgage.[127] However, "without free sale of land," wrote Tanaka Kyūgu, about 1720, "what province or what district, whether in a fief or in a domain land, would be able to pay all its taxes?" Mortgages often meant permanent transfers, and always were attended with high rates of interest. Hence, illicit or specially permitted sales were effected under all conceivable devices to elude the law.[36] It should not be imagined, however, that the peasant cheerfully parted with his hereditary holdings of land. On the contrary, few things were done more reluctantly than this extreme measure, which deprived the farmer of the only material basis of his humble status, lowered him in the eyes of his neighbours, and disgraced him in the memory of his ancestors. Thus the peasant struggled on between his family pride and his penury, and between the restrictions of sale and mortgage and the forced necessity of modest livelihood. The general tendency among the rural population was not towards a greater inequality, but towards a continual change of fortune within limited bounds.

The loss of the peasant estate was liable to be followed by more regrettable circumstances. While the poor peasant might be hired by a more fortunate neighbour as farm-hand, he oftener chose to migrate to a city and take service under a warrior or a merchant, for it would give him a higher wage with less labor than on the farm. When he returned, he would have acquired the speculative point of view and the extravagant habits that ruled in the larger cities. He thus carried about him a certain restless and flippant air, and the half-exhausted inhabitants of the village contained elements susceptible exactly to this sort of influence. Soon every part of the country came to feel a longing for easy money and easy life. From the end of the seventeenth century, the supply even for menial service in the warrior's or merchant's household was growing

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scarce. In order to remedy this difficulty, the authorities, who in the earlier years had taken great pains to forbid sales of persons and to limit the terms of personal service, were now obliged to modify the law to a considerable extent.[128] Every district, if not every village, contained landless persons who would live rather by speculation, trading on popular superstitions, contracts, gambling, fraud, or robbery, than any from of honest labor.[129] Especially, provinces near Edo were infested with the most desperate classes of brigands.[130]

These dangerous elements in the rural population made themselves felt in years of famine. They led or joined discontented peasants, hundreds or thousands of whom would rise in mobs, as it often happened in different parts of Japan, and everywhere in 1787—8, and destroy and rob merchants' establishments and demand radical changes of prices. As was characteristic with uneducated peasants, they were on these occasions extremely foolhardy, coarse and cruel, but, when confronted with strong armed forces, broke down abruptly.[131] It was in order to prevent these events that good rulers filled public granaries in ordinary years, and in famines opened them and fed poor peasants on generous scales.[132] A success of these measures was always considered a mark of wise rural administration, for it was tacitly understood that the people should not be expected to be able to provide for their own needs in hard years.

Riots took place only at unusual times. What was of continual occurrence in all parts of Japan from the beginning to the end of the Tokugawa period was the desertion of the impoverished peasant of his ancestral home and hamlet. In ordinary years, the estate of the runaway would be cultivated and its taxes paid by his relatives or village,[33, 40] but at every slight increase of hardship such large numbers would abscond that, despite the rigorous laws of the joint responsibility of the village, much cultivated land would be laid waste, or at best be thrust into unwilling hands and decline in productivity. A literal enforcement of law would only increase the number of runaways. Nothing is more significant of the rural government under the Tokugawa than this subject of the desertion of the peasant.[133]

The peasant wishing to run away was apt to find a ready solution of his problem in the multiplicity of land tenures that

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prevailed in feudal Japan. There were, besides the estates of civil nobles and of religious institutions, the suzerain's domain lands, the baron' fiefs, and lands apportioned to some of their vassals, with a great diversity of financial laws and customs.[134] The deserter from a fief might pass into a domain land, as it often took place, or the reverse. He might also pass from the baron's own land to land held by one of his vassals. It was not uncommon that a vassal's land was situated adjacent to, or even in the same village with, a holding of his lord. A destitute peasant in the latter would either in some manner transfer the title over what little patches of land still remained in his hands to a person in the vassal's territory, preferably to its manager, who was generally regarded one of the most sinful of all men, or else himself move into the territory. The process of removal might also be reversed, according to the circumstance.

One remarkable fact in the economic history of this period is the apparently slow increase of population beside a great extension of the area of cultivated land. The latter increased from perhaps 5000000 in 1600 to more than 11500000 acres at the end of the régime,[123] while the former rose from 26060000 in 1721 to only 26900000 in 1847.[135] Allowing for the probable inexactness of the official statistics,[136] it is worthy of note that, after the middle of the eighteenth century down to 1867, cases of considerable increase of population in the provinces are rarely met with.[137] Evidently the terrible famines which visited Japan repeatedly at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century decimated the people.[138] For under no condition would an isolated agricultural community be so helpless as under a universal failure of crops and famine. Yet it is striking that the nation should have been so slow, as it was, to recuperate. The successive famines reducing the population raised the wages, it was complained, but the natural equilibrium which should be expected did not follow. In a few fiefs, the population slowly increased between the famines and the end of the period, but their taxable population actually decreased.[139] An explanation would suggest itself that it was the small land-holding peasantry, rather than the total population, that did not increase. It has already been shown that circumstances led peasants in many places to have recourse to illicit

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sales and mortgages, to menial service to the merchant and warrior classes, to irregular modes of life, and to desertion. Not a few turned peddlers and petty merchants, much against the policy of the government,[70] and thereby created more intermediate steps between the producer and consumer, raising prices and producing nothing.

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There were not absent certain forces that counteracted the tendency of the taxable population to remain stationary. Among these may be mentioned the conscious measures adopted in many districts to increase their peasant population, either by generally good administration, by forbidding infanticide and giving bounties for births, by inducing people of other classes and districts to settle down as farmers, or by encouraging the opening of hitherto uncultivated land.[140] Besides, the laws restricting changes of residence and sales of land, the high taxes of land discouraging aggrandisement by the rich, the general economic conditions still too little advanced to make the comparative disadvantage of the agricultural occupation overwhelming, and, also, the tenacious family institutions breeding conservative views of life,—these circumstances, too, must have tended to make the peasant think twice before abandoning his status. In the main, however, nothing could resist the two mighty forces that silently but surely carried the régime to its destiny. The first was the fundamental question of land *versus* population. If the average rice-land, such as formed the basis of taxation under the Tokugawa, was capable of supporting the population at the rate of one person on every one and a quarter acres,[141] it would have taken thirty million acres, instead of the five to eleven and a half millions of the cultivated area during this period,[123] to maintain Japan's rural population of about twenty-four million souls. The actual rate was only one half acre per head.[142] It is true that potatoes, oranges, grapes, cotton, and a few other crops more valuable than rice were raised in some districts, but these were, except the first, purely local, and their cultivation was generally not allowed to encroach upon that of rice. It is also true that the government was alive to the danger of over-population, and forbade indefinite divisions of estates,[36 & 45] but this measure created undesirable social conditions among the younger sons of the peasant.[143] It must be admitted, too, that the peasant family could and

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usually did undertake the silk-culture and other secondary occupations, and, indeed, these were the saving elements of the rural life. Nevertheless, one can hardly avoid the general conclusion that the Japan under the Tokugawa contained a population as large, if not too large, as could be supported by her intensive agriculture.

The second fundamental question was the productive power of the soil *versus* the expenditures of the government, the latter increasing and the former relatively decreasing though perhaps absolutely increasing.[144] The economics of the nation were inadequate to support the finances of the State. One has but to remember with what unceasing effort, though with ultimate failure, the paternal rulers strove to bridge the widening gap with the labor of the peasant, whom they caressed, exhorted, threatened, and wearied.

In conclusion, let us, from the historical point of view, suggest a few other lines of criticism of the régime than have already been touched upon. One may attempt to judge the merit of a movement by comparing its final results with its original objects. Ask, therefore, if the ingenious and elaborate polity of the Tokugawa, so far as it concerned village administration, succeeded in attaining its primary object: namely, to secure the submission and the contentment of the peasant population to a degree that it would cheerfully and without friction contribute the fruits of its labor to the maintenance of the warrior class, and to the perpetuation of the power of the Tokugawa.

To this general question no impartial student would hesitate to return an affirmative answer. It was nothing short of genius in statesmanship that wove the great fabric of the Tokugawa government; it completely overwhelmed the lawless elements of which the Japan of the seventeenth century was full, and continued without serious interruptions to exercise an almost absolute control over national affairs during the rule of fifteen successive suzerains. The profound peace thus brought about enabled a large part of Japan's arable land to be turned to cultivation, numerous arts and industries to be built up, and a highly diversified civilization to be developed

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and diffused among the people. If this wonderful régime failed to prevent the rise of certain evils, they would be found to have been largely due to the fact that the government was essentially feudal, and that it had to be built upon the existing conditions of the family and society. Nor did the evils harm any one so much as they did the suzerain's own government.

It would, however, be unjust to ignore the evils, even if we lay aside the question how much they were within the moral control of the suzerain. They were many, and some of them have been of immense magnitude. To be brief. Just as the suzerain's policy toward the feudal classes had subdued them at the cost of their true vigor and their genuine loyalty to himself, so his control of the peasants stifled their enterprise, limited their wealth, and levelled down their conditions. If they did not rise in a general revolt, it was because they were thoroughly deprived of not only the opportunity, but also the energy, to protest. When at last the national crisis came in the middle of the nineteenth century, just as the feudal classes chose to make no serious effort to defend the waning power of the Tokugawa, but, on the contrary, furnished men to efface it, so the peasants, also, proved surprisingly indifferent. The great Revolution was begun and consummated by discontented warriors, with the rural population too weary and too meak to lift a finger in the cause of their own liberation. It has been said that the great reform was accomplished without a drop of the peasants's blood being shed, but the fact does not reflect honor upon them. They are still largely passive under the new rights[145] that have been heaped upon them. What has been training them since the Revolution is not so much their new political power, for as yet hardly one in every forty farmers has a vote,[146] as the national system of education, their amalgamation with the other classes of society, which is growing apace, and the object lessons in public interest taught by the stirring events that have transpired about them in the East.

If, however, the peasant has emerged from the feudal régime with little added wealth and energy, he has also inherited from it two important legacies: a moderate but secure holding in land, and a wonderful capacity for discipline. These are the great material and moral debts of the new age to the old. History will probably tell of what immense value the heritage has been for the upbuilding of a steady and collected nation.

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82. *ON KE-MI TE-TSUDZUKI*, 御毛見手續, [how to measure the productive power of land, in the Okayama fief]. Anon. No date. Manuscript. 1 vol. (o. s.)

83. *DAI-ZEN ON KE-MI YŌ-SHŪ*, 大全御毛見用集, [guide to measuring the productive power of land, in the same fief]. Anon. No date. Manuscript. 1 vol. (o. s.)

84. *SEN-DAI HAN SO-ZEI YŌ-RYAKU*, 仙臺藩租稅要略, [documents relating to the financial administration of the Sendai fief], edited by Yamada Ki-ichi, 山田揆一, of the prefectural government at Sendai. [Sendai, 1888]. 5 vols., 255 leaves.

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85. *Shū-gi wa-sho*, 集義和書, [notes on philosophy, ethics, and politics], by Kumazawa Ban-zan, 熊澤蕃山 (1619—91). 16 bks. In the *Ni-hon rin-ri i-hen* 日本倫理彙編 series, (10 vols., Tokyo, 1901—03), I, 255—600.

86. *Shū-gi gwai-sho*, 集義外書, [sequel to the above], by the same author. 16 bks. In the same series, II. 9—332.

87. *Min-kan sei-yō*, 民間省要, [notes on rural administration], by Tanaka Kyūgu-emon Nobuyoshi? 田中休愚右衛門喜吉. Prefaces dated 1720 and 1721. Manuscript. 2 series, 7 and 8 vols. (o. s.)

Fearless criticisms by a practical administrator of the rural government of domain lands. The work attracted the attention of the wise suzerain Yoshimune, who gradually raised the author to the position of intendant. See *To*, XIII. 962, XIV, 278.

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88. *Kei-zai roku*, 經濟錄, [views on government], by Dazai Shun-dai, 太宰春臺 (1680—1747), 1729. Manuscript. 10 vols. (o. s.)

Thoroughly Confucian.

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89. *Shun-dai zatsu-wa*, 駿臺雜話, [miscellaneous notes on history, morals, and literature], by Muro Kyū-sō, 室鳩巢 (1658—1734), 1732. 5 bks. In the *Ni-hon rin-ri i-hen* series, VII. 81—309.

90. *Sō-bō ki-gen*, 草茅危言, [political and social criticisms], by Nakai Chiku-zan, 中井竹山 (1730—1804), 1789. Kyōto, 1868. 5 vols., 280 leaves.

91. *Byō-kan chō-go*, 病間長語, [miscellaneous notes], by Inoue Kin-ga, 井上金峨 (1733—84). In the *On-chi sō-sho* series, XI, 70 pages.

92. *Ama no taku mo*, 蜑の焼く藻, [miscellaneous notes], by Morikawa Takamori 森川孝盛, c. 1790. In the same series, XI, 122 pages.

93. *Ō-mei-kwan i-sō*, 嚶鳴館遺草, posthumous ethico-political works by Hosoi Hei-shū, once tutor to Uesugi Harunori and other barons, (1728—1801). 6 bks. In the *Ni-hon rin-ri i-hen* series, IX. 9—161.

Good examples of the great influence of Confucian ideas on rural government.

94. *Hō-toku gwai-roku*, 報德外錄, views by Ninomiya Takanori (Son-toku), 二宮尊德 (1786—1856), compiled by his pupil Saitō Takayuki, 齋藤高行. 2 bks. In the same series, X. 397—439.

95. *Ninomiya sen-sei go-rui*. 二宮先生語類, sayings of Ninomiya Takanori, compiled by the same pupil. 4 bks. In the same series, X. 440—542.

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96. *Chi-so ron*, 地租論, [on the land-tax and its relation to the life of the peasantry], by the late Fukuzawa Yukichi, 福澤諭吉, about 1893. In the *Fukuzawa Yukichi zen-shū* (全集), V.

97. *Hō-sei ron-san*, 法制論纂, [seventy-eight essays and addresses on the institutional history of Japan by various scholars], edited by the Koku-gaku-in, 國學院. Tokyo, 1903. 1 vol., 1446 pages.

98. *Hō-sei ron-san zoku-hen* (續編), [sequel to the above, containing fifty-seven more essays and addresses], edited by the same. Tokyo, 1904. 1 vol., 914 pages.

99. *Tokugawa sei-kyō kō*, 德川政教考, [evolution of political-philosophical ideas during the Tokugawa period], by Prof. Yoshida Tō-go, 吉田東伍. Tokyo, 1894. 2 vols., 206, 212 pages.

100. *Dai Ni-hon chi-mei zhi-sho*, 大日本地名辭書, dictionary of Japanese historical geography], by the same author. Tokyo, 1900—07. 4 vols., cxxxiv + 288 + 4752 pages.

101. *Koku-shi dai zhi-ten*, 國史大辭典, [dictionary of Japanese history], by Yashiro Kuniji?, 八代國治, Hayakawa Zhunzaburō, 早川純三郎, and Inobe Shigewo, 井野邊茂雄. Tokyo, 1908. 2 vols., 2390 and 220 pages.

102. *Shi-gaku zasshi*, 史學雜誌, [monthly journal devoted to history]. Tokyo, 1890—.

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Abbreviations.

The following abbreviations are used in the Notes for those works which receive frequent reference. Two capitals, (for example, 'BR'), are used for each old work which consists primarily of sources; a capital and a small letter, (for example, 'Mi'), for each old secondary authority; three capitals, (for example, 'DSR'), for each recent work consisting mainly of sources; and a capital and two small letters, (for example, 'Hrs'), for each recent secondary authority.

AI 81. AIDZU KYŪ-ZHI ZAK-KŌ BASSUI.
BG 55. BAN-SHŪ . . . . . GO KWAI-MAI . . . .
BK 66. BI-HAN TEN-KEI.
Bms 6. Baku-matsu shi.
BO 54. BAN-SHŪ . . . OSAME-HARAI . . . .
BR 67. BI-HAN TEN-ROKU.
Chk 58. Chi-so kai-sei hō-koku sho.
Chr 96. Chi-so ron.
Dch 100. Dai Ni-hon chi-mei zhi-sho.
De 47. Den-en rui-setsu.
DKM 1. DAI NI-HON KO-MON-ZHO.
DNR 7. DAI NI-HON NŌ-SEI RUI-HEN.
DNS 8. DAI NI-HON NO SHI.
Dns 44. Dai Ni-hon so-zei shi.
DO 83. DAI-ZEN ON KE-MI....
Dse 45. Den-so en-kaku yō-ki.
Dsg 10. Dai Ni-hon san-gyō zhi-seki.
DSH 46. DEN-SEI HEN.
DSR 2. DAI NI-HON SHI-RYŌ.
En 69. En-kyō fū-setsu roku.
Eta 77. Egawa Tan-an.
Fuk 59. Fu-Ken chi-so kai-sei ki-yō.
GGI 61. GO-NIN-GUMI CHŌ I-DŌ BEN.
Ggk 60. Go-nin-gumi sei-do no ki-gen.
Ggs 60a. Go-nin-gumi sei-do.
Gi 70. Gin-dai i-zhi.
GK 35. GO KATTE-GATA O SADAME-GAKI.
GS 65. GUN-CHŪ SEI-HŌ.
Gsr 79. Gei-han san-zhū-san nen roku.
GT 29. GO TŌ-KE REI-JŌ.
Hmg 80. Hiroshima mō-gyū.
Hrs 97. Hō-sei ron-san.
Hrz 98. Hō-sei ron-san zoku-hen.
Ht 94. Hō-toku gwai-roku.
JG 52. JI-KATA-GAKARI A-TSUKAI-HŌ SHŪ-SEI.
Jh 48. Ji-kata han-rei roku.
JK 33. JI-KATA KŌ-SAI ROKU.
Jk 51. Ji-kata kō-shō roku.
Jo 49. Ji-kata ochi-bo shū.
Jt 50. Ji-kata tai-gai shū.
KB 23. KEN-PŌ BU RUI.
KH 41. KWA-HEI HI-ROKU.
KK 20. KEN-KYŌ RUI-TEN.
KKK 78. KWAI-KYŪ KI-ZHI.
Km 18. Kei-zai mon-dō hi-roku.
KR 22. KWA-JO RUI-TEN HON-MON.
KRE 11. KO-ZHI RUI-EN.
Ksd 101. Koku-shi dai zhi-ten.
Kw 16. Kwan-nō waku-mon.
KY 28. KU-ZHI-KATA YŌ-REI.
Kz 88. Kei-zai roku.
Mi 87. Min-kan sei-yō.
MK 62. MURA SHŌ-YA . . . . KYŌTO.

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Mkr 37. Min-zhi kwan-rei rui-shū.
MO 63. MURA SHŌ-YA .... ŌSAKA.
Ng 12. Nō-gyō zen-sho.
Ngh 14. Nō-gyō hon-ron.
Nn 95. Ninomiya sen-sei go-rui.
Nns 9. Ni-hon nō-gyō shō-shi.
NTK 72. NOZOKI TAI-KWA Ō.
Ny 13. Nō-gyō yo-wa.
Nz 17. Nō-sei za-yū.
OK 82. ON KE-MI TE-TSU-DZUKI.
Om 93. Ō-mei-kwan i-sō.
OO 64. Ō-SHŌ-YA .... ŌSAKA.
OT 53. ON TORI-KA KOKO-RO-E GAKI.
RD 26. RITSU-REI DAI HI-ROKU.
RH 24. RUI-REI HI-ROKU.
RR 32. RITSU-REI ROKU.
Sb 90. Sō-bō ki-gen.
SCR 39. SUI-CHIN ROKU.
SCY 40. SUI-CHIN YO-ROKU.
Sd 89. Shun-dai zatsu-wa.
SDS 84. SEN-DAI HAN SO-ZEI YŌ-RYAKU.
Sg 86. Shū-gi gwai-sho.
Shr 76. Shirakawa Raku-ō kō ....
Shz 102. Shi-gaku zasshi.
Smw 19. Simmons-Wigmore, Notes ....
Sw 85. Shū-gi wa-sho.
Tbf 5. Tokugawa baku-fu zhi-dai shi.
Tk 15. Tokugawa baku-fu ken-ji yō-ryaku.
TKR 21. TOKUGAWA KIN-REI KŌ.
TMK 36. TOKUGAWA MIN-ZHI KWAN-REI SHŪ.
z .... zhin-zhi hen,
d .... dō-san hen,
f .... fu-dō-san hen,
s .... so-shō hen.
Tnk 68. Tsugaru Nobumasa kō.
To 3. Tokugawa zhikki.
Tsk 99. Tokugawa sei-kyō kō.
Tt 56. Ta-hata ken-mi .....
US 73. U-YŌ SŌ-SHO.
Uyz 74. Uesugi Yō-zan kō.
Wa 57. Wata ken-mi ....
Wig 38. Wigmore, Materials ....
YZS 71. YŌ-ZAN KŌ SEI-KI.
Zo 4. Zoku Tokugawa zhikki.

(*Note:* The Notes accompanying this article will appear in a subsequent number of the Journal.)

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

AT ITS

MEETING IN NEW YORK, N. Y.

1909.

The annual meeting of the Society, being the one hundred and twenty-first occasion of its assembling, was held in New York City, at Columbia University, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter Week, April 15th, 16th and 17th.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Adler,	Gilmore,	Joseph,	Olmstead,
Arnold, W. R.	Gottheil,	Kohn, Miss	Peters,
Asakawa,	Gray, L. H.	Kyle,	Quackenbos,
Barret,	Gray, Mrs. L. H.	Lanman,	Rosenau,
Barton,	Grieve, Miss	Levonian,	Rudolph, Miss
Black,	Haas,	Lyon,	Scott, C. P. G.
Brown,	Haessler, Miss	Madsen,	Scott, Mrs. S. B.
Carus,	Harper,	Margolis,	Shepard,
Campbell,	Haupt,	Meyer,	Sherman,
Colton, Miss	Haynes,	Michelson,	Steele,
Davidson,	Hirth,	Moore, J. H.	Thompson,
Demarest,	Hock,	Müller,	Todd,
Ember,	Hopkins,	Muss-Arnolt,	Torrey,
Frachtenberg,	Howland,	Nies, J. B.	Vanderburgh,
Frank,	Hussey, Miss	Nies, W. C.	Ward, W. H.
Friedenwald,	Jackson,	Oertel,	Ussher,
Friedlaender,	Jastrow,	Ogden, C. J.	Yohannan.
Gelbach,	Johnston,	Ogden, Miss E. S.	Total, 71.

The first session began on Thursday afternoon at three o'clock in the Trustees Room of the University, with the Presi-

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dent of the Society, Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, in the chair.

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The reading of the minutes of the meeting held in Cambridge, Mass., April 23d and 24th, 1908, was dispensed with, because they were presented in printed form as advance sheets ready to appear in the Journal (vol. xxix, 304—314).

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, through Professor A. V. W. Jackson, in the form of a printed program, and made some special supplementary announcements.

The succeeding sessions of the Society were appointed for Friday morning at half-past nine, Friday afternoon at half-past two, and Saturday morning at half-past nine. It was announced that a luncheon would be given to the Society at Columbia University by the local members on Friday at one o'clock, and that arrangements had been made for a subscription dinner at the Park Avenue Hotel on Thursday evening at seven o'clock.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The annual report of the Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, was then presented as follows:

The Corresponding Secretary desires at the outset to express his thanks and appreciation to his predecessor in office, Professor Hopkins, now President of the Society, for the kindly help lent to him when assuming the new duties and for the aid so generously given to lighten the burden of work inevitable in a secretarial position.

The correspondence for the year has been somewhat extensive. There has been an ever-growing number of communications called forth by the inclusion of the American Oriental Society's name in the lists of organizations that are regularly published in various bulletins and records in different parts of the country. This is a good thing, as it draws wider attention to the scope and aims of the Society, and it might perhaps be well for us later to consider the question of enlarging somewhat the list of cities in which our meetings are held, since several Boards of Trade in other places have made tender of opportunities that might be offered if their particular city should be chosen for one of the annual meetings.

A pleasant part of the interchange of letters which has been carried on since the last meeting has been the correspondence with the newly elected members and with those who had been chosen as honorary members and who have expressed in complimentary terms their appreciation of the distinction conferred by the Society's electing them.

A sad but sympathetic part of the year's work has been writing expressions of thought and remembrance for those who have been bereaved

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by the death of some member of the family who was thus lost as a member from our own midst. The list is not small considering our limited membership.

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DEATHS.

Honorary Members.

Professor Richard Pischel.
Professor Eberhard Schrader.

Corporate Members.

Mrs. Emma J. Arnold.
Mr. Ernest B. Fenollosa.
Mr. Francis Blackmore Forbes.
President Daniel Coit Gilman.
Professor Charles Eliot Norton.
Professor John Henry Wright.

Professor Pischel, one of our more recent honorary members, was a German Sanskrit scholar of wide learning and whose name was recognized with honor throughout the learned world. He died at the age of fifty-nine, in December, 1908, at Madras, India, shortly after reaching the land to which he had devoted his life's studies and which it had ever been his heart's desire to visit.

Professor Schrader, of the University of Berlin, was made an honorary member of the Society in 1890, in recognition of his distinguished services to Oriental science especially in the line of Assyriological research. His long and eminent career, which led him to the position of a Privy Councilor at the Royal Court of Germany, lent a special dignity to the list of the Society's membership.

Mrs. Emma J. Arnold, of Providence, R. I., a corporate member of the Society since 1894, died at the home of her husband, Dr. Oliver H. Arnold, of Providence, on June 7, 1908.

Ernest F. Fenollosa, of Mobile, Alabama, since 1894 a member of the Society, died in England in October, 1908, just as he was about to return to America. His special interest lay in the field of Japan, where he had lived for some time, and he was a very agreeable lecturer and writer on the subject of its art, its history and its civilization.

Francis Blackman Forbes, of Boston, a member since 1864, died at his home in Boston, May 21, 1908, at the age of sixty-eight. Mr. Forbes had been a merchant in China for twenty-five years, until 1882, when he removed to Paris for four years and afterwards returned to his home in Massachusetts. His interest in Chinese flora and the fine collection of specimens which he made in that field won him a fellowship in the Linnean Society of London.

Daniel Coit Gilman, who was an active member of the Society for over half a century, having joined in 1857, and who was our president for thirteen years, from 1893 to 1906, d.ed at his birthplace in Norwich,

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on October 13, 1908, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. After his graduation from Yale College in 1852, he continued his studies at Cambridge and at Berlin, and then entered upon a distinguished career as an educator, as is well known to those who are acquainted with the educational development of this country whose interests he served so faithfully. He was President of the Johns Hopkins University from 1875 to 1901, when he retired as emeritus to take the presidency of the newly founded Carnegie Institution. He had previously enjoyed the honor of being appointed by the President of the United States to act as one of the five members of the United States Commission on the subject of the boundary line between Venezuela and Colombia. The valuable services which he rendered to the American Oriental Society during the thirteen years in which he was our presiding officer, and the distinction which he lent by his association with the Society, will always remain a bright memory.

Professor Charles Eliot Norton, of Harvard University, art critic and man of letters, who joined the Society in 1857, the same year as Mr. Gilman, passed away in the week after his contemporary's death. He died at Cambridge, Mass. on October 21, 1908. The public press throughout the land paid tribute to his memory. Although not an active attendant at the Oriental meetings, he never lost his interest during the fifty-one years of his membership. The part which Mr. Norton took as one of the first scholars to draw attention to Fitzgerald's version of Omar Khayyam will always associate his name with the interest taken in the Persian poet.

Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University, a member of the Oriental Society since 1898, died at Cambridge, Mass. on November 25, 1908. Professor Wright was born in Urumiah, Persia, the city which is believed by some to have been the birthplace of Zoroaster. Although Dr. Wright's specialty was in Greek, he had early taken an interest in Sanskrit in his student days, and showed his interest in the Oriental Society by joining it ten years ago.

In conclusion the Secretary is pleased to add that the major part of his correspondence has been of a special or technical character as associated with work now incorporated in the Journal or as carried on with fellow-searchers for light in the realm of the Land of the Dawn.

The details of the Secretary's report were accepted as presented and it was directed to place the report on record.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The report of the Treasurer, Professor Frederick Wells Williams, was presented by the Corresponding Secretary and read as follows:

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RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1908.

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Receipts.

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1907		$ 59.12
Dues (190) for 1908	$ 950.00	
„ (64) for other years	320.00	
„ (14) for Hist. S. R. Sect.	28.00	
	$ 1,298.00	
Sales of Journal	193.79	
Life Memberships (2)	150.00	
Subscriptions collected for Or. Bibl. Subvention	96.00	
State National Bank Dividends	122.21	
Annual Interest from Savings Banks	47.22	
		1,907.22
		$ 1,966.34

Expenditures.

T., M. and T. Co., printing vol. xxviii (remainder)	$ 1,364.48	
Librarian, postage, etc.	7.09	
Other postage and express	6.77	
Subvention to Orientalische Bibliographie	100.00	
Balance to general account	$ 488.00	
		$ 1,966.34

STATEMENT.

	1907	1908
Bradley Type Fund	$ 2,481.93	$ 2,653.41
Cotheal Fund	1,000.00	1,000.00
State National Bank Shares	1,950.00	1,950.00
Connecticut Savings Bank	6.03	6.39
National Savings Bank	11.67	12.11
Interest Cotheal Fund	149.27	195.69
Cash on hand	102.93	12.54
Interest	55	
	$ 5,702.38	$ 5,830.14

The report of the Treasurer was supplemented verbally by Professor Jackson with a statement, merely for record, that the Directors had voted that the Society should continue next year to contribute as before to the Orientalische Bibliographie, and that the Treasurer was authorized to pay said contribution directly out of the funds in the treasury.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Torrey and Oertel, was presented by Professor C. C. Torrey, as follows:

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Acting Treasurer of this Society, and have found the same correct, and

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that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass-books and have found all correct.

CHARLES C. TORREY, } *Auditors.*
HANNS OERTEL, }

NEW HAVEN, April 17, 1909.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian, Professor Hanns Oertel, presented his report as follows:

Miss Margaret D. Whitney has continued her work of cataloguing the Society's Library. The response to a circular letter to our exchanges asking that incomplete sets be, as far as possible, completed, has been very cordial and generous. The next report of the Librarian will contain a bibliographical list of all periodical literature deposited in our Library. As in previous reports, the Librarian again calls attention to the absolute necessity of a small sum of money for the binding of our accessions. It is impossible to allow unbound volumes to go out of the library, and as almost all of our members live at a distance, unbound books cannot be used by them.

The thanks of the Society are again due to Miss Margaret D. Whitney for her continued interest in the Library, to Mr. Schwab, Librarian of Yale University, for many favours, and to Mr. Gruener of the Yale Library for valued assistance in mailing.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the Journal of the Society, Professors Oertel and Jewett, was made by Professor Oertel as follows:

The editors regret that owing to the delay in setting up and correcting one of the articles, it has not been possible to complete the current number of the Journal in time to have it in the hands of the members before this meeting. It will be sent out early in May. As is well known to the members, the cost of printing of the Society's Journal has for some years past exceeded the Society's income and made it necessary to draw on our invested funds. It did not seem wise to the editors to continue indefinitely such a policy of living beyond our means. They, therefore, reluctantly decided to publish the Society's Journal for the current year in *one* volume of about 100 pages less than has been customary.

By direction of the Board of Directors, the Editors will make arrangements for printing the next volume of the Journal abroad, and they expect that the saving thus effected will make it possible to print the Journal as before without exceeding the income of the Society.

The Editors, finally, desire to call the attention of members to the rule that all papers read at the Society's meeting are presumed to be available for printing in the Society's Journal and subject to the call of the Editors for that purpose.

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ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society:

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HONORARY MEMBERS.

Rev. Canon Samuel R. Driver, M. Charles Clermont-Ganneau,
Professor Hermann Jacobi.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. George William Brown,
Mr. Charles Dana Burrage,
Señor Felipe G. Calderón,
Mr. Irving Comes Demarest,
Dr. Carl Frank,
Dr. Herbert Friedenwald,
Miss Marie Gelbach,
Dr. George W. Gilmore,
Miss Luise Haessler,
Edward H. Hume, M. D.,
Mr. James H. Hyde,
Mr. Thomas W. Kingsmill,
Rev. M. G. Kyle,
Mr. Levon J. K. Levonian,
Mr. Albert Howe Lybyer,
Mr. Charles J. Morse,
Mr. Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead,
Mr. Walter Peterson,
Mr. George V. Schick,
Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera,
Rev. Sydney N. Ussher.

OFFICERS FOR 1909—1910.

The committee appointed at Cambridge to nominate officers for the ensuing year consisted of Professors Francis Brown, Torrey, and Oertel, (see Journal, vol. xxix, 311) and their report recommended the following names, which were duly elected:

President—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

Vice-Presidents—Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Henry Hyvernat, of Washington.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York.

Recording Secretary—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge, Mass.

Secretary of the Section for Religions—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

Librarian—Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven.

Directors—The officers above named, and Professors Crawford H. Toy and Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven; Richard Gottheil, of New York; Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven; Robert F. Harper and James R. Jewett, of Chicago.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT.

At four o'clock, at the conclusion of the business session, the President of the Society, Professor E. Washburn Hopkins,

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of Yale University, delivered his annual address on "Exaggerations of Tabu as a Religious Motive."

The Society adjourned at the close of the address to meet at half past seven o'clock for dinner at the Park Avenue Hotel.

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FRIDAY SESSION.

The members re-assembled on Friday morning at half past nine o'clock for the second session. The following communications were presented:

Doctor K. Asakawa, of Yale University, Notes on village administration in Japan under the Tokugawa. — Remarks by Professor Hopkins.

Professor L. C. Barret, of Princeton University, Concerning Kashmir Atharva-Veda, Book 2.—Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, The notation for 216,000 in the Tablets of Telloh.—Remarks by Professors Jastrow and Haupt.

Doctor George F. Black, of Lenox Library, N. Y., Concerning the Gypsy Lore Society, presented by Dr. C. P. G. Scott.

Doctor A. Ember, of Johns Hopkins University, Hebrew stems with prefixed ש. — Remarks by Professors Haupt and W. Max Müller.

Dr. M. Margolis, of the Jewish Publication Society, Phila., The necessity of complete induction for finding the Semitic equivalents of Septuagint words.—Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Mr. L. J. Frachtenberg, of New York, The superstition of the evil eye in Zoroastrian literature.—Remarks by Professors Hopkins, Müller, Jastrow, Peters.

Professor L. Friedlaender, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, The Fountain of Life and the Islands of the Blessed in the Alexander legends. — Remarks by Professors Haupt and Jastrow, and Doctor Yohannan.

Professor R. Gottheil, of Columbia University, The *Kitāb Dīwān Miṣr*.

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia University, A legend of aerial navigation in Ancient Persia. — Remarks by Professors Friedlaender and Jastrow.

Professor M. Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, Another fragment of the Etana myth.

At twelve thirty the Society took a recess till half past two o'clock, and were invited to luncheon as guests of the local members.

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On convening again after luncheon the session was held in the auditorium of Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia, President Hopkins presiding, and the following papers were presented:

Professor R. Gottheil, of Columbia University, The origin and history of the minaret.—Remarks by Professor Jastrow.

Miss L. C. G. Grieve, Ph. D., of New York, The Dasara Festival at Satara, India.—Remarks by Professor Hopkins.

Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, The Location of Mount Sinai.

Professor C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University, Pāli book titles and how to cite them.—Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Haupt.

Professor W. Max Müller, of Philadelphia, Scenes of the religious worship of the Canaanites on Egyptian monuments. Illustrated by stereopticon photographs.—Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor D. G. Lyon, of Harvard University, The Harvard excavations at Samaria. Illustrated by stereopticon photographs.—Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Dr. T. A. Olmstead, Preparatory School, Princeton, N. J., Some results of the Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor and the Assyro-Babylonian Orient.

Dr. Truman Michelson, of Ridgefield, Conn., The general interrelation of the dialects of Asoka's Fourteen Edicts, with some remarks on the home of Pāli.

Professor F. Hirth, of Columbia University, On Chinese Hieroglyphics.

At five thirty the Society adjourned for the day; and the evening was reserved for an informal gathering of the members for supper and general conversation.

SATURDAY SESSION.

On Saturday morning at half-past nine, the fourth and concluding session was held in Room 407 of Schermerhorn Hall, and was devoted to the reading of papers and the transaction of important business.

In the business portion of the session, which formed the first matter of consideration, the Committee on the Nomination of Officers reported the names as already given above.

The Chair then appointed as committee to nominate officers at the first session of the next annual meeting, the following members:

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Professor Robert F. Harper, of Chicago;
Dr. George C. O. Haas, of Columbia;
Dr. Albert A. Madsen, of Cleveland, Ohio.

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The Directors reported that they had appointed Professor Hanns Oertel and Professor James R. Jewett as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The place and date of the next meeting as appointed by the Directors was further announced to be Baltimore, during Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter week, March 31st, April 1st and 2d, 1910.

The Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts consists of Professors Torrey and Oertel.

Professor Hirth brought before the Society for consideration the question of the tariff imposed upon books in foreign languages imported into the United States. Upon motion of Professor Haupt, the following petition was unanimously adopted and the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to forward it in an appropriate manner to the authorities at Washington:

> The American Oriental Society, assembled at its annual meeting held in New York, April 17, 1909, respectfully petition the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America that all scientific books dealing with foreign languages imported from abroad be admitted free of duty.

The presentation of papers was resumed in the following order:

Professor Christopher Johnston, of Johns Hopkins University:—

(a) The fable of the horse and the ox in cuneiform literature.
(b) Assyrian lexicographical notes.
(c) The Sumerian verb.

Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Dr. Ishya Joseph, of New York, Notes on some matters relating to Arabic philology.—Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor Hanns Oertel, of Yale University:

(a) Some cases of analogy formation.
(b) The Sanskrit root *dṛp*, 'stumble'.

Remarks by Professor Hopkins.

Dr. F. A. Vanderburgh, of New York, A hymn to Bel, Tablet 29623, British Museum, as published in CT. xv, plates 12 and 13.

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Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University, A Turkish manuscript treatise on physiognomy.

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Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University:

(a) Pi-hahiroth and the route of the Exodus.

(b) The disgrace and rehabilitation of Galilee.—(Isaiah ix. 1.)

At eleven thirty Vice-President Haupt was invited to the Chair by Professor Hopkins on his withdrawal. The session continued as follows:

Professor F. Hirth, of Columbia University, On early Chinese notices of African territories.—Remarks by Professors Haupt and W. Max Müller.

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia University, Notes on Zoroastrian chronology.

Professor I. Friedlaender, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, N. Y., 'Abdallah b. Sabā, the Jewish founder of Shiism.

Before the session closed, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

> The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks to the President and Trustees of Columbia University and to the local members for the courtesies which they have extended to the Society during this meeting; and to the Committee of Arrangements for the provisions they have made for its entertainment.

The Society adjourned at half past twelve on Saturday to meet in Baltimore, Md., March 31st, April 1st, and 2d 1910.

The following communications were read by title:

Dr. Bigelow, of Boston, Nirvana and the Buddhist moral code.

Dr. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University:

(a) The Tagalog verb.

(b) Brockelmann's Comparative Semitic Grammar.

Professor Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University, Studies on the text and language of the Rig-Veda.

Professor Gottheil, of Columbia University, A door from the Madrassah of Barḳūḳ.

Reverend A. Kohut, of New York:

(a) Royal Hebraists.

(b) A tradition concerning Haman in Albiruni, and the story of Rikayon in the Sefer Ha-Yashar.

Professor Prince, A Hymn to Tammuz.

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Dr. W. Rosenau, of Johns Hopkins University:
(a) The uses of לב in Post-Biblical Hebrew.
(b) Abstract formations in the philosophical Hebrew.
Professor Torrey, of Yale University:
(a) The question of the date of the Samaritan schism.
(b) The lacuna in Neh. ix. 5 f.

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